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The Haçienda: The Manufactured Image of a Post-industrial City

Sally Stone

ABSTRACT

Manchester is a dark and gloomy northern English city; it is synonymous with three things: industry, football and music. As with most Western cities, little heavy industry survives, but the city has garnered cult status, producing globally influential musicians. During the Industrial Revolution, its Hulme district crammed thousands into substandard terraced houses; the failed Utopian dream of the Hulme Crescents, constructed to replace them, had, by the late 1970s become a symbol of a broken environment. This disconsolate and dejected place formed a backdrop to images that the band, Joy Division, used to define themselves. These bleak and uncompromising circumstances led Factory Records to build the Haçienda, – once described as the “most famous nightclub in the world.”¹ The interior, designed by Ben Kelly, has become seminal, and the cultural legacy of the industrial aesthetic of the club is powerful. This paper examines the circumstances that produced it and argues that its design language is inextricably linked with the time and place of its creation.

KEYWORDS: Ben Kelly, interior design, Manchester, the Haçienda, Factory Records

Possibly one of the most well recognized and reproduced images in rock photography is a black-and-white photograph of a very young band leaning dispassionately upon the balustrade of a pedestrian overpass above a dual carriageway (Figure 1). Ostensibly, this is a photograph of four young men on a bridge. But this seminal image is far more significant. It is really a picture that could be described as defining a point within Western society; an image that symbolizes the embodiment of post-industrialization, a condition that affected all Western societies.

The youths are the four members of the post-Punk band Joy Division. They are about to release their first album, *Unknown Pleasures*. The backdrop is the infamous Mancunian housing estate, Hulme, once described by the *Architects Journal* as “Europe’s worst housing stock.”² The image that they are projecting is the gray, uncompromising representation of misunderstood, futureless youth.

Kevin Cummins took the infamous photograph. He is a Mancunian who has documented the evolution of the late twentieth-/early twenty-first-century British music scene. His camera has witnessed every rock music revolution from the mid-1970s early Punk through New Wave, Hip Hop, and Madchester (A genre of British music that developed in Manchester, it mixed alternative and psychedelic rock with dance music.) to today’s Indie Rock. He has had a long connection with the influential music paper, the *NME (New Musical Express)*, which included ten years as their chief photographer. He has shot David Bowie, Siouxsie Sioux, Oasis, and The Smiths. His work is significant; his images have been seen as a contributing factor in the acceptance and recognition of alternative music, not just by that rebellious faction which needed to embrace a seditious cause, but also by a much more mainstream audience. His recognition by the establishment is now complete: he has a number of images on display in London’s National Portrait Gallery. Cummins documented the birth of Punk. He photographed many of the artists who were instrumental in the evolution of the genre, both in concert and in more constructed environments. And, as a photographer, he was always at the front of the seething crowd at a gig, and therefore experienced at first hand the tension and sheer aggression at a Buzzcocks concert, or the chaos of the legendary Clash tour in the autumn of 1977. He was also a significant influence in the formation of the particular image of many of the performers. The character that they wanted to

communicate was very much determined by his ideas; the control that he had over the arrangement and choreography of the formation of the image was perfectly matched to the bands' prevalent angry and uncompromising attitude. Of course, the artists wanted to work with Cummins; his bleak portrayal of this hard-line genre was perfect in an age that was just beginning to react to the excesses of the prevailing popular music and the overindulgence of the age.

The clothing that the band is wearing was carefully chosen, and it reinforces the sense of austerity that permeates the image. By 1979, the era of Glam Rock was over; the age of Slade and The Sweet's "Block Buster" had passed, and it was no longer acceptable to see bricklayers in lipstick. The Punk generation, which followed, also wore provocatively vivid clothing, although in a much more audacious fashion. In contrast, Joy Division's clothes in this iconic image are deliberately somber: they are dull, serious, and purposefully thoughtful. The projected image is one of serious contemplation. Layers of jumble-sale cast-offs to stave off the cold, shabby overcoats, ill-fitting jackets, and V-necked jumpers. This is not chic, glamorous eveningwear, but old men's clothes; worn gabardine and scruffy tweed. These kinds of clothes are also alluding to the uniforms of Eastern Europe, and of course Joy Division's original name was Warsaw, plus at the time the guitarist, Bernard Sumner, was calling himself Bernard Albrecht, so the connection is not coincidental.

As a confirmed and committed Mancunian, Cummins' knowledge of the possibilities and qualities that the city could offer meant that he was capable of taking advantage of the particular backdrop that the locality of Hulme could offer. The snow in the photo adds to the cold air of these young men being outsiders, excluded from mainstream society, but even he could not foresee the sheer impact that this would have: "I had no idea then that this snow on the bleak city landscapes would be the defining visual moment for the band."³ The image that Joy Division wanted to project was perfectly suited to this location: a desolate place for a group of misunderstood, unemployed, aesthetic youths. Hulme was an ideal venue for this; it had become synonymous with social deprivation, and this was a reputation that wasn't completely manufactured or, indeed, unfair.

Hulme was once a thriving urban environment that housed thousands of people, but by the time that this photograph was taken, most of the families had moved out and it was little more than a symbol of a broken environment, a Modernist estate that was fit only for the lost, the broken, and the wasted.

[txt]Hulme is a suburb of Manchester that is very close to the southern edge of the city center. It was once a highly industrial area, containing numerous mills and other works, including the first Rolls Royce factory, which was constructed in 1904. The district was originally farmland with a few scattered settlements until the Bridgewater Canal was built in the eighteenth century and then, of course, the rampant nature of the Industrial Revolution swept economic change throughout Manchester.

Thousands of people looking for work in the rapidly expanding mills settled in Hulme, and the amount of accommodation expanded accordingly. Hastily constructed, badly built housing that surrounded the mills, with their smoking chimneys, resulted in an extremely low quality of life for the residents. By 1844, the situation had grown so serious that Manchester Borough Council passed a law banning any further construction. However, the thousands of slum homes that had already been built continued to be lived in, and many were still in use into the first half of the twentieth century. The clearance of the slums in Hulme began as far back as the 1940s, and by the 1960s vast swathes of derelict housing were being cleared, although very little was being constructed to replace them. Much of Hulme, and indeed Manchester, had been heavily bombed during the Second World War, and little had been done to replace or improve what remained. The city was suffering from depopulation; only Glasgow and Liverpool were losing their inhabitants faster (by 1985 the population of Manchester was 41 percent lower than the peak of 1931⁴), and Hulme's suffering

was greater than almost any other area of the city. Those who could afford to, moved to the suburbs, thus leaving Hulme to the badly paid, the unemployed and the few who hung on to the sense of community that had once existed within the place.

The concept for the Hulme estate was of a utopian dream, a vision of clean modern flats and maisonettes on interconnecting decks and friendly streets in the sky. This was a Modernist, optimistic idea of clean new airy homes built to house the generation who had escaped from the crowded and deprived life that existed within the brick back-to-back slum dwellings that had previously covered much of the area. It was not an unrealistic hope. The architects Wilson and Womersley presented their £4 million scheme for the redevelopment of Hulme in 1965. The practice was already in partnership with Manchester City Council and was working on a project for a unified education campus. They were also very experienced at delivering new public housing: Hugh Wilson designed the gray, slate-roofed terraces in Cumbernauld New Town, while J. Lewis Womersley was responsible for the Park Hill Flats when he was the City Architect for Sheffield. Theirs was a vision not based upon a privileged view, but upon experience – Womersley grew up in the slums of Huddersfield. The architects were committed to the new building techniques that were gradually emerging from Europe: system-built housing constructed from reinforced concrete slabs. This commitment was in common with the approach that was being taken all over the UK, and the concrete-slab construction system was starting to be used in a number of different locations nationally. This did, however, mean that the dull uniformity of the buildings became a common sight within many of the less affluent suburbs of major cities.

The proposal for Hulme was for thirteen concrete-clad, low-rise blocks as well as the infamous Crescents – four long, curved, south-facing blocks of flats and maisonettes. In this idealistic arrangement, the motor vehicles remained on ground level with the smoke and fumes of the street, while the pedestrians occupied the concrete walkways above. The high-density housing was balanced by the large green spaces and trees below, and the pedestrian had priority on the ground over the cars. This ambition was laudable; the Crescents were named after the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century architects William Kent, Robert Adam, John Nash, and Charles Barry. Womersley justified the choice of names by comparing the vision for Hulme with the quality and character of Georgian London and Bath, through the use of similar shapes and proportions, large-scale building groups and open spaces placed within an undulating landscape: "It is our endeavour to achieve at Hulme a solution to the problems of twentieth-century living which would be the equivalent in quality of that reached for the requirements of eighteenth-century Bloomsbury and Bath."⁵

The new homes were built quickly – far too quickly. In less than eight years over 5,000 new residences were constructed, with 3,000 of these being deck access, and thus by 1972 Hulme was the largest development of this kind in the country. Almost immediately problems emerged. The construction workers were not equipped with the necessary skills to implement the innovative building techniques, and they were poorly supervised. The blocks were badly put together and in some cases the reinforcing bolts that tied the panels together were actually missing. More long-term problems also began to blight the area. The innovative underfloor heating system which had been installed into the Crescents proved expensive, as the development had been planned in an era of cheap and plentiful fuel but the oil crisis of the mid-1970s effectively ended that. Residents tended to use either little electric or paraffin heaters, while the unused ducts for the underfloor heating system, as well as the wiring and water pipes, provided homes for cockroaches and mice. This was combined with the poor insulation and poor ventilation, which caused condensation and, in turn, encouraged mold.

The buildings were unsuitable for the very young and the very old; the gardens were dangerous, while the lifts and walkways were filthy. Crime quickly became a problem – the streets in the sky proved to be excellent getaway routes. The new urban

motorway the Mancunian Way and the six-lane highway the Princess Parkway effectively cut the area off from the rest of the city. By the end of the 1970s, it was apparent that the blocks and Crescents were unsuitable for families, and as they were relocated, a different type of inhabitant was moved in. Hulme became a neighborhood for young childless people, especially students. They embraced the density, the anarchy, and the chaos. The new inhabitants could tolerate the cold and the cockroaches, the vandalism and the crime, and they had no need for a communal playground, especially when the rent was low, or even non-existent. It seems that the council effectively lost control over the records of the area. They had little idea of the identity and numbers of people who were living in the flats. When I was a student, I lived at number 154 John Nash Crescent. The maisonette had been occupied by some friends who had been in the year above me at university, and after a couple of years, when I moved on, I gave it to other friends who were trying to pursue a career in filmmaking, and so were grateful for a cheap and friendly place to live. I guess that this was pretty typical of Hulme in the 1980s: young, creative types thriving in a resourceful and artistic atmosphere. At the time I felt that the council was just relieved that the flat was occupied, and was therefore unvandalized. It was cheaper for them to manage an inhabited residence than maintain an uninhabited one.

And so in January 1979, when this photograph of Joy Division was taken, Hulme was just about at its most extreme. Although most of the families had already left, their children had grown up here. They had spent their formative years as underprivileged citizens in this impoverished area. Theirs was an upbringing that had an almost romantic vision of a deprived and depressed area, one which encouraged the sort of reputation for a disposed generation of outcasts and outsiders.

Ironically, the band members didn't even come from Hulme: Ian Curtis and Stephen Morris were from the nearby town of Macclesfield, while Bernard Sumner and Peter Hook grew up in the city of Salford. However, with this forlorn photograph, Joy Division was exploiting the somewhat idealistic image of disconnection and neglect that permeated Hulme. The alienating qualities of the place were perfect for the distant and emotionally aloof attitude that drove the band.

Joy Division had a dark and gloomy sound. Their music emerged directly from the sort of anarchy and rebellion that was present in Punk, but it was much more slow and rhythmic. It still retained the idea that anything was possible and anyone could make it, but they were really the first band to emphasize not anger and energy, but mood and expression. The themes in the songs were sorrowful, pitiful, and sometimes deeply sad, and the music had a sparse quality often described as an eerie spatiality. The drums, which followed the rhythm rather than led it, caused this and gave the music a passive sound. The record producer Martin Hannett described it as "Dancing music with Gothic overtones."⁶

Joy Division was on the verge of becoming recognized. They had gradually built up a sizable local following, as Joy Division and under their previous name, Warsaw. The band consisted of Ian Curtis, the singer; Bernard Sumner, the guitarist; Peter Hook, the bass player; and Stephen Morris, on the drums. When this photograph was taken, they had just recorded a session for the late-night John Peel show and were about to be featured in *NME*. These were the two most important champions of alternative music in the country. They had made their television debut on the Granada Reports Music Collection in September 1978 and later that same month released a compilation double-7" EP for Factory Records. Anthony, or Tony, Wilson had become their champion. He presented the Manchester-based Granada Reports, an early-evening local TV news show, and was a supporter of alternative music – and a co-founder of the Factory Records label – and of Manchester in general. Just as importantly, Martin Hannett produced the EP and their first album, *Unknown Pleasures*, which was released in June 1979.

These recordings established Joy Division as a musical force that communicated with a distinct type of follower: those disaffected, alienated youths who were stereotyped as intense young men dressed in gray overcoats. They were a definition of the sense of hopelessness that was developing, and an articulation of the anxiety and anger that defined a generation; they portrayed a frequently harrowing, virtually unmatchable emotional state. Dave Haslam, the DJ and music critic, described the album *Unknown Pleasures* thus: "It was like the soundtrack to the aftermath of some urban disaster; which is presumably why it was connected so strongly with life in Manchester, England."⁷ The *NME* contributor Ian Wood, when reviewing the album, commented that "Joy Division now sketch withering grey abstractions of industrial malaise ... Unfortunately, as anyone who has lived in the low rent squalor of a Northern industrial city will know, their vision is deadly accurate."⁸

Joy Division, four young men with a sense of darkness, pressure, and loss, were on the verge of changing music. Strangely enough, the band were signed to Factory Records, which is particularly apt, given the extensive scale of unemployment that was about to engulf the traditional northern industrial societies. Peter Saville designed the evocative black-and-white sleeve of the album cover and he created the artwork for future Joy Division releases. *Unknown Pleasures* sold through its initial pressing of 10,000 copies. Tony Wilson later described the way in which the album changed Factory Records from a small, struggling but bold Indie label into a revolutionary force that operated outside of the major record-label system.⁹

Factory

It could be said that the new era for Hulme began in June 1978. This date marks the opening of The Factory, a weekly Friday night transformation of the Russell Club on Royce Road (named after Henry Royce of Rolls Royce fame). It was a joint venture between Tony Wilson and Alan Erasmus, who was, at the time, an unemployed actor and band manager.

Tony Wilson was determined to prove that Manchester was more cutting edge and had more attitude than any big southern city. He developed a Friday-evening show for Granada, called "*So It Goes*,"¹⁰ which promoted bands such as the Buzzcocks, Iggy Pop, and Joy Division long before they were anywhere near mainstream, and he was proud to have shown the Sex Pistols even while the BBC banned them.

Apparently the name "Factory" wasn't derived from the Andy Warhol studio of the same name, nor the sobriquet for the old church hall on Hewitt Street that the Manchester Halle used for rehearsals during the Second World War, after the Free Trade Hall had been bombed. It was an ironic comment on the state of British industry, and it seems that Alan Erasmus just liked the connection with creative productivity:

[ex]I just saw a sign saying "Factory Closing." I thought we could put up a sign saying "Factory Opening" and reverse the trend.¹¹

[txt]The position of the club was integral to its success. It was just sufficiently distanced from the city center to discourage the disco crowd, but on the edge of the student campuses and of course right next to the Crescents with their new young, creative, disaffected tenants.

Peter Saville was responsible for the graphic image of Factory. He cites his influences as the German designer Jan Tschichold, the Constructivists, and Penguin book covers.¹² It was a perfect vision for this post-Punk, post-industrial enterprise: simple bold imagery on monotone backgrounds. The only problem was, according to possibly apocryphal anecdotes, nothing was ever finished on time. Apparently the posters for the first night of the club arrived on the first evening and thus became souvenirs rather than advertisements.

Martin Hannett was the producer for most of the Factory bands (including the Durutti Column and Happy Mondays) as well as other bands signed to different labels. He is credited with refining Joy Division's sound. His relentless pursuit of the unsettling balance between the downplayed and repetitive vocals with the high bass and the

mechanical drums created a music which was progressive, provocative, and anxious. Hannett was apparently a difficult character: he was troubled by addictions, whether to drugs or to food, and he was prone to periods of uncompromising dogmatism. One of my colleagues, who for fifteen years lived in the flat below Hannett, remembered how one frustrating night, when the noise became just too unbearable, he contrived to fuse all the electricity upstairs.¹³ Thus, Factory at the end of the 1970s was a small record label with a massive ego. Unsold records were still stored in the front room of Alan Erasmus' Didsbury flat, yet their influence was already making a massive impact.

Madchester

So, why did this miserable and melancholic situation turn Manchester into the clubbing capital of the world? Joy Division recorded their first album, *Unknown Pleasures*, in April 1979, just three months after the photographs in the snow in Hulme had been taken. Cummins' publicity images, combined with the spacious and alienated sound, had propelled them into cult status. However, the lead singer Ian Curtis was ill, and it was becoming worse. He suffered from epilepsy, which was aggravated by stress and lack of sleep – conditions that were the norm for a young touring and performing band. Some gigs had to be cancelled, while others had replacement musicians for at least part of the set. His performances were extraordinary, the emotional and slightly mono-tonic vocals combined with a style of dancing that appeared to almost be epileptic; he referred to it as Dead Fly Dancing. He wasn't dancing for the crowd, it was not a duet between him and them; this was personal movement, and he was alone, at one with the music.

[txt]The group was to begin its first tour of America in May 1980, but on the eve of the expedition Curtis took his own life. Almost immediately sales of their single "Love Will Tear Us Apart" vastly increased and it actually reached the UK top ten. In May 1980, just months after the death of Ian Curtis, Factory released what were to become Joy Division's highest charting releases, the second album *Closer* (1980) and the single "She's Lost Control Again." The single "conjures a nightmare, the synthesized beats like a heart monitor on overdrive, the words like some traumatic episode snatched from the tranquilliser epidemic in Hulme."¹⁴ Since his death, Ian Curtis has evolved into a cult figure; his short life made him legendary. Suicide at just twenty-three years old has propelled him from a young, ambitious, and determined musician into a mythically tragic and heroic figure. He was, of course, the writer and lead singer of the band, and was therefore primarily responsible for their sensitive and alienated reputation. The image was not entirely manufactured, although the black-and-white publicity photos combined with the frenzied performances did reinforce it.

The band carried on, not as Joy Division, but with an equally provocative name: New Order. The different direction that they wanted to pursue was emphasized by Morris' girlfriend, Gillian Gilbert, joining them as the keyboard player, while Sumner took over as lead singer. They did tour America, in 1981, and although they were at first carrying the shadow of Curtis, their exploration of the New York City dance scene soon became a much greater influence. Peter Hook described how the band enjoyed themselves in the heavy, intense almost clandestine atmosphere within the clubs, which were so different to anything to be found in England.¹⁵ It wasn't a great shift or sudden reversal of direction that brought New Order to electronic music, it was more a natural progression; apparently, the last song that Joy Division ever played live was called "Digital."¹⁶

The use of computers to generate electronic music was in its formative stage. Probably the most influential of these early users was the German band Kraftwerk, who from the mid-1970s were pioneering the use of computers in music making. Their electronic sound was, and still is, based upon repeated rhythms and phrases. The music is minimal, completely electronic, and with very simple vocals that often use computer-generated speech software. Their performances at the time were groundbreaking: four static men abstractly dressed as robots standing rigidly in front

of computers. Behind them a huge screen projected images that were vaguely connected to the music.

This enthusiasm for digital or electronic music led to New Order's highly successful 1983 single "Blue Monday," which fully embraced dance music with synthesized instruments. New Order adeptly "meshed Kraftwerk's pure minimalist computer coldness, New York's dancefloor rhythms and confused Mancunian passion."¹⁷ This new direction meant that Factory Records were secure; that despite the legendarily chaotic organizational practices, the lack of contracts, and very democratic methods of management, Factory had moved from a small and precarious independent company into record producers of influence and status. Strangely, or perhaps it should be typically, the single is said to have actually cost more money to produce than it was sold for. At nearly seven-and-a-half minutes long, it was one of the longest tracks ever to have chart success in the UK. However, it was the distinctive die-cut sleeve that was so expensive. It was designed by Peter Saville to resemble a floppy disk, with absolutely minimal labeling or other signage. Peter Hook reminisced about the chaotic management of the project, explaining that "The process was untenable and nobody checked it."¹⁸ Also, New Order and Factory didn't envisage that it would sell as many copies as it did, and Hook goes on to ask whether, if they had known that the single was being sold at a loss, would they have done it any differently anyway?¹⁹ Whether or not this story is fictional, it certainly adds to the romantic notion of the chaotic and collective approach that the company had to business management. The success encouraged Factory and New Order to seriously consider opening a club. Based upon their experiences in New York, the band were keen to create somewhere that they themselves wanted to go to; Manchester was still ensconced in the era of the "Rotters, Pips and Tiffanys"²⁰ type of discos, whose strict dress codes restricted entry to those conforming to the smart-casual look. They started a club because they had nowhere to go.

The Hacienda Must Be Built²¹

Ben Kelly, who was a friend of Peter Saville, was asked to design the club. They had already collaborated on a number of two-dimensional projects and Saville felt that Kelly's approach would be sympathetic to the Factory image. Ben had studied at the Royal College of Art, and his first projects were both for the avant-garde end of the high-street market: Seditionaries on the Kings Road for the Punk impresario, Malcolm McLaren, and Howie the radical fashion store and design studio, in Covent Garden. Within both of these schemes he sought to design interiors that were places in their own right, not just a neutral backdrop for the merchandise on sale. This branding was created through the juxtaposition of different elements against the anarchy of the materials and colors.

[txt]Kelly designed three Manchester interiors for Factory, all of which are linked by the qualities of truth to the existing building and an acute understanding of the needs of the users combined with a clear vision of the brand that the company wanted to project. The Hacienda club (1982–1997) was the first, but as Factory became more confident and felt the need for greater presence in the city, they opened a bar, Dry 201 (1989) and their own headquarters (1989). Probably the most significant quality about all three projects is that they were constructed within existing buildings. This immediately created a reference to an earlier era, a memory of the industrial spaces that previously existed within the city. The Italian architect and theorist Vittorio Gregotti describes the inherent meaning found within a remodeled building as an uncovering of the truth: "Modification tells us that each specific situation offers a specific truth, to be sought and revealed as the essence of the goal, and as the truth of both the site and the geography that embodies that site's particular history."²²

This attitude is echoed by Kelly:

I have no interest in building buildings, but my obsession is an interest that lies in existing spaces, they have had a former life or have come to an end and someone

who has come along and said I want to do something else here and it is at that moment that the magic for me lies.²³

The Haçienda (at 15 Whitworth Street West) was once a yacht showroom, surprising for the middle of Manchester, which is some 50 miles from the coast, and the building had a huge roof light – not the sort of element that is advantageous for a nightclub. Initially the management thought that it would be little more than a case of just deciding on the position of the stage, the bar, and the toilets. The project turned out to be considerably more extensive. The balcony needed new and massive foundations, plus the club required the sort of equipment necessary for it to become an important venue for live bands, which meant that the project became a sizable investment.

Kelly created an image for the Haçienda that really reflected the Factory name and the brand that Saville was developing: the club looked like an imaginary or cartoon warehouse. The big volume of the main space was painted (feral) pigeon blue and the architectural elements were covered with yellow-and-black hazard warning stripes (Figure 2). Tony Wilson called it a middle-class conceit, a “playing out [of] romanticism about the industrial and post-industrial city.”²⁴ The journey from the queue outside to the dance floor was one of different experiences, almost akin to a streetscape. The signing on the exterior was minimal: just a 30-centimeter-long sign. The cramped ticket booth and enclosed cloakroom did nothing to prepare the visitor for the enormity of the dance hall with its preposterous roof light. This did mean, though, that the building certainly looked better in daylight than it did at night. Ben Kelly described the project as a “marker milestone”²⁵ – one which was very important for his own design development.

A series of conversations between some of the founders of the Haçienda and the journalist Miranda Sawyer was recently placed on YouTube. Among this entertaining collection of reminiscences and anecdotes, Peter Saville recounts the tale of how he invited some local lads to the opening of the new club; they asked him what it looked like and when he described the industrial aesthetic and how it looked something like a warehouse, they turned him down, asking why they would want to go somewhere that looked just like the places that they worked in every day.

Factory envisaged Dry 201 as the type of Continental bar that had a direct connection with the street, that was open all day and encouraged all sorts of different interactions. The furniture inside supported this – Kelly designed a collection of distinct types of elements for sitting, standing, loitering, waiting, and chatting. At that time in Manchester there were brown pubs and shiny wine bars, so this was a radical undertaking. Again Tony Wilson described its origins in almost benevolent terms: the young people had nowhere to go, so he would provide them with somewhere.²⁶ Dry 201, in the city center at 28–30 Oldham Street, was formerly a furniture showroom, and unlike the Haçienda, which was almost hidden with an absolutely minimal street presence, Dry had a full plate-glass window directly onto the pavement. This meant that the exterior area in front of the building was considered as very much part of the interior. Prominently displayed on the interior wall adjacent to this enormous window was a relic of the building's previous use: a plaster curtain. This advertising aid, which was found within the building, was painted red and became a permanent reminder of Manchester's industrial past. For such a confirmed “old school” (Brooker and Stone 2008: 75) interior designer, Ben Kelly is acutely aware of the outside world. His work acknowledges the outside world – the environment in which the interior is situated. The visitor or occupier is made constantly aware of the particular location of the place through the use of direct references to the immediate and the past – whether these are visual connections, like those at the Dry 201 bar, or the connection to the street as it literally enters into the Haçienda.

What Happened Next

It took about eight years for the Haçienda and its people to find each other. There were hundreds of empty nights in the club, nights when the style of management and

the patrons were in such chaos that if it hadn't been for the success of New Order, everything would definitely have gone under. The club was created primarily as a venue for live bands, especially the more Punk-derived ones, but that brand of music was uncompromising, strangled by its own obstinate inflexibility. At the time, Punk didn't cross over into other genres, there was no mixing with Disco, Rap, or Soul, but what it had bequeathed to the city was a do-it-yourself mentality.

[txt]The aggression and uncompromising attitude of Punk was replaced by Rave music. By 1986, New Order plus a new generation of Manchester bands had come to the fore: The Happy Mondays, James, and the Stone Roses, whose happy, huggable image, combined of course with the drug ecstasy, encouraged a dancing nightclub culture that transformed Manchester. The Hacienda became the focus for this revolution, and at last the space was appropriate; it was the right size and the right shape. The huge dancehall echoed with the rhythmic beat of the relentless music, and the persistent energy of the crowd created an enduring reputation. Bands such as the Stone Roses, who weren't signed to Factory Records, helped intensify the scene. They played in other high-profile venues, thus widening the number of places available to appreciate the scene. Some of these were dancehalls, thus encouraging the crossover between Indie and alternative music and dance.

Given the centrality of music to youth culture, the role that music plays in mediating stories and understanding of place cannot be overestimated. Cultural tourism was part of the urban regeneration initiatives centered on the city's reputation for dance music and club cultures. The council relaxed licensing laws to encourage more cafes, clubs and restaurants to open, and therefore cater for the huge influx of people into the city at the weekends. During the late 1980s over 40 percent of young American tourists listed Manchester as their number one destination, largely due to its musical reputation.²⁸ When Madchester was at its peak, anywhere between 25,000 and 85,000 revelers were estimated to come into the city on a Friday night.²⁹ Tony Wilson, Rob Gretton, Alan Erasmus, Peter Saville, Ben Kelly, Ian Curtis, Bernard Sumner, Peter Hook, Stephen Morris, et al. created something extraordinary, and maybe for it to become legendary it had to come to an end, which it did in the most inglorious manner. However, the cultural legacy of the Hacienda and this era is massive. Architecturally, the style and approach developed by Ben Kelly for the nightclub can be seen as far away as hairdressing salons in Japan and football shows on the BBC. The architectural language has gradually filtered into the mainstream: for example the bleak, industrial, brick warehouse-style exteriors that can be witnessed in the work of O'Donnell and Tuomey; the striking simplicity of Herzog and de Meuron; the overtly engineered-style interiors of Jamie Fobert; and the 2010 hairdressing salon in Athens by GFRA Architecture that closely resembles the Dry 201 bar, simply transported 1,600 miles.

Years later, Cummins described the day that the photograph was taken.³⁰ He explained that poverty had forced him into never wasting shots. Joy Division was just learning how to pose as a band, and as it was important for their image for Ian not to be seen smiling, so all the photographs were carefully constructed and always in black and white. Cummins ruminated upon the available technology at the time and asked: "Would my pictures tell a different story if I had had the luxury of being able to shoot endless frames digitally?"³¹ But what was generated is an industrial aesthetic for a post-industrial population – people for whom hard graft and labor is something unknown; a community who view the industrial past as a romantic time of great sympathy and joint communal values.

It is easy from the perspective of the second decade of the twenty-first century to understand the magnitude of the impact that Joy Division has had upon the evolution of music; these were four young men who, for different reasons, were integral to the revolution in music and in Manchester. It is impossible to read the image without understanding the distance between when it was taken and today. We can see the troubles that Ian Curtis was experiencing, the determination in Bernard Sumner, the

resolve in Peter Hook, and the sheer enjoyment of the journey in Stephen Morris. We can see how they are preparing themselves for the most exciting adventure. The knowledge that we have of the future of these young men colors our perception or reading of it. As Keith Jenkins has said:

[ex]Given that interpretations of the past are constructed in the present, the possibility of the historian being able to slough off his present to reach somebody else's past on their own terms looks remote.³²

[tx]Of course, our perception of the past is dependent upon our present. Maybe the sense of tragedy that permeates the image is what we read into it now, as well as the prospects and possibilities for the future of music, culture, and design.

[a]Notes

[nt]1 *Stark Raving Madchester* (Newsweek 22 July 1990).

2 (*Architects Journal* 20 April 1994 p. 16).

3 Kevin Cummins, *Closer to the Birth of a Music Legend* (Observer Sunday 12 August 2007 www.guardian.co.uk/music/2007/aug/12/popandrock.joydivision).

4 John J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester* (Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York 2000 p. 191).

5 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

6 Tony Wilson, *24 Hour Party People: What the Sleeve Notes Never Tell You* (Channel 4 Books / Pan Macmillan Ltd 2002 p. 49)

7 Dave Haslam, *Manchester, England: The Story of the Pop Cult City* (Fourth Estate, London 1999 p. 126).

8 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

9 Tony Wilson, *24 Hour Party People: What the Sleeve Notes Never Tell You* (Channel 4 Books / Pan Macmillan Ltd 2002 p. 113).

10 *So It Goes*. Granada TV. July 3, 1976–December 11, 1977.

11 Tony Wilson, *24 Hour Party People: What the Sleeve Notes Never Tell You* (Channel 4 Books / Pan Macmillan Ltd 2002 p. 56).

12 Tony Wilson, *24 Hour Party People: What the Sleeve Notes Never Tell You* (Channel 4 Books / Pan Macmillan Ltd 2002 p. 11).

13 Author in conversation with Rick Dargavel February 2010.

14 Dave Haslam, *Manchester, England: The Story of the Pop Cult City* (Fourth Estate, London 1999 p. 127).

15 www.youtube.com/watch?v=lmA8q8_4uWs&feature=related downloaded February 2010.

16 Dave Haslam, *Manchester, England: The Story of the Pop Cult City* (Fourth Estate, London 1999 p. 129).

17 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

18 www.smarta.com/advice/general/peter-hook-joy-division-and-new-order (Downloaded February 2010).

19 *Ibid.*

20 www.youtube.com/watch?v=lmA8q8_4uWs&feature=related downloaded February 2010.

21 The name comes from a slogan of the radical group, Situationist International: "The Hacienda Must Be Built," from *Formulary for a New Urbanism* by Ivan Chitchevlov.

www.bbc.co.uk/manchester/content/articles/2007/05/17/210507_hacienda_facts_feature.shtml downloaded February 2010.

22 Vittorio Gregotti, *Inside Architecture* (The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1996 p. 66).

23 Graeme Brooker and Sally Stone, *Off the Peg: The Bespoke Interiors of Ben Kelly* (Interior Atmospheres Architectural Design p. 73).

24 Tony Wilson, *24 Hour Party People: What the Sleeve Notes Never Tell You* (Channel 4 Books / Pan Macmillan Ltd 2002 p. 141).

- 25 Graeme Brooker and Sally Stone in conversation with Ben Kelly.
26 www.benkellydesign.com/home.php?id=2:0:23:0:0 downloaded February 2010.
27 Graeme Brooker and Sally Stone, *Off the Peg: The Bespoke Interiors of Ben Kelly* (Interior Atmospheres Architectural Design p. 75).
28 John Connell and Chris Gibson, *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place* (Routledge, London and New York 2003 p. 248).
29 Ibid., p. 248.
30 Tony Naylor. "Rock Can Be a Hard Place" (*Independent* 12 March 2002).
31 Ibid.
32 Keith Jenkins, *Rethinking History* (Routledge, London and New York 1991).

Figure 1

Joy Division in January 1979. From left: Stephen Morris, Ian Curtis, Bernard Sumner, and Peter Hook.

Figure 2

The interior of the Hacienda club.

Figure 1

Joy Division, Hulme 1979. Left to right: Stephen Morris, Ian Curtis, Bernard Sumner and Peter Hook.

Photo by Kevin Cummins.

Figure 2:

The Hacienda, view from the confines of the entrance, towards the dancefloor. The representation of an industrial interior for a post-industrial population.

Photo by Ben Kelly