

# Notes and Sources

## Abbreviations

Author interview (AI); Factory Newsletter and Shareholder's Analysis (Factory NASA); *Glasgow University Magazine* (GUM); *Manchester Evening News* (MEN); *Melody Maker* (MM); *Music Week* (MW); *New Manchester Review* (NMR); *New Musical Express* (NME); *New Order Play At Home* documentary (NOPAH); *New York Rocker* (NYR); *New York Times* (NYT); *Q Magazine* (Q); *Record Collector* (RC); *Record Mirror* (RM); *Smash Hits* (SH)

## Introduction

'I think...' Nolan (2009), p. 205  
 'I was...' AE, AI, December 2009  
 'There was...' PS, AI, August 2009  
 Fac 501 Nolan (2009), p. 212

## 1976–1977

'In late...' AHW, *Q Punk Special Edition*, 2002  
 Wilson/re-write Nolan (2009), pp. 37–8 and 166  
 'We had...' PS, *Q Punk Special Edition*, 2002 (Roy Wilkinson)  
 'We didn't...' HD, Robb (2006), p. 165  
 'The aggro...' HD, Nolan (2001), p. 27  
 'Suddenly there...' HD, *Q Punk Special Edition*, 2002  
 'We immediately...' HD, RC, 2000; Chase (2009), p. 34  
 'The Sex Pistols...' PS, Robb (2006), p. 165  
 'We saw them...' PS, Nolan (2001), p. 27.  
 Undeterred, Buzzcocks played their first gig at the BIT student union on 1 April. Devoto: 'I was wearing these knee-length pink boots, striped jeans and a brown leather jacket. We

started off and, immediately, Diamond Dogs was half the speed it was supposed to be and we got the plug pulled' – HD, *Q Punk Special Edition*, 2002

**Lesser Free Trade Hall** the two Pistols concerts at the venue are detailed exhaustively by Nolan (2001) and Robb (2006)

**New Manchester Review** see issue 4–17 June 1976, preview written by Devoto

**Sydney/gay Nolan** (2009), pp. 3–4

**Wilson/Situationism** AHW, Reynolds (2009), p. 75

'distressed him...' Wilson (2002), p. 56

'very enthusiastic...' PS, *Vox*, January 1992

**AHW as actor** AHW interview by Andy Fyfe, *Q* website, February 2007

'As a television...' AHW, *Sounds*, 28 February 1987

**200 fan letters** Nolan (2009), p. 29

'I thought that...' AHW interview by Andy Fyfe, *Q* website, February 2007

'Austin, Texas...' AHW, Nolan (2001),

p. 16. In NYR (March 1980) AHW said: 'Between 1968 and 1976 I never listened to anything other than American music.'

**Springsteen** AHW article in *NMR*, 19 November–2 December 1976

'The years...' AHW, *Q Punk Special Edition*, 2002

'no knowledge...' AHW, Nolan (2001), p. 43

'My own...' AHW, *Q Punk Special Edition*, 2002

'I used...' AHW, Maconie (2000), p. 68

'epistle' SM letter, *NME*, 18 June 1976

'This blur...' Wilson (2002), pp. 24–5. Wilson identifies Alan Erasmus and Mick Hucknall as attending this show, but neither did. Nolan (2009) suggests that Wilson attended the second LFTH show on 20 July, not the first – see pp. 39–40. Alan Hemsall (who attended

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- only the first show) is adamant that Wilson was there on 4 June, since Hemsall asked for his autograph and chatted briefly about a Kiss concert both had attended in the larger Free Trade Hall. Hemsall thinks Wilson remained at the back of the hall, and did not stay for long – AH, AI, October 2009
- Boon/Reading** the Pistols first played there on 30 May, but the gig arranged by Boon was on 21 June, and seems to have been lost to history thereafter
- Chris Pye Nolan (2001), p. 70
- 'I thought...' Matlock (1990), p. 105
- Kelly/Dryden BK, AI, June 2009
- 'So It Goes was...' Matlock (1990), pp. 105–7
- 'Tony Wilson...' James (2006), p. 219
- 'lifeless...' NMR, 2–29 July 1976 (Jonathan Hack)
- 'This Wilson...' MF quoted in NMR, 27 August–23 September 1976
- 'Unfortunately on...' AHW, NMR, 27 August–23 September 1976 (Ian Wood). Wilson disclosed his salary as £6,000 pa
- 'After the...' AHW, Q Punk Special Edition, 2002
- 'It was on...' RB, NME, 1 September 1979
- 'We had...' HD, Nolan (2001), pp. 129–30
- 'good' essay by Indigo engineer Phil Hampson (2006), www.philhampson.com
- 'At the time...' RB, NME, 1 September 1979
- Hannett/autistic Sharp (2007), p. 11
- 'crummy' MH, NME, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell). MH added of his schooldays: 'I was bored... used to read electronics mags and hi-fi comix and then me and a friend started taking tape recorders apart.' Hannett also revealed a fondness for releases on Elektra
- Greasy Bear/Faith Brown** Chase (2009), p. 29
- 'the human...' MH, NMR, 24 September–7 October 1976
- 'Plugging...' MH, NMR, 22 October–4 November 1976
- Linder Sterling** born Linda Mulvey in Liverpool in 1954, known professionally as Linder, and later as Linder Sterling
- 'Martin was...' HD, AI, October 2005
- 'We thought...' HD, Chase (2009), p. 37
- 'Our agent...' PS, Nolan (2001), p. 130
- fader/monitor see www.philhampson.com
- 'It wasn't...' MH, Piccadilly Radio, February 1982; Jon Savage, 29 May 1989. MH also told Savage: 'I was very disappointed when the Sex Pistols album came out with seventeen guitar overdubs.' MH added elsewhere: 'Buzzcocks didn't like my association with Slaughter and the Dogs' – NME, 19 July 1980
- 'old hat' HD, New Hormones press release, 21 February 1977
- 'At the time...' HD, NME, 2 December 1978
- 'After we...' RB, AI, January 2006
- 'There was...' RB, Q Punk Special Edition, 2002
- 'By the time...' SD, Robb (2006), pp. 271–2
- 'It was...' SD, Q Punk Special Edition, 2002 (Jon Bennett)
- Wilson/Twisted Wheel** AHW talk at Urbis, Manchester, 20 July 2005
- 'I put...' AHW, Robb (2009), p. 67
- Warsaw/29 May** Boon insists Warsaw were billed as Stiff Kittens on the night. See Robb (2009), p. 127
- 'absolutely bizarre' PH, Q Punk Special Edition, 2002
- Cosgrove Hall** Nolan (2007), pp. 26–8. Sumner's first job on leaving school was as a clerk in the rates office at Salford Town Hall. He had been offered a place at Bolton College of Art but his family could not afford to send him.
- 'When I...' BS, SH, 3–16 December 1986 (Sylvia Patterson)
- 'Seeing the...' Curtis (1995), pp. 36–7
- 'extreme music' BS, Mojo, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'We were...' TR, Haslam (1999), pp. 116 and 122
- 'I thought...' MH interview with Jon Savage, 29 May 1989
- £200 RG, Rogan (1988), p. 246
- 'They were...' RG, Rogan (1988), p. 246
- The Nosebleeds** Poulsen (2005), pp. 227–8; Middles (1996), pp. 32–5. The Nosebleeds seem also to have played at The Roxy on 22 June 1977, with Shoplifters and Gloria Mundi
- QE2** MM, 2 February 1980; VR, AI, January 2010. Previous groups included a pub duo with flautist Norman Gammer (two albums as Gammer and His Familiars). The QE2 gig was with a cabaret band who also had bookings in Blackpool, and offered to buy Reilly any guitar he wanted
- untrtrue Lesley Gilbert, AI, April 2009
- 'imitation' VR, Sounds, 30 January 1988. VR also described his guitar playing in The Nosebleeds as metal rather than punk
- 'Ed would...' VR, NME, 2 February 1980
- 'They really...' VR, Middles (1996), p. 32
- Nosebleeds/What's On** MM, 2 February 1980
- 'Many things...' AHW interview with Andy Fyfe, Q website, February 2007

- The Panik Poulsen (2005), p. 237; Curtis (1995), p. 48; Rogan (1988), p. 247  
 no longer afford Robb (2009), p. 83  
 'That night...' PS, AI, August 2009  
 Circus/closure a slight return the following year as the New Electric Circus aka The Venue had no impact. See *Sounds*, 25 November 1978  
 'That first...' AHW interview with Andy Fyfe, Q website, February 2007  
 on-air swearing Wilson (2002), pp. 37–8  
 'When I did...' AHW, NME, 18 February 1984  
 'particularly nice' AHW, Piccadilly Radio, February 1982. MH had commented on the first series of *SIG*. See also Middles (1996), p. 26  
 Skrewdriver from Blackpool, and originally straight punk before pursuing a bone-headed far right agenda  
 Invisible Girls in fact Hannett and Hopkins were initially known as The Curious Yellows, but soon changed identity  
 'I would...' RB, AI, January 2006  
 seasonal hangerover PM, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 61  
 dining-room Curtis (1995), p. 53  
 Virgin Records Middles and Reade (2006), p. 66  
 Wilson/EP MW, 27 August 2007  
 'major problem' Anonymous Records press release, late 1978  
 Wilson/Pips Curtis (1995), p. 55; *Mojo*, July 1994  
 Rudolf Hess BS, Nolan (2007), p. 46. *Short Circuit* was released as a 10-inch album in June 1978  
 Conservative voter Curtis (1995), p. 35; pp. 90–91  
 'We did...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 55  
 'little flair' NMR, 24 March–6 April 1978 (Ian Wood)  
 'We'd had...' PH, *Chimp* magazine, September/October 2009 (Paula Gregory)  
 '...cheerleader' PH, NYT, 4 August 1993 (Jon Paresis)  
 'What had...' Wilson (2002), p. 39
- 1978**
- 'Television was...' AHW, Middles (1996), p. 91  
 'Elvis Costello...' AHW interview with Andy Fyfe, Q website, February 2007  
 'There was...' MJ, Chase (2009), p. 43. Howard Devoto, Linder Sterling and Bob Dickinson have no recollection of any plans for Wilson to manage Magazine.
- 'Tony was...' HD, Chase (2009), p. 46; HD, AI, November 2009  
 'If you...' AHW, Middles (1996), pp. 242–3. See also AHW, *Vox*, January 1992  
 Wilson/Linder relationship LS, AI, December 2009. Linder Sterling threatened legal action to remove fictive scenes from the script of the 2002 film *24 Hour Party People*.  
 'Tony and I...' LS, AI, December 2009  
 Fast Breeder formerly known as Flashback. Bruce Mitchell was also involved in managing the band  
 'I'd seen...' AE, AI, December 2009. Of his mortal journey Erasmus says 'Born in Didsbury 26th April 1949. Died in Didsbury (no chance)'  
 'Alan brought...' VR, *Scream City* zine #4 (2008)  
 'ominous' Wilson (2002), p. 38–9  
 M24J MW Factorial (Fac 229), 15 July 1989. This moniker may have been inspired by the German anarchist-radical group Movement 6 June, active between 1972 and 1980, and allied to the RAF/Baader–Meinhof faction. German student Benno Ohnesburg had been killed during a demonstration in West Berlin on 2 June 1967  
 'semi-derelict...' Wilson (2002), p. 50  
 Light reading matter VR, AI, January 2006; AHW, Reynolds (2009), p. 76  
 Debord/Vaneigem both books were published in 1967  
 Where's the Durruti Column? Jamie Reid interview, *Classic Albums* NMTB-HTSP DVD (2002)  
 'Buenaventura...' Wilson (2002), p. 50  
 Revillos Cavanagh (2000), pp. 30–33  
 'I was...' RL, NME, 13 January 1979 (Ian Cranna). See also RL, *ZigZag*, April 1979. Lighting also declined to distribute the Mekons single, leaving Virgin as the sole outlet. Being Boiled and Damaged Goods were released in June and October of 1978 respectively  
 'a lot of...' AHW, *Sounds*, 28 February 1987  
 Rough Trade Young (2006); NME, 18 April 2009  
 'We had Stiff...' GT, *Word*, February 2009  
 'We were all...' AHW, *Word*, September 2006  
 Malcolm Garrett was introduced to Boon and Devoto by Linder in January 1978. MG's first job for Buzzcocks was a generic poster that could be used to promote ad hoc gigs – MG, AI, December 2009  
 Steve Stephen Morris AI, November 2009; Reynolds (2009), pp. 229–30; Curtis (1995), p. 50; *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)

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- RCA/Warsaw album Curtis (1995), pp. 57–8; Middles (1996), pp. 77–80
- 'Now that...' TR, *MM*, 27 May 1978
- Graham Fellows the Rabid connection came about since Fellows was a lodger at the house of Alberto's drummer Bruce Mitchell
- 'Rabid's contribution...' *NME*, 22 July 1978 (Paul Morley)
- running order squabble Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 67–9. The Negatives included/slaughtered the *Coronation Street* theme in their set
- 'mock heroics...' *Sounds*, 29 April 1978
- 'They're a dry...' *NME*, 3 June 1978 (Paul Morley)
- 'the next music' Factory Club box ad, *MEN*, 19 May 1978
- Wilson/Gretton/Rafters Curtis (1995), p. 60; Wilson (2002), pp. 41–2; Lesley Gilbert, AI, July 2009. Gilbert confirms that Wilson had already met Gretton at a Slaughter and the Dogs gig in Stockport; Wilson had already seen Joy Division perform as Warsaw at the Electric Circus
- 'fucking cunt' Curtis (1995), p. 61
- 'I thought...' RG, Rogan (1988), p. 247
- 'Barney was...' SM, AI, November 2009. Also Lesley Gilbert, AI, November 2009; Hook in Cummins (2009), p. 157
- 'We never...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'Maybe...' PH, *NYT*, 4 August 1993 (Jon Pareles). Hook's bass style was also influenced by JJ Burnel of The Stranglers
- 'the best thing...' Gretton (2008), p. 11 (AHW letter 19 April 1978)
- 'Rob took myself...' LB, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 71
- Fast/Joy Division RL, Heylin (2007), p. 324
- 'another Fascism...' *Sounds*, 24 June 1978: 'Another Fascism for Fun and Profit mob, judging by the Hitler Youth imagery and Germanic typography on the sleeve. But interesting and definitely worth investigation if you're gripped by the grinding riff gloom and industrial bleakness of the Wire/Subway Sect order' (Alan Lewis)
- 'adored' letter AHW to RG dated 9 May 1978, not included in Gretton (2008) but reproduced on book website, [www.rtopmanager.com](http://www.rtopmanager.com). Full text: 'Thank you for your letter and the EP which I adore. Could you please ring me at Granada, as soon as possible, like today for example, about a little urgent business. The band I am involved in are promoting a new venue at the Russel [sic] Club, Moss Side, and they would be interested in your band playing on one of the nights.' AJW gave both his home number and his Granada extension (628) – 'pour moi'
- 'new psychedelic' see *MEN* advert for DC gig at Russell on 4 August 1978
- former Albertos *MM*, 20 May 1978
- 'wayward sounds...' *NME*, 2 September 1978
- 'We had...' AHW, Q interview, February 2007
- 'Alan had been...' Wilson (2002), pp. 52–3
- 'You would have...' AHW, AI, October 2005
- 'I was driving...' AE, *MW* (Fac 229), 15 July 1989
- 'The Warholian...' *Sounds*, 10 June 1978 (Ian Wood)
- toasting see *MEN* ad, 26 May 1979: 'dancing and toasting and new music'
- 'My informants...' *NMR*, 2–15 June 1978 (Steve Forster)
- Manicured Noise Linder Sterling, AI, July 2009; Northern Stories CD sleeve note (2006)
- Cabaret Voltaire Lilleker (2005), pp. 83–4
- 'We got...' CW, AI, October 2005
- 'The venue...' *NMR*, 16–29 June 1976 (Paul Miller)
- 'There were...' Morley (2008), p. 77
- Tiller Boys Eric Random, AI, August 2005. Morley wrote of their Factory performance on 9 June: 'An occasional experiment in electronic confrontation conceived by Pete Shelley with Buzzcocks aides Fran and Eric. A collage of directed noise built up from pre-recorded tapes, electronics, drum machines and improvised human contributions on guitars and percussion. Challenges normal concepts of presentations; durations of performance simply as long as possible, demands on audience unspecified' – *NME*, 28 October 1978 (Paul Morley)
- 'Malcolm had...' PS, *Eye*, No. 17, Vol. 5, 1995 a concert AHW claimed he met PS at a Patti Smith concert at the Apollo; PS thinks it was a double bill with Television and Blondie, but this is unlikely given that the latter show was in May 1977
- 'I was desperate...' PS, AI, *GUM*, November 1984
- 'The crucial...' PS quoted in *The Face*, 1981; PS, AI, August 2009
- Autobahn PS, AI, August 2009. PS also drew early influence from the embossed circuit board cover of the Rolf & Cand Florian album, issued only in Germany

- 'Practically speaking...'<sup>2</sup> PS, AI, January 2006  
 'dance and dream'<sup>3</sup> MEN advert, 4 August 1978  
 'The agreement...'<sup>4</sup> MM, AI, October 2005  
 Spherical Objects debut album *Past & Parcel* released in August 1978, followed by three more albums up to 1981. Object Music also released *The Passage*, Grow Up, Steve Miro and several compilations  
 'excluded'<sup>5</sup> Fac 2 sleeve note  
 'I threatened...'<sup>6</sup> VR, *Scream City* zine #4 (2008)  
 'That band was...'<sup>7</sup> AHW, Middles (1996), p. 94  
 'When we...'<sup>8</sup> AW, AI, August 2008  
 'The booking...'<sup>9</sup> AW, AI, August 2008  
 'It was a great...'<sup>10</sup> CW, AI, October 2005  
 'The Factory...'<sup>11</sup> LG, AI, April 2009  
 'At the time...'<sup>12</sup> AQ, AI, September 2005  
 Eno/MMC MM, Robb (2009), p. 91; p. 94  
 'We were...'<sup>13</sup> MM, Robb (2009), p. 91; p. 115–16  
 ACR/Factory club it is unclear when ACR first played at the Factory since they appeared as an unbilled support, but it may have been opening for The Fall on 29 September 1978. Topping and Kerr think Wilson saw the band rehearse before their first gig at the Factory. Ratio played an early gig as a duo at Pips, where Kerr saw the band and afterwards joined  
 'I was...'<sup>14</sup> JK, 2009 interview with Mark Rowland at [www.pennyblackmusic.co.uk](http://www.pennyblackmusic.co.uk)  
 OMD/Factory Club Andy McCluskey told this author in October 2009 that the OMD gig at The Factory was only their second show, the first being a Thursday night support slot with Joy Division at Eric's on 14 or 21 September 1978. A Factory box ad in MEN advertised OMD supporting Johnny Moped on 27 October 1978. It is not clear whether Johnny Moped cancelled, or whether the Cabaret Voltaire/OMD gig was on the same date  
 Roger Eagle AMcC, *Scream City* zine #2, June 2006  
 'We weren't...'<sup>15</sup> AMcC, Du Noyer (2004), pp. 148–9. In his 2000 memoir *I Was a Robot*, former Kraftwerk member Wolfgang Flur states at p. 124 that McCluskey was one of 'a few young men' backstage 'who introduced themselves as *Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark*, a still unknown student group from Manchester'. McCluskey confirms this did not happen in 1975, and that OMD did not meet Kraftwerk until 1982, although it is interesting to note that McCluskey appears to have been the only early Factory musician who saw Kraftwerk on their short British tour in 1975, despite the fact that the German futurists would ultimately exert a far more profound musical influence than the Sex Pistols, who were seen by everyone and no-one at the Lesser Free Trade Hall in June/July 1976  
 Fac 3 250 copies printed  
 'There is no...'<sup>16</sup> AHW, Savage (1992), p. 18. M24J stepped back from regular promotions at the Russell in October  
 NME *Book of Modern Music* this identified Rabid and the Manchester Musicians' Collective as the two main centres of activity. Artists such as Buzzcocks, Magazine, John Cooper Clarke, Jilted John, The Fall, Joy Division, Cabaret Voltaire, Ed Banger and Tiller Boys were awarded individual entries; of the second tier groups, Manicured Noise, Spherical Objects, John the Postman and The Elite (featuring former Magazine keyboards player Bob Dickinson) were singled out for special mention. The Durutti Column also gained their first positive press: 'A fluid, erratic attempt at flighty psychedelia, featuring ex-Albertos bassist Tony Bowers and managed enthusiastically by Tony Wilson.'<sup>17</sup>  
 Granada Reports/Tosh Ryan Middles (1996), p. 91  
 Big in Japan/Eric's single actually split with the Chuddie Nuddies (aka The Yachts)  
 'Roger studied...'<sup>18</sup> PE, *Chimp* magazine, April 2009  
 Eric's label/Wilson Wilson (2002), p. 64; NYR, March 1980  
 'I'd been tripping...'<sup>19</sup> AHW, AI, October 2005  
 Wilson/Liverpool Peter Saville, AI, September 2009  
 'Eric's was...'<sup>20</sup> PM, *Observer Music Monthly*, May 2006  
 'I realised...'<sup>21</sup> AHW, NYR, March 1980; AHW, Word, September 2006  
 'I just wanted...'<sup>22</sup> AHW, NMR, 9–22 February 1979 (Ian Wood)  
 'There came...'<sup>23</sup> AHW, NME, 1 September 1979  
 'Tony said...'<sup>24</sup> PS, AI, August 2009  
 Rabid/local artists 'Rabid had success with John Cooper Clarke and Jilted John, but a local label should serve local artists, and because of the success they'd had, Rabid was stopping doing that' – AHW, NYR, March 1980. After Rabid ceased operating in 1979 Lawrence Beedle set up Absurd Records  
 ill afford Tosh Ryan, Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 97–8

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'hated' MH interview with Jon Savage, 29 May 1989  
**Rabid office/visits** C. P. Lee, Haslam (1999), p. 116; Lesley Gilbert, AI, April 2009; Tosh Ryan, *Chimp* magazine, April 2009

**John Brierley** Wilson knew Brierley as a cameraman at Granada, and whose mobile unit had recorded location footage for *So It Goes*. To save costs, Wilson offered Brierley a percentage on Fac 2 sales instead of a fee. Brierley opted for cash at a reduced daily rate: 'It seemed like a good idea at the time. I remember thinking the Joy Division tracks were awful. But Cargo was a key component in setting up the label. Initially they couldn't afford the rates at Strawberry, and many of their smaller bands might never have seen the light of day if it hadn't been for our more economical rates' – JB, AI, January 2009

'We had...' SM, AI, July 2009

'There was lots...' MH interviewed by Jon Savage, 29 May 1989

'The row...' AHW, Facdo 14 CD sleevenote, 1996

'The original...' AHW, Piccadilly Radio, February 1982 (Mark Radcliffe)

**The Mothmen** recorded for Absurd and then On-U Sound. Tony Bowers also produced Pink Military

'Tony found...' VR, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008

'We'd already...' SM interview, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008

'Astonishingly...' JD, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008; Poulsen (2005), p. 128; JD interview with Dennis Remmer, July 2005

'Tony was...' LR, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 97

£3,600 AHW, NYR, March 1980

'Tony's income...' PS, AI, August 2009

**initial division** MM, 29 September 1979

'It was based...' PS, AI, GUM, November 1984; PS, AI, January 2006

'It was very...' PS, AI, January 2006

'I thought...' AHW, AI, October 2005

'I recall...' JS, Middles (1996), p. 102

'We helped...' PH, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008

'Coming from...' PH, AI, January 2006

'The day-to-day...' Hook (2009), p. 11

'Hand-making...' AHW, AI, October 2005  
**NME NME**, 23 December 1978 (Paul Rambali)

'Incorporating...' NME, 2 December 1978 (Paul Morley)

Fac 4 AHW claimed he laid the out the poster himself because PS was late; PS says Fac 4 is his

alone (AI, August 2009). Almost certainly Wilson confused Fac 4 with Fac 15, the Leigh Festival poster in 1979, which Saville had no hand in

'awkward...' *Sounds*, 13 January 1979 (Nick Tester)

'We were...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)

'We took...' Curtis (1995), p. 69

'With Ian...' SM, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)

'After the...' CS, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008

'Vini Reilly...' *Sounds*, 13 January 1979 (Mick Middles)

'Now down...' NME, 13 January 1979 (Martin Ryan); see also Wilson (2002), p. 47

'Those first...' VR, AI, January 2006; VR, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008

## 1979

'The headmaster...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 19

**Cabaret Voltaire/Eric's CV** were unable to play at The Factory on 26 January as they were trapped in Sheffield by snow on Snake Pass  
**Peel session** JD recorded Transmission, She's Lost Control, Insight and Exercise One at Maida Vale 4 studio on 31 January 1979

'The best...' JP, interviewed by John Walters on *Peeling Back the Years* (BBC radio, 1987). Peel added of JD: 'I always think of them in a rather romantic way, as being introspective and rather Russian.'

'form over...' AHW, AI, October 2005

**several hundred pounds** £87 – Johnson (1984);

£200 – AHW, AI, October 2005; £400 –

Lindsay Reade, AI, August 2005. An overseas edition through French label Celluloid did not materialize – Factory NASA #2

'intelligent...' MM, 20 January 1979

'After rock...' *Sounds*, 17 March 1979 (Sandy Robertson). Presumably Robertson meant John Cale and the Velvets, not John Cage

'Factory Records' first...' NME, 31 March 1979 (Paul Morley)

'I guess...' Morley (2008), pp. 89–91

'Rob thought...' PH, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)

'Their story...' NME, 13 January 1979 (Paul Morley). The cover was shared with Here and Now, and Bob Last of Fast Product  
**RCA album** Curtis (1995), p. 77

**Hannett remix** NME, 13 January 1979

**Fractured Music** an unusual arrangement, but not one by which Gretton on one-fifth (20 per cent)

- earned more than he would have done as an orthodox publisher. Fac 21, a badge featuring the Fractured logotype, was issued in 1981. Says Peter Hook on the Fractured arrangement in Cummins (2009), p. 159: 'We split the songwriting with Rob because we were young and foolish. But he was very much part of the process. He didn't write the music but he did tell us what was shit and what was good and what to change – not that we took any notice.'
- Fast Product** Bob Last, Heylin (2007), p. 324
- Genetic** Gretton (2008), notebook entries for January 1979
- 'It would have...' CV, *NME*, 29 November 1980; Stephen Mallinder, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008
- 'Independent...' AHW, *NMR*, 9–22 February 1979 (Ian Wood)
- Ludus/Factory** *NME*, 17 February 1979
- Tiller Boys** *NME*, 2 December 1978, which identifies this project as Fac 3, this number then being transferred to the second Factory/Saville poster. The three TB tracks recorded at Arrow in January were later released on New Hormones on 7-inch as Big Noise From the Jungle
- Factory/New Hormones competition** an interview with Tony Wilson by Ian Wood in *NMR*, 9–22 February 1979, for Fac 2 has the two labels 'vying' for Ludus and Tiller Boys. In September 2009 Boon told this author that 'It was all hands on deck, together, for whatever adventures lay ahead.' But plainly both Ludus and Tiller Boys chose New Hormones over Factory
- 'Tony Wilson...' LS, AI, October 2005. Factory and New Hormones did collaborate on a short film for the Ludus song Red Dress
- Manicured Noise/Factory Tangents** website (2006) (Kevin Pearce); Steve Walsh interview, [www.pennyblackmusic.co.uk](http://www.pennyblackmusic.co.uk) (2007)
- The Distractions/Factory** *NME*, 2 December 1978 (Paul Morley)
- 'There were...' PS, AI, August 2009
- 'They wanted...' MR, AI, October 2008. The first release on Genetic in late June 1979 was a flop single by forgotten band Sussex
- 'I got...' MR, AI, October 2008. Rushent continues: 'I never met Martin Hannett, but I knew of his work through Buzzcocks, so I figured he was second-best choice for the job. Oddly, because we both produced Buzzcocks and share the same name, a lot of people think I'm dead now. Tony Wilson didn't like me because I was a London interloper producing all these Manchester bands. In his book, if you weren't Mancunian you were shit. It was insulting when he later claimed I'd ripped Joy Division off. In fact I gave them the Eden tapes back.' Some of the Rushent tracks appear on the Joy Division box set *Heart & Soul*
- 'Any contract...' Gretton (2008), January 1979 notebook
- JD haircuts** SM, Reynolds (2009), p. 232
- 'We were...' AMcC, *Scream City* zine #2 (2006) (John Cooper). Collister called his garage studio Henry's
- 'As soon as...' LR, AI, August 2005
- 'Tony played...' PS, AI, August 2009
- 'The four...' AHW, ACR *Early* CD sleeve note, March 2002
- 'They were...' LR, AI, August 2005
- 'We'd play...' Cope (1994), p. 98
- ACR/straightforward** Simon Topping, AI, September 2009
- 'Our version...' AMcC, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 47
- 'Hannett was weird...' AMcC, *Scream City* zine #2 (2006)
- 'Basically it was...' RG, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984
- 'I was in my...' RG, Rogan (1988), p. 248
- 'We did flirt...' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'We don't want...' IC, *NME*, 11 August 1979 (Paul Rambali)
- 'Rob had a...' AHW, AI, October 2005
- 'Rob said...' AHW, AI, October 2005 before presenting Gretton... AHW, AI, October 2005
- RG/Israel** Lesley Gilbert, AI, October 2009
- in blood** Wilson (2002), p. 67
- 'We agreed...' AHW, Andy Fyfe, Q website, February 2007. Mick Middleles suggests Gretton ran with Factory in order to become a partner/director in the label, an idea dismissed by Lesley Gilbert. See Kennedy (2006), pp. 28–9
- fourteen tracks** Gretton (2008), the four outtakes being Autosuggestion, From Safety To Where?, Exercise One, The Only Mistake
- five days** Ian Curtis quoted four and a half days to *Sounds* (11 August 1979), while Peter Hook recalled six days in *NME*, 20 June 2009
- £10,000 AHW, AI, October 2005
- £8,500 *NME*, 11 August 1979
- 'Martin wanted...' SM, Kennedy (2006), p. 55

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- (confirmed to author by SM). Morris at no time played drums on the roof of the studio
- 'His dialogues...' SM, Kennedy (2006), p. 59  
(confirmed to author by SM)
- Walthers P.38 SM, *Word*, October 2008
- 'Martin did...' SM, *NME*, 20 June 2009
- 'lightning...' MH interview with Jon Savage, May 1989. On Curtis/Hannett bonding see also Middles and Reade (2006), p. 130; *Uncut*, March 2010
- 'Live, we'd...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'We didn't...' BS, *Uncut*, March 2010 (Stephen Dalton)
- 'It was more...' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'dancing music...' *MM*, 29 September 1979
- 'Ian was...' MH, *Rolling Stone*, 15 September 1983 (Debby Miller)
- 'a certain disorder...' MH interview with Jon Savage, May 1989
- 'I unload...' MH, *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell)
- Llandudno/fires PS, AI, August 2009
- 'Electricity was...' PS, AI, *GUM*, November 1984; PS, AI, August 2009
- 'We were...' ST, AI, July 2009
- 'rudimentary...' *MM*, 19 May 1979
- 'terrible' *MM*, 29 September 1979
- 'gross fit...' *NME*, 9 June 1979
- 'ghouls' Factory NASA #1, September 1979
- 'excellent, melodic...' *NME*, 9 June 1979 (Adrian Thrills)
- 'a perfect...' *MM*, 9 June 1979
- 'Tony was...' AMcC, *RC*, October 1998 (Martin O'Gorman)
- 'We use...' AMcC, *NME*, 22 December 1979
- Acklam Hall gig billed as 'Final Solution presents music from The Factory'. Colin Faver and Kevin Millins of FS first met Gretton and Joy Division at their Hope and Anchor gig on 27 December 1978
- 'eclectic and...' *MM*, 26 May 1979
- 'a right bollocking' Simon Topping, *NME*, 6 September 1980 (Paul Morley)
- ACR/drunken Factory NASA #1, September 1979
- 'The worst...' AMcC, *RC*, October 1998; gig was either or both of Leeds or Sheffield or both in June/July 1979 – AMcC, AI, October 2009
- 'I was a huge...' CW, AI, October 2008
- Dindisc Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 52; AHW, *NYR*, March 1980
- 'They were very...' PH, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 52
- 'Coming from...' CW, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 53
- 'faintly embarrassed' – LR, AI, August 2005
- 'I don't recall...' CW, AI, October 2008
- Fac 7 AHW, AE and PS were listed as Factory principals. The bar graph logo was retired after Fac 17 in August 1980
- 'In Britain...' LS, AI, October 2005
- 'My father...' PS, AI, August 2009. See also Saville (2007), 24
- 'Joy Division chose...' PS, AI, January 2006
- Gretton/Fac 10 artwork Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 138–9
- 'They'd also...' PS, AI, January 2006
- partisan Morley (2008), p. 105
- 'Joy Division's...' *NME*, 14 July 1979 (Max Bell)
- 'a brave bulletin...' *MM*, 21 July 1979 (Jon Savage)
- 'We used...' JC, *MM*, 14 March 1987. Cope's recollection was contradicted by Ian McCullough in *MM*, 10 October 1987
- 'a British singer...' *Slash*, 1979
- 'a curiously...' *NYR*, March 1980
- 10,000 copies Wilson (2002), pp. 79–80; AHW, AI, October 2005
- 'There were only...' AHW, *NYR*, July–August 1981
- Probe AHW, AI, October 2005
- Spartan *NME*, 1 September 1979
- third-best *NME*, 22 December 1979
- PiL/three gigs Manchester King's Hall in February, followed by the Factory in June, and a headline performance at the Leeds Futurama in September. The latter two gigs featured the Lydon/Levine/Wobble/Dudanski line-up
- 'PiL, quite simply...' AHW, Strongman (2007), p. 94. See also pp. 7–8
- 'more a semi...' *MM*, 23 June 1979
- 'That Factory gig...' JL, Strongman (2007), pp. 94–5
- Wilson/metal box AHW, AI, October 2005. The initial production run of Metal Box was 50,000 units, retailing at an expensive £7.49. Each tin cost £0.75 – *ZigZag*, December 1979
- Karl Burns Strongman (2007), pp. 96–7
- 'rainy city reggae' line from X-O-Dus promo photo
- 'only possible...' Factory NASA #3 (April 1980). See also AHW in *NYR*, March 1980, where he described them as a 'non-roots band' but very committed, whose combination of 'good reggae' and 'nice tunes' was a 'rare marriage'



- Donald Johnson AI, November 2009. Middles (1996), p. 31, states that Johnson and Vini Reilly had once played together in a funk band called Lady. In fact this was Vinny Faal, not Vini Reilly
- 'That was the...' DJ, ACR *Early* CD sleeve note (Early, 2002)
- Section 25 the JD/Eric's gig was probably 3 May 1979. Larry Cassidy obtained a First from Chislehurst College of Art in 1977. Attending a punk gig at The Vortex, he had introduced himself to John Lydon and Sid Vicious at the bar. 'I said hello. That was about it, really.' Section 25 background, various AIs, 1983–2009
- 'I remember...' AMcC, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 53
- 'I'm not sure...' CW, AI, October 2008
- McCullough *Sounds*, 11 August 1979; Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 140–43
- 'I think the...' SM, AI, September 2008
- Transmission/plugger Factory NASA #1
- 'I found...' AHW, *Vox*, January 1992 (Martin Townsend). Transmission was previewed on the BBC television programme *Something Else* in September, and released in October midway through the Buzzcocks tour
- newletters titled 'Newsletter and Shareholder's Analysis' (Factory was not yet a limited company and thus there were no shares at this time), at least five such bulletins were issued between September 1979 and August 1981. They're among the most amusing and revealing Factory documents. Some appear to have been circulated to the public through record shops in photocopy form
- AHW/MM MM, 29 September 1979 (Mary Harron)
- 'We wanted...' *NME*, 1 September 1979 (Adrian Thrills and Paul Morley). AHW continued: 'It does become an operation, really, an attack on the music business, to show them that we do what you're supposed to do a lot better. We want to show people who run the business that they have become aware of the changes in pop culture, and that we know, and that's why we want to get in the charts.'
- 'sit around...' VR, AI, January 2006
- 'The original...' VR, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008
- 'The great thing...' VR, *NME*, 2 February 1980
- 'We had to...' AHW, *NME*, 2 February 1980
- 'umbrella concept' AHW, *NYR*, March 1980
- 'Martin arrived...' AHW, sleeve note to Fact 14 reissue CD, 1996
- 'Martin and I...' VR, *Sounds*, 16 August 1980
- 'Martin reproduces...' VR, *NME*, 2 February 1980
- 'Vini had not...' Wilson (2002), pp. 76 and 39
- 'It took me...' VR, AI, January 2006
- Leigh Festival also featured a diverse range of 'top bands', including Supercharge, A Flock of Seagulls and Manchester newcomers Crispy Ambulance, as well as blues, country, jazz and folk. According to one of the main organizers, Chris Hewitt: 'It was a three-day event and the organisation started long before Factory or Zoo came on board. They were just asked to provide bands. I thought it would guarantee a lot of publicity. Of course, history has now been rewritten' – Chris Hewitt, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 146; Kennedy (2006), p. 42
- Fac 15 Saville confirms (AI, December 2009) that he played no part in the design in the scruffy Leigh poster
- Rod Griffith band website, [www.crawlingchaos.co.uk](http://www.crawlingchaos.co.uk). Griffith later inspired a character in *Viz* magazine, Roger Mellie – the Man on the Telly
- 'heavy modern' Factory NASA #2
- 'No-one else...' AHW, *NYR*, March 1980
- 'There was...' Drummond (2000), p. 39
- 'I've got this idea...' *Observer Music Monthly*, 19 June 2005
- punters/police Middles (1996), p. 134
- 'ACR played five...' *MM*, 8 September 1979 (Jon Savage)
- David Simpson *Guardian* blog, 25 October 2006
- Futurama bill other groups announced at various times who did not play included The Cure, Simple Minds and Fischer Z. Highlights from the weekend were recorded for an unreleased live album – see *NME*, 2 February 1980 (Durutti article mentions Hannett mixing live ACR tracks for this project)
- JD/Futurama 'quite magnificent – the real stars of the night', *NME*, 15 September 1979
- 'I thought they...' IC, *Extro* zine, Vol. 2 (1980)
- 'Ian and Rob...' VC, *Offense Newsletter* (USA), February 1985; VC, AI, September 2008
- Section 25/Cargo at this time Cargo offered 4-, 8- and 16-track recording, the latter charged at £15 per hour. Vin Cassidy: 'We paid for the multi-track tapes ourselves because we wanted to take them away, so it cost £180.' Section 25

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footed the bill themselves as Gretton was not yet a partner at Factory, and Wilson was less keen on the band than Gretton

**Gretton as fifth partner** the MW Factorial (Fac 229), 15 July 1989, states that RG became a partner in September 1979. The first Factory NASA, also dated September 1979, still lists only AHW, RG and AE as partners, although the headed paper on which this NASA was printed may have been old stock. When Hannett was admitted as a partner is also unclear. Saville told the author in August 2009 that AHW simply informed PS and AE that MH and then RG had also become partners in Factory, without any formal meeting or vote. Joy Division apparently understood that they too would become partners in Factory, and not just RG

'a way...' RG, *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell).

RG: 'Oh, Martin. He's got a way with sound.'

'I'd use...' LG, AI, April 2009

**Fac 9** details Factory NASA #1; *NME*, 11 August 1979; *MM*, 29 September 1979

**Charles Salem** Salem drifted away from the Factory fold because he moved to London, and didn't much like Joy Division. But that he had run Ikon. Parts of *No City Fun* were recycled within the documentary film *Joy Division* (2008) – CS, AI, August 2009

'They did...' MW, *Art & Music* #2, Summer 2008

'They did Ian saw...' MW, *Mojo*, July 1994

'spy thriller' Factory NASA #1

**Fac 20** Factory NASA #2 (January 1980) and #3 (April 1980); LN, AI, October 2008. Factory NASA #1 in September 1979 also indicates that Naylor and Salem were to have made a film called *In Search of the Lost Chord*, being a 'sojourn through the mathematics of Western tonal mathematics' [sic] with music by Martin Hannett. This project never happened either **Vini Reilly** and **Fac 20** VR, *NME*, 2 February 1980

**Fac 12** a printing error meant that Mike Finney and Steve Perrin were wrongly credited as the writers of Time Goes By So Slow, a fact which has annoyed Adrian Wright ever since. Fac 12 was produced by Brandon Leon. By 1981 the group were back on a small indie label, splitting that same year

'ranging from...' *MM*, 29 September 1979

'great pop...' *NME*, 8 September 1979: 'a none with a fraction of an idea of what makes Great

Pop will melt in front of your eyes whenever this modern masterpiece is played' (Paul Morley)

'the world's most...' *MM*, 8 September 1979

**Island/Nick Stewart** Stewart joined Island in September 1979 and immediately went to Manchester to meet AHW, AE and RG with a view to signing Joy Division. Finding JD unavailable, he accepted the directors' advice and signed The Distractions instead – NS, AI, November 2009

'That's when my...' AHW, *NYR*, March 1980.

Five years later, AHW transferred this story to James

**declined to manage NME**, 27 October 1979

'Tony tried...' Drummond (2000), p. 39

'And I said...' BD, Reynolds (2009), p. 85

'As far as...' Drummond (2000), p. 40

'Everybody...' AMcC, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 58. The sleeve of the DinDisc reissue still credited the single as 'A Factory Records Product'

'I didn't really...' PS, NOPAH, Channel 4, 1984

'Peter delivered...' CW, AI, October 2008

'It got very...' PS, *The Face*, 1981

'When I first...' PS, AI, *GUM*, November 1984

'There was...' RB, AI, January 2006

**Bournemouth Middles** and Reade (2006), pp. 169–70. Buzzcocks extended their encore to allow the ambulance to reach and leave the venue

'soul-destroying' IC, Radio Blackburn, April 1980

'brave but...' *NME*, 17 November 1979

(Mark Ellen)

'the possible...' PS, Robertson (2006), p. 24

**Transmission/10,000** Factory NASA, September 1979. Since there was no organized indie chart in Britain at this time, no position can be cited. That same year Sheffield metal band Def Leppard managed to sell 24,000 copies of their self-released first EP on Bludgeon, Riffola – Lilleker (2005), p. 108

'If you...' RG, *Slash*, 1979 (Jane Garcia)

'To be...' SM, MW, 25 August 2007 (Christopher Barrett)

'At home...' Curtis (1995), pp. 96–7

'Factory was...' DC, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)

**Annik Honoré** background AH, AI, October 2005; Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 153–6

**Brussels/new wave** although a performance by electro-rockers Suicide in June 1978 provoked the disturbance preserved on infamous bootleg *23 Minutes Over Brussels*

- Plan K** *The Bulletin* (Brussels), 21 December 1979.  
Employing 2,000 workers at its pre-war peak, the Graffe *raffinerie* was all about sugar: brown on the ground floor and white on the fourth, with sugar loaves a speciality
- 'We really...' IC, *Extro* zine, Vol. 2 (1980)
- Cabs/Burroughs** WSB informed the title of their debut album, *Mix Up*, due for imminent release on Rough Trade
- Curtis/Burroughs** PH, AI, January 2006; CW, AI, October 2005; *Extro* zine, Vol. 2 (1980)
- dormitory japes** PH, AI, January 2006; *Extro* zine, Vol. 2 (1980)
- 'Plan K was...' CW, AI, October 2005
- 'They eat horse!' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'I must say...' composite from RG letters to JPT of SS dated 19 September and 19 November 1979, reproduced on the website for Gretton (2008) but not in the book itself. RG also wrote:  
'Thanks a lot for the collage and the TG record – we were very impressed by all of them – so much so that Ian, our singer (a big Throbbing Gristle fan), pinched the record and the collage...' SS later issued similarly artful packages by The Durutti Column and Ludus. Gretton told *NME* of the SS project: 'We had a pleading letter from Jean-Pierre Whatsit, and we agreed cos it's interesting to see how different people handle different aspects. There are no restrictions from Factory on this sort of thing'
- 'That was...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- IC/AH first kiss** Middles and Reade (2006), p. 166
- 'I have...' AH, AI, January 2010
- 'We said...' SM, *MW*, 25 August 2007 (Christopher Barrett)
- 'We would...' PH, *MW*, 25 August 2007 (Christopher Barrett)
- 'He always...' PH, *Uncut*, March 2010 (Stephen Dalton)
- 'With being...' PH, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- Talking Heads/Human League** Lilleker (2005), pp. 79–80. The opening date was in Leicester on 26 November. It is often claimed that the split of the original League triggered this episode, but in fact Ware and Marsh left a year later. Moreover Byrne was right: automated cabaret would have been poorly received by audiences at this time. Wilson asked Factory newcomer Kevin Hewick to cover the Leicester date, but KH was unavailable
- The Overload** see David Byrne interview in Reynolds (2009), p. 126
- 'ACR came to...' CF, AI, October 2008
- 'We got about...' VC, AI, September 2008
- CBS *Slash***, 1979; *NYR*, March 1980
- 'I've heard...' PS, AI, August 2009
- £xm** Peter Hook, *Vox*, January 1992. MH probably exaggerated this figure
- World in Action** Nolan (2009), p. 66
- 'Martin was...' AHW, *NYR*, March 1980
- Prestbury** Curtis (1995), p. 101
- 'He keeps...' MH, *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell)
- Factory New Year party** Curtis (1995), p. 100; AI, December 2009, with several participants who (still) wish to remain anonymous
- 'the most...' AHW, *City Life*, 8–22 May 1987 (Andy Spinoza). AHW continued: 'I resolved to keep my two lives separate. One is a job that pays my mortgage and keeps my wife and family. The other enables me to do what I enjoy'
- ### 1980 (Part 1)
- Bernard Pierre Wolff** Saville found the 1978 images in the French magazine *Zoom*
- 'I guess...' PS, AI, January 2006. The trees would appear on the sleeve of the Factory issue of *Atmosphere* in September 1980
- Mason/Britannia Row** Mason (2005), p. 218
- Curtis/double albums** *En Attendant*, February 1980
- Love Will Tear Us Apart** borrowed a hook (with permission) from The Cake Shop Device by Manchester Mekon, included on the Object Music MMC compilation album *A Manchester Collection* (OBJ 003), released in April 1979
- '*Unknown Pleasures*...' MH, *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell)
- 'He wasn't...' MH, *Mojo*, April 2005 (Martin Aston, 1989 interview)
- Closer** remix band interview, *NewOrderStory* DVD (1993)
- 'I can...' SM, Reynolds (2009), p. 238. By mid-April Curtis had changed his mind and thought *Closer* sounded 'really good' – see Middles and Reade (2006), p. 244
- '*Unknown Pleasures*...' PS, *Mojo*, September 2001
- 'There's classicism...' Saville (2003), pp. 32–4 (Christopher Wilson)
- Metal Lined Cubicles** featured on the cover of Kelly's thesis from the Royal College of Art in 1974
- 'I thought...' PS, AI, March 2010

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- Wilson/sandpaper AHW, AI, October 2005
- Vini Reilly interview NME, 2 February 1980 (Max Bell)
- 'Duffy...' VR, MM, 9 January 1988
- Michel Sordinia AI, August 2005
- astonishment according to Christophe Den Tandt, there lingered 'a feeling in Brussels that Factory had signed the wrong band' – AI, August 2005. Despite The Names' signal achievement in landing an overseas deal, their Anglophile tendencies and perceived aloofness caused some resentment closer to home, and their relationship with Annik Honoré and Michel Duval was never close. Certainly Honoré preferred to promote Digital Dance, although that band proved too dark and wilfully punk rock for Duval. Ultimately The Names' greatest supporter would be producer Martin Hannett, whose relationship with the group endured over three singles and an album – a fine discography spread, uniquely and confusingly, across Factory, Factory Benelux and Les Disques du Crépuscule
- Wally Van Middendorp WVM, AI, August 2005; *It's Different for Grils* [sic] zine, Sheffield, 1980. Following a shared Dutch tour Minny Pops had also struck up a friendship with Sheffield moodists The Comsat Angels
- Michel Lambot AI, August 2005
- 'Slightly effeminate...' Alan Wise, MM, 28 February 1980
- 'like running...' LG, AI, April 2009
- 'the local...' JS, AI, July 2008. Eight years later the club would reopen as the Thunderdome, only to encounter similar problems
- City Fun spat *City Fun* #21, March 1980; Liz Naylor, AI, October 2008
- Fact 16 the Graveyard demo side was recorded in September 1979, and the live side at the Electric Ballroom on 26 October 1979
- 'A Certain Ratio...' *Sounds*, 9 February 1980 (Mick Middles)
- Andy McCluskey on OMD sleeve interview with John Cooper in *Scream City* zine #2 (2006); interview with Paul Browne in CD reissue liner notes (2003)
- OMD bankrupt *Sounds*, 25 October 1980
- 'I think we...' CW, AI, October 2008. In time both DinDisc and OMD tired of exorbitant manufacturing costs and the design was simplified, though not before some die-hard fans slavishly purchased an example of each different edition
- 'Peter taught...' CW, AI, October 2008
- Killing Joke joining JD at the University of London Union, High Wycombe Town Hall and the Lyceum were ACR, Section 25 and Killing Joke, whose brand of aggressive dub-punk set them some distance apart from the Northern contingent. The divide was also evident backstage, as KJ guitarist Geordie Walker recalls: 'Our dressing room was full of people drinking, playing music, rammed to the gills. Up the corridor I walked in on Joy Division, and they were just sitting round with a bottle of mild.' Arch chicanery saw KJ billed as co-headliners at the Lyceum on 29 February, yet while this subterfuge irritated Gretton, in London at least KJK were just as popular as JD
- 'The whole...' CF, AI, October 2009. KM handled budgets, CF chose the bands and designed the ads and flyers
- ACR/Lyceum 23 March 1980. Eric Random also performed, unbilled, releasing part of his set as That's What I Like About Me (12-inch) on New Hormones
- Wilson on ACR shorts/fake tan Wilson (2002), pp. 77–8
- 'beauty competition' AHW, *Looking for a Certain Ratio* CD sleevenote, 1994
- Topping/Moscrop on fake tan AIs, 2005; NME, 6 September 1980
- 'Indeed they...' AHW, *Looking for a Certain Ratio* CD sleevenote, 1994
- Wire/Wilson CN interview, *Mojo*, April 2006 (Keith Cameron). Wilson was particularly fond of the song Fragile from Pink Flag. See Neate (2008), p. 129
- Invisible Girls MM, 2 February 1980
- X-O-Dus single finally released in February 1980
- Ted Milton/Blurt Ted Milton appeared on *SIG* in July 1978. Jake Milton had previously played with psychedelic group Quintessence, as well as Eric Clapton – TM, AI, April 2008
- Reade/Blurt AI, April 2008
- ...by 1982 AHW, NYR, March 1980
- Kevin Hewick KH website bio, 2008
- Michael Keane AI, April 2003
- Moonlight/Joy Division JD were absent from adverts placed in the music weeklies, and the press release flatly denied that they would play
- Fac 20 film Factory NASA, 1980
- Moonlight reviews NME, 18 April 1980
- Moonlight/ACR Ratio played their own headline

- show at the Rock Garden on Wednesday 2 April, though this was not reviewed
- Cornwell conviction** Buckley (1997), pp. 156–60
- Rainbow concert** Buckley (1997); *Strangled* zine, Vol. 2, No. 2
- Richard Jobson** AI, January 2006
- raise funds** revealed in undated letter from RB to JPT of SS, early 1980, reproduced on Gretton (2008) website, but not in book
- Hook on Rainbow/Moonlight** PH, AI, January 2006
- 'I was just...'** PH, *Melody Maker* MM, 23 May 1981 (Neil Rowlands)
- Neil Norman** NME, 18 April 1980
- U2** *U2 by U2* (2006), pp. 92–6
- 'It's been...'** IC letter to AH, 17 April 1980; Middles and Reade (2006)
- Crispy Ambulance** Hemsall had also conducted a rare Joy Division interview for *Extro* magazine during the recording of *Love Will Tear Us Apart* at Pennine. The format – spending a day with the band, and not using a tape-recorder or a list of set questions – was approved by Gretton
- Bury riot** various AI with LC, VC, AH, PH, WvM, LR, ST, AHW, 2006; also AH, AI, November 2009
- 'Ian should...'** BS, Nolan (2007), p. 74
- Bury riot** various AI with LC, VC, AH, PH, WvM, LR, ST, AHW, 2005–6; also AH, AI, November 2009
- Curtis returned to hospital** Sumner interview, Jon Savage, April 1994
- 'Ian's problems...'** BS, *Guardian*, 31 August 2007 (Paul Lester)
- 'This sounds...'** SM, *Guardian*, 31 August 2007 (Paul Lester)
- Fac 26** Factory NASA, end 1980
- 'We were...'** ST, AI, September 2005
- 'I found...'** VR, AI, January 2006
- 'The idea...'** AH, AI, August 2005
- Factory Benelux** according to the first press release: 'For Factory it represents their desire to decentralize and to spread abroad their products on a larger scale, and also present different records for different countries, although they would be available normally throughout England as imports but their impact could become stronger on the Continent.' As well as core directors Duval and Honoré, the original Benelux cell also included journalist Bert Bertrand and a group of talented designers and illustrators: Benoît Hennebert, Jean-François Octave, Claude Stassart and Marc Borgers. The label operated from Duval's apartment on Avenue des Phalènes, and was initially registered as a non-profit association (asbl), with Duval listed as secretary and 'économiste' and Honoré as an 'experte en musique'. Crucially, the registered name of the new company was not Factory Benelux but Les Disques du Crépuscule, an umbrella organization with somewhat wider ambitions. Crépuscule translated as twilight, an attractive name chosen by Honoré – and soon deemed shady by Factory
- 'apparently...'** Factory NASA, mid-January 1981
- AHW/father/Duval** MD, AI, 1988
- Ferry/drugs** Section 25, AI, August 2005 and November 2009
- Wilson/Granada concerns** Nolan (2009), p. 66–7 and 73
- Beach Club** Lindsay Reade was also peripherally involved
- 'Once the...'** RB, AI, January 2006
- 'Richard set...'** Middles (1996), p. 156
- 'It had a real...'** GM, AI, August 2005
- supergroup** billed as Certain Random Cabaret
- Russell/Virgin mobile** selected tracks appeared on EPs. In a curious echo of the Electric Circus and *Short Circuit*, the recording quality of the Muffins and Magazine tracks was just as poor
- £500** see Gretton (2008)
- 1980 (Part 2)**
- FBI** Police manager Copeland's IRS record label was named with similar wit
- Joy Division/US tour** the band were due to fly out to the States on 19 May 1980 and return on 10 June
- 'I'm quite...'** IC letter to AH, 5 May 1980, in Middles and Reade (2006), p. 253
- 'Rob is...'** IC letter to AH, 12 March 1980, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 202
- stepping back/bookshop** BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'It is a lie...'** *ibid*, pp. 200–201
- 'Like climbing...'** *ibid*, p. 223
- 'lovers'** AH, AI, August 2005
- 'I think Adrian...'** IC, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 251
- 'The original plan...'** AT, NME, 14 June 1980
- 'I can understand...'** RG, NME, 14 June 1980

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- 'If you do...' RG, Rogan (1988), p. 271
- 'It really...' IC letters to AH, quoted in Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 202, 237 and 248–9
- Joy Division/May A** planned television performance for Granada TV programme *Celebration* on 8 May was cancelled due to industrial action. The video for Love Will Tear Us Apart was filmed on 28 April
- 'running away...' IC letter to AH, 17 April 1980, Middles and Reade (2006), pp. 223 and 244
- 'I am grateful...' Curtis (1995), p. 130
- 'Hooky phoned...' SM, *Mojo*, April 2005 (Pat Gilbert)
- 'The whole...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'I've thought...' BS quoted in Thompson (2005), p. 47
- World in Action* Nolan (2009), p. 73
- AHW calls Saville PS, AI, December 2009
- 'I can't go...' AHW, RM, 24 May 1980
- 'greedy for the...' Morley (2000), p. 41
- 'selling tickets' PM, Middles and Reade (2006), p. 262; Reynolds (2009), p. 328
- 'We always...' VC, AI, October 2009. Sumner and Hook were both Protestants – see Hook in Cummins (2009), p. 158
- 'We were...' SM, AI, October 2009
- 'Taking Morley...' Wilson (2002), pp. 91–2
- 'All the members...' LC, AI, August 2005
- 'We didn't...' PH, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'That man...' *Sounds*, 31 May 1980. Ridiculed by Mark E. Smith of The Fall in the song That Man
- 'The way they described...' RG, Rogan (1988), p. 250
- psychiatric patient** Middles and Reade (2006), p. 248
- Gretton on IC suicide** Wilson (2002), p. 96; Curtis (1995), p. 136
- Syd Barrett** says Steve Morris: 'Pink Floyd wasn't something we aspired to. But I can well imagine Rob pointing out the synchronicity between the Syd Barrett Floyd and Joy Division/New Order. Rob and I had many dope-fuelled rants on synchronicity' – SM, AI, August 2009
- 'To some extent...' PH, Middles (1996), p. 148
- 'Unknown to Joy Division...' Curtis (1995), p. 137
- 'LWTUA being a hit...' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'We had all...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)
- 'I didn't think...' PH, Middles (1996), p. 160
- 'I don't...' PH, Robb (2009), p. 147
- 'as magnificent...' *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Charles Shaar Murray)
- 'three million' AHW, NYR, 7.8.1981
- Closer US sales figures** NYR, 7.8.1981. The Factory US campaign on *Closer* during 1980–81 (Factus 7) was also given UK catalogue number, Fact 36
- billboards** see also Wilson (2002), p. 92
- Fac 28 details** Factory NASA, end 1980
- 'It's ideal...' MH, *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell). MH added on the subject of finances: 'If you're not working with the right artist you have to work all the time to make a living.'
- Ikona details** Factory NASA end 1980; Factory NASA #5, August 1981 A VHS by A Certain Ratio titled *Below the Canal* (Fact 38) remained unfinished, while a mooted three-hour Joy Division video was reduced to one, *Here are the Young Men* (Fact 37) eventually appearing two years late.
- Plan K/27 June** the live component formed part of a larger event paying loose tribute to Jean Cocteau, with selections by Erik Satie performed by pianist Claude Coppens, and an exquisite event poster by Benoît Hennebert
- 'Vini Reilly does not...' *NME*, 12 July 1980 (Paul Du Noyer)
- Annik Honoré** AH, AI, December 2009
- Plein Soleil** appeared in June and was the first physical manifestation of Crépuscule, with fulsome articles on Factory, Cybill Shepherd and Bill Nelson, as well as hip graphics by Jean-François Octave, Marc Borgers and Benoît Hennebert. The title was appropriated from the stylish 1960 film adaptation of *The Talented Mr Ripley*, starring Alain Delon, an obvious role model for any bold, intrigue-loving European male under the age of thirty – Duval included
- New Order/Khmer Rouge** both choices inspired by an *Observer* article on the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. Other monikers said to have been considered were Black September and the Sunshine Valley Dance Band – Rogan (1988), p. 250
- Hewick/NO session** KH website, 2008; KH, AI, August 2009. The Graveyard version of Haystack emerged on Twi 007, credited to Kevin Hewick 'with a few musicians.' Hannett was wrong to dismiss Hewick and his music, since Haystack was a fine song with an arresting

lyric, inspired by a scene with Jack Lemmon and Lee Remick in *The Days of Wine and Roses*, and warped by added narcotic imagery

'This was...' SM, AI, August 2009

Alan Hempsall AH, Nolan (2007), pp. 82–3

'We did...' BS quoted in *Mojo*, September 2001 (Roy Wilkinson)

'We already...' PH, AI, January 2006

'Suddenly we...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)

'It is difficult...' BS, *MM*, 23 May 1981

**Beach Club/Names** supposedly the trio played as the 'No-Names', although if Hewick's recollection from the Graveyard session is correct then Gretton and the band had already settled on New Order as their new moniker. The Names have no recollection of any proposed gig at the Beach Club

'Finding...' SM, *Mojo*, September 2001

'I can't...' PH, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)

'It was...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)

'It must...' GG, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)

'These two...' LG, AI, April 2009

'The night we...' AQ, AI, September 2005

'No-one...' AHW, Reynolds (2009), p. 71

'They told us...' VC, AI, August 2005

'Tracing paper...' PS, AI, January 2006

intellectual rigour LC, AI, August 2005

'horrendous sleeve...' Factory NASA, end 1980

AHW on SXXV and PiL *City Fun*, March 1980

AHW dislike of CA *NME*, 31 May 1986

'Tony later told me...' AH, AI, August 2005

'young and nasty' Factory NASA, end 1980

Fac 17 information from AI with Jon Savage and group members

'special...' Factory NASA, January 1980

'We didn't...' AE, AI, April 2010

'Saville revenge project' /£500 – Factory NASA, end 1980

'hit squad' Wilson (2002), p. 114

'He was working...' WVM, AI, August 2005

'Autocratic...' CDT, AI, August 2005

Grace Jones's cover of She's Lost Control appeared on the b-side of Private Life in August 1980. The song was selected by Nick Stewart, along with Private Life and Love Is The Drug. Interviewed by Tony Mitchell in *Sounds* (23 August 1980) Jones learned of the suicide of Ian Curtis for the first time: 'What? No shit! So he really lost control, huh? And I didn't even think the song was finished. I was still thinking of bringing out a guitar thing that

was in there at the beginning. Then I heard it was out. I said, "What? It's not finished yet." Whether the release was an attempt to capitalize on the death of Curtis is unclear. Interviewed for *NME* (18 October 1986) by Dave Haslam, Bernard Sumner recalled: 'Grace Jones wanted to do She's Lost Control for Island and she wanted to change it to "I've Lost Control" and we thought about it and decided we can't just let her do that. And one night we met a man from Island in a club in Soho and he knew how we felt. He gave us £12; it was like he was just saying, "Go and buy yourselves a drink, lads."' The 'man from Island' was Nick Stewart (aka The Captain), who had already signed The Distractions to the label

**Durutti Column/FBN**– recorded in June, released as Facbn 2-005 on 12-inch. T. S. Eliot was a favourite of Ian Curtis. At the same session Reilly recorded a second tribute to Curtis, Sleep Will Come, sung by ACR bassist Jeremy Kerr, and released on *From Brussels with Love*. Clocking in at just eight minutes, the 12-inch was reissued as a 7-inch early in 1981, sleeved by Jean-François Octave

**Section 25/FBN** 7-inch single Facbn 3-006 released October 1980, dressed in a sober Hennebert sleeve on which the sand dune is easily mistaken for an armpit. The single sold 5,000 copies, despite the usual round of negative reviews

**Gretton/FBN letter:** 'Factory Records England does not object to Factory Records (Benelux) and the people involved putting records out on the Crépuscule label as long as there is no connection made between Factory Benelux and Crépuscule.'

**Tunnelvision** formed by teenage locals Chris Anderton, Anthony Ashworth, Paul Swindles and Andrew Leeming in 1979. Tunnelvision aspired towards the intelligent modern rock of Joy Division, but at this formative stage shared as much in common with the dynamic punk of The Ruts, another band recently poleaxed by the sudden death of their singer. At Scamps the running order was determined by the toss of a coin, with the result that New Order played first, followed by Section 25, then Tunnelvision. Liking what they saw and heard, Gretton and Wilson afterwords invited Tunnelvision to record a single for Factory

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- NO/Western Works demo Gretton (2008), p. 199.  
The four songs recorded on 7 September 1980 were Dreams Never End, Truth, Ceremony and the otherwise unreleased Homage, also known as Tiny Tim. A fifth track, featuring Gretton and members of the Cabs, was also jammed. Cabaret Voltaire, whose first visit to the States had also been delayed by the death of Ian Curtis, played their first US dates a few weeks later, in October
- USA/four dates Maxwell's (20 September); Hurrah (26); Tier 3 (27); Boston Underground (30).  
The Boston date was originally scheduled for 24 September, but was rescheduled after the equipment theft in New York on 23 September
- 'The New York...' SM, *Uncut*, July 2006 (Rob Hughes)
- 'The most...' PS, *Uncut*, July 2006 (Rob Hughes)
- 'First song...' NME, 11 October 1980 (Ian Penman)
- 'Tony was...' MS, AI, January 2010
- 'I was...' MT, AI, June 2008. Nickname spelt Tili, not Tilly. She adds: 'At the time, I was in an all-girl band called Magnetic Pull. We never really played out, but Jez visited our rehearsal room in Little Italy. I'm not quite sure how it happened, but I sang on Back To The Start at the studio session, and then the gig shown in the *Tribeca* film. Although I'd been dabbling in the music scene, that Hurrah gig is the first time I ever sang live. Actually I had a terrible ear infection and was in pain that night. The next day I had to go to hospital.'
- 'We're not as...' ACR, NME, 6 September 1980 (Paul Morley)
- 'There was...' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'I had...' BS, *Uncut*, November 2009
- 'The club...' ST, AI, September 2005
- 'That's when we...' DJ, *Early CD* sleeve note, 2002
- 'The three weeks...' Wilson (2002), p. 110
- \$55 Martin Hannett, NME, 19 July 1980. Here MH still referred to New Order as Joy Division
- Wilson/desk zeroed AHW, *Looking for a Certain Ratio* CD sleeve note, 1994
- 'threw a fit' ST, AI, September 2005
- 'It's one of...' MM, AI, October 2005
- 'Martin wasn't...' SM, *Uncut*, July 2006 (Rob Hughes)
- 'PiL meets Motown...' NME, 1981
- New Order/NY theft organized equipment theft was then commonplace in the States, other victims including The Stranglers and The Monochrome Set. The thieves were said to be a gang known as The Lost Tribe of Israel, who specialized in targeting visiting British bands. Ratio had already lost a flight case full of effects and percussion equipment at Manchester airport on the way to NYC
- 'Once we had the gear...' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'We almost...' SM, *Uncut*, July 2006 (Rob Hughes)
- 'Where the skis...' SM, AI, August 2009
- ACR/Hannett tension Middles (1996), pp. 128–9
- 'faster but...' Martin Moscrop, AI, October 2005
- Flight/LWTUA NME, 6 September 1980. Flight was recorded at Strawberry and Revolution, date unknown but probably sometime between May and July 1980. The cover and inner sleeve features artwork by Ann Quigley, Richard Boon and Phil Diggle, brother of Buzzcock Steve. The dedication ('the lamp of life is not extinguished, it shines more brightly in the spirit') was noted by Topping on a headstone in the cemetery adjacent to Graveyard studio
- Grace Jones her version of SLC was released on the flipside of Private Life
- 'She went...' NS, AI, November 2009. Jones recorded with Ratio at Strawberry in November 1980. NS adds that Island UK saw no real commercial potential in Ratio themselves, and that interest from American sub-label Antilles would have been quite separate
- 'Chris Blackwell...' PT, AI, July 2009
- 'Thanks to Factory...' TM, *Vinyl* magazine, 1981
- 'Blurt play...' AHW, Factory NASA end 1982/mid-January 1981
- Free University/Bxl this show was covered in depth by German magazines *Spex* and *Musiker*
- Jon Hurst then moved to Blackpool to work with Section 25
- Topping/singing Wilson (2002), p. 78
- 'singing competition' see *Boston Globe*, 2 August 1993. Initially Gretton had favoured Morris as singer – SM and PH quoted in *Uncut*, July 2006
- 'None of...' PH, Robb (2009), p. 149
- 'I didn't...' GG, *The Face*, July 1983 (Paul Rambali). GG continued: 'I didn't want to be in a group – it was just a dream. They approached me. I think I'm still auditioning, really...'
- 'I think they...' GG, NME, 23 July 1983. The



- hand injury at Eric's is usually attributed to Sumner, but Morris confirms that the injured party was IC
- 'If they...' GG, *Deadbeat* zine, 1985
- Forest skinheads MP, *Chimp* magazine, April 2009
- 'Mike and I...' HG, AI, July 2009
- Twi 007 LTMCD 2479 liner notes, 2006
- Repetition Gretton worked with the band at Spaceward Studio in Cambridge in June and July. Annik Honoré also liked them, and placed Stranger on Twi 007
- 'I had a...' KH quoted in *MM*, 25 June 1983
- 'growing obsession...' *MM*, 24 January 1981
- 'I put out...' AHW, *NYR*, 7.8.1981
- 'growing obsession...' *MM*, 24 January 1981
- Blurt/In Berlin** would have been Facbn 5
- 'My feeling...' TM, *MM*, 11 April 1981 (Lynden Barber)
- Fred Vermorel** had been close to Pistols manager Malcolm McLaren for over a decade, having attended Harrow School of Art with the future svengali in 1965. Published in January 1978, *The Inside Story* was the first work to make explicit reference to Situationism in relation to the Sex Pistols
- 'very keen...' FM, AI, July 2009
- 'cultural rehabilitation' Factory NASA, end 1980
- Fact 30** all 5,000 copies sold but the cassette was not reissued, a Factory NASA in August 1981 claiming that the exercise in 'cultural rehabilitation' had been 'greeted with derision by our friends, the hacks. That Sid's 20 astonishing minutes, contains in perfect formulation the only reasons we're all still here and able to avoid Rod Stewart, escaped their miserable little minds.' *NME* on 3 January 1981 dismissed Fact 30 as 'suitable for only the most dedicated cultural historian or gullible consumerist punk' (Paul Du Noyer)
- 'This record...' *MM*, 24 January 1981
- 'Ian made...' AHW, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'But he'd...' AHW, *NME*, 19 May 1990 (Len Brown)
- 1981**
- Ceremony** six months later a cleaner mix made at Strawberry was issued in a revised striped sleeve, this version featuring Gillian Gilbert, but not improving on the original. Note that some EARS versions appeared in the striped sleeve also – Steve Morris, AI, August 2009
- 'For a...' BS, *Vox*, January 1992 (Martin Townsend)
- 'The quintessential...' PS, *Uncut*, July 2006 (Rob Hughes)
- Northampton/Heaven/quad sound** Steve Morris, AI, August 2009
- 'It's hard...' *NME*, 14 February 1981 (Paul Morley)
- 'We were very...' PH, Thompson (2005), pp. 56–7
- 'We're quite an...' RG, Rogan (1988), p. 251
- 'ugly, dangerous...' *MM*, 14 February 1981
- 'There was...' RG, Savage (1992), p. 28
- The Names distributor Pinnacle agreed thought it could be a hit, while at the same time noting that Factory were the only label in Britain capable of failing to chart the single – Factory NASA #5, August 1981
- 'miserable music...' *MM*, 7 March 1981
- ACR import EP FACUS 4
- Paul Morley, four singles** *NME*, 7 February 1981. Morley praised 'classic Europeanism... An artful respect for melody, a non-obscene sense of dynamics, their use of structure is both retreating and epic' (The Names); 'hard and fragile – they could easily be a Mute group' (Minnie Pops); 'cool primitivism and thorny imperfection – they may not dazzle but the spirit is aggressive' (Crispy Ambulance); 'fantastic pop-up art' (ACR)
- Neil Spencer** PM, Reynolds (2009), p. 328
- Live on a Hot August Night* title appropriated from a Neil Diamond album, a favourite of Hemsall's mother. The single was not live, and taped in January. Housed in an attractive Benoît Hennebert sleeve, the 12-inch was released on Factory Benelux in June 1981 as Facbn 4
- 'We did the...' AH, AI, August 2005
- 'Rob was...' AH, AI, February 1983; AH, *Offense Newsletter* (USA), (1984)
- SXXV/Peel recorded 13 January 1981
- 'We recorded...' LC, AI, September 2008
- 'With regard...' AHW, *MM*, 28 February 1981
- AHW/books the Factory NASA, mid-January 1981, details under other projects: 'Publishing plans await the pricing of a specially sized book to subvert the literary cartels. Conversations underway with Manchester print co-operative, Reid, Morrissey and others. Summer.'
- AHW/Alan Wise says Wise of the Hacienda project: 'I was expelled from the ranks for laughing at it all, and Howard Jones was

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- bought in. Cross Tony and you were out' – AW, AI, September 2009
- AHW/Howard Jones Wilson would claim that he was 'unsure' about Jones as club manager: 'But Gretton liked him, and that was enough' – Wilson (2002), p. 113
- 'Martin had...' SM, AI, February 2009
- 'Because Factory...' SM, Reynolds (2009), p. 243
- 'I thought...' AWH, NYR, July–August 1981.
- While it is true that Lesley Gilbert had to work in order to help support Gretton through Joy Division and early New Order, by no stretch of the imagination could Erasmus' flat at Palatine Road in Didsbury be considered 'the projects' £6,000 AHW, NMR, 27 August–23 September 1976 (Ian Wood)
- 'free play of...' Wilson (2002), p. 86
- 'dangerous silence' AHW, NME, 31 May 1986 – supposedly a remark about Factory made by Julie Burchill, but not traced by this author. Certainly Burchill disliked Factory – see her comments on Blue Monday in 1983
- Dachau various 'Nazi' references were considered by Adam Sweeting in his MM review, 25 April 1981. The NME review by Ian Penman (2 May 1981) was titled 'A certain sound of the big let down.'
- 'The five people...' AHW, NYR, July–August 1981
- 'Simon's brief...' AQ, AI, September 2005
- Ratio live set as ever, the new-look Ratio divided critics. A live review by Paul Tickell of a show at North London Polytechnic on 27 March contended: 'Last year the band played well with their go at the wall of sound, but the wall has become a blanket. Simon Topping's voice floats away on the blanket; so does the sweet female vocalist. Even Donald Johnson's drums sound too echo-like and ethereal. Tonight, ACR substitute sleekness for style, and intricacy for disturbance: very superior head-nodding muzak by the cosy blanket-load.' Reviewing the same date in *Sounds*, Terry Sanai found Ratio overly glossy, their set 'exquisitely soporific... their surreal, carping belligerent instruments vanished into a complacent fusion which was frustratingly impenetrable and fatly otiose.' Both journalists reserved their enthusiasm for support band 23 Skidoo, whose enthusiasm for ACR's exploratory, polycultural funk would be plain from their next single, Last Words. By way of contrast, *Melody Maker* deemed ACR 'bloody marvellous' at North London Poly and found upstart Skidoo 'a gallantly unlistenable mess'
- 'I considered...' MT, AI, August 2007 and June 2008
- Polar MH, *Oor Magazine* (Holland), September 1981; other locations – Stephen Morris, AI, November 2009
- NO Forum interview a previous attempt by *Record Mirror* proved so deficient that the editor declined to reimburse the journalist's expenses – RM, 21 March 1981 (Simon Tebbutt)
- 'It doesn't mean...' BS and PH, MM, 23 May 1981
- 'The one...' AHW, Factory NASA #5, August 1981
- 'Around the...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)
- 'Personally I...' BS, MM, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'We couldn't...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'Probably the first...' BS, Thompson (2005), p. 57
- 'I remember...' PH, AI, January 2006
- 'I think...' PH, *Blast* zine (1984)
- 'Movement was...' SM, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'To be fair...' SM, Reynolds (2009), pp. 236 and 239
- Never Mind the Bullocks* NME, 13 October 1979
- 'I got to...' JD, AI, September 2008. Dowie adds: 'Hannett had nothing to do with the b-side, which was taken off a live tape. The correct title is Mime Sketch, not Mind Sketch. It's niggled me ever since!'
- 'first major...' Factory NASA, 12.1980–1.1981
- 'I do remember...' JD, *Scream City* zine #4, 2008
- 'great techno...' Factory NASA, #5, August 1981
- Tunnelvision various TV, AI, 2002–9
- 'contretemps' Factory NASA #5, August 1981
- ESG/samples ESG, *A South Bronx Story* CD sleeve note, (Soul Jazz, 2000)
- 'We recorded...' KH, AI, November 2008
- 'Forgetting...' NME, 4 July 1981 (Adrian Thrills)
- 'It was...' AH, AI, August 2005
- 'Everyone wanders...' NME, 25 July 1981 (Leyla Sanai)
- Crépuscule/Heaven night an event dubbed 'hell' by some participants (TWI 035 sleeve note), Repetition having just lost photogenic singer Sarah Osborne to energetic punk-funk combo Marine. Backed by Virginia Astley and others, Richard Jobson performed poetry, and for

- once found his 'mellow drama' sympathetically received. Marine themselves soon split in two, with Osborne and most of the instrumentalists forming Allez Allez and signing with Virgin
- '12 inches...' *NME*, 21 November 1981 (Richard Cook)
- Tropicana* HJ, Robb (2009), p. 175
- carpet warehouse Hook (2009), p. 20
- 'Rob told us...' Hook (2009), p. 19
- 'We decided...' Wilson (2002), pp. 114–15
- Ben Kelly background McDermott (1990)
- PS abilities/Zanzibar PS, AI, September 2009
- Fac 51/lease etc Silvern Ltd was set up in July, becoming Fact 51 Ltd on 6 October (yes, Fact 51 not Fac 51). The first four directors were AHW, AE, RG and Howard Jones. Hannett and Saville were not directors. The twenty-one-year lease ran from 25 December 1981. Factory eventually purchased the freehold in 1990
- 'It was kind...' BK, interview with Miranda Sawyer, AI, August 2009. On the Ratio cover commission BK adds: 'For an interior designer it was a joy to work with the scale of a 300mm square, and felt like serious therapy.' – BK, McDermott (1990)
- Sextet* session detail Factory NASA #5, August 1981. This states that the album took a long time to record, but Ratio themselves contradict this
- Saville/Fact 45 PS, AI, January 2006
- Fact 45 royalties AHW, *NME*, 18 February 1984
- 'dreary and monotonous' *NME*, 10 October 1981 (Paul Tickell): 'Factory must be in a bad way, what with the decline of ACR and the need to put out material like this. Section 25 are real div, not as in Joy Division, but as in Misery Divots.'
- 'hypnotic...' *MM*, 28 November 1981 (Lynden Barber)
- 'I fucked...' LC, AI, August 2005
- 'Suddenly...' AHW, AI, October 2005
- Marr/Section 25 JM, Q special on Manchester Special Edition, 2006; also Cummins (2009), p. 152. Section 25 knew nothing of Wilson's approach to Marr
- 'gripping, intelligent...' *MM*, 26 September 1981
- 'a potent step...' *MM*, 21 November 1981
- 'between...' *MM*, 30 January 1982 (Lynden Barber)
- 'He walked out...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 102
- 'We wouldn't...' AHW sleeve note for *L.C.* CD reissue (1996)
- Mitchell/Albertos in 1978 the Albertos even managed to shave the UK Top 50 with a spoof on Status Quo, Heads Down No Nonsense Mindless Boogie
- Durutti/Helsinki ACR and Kevin Hewick also appeared in Helsinki, where the clip of DC performing *The Missing Boy on A Factory Video* was recorded. Hewick's ferry scenes were also filmed on this trip
- 'Bruce is...' VR, radio interview, 13 August 1981 (on LTMCD 2499)
- 'I've always loved...' VR, AI, January 2006
- 'I always say...' AHW, AI, October 2005
- Nottingham *NME*, 16 May 1981 (Black Buoy cellar bar in May)
- DC/Graveyard owner-engineer Stewart Pickering earned a producer credit, and £300
- 'That's a really...' VR radio interview, 13 August 1981 (on LTMCD 2499)
- 'wistful...' *NME*, 9 January 1982 (Mark Cordery)
- 'L.C. boasts...' *MM*, 12 December 1981 (Lynden Barber)
- 'It was...' VR, Fac 159, May 1986 (Tim Difford)
- JD/Still despite early announcements, no Peel Session material was included, while other rarities such as the Komakino flexi were still widely available, and Atmosphere had been reissued as a 12-inch single a year earlier. On Birmingham synth tuning see SM, Reynolds (2009), p. 237
- Closer/Rolling Stone* July 1981 (Fac 36/Factus 6)
- 'And people...' AHW, *NYR*, July–August 1981
- 'It constantly...' BK, Savage (1992), pp. 20–21
- New Order/New York* the *New Order* date at the Ukrainian National Home on 19 November 1981 was filmed by Michael Shamberg and released on video in 1983 as *Taras Shevchenko* (Fact 77). MS recalls: 'When New Order returned to NY the clubs were fighting and not letting the band play other venues if they played theirs. I suggested we do our own show, and found the Ukrainian National Home in the East Village. I did not know what I was doing with the show, anyway it was a great success. I was able to hold back the cameras to stay on shots and edited what you see, which I am very proud of. After the concert, Rob took the tapes from me as I was drunk on Jack Daniels. Ruth Polsky helped by counting the money and taking care of the business. And I went home. Rob and I built a slow relationship. Rob then asked me to make the

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- videos for the band, which I did for many years and became closer to him, while Tony drifted away' – MS, AI, January 2010. The gig was given a Factory America catalogue number, FA1. The NO tour comprised a dozen dates, chiefly in New York and California. See live review in *Sounds*, 12 December 1981
- 'I didn't...' AHW, Savage (1992), p. 18
- RG/never reconciled Lesley Gilbert, AI, July 2009
- stage/structural BK, AI, August 2009
- 'Rob Gretton...' BK, Savage (1992), p. 21
- 'I moved...' MP, AI, March 2009
- 'We had...' HJ, Savage (1992), p. 22
- 'The idea...' RG, Savage (1992), p. 28
- 'People said...' PH, *Blast* zine (1984) (Neil Taylor)
- 'Listening...' PH, *NME*, 28 January 1989
- 'It was...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)
- 'I was so...' BS, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (John Wilde)
- Movement was originally scheduled for release in April. In 2005 Peter Hook denied Saville's version of events, claiming that *Movement* was simply designed in a hurry. Certainly Saville's explanation makes for an interesting contrast to the sleeve art for *To Each...* by ACR, on which the 'free play of signs and signifiers' saw Wilson and Erasmus allow an image of Nazi officers to slip though. By the time *Movement* appeared on CD in 1986 a line crediting Depero had been added
- 'Rob had a...' PS, AI, January 2006; *GUM*, 12/1984, pp. 14–15
- 'It was...' PS, AI, August 2009. The Morvan work was *Cinemonde*, a poster design made between 1930 and 1939
- 'It was...' Ure (2004), pp. 123–4
- 'I don't didn't like...' PS, AI, *GUM*, 12/1984, pp. 14–15
- 'ordering on...' *NME*, 28 November 1981 (Danny Baker)
- 'extremely poor' AHW interviewed by Andy Fyfe, for *Q* magazine *Q* website, February 2007
- 'New Order will...' *NME*, 14 November 1981 (Mick Duffy)
- 'Alan Wise...' AHW, AI, October 2005
- 150,000 copies... *NYR*, July–August 1981
- Hannett/Fairlight/studio the Fairlight was soon followed onto the market by the rival Synclavier and cheaper Emulator. It is not clear whether Hannett also wanted a studio. In his *NME* interview with Max Bell (19 July 1980) Hannett indicated he had little or no interest in owning or building his own studio, but the Fairlight was hardly portable
- £13,000 Fac 52 writ/affidavit, March 1982.
- Companies House documents give a lesser figure of £7,128 invested in Ikon by June 1982
- Video Circus Factory NASA #5, August 1981
- The Gas *NME*, 7 November 1981. The compilation *Vidzine One* priced at £30 had already emerged in September 1981. The Rough Trade shop soon began daily rentals at £1.99
- 'Because of the...' AHW, *NME*, 14 November 1981. AHW added: 'We want to try and keep the retail prices as low as possible, and the best way to do that is through sending them out by mail order.'
- Below the Canal* the ACR video would still be listed as 'coming soon' by Ikon in December 1984. See *NME* ad, 22/29 December 1984
- Hannett/RFATP Fac 61 writ/affidavit, March 1982
- £4,000 Stephen Morris, AI, September 2008
- 'become Trevor...' AHW, AI, October 2005
- Saville/shares early in 1981 AHW asked (told) PS to return his shares as he was based in London, all too often late in delivering designs, and devoting only a small part of his time to Factory. This discussion was somewhat strained. After some negotiation PS retained a 6 per cent holding, transferring 14 per cent to AHW, AE, RG and MH, whose own holdings thus increased from 20 to 23.5 per cent
- 'If you're...' MH, *NME*, 19 July 1980 (Max Bell)
- 'Those were...' AHW, *NME*, 20 April 1991
- 'Factory is...' AHW, *Sounds*, 12 June 1982 (Dave McCullough)
- £22,000 Hannett writ, March 1982 (Fac 61)

## 1982

- Temptation* first performed live the previous September in Helsinki
- 'I discovered...' BS, *Mojo*, July 1994 (Jon Savage)
- 'It doesn't...' BS, *Jamming* magazine (Nolan), p. 107
- Waterline* issued on 12-inch only in December 1981. An eerie, abstract slow-burner, *Waterline* was a quixotic choice for a single, ending with forty-five seconds of glitching and white noise, and certainly not one Island Records would have entertained. The first the public heard of the newly Tili-fied six-piece had been a Peel session in June 1981

- 'It's about...'** MT, AI, June 2008
- 'Sextet is...'** NME, 16 January 1982 (Chris Bohn)
- Pink Floyd RM**, 16 January 1982
- 'past their prime'** MM, 16 January 1982 (Lynden Barber)
- 'Their human...'** NME, 2 January 1982 (Roy Bainton)
- 'I left because...'** MT, AI, June 2008. MT adds: 'I went to Amsterdam and fooled around making music for a few more years, then moved to Los Angeles in 1985.'
- 'Her voice...'** DJ, NME, 11 September 1982
- Ratio live without MT** Tilson was already gone by the time the group headlined at the Lyceum on 18 February. *Melody Maker* praised an 'abrupt but superbly assertive resurrection of ACR' – MM, 27 February 1982
- SXXV/CA tour** visited six venues in the Netherlands as well as doing shows in Brussels and Bochum. The dates were booked by Wally Van Middendorp and took advantage of the network of subsidized cultural centres across Holland. For Crispy Ambulance, their first shows abroad included a live radio broadcast from Groningen and a recording session in Brussels. Three singles into their career, their sole cause for complaint was that their album *The Plateau Phase* had not yet been released by Factory Benelux. Despite the Grice complication, both groups turned in strong performances, imaginatively mixed by Jon Hurst, and later released on the live albums *Fin* and *Live in America & Europe 1982*. CA's hurried recording session at Little Big One studio in Brussels proved less satisfactory. Despite the best efforts of engineer Gilles Martin, neither Sexus nor extended experimental piece *Black Death* were entirely successful. In fact the record would not be released for almost two years, by which time the band had ceased trading
- 'When we...'** VC, The Offense Newsletter (USA), 1985
- Jobson/Skids** NME, 20 February 1982
- Waller article** *Sounds*, 3 April 1982. JW also wrote of compere WVM: 'Constrained by a white dinner jacket and black bow tie he acts not so much as a link between acts but as a separate enigma, releasing seemingly disconnected phrases apparently at random... Also from Minny Pops were Wim and Pieter, who played a short instrumental keyboards set under the name Smalts. When their compositions gained momentum the driving hypnotic effect was not unlike Autobahn or Der Mussolini, but often they lapsed into a repetitive pattern of uninspiring tones and bleeps, like a faulty oscillator.'
- Names/Marine/Venue** NME and MM, 27 February 1982. The gig was 16 February 1982. Marine/Allez Allez were the first Belgian band to record a Peel session, and The Names the second
- 'If an independent...'** NME, 16 January 1982 (Lynn Hanna)
- Operation Twilight** NME, 19 June 1982
- Crawling Chaos album** according to the group, the correct title was *Gas Chair Clown*, and Wilson selected the wrong tracks before sidelining the album onto Benelux
- 'Inside a ghastly...'** NME, 9 January 1982 (Richard Cook)
- 'a lot to...'** *Sounds*, 1982
- The Doors** *Sounds*, 20 March 1982 (Dave McCullough)
- 'only another...'** MM, 27 March 1982 (Lynden Barber)
- 'slavish imitation...'** NME, 3 April 1982 (Gavin Martin)
- 'Ironically...'** AH, AI, 1983
- 'People have...'** LC, *Sounds*, 11 September 1982. Brother Vin Cassidy added (MM, 3 July 1982): 'It wasn't very nice to hear or read at the time. Some people said we were also like Public Image. Maybe we were, but the fact is that we were playing our kind of music months before Public Image, but just because we were isolated nobody knew it' – MM, 3 July 1982. Early live and rehearsal tapes confirm this as correct
- Stockholm Monsters band**, AI, March 2002. The band joined the Manchester Musicians' Collective and played a few gigs at the Cyprus Tavern before the Rezillos show at Rafters. *Death Is Slowly Coming*, the b-side of *Fairy Tales*, was produced by Peter Hook. The single seems to have been recorded in Spring 1981. By April 1982 trumpet player Lindsay Anderson had joined, the band supporting New Order on a European tour which took in France, Belgium and Holland
- Monsters/reviews** 'the tune is pretty (as in trite), the vocals are tissue-thin, and a horrible recorder sound repeatedly rears its ugly head

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- to destroy any charm it might have had' – *MM*, 16 January 1982
- 'I told Tony...' MF, AI, August 2009
- 'hole in the...' MH, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984
- 'I ended up...' MH interview by Jon Savage, May 1989. In his writ Hannett also claimed that the redistribution of Saville's shares was done without his knowledge and evidenced underhand dealings by Wilson, but it is hard to see how the Saville issue prejudiced Hannett (whose shareholding also rose to 23.5 per cent, and this argument probably only featured in the writ in order to make his co-directors seem incompetent or untrustworthy. See Fac 61 writ, issued 16 March 1982
- 'wankers' Wilson (2002), p. 121
- snowball a later *Guardian* profile claimed Hook administered the snowball; Hook claims it was Gretton, and that the session was Everything's Gone Green; Morris says it was Temptation. Etcetera
- embraced BS, *Rorschach Testing* zine, 1984
- 'deliciously...' *MM*, 18 December 1982
- 'excellent...' *MM*, 15 May 1982
- 'like the musical...' *NME*, 15 May 1982 (Lynn Hanna)
- 'sparkling' *NME*, 29 May 1982 (Paul Morley)
- 52nd Street reviews *NME*, 14 August and 11 September 1982
- Record Mirror* 5 June 1982
- opinion piece *NME*, 5 June 1982
- 'We didn't market...' AHW interviewed by Andy Fyfe, for *Q* magazine *Q* website, February 2007. The period of general depression referred to covers 1982 and 1983
- 'There are no...' Wilson (2002), p. 134. Whiners-in-chief Section 25 were in any event unmanageable, and released their next album through Benelux
- £200,000 Howard Jones, Savage (1992), p. 22
- £70,000 Peter Hook, Savage (1992), p. 24
- £340,000 Howard Jones, Savage (1992), p. 22
- 'I got very...' AHW, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984. AHW added: 'And, finally, musicians whining cracked my spirit for about three months.' In a shamelessly pretentious postal interview with Dave McCullough of *Sounds* (12 June 1982), AHW also wrote: 'Factory is bleeding hard work, but with high job satisfaction. A lot of money has been made. It brings pain and unhappiness. Trust is a fragile commodity, but such struggles are to be expected in any unit which expands within a cash economy, with its low moral climate... We don't have release sheets; merely musicians who scream for studio time whenever they have a new song or new style on the boil. They are then released, in time. We're a bunch of mavericks, but can generally agree on what is or is not a good idea. Working in Manchester does have advantages. For a start all the best music is here. In a mass art situation then to have an alive mass is the sine qua non. It is also easier to maintain autonomy and identity at a distance from London. I think The Fall are more typical of a Northern response to rock, things like wanting to be pop stars at any cost... We are about what we have done; Praxis. Art and Culture are really irrelevant terms. They are part of the mists through which activities can be profitably refracted. I prefer the terms Melody and Politics, though they are just as misty.'
- Haçienda name/RG Lesley Gilbert doubts that RG chose the name
- Ivan Chtcheglov *Formulaire pour un urbanisme nouveau* was written in 1953. An abridged version appeared in *Internationale Situationniste* #1 (Paris, June 1958), a translation of which was included in the first edition of the Situationist International Anthology. Chtcheglov (1933–98) was a French political theorist, activist and poet, born in Paris of Russian parents. Aged just 19 when he wrote the *Formulaire...*, Chtcheglov originally used the pseudonym Gilles Ivain
- civic duty AHW, *City Life*, 8–22 May 1987
- 'For any real...' AHW, *NME*, 29 May 1982
- 'Is it a disco?' BK, McDermott (1990)
- 'A journey...' BK, McDermott (1990)
- 'The steel...' *Architectural Review*, September 1982 (Alastair Best)
- flybars Ben Kelly, AI, August 2009
- 'Initially...' BK, Savage (1992), p. 21
- £500,000 to £700,000 Wilson (2002), p. 121
- 'The idea...' RG, Savage (1992), p. 28
- 'The only...' Wilson (2002), p. 140
- Hewan Clarke *Discotheque: Haçienda* sleeve note (2006) (Tim Lawrence)
- 'It wasn't...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 31; MP, AI, March 2009
- 'The night...' Hook (2009), p. 39
- 'We were...' RG, Savage (1992), p. 28
- 'In the...' PS, AI, August 2009

- 'We were...' RS, Hook (2009), p. 38  
 'We went...' VC, AI, December 2008  
 'I think...' RB, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984  
 'You've obviously...' AHW, NME, 29 May 1982  
 'Five guineas...' HJ, NME, 29 May 1982  
 'That was a real...' SM, AI, December 2008. CV did not attend the opening party as they were rehearsing in Sheffield for their gig at Fac 51 the following night  
 'In the...' EG, Savage (1992), p. 41  
 Skidoo gongs Fritz Catlin, AI, November 2009  
 'For one week...' NME, 5 June 1982 (Paul Morley). The 23 Skidoo gig was on 29 May 1982  
 Simple Minds Middles (1996), p. 172  
 fixed fees Hook (2009), pp. 44-5  
 'One particularly...' SM, Savage (1992), p. 25  
 'We were...' AHW, Savage (1992), p. 18  
 'We still...' LC, MM, 3 July 1982, and *Sounds*, 11 September 1982  
 'It opened...' VC, *Sounds*, 11 September 1982  
 'Rob Gretton...' LC, MM, 3 July 1982. To the press, Section 25 now presented themselves as 'eager to talk' and 'passion conscious' - LC, MM, 3 July 1982. But a brave opening gambit by *Melody Maker* stringer Frank Worrall, alleging that a recent date with New Order saw Section 25 treat their audience with contempt, suggesting a deliberate role enacted to promote a grey image, was met with a characteristically stony reply from Larry: 'What do you mean by "contempt", "role" and "grey image"?' - LC, MM, 3 July 1982  
 'Rob Gretton came...' TH, MM, 14 December 1985 (Frank Owen). While Gretton was far more enthusiastic about 52nd Street than Wilson, Factory had recorded reggae band X-O-Dus some months before Gretton became a partner  
 'It said...' DJ, NME, 16 April 1983  
 'black dance act' AHW letter to LR, 9 January 1985  
 'Manchester black...' AHW, Robb (2009), p. 122  
 'Their sound...' NME, 7 August 1982 (Chris Bohn). Minny Pops released their final Factory record in September, the single Secret Story  
 Names/*Swimming* band, various AIs, 1990-2006  
 Happy Ever After NME, 14 August 1982  
 'The band gave...' MF, AI, August 2009  
 Ikon/boxes the artwork for Fact 37 and 56 was designed by Wilson and Malcolm Whitehead, although both employed existing Saville logos and typography. At the time most videos still sold for £20.00  
*Umbrellas in the Sun* TWI 099, released July 1982, featuring Tuxedomoon, Paul Haig, Antena, The Names, Richard Jobson, Malaria!, Marine, Soft Verdict and Aztec Camera  
 Doublevision NME, 15 May 1982  
 'We cut...' SM, AI, December 1982  
 Joy Division video the core of the Joy Division tape was simple yet revealing footage shot for £50 by Richard Boon and Bob Jones at Manchester Apollo in October 1979, with additional Super 8 snippets from shows at the Plan K in Brussels and Eindhoven Effenaar. The cassette closed with the video for Love Will Tear Us Apart, shot at TJ Davidson. When Factory announced Fact 37 in January 1981, a 'complete JD video' (Factory NASA, end 1980/January 1981) lasting three hours was promised, including all three concerts in complete form, as well as TV appearances on *Granada Reports*, *What's On* and *Something Else*. Footage shot by Whitehead at Bowden Vale was also shortlisted (Factory NASA #5, August 1981). The reduction of *Here Are the Young Men* to just one hour in 1982 was partly due to the crude nature of the European footage, but also because Factory was unable to afford to license the TV footage from Granada and the BBC. For thousands of fans who had not seen Joy Division live the tape was an invaluable document, and despite selling the band short shifted 5,000 copies in eighteen months  
 A Factory Video Fact 56. The original flip-top box also advertised Totally Wired by The Fall, but the clip was absent  
 'A compilation...' NME, 25 September 1982 (Gavin Martin)  
 'Kevin Hewick...' NME, 9 October 1982 (Kevin Mc). Hewick was touring as part of a poetry collective, Ghosts of Individuals, with Patrick Fitzgerald, Anne Clark and John Hollingsworth  
 'Two years...' NME, 11 September 1982 (Chris Bohn)  
 'I think...' ST, MM, 15 January 1983  
 'That gets...' DJ, MM, 15 January 1983  
 'functional fretwalking...' NME, 18 September 1982  
 'We didn't...' ST, AI, September 2005  
 'functional fretwalking...' NME, 18 September 1982

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- 'We were listening...' *MM*, *Abstract* zine, 1985
- 'stark negative...' *NME*, 7 August 1982 (Chris Bohn). The parched electro-funk workout came out on 12-inch through Factory Benelux in July
- 'I really...' *NME*, 4 December 1982 (Leyla Sanai)
- 'anonymously...' *MM*, 4 December 1982 (Steve Sutherland)
- 'I was totally...' *PT*, *AI*, July 2009
- 'Some of...' *AC*, *SH*, 1986
- 'staggering...' *NME*, 20 November 1982 (Adrian Thrills)
- 'Me and Gonnie...' *MP*, *MM*, 30 July 1983
- 'more significant...' *AHW* interviewed by Andy Fyfe, for *Q* magazine *Q* website, February 2007
- The Wake Caesar**, various *Als*, 1984–2009.  
Altered Images formed in April 1979; before then, Caesar had played in the Berlin Blondes. See *ZigZag*, August 1980. An early Altered Images demo impressed Nils Stevenson, manager of Siouxsie and the Banshees, who offered the teenage quintet support slots, which in turn sparked interest from several majors. The group duly signed with CBS, just as diminutive singer Clare Grogan filmed *Gregory's Girl* with director Bill Forsyth. As well as in addition to recording with Banshees bassist Steve Severin as producer, the group cut two Peel sessions in quick succession, as well as opening for U2, Spizz and The Cure, but retaining a measure of post-punk credibility with an appearance at the televised Futurama 2 event in September 1980
- Swamp Children** in Manchester, Swamp Children, ACR and swing dance troupe Jazz Defektors hung out at Fevers, Legends and Berlin, three nightclubs at which DJs Hewan Clarke and Colin Curtis introduced cool grooves to the knowing few. In London, Swamp Children played venues such as Heaven and the Beat Route, as well as a season of 'new jazz' at the ICA (The Joy of Mooching). In March the group recorded a second EP, Taste What's Rhythm, followed by So Hot. The album boasted different sleeves in the UK and Benelux, and marked a shift in the Manchester/Brussels dynamic, by which Benelux began to commission fewer exclusive recordings, and in the process became less interesting than parent label Crépuscule
- 'Once, when...' *AQ*, *AI*, September 2005
- 'one of the...' *MM*, 18 December 1982 (Frank Worrall): 'Swamp Children have come up with a debut album which has left me speechless. It bubbles across a fizzy jazz/funk premise, music to cheer you up when you're down. It's not good, it's brilliant. It's a soul-inflamed two fingered salvo at Factory's cynics, and proves how and why the label is still a force to be reckoned with'
- 'With Ludus...' *LS*, Reynolds (2009), p. 225.  
Ludus notably emptied Cabaret Futura
- 'At the time...' *LS*, *AI*, August 2009
- 'Tony Wilson...' *DF*, web interview, 1997 (Ian Greaves)
- telling off *CC*, *AI*, July 2009
- 'One of those...' *GG*, *Future Music*, February 1994
- 'You can't...' *BS*, *Jamming* magazine, (Nolan) p. 107
- 'With guitar...' *BS*, *The Face*, July 1983
- 'Spending...' *BS* interview on BBC radio, Nolan (2007), p. 102
- 'Really...' *BS* quoted in Nolan (2007), p. 102
- 'And at Britannia...' *BS*, *Uncut*, March 2010 (Stephen Dalton)
- 'The monitoring...' *SM*, *Q* Magazine special edition on Electro-Pop Special Edition, 2005
- 'It was a group...' *SM*, *Uncut*, December 2008
- Blue Monday sources/parts *BS*, Thompson (2005), p. 68
- 'There was definitely...' *BS*, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- NO sales down under** *NME*, 31 May 1986
- Ratio/Madonna/Danceteria** Ratio played on 16 and 17 December 1982
- 'jazz...' Wilson (2002), p. 161
- 'lost interest' *MM*, *NME*, 10 January 1987
- ugly confrontation** *NME*, 10 January 1987
- Ratio/wages** Martin Moscrop, *AI*, December 2009. Ratio had been paid a wage since the first New York trip in September 1980, and while on a wage received no sales royalties from Factory
- 'We're interested...' *DJ*, *MM*, 15 January 1983.  
The interview was conducted on 22 December 1982 at their Fac 51 gig
- Fac 51B flexi** credited to B-Music; the idea owed something to Crépuscule album *Ghosts of Christmas Past*
- 'Christmas week spectacular' *Fac 51 NME* ad polls Wilson was asked to comment only on the status of music on television, post *The Tube* (*NME*, 25 December 1982). And that was it



Jon Savage JS, AI, July 2008

'Moving to...' Morley (2008), p. 314

'still a force...' *MM*, 18 December 1982 (Frank Worrall)

### 1983

ACR/Brixton the set also included I Need Someone Tonight, the next ACR single

'a group...' *MM*, 5 February 1983 (Peter Jones); *NME*, 19 February 1983 (Marcus Boon)

latin percussion *NME*, 24 August 1983

'Basically...' ST, AI, April 2009

'Factory was just...' KH, *MM*, 25 June 1983 (Helen FitzGerald)

'I decided...' KH, AI, August 2009

'suddenly become...' *MM*, 5 February 1983 (Frank Worrall)

'We've never...' PH, *MM*, 12 February 1983 (Frank Worrall)

'remix 586' Peter Hook, *Blast* zine #2, 1984

'At the time...' BS, *Deadbeat* zine (Edinburgh), May 1983

'It's the only...' PH, *NME*, 23 July 1983 (Chris Bohn)

'Arthur had...' SM, *Q* Magazine special edition on Electro-Pop Special Edition, 2005

'He'd start a...' BS, *NME*, 23 July 1983 (Chris Bohn)

two days Arthur Baker, *RM*, 8 October 1983

'We didn't...' BS, *NME*, 4 February 1989 (Danny Kelly)

'We first got...' BS, *Rorschach Testing* zine, 1984

'I didn't...' AB, *Sounds*, 14 April 1984 (Mick Sinclair)

'We'd go to...' AB, *NME*, 21 May 1983

DoJo/production Johnson soon also found himself in demand as a session drummer, playing with The Kane Gang, and guesting on bass with Quando Quango. His earliest productions were Royal Family and the Poor, Kevin Hewick and 52nd Street

'Producing...' BS, *Q*, November 2001

'Production is...' BS, *Uncut*, November 2009

'crisp, crystal...' *NME*, 7 January 1984 (Jim Shelley)

'Cool As Ice only...' TH, *NME*, 16 April 1983 (Amrik Rai)

'Cool As Ice doesn't...' DJ, *NME*, 16 April 1983 (Amrik Rai). Although Factory did not release the single in the UK it was well received by the press: '52nd Street share the same desire for

perfection as their Mancunian soul brothers A Certain Ratio, but hide theirs behind a painted smile whose crookedness gives them an edge over ACR's impossibly stiff-lipped dance music' – *NME*, 26 February 1983 (Chris Bohn)

Wilson/Cool As Ice Michel Duval, AI, December 2009: 'Yes, Tony didn't like it at first. I think it was Donald who convinced me.'

'I think they're...' JBB, *NME*, 21 May 1983 (Richard Grabel)

'This strange...' PS, *Uncut*, December 2008

Saville colour-code the diachromatic code wheel required to decipher the information on Blue Monday was not available until May, when *Power, Corruption and Lies* was released with the coding wheel on the back cover

Scott Piering AHW, *Maconie* (2000), p. 90

'It was a...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 105. Although it is often claimed that Blue Monday dropped several places after the live *TOTP* appearance, the *NME* national chart has the single at #17 on 2 and 9 April, rising to #8 on 16 April

'I watch...' PH, *MM*, 11 January 1986 (Adam Sweeting)

'Blue Monday...' PH, *MM*, 12 January 1985

Kraftwerk/bass drum Stephen Morris interview on *The Man-Machine: The Story of Kraftwerk*, BBC Radio 2, 16 January 2010

'The fact...' AHW, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)

£72.50 *The Face*, July 1983; *SH*, 1984

3.5 pence Wilson (2002), pp. 150–1

'I am so...' PS, *Uncut*, December 2008

'If Factory...' PS, AI, August 2009

'moody Papist...' *NME*, 23 March 1983

'This is a...' MA, *MM*, 19 March 1983

'We adored...' AMcC, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 112. In 1983 CDs retained at £5 plus, and players around £800

'When the ideas...' AMcC, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 118

promised shareholding CW, AI, October 2008

'If we'd stayed...' PH, Waller and Humphreys (1987), p. 125

'Virgin should...' PH, *MM*, 12 January 1985

Dazzle Ships title/Saville AMcC, AI, October 2009. The title of *Architecture and Morality* was suggested by Martha Ladly, after a book by David Watkin

Edward Wadsworth devised by Norman Wilkinson, dazzle was a camouflage scheme

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- first applied to Royal Navy ships during the First World War, using bold geometrical patterns that made range-finding, speed and direction difficult to determine for enemy gunners and submarines. Although zigzag dazzle patterns bore a striking resemblance to earlier Cubist and Vorticist forms, Wadsworth devised none and had simply supervised application of the scheme to ships on Merseyside, before completing his large canvas *Dazzle Ships in Dry Dock at Liverpool* in 1919. This geographical location was the only genuine thematic link to OMD. Following lukewarm reviews and disappointing sales, attendances on a European tour were down, after which OMD abandoned a complex Saville stage set and retired to take stock. A back-to-basics British club tour visited The Haçienda on 9 September, with a support act easily confused with the venue's general manager, Howard Jones
- 'Brett Wickens...' PS, AI, August 2009  
 'I have to...' PS, AI, *GUM*, December 1984  
 'falling asleep...' MH interviewed by Jon Savage, May 1989  
 'His drug...' SH, AI, February 2010  
*Monsters/Fac 51* Hook (2009), p. 65  
 'Fighting against...' *NME*, 30 July 1983 (Jim Shelley)  
 'I had a...' AHW interview with Andy Fyfe, Q website, February 2007  
 'When we...' JM, Q Manchester Magazine special on Edition, 2006  
 'Tony in...' JM, Cummins (2009), p. 152  
*Wilson/Morrissey/books* see *Factory NASA* mid-January 1981  
 'At that point...' AHW interview with Andy Fyfe, Q website, February 2007
- Foreign Press** FP performed at The Haçienda on 28 January 1983. Their debut single in 1979 had been co-produced by Rob Gretton. Initially Bernard Sumner agreed to produce tracks for a proposed single, The Great Divide, which was then remixed at Britannia Row after management company Nomis took the band on and secured a deal with EMI. Sumner: 'Basically I did that because we'd known them since Joy Division days and they still had the enthusiasm. They've stuck together and they still practise together. What we did first was a demo, recorded off their own money. Then they issued the tapes out to various record companies and got some offers. One of them was EMI and they took that. They also got a deal with the guy who managed Japan, Simon Napier-Bell. They didn't go with Factory because they wanted to go with a major and try it that way' – BS, *Rorschach Testing* zine, 1984. The Great Divide was released in October but failed to chart
- Rough Trade** Goddard (2002), pp. 28–9  
**Smiths/flowers** Johnny Marr, Robb (2009), p. 198  
 'We realised...' SM, M1, 26 November 1983  
 'pig trapped...' quoted by Goddard (2002), p. 126  
**Mike Pickering/James** Tim Booth, *NME*, 4 August 1990. James first played at The Haçienda on 21 January 1983 with Discobolisk, before supporting New Order at the State Ballroom in Liverpool on 23 March
- 'Rob Gretton loved...' JG, Maconie (2000), pp. 69–70  
 'They were...' AHW, Maconie (2000), p. 70  
 'worst three...' Tim Booth, Maconie (2000), p. 71  
**JimOne** contained three tracks, *Folklore*, *Fire So Close* and *What's The World*  
 'post-industrial...' *Sounds*, 1983  
 'The Factory...' anonymous letter by Tim Booth, *NME*, 26 February 1983  
 'We just want...' James (no individual attribution), *NME*, 22 October 1983 (Jim Shelley)  
 'young bands' tour' *Sounds*, 29 October 1983  
 'I've lost a...' BS, *Deadbeat* zine, May 1983 (Karen)  
 'No-one has...' BS, *Deadbeat* zine, May 1983 (Karen)  
 'neo-Sixties...' PS, Saville (2003), p. 27 (Chris Wilson)
- 75,000** *The Face*, July 1983  
 'The album title...' PS, AI, September 2009. Peter Hook in Cummins (2009), p. 158, states the album title came from the back cover of a copy of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* by George Orwell  
**National Gallery** Saville (2003), p. 14. Although *A Basket of Roses* by Fantin-Latour was owned by the National Gallery, the canvas was on long loan to Norwich Castle Museum, which refused to allow a new photograph to be taken. There followed an exchange between Wilson and the National Gallery on the nature of their rights and obligations if the painting was truly the property of the nation. Wilson claimed to have won the argument, and to have liberated the painting on behalf of the people, although it may simply be that the

- National Gallery became bored. In any event, Saville finally decided to use the grainy image from the postcard rather than the new photograph by Trevor Key
- 'neo-Sixties...' PS, Saville (2003), p. 27 (Chris Wilson)
- 'I remember...' SM, *Icon* magazine, July/August 2003 (Chris Hall)
- 'the originators...' BS, MM, 10 April 1993 ('Kraftwerk are the only group that make New Order look prolific')
- 'When we first...' BS, NME, 23 July 1983 (Chris Bohn)
- 'everything we...' NME, 7 May 1983 (Paul Du Noyer)
- 'exceptional...' *Sounds*, 7 May 1983 (Dave McCullough). McCullough complained: 'My copy of the record was badly scratched all over. Is this their final, private joke? Sending reviewers dud copies?'
- 'not the consistent...' MM, 7 May 1983 (Mark Brennan)
- 'remarkable...' *Rolling Stone* #402 (Steve Pond)
- 'I thought...' BS, MM, 11 August 1984 (Frank Worrall)
- 'We were worried...' BS, NME, 23 July 1983 (Chris Bohn)
- 'With Mal...' RK, Lilleker (2005), p. 91  
15,000 copies MM, 16 July 1983
- 'If we can...' SM, NME, 16 July 1983
- 'It's not enough...' SM, *Blam!* zine #3, 1981
- 'We got tired...' RK, MM, 16 July 1983
- 'the third best...' NME, 21 August 1982
- 'punks' – LC, NOPAH, Channel 4, 1984  
£8,867.87 etc Companies House documents, FCL and Fact 51 Ltd
- 'monthly near-death...' Wilson (2002), p. 163
- 'We had...' MP, AI, March 2009
- 'There was...' AHW, *Vox*, January 1992 (Martin Townsend). MVS was located in King's Cross, London. Factory invested in 1980 – see Factory NASA, end of year 1980
- discount/theft Hook (2009), pp. 32 and 55
- Private Eye* see issue #559, May 1983
- Helden an electronic duo comprising Warren Cann of Ultravox and future film soundtrack Hans Zimmer. How *Private Eye* came link to link them with Factory is unknown
- 'The *Private Eye*...' AHW, NME, 31 May 1986
- 'Nazi Glamour' *Private Eye*, #559
- 'It gave Gretton...' AHW, Q, February 1992
- 'I thought he...' PH, *Rorschach Testing* zine, 1984
- 'We used to...' SM, MM, 11 January 1986 (Adam Sweeting)
- 'all but...' NME, 30 April 1983
- 'jazz plus funk...' NME, 28 January 1984 (Jim Shelley)
- 'The bad musical...' MM, NME, 24 August 1985 (Adrian Thrills)
- 'We knew we were...' MM, *Abstract* zine, 1985
- 'I was quite...' MP, MM, 30 July 1983 (Frank Worrall)
- Mark Kamins O'Brien (2007), pp. 60–2. Having produced Everybody by Madonna, Kamins also helmed Jam Hot by Johnny Dynell and New York 88, while continuing to DJ at Danceteria, and undertaking freelance A&R for Island. Will Sokolov at Sleeping Bag had also wanted to license QQ for the US market – Michael Shamberg, AI, January 2010
- 'major sea change' Wilson (2002), p. 154
- 'the next...' MM, 30 July 1983 (Frank Worrall)
- 'immaculately...' MM, 6 August 1983 (Adam Sweeting)
- 'A clumsy...' NME, 23 July 1983 (Don Watson)
- 'Quando Quango...' NME, 16 July 1983 (Amrik Rai)
- Madonna rooftop showcase O'Brien (2007), p. 73; Mike Pickering, AI, March 2009
- 'For us...' RG, Rogan (1988), pp. 252–3
- Andrew Liddle *Montreal Spectrum*, 5 July 1983
- Marxists AHW, NOPAH, Channel 4, 1984
- 'They've been...' AB, NME, 9 January 1988 (Sean O'Hagan)
- The Face*, July 1983
- an exclusive Middles (1996), p. 192; *Sounds*, 23 July 1983
- Confusion as with Blue Monday and *Power, Corruption and Lies*, the cover design by Saville and associate Phill Pennington utilized colour bars and coding, but with the title now conventionally visible, albeit constructed from disordered pixels
- 'The music is...' NME, 27 August 1983. *Melody Maker* generously judged Confusion 'stunning', despite having had to buy a copy in order to review it – MM, 10 September 1983
- Smiths/Kervorkian Goddard (2002), p. 43
- 'Actually I get...' M, MM, 5 November 1983
- as part of the album VR, zine (Edinburgh) 1983. Lynden Barber rubbished the single in MM: 'Not much here for proud owners of vintage model Durutti. Sparse guitar, tinkling electric piano, a girl singing in a manner that some

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might describe as pretty. The whole thing actually sounds like a track from Pink Floyd's execrable *Final Cut* MM, 4 June 1983 credits/extended many Factory sleeves credit printer Garrod & Lofthouse, though for skewed aesthetic reasons. Explains Mark Farrow: 'G&L used to add their own credit on sleeves and so eventually designers began adding it to the copy to avoid it being randomly plonked on by a printer' MF, AI, August 2009

**I Get Along/Reade** while the combination of untutored vocals and minimalist music would have worked perfectly well as an album track, it made for an indulgent single, and shared more in common with Reilly's session work with Pauline Murray and Anne Clark than with Durutti proper. Indeed I Get Along... would not be compiled on any Durutti Column release for another 25 years.

'The law of...' MM, 3 September 1983 (Lynden Barber) Reviewing *Another Setting* in NME, Jim Shelley also expressed disappointment: 'Durutti Column remain quiet, crushed, frail beyond praise, but still sadly vague and lacking heart. Reilly's methods of capturing such shimmers and sighs of sorrow are wearing thin. But Durutti at least hit the soft spot of my heart with Prayer, a piece of perfect reflection and elegiac calm And for that I can forgive them anything.' NME, 27 August 1983 'I'd like...' VR, Fac 159, May 1986 (Tim Difford)

**Durutti/1983** a particularly confusing year for Durutti completists. In addition to the album and single on Factory, two secondary albums were released on foreign labels, with the fundraising official bootleg *Live at the Venue* issued on the American imprint VU in June, followed in November by *Amigos em Portugal*, an untidy collection of studio off-cuts released by Fundação Atlântica. By far the most significant piece of music written by Reilly in 1983 was Duet (aka Nighttime Estoril aka La Douleur aka Without Mercy). An exemplary instrumental for piano and violin, Duet was first recorded at Daylight Studio in Brussels in about November, when Reilly recorded an entire album for release on Factory Benelux, titled *Short Stories for Pauline*. On this version Vini was accompanied by Tuxedomoon violinist Blaine L. Reininger. Despite being allocated a catalogue number

(FBN 36), *Short Stories* remained unreleased. Bizarrely, Wilson disliked the Brussels recordings and insisted that Reilly extend Duet in order to 'choreograph' a poem by John Keats, *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, for release as the fourth Durutti Column album on Factory the following year. *Short Stories* was left to gather dust on the shelf in Brussels, although choice tracks were soon extracted for various Crépuscule compilations, including a Marguérite Duras homage released only in Japan. Information based on AIs with Michael Duval and Bruce Mitchell, both September 2009

as part of the album VR, *Deadbeat* zine (Edinburgh), 1983. Lynden Barber rubbished the single in MM: 'Not much here for proud owners of vintage model Durutti. Sparse guitar, tinkling electric piano, a girl singing in a manner that some might describe as "pretty". The whole thing actually sounds like a track from Pink Floyd's execrable *Final Cut* - MM, 4 June 1983

**I Get Along/Reade** while the combination of untutored vocals and minimalist music would have worked perfectly well as an album track, it made for an indulgent single, and had more in common with Reilly's session work with Pauline Murray and Anne Clark than with Durutti proper. Indeed I Get Along... would not be compiled on any Durutti Column release for another 25 years

credits/extended many Factory sleeves credit printer Garrod & Lofthouse, though for skewed aesthetic reasons. Explains Mark Farrow: 'G&L used to add their own credit on sleeves and so eventually designers began adding it to the copy to avoid it being randomly plonked on by a printer' - MF, AI, August 2009

'The law of...' MM, 3 September 1983 (Lynden Barber). Reviewing *Another Setting* in NME, Jim Shelley also expressed disappointment: 'Durutti Column remain quiet, crushed, frail beyond praise, but still sadly vague and lacking heart. Reilly's methods of capturing such shimmers and sighs of sorrow are wearing thin. But Durutti at least hit the soft spot of my heart with Prayer, a piece of perfect reflection and elegiac calm... And for that I can forgive them anything' - NME, 27 August 1983

'I'd like...' VR, Fac 159, May 1986 (Tim Difford)  
Fac 81 Robertson (2006), p. 71

'To be Factory...' AHW, NOPAH (Channel 4),  
1984

'It was...' JM, Cummins (2009), p. 153

'When The Smiths...' BS, Vox, June 1991

'He didn't...' TB, MM, 2 April 1988 (Carmen  
Keats)

**The Wake/Something Outside** cut at Revolution in  
May and issued through Factory Benelux on  
12-inch in October, in a sleeve derived from El  
Lissitzky. Both Something Outside and flipside  
Host were co-produced by New Order  
soundman Keith 'Oz' McCormick. The Peel  
session followed in July; the support with  
Devoto at The Hacienda was on 14 July. In  
August Gillespie was replaced in The Wake by  
Alex 'Mac' MacPherson, the new line-up  
quickly recording a strong new single, Talk  
About The Past, and signing a publishing deal  
with Island subsidiary Blue Mountain Music

'Howard Jones...' Wilson (2002), p. 152

Swing Fac 98

self-defence Hacienda ad, NME, 19 November  
1983

'Rob stalked...' Wilson (2002), pp. 153-4; AHW,  
Savage (1992), p. 18. In the interests of  
balance it should be noted that Jones claims he  
was not sacked, but resigned. See Savage  
(1992), p. 23; Robb (2009)

'I think Tony's...' HJ, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984

'Ginger was a...' Wilson (2002), p. 154

'I think what...' BS, 1986 (unsourced article  
'Home Economics' at  
[www.neworderonline.com](http://www.neworderonline.com))

**empowered amateurs and friends** some of Wilson  
and Sumner's criticisms could also be applied  
to the Ikon video operation, although their  
output in 1983 easily surpassed that of their  
freshman year. Released in August, *Taras  
Shevchenko* was a superior document of a  
show by New Order at the Ukrainian National  
Home on 19 November 1981, shot by Michael  
Shamberg, and certainly more interesting than  
a conventional live album. This was followed  
in November by *A Factory Outing*, a static but  
serviceable compilation of clips of Factory  
artists in concert at The Hacienda, including  
New Order, ACR, Durutti Column, Section  
25, James, The Wake, Quando Quango,  
Swamp Children, 52nd Street and Stockholm  
Monsters, as well as footage of the venue

under construction. *A Factory Outing* sold  
poorly, a misfortune later compounded when  
Island Music objected to the inclusion of  
tracks by The Wake and QQ, with the result  
that both bands were represented by silent  
footage. A third video, *Dowie*, was a record of  
the musical comedy show John Dowie took to  
the Edinburgh Festival in August, with cover  
art by cartoonist Ralph Steadman. A short film  
by swing dance troupe The Jazz Defektors  
(Fact 76) was not released, though a short  
extract appeared on the Doublevision  
compilation *TV Wipeout*. Also unreleased was  
Facsoft (Fac 91), an attempt by Factory to  
enter the computer software market, devised  
by Stephen Morris of New Order

Fac 101 alluded to by AHW in NOPAH (1984);

still being alluded to in NME, 31 May 1986

'We never had...' PH, AI, January 2006

'The accepted...' Wilson (2002), pp. 163 and 154

'Ginger was...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 31; MP, AI,  
March 2009

'Thank God...' NME, 10 December 1983 (Neil  
Taylor)

'1983 saw...' NME, 24 December 1983

## 1984

'We know...' Ciccone (2008), pp. 80-1

'Madonna was...' MP, AI, March 2009. Madonna  
had been asked to perform a second set later  
than night but refused. Rob Gretton boycotted  
parts of *The Tube* at Fac 51, having earlier  
rowed with researcher Chris Cowey. See  
generally Hook (2009), pp. 78-9. Madonna's  
appearance at Fac 51 is regularly cited as her  
first UK appearance, but she had already  
performed a PA at the Camden Palace in  
London the previous year

'Madonna...' MG, AI, February 2009

'They were...' Morley (2008), pp. 219, 333 and  
314. Funded by Island, ZTT drew no little  
inspiration from Factory, including highbrow  
conceptual packaging and appropriation from  
avant-garde Futurist art. Their first release, by  
Art of Noise, appeared in September 1983, with  
Beatbox soon afterwards topping the Billboard  
dance chart. Soon after this was eclipsed by the  
success of Frankie Goes to Hollywood, fronted  
by former Big in Japan member Holly Johnson,  
whose debut single Relax broke in January  
1984 and topped the singles chart for five weeks

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despite being banned by the BBC. Frankie had already performed at The Hacienda on 19 November, an appearance advertised as 'Paul Morley's Revenge', a vaguely antagonistic billing made real when Morley returned for the *Tube* recording

'the best...' AHW, *The Tube*, 27 January 1984  
£49,858 Companies House documents, Fact 51 Ltd

Fac 61 Hannett had already transferred his shares to AHW, AE and RG in June 1983. His widow, Wendy Hannett, confirms rumours that Wilson tried to buy off Hannett with cash, to take advantage of his vulnerability as a drug addict, are not true. This rumour is reported in Nolan (2009)

£25,000 Wendy Hannett, AI, March 2010

'Unfortunately...' MH statement, Fac 211 *Wired* TV programme (1988)

'They eventually...' MH interview by Jon Savage, 29 May 1989

'He should...' AE, Fac 211 *Wired* TV programme (1988)

'If you're...' MH, *Mojo*, April 2005 (Martin Aston, 1989 interview)

'The Hacienda...' MH interview by Jon Savage, 29 May 1989

**Kalima** over the previous year the group had taken giant creative steps, as singer Ann Quigley explains: 'As the music became more sophisticated, and we hit our twenties, the old name didn't seem like a comfortable fit anymore. So despite the fact that we'd established a bit of a profile, not least in London, we decided to become Kalima. The new name was borrowed from a track on an Elvin Jones album, *Remembrance*' – AQ, AI, September 2005. The Jazz Defektors came fresh from a cameo in the film *Absolute Beginners*. The arrival of Jeremy Kerr and Andy Connell meant that all of Ratio except Donald Johnson were now also playing in Kalima. Ratio remained largely inactive during 1984. 'We all just like playing music,' explained Martin Moscrop, 'and being in two bands is better than one. We all listen to jazz all the time, and if you're listening to it a lot and you're not playing it, it's really frustrating because you're not playing what you're listening to' – MM, *Abstract* zine, 1985. Other Ratio-related projects during this interregnum included *Streetsounds UK*

*Electro*, an album project by Andy Connell and former Magazine drummer Martin Jackson, also involving Hacienda DJ Greg Wilson and released through Street Wave, and the *Jane and Barton* mini album, which spawned the original version of hit song It's A Fine Day

'crafted schlock...' AHW, *Sounds*, 12 June 1982

'The processes...' AHW, *NME*, 18 February 1984 (Chris Bohn)

'corrupt' AHW, Granada TV, 1984 (unknown programme and date)

'funky guitar...' *NME*, 31 March 1984 (Richard Cook)

'We mentioned...' Caesar, AI, January 2009

'I thought it...' TM, *Middles* (1996), p. 281; TM, AI, November 2009

Ad Infinitum LR, AI, January 2009. A 12-inch version was released in Portugal, featuring extended versions. Several vocal versions had been authorized in the 1960s, including Magic Star, produced by Meek and sung by Kenny Hollywood

'She's mad!' PH, *SH*, 1984

'It was...' PH, *Middles* (1996), p. 245

**Streetlife** like the Ad Infinitum single, Act On Instinct by Streetlife fell some way short of complete success as a dance record. Cut in chilly Spitsbergen by former Minny Pops Wally Van Middendorp and Wim Dekker, together with Swedish producer Goran Andersson, the maxi arrived in February as Fac 97 and was also licensed by Of Factory New York to dance label Blackmarket

'Marcel was...' BS, *Uncut*, November 2009

'The sessions...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 106

'Unfortunately...' *NME*, 28 April 1984 (Gavin Martin). Reach For Love was released in March. During the summer of 1984 Shenberg worked to interest A&M in releasing a second King single. A&M had licensed Reach For Love for \$6,000, and pledged \$1,000 towards the costs of demoing two new tracks suggested by them. However, the project stalled later in the year when Reade departed Factory as international liaison manager. Shaun Ryder later identified Reach For Love as his favourite Factory record – see booklet

**Rockfield** a popular residential studio in rural Monmouthshire. From The Hip was subsequently mixed at Revolution, although there were compatibility problems between the

- equipment at the two studios. In June 1984 a BBC radio session was also recorded for David Jensen, featuring versions of Reflection, Warhead and Looking From A Hilltop
- 'It's contemporary...'** VC, *Lancashire Country Chronicle*, 1984; VC, AI, December 2009
- 'Jenny has...'** LC, *Lancashire Evening Post*, 5 May 1984
- Fact 90** sleeve Robertson (2006), p. 75
- 'The album...'** VC, The Offense Newsletter (USA), February 1985
- 'Romancing...'** NME, 18 August 1984 (Chris Bohn)
- 'From the...'** *Sounds*, 21 July 1984 (Dave Henderson)
- 'pure sonic...'** *Michigan Daily*, 1984
- 'I'd just...'** BS, Verrico (1998), p. 45
- 'Acting as...'** SM, AI, February 2009
- 'A simple...'** MM, 21 April 1984 (Ian Pye)
- 'the only act...'** NME, 21 April 1984 (Tony Parsons)
- 'Thieves...'** AB, NME, 9 January 1988 (Sean O'Hagan). In fact the intro lasted 150 seconds
- Murder Steve Morris:** 'Murder was recorded at Britannia Row with the rest of *Power*, *Corruption* and *Lies* and was a contender. I loved Murder, I thought its darkness was a good contrast to the rest of the album, but we had Ecstasy, another semi-instrumental, so something had to go. Still, it continued the Joy Division quirk – Atrocity Exhibition, Sound Of Music – of Hooky and Bernard swapping instruments, also continued on Confusion' – SM, AI, February 2009
- 'It may be...'** BS, MM, 11 August 1984 (Frank Worrall)
- 'We're all...'** PH, SH, 1984 (Dave Rimmer); Hook (2009), pp. 112–3
- Shark Vegas** Mark Reeder began his music career as bassist in The Frantic Elevators with Mick Hucknall, as well as working behind the counter of the Virgin store on Lever Street. Inspired by German electronic artists such as Kraftwerk, Giorgio Moroder and Tangerine Dream, he quit Manchester for Berlin in 1978. Soon afterwards he found himself designated as Factory's German representative, co-managed photogenic female art-project Malaria!, and also dated Annik Honoré following the death of Ian Curtis. Shark Vegas began life as a duo called Die Unbekannten. Reeder also posted electronic mix tapes to Sumner, which played no small part in setting New Order on the path to Blue Monday. Sumner returned the compliment by producing a single for Shark Vegas, recorded at Conny Plank's studio in Cologne during the 1984 tour, and later issued on Factory. 'You Hurt Me went virtually unnoticed in the UK,' says Reeder, 'but it became popular around dance clubs and gay discos in the States' – MR, AI, January 2009
- Music for Miners benefit** according to Gretton, their motive was typically abstract: 'We didn't agree politically on the issue, but this particular benefit was staged by someone we know. The money wasn't to go to the miners themselves, but to make a film to redress the imbalance over the issue, which was in favour of the government. It was an interesting point' – RG, NME, 16 November 1985 (Cath Carroll)
- Life MM**, 14 September 1985; NME, 17 November 1984
- Nyam Nyam** see *Abstract* zine, Spring 1985. From Hull, the group moved to Situation 2 for the album *Hope of Heaven*. Paul Trynka later edited *Mojo*
- Lavolta Lakota** see *ZigZag*, November 1983. LL featured former Stockholm Monster Jed Duffy as well as Dave Hicks and Michael Eastwood. Hook also produced two singles by Blackburn band Some Now Are, not released through Factory
- Surprise/phrase book** BS, SH, 1984
- 'It's OK...'** BS, SH, 1984 (Dave Rimmer)
- Blanco y Negro** see Cavanagh (2000), pp. 96–7. Initially Dave McCullough of *Sounds* took on the Paul Morley/ZTT role at Blanco, but soon departed, unenthused by the number of former Cherry Red bands invited on board – DMCC, AI, 1985. Wild card Alway was soon excluded from Blanco, and was thrown a temporary lifeline by Duval in the form of El Benelux, manufactured and distributed by Himalaya in Brussels. Eventually Alway was reconciled with Cherry Red. One of the few truly talented artists to record for El was Philippe Auclair (alias Louis Philippe), who began life as a Crépuscule artist (The Border Boys, then The Arcadians) and worked as a chef at Interferences before moving to London
- 'big album'** Linder, Reynolds (2009), p. 227
- 52nd Street/split** quoth AHW in Robb (2009), pp. 122–3: 'We signed 52nd Street and they argued

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- with each other and broke up. All Manchester black acts fuck up. I can remember as a journalist making a film about this, asking why it's not happening. I can remember interviewing the bass player from X-O-Dus... His explanation was that "we all fall out". A year later, Factory put out their record and then they broke up – typical!
- 'I guess...' *NME*, 5 May 1984 (Doug Upman)
- 'Atom Rock...' MP, *NME*, 22 September 1984 (James Shelley). Atom Rock was released in May. The Smiths played at The Hacienda three times in 1983. The ICA gig by The Smiths with QQ supporting was on 5 October 1983
- 'The question...' *AHW*, *NME*, 18 February 1984 (Chris Bohn)
- 'In the past...' RG, BBC Radio One, 22 June 1984 (Richard Skinner). The Skinner interview also included a spat between RG and Mark Johnson, author of early Joy Division book *An Ideal for Living*, dismissed by RG as 'pretty boring'
- Riverside Kalima + Jazz Defektors (Monday 13 August); QQ + 52nd St (Tuesday); SXXV + SM (Wednesday); Durutti Column (Friday and Saturday)
- Ruth Lowe a friend of Hannett and Factory from Manchester – see *NME* 19 July 1980
- 'Riverside wasn't...' PS, AI, *GUM*, December 1984
- 'the most...' Fac 121 flyer and programme
- Biting Tongues had recently slimmed down to a nucleus of Walmsley, Colin Seddon and Graham Massey, following the departure of vocalist Hollings for the sublime (publishing house Marion Boyars), and drummer Eddie Sherwood to the ridiculous (Simply Red). See *NME*, 11 February 1984. On Feverhouse, Walmsley adds: 'We filmed mostly at the abandoned Hallamshire Hospital in Sheffield and the Victorian swimming baths at Harpurhay. It featured Joanne Hill and Patrick Nyland as well as various band members and associates in supporting roles.' Factory would also issue the Tongues' soundtrack as an album
- 'Biting Tongues...' HW and KH, AI, February 2009
- 'This is much...' *MM*, 25 August 1984 (Barry McIlheney)
- Durutti/shelved album *Short Stories for Pauline. Without Mercy* was recorded at Strawberry and Britannia Row, with Wilson taking a co-production credit
- 'choreograph' Bruce Mitchell, AI, September 2009. The ensemble also included Maunagh Fleming and cellist Caroline Lavelle, who was also scheduled to record a solo record for Factory listed as a 12-inch single, Fac 109, but unreleased
- 'Vini Reilly...' *Sounds*, 1 September 1984 (Jane Simon)
- Ratio/Riverside though most members performed as part of Kalima, as well as a UK electro showcase at the ICA. The Ratio gig with PTV was on 17 August
- James/seclusion *MM*, 19 September 1987
- 'monastic' – Jim Glennie, Fac 424 (DVD extra)
- Final Solution the press ad designed by Colin Faver featured a detail from *This Morning*, an absorbing 1951 canvas by the surrealist Yves Tanguy
- 'I'm not really...' *NME*, 25 August 1984 (Adrian Thrills)
- Saturday Live* NO, *Sounds*, 22 September 1984
- 'The idea...' SM, AI, February 2009. Morris and Gilbert later used samples from these interviews on Loved It, the closing track on the first album by The Other Two
- 'Larry of...' *AHW*, *NME*, 18 February 1984 (Chris Bohn)
- 'I could give...' *AHW*, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984
- 'I'm a figure...' *AHW*, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984
- 'The man knows...' CC, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984
- 'I was...' SM, AI, February 2009
- 'On occasion...' Wilson (2002), p. 169
- 'There was...' LG, AI, April 2009
- 'Is Tony...' *Sounds*, 22 September 1984 (Bill Black)
- 'When Factory...' *MM*, 13 October 1984 (Ian Pye)
- Nude Night most accounts state Nude Night began later in 1984, but Hacienda press ads show that Nude was up and running by 3 August. See *NME* ad, 4 August 1984
- Berry/Marr records MP, *City Life*, 1998
- 'It was just us...' MP, Haslam (1999), p. 158; Bidder (2001), p. 149
- Pickering/Kamins MP, *MM*, 12 June 1993
- 'I became...' MP, Bidder (2001), p. 57
- 'The difference...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 31
- 'It took...' MP, *MM*, 23 May 1992
- 'It's one o'clock...' RG, *MM*, 11 August 1984 (event was a Paul Haig gig on 1 June)
- 'It was like...' BS, Nolan (2007), pp. 100 and 101
- 'I've had...' BS, *Select*, June 1993
- 'I lived...' BS, *NewOrderStory* DVD, 1993



- 'Nobody...' SM, Savage (1992), p. 25
- 'Fac 51 is...' *Falling & Laughing* zine, 6-7/1984 (Neil Smith)
- New Order/USA Summer: 'My favourite part of the process was writing the songs and Hooky's was playing the songs. However, the machine always wanted more touring as it meant there was a shorter return on the cash. I think this is why we were pushed out on tours of the States so much. It was the only way for us to receive some money. Our royalties were being wasted on The Hacienda... and I resented this' – BS quoted in Nolan (2007), pp. 82 and 103
- 'At the...' TA interview, July 1994 (www.neworderonline.com)
- 'Picasso!' MO, *LA Times*, 11 December 1994
- nationalistic *Sounds*, 18 August 1984
- 'I don't know...' MP, *NME*, 22 September 1984 (Jim Shelley)
- 'Rob and I...' MP, AI, March 2009
- Ryder and pigeons Verrico (1998), p. 15. Shaun Ryder also boasted of blowing up lab mice at school by attaching them to gas pipes – see *NME*, 16 September 1989
- One Two Testing* issue published in 1984
- 'We used...' SR, *Middles* (1998), no page number
- 'I'd been...' PS, AI, May 2009
- 'Phil pulled...' MP, AI, March 2009. Mondays and Sex Pistols comparisons were drawn early on, Paul Mathur describing Saxe as 'the Malcolm McLaren of the Perry Boys' in *MM* as early as 2 August 1986. Saxe denies it was that calculated. The Gallery and Hacienda gigs were in the autumn of 1984
- 'This A&R...' GW, Robb (2009), p. 261
- Alma Mater mixed at Revolution in March 1984
- 'close to...' *NME*, 8 September 1984 (Steph Paynes)
- 'Their first...' *MM*, 15 December 1984 (Julian Henry)
- 'The way we...' TF, unidentified Manchester paper, 1984 (Robert Graham)
- 'Everything...' AF, unidentified Manchester paper, 1984 (Robert Graham)
- 'Factory had...' JG, *Maconie* (2000), p. 88
- 'Can't Afford...' SM, AI, February 2009
- 'When we...' TH, *MM*, 14 December 1985 (Frank Owen)
- not a hit a review of Can't Afford by Ian Pye in *MM* on 13 October was entirely moronic: '52nd Street take their place in Manchester's coolest chanel house, a hip hop echo of New Order, their single makes the "right" moves and little else. Bury this label in an old grey mac.'
- Thick Pigeon Miranda, AI, August 2009; Azerrad (2001), p. 234. The two Crépuscule singles were Subway and Tracy + Pansy, both 1982. The album was recorded at Strawberry in the autumn of 1983, but bore no production credit on release. Gillian Gilbert's sister Karen also contributed guitar
- 'Producing Thick...' SM, AI, February 2009
- 'a walk...' Fact 85 press release, 1984
- 'Up north...' Miranda, AI, January 2006
- 'It was...' MK, AI, March 2003
- 'It has alienated...' MK, AI, March 2003
- 'Another Setting...' AHW, CD sleeve note (556039-2), 1998
- 'Without...' BM, AI, September 2009
- 'a source...' *MM*, 8 December 1984 (Martin Aston)
- 'beautiful...' *Sounds*, 15 December 1984 (David Tibet)
- 'The tune...' *NME*, 8 December 1984 (Steph Paynes)
- 'Without Mercy...' VR, *The Independent*, 1 March 2002 (Ryan Gilbey)
- 8vo/Fac 84 MH, AI, August 2009; Robertson (2007), p. 81
- Without Mercy/paid adverts after Fact 30 (Sex Pistols) and Fac 88 (The Wake)
- 'I don't...' SM, *MM*, 12 January 1985 (Ian Pye)
- 'I'm so...' QJ, *NME*, 17 February 1990 (Paolo Hewitt)
- 'When I started...' LR, AI, January 2009
- Claude Bessy see also CB interview *NME*, 4 May 1985. Bessy (aka Kickboy Face) was the French-born co-founder of *Slash* magazine, who relocated from California to the UK after Ronald Reagan became president. As well as working as a press officer for Rough Trade, Bessy also did regular VJ spots at The Hacienda. Bessy Talks Turkey (Fact 125) featured James ('They're vegans, they have a lot of liver trouble'), Section 25, Shark Vegas, Streetlife, Thick Pigeon, 52nd Street ('disco cult'), Quando Quango, A Certain Ratio ('they have a new single and, well, we know it's great'), The Wake ('They're recording a new mini album – mini albums are a new leisure device'), Kalima, The Jazz Defektors ('They spend a lot of money in The Hacienda'), Stockholm Monsters ('heavy'), Durutti Column,

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Life, Marcel King, Royal Family and the Poor, Red Turns To, New Order, and some of Bessy's own work ('but who cares'). Bessy died in 1999  
 QQ/Wag enjoyed by author in person  
 'I can't...' BS, *NME*, 22/29 December 1984

## 1985

**Smiths/#1 album** now employed at Rough Trade, Richard Boon harboured no illusions on the logistics of indie hits: 'It's a lot of hard work by foolishly committed bands of underpaid fanatics promoting good records rather than something nondescript with a great sales campaign behind it. We're naively principled. Indies can't promote records in the same way as majors. They have to compete with large budgets which represent tax losses for multi-national corporations. Indies have to aim to reach their audience in a different way. They have to think independently' – *Sounds*, 13 April 1985 (Pete Picton)  
 'We had...' AHW, *Maconie* (2000), p. 90  
 'It was our...' AHW, *Fac* 229 (1989)  
 'introduce...' *NME*, 16 March 1985. *Fac* 119 was taped at Strawberry in October 1984  
**Pro-Motion background** LN, AI, January 2009; MMcD, AI, April 2009; BK, AI, December 2009. Liz's sister, Pat Naylor, was also recruited  
 'We went...' MMcD, AI, April 2009  
 'We put...' JK, *MM*, 16 March 1985 (Frank Worrall)  
 'We get...' SM, *Sounds*, 13 April 1985 (Pete Picton)  
**perestroika** however there was no single Gorbachev at Factory, and certainly no *demokratizatsia* ('democratization')  
 'I thought' TS, AI, May 2009. TS worked at Carrere after Pinnacle, and had been about to emigrate to Australia when the call came from AE at Factory  
 'I used...' TS, *Fac* 229 (1989)  
 'I went...' SFJ, *The Wire*, December 2001  
 'We had...' VC, AI, April 2009  
**Durutti Column** *Fac* 114, released January 1985  
**Simon Topping** Prospect Park (FBN 41). A Factory Benelux release, on which Topping was joined by Andy Connell. Topping also contributed to *Nude Nights*, playing a Salsa and Latin set at midnight. See *Discotheque: Hacienda* 2006 (Tim Lawrence)

**A Certain Ratio** *Life's A Scream* (*Fac* 112), released December 1984  
**Life Better** (*Fac* 122) released April 1985, 12-inch on Factory Benelux (FBN 42)  
**Streetlife** *No More Silence* (*Fac* 124) released March 1985  
**Red Turns To** *Deep Sleep* (*Fac* 116). Andrew Wright and Tim Lyons approached Gretton at The Hacienda, and recorded the three tracks with Morris at *Yellow 2* in March 1984. Vince Clarke of Erasure praised the record in *MM*, 22 June 1985  
**Abecedarians** *Smiling Monarchs* (*Fac* 117) released April 1985  
 'Buddhist...' *MM*, 2 March 1985 (Helen FitzGerald)  
 'We felt...' JG, *Maconie* (2000), p. 96  
 'James were...' AHW, *Maconie* (2000), p. 96  
 'She'd been...' AHW, *Maconie* (2000), p. 97  
 'That's...' MMcD, AI, April 2009  
 'We were...' AHW, *Vox*, January 1992  
 'It was...' AHW, *Maconie* (2000), p. 98  
 'There's...' AE, *Middles* (1996), p. 198  
 'It was...' AE, *Fac* 229, which wrongly dates the visit as 1984  
**Hilary Sherlock attack** Nolan (2009), pp. 97–9 and 108  
 'His wife...' BM, Nolan (2009), p. 98  
 'Tony Wilson...' *NME*, 4 December 1985 (Jim Shelley). *Domo Arigato* was also released as a video by Ikon FCL  
 'the first...' AHW, CD reissue sleeve note, 1998  
 'We have...' AE, quoted in *Middles* (1996), p. 198  
 'Power...' PH, *Sounds*, 31 August 1985 (Maurice Lomas). In fact *Low-Life* was mainly recorded at Jam then finished and mixed at Britannia Row  
**Low-Life sleeve** the design was initially rejected by the group and bore no relation to the album title, which was *Love Vigilantes* until a late stage  
 'I decided...' Saville (2003), p. 35 (Christopher Wilson)  
 'An existential...' Saville (2003), p. 27 (Christopher Wilson)  
 'Peter Saville's...' PY, *MM*, 22 March 1986  
 'He was...' LN, AI, October 2008  
**Elegia** Steve Morris, *Select*, July 1993. The full version ran for seventeen minutes  
 'tender...' *MM*, 18 May 1985 (Steve Sutherland)  
 'less bittersweet...' *Sounds*, 18 May 1985 (Carole Linfield)

- 'Low-Life is...' NME, 18 1985 (Richard Cook)
- 'the group's...' *Rolling Stone*, 4 July 1985 (David Fricke)
- 'We haven't...' RG, *Sounds*, 31 August 1985 (Maurice Lomas)
- 'total turd' PH, MM, 11 January 1986 (Adam Sweeting)
- 'I did...' BS, MM, 11 January 1986 (Adam Sweeting)
- 'They really...' SM, MM, 4 October 1986
- 'This always...' SM, AI, August 2009
- Factory Australasia Penhallow also ran Volition Records, home to Severed Heads and others
- 'I think...' AHW, quoted in Middles (1996), p. 197
- ACR/Wild Party reviews *Melody Maker* voted it 'the best dance track of the week – the ever-changing face of ACR has finally struck the target' – MM, 13 July 1985 (Ted Mico). NME seemed almost delirious: 'Whoopee! ACR are wearing their party hats again.' – MM, 13 July 1985 (Ted Mico); NME, 22 June 1985 (Charles Shaar Murray)
- 'We were...' MM, NME, 24 August 1985 (Adrian Thrills)
- 'It was written...' MM, *Abstract* zine, 1985
- 'It's really...' AC, *Abstract* zine, 1985
- 'No, I don't...' DJ, MM, 16 March 1985 (Frank Worrall)
- 'We would...' MM, NME, 24 August 1985 (Adrian Thrills)
- WOMAD in 1985 staged on Mersea Island in Essex
- 'Switching...' NME, 17 August 1985 (Richard Grabel)
- 'When it...' MM, AI, May 2009
- Live in America 1985* album released not by Factory but DoJo, though the label had nothing to do with Donald Johnson. This was the first of several live albums released by Factory artists on other labels, cf. Happy Mondays (1991) and New Order (1992)
- Kalima also cut a strong EP, *Four Songs*. Lead track Trickery proved a durable favourite, and was promoted via a polished video clip filmed at the Boardwalk venue by the Bailey Brothers). The clip was included on *Shorts*, an otherwise poor collection of Ikon videos released as Fact 137, which served only to prove that the Factory video experiment had largely failed. Soon afterwards Ikon began to operate as a separate company – (MM, 26 May 1984). Doublevision, the video imprint founded by Cabaret Voltaire, frequently produced superior material at a lower cost, including the TV *Wipeout* compilation, experimental film *Johnny Yes-No*, and music titles by Tuxedomoon, 23 Skidoo, Einstürzende Neubauten and Cabaret Voltaire themselves. Simple live footage aside, New Order never entrusted their videos to Ikon and preferred to work with artsy American directors suggested by Michael Shamberg
- 'How Corrupt...' AF, Fac 159, interview early 1986 (Tim Difford)
- Factory Benelux also issued *Wheels Over Indian Trails*, a solo single by Miranda of Thick Pigeon released in December 1985 (FBN 44), and gifted an impressive video by Sandy McLeod. Featuring Steve Morris, Gillian Gilbert and John Robie, the club-friendly synth-pop single was promoted as 'Madonna meets Lydia Lunch on a wide open road just past the back of beyond' (MM, 14 December 1985) yet was lost even to Thick Pigeon enthusiasts. Around the same time Benelux released a single by New York electro trio Playgroup, *Euphoria* (FBN 49). Steve Morris and Simon Topping also guested on the single *Theoretical China* by Winston Tong, released by Crépuscule (TWI 310) in November 1984, which also featured Niki Mono, Jah Wobble, Alan Rankine and Dave Formula
- 'It was...' MP, AI, March 2009
- 'Delightful...' SR, Verrico (1998), p. 26
- Central Station NME, 17 November 1990
- 'We've always...' Carroll quoted in 2008 exhibition press release
- David Quantick NME, 19 October 1985
- 11 November Martine McDonagh, AI, March 2009
- 'The time...' JG, MM, 19 September 1987 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'Looking back...' JG, Maconie (2000), p. 99
- 'We felt...' TB, *Vox*, January 1992 (Martin Townsend)
- annoyance see Peter Hook comment, *Vox*, January 1992
- 'They'd done...' MP, AI, March 2009
- 'another load...' NME, 30 November 1985 (Jane Solanas)
- 'Aswad...' *Sounds*, 27 July 1985 (David Elliot)
- 'consistently...' NME, 30 November 1985 (Jim Shelley)

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- 'Genius...' *MM*, 7 December 1985 (Dave Thompson)
- 'proficient and...' *Sounds*, 7 December 1985 (Chris Roberts)
- 'Maybe...' *MP*, *AI*, March 2009
- 'John gives...' *BS*, *MM*, 11 January 1986 (Adam Sweeting)
- Fac **133** sleeve Peter Saville, *AI*, August 2009
- 'I don't...' *BS*, *The Face*, 1985
- swallowed/profits Hook (2009), p. 95
- 'The Hacienda...' *RG*, *NME*, 16 November 1985 (Cath Carroll). The *NME* article by Bob Dickinson appeared on 28 September 1985
- The International** see Haslam (1999), pp. 160–1. In fact few Mancunian punters took to The International as a dance venue, and it became instead a successful mid-size venue for live bands. Meanwhile The Hacienda continued to stage a number of orthodox live concerts during the latter half of 1985
- Gay Monday** see Savage (1992), p. 46
- 'There were...' *MP*, *AI*, March 2009
- 'The Stone...' *AHW* interview with Andy Fyfe, *Q* website, February 2007 (*Q* website)
- 'This is...' *AHW*, Middles (1999) p. 68. The cover of the first Roses album references rioting in Paris in 1968 (lemons as a defence against tear gas), though whether the Roses knew anything much about Situationism in 1985 is uncertain
- 'We went...' *IB*, *The Face*, January 1990 (Nick Kent)
- 'shitty...' *IB*, *MM*, 8 April 1989 (Bob Stanley). In 1989 Howard Jones revived Thin Line for a single by Buzzcocks *FOC*, who he also managed
- 'I loved it...' *AC*, Robb (1997), pp. 111 and 130
- 'The great...' *NME*, 2 November 1985 (Mat Snow). During this period Hannett also produced an unremarkable album by Blue In Heaven, called *All the God's Men*, for Island. This was promoted as 'a new force from Dublin join hands with Manchester's seminal gothic producer' – (Island ad, *NME*, 25 May 1985). Singer Shane O'Neill told *MM* on 8 February 1986: 'We went up to Stockport to do that album... Then we met Martin and he was just so immovable and we were really stupid over thinking we could get round him. At the time it was awful but I know how much good he did us.'
- 'I would...' *MP*, *AI*, March 2009
- 'hated all...' *BG*, *MM*, 31 May 1986
- slavishly admired The Wake, *AI*, 1983. Gillespie spent much of the time enthusing about New Order generally and Peter Hook's six-string Shergold bass in particular
- The Wake/Island** The Wake wanted to select their own singles, and leave singles off albums. Island would not agree
- Nouvelle Vague** have also covered Joy Division, New Order and OMD. A cover of The Names' Nightshift was also recorded by NV, but has not yet appeared
- 'undeniable...' *NME*, 25 January 1986 (Jonathan Romney)
- 'irksome...' *Sounds*, 14 December 1985 (Andy Hurt)
- Preston** various *AI* with *LC* and *VC*; *MM*, 2 November 1985
- 'fluent...' *NME*, 16 November 1985 (Fidel Ghandi)
- 'Vin wanted...' *LC*, *FacFacts* (Tim Difford)
- 'riot and a...' *NME*, 16 November 1985 (Fidel Ghandi)
- 'Equally...' *NME*, 23 November 1985 (Bob Dickinson)
- 'Shaun said...' *PS*, Warburton (2003), p. 10. New Order played two sets, with two songs from the first broadcast on the BBC TV programme *The Old Grey Whistle Test*. This too might have contributed to the audience behaving differently
- 'I decided...' *SR*, Warburton (2003), pp. 10–2
- 'It was...' Bez (1998), pp. 137–9
- 'They're cool...' Wilson (2002), p. 176. Adds Wilson on Bez's trademark freaky dancing: 'It was the dance he'd brought back from his package trips to Ibiza. And there were some other things he brought back from Pink Floyd's island of *More*. Pupils the size of that thing that scores you seven points on a snooker table' – Wilson (2002), p. 177)
- 'Factory had...' *HW*, Justin Toland, February 2007; *HW*, *AI*, February 2009
- 'Factory had...' *GM*, Justin Toland, February 2007
- 'The band...' *NME*, 16 November 1985 (CSM)
- The Old & the New* actually released in January 1986
- Hammersmith Palais** 10 November 1985
- 'As far as...' *MM*, *MM*, 1 March 1986 (Paul Strange)
- 1,000 copies** *MM*, 23 May 1987. Former Magazine drummer Jackson had already

partnered Connell on their UK Electro project, out of which Swing Out Sister grew. See also MJ in Chase (2009), p. 127

**Pale Fountains** Norris (2007), p. 125

'There was...' DJ, *MM*, 1 March 1986

'But they...' *MM*, *MM*, 1 March 1986

'Maybe it...' MP, AI, March 2009

'I think...' LG, AI, August 2009

£3,000 Savage (1992), p. 46; Hook (2009), p. 96

'I don't...' MP, AI, March 2009

£47,200/£52,528 Companies House documents, Fact 51 Ltd; Hook (2009), p. 111-13

viable see *Discotheque: Hacienda* sleeve note (2006) (Tim Lawrence)

## 1986

'New Order...' PM, AI, January 2010. Mason began his booking career as social secretary at Oxford Polytechnic

**AHW/RG row** AHW, Savage (1992), p. 18

'Rob arrived...' PM, AI, August 2009

'There was...' PM, Savage (1992), p. 50

'It was...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 31

'We'd gone...' MP, AI, March 2009

'Basically...' LG, AI, April 2009

'I knew...' SM, AI, August 2009

'We literally...' Hook (2009), pp. 99 and 111

'Fred-Perried...' *MM*, 15 February 1986 (Danny Adams)

'sooner...' SH, *NME*, 12 April 1986 (Bob Dickinson)

**Fac 152** at the time, each faced punitive fines totalling £106,000 (*NME*, 11 January 1986) and disqualification from holding office. Controversial Liverpool politician Derek Hatton also faced legal costs of £100,000 following a separate action taken against television programme *World in Action*. This imbroglio was unique to the Thatcher era; few artists would support such an overtly party political event today

'rebels' *MM*, 22 February 1986

**Colourfield** see Verrico (1998), pp. 28-31; Bez (1998), p. 167

'It was good...' SR, Verrico (1998), p. 28

**Pretty in Pink/3 songs** Shellshock, Thieves Like Us, Elogia

**Shellshock** peaked at #28 in the UK, and was well reviewed: 'Their most perfectly realised

merging of Mancunian wit and New York functionalism' - *NME*, 22 March 1986 (Sean O'Hagan)); 'another ultimate dance record from those who do it best' - *MM*, 22 March 1986 (Helen FitzGerald)

**NO/fourth album** *Brotherhood*, recorded April to June 1986

**Beth B** not to be confused with director Lizzie Borden (*Born in Flames*)

'Through...' SM, *NME*, 19/26 December 1987 (James Brown)

'That's one...' VR, *NME*, 24 May 1986 (David Quantick)

**test card** *MM*, 15 March 1986 (Barry McIlheney)

**Windham Hill** *NME*, 15 March 1986

'The music...' VR, *NME*, 24 May 1986

**The Boardwalk** situated on Little Peter Street, close to The Hacienda. A Certain Ratio played on the opening night, in March 1986

'We booked...' VR, *FacFacts* (Fac 159), 1986

'He was...' Wilson (2002), p. 183

'bawdy' - *FacFacts* (Fac 159), 1986

**Chinese takeaway** BS, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990. Freaky Dancin' was recorded with Sumner early in January 1986 - see Bez (1998), pp. 150-5

'The Mondays...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 117

'They couldn't...' BS, Norris (2007), p. 125

'It was...' BS, Verrico (1998), p. 27

**Ryder/Reach For Love** *Palatine* booklet (1991)

'Working with...' SR, *NME*, 6 September 1986

'a delirious...' *MM*, 9 August 1986 (Sorrel Downer)

'Freaky...' *NME*, 14 June 1986 (John McCready)

'I didn't...' BS, Verrico (1998), p. 45

'The burden...' *MM*, *FacFacts* (Fac 159), 1986

**Night Time Shadows** recorded at Yellow 2 in January 1986

'We're good...' AQ, *MM*, 5 July 1986 (Paul Mathur). AQ added: 'If you had to describe my singing, I think the most important thing is that I love singing dirty. What's there is there, mistakes and all. It's more intimate.'

'Nine...' AQ, *NME*, 30 August 1986 (Cath Carroll)

**The Royal Family and the Poor** album released in April (Fact 140), title track also issued as a picture disc single (Fac 139). Produced with Ambrose Reynolds of Pink Industry, these sessions ran no more smoothly than the debut with Peter Hook, with Keane sacking his band part-way through. Keane blamed his split from

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- Factory on a failure to provide accounts and funding – MK, AI, April 2003
- 'They are...' AHW, *FacFacts* (Fac 159), 1986 (Tim Difford)
- 'gentle...' NME, 15 February 1986 (Bob Dickinson)
- 'I thought...' MP, AI, March 2009
- 'If you'd...' GN, MM, 1 November 1986 (Sorrel Downer)
- 'Despite...' NME, 21 June 1986 (Bob Dickinson)
- 'I wish...' NME, 31 May 1986 (Dessa Fox)
- 'The most...' AHW, MM, 12 July 1986 (Paul Mathur)
- OCR fonts Saville (2007), pp. 48–52. Optical Character Recognition. See critique by Steven Hankinson, *Scream City* zine #2, June 2006
- 'The countdown...' PM, AI, August 2009. Much of the organizational work on the Festival was done by Mason and Alan Wise
- 'Fabulous...' AHW memo to AE, 26 May 1990
- £10,000/£20,000 PS, AI, August 2009
- Kevin Cummins subjects included the Sex Pistols, Buzzcocks, Ian Curtis, The Worst, Slaughter and the Dogs, Winston (OMD's Revox tape machine), Tony Wilson, the Electric Circus, Howard Devoto and Linder Sterling
- 'Tony Wilson...' BG, MM, 12 July 1986 (Paul Mathur)
- Jamie Reid Reid's partner, Margi Clarke, also performed extracts from *Chaos in Cancerland*. Additional staging was provided by Mancunian busker Rob Gray, a friend of Reilly and one-man Little Big Band
- 'On this...' NME, 26 July 1986 (Bob Dickinson)
- 'People...' NME, 26 July 1986 (Bob Dickinson)
- 'Happy...' NME, 26 July 1986 (Stan Barton)
- 'Rafters...' MM, 26 July 1986 (Paul Mathur). The Railway Children performed at The Boardwalk on Friday, supported by Distant Cousins and 'dropping a big bag of guitary business' at Paul Mather's feet – (MM, 26 July 1986). That same night photogenic female duo Tot played at a festival fringe event. The Kalima and Jazz Defektors date also found room for jazz drummer Tommy Chase
- Mondays/tickets Phil Saxe, AI, May 2009
- G-Mex Cabaret Voltaire are regularly cited as having performed, but did not. Kevin Cummins is adamant that The Negatives did not perform either
- 'Tony Wilson...' HD, AI, November 2009. HD adds: 'Adultery went on immediately after The Smiths. It was Noko and I, with a backing band. Jamie Reid introduced us and we played three soon-to-be Luxuria songs.'
- 'Their...' MM, 26 July 1986 (Paul Mathur)
- 'The mundane...' NME, 26 July 1986 (Donald McRae)
- OMD/Morley Andy McCluskey, AI, October 2009. AMcC: 'I should have twatted Morley with my bass there and then. We were sick with worry about playing as a duo.' American success meant that OMD were no longer working with Saville, having parted company after *Junk Culture* in 1984
- 'peeped...' MM, 26 July 1986
- walking stick *Sounds*, 26 July 1986
- 'Tony Wilson...' PM, MM, 13 January 1990
- 'taming...' JR, NME, 26 July 1986
- 'Manchester...' JM, Robb (2009), p. 210
- 'After...' NME, 26 July 1986 (Donald McRae)
- 'In the...' AHW, 28 February 1987 (James Brown)
- Tenth Summer LP/video Fac 186
- 'In the...' AHW, *Sounds*, 28 February 1987 (James Brown)
- £20,000 Saville denies any knowledge of this price tag, which may well have been an arbitrary comment by AHW. The ten sculptures cost £10,000 to produce, the budget provided through Factory
- 'At his...' Haslam (1999), p. 159
- Wilson/China Nolan (2009), p. 102
- 'To employ...' Wilson (2002), pp. 179–80
- 'House is...' RJ, MM, 16 August 1986 (Frank Owen)
- 'Drugs are...' FK, MM, 16 August 1986 (Frank Owen)
- 'It's the...' AB, MM, 16 August 1986 (Frank Owen). Baker had already issued a House-styled track of his own called Chicago, and the following year mixed Pavarotti and hi-energy on a track called The Opera House
- 'I don't...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 31
- Pickering/Adonis *Discotheque: Hacienda* (2006) (Tim Lawrence)
- others included Collin (1997), p. 58
- 'They were...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 31
- 'When...' MP, Haslam (1999), p. 166
- 'It was...' GP, Bidder (2001), pp. 150 and 56
- 'I've been...' CF, MM, 20 August 1988
- Fac 156 two more tracks were recorded: What Price Beauty? and a song by Barry Johnson, Vision Of America

- 'We were...' MP, AI, March 2009  
**Anna Domino** prior to going solo, Taylor had tried out in a number of groups, including Bush Tetras, Polyrock and an NYC version of Mania D. Crépuscule issued *Anna Domino* in March 1986
- 'various...' NME, 20 September 1986 (Dele Fadele)
- 'A lot...' AD, MM, 31 May 1986 (Paul Mathur)
- 'The lyrics...' AD, *Sounds*, 23 August 1986 (Jack Barron)
- 'In retrospect...' CC, AI, March 2009  
**Miaow** Cath Carroll had been in bands since 1979, and appeared on the cover of the MMC compilation album released by Object Music as a member of female punk band Property Of. Having outraged The Hacienda with the infamous Ludus performance in 1982, Carroll and Liz Naylor relocated to London at the beginning of 1984, where Carroll worked for Rough Trade and Doublevision successor label Blast First as well as freelancing for NME, while at the same time pursuing a parallel career in music. Miaow were formed in London from the ashes of Gay Animals, an act formed with Naylor while the pair were still managing Ludus
- 'The journalism...' CC, MM, 29 March 1986 (Caroline Sullivan)
- AHW/CC eyes NME, 29 September 1990 (Jack Barron)
- 'big guitary...' MM, 26 July 1986 (Paul Mathur)
- 'Wigan-born...' NME, 27 September 1986 (Dave Haslam)
- 'Despite what...' DH, Verrico (1998), p. 27
- 'I looked...' JB, Verrico (1998), pp. 37-8
- 'We put...' Bez (1998), p. 180
- Bay 63 NME, 25 October 1986
- Blackburn King George's Hall riot** Bez (1998), pp. 177-8
- Mondays/interviews** MM, 2 August 1986; NME, 6 September 1986
- Phil Saxe see Verrico (1998), p. 36
- 'the Malcolm...' MM, 2 August 1986 (Paul Mathur)
- 'infuriatingly...' MM, 27 September 1986 (Steve Sutherland)
- 'a wonderful...' NME, 27 September 1986 (Cath Carroll)
- 'We're hopeless...' BS, MM, 4 October 1986 (Ted Mico)
- 'In a way...' BS, NME, 18 October 1986 (Dave Haslam)
- 'We never...' BS, MM, 4 October 1986 (Ted Mico)  
 GG piano lessons *Sounds*, 6 September 1986
- 'I don't...' GG, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester). In the same interview Steve Morris judged the album 'a bit higgledy-piggledy'
- 'essentialist' Robertson (2006), p. 110
- Fac 171/Compact Robertson (2006), p. 108; Saville (2007), 57-79
- 'When Factory...' PS, AI, August 2009
- 'It was...' LG, AI, April 2009  
 £80,000 Stephen Morris and Gillian Gilbert, AI, November 2009. Hook (2009) at pp. 113 13 quotes £800,000, but this is in error. As for diversion of NO royalties, see Hook (2009), p. 111
- 'Rob knew...' TS, AI, May 2009
- 'I wasn't...' PS, AI, August 2009. More likely, PS knew but forgot, since PSA designed third-generation FCL stationery designated Fac 141, which listed Erasmus, Simmons and Wilson as directors, with Saville as a consultant
- 'A couple...' DJ, NME, 10 January 1987 (Stuart Cosgrove)
- Force** produced at Yellow 2 with Stuart James during July and August 1986. Unusually for Factory, three extra tracks appeared on the CD
- 'the Mike...' DJ, *Sounds*, 13 December 1986 (Jack Barron)
- 'The first...' MM, AI, December 2009
- 'You can...' MM, 13 December 1986 (Ian Gittins)
- 'Force is...' NME, 8 November 1986 (John McCready)
- 'People have...' JK, NME, 10 January 1987 (Stuart Cosgrove)
- 'I was...' AC, NME, 22 November 1986 (Adrian Thrills)
- 'The original...' AC, MM, 1 February 1986 (Caroline Sullivan)
- 'Andy was...' JK, *Sounds*, 13 December 1986 (Jack Barron)
- 'We relied...' MM, AI, May 2009
- 'Take Vini...' BM, Q Special Edition Manchester, 2006
- 'Vini can...' BM, Nolan (2009), p. 98
- 'I wish...' VR, MM, 9 January 1988 (Paul Oldfield)
- 'Valley Girl' Vini Reilly, *Sounds*, 30 January 1988
- 'I'd met...' AHW sleeve note, *Domo Arigato* CD, 1998
- one source www.IMDb.com
- These Boots...** *Sounds*, 30 January 1988
- 'This huge...' PH, MM, 4 October 1986 (Ted Mico)

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- 'My favourite...' BS quoted in Nolan (2007), pp. 82 and 103. BS stated elsewhere: 'We found Rough Trade in America owed us some money, and that even though we'd never received it, nor were likely to, we'd have to pay tax on it. From that moment on, when we started to find out things like that, we got more interested in money, because the alternative was to go to jail' – BS, *Vox*, January 1992 (Martin Townsend)
- 'So we...' BS, Thompson (2005), p. 83
- 'It'd do my...' BS, *SH*, 3–16 December 1986
- Gretton/convalescent see Terry Mason in Nolan (2007), p. 115
- Smash Hits* issue 3–16 December 1986. The article featured a photo of two 'foxtresses' holding a pair of Sumner's shorts. In fairness to *Smash Hits* journalist Sylvia Patterson, she had been sorely provoked by Terry Mason, chief of New Order's notoriously insular road crew – Peter Hook, *AI*, September 2009
- 'Bernard always...' AHW, Nolan (2007), p. 113
- Sumner resolved Nolan (2007), p. 114
- Bizarre Love Triangle remixed by Shep Pettibone, Bizarre Love Triangle marked a return to consummate singles form after Shellshock and State Of The Nation, yet peaked at #56 on the British chart in November, and was a club success in America rather than a commercial hit. Directed by American artist Robert Longo, the video was awarded a catalogue number of its own, Fac 173. The song title was inspired by a *News of the World* headline, 'Saucy Vicar Caught in Bizarre Love Triangle' – BS, *SH*, 3–16 December 1986
- 'What motivates...' BS, *MM*, 4 October 1986 (Ted Mico)
- David Mach many of Mach's installations are temporary and constructed in public spaces, his artistic style based on flowing assemblages of mass-produced and found art objects, including magazines, newspapers, car tyres, matchsticks and coat hangers. See also Wilson (2002), p. 104. These are likely to have been Confusion sleeves rather than Thieves Like Us
- 'It was...' BS and SR, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990
- 1987
- 'I always...' AHW, *City Life*, 8–22 May 1987
- 'Our current...' AHW, *Sounds*, 28 February 1987 (James Brown)
- 'Tony is...' attributed to Branson, *Sounds*, 28 February 1987. See also AHW, *NYR*, March 1980 – same criticism already raised by Peter Hook. Also Martin Hannett, *NME*, 19 July 1980 £30,000 two years later AHW's Granada salary was £33,000 – see *NME*, 3 June 1989
- 'Largely...' AHW, *NME*, 14 February 1987
- 'Unfortunately...' AHW, *Sounds*, 28 February 1987 (James Brown). Adds Peter Hook of AHW on this point: 'He'd put things in motion then leave others to implement them without always ensuring that the lieutenants he put in place were qualified' – Hook (2009), p. 11
- 'Now for...' AHW, *City Life*, 8–22 May 1987
- 'the kind...' *NME*, 14 February 1987 (Terry Staunton)
- 'I think...' GN, *NME*, 2 May 1987 (John McCready)
- screwed see AHW, *NME*, 2 December 1989; also Peter Hook in *Vox*, January 1992
- 'Rob and...' MP, *AI*, February 2009
- 'I don't...' GP, Nolan (2009), p. 115
- 'Although...' AHW interviewed by Andy Fyfe, *Q* website, February 2007
- 'By then...' TS, *AI*, May 2009
- 'cold period' AHW, *Vox*, January 1992
- 'Old habits...' *NME*, 18 April 1987 (Paolo Hewitt). It's worth noting that both Pickering and Oakenfold had trained as chefs. Secret ingredients?
- 'Journalists...' MH, *NME*, 18 April 1987. Founded by Mute in summer 1986, by the following summer Rhythm King was being A&R-ed by Martin Heath, James Horrocks and Jay Strongman
- vexed Pickering topped the chart with Ride On Time by Black Box (Deconstruction) in 1989 and Gretton later went top three with Ain't No Love by Sub Sub (Rob's) in 1993. However, Factory achieved more consistent success with Mondays records produced by Paul Oakenfold. In the view of this author, claims that Factory invited and/or found disaster by ignoring dance between 1986 and 1989 are not borne out by the facts and statistics
- 'He's the...' CC, *NME*, 14 March 1987 (Dave Haslam)
- 'fast-flowing...' *NME*, 14 March 1987 (Len Brown)
- 'ugly' *MM*, 14 March 1987
- 'can attract...' CC quoted in *MM*, 7 March 1987 (Ian Gittins)



- 'we are...' *MM*, 21 February 1987 (Sgrifennwr Afiach)
- 'beautifully...' *NME*, 28 March 1987 (Terry Stanton)
- 'seven...' *MM*, 28 March 1987 (Ian Gittins)
- 'I think...' *GN*, *MM*, 18 April 1987 (Ian Gittins)
- 'We're not...' *PR*, *NME*, 9 May 1987 (Dele Fadele)
- 'Others on...' *MD*, *NME*, 9 May 1987 (Dele Fadele)
- 'the most...' *NME*, 4 April 1987
- drug-taking according to some sources it was during these sessions (December 1986) that Shaun Ryder began occasional use of heroin
- 'I think...' *SR*, Warburton (2003), p. 21
- 'What John...' *SR*, *Vox*, June 1991
- 'We found...' *Bez* (1998), p. 181
- 'When John...' *AHW*, *NME*, 2 December 1989 (James Brown)
- 'Martin Hannett inspired...' *AHW* sleeve note to *And Here Is the Young Man* CD sleeve note, 1998. See also Wilson (2002), p. 181–2
- 'Most of...' *SR*, *MM*, 9 May 1987 (Sorrell Downer)
- 'Most of...' *SR*, *MM*, 12 November 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'Words don't...' *SR*, *MM*, 28 November 1987 (Ian Gittins)
- 'quite...' *NME*, 25 April 1987 (Dave Haslam)
- 'scruffy council...' *Sounds*, 18 April 1987 (Ron Rom)
- 'a dangerous...' *MM*, 18 April 1987 (Paul Mathur)
- 'It's not...' *PR*, *MM*, 28 November 1987 (Ian Gittins)
- impatient *Bez* (1998), pp. 175 and 206
- 'He's stupid...' *SR*, *MM*, 9 May 1987 (Sorrell Downer)
- 'It happened...' *AF*, *AI*, September 2009
- Suite 16** a name coined by Wilson –, see Peter Hook, *Chimp* magazine, September/October 2009
- 'I started...' *NG*, *MEN*, 1 July 2002
- 'I had...' *LC*, *NME*, 6 February 1988
- Love & Hate* recorded at Park Lane Studio and completed in May 1986, with a budget of £5,000. The album was mastered at Townhouse in London soon after, but emerged only in March 1988. The duo's final live show, a one-off with John Cooper Clarke, took place at downbeat Blackpool venue The Tache on 28 August 1986. *SXXV* performed just four songs, one a *Gymnopédie* by Erik Satie –. Source: *LC*, various *Als*; *NME*, 6 February 1988
- Haçienda/fifth birthday** Happy Mondays gig on 28 May, New Order on 10 June
- Fac 51 birthday ad** *NME*, 16 May 1987. The lack of regular ads is one reason why precise dating of trends and events at Fac 51 after 1986 is problematic
- 'As well...' Haslam (1999), pp. 165–6
- 'two Manchester...' *NME*, 13 June 1987
- Topping/Nude** Discotheque: Haçienda CD sleeve note (2006) (Tim Lawrence)
- 'T-Coy...' *ST*, *AI*, April 2009
- 'We have...' *MP*, *NME*, 12 December 1987 (Simon Witter)
- 'T-Coy...' *NME*, 13 June 1987 (Lucy O'Brien)
- 'Figured...' *MM*, 27 June 1987 (Simon Reynolds)
- 'I don't...' *BS*, *Q*, August 1999
- 'Rob...' *SH*, *Sound on Sound*, March 2005 (Richard Buskin)
- True Faith/leaf** Saville (2007), pp. 67–9; Robertson (2006), p. 122
- 'The idea...' *SH*, *Sound on Sound*, March 2005 (Richard Buskin)
- 'My golden...' *PH*, Cummins (2009), p. 159. Hook's bass is mixed unusually low on True Faith, and Hook alone had not been keen to work with a producer – see *NO* interview, *Q*, January 1988
- 'Barney...' *GG*, *NME*, 19/26 December 1987 (James Brown)
- 'They've...' *SM*, *NME*, 19/26 December 1987 (James Brown)
- Wilson/Curtis** quoted in *NME*, 19 May 1990
- 'I thought...' *DC*, *Mojo*, September 2001 (Roy Wilkinson)
- 'What New...' *AMCG*, *NME*, 8 October 1988 (Stuart Maconie)
- Touched By The Hand Of God** *NME*, 19/26 December 1987
- Dominique Davalos** also featured and sang in the 1986 Lucasfilm flop *Howard the Duck*, and is a daughter of actor Richard Davalos, cover star of *Strangeways Here We Come* by The Smiths
- 'The film...' *BB*, *MM*, 1 August 1987 (Jonh Wilde)
- producer **Michael Shamberg** confusingly, there is an entirely different American film producer named Michael Shamberg based in Hollywood, whose credits include *Pulp Fiction*, *Erin Brockovich* and *A Fish Called Wanda*

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- Substance/million-pound cheque** Tina Simmons, AI, May 2009. Sales were no doubt boosted by Fac 203, a promotional ruler designed by PSA and labelled Twelve Inches of New Order
- Salvation! soundtrack album** issued on Crépuscule in February 1988, but ready six months earlier. The Hood, a Baker protégé named Jonathan Prosser
- CBS AHW, Fac 229; Peter Hook, *NME*, 28 January 1989
- 'I wanted...' RK, *The Wire*, March 2000 (Ken Hollings)
- 'We were...' Bez (1998), pp. 194–5
- Wilson/most treasured** Warburton (2003), p. 21. The review may not have been in *NYT*
- 'I remember...' PS, Q, June 2008 (William Shaw). See also Warburton (2003), pp. 18–21
- Durutti/perplexing EP** the version featuring White Rabbit was swiftly deleted, replaced at the end of the year by an amended EP on CD only, dropping the Debi Diamond cameo and re-titled *Our Lady of the Angels*
- 'My playing...' VR, *NME*, 12 December 1987 (Donald McCrae)
- 'The problem...' BS, Nolan (2007), p. 122. Pop goths Gene Loves Jezebel also opened on several dates
- 'I'd wake up...' BS, Q, January 1988 (Dave Rimmer)
- one per year *NME*, 19/26 December 1987
- 'You're gonna...' BS, *MM*, 17 October 1987 (Ted Mico)
- 'The more...' PH, *MM*, 17 October 1987 (Ted Mico)
- 'Bernard...' AHW, Nolan (2007), p. 126
- 'There was...' BS, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'Everything I...' BS, Q, January 1988 (Dave Rimmer). Apparently BS initially intended to release solo material under the name Sell Your Body.
- 'One of...' BS, *NME*, 10 April 1993
- 'I heard...' JM, Cummins (2009), pp. 154–5
- 'The saddest...' PH, Revenge CD sleeve note (LTMCD 2375), 2003 (Claude Flowers)
- Educes Me** Factory edition released in September 1987. Repetitive systems music (*For Amusement Only*), piano miniatures (*Struggle for Pleasure, A Man of No Fortune*) and theatrical scores (*Maximising the Audience*)
- 'Zumar was...' PC, Savage (1992), p. 46
- 'A pivotal...' JR, Norris (2007), p. 121
- 'I looked...' MP, Bidder (2001), p. 73
- Fadela** A form of Algerian pop music, rai was also an integral part of the Goutte d'Or quarter in Paris, with Cheba Fadela and husband Cheb Sarhaoui among the finest exponents. Issued under licence from Paris label Attitude and housed in a Johnson Panas sleeve, Fadela was well-received, *NME* judging: 'the blend of muezzin wails, antelope bass and zithering guitars makes N'Sel Fik not only the most exotic release of the week, but also the most beautiful.'
- 'Mark talked...' MP, AI, September 2009
- 'In 1986...' NB, AI, March 2009
- 'A Beastie...' *NME*, 31 October 1987
- 'Even by...' NB, AI, March 2009
- Pleasure Crew** aka I Could Be So Good For You
- Biting Tongues** even as Compressor appeared in October the Tongues again lost momentum after drummer Phil Kirby and bassist Paddy Steer left to concentrate on Yargo, who secured a deal with London after years in the wilderness. Though this Tongues incarnation released no album on Factory, Ikon issued the extended video *Wall of Surf*
- 'Sometimes...' *NME*, 17 October 1987 (Cath Carroll)
- 'As you...' TM, *MM*, 24 October 1987. Mason soon split from New Order himself, departing after their Wembley show on 10 December – see Nolan (2007), p. 118
- 'During...' CC, AI, July 2009
- 'We thought...' Caesar, AI, March 2009. Joke Shop is on the album *Make It Loud*
- 'A Certain...' *NME*, 21 November 1987 (Paul Mann)
- 'We'd toured...' *MM*, AI, May 2009
- Twenty-Four Hour Party People** produced by Dave Young, rather than John Cale
- 'gobsmacked...' *MM*, 7 November 1987 (Ian Gittins)
- 'Tonight...' *NME*, 17 October 1987 (James Brown). The Portland gig was on 5 October. At this time the Mondays were still only playing to fifty or sixty people outside Manchester – *MM*, 28 November 1987
- Mick Head** *Observer*, 10 August 2003
- 'Nathan was...' Wilson (2002), p. 188
- 'the perfect...' *NME*, 12 December 1987 (Neil Taylor)
- 'We're...' PH, *NME*, 19/26 December 1987 (James Brown)

- 'New Order...' BS, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- Himalaya/collapse** author experience. Crépuscule abandoned the Himalaya building in the nick of time and relocated to smart new offices in the Galerie du Roi. The core roster remained unchanged, with Anna Domino, Wim Mertens, Blaine Reininger and Isabelle Antena all remaining in post, although Paul Haig elected to release his third album, *Chain*, through Virgin subsidiary Circa. By happy coincidence, both Crépuscule and Circa also released the *United House Nations* project, a timely Fadela-esque artist album by Mark Kamins that might well have appeared on Factory had Pickering not finally given up on label A&R, demoralized by the failure of the label to break bands, or retain them, or promote the same dance culture that had already transformed The Hacienda
- 'I became...' MS, AI, January 2010. At the end of 1987 the five directors of OYNY Ltd were still listed as Shamberg, Ann Lehman, Wilson, Erasmus and Gretton
- in-car AHW, *Sounds*, 13 December 1986
- Fact 204** the lavish promotional package was numbered Fac 214
- 'Now Vini...' *MM*, 28 November 1987 (Paul Oldfield)
- 'Ambience...' *NME*, 28 November 1987 (John Munro)
- 'Durutti...' *MM*, 12 December 1987 (Paul Oldfield)
- 'I've always...' VR, *NME*, 12 December 1987 (Donald McCrae)
- 'My music...' VR, *MM*, 9 January 1988 (Paul Oldfield)
- 'I introduced...' SS, *NME*, 2 July 1988 (Len Brown)
- 'Nothing deep...' SM, *MM*, 12 March 1988 (Simon Reynolds)
- 'Working...' VR, *Q* special edition on The Smiths Special Edition, 2004
- sour relations** Stephen Street, AI, September 2009. In 2004, mercurial Reilly would retract his retraction
- Bath/dancing** SS, *NME*, 2 July 1988
- 'Afterwards...' VR, *Q* special edition on Morrissey and Manchester Special Edition, 2006 (Ian Harrison). This version of the severed alliance between Reilly and Morrissey is not entirely accurate
- mill bucket** the strangest Factory artefact since Fac 8 in 1979, Fac 148 was a water wheel bucket, one of 48 sponsored by companies local to the restored Quarry Bank Mill on the Styal Estate near Wilmslow, an industrial heritage site. The wheel remained fully functional and powered machinery inside the mill building, enabling renewed production of Styal Calico cloth. A sign within thanked all 'subscribers to buckets', including Factory Communication Ltd [sic]. Another was sponsored by Conservative MP Neil Hamilton. Since the mill is owned by the National Trust, Fac 148 is likely to outlive all other non-vinyl Factory artefacts
- balloon flights** Fac 202, in Hyde Park, London
- Fac 86** Robertson (2006), pp. 72-3
- 'The idea...' TJ, AI, August 2009
- 'In some...' BK, AI, January 2010
- 1988**
- Fac 240** Robertson (2006), p. 130. The main designer at PSA on the M24J calendar project was Sharon Ellis
- 'The idea...' FV, AI, July 2009. Note that Vermorel and Fadela were both dance records sponsored by Wilson, each with cultural and political connotations that (in his view) elevated them above mere DJ fodder
- Jazz Defektors** recruiting a backing band of their own in 1984, the JDs recorded tracks with Paul Weller producing, and turned to Factory only after another label deal fell through. While their live performances continued to attract superlatives, the record attracted the same critical brickbats as Kalima, referencing berets, wine bars and *Absolute Beginners*. In truth the JD's record came two years too late. See for example *NME*, 2 March 1988; *MM*, 20 February 1988
- 'Having stumbled...' LC, *NME*, 6 February 1988 (Fred Dellar). An Irish fan had written in to ask what had happened to Section 25
- 'blundered...' *MM*, 26 March 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- Wim Mertens** in the context of the Factory Dance vs Factory Classical debate, it is worth noting that a decade later dance versions of two Mertens compositions featured on *The Belly of an Architect* were chart hits. Belgian dance project Minimalistix reached the Top 40 in several European countries with chill-out versions of

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- both *Closer Cover* and *Struggle for Pleasure*, while the latter piece also inspired popular trance track *Café Del Mar* by Energy 52
- 'I love...' AHW, *NME*, 19 March 1988 (Material World)
- Morley/Material World *NME*, 2 April 1988
- ZTT litigation Southall (2008), Chapter 11
- 'Claudia...' JS, *NME*, 20 February 1988. Holly Johnson added: 'Paul Morley was very involved. He is a creative person, and he was being very creative in his way, very often in a way I didn't want him to be. He was just doing his thing. I was doing mine, and too often we just clashed. But everyone's egos got really big when we first had success, everybody wanted to claim responsibility'
- 'discriminating...' PM, *The Quietus*, 15 December 2008 (David MacNamee)
- 'I don't...' JS, *NME*, 20 February 1988
- 'tithead' *NME*, 4 June 1988
- 'Both of...' JM, *Q* classic (Manchester Special Edition), 2006 (Andrew Male)
- 'We rather...' JM, Cummins (2009), p. 155
- 'Every time...' BS, *Vox*, June 1991
- 'I was...' PH, *Revenge* CD sleevenotes, 2003 (Claude Flowers)
- Revenge demos Hook played the first *Revenge* demo to Michael Duval in Brussels in February, (author experience)
- 'They hadn't...' PH, *Uncut*, April 2009
- Sumner/Roses mix *Sounds*, 23 January 1988
- 'Wonderful...' GT, *Word*, February 2009
- Paul Cons Savage (1992), p. 46
- Wilson and others Warburton (2003), pp. 24–5; Wilson (2002), p. 211; *NME* interview, 19 November 1988; *Uncut*, June 2008; Savage (1992), p. 19
- non-profit Bez (1998), pp. 226–7
- 'There were...' SR, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990 (Ted Mico)
- 'People...' SR, Bidder (2001), p. 167. Ryder quotes 2,500 people. Although the legal capacity at The Hacienda never exceeded 1,500, Hook (2009) claims that crowds of 2,000 were common
- 'It changed...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 32
- 'I likened...' MP, *Discotheque: Hacienda* (2006) (Tim Lawrence)
- 'The Hacienda...' DH, Bidder (2001), p. 150
- 'His nickname...' PS, *Q*, June 2008
- Bez/arrested Bez (1998), pp. 250–2. The court case dragged on through the recording of *Bummed* to May 1989. Bez (1998) covers most of this story
- 'a good...' SR, *MM*, 10 November 1990
- Barrett/press release *NME*, 19 November 1988
- 'During my ...' NMcG, *Information Technology* programme, Granada TV, March 1989. IT was a mid-morning schools programme aimed at fourteen- to seventeen-year-olds, an edition of which attempted to demonstrate business skills by following the recording, budgeting and promotion of the new Mondays album. Along with *New Order Play at Home* and the *Wired* feature on Joy Division, *Information Technology* is easily the most revealing Factory television project. All can be seen on YouTube
- 'We'd already...' PS, AI, May 2009
- 'I liked...' SR, *NME*, 31 March 1990 (Jack Barron)
- 'Nathan was...' DH, Verrico (1998), p. 62
- 'He went...' Bez (1998), p. 207
- Northern House Review Hotline were from Huddersfield, Groove and T-Cut-F both from Nottingham
- 'A timely...' *MM*, 5 March 1988 (Phil DC)
- 'Up here...' *MM*, 20 August 1988
- 'The initiative...' RG, *NME*, 14 May 1988 (Len Brown)
- 'I said I...' RB, *NME*, 21 May 1988 (John Tague)
- 'The thing...' SM, AI, April 2009
- 'The stuff...' KM, *NME*, 14 May 1988
- 'certainly very...' RG, *NME*, 14 May 1988 (Len Brown)
- 'In the studio...' BS, *New Order Story* video, July 1993
- 'I suppose...' BS, *NME*, 28 January 1989 (Danny Kelly)
- Kalima including new members Warren Sharples, David Higgins, Andy Boothman and Matthew Taylor. *Kalima!* was produced by Michael Johnson
- 'Kalima! is...' *MM*, 23 July 1988 (Push)
- 'They ought...' *NME*, 16 July 1988 (Stuart Bailie)
- 'A club...' *NME*, 4 June 1988 (Sarah Champion)
- 'As a...' Savage (1992). Picket on 25 June 1988
- Spectrum Norris (2007), p. 134
- 'There were...' JD, Bidder (2001), p. 155
- NMS/sex *NME*, 16 July 1988
- 'I walked...' AHW, Bidder (2001), pp. 154–5
- 'It was...' Wilson (2002), pp. 210–11
- 'You'd come...' AHW, Savage (1992), p. 19
- 'We'd been...' SM, Savage (1992), p. 25

- New Order/Ibiza *Uncut*, February 1999
- Brian Eno *Mojo*, September 2001
- 'I preferred...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)
- 'It's...' BS, *MM*, 24/31 December 2008. Sumner wrongly dated Fact 75 track Ecstasy as 1985 six million *Uncut*, February 1999
- 'It was...' PS, *MM*, 11 June 1988 (Paul Mathur). The old and the new were also evidenced in the typographical solution by Brett Wickens, a combination of two contrasting styles: Garamond and New Alphabet – see Robertson (2006), p. 136
- ongoing silence the recently published pop management history *Starmakers and Svengalis* by Johnny Rogan had contained a detailed chapter on Rob Gretton, but shed no new light on the death of Curtis
- 'They'd...' PS, *MM*, 11 June 1988 (Paul Mathur)
- 'We were...' SM, *NME* 19/26 December 1987
- marketing campaign AHW, *MW*, 15 July 1989 (Fac 229)
- 'I think...' RG, Fac 211 (1988)
- 'be to...' AHW, Robertson (2006), p. 161
- Chaya Brasserie AHW, *Scream City* zine #1, 2005 (John Cooper). Chaya was one of several overseas venues that influenced Dry, but was not on Kelly's radar in terms of design
- Oldham Street/1981 Howard Jones, Robb (2009), p. 175; Hook (2009), p. 20. Dry was situated at 28–30 Oldham Street
- 'That was...' AHW, *Scream City* zine #1, 2005 (John Cooper); Nolan (2007), pp. 120–1. Prior to Dry, the working title was Bar One – *Scream City* zine #3, June 2007 (Andrew James)
- 'This is...' BS, *Guardian*, 22 November 2002 (Ted Kessler)
- Paul Mason PM, AI, June 2009
- £87,000 Paul Mason, AI, June 2009. Some months earlier the Dry building had sold at auction for just £30,000. Erasmus was unable to bid at that time, so that the successful bidder more than doubled his money once Factory was ready to buy. The area was not yet known as the Northern Quarter
- 'At last...' *NME*, 2 July 1988. Other names linked with the project were Hollies singer Graham Nash and SAW pop star Rick Astley, although the latter reportedly balked at the working title
- 'I was...' NMcG, Norris (2007), pp. 126–7
- 'For us...' Bez (1998), p. 246
- 'the one...' SR, Warburton (2003), p. 23
- 'Hannett...' NMcG, Q special edition on Manchester Special Edition, 2006 (Jon Bennett)
- Hannett/Ecstasy Norris (2007), p. 127
- Hannett/heroin Paul Ryder, Robb (2009), p. 272
- 'We wanted...' *NME*, 19 November 1988 (Stuart Maconie). Quote not individually attributed
- 'We are...' SR, *MM*, 12 November 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'They're...' MH interview by Jon Savage, 29 May 1989
- 'In fact...' SH, AI, February 2010
- Turntable Orchestra Michael Eastwood, AI, November 2009
- 'Few are...' *NME*, 27 August 1988 (Sarah Champion)
- 'Me, Gerald...' GM, AI, April 2009
- 'It's a...' RHK, *MM*, 16 January 1988 (Tony Reed)
- 'We've gone...' SM, *MM*, 30 July 1988 (David Stubbs)
- 'The head...' TB, *NME*, 3 September 1988 (Sarah Champion)
- 'Rap...' TB, *NME*, 22 October 1988 (Sarah Champion)
- 'I had...' MMCD, *Vox*, January 1992 (Martin Townsend)
- 'Anyway...' HR, AI, February 2009
- 1974 Fender *NME*, 18 June 1988
- 'Major...' GN, *MM*, 23 April 1988 (Paul Mathur)
- Carroll contract *NME*, 8 October 1988
- Mondays contract not actually signed until December 1988; the Mondays deal with Elektra for North America and Canada was signed in February 1989
- 'It was...' TS, AI, May 2009
- 'The worst...' AHW, *NME*, 2 December 1989 (James Brown)
- 'When The...' AHW, *NME*, 30 November 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- arousal/CC eyes arousal in the same sense that AHW recognized the attractiveness of ACR in 1979; on AHW's love of CC's eyes see *NME*, 29 September 1990
- Robert Mapplethorpe Carroll was one of RM's final sessions before he died of Aids
- 'What I...' CC, *NME*, 29 September 1990 (Jack Barron)
- Mark Brydon previously a member of Chakk and later half of Moloko
- Charles Street/Suite 16 Hook (2009), p. 240. On 5 February 2010 Hook opened a new live venue, in the same building, called Fac 251

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- workforce/nine Tina Simmons identifies them as AHW, AE, TS, Phil Saxe, Chris Smith and one accounts assistant, Tracey Donnelly, Gary McCausland, Alison Patchett
- 'edifice...' Wilson (2002), p. 234
- £385,000 Companies House documents, Fact 51 Ltd. Further funds came from FCL and Gainwest, apparently without formal documentation
- 'Gareth...' PH, *Uncut*, April 2009 (Stephen Dalton)
- 'I wouldn't...' SR, *MM*, 12 November 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'made more...' NMcG, Norris (2007), p. 129
- 'Trying...' *MM*, 26 November 1988 (Simon Reynolds)
- 'Loud...' *NME*, 19 November 1988 (James Brown)
- Mondays/James** tour as with Joy Division/Buzzcocks in 1979, there is no evidence that the Mondays blew James offstage each and every night. The Mondays played truncated half-hour sets
- 'Perhaps...' *MM*, 10 December 1988 (Paul Mathur)
- 'Bummed flopped...' Wilson (2002), p. 196. At p. 227 AHW also claims that the original single release of Wrote Or Luck struggled to sell 1,500 copies
- 'Simply...' *NME*, 8 April 1989
- North/AGCG** Gerald Simpson also contributed the bassline to Dream 17
- ED209** issued Metre 12-inch in August on DFM (Dun For Money/Dance From Manchester), a label run by Dave Rofe. This led to the offer of a Peel session, turned down because ED209 had only one track. Rofe was later involved with Rob's Records, and managed Sub Sub and Doves
- 'a full...' *NME*, 19 November 1988 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'If Quando...' MP, *NME*, 7 January 1989 (Sarah Champion)
- two months** Paul Cons, Savage (1992), p. 46
- 'When Tony...' AB, *MM*, 7 March 1992 (Tony Horkins)
- 'Barney...' AHW, Warburton (2000), p. 26
- 'Barney...' AHW, *Uncut*, February 1999
- 'I go...' BS, *NME*, 4 February 1989 (Danny Kelly)
- Ibiza/missed flight** BS, *Uncut*, November 2009
- 'It's only...' BS, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- '**The 1988...**' Saville (2003), p. 44; Robertson (2006), p. 147
- 'For the...' PS, Fac 229 (1989)
- 'I feel...' BS, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- Electronic/Factory** Alan Erasmus, Fac 229
- Making Out** the first four episodes were directed by Chris Bernard, who had directed *Letter to Brezhnev*, and starred Margi Clarke and Keith Allen – *NME*, 28 January 1989
- 'We all...' SM, AI, April 2009
- 'What I...' BS, *MM*, 3 December 1988 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'Michael...' SM, AI, April 2009; *Sound on Sound*, January 1994; *NME*, 18 December 1993
- rebellion** *NME*, 17 December 1988. A live version of Sister Ray from São Paulo later emerged on a compilation album on Giorno Poetry Systems
- G-Mex** Mike Pickering DJ-ed, and compere Alan Wise introduced New Order as Joy Division. *Melody Maker* risked their wrath by enthusing that: 'This is God's backing band, an indestructible collective sweeping through His Greatest Hits with quintessential, sensual delight' – *MM*, 7 January 1989 (Paul Lester)
- Disorder/£10,000** Hook (2009), p. 160
- Fac 235** Fac 229 (1989); Robertson (2006), p. 149
- Peter Saville** by the middle of 1988, the staff at PSA had swollen to ten, and the company moved from Kensal Green to new premises at Charterhouse Square in London, a developing area to which Saville felt attracted. As well as sleeves for Joy Division and New Order, PSA were designing images and advertising for Yohji Yamamoto, as well as posters and catalogues for various galleries, including the Whitechapel and Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. However, the finances of the company were becoming precarious. PS said in Fac 229: 'The relationship with Factory and New Order is not like working in the music business at all. The other areas we work in now are not so open or free. We design identities for art galleries and companies. That's more the reality of graphic design, solving problems for people rather than making personal statements on white paper'
- '**In London...**' PS, AI, September 2009

## 1989

- 'There is no...' Bez (1998), p. 202
- £22,000 *NME*, 25 February 1989. The NO billboards appeared at 150 sites across Britain,

- booked through the agency More O'Ferrall. The poster modernism also extended to papering the exterior of the new Factory headquarters building on Charles Street
- Saville/pop-art PS**, Fac 229 (1989). PS added: 'Designing *Technique*, I was interested in shopping – for antiques. In the end we came up with a pop-art antique. For the last two or three years we've been developing a process that's like photographic silk-screening. We bought the antiques and put them through the process. We make it up as we go along.' The dichromat technique was also applied to Round And Round, on which *Technique's* cherub was replaced by a bust of Louis XIV, the Sun King
- 'With...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999
- 'New Order...' BS, *NME*, 28 January 1989 (Danny Kelly). BS added: 'We've had six meetings about putting out the new LP. It's this great cumbersome manoeuvre'
- 'To be...' AHW, Fac 229 (1989)
- 'rock...' *NME*, 28 January 1989 (John Tague)
- 'a rare...' *MM*, 28 January 1989 (Chris Roberts)
- Fac 253 see Fac 229; Wilson (2002), p. 210
- 'It was...' PS, AI, August 2009
- 'solo' the name *Electronic* had yet to be coined and the project was still widely referred to as a Bernard Sumner solo album, Marr still busy as a guesting member of The The and The Pretenders
- 'Of course...' NT, *NME*, 25 March 1989
- 'It was...' NT, *NME*, 19 August 1989 (David Quantick)
- 'It was...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999
- Minnelli *NME*, 11 March 1989
- 'He said...' VR, *MM*, 8 April 1989 (Paul Oldfield)
- 'Really...' VR, *MM*, 8 April 1989 (Paul Oldfield)
- 'We never...' VR, *Sounds*, 30 January 1988 (Shaun Phillips)
- 'I found...' SS, AI, September 2009
- Vini Reilly album** reviewing the album in March, *NME* noted that while Reilly appeared to have run out of album titles, 'he's still your ambience man supreme' – *NME*, 18 March 1989 (Andrew Collins). In *Melody Maker* Simon Reynolds praised Reilly for his continued ability to 'evoke the feeling of being wide asleep' and wrote that Durutti had 'never been more timeless, yet more in synch with the times' – *MM*, 18 March 1989. Later in the year Martin Gore of Depeche Mode included a version of Smile In The Crowd on his covers EP *Counterfeit*
- Belfast** *MM*, 25 March 1989
- Rennes** *NME*, 8 April 1989
- 'good fucking...' SR, *MM*, 10 November 1990
- Eccles** *NME*, 6 May 1989
- 'Fat Willy' *NME*, 16 September 1989. Wilson uses the name himself in McDermott (1990)
- 'Tony Wilson...' Bez (1998), p. 252
- Jersey** *NME*, 13 May 1989; Wilson (2002), pp. 199–201; Tina Simmons, AI, May 2009
- Karl Denver** in 1961 Denver yodelled his way into the Top Ten with Wimoweh (The Lion Sleeps Tonight). In October 1989 Factory also released a rave version of Wimoweh (Fac 228) produced by Mike Pickering and Graeme Park, followed in August 1990 by Zimba (Fac 278), a single by Denver and DJ Steve Lima (as Indambinigi). See Brook (2009), p. 61
- 'the law...' SR, *NME*, 2 December 1989 (James Brown)
- 'I've got this...' SR, *The Face*, January 1990 (Nick Kent)
- 'I had to...' SR, *Q*, December 1990 (Mat Snow)
- 'You have...' TD, Fac 229 (1989)
- 133 people** *MM*, 23 May 1992
- 'The hardest...' AHW, *NME*, 3 June 1989 (Dele Fadele)
- BBFC/The Bad Move** Tina Simmons, AI, May 2009
- £2.5 million** Nolan (2009), p. 113
- 'biggies...' AHW note to AE, 26 May 1990
- Fac 221 the number was later reassigned to a contract folder
- Jibaro** Stephen Morris, *NME*, 15 October 1988
- 'I was...' PO, Verrico (1998), p. 88
- 'When we...' SR, *Vox*, June 1991
- NWA PO, Bidder (2001), p. 168
- 'Ecstasy had...' NMcG, *Q* special edition on Manchester Special Edition, 2006 (Jon Bennett). See also Norris (2007), pp. 129–32. Wilson claimed: 'It was obvious it was time for the new movement that became acid house. I'd seen these movements before as a kid and as a teenager, because I lived through punk. So I studied the process very closely, and I was aware of how it worked. I didn't forget how small it was when it first started' – see Warburton (2003), p. 25. This smacks of post-event rationalization by AHW
- Earthbound** the Factory press release described the album as 'performance-indie-folk-rock-Spanish-Western-minimalist-pomp'
- 'They're...' KM, *MM*, 1 July 1989 (Mike Noon)

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- 'pleasantly...' *MM*, 22 April 1989 (Robert Yates)  
 THWB Q (Martin Aston)
- 'excruciating...' *NME*, 27 May 1989 (Dele Fadele)  
 THWB/cheap Karl Walsh, AI, September 2009.  
 After their short spell on Factory the group opened for Barclay James Harvest on several tours
- Untitled Saville* (2007), p. 75. The Pareles article originally appeared in *NYT* and discussed *Technique* in the context of marketing product without conspicuous branding. See also *MM*, 25 November 1989, by which time Gainwest had resorted to selling copies by mail order at a steep £10
- 'The programme...' *SM*, *Icon* magazine July/August 2003
- 'A couple...' AHW letter to AE, 26 May 1990
- 'I'd put...' *PS*, AI, August 2009
- £23,506 Companies House documents, Fact 51 Ltd
- 'We've...' *MP*, *NME*, 3 June 1989 (Jack Barron)
- 'Typical...' *SM*, *NME*, 3 June 1989 (Jack Barron)
- Cheetham Hill** Walsh (2003)
- 'I said...' *LR*, Collin (1997), pp. 161–2. See also Nolan (2009), pp. 131–3
- 'Drugs...' *PM*, Savage (1992), p. 50. See also p. 43
- 'He was...' *PM*, AI, June 2009. See also Wilson (2002), p. 223; Savage (1992), p. 19
- 'I told...' *RK*, *MEN*, 7 February 1991
- Thunderdome** Walsh (2003), p. 76
- 'One Monday...' Hook (2009), p. 82. Hook places this incident in his chapter dealing with 1984 but this cannot be correct
- £11,009 Fact 51 documents lodged at Companies House for 1990
- 'I regretted...' *MP*, *Discotheque: Hacienda* (2006) (Tim Lawrence)
- Deacon Blue** *MM*, 17 June 1989
- 'Quite...' *NME*, 8 July 1989 (Len Brown)
- 'We'd courted...' *MM*, AI, May 2009
- 'Despite...' *MM*, 3 June 1989 (Push). At the T&C showcase on 23 May ACR were reunited with Andy Connell for encore Si Fermi O Grido
- 'Unfortunately...' AE, Fac 229 (1989)
- Fac 229** two other press items were given Factory numbers in 1989: an unremarkable *NME* Fred Fact page printed on 1 July (Fac 227), and a *Music Week* advert celebrating John Peel's 50th birthday in August (Fac 231)
- '*Music Week*...' *TS*, AI, May 2009
- 'An awful...' AHW, Fac 229 (1989)
- Claire Leighton** *MEN*, 8 December 1989
- 'In all...' *PC*, Collin (1997), p. 160
- 'People...' Hook (2009), pp. 180–1
- 'Taking...' *BS*, Q, August 1999
- 'What...' *BS*, Nolan (2007), p. 143
- 'awful...' Wilson (2002), pp. 217–8
- no arrests Walsh (2003), p. 70
- 'The police's...' *PM*, Savage (1992), p. 50
- 'The police...' *MP*, Savage (1992), p. 32
- Dry Robertson** (2006), pp. 159–63
- 'Basically the...' *BK*, AI, June 2009
- £19,130 *Scream City* zine #3, June 2007 (Andrew James)
- Glasses/stolen** Hook (2009), p. 174
- 'A lot...' *PC*, *The Independent*, July 1989
- 500** Dry boasted floorspace of 450 square metres
- 'With the...' *BK*, AI, June 2009. On brunch, see further Hook (2009), p. 173
- Detroit** Nolan (2007), p. 123; *Uncut*, February 1999
- 'The grimmest...' *NME*, 5 August 1989 (Danny Kelly)
- Reading see *NME*, 9 September 1989
- 'We did...' *BS*, *NME*, 19 May 1990 (Stuart Maconie); *NME*, 18 August 1990 (Danny Kelly)
- Run 2** single the video was directed by Robert Frank, whose infamous Rolling Stones road movie *Cocksucker Blues* had been banned since 1972
- John Denver** *NME*, 20 October 1990
- 'If you...' *PH*, *NYT*, 4 August 1993
- Sumner/Reading denial** 'We're New Order and we're not breaking up'
- 'I'd...' *JM*, Cerysmatic website, November 2004 (John Cooper); *JM*, *MM*, 3 March 1990
- 'as a...' AHW, *NME*, 14 October 1989 (Don Watson)
- 'It's a...' AHW, *MM*, 3 March 1990 (Tony Horkins)
- 'all good' *NME*, 21 October 1989; *MM*, 25 November 1989
- Gramophone** January 1990 issue
- DAT most remained unsold and were later sold on as blanks – Phil Saxe, AI, May 2009
- 'A classical...' *MH* interviewed by Jon Savage, 29 May 1989
- The Gallery** *Mixmag*, February 1998 (Oliver Swanton)
- 'The closure...' Haslam (1999), p. 194
- diplomacy** *RK*, Walsh (2003), p. 92
- blazing row** *NME*, 2 December 1989 (James Brown); also Bez (1998), pp. 271–2



- GMP *Mixmag*, February 1998 (Oliver Swanton)
- 'The police...' LR, Collin (1997), p. 162
- 'We had...' GM, AI, April 2009. Soon the band found themselves embroiled in a royalties dispute with Gerald Simpson – see *NME*, 2 December 1989
- 'We want...' *NME*, 18 November 1989 (Jack Barron)
- Mondays/Pixies** tour in July and August 1989., Both bands were signed to Elektra in the States – see Bez (1998), pp. 274–5
- 'It's...' SR, *NME*, 16 September 1989 (Jack Barron)
- Platinum** AHW, Fac 229 (1989). Previously Factory retained Bullet
- 'Factory...' *MM*, 16 September 1989 (Simon Reynolds)
- Alan Lewis Jeff Barrett, Norris (2007), p. 131
- 'We've...' SR, *MM*, 2 December 1989 (David Stubbs)
- 'It's just...' SR, *NME*, 16 September 1989 (Jack Barron)
- Black Box** *NME*, 2 December 1989; apocryphal story in Hook (2009), p. 154
- 'To give...' MP, AI, March 2009
- Stop This Thing** *NME*, 22 July 1989
- 'I wonder...' *NME*, 7 October 1989 (Dele Fadele)
- 'We did...' *MM*, AI, May 2009. ACR's studio was called Soundstation
- 'The credit...' AHW, *Scream City* zine #1, 2006 (John Cooper); also Bidder (2001), pp. 168–9
- Roses/Mondays** releases both were released on 13 November 1989
- £2,500 *NME*, 2 December 1989
- 'It was...' Bez (1998), p. 259
- 'I thought...' PS, AI, May 2009
- 'If...' *NME*, 9 December 1989 (Mandi James)
- 'Thank...' *NME*, 25 November 1989 (Dele Fadele)
- 'Tony...' MP, AI, March 2009
- 'For about...' MP, Q, June 2008
- 'No offence...' MP, Savage (1992), p. 32
- 'I'd done...' PH, Revenge CD sleeve note, 2003 (Claude Flowers)
- 'We like...' PH, *NME*, 11 September 1989 (Steven Wells)
- Football Association** *NME*, 2 December 1989
- 'to bring...' BS, Thompson (2005), p. 100
- 'I'm on...' SM, AI, April 2009; Q, June 2008
- 'The big...' AHW, Q, June 2002 (Johnny Black)
- 'The intention...' BS, *NME*, 19 May 1990
- 'the most...' *NME*, 9 December 1989 (Ben Thompson)
- Factory/Russell** Phil Saxe, AI, May 2009. Russell later managed Oasis
- 'the new...' Saville (2003), p. 44
- Fac 281** FA, AI, June 2009; *Scream City* zine #1 (2006). In fact model Hacienda's (Fac 86R) and Louis XIV plaster busts were also produced for The Area
- Hacienda freehold** Hook (2009) at p. 193 suggests New Order were consulted backstage at the Free Trade Hall when the Mondays performed on 18 November: 'Rob gave us literally five minutes to make our minds up – as in yes or no. We went with the flow'
- 'awful state...' AHW note to AE, 26 May 1990
- Factory Australasia** new releases were licensed instead through Festival Records
- 'Ben Kelly...' TS, AI, May 2009
- 'Tony Wilson...' PS, AI, August 2009
- 'At that...' TS, AI, May 2009
- 'I remember...' PS, AI, May 2009
- Beat Club** released as **ROB 1** early in 1990. The superior original version dated from 1988 and RG had been trying to arrange a UK issue for some time
- 'If there...' AHW, Fac 229 (1989)
- Wilson/Madchester** Madchester dominated the Factory Christmas gift for 1989, a set of five doctored postcards numbered Fac 245, still cited as a favourite by Wilson two decades later. Like the Madchester slogan itself, the concept was crude but effective. Images of four Manchester landmarks were subtly altered, along with an A57 road sign, so that Manchester United became Madchester United, the University of Manchester became the University of Madchester, and so forth. Wilson recalled: 'I thought, to have some fun, let's use Madchester. I thought about it mostly looking at the street signs. So I got Vini Reilly to go out and take a photo of a street sign, the town hall, the station and whatever else, and then took it to a photo treatment place. It cost about £150 to have the n's changed. I'm very fond of those images, particularly as Vini took the shots. Of all the Christmas presents, my favourite is 245' – AHW, *Scream City* zine #1, 2006 (John Cooper). In fact three of the five images were taken by someone called Todd, rather than Reilly

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1990

- 'Gentlemen...' AHW/GC, *Guardian*, 12 January 2000
- bold claims *MM*, 23/30 December 1989
- 'I have...' AHW, *The Face*, January 1990. The article suggests that both the Mondays and Stone Roses were in the room and looked on 'a little aghast' as Wilson spoke
- 'I could...' AHW, *NME*, 19 May 1990
- irony AHW, *Q*, February 1992: 'I never said that except, possibly, in irony.' See also Wilson (2002), p. 92: 'I was shocked that I might have said such a dreadful thing'
- 'four years...' Middles (1996), pp. 266–8
- Sheryl Garratt *AI*, September 2009: 'I would only have said it was sad it happened, because I liked Tony a lot. Nick Kent couldn't produce a tape, so it was never properly resolved'
- 'Once, in a...' *RM*, *The Independent*, 12 August 2007
- Rubaiyat* other British acts included The Cure, Billy Bragg and The Beautiful South
- Carly Simon Paul Ryder, *MM*, 5 October 1991. The suggestion to cover Kongos came from Elektra US employee Howard Thompson
- 'For me...' *PO*, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990; *NME*, 10 March 1990
- 'I got...' NMcG, Norris (2007), pp. 137–8
- £100,000 Phil Saxe, *AI*, September 2009
- 'Northside...' AMcK, *MM*, 19 May 1990
- 'Factory...' *WD*, *NME*, 16 June 1990 (Jack Barron)
- Reportage* *NME*, 2 June 1990
- 'witty...' AHW, *Q*, June 2002
- 'When you've...' *GG*, *Q*, June 2002 (Johnny Black)
- 'That, as...' *SM*, *AI*, April 2009
- Eng-err-land AHW, *Q*, June 2002
- Rebecca Boulton 'That's not true. The office is still in Rob's house and he's continuing to manage them' – *NME*, 24 March 1990. RB had previously worked at Fac 51, and would take over as co-manager of New Order after Gretton's death in 1999
- 'We've done...' *BS*, *NME*, 19 May 1990 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'There's...' *BS*, *NME*, 19 May 1990 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'Revenge...' *MM*, 10 March 1990 (Ian Gittins)
- 'I always...' *PH*, *MM*, 12 May 1990 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'Hooky...' *TS*, *AI*, May 2009
- 'That's...' *PH*, Middles (1996), p. 293
- £250,000 *Guardian*, 9 January 1993
- 'Peter and I...' AHW memo to AE, 26 May 1990
- Fac 259 AHW, *Scream City* zine #1 (2006) (John Cooper)
- Livesey/Spurling Nolan (2009), pp. 117–9; pp. 134–6
- 'I've given...' *HS*, *MEN*, 1991 (Steve Panter). See Nolan (2009), p. 135
- 'The only...' *TS*, *AI*, May 2009
- Saxe/Stones *MM*, 31 March 1990
- DAT Ironically in March 1990 Factory ran an ad in *NME* promoting their expanding DAT catalogue, an exercise dignified as Fac 248 – *NME*, 17 March 1990
- subservient *NME* review of Step On, 31 March 1990
- 'They're...' *PS*, *AI*, May 2009
- 808 State Martin Price, *MM*, 4 August 1990
- 'We don't...' *BG*, *NME*, 17 February 1990; *MM*, 4 August 1990
- 'I mean...' *SR*, *MM*, 31 March 1990
- 'This is...' *SR*, *NME*, 23 June 1990 (Roger Morton)
- 'I just...' *SR*, *MM*, 31 March 1990
- 'I mean...' *SR*, *NME*, 23 June 1990 (Roger Morton)
- 'These...' *PH*, *MM*, 12 May 1990 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'I suppose...' *PH*, *MM*, 12 May 1990
- Northside *NME*, 26 May 1990
- 'It's really...' *WD*, *MM*, 16 June 1990 (Bob Stanley)
- 'I'm just...' *WD*, *NME*, 16 June 1990 (Jack Barron)
- 'We're getting...' *WD*, Granada TV, *Manchester*, Granada TV (1990)
- 'There wasn't...' *JB*, *Q*, June 2002 (Johnny Black)
- 'This should...' *BS*, *NME*, 19 May 1990
- MCA MW*, 2 March 1991
- 'It's quite...' *SM*, *Q*, June 2002 (Johnny Black); *NME*, 26 October 1991
- 'thinking of...' *KA*, *NME*, 5 May 1990 (James Brown)
- 'The strange...' *PH*, *MM*, 2 June 1990
- Sumner/bucket *PH*, *Q*, November 2001
- 'all our...' AHW note to AE, 26 May 1990. See also AHW in Middles (1996), p. 261
- Hacienda freehold/million pounds Wilson (2002), p. 234. Hook (2009) at p. 192 gives no figure, but seems to suggest that the option to purchase the freehold on Fac 51 arose in November 1989
- 'vindictive...' *PS*, *AI*, August 2009

- 'The dish...' AHW note to AE, 26 May 1990
- 'hit squad' Wilson (2002), p. 114
- Denise Johnson also heard on recordings by Biting Tongues, Primal Scream and Electronic
- 'Only an...' SM, *NME*, 30 June 1990 (David Quantick)
- few months Walsh (2003), p. 80
- 'Without...' Hook (2009), p. 192
- 'After the...' AHW, *NME*, 5 May 1990
- 'The statistics...' AHW, *MEN*, 1990; Nolan (2009), p. 125
- 'By that...' PM, Savage (1992), p. 50
- 'some individuals...' PM, AI, June 2009
- 'virtual...' Wilson (2002), p. 218
- 'I hate...' Hook (2009), pp. 180 and 194
- training shoes *MM*, 23 May 1992; *Discotheque: Hacienda* sleeve note (2006) (Tim Lawrence)
- £10,000 Collin (1997), p. 170
- Eighth Birthday see *NME*, 2 June 1990
- £160,663 Companies House documents, Fact 51 Ltd
- 'That was...' AHW, Savage (1992), p. 19
- 'I had to...' AHW, *NME*, 30 June 1990
- 'People...' Hook (2009), p. 180
- 'It wouldn't...' BS, *MM*, 23 May 1992
- Carman the idea came from Hacienda licensing solicitor Nigel Copeland
- 'the most...' Wilson (2002), p. 218
- 'that loudmouth' AHW, *Guardian*, 12 January 2000
- 'illegal...' AHW, *NME*, 30 June 1990
- £15,000 Paul Mason, AI, June 2009. Hook (2009) at p. 196 gives £15,000 as Carman's fee for the first day in court
- 'Having considered...' PM, AI, June 2009
- Carman/£250,000 says Hook (2009) at p. 196
- Stringer/raves Hook (2009), p. 176
- Haslam/threat Haslam (1999), p. 194
- 'There was...' MP, *Q*, June 2008
- Eastern Bloc *NME*, 13 January 1990
- Anderton Walsh (2003), p. 100; John Mortimer, *In Character*, Allen Lane (1983), p. 77
- 'I do...' BS, *NME*, 19 May 1990 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'But there...' BS, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990 (Ted Mico)
- 'I went...' MES, *MM*, 1 September 1990 (Paul Lester)
- Mottram Hall conference numbered Fac 301, 5 July 1990. The agenda reproduced at [www.cerymaticfactory.info](http://www.cerymaticfactory.info) provides a useful snapshot of FCL concerns and personnel at this time
- 'the culture...' AHW, *Vox*, October 1990. In 1989 Wilson had moderated an NMS panel on 'Drugs and Rock'
- 'Trance American' Haslam (1999), pp. 184–5
- 808 State now signed to Tommy Boy in the USA, an association Graham Massey prized above Factory or ZTT – GM, AI, May 2009
- 'the whole...' NMcG, *MM*, 28 July 1990; 4 August 1990
- political *NME*, 21 April 1990
- Enterprise Allowance Scheme Bez (1998), p. 231
- 'They're fucking...' DM, *MM*, 4 August 1990 (Steve Sutherland); see also *NME*, 4 August 1990. May complained *MM* did not quote him in context – see *MM*, 15 September 1990
- 'Wilson...' DM, *NME*, 1 September 1990 (Mandi James)
- 'When we...' SR, *MM*, 10 November 1990 (Ted Mico)
- 'Tony...' PO, Verrico (1998), p. 127
- 'The letters...' PM, AI, June 2009
- 'It would...' GS letter, *NME*, 4 August 1990 (James Brown)
- 'The council...' PM, *NME*, 4 August 1990
- 100 staff Companies House documents state an average of only forty-nine
- eighty witnesses Savage (1992), p. 50; *NME*, 12 January 1991; *MM*, 12 January 1991
- 'They didn't...' PC, Savage (1992), p. 47
- Fac 238 produced in advance of an official visit to Manchester by the International Olympic Committee at the end of August
- £700,000 AHW, *Guardian*, 12 January 2000. The same paper cited £600,000 on 9 January 1993. It is generally agreed that the Charles Street development cost Factory between £700,000 and £750,000
- ideas *NME*, 4 August 1990
- Saville/PSA closure Saville (2003), pp. 16–17
- Pentagram PS planned to make the company 'a bit funkier again' and 'get it how it was in the early 1970s' – PS, *Blueprint*, November 1990
- Wilson/heed Wilson (2002), p. 237
- Wall Street Journal* Haslam (1999), p. 203
- 'more...' *MM*, 26 May 1990. Also *MM*, 22/29 December 1990
- 'gleaming...' *NME*, 2 June 1990
- 'Played live...' PH, Revenge CD sleeve note, 2003 (Claude Flowers)
- 'I'll accept...' Hook (2009), p. 240
- Kalima/Feeling Fine see *NME*, 18 August 1990.
- The greatest testament to Factory loyalty next

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- to Section 25, Kalima perhaps showed too little forward movement. However, the group were cheap to record, sold respectably abroad, and mostly broke even
- 'half full...' *NME*, 7 July 1990 (Penny Anderson). Gig on 23 June
- Electronic LA Dodgers Stadium gigs on 4 and 5 August
- rashly BS, *MM*, 7 July 1990
- 'We had...' BS, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990 (Ted Mico)
- 'But I've...' BS, *NME*, 19 May 1990 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'If New...' SM, *NME*, 26 October 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'O2 grew...' SM, AI, June 2009
- 'It's hard...' SM, *NME*, 20 November 1993
- Ryder/Colours *NME*, 12 May 1990; 6 October 1990. Designated Fac 292
- 'There was...' NMcG, Norris (2007), p. 142
- 'It wouldn't...' BK, AI, June 2009
- 'triangulation' AHW, Nolan (2009), p. 133
- 'Adulation...' AHW, McDermott (1990)
- Charles Street design Robertson (2006), pp. 182–4 in-house studio called In-house, run by John Macklin
- 'They had...' MP, Robb (2009), p. 249
- 'Factory didn't...' MP, Q, June 2008
- The Wendys those attending the party on 29 September received an exclusive CD, featuring a witty electro track by Stephen Morris and Gillian Gilbert called Loved It (The New Factory), which sampled ghosts of Factory past from NOPAH
- Wendys/£90,000 Ian White, AI, September 2009. Their Edinburgh support with the Mondays seems to have been in October 1988
- 'I heard...' PS, *i-D* (The Pioneer Issue), 1990
- 'People...' PS, AI, May 2009
- 'One day...' PS, AI, May 2009
- Cath Carroll *MM*, 1 September 1990
- 'Paul Smith...' CC, AI, July 2009. CC relocated to Chicago in December 1989. The Fon/Factory conflict was complicated by the fact that Fon director Amrik Rai was also CC's co-manager
- 'It might...' AHW, Middles (1996), pp. 276–7
- 'Moves Like...' AHW, email to author, April 2005
- Classics in Motion Glasgow Tramway, 7 September 1990 (Fac 317); Manchester Hacienda, 16 October 1990 (Fac 318); Bloomsbury Theatre, 29–31 October 1990 (Fac 319)
- 'loudest...' *MM*, 29 September 1990 (Allan Brown)
- 'We never...' WD, *NME*, 20 October 1990 (Dele Fadele)
- 'I have...' SM, *MM*, 3 November 1990; see also *NME*, 27 October 1990. Morrissey was still at odds with Wilson too, describing AHW as 'the biggest pop star in Manchester, who lords it over the Manchester scene and tramples on anyone who disagrees with him' – Nolan (2009), p. 143
- 'I don't...' SR, *MM*, 10 November 1990 (Ted Mico)
- Yeats AHW, Q Manchester Special on Edition, Manchester (2006), p. 107
- Groovy Afro *NME*, 6 October 1990
- 'When...' SR, *NME*, 6 October 1990 (James Brown)
- 'This is...' *NME*, 3 November 1990 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'first major...' *MM*, 3 November 1990 (David Stubbs)
- 'I met...' EL, Robb (2009), p. 351. EL also managed baggy minnows New Fast Automatic Daffodils
- 'Everything...' BS, *NME*, 18 August 1990 (Danny Kelly)
- 'It's becoming...' BS, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990
- 'We just...' AE, AI, August 2009
- 'It seemed...' VR, RC, February 2002
- 'The paintings...' PC, *NME*, 17 November 1990 (Mandi James)
- Bowie/midget *NME*, 16 September 1989
- 'midget' Q special edition on Manchester Special Edition, (2006), p. 104
- Sumner/*Hello Playmates* *MM*, 17 November 1990. *Hello Playmates* ran in London in November and December 1990
- Haslam quits *NME*, 20 October 1990; *NME*, 15 December 1990; Hook (2009), p. 199
- Newsweek* Bidder (2001), p. 175
- BA *MM*, 22/29 December 1990 (filmed November)
- Roger Kennedy Paul Mason, Savage (1992), p. 50
- 'I have...' RK, *MEN*, 7 February 1991
- Konspiracy Walsh (2003), pp. 78–81
- Piccadilly 21 *Mixmag*, February 1998
- 'I've seen...' *MEN*, 1 February 1991
- 'I wanted...' PM, AI, June 2009
- 'Roger told...' Wilson (2002), pp. 223–4
- 'Let's face...' statement reproduced in Wilson (2002), pp. 220–1

'Every...' BS, *MM*, 22/29 December 1990  
 Ryder/heroin *NME*, 22/29 December 1990; *MM*,  
 15 December 1990  
 'He has...' statement quoted in Verrico (1998),  
 p. 131  
 Bez on Ryder Bez (1998), pp. 307–8

## 1991

'Never...' BS, *MM*, 14 September 1991  
 'weak link' *NME*, 12 January 1991; *MM*, 12  
 January 1991. Robson also warned that the  
 existing evidence against the club would not be  
 'treated as stale' if the good behaviour lapsed  
 'The prospect...' *EM*, *MM*, 12 January 1991  
 'The directors...' *PM*, *NME*, 12 January 1991;  
*MM*, 12 January 1991 (wording differs)  
 'Electronic...' *NME*, 19 January 1991 (Mandi  
 James)  
 'The real...' Wilson (2002), p. 219  
 White Tony/shots *AHW*, Bidder (2001), p. 175.  
 See also Wilson (2002), p. 224: 'A Cheetham  
 Hill sub-head went walkabout in the Hac  
 entrance. Waving a gun in the air. Shots were  
 fired.' This appears to have been a separate  
 incident to the Uzi incident on 26 January. A  
 report in *MW* on 11 May 1991 talks of two  
 serious gun incidents close together in time,  
 although the two seem to have been confused  
 as one on most subsequent accounts  
 'Someone who...' BS, *Anmocity*, August 2001  
 'The head...' Hook (2009), p. 214. An Uzi was  
 also mentioned in *MW*, 20 April 1991  
 emergency meeting Eric Longley, Robb (2009),  
 p. 352  
 Erasmus/options Wilson (2002), p. 224. Lesley  
 Gilbert confirms that during this period  
 Gretton was concerned for the safety of his  
 family and raised the possibility of leaving  
 Manchester temporarily – *AI*, November 2009  
 'There were...' *LR*, Nolan (2009), pp. 130–1  
 'With my...' *AHW*, Savage (1992), p. 19  
 'Tony was...' *PM*, *AI*, June 2009  
 'The gang...' *FA*, *AI*, June 2009  
 Gretton/closure Wilson (2002), p. 224; Rebecca  
 Boulton, *AI*, July 2009  
 Stringer/closure *AHW*, Bidder (2001), p. 175  
 GMP/closure *PM*, *AI*, June 2009; Eric Longley,  
 Robb (2009), p. 352  
 'Closing...' *RK*, *MEN*, 7 February 1991. Wilson  
 later admitted that the closure was a mistake –  
 see Bidder (2001), p. 175

'The Hacienda...' *AHW*, *NME*, 9 February  
 1991  
 'When we...' *AHW*, *MM*, 21/28 December  
 1991  
 Wilson feared *AHW*, *NME*, 18 May 1991  
 'I had...' *EL*, Robb (2009), p. 352  
 £8,000 *AHW*, Bidder (2001), p. 175  
 £7,000 Wilson (2002), p. 226  
 £200,000 *MW*, 14 September 1991. Paul Mason  
 confirms the figure as probably correct  
 £481,912/£575,478 Companies House  
 documents, Fact 51 Ltd  
 two bids *MW*, 9 February 1991  
 inflation had peaked at a ruinous 21.9 per cent in  
 1980  
 RTD Middles (1996), p. 273  
 'leisure division' *AHW*, *NME*, 30 November 1991  
 'We were' Wilson (2002), pp. 237–9  
 Alan Wise *MW*, 10 August 1991  
 Fac 331 Wilson (2002), p. 236, claimed the table  
 cost £30,000, this claim/scene repeated in the  
 film *24 Hour Party people* (2002). In fact  
 Woodcock and Jackson were paid only £1,200  
 ([www.cerysmatic.com](http://www.cerysmatic.com)). Perhaps Charles Street  
 cost £30,000 to furnish in total  
 'It was...' Anon., *MW*, 5 December 1992  
 Johnson murder Walsh (2003), pp. 93–7; Bez  
 (1998), p. 272  
 'Cheetham Hill...' Wilson (2002), p. 224  
 'It was...' *LR*, Collin (1997), pp. 173–4  
 'secret' meetings Collin (1997), p. 174  
 'We managed...' *PM*, *AI*, June 2009  
 'Tony would...' Hook (2009), p. 194  
 Get The Message release delayed by a further  
 three weeks after Sumner heard a pre-release  
 copy on local radio and insisted the single be  
 re-mastered  
 'We saw...' BS, *MM*, 13 April 1991 (Ted Mico)  
 'maybe...' *JM*, *Q*, September 2007  
 'Martin...' *PF*, *Q* Classic on  
 ManchesterManchester Special Edition, 2006  
 (Martin Aston)  
 Hannett/£1,000 *WH*, *AI*, November 2009  
 Hannett death *MM*, 20 April 1991; Wendy  
 Hannett, *AI*, November 2009, who has no  
 knowledge of the U2/cheque incident in Sharp  
 (2007) at p. 219–20 and doubts that it is true.  
 At the time of his death Hannett lived in  
 Nicholas Road, Chorlton, and was  
 contemplating a move to Didsbury  
 'I can't...' *TS*, *AI*, May 2009. Unforgivably, the  
 film *24 Hour Party People* (2002) contains a

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- 'comic' scene in which Hannett's oversize coffin fails to fit in his grave. TS and Larry Cassidy confirm this did not happen
- 'complete...' AHW memo to AE, 26 May 1990
- 'In 1979...' AHW, *NME*, 20 April 1991
- 'It is...' AHW, *MW*, 20 April 1991
- 'hole in the...' MH, NOPAH (Channel 4), 1984
- 'It is...' AHW, *MW*, 20 April 1991
- 'We believe...' AHW, *NME*, 20 April 1991; Hook (2009), p. 212, which dates the press release 11 April 1991
- 'add a few...' BK, Savage (1992), p. 21
- Cheetham Hill/Healing Walsh (2003), p. 127
- 'When we...' Hook (2009), pp. 212–3
- 'When The...' MP, Robb (2009), p. 350
- 'It just...' MP, AI, March 2009
- M People Record Mirror (MW)*, 28 September 1991
- Mercury M People won in 1994 with album *Elegant Slumming*
- 'It was...' WD, *Q* Manchester Special Edition, special (2006)
- 'Texturally...' *MM*, 6 July 1991 (Ian Gittins)
- 4,000 Verrico (1998), p. 143
- 'It was...' CC, AI, July 2009
- 'We invited...' MT, *NME*, 5 October 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'Tony thought...' EL, Verrico (1998), pp. 142–3. ER also adds: 'We once went to a meeting with Alan McGee of Creation and Daniel Miller of Mute where we discussed a joint venture in France. On the way out, Wilson commented that there was no way we were going to join in business with someone who had no dress sense, like Alan McGee. So McGee's sartorial elegance became the stumbling block.' – EL, Robb (2009), p. 353
- 'Tony took...' PS, *Q*, June 2008
- 'I was...' AMcC, *NME*, 1 June 1991 (David Quantick)
- 'It's my...' RG, *MM*, 16 February 1991
- proper label Lesley Gilbert, AI, April 2009
- 'Rob always...' Hook (2009), pp. 223–4. Other Rob's artists with a Factory connection were Anambi, featuring Life/Electronic keyboards man Andy Robinson, and a single by former Quando Quango member Ronnie Rietveld, as Hillegonda. Rob's also issued several American imports, notably Beat Club and Roy Davis Jr
- 'We finished...' JM, Best Of sleeve note, 2006
- 'one of...' *MM*, 25 May 1991 (Paul Lester)
- million copies Warner press release, June 1996
- 'You've...' BS, *MM*, 14 September 1991
- 'Considering...' AHW, *Vox*, January 1992
- Morrissey *Vox*, June 1991
- 'I know...' JM, *NME*, 27 April 1991
- 'not taking...' AHW, *NME*, 21–28 December 1991
- 'drugs, unreliability...' *MM*, 29 June 1991
- Madchester/passé press claims contradicted by effective Elland Road co-headliners The Farm, whose debut album *Spartacus* somehow managed to top the British album chart in March, selling half a million copies
- 'Happy Mondays...' *MM*, 8 June 1991 (Paul Lester)
- 'the biggest...' *NME*, 8 June 1991
- CITP info AW, AI, September 2009
- CITP/New Order etc *MM*, 15 June 1991; *NME*, 11 May 1991
- 22 June** the stabbings took place at 02.58, the club having been granted a late licence that night to remain open until 04.00. The six doormen wounded were semi-local and listed as residing in Stockport, Leigh, Partington, Eccles and Warrington – see *MM*, 29 June 1991
- 'It was like...' Hook (2009), pp. 213–4
- 'They were...' PM, AI, June 2009
- 'This copper...' MP, Bidder (2001), p. 176
- 'A complete...' MP, Robb (2009), p. 350
- 'There is...' PC, *NME*, 29 June 1991; *MM*, 29 June 1991
- 'Looking back...' Hook (2009), p. 216
- affray Walsh (2003), p. 128
- 'Who else...' Anon, *Mixmag*, February 1998 (Oliver Swanton)
- Paul Carroll Walsh (2003), p. 152; Hook (2009), p. 214–15
- 'What happened...' PW, AI, May 2009
- Everton FC see *Scally* by Andy Nicholls (Milo, 2002), pp. 356–7
- Noonan/Doorsafe Hook (2009), p. 216–7
- 'Ultimately...' PM, AI, June 2009. Hook (2009) at p. 217 states that although Carroll and Noonan were Salford faces they were essentially neutral as regards gangs
- 'When I...' DN, *McIntyre's Underworld*, Channel 5 (UK), 2005
- 'The door...' Wilson (2002), pp. 238–9. Leroy Richardson contradicts this: 'People say Damien and Dessie Noonan muscled in and took the door. They didn't. I was the one who introduced them. It had it's downside, but it had it's upside. Without them, the club would have closed. Everybody says they took it over

- and they ran it, that it was protection money. It wasn't. They got paid very well and I think that whatever they got paid it wasn't enough' – Nolan (2009), pp. 129–30. Hook (2009) at p. 200 tends to support the Wilson version: '[The doormen] had to become much, much harder in order to protect themselves. Eventually the whole axis of power in the club would shift, so that it was no longer the management running it – it was the doormen.' The reality is that most club owners face problems from gangsters and criminals, and have to decide whether to work with them, or with the police. In 1991 Michael Eavis also announced his decision to cancel the Glastonbury Festival, following threats and violence from travellers the previous year – see *NME*, 18 May 1991.
- Different thugs, similar problem
- 'The people...' SR, *NME*, 13 July 1991
- Penthouse Verrico (1998), pp. 144–6
- 'It was...' SR, *Siren* (USA), 1991 (Susan Compo)
- 'I just...' SR, *NME*, 16 November 1991 (Steven Wells)
- CITP 3 and 4 August 1991
- 'I've always...' AW, *MW*, 10 August 1991
- Nathan McGough *MW*, 10 August 1991
- 'Saturday...' AW, *AI*, September 2009
- Dave Hicks *MM*, 30 March 1991
- 'We did...' PH, *NME*, 11 January 1992 (David Quantick)
- 'When Barney...' PH, *Q*, November 2001
- 'We were...' SM, *Select*, October 1991 (Johnny Dee)
- eight song ideas AHW, *NME*, 30 November 1991
- 'Don't look...' SM, *NME*, 26 October 1991 (Stuart Maconie). Note that there was a US black act in the mid-1960s called The Other Two, who made at least two 7-inch singles released on RCA, also issued in the UK: Don't You Wanna Love Me Baby/Hold Back The Light Of Dawn (RCA 1465, June 1965); I'll Never Let You Go/Not At Night (RCA 1531, July 1966)
- 'I'm not...' SM, *Select*, October 1991 (Johnny Dee)
- CITP live album *MM*, 10 August 1991
- Palace CITP video released November 1991
- Palatine* *MM*, 10 August 1991
- retrospective author's own experience when LTM issued the Section 25 catalogue on CD in September 1991 under licence from Factory, who by then had already mislaid several key master tapes
- 'Financially...' EL, Verrico (1998), pp. 144 and 148
- 'This is...' AHW, *MW*, 14 September 1991
- 'Factory usually...' *NME*, 14 September 1991
- stealing/stock several people interviewed for this book confirmed this incident
- production fault opening notes missing from initial pressings
- unpaid royalties Mondays SR (£100,000), *MM*, 26 October 1991; New Order BS (*Technique* royalties), *Noise* magazine (1994)
- 'I got...' NMcG, *Q* Classic on Manchester Special Edition, (2006); Norris (2007), p. 151
- 'I never...' SR, *MM*, 28 September 1991 (Ian Gittins)
- 'It was...' PO, Norris (2007), p. 152
- O'Connor SR, *MM*, 18 May 1991.
- 'Shaun Ryder...' SO'C, *MM*, 5 September 1992
- Ryder/rent boy Verrico (1998), p. 150
- Paul Ryder Verrico (1998), pp. 150–1
- 'I had...' SR, *NME*, 26 October 1991
- mystery McGough, *Q* Manchester Special Edition, (2006); Jeff Barrett, *Q*, June 2008; Wilson (20023), p. 244
- 'I remember...' JH, Verrico (1998), pp. 155–6
- Northside *MM*, 19 October 1991
- Toasted Heretic Phil Saxe, *AI*, May 2009
- Rain/doorstepped Chris Hutton interview, *Q* Oasis (Oasis special), Special Edition, 2002
- 'Before Creation...' NG, Robb (2009), p. 364
- Stone Roses Cavanagh (2001), p. 549
- 'We couldn't...' PS, Robb (2009), p. 364
- 'wondrously...' *NME*, 2 November 1991 (Gavin Martin). Also described as 'a giddy, masterfully conceived vat of froth'
- 'New Order...' *MM*, 26 October 1991 (Paul Lester)
- 'It was...' GG, *NME*, 26 October 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'Barney...' SM, *Select*, October 2009 (Johnny Dee)
- sample clearance Steve Morris, *AI*, June 2009
- 'Look...' AHW, *NME*, 2 November 1991; *NME*, 30 November 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'a complete...' AHW, Middles (1996), pp. 275–6
- 'substantial...' *MW*, 5 December 1992
- 'We are...' JR, *MW*, 19 October 1991
- minority shareholding 15 or 20 per cent, see *Vox*, January 1992; *MW*, 5 December 1992
- vetoed *Vox*, January 1992
- 'inducement letter' AHW letter dated 11 September 1991 reproduced in Hook (2009)

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- 'my partners...' AHW, *NME*, 2 November 1991; 30 November 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'like cat...' Hook (2009), p. 241
- 'What's...' Wilson (2002), p. 245
- 'Putting...' AHW, *NME*, 30 November 1991
- Palatine* Fact 400, the four discs carried separate titles: Tears In Their Eyes, Life's A Beach, The Beat Groups and Selling Out. The booklet also contained short 'recollections' for each track by Paul Morley, Steve Redmond, Jon Savage, Dele Fadele, Phil Saxe, Anthony Wilson, C. P. Lee, Cath Carroll, Dave Haslam, Michel Duval (in French), Stephen Kingston, John Peel, Steve Redhead and Lindsay Reade. A plan to reissue the box became the superior Rhino/Warners CD box set *Factory Records: Communications 1978-1992*, released in January 2009.
- alienate *MW*, 5 December 1992
- 'Is this...' *MM*, 30 November 1991 (Ian Gittins)
- 'You people...' AHW, *NME*, 30 November 1991 (Stuart Maconie)
- 'I hate...' Bez, *NME*, 16 November 1991 (Steven Wells)
- 'stitch...' Bez (1998), p. 305
- 'awful stuff' Eric Longley, Verrico (1998), p. 153
- 'Any accusations...' AHW, *MM*, 5 September 1992
- 'That incident...' Bez (1998), p. 306; Verrico (1998), p. 154
- Nathan McGough Norris (2007), pp. 152-3
- 'I don't...' Norris (2007), p. 153
- Ryder/desperate *NME*, 21/28 December 1991
- 'We were...' Wilson (2002), p. 239
- 27** Forever ad *NME*, 16 November 1991. Still oin the subject of door violence in Manchester, Ratio played Manchester Academy on 7 December 1991. Following the gig Martin Moscrop took an associate of production clients World of Twist backstage, only to be assaulted by three security guards, two of whom held his arms while a third attacked him. Moscrop fell, gashed the back of his head, and was rushed to hospital, where he received eight stitches. The bouncers were said to have been casuals rather than the security firm employed by the venue, and vanished into the night - *MM*, 21/28 December 1991
- 'Factory started...' PS, *AI*, May 2009
- unveiled plans *MW*, 20 July 1991; *NME*, 23 November 1991
- 100 balloons *MW*, 27 July 1991
- 'The response...' AHW, *NME*, 23 November 2009
- 'On record...' *MM*, 21/28 December 1991 (Jonh Wilde)
- 'Getting...' *NME*, 21/28 December 1991 (Simon Williams)
- 'the violence...' AHW, *Q*, February 1992 (Tom Hibbert). The *Q* interview took place around 8 November 1991. Rowbotham's death was drug-related, and was soon the subject of Lonesome Cowboy Dave by Happy Mondays £757 etc *Q*, February 1993

## 1992

- 'Factory...' PS, *AI*, May 2009
- 'Capitalism...' AHW, *MM*, 30 January 1993
- Talking Heads the choice seems to have been down to Wilson and Paul Ryder. See Robb (2009), pp. 84-5
- weight/America Bez (1998), p. 308
- 'Coming...' TW, *AI*, September 2009 (confirming earlier unattributed quotes)
- 'hot weather...' *MM*, 1 February 1992
- Windsong* the New Order live album entered the indie top ten in February but hardly registered on the national chart
- MCA Scream City* zine #3, June 2007 (Andrew James)
- Revenge/Oasis gig on 20 April 1992
- 'I suppose...' PH, *MM*, 8 February 1992 (Tony Horkins)
- 'When we...' SM, *Chaos Control* zine, 1993 (Bob Gourley)
- 'It wasn't...' BS, *Noise* magazine (1994)
- 'I had...' BS comment in Nolan (2007), p. 127
- 'There...' BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)
- chaos see Verrico (1998), pp. 159-63; Robb (2009), pp. 277-8; Bez (1998), pp. 312-28
- 'The real...' SR, Verrico (1998), p. 162
- £20,000 Companies House documents, FCL; Verrico (1998), p. 162
- furniture AHW, Warburton (2003), p. 38
- 'To say...' Bez (1998), p. 327
- 'I tracked down...' HT, blog, 25 May 2008, [http://northforksound.blogspot.com/2008\\_05\\_01\\_archive.html](http://northforksound.blogspot.com/2008_05_01_archive.html)
- 'It's not...' NMcG, Norris (2007), p. 154
- 'If anyone...' AHW, Warburton (2003), p. 37; *Observer*, 3 March 2002
- Lada/priest *MM*, 6 March 1993
- 'the best...' AHW, *MM*, 11 April 1992
- 'This album...' NMcG, *MM*, 30 May 1992
- Pet Shop Boys gig on 13 May 1992



- Flesh Haslam (1999), p. 203  
*Haçienda Classics* MM, 23 May 1992; MM, 5 September 1992; NME, 26 September 1992; *Scream City* zine #2, June 2006. Hook (2009) at p. 234 claims that the £10,000 required was instead spent on fairground grounds rides at The Haçienda at the tenth anniversary party
- Oasis/Pulp PS, AI, May 2009  
 Pornucopia FV, AI, July 2009  
 Saxe/Real World Wilson (2002), p. 244. This happened at least twice
- BMG/EMI MW, 5 December 1992  
 advance/instalments having signed an American deal with EastWest, The Wendys reached a similar accommodation – Ian White, AI, September 2009
- Adventure Babies/second single MW, 5 December 1992  
 ‘eleven of...’ NME, 11 July 1992 (Nancy Culp)  
 ‘That’s not...’ AHW, MW, 4 July 1992  
 ‘We had...’ SM, AI, May 2009  
 ‘We were...’ GG, *Mojo*, September 2001, and *City Life*, 28 May 1993  
 ‘Every time...’ SM, *Chaos Control* (1993) (Bob Gourley)  
 ‘Storm...’ BS, *Uncut*, February 1999 (Paul Lester)  
*The Crow* Thompson (2005), p. 106  
 Electronic/EMI NME, 23 January 1993  
 ‘Electronic still...’ BS, NME, 10 April 1993  
 friction AHW, Middles (1996), p. 284  
 ‘I don’t...’ AHW, NME, 18 July 1992  
 ‘There was...’ Aanon., MW, 5 December 1992  
 ‘I don’t...’ AHW, NME, 25 July 1992 (Danny Kelly)  
 thirty-nine albums Cavanagh (2000), p. 347  
 ‘edifice complex’ Wilson (2002), p. 234  
 £2.5 million MW, 22 August 1992  
 New Order/1993 MM, 15 August 1992  
 Dry raid NME, 12 September 1992  
 ‘That’s...’ PM, AI, June 2009  
 contrary claims AHW, *Q*, February 1992  
 £375,000 Wilson (2002), p. 239. See also Hook (2009), p. 216  
 808 State MM, 22 August 1992 (Andrew Smith)  
 ‘a real...’ MW, 18 January 1992  
 ‘leading...’ MW ad, 25 April 1992  
 Tomato stunt, MM, 26 September 1992  
 Savage/launch 14 September 1992  
 Haslam/Wilson spat NME, 26 September 1992.  
 The pair were still at war a decade later – see Nolan (2009), p. 167; Hook (2009), p. 199  
 ‘For the...’ AE, AI, December 2009
- Ames/Oberstein MW, 26 September 1992  
 ‘The most...’ RA, MW, 26 December 1992  
 ‘If the...’ AHW, Middles (1996), p. 284  
 fire sale value Wilson (2002), p. 237  
 Fact 330 MM, 29 August 1992  
 ‘As you...’ PH, MM, 26 September 1992  
 ‘We all...’ SM, *City Life*, 28 May 1993  
 £300,000 NMcG, Norris (2007), p. 155  
 ‘I’m quite...’ SR, NME, 10 October 1992  
 ‘I just...’ PD, NME, 17 October 1992  
 bootleg cassettes MM, 21 November 1992  
 ‘as good...’ MM, 5 September 1992. ‘I bent over backwards to be nice about that album,’ SR told this author in September 2009  
 10,000 NME, 5 December 1992  
 ‘Chris and...’ AHW, Warburton (2003), p. 34  
 £40,000 in Norris (2007), p. 157. Receivership documents lodged at Companies House show Oakenfold and Osborne each owed £21,045.74  
 ‘Everything...’ AHW, Warburton (2003), p. 41  
*Up in Downsville* ACR played at a Rob’s party at The Haçienda on 4 March 1992, along Anambi and DJs Dave Rofe, Andy Robinson and Peter Robinson. See Hook (2009), p. 243  
 ‘We still...’ BS, *Uncut*, February 2009 (Paul Lester)  
 Sumner/Wilson row Middles (1996), p. 285  
 Palace Pictures *The Egos Have Landed* by Angus Finney (London, 1996), pp. 245–8  
 5 November NME, 14 November 1992  
 £4 million Wilson (2002), pp. 246–7  
 Alan McGee the press reported that AHW met McGee to discuss the offer made by London in November, but interviewed by this author in 2009, McGee could recall no such meeting  
 ACR/catalogue a 1990 deal brokered by Tina Simmons as an independent consultant after her departure from Factory  
 Mondays/EMI see Verrico (1998), p. 170  
 ‘The master...’ *Q*, February 1993. The document continued: ‘At the end of the term of the rights granted by this agreement you will have the right to sell off your existing stocks for a period of three months; thereafter you will either destroy all remaining stocks or at the group’s option they may buy all or part of these stocks at cost from you’  
 Rebecca Boulton RB, AI, July 2009. The dramatic account given by Wilson (2002) is largely fiction. The meeting took place at London not Charles Street, and the napkin signed in blood

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- in 1979 was not the document produced. London were already aware that Factory owned little of its own back catalogue, and negotiations did not end at this point. Debt was the main issue, not the back catalogue
- 'You've...' AHW, MW, 5 December 1992
- 'This was...' MW, 5 December 1992
- 'We wrote...' Wilson (2003), p. 247
- 'brilliantly...' Wilson (2002), p. 247
- Wilson/realization AHW, *Spike* magazine, 2005 (Craig Johnson)
- 'I still...' RA, MW, 5 December 1992
- 'We were...' CB, *Music & Media*, 12 December 1992
- 'Some...' Wilson (2002), p. 247
- 'Far from...' AHW, Q interview, February 2007
- NatWest MW, 5 December 1992
- £770,000 NME, 27 February 1993
- Deborah Curtis Curtis (1995), p. xvii
- 'There's...' AHW, MW, 5 December 1992
- 'I'm numb...' AHW, *MEN*, 24 November 1992
- 'No-one...' AHW, *Billboard*, 5 December 1992
- 'Capitalism...' AWH, *MM*, 30 January 1993
- 'We found...' LM, AI, November 2004
- flowers documents, Companies House documents, FCL
- Tosh Ryan Lindsay Reade, AI, September 2009
- 'I'm amused...' TR, *Chimp* magazine, April 2009
- Flying Start* 5 December 1992
- 'As the...' see *MM*, 5 December 1992
- 'Factory didn't...' PS, AI, August 2009
- receivers' statement *MEN*, 24 November 1992
- 'It's fair...' MW, 5 December 1992
- 'It's a real...' NME, 5 December 1992
- 'Unless...' DP, *MEN*, 24 November 1992
- 'They just...' BS, *Observer*, 12 August 2001 (Miranda Sawyer)
- 'The New...' NMcG, NME, 5 December 1992
- 'Even if...' NMcG, *MEN*, 25 November 1992
- New Order/no comment *MEN*, 25 November 1992; NME, 12 December 1992
- 'I'm sad...' BS, NME, 10 April 1993
- 'I certainly...' BS, Verrico (1998), p. 169
- 'That was...' SM, NME, 10 April 1993 (David Quantick); *City Life*, 28 May 1993
- 'What we've...' PH, *City Life*, 28 May 1993
- 'The total...' SM, NME, 5 December 1992
- Travis/Mills/Haslam NME, 5 December 1992
- 'I remember...' TM, Middles (1996), pp. 282–3
- creditors/amounts FCL documents, Companies House documents, FCL
- £400,000 NME, 27 February 1993
- Jayne Haughton Verrico (1998), pp. 168–9; *MM*, 5 December 1992
- Leonard Curtis/Polygram MW, 16 January 1993; NME, 6 February 1993
- 'There's...' BS, NME, 27 March 1993
- Charles Street/£350,000 *Property Week*, 15 April 1993. The premises were purchased by Manto for slightly less than the asking price. In May 1993 it opened as a gay club, Paradise Factory, which also functioned as a bar and exhibition centre during the day. This suggests that the 'fire sale' value of the Factory property portfolio was not as low as myth suggests. Peter Hook opened the venue Fac 251 there in February 2010
- 23 December Curtis (1995), p. xvii
- NO/EMI Rebecca Boulton, AI, July 2009. See also Cavanagh (2001), p. 559, which shows that Alan McGee claimed to have made a serious offer for New Order at this time. However, contacted by this author in 2009 McGee denied making any offer for New Order
- 'We signed...' BS, *Noise* magazine (1994)
- Factory Too *MM*, 30 January 1993; NME, 6 February 1993; MW, 16 January 1993
- Kew/Waterman MW, 26 June 1993. Waterman was keynote speaker at ITC 1993, and afterwards baled out Eastern Bloc Records on Oldham Street
- 'Alan was...' AHW, *Observer*, 3 March 2002 (Sean O'Hagan)
- Ryder/Black dislike Bez (1998), p. 333
- 'I was...' ELR, Verrico (1998), p. 171
- 'It was...' SR, *Vox*, July 1995
- £650 *MM*, 6 March 1993
- 'Shaun Ryder...' NMcG, Verrico (1998), p. 173. Three months later McGough took up an A&R post with EastWest – NME, 1 May 1993
- Leonard Curtis meeting 22 February 1993. Directors: AHW, AE, Chris Smith. Shareholders: AHW, PS, AE, RG
- £3.5 million NME, 27 February 1993
- loggerheads MW, 27 February 1993
- deadlines/Pinnacle MW, 20 March 1993
- New Order album ownership spat MW, 20 March 1993
- 1995 July. Only then was Wilson able to launch Factory Too, financed by London, and no great success
- New Order/leisure division NME, 27 March 1993
- 'We got...' SM, AI, May 2009
- 'I'd actually...' MP, Bidder (2001), p. 176

'For the...' MP, *Discotheque: Hacienda* sleeve note  
(2006) (Tim Lawrence)  
'I said...' MP, Haslam (1999), p. 204  
David Hasselhoff BS, *Uncut*, November 2009  
Saville/LA Saville (2003), p. 44 ; Saville (2007),  
p. 78  
*Republic* USA sales *NYT*, 4 August 1993  
'We wanted...' SM, *NME*, 10 April 1993  
'Occasional...' Fac 2 sleeve note  
'Aimless...' AHW, Reynolds (2009), pp. 75–6

### Postscript

'It's not...' AHW, *Uncut*, April 2004  
Fac 251 – opened on 5 February 2010  
Larry Cassidy – Larry was found dead at his  
Blackpool home on 27 February 2010, having  
almost completed work on the remix album  
*Retrofit*. A blood clot caused heart failure. The  
heart and soul of Section 25, Larry's final gig  
with the band had been at a Factory Night at  
Plan K on 12 December 2009