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Moore to Theatre Past: Queer Historiography and the Partnership of John Henry Moore and Jim Haynes as Foundational to British Alternative Performance Practices

Grant Tyler Peterson 

Abstract

This article features original interviews with Jim Haynes and John Henry Moore to explore their foundational roles in Britain's burgeoning experimental performance practices of the 1960s. Despite acknowledged impacts of their work on the British countercultural scene, particularly that of Haynes, their queer sexualities, companionship, and three decades of co-habitation are broadly overlooked in historical accounts. This research challenges dominant forms of evidence in theatre history by employing queer historiography, placing significance on the personal lives and partnership of Haynes and Moore as critical to understanding their impacts and disparate legacies of co-founding the influential London Traverse Company, the London's Arts Lab, and the underground newspaper *International Times*. By addressing marginalised sexualities in the 1960s and 70s – namely homosexuality, bisexuality, and non-monogamies – this work proposes ways of thinking queerly across history that reassess problematic gaps and erasures while centring queer models of solidarity relevant to today.

Keywords: theatre; historiography; homosexuality; queer; Britain

Introduction

In a present moment marked by sharp increases in transphobia and challenges to queer livelihoods, historiographies can offer critical interventions of reckoning, resistance, and lessons for the present. David Halperin has written how one might ‘look to the past for something lacking in the present, something that can offer a new leverage against the contemporary problems with which the historian is engaged’.¹ This research outwardly and openly proposes how queer historiographies can simultaneously expose and reposition past categorisations of ‘deviant’ expressions of gender, sexuality, and arts practice. Whereas Stephen Bottoms has aptly identified the role of homophobia and heterosexism in the formation of sixties’ countercultural theatre and the foundations of performance studies in the US,² this research looks to a case study in the UK that both affirms and unsettles histories of homophobia in sixties’ theatre and performance practices. By centring an overlooked bond between foundational countercultural figures, this history demonstrates consequential impacts that homophobia had on the UK performance sector while also championing the potency of queer coalitions in pioneering collaborative forms of creativity.

The relationship between John Henry Moore and Jim Haynes can be traced from the sixties to their deaths in 2014 and 2021, including three decades of cohabitation. While Moore radically proclaimed himself as an out homosexual during a sixties’ era of criminalisation of homosexuality, Haynes presented himself as heterosexual – something he modified later in life to ‘intellectually bisexual’.³ Most accounts about Haynes and Moore do not attribute physical intimacy between the two, nor is this the focus here. Rather, the underexamined bond and coalition between Haynes and Moore is presented as a re-reading of the queer potential and significance of their artistic practices, joint ventures, and how theatre history can be (re)written.

Hayne’s reputation in the late fifties preceded Moore’s by chronology and scale. Haynes founded Scotland’s Paperback Bookshop (the first UK store to sell only paperback books along with banned books and to host a small theatre in the back corner). Haynes also co-founded the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, co-curated the first International Writer’s Conference in 1963 (hosting the ‘first’ happening by Anna Kesselaar), and co-founded the Traverse Theatre. Haynes was undisputedly foundational in establishing Edinburgh as a centre for countercultural activities. However, it was Moore’s encounter with homophobia at the Traverse that, in a large part, led Haynes and Moore to move together to London. There, they co-founded the London Arts Lab, an experimental space for countercultural artists, musicians, and technicians to push boundaries of collaborative multimedia performance. The Arts Lab hosted work by Yoko Ono and John Lennon, David Bowie, as well as the first productions of playwrights Steven Berkoff, Jane Arden, and avant-garde groups like The People Show. Moreover, the community-centred ‘Arts Lab’ model was replicated across the country in over 140 sites.⁴ Haynes and Moore together co-founded – with others – the underground newspaper *International Times*, an influential alternative

1. David Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 23.

2. Stephen J. Bottoms, ‘The Efficacy/Effeminacy Braid: Unpicking the Performance Studies/Theatre Studies Dichotomy’, *Theatre Topics* 13, no. 2 (2003): 173–187.

3. Jim Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.

4. Catherine Itzin, *Stages in the Revolution: Political Theatre in Britain Since 1968* (London Routledge, 1998), 9.

press in Europe featuring information on radical politics, literature, arts, and drug use. While established histories and oral histories reliably assign Haynes' name to such ventures, the role of Moore is less attributed – if not intentionally erased.

Locating Queer Pasts

Gender scholar Jack Halberstam argues that queer history must 'produce methodologies sensitive to historical change, but influenced by current theoretical preoccupations'.⁵ In this direction, Halberstam builds on the work of Michel Foucault and Eve Sedgwick to propose a 'perverse presentism' approach, one that 'avoids the trap of simply projecting contemporary understandings back in time, but one that can apply insights from the present to conundrums of the past'.⁶ While not universalising or naturalising the present, perverse presentism allows the historian to make sense of the complexities and gaps of other eras, not just in the social construction of perceived deviant subjects, but artistic methods as well.

In Halberstam's book *In a Queer Time and Place*, he proposes expansive ways of thinking about 'queer' in a way inclusive of 'nonnormative behaviors that have clear but not essential relations to gay and lesbian subjects'.⁷ By locating *queer* as relational to the time and space of 'institutions of family, heterosexuality and reproduction', Halberstam argues that critical resistance can be located within and against 'logics of location, movement, and identification'.⁸ As a queer history of Moore and Haynes will demonstrate, sexual activities between them is not what necessarily delineates what queer can mean. Simply put by theatre scholar Jill Dolan, 'queer is not who you *are* but what you *do*, it's your relation to dominant power, and your relation to marginality' (original emphasis).⁹ When asking how things are *done* under hegemonic orders of sex and gender, it is not necessarily *who is doing who* of course, but *how* things are being (un)done artistically, politically, and personally. While surveying Moore and Haynes' self-identified sexualities in accounts that span decades and continents, it is the aim here to trace how their resistant forms of creative work critically link to personal desires, allegiances, and sometimes messy emotional (dis)entanglements.

In doing so, this work oscillates between 'ludic' and 'sombre' approaches to queer historiography as articulated by Elizabeth Freeman in *Queer and Not Now*.¹⁰ Addressing the 'binds' of queer research, Freeman builds on the terms 'chrononormative' and 'chronopolitical' to equip contemporary readers of the past with ways of 'unbinding' their subjects from constraints contingent to historical social orders – including conceptualisations of gender and sex. For example, both Moore and Haynes engaged in a certain unbidding of their own pasts during interviews, drawing from contemporary terms and understandings of gender and sex such as homophobia and bisexuality. In this sense, their experiences in the sixties and seventies are re-written with a legibility afforded by the present, one that can identify and articulate

5. Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 46.

6. Ibid., 52–53.

7. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: NYU Press, 2005), 6.

8. Ibid., 1.

9. Jill Dolan, 'Introduction: Building a Theatrical Vernacular Responsibility, Community, Ambivalence, and Queer Theatre', in *The Queerest Art: Essays on Lesbian and Gay Theatre*, eds. Framji Minwalla and Alisa Solomon (New York: University Press, 2002), 1–8 (5).

10. Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (New York: University Press, 2010), 9.

11. For more on the place of joy in queer theatre and performance, see Alyson Campbell and Stephen Farrier, and Manola-Gayatri Kumarswamy, 'What's Queer about Queer Performance Now?', *Contemporary Theatre Review* 33, no. 1–2 (April 3, 2023): 1–13.
12. For academic examples, see: Sue-Ellen Case, *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Jill Dolan, *Presence and Desire: Essays on Gender, Sexuality, Performance* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994); Stephen Greer, *Contemporary British Queer Performance* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Nicholas de Jongh, *Not in Front of the Audience: Homosexuality On Stage* (London: Routledge, 1992); David Roman, *Acts of Intervention: Performance, Gay Culture, and AIDS* (Indiana University Press, 1998); For a notable UK archive, see Unfinished Histories, a catalogue of British alternative theatre histories that includes LGBTQ+ histories: www.unfinishedhistories.com/categories/gayandlesbian (accessed February 19, 2024).
13. For more on the Compton Cafeteria Riot, see Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

subjectivities previously bound and subjugated. However, in addition to sombre analysis of oppressions, queer historiography can also centre ludic pleasures, joy, and queer solidarities.¹¹ How the conflicts, pain, and struggles of Moore and Haynes coincide with their solidarity for one another, artistic innovations, and responsibilities to the other offers a model of queer companionship that holds significance for the present.

This research draws from semi-structured interviews conducted separately with Moore and Haynes. These are placed in context with accounts by them in other sources along with contemporary critics, collaborators, witnesses, and theatre scholars. Resisting hagiography, the resultant contradictions and tensions are put into dialogue to demonstrate how narrative inconvenience can be part of – not separate to – the possibilities of queer historiographies. Questions of 'reliable witnesses' and hierarchies of evidence underscore the analysis while critically opening queer space and time to disrupt chrononormative constraints endured by 'deviant' subjects and bodies. While tracing the personal and professional journeys of Haynes and Moore, I examine their American expatriate status and stigmatised sexualities that constructed them as 'exotic' outsiders. My position as an out gay (white) middle-age cis-male academic and dual citizen of the US and UK gave me a particular set of privileges and personal interests in researching the lives of Haynes and Moore. Investigating the backgrounds of politically-minded American transplants in Britain's sixties arts scene overlaps with my life as a theatre academic in the UK over two decades.

Moreover, the way Haynes and Moore's domestic relationship escapes historical attention stood out to me as a critical gap for theorising questions about queer creatives in British theatre history. The historical magnitude of the venues Haynes and Moore founded together is not in doubt in historical records, but the homophobic ostracism of Moore that led to the Arts Lab founding is largely absent. This, along with the minimisation of their companionship, is long overdue for an interrogation and re-evaluation.

Historical Terms and Queer Possibilities

Stigma towards homosexuality underscores much of the canon of Anglo-European and Anglo-American theatre practice and is an established field of inquiry. This includes extensive research into issues of censorship, oppression, and liberation efforts that impacted the development of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) performance practices.¹² The 1969 Stonewall Riots marked a watershed moment in many histories of LGBTQ+ rights, both in US and British histories. But the mythological prominence of this periodisation can shift attention away from earlier events such as San Francisco's 1966 Compton Cafeteria Riots.¹³

In a similar manner, the 1975 founding of the Gay Sweatshop theatre group in England marks an easily discernible moment in British performance history that risks occluding earlier pioneering work. At the 40th anniversary gala for Gay Sweatshop, openly gay actor Simon Callow

14. Simon Callow, 'Simon Callow: In Praise of Gay Sweatshop', *The Guardian*, February 13, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/feb/13/simon-callow-in-praise-of-gay-sweatshop> (accessed February 19, 2024).

15. Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out* (London: Quartet Books, 1977), 166.

16. Dan Rebellato, *1956 and All That: The Making of Modern British Drama* (London: Routledge, 1999), 156.

17. For more, see Sara Freeman, 'Towards a Genealogy and Taxonomy of British Alternative Theatre', *New Theatre Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (November 2006): 364–78.

described the co-founder Ed Berman as the 'granddaddy of radical theatre, the alternative Diaghilev'.¹⁴ While it is important that Gay Sweatshop features prominently in British theatre history, it is concerning how earlier queer figures of fringe and experimental work may be too easily forgotten in the wings. Institutional and cultural forms of homophobia in 1965 were vastly different than just a decade later at the founding of Gay Sweatshop. From the existence of the Lord Chamberlain's censorship of plays to 'gross indecency' laws with prison terms, the oppressive climate of the sixties foregrounds the significance of Moore's open homosexuality, Haynes' avid non-monogamy, their cohabitation, and the work they produced.

As part of a queer historiography wrestling with ideological shifts around sexuality and gender, contemporaneous terms within Britain are important to contextualise. Significantly, the British government in the late fifties and sixties, much like the American government under McCarthyism, attempted to purge known homosexual men from state employment rosters. Government regulation of homosexuality was widespread, if inconsistently enforced. Arrests for homosexuality were so common that some calculations estimated four per cent of the male prison population were there for homosexual offences.¹⁵ Yet despite wide-ranging attempts to suppress homosexuality and maintain norms of compulsory heterosexuality, some gay men in theatre found ways to prosper. Dan Rebellato makes this case in his book, *1956 and All That*:

While the Wolfenden Report and [1967] Sexual Offences Act undeniably wrought crucial social changes, after Foucault we should be very suspicious of claiming that homosexuality was 'repressed' beforehand, or that its theatre can be written off as one big closet.¹⁶

Rebellato uses the example of the Royal Court Theatre as a site associated with a revitalised masculine new wave of British drama but complicated by the fact that many of its directors, writers, and actors were discreetly or openly homosexual.

In contrast to Rebellato's employment of the terms 'gay' and 'queer' (both in use in the forties and fifties), this research considers how Haynes and Moore use the terms 'gay', 'homosexual', 'out', 'straight', 'bisexual', 'proselytiser', and 'monogamy' across interviews conducted from the sixties to their deaths. To describe performance work during this era, several terms referring to non-mainstream and non-commercial genres will be used. Generally falling under 'alternative', other terms such as 'underground', 'countercultural', 'fringe', 'happenings', and 'experimental' are used in an overlapping manner that reflect complex and contested performance genealogies.¹⁷ These genres, respectively associated to different contexts of time, venues, politics, and performance methods, are nonetheless historically interrelated and help map a constellation of British alternative theatre practices.

Orally Queer: 'Whirling' on the Dancefloors of History

18. Deaths of other American-British alternative theatrical luminaries in the last two decades include Open Space's Charles Marowitz (2014), Living Theatre's Judith Malina (2015), and The Wherehouse La Mama's Beth Porter (2023). Inter-Action's Ed Berman, in his eighties, is one of the few surviving pioneers.

19. John Henry Moore, quoted in Alasdair Steven, 'Obituary: John Henry Moore, Theatre Director and Curator', *The Scotsman*, April 29, 2014, <http://www.scotsman.com/news/obituaries/obituary-john-henry-moore-theatre-director-and-curator-1-3391584> (accessed February 19, 2024).

20. John Henry Moore, interview with the author, May 30, 2013.

The privilege to dialogue with artists who were active in the mid- and late-twentieth century is one that becomes rarer as time passes. Numerous pioneering luminaries who influenced British performance practices have passed away, including many American-born artists.¹⁸ In fact, months after interviewing Moore in 2013, he died in hospital due to complications of inoperable liver cancer at age 73. Despite Moore's large role in Britain's counterculture, he remained curmudgeonly humble up to his death, writing, 'Penniless artist dies alone in Paris. This is hardly news'.¹⁹ Moore's impact however offers a testament to the importance of locating queer influences in theatre history, voices otherwise lost. Moore's life and work promiscuously intermingle with theatre and music, stigma and pleasure, as well as gossip and breakups in a manner difficult to categorise but important to reckon with – or, as Moore might suggest, to dance with.

In discussion with Moore, he fondly recalled the dance scene of the late sixties and the founding of Amsterdam's Paradiso music venue. He explained what he perceived as a moment of sexual and social transformation:

I was very happy when I went to Amsterdam, and we opened Paradiso. A guy called me and said, 'This is a hippie thing, right?'. I said, 'Well, we hope so' and he said that 'Everybody loves everybody?'. I said, 'We really hope so!'.²⁰

'And that the men can dance with other men?' [, he asked.]

I said, 'I think anybody can dance with anybody or alone [...]'. So, he came with about twenty gay guys who danced up a storm and taught everyone else how to dance to psychedelic music. Whirling and throwing your body in the air. It was wonderful! At the beginning, there was this thing of [straight] people standing, and [gay men,] they were the only ones dancing. They were the first ones dancing. It was incredible.²⁰

Although often nameless and missing from established histories, queer dancing bodies and subjects regularly fall – or are hegemonically pushed – into forgotten cracks by chrononormative registers of gender and sexuality. Not only are marginalised subjects frequently denied a place or a voice in historical narratives, but the foundational roles queer subjects sometimes play in dance and arts movements are too routinely obscured or co-opted. This makes projects tracing queer legacies a challenging but important endeavour, akin to Moore's nostalgic recollection of ephemeral dances of the past. In the case of Moore and Haynes, rather than accepting limited histories, this research whirls and throws itself towards the idea that queer lives and bodies deserve more space on the dancefloors and stages of history.

21. See for example: Sandy Craig, *Dreams and Deconstructions: Alternative Theatre in Britain* (Derbyshire: Amber Lane Press, 1980); Robert Hewison, *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties, 1960–75* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Chris Megson, *Modern British Playwriting: The 1970s: Voices, Documents, New Interpretations* (London: Methuen Drama, 2012); Roland Rees, *Fringe First: Pioneers of Fringe Theatre on Record* (London: Oberon Books, 1992).
22. Jeff Nuttall, *Bomb Culture* (London: Granada Publishing, 1970), 238.
23. Peter Ansorge, *Disrupting the Spectacle* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1975), 22.
24. Christoph Grunenberg and Jonathan Harris, *Summer of Love: Psychedelic Art, Social Crisis and Counterculture in the 1960s* (Liverpool University Press, 2005), 96.
25. John Lane, *Arts Centres: Every Town Should Have One* (London: Paul Elek, 1978), 15.
26. For more about the Bath Arts Workshop and Natural Theatre Company, see Grant Tyler Peterson, “‘Playgrounds Which Would Never Happen Now, Because They’d Be Far Too Dangerous’: Risk, Childhood Development and Radical Sites of Theatre Practice’, *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and*

‘Yankee Takeover’ and the Arts Lab Movement ‘Seedbed’

Historians, cultural critics, and theatre practitioners alike widely attest to the impact of American artists and groups on British theatre during the sixties and seventies.²¹ One of the earliest attributions came from theatre practitioner and educator Jeff Nuttall who, in his 1968 memoir *Bomb Culture*, commented that the 1965 visit of American beat poet Allen Ginsberg to London’s Better Books was ‘the first healing wind on a very parched collective mind’.²² Ginsberg’s homosexuality is not mentioned but Nuttall argued that the British cultural fringe movement started with the International Poetry Incarnation, headlined by Ginsberg. Peter Ansorge dedicated an entire chapter, titled ‘Made in USA’, in his book *Disrupting the Spectacle* to address work stylistically traceable to the London Arts Lab.²³

The sudden and widespread impact of the London Arts Lab is evident in a 1969 conference report (two years after its founding) that listed fifty inspired venues ‘across the whole country, including Birmingham, Brighton, Exeter, Farnham, Guildford, Huddersfield, Loughborough, Manchester, Southampton and Swindon’.²⁴ In his book, *Arts Centres*, John Lane attributed the London Arts Lab as the primary catalyst for the centres that followed, including the Brighton Combination, Birmingham Arts Lab, Great Gorges Project in Liverpool, and York Arts Centre.²⁵ By the end of the seventies, over one hundred arts centres were set up across the country, several of which exist to this day, including the Bath Arts Workshop, renamed as the Natural Theatre Company.²⁶ At the closing of the London Arts Lab in 1969, its seminal role was summarised by journalist Ronald Bryden in the title of his *New Statesman* article, ‘Epitaph on a young seedbed’.²⁷

A key element of the Art Lab’s reputation was its association with an American sensibility. ‘Yankee Takeover in London Town’ was the title of Helen Lawrenson’s article announcing the blitz-like impact of the Arts Lab opening.²⁸ Lawrenson celebrated the ‘flexibility of form, the dedicated intensity, the experimental daring’ and wrote, ‘Just because I don’t understand it doesn’t mean I’m not fascinated’.²⁹ ‘It became a centre for American alternative culture’, wrote theatre scholar Jinnie Schiele, ‘which was to influence so much of what happened later on the fringe’.³⁰ England was shaped so much by an American paradigm, Ansorge wrote, that it ‘led to the much touted criticism that the new English groups were giving us second-hand versions of what the Americans could do more authentically’.³¹

‘Exotic’ Yanks and Queer Migrations

The phenomenon of gay men migrating from rural regions to cosmopolitan centres in the twentieth century has been astutely historicized by scholars such as George Chauncey and others.³² Moore, in a similar manner, was born in a rural region and studied ballet and theatre at Oklahoma State University. He relocated first to New York City and

- Performance* 16, no. 3 (2011): 385–402.
27. Ronald Bryden, quoted in Jim Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!: An Autobiography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 214.
 28. Helen Lawrenson, quoted in Jim Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!: An Autobiography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 196.
 29. Ibid.
 30. Jinnie Schiele, *Off-Centre Stages: Fringe Theatre at the Open Space and the Round House, 1968–1983* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006), xiii.
 31. Peter Ansoorge, *Disrupting the Spectacle* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1975), 22.
 32. See George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
 33. John Henry Moore, interview with the author, May 30, 2013.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Angela Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Postwar Britain* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2013), 93–99.
 36. Jim Haynes interview with author, June 22, 2014.
 37. Andrea Adam, quoted in Jonathan Green, *Days In The Life: Voices from the English Underground 1961–1971* (London: Random House, Kindle Edition, 2012).

then Dublin, Ireland following what he called ‘a success’ in producing the *Last of the Wild Horses* at Circle in the Square and ‘watching it murdered’ in a failed Broadway transfer.³³ He arrived in Dublin in 1963 to manage a friend’s detective company, something Moore said gave him easy access to seeing theatre and art museums throughout Europe.³⁴ Moore’s brief association with a detective company added to what became a notorious reputation attributed to him by his contemporaries.

Haynes, on the other hand, arrived in Britain earlier in 1956 while doing service for the United States military at an airbase near Edinburgh. Haynes grew up in Louisiana but spent part of his youth in Venezuela, developing an early interest in other cultures. Once in Edinburgh, Haynes asked the military for early release and subsequently founded the Paperback Bookshop in 1959 which became infamous for providing banned magazines and books, including *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* during the infamous 1960 obscenity trial. The bookshop’s versatility as a gallery, coffee shop, and small theatre space demonstrated how a small venue could stimulate the artistic and intellectual community of a younger generation.³⁵ The bookshop quickly led to larger events such as the International Writer’s Conferences, venues such as the Traverse Theatre Club, and the growth of the Edinburgh Fringe Festival.

Haynes attributed his ability to achieve so many things in Edinburgh to his outsider position as an American expatriate. Haynes explained,

I was an exotic. I didn’t pay attention to the class system. I ignored it completely. I went out with the dustman’s daughter and the gentry’s daughter. I didn’t give a damn. So, it was a big advantage. No one knew how to pigeonhole me. My accent didn’t reveal which school I went to in Britain or where I lived. I was anonymous in some sense.³⁶

Haynes’ self-identified signifiers of class, sexuality, and nationality (and unstated white cis maleness) illustrate his privileged position as a successful destabiliser in the Edinburgh scene. Andrea Adam, journalist for the *Times*’ special 1966 ‘Swinging London’ edition, similarly described a phenomenon experienced by white Anglo-expatriates in London:

The Americans and Australians who came to London had so great an effect because we were unfettered, we weren’t encumbered by the culture or by the place we live. We could move about freely, say anything we wanted. We weren’t going to offend family and friends. We felt free to offend everybody. That was the beauty of it, that we were mavericks.³⁷

Haynes also said he felt less inhibited as an American taking business risks many would deem unimaginable, unwarranted, or even illegal. In Edinburgh, he saw opportunities to be seized and developed. Haynes explained,

Edinburgh in ‘56 still hadn’t fully recovered from the Second World War. It was dark, dank, with nothing there. There were no coffee houses, not

38. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
39. Haynes, quoted in Jeanne Paslé-Green and Jim Haynes, eds., *Hello, I Love You!: Voices from within the Sexual Revolution* (New York: Times Change Press, 1977), 19.
40. Ibid.
41. Jim Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!: An Autobiography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 54.
42. Haynes, quoted in Green, *Days In The Life*.
43. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
44. Haynes, quoted in Merritt Clifton, 'Question – Is Jim Haynes Really Shy?', *Jim Haynes Newsletters*, Spring 1984, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170706154213/http://www.jim-haynes.com/letters/newsletters/news74.htm> (accessed February 19, 2024).
45. Haynes, quoted in Green, *Days In The Life*.
46. Gerard De Groot, *The Sixties Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade* (Chatham: Macmillan, 2009); Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out* (London: Quartet Books, 1977); Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).
47. Sue Miles, quoted in Green, *Days In The Life*.
48. Jim Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!: An Autobiography* (London: Faber and

one! Just a few pubs and tea rooms and the coffee was godawful in the tearoom!³⁸

In an entrepreneurial sense, Haynes used his American identity as a catalyst and I propose as a queer mask for getting things done, starting ventures, and attracting like-minded associates.

Critically, part of Haynes' appeal was the way he integrated his non-normative sexual life with his public identity. This is evident in his failed monogamous relationship with Viveka Wallmark. After marrying in 1961 and having a son, the couple soon separated. 'I tried to be a good husband and a good father', Haynes attested.³⁹ 'I even attempted monogamy, and I suppose that I sublimated a great deal of my sexual energy into the bookshop and the theatre. But I just couldn't do it'.⁴⁰ Around this time, Haynes co-founded the Traverse Theatre and partly blamed the end of his marriage with this venture: 'I was spending a vast amount of time and energy at the theatre trying to get it off the ground and running'.⁴¹ After divorcing, Haynes became known for promoting sexual freedom and expression. As Haynes elaborated, 'Sex was my drug. [...] I started examining it, observing it, reading about it, thinking about it, talking about it. I was obsessed. Asking people "Is your sex life good and, if so, why? If not, why not?"'.⁴² Haynes was explicit about his sexual experiences as a teen in the bordellos of Venezuela (the Traverse was also known to be the site of a former brothel).⁴³ 'I have a reputation as a reprobate and pervert', he told writer Merritt Clifton, 'because I dare talk about these things and defend people's right to do them if they want to'.⁴⁴

Haynes received criticism for his sexual promiscuity and non-monogamy from conservative and countercultural figures alike. He chronicled several examples in the form of letters and newspaper clippings in his 1984 memoir *Thanks for Coming!* There was also criticism from female colleagues who sometimes saw Haynes' approach to sexuality as arrogant and unwelcome. Cheryll Park, for instance, encountered Haynes while working for *International Times* newspaper and recalled, 'He seemed to think that it was all so easy to be so permissive and free with your body. I was only nineteen [...] I told him to get out of my bed'.⁴⁵ Park's account resonates with what historians Gerard De Groot and Jeffrey Weeks have argued about sixties counterculture being invariably male-oriented and leveraged towards the benefit of men.⁴⁶ Sue Miles, a central figure in countercultural London, recalled that 'Everyone was "man" and "cats" and completely sexist. We were all "chicks"'.⁴⁷ Haynes, however, maintained in accounts from 1977 to 2014 that his sexual practices always centred on principles of mutual respect and pleasure.⁴⁸

Furthermore, Haynes' self-identified sexuality differed from heterosexual assumptions of his contemporaries. Haynes claimed he always identified as 'intellectually bisexual' despite his public profile of promiscuous heterosexuality.⁴⁹ This ambivalent label of choice is explained more by Haynes' openness around sexual encounters including childhood experimentations with boys, or as he stated 'playing doctor and such things' with friends.⁵⁰ Haynes disclosed to Clifton in 1984 that he

- Faber, 1984); Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014; Paslé-Green and Haynes, eds., *Hello, I Love You!*.
49. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
 50. Ibid.
 51. Merritt Clifton, 'Question – Is Jim Haynes Really Shy?', *Jim Haynes Newsletters*, Spring 1984, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170706154213/http://www.jim-haynes.com/letters/newsletters/news74.htm> (accessed February 19, 2024).
 52. Ibid.
 53. In the fifties and sixties, for example, numerous productions were refused licenses, including *A Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, *A View From the Bridge*, *A Taste of Honey*, and the musical *Hair*.
 54. Tom McGrath, quoted in Eleano Bell, *The Scottish Sixties: Reading, Rebellion, Revolution* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 61.
 55. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
 56. Mitchell, quoted in Joyce McMillan, *The Traverse Theatre Story 1963–1988* (London: Methuen Drama, 1988), 28.
 57. Moore, interview with the author, May 30, 2013.
 58. Michael Quinn, 'Obituary: John Henry Moore', *The Stage*, May 8, 2014, <https://www.the-stage.co.uk/features/obituaries/2014/john-henry-moore> (accessed February 19, 2024).

also explored bisexuality as an adult during the sixties but generally identified as 'straight'.⁵¹ Haynes's reputation in the eighties, it is notable, was linked to more explicit professional pursuits that included erotic projects such as the underground newspaper *SUCK* (1969) and Amsterdam's Wet Dream Film Festival (1970). Clifton wrote that following Haynes' 'straight' comment, Haynes 'grinned as if at a tremendous joke'.⁵² Here, Haynes playfully – and queerly – presents himself: he reveals his sexual histories with male-identifying people and intellectual desires of being bisexual while winking through a normative 'straight' mask.

Comparatively, Moore took more risks – and queer actions – than Haynes during the sixties as a (white) cis male open about homosexuality when same-sex behaviours between men were deemed illegal and actively policed. When Moore arrived in Britain, references in plays to homosexuality were heavily censored by the Lord Chamberlain.⁵³ Moore's experience in Dublin and later in Edinburgh with Haynes differed from the 'glass closet' afforded to some in London's cosmopolitan established theatre scene as Rebellato's (1999) work has illustrated. Moore's refusal to publicly suppress his sexuality in Edinburgh marked him as an outsider, and the accounts from contemporaries allude to Moore as a pariah. For example, Scottish playwright Tom McGrath regretted even introducing Moore to the Edinburgh theatre scene. McGrath recalls inviting Moore – whom friends called 'Jack' – to the then-fledgling Traverse Theatre but said, 'the next thing Jack was in the inside of the Traverse and I didn't know whether it was a good thing or not, because Jack, he was really far out and perhaps he could have done with a wee bit more discretion at the time'.⁵⁴ Haynes' recollection of meeting Moore is similar: 'Oh he was out. He was out before everybody. He was also a proselytiser. It would put people's ... what's the expression ... feathers up. It bothered a few people, particularly in Edinburgh'.⁵⁵ According to Traverse co-founder Tom Mitchell, Moore's presence at the Traverse even led to threats of raids from police concerned with Moore's sexuality.⁵⁶ Moore's open deviance to legal regulations placed him and his Traverse associates under constant scrutiny. Just as the 'sexual revolution' was a domain neglectful of women's interests, so too did it oppress expressions of gay men. Or, as Moore stated, 'The revolution that loved everybody, did not include gay people at all!'.⁵⁷

Despite tensions over Moore's homosexuality and status at the Traverse, Haynes repeatedly defended Moore and insisted that Moore become a regular director at the theatre. Haynes succeeded and Moore was involved with several notable projects. Haynes credited Moore with discovering the playwright Cecil Philip Taylor and directing the highly successful revival of *The Fantasticks*.⁵⁸ Moore also directed a production of *Macbeth* with nude witches – possible because of censorship-evading 'club membership' of the Traverse – and co-devised an adaptation of Dylan Thomas' *A Child's Christmas in Wales*.⁵⁹ Haynes, however, claimed that Moore's directing was inconsistent. 'He did brilliant work on two or three shows, and he did a disaster on another show. He could be a genius, he could be fantastic, or a total mess'.⁶⁰ In an era

59. Ibid.
60. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
61. Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!* 67.
62. Angela Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Postwar Britain* (Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 165–66.
63. Alasdair Steven, 'Obituary: John Henry Moore, Theatre Director and Curator', *The Scotsman*, April 29, 2014, <http://www.scotsman.com/news/obituaries/obituary-john-henry-moore-theatre-director-and-curator-1-3391584> (accessed February 19, 2024).
64. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Haynes, quoted in Barry Miles, *London Calling: A Countercultural History of London since 1945* (London: Atlantic Books. Kindle Edition, 2010).
68. Haynes, quoted in Green, *Days In The Life*.

characterised by male (heterosexual) directors who regularly experienced both success and failure, Haynes' judgment of Moore's mixed success is curious and perhaps disproportionate. The scrutiny from Haynes can possibly be understood also as an extension of the pressure exerted by the board of the Traverse regarding Moore's employment. 'Well, I think it was the sexual politics, his homosexuality, that upset somebody', Haynes observed.⁶¹ Haynes had requested that the board hire Moore as an associate director in addition to proposing a Traverse extension in London. The board refused and accused Haynes of "financial irresponsibility" at a time when the club was struggling for funds'.⁶² Traverse co-founder and board member Richard Demarco claimed that the board was 'not prepared to pay for Jack as [Haynes'] assistant' which led to multiple appeals by Haynes and his ultimate resignation.⁶³ Considering Haynes' salary at the time was £20 a week, he perceived the board's stonewalling not as economics but as homophobia towards Moore. 'So, I defended Jack', Haynes said, 'and I thought highly of him'.⁶⁴ Haynes blamed the board's creeping professionalism, its disinterest in a London extension, and mistreatment of Jack as his reasons for leaving.⁶⁵

Innovations in London: 'I Had Strong Feelings for Him'

After resigning from the Traverse, Haynes and Moore moved together to London in 1966 and founded the 'sister' London Traverse Company at the Jeanetta Cochrane Theatre, along with Charles Marowitz and Michael Geliot. This venture was the beginning of several ground-breaking projects that many attribute to sparking the London countercultural scene. Haynes and Moore fostered key social networks and organised numerous shows, events, and companies. The London Traverse hosted work by some of Scotland's best playwrights and pioneered new methods for developing and presenting experimental performance. Moore's close friendship with Yoko Ono and John Lennon led to Ono's 1966 *Promise Piece*, an early and influential happening at the Cochrane.⁶⁶

Unsatisfied with the Cochrane, however, Haynes desired a larger space where he could 'bring in other activities like music, poetry, films and social painting'.⁶⁷ In 1967, Haynes acquired two warehouses on Drury Lane and conjoined them to make the London Arts Lab. It housed a theatre designed by Moore, a gallery, a cinema, a restaurant, and dressing rooms. 'Jack probably thought up the name', Haynes recalled. 'It was meant to be a name that some grant foundation couldn't refuse to give money to. Who could refuse money to the Arts Laboratory? Everyone could'.⁶⁸ Together, Haynes and Moore extended the notion of an experimental performance venue not only as a place to foster innovations in performance practice, but as a broader, multi-functional arts centre amiable to financial bodies. Funding for the Arts Lab eventually came from a range of benefactors and the property functioned as shared living quarters for Haynes, Moore, and others.

During the peak of the Arts Lab, Haynes and Moore moved out of the premises and into a nearby flat together. Haynes stated about the time,

69. Jim Haynes interview with author, June 22, 2014.

70. Haynes, quoted in Green, *Days In The Life*

71. Jack Bond interview with Susan Croft and Jessica Higgs, November 8, 2009. <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/vagina-rex-and-the-gas-oven> (accessed February 19, 2024).

72. David Curtis, interview with Tim Cawkwell, November 6, 2014. <https://web.archive.org/web/20141230154752/http://www.timcawkwell.co.uk/david-curtis-interview> (accessed May 9, 2016).

73. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.

74. Ibid.

75. Jack Bond, interview with Susan Croft and Jessica Higgs, November 8, 2009. <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/vagina-rex-and-the-gas-oven> (accessed February 19, 2024).

76. Ibid.

77. Michelene Wandor, *Carry on Understudies: Theatre and Sexual Politics* (Routledge, 2004), 41.

'I had strong feelings for him'.⁶⁹ Whether the partnership between Haynes and Moore was ever sexual in nature went unmentioned during their separate interviews. What is clear from their accounts and contemporary sources is their decades-long co-habitation and extraordinary bond. *International Times* co-founder Barry Miles consistently described Moore as Haynes' 'closest friend'.⁷⁰ Others described him as Haynes' 'creative partner'.⁷¹ Whereas David Curtis, a film artist with the Arts Lab, commented in 2014 on the unique pairing saying how 'Jim was aggressively heterosexual, Jack was aggressively gay, yet they were devoted to each other in an extraordinary way'.⁷² Regardless as to whether there was sexual intimacy between Haynes and Moore, their personal and professional lives intertwined while living together and founding the Arts Lab and other countercultural hotbeds of sixties' London.

Together, Haynes and Moore curated and directed projects that transcended conventional disciplinary boundaries of theatre, film, music, and dance to explore politics, gender, and sexuality in radical ways. In one of their most notable theatre productions, Jane Arden's acclaimed *Vagina Rex and the Gas Oven*, Haynes credited Moore as co-director despite official credit going 'to Jane's lover at the time, Jack Bond'.⁷³ 'Most the ideas came from Jack', Haynes attested.⁷⁴ Bond, in his account, considered Moore a 'visionary creative genius' and expressed how he felt 'lucky enough to have Jack' transform many elements of the show.⁷⁵ The original script did not work, according to Bond, and 'a huge amount of visual input came in from Jack', including the idea to film and create a projection of a giant image of a vagina across flaps of white fabric. The vagina in the script was small, but Moore adapted it so that a hand could gently part the folds until it was big enough for performers playing 'naked Furies' to dive through and arrive in the laps of audience members; Bond declared that 'it was an extraordinary event'.⁷⁶ Bond credited Moore with the show's heightened audio-visual effects, filmed documentary material, and ritualistic staging of nude bodies. The contradictory tensions and politics of assigning (or sharing) innovative 'credit' to men involved in staging Arden's feminist *Vagina Rex* might curiously pivot on male anxieties of going unnamed. Yet it is through the prism of the heterosexual coupling of Arden/Bond and the less stated coupling of Haynes/Moore from which significance and credit emerges in oral histories.

Thematically doubling this history, the story of *Vagina Rex* centres on a nameless, uncredited woman reconciling the power of the female psyche with misogynist ascriptions of social inferiority. Playwright Michelene Wandor wrote how the show was 'extraordinarily disturbing and potent in its individual moments – notable among these were a simple "family doll" song placing the female in an Laingian context of power games, and a half-naked woman with top hat and cane simulating a rape scene with another woman'.⁷⁷ Violent female iconography was combined with music, slide projections, and strobe lights, evoking a sensorial embodiment of the unnamed woman's discordant existence. Haynes argued that Moore, 'in a way, introduced sexual politics into the theatre' and that his radical approach at the Arts Lab (building on

- productions like *Vagina Rex* and Moore's nude *Macbeth* in Edinburgh) was an attack on gender and sexual politics of the time.⁷⁸ In this manner, Arden's social critique within *Vagina Rex* was substantially aided by Moore's queer sensibilities and contributions. The show was viewed by an average of 130 people a night and spurred newspaper articles, including a piece in the *Observer* titled 'Are Women Oppressed?'.⁷⁹ The success of the show in provoking questions about gender equity mark it as a landmark feminist piece, and one of 'the most important single productions' of Arts Lab history, according to historian Arthur Marwick in his book *The Sixties*.⁸⁰
- London Arts Lab projects sought radical experimentations with new forms of psychosocial and physical expressions. This methodological approach importantly shifted away from theatre texts and towards the body and sensorial experiences of the audience, epitomised in pieces like *Vagina Rex*. In this and other projects, Moore maximised the use of multiple spaces in the Arts Lab by staging expansive events, mixed media, and collaborations between artists and technicians. Moore, after all, held expertise in sound and film technology and helped run the popular London UFO dance club (1966–1967), a further testament to the role that technology and dance played in Moore's queer sensibilities and intersections of theatre practice. Chris Rowley, an assistant at *International Times*, later said that without Moore,
- [...] a lot of these things – UFO and so on – would not have been possible. He was the only one who knew what he was doing: he was into tape recording, electronics, speakers, he really knew that stuff. He was one of the first people of the new order of [sic] putting on big presentations with electronics.⁸¹
- Haynes' commitment to Moore as a partner and artist is also evident in his telling of the closure of the Arts Lab. Accounts vary, but several people attribute the closure to financial trouble connected to Moore. While living with Haynes, Moore founded a performance company of his own. Haynes recalled,
- He started something called the Human Family which was brilliant in a way, if only he had money and support. He needed a bus, so I got some money, how I don't know. He went driving around Europe and every time he came to a town he would do a show.⁸²
- The Human Family was the Arts Lab's touring company and experimented with durational performance and the taking of psychedelic drugs, predominantly acid.⁸³ The group's performance practices further extended the boundary-pushing audience interaction of previous work like *Vagina Rex*. Theatre critic Kenneth Tynan's 1968 account is worth citing at length:
- A dozen strong, they squat in the middle of the theatre and free-associate. Words like 'tender', 'baby', and 'lonely' lead inevitably to 'the Cosmos'. A
78. Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!* 63–64.
79. Jane Arden, *Vagina Rex and the Gas Oven* (London: John Calder, 1971), 1.
80. Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958–c.1974* (London: A&C Black, 2011).
81. Chris Rowley, quoted in Green, *Days In The Life*.
82. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
83. *International Times*. 'An Alternative to Marriage?', October 10, 1969. International Times Archive. https://www.internationaltimes.it/archive/index.php?year=1969&volume=IT-Volume-1&issue=66&item=IT_1969-10-10_B-IT-Volume-1_Iss-66_016 (accessed February 19, 2024).

man pointlessly smashes a cucumber: a girl invites me to close my eyes and receive a present, which turns out to be a paper-clip. In whispers at first, the group reaches a deafening climax by chanting several hundred times over the phrase: 'Who are we to be here together, separated by being together?' Members of the audience join in until this anthem of alienation resounds through the building. Although I don't relish this kind of participation, I cannot deny its power.⁸⁴

84. Kenneth Tynan, 'Observer Archive, 1968: The Arts Lab, a Ramshackle Prototype for the ICA', *The Guardian*, 2013 April 28 [1968]. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2013/apr/28/arts-laboratory-kenneth-tynan-archive> (accessed February 19, 2024).

85. Ibid.

Tynan concluded that the Arts Lab launched the successes of the Human Family, along with avant-garde companies like The People Show, the Pancho Barrera Group from Chile, the Improvisational Dance quartet, and he urged the England Arts Council to provide 'the subsidy it has lately requested and ably deserved'.⁸⁵ The Human Family developed methods ranging from silent minimalist group work and music collaborations to radical naked experimentations with audience participation. A notable Human Family 1968 event in London's Albert Hall titled *Alchemical Wedding* featured Yoko Ono and John Lennon's *Bag Piece* and resulted in naked participation and protests from audience members.

Conflicts, however, arose regarding the Arts Lab's commitment to funding Moore and the Human Family. Haynes explained,

Jack caused incredible internal civil war. People who were my colleagues in London would ask 'Why are we sending money to Jack to cross Europe [with Human Family] when we don't have money to buy x, y, or z in London? [To] Jack, who is tooling around in Europe in a bus?' I think the fact that he was homosexual was also a factor, but it caused a civil war.⁸⁶

86. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.

Haynes here indicates that Moore's stigmatised homosexuality played a role at the Arts Lab, echoing his past at the Edinburgh Traverse – but this is uncorroborated. Miles, in contrast, explained the break-up of the Arts Lab as a result of Haynes' and Moore's 'proprietary attitude' and disastrous finances that ended with a group resignation of key members and summoned the end of the venue.⁸⁷ Moore did not mention homophobia as a reason for the closure but ascribed the decline instead to growing surveillance by police, a consequence he blames indirectly on Haynes:

The end of the Arts Lab came with the publication of *SUCK* magazine [a banned erotic newspaper founded by Haynes with subscriptions managed on the premises]. They raided the Arts Lab every day. Every single day. They broke the door off the wall. We would fix it. But then it broke again so I said we don't need that. So finally, we were open 24 hours a day. We took the door off and leaned it against the wall. We would tell visiting companies about the police; be ready to improvise. I warned people about to perform, 'decide how you are going to use that in your performance [laughs]'.⁸⁸

87. Barry Miles, *London Calling: A Countercultural History of London since 1945* (London: Atlantic Books. Kindle Edition, 2010).

88. Moore, interview with the author, May 30, 2013.

Moore elaborated on a People Show performance at the Arts Lab during this time. 'Four policemen came in and [an actress] said "which one do

89. Ibid.
90. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
- you think has the biggest dick?”; this created total confusion in the room and the whole audience went [laughing]’.⁸⁹ Moore’s recollection queerly threads sexuality, resistance, and collaborative theatre methods with stigmatised desires in the face of institutional surveillance and violence. Liberated sexual expression predominate Moore’s work, reflecting his precarious position as a gay man carving out spaces for pleasure, queer meaning, and memory. It may be true that Moore was less concerned with financial priorities of his contemporaries. Moore may also have held resentment from years of homophobic reactions to his sexuality, his artistic proposals, and being denied funding. In the end, Haynes blamed three factors for the Arts Lab’s demise: squandered finances, homophobia, and how the property owner changed the rental agreement.⁹⁰ While several factors played a role in the Arts Lab’s closure, the loyalty and partnership between Haynes and Moore survived and reaffirmed their bond during repeated surveillance and economic precarity.

After London: Divergent Careers and Domestic Disputes

91. Moore, interview with the author, May 30, 2013.
- Not long after the Arts Lab closure in 1969, a representative of the newly formed University of Paris VIII invited both Haynes and Moore to take up teaching positions in France. Headed by Michel Foucault, the university was known for unconventional approaches and radical politics. Moore was not interested and said, ‘I didn’t take it because I had my theatre company’.⁹¹ Moore instead toured with the Human Family and founded the Melkweg (Milky Way) Theatre in Amsterdam – neighbouring the Paradiso – a legendary venue for international music performances. Haynes took the professorship, moved to Paris in 1969, and gradually became a ‘grandfather’ figure of the Edinburgh Fringe, frequently returning for the summer festival.
92. Kit Galloway, ‘Kit Galloway and Sherrie Rabinowitz recall the Satellite Arts Project’, Transcript of a video conference, Los Angeles-Amsterdam, November 2003. <https://artelectronicmedia.com/en/document/kit-galloway-and-sherrie-rabinowitz-recall-the-satellite-arts-project> (accessed August 19, 2024).
93. Dig Media, ‘Jack Henry Moore: An Introduction’, <https://www.dig-media/jack-henry-moore> (accessed August 19, 2024).
- In 1971, Moore moved to Paris to live with Haynes, an arrangement that lasted thirty years. In the atelier they shared, Moore operated Videoheads, a business he founded specialising in multimedia performance and recording technology. In 1972, Moore’s Videoheads Multimedia Theatre company, founded in Amsterdam, presented an adaption of the *Alchemical Wedding* for the Munich Olympic Games Arts Festival. According to Videoheads member Kit Galloway and others, the event involved around 15 performers, and an original score gifted by Shawn Phillips.⁹² The performance featured group improvisations to live video streams and animations projected across multiple large screens on the grounds of the Spielstrasse. Moore’s ventures with Videoheads eventually shifted away from directing and towards filming and archiving. Videoheads earned commissions from the likes of UNESCO and Sony as well as catalogued hundreds of performances and events by artists such as Pink Floyd, Bob Dylan, Bob Marley, and Salvador Dalí. Moore amassed an archive of over 3,000 videos in the Paris apartment, according to Haynes.⁹³ ‘I was 50% owner of the archive’, Haynes said, ‘and it was in my basement for ten years or

94. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
95. Ibid.
96. Moore, interview with the author, May 30, 2013.
97. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
98. In fact, a Sunday event at the atelier is the context in which the interview with Haynes was conducted. The interview preceded the dinner, open to all, and included an invitation to sleep at the atelier afterwards – a generous tradition of hospitality for which Haynes was renown.
99. Haynes, interview with author, June 22, 2014.
100. Ibid.
101. Jim Haynes, 'Jack Henry Moore Obituary', *The Guardian*, December 4, 2014. <https://www.theguardian.com/the-guardian/2014/apr/23/jack-henry-moore-obituary> (accessed February 19, 2024).
102. For an official archive of Haynes' work is at the Edinburgh Napier University, see: <https://www.napier.ac.uk/about-us/our-location/our-campus/libraries-and-heritage-collections/heritage-collections/jim-haynes-archive> (accessed February 22, 2024).
103. Lawrenson quoted in Jim Haynes, *Thanks for Coming!: An Autobiography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 196.
- more. Actually, I paid for most of it because I had a job at the university'.⁹⁴ Here again, tensions about finances return within their domestic relationship. Haynes remembered, 'They would pay Moore lots of money, but he would blow it'.⁹⁵
- In 2001, Haynes and Moore fell out with one another, and Moore moved to Amsterdam permanently. 'I'm not going to talk about it because it's not interesting to me', Moore said. 'Talk to him about it. He would tell you I became an alcoholic and disappeared. For years he told people that'.⁹⁶ While Haynes' account does include a drunken confrontation, he laughed and said, 'It has to do with rice. This is absurd'.⁹⁷ Haynes recalled how Moore was the chief cook for the open-house Sunday dinners hosted at their atelier weekly and over the decades where anyone – usually artists, friends, and travellers – were welcome to dine and socialise.⁹⁸ According to Haynes, a petty disagreement occurred with Moore about another chef and the sharing of food. The next day, Haynes said Moore left a 'Dear John letter' filled with personal attacks, accusations, and resentment about feeling like 'his maid'.⁹⁹ Moore never returned, and Haynes spent €3,000 to ship the Videoheads archive to Amsterdam. Haynes said he made three attempts to see Moore over the years but never succeeded, including a hospital visit he was denied soon before Moore died.¹⁰⁰ 'Our relationship was close for 40 years', Haynes wrote in a *Guardian* obituary for Moore. But, Haynes concluded, '[o]nce he took you out of his address book, he never wanted to deal with you again'.¹⁰¹

Tracing Solidarities of Queer Creatives

The relationship between Haynes and Moore is difficult to ascertain, especially over the course of decades and with limited accounts from Moore. Moore's openness about his homosexuality throughout his career brought him disdain and silencing, whereas Haynes' reputation as a (hetero)sexual guru, Fringe founder, and professor brought adulation, an archive of his work at Edinburgh Napier University, and even a popular dinner mint television commercial.¹⁰² This disparity highlights how queer subjects can fail to survive (or refuse to engage with) 'respectability politics' of popular or institutional absorption. Marginalized subjects can easily slip in and out of chronological registers of their times, and times that follow.

Moore's legacy in theatre, when compared to Haynes', is either absent or highly contested. In early accounts, however, Haynes and Moore are equally credited for the opening of the Arts Lab, as in Lawrenson's 1967 article.¹⁰³ It is in subsequent accounts that Moore's story is progressively eclipsed. Much of theatre history constructs the Arts Lab as a predominantly singular offspring of Haynes. But as the earliest accounts establish and oral histories attest, Moore played a crucial role in founding and operating the Arts Lab, in addition to other joint ventures with Haynes. Moore's place in theatre history deserves greater attention alongside – and separate to –

104. John Lane, *Arts Centres: Every Town Should Have One* (London: Paul Elek, 1978), 16.

105. Dig Media, 'Jack Henry Moore: An Introduction', <https://www.dig.media/jack-henry-moore> (accessed August 19, 2024).

Haynes. The London Traverse, the Arts Lab, and the *International Times* fostered pluralistic and collective methods of devising that emerged directly from their relocation to London, and indirectly through their queer bond that sustained them and their work. The Arts Lab integrated democratic collaborative philosophies into theatre practice and as Lane wrote, 'the relaxed mixture of cultures, the informal encouragement of every kind of personal creativity, were all forged and validated there'.¹⁰⁴ Moore's performance company, the Human Family, pushed radical boundaries in embodied group improvisation, multimedia, and audience participation. The Dig Media Archive, in partnership with Salford University, recently acquired Moore's collection of recorded music performances, declaring him, 'One of the most influential arts advocates from the later 20th century international underground scene'.¹⁰⁵ While the new archive contributes to Moore's legacy, more is needed to locate his – and other queer creatives – impact on British theatre foundations, histories, and innovative practices.

The fact that sexual intimacy between Haynes and Moore goes unmentioned during interviews may raise questions as to what constitutes queer traces in their history or histories of others. Haynes and Moore's parting in 2001 might even appear to represent how once-countercultural artists found themselves in a normative domestic dispute akin to an Edward Albee play, performing toxicities of a sexless marriage. Complete with a 'Dear John letter', this tempting but reductive heterosexist view of Haynes and Moore as a wedded couple ultimately reifies chronopolitical heteronormativities of the late twentieth century. If this view – occasionally inferred by even Haynes and Moore – can be unbound, it reveals what is too routinely hidden: the queer dynamic of their bond. Their allegiance to one another across differences and economic precariousness jointly united them towards radical interventions of art and community practice. This sustained them through the homophobia of Edinburgh's Traverse Theatre, their time at London Arts Lab, and decades later in Paris. They founded some of the most influential projects of the sixties, fostering many of the 'firsts' (happenings, Arts Labs, mixed media venues, underground newspapers and magazines) and leading the emergence of theatre practices replicated across the country and abroad.

Thinking queerly across history offers critical space for companionships like that of Haynes and Moore to inflect our understanding of where and what type of work gets done, as well as historiographies that erase or make a case for such influences. As LGBTQ+ creatives and their allies continue through new and uncertain times, past forms of queer solidarity and resistance can offer productive dialogues with the present and imagined futures. While one might focus on the final chapter of Haynes and Moore's companionship – that of estrangement, there lies a more radical potential and purpose in weighing the balance of their relationship of four decades and how it gave forth not only to foundational venues and

innovative practices but also models of collaboration and solidarity relevant to artists today.

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