

Beats, Poets, Renegades: A 1960s Northern Poetry Underground and its Countercultural Impact

by

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Abstract

This thesis considers the 1960s poetry, writing and publishing of Jim Burns, Dave Cunliffe and Tina Morris who produced little poetry magazines *Move* and *Poetmeat* from Preston and Blackburn respectively and also the latter's small press BB Books.

It places their work within an influential avant garde literary field which spread new forms of poetry alongside the radical politics of what later became known as the counterculture.

This work analyses both their literary and social impact, for the first time linking a northern poetry underground with a radical activism still visible today.

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Introduction

This dissertation looks at the work of the poets, editors and publishers Jim Burns, Dave Cunliffe and Tina Morris who operate mostly within the little poetry magazine field and it will focus mainly on the period from the late 1950s to the early 70s when they were most active (in terms of publishing material) within that sphere. Cunliffe and Morris co-edited *Poetmeat* magazine and the BB Books small press alongside the factsheet *PM Newsletter* and the still extant *Global Tapestry Journal* from their Blackburn home while Burns produced *Move* and *Palantir* from Preston, writing about poetry magazines in numerous publications including a regular column in the socialist periodical *Tribune*. Although they were part of a very small scene of just a few hundred authors, publishers and admirers the magazines played an important role in disseminating poetry and other kinds of information to a wider audience including the northern working class and certainly beyond the traditional readership for poetry. During a particularly conservative period when British mainstream coverage of the avant garde was limited, it was the little poetry magazines on both sides of the Atlantic which gave expression to new forms of verse.

Even within this scene Burns, Cunliffe and Morris were relatively unusual because they were particularly inspired by US authors who wrote about topics seldom previously covered (e.g. sex, sexuality and drugs) and in new ways that explored the boundaries of form (freeform, cut-up etc.). As the Americans brushed away the need for verse to be written or read in the traditional Oxbridge manner the working class could, for the first time, see that they might use their own language and social experience to create poetry. Particularly in the north, where poverty forced many to leave education early in order to earn a living, a tradition of auto-didacticism meant that learners developed a knowledge base very different from the formal syllabus propounded within general further and higher education. This in turn inspired wider reading beyond the traditional set texts of colleges and universities. Our trio were part of this self-educated movement and, inspired by the new wave of literature, they composed their own verse, edited magazines and wrote widely about the poetry.

Burns was credited with seeing the value of the magazines and spreading the influence of the avant garde to a wider audience through articles in *Tribune* and the *Guardian* newspaper. Cunliffe and Morris used *Poetmeat* to explore the then little-covered topics of environmentalism, racism and sex through poetry and this boundary pushing eventually led to Cunliffe's trial for the publication of Arthur Moysé's *Golden Convolvulus*. This experimentalism and their links to the new politics of the Beats and the later hippies meant that the pair developed a growing reputation within what gradually became known as the counterculture. Indeed Burns, Cunliffe and Morris corresponded with and published the work of many underground figures in the early sixties (long before they became known as such) while the small press and alternative bookshop network the wider scene developed would be used by the counterculture later in the decade. But, despite this recognition, the obscurity of the little-covered 1960s poetry boom within the wider literary world means that the impact of the three remains largely ignored and it is hoped that this research might go some little way towards redressing this imbalance. Limited previous study of the trio means that the main methodology for this work has been interviews and correspondence both with the protagonists and those connected to them. These are combined with those few texts which do explore the wider subject area to position the three within the British poetry revival while the work of cultural theorists is used to investigate their work from a socio-political angle.

Chapter One:

Post War Poetry

LOVE IS ALL FUCKED UP

Tuli Kupferberg

Love is all fucked up.

Its gotten mixed up with the rats

Oedipuses, the 6 sexes, affection, affliction,

Aggression, Flaming Creatures, Hooversexuality

& creeping onanism.

Love is all fucked up.

Is it pacifism, glandulism, sociology,

Idolatry, movie-making, consternation,

Sprung rhyme or

Ectopic beat?

I think, I said, love is what you make it.

OK, she said, winking her cunt, lets make it.

Golden Convolvulus 1965

Our starting point will be a brief description of the kind of issue we will study and the type of writing the publications contained in order to contextualise the scene. This will then broaden to show how and why poetry magazines grew in importance after the Second World War, to analyse their impact and to highlight the links between this domain and the emergent British counterculture of the mid-1960s.

The definition of the 'little' magazine refers to the size of its subscription list or the numbers produced or is held by some to indicate who makes the publication – i.e. it is small because it is created by one person or a group of people rather than manufactured by a big company or organisation. They can best be described as cheaply made, sometimes incorporating artwork, photographs and prose but mostly containing experimental poetry. Often edited by poets, many are themed towards the writers' own tastes and poetic ideas, offering the chance of early publication for those just setting out or the opportunity to take risks for established authors without the critical spotlight of the mainstream press. Although some are beautifully crafted, most appear similar to the 'zines' of the 1980s and 90s (30 or 40 typed pages between hand printed card covers) but it is important to understand that the poetry magazines were generally of a serious literary bent and were independently produced often because the editors chose to escape the limitations of the commercial publishers in terms of language, style and content. This relative freedom from mercantile considerations also allows for an immediacy and manoeuvrability meaning that the small presses can react more quickly than the mass media to developments so they are a good barometer for measuring and analysing new literary forms. Although the peak period for these publications was the 1960s and 70s it should be noted that even in these internet-centred times they still exist and are often collected by enthusiasts and specialist archives.

Small poetry magazines have been defined in a variety of ways but in their work *British Poetry Magazines 1914-2000: A History and Bibliography of 'Little Magazines'* David Miller and Richard Price describe them as (2006, p. ix-xi):

...a publication that contains or concerns itself with poetry...intended to last more than one issue...published on a non-commercial basis...[with

the] intention to assert its contents' difference from a poetry 'norm', 'centre' or 'establishment'...[containing] work that explicitly or implicitly asks to be measured in relation to the originality of its forms...[has] work deriving from and/or circulating to a small number of artists and writers serving to maintain a kind of magazine-enabled community...[has] a self-conscious sense of the physical and graphic design of the magazine as being in tune with the content...strong assertions [towards] artistic, literary and political views...displays an engaged awareness of literary and artistic movements abroad and [contains] work that, simply, as time has gone by, has proven to be influential.

In *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography* F J Hoffman, C Allen and C F Ulrich use this description (1947, p.1-2):

A little magazine is...designed to print artistic work which for reasons of commercial expediency is not acceptable to the money-minded periodicals or presses. Acceptance or refusal by commercial publishers at times has little to do with the quality of the work...Little magazines are willing to lose money, to court ridicule, to ignore public taste, willing to do almost everything – steal, beg, or undress in public – rather than sacrifice their right to print good material...Such periodicals are, therefore, non-commercial by intent, for their altruistic ideal usually rules out the hope of financial profit.

So the 'little' magazines are small not in size or importance but because generally they have a limited readership in comparison with mainstream publications – sometimes only a couple of hundred subscribers and occasionally many less than that. Often these are largely made up of other editors, writers and poets potentially creating a virtuous loop of literary influence far greater than a periodical with such a tiny readership would normally have, though this can also lead to accusations of insularity. Little magazines, with much lower costs to produce and distribute, are created without the burden of trying to turn a profit, giving editors the chance to be far more innovative in selecting poets and poems and, although restricted by budget, the scope to push artistic boundaries both in terms of style and content. Due to financial restrictions many are simply and

cheaply produced but the limitations force some to use imaginative ways of turning small-scale production to their advantage, for instance making them collectible with hand-printed covers and numbered editions so they stand out from mainstream magazines. In the 1960s they were mainly purchased through the post or at readings and were not generally stocked in mainstream bookshops although a number of specialist retailers did spring up to cater to the poetry market.

Historically they were linked to art movements, with early examples including *The Germ* from the Pre-Raphaelites and Wyndham Lewis's Vorticist *Blast* while the work of the Imagist poets was produced in several small magazines such as *The Glebe* featuring the work of William Carlos Williams, Ford Madox Ford and Ezra Pound. They can be linked to an even longer tradition of small scale, creatively produced volumes stretching as far back as Chartist pamphlets and it is also argued that they developed from writers releasing early drafts of work to a small circle of friends to gauge pre-publication reaction. There are similarities between the magazines and an early form of cheaply produced, popular manuscript available from around the sixteenth century which later became known as a 'chapbook'. In Britain the little poetry magazines were certainly part of a literary tradition that was obvious by the second decade of the twentieth century, continuing through two world wars and which exploded from the late 1950s.

By the fifties a new wave of experimentalism had appeared in British poetry via the likes of Gael Turnbull and Edwin Morgan through a modernism influenced both by older poets (such as Pound, Louis Zukofsky, Hugh MacDiarmid and Basil Bunting) and the avant garde of the expressionists, surrealists and, in particular, Dada. But to anyone looking at a surface history of this period of UK verse this will appear anomalous because it maintained a steadfast reputation for traditionalism. The language used and the range of subjects considered suitable not only restricted what appeared as British poetry but effectively put up barriers to those who might write their own work outside the then conventional literary demographic of the middle class and the academic. This is because a battle had been fought and won in the 1950s by traditionalists who believed in poetry without the theoretical ties of the experimentalists, which left the avant garde largely hidden from view. The *New Lines* anthology (containing Donald Davie, Philip

Larkin, John Wain etc.) heralded what became known as the Movement who wanted a far more prosaic kind of (particularly English) poetry, based around conventional forms and themes. But more than this, they actively sought to erase completely from the narrative the romanticism of the 1940s. The group advocated poetry independent of historical influences just in case any hint of modernism should somehow seep into a poet's work, while retaining the right to maintain links to the 'correct' kind of inspiration (Thomas Hardy for instance).

In their work *New British Poetries: The Scope of the Possible* editors Robert Hampson and Peter Barry make this explicit (1993, P.4):

Andrew Crozier's Introduction to *A Various Art* suggests that the small-press poetic production was consciously in opposition to the official British poetry of the fifties which was restricted by its own conventions and was not to be ambitious beyond that. To establish this orthodoxy a 'shift in taste' had been engineered which involved 'the wholesale rewriting' of the history of modern poetry and the virtual suppression of parts of it.

With verse covered in just a handful of mainstream magazines (*Times Literary Supplement, The Spectator, The Observer*) and published by only a few major imprints, it was relatively easy for the Movement and their well-placed acolytes to gain virtually total control over almost all poetry available through mainstream outlets and also what verse was seen or reviewed in the media so that other forms became almost completely hidden. Indeed Hampson and Barry propose that the Movement attempted a complete re-calibration of poetic history in order to contrive their own position within it and to wipe out completely the existence of modernism using Blake Morrison's study *The Movement: English Poetry and the Fiction of the 1950s* as evidence (1993, p.5-6):

Morrison's full-length study...describes how the poets of the Movement (Amis, Larkin, Wain, Davie etc.) presented themselves as a 'radical departure' from the poetry of the forties by constructing 'a distorted picture' of that decade in order to define themselves against it. He also shows how a small group of Oxbridge writers, through a network of Oxbridge contacts, came to shift the taste of the fifties. In particular, where the modernist movement (and the British Poetry Revival later) forged its

identity through 'little magazines', the Movement concentrated on the weekly periodicals – *the Spectator*, *the Listener*, *the New Statesman* – which immediately gave access to a larger audience.

Beyond the idea that the Movement cleverly controlled literary access through the media, the very nature of the work of the likes of Larkin and Amis reflected something of the British mentality of the period. At a time of conformity during post-war austerity their work mirrored the lives of much of the population; their writing was comparatively straightforward, more easily comprehended than say the Imagists and required little effort from readers unschooled in allusion or metaphor. On the other hand the poetry of modernism appearing in the little magazines of the time did need the subscriber to look beyond the everyday, to delve into the avant garde and to be challenged intellectually. Looking at the shades of poetry on offer from this perspective makes it fairly plain that, even given a fair fight between the two in the press, it is almost always much easier to sell work that the reader does not need to try so hard to understand and that this remains the case with most art forms.

So anyone reading the mainstream literary press at the time would probably have been unaware of a wave of new poetry on both sides of the Atlantic. In America a poetic group formed around the Black Mountain College which had several important avant garde artists (John Cage, Buckminster Fuller, Willem de Kooning) teaching many who would themselves go on to break new ground (Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly etc.). From there Charles Olson developed an 'open', 'projectivist' theory of verse, freeing it from its traditional restrictions while Robert Creeley, Ed Dorn, Larry Eigner and Denise Levertov used his ideas to release their poetry from the boundaries of literary tradition in style, form and content. In New York a group developed experimental ideas meshing art theories with new writing techniques stressing the improvisatory, stream of consciousness and the spontaneous which included poets Barbara Guest and Frank O'Hara alongside Jackson Pollock and de Kooning (again). On the west coast of the US, San Francisco and, in particular, Lawrence Ferlinghetti's City Lights publishers and bookshop, was the centre for several writers including Kenneth Rexroth, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, Gregory Corso, Chandler Brossard and John Clellon Holmes. Their links to jazz music, fashion and distinctive writing styles

made them easily identifiable and captivated the imagination of the media to the extent that almost any US literature published in Europe in the early 1960s was automatically (and often incorrectly) labelled 'Beat' while most of the writers quickly tried to distance themselves from the term. Although often misrepresented in the British press, the west coast writers were at least not completely ignored unlike their UK experimental counterparts who received barely a mention perhaps because they were not so neatly marketable or pigeonholed as the Beats or possibly because, being closer to home, they were perceived as more of a threat to the establishment.

What really excited British poets was reading Americans using English without the straitjacket of the uptight moral restrictions of the class system, the narrow scope of academia or the constraints set by the Movement. Both in terms of subject matter (sexual freedom, sexuality, drugs, travel, music) but perhaps more importantly in the use of the language itself the US writers felt free from the notion that verse should be constructed in the traditional stanza format, that it need be read in the received-pronunciation of Oxbridge academics and they were untroubled by the restrictive vocabulary forced upon British poets by the weight of literary history, censorship or the self-appointed custodians of rectitude in the English media. The performance element used by many US poets also opened up new possibilities, encouraging the employment of tension and intensity or the rhythms of jazz music feeding back onto the written page, changing the feel of the verse and taking it even further from its traditional form. For the British, schooled that doggerel must be tightly structured and fit within the parameters of several hundred years' poetic tradition, reading the New Yorkers or the Beats suddenly revealed that poetry could be anything they wanted it to be. For those within the UK working class who encountered and were receptive to it, the idea that poetic language could be their own was revelatory, revolutionary even, and the only restriction was a channel for their work.

Jim Burns' chapter in *CUSP: Recollections of Poetry in Transition* edited by Geraldine Monk describes the importance of the little magazines to a burgeoning poetry scene in Britain and America (2012, p.15):

In 1957...(I) began to pick up on the new writing that was starting to filter through from the United States, with the Beats obviously to the fore. They were the first ones to make an impact, though, as other books became available and little magazines spread the word, I became aware of the Black Mountain poets and the New York writers. I think it's essential to say that the little magazines were of key importance and without them it would have been much harder to find out what was happening and who the most interesting poets were. Publications like *Evergreen Review*, *Big Table*, *Yugen* and *The Outsider* in America and *Migrant*, *Satis*, *Outburst*, and *New Departures* in Britain, had an important role to play and as they weren't easy to obtain, even in London, I subscribed to them.

So while the US had the New York and San Francisco poetry schools Britain (albeit a little later) developed its own neo-modernist movement, experimenting with form and content and inspired by the likes of Hugh MacDiarmid, Louis Zukofsky and David Jones. These poets had a profound influence on younger writers who, at the start of the sixties, felt emboldened to move away from traditional English verse. Unafraid to try new approaches this new generation of British experimentalists included Ian Hamilton Finlay and Dom Sylvester Houédard who explored innovation through Concrete poetry and a range of different methods (sound, text, cut-up etc.) and often the first (and sometimes the only) place to discover this writing was within the little poetry magazines prepared to investigate the new literary forms.

This wave of experimentalism was growing just as the mimeograph, off-set lithograph and early photo-reproduction technologies for the first time brought cheap publishing within reach, allowing almost anyone to set up a press or magazine, while the end of rationing meant that cheap paperback books became widely available in Britain. These new publishing methods fostered independent magazines which did not need mass media coverage, bypassing the control held over the poetry appearing in the mainstream press. Suddenly poetry was not only available but it also seemed original, exciting and hip, sparked by writers feeding on the improvisation of jazz, the originality of pop art and a new youth culture for the first time speaking to the young in a language of their own. As Britain slowly recovered from the financial restraints imposed after the war and cinema,

architecture and art were renewed through modernism, the little poetry magazines sparked innovation within the literary world. Demand subsequently increased as did the number of journals, with the most notable from this 1960s period including the Michael Horovitz-edited *New Departures*, Gael Turnbull's *Migrant*, Peter Finch's *Second Aeon*, *Underdog* edited by Liverpool's Brian Patten, Tom Raworth's *Outburst*, the Cambridge group-linked *The Resuscitator* and *The English Intelligencer* from Peter Riley and Andrew Crozier (with JH Prynne as executive assistant), Edinburgh's *Sidewalk* and *Gambit*, Lee Harwood's editorship of *Tzarad* and Martin Bax's *Ambit* while Concrete poetry was strongly represented in Cavan McCarthy's *Tlaloc* and Ian Hamilton Finlay's *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse.*

In his work on the development of a British underground *All Dressed Up – The Sixties and the Counterculture* Jonathon Green highlights how the bohemian elements of London were picking up on the poetry scene (1998, p.130):

For the young, frustrated and disillusioned CND veterans, who could be found in such hang outs as the Peace Café in the Fulham Road, the choice was 'little magazines' and poetry readings. These magazines were rarely noted by the Establishment and they were often cheaply produced and with tiny circulations...Among the better known were Michael Horovitz's *New Departures* (from Oxford) and Dave Cunliffe's *Poetmeat* (from Blackburn).

Wolfgang Görtschacher, in his *Little Magazine Profiles: The Little Magazines in Great Britain 1939-1993* quotes Barry MacSweeney from his essay 'The British Poetry Revival 1965-79' (1993, p.141-142):

Lively home-produced magazines and broadsheets sprang up in Edinburgh, Blackburn, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Worcester...each town and city seemed to have at least one underground press. And they were publishing what happened then, that month, even that week. The act of printing was *immediate*. Poets realised that it was no use hanging about waiting for Big Publishers to pick up on the scene. It was down to us to start an alternative network of magazines and books, bypassing the usual strictly-controlled distribution channels.

There are two important elements to this quotation from MacSweeney's essay, the first of which is his description of an 'alternative network' and the link he draws between the poetry scene and the independent structure of the British counterculture which reached its peak in the late 1960s. There is no doubt that the autonomous communication channels created by the small poetry press were a blueprint used later in the same decade by the likes of *Oz* and *International Times* which benefited from the construction of 'underground' publishing, distribution and retail networks by those involved in the poetry sphere. I would go further though and argue that the little poetry magazines of the early 1960s are by definition countercultural in terms of form, content and in that they were set up in deliberate opposition to or as an attempt to bypass mainstream publishing houses, the mass media and the traditional poetry system. Although less obviously revolutionary in tone their very creation was a political act, an attempt to bring about change or at the very least to set up a resistance to a poetry establishment which suppressed experimental work. The poetry contained within the magazines is also radical and reading the small magazines' verse alongside their editorials leaves little doubt that most of the writers were left-leaning, post-Marxist (disillusioned by the Soviet crushing of east European uprisings) or with a libertarian Anarchist bent influenced by the politics of Ginsberg. Stylistically many of the magazines look similar to the more blatantly militant publications of the time while there are identifiable links between the little magazines and the more obviously countercultural, such as Jeff Nuttall (with his poetry magazine *My Own Mag*) who moved between poetry, radical politics, the art world and the underground exerting influence across them all.

MacSweeney's second important reference is to how the presses appeared in all parts of Britain; not just in the major cities where you might expect the development of new cultures but in many small towns and in all the different regions. The industrial areas of the midlands, the north-west and the north-east of England were particularly busy centres for this poetry explosion, with Nottingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Hebden Bridge and Blackburn hosting little magazines, small presses and poetry nights. With material largely distributed through the post it did not matter whether you were based in London or Galashiels, Preston or New York because physical distances no longer mattered and networks were built

between poets in South America, the US, Australasia and Europe. Long before the World Wide Web, culture was becoming global, spreading across continents through these communication channels as evidenced by little magazine letters pages and poetry archives full of international correspondence.

Miller and Price also highlight this small town cultural explosion in their work (2006, p.124):

...people in over four hundred places up and down the country...published small numbers of magazines. Many of these locations were small towns or villages. From Aberdeen to Zennor, a radically decentralised form of publication had arrived. Together, this represents a considerable cottage industry, an often mimeograph revolution that set some of the ground rules for the successive publishing changes from photocopy to desktop publication and on to the internet world of e-zines.

The Scottish poet and critic Tom Leonard argues that there is an almost invisible working class literary tradition hidden from the study of English Literature, overshadowed by the work of their better known middle class counterparts. He believes that this exclusion of dialects and accents from literary history has marginalised the language of ordinary people and that formalising the subject academically gave those in power the opportunity to arrange the topic in their own image, creating lists of set books and excluding the language of those who fall outside these brackets. Miller and Price's work suggests that the development of the little magazines and concurrent live readings allowed some of this popular verse to break through into the consciousness of a much wider readership. In this respect the above bibliographic survey is particularly important to this research because Burns, Cunliffe and Morris operated from Preston and Blackburn respectively - two Lancashire mill towns which, although once supporting a handful of Victorian bards, had no obvious modern literary tradition. Poetry was suddenly springing from unconventional places, becoming popular in the uncustomary venues of pubs and clubs, created by people with little visible poetic background. Inspired by Americans grabbing hold of the English language and freeing poetry from its past associations, clearing the way for new techniques, a few ordinary British people believed that they too could become poets. Seeing

that poetry need not be fey, twee or whimsical but that it could be muscular, sexy and passionate, reflecting their own lives, stimulated a new generation of young authors to take up verse.

Poets' willingness to travel and read their work to live audiences in cafés, clubs and bars was spreading their work to a much broader audience. In Britain poets, editors and promoters organised readings in rooms around the country with Newcastle, Nottingham, Bristol and Glasgow all hosting important nights but plenty of small towns had events in the 1960s and 70s. Almost as important as the readings was the opportunity it gave to poets (used to a purely solitary pursuit) to meet others, make connections and network.

The best known live event of the period was the 1965 Albert Hall *International Poetry Incarnation* (captured in the *Wholly Communion* film) attended by 7,000 people and featuring Ginsberg, Trocchi, Ferlinghetti, Corso and organiser Michael Horowitz, cited by many as the spark that began the British underground including Jonathon Green in his work *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (1998, p.128):

In any discussion of the 'Sixties' the question inevitably emerges: when did the period begin? The dismissal of the simple chronology is easy enough – no one ever suggests that 1 January 1960 was some kind of seminal date – but then what? One thing, fortunately, is clear: that 1965 – and especially 11 June 1965, the day of the Albert Hall Poetry reading...was pivotal. Irrespective of the quality of the event...the reading was the moment at which the nascent underground stood up to be counted.

I would argue that by 1965 many of those involved in the early development of the counterculture from the late 1950s had already moved on and that the Albert Hall event, if it marks anything, is the moment the establishment finally caught up with what had quietly been happening out of its scope.

Arranged in reaction to their disappointment at the London event and with a line-up more reflective of British experimentalism, the *Poetry 66* reading and symposium in Nottingham organised by Trent Books' Martin Parnell, Stuart Mills

and Simon Cutts was the biggest performance of those featured in the UK little poetry press of that time. It had an unparalleled list of contributors that reflected the promoters' interest in Concrete poetry and which included Bob Cobbing, Gael Turnbull, Brian Patten, Adrian Henri, Jim Burns and an uncredited appearance from Tina Morris and Dave Cunliffe (confirmed in correspondence with Martin Parnell). Just as influential were the Newcastle poetry nights at Mordern Tower arranged by Tom and Connie Pickard, which hosted many of the most important poets from Britain and America including Ginsberg, Bunting, Robert Creeley and Ed Dorn. Michael Horovitz took his multi-arts-based expositions Live Departures (music, poetry, action painting etc.) on tour, playing hundreds of shows while Barry MacSweeney hosted the 1967 Sparty Lea Poetry Festival in Northumberland which attracted the likes of J H Prynne, Andrew Crozier, Peter Riley, Tom Pickard and Jim Burns.

Many small presses published both the magazines and also the associated books and pamphlets with important examples including Wild Hawthorn, Fulcrum, Tarasque Press, Oasis, Andrew Crozier's Ferry Press, Goliard, Migrant Press organised by Gael Turnbull and Trigram. Although the magazines were mainly sold through postal subscriptions, several shops appeared around the UK catering to the growing poetry demand including Better Books, Turret, Compendium and Indica in London, Liverpool's News from Nowhere, Unicorn in Brighton, and Nottingham's Trent Books. The poets, editors and publishers were developing their own network through which magazines and books could be sold, readings could be organised and new developments shared.

With the internet a long way off and many households without even a telephone, the writers and editors themselves became major poetry hubs, disseminating literary information, with Cunliffe and Morris producing *PM Newsletter* from Blackburn and Cavan McCarthy publishing *Loc-Sheets*, a regular bulletin from Leeds (and also, for a period in 1967, from Blackburn). Many magazines had a review section for other publications, a literary/poetry news page or column but also crucially contained the contact details of many other presses and magazines. This meant that once a reader discovered a periodical (through whatever means) it opened up a whole new literary world they could access through the contacts page. Unlike most within the British Poetry Revival Jim Burns had some access to

the mainstream media via his *Tribune* column and occasional *Guardian* articles which he used to bring the little poetry magazines to wider attention.

By the late 1960s although the poets featured in the little magazines still garnered scant mainstream consideration one important anthology did recognise the significance of their work. Michael Horovitz edited *Children of Albion: Poetry of the 'Underground' in Britain* (Penguin, 1969) which included verse from most of the major small press writers including Crozier, Harwood, Spike Hawkins, Anselm Hollo, Chris Torrance, Gael Turnbull and from Burns, Cunliffe and Morris. Perhaps as important as the poetry, Horovitz's concluding essay is an exciting (if rather hyperbolic) summary of the alternative British poetry scene from the late 1950s up until that point.

Another major development at the turn of the decade was something of a coup d'état at the Poetry Society which, up until that point, had been a bastion of all that was traditional within British verse. In 1970 a rush of avant garde poets joining the society enabled much of the old board to be swept aside and Eric Mottram placed as editor of *Poetry Review*, which, much to the shock of its readership, he changed into a magazine featuring the experimentalists. This gave the modernists a rare mainstream platform, although the subsequent loss of many of its subscribers meant that they were now left largely preaching to the converted amongst a greatly declining readership. Some of these writers were included in the collection *The New British Poetry 1968-88* edited by Gillian Allnutt, Fred D'Aguiar, Ken Edwards and Eric Mottram (Paladin, 1988) for which Mottram contributed an introduction entitled 'A Treacherous Assault on British Poetry' about his battle with the conventional poetry world to raise the profile of the British Poetry Revival of the 1960s and 70s.

So although the little poetry magazines gained some limited respect for their part in bringing a new avant garde element to poetry and to wider literature it was not until the late 1980s and the 1990s that credit was really given to the participants. The fact that the majority of the texts referenced in this work originate from the 1990s and the 2000s supports the supposition that what recognition eventually came their way was only given with a good deal of hindsight and was, even then, on a small scale. Despite this it is clear that a few, cheaply published magazines,

had an impact way beyond their tiny subscription lists by broadening the appeal of poetry at a point when the mass media chose to ignore all but the most mainstream verse. In the next chapter we will look at the backgrounds of Burns, Cunliffe and Morris looking specifically at the part they played within what the Americans call the 'Mimeo Revolution'.

Jim Burns

Kitchen Song

She has a way with her to make
pots and pans fall down
in homage as she passes, and

each day we lose a glass, or
cup, or saucer, and she
is my lady of the fragments.

Move 3

1965

Chapter Two:

Biographies

No room to grow

nor can my mind

move beyond its

limitations

crowding every mile

leaving no land alone, here

where it dips

and mountains inland

hills into plain

from Bristol catching

a lorry to London (another land

before me,

laps of road

fenced on either side

thinking about that "Long,

tall Texan"

"Marlboro-Country",

Gary Cooper's

West, I never saw

Move 6

1966

After the Second World War Britain was left with huge debts and an enormous negative balance of payments, a ruined infrastructure, rationing which remained almost ten years after VE Day and shortages which lasted even longer. Although employment was widely available comestibles were not, travel was restrictively expensive and books and records were in short supply. Alongside these cultural constraints limited access to coloured fabrics meant that life not only felt humdrum but actually looked drab and dull. With a school leaving age of 14 and little opportunity to go into further or higher education most youngsters worked in factories with limited chance to progress beyond the shop floor. While Lancashire had, for instance, vibrant football and cricket leagues what little social excitement there was came via the local pub, dance hall, the cinema or through a preponderance of operatic societies, amateur dramatics and artist groups.

Lancashire did though have a long tradition of trade unionism and socialist politics which can be partly traced to an influx of Irish, Scottish and Italian immigrants attracted by the booming cotton industry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and who carried with them a political radicalism and a lust for life unusual in many other parts of England. This meshed with a population raised on faiths uncommon elsewhere in the country, with Catholicism (which survived the reformation due to the region's distance from the capital) and some extremely unconventional non-conformist religions which grew up in the isolation of the Pennines and which bred wildly unorthodox spiritualist worship. So while on the surface life in the region appeared conventional with a day-to-day existence ruled by the need to earn a living on the factory floor, what lay beneath was an unruly, hedonistic joie de vivre with a belligerent independence engendering an anti-authoritarian streak which occasionally surfaced in the form of large-scale disturbances as outlined, for instance, by William Turner in his work *Riot: The Story of the East Lancashire Loom-Breakers* (Lancashire County Press, 1992).

In his oral histories *The Unprivileged* (Longmans, Green, 1967) and, in particular *City Close Up* (Bobbs, Merrill, 1971) which focuses exclusively on Blackburn, Jeremy Seabrook paints a picture of post-industrial decline and a working class struggling to survive the collapse of manufacturing. Although a valuable record of the era, Seabrook fails to place the local economy within an increasingly globalized world (where textile production in Eastern Europe and India has

undercut that of Lancashire) and his portrait of uneducated Lancastrians quick to blame their plight on south Asian immigrants in *City Close Up* does a disservice to people coping with abject poverty. Although there is little doubt that an element of the impoverished working class did blame their situation on an influx of migrants from the Indian sub-continent the research fails to grasp the town's willingness to welcome people from around the world and to embrace the cosmopolitanism this brought to the area. What Seabrook's study also missed was a strong auto-didacticism amongst workers forced to leave education to support their families and who both sought self-improvement and harboured a love for the arts that even the most dreary existence could not kill. It is in this context that we must understand our three authors in order to comprehend their search for something greater through the medium of the printed word.

Born in 1936 into a working class family with two sisters and a brother, Jim Burns lived in a small terraced house in the since largely demolished Larkhill Street in Preston. His father spent 15 years in the Royal Navy before working as a steeplejack, docker and in a factory, while his mother was employed as a maid and then moved into the mills which at the time formed Lancashire's economic backbone. Jim attended St Saviours Junior School and Preston Grammar and, as stated to Kevin Ring in his *Beat Scene* interview, he developed an early thirst for unconventional, non-curriculum literature (2014, p. 36):

I was always alert to the idea that there were lots of interesting things going on outside the usual framework. I can recall even as a kid prowling the local library just finding things for myself rather than accepting the received ideas that people are happy to accept and I came across a lot of fascinating writers, painters and musicians.

From about the age of fourteen via European radio stations he developed a love of modern jazz, in particular bebop the scarcity of which encouraged travel to Manchester and London to buy import albums and to watch live acts at Salford's Band on the Wall and Ronnie Scott's original basement club. In a letter of 3rd December 2014, Burns explains that Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, Howard McGhee and Allen Eager were some of the artists who inspired him to explore experimental music but who also drew him towards the avant garde:

My own interest in bebop was, in some ways, part of an introduction into a whole world of culture, and especially 'alternative' culture. Gilbert Sorrentino's memoir about bop in New York in the 1945-50 period is a key document and he stresses how for him and others who later became known as writers bebop was a major factor in their development.

Leaving school at 16 he worked in Horrocks cotton mill which produced good quality fabric and high end female fashion but which offered few long-term career prospects. Seeing an escape route out of textiles, an increasingly cramped family home and a looming period of national service (in which he would have no choice of regiment or station) in April 1954 he joined the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers. Again in his Kevin Ring interview, he explains how, based on the Rhine alongside many US troops, American forces radio and bookshops stocked with the latest releases from the States, it gave him the chance to further develop his love of US culture (2014, p. 36-37):

It was useful from the point of view of being able to get a lot of American paperbacks then not available in Britain. I read some of the obvious established writers like Faulkner, Hemingway and Steinbeck but also less well-known ones like Leonard Bishop and Willard Motley. As for jazz, the German shops had American LPs and, of course, you couldn't get them in Britain because of import and currency restrictions, so I picked up Blue Note and Savoy discs.

Born in 1941 in Blackburn, Lancashire (six miles east of Preston) Dave Cunliffe grew up with his parents and two brothers (Ray and Peter) initially in the Beardwood district and then in Woodfold Place attending St Silas Junior School and the local secondary modern. Leaving education in the mid-1950s he went through several labouring jobs while developing a taste for US literature via paperbacks sold to second hand bookshops by American servicemen stationed around the county. Avoiding the town's violent teddy boys he gravitated towards West Indian clubs in Manchester's Moss Side which offered jazz, calypso and soft drugs and where, although not openly welcomed, misfits were at least tolerated. Leaving home, Cunliffe travelled the country before arriving in London in 1958 where he lived in Chiswick and worked in a factory on the Great Western Road.

In the capital he befriended 'artist, critic and bus conductor' Arthur Moyle who introduced Cunliffe to anarchist ideology through political debates at Hyde Park Corner and via the *Freedom* newspaper and bookshop. A well-known character in radical London and friends with the likes of George Melly, Moyle was no bar-room philosopher; he was a highly principled second generation Irish immigrant of working-class stock prepared to get physically involved if the cause called for it, fighting street battles with Mosley's fascists and on behalf of gay colleagues. This brand of pragmatic anarchism (according to correspondence with the author, 2014) had a profound impact upon the young Cunliffe inspiring independent thought alongside a new spirit of literary endeavour.

He visited London's independent bookshops reading the then newly-arrived Beats from the USA and spent much of his spare time in Soho with a Bohemian crowd of writers and artists but which also included criminals from the capital's underworld. With an eye for making easy money, Cunliffe ran tours for those looking for drugs or more unusual kicks until a few heavies took exception to his activities and threatened to hospitalise him. In west London he frequented the Fulham Road Peace Café which housed a mixture of Beat freaks and anti-nuclear protestors many of whom were arrested in police raids, on protests or sometimes both – a scene portrayed in Stewart Home's novel *Tainted Love* (Virgin, 2005) allegedly based on his mother's 1960s diary.

According to Andy Roberts in his book *Albion Dreaming – A Popular History of LSD in Britain* (2012, p 84):

At the tail end of the 1950s, the teenage Cunliffe was a courier for a firm of London drug dealers. He delivered packages, no questions asked, in response to orders placed by phone. Cunliffe had no idea what was in the packages unless they were unwrapped in his presence. When they were, it was invariably marijuana, amphetamine or heroin.

Roberts' book also cites Cunliffe as one of the first people in Britain to recreationally sample LSD when delivering it to jazz musician Samuel Thomas in late 1959.

Unaffected by the then restrictive British licensing laws, Soho featured numerous 24 hour coffee bars serving a largely teenage clientele (including Cunliffe) attracted by bands playing jazz, skiffle and early rock'n'roll. Jeff Nuttall's *Bomb Culture* (MacGibbon & Kee, 1968) and *Absolute Beginners* by Colin MacInnes (MacGibbon & Kee, 1959) paint a scene of developing British subcultures that included mods, teds, jazzers and beatniks meeting in coffee houses that included the Gyre & Gimble, 2i's, Sam Widges, Nucleus, The Farm, Heaven & Hell and The Partisan. In fact it was Nuttall who befriended Cunliffe and introduced him to several artists and writers who would become important to his literary development including Lee Harwood. According to an article by Cunliffe in *Krax* magazine ("Long Forgotten Heroes: British Beat Writers of the Fifties and Sixties") another of his Soho haunts was The French, a pub (actually then called the York Minster) inhabited by the likes of artist Jean Rowntree and poet Don Clover, both acquaintances of Cunliffe, who formed the short lived British Beat Party in 1960 and who are linked to a number of early countercultural figures of that period including 'Iron Foot Jack', 'Dirty Dave', 'Grainger' and the Halifax born founder of the Situationist International, Ralph Rumney.

The Partisan opened in 1958 started by contributors to and supporters of the Marxist *Universities and Left Review* magazine (including Eric Hobsbawm, Stuart Hall, John Calder, Michael Redgrave and Doris Lessing) with the intention of spreading socialism amongst the young Soho crowd. It was here that the first Aldermaston marches were planned by the Direct Action Committee and where the British anti-nuclear movement took-off. It was also from the Partisan and the Peace Café that a more radical splinter group of protestors, dissatisfied with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's refusal to take more direct action, formed the Committee of 100. Bertrand Russell, Ralph Milliband and John Braine were amongst the original signatories who formed the C100 group which, according to Samantha Jane Carrol's D.Phil thesis '*Fill the Jails': Identity, Structure and Method in the Committee of 100 1960-68* (University of Sussex, 2010), was arranged that way in order that the authorities would have to jail all 100 members as the organisers of any action. Although largely peaceful they were prepared to use confrontational tactics, attracting Anarchists and Trotskyists to their protests in and around air force bases, the War Ministry and Trafalgar Square culminating

in many arrests (confirmed in reports from *The Times* online archive 03/01/60, 18/02/61, 17/09/61).

Seemingly in contrast to Cunliffe's metropolitan exploits Jim Burns left the army in 1957 returning to Preston where he settled into steady employment, marrying and raising a growing family. Despite what appeared to be a conventional domestic life he spent his spare time developing an interest in radical politics leading to union activity at the engineering plant where he worked. Although unpublished at this point he was searching for a voice of his own and, inspired by American literature and jazz, he began writing both prose and poetry looking for a creative outlet. He maintained a fascination for the avant garde, associating with a small bohemian crowd of musicians and writers in a handful of town centre pubs. He travelled to the capital, visiting several of the same haunts as Cunliffe including The French in Soho and to bookshops dotted around the city, making it as far as Paris where he picked up on the developing Olympia Press and saw William Burroughs read during his 'Beat Hotel' period. His discovery of the little poetry magazines gave him both the outlet for which he searched and the subject matter to which he would often return and he soon began contributing work to a number of publications.

Christine Knowles was born in Burnley, east Lancashire in 1941, attending Rosewood Primary School from 1945-48 after which she moved to the outskirts of the small market town of Chorley situated between Blackburn and Preston. From Hollinshead Street School she passed her eleven plus exams and attended Chorley Grammar from 1952-59 where she began to develop her literary interests. In her letter of 14th November 2013, Morris asserts that although highly regarded within the town, the grammar school education did have its restrictions, often social as much as curricular:

The school didn't acknowledge as poetry anything that didn't rhyme or scan. I remember the English teacher in the sixth form thrusting Dylan Thomas before us as an example of how ridiculous twentieth century writing had become.

Flabbergasted by the attitude of her tutors she was thus spurred to write short stories and poetry using the very same modernist techniques they so readily

dismissed. Forced to look beyond school lessons for inspiration Knowles explored modern writers including Françoise Sagan, Sartre, Camus, Saint-Exupéry and Samuel Beckett but it was the west coast Americans who really fired her imagination (ibid):

Beat poetry set me free – not just the content, but freedom from set forms. I waded my way through Kerouac, Ginsberg, Snyder, Kupferberg and then fell in love with Kenneth Patchen. I was most influenced by the free forms of writing in the 60s and the prose-poems I wrote at the time reflected that.

Women's war-time employment in Lancashire factories might have seemingly transformed the notion of what constituted female roles beyond those of the family carer but it would be some time before attitudes changed completely (ibid):

Although I passed my 'A' Levels my father wouldn't allow me to go to college or university because: 'what's the point, you'll be getting married and having children.'

Further barriers appeared, sometimes unexpectedly (ibid):

I applied for a job in the Registry Office where the advert stressed a preference for candidates with A-levels. I was called in for what I thought was an interview but which turned out to be a meeting where a man told me that after reading my application they decided that they 'didn't want an egg-head'.

So she worked in Horwich library on the outskirts of Bolton and then spent a period employed in the Children's Health department of Preston Council still living with her parents but developing an independence gradually drawing her away from her family. Exploring her literary interests Knowles picked up on the emergence of the little poetry magazines to which she began submitting her own work and in 1962 her first verse was published in Ken Geering's *Breakthru* magazine.

Alongside the activism Cunliffe began writing his own Beat-inspired material, exploring the freedom of improvisational jazz, experimental literature and the

avant garde art he was introduced to by Moyses, Nuttall and Harwood. Certain that his material deserved wider attention but frustrated by his initial failure to get his work published he was inspired to release his own collection, *Screeches for Sounding*. The slim pamphlet, which also included the work of Harold Learey, Ignu Ramus (John Hulme), Pete Ornsey, and Dian Perzoneed, deliberately retained outrageous spellings and was obviously influenced by the output of Ferlinghetti's *City Lights*. In a letter of 28th May 2014 he confirms that between sending off his work to the printers and its production Cunliffe's lifestyle began to catch up with him and by the time it was published he had returned to his parents' Blackburn home:

I was at the Trafalgar Square 1961 (CND) demonstration. Moving back to Blackburn was done in a spur of the moment rush. I'd been bound over at most of the anti-war demos but in those pre-computer times, at the next court hearing it was possible to lie and avoid the jail sentence for breaking the previous orders. They rarely checked. After Trafalgar they did. I'd been sacked from my last labouring job because some management guy at the factory had read the local paper and was a retired military officer of some kind. A few of my illegal moonlighting activities were being investigated. A mutually destructive on and off relationship was stirring adolescent-type angst. I was taking too many recreational substances and not sleeping much. The original plan was to spend the summer sleeping under Brighton arches and enjoy a laid-back time away from the myriad pressures. I then changed tactics and decided to reinvent myself by temporarily returning north away from big city bohemia. 24/7 hedonism was no longer what I needed.

By 1962 Burns was writing initially for the short lived *New Voice* magazine but then regularly in *Ambit*, *Tribune*, *Jazz Journal* and *Story Teller* alongside contributions to the BBC Radio programme *Northern Drift*. In an email (2014) Burns asserts that although fascinated by the more esoteric work in the little magazines which he covered in his *Tribune* column, he was already breaking into more mainstream publications:

Almost from the start (when I first started appearing in print) I found myself mixing with poets and others who were often seen by some in the 'underground' as the enemy. This may have been because of my links to *Ambit* where my poems appeared alongside those by people like Peter Porter, George Macbeth, Anthony Thwaite, Gavin Ewart, Edwin Brock, and others who were published by the big London publishers and broadcast on the BBC and got reviewed in the dailies and Sundays. Through Martin Bax at *Ambit* I made contact with other writers in the early 1960s including Roy Fisher, Gael Turnbull, Michael Shayer, David Chaloner, Chris Torrance, Andrew Crozier, Alan Brownjohn, Edwin Morgan, J G Ballard, B S Johnson, Alexander Trocchi and Jeff Nuttall.

Burns was one of the first people to realise the importance of the little magazines and used many of his own columns reviewing, critiquing and recommending as many publications as he could. Wolfgang Görtzschacher highlights Burns' attempt to place the volumes within the bigger picture of poetry history in his work *Little Magazine Profiles: The Little Magazines in Great Britain 1939-93* (1993, p 161):

Much earlier than John Welch, Jim Burns had realized the need for contextualisation concerning avant garde, experimental writing and little magazines, *Poetry Information*, *Oasis* and the Labour-oriented newspaper *Tribune* providing further platforms for this process. Following up the idea that the documentation of little magazines is important in tracing the development of modern poetry, Burns published a series of articles on American and British magazines.

Emboldened by her artistic development but disappointed by the lack of support her parents gave her creative endeavours, in 1963 Knowles moved out of the family home to Manchester where she worked at the city's art college and befriended artist and poet Adrian Henri, volunteering in the local CND office at weekends. Christine Knowles soon became Tina Morris, using the surname of her then boyfriend as her pen name which she stuck with even after they quickly parted. Exploring the alternative poetry scene through Manchester's bookshops she noticed the *Screeches for Sounding* collection for sale just a few miles down the road in Blackburn and wrote to the editor as a 'published poet'.

Cunliffe began preparing *Poetmeat* magazine through his Screeches publishing imprint and using his London connections and a growing book of contacts, he released the first issue in March 1963. This was a simply produced, typed quarterly of just a few (foolscap size) pages with a plain black cover bearing the legend: **Poetmeat Literary Lovebombs – A Magazine of the Poetic Revolution. Beat, Folk, Avant Guard, Oral, Dissent, Wondrous.** It was undated, sold for a shilling (five shillings for a six issue subscription) and again leaned heavily on the Beat style with stream-of-consciousness screeds and invocations of love and peace. The first issue lists him as editor with ‘advice’ from Harold Learey while the early editions include poems from the likes of W E Wyatt, Stella Jaye, Chris Torrance, Lee Harwood, Earle Birney and Steve Sneyd alongside the work of Tina Morris. So although the overall style of the publication was perceptibly Beat-influenced, Cunliffe’s choice of poets was far broader than the likes of the obviously San Francisco-inspired Lee Harwood; for instance, his inclusion of work from a very young Penelope Shuttle, whose poetry emanates from a completely different literary sphere. The *Poetmeat* editor is, even at this early stage, taking a much wider, more panoramic view of the scene than you would imagine from a quick glimpse at the style of the publication (an assertion borne out as the magazine develops), already spreading his editorial net beyond his metropolitan acquaintances.

Morris and Cunliffe worked together (anonymously) on *Wounded in the Stones*, a slim but controversial pamphlet highlighting sexually explicit extracts from the Bible. Her first poetry collection *Flowers of Snow* was subsequently published through Screeches while he used his work experience in the Langho colony for the mentally ill as inspiration for his *Night Book of the Mad* anthology. By *Poetmeat 3* (Autumn 1963) Cunliffe was confident enough to produce a themed ‘Race Issue’ with Tuli Kupferberg, Peter Jay and Ken Geering contributing anti-racist poetry, tackling a then little-explored issue albeit through the oblique angle of verse. *Poetmeat 4* (Winter 1963/64) has an announcement that: ‘Promising young Manchester poet and prose writer Tina Morris will now be the *Poetmeat* co-editor, mainly responsible for special features.’ As their literary relationship blossomed, a short courtship quickly led to marriage in May 1964. The couple briefly moved into a crumbling flat in the Wilpshire district on the outskirts of

Blackburn before finding a house on Clematis Street only a couple of blocks away from his family.

Alongside her own writing Morris now took an active role as co-editor of *Poetmeat*, Screeches publishing (soon incorporating BB Books) and *PM Newsletter* – a contact sheet of magazines, publishers and countercultural groups. She also handily gained a job at local printing firm Briggs, giving them a much needed discount for their output. In an email (2014) Morris recalls how she and Cunliffe worked together as co-editors:

We both read any submissions and either said ‘yes, no or let’s think about it’. I suspect that he was probably dominant and had his choices more than I did, though not to a point I remember wanting to kill him. Once selected, we would do a VERY rough layout of the next edition and I would then type it all onto those horrible waxy duplicator stencils. I would then duplicate, collate, staple and send out copies to contributors. (Either of us would have written beforehand, accepting the poems/articles). One of the good things about our ‘partnership’ was how we sparked ideas off each other when debating our next pamphlet or collection.

In a later interview Cunliffe disputed Morris’s notion that he generally had the final editorial say and he recollects that she very much had equal input when compiling material both for the magazine and for BB Books. Considering that this was a period when women’s cultural contribution was often overlooked it is easy to accept that Cunliffe might have had the last word but, taking the fact that there is a discernible shift in both style and content from the point at which Morris became co-editor, it is also credible that it was an equitable partnership.

Through his literary explorations Jim found a copy of *Poetmeat* to which he contributed poetry and what eventually became a regular review column. Meeting up with the pair they found that they had a similar motivation to develop their own work and bring less well-known writing they admired to wider attention. In 1964 Jim wrote “Blackburn Beats”, an article for *The Guardian* about their publishing exploits and, inspired and assisted by the couple, he started his own *Move* poetry magazine. Using their press and his growing contacts book he wrote to many of his favourite poets and was pleasantly surprised when they replied with

submissions. Simply designed with single-coloured covers bearing a sticker with 'MOVE', the magazine bears a strong resemblance to *Blast* and its straightforward, un-flowery approach reflected his own poetry style with little extraneous content. Just 20 pages featured poetry, reviews and (as was traditional within the milieu) the contact details of many other recommended magazines. Writers over the eight issues (and supplement *Thirteen American Poets*) published between December 1964 and April 1968 included Lee Harwood, Larry Eigner, Michael Horovitz, Joanne Kyger, Andrew Crozier, Jack Micheline, Carol Bergé and Charles Bukowski.

Burns developed an abiding interest in writers many would describe as the Beats and how they fit into a much longer historical lineage of writers and artists which he explained in an email (2014):

I always thought that the Beats were a peculiarly American brand of bohemians, and as such they interested me because of my long-standing interest in the history of bohemianism, Greenwich Village, Soho, Montparnasse, etc. I was fascinated by the late-50s resurgence of the little magazine/small press tradition and the return in some way to the modernist ideas of earlier decades, particularly in the USA. Old bohemians re-surfaced and their work was re-published and that's the kind of thing that attracted me.

Despite this interest, Burns maintains that his writing is not in any way Beat influenced and beyond that, that there is no such thing as a British Beat tradition (ibid):

Because I wrote extensively about the Beats it was too often assumed that I was a Beat poet myself. I never thought I was and my influences were drawn from a much wider experience of reading. I've stated in print more than once that I don't think there were any British Beat poets but I saw myself described as such in an American book recently. Labels are dangerous.

Incongruously (considering his avowed curiosity towards bohemianism) Burns argues that he has little interest in Beat or alternative lifestyles but does identify

with the anarchist ideal of non-aligned activism and, although repelled by the structure of communist or socialist groups, he has happily helped out at left-wing benefits if convinced by the cause. He regularly visited Freedom bookshop in the east end of London, picking up radical pamphlets on his travels and, through his engineering day job, he became a shop steward and union activist.

In 1964 he published his first two short poetry collections *A Way of Looking at Things* through his own Move imprint (its only publication) and *Two for Our Time* via Morris and Cunliffe's Screeches editions, soon followed in 1965 by *Some Poems* through Kirby Congdon's New York Interim Press offshoot Crank Books. This was the year of the International Poetry Incarnation at the Albert Hall (which Burns attended) but as a natural cynic, and despite links with many central characters in the underground, he was unconvinced by the event or the notion that the beatniks or the hippies would change the world.

By this point Cunliffe was contributing articles and poetry to *Peace News* and *Freedom* newspapers as well as numerous small poetry publications and what were now being called 'underground' magazines in both the UK and the United States. Visited by his old friend and mentor, Moyse brought with him the idea for a booklet exploring modern sexual mores using a combination of artwork and found text collected from toilet walls and overheard pub conversations. The boundary-pushing idea was attractive to his anarchist principles and interest in testing the limits of taste and decency in a restrictive and restricted world, and so *Golden Convolvulus* gradually took shape in both London and Blackburn.

In an email (2014) Burns recalls (albeit from his own rather sceptical perspective) how the underground poetry scene developed:

The way [poetry readings] took off in the 60s was quite remarkable...I seemed to go to all sorts of places to read in pubs, theatres, community halls, even private houses where a group would gather. I think poetry became almost popular, and it did seem for a time as if the dominance of the London/Oxbridge elites had been challenged, though I'm not convinced that it was the case. Some of the challengers were absorbed into the establishment, as usually happens in what appear to be revolutions, and in due course the establishment soon re-asserted its

control. In the early days many readings were loosely arranged...with poets...getting paid very little, if at all. Later, things got more organised, the Poetry Society and Arts Council and local Arts Associations got involved, large-scale festivals were established, and money became a key factor. Ok, I benefited, along with others, because fees for reading were guaranteed, travel expenses paid, hotel accommodation provided, but of course it was a way for the establishment, largely located in London, to assert control.

From 1964 Morris contributed poetry and reviews to *Tribune* and was published in a variety of magazines in the UK, Europe and US. Her second collection *Whether You or I Love or Hate: Poems of Love* was released through BB Books in 1965 and the pair's reputation grew within both the poetry and countercultural scenes. A co-production (with Strangers Press) of respected Finnish poet Anselm Hollo's *Word from the North* released as a *Poetmeat* supplement also helped to boost their profile and they used their magazine contacts to travel widely, cementing their place within a growing alternative poetry world and she recalls in a letter of 29th December 2013 that:

Blackburn was a bit off the beaten track so we 'zoomed' around the country (usually on the overnight coach – all we could afford) and poets down south, alerted to our arrival set up readings. Payment (ha!) was a percentage of the 'door' – or nothing. Eventually, the Arts Council set up a register and we were lucky enough to have details negotiated up front.

Asked about the poetry 'scene' via email (2014), Morris denies feeling part of such a thing, more motivated by the writing itself:

I remember those days as being Dave and I just publishing things we liked, work we cared about, writing about what mattered to us. There was also a satisfaction in publishing (sometimes for the first time) people who later 'made' it and who are still around. I never saw it as a 'movement'. Maybe Dave did, but in a way that didn't need formalising.

Although the couple were generally accepted in the industrial town this was mainly due to the proximity of his well-regarded family. Photographs from the time show them dressed in the Beat style, all in black, Morris with long hair and Cunliffe with a beard, very different to the standard casual dress of the period. Although trying to blend in, their publishing activities began to draw attention to their home because, as Morris remembers via email (2014):

Certainly in those days if I saw any young guys with beards, long hair and backpacks, the chances were they were heading for our house in Clematis Street. You couldn't have known what glitterati of the alternative poetry scene were coming and going to that humble little terraced house. I used to joke that we could make a fortune if we sold/rented the bed in the spare room: the bed in which so many famous heads had dreamed: Michael Horovitz, Brian Patten, Chris Torrance, Lee Harwood, Ray Gosling and many, many more.

Without a telephone (as most then were) uninvited visitors regularly appeared and as their reputation grew they often received unannounced subscribers expecting a den of iniquity when, more often than not, they found Morris meditating with her cat Adrian. At the time this seemed a (mostly) fun by-product of their publishing activities but perhaps it was beginning to draw the attention of the authorities who presumed that they must be involved in some kind of illegal activity while a small *Poetmeat* piece on hemp cultivation also possibly caused a blip on the police radar.

Burns used *Move* to publish writers and writing he enjoyed, sometimes turning down work from better known poets in favour of something new from a first-timer or a local character with interesting things to say. He was keen to avoid choosing poems of a particular style over another and always refrained from being drawn into wars between poets of different schools which often broke out in the literary world. He clarified his position by email (2014):

I never had any 'theories' about how poetry should be written. When I edited *Move* I just published what I found interesting and it didn't occur to

me to accept or reject something simply because it didn't fit into a preconceived notion of what a poem should be or whether or not a poet was 'underground' or 'establishment.' I've always thought that a lot of people in the poetry world want to lay down rules about how poetry should be written. And if you add to that the fact that the rewards from poetry are usually pretty slim, and that most poetry that's published never gets noticed much outside a small circle, you have a situation where it might benefit some people if they can 'control' what is published and reviewed. When you consider how much poetry is published in relation to how much is reviewed in the daily papers and the weeklies it's easy to see that only a handful of better-known names are ever likely to come to the attention of the general public.

This is perhaps key to understanding Burns and as such is worth further consideration. He often states his desire to be excluded from groups and goes out of his way not to pigeonhole other writers into particular literary brackets while maintaining that he does not have a methodology when choosing the work of other poets. Burns says that he has no particular theories about how verse should be written but maintains his own, pared down style and an editorial policy accepting all kinds of poetry as long as he found it 'interesting'. His own approach to writing poetry appears, on the surface, unsophisticated but is actually loaded with references and easily overlooked stylistic devices and, while his magazines also seem simply constructed, their unpretentious façade hides much deeper consideration. When Burns says that he has 'no theories about how poetry should be written' perhaps he means that his approach to editorial selection was instinctive, spontaneous rather than guided by the theoretical and that this freed him from the ties of going down one route or another when selecting work for *Move*. This may not sound a radical approach but in a field very much directed by particular poetic ideas it was a relatively fresh, intuitive way of working. *Move* contained many types of work and included verse from a wide variety of sources, publishing a range of poetry styles which rather set the publication apart from many other little magazines (which tended towards one form or another) but this rather negates Burns' assertion of being without any kind of theory or editorial policy.

With the assistance of Morris and the purchase of a more advanced duplicating machine *Poetmeat* developed into a substantial publication and from issue 6 (Summer 1964) expanded from a simply typed mimeograph into around fifty pages of poetry, reviews and articles including well reproduced photographs and artwork. A themed New York Poets edition, it had poet and publisher Kirby Congdon as 'US Editor' and included work from Larry Eigner, George Dowden, Jack Micheline, Diane di Prima, Jay Socin and Carol Bergé alongside artwork and prose from Arthur Moysé and an in-depth literary scene column by Jim Burns. The editorial tone subtly changed from the Beat influence of the earlier editions to a far more nuanced style suggesting a developing sophistication and perhaps indicating that the creators felt they were producing something of real literary worth. A small advert for use of their duplicator highlights a desire to encourage the local development of new publishers and Burns' use of the machine to produce his own *Move* poetry magazine shows this was also at least partly successful.

Poetmeat 7 (Winter 1964/65) continued the magazine's progress, including new work by William Wantling, George Montgomery, Peter Jay, Allen Ginsberg and Earle Birney alongside articles by George Dowden on Concrete Poetry, audio and visual poetry covered by Chris Torrance, and Lee Harwood writing about the Cable Street protests. It was, however, issue 8 (April 1965) which greatly enhanced *Poetmeat's* reputation within the field. The New British Poets (NBP) edition was an anthology of what they considered to be the best of a new generation of writers working outside the mainstream but within a growing world of 'underground' publishing. A 'state of the union' editorial in which Cunliffe coined the term the 'British Poetry Revival' (several years before Mottram first used it, though some wrongly credit him with its invention), put the contents within the context of the wider poetry world. Alongside it Jim Burns contributed a piece about the alternative British poetry scene placing NBP within the global expansion of little poetry magazines and at the heart of a mini-publishing revolution, opening the way for a new wave of writers outside the establishment.

The NBP anthology included the work of Steve Sneyd, Gael Turnbull, Jim Burns, Lee Harwood, Mike Horovitz, Adrian Mitchell, Anselm Hollo, L M Herrickson, Roy Fisher and W E Wyatt alongside short biographies and, although criticised for

missing several important poets of the period, NBP is now referenced - for instance in Geraldine Monk's *Cusp: Recollections of Poetry in Transition* (Shearsman, 2012) - as an important snapshot of the scene. Certainly the influential Horovitz thought so at the time, organising a promotional tour of the capital that attracted many leading writers to readings at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Better Books and the Ben Uri Gallery. The couple were invited to read their poetry and talk about their work around the country using an emerging network of publishers in Bristol, Nottingham, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle and Glasgow.

Summer 1965 saw an expanded double edition which included 10 Latin American poets with a foreword by Sergio Mondragon and a much broader range of articles on topics including New York's underground film makers, the poetry of montage and a *Poetmeat* financial statement showing losses of over £30 (then a considerable sum) alongside an appeal for backers. At this point it would seem that both the magazine and Screeches (although struggling financially) were achieving exactly what Cunliffe had set out to do, bringing a range of 'experimental' writers to a wider audience, bypassing commercial publishing and helping to build an autonomous network of small presses, promoters and radical bookshops. Alongside *Poetmeat's* growing reputation 1965 would prove to be BB Books' most productive year with the release of poetry collection *Cascades* by Bristolian Ian Vine.

In the spring Cunliffe began editing *Golden Convolvulus* and, as Morris remembers it, she was not part of the editorial team, a decision she believes was a deliberate attempt to shield her from any repercussions. However (in my 2015 interview) Cunliffe denies that this was the case and, to his recollection, his wife did have some editorial involvement alongside himself and Arthur Moyse as well as contributing a section of children's street poetry. In July a small number of review copies were mailed which, at that time, involved leaving the packages open, to be sealed by the Post Office, and the police were called when an employee found the contents. On the 27th July and again on the 17th August their house was raided (the police seizing stock, original manuscripts, subscription lists and books from their library) and Cunliffe was charged under the Obscene Publications Act and the Post Office Act 'for having in his possession certain

obscene articles in 161 copies of *Golden Convolvulus* for publication for gain' and for sending a 'postal packet which enclosed a certain indecent or obscene book'. He pleaded 'not guilty' and, although not herself charged, the police raids and the impending trial deeply affected Morris, distressed that her husband could go to jail. As he was refused legal aid, she was also worried that they might have to sell their house to pay for his defence. They received a good deal of (mostly anonymous) hate mail when a few national newspapers picked up on the story and she recalls it in a letter of 14th November 2014 as:

A terrifying time (although) I remain grateful that the police didn't actually plant drugs – the usual thing at that time to discredit the accused.

As set out in Mike Waite's paper "Sex, Shock and Contexts" (1999) word of the case spread through the literary community and they received growing support which included a fighting fund organised through independent bookshops and backed by many leading writers who saw it as an important test case. There were fundraisers organised on both sides of the Atlantic and several well-known poets, writers and politicians offered to stand as witnesses (including Michael Foot MP, Alan Sillitoe and John Arden). Morris remembers how the trial became a cause célèbre (ibid):

A lot of 'names' became involved and word filtered down to us that we were a test case to assess whether opinion 'in the sticks' had changed since the Chatterley case. I was touched by the generosity of people, financially - amazed by the rush of people willing to testify on our behalf - John Calder, poets galore...who travelled at their own expense to a bitterly icy Blackburn.

The trial came to court (as part of the Blackburn Quarter Sessions) in December 1965 in front of the Assistant Recorder Harold Day and a jury of nine men and three women. The prosecution case was based on the premise that *Golden Convolvulus* (GC) might fall into the hands of minors or the 'less intelligent' who it might deprave 'encouraging homosexual and promiscuous practices' while the defence contended that 'it is a nonsense to say that a person who knows and

uses certain four letter words will have his life changed by seeing them written down'.

Dr Warren, a psychiatrist and consultant to the Home Office, argued (via deposition) that GC was liable to corrupt or deprave the young and/or the susceptible through pieces describing sexual acts; those of an erotic or blasphemous nature or those relating to sexual perversions. Witnesses from the police and the GPO were also presented by the prosecution before the trial was handed over to the defence to mount its case. Under oath Arthur Moyse argued that his collages had previously appeared in publications such as the *London Evening Standard* without complaint and that, in his opinion, some of the poetry did stand up to critical attention. Publisher and brewer John Calder talked about GC's place within the contemporary literary climate, George Melly (critic and musician) argued that much of the language seen as offensive could regularly be heard in public bars while poet and monk Dom Sylvester Houédard maintained that some of the material was 'valuable'.

On the stand Cunliffe contended that his 'intentions were to publish a collage of contemporary attitudes to sexuality' and that, in his view 'no literature of any kind can do any considerable harm to any person'. On the third day the jury was sent out for its decision and, mid-afternoon, returned a verdict of not guilty of having obscene articles but guilty for sending a postal packet enclosing an indecent book with a £50 fine levied alongside a £500 bill for court costs – a victory, of sorts or, as Morris remembers it (ibid):

A joke at the expense of the legal system: the verdict gave us the right to sell GC anywhere (theoretically outside schools!) But NOT send it by mail to our adult subscribers!!

The verdict might have been worse but for the help of a sympathetic juror who, it transpired, spent a good deal of time talking around some of the others on to the side of the accused, and who joined Cunliffe and his supporters for a few pints of beer after the trial.

There are precedents to show that the prosecution was unnecessary and that it was almost certainly an attempt by the authorities to curb Morris and Cunliffe's activities but the one definite result was that for several months it effectively stopped *Poetmeat* and BB Books from operating. There were other unanticipated repercussions when the surrounding publicity led to Morris's sacking from her Blackburn Library job (ibid):

The trial hit the national press and the following week I was told that they didn't need me anymore. I demanded an interview with the Chief Librarian and was told that it was 'purely coincidental' and 'goodbye'!! The continuing saga went on for years: the police kept us in their sights. If some kid ran away from home we were questioned...now we would be shrieking 'Harassment!' but then we gulped it down and carried on.

In *Offensive Literature – Decensorship in Britain 1960-1982* John Sutherland links the GC trial to several others which he believes were brought by the authorities for reasons beyond the legislative (1982, p.61):

Taken as a significant straw in the 1960s wind it was the first of the 'political' obscenity trials; that is to say, where a magazine and its editor were at risk primarily because of the lifestyle they avowed, rather than for any actual offensiveness to the general public of what was printed. From this obscure prosecution in Lancashire runs a trail which climaxes in the Old Bailey and the *IT*, *LRSB*, *OZ* and *Nasty Tales* trials of 1970-73 and which peters out with the *Libertine* acquittal in 1973.

Writer and broadcaster Ray Gosling in his trial report "Out of the Way" (1965, p. 21) questions why GC was not dealt with by local magistrates, asking whether it was part of a conspiracy to set an unnoticed precedent away from the capital:

The Director of Public Prosecutions could have sent *Golden Convolvulus* back and left prosecution with the Blackburn authorities. Local magistrates can and do deal with 'obscene publications' and without mention of literary merit make out destruction orders. Yet in this case the DPP took charge and prosecuted. Why? Was he worried about the growth of little magazines? Did he think this case, miles from London, away from the

literary limelight would give him a chance to prove a point; make a legal precedent?

An uncredited leader in the *Times Literary Supplement* questioned the wider basis of the obscenity law and declared that the prosecution (1965, p. 1):

...once again showed the idiocy of our present laws with reference to obscene publications. To begin with, the police appeared to presume that sexual description, good or bad, inevitably amounted to sexual stimulation and that this in turn must be obscene...then there is the present impossibility of bringing evidence as to seriousness of intention, or of general level, which forces witnesses to stretch the concept of 'literary merit' to cover works which may aim at such merit, but are not in fact very good.

So the TLS coverage touches on the literary merit defence which dates back to the British *Lady Chatterley* trial and the attempted prosecution of Ferlinghetti in the US. In both these cases the legal argument centred on the publishers' right to put out literature which some might find offensive on the grounds that it had real artistic worth and, as such, should not be censored. The TLS appears to question whether GC is of a quality worthy of the same defence and, comparing its contents with the other BB Books output of the period, some of the material does not match the level of those publications. Searching for literature to fit within the sexual theme of the pamphlet, perhaps the value of some of the writing became secondary to locating relevant material while using toilet wall rhymes and overheard pub conversations was probably never going to provide the high art at which they aimed. This does not mean that GC was merely a gratuitous attempt to provoke and shock but that it did not quite achieve the literary quality of their other work at that time.

The trial had a huge impact both on their lives and their publishing with the subsequent *Poetmeat* 11 (summer 1966), a special trial edition, carrying little beyond detailed court coverage and 'thank you' notes to their many supporters. There would be only two more editions before the publishing lost momentum; hit by the ramifications of the raids, trial and police harassment, the pressure becoming too much for the couple to bear.

In 1968 Burns folded *Move* to concentrate on his own writing sensing that he had achieved what he had set out to do with the magazine. He recalls in an email that (2014):

The idea behind *Move* was to put people in touch with each other and from that point of view it worked. Lots of other magazines from around Britain and America started to exchange copies with me and poets sent their work. The audience I wanted to reach was largely made up of poets and a few interested readers (but) I wasn't under any illusion about how many people were likely to be interested.

So as the Sixties drew to a close and Morris and Cunliffe parted, he began *Global Tapestry Journal* initially broadening it to underground coverage but which later settled back into a literary/poetry focus, becoming gradually more irregular over the years. Morris re-married, starting a family on the outskirts of Garstang from where she took environmental issues into schools using her verse as an educational tool but largely falling from public view. Left to his own devices Cunliffe became involved with a burgeoning countercultural scene and a (not unconnected) hedonistic lifestyle and stunts like his naked poetry reading bolstered his reputation as something of a maverick. In the seventies Burns maintained a regular poetry output gaining some repute for his singularly dry, witty style and receiving occasional coverage in the mainstream press and on the BBC. He took over the editorship of the Preston Polytechnic-funded *Palantir* for which he received plaudits, particularly for contextualising US writers and is now deputy editor of *Beat Scene* magazine.

What we have discovered in this chapter is that despite living in Lancashire, away from Britain's larger cultural centres, the trio played an integral role in both broadening and contextualising modernist poetry in the 1960s and 70s through their magazines and via their writing elsewhere. They used *Poetmeat* and *Move* to connect with other like-minded people around the world, helping to establish an autonomous network of writers, publishers, retailers and readers which would form the basis of a countercultural structure which would flourish later in the decade but that would continue to be utilised by the underground through to the 1990s when the internet radically changed modes of transmission. In the next

chapter we will build upon this by analysing their work using a combination of critical theory, sociological practice and literary evaluation, assessing the contribution of Morris, Cunliffe and Burns both artistically and as part of a changing world.

for R. S. G. dwellers.

The night sky grows white as the
eyes of stars burn out & their
charred sockets hover like terrible
vultures ears strained eager to
savour the final screams of the world.

& vast swollen oceans of blood overflow
& flood the fearful & trembling earth.
Pouring over the last obscene creatures
crawling & dying upon the stricken surface
of the world & their graves die with them.

& the rivers of blood seep slowly thru
soil & cement & trickle into the deep
dark tombs of the self-chosen few.

& those below are weeping & drowning.
& the corpses above are smiling secretly.
& the sea of blood flows endlessly as the

world rushes frantically thru the universe.

It's agony soon too soon to be forgotten.

Poetmeat 2

1963

Chapter Three:

Analysis

is a box in which
I pack
all my Sunday afternoon
thoughts – about love,
poems: disregarding
the trivialities of
Money
& weekdays of work. Here
I live, there
is a window
where are seen
occasionally
faces, full
of afternoon idleness
drifting
without an attitude
for the world
around the large room

which mine looks onto.

Poetmeat 8 1965

Having placed *Move*, *Poetmeat*, and BB Books within the 1960s 'mimeo revolution' it is now necessary to analyse their value both as part of this movement and within the wider literary world. This poses the problem of how to assess the significance of editions which form part of what we have already agreed is an undervalued field. The regular academic approach draws upon a body of previous research, critical opinion and scholarly judgement combining this with new work to produce quantifiable conclusions (as much as this is possible when considering artistic merit). In an area where limited consideration has gone before, it is obviously difficult to use this traditional methodology so the line we will primarily use is sociological rather than literary. There is some use of the traditional indicators of literary import but our starting point is the cultural theory of Pierre Bourdieu who explored how art is valued within society.

In *The Field of Cultural Production* (Columbia University Press, 1993) Bourdieu constructs the idea of 'symbolic capital' where artists forsake financial profit but create value in terms of developing a taste for their work (which could still ultimately lead to financial gain, given the right circumstances). It is the art itself that is of real value and the creation of a 'name' for oneself within a field that is important but alongside this lies the power to declare or to 'consecrate' the work as special. It might seem logical to presume that the status of the work rests with the genius of the artist but Bourdieu argues that this power lies as much (if not more) with the critic and the art dealer (or the publisher and reviewer) as it does with the creator of the piece. He believes that the more autonomous the field the greater the opportunity for those within it to work without the constraints of 'demand' or 'commerciality' and the larger the gap between the poles at either end of the community.

So, using Bourdieu's theory, what does this tell us about the field within which *Move* and *Poetmeat* functioned? It operated on the avant garde edge of a small scene of just a few hundred poets, writers and admirers many of whom knew one another and which orbited a mainstream poetry world which was not much bigger or far better known. The little poetry magazines were mostly produced using miniscule budgets, utilising borrowed equipment, through sympathetic printers and without payment to contributors. Instead they offered the opportunity to become better known within that small group which would not offer the prize of

money but could give critical feedback and, in turn, the possibility of gaining recognition amongst their peers. Importantly the tiny production outlay freed editors from the concern of making a profit which in turn gave them almost total autonomy from the commercial marketplace. If Bourdieu's idea is correct - that the bigger the independence of the field, the greater the difference between those at the avant garde end and the mainstream at the other – then little poetry magazines must be one of the most clear examples of this polarity and the gap between its modernist poetry and that offered in the mass-produced literary world does seem to bear this out.

Further developing this concept in order to analyse the work of Burns, Cunliffe and Morris it is cogent to define what constituted 'success' for the trio in order to measure how close they came to achieving it. All three consistently state that they were inspired to produce magazines because they found poets whose work they admired but who remained either unpublished or unrecognised within their own modernist field or beyond that in the wider literary world. Through the prism of Bourdieu's cultural theory they sought to consecrate the writing of other authors by using their selections within *Move* and *Poetmeat* to give their work recognition. The difficulty here is to measure how successful this consecration is when it is via an appearance in (what were at the time of their publication) obscure, independently produced and distributed collections. The French sociologist did though look to give some gradation to what is perceived as success and, within these terms, their choices certainly achieved a certain cachet for some – for instance the lesser known poets included in the New British Poets edition of *Poetmeat* or for the likes of the American Joan Gilbert in *Move*. In the autonomous field of the little poetry magazine, commerciality is almost entirely irrelevant both for those included within the publication and for those involved in its production but respect from their peers is important almost above all else. Viewed from this angle and, taking into consideration the research elsewhere in this dissertation, 'success' is relative but hard won.

By way of measuring how effective Burns, Cunliffe and Morris were it is worthwhile briefly taking a small sample of magazine contributors in order to gauge their impact in bestowing critical renown. That is not to say that these writers found success purely because they featured in the editions but that it is

worth considering the value added both to the publications for featuring the poets and, in turn, what this did for the writers themselves.

Lee Harwood appeared in several issues of *Poetmeat* both with his own verse and early translations of Tristan Tzara before his first collection (*title illegible*) appeared in 1965. Alongside his renowned poetry Harwood was an extremely influential figure publishing a number of important magazines (*Night Scene*, *Soho*, *Horde* and *Tzarad*) and, working alongside Bob Cobbing in Better Books, he organised numerous countercultural events before they became subsumed by the establishment later in the sixties.

Raised by communists, Andrew Crozier studied at Cambridge and was arrested for civil disobedience at the Aldermaston marches but later became a much respected academic at Keele, Essex and Sussex universities. In 1964 (not long after founding Ferry Press) a Fulbright scholarship took him to the State University of New York at Buffalo from where he guest edited *Move* issue 5, selecting several writers associated with the 'San Francisco Renaissance' movement which pre-dated the Beats. Crozier developed into an influential poet and literary figure, founding *The English Intelligencer* worksheet which engaged writers in debating the structure of verse.

A regular contributor of poetry, articles and reviews to both *Move* and *Poetmeat* (and their successors *Palantir* and *Global Tapestry*) 'Kaviraj' George Dowden later made his name as a Kerouac biographer and bibliographer of the works of Allen Ginsberg. Connected to both the US and the UK, Dowden travelled widely and was much influenced by his time in India, later living in London and Brighton where he worked with Cobbing and Harwood in alternative bookshops.

It is worth noting that many of Burns, Cunliffe and Morris's selections would later appear within what is widely considered to be the most comprehensive anthology of the period – the Michael Horovitz-edited *Children of Albion: Poetry of the 'Underground' in Britain* (Penguin, 1969) including Pete Brown, Roy Fisher, Peter Hoida, Anselm Hollo, Adrian Mitchell, Neil Oram, Michael Shayer and Gael Turnbull (along with poetry from Cunliffe, Morris and Jim Burns too). In fact, including the editors' own verse, 21 of the 63 poets which appear in the much lauded work of Horovitz had already appeared in *Poetmeat* and 16 in the eight

issues of *Move* Burns edited from Preston. So, if we accept *Children of Albion* as being a good yardstick by which to judge the scene, then Burns, Cunliffe and Morris deserve recognition for spotting talented poets at an early stage of their development and almost five years before the publication we are using as a benchmark. It is also noteworthy that Horovitz namechecked both *Move* and *Poetmeat* as important magazines in his lengthy Afterwords essay at the end of *Children of Albion*, attesting that the editors had liberally covered the field several years before.

Combining Bourdieu's theory with traditional academic citation contextualises the work of Burns, Cunliffe and Morris. Two relatively recent retrospectives on the small British poetry publishing of the 1960s credit the three for bringing wider attention to writers. In *Cusp: Recollections of Poetry in Transition* (Shearsman, 2012) the academic Hannah Neate references both *Move* and *Poetmeat* as examples of the 60s poetry explosion based largely away from the capital. Neate explores the importance of divergent cultures emerging from within non-traditional locations citing the two magazines (with others) as a sign of the industrial working class contributing towards a British intellectual renewal later in the decade. Within the same book Jim Burns is afforded his own chapter in which he describes the development of magazines from the 1950s onwards, singling out *Poetmeat* for (critical) praise. Burns uses his chapter (entitled "The Left Bank of the Ribble") to highlight the New British Poets edition as particularly worthwhile (2012, p. 17):

Poetmeat in 1965 devoted a full issue to what it described as 'The New British Poetry' which tended to invite an unfair comparison with Donald Allen's famous anthology *The New American Poetry 1945-60*. The *Poetmeat* selection wasn't perfect and some poets who should have been there (Edwin Morgan and Andrew Crozier, to name a couple) were missing while others could have been omitted without any great effect on the overall contents. But it was a reasonable attempt to present a broad survey of some of the activity taking place around the country in the 1960s. It's an indication of the growing interest in what was referred to as the 'underground' poetry scene that this issue of *Poetmeat* was launched with a reading at the ICA in London with many of the contributors taking part.

In the same chapter Burns underlines the role Cunliffe and Morris played in signposting readers to other work through their magazine and literary dispatch *PM Newsletter* (ibid):

[*Poetmeat*] along with the poems it published, provided a service with its coverage of other similar publications, including books and pamphlets from small presses which often couldn't be found in bookshops.

In their article 'Between art and money: The social space of public readings in contemporary poetry economies and careers' (*Poetics* 38, 2010), Ailsa Craig and Sebastien Dubois argue that even within the most avant garde poetry circles there is still tension between the idea of 'art for art's sake' and the desire or need to make money. Further developing Bourdieu's theory (that the importance of the art is not necessarily down to the greatness of the artist but that the power lies elsewhere to consecrate the work) they surmise that although verse may seem very much a solitary pursuit, to achieve fame poets need to carefully navigate their way through the right circles of mentors, publishers and critics. Craig and Dubois explored the concept that the positive consecration of work within the field may be as much down to citing the correct influences, meeting significant editors or associating with the most important reviewers as it is necessarily the quality of the material.

Our three poets and publishers regularly attended readings and used their editorial correspondence to network widely but it is questionable how much interaction they had outside the tightknit circle of the little magazine poetry world. Cunliffe's initial development was surely boosted through meeting important literary and poetry figures in late fifties Soho (Lee Harwood, Michael Horovitz, Jeff Nuttall etc.) and these connections inspired both his writing and subsequent collections. Although Burns occasionally visited the same London haunts it is debatable how much this assisted his artistic growth but the networks he made through the likes of *Ambit* magazine (J G Ballard, Andrew Crozier, Gael Turnbull etc.) would have helped as he compiled *Move*. Morris was in a different position, not initially having those same contacts (other than befriending Adrian Henri) but, once she became involved with BB Books, she too made literary associates who would come to help both publish her own poetry and the work she produced with

Cunliffe. So, even at the outer reaches of an obscure poetry field, it would seem true that the ability to successfully construct networks did play some part in their achievements.

Patricia Waugh's *Harvest of the Sixties: English Literature and its Background 1960-1990* (Oxford University Press, 1995) holds some interesting ideas about how culture is perceived in different ways as time moves further away from the events at which we look. Waugh argues that the story of the past is open to negotiation and can change depending on theories prevalent in different eras or from a range of different perspectives. She highlights how the notion of what constitutes significant art has changed from being a unified narrative in the 1960s (when there was a consensus on whatever was deemed important largely by male, white, middle-class academics) later splintering into multiple strands with numerous parallel ideas of what is considered valuable coming from a range of different spheres. In the intervening period an acceptance has developed that cultures from outside this conventional, normative structure are equally valid and deserving of attention. In these terms it is easy to see that the output of the small presses of the 1960s and 70s was, at the time, overlooked because at that point there was generally agreed to be only one homogenised form of culture and anything outside that was considered unworthy of attention. It is thus feasible that the little poetry magazines' later recognition could be part of this shift towards an understanding that both history and culture can be seen in many diverse ways changing through the prism of different periods.

In *The Rules of Art* (Polity Press, 1996) Bourdieu explores the idea that art is constrained by a confluence of existing social boundaries within a particular field. Any new art (in these terms) is influenced in some way not only by what has gone before but also by many other wider social imperatives. In poetry terms the field was clearly inhibited by the notion of what poetry should be – not just in terms of rhyme, rhythm and scansion but also by subject matter. Seen from this perspective and within the wider context of a post-war Britain restricted by notions of what constituted acceptable subject matter for prose or poetry the magazines were an attempt to break free from these shackles. With little need to worry about sales or readership and no concern over upsetting those in the mainstream poetry world, editors and writers were able to push the boundaries of what poetry

could be, exploring new forms and innovating in a field unused to experimentation. It is surely no coincidence that Burns, Cunliffe and Morris all cite the influence of the Beats in terms of the 'freedom' they offered, allowing them to see that poetry could be approached in different ways, uncluttered by the baggage of previous verse (in terms of both style and subject matter). It is also little surprise that this kind of attempt to free poetry by pushing boundaries should almost inevitably result in confrontation with the authorities and this is exactly what occurred with the publication of *Golden Convolvulus*.

It is also worth considering how difficult it must have been for largely self-educated working class writers (arguably lower middle class in the case of Morris) to break into the traditionally middle and upper class world of poetry. Although the later 1960s would start to see the arts in Britain become gradually more democratised with people like photographer David Bailey breaking through social barriers, in the early to middle part of the decade (when *Move* and *Poetmeat* were at their peak) this was yet to happen. Bourdieu explained this segregation in terms of a code through which those with the keys (the middle class) were given access to the language of art and so could fully appreciate all its levels while the working class were prevented from this understanding by their lack of education. In these terms it is a remarkable achievement to develop such a depth of understanding that the editors were able not only to write their own poetry but also to critically select the work of others, review material and to contextualise this within the wider world of poetry and literature (and to do this at a level for which they achieved renown). For Morris one must also add to this feat beating the barrier of the period's patriarchal dominance which meant that as a woman even her own family poured scorn upon her desire to go on to higher education or to become a poet. During my interviews with Morris her tales of the struggle to be heard by the largely male-centred poetry field were legion and she cites the Poetry 66 weekend in Nottingham as an event full of ego-driven male poets reluctant to listen to their female counterparts. Organising successful readings in Blackburn hostelrys during a time in the late 1960s and early 1970s when pubs in the town were male-oriented bastions of hard drinking culture was also no small accomplishment. It is surely also significant that the three maintained day-jobs while editing the magazines, taking away the need for a steady income from

their literary efforts. Arguably this was down to a presumption that they would not earn much from their magazines or poetry but it had the positive effect of removing any reliance on financial 'success' for their work.

In *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1996) Bourdieu proposes that the idea of 'good taste' has been monopolised by the middle class in order to set themselves apart, even prove themselves better than the working class through their cultural choices. The bourgeoisie have the time and the linguistic education to focus on the aesthetics of art, using this as a form of cultural control over the working class who are in turn excluded from the beauty of art and the power which emanates from within it (1996, p. 56-7):

The most intolerable thing for those who regard themselves as the possessors of legitimate culture is the sacrilegious reuniting of tastes which taste dictates shall be separated.

In the US, the likes of Ginsberg and Olson introduced radical, unconventional subjects into verse while also developing new forms of poetry that would change the way it would be analysed by critics and academics. In Bourdieu's terms, these new poetic structures and revolutionary topics rescued culture from the monopoly of the middle class, democratising art and within that the idea of who could own 'good taste', giving the working class and those not formally educated the keys to unlock the power of art. This new wave of poetry broke down not only the previously rigid structures of verse, it infected the wider literary canon and then went beyond that to mutate other art forms, collapsing cultural boundaries and inviting in those previously excluded by tradition and education. The radicalisation of art which began with poetry eventually seeped out (initially through the counterculture) to liberalise wider political thought for, if the walls around art could be scaled, why might the barricades around politics not be brought down too? Alternative philosophies and lifestyles now seemed not only attractive but achievable because the shackles had been removed by poets prepared to attack and destroy the boundaries of convention by their willingness to break down and re-invent the form.

The little poetry magazines were one of the few places in the late 1950s and early 1960s where you could see the beginnings of this fundamental shift and, within this small field, *Move* and *Poetmeat*, specialising as they did in US poetry, were two of only a handful of magazines transmitting events from across the Atlantic. Burns, Cunliffe and Morris played an integral role in developments which would eventually lead to the transformation not only of art but also of social thinking which few would realise originated from within an obscure literary field and even less would know had come through magazines published in Blackburn and Preston.

It is worth returning to the traditional notion of academic citation bestowing credit, and noting that the two major studies of the genre: *British Poetry Magazines 1914-2000* (The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2006) and *Little Magazine Profiles: The Little Magazines in Great Britain 1939-1993* (University of Salzburg, 1993) do both reference *Poetmeat* as an important example of the field while also giving *Move* some limited consideration. The British Library publication offers Cunliffe and Morris substantial column inches (within the bibliographic data) stressing the significance of the wider BB Books output which incorporated the magazine, several poetry editions, *PM Newsletter* and a variety of countercultural works such as the *Vegan Action* pamphlets.

Görtschacher's Salzburg edition (which has more space to assess beyond the bibliographic) confirms that the pair worked to ensure *Poetmeat* collated writing from all areas of poetry (or at least from different elements of the avant garde) and that they were prepared to look beyond the form to give verse a broader context (1993, p. 153):

A wider range of poets were accepted by Dave Cunliffe and Tina Morris for their magazine *Poetmeat* including, among others: Roy Fisher, David Chaloner, Lee Harwood, Chris Torrance, Jim Burns, Peter Jay, and Alan Brownjohn. Its eighth issue published in 1964 and subtitled 'The New British Poetry', testified to this impression. In its more than a dozen issues, published between 1963 and 67, the editors discussed questions of poetics and the relationship between commitment, politics and poetry. When Arthur Moyses's anthology *The Golden Convolvulus* was attacked by

the Blackpool (sic) authorities for alleged obscenity, *Poetmeat's* editors defended Moyse in the editorial to issue number 11 (Summer 1966).

He also places *Poetmeat* at the vanguard of experimental writing, drawing a connection between those magazines which first appeared in the 1950s and the newer editions of the 60s which impacted upon British poetry, alongside the work of Jeff Nuttall and Ian Hamilton Finlay who are more widely recognised than Cunliffe and Morris (1993, p.122-133):

Together with *New Departures* and *Stand, Migrant* successfully attempted to liberate British poetry from rigid national boundaries and promoted the reception of international, in particular American, avant garde poets. These organs paved the way for experimental magazines that were to transform the situation of poetry in Great Britain in the sixties and early seventies, including magazines like Hamilton Finlay's *Poor. Old. Tired. Horse*, Jeff Nuttall's *My Own Mag*, and Dave Cunliffe and Tina Morris' *Poetmeat*.

It is also worth briefly considering the nature of the respect afforded Cunliffe and Morris in *Bomb Culture* and that given to the pair 25 years later by Görtzschacher. Nuttall's 1968 tome is widely referenced as crucial in documenting the birth of the British counterculture and, as such, to be named within it is extremely prestigious (with the proviso that Cunliffe and Nuttall were friends). On the other hand, to still be cited as important two and a half decades later and in the rather different field of the little poetry magazine does show that *Poetmeat's* effect was far from merely a brief sixties energy flash but that its influence had some real longevity.

Robert Sheppard's work *The Poetry of Saying: British Poetry and its Discontents* credits Cunliffe and Morris with creating the term 'British Poetry Revival' for a scene the author sees as particularly important (2005, p. 35):

This chapter will define the serious, but heterogeneous literary movement. The term I use to describe it, the British Poetry Revival, was first proposed by Tina Morris and Dave Cunliffe in the eighth issue of their underground magazine *Poetmeat* around 1965, which presented an anthology of such work.

It is worth noting that in the few other scholarly works exploring the outlands of British poetry neither *Move* nor *Poetmeat* are afforded much attention. For instance, Andrew Duncan's *Centre & Periphery in Modern British Poetry* (Liverpool University Press, 2005) which investigates the importance of writers in the geographical extremities of the UK (Scotland, Ireland, Wales and northern England according to the author) only briefly mentions Jim Burns in passing and as poet rather than publisher. Beyond Duncan's book it is the whole of the little poetry magazine sector which is generally disregarded so, bearing this fact in mind, we are hampered in assessing the wider impact of Burns, Cunliffe and Morris as editors when this particular element of poetic history remains so undervalued and unexplored. The wide divide between the mainstream poetry of the larger publishing imprints and the output of the avant garde released through the small presses continues to impinge on the analysis of the little magazines when they form part of a largely ignored element of literary history.

It is worthwhile considering the scope of these publications when contrasted with similar organs of that time. For instance, it was quite unusual to have an edition focused on the translated work of Latin American poets; to include such a large number of US writers and to use verse to cover the issues of racism and sex in the early 1960s. In a poetry world where even the avant garde could be rather conservative there is no doubt that they were prepared to experiment with the form and it also shows that the editors were willing to look well beyond the narrow confines of Britain for poetry. Whether this boundary pushing helped garner better reviews or widened the readership of the magazines is doubtful but the trio certainly brought a fresh approach to what could be an insular format.

Taking the above into consideration, it is quite clear that what is most appreciated (both within the poetry field itself and academically) is the editorial work of Cunliffe and Morris while it is Burns' ability (even from the early 1960s) to understand, explain and celebrate the importance of the little magazines to the development of avant garde literature which is more admired. This in no way diminishes the impact of the three writers' poetry – Burns in particular still receives plaudits for his verse and their poetry is held across many important collections both in Britain and in many US university libraries. Their true legacy though is that by putting readers in touch with influential writers (particularly

Americans) they played a part in developing new poetic approaches which had an impact not just upon verse but on the wider literary canon, changing the future of literature way beyond the little magazines of the 1960s. It is also worth considering that Burns and Cunliffe continued this process editing *Palantir* and *Global Tapestry* respectively and that over the last decade Burns has developed this further through the production of books highlighting the work of many forgotten writers of value.

Tina Morris

I will be the first

to run

outside

into the agonising hour

& catch dust in both arms

& hug the soft burning snow

& fall to the ground

sobbing.

burning.

knowing

that this is the end

of waiting

for the long death.

And the body

in final JOY will

wither

into a shadow

of the bleeding

flowers.

Poetmeat 6

1964

Chapter Four:

Counterculture

Larry Eigner

firetruck down the road

the roar

of a plane

for safety

simultaneous

trust of

instants

unknown

extent of damage

what is the ride

Poetmeat 6

1964

In chapter one of this work evidence was set out contending that *Move* and *Poetmeat* magazines are, by definition, countercultural artefacts produced in opposition to mainstream poetry in order to highlight work ignored by those who controlled the major publishing houses and literary organs of the time. I will now go further, explicitly connecting the work of Burns, Cunliffe and Morris with an underground forming in the USA by the 1950s and which developed in the UK around the early 60s. This chapter will highlight the connections they made through their magazines with an international network of writers and artists who would only later become known as important within the counterculture because, at that point in the early sixties, the concept was not yet fully formed or understood. The research will also show that although their communication was global their literary pursuits and political activism had a local impact, particularly on Blackburn, where underground activity flourished during the late 1960s and 70s re-appearing at the end of the 1980s and again in the mid-1990s. Although this wave of radicalism took some time to reach the population of the Lancashire town (and others like it around Britain) its effect was profound and lasting with organisations still operating within the area as a consequence of that activity.

As we have already explored, the magazine editors' love of modernist poetry and its links with radical art movements and experimental jazz brought the three into contact with new critical thinking that was developing outside the traditional politics of the time. Although this was a shift to the left it was also away from the hard-line dogma of communism (now tainted by Stalinist purges and the brutal crushing of eastern European uprisings) and towards the individual freedoms of sex, sexuality and drugs. It was militantly pacifist and anti-capitalist based upon an emerging environmentalism which led some to vegetarian and veganism, and the rejection of mainstream lifestyles brought about a small return to communalism. This exposure to new ideas emanating (in particular) from the States combined with personal interaction much closer to home. Morris moved to Manchester where she worked at the art college, befriending poet and artist Adrian Henri, developing new ideas, ideals and approaches to her writing. Burns travelled to London, Paris and Germany finding new literature and music and, in experiencing bohemian scenes, discovered the formation of radical cultures. Cunliffe's Soho adventures with writers, artists, musicians and drugs at a pivotal

moment in the formation of British youth culture and his political development via anti-nuclear protests meant that he was in a position to see this movement at its earliest stage, inspiring his desire to act as a conduit for its ideas.

Although there is now a great deal of research into both the British and US sixties counterculture, beyond work on little poetry magazines it contains scant mention of Burns, Cunliffe or Morris. However the 'Underground' chapter of Jeff Nuttall's seminal work *Bomb Culture* does mention the Blackburn couple while listing important countercultural figures (1968, p. 187):

In by-waters of America and Britain there was Day Parsons and Ray Gosling (Nottingham), Alex Hand (West Hartlepool), Ian Breakwell (Bristol), Dave Cunliffe and Tina Morris (Manchester) (sic)...

Cunliffe again gains particular recognition in this reference to the early formation of the underground (1968, p. 191):

They (Alexander Trocchi and John Calder) were not, however, the beginning of the Underground in England. Towards the end of the great days of Aldermaston certain of the whackier and younger CND followers gathered in the Peace Café in the Fulham Road, eventually closed through notoriety for drugs, and formed a cultural nucleus that looked mainly towards America and the Beats for its model. Prominent figures to emerge from this group were Dave Cunliffe, Lee Harwood, Ian Vine, Neil Oram, Spike Hawkins, Miles and, most important, Mike Horovitz and Pete Brown.

While exploring the development of the Underground the only publication Nuttall cites as important is *Poetmeat* (1968, p. 192):

Trocchi launched Sigma; Better Books, owned then by Tony Godwin, opened its paperback shop with a wild mod décor and a succession of influential managers, Bill Butler, Miles, Bob Cobbing; Jim Haynes launched his Edinburgh bookshop and his theatre, the Traverse; Dave Cunliffe started his *Poetmeat* magazine from Manchester (sic), and, deliriously, within about twelve months, everything started to grow together.

Using contact lists from little magazines Morris, Cunliffe & Burns developed postal relationships with other poets and publishers bringing them within the scope of those involved in radical scenes developing in New York, Chicago, Detroit and San Francisco. For instance Tuli Kupferberg gave Cunliffe a list of New York addresses through which he located the co-editor of Interim books, Kirby Congdon, a player within the bohemian Greenwich Village who put them in touch with dozens of artists. It is also worthwhile taking a moment to contemplate the nature of communication by letter which gave writers the capacity to explore thoughts and feelings in great depth and with it the opportunity to distribute complex ideas via the mail. Also the time taken for correspondence to be penned and then to travel across the Atlantic allowed for a rhythm to develop between writers whereby new ideas could be exchanged. With this culture in mind correspondents swapped revolutionary poetry in a period long before the internet and twenty four hour global TV news made information easily accessible.

Exploring examples of the connections they made through their editorial correspondence in the early 1960s, it is perhaps not too surprising that their letters attracted the attention of the authorities both in the States and in Britain. During my interviews Jim Burns recalled that he once had his mail returned stamped 'Undesirable' in red ink by the US State Department while Cunliffe is convinced that his letters were opened and his telephone tapped.

A brief exploration of people who can be considered figures of consequence within the sixties counterculture and who featured in *Move* or *Poetmeat* includes the then nineteen year old lesbian Black Panther Pat Parker who appeared in *Poetmeat* 5 (1964) but is better known for founding the Black Women's Revolutionary Council and the Women's Press Collective in the States. Founding member of the Dada-influenced Black Mask anarchist group (and publication of the same name), Dan Georgakas contributed to several *Poetmeat* editions before playing a central role in the underground group Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers formed at the cusp of the student revolution in 1968. Releasing a collection of his poetry *And All Living Things Their Children* through BB Books in the same year, he became a well-known political activist, part of numerous protests of which the most high-profile involved forcing his way into the Pentagon during an anti-war demonstration and organising food kitchens and crash pads

around New York. John Sinclair is best known as the political activist who co-founded the White Panthers and managed the Detroit group MC5, giving them their revolutionary edge but earlier in the sixties Sinclair worked as jazz critic for *Downbeat* magazine, read at the Berkeley Poetry Conference in July 1965 and contributed work both to *Move* and *Poetmeat* from 1966.

Colombian journalist, philosopher and *Poetmeat* contributor Gonzalo Arango developed the theory of 'Nadaismo' (Nothingism) in the late 1950s. Name checked in *Bomb Culture*, Arango's group engaged in activism such as gate-crashing the First Congress of Catholic Intellectuals (for which he was jailed) and the 1961 sacrilege of the Holy Host in the Medellin Basilica (which he later regretted). Julian Beck co-founded the experimental Living Theatre group in New York with his wife Judith Malina with whom he had an unconventional three-way relationship also involving a stevedore. Heavily influenced by the French playwright Antonin Artaud who believed in breaking down the barrier between performers and audience they held confrontational productions and were arrested for nudity and obscenity. Beck wrote several volumes of poetry and contributed to *Poetmeat* from as early as 1964, building a regular correspondence with Cunliffe almost culminating in a British branch of the Living Theatre moving to Blackburn. Although he contributed no actual verse to *Poetmeat*, Cleveland writer and publisher d a levy exchanged letters with Cunliffe and wrote in support during the *Golden Convolvulus* affair. He published his own countercultural magazine *Buddhist Third-Class Junkmail Oracle* (for which Cunliffe wrote) and poetry through his Renegade and Seven Flowers Press but he fell foul of the authorities leading to his own obscenity charge in 1966 which climaxed in the removal of his printing press.

For Cunliffe and Morris, already receptive to new ideas, this correspondence brought word of a developing libertarian, ecological, anti-corporate movement in the States which both chimed with their own developing philosophy and inspired their activism. Having honed their printing skills for *Poetmeat* they put these to use producing leaflets and handbills on a wide variety of subjects including pacifism (encouraging soldiers at a military tattoo to desert), radical veganism ('*Would Christ Have Wrung the Neck of a Turkey?*' was handed to the parishioners of Blackburn Cathedral celebrating Christmas) and on a range of

then unconventional ideas (e.g. a postcard asking the Health Secretary to include homeopathic treatment on the NHS). Importantly they also included contact details for many burgeoning countercultural groups in their *PM Newsletter*, not only propounding the ideas but also facilitating ways for others to become involved by including addresses for communes, protest groups, meetings and actions local, national and international. Later in the sixties they published *Vegan Action* which included recipes, advice on where to buy man-made clothes and health tips for a meat-free lifestyle.

Beyond the literary, they (and their cat) lived vegan lifestyles and created a variety of colourful actions around the north-west described in a later article 'Global Tapestry's Non-Violent Total Revolution' written by Cunliffe for *Peace News* (1969, page number unknown):

There isn't time to wait for the state to wither away...before humanity is forced to abandon animal husbandry and related exploitation. Therefore our 'Global Tapestry's' non-violent total-revolutionary anarchist impetus: propaganda by word and deed...With Tina Morris and friends, I have disrupted normal flesh-market functioning by switching price-tags, substituting signs, 'Slaughtered lamb corpses', 'Fresh flesh' and jamming slaughterhouse phones at peak-trading communication periods. We've joyously destroyed wood and canvas 'shooting houses' on the Trough of Bowland...recently auctioned off Manchester Town Hall, for 200 government issue toilet rolls, in a symbolic demonstration supported by nurses, hospital workers, students, anarchists, poets...to generate an impetus away from bureaucratic hospital administration, tame unions and discredited drug therapy [at the mental hospital where Cunliffe worked].

In my conversations with Morris she confirms that the events described by Cunliffe did take place but with questionable impact on a local populace perhaps unready for happenings that included naked bicycle rides through Blackburn town centre and the wallpapering of bus stops.

Jim Burns on the other hand is not only dismissive of 'Beat' or 'hippie' lifestyles but, in our initial correspondence at least, strongly rebuffed my assertion that he was involved in countercultural activities. He has latterly conceded that his

magazine publishing, bohemian research and his work unearthing banned or forgotten authors could all be categorised as 'underground' while his poetic focus on working class lives also, at the very least, belies an unorthodox approach to verse. Burns admits to being sympathetic towards anarchist ideals but his real influence comes through his ability to put individual writers and literary movements into historical context for readers looking to build a broader understanding of avant garde literature, particularly from the States, which could also be labelled as countercultural.

This begs the question as to why he shows such reluctance for his work to be considered as countercultural and how could someone with such an abiding interest in bohemia claim to be uninterested in the lifestyles of the Beats or hippies? As we saw in Chapter Two, Burns has spent his writing career trying to avoid being pigeonholed within a particular part of the poetry world while editorially (with both *Move* and *Palantir*) he worked hard to ensure that they were open to as wide a range of different poetry styles as possible which was quite different to many other poetry magazines of that period. Operating within this field also meant that he was very aware that many writers and critics sought to divide poets and publications into being either part of the 'underground' or from within the dreaded establishment which again Burns despised on the grounds that it forced categorisation towards one side or the other. He is at great pains to point out his links with magazines and writers considered as mainstream while, in reality, he was connected both through his poetry and his editing to many people and publications who would become the foundations of the counterculture.

It is also worth bearing in mind that in the 1960s Burns was married with children so, unlike the freewheeling lifestyles of many poets, this necessitated a steady income largely prohibiting obvious radical activity so his main outlet (besides the writing) was as a union steward representing workers in the engineering plants at which he was based. Averse to joining groups his one period of membership was with the International Workers of the World which is a collective of union activists rather than a political party. Although he denies ever being a 'Wobbly', Burns spent some time almost singlehandedly writing the IWW magazine. This kind of practical and pragmatic union politics which involved tough negotiation on behalf of colleagues would no doubt have given Burns a cynicism in little evidence

amongst those in search of a countercultural utopia which might also explain his desire to distance himself from the underground.

So, whereas Cunliffe and Morris had the freedom to take part in 'direct action' Burns used research for his articles and books to (for instance) draw connections between the Beats and left-wing politics of the 1930s, 40s and 50s such as Jack Kerouac's 1944 membership of the American Communist Party and Ginsberg's socialist background. In an interview given to *Beat Scene* magazine Burns cites Kenneth Rexroth's work *Communalism: From its Origins to the Twentieth Century* (published in Britain by Peter Owen in 1975) as an important text within this sphere (2014, p. 37):

It looks at utopian communities from early Christian ones through the Anabaptists in Munster in the 16th Century, Winstanley and the Diggers in England at the time of the English Civil War, communities in Russia, the Shakers (chased out of Manchester in the late-18th Century), American groups like the one at Brook Farm that Nathaniel Hawthorne satirised in his novel, *A Blithedale Romance*, as well as the communities based on the ideas of 19th Century French thinkers like Fourier and Cabet.

In the same interview he discusses the political poetry of Ferlinghetti, Ginsberg, Hirschman, Patchen, Snyder, Rexroth and Michelin recommending the anthologies *The Writing on the Wall: 108 American Poems of Protest* edited by Walter Lowenfels and *Red Sky at Night: Socialist Poetry* edited by Andy Croft and Adrian Mitchell which connect poetry, publishing and radical politics. As a poet who often employs political themes, Burns sees it as natural that verse should reflect reality and he uses his literary articles to further this concept. His work unearthing 'banned', blacklisted or forgotten American writers also reflects his commitment to what might be described as alternative culture (2014, p. 46):

Yes, I always was interested in politics of the left-wing kind...the history of socialism and communism fascinated me and still does, and some of that interest does come through in many of the poems...I wrote for *Tribune*...and I did articles and reviews for a number of other liberal/left-wing publications ranging from the *New Statesman* to the *Industrial Unionist* and some local union papers.

His other great interest lies in connecting the avant garde with the development of bohemia in Paris and New York, tracing the influence between those worlds outwards to popular culture. His love of bebop and the effect the rhythms and improvisation of modern jazz had not just on other forms of music but also on the wider art world hold a particular fascination for Burns. Taking this into consideration his research into the Beats should be of no surprise with their connections to the French capital and to jazz. Burns sees the importance of searching beyond the obvious and the well-known and makes it his role to look at the writers who worked on the fringe, bringing them centre stage for our consideration. From the same interview he sets out his interest in (2014, p. 50):

...the literature of bohemia, not just the poets and writers, but also the small presses that published them and the novels and stories, one or two operas also, which focus on the lives of bohemians. There's a kind of tradition you can trace right back to the early 19th Century and Henry Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* and Balzac's *Lost Illusions*, and even before that, perhaps. There's a wonderful American historian, Robert Darnton, and he writes a lot about 18th Century French literature, and he found an old novel, published in 1789...called *The Bohemians* and the fact that the word was in use in that way in 1789 made me reconsider the idea that it only started to be used to describe writers, artists etc. in the 1830s or so...I'm fascinated by the bohemian tradition and I'm always looking for evidence of it in the shape of books, magazines and so on.

By disgorging long ignored writers, hidden traditions and forgotten texts Burns plays a significant role, drawing links between the dawn of Europe's avant garde, its influence on American modernism and its mirrored effect back on this side of the Atlantic from the 1950s onwards. This work is entirely countercultural, pointing readers towards art either ignored or wilfully side-lined by critics interested only in the obvious, the simply comprehended or the easily sold. Although the internet has become a vast repository of countercultural documentation, it does not (yet?) contain all life or art and, combined with a mass media ever more focused upon a homogenised vision of music, art and literature, this later work of Jim Burns becomes extremely important.

In his (as yet unpublished) essay 'Blackburn Nightlife' and in an interview I conducted with him, local DJ and music promoter Ronnie Brown recalled that as the 1960s progressed Blackburn began slowly to feel the influence of the subcultural boom, initially with the appearance of a few beatniks in coffee shops including the El Greco, Blue Dahlia, Lyons and two Wimpy bars. KJ's (Ken and John), opposite the train station, was a particularly important meeting place with no dress code, long opening hours and a well-stocked jukebox playing a mixture of early blues and protest songs to a clientele which gradually included mods and hippies. Early 1960s concerts in the town by the Beatles, Rolling Stones and the Who inspired a whole new generation of hipsters who took over the Adelphi, Bowling Green and Little Bull pubs and the St John's Tavern and also clubs including Stax (named after the label) and Monday soul nights at the Mecca Ballroom. A little later in the sixties hippies appeared in the Peel, Vulcan and Queens pubs where (initially at least) marijuana could be openly smoked, speed pills purchased and tabs of acid scored. Despite this growing interest in alternative culture the town remained a violent place split between pubs occupied on the one side by rockers and a few aging teds and on the other by the younger mods with trouble breaking out if anyone dared stray from their traditional watering holes.

The anti-nuclear movement radicalised a growing number of Blackburn teenagers, inspiring the development of left-wing and anarchist groups through CND meetings in the Friends Meeting House on Paradise Terrace, where a mixture of Quakers, radicals and bohemian artists traded opinions. This scene spilled over into nights at the Blackburn Jazz Club based in what would become Tony's Empress Ballroom (which hosted northern soul all-nighters in the 1970s) where a laissez-faire attitude to sexuality, drugs and politics helped to make the connection between all these implicit for youngsters looking for something beyond a traditional nine-to-five existence.

The 1965 *Golden Convolvulus* trial brought attention to Cunliffe and Morris for a slowly emerging local counterculture. Individuals who saw themselves as islands of radical thinking noticed the coverage given the hearing not only in a few underground magazines but also in the national press and they suddenly realized that they were not alone. At the court groups sold each other copies of their

various political and literary tracts, swapped addresses and arranged to meet. The Trotskyist International Socialists, anarchists and a mixture of artists and writers began to interact and exchange ideas although it would only be later in the decade that these groups attracted sufficient numbers to make an impact upon the town.

As *Poetmeat* ended amidst the effects of the obscenity trial Cunliffe and Morris moved to an old cottage on the outskirts of the borough intent on developing self-sufficiency, growing their own fruit and vegetables in the back garden. This idyll was shattered when they found only about an inch of top soil covering impenetrable bedrock at the rear of the house. Their marriage gradually foundered and Morris quickly left, moving to the other side of town she started the Poet Meets Folk nights initially in the Grapes Hotel before moving to the Borough and later the Fernhurst opposite Blackburn Rovers Football Club. These were a mixture of verse and music performances attracting both local writers and others from around the country some of whom would go on to become better known, including Jasper Carrot and Peter Skellern. Cavan McCarthy moved to the town to take up a librarian post at Blackburn Technical College bringing with him an enthusiasm for poetry (particularly Concrete), editing *Tlaloc* (issues 15 & 16) while hosting regular readings in the Market Hotel. The poet Mark Hyatt relocated to the village of Belmont between Blackburn and Bolton where he lived with playwright Donald Howarth, ostensibly to get away from London's drug culture and little realising Lancashire had its own burgeoning scene. Editor of the literary quarterly *Aylesford Review* Brocard Sewell was a regular visitor to a Blackburn Carmelite nunnery, making several local connections including Cunliffe. Despite being warned of Sewell's dubious links (it later transpired he was a member of both the Distributist League and the British Union of Fascists) Cunliffe struck up an unlikely friendship with the Roman Catholic friar who stopped in his Clematis Street home. Politically motivated writer, poet and college lecturer John Coops also organised music and poetry nights at the Fleece on Penny Street from which he developed connections with other radical thinkers in the town. The Mid-Pennine Arts Association promoted poetry events from its base in King William Street including what it labelled 'The Big One' which ran over a week in 1975 including readings, writing symposiums and exhibitions of related art.

There were a number of key events which galvanised these disparate groups into combined action, the first of which was a 1969 Blackburn Rugby Club speech by Enoch Powell which brought together many activists from the broad left and at which Cunliffe again made the national press by dramatically throwing himself on the bonnet of Powell's car. The former leader of Blackburn Young Conservatives John Kingsley Read's election as chairman of the National Front raised his profile within the town. He then split from the NF to set up the new neo-fascist National Party gaining two Blackburn Council seats in a municipality with many Asian residents, leading to several large and violent demonstrations both by and against the right-wing group. Cunliffe is largely remembered at these events for leading a street theatre troop dressed in a variety of bizarre costumes mocking National Party activists. The Blackburn Action against Racism group was set-up in reaction to the racists, attracting members with a wide range of political beliefs but with a commitment towards a common anti-fascist cause.

Another clash bringing together the diverse factions was the January 1971 March of Witness through Blackburn by 10,000 Christians protesting against the 'permissive society', part of a wider born-again Festival of Light movement supported by Mary Whitehouse and Cliff Richard. Counter-demonstrations particularly exercised by the anti-abortion rhetoric of the crusade led to violence from the Christians, many angered by Cunliffe's William Blake-inspired banner reading 'Sooner Murder an Infant in its Cradle than Nurse Unacted Desires'.

Plans for an east-west motorway connecting the M6 to the M1 through Lancashire and Yorkshire galvanised a much wider range of protestors angered by construction through virgin countryside. A Transport Action Group was formed, inspiring angry protests and forcing the government into an expensive public inquiry from which Cunliffe was ejected for his noisy outbursts. It would be almost twenty five years before the M65 was built and a whole new generation of activists took to the trees in Stanworth Wood and Cuerden Valley Park in a bid to stop the road.

As these and other broadly countercultural groups began to form it was the opening of an alternative bookshop in Market Street Lane which gave them a base from which they could operate and provided a meeting space where they

could work together. In 1971 Ian Ross, assisted by Geoff Corner and Richard Ford, rented and restored a dilapidated building from Blackburn Corporation. In an interview the three gave to poet and BBC Radio Blackburn presenter John Bilsborough just before the shop's opening, they explained that the low rent was due to the almost derelict building which had both wet and dry rot and holes in the roof. They confirmed that the outlet was a not for profit enterprise with any money made put back into social projects including theatre and arts groups, help for the homeless, a crèche and after school sessions. Alongside books they aimed to become an outlet for local creativity, selling anything they might produce and a cultural hub which might inspire others to begin similar schemes.

Amamus sold countercultural magazines (*International Times*, *Oz*, *Black Dwarf* etc.) and leftist books alongside hippie paraphernalia from a number of trestle tables dotted around the shop floor. An upstairs room provided a gallery, meeting and performance space used for exhibitions, music, theatre and poetry, encouraging the cross-pollination of ideas between the different groups using the shop as a base. It increasingly became a magnet for much of the town's underground activity with Cunliffe often in attendance and it was here that he met anarchist Peter Good recently arrived from a Welsh commune. Good painstakingly hand-printed prankster magazine *Anarchism Lancastrium* (he would later go on to edit the better known *Cunningham Amendment*) from his house a few miles away in Whalley. According to an academic paper "Remembering *Anarchism Lancastrium* – Notes on 'the Cult Seventies Prankster' 1974-1981" by Mike Waite (2002) Cunliffe contributed a range of material to the tract under a variety of aliases and, using insider knowledge from Arthur Moyse, they spread salacious gossip about political activists from leftist and anarchist groups and advertised fictitious political meetings in an attempt to make as much mischief as possible. Good became briefly infamous for organising a sit-in protest against the mistreatment of psychiatric patients in Calderstones Hospital (where he worked) taking over a wing until the authorities agreed to an inquiry. It was also from Amamus that Cunliffe and Ian Ross edited the *Blackburn Barker* underground newspaper of which at least four issues were produced in 1973 and 74.

Ross also bought several houses in the Alexandra Meadows area of Blackburn where a revolving door of local bohemians took drugs and lived open

relationships. A scene developed around the Alexandra Hotel opposite East Lancashire Cricket Club which spilled over to several other pubs on Dukes Brow, the Arts Club and down to an unofficial nightclub (dubbed The Place) at the bottom of the hill. On the corner of Azalea and St Silas' roads (one hundred yards from where *Poetmeat* was once produced) Paul Oremek hosted what might be described as a commune or an open house, with walls knocked through providing a large space inhabited by a range of eccentric characters who enjoyed wild nights of drink and drugs. A large white CND sign was painted on the outside wall of the building (remaining visible for many years) and it is best known locally for briefly housing future world snooker champion Alex Higgins. Oremek would go on to set up a communal house in Wales where several people involved in the Blackburn scene still live.

East Lancashire's counterculture developed to meet the needs of local people and at that point the town lacked independent neo-natal advice so Blackburn Women's Group, run by Jill O'Connor, Marion Ross and Sue Cox, offered guidance and a free pregnancy testing service. A Gay Liberation group organised by a transvestite ex-boxer also operated from Amamus and the collapse of the town's textile and manufacturing industry meant that the Claimants Union run by Geoff Corner gave much needed benefits information to increasing numbers of the unemployed. A fruit and vegetable cooperative was set-up to organise sales and deliveries while another group developed woodworking skills, selling bespoke artwork and carpentry. Most of these projects lasted only a year or two but some went on to have a much more lasting influence and are still visible through the Action Factory community arts group and the People-in-Common collective who continue to live together in a commune in Foulridge, running the Altham Oak woodworking cooperative. Welfare State International were a travelling group of artists invited by MPAA to pitch camp on a rubbish dump in nearby Burnley while a smaller set of artists living in houseboats moored near the centre of Blackburn and individuals from both these fraternities are still active in the area's art scene.

By the 1970s disillusioned hippies were searching for something new and often sought enlightenment through one of numerous eastern religions. The cult of choice amongst Blackburn's underground was the Divine Light Mission run initially by charismatic Guru Shri Hans Ji Maharaji from India and, after his death

in 1966, by his son Guru Maharaji Ji. By 1973 the church was said to have more than a million Indian followers, tens of thousands in the west and scores across east Lancashire many of whom were recruited at a visit by the guru to Blackburn's King George's Hall and who then lived in large Liverpool and Manchester ashrams.

Amamus lasted almost ten years in one form or another, philosophy lecturer Andros Lasou taking over the shop from Ross, Corner and Ford sometime around 1973. He was followed by Susie Stirrup and Roger Hitchings who maintained the original philosophy of the enterprise ("We're not bread-heads so please don't rip us off" read a sign in the window) from July 1975 to February 1977 but by this point without the performance space above. Later in the 1970s May and Carol Campbell ran the outlet when it became more of a general hippie emporium selling joss sticks, posters and cheese cloth dresses while maintaining a small stock of countercultural magazines and a coterie of slightly druggy clientele. The shop moved from Market Street Lane to Barton Street around 1979 and rumours abound from this period about connections to the international drug smuggling ring involved in the nearby 'handless corpse' murder and to a group of Aleister Crowley followers who used the store for meetings. The shop closed around 1981 but the building which housed Amamus continues to be used by various independent retailers and it still has a vintage clothes store run by someone linked to that set.

A very strange scene developed in an upstairs room at the Infirmary pub involving Satanists and a group calling itself the Lancashire Liberation Front which plotted armed insurrection to set up the county palatine as an independent state. Under the guise of a legitimate gun club, organisers Tommy Howarth and pornographer 'Canadian Jim' armed the group in preparation for several planned acts of terrorism only foiled when one member tried to buy a firearm from local gangsters who fingered him to the police. Rumour later spread that 'Canadian Jim' was actually from the CIA and acting as an agent provocateur in order to entrap terrorists but he had, by then, reputedly moved to an ice station at the South Pole. In fact there were armed Irish republicans then operating in Lancashire several of whom were connected to leftist groups in the town and the Red Army Faction

(which included Baader Meinhoff) also had sympathisers willing at the very least to collect money in their support if not necessarily act as terrorists.

Several interviewees mentioned that the largely anarchist Angry Brigade was active in Blackburn during this period and this seems plausible given that members were later tried for blowing up Manchester's Spanish consulate. Robert Dickinson's poorly titled but well-researched work *Imprinting the Sticks: The Alternative Press Beyond London* (1997, Arena) also details how several of the group lived communally in Manchester and Liverpool while working on the Salford based alternative newspaper *Mole Express*.

In 1972 Cunliffe and Morris helped Quakers Alice and Frank Ward organise a 'potlatch' meeting in Tockholes Village Hall situated in the countryside between Blackburn and Darwen. Potlatch is the Native American name for gift-sharing feasts banned by the US and Canadian governments but which continued underground symbolising resistance against cultural repression. The British left adopted the name for a series of meetings meant to unite different elements of the counterculture by finding common ground and these were arranged through *Peace News* magazine. There are conflicting memories of the event with some stressing the positive atmosphere between the disparate attendees while others recall several arguments with groups regularly storming off to the local pub.

As Morris moved away from Cunliffe her writing and poetry gradually became focused on environmental issues which she developed into short stories for the BBC Schools Radio Service and which were also dramatized by BBC Radio Blackburn. Morris wrote several (unpublished) novels, initiated conservation talks which she took around Lancashire schools and ran a successful campaign to introduce a tree planting programme around her new home near Garstang. Her divorce from Cunliffe, re-marriage and the birth of two daughters precluded more direct political action but she continued to write for *Peace News* and *Tribune* into the 1970s and to have her poetry published through to the eighties.

Cunliffe was drawn to the emerging music festival scene through his connection to Windsor Free via links with co-organiser and head of the Church of Aphrodite, Paul Pawloski. His friendship with the Accrington and Brighton-based self-styled leader of the Republican Party of England would later come back to haunt him

when Special Branch visited Cunliffe in their attempts to close down the events. Despite its notoriously bad weather, Lancashire wholeheartedly embraced outdoor festivals in the 1970s when the unlikely figure of Jeremy Beadle organised Bickershaw on the outskirts of Wigan featuring performances by Captain Beefheart, the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane. The biker-initiated Rivington festival on the moors above Chorley inspired the rather more countercultural Deeply Vale close to Bury which hosted a mixture of hippie and punk bands that included Steve Hillage and The Fall with later events situated at Pickup Bank on the edge of Darwen. Chris Hewitt's *Tales of Deeply Vale Festival* (2014, Ozit Morpheus Records & Books) which accompanies a CD box-set of the event, shows poets in the line-up and, although not widely documented, Cunliffe confirms that many of the festivals also hosted verse alongside the music. Visiting travellers maintained small events at the Darwen site and at a beauty spot under the Ribblehead viaduct on the Settle to Carlisle railway line until the 1990s when the Criminal Justice Bill was introduced by the Conservative government.

In the summer of 1989 small parties in the Mill Hill district of Blackburn grew gradually in size as the organisers used the many derelict factories left over from the town's once vibrant cotton industry. The largely free/donation events quickly escalated with several thousand revellers descending on the town each weekend, often bringing traffic to a standstill. A number of leading books on the subject highlight the importance of these raves to the development of modern dance culture, for instance Matthew Collin's *Altered State: The Story of Ecstasy Culture and Acid House* (Serpent's Tail, 1998) and *The True Story of Acid House & the Summer of Love* by Luke Bainbridge (Omnibus, 2014). Although the organisers had a range of different motivations behind running the parties (which included drug peddling and winding up the local police), one of the main protagonists, Tommy Smith, believed passionately in the freedom to operate outside the restrictive boundaries of mainstream society and saw the raves as the working class taking back control over their own culture. Indeed, in the (as yet unreleased) documentary film *High on Hope*, Smith and others develop the idea (reminiscent of the Situationists' psychogeography) that they were reclaiming ownership of the mills from an industrial revolution when Blackburn's working people were suppressed in those very same spaces. Smith later took part in the M65 tree

protests at Stanworth Valley, drawing connections between seemingly disparate countercultural events in the town.

Latterly Burns has collected together previous articles alongside new work on forgotten writers, artists, musicians and the politically influential in a series of books. Starting with *Beats, Bohemians & Intellectuals* (Trent Books, 2010) and on through *Radicals, Beats & Be Boppers* (Penniless Press, 2011), *Brits, Beats & Outsiders* (Penniless Press, 2012), *Bohemians, Beats and Blues People* (Penniless Press, 2013), *Artists, Beats & Cool Cats* (Penniless Press, 2014), *Rebels, Beats & Poets* (Penniless Press, 2015) and *Anarchists, Beats and Dadaists* (Penniless Press, 2016) Burns has continued his exploration of numerous countercultural figures ranging from writer and critic Anatole Broyard and poet, novelist and bohemian Maxwell Bodenheim through to artist John Craxton and East Village poet Marty Matz; Burns excavates important but little known figures leading readers to rarely explored artistic and political by-ways.

It is worth noting that the three protagonists all ran trades union-affiliated adult Workers Education Association courses on a variety of literary and poetic subjects. Burns arranged Manchester classes looking at modern literature, Cunliffe organised tuition on small magazine publishing with a group of Blackburn fanzine editors while Morris taught poetry in Blackpool. Cunliffe still maintains the editorship of the increasingly irregular *Global Tapestry* poetry magazine and Morris, although she spends much of her time teaching music, giving therapy sessions and coordinating gymkhanas, still writes and threatens a return to direct action if local fracking goes ahead.

Within this chapter we have clearly connected Burns, Cunliffe and Morris with the beginnings of a US and British counterculture via both their editorial work (publishing material by significant underground figures) and through their own writing contextualising the scene via a variety of other organs in Britain and the States. It is also evident that through correspondence (particularly with the US) they assisted in the construction of a network both of ideas and idealists along with helping to set up practical publishing, distribution and retail centres and, in the case of Cunliffe and Morris, they produced radical material from early in the decade inspiring and assisting those who wished to become involved. They not

only passed on new ideas emanating from America to UK readers they also manufactured contact sheets making it possible for others to contribute, fostering and recruiting activists via their publishing. Beyond that there is evidence to suggest that they inspired others (particularly in Blackburn) to take up practical underground activity impacting upon the town through people and organisations still evident today.

It is also clear that the three formed a link between the poetry and the countercultural worlds making explicit connections between the two. Although the influence of the little poetry magazines on a wave of literary modernism is already reasonably well documented, other than the more obvious figures connecting the underground and poetry fields (Jeff Nuttall, Bob Cobbing, Lee Harwood) little previous research has identified those links away from London and the south east. Burns, Cunliffe and Morris are evidence that even in the early 1960s and in regions not only distant from the capital but also outside major conurbations there existed important literary and countercultural figures making a contribution towards both artistic renewal and radical idealism.

Appendix 1

Screeches/BB Books Catalogue

Poetmeat

Issue 1	Undated (April/May 1963).
Issue 2	Undated (June/July 1963).
Issue 3	Undated (Autumn 1963).
Issue 4	Winter 1963/64.
Issue 5	Spring 1964.
Issue 6	Summer 1964.
Issue 7	Winter 1964/65.
Issue 8	April 1965.
Issue 9/10	Summer 1965.
Issue 11	Summer 1966.
Issue 12	Autumn 1966.
Issue 13	Spring 1967.

Vegan Action Pamphlet

Vegan Action 1	Undated but Pre-1969.
Vegan Action 2	Undated but Pre-1969.
Vegan Action 3	Undated but Pre-1969.

Global Tapestry & Vegan Action

Issue 1 Thunderskyglow	June 1970 (?).
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And all Living Things Their Children	Dan Georgakas	1968.
Wildly Flowering, Sinisterly Creeping, Joyously Twining, Beautiful Terrible Garden World	Arthur Moyse	1968.
Lord of the Carnage	TM/DC (Eds)	1968.
Thunderbolts of Peace & Liberation	TM & DC (Eds)	1969.
Up Against the Global Wall: The Exploding Anarchist, the doing of visions	DC	1969.
Victims of Our Fear	TM (Ed)	1969.
The Edge of Tomorrow	Jeane Ruston & Peter Finch /TM & DC (Eds)	1971.
Uncreated Stars: Legends of Living	TM & TK Metcalf	1971.
Grizzel's Magic Book	TM & DC (Eds)	1973.
Gathering Together (drawings)	Barry Edgar Pilcher (poetry) & Peter Faulkner	1979.
Maggie Finn's Dirty Panties	MF	1980.
Vacuum Tapestries	David Gitin	1981.
Here We Go	DC (Ed)	1987.
Waiting at the Traffic Lights (Supplement to issue 21 of GTJ)	George Dowden	1991.
Love Juice	William Wyatt	1991.

Appendix 2

Jim Burns Catalogue

Move

Issue 1	December 1964.
Issue 2	March 1965.
Issue 3	June 1965.
Issue 4	September 1965.
Issue 5	March 1966.
Issue 6	June 1966.
Thirteen American Poets	November 1966.
Issue 7	March 1967.
Issue 8	April 1968.

Palantir

Issue 3	May 1976.
Issue 4	November 1976.
Issue 5	March 1977.
Issue 6	June 1977.
Issue 7	December 1977.
Issue 8	May 1978.
Issue 9	September 1978.
Issue 10	December 1978.
Issue 11	April 1979.

Issue 12	July 1979.
Issue 13	December 1979.
Issue 14	April 1980.
Issue 15	July 1980.
Issue 16	December 1980.
Issue 17	May 1981.
Issue 18	September 1981.
Issue 19	1982.
Issue 20	1982.
Issue 21	1982.
Issue 22	1982.
Issue 23	1983.

Books

A Way of Looking at Things	1964	Move Publications.
Two for Our Time	1964	Screeches.
Some Poems	1965	Crank Books (NY).
Some More Poems	1966	R Books.
The Summer Season	1966	Target Publications.
My Sad Story & Other Poems	1967	New Voice.
Cells: Prose Pieces	1967	Grosseteste Press.
Saloon Bar: Three Jim Burns Stories	1967	Ferry Press.
The Store of Things	1969	Phoenix Pamphlets.

Types: Prose Pieces and Poems	1970	Second Aeon.
A Single Flower	1972	Andium Press.
Leben in Preston	1973	Palmenpresse.
Easter in Stockport	1975	Rivelin Press.
Fred Engels in Woolworths	1975	Oasis Books.
Playing it Cool	1976	Galloping Dog Press.
The Goldfish Speaks from Beyond the Grave		
	1976	Salamander.
Fred Engels bei Woolworth	1977	Rotbuch Verlag.
Catullus in Preston	1979	Cameo Club Alley Press.
Aristotle's Grill	1979	Platform Poets.
Notes from a Greasy Spoon	1980	Uni College Cardiff.
Internal Memorandum	1982	Rivelin Press.
Notizen Von Einem Schmierigen Löffel		
	1982	Palmenpresse.
Gestures (cassette)	1982	Black Sheep Recording Co.
The Real World	1986	Purple Heather Press.
Out of the Past: Selected Poems 1961-1986		
	1987	Rivelin Grapheme.
Poems for Tribune	1988	Wide Skirt Press.
The Gift	1989	Redbeck Press.
Confessions of an Old believer	1996	Redbeck Press.
Beware of Men in Suits	1996	Incline Press.

As Good A Reason As Any	1999	Redbeck Press.
The Five Senses	1999	Incline Press.
Beats, Bohemians and Intellectuals	2000	Trent Books.
Take it Easy	2003	Redbeck Press.
Bopper	2004	Ragged Edge.
Germany and all that Jazz	2005	Ragged Edge.
Short Statements	2006	Redbeck Press.
Laying Something Down	2007	Shoestring Press.
Cool Kerouac	2008	Beat Scene Press.
What I Said	2008	Eyelet Books.
Streetsinger	2010	Shoestring Press.
Radicals, Beats & Beboppers	2011	Penniless Press.
Talking with Ginsberg	2011	Beat Scene Press.
Brits, Beats & Outsiders	2012	Penniless Press.
Bohemians, Beats and Blues People	2013	Penniless Press.
Artists, Beats & Cool Cats	2014	Penniless Press.
Rebels, Beats and Poets	2015	Penniless Press.
Anarchists, Beats and Dadaists	2016	Penniless Press.

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