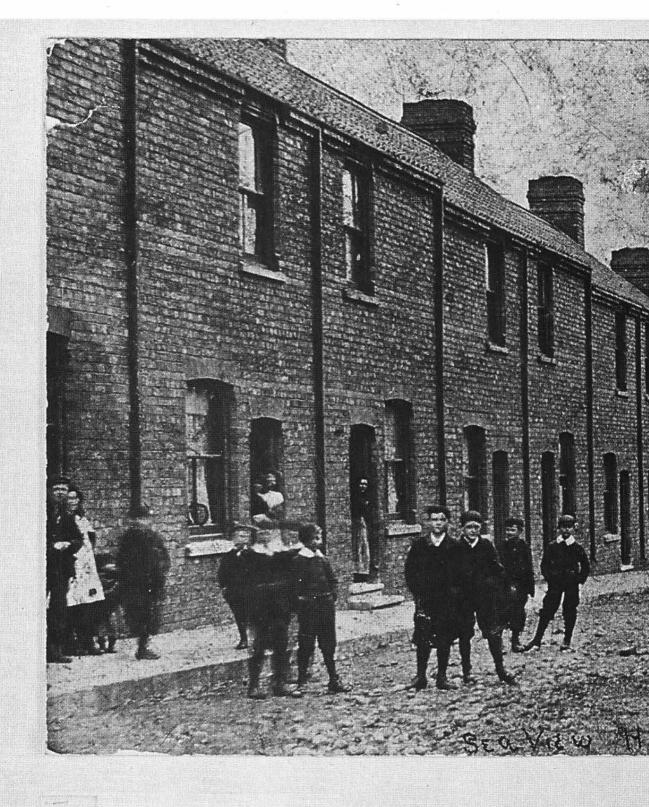


RTIST PROJECT PETERLEE SECOND PETERLEE REPORT

Sunderland Arts Centre 16th May to 18th June 1977 Monday Saturday, 10 a.m. – 6 p.m. 17 Grange Terrace, Stockton Road, Sunderland, SR2 7DF.



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SEA VIEW LATER NAMED SECOND STREET HORDEN 1900



The Peterlee Project *was conceived to stretch performance into a continuous engagement with the everyday in the New Town and the surrounding villages.*

Breadth and Thickness.

IORDEN

Performance is usually understood to be circumscribed in time. By extending the activity into the social dimension as an everyday process and taking on a role leading from behind, performance is transformed as it dissolves into the social environment as an agent.

It is for this reason that in the feasibility study prior to my appointment in 1976 I stated that I did not intend to make art but to try to contribute to the conditions applying in Peterlee where art might be made – by others at another time.

Stuart Brisley, 2014

PEOPLE

PAST & PRESENT



PERFORMING HISTORY: SOME KEYWORDS

The performance of history has assumed many forms of late. The archival impulse of contemporary art since the 1990s; historical re-enactment; re-enactment of previous artworks or performances; numerous exhibits devoted to the intersection of art and history.¹ Mirroring this 'historical turn' within the art world, is a 'performative turn' within the field of historical inquiry. Interactive museums, 3-D visualization, reality TV shows, docudramas and preservation societies all testify to the increased interest in a lived experience of the past. This is also evidenced by the growing conviction, in some circles, that historical time is 'ethical' rather than 'neutral'.² For instance, truth and reconciliation committees have cast historians as expert witnesses called upon to actively intervene and 'judge' the past.³ Meanwhile, the on-going postmodern critique of history has led to calls for history itself to be let go as an outmoded 19th-century operation.⁴

What explains this apparent *rapprochement* of two fields that until recently had been considered antithetical? Performance, to the extent that it has any interest in the historical past at all, has tended to focus on an empathic, immersive reactivation of the past as present. Key terms that repeat in descriptions and testimonials of performance art include 'the body', 'live', 'event', 'presence', 'immediacy', 'immersion', 'experience' and 'action'. In this effort to close the gap between act and spectator, performance art has become increasingly synonymous with 'participation art'. The artist is less a producer than a creator of situations in which the spectator participates rather than views or beholds.⁵ This emphasis on site - the spaces and places of interaction - has animated an 'archaeological' understanding of the *presence* of the past.⁶ Material traces, remains, networks, the relations between phenomena, these are the focus of attention, rather than historical representation, properly speaking.⁷ Certainly this view of the past as consisting of found objects testifies to the continuing influence of the historical avant-garde. At the same time, and in contrast to the radical avant-garde desire to obliterate the past entirely to begin anew, today's artistic landscape is oriented towards an empirical appreciation, at times even fetishization, of remains: whether in the form of things, images, postures or references from the past.

For professional historians, in contrast, these performances of history are cognitively empty, useful perhaps in popularizing history or offering an affective access to the past, but useless for verifying knowledge about the past. The polar opposite of performance art, academic history sharply distinguishes the impartial observer from the participating actor. Traditionally, distance from the past ensured that the historian could learn what contemporaries of the event could not. Thus whereas performance artists tend to view the past as something that persists in the present, the dominant image of time for the academic historian is that of a receding past. Aura, repetition, anticipation, memory or the uncanny are familiar expressions to the performance artist. This is less so for academic history which, in Chris Lorenz's felicitous image, tends to view the past as more akin to an 'icicle' — 'breaking off from the present on its own, through temporal distance or weight.'⁸ But while such an image might have adequately expressed the revolutionary nineteenth century, a period when people felt so close to the events and dates they were naming that it was not uncommon to relate each new generation to the start of a new era, it is less self-evident today. Lorenz has noted that a 'haunting past' has come to replace 'a — distant — "historical" past.'⁹ Meanwhile, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has suggested that this unsettled feeling reflects a 'prolonged period of latency that dates from 1945.'¹⁰ Even 1968 and 1989 — hailed as milestones, moments of clarity about history's direction — have proved hollow as adequate periodisations, Gumbrecht argues. Latency expresses the feeling that there is something there — a trend, a pattern, a development — that resists interpretation even as it makes itself known through a kind of affective apprehension.

In addition to the collapse of historically relevant time-scales, this 'performative turn' also reflects more general changes in attitudes towards time, especially under the influence of new media. Scarcely anyone is immune to an economy in which faster is cheaper. Hartmunt Rosa has suggested that Western society has become 'increasingly ruled by the silent normative force of temporal norms, which come in the form of deadlines, schedules and temporal limits' to the exclusion of all other values.¹¹ And François Hartog has used the term presentism to describe a new order of time in which the present has superseded all other relations to time as the only 'authority' that matters. In somewhat alarming terms, he describes a 'more and more swollen and hypertrophic' present that remakes the links between past and future on an incessant basis and to suit its own purposes.¹²

Given this 'broadening of the present' since the 1970s, it makes sense to revisit Stuart Brisley's pioneering archival The Peterlee Project (1976-77) - one of the first attempts made by an artist to 'perform history' and an acknowledged precursor of the archival art projects of today. Peterlee itself was a 'town without history.' Founded in 1948 to relieve the severe overcrowding in the nearby mining villages, it was intended to bid squalor farewell ('Farewell Squalor' was the title of the preliminary report). The original mining villages had been cheaply built by the companies and reflected the extension of economic imperatives into all aspects of life: housing, landscape, leisure, gender roles and family structures. Peterlee New Town, in contrast, was to exemplify social progress, rationalized urban planning and the push towards new industry in accordance with the Distribution of Industry Act of 1945. Yet even here the residents had little say in the final outcome, as the regeneration itself was managed by the Peterlee Development Corporation, a government appointed semiautonomous corporation. Brisley's intervention operated across two modes. The first part involved the collection and collation of documents to form a 'living memory' (roughly reaching back to 1900 when the first mines were sunk, and corresponding to the three generations normally associated with the transmission of oral memory). The second was to transform this living memory into a platform for future debate and, in the last instance, political action.

The Peterlee Project offers a useful diagnostic tool to evaluate the current relations between 'performance' and 'history' because it was explicitly conceived neither as an archive nor as a work of art. The criterion for evaluating the success or failure of the project was practical and political, rather than aesthetic, namely to raise the historical consciousness of the local people, especially with regards to the impact of the Peterlee Development Corporation upon their lives. As Claire Bishop notes, this sets The Peterlee Project apart from most participatory, socially conscious projects of subsequent decades in which the 'point of comparison and references...always returns to contemporary art, despite the fact that they were perceived to be worthwhile precisely because they were non-artistic.'13 A useful contrasting example here might be Christian Boltanski's 1994 The Lost Workers: The Work People of Halifax 1877-1982 which similarly occupied a former industrial site — the Dean Clough Carpet Mill — and invited surviving families to deposit memorabilia in the boxes set up in the exhibition space so as to create their own archives. Boltanski's 'archive' remained part of the exhibition space, subordinated to the overall aesthetic design and impact of the installation as intended by the artist (even if it was kept open for a period after the exhibition closed). Brisley's The Peterlee Project, in contrast, aimed to extend performance into the social field. The professed goal was to 'stretch and expand' performance until it dissolved into social action. 'Breadth' and 'thickness' were the key terms, rather than the 'ephemerality' and 'disappearance' typically associated with the event-based nature of performance and installation art. The project as a whole was conceived as a counter-extension — a way of enabling private memories to spread into the public, colonizing spaces that had heretofore been wholly organized around economic imperatives. At the same time, The Peterlee Project was emphatically not conceived solely as a community archive or a heritage recuperation project. For the aim was not simply to understand the past but also the present time, the living moment, as a means of articulating future needs. By definition, the project would succeed only to the extent that it would resist 'becoming historical'; that is, if it could maintain itself as a prototype that could be applied elsewhere at a different time, rather than becoming a singular event, a data point in the past.

Given this expectation that the project would maintain a kind of lived or tensed time, a time caught between anticipation and memory and indexed to the inhabitants of the town, *The Peterlee Project* was an acknowledged failure. 'The analytic component', as Brisley expressed it, 'became fallow.' But with 2000 photographs, 1000 slides and 50 taped interviews gathered over 18 months, it also succeeded in achieving a certain archival 'presence.' Part of the collection was transferred to Durham County archives where they were recently digitized. And the project itself has become an important reference within the art world (part of the archive resides at the Tate).

The Peterlee Project's ambiguous status as a 'successful failure' raises several questions: how does performance relate to history? What is the difference between performing history and the 'becoming historical' of performance?

What happens to performance in the absence of an artistic frame? Under what framework can performance be considered historical knowledge? These are, of course, vast, to some extent, unanswerable questions. In lieu of any kind of answer, the following keywords are intended to identify certain concepts and terms shared between history and performance art. By no means exhaustive or restrictive, these (admittedly idiosyncratic) terms are offered as potential diagnostic tools to pinpoint some convergences and divergences between two activities for which time is the essential material as well as formal parameter of expression. But there is a further reason why keywords might serve as a useful approach to some of these questions. From its inception, performance art was typically defined as a place without definitions of any kind. Yet, as RoseLee Goldberg notes, since the 1970s, what began as the discovery of the body — 'as a means of space, of identity, of narrative' — has come to pervade art and scholarship.¹⁴ The question thus of a shared vocabulary arises again, what Raymond Williams (also in the 1970s) referred to 'as a cluster, a particular set of what comes to signify interrelated words and references.'15 In its inception, performance art, as many of its original creators attest, was a radically underdetermined, experiential and experimental field (the two terms, of course, are etymologically linked). Since the 1990s however, the discourse around performance art appears curiously overdetermined, insofar as the same intellectual references and terms (to poststructuralism, French theory, psychoanalysis) feature to the exclusion of other 'clusters.' The art world's current turn to history thus seems a good moment to consider if perhaps another vocabulary might be relevant. This is especially propitious given that the boundaries between past, present and future are increasingly put into question in many aspects of contemporary life.

ANACHRONISM: It is a convention of the historical method not to impose contemporary meanings, questions and problems onto an analysis of the past. This critique of 'presentism' has long been a mainstay. The nineteenth-century historical method arose in part to consider the past on its own terms, 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' in Ranke's well-known formulation. Croce, in contrast, argued that all 'history is contemporary history.' As Krakauer notes, however, no matter how different, both these viewpoints share a chronological approach; Ranke in his belief that the present can be bracketed in order to observe what remains safely in the past, Croce in his belief that entire past leads ineluctably to the present, which is its fullest expression.¹⁶

Recently however there has been a positive reevaluation of anachronism in the effort to move historical analyses away from a strictly chronological axis. Nicole Loraux has argued in favour of a controlled use of anachronism in order to grasp what she identifies as that 'other time' that exists within historical time.¹⁷ This includes the ways in which a given epoch or historical period can think beyond its own past and present, 'in the mode of anticipation.'¹⁸ Loraux's example is the first case of 'amnesty' in ancient Greek democracy, when the people, victorious over the oligarchs, nonetheless agreed 'to forget' the injustices

perpetrated against them. For Loraux this self-imposed will to forget cannot be captured by the 'vectored time of history'¹⁹ — partly because democracy itself cannot keep alive a memory of conflict and of the people as victims, and partly because it has a tendency to repeat (Loraux notes the pardons granted for crimes committed during Vichy France).

In a related effort, the art historians Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood have suggested the term 'anachronic'.²⁰ In contradistinction to anachronism, which still presupposes the linear time of chronology, the anachronic asks not how the artwork can be said to belong to this or that historical period but rather: how does the artwork itself address time? Just as chronological time is an effect of its various 'configurations' by clocks, calendars, chronicles and so forth, so too the artwork has its own unique way of configuring time. Their case study is European artworks of the late medieval and Renaissance period, which are 'anachronic' insofar as they 'fold', 'collapse' or 'embed' different orders of time upon another. In such a way, these artworks are 'suspended' between two quite different orders of time, a still powerful receding model in which the artwork, as Hans Belting has shown, still functioned as a cult image, and an emerging model in which the artwork is conceived as the product of an artist.

Whether considering classical Greece or Renaissance Europe, both these analyses converge in the desire to rehabilitate the role of analogy, the ANALOGON, in the Greek sense of proportion, correspondence or resemblance enabling reasoning on the basis of parallel cases.

see EXAMPLE AND THE RULE page 15.

ARCHIVE: The term archive stems from the Greek arkheoin, a magisterial public office. Derived from the verb to command or govern, its ancient Greek meaning designated both the place were important documents were stored and the historical record or documents in question. For most writers today, archives still denote depositories of documents or collections of artifacts. But there has also been an expansion of the term to refer to any number of institutions, objects and collections. As Marlene Manoff notes, conflation and inflation characterize contemporary 'archival discourse.'21 The pressure of digitalization and the increasing sense that we are approaching an 'infinite archive', has blurred the difference between libraries, museums and archives. So much so that the term archive 'has become a kind of loose signifier for a disparate set of concepts.'22 Manoff identifies 'ethnographic archive', 'imperial archive', 'postcolonial archive', 'liberal archive', 'raw archive', 'archive fever' and 'archive cancer' amongst others. Given this proliferation of metaphors, it is perhaps more useful to follow Irving Velody and consider the archive as 'one of a growing cluster of anti-concepts.' Much like 'voice and frame', Velody argues, the archive offers an 'envisioning and revisioning of the world' because its legitimacy, or lack thereof, lies outside it.²³

A similar line of thought animates Derrida's 1995 Archive Fever (English translation 1996), influential in the development of archival discourse.²⁴ Rebecca Schneider, for instance, has used it as a model to understand contemporary performance art, arguing that the conventional understanding of performance as disappearance, ephemerality and loss is pre-determined by 'our cultural habituation to the logic of the archive.'25 Following Derrida's play on the Greek etymology, Schneider assimilates the archive to the 'patriarchy', 'the law', 'the monumental', 'house arrest' and the 'imperialism inherent in archival logic.'26 But one can argue that Schneider too falls prey to archival logic in privileging performance art and its various cognate activities (for example, oral storytelling, live recitation) as offering a radically different insight into the relations between past and present. Surely this all-knowing, all-seeing, all-retaining imperial archive is itself an inflated image? And does not this fictional archive (utopian or dystopian, depending on your viewpoint) merely reinforce the original impulse of performance art to set itself against the gallery, the museum, the artwork as curated object?

Certainly the association of the archive with death and the artwork with life has long been a commonplace, as Boris Grovs has argued.²⁷ In contrast to Derrida, who associates the archival impulse with the pleasure principle and the will to life, that is to say, the will to preserve the past for the future, Groys, following Malevich, suggests that a true faith in life presupposes the courage to destroy everything in the knowledge that everything can be created anew. Ironically, Groys argues, when artists claim to want to break out of the museum in order for their art to become 'truly real' or 'truly alive' they are in fact reproducing the logic of the museum archive. For ever since modernity 'the "real" can be defined only in comparison with the museum collection.^{'28} Cultures without museums need to constantly reproduce their past; cultures with museums need to constantly produce new objects. What is recognized as 'real, present and alive' is what is different from the past, the already collected. The more 'real' 'alive' and 'contemporary' the artist can make his or her art appear, the more likely that it will be collected and become the future's past. In Groys' provocative declaration, the 'modern artwork is collected before it is even produced.'29

Of course those accustomed to working with archives, as opposed to talking about or resisting/seeking entry into the archive, have contested these views, notably Carolyn Steedman for whom the metaphors of 'cancer' or 'disease' — not fever — best capture the experience of working with dusty, at times dirty, ink and paper, the records of working men and women who laboured in insalubrious conditions.³⁰ In his biography of an unknown clog-maker, Alain Corbin set himself the challenge of writing as fulsome and rounded a biography out of the most minimal information set — a name chosen at random in a local registry where he, Corbin, grew up — finding within the archive the means to write a history of those 'without history' and 'without subjectivity', the rural poor.³¹ Finally, Marc Bloch long ago gave the lie to one of the common assumptions of archival logic, namely that archives stand for continuity. On the contrary, Bloch noted that the historian's relation to the archive was shaped by catastrophe, which was the historian's 'true deity.'32 We tend to associate catastrophe with the loss and destruction of archival memory and its associated traumas, but continuity itself functions as its own kind of oblivion. Bloch observed that 'the peaceful continuity of social existence is much less favourable to the transmission of memory than is sometimes supposed. Revolutions force the doors of safes, and put ministers to flight before they have had the time to burn their secret papers.'33 Bloch's example is the abbey of St. Denis. Closed to profane access for a thousand years before 1789, its 'secret history' was prised open by the French Revolution when its documents and manuscripts became part of the National Archives and open to all. A more recent example of the 'conservational work' associated with political catastrophes might be the great collection of medieval manuscripts housed in the Ahmed Baba Institute in Timbuktu, Mali. Although a digitization process was already underway, the imminent threat of destruction by the invading Islamist militants in fall 2012 resulted in the removal of the most precious manuscripts to a safe zone and renewed efforts to collate and digitize the majority of the manuscripts which still remain in family collections. As Bloch notes, 'negligence' and the 'passion for secrecy - diplomatic secrecy, business secrecy, family secrecy' still remain the greatest threats to the written record.³⁴

COLLECTIVE MEMORY: 'Most of the time when I remember it is others who spur me on; their memory comes to the aid of mine and mine relies on theirs.'35 This statement by Maurice Halbwachs reflects the idea that collective memory is something that exists both within and outside the flow of time. According to Halbwachs, the past, to the extent that it is preserved at all, exists only through its continuous discursive reanimation — a discourse that reflects, and is inflected by, the ideas and opinions of a group.³⁶ These group memories in turn are constructed antagonistically against other group memories, whether this be the 'group memory' of a professional caste, such as functionaries, whose beliefs, traditions and rituals of 'sociability' are constructed against the more plebeian commercial or artisan classes, or religious groups such as the early Christians, whose collective memory was constructed by separating from other groups and 'preventing other memories from forming and developing in its midst.'37 For Halbwachs, all 'social thought is essentially a memory' and 'its entire content consists only of collective recollections or remembrances' that are reconstructed using present-day frameworks.³⁸ This conception resonates strongly with The Peterlee Project whose goal was precisely to spark social thought through the reanimation of collective memory. The project's subsequent failure in this regard raises a set of related questions. Is it perhaps because the present and future needs of this town's constituents no longer lay within these particular remembrances? Is there a sense in which these remembrances remained nostalgic because they could not be readily transformed into a 'teaching, a notion, a symbol' that was meaningful for the future?³⁹ Is this lack of discourse symptomatic not so much of a lost past but rather a missing present? This raises further questions also of the class-based structure of collective memory. For Halbwachs it is ultimately the nobility and its subsequent bourgeois imitations (in particular, the judiciary with its robes, protocols, sociability and patrician role as moral adjudicators) that traditionally were the keepers of collective memory. Plebeians in contrast were almost axiomatically 'men without a past'⁴⁰ (those whose collective memory did not retain the past). Halbwachs suggests that in a society were almost everyone is defined by a function, task or profession, collective memory resides not in any national tradition but almost solely in the extraprofessional social life — as found in family, place, everyday habits or behaviours.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY/ART, INSTITUTES OF: Peter Osborne notes three waves of periodization for contemporary art.⁴¹ The first, post 1945, began in Eastern Europe 'as part of the Soviet reaction against categories of modernity and modernism.'⁴² According to Osborne, one of the first uses of the term 'contemporary' as a self-description was the *City Gallery of Contemporary Art* in Zagreb (1954), which became the *Museum of Contemporary Art* in 1998 (in a long line of institutions to adopt that oxymoronic designation). The second periodization was epitomised by 1968, marking the definitive separation of the contemporary from the modern. 1989 marks the third threshold, signalling both the end of historical communism and the rise of a global art market when it has become *de rigueur* for every country or region to have an institute for contemporary art. One of the most recent, and the first on the African continent, is the *Fondation Zinsou Museum of Contemporary Art* that opened in Oudiah, Benin in November 2013.

This explosion of institutes of the contemporary since the 1960s is not unique to the art world. The idea that 'contemporary history' was a bona fide, and crucially important, object of study, complete with its own institutions, journals and also museums, follows a similar timeline. Henry Rousso notes that although the Germans had established institutes for contemporary history since the late 1940s, chiefly for the study of Nazism, by the 1960s, there was an Institute of Contemporary History at the Wiener Library in London (1964), a journal published by the same (1966) and a textbook, Geoffrey Barroclough's Introduction to Contemporary History (1964).43 By 1977-1979 the Institut d'histoire du temps présent had been established in France. Interestingly, the latter, to calculate the 'duration' of contemporary history, took the average human lifespan of roughly 70-80 years.⁴⁴ This placed its starting point (calculating backwards from 1977) in 1900, covering the same generational span as The Peterlee Project, which led from 1976 back to the sinking and manning of the mines on the coast between 1900 and 1915. Following the same calculation, contemporary history today would begin around 1945 - the watershed period that prompted the establishment of contemporary history in the first place.

COUNTER-HISTORY: 'Counterhistories form a specific genre of history written since antiquity ... Their method consists of the systematic exploitation

of the adversary's most trusted sources against their grain ... Their aim is the distortion of the adversary's self-image, his identity through the deconstruction of his memory' (Amos Funkenstein).⁴⁵

EXAMPLE AND THE RULE: The question of whether to focus on the example or the rule is a central one to all those historians engaged with 'history from below.' The traditional view of history as res gestae (events that actually happened) had no problem with the issue of exemplarity as it has assumed that all history was public history — great deeds performed by great men. However for those historians reacting against grand narratives or seeking to uncover more popular structures or *mentalités*, the exemplary or 'representative' status of their source material is more difficult to ascertain. Typically, there are two ways to reconstruct the past: by focusing on the representative sample — that which can be serialized — or the atypical. Carlo Ginzburg for instance has expressed his preference for the 'anomalous' rather than the 'analogous', hypothesizing that 'the more improbable set of documentation is 'potentially richer.'46 Serial history, Ginzburg argues, assumes the 'equalization of individuals in their roles of economic or sociocultural agents'; yet we know that not all people have equal access to the production and cultivation of documentation.⁴⁷ In contrast, the exception speaks of both the rule and the exception. It requires a greater effort to understand and also affords greater dividends: enabling the subversion of previous generalizations about the past or prompting new generalizations. But while this may be true, Perry Anderson has challenged the epistemological priority given to the exception, arguing that excessive attention to the anomalous, while illuminating, cannot provide a causal argument or explanation of why certain historical patterns persist and not others.⁴⁸ Anderson argues that the 'belief in the iconoclastic force of the anomaly' draws from a mistaken analogy with the scientific paradigm. When faced with an 'observational anomaly', a scientific paradigm is forced to change the way a historical description does not.

But perhaps a different understanding of 'paradigm' is useful here? Giorgio Agamben has defined the paradigm as 'simply an example, a single case that by its iterability acquires the capacity to model.'⁴⁹ He draws on Aristotle's understanding of paradigm as neither a generality (a way of arguing from wholes to parts) nor an exhaustive enumeration of all cases, but rather a method of reasoning from particular case to particular case, on the basis of analogy. In ancient Greek *paradeigma* 'pattern, model; precedent, example' derives from *paradeiknynai*, 'to exhibit, represent', literally 'show side by side.'⁵⁰ A paradigm thus makes visible a given situation by showing side-by-side two examples — the first provides the context (the paradigm, the model) for the second (which is then understood to be part of a set). Agamben notes that a paradigm always remains 'one case amongst many', the same way a particular representation stands for all representations by being just one representation amongst others.⁵¹ We can extend the same reasoning to the concepts underpinning situationalism, and the various types of performance art it inspired. Here too representation

arguably functions 'paradigmatically' insofar as a given situation stands for all situations by being one situation amongst others.

see HAPAX page 18, ANACHRONISM page 10.

DURATION: This is an essential element of performance art, often referred to simply as 'durational art.' As a term, duration is linked with structures that persist over time, enabling other relations or perceptions to emerge, whether a self-imposed structure in the case of durational artworks or the social and cultural 'structures' that are the focus of historical inquiry. Of course duration is both measurable and subjective and the relation between the two has long been the subject of debate. The philosopher Henri Bergson identified 'duration' with the inner, subjective, intuitive perception of time, opposing it to the objective measurement of mechanistic, clock-time and chronology. In contrast, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim and his collaborator Marcel Mauss argued that the experience of duration was not subjective and individual but rather social and constructed. With the emergence of the Annales school of social and intellectual history, the *longue durée* became an essential component of historical analysis. Fernand Braudel famously opposed the term longue durée to the event-based history that had been the mainstay of traditional historiography. According to Braudel, short-run time corresponds to the 'most capricious and deceptive of durations' whereas slow-moving, long-lived structures reflect the perception we all have of the 'mass' and 'force' of historical change.⁵² This opened the door to the acknowledgement of both asynchronicity (the persistence of old habits and structures of thought beneath new social structures) and the incorporation of multiple strands of time (lived, social, economic, geographic) within a given historical account of the past. Although Karl Marx had been among the first to fully recognize the force of long-term structures operating through history, the Annales school incorporated the techniques of the newly emergent social sciences to argue that duration was not simply a measurement imposed externally. Rather, the justification of a given duration also served a crucial explanatory function (the way, for instance, economists track the cyclical rise and fall of prices over a quarter or half-century as a means of explaining economic change). According to Braudel, the historian's task was to correlate these different durational structures — short-time business cycles, structural crises, longer-term changes in *mentalité* — into the 'uniform time of the historians.⁵³ A similar emphasis on multiple durations can be found in Castoriadis' call to acknowledge the 'multiple species of time'54, Althusser's account of the 'different historical temporalities living the same historical time'55 or Wallerstein's concept of the multiple time-frames comprising the 'world-system.'56

But what is this 'uniform time of history' that would reintegrate these various durations into 'one time'? Does it even exist or is it something that is always retrospectively reconstructed, ultimately implying some kind of narrative structure imagined by a subject whether an individual or a group? According to Bergson duration is subjective because it belongs to tensed time, a time of anticipation and memory that is by definition vectored and sequential, an experience that simultaneity tends to exclude. Gumbrecht, for instance, has suggested that the increasing awareness of simultaneity, over the course of the twentieth century and arguably in accelerated form today, has gone hand in hand with a 'crisis in subjectivity.'⁵⁷ We need sequence in order to understand ourselves as causal agents and subjects who create meaning, but the experience of simultaneity does not easily allow for relations of cause and effect.

The failure of *The Peterlee Project* to sustain itself over time, as a durational work rather than a 'capricious' one-time intervention, suggests the impossibility of such integration. The initial aim of the project was to extend performance into everyday life in order to illuminate its deeper, socio-economic and cultural structures. 'Breadth and thickness' (Brisley's terms) were to function analogously to Braudel's 'force and mass.' Instead the project became scattered, filed away in different houses of inquiry — the department of sociology at a local university, a local heritage project, a local council office, the Tate, or simply misplaced. It is not even clear whether those individuals elected to 'manage the resource' can interweave the various social times (economic, familial, generational, individual) in anything other than a fragmented manner.

In this 'becoming historical' of *The Peterlee Project*, the performative element drops out and the end result is either a heritage monument to a (largely no-longer 'living') community or an inert archive for historical analysis. Performance drops out not just because of the intercession of managers but also because the future dimension is no longer available. Here we can note the disjunction between duration understood as 'performance' and as an element of social, historical or economic explanation. Duration can explain or illuminate a given phenomenon insofar as it serves as a hypothesis or model that can be applied to other social milieux in time or space. In other words, a structure is a recurrent phenomenon. As a one-time event, however, *The Peterlee Project* is over. Like any historical remnant, it has become a fixed data-point in the past. The 2000 photographs and 50 interviews, can be subject to reinterpretation but they are no longer elements of a given community's self-perception — the means through which they situate themselves as individuals and as part of a group.

see TENSED TIME page 19, COLLECTIVE MEMORY page 13.

FOUND OBJECT: objet trouvé. 'An object found by an artist and displayed with no, or minimal alteration or (as an element in) a work of art.'⁵⁸ In their search for unaltered everyday objects and documents, free from intellectually imposed categories but nonetheless expressive of social context, is there a way in which the found object is also every historian's dream?

see ARCHIVE page 11.

HAPAX: A term drawn from linguistics referring to a word that appears only once in a given text. Carlo Ginzburg, following François Furet, has used *hapax* to refer to a singularity, the hypothetical truly original document that is ungeneralizable because it allows for no repetition. An archive's strength is normally judged by the extent to which every piece can be located in a series. The *hapax* in contrast is unable to function either as a description (a way of making a historical generalization about the past) or as an example that proves the rule. It thus stands for the limit of intelligibility of any historical generalization about the past.⁵⁹ As unrepeatable events, are all performances a *hapax*?

A NEW POSITIVISM? In the aftermath of postmodernism, it has become fashionable to refer to all history as representation. Hayden White has focused on the rhetorical tropes and generic structures used by historians to organize their narrative of events. Frank Ankersmit has distinguished between historical facts and descriptions, which he refers to as 'narrative substances' devoid of any truth-value. More recently Carlo Ginzburg, Chris Lorenz and others have argued against this reduction of all history to narrative or representation. Lorenz has argued that relativism functions as an inverse of positivism because it reproduces the same fact/value distinction. Ginzburg has insisted that what distinguishes historical research from 'narrative' is awareness of the limits of documentation and that 'the obstacles interfering with research in the form of lacunae or misrepresentations in the sources must become part of the account.'60 In this sense, the diagnostic potential of The Peterlee Project only makes sense to the extent that the historical research involved - the recorded interviews, the collating of memorabilia - remain distinct from the representation or subsequent interpretation given to it. To put it another way, interpretation is always revisionist and retrospective the way that historical research is not, or at least not entirely.

see DURATION page 16, TENSED TIME page 19.

PERIODIZATION: Periodization in history is not as established as one might think. Marc Bloch complained that the habit of dividing history into various 'ages', which were subsequently mapped onto the division by centuries, was due to the persistence of Virgilian or even mystical categories (the Fourth Eclogue, the Dies Irae) well into the nineteenth century (in French the term siècle also means 'age, 'era' or 'temporal world').⁶¹ It was not until the emergence of social history in the eighteenth century that history was encouraged to 'reflect the character of the epochs and times' it attempted to describe, to recall Constantin-François Volney's expression.⁶² The BC/AD timeline was a relatively late device in Western historiography and can be traced to the French Calvinist Joseph Justus Scaligar, who first separated chronology from religion, thus creating the space for 'prehistory' ad infinitum.⁶³ This timeline, which was implemented slowly and unevenly over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, played a crucial role in establishing a 'modern' understanding of historical time as linear, chronological and flowing from future to past, a timeline moreover that enabled different events and histories to be compared. Of course, as

Lynn Hunt has noted, no sooner was the BC/AD distinction implemented, than it was submerged by a scientific and secular understanding of time as a uniform, homogenous continuum that flowed backwards into an infinite past and forward into an infinite future.⁶⁴ What began as an eminently parochial distinction that was Western, European and Christian in origin, thus enabled the articulation of a universal, homogeneous, 'scientific' understanding of time. This suggests that one cannot so readily identify the modern time-schema — which today is inseparable from a globalized Gregorian calendar — with a specifically 'Western' understanding of time even if, as Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued, the periodization of Western history is essential for constructing the history of other countries as being 'too late' or 'behind' the pace of modern development.⁶⁵

But periodization is not just about measurement and concordance. It also raises the question of how we narrate and order history. Do we narrate history 'internally' according to periodizations and timelines generated by the events and agents in question? Or do we do so 'externally' using 'standard' measurements and conventionally imposed periodizations? This sense of being a town without history, or at least a town whose history (origin, planning, outcome) is externally determined, is especially evident in the case of Peterlee, and by extension many working class, impoverished or otherwise disenfranchised areas. Seen in this light, Brisley's project can be considered an attempt to provide the residents with a means to establish an 'internal' account of their own history, using a timeline, focal points and 'milestones' that are internally generated, through a lived experience or collective memory. Now one might regret that the early termination of the project meant that the miners' strikes of 1984, commonly taken as a 'watershed' moment in British labour relations and the triumph of Thatcherism, could not be included in the archive. Certainly there was a missed opportunity to record participants 'doing history' — both as political actors and as observers and recorders of their actions. But in another sense the very lack of a 'milestone' year avoids the teleological foreclosure that assumes that there is only one path from the past to the present, thereby conferring causality to one sequence of events to the exclusion of others. It also avoids the conflation of performance with re-enactment that we see for example in Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave (2001). By re-enacting the miner's strike of 1984, Deller's performance affirms a linear view of working class history as structured around 'watershed' moments in a way that obscures other visions of the future, or more latent appreciations of the 'mass' and 'force' of history. The result is more commemoration than analysis; therapy for some, provocation for others but in any case a reinforcement of a dominant *narrative* understanding of the past.

see DURATION page 16.

TENSED TIME: *The Peterlee Project* was intended as a 'live proposal.' It was conceived not as a history of the past but as a history of the present, focusing on that part of the past that continued to be a living and on-going *presence* in people's lives. This connotes notions of a tensed time, what Paul

Ricoeur, following Emile Benveniste, has described as a time caught between an anticipated future and memory of a past present. In tensed time, the future remains an essential dimension that decides what remains, is repeated or forgotten. As Ricoeur notes, from the perspective of tensed time, even historical dates are always assigned to 'potential presents, imagined presents.'⁶⁶ Precisely because they incarnate values and aspiration, these imagined presents reveal the multiple trajectories between past and future that hold in any given present, not all of which materialize. Although tensed time is essential to understanding how history is constructed or performed in the present, it also differs from the conventional historical conception of time as a sequence of dates. It differs both because it is experienced subjectively (as an anticipation and memory) and because it cannot be expressed in linear time (which always assumed that any given event has been overturned by subsequent events in an endless sequence).

Given this attention to moments or states of being, tensed time has often been assimilated to the lyrical present. The sociologist Andrew Abbott, for example, has argued that the lyrical stance is essential to understanding the dynamics of social change because it encapsulates 'momentaneity, performativity and the emotional sense of belonging to a given community.³⁶⁷ For Abbott, the narrative emphasis on beginnings and ends means that 'the intermediate present disappears because we know ahead of time where the historical story ends.^{'68} For the lyrical poet, in contrast, this intermediate present, or tensed time, is what matters most. As Paul de Man has noted what distinguishes lyric from narrative is the attempt to capture both the future and the past in one image, that is to say, both the 'active projection into the future' and the awareness that imagination is separated from the past 'by the experience of failure.'69 In a related manner, Jonathan Culler has insisted that the essence of the lyric is performativity, whereby the lyric 'seeks to create what it names and may succeed or fail in this extraordinary ambition.⁷⁰ Culler focuses on the apostrophe (where the poet addresses an audience or a thing) in order to define the fundamental characteristic of lyrical as resistance to narrative. Instead of 'being organized into events to be narrated', the apostrophe in a lyrical poem ensures that events 'are inserted in the poem as elements of the event that the poem is attempting to be.⁷¹

These authors share a focus on the performative experience of the 'present' as a tensed time, in which the futural dimension remains open. They also share a broadly avant-garde desire for new beginnings, the desire to name a situation, to make a cut in time that enables a particular present to 'stand out' against an established sequence. But to what extent do these cuts in time rely on interlopers, intellectuals or other professed militants of the revolutionary situation? *The Peterlee Project* interpreted the role of the artist not as a creator of a singular artwork but as a collaborative outsider. Is there not also a way in which the artist can be likened to the apostrophizing poet — he who addresses the community so that the 'events to be narrated' (to paraphrase Culler) become elements of the event that the project is attempting to be? Brisley has noted the failure of the archive to pass into the hands of a 'collective responsibility.' This raises the

question of whether such a thing exists. Is a performer or agent (whether an individual or a group of individuals) always necessary to resist the 'becoming historical' of any such collective project?

Dr Sanja Perovic

Endnotes

¹ For a comprehensive overview of these developments see Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment*(London: Routledge, 2011); for the archival impulse in contemporary art see *The Archive*, ed. Charles Merewether, (London: Whitechapel; Cambridge, MASS: MIT Press, 2006).

² See Berber Bevernege, 'Time, Presence and Historical Injustice', *History and Theory*, 47.2 (May 2008), 149-167.

³ See Henry Rousso, *The Haunting Past: History, Memory and Justice in Contemporary France*, trans. Ralph Schoolcraft, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2002); Richard Evans, 'History, Memory and the Law: The Historian as Expert Witness', *History and Theory*, 41.3 (October 2002): 326-345; Berber Bevernage, *History, Memory and State-Sponsored Violence: Time and Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁴ See for instance the Nietzschean-inspired arguments of Keith Jenkins, *At the Limits of History: Essays on Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁵ Claire Bishop, Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship (London: Verso, 2012), 2, 11.

⁶ See for instance the AHRC-funded project and volume, *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, Performance and the Persistence of Being* eds. Gabriella Giannachi, Nick Kaye, Michael Shanks, (London: Routledge, 2012).
⁷ Lynn Hershman Leeson and Michael Shanks, 'Archaeologies of Presence: Here and Now', *Archaeologies of Presence*, 222-234, 226.

⁸ Chris Lorenz and Marek Tamm, 'Who Knows where the Time Goes', *Rethinking History*, (2014 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13642529.2014.893664, 13.)

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¹⁵ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, [1976] 1983), 22.

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¹⁷ Nicole Loraux, 'Eloge de l'anachronisme en l'histoire', *Le genre humain* 27 (1993), 23-39, 22.

¹⁸ Ibid., 24.

¹⁹ Ibid., 35.

²⁰ Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).
 ²¹ Marlene Manoff, 'Theories of the Archive from Across the disciplines', *Libraries and the Academy*

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²² Ibid., 10.

²³ Irving Velody, 'The Archive and the Human Sciences: Notes towards a Theory of the Archive', *History of the Human Sciences*, 11.4 (Nov 1998): 4-16, 12.

²⁴ The original French title is *Mal d'archive: impression freudienne*. Originally presented as a lecture on June 5 1994 at the colloquium Memory: A Question of Archives, Freud Museum, London.

²⁵ Schneider, Performing Remains (London: Routledge, 2011), 98.

²⁶ Ibid., 99.

²⁷ Boris Groys, Art Power (Cambridge, MASS: MIT Press, [2008] 2013).

²⁸ Ibid., 24.

²⁹ Ibid., 28.

³⁰ Carolyn Steedman, 'Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida and Dust', *The American Historical Review* 106.4 (Oct 2001), 1159-1180.

³¹ Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog Maker in Nineteenth Century France*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

³² Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, preface by Peter Burke, trans. Peter Putnam, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 61.

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³⁴ Ibid., 62.

³⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, On Collective Memory, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38.

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³⁷ Ibid., 93.

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⁴³ Henry Rousso, *La dernière catastrophe: L'histoire, le présent, le contemporain* (Paris: Gallimard, 2012), 164-9.

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⁶² Constantin-François Volney, Leçons d'Histoire prononcées à l'Ecole Normale en l'An III de la République Française (Paris: Chez J.A. Brosson, An VIII), 46.

⁶³ See Arno Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1996), 103-6.

⁶⁴ Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time/Making History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), 38-9.
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⁶⁷ Andrew Abbott, 'Against Narrative: A Preface to Lyrical Sociology', *Sociology Theory* 25.1 (March 2007), 67-99.

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⁶⁹ Paul de Man, 'Wordsworth and Hölderlin', *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 58-59.

⁷⁰ Jonathan Culler, 'Lyric, History, Genre', New Literary History 2009, Vol. 4.4, 879-899, 887.

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Private Memory - Collective History

Personal memorabilia was recorded photographically, enlarged and consolidated. Audio interviews were transcribed into text and conjoined with the visual component to form the public collection. This was done to materially change private into shared history which was a crucial link to an understanding of present time. The collected material was used in the community as the engine of The Peterlee Project.

Stuart Brisley, 2014

THE PETERLEE PROJECT IN TATE ARCHIVE

Representation of parts of The Peterlee Project as it is held in Tate Archive

CONTEXTS - 1

ORIGINS

Peterlee was one of the first New Towns - designated in 1948, less than two years after the New Towns Act had been passed, which enabled the Government to finance and develop New Towns 'in the national interest'. Today Peterlee, with a population of about 28,000, ranks as one of the smallest of Britain's 28 Government sponsered New Towns, which together contain nearly two million people. It is one of three New Towns in the North-East, the others being Aycliffe - designated in 1947 and Washington - designated in 1964. (In addition, the North-East possesses two large 'expanded towns', Cramlington and Killingworth, sponsored by Northumberland County Council and also the new company town of Billingham on Teesside).

The immediate impetus which led the Government to establish New Towns was the necessity for reconstruction in the aftermath of the Second World War. Bombing had destroyed large sections of our towns and cities. A massive housing shortage was inevitable not only because of this destruction but also because the war had brought house - building to a standstill. To the new Labour Government brought to power with an impressive majority in 1945, New Towns seemed able to make a useful contribution to the reconstruction effort. As well as providing evidence of the Government's determination that 'homes fit for heroes' would not be a hollow promise - as had been the case after the First World War - New Towns offered the possibility of decentralising population and industry away from the crowded conurbations. Wartime experience had dramatically illustrated the strategic hability of industrial concentration in the cities.

Planning was still in its infancy and was largely ineffective but some useful lessons had been learned. Ebeneeser Howard had succeeded in developing two privately-sponsored 'Garden Cities' at Letchworth and Welwyn both of which served as models for the later Government New Towns. A vigorous lobby of Howard's supporters pressed for further 'Garden Cities' arguing that they would provide the solution to the housing and social problems of Britain's cities. These supporters were later able to offer their experience and ideas to the Government. In addition, local authorities had gained considerable experience since the First World War in developing Council estates, assisted by Government subsidies; with the collapse of the private rented housing sector, the State had intervened increasingly in housing provision.

The Depression had also prompted the Government's first attempts at industrial planning. In the I930's Trading Estates were set up in the hardest - hit areas the 'Special Areas', of which Tyneside was one - to encourage industry to move there. Finally, the war itself provided the need for co-ordinated planning in virtually every sphere of national life, paving

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the way to a system of planning in peacetime, to Nationalisation and the Welfare State.

The post-war Labour Government declared itself committed to major reforms. Measures were taken to Nationalise the coal, gas and electricity industries and the railways and full employment was to be maintained. In addition, the urban areas were to be reconstructed according to the procedures laid out in a new Town and Country Planning Act. And, within a busy Parliamentary timetable, dominated by debates about Nationalisation and overloaded with a welter of new Bills, the opportunity was taken to introduce a Bill for the development of New Towns. With little delay, the subsequent New Towns Act became law in August 1946.



CONTEXTS - 2

THE FRAMEWORK

The 1946 New Towns Act provided the Government with the necessary powers to establish and develop New Towns. Sites for New Towns would be chosen, designated and purchased. Financial loans would be granted by the Treasury for this purpose and be repayable over a period of 60 years. Each New Town was to be developed and managed by Development Corporations appointed by, and responsible to, the Minister in charge of the New Towns programme. Development Corporations were given wide powers:

'to acquire, hold, manage and dispose of land and other property, to carry out building and other operations, to provide water, electricity, gas, sewerage and other services, to carry out any business or undertaking in or for the purposes of the New Town and generally to do anything necessary or expedient for the purposes of the new town...' (New Towns Act, 1946, 2(2)) Development Corporations would negotiate the purchase of the land within the boundaries of the New Town (known as the designated' area). They would build most of the houses and roads, but many services - notably schools - would remain the responsibility of existing local authorities. Rents from houses, comercial and industrial land and property were to provide the Development Corporation with its main source of revenue to be used to repay the Government's loans. Rates would still be collected by the local authority.

The New Towns Act thus provided the basic legal and administrative machinery to build the New Towns. But, in addition, the Government had appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Reith - the former head of the B.B.C. - to suggest some of the 'guiding principles' to be followed in creating the New Towns.

The Committee's recommendations, published in 1946, were detailed, thoughtful and idealistic and bear repetition today, thirty years later. The Committee considered it vital that the New Towns should be able to offer work to their residents; they should be selfcontained - unlike the dormitory suburbs of the interwar years. They should provide a range of services shops, social facilities and so on to meet most of the needs of the residents. New Towns were also to be socially balanced; both the Committee and the Minister stressed the importance of having a good mix of social classes, occupations and income groups. To this end, a wide range of house types - both Corporation and private - should be built and the town should offer a wide range of employment opportunities.

Social life was expected to be vigorous and stimulating; the first residents would be drawn together as pioneers engaged in a great social adventure. Because most people would live and work in the New Town there would be little commuting and therefore plenty of free time to participate in clubs and organisations. It was hoped the 'class distinction' would be avoided and everyone would become involved. Evidently the Committee

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felt that the 'wartime spirit' could be maintained and developed in the New Towns of post-war Britain.

And what thoughts did the Committee have concerning the role and nature of Development Corporations? Firstly, they wanted Development Corporations to be open and responsive. The Committee stressed the importance of communication between the Development Corporation and the New Town's residents. Residents should be kept informed of the Development Corporation's intentions and a local newspaper or local radio station should 'provide a forum for the free and open discussion of many of the problems which arise in the course of a town's development'. In addition, an information office was recommended to offer newcomers help and advice.

But the Reith Committee's 'guiding principles' were no more than recommendations and, to the detriment of many New Towns, were subsequently found too difficult to implement, were ignored, or simply forgotten.



CONTEXTS - 3

DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

New Town Development Corporations are amongst the lesser-known public agencies although their local influence within the New Towns is enormous. Development Corporations are responsible for planning and building New Towns and are major landlords; they own most of the land and houses and a substantial proportion of industrial and commercial property. Within the designated area of a New Town, the Development Corporation has a stake in most things and is a powerful agency.

While in some respects Development Corporations may seem to be much like local authorities (councils) they differ in the extent of their responsibilities and in their structure. A vital difference is that Development Corporations are appointed, not elected.

When a New Town is designated a Development Corporation is established. This consists of a governing Board, headed by a Chairman. All Board members are appointed by the Government (in fact, the Secretary of State for the Environment). Board members serve in a parttime capacity and receive a salary. Members are responsible for guiding policy and appointing officers to the Development Corporation. The officers are headed by a General Manager, whose status is similar to that of a Chief Executive or Town Clerk in local authorities. The Development Corporation is responsible only to the Government, through the Department of Environment.

The principle behind this sort of structure is that Development Corporations should be sufficiently powerful to get the job done. They are able to overide local objections and set about the task of building a New Town without concern for popularity at the polls. But they differ from other public corporations in that those principally affected by their policies - the New Town residents - have no means to challenge them. In the Nationalised industries there is the countervailing power of the Unions and, to an extent, consumer 'watchdog' agencies. In local authorities the electorate can use their power to change policies. But New Town Development Corporations are answerable only to the Government.

Given the structure and the circumstances within which New Towns are developed it is hardly surprising that Development Corporations have been charged with being secretive, unresponsive to the needs and opinions of residents, and undemocratic. Development Corporations have <u>not</u> been noted for their concern to inform the public of their intentions - much less involve the public in making decisions. Nor have they made much effort to explain their functions; many people living in New Towns are consequently unaware of what the Development Corporation is or does, beyond knowing that it is their landlord. A Development Corporation may be efficient and its members and officers sincere in their intentions, but it is - by nature - an undemocratic

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organisation, often out of touch with local affairs and feelings and liable to be an insensitive and bureaucratic authority.



CONTEXTS - 4

THE PETERLEE PROPOSAL

Peterlee is unusual, if not unique, among New Towns. Whilst most of the early New Towns were intended to take over-spill population from the cities, Peterlee's function was to concentrate a dispersed population and provide a centre for the surrounding villages. Secondly, in most cases New Towns have incorporated existing towns, whereas the site for Peterlee was virtually all farmland, inhabited by less than 200 people. Thirdly, almost all New Towns have been opposed by local interests which, in some cases, fought hard against designation. Peterlee, on the other hand, was proposed by the local authority, Easington Rural District Council. Finally most New Towns had an important and clearly stated aim to attract and develop industry, but Peterlee's main function was to house the labour force engaged in the existing local mining industry.

The idea of building a New Town in the Easington Rural District was put forward in 1944 by C.W. Clarke, the architect-surveyor to the Rural District Council. He argued that it would be far better to concentrate future building on a single site in the District rather than add to each existing pit village. The Council agreed that after the war virtually all new building would thus take place on one site, serving the housing needs of the area and providing a centre for shopping, industry and social life. Clarke's ideas were developed fully in his pamphlet 'Farewell Squalor', published in 1947. He pointed out the weaknesses of a local economy dependent almost completely on the market for coal. Clarke noted the effects of Depression, and the poor working and living conditions existing in the area. According to him, the pit villages did not warrant any expansion; the only hope was a new start on a new site.

Having investigated the housing needs of the District which were as formidable as any in Britain - he proposed a New Town of about 30,000 people. And to stress its local function and its progressive objectives, Clarke suggested that it be named after Peter Lee, one of the most famous of the pitmen-politicians who had fought hard to improve conditions in the area up to his death in 1935.

The Rural District Council had originally intended to build the town themselves, regarding it as an extension of their very considerable efforts in the field of Council housing. But the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, probably at Clarke's request, became involved and in March 1947 the Council decided to have the town built by a Government appointed Development Corporation under the provisions of the New Towns Act.

The Minister, Lewis Silkin, visited the area and endorsed the views expressed in 'Farewell Squalor'. Although he appreciated that the New Town would be essentially a Miners' Town he hoped that it would attract people from other occupations; he thought it important that

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'miners should have the opportunity of mixing with people of other occupations and income levels'. The Minister agreed to a target population of 30,000 and consented to the name of 'Peterlee'.

Objections were received against the proposal but all were dismissed. The Parish Councils of Hutton Henry, Haswell and Thornley, relatively distant from the Peterlee site, argued that the building of the New Town would divert resources away from village improvement. But they were overuled and assured that the villages would receive improvements and that Peterlee would have a beneficial effect on the whole District.

The final Designation Order, establishing the New Town of Peterlee and Peterlee Development Corporation was made in March 1948. The main aims of the New Town were stated:

- 1 'To provide accommodation for some thirty-thousand people, drawn, in the main, from the Easington Rural District.'
- 2 'To provide the recreational and shopping centre which is needed to give the district as a whole a greater degree of cohesion and self-sufficiency.'
- 3 'To provide the industrial employment to absorb the female labour available in the district and any male labour not employed in coal-mining.'

Britain's seventh New Town had been launched - and without the strong protests and angry scenes witnessed elsewhere. But it was to take nearly three years of disagreement and delay before Peterlee's first tenants arrived at the beginning of 1951. Three years during which enthusiasm for the scheme evaporated and the newly-appointed Development Corporation became increasingly unpopular.

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PETERLEE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Peterlee Development Corporation displays all the strengths and weaknesses inherent in its structure. On the one hand it has succeeded in building a town from scratch, providing about 7,000 houses and helping to bring new jobs to the area - against a background of very considerable difficulties and some opposition. On the other hand, Peterlee Development Corporation is <u>not</u> noted for 'open government', fairness or sensitivity. Some have argued that it is a high-handed and repressive organisation, concerned only to protect and preserve its own corporate interests,

As well as these structural factors - shared by other Development Corporations to a greater or lesser extent, Peterlee Development Corporation has additional deficiencies which stem from its special responsibilities and situation. Unlike most New Towns, Peterlee's immediate objectives are of a very local kind and for this reason alone it might well have been better had the scheme been carried out and administered by an organisation with firm local roots, staffed, or at least directed, by local people. Had this been the case, some hostility might have been avoided - especially that between the Development Corporation and local authorities, and the Development Corporation might have been less isolated and more receptive to public opinion.

The conflict between the locality and the Development Corporation has been unfortunate and, in some respects, destructive. To begin with, it is probably correct to suppose that Easington Rural District Council failed to anticipate what would happen when they agreed to have the Peterlee scheme undertaken under the New Towns Act by a Development Corporation. The Council was subsequently upset by the fact that nearly all of those appointed to the Development Corporation Board came from outside the area; only one of the eight members was an Easington R.D.C. councillor.

The Development Corporation established its headquarters at Shotton Hall, a county house on the edge of the designated area, remote and isolated from the pit villages. This arrangement inevitably attracted local hostility; local people in desperate housing need were not impressed by the Development Corporation's sense of priorities. And local people grew tired of hearing their villages referred to as 'squalid' and 'no more than the barracks of an industry' as a means by which the Development Corporation justified the need for Peterlee - while at the same time the press reported allegations that Mrg. Felton, the Corporation Chairman, was 'living in luxury at the tax-payers' expense' at Shotton Hall.

Such support as may have existed for the Peterlee scheme disappeared. The original promoters of Peterlee, Easington Rural District Council, not only felt that matters had been taken out of their hands but also complained that the Development Corporation failed to inform them of their plans. Moreover, long delays developed because of a prolonged dispute between the Development Corporation

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and the N.C.B. over the planning of the site. The N.C.B. successfully challenged the Development Corporation's intention to prevent mining from taking place beneath the New Town site so as to avoid the problem of subsidence. But the issue was not resolved until 1950, when the Government intervened and forced the Development Corporation to negotiate an agreement with the N.C.B. allowing the mining of the site and necessitating building development phased with the N.C.B.'s extraction programme. The consequent delay - the reasons for which were not revealed to the public for many months - resulted in a loss of confidence in the Development Corporation's abilities and, of course, disenchantment and frustration among those waiting to be housed.

In 1951 the first tenants were housed at Peterlee - but at rents almost double those of Council houses in the villages. This in itself caused many personal difficulties and people in the villages accordingly referred to the town as 'Hungry Hill' - a place where people could 'starve in comfort'. Many took a house in Peterlee as a temporary measure until they received tenancy of an N.C.B. house in the villages.

As Peterlee expanded, the problems and deficiencies of the Development Corporation did not resolve themselves. Easington Rural District Council, perhaps to an extent embarrassed at having proposed the scheme in the first place, for many years complained of the lack of local representation on the Board and of the Development Corporation's failure to keep the Council informed. It

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would seem that a sound relationship between the two bodies only began to emerge in the 1970s. The Development Corporation itself had to contend with many difficulties and setbacks. The town centre and other service developments were slow to get off the ground; several of the shops in the town centre were not let for several years and it proved difficult to attract outside commercial interest to finance the development of much needed facilities. A major underlying problem was that Peterlee's population had to grow relatively slowly - largely because of the need to phase building with mining operations - so that the town would remain too small to support many facilities for a number of years. Another major problem was the failure of Peterlee to attract industry, in part due to pressure from opposing interests - notably the N.C.B., concerned not to lose labour to other industries.

In managing the New Town, the Development Corporation adopted a paternalistic attitude. This was especially the case in the early years when the town was still quite small. There was continual contact with tenants through the weekly visit of the rent-collector (a practice which was discontinued when a central collection office was provided in the late 1960s). Rent collectors were expected to ensure that tenants were living 'properly', looking after the house and garden and that their children were not playing on the grass verges and landscape areas. The General Manager, who some have referred to as 'the squire of Peterlee', made regular inspections of the 'estate'. Although today the Development Corporation is less officious than formerly, it is still the case

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that tenants are supposed to seek permission for even minor improvements and alterations to their homes.

More generally, the Development Corporation's influence seems evident in every sphere of life in Peterlee, yet at the same time the general public is remarkably ignorant of what it is or what it does. In fact, the Development Corporation is not responsible for everything; there are many responsibilities remaining with the District and Town Councils and other bodies. But it is often difficult to disentangle the complicated network of responsibilities and find out to what authority a particular inquiry or complaint should be addressed. Because the Development Corporation is the dominant organisation it doubtless has received the blame for many things which lie outside its sphere of control. The Development Corporation's paternalism and long-standing elitism always knowing what was best for people without consulting them - coupled with its bold policy statements and sensationalism in advertising the town, have contributed to the impression of its omnipotence.

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Reviewing the history of Peterlee, one is struck by the extent to which the whole scheme gradually took on a broader and less local character. Its initial origins and intentions were local but it then became a Government project with a Development Corporation whose members and officers were drawn mainly from outside the area. In the first few years it provided housing mainly for local people but by the mid-1960s a majority of its newcomers came from further afield than the villages of the Easington Rural District. Local pits closed but Peterlee was unable to offer alternative employment. Instead, the Development Corporation, under the Chairmanship of T. Dan Smith in the late 1960s, proposed a massive Science Complex, to provide jobs, not for redundant miners, but for scientists. Peterlee was supposed to attract 'a colony of top boffins'. Although nothing came of the scheme, T. Dan Smith was responsible for adding a new dimension to the concept of Peterlee - a dimension embracing modernisation and technological innovation, a product of Smith's visionary zeal and founded largely on image-building and promotional activities.

Smith left the Development Corporation in 1970. His downfall, however, came four years later in the Poulson affair. Smith and another ex-member of the Development Corporation Board, Ald Cunningham, were convicted for corruption with J.G.L. Poulson - the architect engaged to design a proposal Arts and Humanities Centre at Peterlee and responsible for designing Peterlee's swimming pool. The revelations about these men, all involved to some degree with Peterlee, did not of course enhance the status



of the Development Corporation. But Peterlee has had its fair share of scandal and rumour over the years one thinks of the curious affair of bankrupt builder Milton Hindle in 1960, for instance - and so it is probable that few were surprised to hear allegations of 'graft'.

Following Smith's demise from the Development Corporation came the appointment of Dennis Stevenson, a young and vigorous Chairman who did not possess the regional connections of his predecessor. His appointment inaugurated a firm break with the past. The administration was re-styled and substantially modernised. Several long-serving Corporation officers left, including A.V. Williams who had served as General Manager from the beginning. By 1974 only three of the Board's eight members had served on the Board for five years or more.

The Stevenson administration has made very considerable progress in many directions and, given the experiences of the past with which it has had to contend, its achievements deserve some praise. The need to combat the area's high rate of unemployment has been recognised as a major priority and much has been done to attract industry to Peterlee. A significant effort has been made in the field of social development. One gains the impression also of some liberalisation of the Development Corporation and an attempt - very gradual and overcautious - to communicate with and rediscover the people of Peterlee. The opening of an Arts and Information Centre, the building up of a social development department and the contemplated move out of Shotton Hall to offices in the town centre

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all point in this direction. In addition, liason with the local authorities has improved very significantly in recent years. The development Corporation has also earned some respect in welcoming the Government's proposals to hand over housing and related assets to the local authority, Easington District Council. It appears that this transfer of ownership will take place in 1978, leaving the Development Corporation concerned largely with industrial affairs.

Nevertheless, such changes do not eradicate history and experience and perhaps do no more than conceal deepseated structural defects. Two former officers of the Development Corporation* argued strongly that:-'A history of indifference, of the Corporation imposing and expropriating, of it devaluing the significance of local people and their communities, their values, their problems and their aspirations: such a history cannot be forgotten in order to take on a new outlook and confidence in response to declarations of intent from the Corporations.'

The problems involved in the Development Corporation's hand over of housing to the District Council and in its attempts to stimulate self-help and participation in the community are underestimated by the Development

 These two officers resigned from the Development Corporation, having concluded that the Corporation was socially destructive and hence should be completely dissolved.

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Corporation. For the people of Peterlee the change of landlord will probably make little difference. But rather the real problems lie in developing a sense of power within the community, and a leadership. One wonders how the Development Corporation expects people to react when, after years of domination by the Development Corporation, they are told the time has come for them to participate and assist in 'social development'. Are people expected to show initiative when for so long the opportunity has been denied them? Do they really regard Peterlee as 'their town' when they had virtually no say in its development and when, time and again, their criticisms fell on deaf ears at Shotton Hall? Evidently, the latent and forgotten abilities of Peterlee people must re-emerge and develop. The direction which Peterlee takes in the future will hopefully not be the subject of policy analysis and authoritarian edicts; it will be left to the people themselves.

It is not clear yet what role Peterlee Development Corporation will take on in the future, but its functions will probably be largely limited to the management and promotion of industrial development. The opportunity thus arises for a restoration of a measure of selfgovernment for the people of Peterlee - a democracy which is not overshadowed by a powerful Development Corporation. it is not idealistic to hope for the development of fully accountable, potent and democratic institutions guiding Peterlee forward into its maturity, as a town. If more ambitious, 'idealistic' proposals were put forward - neighbourhood councils, street committees

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and so on - then this would be fully in keeping with the original intention of New Towns as experimental communities, conceived in a spirit of idealism.

At this stage, as Peterlee nears completion in terms of bricks and mortar and as the Development Corporation begins gradually to withdraw, a review and discussion of what has happened at Peterlee over these last thirty years would be valuable. Not only would it be a question of trying to set the local record straight, but it would embrace wider issues concerning the advantages and disadvantages of New Towns, the kinds of agencies which should build them, the relationship between the State and the community, and so on. It is important too that Peterlee Development Corporation should enter fully into such a discussion and be prepared to answer criticism. If the Development Corporation is concerned to be more open, Board members and officers must be prepared to discuss their opinions and policies with the public and establish effective - not token - channels for communication and participation. A dialogue between the people of Peterlee and the Development Corporation will be very difficult to establish because there is no experience of it. But the initiative must be with the Development Corporation because it holds the power and it has been secretive and insensitive. Every endeavour should be made in this direction or the Development Corporation's statements of liberal intentions will be nothing more than hollow promises.

Can the Development Corporation shed its autocratic

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character and accept that its purpose is to serve the public? Can the Development Corporation make the people of Peterlee aware of what it is and what it does - and be prepared to modify its policies in the light of public opinion? Can criticism of the Development Corporation take place in an atmosphere devoid of fears of reprisals and without the paranoid defensiveness with which the Corporation has customarily reacted to its critics?

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It remains to be seen whether Peterlee Development Corporation can overcome the past and help the people of Peterlee understand the past and build for the future.

11

ARTIST PROJECT PETERLEE

2B Yoden Way, Peterlee, Co. Durham. Telephone: 0783-867498. Funded by the Peterlee Development Corporation and Manpower Service Commission.

2nd Peterlee Report.

Peterlee Report is organised in two parts:

The first part involves a peoples' collective history of the area immediately surrounding Peterlee New Town.

It comprises of a collection of photographic material, most of which has been copied from original photographs people have kindly lent us, and a body of tape recordings and transcripts of conversations which have been made with people who have lived in the local area all their lives.

This material covers personal, domestic, social, sport, work and political activities in the area of Blackhall, Castle Eden, Easington Colliery, Easington Village, Horden and Shotton. There will be a continual exhibition of photographic slide material, supported by live commentary, lectures will be given to school parties and organisations on request. Please phone Sunderland Arts Centre, Sunderland 41214, to arrange lectures.

Two coaches have been arranged to take people from Peterlee and Easington area, who would like to come to the opening at 3.00 p.m. on Monday the 16th, May at Sunderland Arts Centre. If you would like to reserve a seat please contact Artist Project at 2B Yoden Way, Peterlee. Telephone Peterlee 867498.



V.E. or V.J. Party 1945-6, Old 6th Street, Harden.

The second part of the project involving independent contributions is concerned with the history of the development of Peterlee New Town, the Peterlee Development Corporation, the concept behind Artist Project and a history of womens' life in the area.



AL.V

The project is seen as a means of collecting, collating and presenting a wide spectrum of the views and attitudes of people who live in Peterlee and the immediate surrounding area. It takes the form of a proposal to establish an open community workshop engaged in questions which are relevant in personal and social life. The project itself is scheduled to end in September, 1977, but we hope means will be found for it to be developed within the community.

The project has received a massive support from people living in the area and we hope that you will visit the project in Sunderland to see it in its most complete form. Hopefully not for the last time

ARTIST PROJECT Peterlee. 2 1/4/17



Three Women in service, Castle Eden.

INSTITUTIONS FOR MAN

The Dismissal of Peterlee Development Corporation

Robert Morgan and Derek Robinson

A FORMA Special Report

INSTITUTIONS FOR MAN

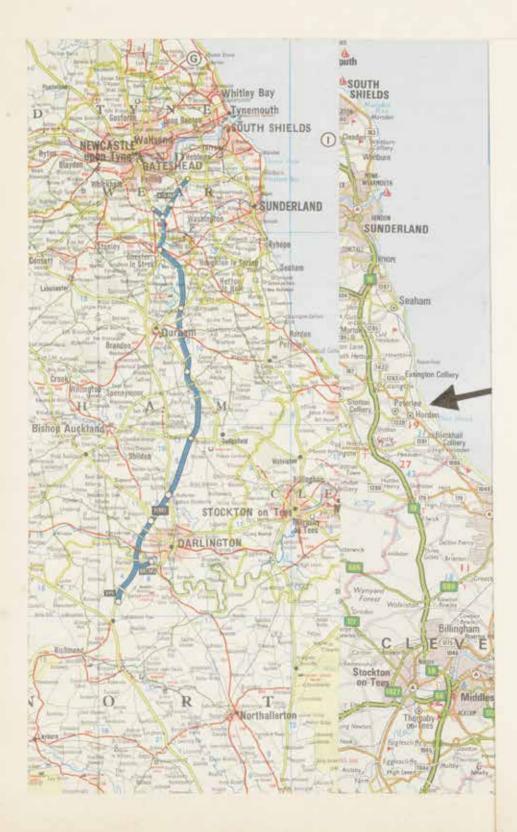
The Dismissal of Peterlee Development Corporation

Robert Morgan and Derek Robinson

formerly Head of Research and Senior Social Research Officer, Peterlee Development Corporation

Reprinted from the planning journal FORMA Volume 4 Number 1 March 1976

Published by Joynson-Bruvvers Ltd., Oxford c 1976 Jaynace Bruvven Ltd





ARTIST PROJECT PETERLEE

PAREWELL SQUALOR

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Design for a new town and proposals for the re-development of the Easington Bural District. Propused for the Council by C.W. Clarke Engineer and Surveyor to the Council, 1945.

This document is a lynchpin in the development of the Emmington District arising from pit village experience in the district, and leading to the designation of Peterlee new town, one of 14 new towns designated by the Minister of Town and Country Planning under the New Towns Act of 1946. Peterlee was designated a new town, and the Development Corporation was set up in March 1948 and the Architect Lubetkin appointed by the Winister, (ref H Oneil transcript)

ARTIST PROJECT

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306 ANDIAL VIEW YODEN WAY PETIELEE 1977



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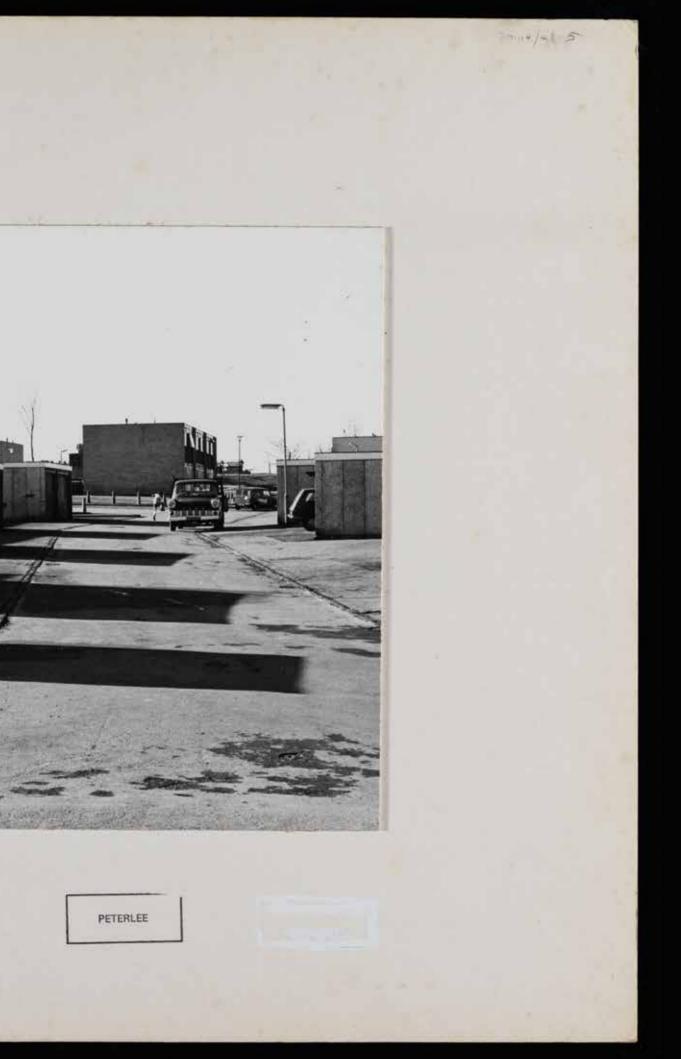


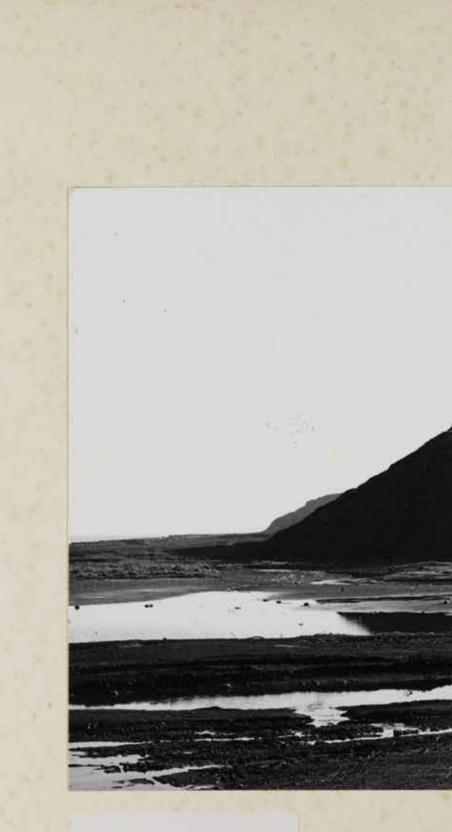
168 VIEW FROM YODEN WAY PETERLEE 1976





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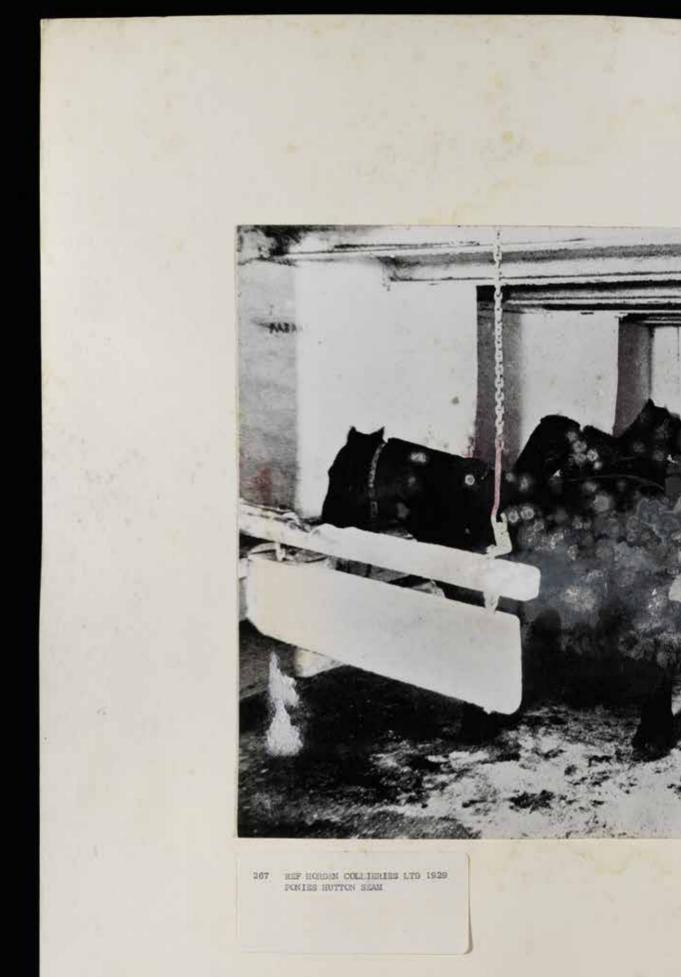




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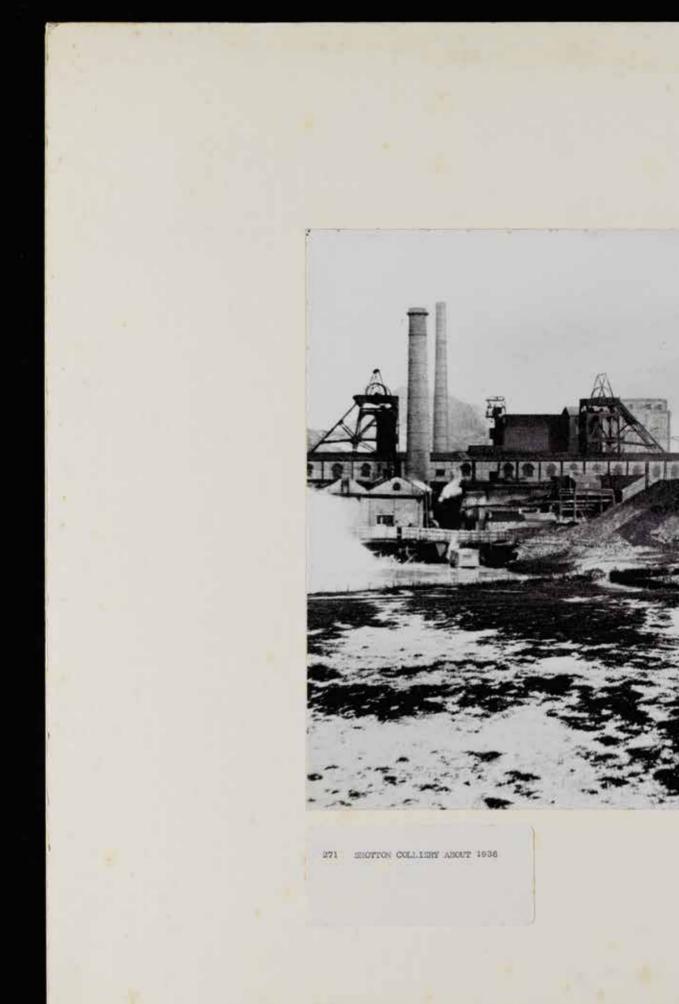








ARTIST PROJECT PETERLEE







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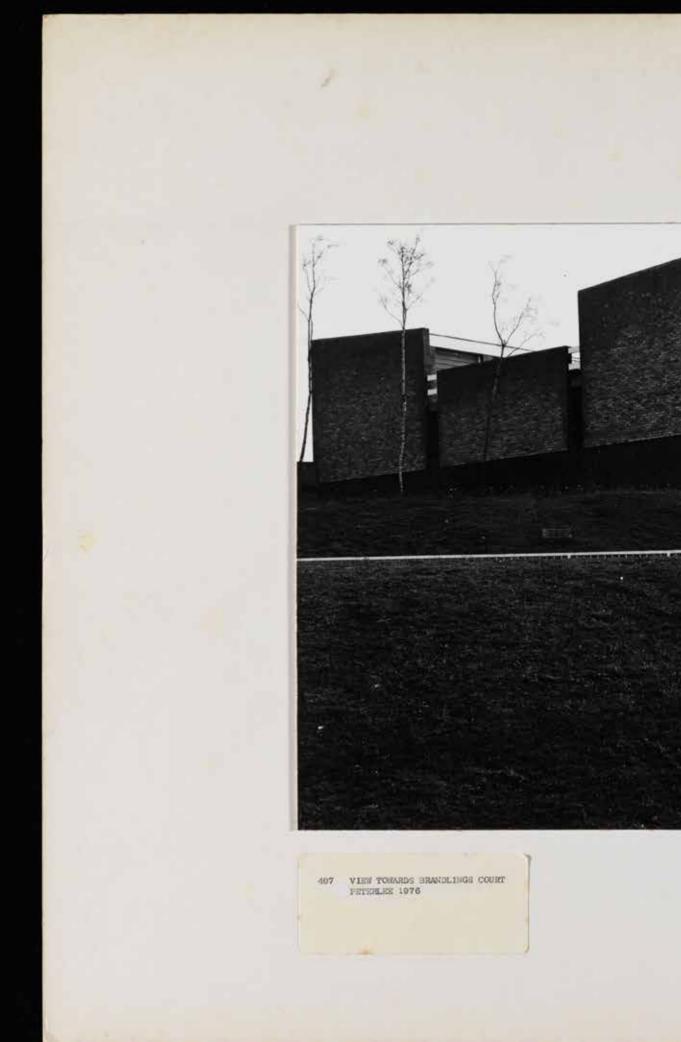


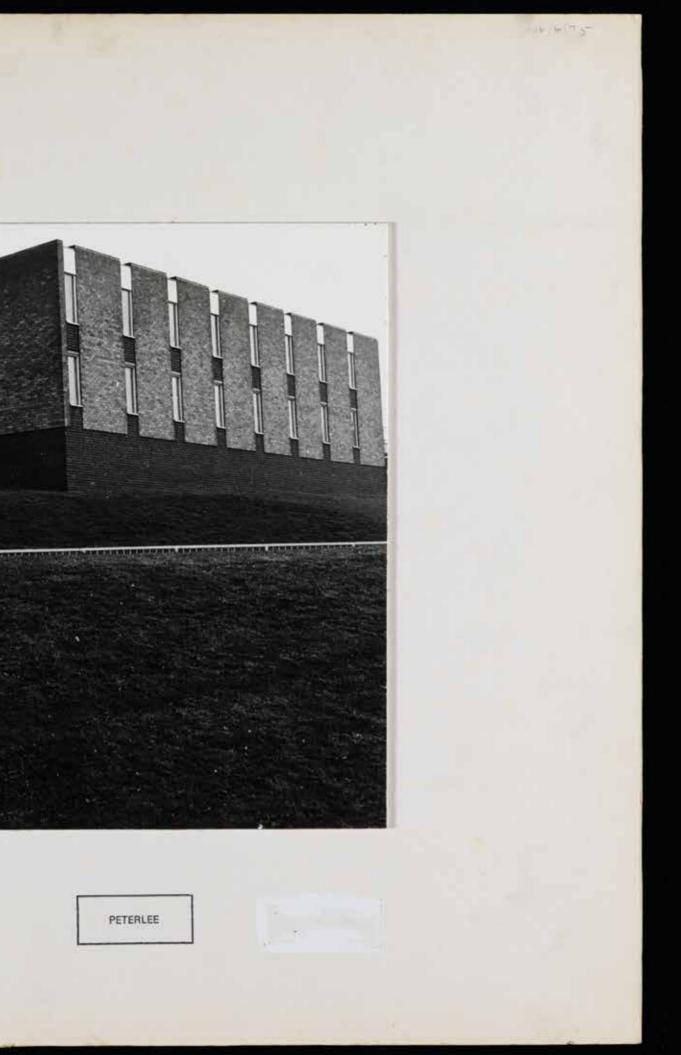


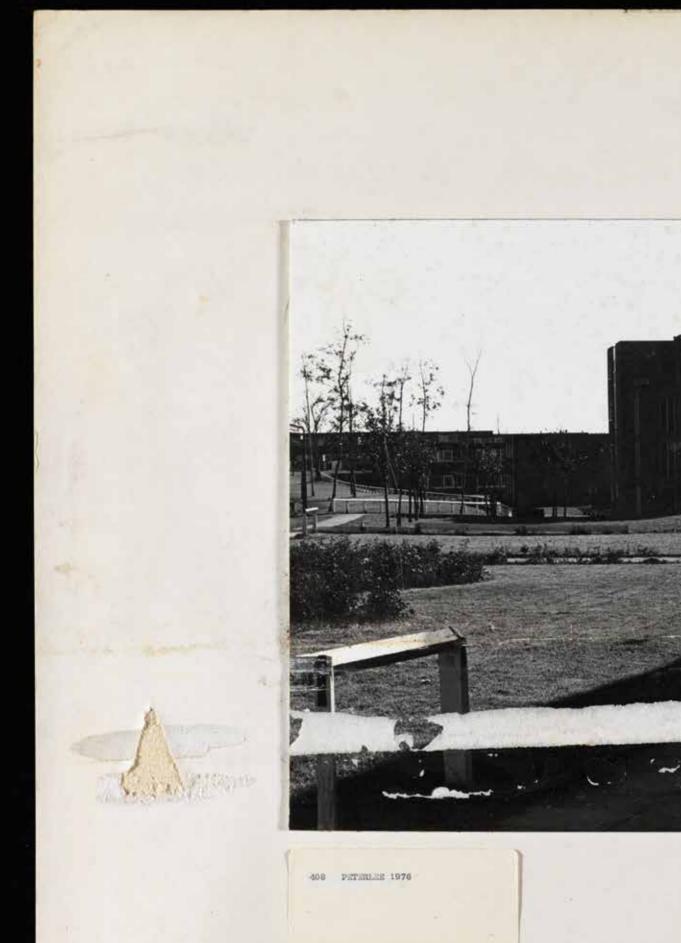


108 BRANDLINGS COURT PETRILLES 1976







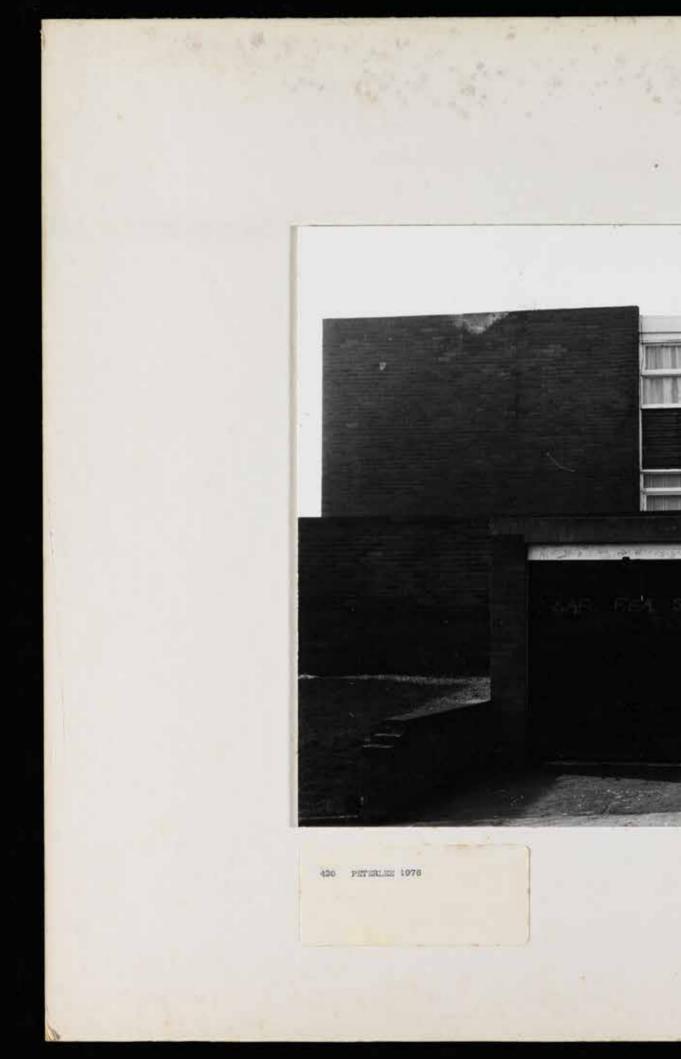




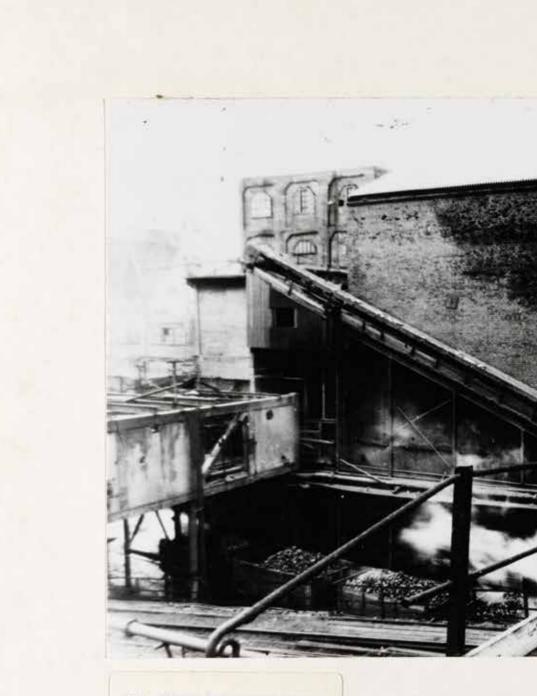


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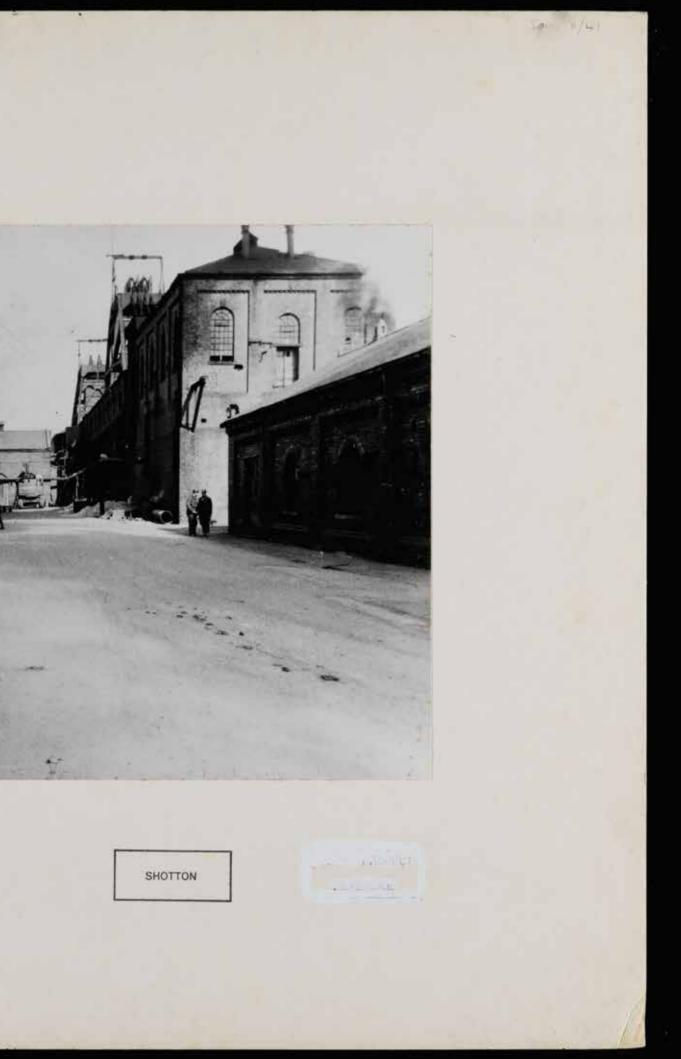
428 VIEW OF APPROACH FROM SCUTH OF BAILWAY SHOTTON 12TH APRIL 1957



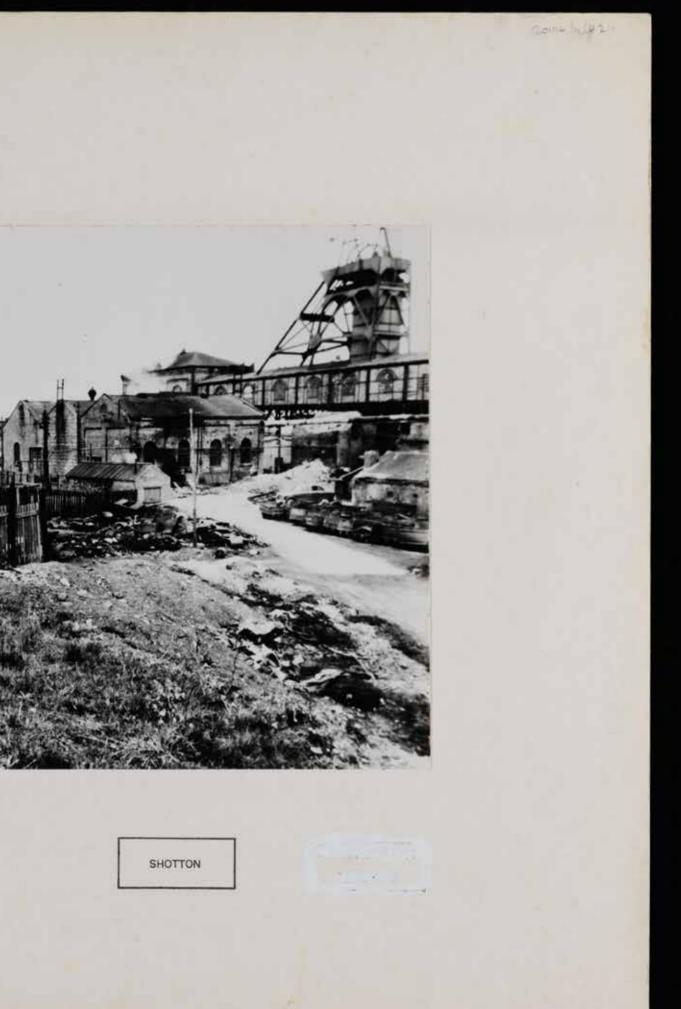


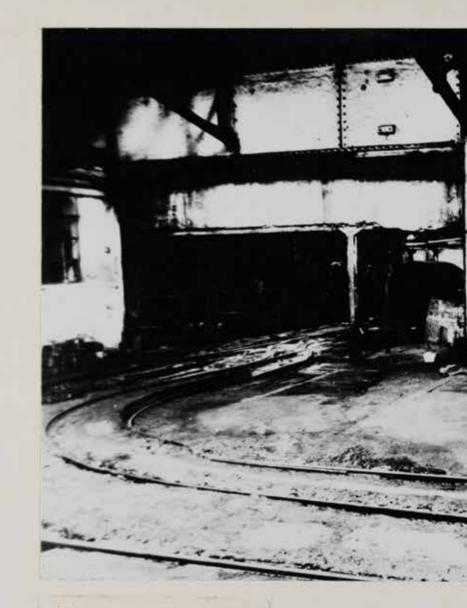


429 APPROACH TO COLLIERY YARD WITH SOUTH PIT HEADERAR IN FORBEICOND AND NORTH PIT IN BACKGROUND LAMP ROOM ON RIGHT 12TH APRIL 1987









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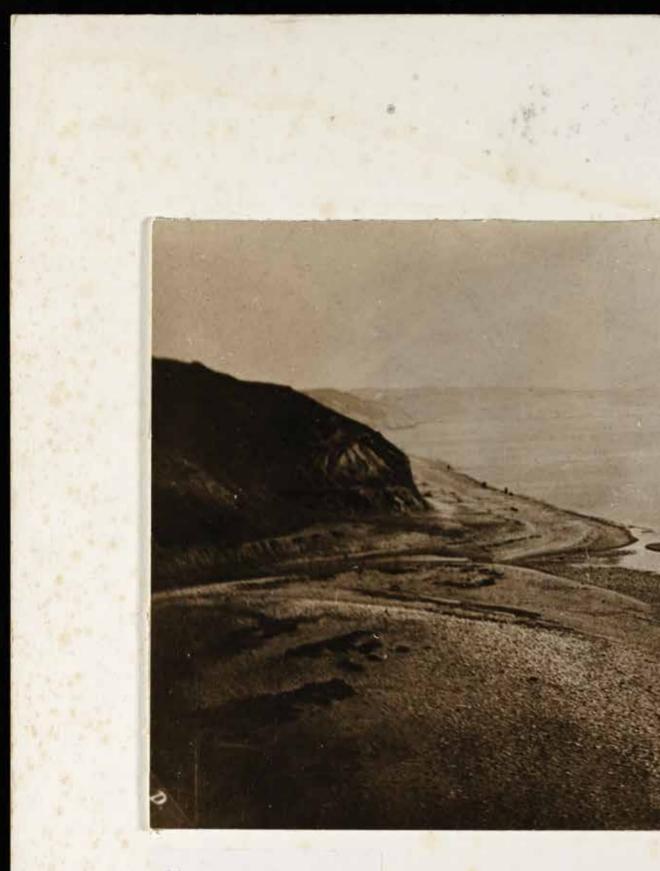




437 COLLIERY OFFICIALS AT HORDEN COLLIERY DURING 1926 STRIKE



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THE PETERLEE PROJECT 1976-77

In 1975 Artist Placement Group, which functioned in placing artists in industry, government departments and local authorities, approached all of the new town development corporations proposing the placement of an artist to work with them. Peterlee Development Corporation was the only new town which responded. APG approached Stuart Brisley to ask if he was interested in applying for the position of Peterlee Town Artist. Brisley had resigned from APG in 1971 and regarded the approach as an example of APG's activity as an agency. He was invited to make a feasibility study by the Peterlee Corporation and on that basis was appointed Town Artist, Peterlee Development Corporation in 1976.

Brisley called the project he undertook History Within Living Memory. The new residents of Peterlee, a town founded in 1948, came from the mining villages surrounding the new town. Relocation was due to a number of factors. As the population grew there was eventually severe overcrowding in the villages. In 1946 Easington Rural District Council commissioned Farewell Squalor by the Council Surveyor C.W. Clarke. This report formed the concept leading to the Council's application for a new town to be built to provide a focus for the burgeoning population. Permission was granted for a half size new town of 30,000 people.

The Peterlee Project was planned in 3 parts:

Part 1

•The collection of personal experiences, statements etc relating to the past broadly within living memory relating to Peterlee, Blackhall, Horden, Easington Colliery, Easington Village, Shotton and Castle Eden, leading to a collective history. (Within living memory coincides with the sinking and manning of the mines on the coast between 1900 and 1915).

•To create a Peoples' History of the new town of Peterlee and the villages within the District of Easington.

•To encourage the development of historical consciousness in the area, as a necessary prerequisite for an understanding of the circumstances and actions in the present and in the future. Part one is intended to become one of a number of interconnected social tools, not an archive of local history.

Part 2

•To collect and collate historical materials relating to the development of local government and the proposals for the new town Peterlee as in the pamphlet Farewell Squalor, published by the Easington District Council 1946.

•The designation of the new town Peterlee and its subsequent development. The history of the Peterlee Development Corporation.

•A history of women.

•Collections of studies made in the area e.g. The North Eastern Area Study Papers. The continuous studies of mining in the area.

Part 3

The mature form of the project to become an open workshop concerned with the development of historical awareness, the exploration of issues of current public interest and proposals for action.

Methods

•To develop means by which materials held by the project are made available to the public.

•Programmes of talks, lectures, exhibitions audio/visual presentations and publishing.

The Final Phase

In April 1977 a proposal for the transference of the project to Easington District Council was made to the Peterlee Development Corporation. In June negotiations took place between the PDC and Easington District Council, although the project was not represented. In August, as Stuart Brisley left the project prior to the agreed hand over, parts 2 and 3 were dispensed with, including the following documents:

1: A history of the Peterlee Development Corporation by Fred Robinson, Rowntree Trust, University of Durham, commissioned by the project.

2: A History of Women in the area by Pat Gallagher, a member of the project, was commissioned in 1977.

3: Comparative Studies in New Town Planning by Gary Armen.

4: An examination of Artist Project Peterlee and two other documents by David Brown.

5: Documents from the Free University. The Free University invited the project to Documenta 6 in Kassel, West Germany, in June 1977, and to the National Eistedford, Wrexham, Wales, in August 1977.

6: Concept, structures, history and proposals for and open social workshop in the District of Easington.

The project in its first phase was a small element within the Peterlee Development Corporation reflecting aspects of the particular relationship between the people, their elected representatives and the PDC, a governmentally appointed quasi autonomous corporation. Those aspects of the project above, which fell at the first hurdle, in part attempted to bring to public attention the nature of these arrangements.¹

On the transference of the project to the Easington District council, John Porter, the first local person to be employed by Brisley, was appointed to run what was left of the project at Easington District Council.²

Over an 18 month period 2000 photographs, 1000 slides and 50 taped interviews and transcripts detailing 'the histories within living memory' of Peterlee new town from the time of the sinking of the East Durham coal mines along the coast (around 1900) to the (then) present day 1977 were collected in Part 1.

My first job was to make contact with people and I happened to meet John Porter, a disabled ex stone mason working in the pits. He was living in Peterlee, but originally

from Horden. I was able to get him employed by the Development Corporation to work with me. Everything was done at grass roots level so he became the vehicle through which I was able to make lots of contacts. I then employed four other people (five in all) to work on the project. I trained the people working on the project to use tape recorders etc. and they then went out and interviewed people on an understanding of what the interview was going to be about. (Stuart Brisley, 2006)

For Brisley the antecedents of this approach lay not in the visual arts but in anthropology.

I was influenced by the work of the Hackney Writers Group. There were a number of similar organisations in the 70s, people writing their own autobiographies, and there was also Mass Observation so I wouldn't say this project was or is unique. However its working practices are particular to it. (Stuart Brisley, 2006)

With this in mind Brisley exercised his role as the Town Artist to maximize the potential for a collective enquiry.

It is not a social survey, nor intended to become primarily an archive of local history. There is no 'end product' planned as such. The process of an assembly of views, memories, and photographic material is conceived to be continuous, the evidence from which should be integrated into the community both institutionally and noninstitutionally. It is seen as the formation of a social tool, an open ended proposition, the parameters of which will be determined by:

- 1. Its use.
- 2. The capacity of the project to re-assess and re-form itself.
- 3. The expectations and requirements of the funding body.

It is optimistically regarded as a prototype (still in formation) which might be applied to other communities as a contribution to the development of a community's awareness, its historical formation, present structures and future needs.³

After Brisley's departure the project had a few additions and was subsequently developed as a local history archive by one of the core participants John Porter. The project was heritagised and it's title was changed to *People Past and Present (Area of Easington)* and housed at Easington District Council offices. The archive has since been digitised and is now at Durham County Record Office with some original photographs, slides and audio recordings. Remaining original photographic material has been given to the former pit villages of the Easington District's community associations.

This publication contains images and other material from *The Peterlee Project* held at Tate Archive and from Stuart Brisley's private archive.

Labour in Vain - Failure of Expectation

Brisley has reflected that The Peterlee Project did not fulfill its potential.

The fact that the resource he had initiated had subsequently been partially destroyed and sections given away, while the remains were left dormant for periods of time, rather than being developed as a live undertaking, suggested a lack of understanding and purposelessness.

According to Brisley *The Peterlee Project* became an inert archive without collective responsibility once it passed out of his hands. He saw *The Peterlee Project* as a live proposal, a social process in relation to the passage of history and as a tool of consciousness.

Stuart Brisley revisited *The Peterlee Project* in 2004 and the Peterlee Archive was shown at the Vardy Art Gallery. *The Peterlee Project 1976-2004*, Vardy Art Gallery, University of Sunderland, 9 March — 2 April 2004.

*The above excerpts are edited from Stuart Brisley's Peterlee Project notes and notes for the Vardy Gallery review of *The Peterlee Project* which briefly established a short lived working group under the title Radix to examine the project.⁴

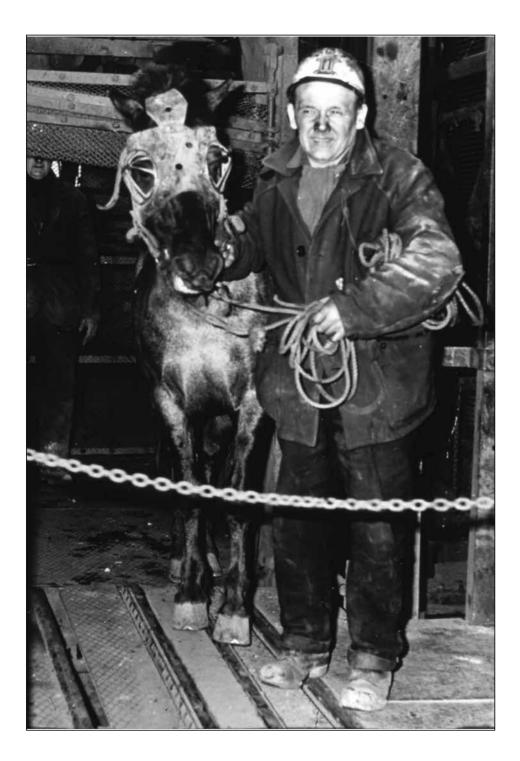
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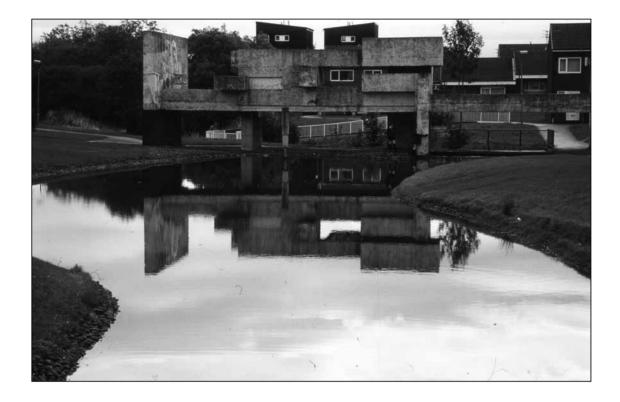
¹ Robert Morgan & Derek Robinson, 'Institutions for Man - The Dismissal of Peterlee Development Corporation', *Planning Journal FORMA*, 4.1 (1977).

² This section detailing the structure of the project (1976) has been adapted from the original proposal titled *Observations: Stuart Brisley*. It was presented at the Second Peterlee Report at The Sunderland Art Centre, 16 May- 18 June 1977.

³ Stuart Brisley, Peterlee Report, (Sunderland Arts Centre, 1977).

⁴ Stuart Howard, *The Peterlee Project* (http://www.stuartbrisley.com/pages/29/70s/Text/The_Peterlee_ Project,_an_article_by_Stuart_Howard/), page 27.





PETERLEE NEW TOWN

Following quotes are from 'Observations: Stuart Brisley' which studies the background to how the Peterlee new town was established. The document was presented by Stuart Brisley at the *Second Peterlee Report*, The Sunderland Art Centre, 16th May — 18th June 1977.

In concluding the report Farewell Squalor, C. W. Clarke with some feeling described the effects on the environment of the exploitation of coal in the 19^{th} and 20^{th} centuries.

Let us therefore close our eyes on the 19th century degradation and squalor, and let us look back with unseeing eyes on the sordid existence of the first decades of this century. Let us blind ourselves to the septic and ugly building 'wens' and 'ribbons' perpetrated and planted upon us between the wars, and let us open our eyes and look brightly forward to the new town, the new living ... Peterlee.

People were attracted to the area by the prospect of work in the new and reopened mines in the first two decades of this (20th) century. They came from the regions: Ryhope, Monkwearmouth, Hebburn and South Shields, and further a-field from Lancashire, Staffordshire and Cornwall, from Scotland, Wales and Ireland, moving into the new colliery owned houses as they were completed street by street — 1st street, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and so on.

C. W. Clarke described the social character of the villages as they evolved under the aegis of the colliery companies.

The social character of the villages can best be described as 'traditional of a mining district.' To say that the area possesses no social character is misleading — rather should it be said that the social character has been shaped by the conditions existing in the past, peculiar to the older mining areas and evident even in the newly developed areas. These conditions — low wages, the uncertainty of the coal market upon which the whole community depended, the 'natural' dirty nature of the industry, the inherent dangers attached to the miners' occupation, the insipid fear of loss of earnings caused by injury, and the miserably low compensation rates, the dread of nystagmus and to a lesser extent in this area of silicosis, the preponderate spoil heaps dwarfing the villages, the three shifts system, and most important of all, the absence of alternative industry, all tended to concentrate the attention of the people on the pit head gear. There was no escape from it. It was coal all the time.¹

An examination of the industrial structure in the district in 1929, as revealed in the Ministry of Labour statistics, showed that the area was dependent on coal mining absorbing 88.69% of the total insured population in employment.

Between 1929 and 1939, coal mining lost very little of its overwhelming

dominance accounting for 75.71% of the total insured population in employment in this district in 1939.

The colliery companies owned the mines in which the miners worked and the houses they lived in. It was possible to be dismissed from the pits and simultaneously evicted from colliery company housing. Some men were fired and evicted for speaking their minds. Speech was inevitably suppressed in the furtherance of the companies' interests. Some people were reduced to living in the crees (cabins or huts) in the allotments. It is reported that up to 32 families were living in the allotments in Horden in the 1930s. Others were reputed to have lived in caves along the beach between Easington Colliery and Blackhall.

The form and character of the physical and social environment of the pit villages was the obvious outcome of the drive for profit by owners and investors. The miner, as a wage labourer, sold his labour in order to live from hand to mouth, week by week. This association of interests shaped the environment and the social infrastructure.

Lewis Bunt, a miner, and grandson of Thomas Bunt, the first miner M.P. says 'my grandfather used to describe miners' houses as reflecting what the coal owners thought of the miners.'²

Outside the pit the miners were left to develop 'their own resources for their social life and amenities — and on what profit the colliery company cared to plough back in the form of inadequate housing.'³ And also on what they were required to contribute by law.

Coal mining is one of the few industries in which the provision of leisure facilities by employers is required by law. The Mining Industry Act of 1920 established a Miners' Welfare Fund 'For purposes connected with the well-being, recreation and conditions of living of workers in and about the coal mines.'⁴ The income of the fund was to be provided from a levy of a penny a ton of saleable output — the so-called Miners magic penny.⁵

The outstanding feature of the community emerging from these conditions is the communal spirit shown. In what other industry is the same camaraderie shown between the people to the same extent as exists in the mining villages? Where else is shown the same sympathy in bereavement, assistance in necessity or rejoicing in the good fortune between members of a community?⁶

The family structure was qualified by the demands of the coal industry and the exigencies of the shift system. Efficient application of the system by the management meant that each individual and family unit could exist at 'the physical minimum.'⁷In this context men and women worked in mutual survival contract to one another. Despite this women faced greater discrimation.

Women were servicing agents, isolated in the home with no broader horizons

than husband, children, family, neighbours, the street and the church. It was women who humanized brutal living conditions while their own lives were severely restricted by the constraints of the social order within an overpowering one dimensional industrial context.

Working opportunities for girls of fourteen up to the Second World War were limited to domestic service wherever in the country. There were few jobs in local shops, and for those who came from a higher station (e.g. colliery officials daughters) there was nursing and teaching. After marriage women did not work outside the home. They were destined to run the home and raise the family. Men worked together in the pits and maintained a closed social life in the clubs.

During the Second World War women from all over the area were drawn to work in nearby munitions factories. It changed their experience and understanding of the social conditions of their lives. Since then women have been employed in industries that utilize a ready female labour market.

Farewell Squalor — A *Design for a New Town* arose from the bitter industrial and social experience of the previous 50 years. It was an internal initiative intended to create a means of transformation of the whole district through the development of a new town, as the focus of the district.

It coincided with the Distribution of Industry Act of 1945, containing provisions for the encouragement of new industry towards development areas, including the North East, and with the New Towns Act of 1946, in which the Minister responsible for Town and Country Planning was empowered to designate new towns, and to institute development corporations to be responsible for the construction and management of new towns.

It resulted in the designation of Peterlee and in the formation of the Peterlee Development Corporation in 1948.

In 1918 after 300 years of growth and intensive production the great northern coalfield went into a long and terminal decline. The first and most serious stage of this took place during the interwar years when world over production produced depression and acute poverty in the Durham pit villages. Many of the children of that slump, kids that had been raggy and hungry and seen their parents despair, emerged among the post war labour leadership in the region, in tune with the radicalism of Clement Atlee's post war government. They made war on the deprivation and poverty of the thirties. The policies and plans of both national and regional government aimed to modernise the regional economy by de-centralising coal as the region's primary industry and by centralising people in new industrial centres and towns. Thus the people living in the dying corpse of the ancient coalfield were slowly decanted into the industrial centres and new towns of the future. One of these was Peterlee.⁸

Endnotes

¹C. W. Clarke, *Farewell Squalor – A Design for a New Town for the Redevelopment of the Easington Rural District*, (Easington Rural District Council, 1946), pp 11.

² ibid., 52.

³Helen Rankin, 'New Town for Old, The Peterlee Social Survey', Current Affairs, 75, (1949).

⁴ The Mining Industry Act 1920, Section 20(1), (http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1920/50/pdfs/ ukpga_19200050_en.pdf).

⁵ In 1934 this was reduced to a halfpenny because of the poor conditions of the industry. See Norman Dennis, Fernando Enriques and Clifford Slaughter, *Coal is our life – An analysis of a Yorkshire mining Community*, (Tavistock Publications, 1956).

⁶C. W. Clarke, *Farewell Squalor – A Design for a New Town for the Redevelopment of the Easington Rural District*, (Easington Rural District Council, 1946), 11.

⁷Karl Marx, 'Wages Price & Profit', Collected Works, 1, (Lawrence and Wishart, 1976).

⁸ Stuart Howard, An Introduction to Peterlee Project (DVD), (Radix, 2005).





OF COMMUNE AND COMMUNITY

Incident Around the Rose

When Stuart Brisley came to Peterlee in 1976 he was an established, international artist. He had just contributed to a major overview of contemporary British art in Milan. The exhibition had been organised by the British Council and included painting, sculpture, what were termed as 'alternative developments', performance art and film. Brisley was at the forefront of performance having produced a body of unique work since the 1960s. In his work in Milan, entitled *Homage to the Commune*, the work involved a construction of a wooden rose in Milan's most symbolic covered arena. The rose, a representation of the Commune, became the public centerpiece around which Brisley walked performing a series of ritualised actions as emblems of individual expression and freedom. One of these was the shredding of his clothing with a knife. A reverberating and ritual space ensued.

Whilst revisiting The Peterlee Project with Brisley in 2004 he recounted an incident that took place during the performance. Whilst walking in repeated circles between the wooden rose structure and the encircling, and swelling crowd, Brisley would continually pass the same individuals who came day after day. One of these, a man, was persistently aggressive and goading toward Brisley. The tension became more and more amplified leading to Brisley offering the individual the knife he had been using to shred his own clothes. Offering the weapon to the witness revealed Brisley's understanding of the complexity of performance and its modes and an awareness of how to harness risk in a revolutionary manner. This modest ingredient of direct action within the durational work broke the deadlock. The man chose not to fight it out, nor did he oppose Brisley's actions. In his teachings at the Slade School of Fine Art, Brisley talked about moments in politicised performance where authority is offered up to the visitors as a shared material within a space and context. It is offered by the artist and at that point it is up to the witness to interpret the situation and decide what to do with it. Should they utilise it as a tool and use their judgement to act mindfully? Should they usurp it and belittle its potential? Or, as is often the case, might it pass their own alienated position by, being unrecognised, deregistered, neglected? This fundamental question of what to do with power as a tangible material was at the heart of Homage to the Commune and continued under a different form when Brisley took up residence in Peterlee as Town Artist shortly after.

Histories

The question of authority in relation to authorship is one that shoots through the defining areas of the humanities in the later half of the 20th Century. In the discipline of history we see a contestation being played out around the same time as *The Peterlee Project*. In the late 1960s the New Left gave rise to the history from below movement. This involved a suspicion of history written with a capital H. At a public level the dominant mode of engaging with history involved a subject that was driven by famous names, royal genealogies, events, and places deemed of significance, all held within a tight chronological frame that could be easily learnt by rote. There was little room for contradiction let alone dialectic. 'H'istory was clearly a thing of the past and its players were often dead. The context of art was not free of this either. The bourgeois mode of art history as a master narrative was secure. The bankruptcy of this approach is particularly striking now, everybody being a master within a market that demands oracles to authenticate its wares. Institutions are simultaneously in crisis as cultural liberalism reveals its contradictory set of formulations.

The new researchers, writers and thinkers who challenged this generality grew around the History Workshop movement. They drew on nascent understandings of the everyday and the testimony of the common person from limited aspects of the autobiography genre and within the British context from two initiatives earlier in the century.

The first of these is the work of the Mass Observation Unit (MO) set up in 1937. Although broadly liberal in intent and not affiliated to a left position, the basic premise of its founders (the surrealist poet Charles Madge and anthropologist Tom Harrisson) was to create a movement of voluntary observers to study the everyday behaviour of Britain. This was seminal in its ambitious aim to invert the notion of anthropology's critical gaze to blur the division between the observer and the observed. The resulting use of MO methods was to feed espionage tactics in WW2 and its influence on the development of market research as a phenomena in the 1950s was to push it out of favour with left thinking and practice, but the kernel of Madge and Harrisson's project for everyday life to be recorded by everyday people helped to germinate radical approaches to treating testimonies across time.

Closely associated with MO was the work of the General Post Office Film Unit (1933-1940). This was a government supported initiative set up to provide public information films on what were deemed to be the key pillars of British economy associated with the General Post Office. Developed from 1933 on as a sub group of the Empire Marketing Board the unit soon gained the involvement of left leaning filmmakers, writers, artists, composers and poets. Works such as *The King's Stamp* (1935), *Coal Face* (1935) and *The Night Mail* (1936) were produced. Thinking about the everyday as critical material and the influence of Soviet cinema (Dziga Vertov's Kino Pravda comes to mind) and continental photographic practices through the use of montage established a critical form of documentary in Britain that was to surface once more in the 1970s and 80s. The artist William Coldstream, director of *The King's Stamp* (1935) with Barnett Freedman, would later become Professor of the Slade School of Fine Art and employ Brisley to progress and broaden the scope of Slade's curriculum through the mechanism of a visiting programme.

Another early example of oral testimony being embraced as relevant and vital in history work is evident in Left Book Club (LBC) editions. From 1932 -1948 and running in parallel to the MO Unit's work the publishing output of Victor Gollancz and John Strachey's LBC consciously set out to strengthen the left's fight against international fascism through a left wing front. Within this aim the everyday concerns of the working class would find some voice. One example might be found in Paloczy-Horvath's In Darkest Hungary, a 1944 LBC publication that witnessed the author working closely with a Hungarian peasant. The text intended to form a plank in an argument for a new democratic Hungary steered under the auspices of a Comintern framework.

Along with the History Workshop's initiator Raphael Samuel, those involved approached history as a dynamic process rather than an inert subject and the writing of history as a collaborative enterprise rather than the panoramic and definitively authored view from the top of a Mount Olympus. The new history's characters might be alive and their testimonies as important as the Magna Carta. The details of everyday life became understood as the weft of the fabric that would form bigger pictures and these pictures were often fraught with contradiction as the act of remembrance involves imagination as well as factual clarity. What History Workshop movement and its journal would also provide was a vehicle by which radical voices and histories that had previously been forgotten or erased might be heard and seen in continuity.

Today, oral history is common currency and has multiple marketable industries. 50 years ago it was less the case and one of the earliest projects to emerge from it were the Queen's Park writers in Brighton. The project was one focused on a locale and for those involved the recording of Brighton and Hove's past would be treated as a shared and publishable past. Aside from this initiative the history from below movement was locked within the contestations of history as an academic and philosophical arena. Beyond the academy there was little publicly driven historiography. An exception to this might be found in the Hackney Writers' Workshop, an informal group who met frequently to mine the psyche of their locale through fiction, poetry and history. Part of their ethos was to share approaches to recording through writing with the community. This created a context where others felt comfortable and confident enough to begin activities themselves.

History Within Living Memory

The symbolic position of the miner in proletarian culture up until the decommissioning of the industry at the end of the 20th Century should not be underestimated. The miner stood as the ideal working hero, rising above all other primary, secondary or tertiary industry workers within the symbolic hierarchy of labour. Emblematic of psychological and physical strength and capable of withstanding and controlling extreme environmental conditions under focused routinisation, it was the miner who had skilfully combined mechanisation with muscle to fuel and hence to power global economies

through revolutions, world wars and welfare programmes.

In 1975, there were 241 coalmines across Britain. The figure had been halved during the preceding decade and for those like Brisley who were in their early forties and attuned to deeper cultural reading of current affairs the question of history and testimony would have been resonant.

Peterlee had gained public attention through it's typicality of art and town planning in its creation. Britain's post war housing policy picked up on the Garden City projects earlier in the Century and had, by the early 1970s created 3 waves of new town building. A new town had been requested by the Durham miners of Peterlee to meet the housing needs of the mining communities in the region. At that time the paucity of housing was such that families were forced to live in the natural limestone caves along the coastline. A half size new town was granted (30,000). Particular to the new town initiative was the devolvement of local authority control to that of a Development Corporation. In 1947, the Corporation decided to appoint Russian architect Berthold Lubetkin as chief architect and master planner in the design of Peterlee. Lubetkin had spearheaded constructivist approaches to modern architecture in 1930s Britain through his coordination of the Tecton group and was attuned to both social housing needs and innovative perspectives on design and construction.

The building of Peterlee was delayed through a dispute involving the National Coal Board at government level. Lubetkin's proposal of highrise accommodation was seen to offer a risk of subsidence as a result of coal extraction below surface. Lubetkin's resistance to lower density housing and the evolving war of bureaucracy would lead to his resignation from the commission in 1950.

Artist Victor Pasmore had worked closely through loco-description as part of the Euston Road School in the 1930s but after WW2 had become increasingly involved in the application of nonfigurative stylistic concerns within a British context. By 1953 he was working in the North East through the art school of Durham University in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and it was this geographic proximity of employment coupled with his association with William Coldstream over that of any allegiance to Soviet Constructivism that facilitated him being appointed Consulting Director of Urban Design for the South West Area of Peterlee New Town. His subsequent influence upon the town plan epitomised in his now well documented Apollo Pavilion brought national attention to Peterlee. Pasmore's potential engagement with the social fabric of the life of Peterlee was limited by the high modernism of his *art like art* which favoured stylistic referencing to the then current investment in abstraction over deeper critical enquiries into realism.

Freed of the responsibilities of urban design, Brisley was appointed to Peterlee as Town Artist in 1976 through Artist Placement Group acting as agents. It was into the context of the Peterlee New Town that Brisley brought to bear a *life like art*, an entirely new and critical conceptual framework and application of the artist in society.

Brisley arrived in Peterlee aiming to extend the notion of performance. From the late 1960s he had pursued a programme of critical enquiry involving levels of contextual research and awareness without compromising the open license of the artist. This work had registered in the contemporary art world as a result of its questioning of the role of the artist and the conventions of the art system that was limited in its understandings of the breadth of materiality and obejcthood. Brisley's performances existed as a series of related probes, each sent from a position of art out into the social fabric to test the boundary between art and life. Now with the added experience of his involvement in the radicalism of 1968 (in part through Hornsey School of Art's student action) and his work alongside William Coldstream at the Slade School of Fine Art, Brisley forged a three tiered project for his work in Peterlee as follows:

1. The establishment of a collective history within living memory of the new town; living memory actually by coincidence starting at around 1900.

2. An examination and a recording of the history of the Development Corporation itself which subsequently emerged in association with the Sociology Department of the University of Durham.

3. Community workshop where the broadest span of issues that people were engaged with could be discussed with the implication that action could be taken.

The economic imperatives of capital restrict people from developing culture under their own determination. People's collective cultural motivation is consequently frustrated through the pernicious conditions and effects of Capital. For Brisley there was therefore a question of justice in relation to culture that was an underlying motivation to his assertion that the project be people led. A key factor in the success of Brisley's work in Peterlee hinged upon him enabling inhabitants of the town to drive the project development.

The first tier revolved around the guiding question of 'what is the history within living memory of a newtown.' The material gathered by the local participants in the project would reveal the answer to be a myriad of pasts each anchored and tailored by the histories of the many surrounding mining villages that created Peterlee's population.

Politicised Empathy

From the late 1960s to this day artists produce works under the mantras of an expanded field of participation or social engagement. These iterations include alliances with the: messianic, sociological, incidental polemic, anthropological and mythological. Regardless of utopian motivations these attempts rarely confront the idea of the artist as a privileged individual. What drove Brisley in Peterlee was 'the sense that histories can be made as it were through the mass, the people. There are many interpretations, histories of power but not histories

of those subjected to the exercise of power' (interview with the author, 2006).

The vast resource of contextual imagery and audio interviews accrued by inhabitants working with Brisley across the first tier of the project serves as testament not only to the collective need to register history from below but also to the critical role that open artistic processes should play in resolving class rifts that serve only to reinforce the divisions between object and subject. The concept of empathy is a key ingredient in this political aim and it is the politicised empathy evident within Brisley's work that has set his contribution aside from other practitioner modes that have professed interest in the social function of art.

When the Peterlee Development Corporation was disbanded in 1977 and with this Brisley's contract as Town Artist was nearing its end, he negotiated the thousands of slides, mounted photographs, artefacts, paperwork and audio interviews into the hands of Easington District Council. The first tier of the project was now complete and the artist felt that a momentum had been gained with which to enable the population to progress the work without his involvement. The District Council's decision to dispense with tiers 2 and 3 of *The Peterlee Project* fixed the initiative's identity within the terms of what would later be easily rearticulated as an 'archive' with purposes focused upon popular memory and heritage consumption as opposed to that of a dynamic social resource.

There are various activities within the visual arts in the late 1960s and 70s whereby artists were expanding ideas of what an art work could be. They were developing practise into the territory of social relations. What was interesting about *The Peterlee Project* of 1976-77 was that it did not claim to be an artwork. *The Peterlee Project* builds upon a diversity of activities that have emerged from nonart fields and may well be coming from other fields rather than the history of art — from activities in history, the social sciences or anthropology and lived politics.

There are clearly deep problems that emerge when the overall organisational principles and processes of a social project are defined as an artwork. Over the last 40 years this has become something of a convention, if not tradition within the history of art. These projects fall into the aestheticisation of politics that is coopted as a constituent ingredient of the right. *The Peterlee Project* stands as a very early example of advanced contemporary art practice that approaches the questions of access, participation, ownership and the development of culture in its most diverse and complex sense. People are sophisticated in their understanding, construction and reading of culture as it is they who bring it into being.

Tim Brennan



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* A section of The Peterlee Project is held at Tate Archive (Collection number: TGA 201114), while other parts are at Durham County Council and at Local Associations of pit villages (Horden, Easington, Murton, Shotton and others) linked to The Peterlee Project. Durham Council Peterlee Archive: http://www.durham.gov.uk/Pages/Service.aspx?ServiceId=6614,http://pparchive.durham.gov.uk/photos/

Stuart Brisley *The Peterlee Project 1976–1977*

published by Museum of Ordure Antipyrine 2014

isbn: 978-87-93108-12-7 print: Specialtrykkeriet Viborg, Denmark binding: Bogbinderiet Aarhus, Denmark

The Peterlee Project 1976–1977 is published on the occasion of Stuart Brisley's exhibition *State of Denmark* at Modern Art Oxford, 19 September 2014 — 16 November 2014

Modern Art Oxford, 30 Pembroke St. Oxford, OX1 1BP, England

Stuart Brisley wishes to thank Adrian Glew, Katerina Laina and Andrew Neilson from Tate for their work in the realisation of this project. Tate Archive Collection number: TGA 201114

Other than historical images all contemporaneous photography by Stuart Brisley

Dr Sanja Perovic teaches at King's College London. Her latest book is *The Calendar in Revolutionary France: Perceptions of Time in Literature, Culture, Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

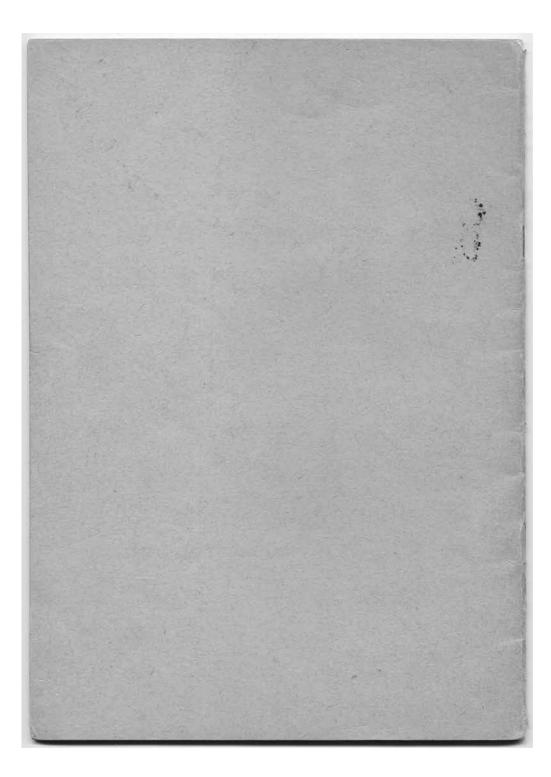
Tim Brennan is an artist. He is the Associate Dean at the University of Sunderland

Supported by Arts Council England, Modern Art Oxford and Tate Archive

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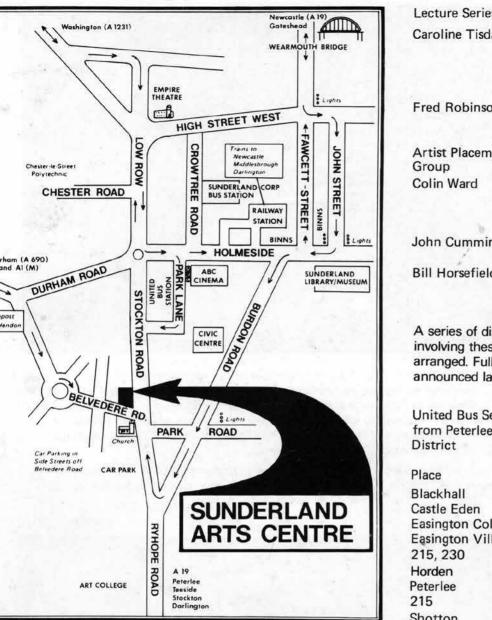
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thcoming exhibitions at Sunderland Arts Centre.

e 27th – July 16th

Donagh, Paintings and Drawings

a Donagh's art, with a map – like precision and of a similar linear quality, explores the infinity pace. The exhibition, which will look at her work over the past ten years, traces this loration. Six phases of work; Taking the Trouble, "Walden", Reflection on 3 weeks in May 0, New Bearings, Ulster and Newspaper Vendor, are represented in the exhibition, each marked a key painting. The exhibition has been organised by the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester and red by the Arts Council of Great Britain.

/ 15th - August 13th

n Cocteau

wings, paintings, lithographs, ceramics, tapestries, sculptures, illustrated books, and documents king Jean Cocteau and all his diverse talents as a novelist, playwright, film-maker and painter.

derland Arts Centre is currently financed by Sunderland Borough, Northern Arts and the Arts incil of Great Britain.

Lecture Series:	
Caroline Tisdall	Art Critic of the Guardian and Member of the Free University of the E.E.C.
Fred Robinson	Rowntree Trust: University of Durham
Artist Placement	
Group	London
Colin Ward	Public Relations Officer, Peterlee Development Corporation.
John Cumming	Easington District Council.
Bill Horsefield	Peterlee Town Council.

A series of discussions and talks involving these people are being arranged. Full details will be announced later.

United Bus Services to Sunderland from Peterlee and Surrounding District

Place	Bus Service
Blackhall	230
Castle Eden	215
Easington Coll.	230
Easington Village	212, 213, 213,
215, 230	
Horden	230
Peterlee	212, 213, 214,
215	
Shotton	212, 213, 214