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Collision, Collusion and Coincidence: Pop Art's Fairground Parallel

This article looks at parallel methods, motivations and modes of consumption between formative British pop art and British fairground art. I focus on two strands, the emergent critical work of the Independent Group and the school of artists based at the Royal College of Art under the nominal leadership of Peter Blake. I use iconographical and iconological methods to compare the content of the art, and then examine how pop art tried to create both a critical and playful distancing from established rules and practices of the artistic canon. I focus on non-institutional cultural groupings and diffuse production and consumption models.

Keywords: pop art, independent group, gestalt, fairground, Peter Blake

Disentangling the historical motivations and actualities of pop art is akin to staring at a bright blue stretch of sky above the ocean, streaked with the disintegrating and drifting vapour trails from the engines of no longer visible transatlantic flights. It quickly becomes impossible to discern what event created which trail, and in which direction a particular motion occurred. US-centred historical studies of pop art prioritize the fierce debates towards the post-war abstract expressionist avant-garde (artists such as Rothko and Pollock, and associated critics such as Clement Greenberg) who were anxious about being turned into the old guard by a pop art movement that seemingly disobeyed and ripped up the rules and traditions. A first strike against seriousness was the new movement's tendency to take on a revolving list of official names (factual art, new realist, polymaterialist, commonist) and from this there emerged the playful inauguration of a fault line and a series of high-profile minor skirmishes quickly forming an aura of confrontation that seemed to embody the art itself. A formative instance can be considered with Robert Rauschenberg's incredibly conceived and constructed *Erased de Kooning Drawing* (1953), whereby a work of art from the within the canon was erased to a trace, effectively denied the right to exist. Rauschenberg's work (with the word 'work' justified in an intuitive sense in that it took nearly two months and around 40 erasers to complete the erasure) is a pivotal moment, both adumbrating US pop art whilst retaining a foothold in abstract expressionism.[1]

A paralleling of this confrontation did not animate the birth of pop art in Britain, and evidence of a unified approach or critically engaged dialogue is not forthcoming. At best we can assume some kind of shared socio-cultural zeitgeist that prompted the initialization of the movement in various places at once.[2] Even within this simplified dualist understanding

of the origins of the movement there are further demarcations with the input of the European artists and also a clear dividing line *within* the British pop art movement.[3] This originary demarcation within British pop art essentially divides between the Independent Group (IG) and the group of artists emerging from the Royal College of Art (RCA) centred on the nominal figurehead of Peter Blake. There is much disputed historiography regarding the roles and inter-influential forces of these two key manifestations of British pop art, and this article will not go into staking out new ground within this dispute. The work of Anne Massey is pivotal here, with her initial study on the IG attempting to situate the group in a more complex web of nuanced tensions between various modernisms, avant-gardes and strands of popular culture exemplified by a British vernacular, a British 'imposed' style as embodied in the Festival of Britain, and an encroaching American popular culture.[4] Instead, I examine both strands of British pop art alongside British fairground art.

Fairground art is clearly an aspect of popular culture, an autonomous tradition serving a general audience that initially evaded the critical dialogues and financial circulations of high art.[5] At the same time, it is dynamic and experimental, breaking away from the strictures of other realms of popular art. Furthermore, it serves as 'the repository of the public imagination, the guardian of its favourite heroes and heroines, the reflection of its aspirations, its desires and its nightmares', moving it further away from a simple and naïve classification.[6] Fairground artists worked strictly within the realm of the popular by both plundering popular culture and creating popular culture, creating art without celebrity authorship, without expectations of longevity, historification or insertion into the cultural canon, an art to be used, abused, celebrated and discarded by a general public. These attributes are at times confusingly claimed by pop art, but how do they measure up when set alongside fairground art? The two strands of British pop art each had a different relationship to fairground art, in what I call *collision* in the case of the IG and *collusion* in the case of Blake. Whilst this difference can possibly be taken as fuel towards staking out or buttressing a certain historiography, my main intention is to show that both shared a vagueness of acknowledgement towards the fairground art method, and this then presents a mode of critiquing pop art in general.

My argument will be presented as follows: first, I will look at the IG (as both a coherent group and a post-group coherent influence) and specifically explore their attempts to disrupt modes of viewing within the gallery installation space, secondly I will give a detailed account of the early pop art work of Peter Blake and extend the consideration of his work as a translocation from folk realm to gallery, and finally I will examine the tradition of British fairground art in its own right and draw more parallels to pop art in general on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Independent Group and an excess of vision

The first instalment of British pop art emerged from the 1952 formation of the IG, a group of artists, architects and critics associated with the ICA in its

formative years. The emphasis of this group was on discussion and critical dialogue, with early output by artists Eduardo Paolozzi and Richard Hamilton evoking the urgent and inherent call out of slumber that embodied work by politicized collage artists.[7] The IG were striking out from the post-war British life that had been marked by austerity and the tensions within the Festival of Britain celebrations of 1951, and was now being shaped by US popular culture and high-tech gadgetry. Whereas this Americanization spurred a new critical foundation set in place by F.R. Leavis, and taken further in 1957 with Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy*,[8] the IG worked against this reflex action tendency, leaning more towards affirmation and approbation, treating material as a 'cult cargo'.[9] This approach, then, hypostasized the key difference between British and US pop art in their relationships with commodity culture. Britain in the 1950s was stricken with an underlying drabness that enforced an initial bedazzlement and subsequent critical reading of US commodity culture, whilst America itself was moored in a kind of glibness of gloss and excess.

A significant part of the IG's cultural response to the times was formulated around two London exhibitions: 1953's 'Parallel of Life and Art' hosted at the ICA, and 1956's 'This is Tomorrow' hosted at the Whitechapel Gallery. The first exhibition was instigated and curated by an extant and active IG, whilst the second exhibition occurred after the dissolution of the group but included dedicated environments curated by ex-members of the IG.[10] Both these exhibitions attempted to engulf the visitor within the popular culture minutely analysed as part of the subject matter. It is at this presentational or beholder-experiential level that I propose a collision with the fairground. There are two parallels to draw with the fairground, and in the first instance they can be separated out as a visual mechanism of disruption and a wider sense of general (multi-sensory) disorientation. The fairground effectively nests these experiences in a recursive or monadological structure; however, they are unpacked serendipitously with the two exhibitions.

The first exhibition, 'Parallel of Life and Art' (Figure 1) reproduced a multitude of images derived from technical drawings and popular culture in crude facsimile forms, hanging material in an unorthodox arrangement described by Cooke as 'a seamless, encompassing, heterarchical melange'.[11] Walsh records the use of 'multiple perspectives, ambiguous picture planes and conflicting spatio-temporal relations',[12] such that it created an environment described by Massey as 'polemical... it challenged the viewer's perception of what was beautiful and worthy of inclusion in an art gallery'.[13] This exhibition has recently been considered in regard to the IG's experimentation with visuality and sense-making, with the attack on gestalt being framed on both sides of resolvability. According to Hornsey, the annihilation between figure and ground, set out as an anti-gestalt, can be resolved in the sense of a Hegelian dialectic to provoke an 'evolved gestalt' or it can remain for ever unresolved in the Bataillean dialectical sense of negativity without return.[14] Highmore offers such a reading, considering the visual environment of 'Parallel of Life and Art' as consisting of 'scuttling, scurrying, serpentine looking... a restless visuality'.[15]

I counterpose the image of the exhibition awaiting visitors with a recent image of a fairground stall shown to accentuate the overwhelming anti-gestalt of disposable fairground prizes (Figure 2). These prizes, referred to as 'swag' or 'bunce' in the fairground (and market) trade, are part of the fabric of the British fairground experience, and their display in the form of a vibrant cloud of ephemeral cultural clutter is a staple unit of the layout, which extends back to the early fairgrounds. Stalls will either occupy centre ground (traditionally, a round stall) or side ground (traditionally, a side stall) and involve a game of skill or chance. The games will evolve from year to year, with some standard fairground favourites such as hook-a-duck competing with games that fleetingly mirror icons from popular culture – Disney characters etc. Branding and signage will also reflect popular films such that a hoop-la stall might be fashioned as *Lord of the Rings* for a couple of seasons whilst the feature film of the same name enjoys popularity. The prizes, arranged with the biggest (and seemingly unwinnable) objects at closest proximity, also reflect popular culture and crazes, with Figure 2 showing Minion figures, Peppa Pig and giant Rubik's Cubes as part of a mélange of objects.[16] As with 'Parallel of Life and Art', objects are hung at every conceivable angle (the inflatable snowman with a carrot nose hangs inverted at the top centre of the image).

'Parallel of Life and Art' actually employs two strikes at disorientation, if we think about gestalt on a wider level. Discussion so far refers to the figure and ground of the visual object-in-itself, enacted as a direct visual mechanism stemming from the IG's fascination with points of connection between what Wilson describes as both different images and different versions of the same images.[17] It is possible to consider also the figure

Figure 2. Fairground round stall with prizes, Sheffield, 2015. Photograph by author.

and ground of the perceived space of the gallery, in that introducing everyday objects automatically reverses the figure and ground in terms of included/excluded elements of sense-making of the space itself. Schafer applies this argument to the inclusion of previously excluded noise by allegorizing Duchamp's famous unveiling of his urinal.[18] Whilst the subject matter of art and commodities could thus possibly be annihilated in the mind of the visitor as part of some kind of meeting point between the anti-gestalt of an infinitely expansive car-boot sale and the situationist critique of the spectacle, I would argue that the visitor's experience-in-itself of the exhibition (physically being in the room) would only be disrupted with regard to the norms of being in a gallery space (and not disoriented in the greater sense of losing a grip on their own bearings). Osterwold suggests similar by stating 'It was more like an Environment than an exhibition, for the visitor was forced to make his own way through its perplexing arrangement of exhibits and to make his own decisions about where to stand, how to look and what to think'.[19]

The ex-IG Group 2 installation within 'This is Tomorrow' went for the next level of multisensory disorientation, using a jukebox of pop records competing with amplified pre-recorded sounds of past visitors to the exhibition, alongside aromatic interventions activated by visitors. Banham offers a contemporaneous description of the Group 2 installation, describing how the trio 'employed optical illusions, scale reversions, oblique structures and fragmented images to disrupt stock responses and put the viewer back on a tabula rasa of individual responsibility for his own atomized sensory awareness of images of only local and contemporary significance'.[20] In another review, Drew remarks that 'the next

stand, with juke box and poster, mechanical man and sensory display, is funfair stuff as though part of Whitechapel was let into the exhibition by mistake.'[21] The whole arrangement of this exhibition veered towards the enclosed and magical world of the fairground, with specific singularized illusions repeated throughout within a greater housing of noise and chaos. It was here that the disorientation extended from a sense of expectation of the place ('This does not feel like a gallery') towards a sense of rootedness on the ground itself (dizziness, confusion, loss of sense of direction, discomfort). The fairground uses such methods in the aforementioned recursive and monadological structure; fairground stalls present themselves singularly as instances of anti-gestalt but in addition their close proximity, curved structures and repeating modes of decoration mean that a sense of direction is quickly lost.[22] In terms of the visual experience of the navigated spatial, the fairground can best be described as a labyrinth imprinted upon a Möbius strip. On top of this we have dissonant 'smellscapes' (typically diesel fuel and fried onions), a gustatory excess (fast foods and bright sweets) and a legitimized cacophony made from overlaid but unsynchronized beat music, microphone patter, machine groans and human screams. Thus, it is no surprise that Osterwald says of 'This is Tomorrow' that, 'spatial distortions and unusual formats gave the exhibition the character of a fairground'.[23]

I will return to the IG's manifesto for pop art in the conclusion of the article, but now I will examine the second strand of British pop art through the work of Peter Blake.

Peter Blake and translocated folk

The IG's call to arms stemmed from the proliferation of new cultural goods and icons, and was matched by the birth of the teenager and the teddy boy, quickly leading to bifurcation into mods and rockers, and so on through the 1960s. It would be this subcultural frisson set against the drabness of post-war life in the UK that would grab Blake and his pop art RCA contemporaries. The mode of engagement here is clearly immersive and celebratory in the first instance, against the more cerebral approach adopted by the IG, resulting in an iconological bias within the IG against an iconographical bias with the RCA crowd. Blake and his pop artists were primarily fans and consumers of the cultural environment of advertising and pop music, working in an autobiographical and semi-archival manner.

Against Hebdige, who creates a commonly accepted reading of pop art by categorizing it into stages, running from the IG through to the RCA, is Seago, who challenges this and unpicks a thread through the pages of the RCA in-house publication *Ark*, which saw a shared space and sketching out of a transition between the IG-era and the Blake/RCA era.[24] There is a marked difference between the work of the IG (gestational) and Blake/RCA (dominant) that can be interpreted on various fronts – the cerebral versus celebratory dichotomy in terms of the material output, the devolvement of artistic ethos and its replacement by a cool detachment, and

the nature of the all-pervasive commodity and the attempt to incorporate a mode of critiquing this state of affairs. Pop art draws the commodity from popular culture into the realm of high art, and in doing so produces high art that is apparently transmuted into the commodity from whence it came. This chiastic tension, commodity as art and art as commodity, can be approached from either direction with different intentions and results. Blake played along with this tension and set out a distancing from the IG's output and activity, attending 'This is Tomorrow' just before heading off on his tour to study European folk art traditions and commenting 'That was Yesterday'.[25]

In 1961, the newcomer director Ken Russell produced a short film for the BBC series 'Monitor' on British pop art, showcasing four artists: Peter Blake, Pauline Boty, Derek Boshier and Peter Phillips.[26] Russell's documentary on pop art was called *Pop Goes the Easel* and is a cleverly produced film that emerges as part documentary and part fictional narrative, shot through with cut-ups from popular culture that form a dialogue with the film's narration and 'documentary-side' production.[27] This method best illustrates the pop art that the documentary sets out to describe, by directly becoming part of the pop art itself in terms of celebrating, plundering and re-using outlying popular culture.[28]

The introduction of the programme by Huw Wheldon (seated in front of a backdrop of massed pop and film cut out images) includes a few words of warning about the upstart nature of pop art, and then moves to a general introduction to each artist. Blake is narrated as being 'in some sense, the leader of the group' and we then switch to a short segment of Blake engrossed in sawing up a door as preparation for one of his works. He is filmed on what appears to be the back porch of a bedsit room, the mood of authenticity, rootedness and engagement (with a possible ironic nod) is indicated by a line of washing drying in view inside the house. However, the mood of the film quickly changes to a montage of comic books, pop stars, film stars, dance sensations and hip dialogue, with the opening sequence taking place on an unspecified fairground.[29] This is clearly a key gesture that situates British pop art as celebrating and plundering iconography from the British fairground tradition.

The filming of the fairground scenes uses a fast cut between key images and activities. This opens with an underside view of the Big Wheel carriages in slow rotation, emphasizing a simple Op art pattern, followed by a longer view of the four artists walking and talking alongside the revolving Gallopers, excitedly pointing out things off view from the camera. They pass by a small juvenile ride decorated with elaborate toys and fine rounding boards in the classical fairground style, and then we are shown a brief image of the sun-burst pattern as part of the Dodgems trellis and v-bracket architecture, before the camera resumes its coverage of the four artists each driving a Dodgem car. A distinct nod to Blake's work is flashed on the screen with a glimpse of an unidentified child eating a sweet, the camera dropping to show a sweater adorned with club badges as used in many of the semi-autobiographical early works by Blake. The four artists are next depicted hurling wooden balls in a classic coconut sheet and then pushing coins into arcade machines, with a close view of the illuminated panels of

stars and numbers making a clear link of influence. Next up is footage of the Calypso ride shown going through its twisting motion to mimic the dance moves, with the camera panning forward to three of the artists sitting on the front steps sharing a cigarette.[30] The missing artist, Blake, is briefly shown sketching a pair of clowns preparing make-up and costume. Phillips is then filmed walking and intently observing, with a switch to a montage of classic modernist fairground art, including a centre section with exploding design and the winged Mercury figure on a handrail as part of the Swirl ride, the camera then cutting to Blake and Boty screaming as they ride the Swirl at great speed. The final scene of this section unites all the artists in a shooting side stall, with the film intercut with clips of a cowboy film star seemingly returning fire. The artists conclude their business and walk away from the stall clutching and studying the results of their marksmanship in the form of small paper targets, another pop art reference.

According to Rudd, Blake's method of working draws heavily on 'nourishment from his immediate environment' under a dictum of 'no separation between his art and his life' which, when set against his working-class background and immersion in the popular culture of the time, shows clearly his fairground influences.[31] Nonetheless, it is important to draw out a distinction between Blake's much celebrated and continued recycling of the nostalgic past of the fairground and something different – the taking on of the practice of the contemporary fairground artist. The first recorded work in the fairground vein is from 1948 and consists of a lithographic experiment depicting a fairground boxing booth. This is followed by two works from 1949 (produced when Blake was seventeen and starting out at Gravesend School of Art); *Lord George Sanger's Circus Poster*, which depicts a poster for the circus, presumably imagined by Blake himself since it is clearly not in the style of circus 'blanks' in use at the time, and *Fairground Booths* which depicts a line of indeterminate stalls all based upon a bucket game with a vague sign proclaiming 'Joe Welcomes U'. [32] Both of these works show evidence of the axonometric distortion that would characterize Blake's later autobiographical portraits.

It is worth spending a minute considering the fairground and circus scenes in the vicinity of Kent around the end of the 1940s. Blake and his family would have access to the large array of London fairs including regular events held on Blackheath. These fairs would be embracing the modernistic flavour that had started to sweep through fairs in the years leading up to the Second World War. The showmen operating in Kent were remarkable in that they presented something of a time capsule fair that prevailed right into the 1970s, with showmen such as the Tonbridge-based Teddy Andrews.

His early pleasures as a young boy collecting toys and visiting the cinema were interrupted by the war and consequent evacuation to the country, and the scars from this rupture would work their way through into his early drawings and paintings. These works, understood by Compton as autobiographical, identify bold techniques and ciphers that are often missed as part of Blake's association with his main work as a pop artist immersed in nostalgia.[33] For example, there is an unsettling

axonometric distortion in many of these pictures, plus a recurring theme of an eye either missing, patched over, hidden or made different within the context of the work.[34]

The cessation of the war would see Blake resume his close relationship with his mother and re-immerse himself in the entertainment worlds of wrestling, fairs and circuses. The other key event contributing to his confidence in working with the iconography of fairs and circuses would be his exposure to the writer and teacher Enid Marx, who was an early champion of the popular arts and an associated joyous and sometimes unsophisticated style that permeated signwriting in these and other domains. Whilst Rudd unflatteringly suggests that Blake took on a manner that assumed the 'cack-handedness of a second-rate sign writer', it is clear that a fairground signwriting influence persisted at a number of levels; Blake was inspired to plunder by the fairground art form, he plundered as the fair plundered, and finally he plundered from the fair itself.[35]

It is important here to stress this delineation between the nostalgic fairground and the contemporary fairground within Blake's work, since both modes tend to overlap and merge into a single reading of Blake as a nostalgic activist. I briefly mentioned the 1951 exhibition 'Black Eyes and Lemonade', co-curated by Barbara Jones and Tom Ingram, and this coincides with Jones' important book *The Unsophisticated Arts*, recently reprinted with a foreword by Blake. Both the exhibition and the book are part of what Massey calls 'A glut of publications [that] celebrated traditional British rural crafts and ways of life. These included barge painting, tattooing, circuses, gypsies, fairground decoration and patchwork quilts. The texts celebrated the organic, community-based crafts of the pre-industrial cottage dweller and denigrated contemporary, American mass culture'.[36] Jones was an RCA student in the 1930s, attending the decade before Enid Marx, but both had a strangely nostalgic view of fairground art. Whilst 'Black Eyes and Lemonade' included various contemporary manifestations of more dynamic folk arts (famously a fireplace based upon an Airedale terrier), Jones implicates a kind of caesura for fairground art. This is carried through in *The Unsophisticated Arts* with a focus on Gallopers, Scenics and the fairground organ, all remnants at the time of the book's publication.[37] The painted tradition and the birth of faster roundabouts from the 1930s do not figure in Jones' purview, and it is insightful to note that this is dismissed by the author as 'dullness'.[38]

Figure 3 shows Blake's classic pop art breakthrough work *Got a Girl* (1960–61) and, in presenting this alongside Figure 4 showing a typical example of an uncredited and contemporaneous fairground artwork, I draw out various aspects of symmetry that are clearly nothing to do with a nostalgic reawakening. First, the overwhelming presence of a crude and bright pattern forming the basis of the artwork structure, secondly the weary and used look on both the wood and the paint that comes as natural on the fairground but is deliberately recreated by Blake, and finally the presence of a gallery of pop icons in a demarcated space

Figure 3. Pete Blake *Got A Girl* (1960–61), Oil paint, wood, photo-collage and record on hardboard, 94 × 154.9 × 4.2 cm. The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester.

above the pattern.[39] It is usually the novelty of *Got a Girl* that overrides a possible deeper reading of the work as a reimagined piece of fairground art. The work incorporates the novel idea of containing a physical vinyl record which can be played such that the lyrics of the song (by the group the Four Preps) speaks of the pop stars whose photographic souvenirs Blake repurposes.

Blake's work interacted with all points on the spectrum of fairground art, from the 'cack-handed' to the stunning and accomplished work of the uncelebrated fairground greats.[40] Fairground art's circumstance of production and mode of existence are clearly echoed in Blake's work: it draws from contemporary popular culture with an unforgiving sense of immediacy, possesses an incredibly clever use of space and restriction through lettering and geometric forms, and exhibits a scarred and rich patina that reflects its openness to all and ephemeral nature. Compton describes Blake's approach as 'paint[ing] in brown colours that suggest old paint which has sunk, darkened or even flaked off and been retouched. Such signs of age, wear and damage are clearly deliberate imperfections but seem to me to be marks of affection as well'.[41] This can be loosely framed in the post-formalist school of thought with the term 'meta-opti-cality', rooted in the notion of facture which, according to Summers, considers an artefact 'as a record of its own having been made'.[42] The metaoptical aspects of fairground art – primarily the deep weathering of work, the heavy varnish to ward off weathering and exposure, the revelation of layers underneath indicating a relentless re-painting and ephemerality – form a record not only of how this art is made but why this art is made, the public context of its use and appreciation.

Compton, like many commentators on Blake's hectic pop art period, fails to pursue the obvious links to fairground art, leaving this mysterious realm unexplored. However, fairground art's awkward (at times unwanted) status within the dialogue and discipline of art criticism

Figure 4. Pay-box back section from Harry Hall's Waltzer, Nottingham Goose Fair, circa 1960, artist unknown, photograph David Braithwaite Collection, National Fairground Archive, University of Sheffield Library.

meant that coherent discussion of links between these two realms was caged with oddly derived distancing measures, such as the suggestion that Blake's work resembled 'found' fairground art. This concept appears in at least two works; Collins describes this work as something that could 'pass for actual, found, examples of fairground art',[43] whilst Livingstone describes Blake's work as 'an elaborate illusion of a found object'.[44] This strange situational distancing of the fairground allegory effectively puts the fairground as a community out of reach, such that remnants of fairground art cannot be obtained in any other way than serendipitous happening upon. Monem offers a clearer link between pop art and the fairground, but includes fairground art with a peculiar lowly and garish quality ('saturated, hyperbolic images and environments') rather than an actual thing with history and artists.[45] Finally, Walker achieves something more acknowledging of the fairground as he offers a reading that fluctuates between a high art and popular art influence: 'below the photographs appeared brightly coloured, geometric, abstract designs influenced by American "hard-edge" painting and by the decorative schemes of fairground art. The result was a somewhat uneasy mixture of abstraction and representation, photography and painting'.[46]

Unsophisticated and anonymous

The British fairground is a long-standing tradition, embodying magical qualities of the temporary and transient.[47] It arrives overnight, situates itself within the heart of regular space and regular flow, disrupts the flow of time with carnival, and then disappears to 'somewhere else'. The fairground, in terms of its structural ensemble (shows, rides, stalls), its preferences within each 'type' (fast rides, technological rides, classic rides) and its aesthetic expression and methods (preferred materials, vernacular extremities, painted styles) has a dynamic that evolves such that particular identities emerge within particular countries. The British fairground grew through significant stages to attain a strong visual style that would have enchanted a punter such as the young Peter Blake in the 1940s and 1950s. Fairground artists gradually established small localities of business, extending skills from other folk arts such as signwriting. An industrial revolution grabbed the fairground at the tail end of the Victorian era, introducing large fairground rides offering simulating experiences such as horse riding and driving early motor vehicles. This predominance of large machinery began to displace the fairground show, but side-shows remained a fixture of the fair right up until the 1960s, forming a key structural aspect of the fair by acting as an enclosing boundary. The fairground developed a modernist ethos by offering an affordable simulation of the modernist developments coursing through society at the time. A further phase change occurred in the 1930s with the need for speed echoing on the fairground such that the simulation of a fast object (a motorbike) required a fast fairground ride. This meant that the first generation of fairground art, predominated by ornate carved work, gave way to a stripped-down look that necessitated clever painting of smooth surfaces.[48]

The fairground artist Fred Fowle, beginning work in the 1930s as part of the Lakin company in London, and resuming painting after the war in partnership with Billy Hall (before working on his own), can be considered as the most accomplished and innovative post-war fairground artist. The art of the fair in the modernist era demanded a new look within a conformity to fairground, and it is from within this conundrum that Fowle created an exciting new dynamic of English fairground art, earning him the nickname 'Futuristic Fred'. Fowle saw the need to challenge fairground art that might be set in an iconographic rut, to link it to a fast-moving and almost stroboscopic bombardment of visual culture that had grabbed the attention of the Independent Group. He created a double dynamic: fairground art that was always developing new ideas and patterns so that it changed 'in-itself', while, at the same time, looked to capture aspects of popular culture so that it changed its connotations – new music and dance crazes, packaged goods, sci-fi and comics. This meant that fairground art moved away from the folk art world as characterized by Jones and towards popular culture.[49]

Weedon and Gorham is the first article to look at fairground art outside the realms of popular art,[50] and present a study that chimes with the climate of graphic design and commercial packaging. It is within this

Figure 5. OMO washing
powder packaging,
photograph David Skinner.

dynamic and volatile framework that a symbiotic relationship with pop art can be considered, and the authors point out links between the fairground and what they describe as 'Bond Street artists like Peter Blake and Peter Phillips and designers like Binder, Edwards and Vaughan'.[51] They go on to describe Fowle as a 'true pop artist'.

The art of the fairground must merge into wider sensory realms if it is to fulfil its function, performing the task of suspending disbelief through spatial means (repeating motifs on curved structures provoking disorientation) and synesthetic means (Fowle developed fairground styles that brought to life the subcultural music genres heard on the fairground). It moves from iconographical to iconological, as can be seen with Figures 5 and 6, which show how the OMO motif is reworked to produce connotations of explosive thrill.[52] The output of the fairground artist is then placed amongst contrasting works (contemporary versus anachronistic) without care – breaking the rules of engagement for both fine art and the gallery system *and* the advertising system. Weedon and Ward celebrate this mismatch of classic, modern and 'slipped modern' images, describing the 'proximity of a charioteer, a motorcyclist and a lion on an extension front'.[53] Whilst juxtapositional techniques were used by early pop artists, there are key differences. US artist James Rosenquist provides a good comparison point between fairground art and pop art. Rosenquist, whose background is a working career in billboard painting, used both stark juxtaposition and disorienting shifts of scale with works such as *I Love You With My Ford* (1961). Such techniques of deliberately disrupting scale would not be practised on fairgrounds, with artists using perspective to allow a montage of speeding devices such as motorcycles and fighter planes to be sharing space on an extension front (the fairground equivalent to a billboard). Of course, perspectival technique was not always achieved and examples of distorted scale were not uncommon.

Figure 6. Fairground Swirl
car decorated by Fred Fowle,
Hull Fair, 1985. Photograph
by author.

Plundering as a technique was crucial for Fowle's development of post-1930s fairground art, forming an undisputable link between the fairground artist and the pop artist. His first introduction task at Lakins in 1930 was to paint a repeating Mickey Mouse figure around a fairground stall, a neat coincidence with Roy Lichtenstein, who initiated his 'iconography of the low' with the painting of Disney characters on *Look Mickey* (1961). The theme of matched plundering continues, with Weedon and Ward suggesting that the first example of commercial plundering on the fairground occurred as a result of showman John Green and artist Herbert Darby's reworking of a Britannia figure from a bottle of Dewar's whiskey in 1918; a chance symmetry to the pop art scene half a century later with Peter Blake's reworking of the Dewar stag for his *Monarch of the Glen* (1965–68).[54]

Fowle is described as having a magpie's eye as he went about his everyday business in the world of burgeoning commodities and popular films and music, but he was the last person you would class as exuding either the 'cool' of Blake's RCA crowd or the critical invariance of the IG. Fowle was a resolutely working-class man who took great pride in his work and was keen to share his time and passions for fairground art with people whom he considered genuinely interested. His admiration for his early painting partner Edwin Hall gives an example of what Fowle considers to be good and proper art. Hall painted in the era immediately before Fowle developed his futuristic style, focusing on classic images of jungle hunt scenes, Ben Hur chariot races and motor-sports actions scenes, a style that Fowle found difficult to reproduce. This indicates Fowle's interest and exposure to the classical canon of art as not extending to avant-garde or modernist practices, instead admiring what might be considered as perfect renderings of sublime subjects. As a working-class man Fowle was of course exposed to the 'avant-garde' of graphic design with advertising and pop culture perpetually enforced within his orbit. He would rework elements into new

fairground artworks, build up repeating motifs, and draw together disparate elements to create borders and backgrounds that resonated with popular culture and advertising stock. Elements may be cleverly disguised, seemingly forming an apparent background, registering as cultural and commercial iconography at a subconscious level.[55] Significant iconography plundered by Fowle includes the strong dimension and spotlight style developed for the 20th Century Fox symbol (incorporated into both lettering and pattern), the Esso tiger that leaps from the two-dimensional surface, Frank Hampson's Dan Dare figure with its associated lunar landscapes and packaging from everyday products.[56]

Conclusion

In presenting the first collection of writing on pop art that tries to disentangle the art from its rootedness in a world of jokes and frippery, Russell and Gablik try to specifically redress the US scene, where the encroaching onset of conceptual art was about to assign pop to something resembling a contemporary glitch.[57] Although the book is built around a 1969 exhibition at London's Hayward Gallery, it is interesting that British pop art is side-lined as not being worth recovering; the authors declaring it as suffering from being narrative and picturesque (Blake), too autobiographical (Hockney) or deliberately subliminal and multi-focused (Paolozzi). Whilst pop art refuses to go away the British scene remains fractured along the same lines, with Blake consigned to whimsy and nostalgia, and the IG feeding back into a voracious machine of trying to re-assess and re-evaluate critical strategy.

In terms of implications for art and its critical engagement, pop art is often seen as a thorn in the side. It fluctuates between the confrontational, the scurrilous, and the simply disarmed and anaesthetized state of the modern spectacle. It is cast aside by those harbingers of the 'end of art', the situationists, as simply an indication of the present state of crisis in art; Martin describing it as nothing more than a 'pseudo-freedom presented to a civilization of affluence whose only purpose is bedazzlement'.[58] Elsewhere, Sadler tries to go back in time and produce a symbiosis between the IG and the situationist project, but concedes difficulty in a gulf of critical reflection on pop, marking the IG's work as lacking in seriousness and confrontation when set against the requirements and discipline he attributes to the situationists.[59] Furthermore, they proposed a negation of pop art, describing it as 'materially and ideologically characterized by indifference and dull complacency'.

The situationists predictably set up camp beyond the extreme edge of criticism and dismissal; however pop art remains something of a perennial critical entity, as shown in the discussions reworked in this article. Whilst I have, at times, focused on what is an internecine squabble between schools of art, there is a wider discussion of whether pop art is a challenge to the system of art, as to whether it is merely another form of art that sells itself on its apparent presentation of a challenge, or whether, by selling itself as presenting a challenge, it actually presents

a challenge. There is a tendency to situate the potential radical kernel of pop art as a *mise-en-abyme* in this reflecting sequence of mirrors.

Hamilton set down a manifesto of stark and discrete terms to declare a meaning of visual mass culture from the outset – popular, transient, expendable, low-cost, mass-produced, young, witty, sexy, gimmicky, glamorous, and big business – fusing attribution and intention in the spirit of engagement and confrontation. This manifesto is commonly reproduced in most works on pop art and, as pointed out by Massey, has now become a checklist of pop art itself.[60] However, what I wish to draw out is how all these terms are resonant with fairground art; popular (by its very nature), transient (it both moves around from place to place with the fair and as art within the fair), expendable (it comes and goes in itself with regard to being painted over), low-cost (fairground artists are not thought of in a sanctified capacity, if indeed they are thought of at all), mass-produced (an image will be repeated around a circular ride and then intertextually bleed over into other rides), young (it needs to engage the hip teenager), witty (it is an illusion that we are all in on), sexy (of course), gimmicky (again, its essence), glamorous (of a kind) and finally big business (it is everywhere and freely available, though *perhaps* this is not the big business that Hamilton had in mind).

Blake and the next school of pop artists discarded the critical imperative of the IG, but still traded on various disregards of rules and structures. Blake (and to a large extent the US pop artists) drew source from the popular, or the ontology of the low, by landing on both the apparently spectacular (pop music figures, etc.) or the spectacularization of the seemingly mundane (advertisements).[61] Again, fairground art was already working within this remit: the borrowing of crude sources, copying, mocking, celebrating, the embrace of advertising (the making glamorous of the mundane – for example OMO washing powder) and, most importantly, the production of new popular culture bereft of authorship and exclusivity. For critics of pop art outside the political posturings of the situationists, we can perhaps see here the true differences between pop art and fair art. As O'Brien suggests, pop art 'flirted with popularity… but in the end it was the same old art world of the precious original'.[62]

This revelation of the illusion between what pop art seemingly aspired to be, and what it actually might be, is further borne out with the cold reception that psychedelic art received as the next 'ism' following pop art. Psychedelic art emerged quickly on the tail of pop art and op art, and its framing within the canon of art, or to put it more bluntly its refusal to be admitted within the canon, is not without significance in the wider understanding of where fairground art and pop art intersect – considered as perhaps 'ships that pass in the night'. If the evolution and hybridization of art is modelled in a phylogenetic structure (or rhizomatic, if we wish to de-emphasize the hierarchical and teleological) then psychedelic art is cut off and cast aside, considered almost as an ontogenetic singularity, a self-contained mutation that almost (but not quite) drags op art into the same category of exclusion. However, psychedelic art was embraced by the fairground art movement with Fowle once again a key activist, creating a wealth of new artworks that flourished during

the heyday of psychedelia and, in cases where showmen were unable to afford a repainting of their equipment, lingered as a garish but celebrated anachronism, emphasizing the key difference between pop art attitudes and fairground art attitudes.

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Notes

1 Marquis, *The Pop Revolution*, 43 reports De Kooning as the only representative of the abstract expressionist movement who attended the new realist exhibition of 1962 that set down a line in the sand between the old guard and the new pop artists. He is recalled as pacing up and down for two hours before leaving without a word. It is then said he was turned away from the after party by host Emily Tremaine. This can be interpreted as the artist's effectively erasing himself in the way that Rauschenberg erased the drawing.

2 Some spectatorial crossover did occur. For example, Richard Hamilton visited New York and reworked a segment of a poster reproducing Lichtenstein's work *Crying Girl* (1963) for his own work *A Little bit of Roy Lichtenstein for…* (1964). Hamilton would use the facticity of Lichtenstein's work to further his own enquiries into perception and visual transformations. British artist Gerald Laing, essentially out on a limb from the rump of pop artists at the Royal College of Art, went to New York in 1963 and was embraced by the US artists, resulting in his moving to the city.

3 Tate Modern recently presented *The EY Exhibition: The World Goes Pop* which shifted the focus of pop art beyond the axis of the US and British scenes.

4 See Massey, *The Independent Group*, with particular regard to Chapter 8, which sets out the 'historiography and hagiology' of the IG, detailing a laser-etched path to (and from) the past with a singular pop narrative that treats the IG as 'an empty sign on to which any preoccupation or enthusiasm can be projected' (ibid., 210). Massey, *Out of the Ivory Tower*, 12, continues this development of ideas against a flood tide of pop historicism such that 'the 21st century explosion of information has meant that accepted narratives are reproduced again and again in different media, which serves to reinforce their apparent validity'. Her approach is closer to a cultural archaeology, to understanding the IG through a 'link sideways across the cultural continuum' (ibid., 10), a careful and detailed synchronic reading against a vexed and unreliable diachronic reading.

5 Contemporary fairground art debuted in the art gallery with the Whitechapel exhibition *The Fairground* in winter 1977. The curation and reception of this exhibition is part of further current research by the author. My focus in this article is the parallel between emergent pop art and established fairground practices, detailing the period between the late 1950s and early 1960s. A symptom of pop's parallel with fairground art would be the gradual drawing in of fairground art to a new circulatory system of collecting and exhibiting, even though fairground artists continued painting for fairgrounds (and not for buyers and collectors). An important event before the period I am focusing on here is 'Black Eyes and Lemonade', also held at Whitechapel as a kind of diffusion event to the 1951 Festival of Britain. This displayed aspects of fairground art but, as I will argue later in the article, it was a very specific fairground art from a past period.

6 The definition comes from Geoff Weedon's article 'All the Art of the Fair' in *Sunday Times* colour supplement August 30, 1981. As a side note it is almost inevitable to see current fairground art depicting earlier fairground art in a parallel to Borges' 1939 essay 'When Fiction Lives in Fiction' and the latter's influence on conceptual art (see Morgan, *Joan Jonas*, 73).

7 Honnef, *Pop Art*, 15, suggests a 'firmament of commercial imagery' linking Hamilton to the previous generation of politicized collage artists such as John Heartfield, whilst suggesting that his key work *Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?* can be considered as an 'aesthetic watershed'. Harrison, *Young Meteors*, 22, details Henderson's photographic interest in the vernacular collaging of working-class shop fronts and markets.

8 Hoggart is accused of clinging to a 'picturesque peasantry' (Banham, 'Coronation Street, Hoggartsborough'), retaining what Moran, *Interdisciplinarity*, 50 calls 'the old Leavisite distinction between "good" and "bad" folk culture'.

9 Francis and Foster, *Pop*, 18; Foster, *The First Pop Age*, 21 also details Hamilton's Duchampian 'ironism of affirmation' with regard to popular culture.

10 'This is Tomorrow' was based on twelve triples of architect-painter-sculptor making thirty-six participants. Alloway, 'This Is Tomorrow', 303, describes the arrangement such that 'different channels are allowed to compete as well as to complement each other, just as, it was suggested, the members of antagonistic co-operative groups compete' invoking an early form of what philosopher Jacques Ranciere might call a 'dissensus'. Massey, *The Independent Group*, 97, classes 'This is Tomorrow' as a 'continuing collaboration' of the IG, with twelve of the thirty-six participants being ex-IG (this is slightly confusing as Alison and Peter Smithson form a single architect node in one of the triples). The key ex-IG environments are the Henderson / Paolozzi / Smithsons creation of a crude and rough living-space, and the Group 2 triple of Hamilton / Jan Voelcker / John McHale, who create what is often taken to be the key aspect of the exhibition with their proto-pop installation. It is this Group 2 installation that I focus on in this article.

11 Cooke, 'The Independent Group', 193.

12 Walsh, 'Reordering and Redistributing the Visual', 226.

13 Massey, *The Independent Group*, 57.

14 Hornsey, 'The Independent Group Looks at London's West End Prints', 299.

15 Highmore, 'Brutalist Wallpaper and the Independent Group', 218.

16 Prizes evolve through time and the current trend is for 'plush' toys licensed from various cartoon franchises. Toys are created cheaply in China and imported as 'skins' which are then stuffed in the warehouses of UK distributers and sold through trade magazines and newspapers.

17 Wilson, *Swingeing London 67(f)*, 98.

18 Schafer, *The Soundscape*, 111.

19 Osterwold, *Pop Art*, 69.

20 Banham, 'This Is Tomorrow', 188.

21 Drew, 'This is To-morrow', 833. This is another point at which the 1977 Whitechapel exhibition 'The Fairground' can be mentioned: contemporary reviews of that exhibition described the outside world of Whitechapel as coming in to the gallery. It is important to realize that the Whitechapel area at the time was the environment of abject poverty and desolation, as shown in the photographic surveys of Don McCullin taken in the 1960s.

22 See Braithwaite, *Fairground Architecture* and Starsmore, *English Fairs*, for detailed considerations of the architectural nature of the fairground, with a re-engagement by Walker, 'Centre or Periphery' and 'Illusory Objects'.

23 Osterwold, *Pop Art*, 71.

24 Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light*, 120; Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things*, 156, looks at the inclusion of work by Alloway and Banham in *Ark* (late 1955), suggesting a 'second run' of IG ideas. Peter Blake is introduced as a rising prospect in 1956, and by 1962 the magazine was fully part of the new pop art scene with work by Peter Phillips and Derek Boshier to the fore. This period linked directly to the birth of the Sunday colour magazine with features on Blake, pop art and mods in early editions. Harrison, *Young Meteors*, 78, lists the debut dates for the *Sunday Times, Telegraph* and *Observer* colour magazines.

25 Livingstone, *Peter Blake*, 38. He also suggests (page 43) that Blake responded to the 'Modern Art in the United States' exhibition (also held in 1956 and seen as the counterpoint to 'This is Tomorrow') with a more positive outlook.

26 Russell had previously filmed action painter William Green in 1958 using a bicycle and various unorthodox methods to create an artwork. The film was broadcast on the BBC *Tonight* programme and gained a degree of notoriety, being lampooned by Tony Hancock in his 1961 film *The Rebel*.

27 The film was broadcast on the BBC on 25 March 1962 and I would suggest it was filmed principally through 1961, although it is mentioned variously as being both filmed and broadcast in 1961 and 1962 in the numerous works on Blake and British pop art. *Pop Goes the Easel* was not without the controversy its futuristic style and edgy content evinced, with distinct motifs that would populate Russell's later (and equally controversial) film works. See http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/ 1275788/ for more detail on this.

28 With regard to printed histories of the pop art movement, Tickner, 'Pop Goes The Easel' offers the most thorough coverage and consideration of the film, wryly observing that the 'artists' immersion in popular culture, extensively rehearsed in the film, is now no longer the measure of their distance from high art but the route back to staking a new kind of claim on it'. Monem, *Pop Art Book*, 74, provides detailed coverage of the film, whilst Bracewell, *The Space Between*, 105, emphasizes its importance and Livingstone, *Peter Blake*, 52, notes the detail that the Bardot dream sequence involving Blake was imposed specifically by Russell.

29 My suggestion is that this is the Olympia indoor winter fair that was part of the London fairground calendar into the 1960s. Many films used Battersea fun fair as a location and this would later become synonymous with swinging London; however, the indoor nature of the footage in Russell's documentary and the fairground machines featured make this clearly not Battersea.

30 The Calypso ride was a new introduction, arriving late 1960, to the British fairground. The ride was particularly expressive of the time and replicated dance movements with a modern sense of design.

31 Rudd, *Peter Blake*, 7.

32 Lord George Sanger was one of the founding fathers of the circus, taking on the habit of the self-bestowal of knighthoods and lordships that was a common practice in the circus world (in parallel you had animal trainers assuming army ranks and bioscope presenters becoming professors). Sanger's name long outlived his death in 1911, and he had connections to the Kent coast, making his prominent exposure to Blake very likely.

33 Compton, 'Peter Blake', 14.

34 A theme of monocularity has been proposed as a possibly hidden critical way of looking at Lichtenstein's work (see Lobel, 'Technology Envisioned'), though no parallel to Blake's work is suggested.

35 Rudd, *Peter Blake*, 15.

36 Massey, *The Independent Group*, 5.

37 There would not have been a Scenic travelling in 1951, and the surviving Switchback – similar to a Scenic – would have been stationed at a seaside park. In this regard Jones shared a similar (tunnel) vision with the nascent fairground enthusiast and preservation movement that emerged – see http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/nfa/researchandarticles/enthusiastmovement

38 Jones, *The Unsophisticated Arts*, 47.

39 The fairground art in this example tends towards a basic pattern developed by Sid Howell as part of his work for Orton and Spooner (see Howell, *Men at Work*, 38) such that patterns can be applied quickly and at a lower wage cost, set alongside crude portraiture derived from more accomplished work, such as by fairground artist Sid Farmer, who began creating rock 'n' roll fairground portraiture in 1956.

40 The best example of the unsung nature of fairground artists concerns Blake's most famous work, his collaborative effort with his ex-partner Jann Haworth in producing the iconic album design for the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* in 1967, an important fixture of the 'Summer of Love'. Joe Ephgrave, a fairground painter, was tasked by Haworth with painting the central drum within the album's collage artwork. The endearing status of the Beatles, and the limited mention of Ephgrave's role, means that through continuous and evolved discussion and scrutiny of this work amongst fans, there emerged the rather bizarre theory that the sleeve is set up to cryptically point to the death of Paul McCartney. Dedicated fans have suggested that decoded readings of the letters on the drum face reveal an anagram and symbol structure indicating a date of when McCartney passed away in advance of the finished album. The fact that Ephgrave is barely mentioned, and even if mentioned was immediately seemingly forgotten, is taken to mean that he did not exist and his name is given with the purpose of providing an amalgam of the words epitaph and grave.

41 Compton, 'Peter Blake', 19.

42 Summers, *Real Spaces*, 74.

43 Collins, *Pop Art*, 266.

44 Livingstone, *Pop Art*, 41.

45 Monem, *Pop Art Book*, 38.

46 Walker, J.A. *Cross-overs*, 41.

47 For good general histories of the British fairground see Cameron, *The English Fair*; Dallas, *The Travelling People*; and Toulmin, *Pleasurelands*, as well as the aforementioned Braithwaite, *Fairground Architecture* and Starsmore, *English Fairs*.

48 Weedon and Ward, *Fairground Art*, 173, suggest the Whip as the first ride to embody this sleek look and fast action, to the point that speed in itself was celebrated (rather than speed being the product of what is simulated). This meant that the Whip didn't require clever disguise and that 'the imagery was irrelevant to the nature of the ride and the simplicity of the cars, whose shape did not pretend to be anything else than a round metal tub'.

49 Glassie, *Pattern in Material Folk Culture*, 33, suggests that 'folk material exhibits major variations over space and minor variations through time, while the products of popular culture exhibit minor variation over space and major variation through time. The natural divisions of folk material are, then, spatial, where the natural divisions of popular material are temporal, a search for patterns in folk material yields regions, where a search for patterns in popular material yields periods'.

50 Weedon and Gorham, 'English Fairground Decoration'. The key texts that attempt to draw together a rough grouping of artists outside of the canon of official artists and movements are Lambert and Marx, *English Popular Art*; Jones, *The Unsophisticated Arts*; Fletcher, *Popular Art in England* and Lewery, *Popular Art*. Weedon and Ward, *Fairground Art*, is the first book to present fairground art as both a specific subject that extends beyond a simple set of grouped characteristics.

51 Peter Phillips appropriated Fowle's futurist fairground designs in his 1964/5 series of 'Custom Paintings', integrating them with vivisected cars and pin-up girls (see Phillips, *Retrovision*, 28). Binder, Edwards and Vaughan (BEV) were a short lived graphic design/artist grouping that were effectively part of the next 'phalanx' of pop artists in the UK following Blake and the RCA crowd.

Douglas Binder was an RCA-taught artist whilst Dudley Edwards was schooled in Yorkshire and was drawn to London as part of the nascent swinging sixties (David Vaughan was a business manager). The group painted furniture, cars and shop fronts in a proto-psychedelic style that was rooted more in the optical patterings of the op art movement, in effect forming the bridge between op art, pop art and psychedelic. Of significant importance is the fact that Edwards openly describes visiting the paintshop of Fred Fowle to be taught techniques of fairground art. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oi9FbZUOatA

52   Harrison, *Young Meteors*, 110, shows a 1963 feature from the fashionable *Town* magazine in which Liverpool artist/poet Adrian Henri is photographed alongside an oversized OMO washing powder packaging box.

53   Weedon and Ward, *Fairground Art*, 193.

54   Ibid., 164.

55   Some pop artists engaged a similar technique. See Patrick Caulfield's *Christ at Emmaus* (1963), which re-used the palm tree emblem from a box of dates to create a border around the artwork.

56   There are clear parallels between Fowle and Ed Ruscha here, particularly regarding the re-use of packaging and the cinematic 3-D fonts. Foster, *The First Pop Age*, 224, classes this new vernacular that attracted Ruscha as 'folk pop in emergence'.

57   Russell and Gablik, *Pop Art Redefined*, 11.

58   Martin, 'Pop, Paletten 2', 236–237.

59   Sadler, *The Situationist City*, 19.

60   Massey, *The Independent Group*, 118.

61   American pop artists also worked with the mundane object in itself, outside its rebranding in the advertising cycle of the spectacle, things not as bright things or bright(ening) adverts for things. In Britain we can consider Patrick Caulfield's work in this regard, described by Bracewell, *The Space Between*, 79, as 'bland, quotidian, inscrutable', embracing what Livingstone, *Patrick Caulfield*, 33, calls the 'shock of the familiar'.

62   O'Brien, 'Psychedelicacies', 360.

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