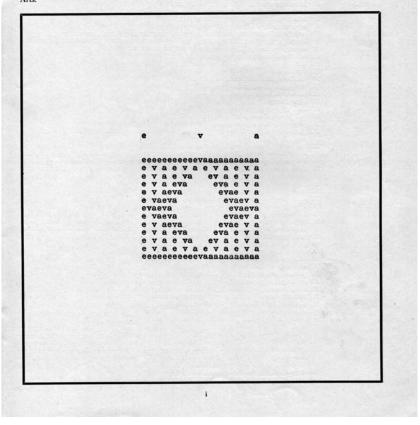


Left: Poster, *First International exhibition of Concrete and Kinetic poetry* 1964 (displayed in *Beauty and revolution: The poetry and art of Ian Hamilton Finlay*, Kettle's Yard, 6 Dec. 2014 - 1 March 2015). Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

# Catalogue

Of the first international exhibition of concrete, phonetic and kinetic poetry held in the Rushmore rooms, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and sponsored by the Shirley Society. From November 28th to December 3th, 1964, open 10 a.m. till 5 p.m. With a supplementary kinetic forum in the Architecture School, Scroope Terrace, Cambridge, on Sunday, 29th November at 8.30 p.m., by kind permission of the Professor of Architecture and Fine Arts.

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Cover, catalogue *First International exhibition of Concrete and Kinetic poetry* 1964. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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From Cambridge to Brighton: Concrete poetry in Britain, an interview with Stephen Bann

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## Gustavo Grandal Montero

A series of exhibitions and events took place in Cambridge in late 2014 and early 2015, focused on the early development of Concrete poetry in Britain, including *Beauty and revolution: The poetry* and art of Ian Hamilton Finlay (6 Dec. 2014 - 1 March 2015), curated by Stephen Bann at Kettle's Yard; A token of concrete affection (1 Dec. 2014 - 1 March 2015), curated by Bronaċ Ferran at the Centre of Latin American Studies to mark the 50th anniversary of the first international exhibition of Concrete and kinetic poetry held at St Catharine's College, Cambridge; Graphic constellations: Visual poetry and the properties of space (22 Jan. - 21 Feb. 2015), curated by Bronaċ Ferran and Will Hill at the Ruskin Gallery; and the symposium Concrete poetry: International exchanges (Centre of Latin American Studies, 14 Feb. 2015). Alongside these, the publication of the important early correspondence between Finlay and Bann (Midway: letters from Ian Hamilton Finlay to Stephen Bann 1964-69. London: Wilmington Square Books, 2014) has greatly enhanced our understanding of the period and the central role played by Bann in it, as exhibitions organiser, critic and editor, as well as a Concrete poetry practitioner in his own right.

We met Professor Bann (CBE, FBA, Emeritus Professor of History of Art, U. of Bristol) in Canterbury on a beautiful, sunny spring day, to talk about the history of Concrete poetry and other artistic and literary neo-avantgarde movements in the UK and abroad, from 1964 until the end of the decade and beyond.

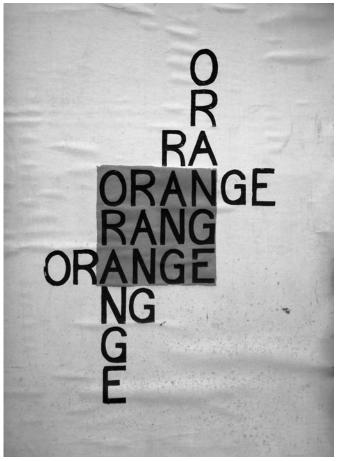
#### Cambridge, 1964

GGM: In November 1964 the *First International Exhibition of Concrete and Kinetic Poetry* opens at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge [28 Nov. – 5 Dec.], an unprecedented event in Britain or in any other English-speaking country. You were starting a PhD in history, how did you get involved with Concrete poetry and all those artists and writers both from Britain and abroad that took part in the exhibition?

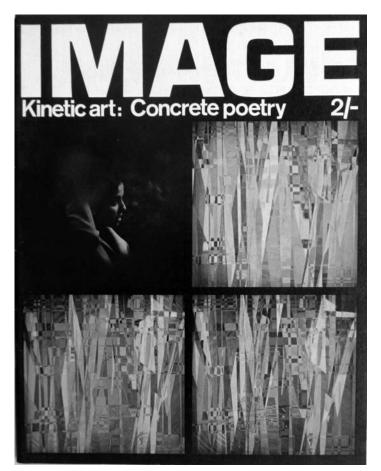
SB: Well the story is quite simply that I was involved at Cambridge in undergraduate magazines. There was a magazine called *Granta*, which became quite famous but at this stage its material was largely generated in the university. One of the editors, Reg Gadney, was a friend of mine who was trying to promote interest in the visual arts as opposed to specifically poetry. Philip Steadman, another friend who I've known since school, he and I ran what was called The Society of Arts in our undergraduate years, and that involved inviting artists like, for example, Victor Pasmore to talk to the Cambridge undergraduates. A third person who was particularly important in introducing me to Concrete art was Mike Weaver. Mike was a little bit older than the rest of us, he'd been at Cambridge and then done a spell of school teaching and then come back to do a PhD on William Carlos Williams with Donald Davie, the leading authority in the country at that time on contemporary American poetry. It was curious in a sense that he heard about the work of Ian Hamilton Finlay largely through his contacts in America. People like Robert Creeley, Robert Duncan, Lorine Niedecker, or indeed Louis Zukofsky, had reacted very positively to his book The Dancers Inherit the Party [1960], and by 1963 Finlay had become the first person to publish a collection of Concrete poetry in English, a collection called Rapel, as a result of not only contacts in America, but particularly in South America and Central Europe. He was already exchanging correspondence with Augusto de Campos in São Paulo, and had seen some of the work that they'd done there. Rapel was rapidly seized upon by Dom Sylvester Houédard who wrote an important article in Typographica acknowledging the interest of this new form of poetry.

So in 1964 all four of us decided to put on the exhibition which we called rather grandly the First International Exhibition of Concrete and Kinetic Poetry. The kinetic element was partly because Reg Gadney was a close friend of one of the leading kinetic artists in Paris, Frank Malina, but also because in discussing issues of poetic form with Ian Hamilton Finlay and others, both Mike and I had come to the conclusion that kinetic art provided a very interesting parallel track to concrete art and Concrete poetry, not only in that their origins were similar, the origins of the modern movement with people like Malevich and more recently Vasarely or Max Bill and so on, but also there was a great interest in Finlay's case in booklet poems where you had to turn over the pages, the poem emerged in a series of pages, something which of course the Noigandres poets had done in the 1950s. For the exhibition at St Catharine's we were also interested in producing motorised poems, which involved the different words as a result of an electrical motor which caused them to appear upon a screen. This worked in the case of Mike Weaver, who produced one poem which was exhibited. I think that other attempts to produce motorised poems failed and we didn't really

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"Orange poem" 1964. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



Cover, Image Oct. 1964. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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have much to present in that particular area. But what did happen was that both Mike and I followed up the idea of kinetic poetry and we both published articles in the review *Les Lettres* edited by the French poet Pierre Garnier. Both of us also continued to have correspondence with Ian Hamilton Finlay, and it was really through Finlay and his programme of what he called *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse.*, the little magazine which was turning increasingly to new, rather exciting graphic possibilities, that we started to keep in touch with the Concrete poets that he was cultivating and whose work he was printing.

Dom Sylvester came to our exhibition in Cambridge. He came with Charles Cameron. I can remember him very well, you never forget him, an extraordinary presence and as you probably know he had not only written that article for *Typographica*, but he'd also corresponded at length with Finlay in that period. In fact, his archive which unfortunately is not available now, but I happened to see it when it was on deposit at the Rylands Library in Manchester, shows how Finlay really poured his heart out to him at a stage when he was very unhappy. It was before he met his future wife, Sue. His previous girlfriend had gone off with somebody else and effectively it was a real crisis of confidence and a difficult period in which Sylvester had been very important to him. He'd never met him, of course, at that stage, he would meet him later. Sylvester couldn't travel, I mean he had to be on official business and eventually he discovered a monastery in Scotland that he could visit by way of going through Edinburgh and collecting a few avant-garde publications on the way. In fact he used to collect them rather indiscriminately and when we sent the copy of *Image* to Ian in 1964 he wrote back at a certain stage saying, "Sylvester took my copy of Image". He had no money as a monk, so it was remarkable that he could do what he did. But he was, as I say, very close to Ian and therefore when I wrote to him he knew about me, I knew about him and he was extraordinarily generous in sending material, embarrassingly so... in the summer of 1966 I was in deepest France and he sent me through the post what must've been a complete folio of his entire life's work, which finally arrived at this remote chateau. It could easily have been completely lost and never arrived at all. Of course, I picked out a few things from it. He wrote letters in which you could see that simply in order to put "Dear Stephen" he must've spent at least three quarters of an hour doing the typing. So it was a very unusual correspondence, and what I became aware of is that he found it very difficult to choose which of his works he wanted to be selected because he wasn't interested in discriminating one from another. I found it quite

difficult making the choice and doing something in line with his wishes. Finlay and I suppose I myself like to have things fairly clear... Ian wrote to me after Sylvester's first visit and said that he had put out all these little magazines on the floor, and you didn't know where to look, it was totally confusing. He was really at the centre of a kind of whirlwind of activity, but what irked Finlay was that he didn't seem to have any evident standards. He couldn't say what was good or what was bad or what was interesting, what wasn't interesting, everything was interesting and this of course was a difficulty for some of us.

GGM: Is there a list of the participating artists? Have you got any images of the installation? Any record of Mike Weaver's motorised poem, for instance?

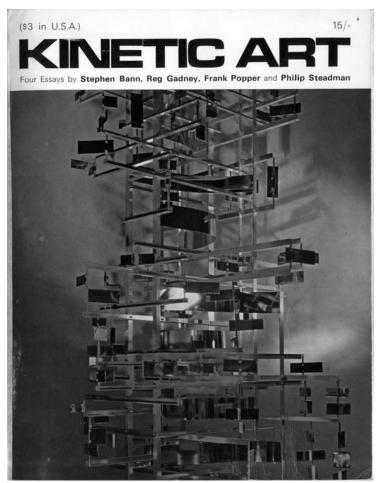
SB: There is a list published in Granta [vol. 68 no. 1240, 28 November 1964]. It runs to 93 items, including both names of poets and artists exhibiting and titles of little magazines on show. Among Latin Americans, we had the Noigandres group (Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, Grunewald and Pignatari), Pinto, Xisto, Braga, also a kinetic artist from Venezuela, JoseMaria Cruxent, who made light boxes involving letter patterns behind a moiré screen. I showed a poster-style work that I called "orange poem", screenprinted by a friend then at the Royal College of Art, David Maclagan. No images, but I do remember the text of the motorised poem: OOM/BOOM/MUSHROOM. The letters were mounted on a roll, I think, so as to allow this series of words to emerge.

GGM: You started producing your own Concrete poetry about this time?

SB: In '64, yes. I'd written poems from a very early stage. My father wrote poems, I was aware of this and I remember when I was at school, 1955 it must've been, one of the older boys said, "You write poetry do you", I said, "I only write sonnets", which was not quite true, but I actually won a gold medal for poetry at my school, the Queen's gold medal. But then I also won the headmaster's prize for art and on the wall behind you, you have the kind of watercolours that I was doing. The Munich ones were done in the early autumn of '64, actually just after I met Ian Hamilton Finlay and before I went to Paris for my year abroad. So, in other words, I was interested in artistic expression, but I kind of reached the end of the line in terms of poetic form. When I was at Cambridge, for example, I did do one or two things, I remember doing a long poem which I was... I don't know... I was in two minds about it, I sent it to Granta, which at that stage was edited by

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Cover, Four essays on Kinetic art 1966. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



Stephen Bann, Reg Gadney, Frank Popper and Philip Steadman

Back cover (detail), *Four essays on Kinetic art* 1966. Photograph by Richard Hardwick. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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David Frost, and it was rejected. So you might say that what I was looking for was some way of finding a new kind of form which would be quite a strict form, but also a way of experimenting with ideas of landscape and the experience of buildings and built spaces, and so on, and immediately when I got to know Ian Hamilton Finlay's work this really seemed to me to offer a possibility. So when I first met him in August '64 hardly had I got back when I started to write to him and I sent various poems to him, clearly poems very much influenced by his work, using ideas which he'd just developed, like standing poems, poems in concertina form which would stand on a mantelpiece, and he was very encouraging. As time went on, I did less watercolours and I did a few more concrete poems...

GGM: Your work is included in several anthologies of Concrete poetry, was it exhibited in other exhibitions during this period?

SB: "Amber Sands" was exhibited at the Brighton Festival, where Ken Cox crafted the ampersands for my poem, set up on the inner lawn of the Royal Pavilion, and later at Folkestone, in a show called *Scrambled Ego*, and at Rutherford College, University of Kent, in 1969.

GGM: Could you comment about your collaborations with *Tarasque*, *Stereo Headphones* and other little magazines in the 1960s?

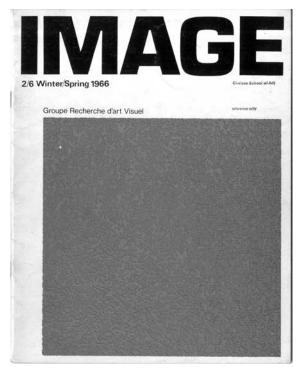
SB: I got to know Simon Cutts and Stuart Mills through Finlay in 1967. (In 2007 Simon published a card of my original letter asking to buy his publications, dated 12 December 1967.) We soon exchanged publications and ideas. Phil, Mike and I published Simon's article on Finlay in Form 10 [1969]. I started to publish my poems as "poem cards" with Tarasque Press, and this arrangement continued for several years. You can find my essay "Tarasque: An introduction" in the catalogue for the Metaphor and motif exhibition [Midland Group Gallery, Nottingham, 1972], which was a kind of retrospective. One of my poems, called "touchstone" is also included there. As mentioned, I also contributed to Pierre Garnier's Les Lettres, and, of course, to Poor. Old. Tired. Horse.

GGM: The contacts for the '64 exhibition came from the four of you, was there anyone else advising you or giving you introductions to people in Germany, for instance, or in Brazil?

SB: Well, no, I think no previous ones. I had a strong interest in the French new novel and I had written on Robbe-Grillet for *Granta*. My first article

published was on a French new novelist called Robert Pinget who was a close connection and friend of Samuel Beckett and wrote somewhat in the same vein. In 1964 I was about to go to France for the second year of my PhD, on a French historical subject, and it enabled me to follow up the contacts that I made originally for the St Catharine's College exhibition. I didn't have any contacts in Germany at that stage, but I did go to Munich in the early autumn of 1964 because I thought learning a bit more German was important for my PhD, and in quite a short time, within about a year or two, through Eugen Gomringer, I got to know a whole range of German and Austrian poets who would later contribute to the anthology of Concrete poems that I did for the Beloit Poetry Journal in 1966.

Magazines: Image (1964-66) and Form (1966-69)



Cover, *Image* Winter/Spring 1966. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

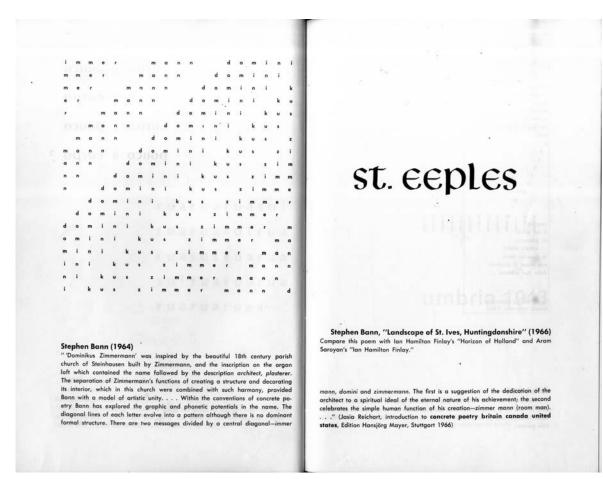
I should explain that as the four of us were working together the opportunity arose for proceeding from *Granta*, which was specifically a university publication, to a magazine that Philip Steadman edited and managed to convert to our purposes, called *Image. Image* was a commercial publication which I didn't really know, a very general publication which had no very great circulation and we managed, well he managed, to take control of it and for particularly three numbers we were able to put in articles on any topics that we chose. What we decided was, first of all, to do a number on Concrete poetry and kinetic art [Oct. 1964], which came out roughly at the same time as the exhibition at St

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"Amber sands", *Concrete poetry: an international anthology* 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



"Dominikus Zimmermann" and "st. eeples", *An anthology of Concrete poetry* 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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Catharine's and included important contributions from Brazil and Germany, as well as the Parisian kinetic artists. That was the point at which we published Ian Hamilton Finlay's famous letter to Pierre Garnier, well it became famous because it was later reprinted on many occasions, but that was one of things that we decided to foreground in the review of concrete art. The continuing numbers that we did weren't of course exclusively on Concrete poetry by any means. In the first number of Form, the magazine that Philip Steadman then decided to create and to have full control of, we had some poems by Pedro Xisto from Brazil, and number 3 has a series of poems by Ian Hamilton Finlay. This was really an important new departure because in the case of Image we had to share it with the concerns of the publishers. They initially were quite favourable to us because they could put in university advertising, we had full colour advertising for the Women's Royal Air Force which must've proved successful because effectively we were allowed to use colour throughout, and at least for the three numbers that we did we had a relatively free hand. In the case of Form, however, Phil Steadman, was extremely interested in the design and typographical aspects of the magazine (he himself was training as an architect at Cambridge under Professor Sir Leslie Martin). Form was a new beginning, it was also something which gave him a completely free hand, not only in the typography and design, but also in involving us in the choice of the kinds of articles that we wanted to put in. It worked quite well. Reg Gadney was not involved in the magazine because he went to America at that stage, but he was involved in our producing a book together called Four Essays on Kinetic Art. Mike Weaver and I provided different sides to the agenda of Form. Mike who initially was the USA editor, because he again was in America, was interested in phenomena like Black Mountain College and did a whole series of very interesting, important articles getting in touch with people like Albers and finding original documents. Also launching a series which I think was crucial to Form and really was very historically important, featuring and indexing little magazines. In that way we were able to make contact with people like Raoul Hausmann and Hans Richter, who had been major players in the 1920s, and were not only still alive, but interested in communicating and talking about their work. On the other hand, what I put in was a more continental emphasis. I contributed the first piece of Roland Barthes to be translated into English in the first number of Form. I also published Robert Pinget and another important poet and novelist called Pierre Albert-Birot who was a friend of Apollinaire and himself had created a magazine in the 1914/18 War called SIC (Sons, Idées, Couleurs).

As things continued I contributed more texts on structuralism and also did a reportage on kinetic art in Czechoslovakia which we published in 1968. Phil was the centre-post, the director of the publication, and this also brought financial responsibilities. Mike had a primary little magazine and American emphasis and in fact also started working on American photography which later became his main area of work and still is today. I, on the other hand, was looking more at the European dimensions and that was why, for example, it seemed appropriate when I organised the Concrete poetry exhibition for the first Brighton Festival that we had the catalogue and an article by Gomringer published in that particular number [4].

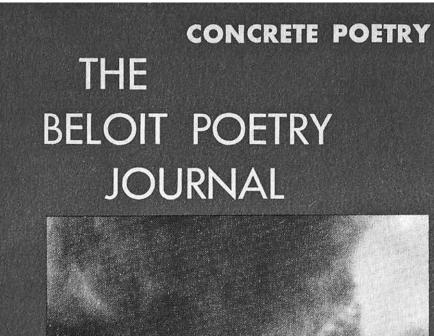
GGM: Did you have any official support or public funding, or was *Form* self-funded?

SB: *Form* was initially entirely funded by Phil and, of course, there were some receipts set against it but it never actually made money and it ended with a 10th number in 1969. At some stage there had been some subsidies from the Arts Council, I think that Norbert Lynton, director of art at the Arts Council, was favourable to it. Actually, when Phil decided to cease publication, quite a lot of people wrote saying, "We would've been willing to pay more for it", and that it was great shame. There was in fact a chorus of sad commemoration of the magazine, which clearly lots of people valued very greatly.

GGM: Why is that you came to this decision to stop publishing?

SB: Well, very many things really. One of them was that we were no longer living in close contact with each other. During the period '64 to '67 or maybe even just into '68, I was often in Cambridge and Phil was in Cambridge. We had shared a cottage with Reg Gadney in Girton Village (Duck End) at the initial stage, and I shared a house with Phil Steadman in Norwich Street at Cambridge at the later stage. By the end of '69 Mike Weaver had come back to England and had got a job at the University of Exeter, and in fact Exeter then supported the administration of the magazine and took over subscriptions and so on. But I suppose you could say that our interests had inevitably grown somewhat apart. I moved to the University of Kent at the end of 1967. In 1969 I became deputy editor, later editor of a quite different magazine called Twentieth Century Studies which was based at the University of Kent. I continued to publish the articles of Haroldo de Campos in this magazine, for example, so I didn't lose contact in that way, but I think we all felt that the time had come really to conclude with the 10th

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Cover, Beloit Poetry Journal Fall 1966. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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number. It was obviously a huge amount of work which fell on Phil's shoulders and also at this stage quite a financial liability.

GGM: Were you involved with the second exhibition of Concrete poetry in '65 [*OXPO*, 2nd International *Exhibition of Experimental Poetry*, St. Catherine's College, Oxford, 7 - 18 June]?

SB: The Oxford one? Well, in a sense I was. Charles Cameron, editor of *Isis* who was a friend of Dom Sylvester Houédard, also actually at that time the boyfriend of Mary Moore, came to the Cambridge exhibition, and then in the following year two things happened at Oxford. One was that Frank Malina, the kinetic artist who was a friend of Reg's, had a large work, probably the largest public work that he ever produced, opening at Headington Hill Hall in Oxford, which was the headquarters of the Robert Maxwell Group, Pergamon Press, and we all went to that. Also, an edition of Isis was produced which, like Granta had done the year before, had articles on kinetic art and Concrete poetry. I think I even wrote one, I'm pretty sure I did. So I won't say they were imitating us, but certainly it was a similar agenda which was being explored at Oxford. Oxford, of course, was very close in geography to the area of Gloucestershire where Dom Sylvester lived, and Ken Cox and John Furnival. They were almost local, so Oxford was a good place to have an exhibition of this kind.

GGM: What about the exhibition at the ICA, *Between Poetry and Painting* [22 Oct. - 27 Nov. 1965], were you personally involved in it?

SB: No. Jasia [Reichardt] came to our exhibition in '64, she must have already been planning the ICA exhibition then. It had lots of works, Ian Finlay's column poem designed by John Furnival and many other things. It also had a text by Sylvester in the catalogue, one of his impenetrable ones. I got to know Jasia very well, particularly because of her uncle Stefan Themerson, I'd already been writing on Themerson's Gaberbocchus Press in the early '60s, I reviewed some of their work for Granta. We invited Stefan to give a lecture on Kurt Schwitters in Cambridge. So I certainly knew her and the exhibition was very interesting, but it wasn't really... it didn't reflect very directly, we felt, the kind of work that we were interested in. There was a lot of different material involved, and the central idea of "between poetry and painting", to put one's finger on it, that was not what we felt was the important emphasis. This was something valid on its own terms rather than something which kind of fell between two stools.

GGM: It expanded and increased interest and awareness of Concrete poetry...

SB: Yes, it expanded and indeed reflected the interest that was already there. If one thinks of something like the Albert Hall poetry festival [International Poetry Incarnation, 11 June 1965] that, of course, as everybody is well aware, had drunken performances by Alexander Trocchi and so on, but it also had Ernst Jandl, who was really very marginal in terms of Vienna at that stage or felt himself so, and was delighted to be such a great success. So from the point of view of popular interest in poetry, Concrete poetry and the kind of thing that he did were part of the general mix and certainly *Between Poetry and Painting* was one element to that.

GGM: A couple more questions about international connections. Did you have any connections with people like Dieter Roth or Wolf Vostell at that time?

SB: No, they didn't really interest me at all. I reviewed books for the TLS and I remember actually reviewing a book about Happenings edited by Vostell at that stage. Dieter Roth, I got to know of his work I suppose l roughly at the stage where Hansjörg Mayer was publishing Die Blaue Flut, which I got a copy of, he also sent me Emmett Williams Sweethearts at that point. But for us that was the side of contemporary avant-garde production that we weren't really interested in. It was the other side of the coin, the Dadaist Happenings development, and although we were very interested in it historically, because of the connection with Haussmann and Schwitters and so on, we didn't really have direct connections with it in terms of the contemporary world.

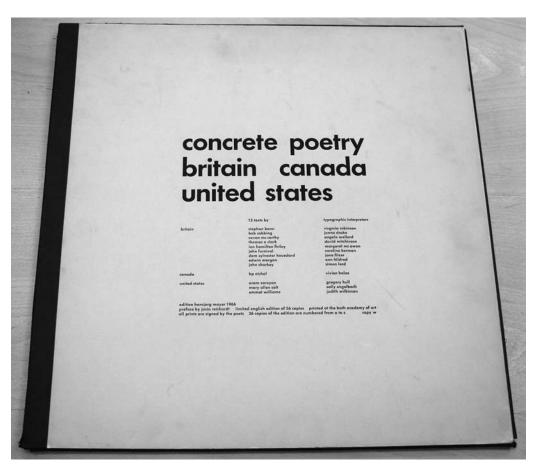
GGM: Were you familiar with the magazine that Roth, Wyss and Gomringer published?

SB: *Spirale*? Well through Gomringer, yes, because Gomringer had published his first *Constellations* book in *Spirale*, so that was an important precedent, yes. And it was also square wasn't it?

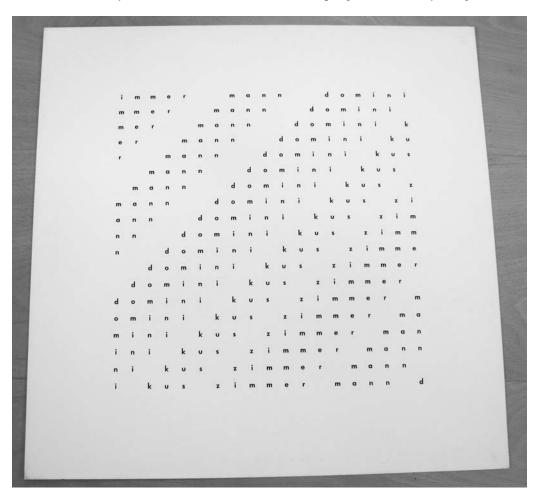
GGM: The last ones, not the earlier ones, I think, although we don't have a full set. I'm always on the lookout, but they are just too expensive.

SB: In fact, when I was in touch, even then, I think he no longer had copies of it, even by the mid-'60s there were virtually no copies. Of course, Gomringer at that stage produced his own little *Concrete Poetry* [*Konkrete poesie*], but he ran out of money too. I mean the last issue, the Claus Bremer one [no. 11, 1964], had to be typewritten and then reproduced

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Cover, Concrete Poetry: Britain, Canada, United States 1966. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



"Dominikus Zimmermann", *Concrete Poetry Britain, Canada, United States* 1966. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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by photo-lithography, and he never did an Ian Hamilton Finlay number, I think because there wasn't the money to do it through letterpress. At this stage it was relatively expensive to do a magazine. I first edited a magazine when I was at school, a letterpress magazine, we got advertising, it was the only magazine I was ever concerned with that made money. Then when we proceeded to offset litho, it became easier, but it was still quite expensive... I mean printing bills were still pretty heavy at that time and there wasn't the possibility of desktop publishing and all that is possible today.

GGM: What sort of circulation did *Form* have... did it reach 1,000 copies?

SB: That's a difficult question for me to answer. I mean I'm not aware of quite how many, but I'm pretty sure it wouldn't have been as much as 1,000. I mean I've actually seen at one stage a list Phil did of the copies sold. It was necessary when we received money from the Arts Council, but I've completely forgotten.

So I think around 500 would have been really quite a lot in those days, certainly for a magazine of this kind. It might have been adjusted to demand, but it was never very considerable, because, again I mean even with no more than 1,000 copies the actual distribution and managing of the sales would've been rather beyond our powers of organisation at that point.

Anthologies of 1966 and 1967



Cover, *Concrete poetry: an international anthology* 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

GGM: Then you start working on the special issue of the *Beloit Poetry Journal* in '66 and your *Anthology* [*Concrete poetry: an international anthology*] in '67, before Brighton. SB: A year or more before. The Beloit was published in Fall 1966 and was really the first project that came up through our general communication with Ian Hamilton Finlay, because he at that point was constantly being asked, particularly by people in America, if he would contribute to magazines, or if he would edit things. The relevant letter is in the Midway collection [Midway: letters from Ian Hamilton Finlay to Stephen Bann 1964-69]. He writes at one point saying "Will [I] and Mike Weaver edit this number of the Beloit Poetry Journal", a very well respected journal that was suggesting a concrete number to him. He wasn't really interested, he had his own magazine which he was editing in a different way. Mike couldn't do it because he was just at that point going off to America, but I decided to do it and that meant that from the start I'm in touch with a fairly small number of Concrete poets, classic Concrete poets, as I saw them, in Brazil, in Germany and of course Sylvester Houédard and Ian Hamilton Finlay and Edwin Morgan in Britain. So that was a kind of dummy run, and I think it was quite successful. It was produced by offset litho, and Phil Steadman did the design of it for me. I think Ian Finlay was pleased with the selection of poems and he was at that stage always encouraging me to do more in the area of Concrete poetry. What I then managed to do (and when I look back at it I think it was quite lucky) was to interest Alan Ross of London Magazine Editions in the idea of an anthology.

London Magazine Editions published the London Magazine, where I published my first article. I think it was probably Reg Gadney who introduced me to the magazine. It was being run, I don't know whether at a loss, but certainly Alan Ross had a wife, Jennifer, who was really rather wealthy, so I don't think it was necessary for him to make a great profit. He'd also started this collection of books, London Magazine Editions, and he gave me the go ahead to do this Concrete poetry anthology and put me in touch with a designer called Ron Costley (alas he died just a few weeks ago), who became a very close collaborator for Finlay over many years. But this was his first attempt to design a Concrete poetry book and Alan Ross went off to cover a cricketing tour in Australia, because he was also, among his many talents, a cricket correspondent, and so he more or less left us a free hand and I think, in fact I know, that we spent more on the publication than he had bargained for. When he came back he thought we had probably bankrupted the London Magazine Editions, but in effect that was not the case, it actually sold out really quite quickly and at a later stage, I think 10 years later the TLS did a survey which said that it was the most widely held poetry anthology in the British public libraries which they'd

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Poor Old Tired Horse 24 9d 3d p/p

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Concrete Poetry at the Brighton ('67) Festival

a record in photographs by Graham Keen (England) designed by Alistair Cant Wild Hawthorn Press Stonypath Dunsyre Lanark Scotland



Cover, *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse* no. 24 Concrete Poetry at the Brighton '67 Festival. Photograph by Graham Keen. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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actually surveyed. This was partly because it got a very good review from one of the leading critics at the time, Cyril Connolly in the Sunday Times. I think it was a close connection with Alan Ross there, so we were again very lucky. So Finlay effectively said, "Will you do this?" and from time to time I got names from him and so on and I had some of the names already myself. For example, I came across a letter the other day from Hansjörg because I'd got in touch with him about Claus Bremer in Germany and he gave me the address. So effectively I got the names together and went ahead. We made a decision, for example, that we would have just one colour printing which would be a sort of bright orangey yellow and this would work notably for a famous poem by Garnier which was to be printed in colour, and for one of my poems and also for a poem by Dom Sylvester which was produced in a definitive version. It was something that I was doing at the same time as completing my PhD. The book was actually published a few months afterwards, in autumn 1967, but I'd done all this preliminary work in the previous year, with a lot of advice from Finlay, but certainly he never would say, "You must publish this or that". I had a free choice and he generally agreed with the poems that I featured in it.

GGM: Was there a criteria for your selection for *Beloit* and then the *Anthology*? You talk about "classic Concrete poets". Were you actively interested in creating or developing a canon and a narrative of the development of Concrete poetry, originating with Gomringer and Noigandres?

SB: It's an interesting question. I was not consciously excluding any poet who seemed to me to belong. On the other hand, I had not made strenuous efforts to include every poet of interest. In general, I did accept that the Gomringer/Noigandres alignment created a new wave of Concrete poetry. There was no point in agonising over how far it was continuous with the various streams of avant-garde poetry - we had published Hausmann and Schwitters in Form, but that was of more historic interest. I did learn, for instance, that the American poet, Ronald Johnson, was not pleased to be left out. I hardly knew his work, but Finlay knew it well, and published him in Poor. Old. Tired. Horse. At the time, Finlay told me I should not be worried, as Johnson was already in a number of contemporary anthologies. When Mary Ellen Solt published her anthology in Hispanic Arts a year later, I realised that I might have included a poet like Fahlström. But then, Emmett Williams published his anthology roughly at the same time, and (as it happened) with a very different principle of selection and concept of overall design. I thought

my approach was preferable, but I was not making a claim to have laid down a canon.

GGM: Your Anthology came out in late '67?

SB: I think the first copies I had were in September and it was roughly at the same time as Emmett Williams' An anthology of Concrete Poetry. We had correspondence about that, first of all because Emmett actually put a poem of mine in his anthology. Ian also knew about Emmett Williams planning an anthology, but at that point lots of people were planning anthologies, and it didn't seem very clear when they would come out. In the end both came out more or less at the same time, so a lot of people were able to make comparisons and it caused a kind of minor catastrophe or crisis because Dick Higgins of Something Else Press wrote me an extremely abusive letter at which I was quite surprised, and the people I showed it to like Finlay were surprised as well. Emmett Williams told me that "even if I thought it was a bad anthology, which I don't, I would not have wrote a letter like that". Ian Finlay then started asking people, "What do you think?" He didn't like Williams' anthology at all because all the typographical control was vested not in Emmett Williams but in Dick Higgins. A lot of poets, they'd never seen their poems in that way. My "st. eeples", for example, was done in an extremely bizarre font which I always thought completely altered the interest and significance of it. The Brazilians were quite interesting in their reactions to Dick Higgins's tirade. I mean, the de Campos brothers in particular. I found a letter of Augusto quoting Haroldo's view that Dick Higgins was trying to reclaim or claim the origins of Concrete poetry for America, that is North America, not South America, which of course Haroldo said historically is not tenable. In any case, I had absolutely no problem with Emmett Williams himself and later actually met Dick Higgins from time to time, we didn't really speak of it at all. But my approach must've somehow hit a nerve... I mean it was not Concrete poetry as he saw it, my anthology. What I had decided to do was to use a uniform font, a Sans Serif font, to have a smaller number of poets and to arrange them in sections geographically. All of these things Dick Higgins didn't like. He had everything arranged alphabetically, which makes for a lively anthology, but I thought was slightly less helpful than having Europe and South America and British Isles and America in separate categories.

GGM: And of course that then became to an extent what other anthologies did as well. The Solt anthology uses mostly a single font, it has a very geographical arrangement...

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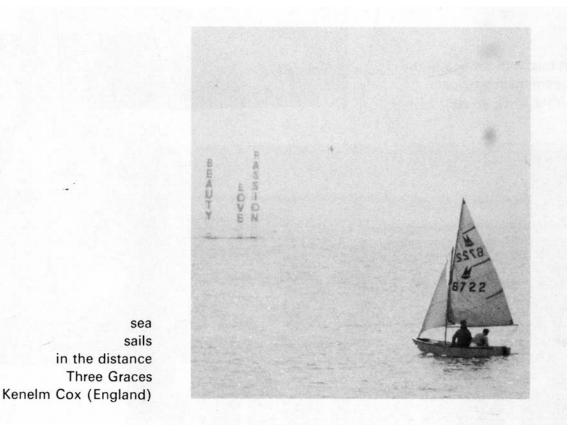


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Stephen Bann (England) Amber sands construction by Kenelm Cox



p. 7 (detail), *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse* no. 24 Concrete Poetry at the Brighton '67 Festival. Photographs by Graham Keen. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



Back cover (detail), *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse* no. 24 Concrete Poetry at the Brighton '67 Festival. Photograph by Graham Keen. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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SB: Yes, that was the anthology which came out the next year. I wasn't really in touch with Mary Ellen Solt at the time, but we got in touch later. She decided to do something which obviously Hispanic Arts endorsed, a complete geographical record, including people who I had not really known about at all, like Őyvind Fahlström, and also to publish a lot of original documents. She got them to spend a lot of money on it, I'm sure Hispanic Arts was more or less bankrupted by the expenditure, but on the other hand it was a very important document and she was able to use full colour, different colour printing and so on. So it was excellent that that particular one came out, and there were several others.

My anthology got a very strong adverse reaction in Britain from Bob Cobbing. In fact, Bob Cobbing came down to a festival at the University of Kent and performed a poem saying that my anthology should be "banned" because, well, he wasn't in it, actually. But again this was the outcome of quite a difficult decision because, partly through the correspondence I had with Finlay, I did see Concrete poetry as primarily a visual form of expression, though we both agreed that there were poets who were both visual and phonic, Ernst Jandl was a very good example, who somehow did a perfect kind of marriage between the poem on the page and the poem as a performance. But we didn't really find the work of Bob Cobbing, for example, particularly interesting. Cobbing, of course, had collaborated and contributed to Hansjörg's [1966 portfolio] anthology, but this was a poem which I think was essentially a spoken poem and didn't do much else, the one with "grr grr grr" ["Grin"]. I mean, to look at I think it's not particularly interesting, it was essentially a performance poem in my view.

# 1967 Brighton Festival, Concrete Poetry Exhibition

GGM: You were Director of the Concrete Poetry Exhibition for the inaugural Brighton Festival in 1967 [14-30 April].

SB: Yes. Again, this partly was because Ian Hamilton Finlay had been corresponding with people who were suggesting that this should take place. The Brighton Festival was starting up then, it was the first year, and they decided to have a big visual arts conference and also to have two major exhibitions, one by Clive Latimer from Hornsey College of Art which was beyond the pier and which was of kinetic art and another of Concrete poetry to be throughout Brighton. Well, this was the proposal which I made and was accepted and which was to involve banners, wall mounted objects, free standing objects and even, in the case of Ken Cox, an object which was to be towed out between the piers. I mean it was really incredibly ambitious, I think my total budget was only about £600 and I didn't get a fee at all. In fact rather late in the day I asked the director of the festival, "Perhaps I could have a fee", and he said, "Well, I'm afraid it's too late..." In any case obviously I didn't do it for the fee. It was quite nerve-racking in many ways because first of all it was necessary to get a whole series of collaborations going and luckily I was able to rely on Ed Wright not only for the banners which were made with Roger Limbrick at Chelsea School of Art, but also for organising the typography of the postcard series and the cube poem which was designed by Philip Steadman. The other people like John Furnival and Ken Cox both produced the work on a suitable scale, Hansjörg produced his type columns and we found sites for them. There was no conspicuous vandalism. But there was a terrible gale which meant that Cox's work unfortunately sank and this provoked quite a lot of people writing to the papers in Brighton because it became a danger to shipping at that particular point. But it had been up there long enough for people to go round it with yachts and for photographs to be taken and even a television news report to be made of it.

The exhibition got a very enthusiastic review in The Times from Guy Brett who, at that stage, was particularly interested in kinetic art, but also in various forms of modernist expression. He wrote that the exhibition of kinetic art could just well have taken place elsewhere which was true, and about the "splendid" exhibition of concrete poems, saying that it could've done a lot more if it had had more resources. But at the same time he did notice it and he'd been impressed by it. It's very difficult to situate 10 or 12 even quite large objects within a town like Brighton where there's so much else to look at... What we did manage to do ... I don't know if you know the photographs taken of it ... one was able to get, for example, a photo with the Pavilion in the background for the two Ian Hamilton Finlay works, and also one of the large banner by Claus Bremer which was at the front entrance of the Pavilion. So we got a very good photographic record and Ian Finlay compiled a Poor. Old. Tired. Horse. from it [no. 24] later. I did a television interview with Robert Robinson which, like all television interviews, was a bit artificial, we sort of walked around as if we were talking and then we added the talking, so it was all sort of put together by the editor. Ian Finlay thought that he'd been too flippant.

GGM: Sorry, does it still exist?

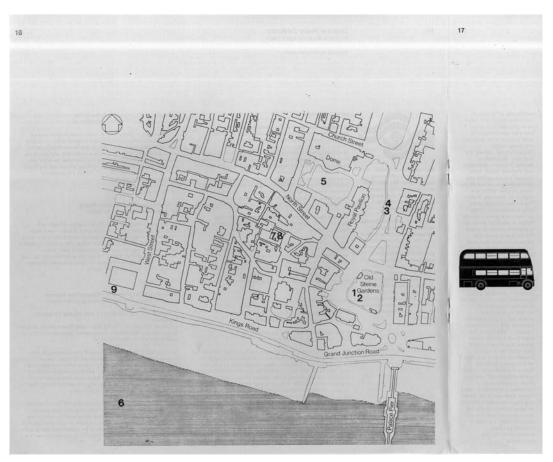
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Cover, *Form* 4 Brighton Festival Exhibition of Concrete Poetry: notes, map 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



Map (p. 16-17), *Form* 4 Brighton Festival Exhibition of Concrete Poetry: notes, map 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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SB: I don't know, I really don't know, probably not, but it might. I can't even remember what programme it was for, one of the arts programmes done at that stage, but I quite enjoyed talking to him and I think he was fairly responsive. We had also an exhibition of Finlay's works in the Festival Club. In fact, I took this photocopy for you, it's actually the official list of all the works which I had lost and then found again, and it shows virtually everything that was there.

GGM: Oh, wonderful. I've seen most of these, but I don't think I've seen... for instance, I don't remember the Edwin Morgan piece for the buses.

SB: Well... it's interesting because that was the only thing which was commissioned, we actually gave him £30 or something like that for this commission. Because at an early stage it must've been suggested to me to have a festival poem and I thought well good idea and wrote to Ian Finlay and he replied, "I thought you were going to ask that and it's not the sort of thing I want to do". But I said, "What about Edwin Morgan?" He said, "Yes, just the sort of thing he would like to do", because as we know he later became first poet laureate of Scotland, and a poet laureate has to write poems for special occasions. But it wasn't going to be a poem simply printed on the poster. What we decided, it seems extraordinarily complex, was that we would have a whole series of green stickers printed and these would be put up in the Brighton buses and then also we would have a kind of key which included all of them which would be put in one or two or three places. So for a time Brighton buses were going around with these stickers. I have got one or two of them still.

GGM: I'd love to see them, and I love the idea of using stickers.

SB: Absolutely, stickers. Not all the bus conductors put them up I think, so it was not a full house, but Edwin Morgan was very pleased with the idea because it was a permutational poem and that was what he was into at that stage. His Concrete poems were often permutational and having the permutation in terms of the buses moving backwards and forwards seemed a nice idea, which worked to a certain extent. We took some images of buses with the stickers.

GGM: How did you select the contributors?

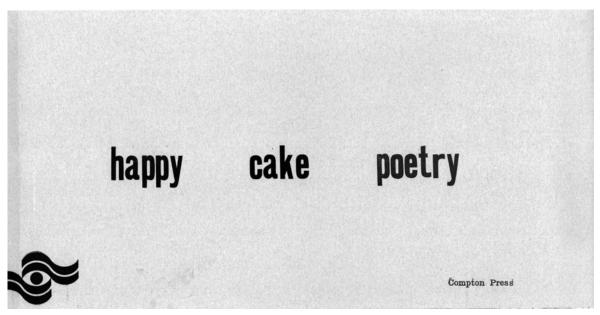
SB: One of the things that was quite important was that we had the support of Sir Hugh Casson. Casson was an important architect, in fact I think he was president of the Royal Academy at one stage and was quite well known at the time. I think he must have lived in Brighton or close to Brighton, at any rate he knew what was going on in the festival. Initially I think we'd been in touch with him about something else, and somehow the idea arose of doing it in Brighton, and that was in the autumn of '66. It was at the stage when things had to be done quite hurriedly. Ed Wright was already in touch with Ian Finlay and working with him, so that meant that we tapped into Chelsea [Edward Wright had been Head of Graphic Design at Chelsea School of Art since 1963]. There was this young student called David de Silva, I often wonder what became of him because he did this enormous Mathias Goeritz construction ['Oro'] which was on the seafront on the concrete building belonging to the Rank Corporation, which then had a huge and completely bare concrete surface. Furnival and Cox, through the sort of West Country connection, were both people working in art schools and were able to use and develop something rather more ambitious than would've been the case with Concrete poets working in their own studies. Ken Cox not only did his own construction, but he also crafted the large orange ampersands for my poem "Amber Sands", set up on the inner lawn of the Royal Pavilion. I think there were 23 of them, in a configuration of 5/4/5/4/5. I'll show you one later... I gave one away to Jasia Reichardt, I gave a few more away over the years, I've now only got about five or six. But I can show you how they looked. You've seen the alteration, yes. So Ken Cox did all that, he was extraordinarily cooperative, but also ambitious in what he was intending to do and what he was able to carry out at the time. It was really terrible, just over a year later he'd been killed in an accident.

I got absolutely lots of enthusiasm from Gomringer, who had never had a poem of his on a banner, and from Bremer. I don't think they ever saw the exhibition, I'm sure they didn't, but again that was a nice idea to have them mounted up in the trees. The Finlay works were, I think, important because it was the first time that he'd had work sited in a public place out of doors, and this was really, for him, a kind of learning experience and also, in some respects, an unpleasant learning experience because a dispute arose which is fully covered, or rather too fully covered, in the letters in Midway involving the Gloucestershire sculptor Henry Clyne who actually made them and, of course, brought them to Brighton and put them up. I always scrupulously put "construction by Henry Clyne" in the catalogue and so forth, but on the little post which was beside the work, it simply said Ian Hamilton Finlay, and he became very concerned about that, and this omission lead later to a full scale row in which he asked Finlay if he should be paying him for the use of his poems, it caused a great amount of bad blood.

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Edwin Morgan "Festive Permutational Poem", sticker 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



Six concrete poems: Brighton Festival, cards in envelope 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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I think in the case of Finlay it was really a rather painful stage he was going through where he had to rely on collaborators because he couldn't carve stones and that kind of thing, but the collaborators often thought that they were artists, that is they were indeed artists most of the time, concerned with their personal work, and therefore could become uneasy about not getting full credit for a work that they'd done. Eventually, of course, he worked that out, but at this stage it's really quite a divisive and difficult issue.

GGM: You mentioned your collaboration with Ed Wright, did you know him well before Brighton?

SB: Ed Wright gave us several connections, but quite how he became involved with Finlay I'm not absolutely certain, what I do know is that the first thing that he actually produced with Finlay was this rather beautiful folding poem Four sails which later was turned into a glass poem. That would've been in '66 I think, in fact there's a long correspondence about it because for various reasons it was quite difficult to read in various versions produced at first, and I think in the end he used hand drawn lettering. It was one of the points where Finlay was really quite anxious about how a new work was going to end up and the designs were going to and fro, but Finlay was very pleased when it finally emerged. Ed Wright was clearly, with his Latin American background, somebody who immediately responded to and was interested in an international movement which would also appeal to his skills as a typographer and graphic designer. I've still got a couple of letters from Ed Wright asking for the bills to be paid, not that we were late, but they were submitted for materials for the various Chelsea items and so on.

GGM: The textiles department made the actual banners, and the poem cube and the cards were also made at Chelsea, in the graphics department.

SB: Yes they were all made at Chelsea, and so I suppose was the David de Silva metal construction for the wall of the Rank building. I suppose that must've been in the metalwork department because he was a Chelsea student.

GGM: Who had the idea for the banners?

SB: I can't recall. Maybe the idea arose in discussion between Finlay and myself.

GGM: Do you agree with the idea that Brighton 1967 marks the zenith of the development of Concrete poetry in Britain, but perhaps also the opening of new possibilities? SB: In a way, I would agree with the term "zenith", because despite its limitations it did show an ambition and a sense of coherence that had not been seen before, and would not be seen again, at least in a group show. The next steps forward were in one-man shows such as Ken Cox's final show at the Lisson [1968], and Finlay's successive shows at the Axiom Gallery (1969) and Inverleith House, Edinburgh (1972). The Tarasque show at the Midland Group Gallery in 1972 was perhaps the next successful and coherent group show - but this was a very different affair, and not international in its scope. As for new possibilities - well again, Finlay never stopped exploring them. Even Gomringer, though most of his work remained words on the page, has constructed some fine carved stone works in an environmental setting that recall, however distantly, the experience of Brighton.



Banner (Claus Bremer "Ein text passiert") with "Amber Sands" in the background. Photograph by Patrick Eagar. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

# Post-concrete

GGM: And you started being less, or it seems to me, a lot less involved with Concrete poetry after '68. Were your interests moving on?

SB: In the last letter in the *Midway* anthology, from December '69, Ian writes to me that the decade of Concrete poetry is over and that was not just a sudden idea. I think in my correspondence with him and with other people, we felt that it was perhaps no longer possible to identify within Concrete poetry the same kind of qualities that had been in



Augusto de Campos, *Linguaviagem* cubepoem (folded) 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.



Augusto de Campos, *Linguaviagem* cubepoem (open) 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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Gomringer and the Noigangres group. There was a crucial change taking place. We talked about it partly in terms of Post-concrete and in the case of Finlay it meant leaving behind the era of typographical experiments to a great extent, involving handwritten lettering, involving inscriptions, involving letter carving. There's a very direct connection between something like Hansjörg Mayer's proofs that Finlay cut up to form the basis of the glass poem Wave/ Rock in 1966, and on the other hand his sitting of a poem in the garden which has been carved by Michael Harvey. It's a very direct connection, but it's no longer just Concrete poetry by that later stage. I think we both tended to feel that in the early '70s. For example, John Sharkey was producing an anthology that was published then, and Ian said that he just didn't want to be in it, because he didn't feel that that such a publication represented anymore his direct interests and his direct affiliations. In Germany I think it was rather different. Eugen Gomringer, whose 90th birthday party I attended a few weeks ago, was really a concrete artist who was also a poet and it is a very striking phenomenon that the close connection that he had with concrete art was still being demonstrated at his birthday by artists who obviously saw a very close connection between his works and theirs. In my case, by the early '70s I'd become closely associated with the Systems group and the Systems exhibition in 1972 at the Whitechapel Gallery. We arranged for it to coincide with the first concert of Steve Reich to take place in London, but we also placed a recording and a visual representation of a poem by Robert Lax at the entrance to the exhibition. So in that respect there was still a close connection. I think the systems artists were moving between, let's say, flat surface painting, and the sculptural and architectural context, but at the same time they were very interested in how contemporary music was developing, and potentially how poetry was developing. I did continue to be interested very much in Robert Lax, in Gomringer and obviously in Finlay. I was, at that stage, still in touch with the Noigandres poets and publishing articles by Haroldo de Campos. I was also well launched into the planning of my anthology of constructivist writings leading up to the present day [The tradition of Constructivism] that came out eventually in '74 but had been more or less completely planned by 1970. The longest thing I wrote on Concrete poetry in the 1960s, I think, was for this book called Studies in the Arts [1968] edited by Francis Warner. The

original piece was delivered as a talk given in 1966

selection under the title "Concrete poetry and after" for an anniversary number of the *London Magazine* 

at St Peter's College, Oxford. I also edited a small

in 1969. But when I finally wrote an article on

Concrete poetry for an international anthology of modernist writings ["Constructivism and literature", published in French in the volume *Les avant-gardes littéraires*, 1984], I saw it as having reached a point by about 1970 where it was really changing into something else.

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*Gustavo Grandal Montero* is a librarian and special collections curator at Chelsea College of Arts and Camberwell College of Arts. Trained as an art historian, he writes and presents regularly on art and librarianship topics and has curated or co-curated a number of exhibitions and events. He was the recipient of the Art Libraries Society (ARLIS) UK & Ireland Travel & Study Fund Award 2010 for his research on the documentation of biennials and is a member of the AHRC-funded Transforming Artists' Books research network. He is Deputy Editor of the *Art Libraries Journal*.

Recent publications include: (2014) 'Sent/received: some (mostly) British invitations, 1961-2006'. In: Senior, D. (ed.) *Please come to the show*. London: Occasional Papers. (2013) 'Tape 0049'. *Noit*, no. 1, pp13-15. (2013) Brown, E., Grandal Montero, G. 'Art as collaboration: 50 years of Edition Hansjörg Mayer.' In: Bodman, S. (ed.) *Artist's Book Yearbook 2014-2015*. Bristol: Impact Press/UWE. (2013) Foden-Lenahan, E., Grandal Montero, G., Hirata Tanaka, A.P. 'Defending the aesthetic: the conservation of an artist's book'. *Art Libraries Journal*, vol. 38 no. 1, pp32-37.

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Ian Hamilton Finlay *Rapel: 10 fauve and suprematist poems*. Edinburgh: Wild Hawthorn Press.

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RIGHTON FESTIVA	L . CONGRETE POETRY I	EXHIBITION . DIRECTED BY STEPHEN BANN
N THE STEINE GA	RDENS	
Claus Bremer Switzerland)	" ein text passiert "	banner (20ft. by 3ft.) designed by Edward Wright, with Roger Limbrick, Textile Department, Chelsea School of Aft.
ugen Gomringer Switzerland)	" wind " constellation	banner (5ft. 10in. square) designed by Edward Wright, with Roger Limbrick, Textile Department, Chelsea School of Art
AROUND THE ROY	AL PAVILION	
an Hamilton Finlay Scotland)	Sailor's Cross	construction (4ft. high) by Henry Clyne
an Hamilton Finlay Scotland)	Purse-net poem	construction (6ft. by 3ft.) by Henry Clyne
Stephen Bann (England)	Amber sands	23 wooden letters (3ft. long) by Kenelm Cox
OFF THE WEST PIE	R	
Kenelm Cox	Three Graces	construction (28ft. high) by the author
BRIGHTON SQUAR	E	
Hansjörg Mayer (Germany)	Typographical columns	3 perspex columns (7ft. high) displaying printed sheets
Communal project directed by John Furnival (England)	Five vowels	5 perspex screens (6ft. by 4ft.) by Paul Ansell, Simon Farrell, Stephen Hoare and Ann Stephenson: silk- screened under direction of John Vince at Bath Academy of Art
RANK ENTERTAIN	ENTS CENTRE	
Mathias Goeritz (Mexico)	From "Die goldene Botschaft"	construction (? 18ft. square) by David de Silva
AROUND BRIGHTO	N-ON BUSES AND STATIC O	BJECTS
Edwin Morgan (Scotland)	Festive permutational poem in one poster and 18 streamers	designed by Edmund Marsden
AT THE FESTIVAL COLLEGE OF	ARTS CLUB, BRIGHTON ART	
lan Hamilton Finlay (Scotland)	Various poem/constructions in glass, steel and plastic	
ON SALE THROUG	HOUT BRIGHTON	
Augusto de Campos (Brazil)	"Linguaviagem" cubepoem: limited edition of 100: at 7/6d.	designed by Philip Steadman
Augusto de Campos Jose Lino Grünewald (Brazil)	Set of 6 postcard-poems, in envelope with text by Gomringer—at 3/- per set or 6d. singly	designed by Edward Wright, art work by Elizabeth Greenbaum and Alan Rickman, Graphics Dept., Chelsea School of Art
Eugen Gomringer (Switzerland)		
Gerhard Rühm (Germany)		2005
lan Hamilton Finlay (Scotland)		
Dom Sylvester Houédard		
Houédard (England)		
		rion, notes on all exhibits, and an article by Eugen Gom-

List of works, Exhibition of Concrete Poetry 1967. Image reproduced courtesy of Stephen Bann.

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