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‘Closer from a distance’: Auras of Factory Records in design, place, film, and historiography

James McGrath

j.mcgrath@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

On Monday 23 November 1992, as independent Manchester label Factory Records was declared bankrupt, co-director Rob Gretton was filmed leaving the company's latter-day Charles Street headquarters. Asked to comment, he buoyantly replied: 'This isn't the final chapter. There's a whole new book to be written. Whole new film to be made.'¹ Gretton was proven right; repeatedly. Subjected to dozens of books, documentaries and films since 1992, Factory and its artists have received mainstream media attention surpassing the independent label's profile during its fourteen-year existence. This article discusses how Factory, from its 1978 beginnings, mythologized itself and its artists through notions of distance and absence. Screens of mystique were created. Post-1992 narratives concerning Factory implicitly offer to penetrate these screens, taking audiences somehow closer to the artists, texts and events themselves. Exploring these processes, I adapt and expand on Walter Benjamin's 1936 terms of 'aura', 'cult value' and 'exhibition value'. I apply these to key Factory albums, designs and videos, as well as its celebrated Manchester nightclub, The Hacienda. I critique how Joy Division's media presence gradually transformed after their catalogue was subsumed by a major label, London in 1992, and how this both developed and contradicted Factory's initially very different approach to promoting (or not promoting) artists. I also want to emphasize Factory's loyalty to lesser-known artists, for this demonstrates how the label

remained true to some of its original ideals. Therefore, alongside Joy Division, I periodically discuss The Durutti Column. The article aims to promote new ways of approaching Factory itself as a text, as well as selection of individual albums, songs and videos, including the key retrospective narratives. Owing to numerous careers and crises simultaneously occurring throughout Factory's duration, the article, although loosely chronological, is sequenced primarily according to theme and theory.

Factory's origins, ethos and mediation

In early 1978, 'Factory' was the name chosen for an experimental, Manchester-based enterprise in popular music by its cofounder, Alan Erasmus. Unemployed after working as an actor and a band-manager, Erasmus decided the name after noticing a sign announcing a local factory's closure: 'I thought, "Factory, that's the name", because a factory was a place where people work and create things'.² An idealistic definition, perhaps. Yet, a charismatic optimism towards art, audiences and enterprise would characterize the project that became Factory Records. Most radically, Factory would offer artists 50% of the sales profits, and would not confine them to contracts, with all artists retaining legal ownership of their recordings.³ Factory's other cofounder was Granada television personality Tony Wilson, whose show *So it goes* (1976-77) had featured many leading Anglo-American recording artists.

Factory operated from Erasmus's flat on Palatine Road, Didsbury, until 1990, when its headquarters moved to Charles Street. From November 1980, Factory traded as Factory Communications Ltd, 'Factory Records' having been registered elsewhere. For convenience, however, I refer to 'Factory Records', complying with the term favoured by the co-directors, and artists, as well as other authors.

The first band approached by Erasmus and Wilson was The Durutti Column, whom the duo began managing. In May 1978, this band inaugurated The Factory club, where and when Erasmus and Wilson showcased musicians at Hulme's Russell Club on Fridays. However, not until 1979, with several vocalists passing through, would The Durutti Column's leader become fully apparent: guitarist Vini Reilly. Meanwhile, The Factory's first four-week itinerary concluded with Joy Division, a band whose direction, managed by Rob Gretton, was much clearer.

In spring 1978, Factory a third partner, designer Peter Saville, joined Wilson and Erasmus. Gretton became a partner that autumn, and producer Martin Hannett in mid-1979. The five co-directors' pooled talents enabled something approaching self-sufficient communality. Moreover, Gretton brought Joy Division: soon Factory's most prolific and acclaimed act, both as live performers and recording artists, receiving enthusiastic attention from the music press.

Three additional individuals would distinctively shape mediations of Factory, and particularly Joy Division. The band received considerable music press coverage during their 1977-80 career, but mostly from three journalists who, unlike most reporters, were Manchester-based. Paul Morley (*NME*) influentially demonstrated music journalism as an art-form in its own right, particularly when writing about Joy Division. Morley's impressionistic responses powerfully flattered the music's creation of space for listeners' imaginations. Mick Middles (*Sounds*) favoured more lucid reportage. Many of the most revealing comments from Joy Division and Factory emerged in interviews with Middles. Jon Savage (*Melody maker*), more academic in tone, honed an allusively philosophical style, with close analysis yielding sociological commentary. Savage, a Cambridge graduate who moved to Manchester in 1979, immediately emphasized Joy Division's sonic relationship to the Northern city's physical environment. While another key reporter was Max Bell (*NME*),

Morley, Middles and Savage became and remain trusted affiliates of Factory's inner-circle, thereby assuming potentially problematic authority.

Asked by Middles to comment on Joy Division's songs in November 1978, the band's singer and lyricist Ian Curtis replied: 'I don't write about anything in particular [...] I leave it open to interpretation.'⁴ Although Joy Division had recorded two tracks for Factory's first release, double-EP *A Factory sample* (December 1978), Factory itself is unmentioned in Middles' profile of Joy Division. Nonetheless, Curtis's quoted comment effectively encapsulates an aesthetic shared between the band and Factory. The leaving of statements provocatively 'open to interpretation' would be key to the label's ethos, and relates importantly to Wilson's often-espoused practical and philosophical ideal, praxis.

Wilson's praxis-themed rhetoric helped to promote Factory as a metonym for both intellectual credibility and spontaneous action. Influenced by Christopher Gray's *Leaving the 20th century: The incomplete work of the Situationist International* (1974), Wilson related praxis to Factory (in 1984) as follows: 'you do something because you want to do it, and after you've done it, you find out all the reasons why'.⁵ It is apt, then, that since the label's 1992 collapse, it has been subjected to dozens of commentaries. Yet scholarly discussions specifically addressing Factory remain scarce. Howard Slater's learned *Factory Records scrapbook* (1998) critically evaluates Wilson's relationship to Situationist principles, citing the contradictions of Factory being, however experimental, a business.⁶ However, discussing Factory via Wilson's own terms risks following his implicit instructions on how to perceive the label's history. Doing so is not especially constructive towards opening up wider historical and theoretical debates. Thus, I will also suggest ways in which further yet still connected ideas can be applied to the history, historiography and mythology of Factory Records. To this end, I periodically consider Walter Benjamin's 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' (1936).

Factory, mechanical-reproduction, and aura

A member of the Marxist-influenced Frankfurt School, Benjamin critiques mass-production as alienating masses from the very notion of a unique, original artwork. Benjamin's 1936 essay concerns the decline of the unique object's cultural value as technology accelerates its mass production. No reproduction can capture the original artwork's 'aura': its unique 'presence in time and space'.⁷ Benjamin considers how technological reproduction 'enables the original to meet the beholder halfway', for example through photographs and phonograph records; however, he stresses the 'decay' of aura as a cultural property within this process.⁸ Inevitably, focusing on technology, Benjamin's essay has dated. In an era of mass-distributed images, the original's aura (if there can be an original) arguably grows *more* compelling; reproductions may advertise notions of an original. This process is, in hindsight, discernible in Factory's promotion of its early artists. Joy Division's image was absent from all Factory sleeve designs, enhancing the allure of their aura, and indeed their identity, as a live act. I later reflect on how, once witnessing Joy Division's aura became profoundly impossible after Ian Curtis's death, the band's image gradually became an intensely-reproduced commodity. To begin outlining this trajectory, it is insightful to consider the band's first releases, and how Factory established notions of distance around Joy Division.

Although retrospective documentaries acclaim Factory co-director Peter Saville's design for Joy Division's first album *Unknown pleasures* (June 1979), the sleeve went unmentioned in *NME* and *Melody maker's* reviews.⁹ Befitting the title, *Unknown pleasures* solidifies Factory's aesthetic trademark of giving room and respect to consumers' imagination and interpretation. Daringly, this debut album from both a band and an independent label left the title and the artists' identity off the front-sleeve. Factory refused to

advertise the release, reasoning that, partly through the design, the album could promote itself.¹⁰ An event towards Factory's formation was The Sex Pistols' first Manchester gig at the Lesser Free Trade Hall (1976), attended by fewer than fifty, but attracting members of Joy Division and numerous other soon-to-be-successful local musicians. Factory's principle seems to have been to similarly inspire small numbers of interested people who could promote the album in their own ways, the audience thus becoming part of the dissemination.

The name 'Factory Records' implies mass-production: something compounded by the label's ostentatious catalogue-system. 'FAC' prefaced singles and other artefacts; 'FACT', albums and long-playing videos.¹¹ Yet Factory's catalogue-system did not differ drastically from those of multi-national corporations such as EMI. What *was* distinctive about Factory's approach was the foregrounding of FAC/FACT numbers on designs. *Unknown pleasures'* rear-sleeve declares 'FACT 10 – A Factory Records Product' as centrally as 'JOY DIVISION – UNKNOWN PLEASURES'. Mechanical-reproduction is not merely acknowledged, but part of the artwork. Moreover, *Unknown pleasures* openly utilized mechanical-reproduction itself as a musical instrument. Producer Martin Hannett determined to expand this post-punk band's sound via his own expertise with studio technology, endowing their album with semi-futuristic resonances.

Hannett's production on *Unknown pleasures* persistently uses digital delay, particularly on Steve Morris's drums, creating echo, and thus invoking space. Hannett's production of folk-singer Pete Farrow's 'Trouble in A-major' (1977) featured sounds of an industrial lift closing; Hannett repeats this on *Unknown pleasures'* 'Insight'. He explained in 1980: 'I like deserted public spaces, empty office blocks; they give me a rush'.¹² Against images of 'the tenth floor, down the back-stairs, it's a no-man's land' ('Disorder'), Hannett's producing sensibilities complement Curtis's lyrics (and vice versa) extraordinarily, enhancing the singer as a flaneur of deserted spaces. Yet, amidst the desolation, lyrics vary on notions of

imagined meeting points; ‘To the centre of the city in the night, waiting for you’ (‘Shadowplay’); ‘Me in my own world, yeah you there beside’ (‘I remember nothing’).

Factory’s first album, *Unknown pleasures*, enticingly played with the distance between artists and audience, creating audacious space for interpretation. Factory’s second album, by The Durutti Column, was more extreme. With all information confined to the vinyl’s centre-label, preventing the titles’ identification while the record played, *The Return of the Durutti Column* (January 1980) appeared in a sandpaper sleeve, after Guy Debord and Asger Jorn’s sandpaper-jacketed Situationist *Mémoires* (1959). Former Durutti Column guitarist Dave Rowbotham suggested the sleeve. The sandpaper furthers another Situationist reference: ‘*Sous les pavés la plage*’ (‘Beneath the paving stones, the beach’); and beneath the sand, music.¹³ Factory’s records were mass-produced, but this does not preclude each one from having an aura of its own. Factory’s idea as ‘post-rationalized’ by Wilson in 2007 was to make sleeves ‘glossier, more expensive and more beautiful than those of the multinationals.’¹⁴ Factory created records that were, to adapt Benjamin’s terms, *worthy* of the unique presence in time and space that they occupied.

Benjamin considered how mechanically-reproduction enabled the original artwork and the beholder to meet halfway. However, for mass-produced recorded music, the reproduction *is* the original artwork: a culmination of processes including rehearsing, performing, recording, engineering, producing, overdubbing, mixing, and mastering, as well as designing and printing. The record becomes a meeting-point not between beholder and the art, but beholder and *artist*. This sense memorably defines Joy Division’s single ‘Transmission’ (November 1979). Invoking the experience of dancing to the radio, Curtis sings of ‘touching from a distance’. Decades later, this notion would become a driving principle of how Joy Division’s image would be re-commodified, with intensity both building

on and implicitly reversing the intrigue initially established around them, largely through Factory's designs.

Factory Post-Curtis

Ian Curtis hanged himself aged 23 on 18 May 1980; he had been diagnosed with epilepsy eighteen months earlier and had been suffering with depression. Joy Division had been due to embark on their first American tour the next day. Their single 'Love will tear us apart', released on schedule weeks later, became Factory's first mainstream UK chart entry, reaching No. 13. *Closer*, signifying finality and/or proximity according to pronunciation, was the title of Joy Division's second album (July 1980), completed weeks before Curtis's suicide. Saville's sleeve, showing a tomb, prompted accusations of Factory exploiting Curtis's death, although reportedly, the design was already agreed with the band.¹⁵ Certainly, Saville's sleeve reflects the songs, particularly the funereal pace and imagery of penultimate track 'The Eternal', and the closing, similarly-phrased 'Decades', evoking young men in the afterlife.

In 1981, Mancunian musician Mark E. Smith satirized Factory's 'liv[ing] off the back of a dead man'.¹⁶ Factory had issued two 12-inch Joy Division singles, 'Atmosphere' and 'Transmission', in autumn 1980. Although a double-album of previously unreleased material was less sustaining than two strategically-timed single albums, Factory chose the former for Joy Division's posthumous *Still* (October 1981). However, the label was now embracing a relatively new popular music format: home video. In 1981, Factory established a film-making partnership, IKON/FCL. The debut release, *Here are the young men* (1982), compiling live Joy Division performances, was the first Factory product advertised in the music press.¹⁷ Yet Factory retained an ostensible, if ostentatious, refusal to treat art as an orthodox commodity, stating:

‘Normal copyright is held on this video. Anyone however who wishes to reproduce material contained within it on a non-profit making basis is free to do so, in whole or part, in any way they see fit.’¹⁸

NME had published photographs of Joy Division by Manchester-based Kevin Cummins, and later, Dutch photographer Anton Corbijn. But though Wilson had enabled the band to appear (twice) on Granada TV (1978-79) and BBC2’s *Something else* (1979), their visual image remained absent from Factory releases. Leaving things open to interpretation had been key not just to Joy Division’s music, but their identity. *Here are the young men* was Factory’s first mass-distributed reproduction of the band’s image. The 1982 video repositioned audiences towards a notion of the band’s aura, but was the label’s last Joy Division product for six years.

Benjamin emphasizes how aura is, by definition, irreproducible; yet still ‘the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction’.¹⁹ Aura can never be encountered through a reproduction; the urge to which Benjamin refers is doomed to continue, and this is advantageous to agents of mass-production. But before turning to later representations of Joy Division, it is instructive to consider another Factory project, enabled largely through this band’s sales.

The Hacienda

Factory’s 1980-82 artists included A Certain Ratio, Section 25, Kevin Hewick, Crispy Ambulance, ESG and Stockholm Monsters, all Hannett-produced. However, it was Joy Division’s surviving members who established Factory as an independent label with

mainstream presence. Bernard Sumner, Peter Hook and Steve Morris determined to continue after Curtis's death. In September 1980, they became New Order and started touring. Gillian Gilbert joined on keyboards, and guitarist Sumner became lead vocalist. Factory issued three New Order singles in 1981, and in November, a month after *Still, Movement*, their debut album. All were Hannett-produced. However, his dominance as Factory's producer broke with The Durutti Column's *LC* (1981), recorded at home by Reilly (with co-producer Stew Pickering) and drummer Bruce Mitchell, thereon the band's second key member.

By 1982, Factory had considerable money at its disposal and was able to borrow more. Hannett wanted to purchase recording equipment to enable Factory (indeed, Manchester) to establish Britain's leading studio. Gretton favoured opening a club. When Gretton's plan prevailed, Hannett legally petitioned for Factory's dissolution. In 1984, he accepted £25,000 for withdrawing his company stake.²⁰ His departure brought significant changes. Hannett had always insisted that Factory refuse the industry practice of hiring professional pluggers to promote releases to radio stations. In 1983, the label's stance on this began changing.²¹ Hannett's career, meanwhile, became derailed as he endured drug-dependency. He died on 10 April 1991.

Gretton reportedly conceived the Haçienda club (FAC 51) after reading proto-Situationist Ivan Chatcheglov's proclamation 'The Haçienda must be built' in his 'Formula for a new city' (1953).²² The club, designed by Ben Kelly and occupying a Whitworth Street former-warehouse, ran from 1982-97. Jointly owned by Factory with Gainwest (the Gretton/New Order partnership), the Haçienda was predominantly Gretton's interest, but Wilson remained its public face. Wilson's speech at the 21 May 1982 opening declared: 'Praxis is embodied in the following statement: we spent the last year building the Haçienda, FAC 51. We have the next year to decide why [...] I hope you all assist us in that'.²³ Thus, the Haçienda opened for interpretation.

Unlike Factory's mass-produced records, the Haçienda embodied unique aura as an immediately shareable presence in space and time. But though little research exists on Haçienda club-goer demographics, it is important not to overestimate the venue's inclusivity. Disconcertingly, the opening night's compere hired by Gretton and Wilson was Bernard Manning, a comedian notorious for racist and homophobic jokes. *NME* (initially) depicted the 'strutting and VERY dashing' clientele as aloof.²⁴ In the 1990s, the club became a meeting-place for several infamous Manchester gangsters, some later supervising security.²⁵ When, after thirteen years of the club losing money, Factory sought branded sponsorship for the Haçienda, prospective clients were informed that customers were 'style conscious' and wanted 'to be associated with the club and its musical philosophy'.²⁶

By 1988, the club was (at least, culturally) flourishing. Though the venue had hosted crucial performances by The Smiths and Madonna, its popularity expanded steadily after weekly DJs, instead of one-off gigs, began characterizing the itinerary in 1986. DJs including Dave Haslam and Mike Pickering helped diversify the Haçienda's clientele, Pickering in particular drawing larger black audiences.²⁷ Haslam's weekly Temperance Club at the Haçienda showcased British indie guitar recordings alongside new American dance releases. Similar fusions would mark a new style amongst Manchester groups, particularly Factory's third major band, Happy Mondays.

In 1990, America's *Newsweek* declared Manchester the capital of youth culture, the journalist proclaiming 'It all started at the Haçienda' (Wilson was interviewed).²⁸ Happy Mondays' *Madchester rave on* EP (1989) had nominally affirmed an imagined community. 'Madchester' became a metonym for new Manchester bands (also including The Stone Roses and The Inspiral Carpets) as well as for dance-culture and the drug that enhanced it, Ecstasy. The period 1988-89 marked the Haçienda's peak; yet though the club was regularly full, Ecstasy depleted alcohol sales, and thus income. The Haçienda's association with drugs also

led to legal opposition. Historical perceptions of the Haçienda's significance to Manchester culture can be complicated by the fact that Wilson and licensee Paul Mason were forced to publically defend the club against threats of closure by Greater Manchester Police. In *NME*'s 1990 defence of the club, Mason emphasized the Haçienda as a central reason behind Manchester tourism, adding: 'applications to the University and Poly are up a quarter on last year'.²⁹ The Haçienda temporarily closed in 1991 after several gun-related incidents. It reopened in 1992 but closed forever (without ceremony) on 28 June 1997, preceding voluntary liquidation.

The Haçienda's closure sealed its functioning years as an historical entity. When, in 1998, Manchester Civic Society opposed the building's demolition, Wilson objected: 'The Haçienda's memory will be preserved forever, but it shouldn't be turned into a museum'.³⁰ With this notion, the Haçienda's demise, like its conception, honoured Chtcheglov's formula: 'through a transformation in time, *the absence of the object becomes a presence one can feel*'.³¹

'Atmosphere': Cult value into exhibition value

Benjamin relates 'cult value' to the aura of unique, hidden objects, accessible to an elite few. However, mechanical-reproduction, primarily through photography and film, enables an object's 'exhibition value' (and thus, commercial value).³² Wilson's comment that the Haçienda should be preserved in memory, rather than museum form, raises temporal cult value above spatial exhibition value. Yet, before Factory's own 1992 collapse, Wilson had already shown something of how cult value *creates* exhibition value. *Here are the young men* (1982) demonstrated this commercially, but also aesthetically, through the haunting video spectacle of a singer performing months before his death. In 1988, Factory's next (and last)

audio-visual representation of Joy Division provocatively foregrounded the fact of Curtis's absence while dramatically exhibiting his image.

Wilson asked Anton Corbijn (who photographed Joy Division) to direct the video for the band's reissued single 'Atmosphere' (1988).³³ Music-video critic Saul Austerlitz (2007) observes that Corbijn expertly emphasizes his clients' 'mythic qualities'.³⁴ Corbijn's work specializes in black-and-white aesthetics. One effect is to recall early Hollywood photographs, which, by the 1980s, signified enduring fame. Corbijn's 'Atmosphere' also utilizes contemporary visual associations in popular music. The black-and-white shots of mountains, bare trees and desert-like plains recall his photography for U2's transatlantically successful *Joshua Tree* album (1987). Factory was seemingly repackaging Joy Division towards mass commercial appeal. Via Corbijn's video, notions of posthumous fame became key to the campaign.

First, the song's history is significant. Before Curtis's death, 'Atmosphere' was already part of an aggrandizement of the band's mythology, prompting a wry March 1980 *NME* report.³⁵ Affirming Factory's ethos of artists remaining free from contractual restriction, 'Atmosphere' (plus 'Dead Souls') was released by French independent label Sordide Sentimental (March 1980), run by Jean-Pierre Turmel. Gretton commented: 'it's interesting to see how different people handle different aspects. There are no restrictions from Factory on this sort of thing.'³⁶ Sordide Sentimental's release, 'Licht und blindheit', packaged the single in a magazine-like folder, reproducing a painting by Jean-Francois Jamoul in parody of Caspar David Friedrich's *Wanderer above the mist* (1818). However, Jamoul depicted not a well-dressed gentleman gazing from a precipice, but a shrouded, reaper-like figure. The package also carried Turmel's sleevenotes, alluding to Debord's Situationist *Society of the spectacle* and quoting St John of the Cross and Pascal before appraising Joy Division. Unlike Factory's releases, this additionally reproduced the band's

image: Corbijn's photograph of Joy Division descending into an underground station. This, along with imagery of mountains and shrouded figures, returns in Corbijn's video.

To analyse Corbijn's Wilson-commissioned 'Atmosphere' is to obey a transparent motivation behind its grandiose yet evasive symbolism. However, from a decade when MTV was presenting hit singles in visual form in a repetitive stream, it also exemplifies a mass-produced cultural form designed to endure, as well as demand, attention. Thirteen shrouded figures gather praying beside a spire-like obelisk. Seven wear white, six wear black. The scene is thus loaded with ambiguous Biblical imagery. The white and black figures separate in opposite directions. Suggesting their search, Corbijn's photographs of Curtis appear in mock-animation. Two black-shrouded figures, like pall-bearers, carry a rectangular object. This later becomes the image of Joy Division descending into the underground. A black-shrouded figure carries, like a cross, a replica of the obelisk on his or her shoulder, but collapses. Mythologizing Joy Division's never-to-happen American tour, a shot is shown of Curtis and Sumner lugging a case stamped 'U.S.'. The figures are shown in procession on a beach, carrying Curtis's gigantic image (not unlike a billboard). Curtis is effectively heralded a cult icon. Alongside implications of martyrdom and worship, the video implies resurrection. 'Atmosphere' would become the most elevated text in Factory iconography, closing both Corbijn's 2007 film *Control* and Grant Gee's 2007 documentary *Joy Division* (see below).

'Atmosphere' was re-released alongside a Joy Division compilation, *Substance* (1988), collecting singles and other recordings not on the 1979-81 albums, including this song (breaking the pattern of Joy Division singles not being replicated on albums). *Substance* was also the title of New Order's 1987 compilation: Factory's biggest-selling album yet. In a mini-documentary promoting *Substance* (1988), Gretton insisted on discussing 'the video', remarking: 'I don't like it. I was never really consulted'.³⁷ Although Factory's 1988 mythologizing of Curtis is transparent almost to ironic proportions, the label's silence on Joy

Division since 1982 had honoured the label's original aesthetics of distance. Moreover, 1988 saw Joy Division promoted on the back of New Order's success. Impressively, New Order had resisted allowing the opposite. Only in 1984, around the fourth anniversary of Curtis's death, with their own status indisputable, had they begun (occasionally) performing Joy Division songs live.

Wilson said of the 1988 re-promotion: 'there's a whole world out there for whom Ian Curtis's mythic role can provide a level of feeling' which 'people deserve to have'.³⁸ Although the evolution of Joy Division's legacy hereon would not always be steered by Wilson, the stage for its ambitious development has remained set by Factory.

Factory's aftermath, 1992-2002: History into historiography

The fact of bankruptcy as the manner of Factory's conclusion in 1992 enhances notions of the label's ethos of praxis persisting unrepentantly. Wilson became fond of saying 'Some people make money and some make history'.³⁹ Yet Factory's historiography has appeared far more controlled than its actual history. The following sections critically review key texts in Factory's historiography, reflecting on how these respond to and frequently (sometimes problematically) reinforce established mythologies.

Factory's November 1992 bankruptcy partly reflected dwindling interest in the label, as grunge replaced Madchester in the critical mainstream. Happy Mondays' long-delayed ...*Yes please* cost £500,000 to make but was released to critical contempt in September, peaking at 14 in the UK. New Order, meanwhile, had yet to deliver the follow-up to their 1989 No. 1 album, *Technique*. Their sixth, *Republic* (May 1993), appeared on London Records, who also acquired the Joy Division and New Order back catalogues. This coincided with increased, official emphasis on both bands' histories.

Kevin Hewitt's 1993 documentary *NewOrderStory*, written by Morley, marked the first extended focus on Joy Division and New Order as a linear entity. Broadcast on ITV following *Republic*'s release and issued on VHS, *NewOrderStory* was first in a long sequence of retrospectives concerning both bands. Although parts of Corbijn's 'Atmosphere' video are shown at the start, New Order's appearances refuse solemnity. Band interviews consist partly of a mock game-show. The question 'Who is the laziest member of the group?' prompts the reply 'Ian Curtis'. The documentary proceeds to recount New Order's career, including Factory's recent calamity. Gretton, 'too pissed', declines to answer questions on this; Erasmus refused to appear; Wilson comments: 'It's been one long, *wonderful* nightmare'. Asked whether 'this is really Rob Gretton's story', Wilson replies 'Yeah. But he isn't on TV'.

The next major narrative was contrastingly sombre. Deborah Curtis's 1995 memoir of life with her late husband Ian, *Touching from a distance*, remains a key event in unveiling, as well as enhancing, the singer's mythology. The degree to which his commitments to Joy Division coincided with distance from his family means that there is relatively little attention to the band's music; the emphasis is more on personal, domestic life, contrasting with previous representations of Ian Curtis. The memoir, however, created potentially more intimate listening experiences: for the first time, Curtis's complete lyrics were published, never having appeared on Joy Division releases. The narrative details the couple's daily lifestyle and protracted separation, due to Joy Division's touring plus the couple's strained relationship. The antithesis of Corbijn's (literally) flat 1988 portrayal of an icon, the widow's memoir is uncompromisingly rounded, depicting a troubled musician, equally capable of selfishness and empathy. There is also unprecedented, if fragmented, detail regarding Curtis's employment before becoming a full-time musician in 1979. Overall, the book reveals, to exceptional levels in popular music biography, that the subject's lifestyle was, until his final

months, conceivably similar to that of many readers. New possibilities for fans to identify with Curtis were thus created; ‘touching from a distance’, indeed.

Middles (1996) provided the first major print retrospective on Factory. As well as presenting old and new interviews with central Factory figures, the book contains Middles’ recollections of observing Joy Division. Despite discussing the label as a whole, the 1996 book’s title, *From Joy Division to New Order: The Factory story*, reflects how, in the 1990s, Factory’s exhibition value remained subordinate to that of its most celebrated bands. Tellingly, Middles’ book was later reissued with minor expansions as *From Joy Division to New Order: The true story of Anthony H. Wilson and Factory Records* (2002), and *Factory: The story of the record label* (2009).

Rob Gretton died of a heart attack on 15 May 1999. In 1998, he donated extensive Factory-related papers, artwork, audio-visual materials and correspondence to Manchester’s Museum of Science and Industry. The archive mainly concerns the Haçienda. The thirty-plus box-files evidence the vital roles and personalities of lesser-known Factory workers, as well as Gretton’s own centrality to the Haçienda.

An early retrospective on the Haçienda appears in Dave Haslam’s *Manchester, England: The story of the pop cult city* (1999). As well as providing far-reaching discussions of Manchester’s historical and musical heritage, Haslam draws on his experiences as a Haçienda DJ. Similarly valuable is C.P. Lee’s academic monograph *Shake, rattle and rain* (2002). Chronicling Manchester music from 1955-95, Lee locates Factory in various historical, geographical, and cultural contexts. Lee interviews numerous key figures and also offers scholarly reflection on his own involvement with Factory as (amongst other things) co-producer of *A Factory sample* (1978). Lee also provides tactful, non-sensationalized discussion of Nazi connotations surrounding the names ‘Joy Division’ and ‘New Order’ in the context of punk shock-value.⁴⁰

The informative Factory-related narratives reviewed above have a common quality which persists in many further retrospectives: they are written by individuals who, in different ways, had first-hand experience of Factory. In terms of authorship, Factory retained its own cult value in the decade after its demise: as a topic, it remained the historiographic preserve of individuals who personally witnessed and participated in its history. However, this pattern also reflected limited interest from wider media. In 2002, Factory's own exhibition value as an historical narrative transformed.

2002-07: Factory on screen and in history

Film would prove the medium to most vitally reinvigorate interest in Factory, bringing mainstream media attention unparalleled in the label's 1978-92 lifespan. The years 2002-07 saw several films and television documentaries capitalize on Factory's mythologies by offering audiences (encompassing a generation not born when the label started) a level of insight which, while often appearing to undo the earlier mystique, also fuelled further intrigue. An effect, however, was to make the focal point less the music than the personalities involved.

A catalyst for the 21st century appetite (indeed, market) for Factory-related texts was Michael Winterbottom's film *24 hour party people* (2002), written by Frank Cottrell Boyce. Wilson, played by comedian Steve Coogan, is depicted as a hapless, lovable and pretentious. He is also portrayed as Factory's central director. Erasmus and Gretton, though represented, are problematically marginalized, their main lines being responses to Wilson. Similarly, Factory's first band, The Durutti Column, are sidelined.

Winterbottom became acquainted with Wilson while working for Granada. In 2000, with producer Andrew Eaton, Winterbottom began meeting Wilson to discuss a film

chronicling Factory Records.⁴¹ Although Wilson's input remains ambiguous, the film was branded 'FAC 401', and he authored the film's novelization (2002). The latter gives much greater acknowledgement to Erasmus and Gretton, but both texts expanded, twisted, preserved and established myths with which many subsequent narratives would concern themselves with settling. Coogan's soliloquys as Wilson self-referentially acknowledge the film's dalliances with fiction, though paradoxically, the shambolic narrative of a chaotic history ends with incongruous neatness, simultaneously conflating Factory's bankruptcy with the Hacienda's closure, though these were five years apart. Nevertheless, Winterbottom's film, whatever its problems for historians, identifies and fulfils Factory as a thrilling parable of anarchic creativity. Produced in association with Film Four, it was promoted by David Robertson's Channel 4 documentary *The Factory Records saga* (2002), bringing Factory's mythologies to further popular audiences.

A potentially instructive effect of Winterbottom's film was to establish, then embrace, the impossibility of master narratives concerning Factory. A more ambiguous way in which it honours Factory's history is its process of (re-)establishing mystique that may later be unravelled. An example is the film's celebration of Factory prioritizing art over profit by the suggestion, expanded by Wilson (2002), that Factory lost money with every copy sold of New Order's 'Blue Monday' (1983) – one of the bestselling 12-inch singles ever – owing to the cost of Saville's multi-dimensional sleeve.⁴² This story is scrutinized by Nolan (2009) and Nice (2010) in their emphatically fact-led accounts (see below), the consensus being that once the financial implications were noticed, Saville redesigned a less expensive format.⁴³

Mythologizing Factory at large, *24 hour party people* adopts a conversely less aggrandizing focus on Curtis, whose portrayal is ample but not central. Coogan's narrative as Wilson emphasizes the latter's 'wonderful memories' of lesser-known, often jubilant aspects of the late singer's personality. Recreations of Curtis's funeral then introduce Corbijn's

‘Atmosphere’ video. The emphasis thus divides between Curtis the private individual and cultural icon. Subsequent portrayals of Curtis, as we shall see, continue to stage these as mutually-intensifying. However, as though Winterbottom (2002) and Wilson (2002) exhausted the possibilities of postmodernist Factory histories, subsequent accounts would attempt grand narratives.

Although Winterbottom’s film prompted unprecedented mainstream media interest in Factory’s legacy, it was, unsurprisingly, on Joy Division that most attention landed. Archive news-site Nexis records how in 2005, the 25th anniversary of Curtis’s death prompted media attention in America and Australia, as well as Britain.⁴⁴ A public memorial event on 18 May in Manchester’s Exchange Square reportedly attracted 1,500 (a larger audience than most Joy Division gigs), as *Here are the young men* was shown on the BBC’s public ‘Big Screen’.⁴⁵ Most footage of Joy Division was filmed for television or video. The transference to a cinema-sized screen symbolized how the band’s appeal had expanded since Curtis’s death; it was also portentous of imminent developments.

January 2005 brought the announcement of an Ian Curtis biopic.⁴⁶ Based on Deborah Curtis’s memoir, with Corbijn as director and Wilson as executive-producer, the title, *Control*, seemed unwittingly fitting; a rival film, written by Michael Stock, had been proposed in 2004. The commodification surrounding Curtis was wryly satirized in Wirral-based band Half Man Half Biscuit’s song ‘Joy Division oven gloves’ (2005).⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the cult value of Curtis’s life, if not his elusive aura, continued to prove alluring in print. Middles, with Wilson’s ex-wife Lindsay Reade (who spent time with the singer), co-authored the Curtis biography *Torn apart* (2006), informatively balancing its focus between his musical career and personal life. It includes exclusive commentaries from Belgian music journalist Annik Honoré, with whom Curtis maintained a loving (previously somewhat misunderstood) relationship.

The Haçienda's twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated with an exhibition in Manchester's Urbis Centre in July 2007. However, while appreciative attention to Factory's legacy reached new heights, the sense of this organization as something irresolutely past was to be profoundly and prematurely affirmed. On 10 August, Tony Wilson, at 57, died from a heart attack while suffering from terminal cancer. The Durutti Column's 'Sketch for summer' played at the start of his funeral, and 'Atmosphere' at the end.⁴⁸

In his last two years, while also pursuing new projects in broadcasting, local politics and music, Wilson acted (with Deborah Curtis) as co-producer of Corbijn's *Control*. Corbijn (1988) glorified Curtis as icon; Deborah Curtis (1995) grounded her late husband's story in more human terms. *Control* (October 2007) powerfully fuses these approaches, establishing an increasingly tense balance between professional and domestic identity. Corbijn's black-and-white aesthetics establish a social realist ambience, evoking the singer as a determined working-class youngster, whose talent led him into extraordinary circumstances. Yet *Control* conveys how, while Joy Division were successful, they were never wealthy. Closing scenes were filmed on location at Ian and Deborah Curtis's small terraced house in Macclesfield. It is less the film's content that further iconizes Curtis than the form, a major cinematic release. It testifies to Wilson's dignity as co-producer that, countering *Winterbottom* (2002), *Control* establishes Gretton, not Wilson, as Joy Division's chief mentor. Wilson's last overtly retrospective interview was for Chris Rodley's BBC4 documentary *Factory: Manchester from Joy Division to Happy Mondays*, broadcast September 2007. Again, cinematic releases synergetically coincided with broader media attention.

Control risked enhancing already disproportionate attention to Curtis at the expense of Joy Division. Grant Gee's cinematic documentary *Joy Division* (2007) revolves around interviews with the band's surviving members. Contrasting with *NewOrderStory* (1993), *Joy Division* shows Sumner, Hook and Morris remembering Curtis with stark emotion. Wilson is

interviewed, and over a dozen others who had interacted with the band. However, the cult value of Curtis's life story continues to be evident. In the most arresting implication of audiences being taken somehow closer to Curtis's aura, Gee's film includes extracts from a tape of the singer, weeks before his suicide, being hypnotized to recall a past life. While the film effectively opposes Factory's presentation of Joy Division as a decidedly elusive entity, some emphasis on mystique persists.

Gee's film locates Joy Division within contexts of post-war England and, especially, 1970s Manchester. In terms of popular music history, the overall narrative is more insular, beginning (like Winterbottom's film) with The Sex Pistols' first Manchester gig, attended by Sumner and Hook. Joy Division emerged in a post-punk era when new musicians and journalists were striving to establish distance from earlier mainstreams. Dominated by this generational sensibility, Gee's interviews risk keeping Joy Division in a post-punk historiographical rut, partly because Hannett's role, though acclaimed, is not significantly detailed. For example, The Beatles may not have influenced Curtis, Hook, Sumner or Morris, but the Liverpool foursome influenced Hannett, and therefore Joy Division.⁴⁹ This is most audible in their 1979 recordings, including reversed guitar overdubs ('Autosuggestion'); 'found' ambient details (breaking glass in 'I remember nothing'); and even aerosols as percussion ('She's lost control'), as on McCartney's self-produced *McCartney* (1970).

Factory's history has become characterized by cult value less through spatial than temporal separation; an elite few, who personally witnessed parts of this history, have dominated its historiography. Although Gee, like Winterbottom, was a relative outsider, *Joy Division* reinforces the centrality of honorary Factory scribes. Savage is credited as the documentary's writer; Morley is interviewed in depth. Another prominent interviewee is writer and graphic artist Jon Wozencroft, who began writing about Joy Division in 1984 (contributing, with Morley, to an excellently informative illustrated book about the band).⁵⁰

Savage, Morley and Wozencroft also wrote sleevenotes for London Records' Joy Division boxed-set *Heart and soul* (1997) and would pen further sleevenotes for London's 2007 expanded re-releases of Joy Division's 1979-81 albums. All three writers evocatively combine information and impression in their responses to Joy Division. However, their prominence in the band historiography (albeit well-earned after their roles as early, creative popularizers) has become inseparable from the band's post-Factory marketing. Meanwhile, the repackaging continued. Deviating from the titular subtleties of *Still* (1981), *Substance* (1988) and *Permanent* (1995), a 2008 compilation from London was *The best of Joy Division*.

Critiquing the emerging role of film in mass culture, Benjamin quotes Georges Duhamel's 1930 observation: 'I can no longer think what I want to think. My thoughts have been replaced by moving images'.⁵¹ In Factory's own history, film played a relatively slight role, despite the IKON partnership. Yet the twenty-first century film and documentary narratives, both in content and proliferation, have an interpellative effect, *telling* the Factory story in ways that reverse (while also exploiting) the label's originally minimal aesthetics and their room for interpretation. However, another effect was to create exhibition value for interpretations of actual events, often challenging the mythology hitherto curated by Factory's dominant voices.

Factory historiography post-2007

A welcome offshoot of Joy Division's heightened profile has been increased recognition of Martin Hannett. Playwright and (briefly) Durutti Column vocalist Colin Sharp, a successful playwright, authored an eccentric biography of Hannett (2007). A close friend in the 1970s, Sharp recalls their conversations to detail the producer's musical interests, but recounts

Hannett's post-Factory life through impressionistic vignettes, noticeably similar to Winterbottom's narrative. Hannett is also the subject of one of the first Factory-related narratives initiated from a younger perspective. Olivia Ford's 2012 audio documentary on Hannett, produced as part of her Journalism degree at the University of Leeds, features interviews with several Factory figures.⁵² Refreshingly, Ford's respectful yet discerning questions prompt measured discussions of Hannett the producer, rather than reinforcing the troubled autocrat caricatures of earlier representations. Producer Chris Hewitt's documentary film *Martin Hannett: Maverick* is scheduled for 2013.

An aesthetic casualty of the digital download age is the sleeve as a visual and textural aspect of the album. Thus, a timely testimony to the work of Saville and many other, lesser-known Factory designers is Matthew Robertson's *Factory Records: The complete graphic album* (2007), bearing Wilson's foreword. The lavish book exploits the cult value of original Factory artefacts only insofar as it keeps this intriguingly intact, reproducing only front-sleeve designs.

Rob Gretton's 1978-80 notebooks were published in 2008. Although beautifully reproduced, these primarily consist of lists.⁵³ The first biography of Wilson was David Nolan's *You're entitled to an opinion... The high times and many lives of Tony Wilson, Factory Records and the Hacienda* (2009). While providing an affectionate portrait, Nolan is emphatically sceptical towards Wilson's own narratives regarding Factory. Nolan had interviewed Wilson for his independently-researched but semi-authorized biography New Order's Bernard Sumner (2007).⁵⁴ Peter Hook's revealing 2009 memoir of the Hacienda notably counters Wilson's praxis rhetoric through its title, *How not to run a club*. Hook's 2012 memoir of Joy Division, *Unknown pleasures*, seeks in part to redeem the band's image from its solemn iconography by detailing their laddish camaraderie. Hook's book about New Order (from whom he bitterly split in 2007) is currently in preparation.

James Nice's 546-page *Shadowplayers: The rise and fall of Factory Records* (2010) is a year-by-year narrative of Factory from 1978-92. In 1983, Nice established his own independent label, LTM, who adopted former Factory artists Crispy Ambulance and Section 25. Nice also worked for Factory's Belgian imprint, Factory Benelux. As well as utilizing music magazines archives, Nice provides dozens of exclusive interviews, with Wilson and (unusually) Erasmus, but most revealingly, with lesser-known Factory employees and artists. This, plus Nice's readiness to question official Factory mythologies, endows *Shadowplayers* with timely qualities of history from below. Selections from Nice's interviews formed the DVD *Shadowplayers: Factory Records 1978-81* (2006), which Nice intended would counter various 'crass myths' perpetuated by Winterbottom's film.⁵⁵

Lindsay Reade, Wilson's wife from 1977-83, closely witnessed Factory's origins and early years. Reade also briefly worked as supervisor of Factory's overseas licensing. She retained intimate friendship with Wilson until his death. Reade's memoir *Mr Manchester and the Factory girl: The story of Tony and Lindsay Wilson* (2010) is invaluable for researchers of Manchester music beyond Factory, while her accounts of the label itself, including its eventful afterlife, are indispensable for their level of detail, often drawing on Reade's diaries, as well as interviews with Factory associates.

Although Factory has received little academic study in its own right, several related critiques are valuable. Liz Naylor (2007), who became acquainted with Factory while writing for fanzine *City fun*, explores how Manchester's decaying landscape influenced the city's post-punk music.⁵⁶ Since 2007, Joy Division have been the subject of three scholarly articles, all concerning film. Constantine Verevis (2009) critiques Gee (2007) in relation to Situationist notions of place.⁵⁷ Mitzi Waltz and Martin James (2009) discuss representations of Curtis's illness, indicating the singer's potential importance for Cultural Disability Studies.⁵⁸ Noel McLaughlin (2011) compares cinematic depictions of Joy Division and U2.⁵⁹

Factory's post-1992 mythology, meanwhile, receives timely cynicism in Richard Witts' (2010) appraisal of Manchester band The Fall.⁶⁰

Conclusion

Factory was fundamental to the construction of Joy Division's mythology, and vice versa. Yet the career which most fully attests to Factory's ethos is that of The Durutti Column, the first act approached by Erasmus and Wilson. Mythology surrounding Joy Division easily obscures how, in Factory's earliest years, it was (with significant reason) Vini Reilly who was represented, even promoted, as a perilously mortal musician. Max Bell's February 1980 *NME* profile of Reilly stressed emphasizes the guitarist's serious health troubles, including depression.⁶¹ Yet The Durutti Column, over two-dozen albums later, continue to give occasional, mostly Manchester-based live performances. These present spectacular demonstrations of aura in the living moment. Peerlessly fusing past, present and found music, Reilly, with the charismatically robust drummer Bruce Mitchell, combines samples from songs and films with original compositions, often works in progress. Their gigs often include Reilly's tribute to his friend Ian Curtis, 'The missing boy' (1981), and dedications abound to Wilson and others.

Factory issued nine Durutti Column albums from 1980-90. Despite none of these registering on mainstream UK charts, mutual support between band and label continued. In 1985, Reilly applauded Factory for the creative freedom it enabled him, 'doing what I want when and where I choose.'⁶² Wilson adopted this band as his main signing for Factory Too, the 1994-98 Manchester label he ran as a subdivision of London/Polygram. He ceased managing Reilly in 1998, but in 2005, Wilson's final, brief label F4 Records issued the band's EP 'Heaven sent', one of the first ever download-only releases. The Durutti Column's

Sex and death (1994) had been issued, on Wilson's suggestion, as a CD-ROM. The band's Factory release *Domo arigato* (1986) was Britain's first CD-only album. Factory's very first band would continually be associated with risk-taking steps forward in mechanically-reproduced music. Reilly would also prove the Factory survivor to most extensively eulogize Wilson. Premiered at the 2009 Manchester International Festival, The Durutti Column's *A Paean to Wilson* (released 2010) celebrates Reilly's late mentor through lengthy instrumentals (for decades, Wilson ineffectually discouraged the guitarist's singing). Perhaps appropriately, Reilly's nominal tribute to Wilson is also replete with allusions to other Factory pioneers, including the instrumental 'Alan', honouring Erasmus.

This article has sought to demonstrate possible further approaches to Factory Records by offering new perspectives on key texts in the Factory and post-Factory canon. In particular, I hope to have indicated, by adapting a selection of Benjamin's terms, how aspects of critical theory can broaden conceptual frameworks for discussing Factory in cultural historical terms.

So to conclude: Benjamin observed that the film industry sought to compensate for the elusiveness of aura by creating film stars as celebrities; he called this 'the "spell of personality", the phony spell of a commodity'.⁶³ This might explain some processes at work in Factory's 21st-century cultural presence, and might be equally, if differently, pertinent to the label's original albums. Benjamin is concerned with mass-production in specific relation to mass culture; but the pattern does not differ significantly from the commodification of the writer's personality since the age of the printing press. It remains instructive to consider Factory Records itself in terms of a spell of personalities. Yet the commodities discussed above as texts promote ideas, as well as industries. An underlying idea throughout Factory's eventful history and enduring legacy is that it can indeed pay, in a variety of ways, to

prioritize creativity over calculable monetary gain: a lesson that may also be related to the ongoing value of Arts and Humanities departments in this era.

1 Tosh Ryan, *Black Monday: The last days of FAC 251, the Factory Records office*, (2012), Oz/IT/Dandelion DVD.

2 James Nice, *Shadowplayers: The rise and fall of Factory Records* (London, 2011), p. 36.

3 See Nice, chapters 1-3.

4 Mick Middles, 'Joy Division', 1978.

<http://www.rocksbacpages.com/article.html?ArticleID=10649>

5 New Order, *Play at home* (RPM/Channel 4, 1984). Cf Christopher Gray (ed.), *Leaving the 20th Century: Incomplete work of the Situationist International* (London, 1998).

6 Howard Slater, *Factory Records scrapbook*, 1998,

<http://home.wxs.nl/~frankbri/slaterfac.html>

7 Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London, 1999), p. 214-5.

8 Benjamin, p. 214.

9 Jon Savage, *Melody maker*, 'Joy Division: Unknown pleasures', July 1979,

www.rocksbacpages.com/article.html?ArticleID=1444

Max Bell, *NME*, 'Joy Division: Unknown pleasures', July 1979,

www.rocksbacpages.com/article.html?ArticleID=17211

10 See Chris Rodley, *Factory: Manchester from Joy Division to Happy Mondays*, 21 September 2007, BBC4.

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- 11 For the full catalogue list, see David Nolan, *You're entitled to an opinion: The high times and many lives of Tony Wilson, Factory Records and the Hacienda* (London, 2009), pp. 245-74.
- 12 Max Bell, 'It's Martin Hannett! A legend in his own town!! Didsbury', *NME*, 19 Jul 1980, pp. 6-7.
- 13 See Guy Debord, *Beneath the paving stones... Situationists and the beach, May '68* (London, 2001).
- 14 Matthew Robertson, *Factory Records: The complete graphic album* (London: 2007), p. 9.
- 15 Robertson, 2007, p. 29.
- 16 The Fall, 'Cash 'n' carry', *A part of America. Therein*. Rough Trade, 1982.
- 17 'IKON/FCL', *NME*, 21 Aug 1982, p. 27.
- 18 Joy Division, *Here are the young men*, IKON/FCL, 1982. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NtkaaAT3JcA>
- 19 Benjamin, p. 217.
- 20 See Nice, p. 238.
- 21 See Mick Middles, *Factory: The story of the record label* (London, 2009), p. 170, pp. 383-4.
- 22 Tony Wilson, *24 hour party people* (London, 2002), p. 119. Cf Gray, pp. 15-18
- 23 Audible at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A-T2a0OE9cA>
- 24 Amrik Rai, 'Fac51: The Hacienda', *NME*, 29 May 1982, pp. 50-51.
- 25 See Peter Hook, *The Hacienda: How not to run a club* (London, 2009).
- 26 'The Hacienda Club and Dry 201: A sponsorship opportunity' (9 Mar 1995). Factory Communications Ltd Archive, Manchester Museum of Science and Industry, 1999.16, Box 32.

27 See former Hacienda DJ Greg Wilson's comments to journalist Jon Robb.

<http://www.gregwilson.co.uk/2012/05/the-hacienda-30-years-on/>

28 'Stark raving Madchester', *Newsweek*, 22 Jul 1990. <http://magazine-directory.com/Newsweek.htm>

29 *NME*, 'Pillars of the establishment', 4 Aug 1990, p. 24-5.

30 Nolan, p. 158.

31 Gray, p. 16.

32 Benjamin, p. 218-9.

33 Available as a DVD extra on Anton Corbijn, *Control* (Momentum, 2008).

34 Saul Austerlitz, *Money for nothing* (London, 2007), p. 74.

35 *NME*, 'Joy Division to be canonised – official', 22 Mar 1980, p. 15.

36 *NME*, 22 Mar 1980, p. 15.

37 *Wired: Joy Division*, Channel 4, 1 Jul 1988.

38 *Wired*

39 Nice, p. 1.

40 C. P. Lee, *Shake, rattle and rain: Popular music making in Manchester, 1955-1995* (Devon, 2002), pp. 154-5.

41 See Nolan, pp. 163-66.

42 Wilson, p. 150-51.

43 Nolan, p. 91; Nice, p. 210.

44 <http://www.lexisnexis.com/uk/nexis/>

45 See <http://www.musicweek.com/news/read/large-crowd-for-bbc-ian-curtis-tribute/033957>.

46 A transcript of the press conference is available via Cerysmaticfactory, a highly-recommended Factory website

http://www.cerysmaticfactory.info/ian_curtis_movie_press_conference_050117.html

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- 47 On Half-Man, Half-Biscuit, *Achtung Bono*, Probe Plus, 2005.
- 48 David Ward, 'Soundtrack of a generation plays out final farewell to Mr Manchester', *The Guardian*, 21 Aug 2007 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2007/aug/21/musicnews.music>
- 49 Colin Sharp, *Who killed Martin Hannett?* (London, 2007), p. 97). See also Savage's interview with Hannett for the CD *And here is the young man* (Debutante, 1998).
- 50 Mark Watson (ed). *An ideal for living: An history of Joy Division* (London, 1984).
- 51 Benjamin, p. 231.
- 52 Olivia Ford, *Martin Hannett documentary* (2012)
<https://soundcloud.com/oliviasinterviews/martin-hannett-documentary>
- 53 Rob Gretton, *I Top class manager* (Manchester, 2008).
- 54 David Nolan, *Bernard Sumner: Confusion* (London, 2007).
- 55 Nice, p. 495.
- 56 Liz Naylor, 'Must the Hacienda be built?' in Ros Crone (ed.) *New perspectives in British cultural history* (Newcastle, 2007), pp. 255-65.
- 57 Constantine Verevis, 'Disorder: Joy Division', *Studies in documentary film*, 2:3, 2009, pp. 234-46.
- 58 Mitzi Waltz and Martin James, 'The (re)marketing of disability in pop: Ian Curtis and Joy Division', *Popular music*, 28:3, 2009, pp. 367-80.
- 59 Noel McLaughlin, 'Rattling out of control: A comparison of U2 and Joy Division on film', *Film, fashion & consumption*, 1:1, 2011, pp. 101-20.
- 60 Richard Witts, 'Building up a band: Music for a second city' in Michael Goddard and Benjamin Halligan (eds) *Mark E. Smith: Art, music and The Fall* ([Farnham, 2010), pp. 19-32.
- 61 Max Bell, 'The emaciated line between art and ambience', *NME*, 2 Feb 1980, p. 8.
- 62 Middles, 2009, p. 283-4.

63 Benjamin, p. 224.