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Introduction

Since it started publication in 1984, *Design Issues* has contributed to the growing understanding of design by publishing articles that explore both its breadth and its depth. We have documented its breadth in terms of a progressive expansion of our subject matter to cover many types of practice just as we have committed ourselves to publishing articles about design in parts of the world where little has been previously documented, both in current and historic terms.

In this issue we address the issue of breadth with several articles on historical topics about which little is known, Simon Jackson's discussion of how national identity has been historically constructed through design in Australia, and Marina Garone Gravier's account of Ignacio Cumplido, a 19th-century Mexican printer and graphic designer. In both cases, the authors provide valuable material that helps us to fill gaps in our knowledge of design's history.

Three other pieces related to the history of design bring a new depth of understanding to material that was already somewhat familiar. Laetitia Wolf provides an intriguing interview with the French publication designer Robert Massin in which she gets Massin to reveal the complex sources of his fecund practice. Giovanni Anceschi offers an introduction to a salient document, Italian philosopher Enzo Paci's presentation to the 10th Milan Triennale in 1954. This was one of the first instances where a philosopher sought to explore questions of human life as they could be addressed through a discussion of industrial products. In her article on British illustrator Arthur Rackham, Leslie Atzmon delves into Rackham's interest in phrenology as a means to explain the visual forms of some of his characters. Such techniques have long been prevalent among art historians but have rarely been applied to interpretations of historic or contemporary illustration.

Jodi Forlizzi, Cherie Lebbon, and Victor and Sylvia Margolin write about the question of social meaning in design, attempting to go beyond the conventions of form and economics that have so heavily influenced discussions of graphic and product design in the past. The Margolins, in fact, call for a new practice of "social design" to address a range of neglected problems.

Our visual essay for this issue was produced by Dutch graphic designer Chris Vermaes who imagines a droll encounter between two well-known type faces, Bodoni and Franklin.

The variety of material in this issue as well as other issues of the journal is a continuing testament to our interest in exploring
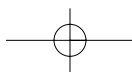
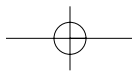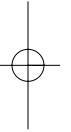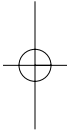design in all its aspects and inviting contributors to present their reflections in a variety of formats from interviews and document introductions to personal essays and scholarly articles.

Richard Buchanan
Dennis Doordan
Victor Margolin

From Formalism
to Social Significance
in Communication Design
Jodi Forlizzi and Cherie Lebbon

Introduction

 At the heart of design is the goal of communication, and instilling a belief in the audience about the past, present, or future.[1] Historically, graphic and advertising design, fields within communication design, have oriented around clients and deliverables, and have maintained a focus on translating written or spoken messages into visual communication. Designers of visual communications—graphic design and the related areas of advertising: brand and identities, Web sites, and posters and photomontages—have largely relied on the designer's intuition and training to create appropriate visual messages.

However, communication designers have begun to encounter a more difficult task in negotiating the client's vision and the viewer's response to the designed message. This is partly due to the fact that viewers of advertising messages differ from those of past decades. Consumers today are exceedingly diverse in age, income, and ability, and have a wider variety of expectations, influences, and education. Additionally, they have much more exposure to the constant stream of visual stimuli that today's media offer, and more diverse experiences responding to a world of designed messages. For these reasons, relying solely on the designer's intuition no longer may be the most effective approach for creating communications that resonate with a particular audience. Instead, designers must create empathy with the audiences for which they are designing.

While product designers traditionally have made greater use of data about the people who their products are designed for, communication designers more often have relied on inference and personal insight when designing communicative artifacts. The result is that these artifacts may fail to inspire the audience they were designed for, or more critically, fail to change behavior in the way that was intended. Recently, the inclusion of user-centered, interdisciplinary methodologies in communication design processes has helped to find appropriate ways to reach today's viewers. User-centered methods allow communication designers to create the opportunity for a shared dialogue with their viewers, and more important, to create the opportunity for behavioral and social

1 Richard Buchanan, "Declaration by Design: Rhetoric, Argument and Demonstration in Design Practice" in *Design Discourse: History Theory Criticism*, Victor Margolin, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 92.

change. When designer and viewer are actively involved in a shared dialogue, both become active participants in the creation and interpretation of the visual message. As a result, the designer is empowered, shifting from a decorator of messages to an agent who has influence on the social implications of delivering a visual dialogue.

This paper explores how communication designers are incorporating research methods in their design processes to create empathy with their viewers. We present two case studies of how design firms have employed methods for understanding users throughout the activity of communication design. Finally, the implications for situating research methodologies within the field of communication design and society are discussed.

A Rhetorical View of Communication Design

A designed message communicates by effectively ordering and representing the common visual languages of society. Therefore, it possesses great potential for affecting viewers. In its most powerful form, communication design can inspire the viewers to change behavior by generating knowledge, taking action, or creating an experience.

Ann Tyler has studied how the communicated message mediates the relationship between designer and viewer.[2] This relationship can be viewed a number of ways. In one view, designers create messages that act as formal expressions, presented in isolation from the audience they were designed for. A second view is one where designers create iconic or symbolic messages, requiring decoding and interpretation from the viewer. A third and closely related view is where designers create iconic or symbolic messages that are decoded by an audience sharing specific and similar beliefs. A fourth view characterizes designers as those who create arguments that persuade an audience by referencing key values and connecting with social attitudes. This is a rhetorical view of communication design.[3]

The rhetorical view of communication design allows designers and viewers to actively co-construct meaning through the visual message. New interactions between designer, viewer, and message result. The common visual language is the medium through which ambiguities are reduced and differences are assessed. The agents taking part in the dialogue can establish common meanings and build bridges to shared values. Effective rhetorical communication allows individuals to relate to each other, provides a vehicle for expression, freedom, and the discovery of truth, and ultimately, creates the possibility for social agreement within a pluralistic society.[4] However, if designers attempt to persuade audiences through visual messages, without properly understanding who they are designing for, inappropriate outcomes can result.

For example, the advertising messages related to specific audiences within HIV-positive and AIDS communities provide an

2   Tyler characterized four perspectives on the relationship of the audience to the communication process in order to set forth a new agenda for design inquiry. See Ann Tyler, "Shaping Belief: The Role of Audience in Visual Communication" in *The Idea of Design, A Design Issues Reader*, Victor Margolin and Richard Buchanan eds. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 105.

3   Ibid., 106.

4   Richard McKeon, "Communication, Truth, and Society" in *Freedom and History and Other Essays: An Introduction to the Thought of Richard McKeon*, Z.K. McKeon. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 96.
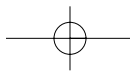
interesting social and cultural case study of the ability of designed communications to affect the behavior of the public at large in appropriate and inappropriate ways. The onset of HIV and AIDS in the US in the mid-1980s generated numerous advertising messages related to the disease. In 1987, the American government educated the American public about the severity of this illness with a frightening message—"anyone could get AIDS." [5] While this was a key event for raising public consciousness about the disease, the campaign communicated that anyone was at risk and, as a result, prevention advocates were unable to secure government funds to educate the two highest risk groups, gay men and intravenous drug users. Misdirecting the advertising message resulted in an undesirable societal impact—the inability to get government funding to treat the individuals who needed it most.

In 1997, the FDA began to allow drug companies to market directly to consumers, and the resulting messages changed from pessimistic to optimistic ones, depicting miraculous cures for HIV and AIDS. Once again, the misconceptions that resulted from these advertisements made the disease harder to fight. Research showed that gay men who saw advertisements for HIV drugs were less likely to practice safe sex, because advertising messages led them to believe that a quick cure was easy to come by.[6]

More recently, however, advertisements for HIV drugs have become more realistic, possibly as a result of a better understanding of the audience that will view them. Subjects in the campaigns are depicted more realistically, reviewing their options for treatment. Viewers are implored to assess their personal values related to being a safe partner and planning for a healthy future. Today's messages, targeted appropriately to the audiences who need to hear them, persuade viewers to assess what is healthy preventative and interventive behavior. The HIV and AIDS campaigns are evidence for showing that understanding viewers will help people to take action based on increased knowledge. The images serve as data for social and cultural inquiry, because they are concrete pieces of visual information that represent abstract concepts in everyday social life.

A New View of User-Centered Research for Communication Design

Designers can no longer only be concerned about the interaction of word and image; they also must be concerned about the interaction between the audience, the content of the communication, and the outcomes of the design. In order to create dialogues that effectively persuade the viewer to adopt a new belief or change behavior, the communication designer can no longer rely solely on intuition.

Designers have to devise methods for creating empathy with the viewer who will play a part in constructing meaning from the message. This may mean gathering data directly from the audience who the message is designed for. However, the actual execution of

5   Blair's article in the *New York Times*
     "Ideas and Trends" column from August,
     2001 chronicled the short history of
     advertising related to HIV and AIDS
     awareness and treatment. See Jayson
     Blair, "Healthy Skepticism and the
     Marketing of AIDS" in the *New York
     Times* (August 5, 2001): 14.

6   Ibid., 14.
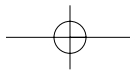
7   Roth originally addressed the evolving
    field of design research in an essay
    published in the proceedings of the "No
    Guru—No Method?" conference in
    Helsinki in 1997. See Susan Roth, "The
    State of Design Research," in *Design
    Issues* XV:2 (Summer 1999): 18.
8   Frascara and Strickler have both been
    concerned with inclusion of social issues
    as a concern for graphic designers. In
    Jorge Frascara, "Graphic Design: Fine Art
    or Social Science?" in *The Idea of
    Design, A Design Issues Reader* Victor
    Margolin and Richard Buchanan, eds.
    (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 47, the
    reader is given an overview of the past
    and future concerns of the graphic
    designer.
9   In Zoe Strickler, "Elicitation Methods in
    Experimental Design Research" in *Design
    Issues* XV:2 (Summer 1999): 27, provides
    a working model for design research
    related to communication design.
10 Roth, 18.
11 My thoughts on this issue have been
    greatly influenced by informal conversa-
    tions with Richard Buchanan as both an
    advisor and colleague, as well as the
    PhD-Design discussion distribution list
    (PhD-design@jiscmail.ac.uk). For an addi-
    tional overview, see Nigel Cross, "Design
    Research: A Disciplined Conversation" in
    Design Issues XV:2 (Summer 1999): 5.
12 Alastair S. Macdonald and Cherie S.
    Lebbon, "The Methods Lab: Developing a
    Usable Compendium of User Research
    Methods." ICED 01, The International
    Conference on Engineering Design,
    Glasgow, August 21–23, 2001.
13 The Presence Project was a revolutionary
    design research project funded by the EU
    and contributed to by both industrial and
    academic partners. See *Presence: New
    Media for Older People* Kay Hofmeester
    and Esther de Charon de Saint Germain,
    eds., (Amsterdam: Netherlands Design
    Institute, 1999). A website, www.pres-
    enceweb.org, also was developed as a
    resource to the community (not currently
   available).
14 MacDonald and Lebbon, 3.

user-centered research related to communication design in profes-
sional practice can be extremely limited. This is because the research
may be drawn from archetypical marketing data, may be related to
a small part of a specific project, or may be conducted within a
rapid time frame.[7] Once the work is finished, it is rare that findings
remain accessible to designers. The research may be lost, archived,
or rarely circulated outside of the client-designer relationship.

A few communication designers have made a call within the
community for a systematic understanding of the impact of visual
messages on the behavioral and social aspects of a community of
viewers.[8,9] Zoe Strickler, through her research on advertising cam-
paigns on driving behavior in Canada, has identified a need for a
knowledge base about viewers and how they might interact with
visual communications.[10] The practice, processes, and methods for
conducting user research in communication design are in their
infancy, and there are a myriad of ways to talk about conducting
research and applying subsequent findings.[11]

Within the Helen Hamlyn Research Center at the Royal
College of Art in London, researchers have been involved with
"i~design," a project that is attempting to create a compendium of
user research methods in design. The goal of i~design is to deter-
mine what value user research brings to the design process, and to
build and structure a usable source of user research methods, illus-
trated through case studies. The ultimate goal is to support the
design of artifacts that meet the needs of the greatest number of
users. The i~design project builds on earlier work done for the
Methods Lab, a project that was part of the Presence research
program, one of thirteen EU-funded projects under the European
Network for Intelligent Information Interfaces.[12] The format and
content for the Methods Lab initially was developed during the
Presence project, where, through a series of working groups (called
tea parties), methods were discussed, refined, and evaluated.[13]

However, a major problem with design methodology is
accessibility.[14] Practicing professional designers may have difficulty
in rapidly translating and using the methods listed in the Methods
Lab, particularly across the cultural boundaries of the design disci-
plines. A need still exists to group, organize, and make data-gather-
ing methods usable and readily accessible to communication des-
igners. One approach, adopted by i~design, is to track and log case
studies of how research about the audience can be conducted to
identify the beliefs and behaviors of those who will interpret the
visual messages. The case studies are demonstrable examples of
choice and application of research methods. By creating empathy
with viewers, designers are freely empowered to become active
agents in the communication of the message.

How have communication design firms directly involved the
audience in the research, design, and making of the communicated
message? Both Wire Design, a small firm in the United Kingdom,
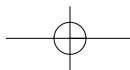
and BIG, a brand integration group within the worldwide advertising agency Ogilvy and Mather, have realized the vision of asking viewers to examine their own beliefs and, where needed, to make a change in their behavior. The outcomes of the work of these forward-thinking firms have enabled both designers and viewers to create new beliefs and to engage in new experiences as a result of designed communications.

Wire Design: Design With a Point

In 2000, Damilola Taylor, an eight-year-old resident of Peckham, South London, was stabbed to death near his home. The nature of his death and the repercussions that followed led to community debate about youth safety and the knife-carrying culture in Britain's inner cities.

The Southwark Council and the Metropolitan Police were faced with the problem of how to communicate and resolve issues related to the untimely death of a young boy. The local community in Peckham needed communications on two levels: community assurance about safety, and dialogue with youth about the issues related to carrying knives. To do so, the Council turned to Wire Design, a ten-person design firm founded in 1997.

The Company and the Vision

Located in Northeast London, Wire Design had a history of work with clients including Nokia, the Barbican, and the New York City-based firm Digital Vision. Wire Design Director John Corcoran felt that, since the client list had grown over the past five years, and the staff worked furiously to meet client deadlines, the firm was forced to focus exceedingly on the decoration of messages.

However, upon being commissioned to develop a new corporate identity for the Lewisham Council, a government organization of ten thousand employees, the firm began to witness a change in the way that they worked with clients. There was a marked difference in the way that the Council asked for Wire's input in the communication problems that they wanted to address. Wire had the freedom and ability to both design the content as well as the visual language of the dialogue, and it was liberating.

Inspired by the success of the work with the Lewisham Council, Metropolitan Police and the Southwark Council approached Wire Design to create communications for a knife safety campaign. Based on his learning experience with Lewisham, Corcoran frankly told the Southwark clients that the firm could not begin to generate solutions to the problem at hand until they could gain a better understanding of the audience they were designing for—youth and knife carriers. Wire recognized the need to reframe the problem in terms of values, rather than the client's objectives. Based on their work with the Lewisham Council, Corcoran knew that the appropriate images, language, and style would be unattainable
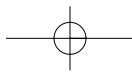
without a thorough understanding of what would resonate with the audience.

To move ahead from their basic assumptions, Wire Design began their research with the South London police. They reviewed statistical data on knife attacks, and listened to the assumptions and beliefs of local police officers about what the communications campaign should do. For example, police had perceived a change in the age and reasons for young teenagers carrying knives in the street. Since the death of Taylor, children as young as age nine were carrying knives out of fear. Police felt strongly about delivering a positive message, as well as reinforcing the strength of the community, without delivering threats to youth or making promises to those concerned about safety. The message would be delivered in public spaces and primary schools, and serve as a discussion point with parents, grandparents, and teachers. The message could neither glamorize or dramatize knife carrying.

Wire Design worked with Lebbon, a researcher at the Helen Hamlyn Research Center to create an effective research strategy for developing empathy with the various constituencies of the audience. Corcoran felt that it would be critical to choose the most appropriate visual language for understanding a teenager's perspective and beginning a dialogue.

Corcoran and Lebbon made two visits to a Southwark school. The goal of the first visit was to get a sense of what visual languages and messages might be most appropriate for an audience of 13- and 14-year-olds. Wire developed a fictional band, "Trainer"

Figure 1.
Middle school students evaluated CD covers for a fictional band called "Trainer."
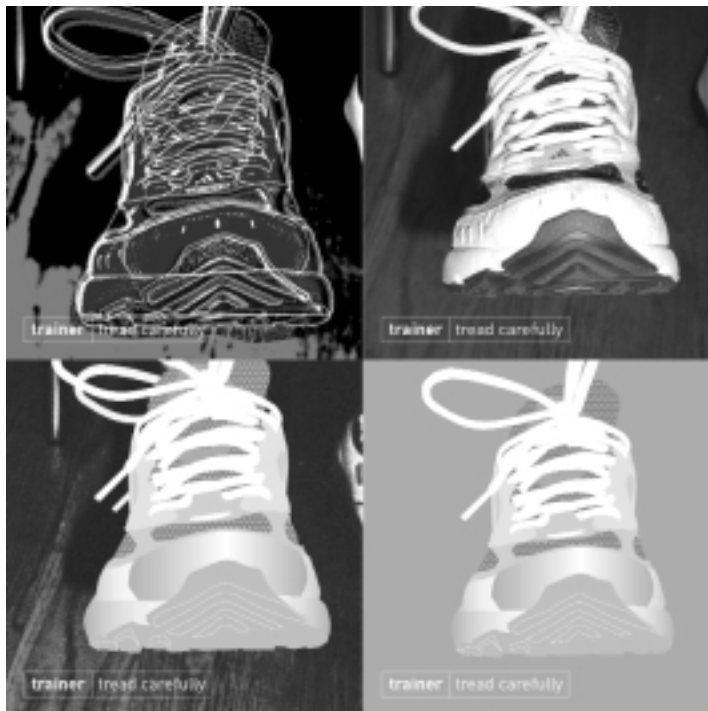
Figure 2.
Wire Design's final poster for the Southwark knife campaign.
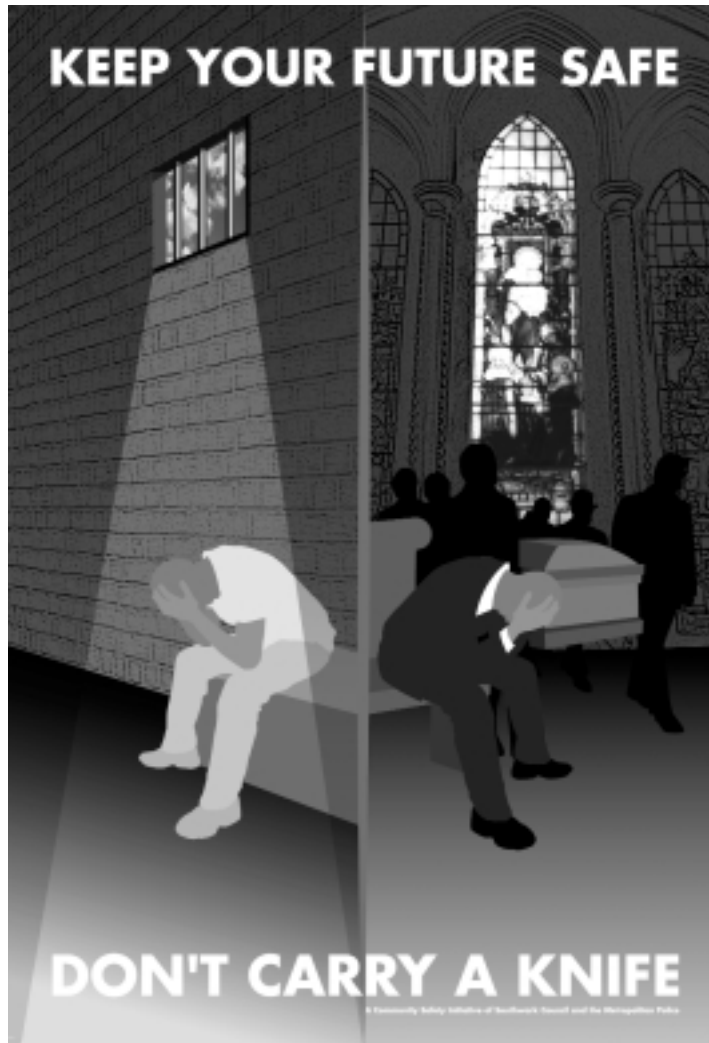
and created twelve CD covers in a variety of visual styles (fig. 1). Students were asked to associate each example with a particular age group. The second visit took the form of a group interview with the goal of understanding the students' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and language related to knife carrying and safety. Additionally, students evaluated image boards in the light of conversations that they had (fig. 2).

The Dialogue
The final poster employs a combination of photographic and illustrative techniques, chosen as a direct result of what Corcoran and Lebbon learned from their studies with the teens. The result is a poster which is driven by visual impact: the image of an older teen, representing aspiration to a certain kind of life, situated in a church environment representing fear of failure in front of family and friends. The imagery, deliberately chosen to create a contrast of hope

and despair, is augmented with the text "Keep your future safe. Don't carry a knife." The choice of the word "safe" alludes to safety in the form of freedom from harm and a safe as a treasure of life. It was a word chosen directly from the vocabulary that emerged from talking with the teens, that represented the qualities of being good, cool, and under control.

Situating the Message in the Community

Based on the success of the youth poster, Wire Design was asked by the Southwark Council to create a modified version of the poster for use in the community at large. To support this audience, Wire modified the copy on the poster, placing more emphasis on the word "safe," and enlarging the type to make the poster accessible to an older population. The Metropolitan Police logo was added for more credibility and reassurance.

Corcoran and Lebbon conducted subjective tests of the second poster to understand the effectiveness of the message, learning that elders between the ages of 60 and 75 responded positively to the message. Both the youth and the community posters, designed with specific needs of each audience in mind, instilled a sense of safety and positive change within the community.

Oglivy and Mather: Tipping the Culture

In 1999, the U.S. Government realized the need for assistance in conceiving of and producing public service announcements. The government wanted to gain critical mass for the national anti-drug campaign aimed at teens and young adults. Instead of typical television advertisements aired during undesirable slots on early morning television, the government would have to compete for and purchase prime media time. To do so, the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) turned to Ogilvy and Mather and its Brand Integration Group.

The Company and the Vision

Ogilvy and Mather has led hundreds of successful campaigns since its inception in 1948. However, in 1999, the agency made a major strategic change by restructuring its Brand Integration Group (BIG), a group within the agency that specializes in revitalizing and repositioning brands and integrating them with the mass media.[15] BIG had been in existence since 1997. In 1999, Brian Collins was selected to bring a new vision to BIG.

Collins surrounded himself with a staff that is well practiced in creating dialogues in disciplines other than design: theater, book publishing, and even biology. In this way, BIG can be sure that its constituents do not overly rely on the often-tried and relied-upon codes of advertising.

Based on work done for American Express and Motorola, BIG was hired to brand the national anti-drug campaign. ONDCP

15 Steven Heller, "The B.I.G. Idea," reprinted from *Print Magazine* (November/December 2000).
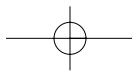
had never had a branded campaign before. Instead, the Partnership for a Drug Free America had simply served as the body that organized agencies who would donate services to the cause. BIG was charged with creating a brand vision around which multiple themes could be executed, but remain consistent.

In order to understand the visual language and dialogue that would be most effective for teens, BIG pored through vast amounts of research from ONDCP. Collins was able to develop and assert a hypothesis: teens could be steered away from drugs and drinking by allowing themselves to connect to larger and more positive forces in life. By engaging in activities such as dancing, biking, working with a family business, sports, and school events, each teen could foster a unique relationship with the universe.

To test and verify the hypothesis, BIG talked to teens, using focus groups and insight groups as the primary methods to learn the beliefs and attitudes of teens. Collins felt very strongly that the ONDCP message needed to foster a conversation without being pedantic, parental, or overbearing. Collins and his group also researched mythology and stories about achieving the grail in order to recall the difficult and painful process of finding a personal path in the world. If the invitation to take part in a dialogue was appropriately extended, teens would be interested in participating in the dialogue rather than feeling as though they were being told to do something.

The Dialogue

The mythology stories, along with the time spent researching teens, served as a direct catalyst for the BIG team. Charles Hall, a senior writer at BIG, emerged with the question, "What's your anti-drug?" (fig. 3). This phrase, which is represented with a handwritten script and graphic structure that invites completion, served to motivate appropriate dialogues on several levels. First, it motivated those responsible for engaging in communication: teens, who could identify with and communicate about what made them feel positive and unique; and parents, to engage in dialogue with teens about drug addiction and positive behaviors. Second, the phrase motivated those responsible for making the communication: other ONDCP agencies would be able to extend and co-construct the brand by creating new and evolving artifacts.

As the campaign unfolded, opportunities to gain empathy for the recipients of the message continued. For example, teens were invited to a web site, www.whatsyourantidrug.com, to talk about what their personal connection to the universe was (fig. 4). Each message that was left by a visitor was developed into an excerpt using images, music, and voiceovers. Some were done by BIG and some by other agencies. Some were chosen and further developed into television commercials.

. A final poster from the "What's Your Anti-
Drug?" campaign. The visual design of the tag
line invites the viewer to fill in his/her own
response to the question. Additional copy in
handwritten script motivates dialogues on
several levels.

Situating the Message in the Community
The resulting artifacts from the campaign—placed in theaters,
schools, and public arenas including the Web and television—called
upon viewers to think, act, feel, and engage with the dialogue at
hand. Collins has followed, both quantitatively and qualitatively,
the changes in the community as a result of the campaign. ONDCP
reported that the awareness of the anti-drug campaign was at a
historical high point. Collins recalled the story of one of the BIG
group, while attending a movie, witnessed a conversation that took
place between a parent and a teen as a result of seeing the poster
displayed in the theater. Collins himself received a letter from a
parent thanking him for opening an honest and effective dialogue
with society. These facts and recollections are pieces of evidence that
design has the power to do what Collins describes as "tipping the
culture"—creating understanding, new points of view, and new
entries into experience.

Conclusion
Wire Design and BIG's stories make clear the benefit of situating
design research methodologies within the field of communication
design. In both cases, designers were empowered to create a com-
mon ground for dialogue, community-building, and behavioral
change.

Figure 4.
 www.whatsyourantidrug.com, a website
inviting shared dialogue among teens.

16 In this series of essays, Carey contrasts
the differences between communication
as transmission and communication as
ritual, arguing that the ritual view is less
explored because the concept is weak in
American social thought. For more infor-
mation, see James Carey, *Culture As
Communication: Essays on Media and
Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Effective rhetorical communications such as these have great implications for society. They are vehicles for expression, social agreement, and social change. They allow communication to move beyond a process of faster and better information transfer. Instead, communication evolves as a ritual process where sharing, participation, and community-building work towards maintaining society, and representing and promoting shared beliefs.[16] These implications set forth an exciting new charter for design research.

The "Stump-jumpers:"
National Identity and the Mythology
of Australian Industrial Design in
the Period 1930–1975
Simon Jackson

Introduction

Stump-jump plows, Sunshine harvesters, Ford and Holden utes (pick-up trucks), Victa lawn mowers, Hills Hoists—even if these objects are unknown to an international audience, they are celebrated by Australians to the point that they have become interwoven with the national identity. Most visible in the public's recent awareness of Australian design objects has been the 1988 *Bicentennial* and 2000 *Olympic Games* festivals which have used certain design objects as emblems of what it is to be Australian. Smaller events such as the earlier 1996 *Adelaide Festival* also made use of such objects—in this case an image of a Hills Hoist rotary clothesline was used in its official publicity poster. Despite this public interest, specific books on the activity of industrial design in Australia have been few.[1] While many general art books have included a few pages on the subject of Australian designed objects, a certain pattern has emerged—some design objects are celebrated, while others are ignored. This paper asks why. A review of historical and contemporary writings has suggested a list of myths that reveal how Australians have chosen to view themselves, and how industrial design has helped define perceptions of the Australian character.

The Search for a National Identity in Australian Design Objects

The deliberate search for a national design sensibility in Australia dates back to the nineteenth century, and may be seen in the flora and fauna decorations adorning examples of early Australian furniture, household objects, and architecture. Historian Vane Lindesay has suggested the first deliberate symbol of Australia might be the 1853 coat-of-arms depicting a kangaroo, emu, and rising sun.[2] Later, in the 1930s, (the beginning of this paper's chronology) a renewed interest in craft activities developed in the Australian community. This created a demand for hand-made Australian products rather than mass-produced imports. In 1931, William Rupert Dean, inspector of art in Victoria, expressed the desire that "originality should be encouraged and that Australian forms, feeling and colouring should be stressed as much as possible." [3]

1   Tony Fry's *Design History Australia* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1988), and Michael Bogle's *Design in Australia* 1788-1970 (North Ryde, NSW: Craftsman House, 1998) are the only specific surveys of industrial design history in this country.

2   Vane Lindesay, *Aussie-Osities* (Richmond, Vic: Greenhouse, 1988), 5.

3   Minutes of Council, Working Men's College, 26 October 1931 quoted in S. Murray-Smith and J. Dare, *The Tech: A Centenary History of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology* (Melbourne: Hyland House Publishing, 1987), 227.

Most historians point to the Australian identification with the bush. John Rickard has reflected that "Any discussion of Australian national values seems bound to use (historian) Russel Ward as a starting point."[4] Ward located the national character in the figure of the itinerant bushman. "A practical man, rough and ready in his manners, and quick to decry any appearance of affectation in others. He is a great improviser, ever willing 'to have a go' at anything, but willing too to be content with a task done in a way that is 'near enough.'"[5] Ward's version of the Australian national identity was male, nationalist, anti-British, and politically socialist. A contrasting but also "rural" identity for Australia was put forward by historian John Hirst in the figure of the pioneer. This figure was largely British, was both Australian nationalist and loyal to the Empire, and often had cultural aspirations. The pioneer was conservative in political outlook, and was reverent of the past.[6] Unlike Ward's bushman, there was room within this identity for women. It is through such an identity that the "Old English half-timbered" gable motif appeared on the Australian Federation house with no contradiction of the style's generally nationalist meaning. The pioneer's experience in Australia, laboring nobly, profiting and building a new society may be described as "British dynamism" at work in a new land.

Historian Graeme Davison has claimed the mythologizing of "rural" identities such as these two was based not on the values of the bush flowing through and shaping the values of Australians (most of whom have always lived in cities), but rather was the "projection onto the outback of values revered by an alienated urban intelligentsia."[7] There is no doubt that the legacy of early settlement has left a strong stamp on the way Australians have chosen to see themselves, and this has shaped their attitudes to (and the practice of) industrial design. Despite these "rural" identities, census statistics reveal Australians, at least since Federation in 1901, have been more likely to live in a city and work in a factory than on the land.

Yet whenever the subject of Australian design, inventions, or manufacturing is discussed (in almost any medium—scholarly or popular) the "legacy of pioneering days" is cited to attest to Australian creativity. Many of Australia's nineteenth-century design objects are extraordinary, but they should not be used to define the Australian national character more than a century later. The 1874 Furphy water tank (for storing water), the 1876 Braybrook stump-jump plow (for plowing fields), and the Coolgardie meat safe (for keeping meat and dairy foods fresh) of the 1880s all sprang from the needs of men and women on the land, and are wonderful examples of Australian creativity. The legacy of these examples of pioneering days has been great, and many of Australia's industrial design products have become familiar words in the language. For example, the term "stump-jumpers" has derived from the innovative agricul-

4   John Rickard, "National Character and the 'Typical Australian': An Alternative to Russel Ward." *Journal of Australian Studies* No. 4 (June 1979): 12.

5   Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958), 1–2.

6   John Hirst, "The Pioneer Legend" *Historical Studies* 18: 71 (October 1979): 316.

7   Graeme Davison, "Sydney and the Bush: An Urban Context for the Australian Legend," *Historical Studies* 18: 71 (October 1979): 208.
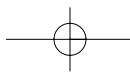
tural plow of that name, and denotes an innovative person. It has appeared in the title of several books acknowledging dynamic Australians.[8] But surely more than a handful of such examples are needed to justify the Australian claim that they are uniquely innovative as a people?

The pioneering spirit is popularly believed to have been reborn during the 1930s when so-called "depression-era" design objects were cobbled together. Furniture was constructed from old kerosene tins and toys were made from jam tins and pieces of wire, while musical instruments were crafted from whatever their makers could lay their hands on. Many historians and collectors have chosen to see the Australian national identity somehow revealed in these simple objects created "against the odds." Certainly, these objects were born of resourceful people in the face of hardship, but this paper argues the ability to improvise against adversity is by no means a character trait unique to Australians as some writers would have us believe. The pioneering qualities of "improvisation" and "innovation" have been popularized by being presented as Australian themes—witness the successful television program *The Inventors* shown from 1970 onwards and its accompanying book.[9] While there is no doubt that Australia's national identity has been interwoven with its pioneering past—of bush innovation and innovative agricultural implements—Australians have felt less emotional attachment to twentieth-century manufactured objects designed for the home: kitchenware cast in iron, cars, sporting goods, musical instruments, white goods and furnishings. One of the sub-narratives of this paper therefore is the recovery of the "urban."

After WWII, the memory of conflict and Australian sporting achievements in tennis and swimming (culminating in the local successes at the 1956 *Olympics*) were dominant in people's minds, and helped shape the Australian national identity at that time—one based on sporting prowess. The Associated Chambers of Manufactures of Australia lamented this situation. In the 1952 *Made in Australia Exhibition* (Exhibition Buildings, Melbourne) the following sentiment was expressed:

> Great deeds in the realms of war and sport have imbued Australians with a full measure of national pride. We should be no less proud of their industrial history but, unfortunately, there are few who appreciate the extent of their achievement in less than 150 years.[10]

The desire to promote manufacturing activity as a national symbol also was evident in the words of the Lord Mayor of Sydney on the occasion of the opening of the 1961 *Sydney Trade Fair:* "The Australian-produced or manufactured articles which will be on display... will demonstrate Australia's potential as a progressive and rapidly developing nation."[11] This desire was propagated at other

8   Neil Lawrence and Steve Bank, *The Stump-jumpers: A New Breed of Australians* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1985). Similarly, G. A. Rattigan entitled his "opening address" to the Australian Academy of Science's *Science and Industry Forum* (held in Canberra in 1977) "From Stump-Jump Plough to Interscan."

9   Leo Port and Brian Murray, *Australian Inventors* (Stanmore, NSW: Cassell, 1978).

10   "Development of Australian Industry" in *Made in Australia Exhibition, Official Souvenir & Guide* (Melbourne: Exhibition Buildings, October 16-November 1, 1952), Forward.

11   H. Jensen, [Welcome], *1961 Sydney Trade Fair Catalogue* (Sydney: Industrial Public Relations Service, August 1–12 1961), 20.
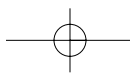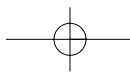
important exhibitions abroad, and culminated at the Australian Pavilion at Montreal's *Expo '67* and Osaka's *Expo '70,*where attempts to redefine the national identity through displays of industrial design objects, science, technology, and modern art must be regarded as very successful. Gone were the days of presenting an agrarian image of Australia to the world at international exhibitions.

Out of the many writings (in books, journal articles, and pictorial essays) on the subject of Australian industrial design has emerged a series of observations which this paper deems the "mythology of Australian industrial design." There are many myths about the Australian character, and also about Australian industrial design. From the earliest writings of C. E. W. Bean, to Russel Ward, and through to the popular writings inspired by the *Bicentennial and Sydney Olympic Games* celebrations, the following supposedly "Australian" attributes have been praised: the ability to invent new objects, the ability to "battle against the odds"; and a "masculine" pride in not being too "fussy" by disdaining fine crafts and good workmanship. There also is a lack of popular acknowledgment of non-British designers. These popularly held character traits have "rural" implications, and many of them are myths without much foundation.

It is possible that these myths were formed by the same sort of Australian chauvinistic nationalistic sentiments which, since the first white settlement, have shaped the taste for the cult of the bush over the beach, and the bush over the city as a theme for painting and academic discussion generally. In a similar manner, there is a tendency to value Australian-designed "rural" farm implements (stump-jump plow and the like) above those objects intended for the suburban home (various consumer goods), despite the fact few Australians could identify one of these agricultural implements even if they did happen to stumble across one. What other reason could explain why the "rural" 1934 Ford ute, a light pickup truck, is judged an "Aussie icon" by Australians as their great automotive contribution to the world, when it was really just a restyle of existing American automobiles? Instead of the ute which is so praised by Australian writers, many international voices praise the 1935 Holden-Chevrolet Sloper with its fastback body. Designed and built in Australia, this sleek-looking town car is claimed to have been offered "several years before similar cars appeared on the American market." [12]

The Mythology of Industrial Design Activity in Australia (or the folk stories and myths we tell ourselves)
The construction of the Australian national identity, as defined by nationalist historians, has been shaped by two untruths. First, the refusal of Australians (during this paper's chronology of 1930–1975 and beyond) to acknowledge their urban, and especially suburban, pattern of living, and instead identify with the bush. Secondly,

12 Chris Horton, *Encyclopedia of Cars* (Surrey, UK: Colour Library Books, 1992), 246.
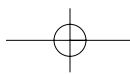
Australians' reluctance to embrace manufacturing as a national identity, when clearly more worked in factories than on the land. The following supposed character traits of the Australian national identity and industrial design practice are entrenched in the folklore of this country, and are well represented in various writings. (Several character traits are closely linked, while some are seemingly contradictory.)

The Myth That Australians "Invent," and Don't Design or Style Products

The historian C. E. W. Bean may well have set this myth in place in 1909 by arguing that the Australian was a great innovator:

> It is still a quality of the Australian that he can make something out of nothing…he has had to do without the best things, because they do not exist here. So he has made the next best do; and, even when these are not at hand, he has manufactured them out of things which one would have thought it impossible to turn to any use at all. He has done it for so long that it has become much more than an art. It has long since become a part of his character, the most valuable part of it.[13]

Later came Russel Ward's location of the Australian national character in the practical bushman and Manning Clark's description of Australian traits: "The bush convention—all that making do, that genius for improvisation of the great army of the deprived in the Australian bush." [14] These important writings have built up a momentum, and there have been dozens of followers who also have linked the quality of improvisation with the Australian national character—often in an arrogant manner, as if Australians were (and remain) the only people in the world capable of such creativity.

This myth of the pioneer, evident in many Australian writings, holds that a direct successor to the colonial settler can be found in every Australian suburban home—the inventor tinkering in his backyard shed. While this paper does not wish to denigrate the innovation displayed by a small number of these backyard (largely amateur) inventors working with limited resources, nonetheless, the myth of Australian innovation is quite ridiculous. Yes, there have been a handful of innovative industrial design products to emerge from the backyard shed, but does this make Australians uniquely innovative? Two of Australia's best-loved examples were, in fact, predated by similar American and British models.

"Invented" in 1924 in the Melbourne suburb of Murrumbeena by Lance Hill, one might imagine the Hills Hoist to have been the only rotary clothes hoist in the world, such is its fame in Australia. However, other Australian and American precursors existed at least a decade earlier.[15] The Adelaide ironfounders and blacksmiths company, A. C. Harley, advertised an "Improved Rotary and

13 C. E. W. Bean, quoted in Brian Nelson, "Foreword" *Made in Australia: A Sourcebook of All Things Australian* (Richmond, Vic.: William Heinemann, 1986), 10.

14 Manning Clark, quoted in Anne Moyal, "Invention and Innovation in Australia: The Historian's Lens," *Prometheus* 5: 1 (June 1987): 93.

15 I am indebted to Dr. Miles Lewis, University of Melbourne, for alerting me to these earlier hoists.
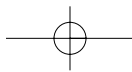
Tilting Clothes Drying Rack" in the *Sun Foundry Illustrated Catalogue* in 1914.[16] A slightly different-looking model was offered for sale in America by an American firm, the Hill Dryer Company, and also was advertised for sale in 1914.[17] (Despite its similar name, this American company had no connection with the Australian Hills company.) Another American hoist, holder of U.S. Patent No. 434921 of 26 August 1890, is the earliest known patent for a "rotary clothes line." Australian Lance Hill holds the Australian Patent No. 215772 (lodged 22 March 1956) for the crown and pinion winding mechanism only.[18] Despite this rather minor addition to an existing American design, the jingoism surrounding the Australian company's version of the hoist is amazing. Quite apart from the Hills Hoist's revered status during the bicentennial fervor of 1988, recent times have seen no challenge to the myth. In 1996, it was claimed by the prominent local journal *Business Review Weekly* that the Hills Hoist was still:

> Our very own: The Yanks have Vegemite, King Gee, Stubbies, Sidchrome tools, and most of Arnott's. The Swiss own Life Savers and the Kiwis have their hands on Tooheys and Castlemaine beer. Are there any Australian icons still in the hands of Australians? Well, yes, the Hills Hoist. Invented by brothers-in-law Lance Hill and Harold Ling, the rotary hoist has been a familiar presence in the nation's backyards. It not only dried clothes, but doubled as a durable piece of playground equipment (and a useful tether for hyperactive youngsters). The clothes line's icon status is being recognized this year in the poster for the next Adelaide Festival. Descendants of the inventors still control Hills Industries. Long may that continue.[19]

All of the words dear to Australians are contained in this quote: "invented" (not "designed"), references to backyards, the list of "Aussie icons" and the resentment towards the "Yanks" for being more astute businessmen.

Similarly, the Victa Lawn Mower (Australian Patent No. 8770/55, lodged 2 May 1955), supposedly "invented" by Mervyn Victor Richardson in 1952, was, in fact, predated by a British hand-propelled version of the rotary mower. (British Patent No. 385473 of 29 February 1932).[20] Richardson's version was merely the world's first powered version of the rotary lawn mower concept. It seems that Australians are in love with the mythology of the backyard inventor. This is evidenced by the recent popularity of the book and television documentary *Blokes in Sheds*, which explored all of the many uses to which Australian men put their backyard sheds: as a workshop, as a retreat from the wife and kids, and as a place to mend the car, to invent, store junk, and drink beer.[21]

In the recently published *Dictionary of Famous Australians*,[22] many sports people, public figures, and artists are celebrated, but

16 *Sun Foundry Illustrated Catalogue* (Adelaide: Vardon & Sons Ltd., 1914).

17 Advertisement, "Hill's Champion Clothes Dryer" in *Country Life in America* (August 1914): 101.

18 Rotary Clothes Hoist Patent: Lance Hill-Australian Patent 215772 Lodged 22 March 1956 [Canberra]: Intellectual Property Australia, www.ipaustralia.gov.au/fun/patents/05/fun_hill.htm (23 April 1998).

19 "Our Very Own," *Business Review Weekly* (May 22 1995): 123.

20 Victa Lawn Mower Patent: Mervyn Victor Richardson-Australian Patent 8770/55 Lodged 2 May 1955 [Canberra]: Intellectual Property Australia, www.ipaustralia.gov.au/fun/patents/06/fun_vict.htm (23 April 1998).

21 Mark Thomson, *Blokes & Sheds* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1995), passim.

22 Anne Atkinson, *The Dictionary of Famous Australians* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992).

there is no section devoted to designers. Instead, there is a section called "Inventors" that lists only practical men: Lawrence Hargrave, Lawrence Hartnett, and other makers of useful things such as sheep-dips, agricultural implements, and medical technologies. Is the term "design" a little too cosmopolitan for Australians? They seem to prefer the more workmanlike term of "inventor," which might be explained by the continuing Australian identification with the "rural" national identity. Several titles of Australian books suggest this.[23]

The Myth That True Australians Love to "Battle Against the Odds"

While nineteenth-century Australians were indeed forced to innovate new ideas and adapt imported products to "battle the harsh Australian environment" (as popular histories characterize it), Australians very quickly became the most urbanized of all peoples. That the myth of the "Aussie battler" is called upon to account for qualities and weaknesses in Australian industrial design in the late twentieth century is ridiculous, yet new "battles" and new opportunities for proving Australian mettle have since been created in which Australian innovation "wins through." Perhaps this culminated in the "battle" for the 1983 *America's Cup* yacht race that saw Australia win against a giant foe—America. What better example of the "Australian battler" myth can be cited than naval designer Ben Lexcen and his famous "winged keel"? The purple journalistic prose spilled over Lexcen could, itself, fill a book. He even lent his name to a car to "Australianize" Toyota's version of the Holden Commodore of 1988–94.

And even when they do not "overcome the odds," Australians have created a kind of national alibi, flattering themselves that they have great ideas which have been stolen or suppressed. There is even a sort of heroic failure about these abandoned projects which lifts them to a mythical status similar to the heroic military failure at Gallipoli. Many examples of this myth can be found in the story of Australian industrial design. One concerns the ill-fated Holden Torana GTR-X, an elegant looking sportscar prototype which was never mass-produced. The reasons for this failure were later offered by a former Holden executive: "It was never formally presented to Detroit to have the necessary holy water sprinkled on it." [24] Was this a case of the "center" suppressing the "peripheral" culture? It is hard to say. What is of interest is that Australian car magazines often tend to celebrate these "ones that got away" even more than actual Australian production cars. Is this a "Gallipoli" trait? That Australians seem to love to celebrate a heroic failure? If the car had actually gone into production, it might well have been a commercial failure. But because it remains "untested" by the manufacturing process and the market place, and by time (there are no rusty ones lining the streets) Australians can celebrate its "pristine"

23 W. Shaw and Olaf Ruhen, *Lawrence Hargrave: Explorer, Inventor & Aviation Experimenter* (Stanmore, NSW: Cassell, 1977). Leo Port, Brian Murray, and Brian Carroll, *Australian Inventors* (Stanmore, NSW: Cassell Australia, 1978). Ron Cull, *Inventive Australians* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire Pty, 1993). Margaret McPhee, *The Dictionary of Australian Inventions and Discoveries* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1993).

24 G. Farmer, "The One that Got Away," *Sports and Classic Cars* 4: 2 (August 1989): 28.

memory and wonder "if only."

When they do succeed, Australians love a nonchalant hero, such as cricketer Don Bradman who "licks the world" in an unassuming manner. (Bradman also lent his name to a special edition Holden-bodied car in the 1930s.) Perhaps the most spectacular example of this in Australia's industrial design history was the Repco-Brabham Formula 1 racing car designed and driven by triple world champion Jack Brabham. While there were no other racing cars at this level of sophistication being designed in Australia, this locally designed and manufactured car beat the world's best. Brabham remains the only driver ever to have won a world championship in a car of his own design. Recent examples of the nonchalant design hero include the designers of the Cochlear "bionic ear" implant and the Sarich Orbital engine which have attracted interest from all over the world. While Australians should celebrate such achievements, they should not delude themselves into thinking that they have been more innovative than the people of any other comparable nation.

The Myth That Australia Lacks a Crafts or Design Tradition
The argument "that Australia has no crafts or design tradition" is linked to that other myth "that Australian culture is only two-hundred years old," and both are flawed. Certainly, the visible signs of the European culture in this land (buildings, paintings, and design objects made locally) are no older than 1788, but the European laws, language and culture of this country are as old as those of the cultures from which the first immigrants came. In his novel, *Kangaroo,* D. H. Lawrence claimed, "A colony is no younger than the parent country." This paper subscribes to this idea and rejects the notion, so often expressed, that Australian industrial design got off to a bad start because "Australia lacked a crafts tradition." How could this be true when the country has had a long and diverse history of immigration, and that all of these people brought some aspect of their cultures' crafts and design traditions with them? Histories of Australia's architectural vernacular have placed great emphasis on the specific traditions, materials, and technologies introduced, in particular, by the English, Scots, and Germans to buildings (and their furnishings) erected in the early-to-mid nineteenth century.[25]

Despite this rich crafts legacy, the myth "that Australia lacks a crafts or design tradition" has persisted. That this myth could be used as an excuse for any deficiencies in late-twentieth-century Australian industrial design and manufacturing is nonsense.

The Myth That Australian Designers are of British Origin Only
Why is there little recognition of nineteenth-century, non-British inventors and designers in the popular constructions of Australian history? Australia always has benefited from the skills brought by

25   See Philip Cox and Clive Lucas. *Australian Colonial Architecture* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1974) and Miles Lewis, *Victorian Primitive* (Melbourne: Greenhouse, 1979), passim.

new immigrants. Historian Morton Herman noted this as early as 1956.[26] Despite this fact, many Australian historians have claimed American technical influence began with WWII, while technical and craft contributions from European cultures were only supposed to have occurred after the 1950s immigration schemes. The reason why these immigrants and their manufactures are not enshrined within the Australian national identity (during this paper's span of 1930-75) surely is because many Australians tended to identify themselves, as J. S. MacDonald suggested, as "the last of the Aryans." Designers of British descent tended to design implements for farming the land (where many British investments in Australia were located) and so the linking of stump-jump plows and Sunshine harvesters with "practical men, rough and ready in manner" was made. American and European designers, by contrast, seem to have been more active in the field of consumer products—an area where Australians have had ambivalent feelings.

Conclusions

It is one of the findings of this paper that Australians' reactions to "rural" design objects (including the stump-jump plow, the Furphy water tank, the Coolgardie meat safe, the Holden and Ford ute) have been very different from their reactions to "urban" or, more specifically, "suburban" design objects (such as chairs, white goods, and passenger cars). Where rural objects are deemed heroic, suburban design objects are largely forgotten or are celebrated only in irony. Clear examples of this irony were the Hills Hoists held as heraldic torches on the 1996 *Adelaide Arts Festival* official poster, and Victa lawnmowing formation marches during the *Sydney Olympic Games* opening and closing ceremonies. There is seemingly no national interest in the kitchenware cast in iron, passenger cars (including the influential 1935 Holden-Chevrolet Sloper), sporting goods, musical instruments, white goods, home furnishings, or other necessary urban design objects designed and manufactured in Australia. This is in stark contrast to many other design cultures (Italy, Scandinavia, and Japan, to name prominent examples) which have based their economies and aspects of their own national identities on such urban objects. Tellingly, the pioneering days of these countries are more distant than Australia's, and they seem more comfortable to project an urban self-image to the world than Australia is willing to do.

What of the imagined "pioneering" character traits Australians hold so dear? This paper does not conclude that no innovation occurred in this country. Rather, that all design cultures, especially during their "pioneering" stage of industrial and social development, were similarly innovative. The reason that Australians tend to celebrate the mythology of bush innovation is that their pioneering days are so recent. In its search for a national identity different than the parent (Britain), this young country used the outback landscape

26 Morton Herman, *The Early Australian Architects and Their Work* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1956).

with its distinctive flora and fauna, isolation, and hardship as a uniquely Australian signifier. And so rural design objects have always been praised.

In this respect, the construction of design myths in Australia is consistent with the construction of design myths in other countries. All cultures have sought to emphasize their national uniqueness—it is hard to think of a national design myth which does not draw upon the clichés of its history. For example, it is popularly believed that the sensual nature of Italian design is a direct legacy of Italy's proud sculptural tradition.[27] It also is argued that the finesse of Scandinavian domestic design objects is a direct result of the long winter months designers and craftspeople spend indoors in that part of the world.[28]

To most people at home and abroad, Australia *is* its unique landscape and animals, its sun and surf, and its kangaroos and koalas. And working on this land are the pioneers—practical white men battling against a harsh environment and improvising with simple handtools. This is still how many Australians regard themselves. Therefore, it is not surprising that the design objects that respond to this rural series of values have become interwoven into the national psyche, even though they contradict the current reality which sees Australia as a long-established urban and multicultural society. Australia's self-identification with the bush over the city (and, more especially, over the dreaded suburb) continues today as is evidenced by the recent writings and festivals surveyed.

Another finding of this paper is that many of the design objects which are popularly celebrated as examples of Australian innovation are mere adaptations of established international designs (Hills Hoists, Victa lawn mowers and Ford utes, to name some prominent examples). Finally, the phrase "Australian industrial design," with its notions of cannon and school, is misleading. The expression "design activity in Australia" is a more accurate description of the situation in which international design ideas were adapted to suit local needs. Not enough examples of products designed and made in this country, and which show a distinctive Australian character, can be cobbled together into anything like the schools of older international design cultures.

27 Stephen Bayley, *Sex, Drink and Fast Cars* (London: Faber & Faber, 1986), 106.
28 Hal Missingham's "Introduction" in *Design in Scandinavia* (Stockholm: Victor Pettersons Bokindustri 1968), 8.
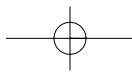
A "Social Model" of Design:
Issues of Practice and Research
Victor Margolin and Sylvia Margolin

Introduction

When most people think of product design, they envision products for the market, generated by a manufacturer and directed to a consumer. Since the Industrial Revolution, the dominant design paradigm has been one of design for the market, and alternatives have received little attention. In 1972, Victor Papanek, an industrial designer and, at the time, Dean of Design at the California Institute of the Arts, published his polemical book *Design for the Real World* in which he made the famous declaration that "[t]here are professions more harmful than industrial design, but only a very few of them."[1] The book, initially published in Swedish two years earlier, quickly gained worldwide popularity with its call for a new social agenda for designers. Since *Design for the Real World* appeared, others have responded to Papanek's call and sought to develop programs of design for social need ranging from the needs of developing countries to the special needs of the aged, the poor, and the disabled.[2]

These efforts have provided evidence that an alternative to product design for the market is possible, but they have not led to a new model of social practice. Compared to the "market model," there has been little theorizing about a model of product design for social need. Theory about design for the market is extremely well developed. It cuts across many fields from design methods to management studies and the semiotics of marketing. The rich and vast literature of market design has contributed to its continued success and its ability to adapt to new technologies, political and social circumstances, and organizational structures and processes. Conversely, little thought has been given to the structures, methods, and objectives of social design. Concerning design for development, some ideas have been borrowed from the intermediate or alternative technology movement, which has promoted low-cost technological solutions for problems in developing countries, but regarding the broader understanding of how design for social need might be commissioned, supported, and implemented, little has been accomplished.[3] Nor has attention been given to changes in the education of product designers that might prepare them to design for populations in need rather than for the market alone.

The field of environmental psychology has attempted to respond to the environmental needs of the vulnerable. Those work-

1 Victor Papanek, *Design for the Real World; Human Ecology and Social Change*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1985), ix. We have used Papanek's 1985 revised edition rather than the original one of 1972 because he made a number of changes from one edition to another, and we wanted to draw on his most current thinking. For a discussion of Papanek's concept of socially responsible design, see Nigel Whiteley, *Design for Society* (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), 103–115.

2 See, for example, Julian Bicknell and Liz McQuiston, eds., *Design for Need; The Social Contribution of Design* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1977). This volume is a collection of papers from a conference of the same name held at the Royal College of Art in April 1976.

3 There is an extensive literature on appropriate technology. For a critical introduction to the subject, see Witold Rybczynski, *Paper Heroes; A Review of Appropriate Technology* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980).

ing in this field use an interdisciplinary approach to research, and implement solutions that create better living spaces for such populations as the mentally ill, the homeless, and the aged.[4] Architects, psychologists, social workers, occupational therapists, and others have worked together to explore the intersection of people's psychological needs and the landscapes, communities, neighborhoods, housing, and interior space that increase feelings of pleasantness, arousal, excitement, and relaxation, and decrease feelings of fear and stress.[5] There has not been a similar effort in the field of product design.

A "Social Model" of Design Practice
In this paper, we want to begin a new discussion of design for social need by proposing a "social model" of product design practice and suggesting a research agenda that would examine and develop it in the same way that comparable research has supported design for the market and environmental psychology. Although many design activities can be considered as socially responsible design—sustainable product design, affordable housing, and the redesign of government tax and immigration forms, for example—we will limit this paper to a discussion of product design within a process of social service intervention. Although we base our discussion on the intervention model used by social workers, a similar model could also be applied to collaborations with health care professionals in hospitals and other health care settings, as well as to joint projects with teachers and educational administrators in school settings. The model could work as well with teams of experts engaged in projects in developing countries.

The primary purpose of design for the market is creating products for sale. Conversely, the foremost intent of social design is the satisfaction of human needs. However, we don't propose the "market model" and the "social model" as binary opposites, but instead view them as two poles of a continuum. The difference is defined by the priorities of the commission rather than by a method of production or distribution. Many products designed for the market also meet a social need but we argue that the market does not, and probably cannot, take care of all social needs, as some relate to populations who do not constitute a class of consumers in the market sense. We refer here to people with low incomes or special needs due to age, health, or disability.

To develop a "social model," we will draw on the literature of social work, a practice whose principal objective is to meet the needs of underserved or marginalized populations. Central to social work theory is the ecological perspective.[6] Social workers assess the transaction that occurs between their client system (a person, family, group, organization, or community) and the domains within the environment with which the client system interacts. Various domains that impact human functioning are the biological, psycholog-

4   The intellectual histories of thirteen first-generation thinkers in environment and behavior studies are presented in *Environment and Behavior Studies: Emergence of Intellectual Traditions,* Irwin Altman and Kathleen Christensen, eds. (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1990).

5   See Jack L. Nasar, "The Evaluative Image of Places" in *Person-Environment Psychology: New Directions and Perspectives,* 2nd ed., W. Bruce Walsh, Kenneth H. Crain, and Richard H. Price, eds. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000).

6   This same perspective is used in environmental psychology.
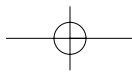
ical, cultural, social, natural, and physical/spatial.[7] The physical/spatial domain, which concerns us in this paper, is comprised of all things created by humans such as objects, buildings, streets, and transportation systems. Inadequate or inferior physical surroundings and products can affect the safety, social opportunity, stress level, sense of belonging, self-esteem, or even physical health of a person or persons in a community. A poor fit with one or more key domains may be at the root of the client system's problem, thus creating a human need.

For example, some preschool children are misbehaving. An initial diagnosis blames their parents for having poor child-rearing skills. A social worker is asked to organize the parents into a group in order to teach them better child-rearing practices. The assumption here is that the parents will apply these skills, and their children's behavior will improve. When the group meets, the social worker learns that the parents are under tremendous stress due to multiple problems: lack of money because of the inability to find a job; low wages in available jobs; scarce transportation to get to work in distant places; unsafe surroundings; broken playground equipment on a cement lot; and inadequate and unsafe elevators in their apartment buildings. It is clear that the issues with which the parents are dealing go beyond poor child-rearing skills, thus requiring that other factors, including those in the physical/spatial domain, be addressed.

Social workers tend to follow a model of generalist practice, a six-step problem-solving process that includes engagement, assessment, planning, implementation, evaluation, and termination. The entire process is conducted in a collaborative manner with the client system. Other human service professionals may be brought in as part of the intervention. In the engagement phase, the social worker listens to the client system and gets a sense of the presenting problem. In the next phase, assessment, the social worker looks holistically at the client system's interaction within the various environmental domains. The aim of an assessment is not to take a problem at face value but to look more deeply and more broadly at the client system in the total environment to get at the roots of the problem. The outcome of the assessment phase is a list of different needs to be addressed. In the third phase, planning, the social worker collaborates with the client system to prioritize the needs, trying to determine what is most pressing. Then the social worker and the client system brainstorm in order to devise different solutions. They talk about various ideas and collaboratively decide what will work best. Together, the client system and the social worker make a list of goals and objectives and decide who will do what by when.[8] In the implementation phase, the intervention is guided by the goals and objectives that have already been agreed upon.

In settings such as hospitals or schools, social workers are members of teams that include other professionals. Among these

7   See L. Allen Furr, *Exploring Human Behavior and the Social Environment* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997), 3–12 and C.B. Germain and A. Gitterman, "The Life Model Approach to Social Work Practice Revisited" in *Social Work Treatment: Interlocking Theoretical Approaches*, Francis J. Turner, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1986), 618–643.

8   Aspects of the client system/social worker relationship are also evident in *participatory design* but, in this relationship more authority is assigned to the designer whose professional knowledge differentiates his or her ability to conduct a design project from the users or clients, no matter how involved the latter are in the planning process.

might be psychologists, speech therapists, occupational therapists, and probation officers. The team works collaboratively to assess a problem and different team members intervene as needed. The ways in which product designers could participate in a team process with human service professionals are yet to be explored particularly the designer's involvement in the physical/spatial domain.
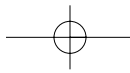
Lawton describes a research project for the elderly that sought to learn about the deficiencies in the home environment and the way people cope with them. A social worker, an architect, a psychologist, and an occupational therapist visited the homes of fifty highly impaired older people who were managing to live alone. One of the team's findings was that many of the people they observed had set up "control centers" in an area of their living room that allowed them to view the front door and, through a window, the street. The nearby placement of a telephone, radio, and television also enabled them to have social contact with the outside world. Additionally, on a table within reach were medicine, food, reading material, and other items of use. If a product designer had been on this intervention team, he or she would no doubt have been stimulated to create products that could serve the low-mobility needs of this older population.[9]

To advance the discussion of how the product designer might collaborate with an intervention team, we would like to suggest several options. During the assessment phase, the designer, either as a member of an intervention team or as a consultant, might be able to identify factors that contribute to a problem. In the planning phase, a designer could develop intervention strategies related to the physical environment. During implementation, the designer could create a needed product or work with the client system to design one.

These strategies differ from Papanek's proposals for social action in *Design for the Real World*. Papanek pits socially responsible designers against a commercial market that thrives on the production of excessive and useless products. By harshly criticizing the market economy, he limits the options for a social designer. Papanek argues that socially responsible designers must organize their own interventions outside the mainstream market, yet he gives little guidance as to how this might be done. We believe that many professionals share the goals of designers who want to do socially responsible work, and therefore we propose that both designers and helping professionals find ways to work together. In short, we believe that designers will find many more allies in professions related to health, education, social work, aging, and crime prevention than are evident in Papanek's analysis.

Nonetheless, Papanek's book is extremely helpful in describing the kinds of social products designers might create. Using as a framework a socially-oriented design office, Papanek provides long lists of products that address social needs. Among these are teach-

9 M. Powell Lawton, "An Environmental Psychologist Ages" in *Environment and Behavior Studies: Emergence of Intellectual Traditions,* 357–358. A research study on the spatial needs of the elderly in Hong Kong was conducted by the Research Group on Urban Space and Culture, School of Design, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, in conjunction with a social service team at St. James Settlement. Using the Wan Chai district as the research site, the group, which was comprised of designers rather than architects, proposed a number of new spatial arrangements to help elderly people function better in cramped apartments. See Kwok Yan-chi Jackie, ed., *Ageing in the Community: A Research on the Designing of Everyday Life Environment for the Elderly* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Polytechnic University and St. James Settlement, 1999).

ing aids of all kinds including aids to transfer knowledge and skills to those with learning difficulties and physical disabilities; training aids for poor people who are trying to move into the work force; medical diagnostic devices, hospital equipment, and dental tools; equipment and furnishings for mental hospitals; safety devices for home and work; and devices that address pollution problems.[10] Some of these products, particularly medical and hospital equipment, are already produced for the market, but there are certainly many that are not manufactured because a market cannot be identified for them.

An Agenda for Social Design

Design is most often understood by the public as an artistic practice that produces dazzling lamps, furniture, and automobiles. This is how it is generally presented by the media and the museums.[11] One reason why there is not more support for social design services is the lack of research to demonstrate what a designer can contribute to human welfare.

A broad research agenda for social design must begin by addressing a number of questions. What role can a designer play in a collaborative process of social intervention? What is currently being done in this regard and what might be done? How might the public's perception of designers be changed in order to present an image of a socially responsible designer? How can agencies that fund social welfare projects and research gain a stronger perception of design as a socially responsible activity? What kinds of products meet the needs of vulnerable populations?

A multifaceted approach can be taken to explore these and other questions. Survey research and interviews with human service professionals, designers, and agency administrators can be conducted to gather information on perceptions and attitudes, and to solicit suggestions for change. Content analysis of archival data such as journals, periodicals, and newspapers can be used to gain insight into how the media report on issues of social design.[12]

Another research method is participant observation. This entails designers entering social settings, either as part of a multidisciplinary team or alone, to observe and document social needs that can be satisfied with design interventions. For example, this was done in the research project conducted by Lawton that we described earlier, except that an architect rather than a product designer was on the investigative team.

Research that centers on the development and evaluation of socially responsible products is also important. To create new products, designers have to conduct research on how to translate their ideas into finished designs. They are obligated to evaluate these products in actual situations to test their effectiveness.[13] A good example of socially-oriented product design research is MIT's
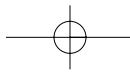
10 Papanek, *Design for the Real World,* 63-68.

11 There are some exceptions among museum exhibits such as the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum's exhibit on Universal Design, *Unlimited by Design,* held at the museum between November 1988 and March 1999.

12 As an example, the February 2001 issue of *I.D.* magazine edited by Christopher Mount, presented profiles of forty socially conscious designers and architects.

13 In *Design for the Real World,* Papanek provides numerous illustrations of socially responsible projects that students designed under his supervision.
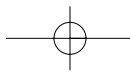
AgeLab, where Joseph Coughlin, a professor of engineering, and a team of colleagues and graduate students are testing and analyzing new technologies to improve life for the elderly. Although some of the research involves technology that can help the elderly drive more safely and possibly at an older age, much of the investigation relates to the home where such products as an in-home health center and a transit system that would allow people to schedule rides are being considered. Finally, the social design field should have a compendium of case studies such as AgeLab that document examples of relevant practice.

The combined research methods we have outlined are intended to explore questions that range from the broad social context within which designers work to the specifics of developing a product for a particular client system. The scope of research for social design includes public and agency perceptions of designers, the economics of social interventions, the value of design in improving the lives of underserved populations, a taxonomy of new product typologies, the economics of manufacturing socially responsible products, and the way that such products and services are received by populations in need. Until now, the social interventions of designers have been hit-or-miss, with few successes to point the way towards social support for more of the same.

The Education of Social Designers

Design skills cut across all situations, but skills in relating to vulnerable or marginalized populations rather than to a brief from a manufacturer need to be developed by future social designers. Students of social design will have to learn more about social needs and how they are currently addressed by helping professionals. They might do an internship with a clinical team in a psychiatric hospital, a community agency, or a residential facility for the elderly. They would also need a stronger background in sociology, psychology, and public policy. As far as we are aware, no university programs specifically train social designers. We can, however, cite as a good beginning the one-year certificate program of Archeworks, a private educational institution in Chicago, founded in 1994 by Stanley Tigerman and Eva L. Maddox, that is dedicated to advancing a socially responsible design agenda. Each year, Archeworks introduces a small interdisciplinary group of students with varied intellectual backgrounds to a process of social design that has resulted in a number of projects and studies including a device for people with Alzheimer's Disease to facilitate their getting into an automobile, a head-pointer designed for people with cerebral palsy, and a new model office environment for the Illinois Department of Human Services. In most cases, projects have been conducted in collaboration with social service organizations or agencies, and many have been funded by grants from public and private sources.[14]

14 *Archeworks: An Alternative Design School, 2002/200.* (Chicago: Archeworks, n.d.). For an overview of Archeworks, see the school's website www.archeworks.org.
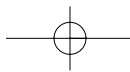
Conclusion

Our purpose has been to describe a new "social model" of design practice and to suggest a research agenda through which important questions related to the emergence of such a practice can be addressed. A "social model" of design practice is needed more than ever, and we are hopeful that concerned designers, design researchers, helping professionals, and design educators will find ways to bring it about.
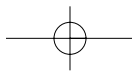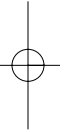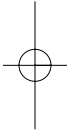
Massin in Continuo: A Dictionary
Interview with Robert Massin
Laetitia Wolff

The consultancy of Laetitia Wolf, futureflair, and the Cultural Services of the French Embassy will coordinate the tour of the exhibition throughout the United States during 2002–2003.

Massin: A Dictionary in Continuo: Traveling Exhibition Itinerary (Curated by Laetitia Wolff). The exhibit was originally produced at the Cooper Union School of Art, Herb Lubalin Study Center, New York, December 17, 2001–March 2, 2002.

Conversation between Massin and Milton Glaser moderated by curator Laetitia Wolff
Spring 2002
Los Angeles, UCLA Media Arts Department
April 12–May 3, 2002
Exhibit tour organized Friday, April 12, in presence of the curator.

Fall 2002
MassArt, Boston
October 2–November 1, 2002
Conference with Massin:
Wednesday, October 2, 2002
Conversation between Massin and Laetitia Wolff

UQAM, Montreal, Design Center
November 6–December 15, 2002
Lecture with Massin: November 7, 2002

Winter 2003
Maryland University, Baltimore
Albin O. Kuhn Library Gallery at UMBC
January 28–March 2, 2003
Conference TBA.

Spring 2003
Minneapolis College of Art & Design

**An Introduction:** *Massin in Continuo: A Dictionary*
Massin is unclassifiable. Over the past fifty years, he has created unprecedented bonds between writing and design, between letter and image. Certainly, it is the work of a designer and art director that we are looking at today. But what makes Massin so unique is his ability to endlessly reflect on the very nature of French culture: the culture of the written word. Massin likes to recall that at age four and before he could recite the alphabet, his father, a stone engraver, taught him how to write his name on a soft stone.

Massin, the unclassifiable free thinker. Not a mere dabbler, but rather a passionate amateur who has excelled in graphic design, art direction, book design, typographical experiments, fiction and memoir writing, photography, and musicology, as well as enlightening professional treatises on design. Clearly, a relentless enthusiasm has nourished the projects of this Renaissance man.

One touchstone ties all of these endeavors together: the book, which is the ultimate symbol of knowledge. The book: an object, a universe, which Massin has at length redefined by means of the letterform. He wrote about literature before even considering design. He edited and laid out a book club's newsletter and then designed thousands of its covers. He invented the term *art director* in book publishing before the position existed in France (Gallimard). He edited book series and redesigned major book publisher's logos (NRF, Laffont). He shattered the linear nature of the book by experimenting with *typographic interpretation (La Cantatrice Chauve)*, breaking the basic conventions of book layout.

Massin, the erudite designer, has crossed many boundaries, both of disciplines, of specialization—which he despised—and, again, boundaries of the letterform itself. Although not a type designer, Massin has interpreted typography and has even collected vernacular, hand-drawn alphabets. Not an illustrator, he has hired hundreds. Not a teacher nor a theorist, his encyclopedic knowledge and restless curiosity have often embarrassed scholars. Not a specialist, he has been the harbinger of a culture made accessible to all.

Although he never had followers, never taught (because he never received his baccalaureate), never ran a large studio, and never created nor participated in any movements, this free-spirited
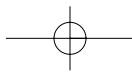
and compulsive creator is the unsung hero of an immense graphic heritage. Make way for Massin.

Originally written for *Massin in Continuo* exhibition:

> *J'aimais les peintures idiotes, dessus de portes, décors, toiles de saltimbanques, enseignes, enluminures populaires ; la littérature démodée, latin d'église, livres érotiques sans orthographe, romans de nos aïeules, contes de fées, petits livres de l'enfance, opéras vieux, refrains niais, rythmes naïfs.*
> Arthur Rimbaud

Through a series of pleasant circumstances, I met Massin about two and a half years ago via e-mail! At that point, I did not know that I had read one of his novels (*Les Compagnons de la Marjolaine*) and that I had studied literature reading pocket books he had designed for Gallimard Editions (Folio, Poésies, TEL). Nor did I know that I would discover an immense and inspiring talent behind this fragile, yet incredibly energetic man who can't stop designing at the young age of 76—including his now famous graphic interpretation of Eugène Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano*.

To tell the story truthfully, I must confess that it all started because of Mirko Ilić, the New York-based designer/illustrator who had been in touch with Massin in 2000 during the preparation of his book, *Genius Moves* (co-edited with Steven Heller). Mirko suggested that I contact Massin and curate an exhibit of his work, which was only known in America to a happy few specialists. Mirko's "punishment" for having me get involved in this colossal adventure was to design the exhibition announcement poster.

Two years later—after many trips to Paris, where Massin lives, and Chartres, where his archives are stored at the City Public Library; several visits near Etampes, where his second residence is located, and a daily correspondence with one of the most enlightened creative minds I have encountered, the exhibition *Massin in Continuo: A Dictionary* opened at Cooper Union's Herb Lubalin Study Center for Typography and Graphic Design, in December 2001.

The title for the exhibit (*Massin In Continuo: A Dictionary*) emerged as I was going through fifty years of his work, spanning graphic design, art direction, typographical experiments, fiction and memoirs writing, photography, and musicology, etc. I thought that the rather stiff but rational order of the alphabet, with which Massin had played and which he studied, could help me organize the enormous amount of information I had come across. A theme central to his career corresponds to each letter of the alphabet, which was then illustrated in the exhibition with material and interpretative texts.
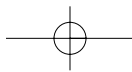
Figure 1 (above)
Massin exhibit poster by Mirko Ilić.
© Copyright 2002 Mirko Ilić.

Figures 2 and 3 (below)
Front and back views of the exhibit poster
when folded down to make a flip book.

This interview is based on several conversations with Massin over the past two years, during my trips to France and while going through the work we selected for the exhibition, as well as during the installation of the show in New York. Massin has an amazing memory and is fond of anecdotes. I tried to remember all of them and give a lively portrait of a lively graphic designer whose influence has been underplayed all these years.

LW: A recent exhibition of your photographs was held at the Chartres City Hall (November 2001, entitled, with a pun in reference to the Beauce region, "Qu'il est beau, ce"). The curators showed pictures of your childhood environment. Can you describe them?
Massin: This was the first time those photos were ever exhibited. I took most of them in the '50s, around the region I grew up in, a rural flat land where my family lived. They show my cousins at the farm, agricultural rituals, and the endless horizon which to this day still fascinates me. I was born [1925] in a little village called La Bourdinière on the Nationale #10 Paris-Bordeaux, the Paris-Bordeaux main road axis, 15 kilometers away from Marcel Proust's house in Illiers-Combray (my favorite writer). As we speak, I am reading *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu* for the fifth time.

LW: So your parents were both from the region?

Massin: My mother, Palmyre (born Foiret), was from the Beauce region [one of the richest agricultural areas of France], but my father, Henri, moved from the north after WWI. He had been wounded in 1916 and temporarily became a gym school professor—that's how he met my mother. Both of my parents had been married before they met, which was quite an exception at the time. I grew up the first son with three older stepsisters who spent most of their childhood in boarding schools.

LW: What were your parents' occupations?

Massin: My mother was a school teacher. I actually attended her classes. We used to live above the schoolhouse at La Bourdinière. Four or five years ago, I went back there because the house was for sale. What an emotion to see inscribed on the front wall near the gate "14 Juin 1940." This was written in memory of the bombing which happened that day. I remember it so vividly. We were getting out of school when the Germans bombed the area. There were six casualties; my father and aunt were wounded. I remember, we went to hide behind some trees in the field nearby. This was a very traumatic experience for a fourteen-year-old!

LW: What about your father?

Massin: My father became a stone engraver—an art he had inherited from his father whom he had stopped seeing, having cut all relations with his family. He would carve memorial monuments to the dead (quite a prosperous business in small towns after WWI and after WWII, believe me). I remember he used five or six different typefaces, he always paid attention to variation. He was my first inspiration. I often tell this anecdote, that when I was four, he gave me a chisel and a hammer (which I still own) and asked me to engrave my name, age, and address in a soft stone when I did not even know how to write. This remains in my imagination [as] a founding moment of my interest in letters and all graphic things.

LW: What else influenced your visual sense as a child?

Massin: My grandmother had a grocery shop in La Frileuse, including a fabric counter. I would spend hours in her shop looking at logos, lettering, packaging, liquor stickers, poster advertisements and enamel plaques (Bouillon Kub, Bibendum of Michelin, the red cherry of Bitter, the stork of La Potasse d'Alsace, the moon face of Crème Eclipse, to name a few). Since then, I found some of these popular images at flea markets and antique shops, and have bought some for myself and even published them in *L'ABC du Métier.* My culture was mainly popular, vernacular as they say. I remember especially this Calendar of La Poste hanging in the kitchen, 1927. We would look at the same image for an entire year.
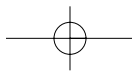
LW: Can you date your first true interest in graphic design?

Massin: Actually, I started pretty early. At seven, I knew what I wanted to be: an author. My father kept some of the booklets I made between age seven and twelve. I would write the story, do the layout, either mimicking newspaper tabloids, advertising layouts, or fiction books and sign them all "Robert Massin, Author, Editor, Publisher, Typographer, and Photographer."

LW: What kind of schooling did you receive?

Massin: I was sent to the Bonneval boarding school when I was eleven. It was a nonreligious institution, very strict, applying the harsh educational theories of Alain Chartier, using corporal punishment to maintain order amongst the "dunces" of Paris. For six years, I was raised with older boys, 15 kilometers away from home, which seemed awfully far. Last November, my boarding school invited me as an alumnus to make a book presentation of my memoirs, *Le Pensionnaire,* which tells about my six years spent there. Then I went to college in Chartres. To be honest, I was not a very good student, but I loved to read. I certainly read a lot of books that I'd find at my mother's school library. Preferably, I would pick the ones that were labeled "From the Académie Française." Those two words made me dream.

LW: Well, as a solace you were recently inducted into the Académie Royale of Belgium?

Massin: Yes, and I am very proud of that. [laugh} It is a great honor. I decided I would add it onto my business card. A ceremony will be organized in Brussels this fall (2002).

LW: So, since the beginning, you seem to have had a combined interest in letters, i.e., reading, writing, and designing letters. What was on your mind when you graduated from college?

Massin: To be honest, I am not even sure I received my baccalaureate, which is the reason why I actually never taught in France. Talk about the French system! I am completely self-taught as a designer. However, I had this idea of becoming a writer, and to do so I needed to "go up" to Paris as we say in France. I moved there in October 1944 and, thanks to my friend Jacques Ricaille, I started to work as the personal secretary to Tristan Bernard. This was, I thought, an open door into the literary world of Paris. Basically, my job consisted of running to Fauchon at La Madeleine to buy cookies for tea time, during which the usual suspects such as Sacha Guitry, Léon Blum, and Michel Simon would show up. Until 1946, I lived as an amateur poet, freelance writer, and editor of *Proximity*, a poetry review featuring poets such as Maurice Fombeure and Michel Crozier.
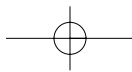
LW: Did you feel you had realized your dream of becoming a writer?

Massin: First of all, at that point, I was more an editor than an author. I was in my early '20s and felt like going places, notably as a freelance reporter for various publications (*Le Populaire, Gavroche,* and *Combat*). From 1946–1947, I traveled through England, Scandinavia, and Germany working at a variety of odd jobs. I would be washing dishes in a restaurant for weeks, and then trade a shirt for a camera, a Kodak 35, which I used to film the ship *Exodus* arriving in Hamburg for *Combat.* At some point, I took a boat to Finland. I was the only foreign correspondent in Helsinki. This was right after the war. It was pretty barren and desolate(d). I got caught in a Russian camp. They thought I was a spy and put me in jail for two days. Back to Copenhagen, via Stockholm. I wanted to meet Louis-Ferdinand Céline, the author of the *Voyage au bout de la nuit* who was still in exile. He was disgraced in France for his notorious anti-semitism. Following a three-hour interview, I exchanged a polite correspondence with Céline. My article was published in *La Rue,* a weekly that only printed thirteen issues, and to which Jean-Paul Sartre, Raymond Queneau, and Jacques Prévert had contributed.

LW: How did you move from such a lively, intrepid reporter's life to your first "real" job as a graphic designer?

Massin: In fact, I was hired as editor of *Liens,* the monthly newsletter of the Club Français du Livre. I only started to design in 1949, and executed my first book design for *Oeuvres* by Rimbaud. It was thanks to Robert Carlier, a dear friend who died last February, and who was the literary director before moving on to the Club du Meilleur Livre, and then to Gallimard. He took me along with him each time in each of his new positions. They needed someone to handle both the content and the layout of the newsletter. I wanted to give it the look of a newspaper. Needless to say, I learned from scratch, not having received any training in design. Fortunately, I had met this Italian typographer, Rossi, who gave me an accelerated class in typeface fundamentals. It felt like being with my father again.

Figure 4
Le Club du Meilleur Livre présente ses réalisations, poster, 1954 (translation: the Club of the Best Book presents its production).

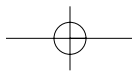All images courtesy of Massin archives.

LW: How did you ensure the transition from writing to designing and, soon after, to art directing?

Massin: I owe it to Pierre Faucheux, the artistic advisor of the Club du Meilleur Livre at the time, who taught me everything, before he moved on to the Club des Libraires. You see, after the war, book clubs were instrumental in spreading literary classics into French middle-class households because there were no bookstores left. The club produced four books a year for subscribers. These were pretty much limited editions. Faucheux had been one of the first designer / typographers to emphasize the importance of dynamic typography and documentary iconography on covers at a time when illustration had not yet been replaced by photography. For my first covers, I was asking myself, "What would Pierre Faucheux think?"

LW: What was a typical assignment at the clubs like?

Massin: There were about five clubs each with different names. We had so much freedom. We were true graphic acrobats, it was mad. The production was highly sophisticated with novelty and technical tricks, and out-of-the-ordinary printing techniques (die-cut pages for instance). We had a few weeks to design a book. Most were literature classics, so we sort of knew the story. My colleagues and I were fascinated by the new dimension brought to the surface of covers with inserted objects. We used surprising materials such as silk, velvet, burlap, mylar, acetate, wood, foil, cellophane, and butcher paper in order to create innovative surfaces and packaging treatments. The binding, endpapers, and cinematic unfolding of the pages were some of the many innovations we brought to book design. You have to imagine what most of the books were like at the time. There was no concept of book design *per se.* It was all done at the printer.

LW: What was your main influence as a self-taught book designer?

Massin: When I started to work in the late '40s-early '50s, the cultural references were essentially bookish. Matisse's *Jazz,* (1947) was quite revolutionary. But along the way, the influence of film and film titles became perceptible in my double-page spreads. I was fascinated by Saul Bass's movie titles for Hitchcock, which reached France a decade later. I remember also vividly discovering Tex Avery's cartoons one rainy weekend in London with my wife. I have spoken often about the cinematic quality of book design, revealing its narrative structure while constantly changing scale and rhythm, and alternating focal planes and perspective. Between the endpapers and the first signature, it was like creating a little flip-book within the book. It was quite common to have these elaborate introductory pages in the Clubs's books.

LW: What was the publishing industry like when you started in the late '50s?

Massin: In 1958, when I was hired away from the Club du Meilleur Livre and officially started at Gallimard, there was no graphics department, no art director, and no paste-up or in-house layout artist. Everything was still being done at the printer's. When the book clubs were founded in the early '50s, it was a late start for the French publishing industry. Their European counterparts had already worked extensively on covers. I told Gaston Gallimard: "If you give me carte blanche, I'll design the typographic charter (corporate identity program guidelines) for every single book collection published under your name."

I stayed at Gallimard more than twenty years. The profession of art director did not really exist until I arrived. It had been initiated by André Malraux in the '30s to some extent. But it is really with the post-war development of the popular book industry, in which Gallimard played a major role once they split from Hachette Diffusion, that we developed collections that were truly art directed, with a specific look, colors, logos, etc.

LW: What was your first true art direction project?

Massin: I had been mostly a designer at the clubs but, with the *Soleil* collection, I worked toward a simple, elegant, and homogeneous collection that bore its own identity. Although *Soleil* borrowed its format, hardcover binding, and acetate jackets from the clubs' tradition, its original concept relied on its minimalist, multicolor variance. *Soleil* was the expression of a renovated classicism, with its distinct tiny Didot typeface and interlettered titles. From 1957–77, three-hundred and fifty titles were printed in this series.
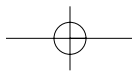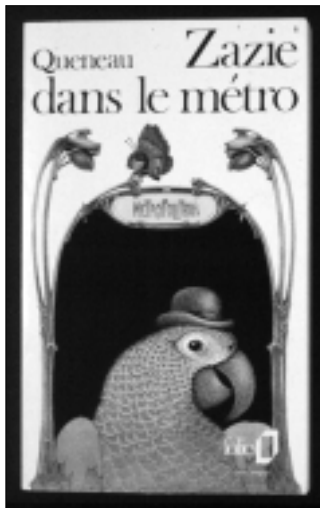
Figure 6 (a and b)
Folio Gallimard Collection 1972–1979.
Le procès, Kafka, 1972 *Zazie dans le metro,*
Queneau, 1972.

LW: How was the transition between the book clubs and your years at Gallimard?

Massin: The transition was smooth in a way, since Gallimard secretly owned the Club du Meilleur Livre, but the book clubs' success was short-lived. At their height in the early '50s, the clubs reached an audience of about 700,000 members. As soon as the distribution of the clubs's books reached bookstores, there was little reason for them to exist: graphic virtuosity was no longer the clubs' exclusive signature. Once the art direction department was set up at Gallimard, my mission was to "maintain, restore, and renew" the list of more than 10,000 titles in print at the time. The work at Gallimard, although very creative, was done within boundaries of consistency and rigor. I always tried to reinvent my position and give myself special projects that had, in a way, a similar freedom to the book club years.

LW: What would be a significant example of book design/art direction "within boundaries of consistency and rigor"?

Massin: Well, *Folio* Gallimard still is considered today one of the most famous pocket book collections, and you can still find them on the shelves of the FNACs (the French equivalent of Barnes & Noble), although today the covers are based less on original, commissioned illustrations than on stock photos. Until 1972, the NRF (La Nouvelle Revue Française, initial circle of Gallimard Editions) published literary masters such as André Gide, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Those titles were often reissued in cheaper Hachette pocket book editions (Hachette Diffusion was the distribution arm of Gallimard). In 1972, Gallimard and Hachette abruptly divorced. That same year, the *Folio* collection was launched as a response to the need for an independent, modern pocket book collection. I remember we had to design three-hundred layouts in less than six months. We decided on a white background, recognizable titles in Baskerville Old Face, and unique illustrations. The choice of a consistent, bright-white background was made possible only by advances in paper technology heralded by the introduction of Kromekote from Champion Papers. One of the major achievements we managed to impose on the sales force at Gallimard was the concept of a pocket book that could be kept, whereas most of them generally were lent, read, and disposed of—remember, the GIs during WWII were breaking the books into pieces. All in all, I art directed about 1,100 Folio covers, and hired more than two-hundred and fifty illustrators–among them Folon, André François, Etienne Delessert, Ronald Searle, and Roland Topor... I still have a few original drawings at home framed: *Rhinocéros* by Etienne Delessert, and *Crime and Punishment* by Tibor Csernus.
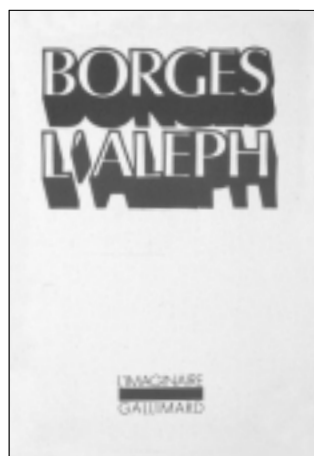
Figure 7 a and b (above)
Collection *L'Imaginaire,* Gallimard, first issued in 1977. *(Vice consul* by Marguerite Duras, and *L'aleph* by Luis Borges).

Figure 8
Cover design, for *Les Ténèbres* by Oleg Volkov, Editions J.C. Latès, 1987 (On the use of typography on covers).

LW: Were your design solutions mostly were based in typography rather than in the use of illustration?

Massin: It really depends. I always say that I am not an illustrator. I am not a type designer either, and I do not know how to draw for that matter. It did not prevent me from inventing type usage, or mixing images and type, or simply knowing how to use type. For instance, the *L'Imaginaire* collection is one of my favorite and most experimental designs at Gallimard. I used the metaphor of music variation more than once to describe it. The visual rhythm is set as follows: while the white background (a Gallimard signature) and the logo play as the continuous basses, the variation is in the color choice of the typefaces, which differ for each title. The differences between covers created the homogeneity of the collection. Along with *Folio,* this one also belongs among the classics of popular publishing.

LW: But if *L'Imaginaire's* solution is purely typographic, most of your work deals with that very relationship between image and letter, and not only as a designer but also as an author, correct?

Massin: Yes, to piggyback on the title of my own research, *Letter & Image* (Editions Gallimard, 1970). In this in-depth study of the subjective life of letterforms in Western cultures, my premise is that everything started with the image, in reference to the Grottos of Lascaux. Our alphabet is built upon this tradition of pictograms. Through a process of stylization and schematization, the image has become a symbol of what it referred to originally (as in hieroglyphs), always leaning toward more abstraction. What I am fascinated by is this relevance of the lost pictorial quality of the letter. I always try to keep this in mind when I design covers that include type. Look at my cover for *Mémoires de Chirico,* for instance, the perspective of the letters is a visual pun to the work of this surrealist artist.

LW: How did you proceed in collecting for this encyclopedic publication that, since its first publication in 1970, has become one of graphic designers' favorite reference books?

Massin: Well, it took me fifteen years of work, and I had to compile a bibliography that previously had not existed. It is an anthology of more than 1,000 pictorial symbols that includes everything from Apollinaire's *Calligrammes,* to medieval manuscript illuminations, Times Square billboards, and street graffiti to romantic grotesque alphabets. I always had a bias for popular culture lettering. As I mentioned earlier, I started to pick things up at antique shops and flea markets. This is actually how I came across, completely by chance, my own alphabet primer one day, at an antique dealer located near my country residence. Also, my wife was a compulsive flea market picker, obsessed with the year 1925 (my birth date!). Plus I always photograph signs, advertisements, and popular street

Figure 9
Alphabets, poster for an exhibition, 1986.
Organized Alphabets exhibition at the Musée-Galerie de la Seita, Paris held in conjunction with the Abécédaires exhibition at Centre Georges Pompidou. Massin: Editor and designer of accompanying joint catalogue *Alphabets/Abécédaires.*

signage, so I have been updating the editions of *Letter & Image* (now in its fourth edition, and there is even one edition in Serbo-Croatian and one in Korean which I discovered last year while I was in Seoul for *TypoJanchi*). [laugh]

LW: How does this relate to the freer work you did in the '60s using expressive typography?

Massin: Precisely because I do not know how to draw, I had to use fonts as they came and distort them; it is my way of drawing. It is all about "looking sideways," i.e., searching playfulness within the stiff system of the alphabet. I certainly did not invent expressive typography, but I brought it to a new level, in book length, almost making a new medium out of it. In contrast with my full-time job at Gallimard, which implied a certain restriction, my experimental type work was a recess, a release, by breaking graphic and book rules. The interesting thing is that I was, however, able to do it at Gallimard (although no one really believed in my graphic interpretation of Ionesco's *Cantatrice Chauve* when it came out in 1964).


Figure 10 (above)
Memoires de Chirico, La Table Ronde, 1965.
(on the use of typography on covers.)

Figure 11 (right)
Musiques au Louvre, Musées Nationaux, 1994 (book design + cover).
On the use of typography on covers: Massin likes to remind us of the difficulty he encountered in submitting this all type cover to the people at the Louvre, they were puzzled one could break the words into parts, have a cover with no image, the approval process was long and tedious.
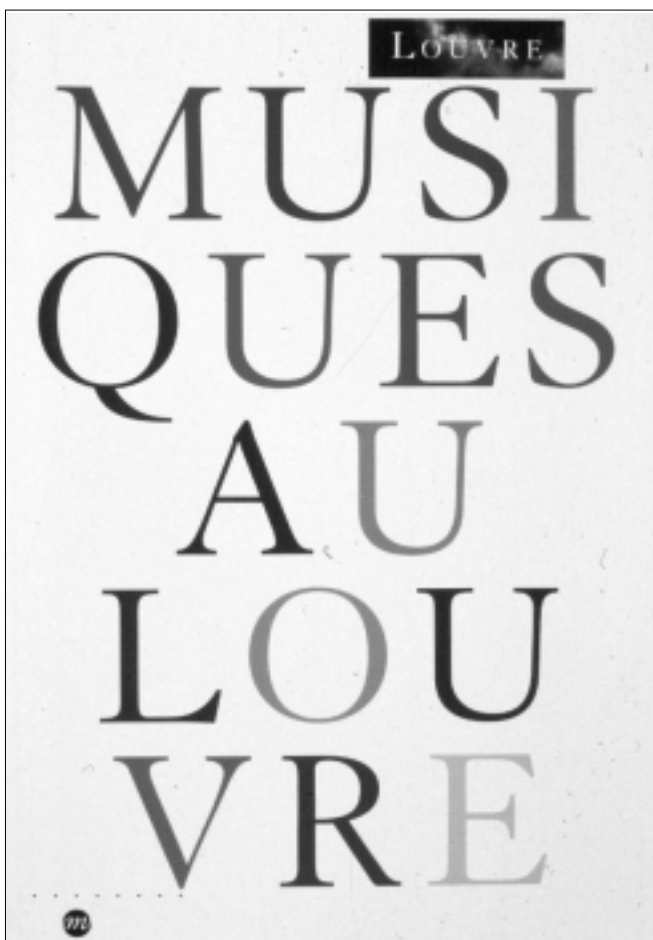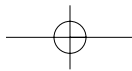
LW: What was your intent with the Cantatrice Chauve?

Massin: Using expressive typography was a means to offset my lack of drawing skills, and a way to combine my interest in performance art. This spectacular typography introduced the notion of stage time and space to the printed page. On each spread, I ordered a variety of characters (i.e., typefaces) which indicate varying intonations, volumes, strengths, and speaking traits, each corresponding to a different character (i.e., person).

I attended the play twenty times. I wanted to reproduce for the reader the experience of being in the theater. I recorded the play so that I could better reproduce not only the words, but the inflections, intonations, and pauses of the actors. The piece was inspired by Nicolas Bataille's direction of the play, as performed at the Huchette Theater in Paris's Quartier Latin, where it has been performed continuously since its creation in 1950.

LW: In what sense is it a photographic interpretation, and not only typographic?

Massin: Headshots of each character replace the standard repetition of names as the dialogue unfolds. I collaborated with photographer Henry Cohen, who shot the actors in their original costumes at Gallimard's headquarters and we used his photos transposed into high contrast black-and-white without halftones. This was necessitated by a limited budget and an aesthetic choice. For this exhibition, I dug out the old record featuring the actors at the Huchette Theater, those who were actually photographed for my book. At the Huchette, where Ionesco's play still is performed every night, the children and grand children of the original cast carry on today.

Figure 12

Front cover, spine and back cover of *La Cantatrice Chauve,* by Eugene Ionesco, Editions Gallimard, 1964 for the French version. Henry Cohen, photographer.
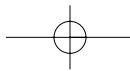

Figure 13–17

Various inside spreads of *La Cantatrice Chauve,* by Eugene Ionesco, Editions Gallimard, 1964.
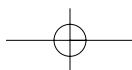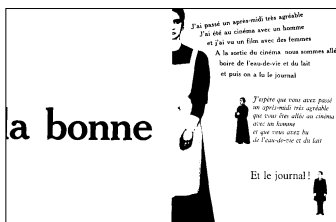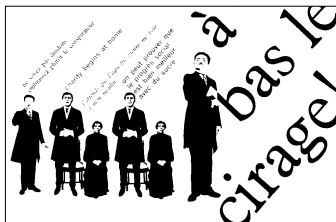
LW: What was the reaction of Eugène Ionesco?

Massin: In fact, *The Bald Soprano's* revolutionary dramatic format received a cold reception in Paris during its first years of performance at La Huchette. It was only after the Theater of the Absurd gained support from other literary radicals, such as Samuel Beckett, Jean Tardieu, and Alfred Jarry that *The Bald Saprono* became a classic absurdist anti-play. My version was created with the blessings of Ionesco. Although I removed all punctuation with his permission, he only asked me to respect rhythm. One of his favorite moments was my forty-eight pages (out of the total of 192), which corresponded to two minutes of stage performance, and that were designed to evoke the daunting presence of silence. A perfect example of a Bergsonian distortion of time.

LW: How did this piece relate to the cultural and design context of the time?

Massin: It did not. My type experimentation was clearly a reaction to the overwhelming German-Swiss school, with predominant personalities such as Hollenstein, a Swiss professor of design based in Paris and Frutiger who were very influential in Paris in the '60s, in the art and schooling system, and in the press (e.g., *Graphis*). By imposing a binary, systemic practice (pre-computer era), I think they too often misinterpreted the true Bauhaus message. My work is set against a one-way graphic design vocabulary—some pages in the *The Bald Saprano* actually make fun of the narrow, stiff typefaces. (See the page when a character has a cold).

LW: Would this experiment have been possible without the complicity of the literary masters?

Massin: It is true that the writers whose texts I worked with—i.e. Eugène Ionesco, Jean Tardieu, and Raymond Queneau to name a few—are playwrights who essentially explore language's limits, playing on words and miscommunication. I shared with these authors a common territory between language and image, written and spoken words. What was particularly interesting in my collaboration with Queneau though was that he is the one who asked for my help for *Cent Mille Milliards de Poèmes* (1961). It was a very different angle than my approaching Ionesco for *The Bald Saprono.* Set in the spirit of the exquisite corpses, *Cent Mille Milliards de Poèmes* is an interactive piece that predates the computer era in its form. Ten short poems made of fourteen verses each are cut into interchangeable strips. The design gave the text an entirely new meaning. It was also quite interesting to see the actual interactive adaptation of the *Cent Mille Milliards de Poèmes*, designed for the exhibit *Massin in Continuo* by Manny Tan. The digital version emphasized the notion of hypertext and the innovation of the Queneau piece at that time.

Figure 18

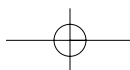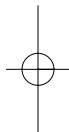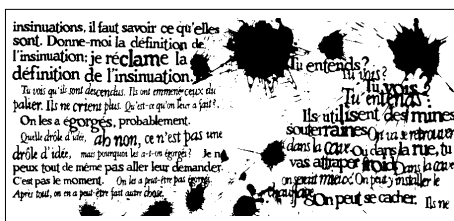*Délire à deux* by Eugène Ionesco, Gallimard, 1966.

Figure 19
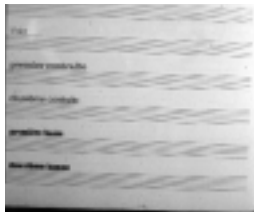*Les Mariés de la tour Eiffel* by Jean Cocteau, Hoëbeke, 1994—typographic interpretation.

Figure 20
*Conversation—sinfonietta* by Jean Tardieu, (2 copies), Gallimard, 1966.

Figure 21
TNS, Théâtre National de Strasbourg, 1994 poster and logo design, inspired by Cassandre's 1927 Bifur typeface.

LW: How different is your graphic experiment with musical scores, such as Edith Piaf's song "La Foule" (1966), or most recently Schoenberg's "Pierrot Lunaire" (2001)?

Massin: The intent is not so different. It is always about transcribing visually the intonations of the voice. The main difference between those two pieces, thirty-five years apart, is the techniques I used to convey the expressivity of sound into animated type. For *La Foule,* I had to look for a printing technique that would allow me to stretch and distort the letters. I tried first with rubber undersheets but they were too thick to hold and would tear. It worked with condoms (I had to go several times to the pharmacy to buy some—imagine the face of the pharmacist!), which were flexible enough to be pinned on a flat surface distorted, and then photographed. Again this was done before the computer era whereas the Pierrot was completely developed using Photoshop/Illustrator.

LW: Over the years, how have you combined your various activities, for instance your role as an editor/writer?

Massin: Well, as I said earlier, I always had an interest in writing and a natural aptitude for it, which increased with my frequenting Gallimard writers. I suppose my designing books also emphasized my interpreting other people's writing, although I must say it is quite rare that I actually read the book whose cover I design. I have tried to continue working on a few personal projects involving the writing/editing on authors I admire. For instance I made this unique cork-bound book of Marcel Proust's correspondence. It presents a selection of my favorite passages from the *Recherche du Temps Perdu* with annotations, footnotes, iconography and excerpts from his correspondence in sidebars. I've been reading Proust for the fifth time now, so this book was my personal homage to him. Recently some scholars from the Sorbonne asked me to lend them the piece for a colloquium. I was flattered but the book was still on
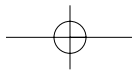
display at Cooper Union. In a way, it is very similar to what I did at Hachette in 1980–82, when I founded the collection entitled *Massin/Atelier Hachette.* For each, I orchestrated the project entirely: conceived, edited, designed, photo researched, and selected the iconography for the eight titles printed. *The Shoe, The Glasses*, etc., were perfect examples of image-based manifesto of popular culture, socio-cultural studies borne out of the annales of the new history.

LW: Are you currently writing a book that would add to the existing list of your memoirs, fiction novels, essays, etc.?
Massin: I have always tried to alternate personal memoirs with essays. The last one was *Style et écriture* in 2001, Variations, on the interactions of the arts in general—a topic which is dear to my heart.

LW: Is there something you have not done or designed that you would like to do/design?
Massin: I had dreamt of going to the desert and I did, two years ago and this January, I spent two weeks in the Sahara. It was mind-blowing. I took lots of photos. I am still working on the Pierrot Lunaire project, finalizing the typeface, which remains a problem for which I have not found the solution.

Otherwise, I am also working on a new children's tale. It might be translated in English...I am preparing as well a big book about the notion of curiosity, based on my own collection, probably not a publishable project! [Laughter]
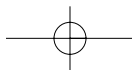
Bodoni Meets Franklin
Chris Vermaas

She would see him after work. She really wanted to meet him after all those years. Right on time she showed up at the spot they had decided on, and there he was.

MR. GOTHIC? she asked.

YES, AND YOU'RE BODONI? replied the big man without serifs. IT'S SO GOOD TO MEET YOU FINALLY.

CALL ME FRANKLIN said the gothic.

THANKS, I KNEW IT, YOU'RE MY KIND OF GUY. **WHY?** he asked.

WELL, YOU KNOW, YOU HAVE THAT STRAIGHT-FORWARDNESS WE DON'T HAVE.

EXCUSE ME? replied Franklin.

I MEAN THAT NORTH AMERICAN DIRECTNESS, IT'S SO TYPICAL, she replied.

UMM YOUR BUILD, FOR EXAMPLE, IT TELLS ME ABOUT THAT UTILITARIAN she continues, APPROACH YOU HAVE IN YOUR COUNTRY, SOLVING PROBLEMS, DEALING WITH THE SCALE OF THAT VAST SPACE. LOOK AT THE TALL SKYSCRAPERS, THE LONG BRIDGES, THE LARGE PRINT RUNS. REALLY, THE SIZES ARE DIFFERENT FROM WHERE I'M FROM.

YES, BUT WAIT, NO, THERE IS MORE, interrupting the sans serif. she says,

NO YOU WAIT, WE GOTHICS, THINK WE LACK GRACE AND SUBTLETY. WE JUST ENVY THAT

EUROPEAN THING, LIKE PRETTY FACES, ALTHOUGH SOME CALL IT STYLE. YES, THAT STUPID PRETTINESS, "OLD OR NEW STYLE", OR WHATEVER. I KNOW IT DOESN'T WORK ALL THE TIME. SO OFTEN IT'S ONLY ANNOYING INTELLECTUAL OR THAT POINTLESS ARTINESS. REALLY FRANKLIN, WHEN IT COMES DOWN TO THE BIG SERIOUS JOBS WE NEED TYPES LIKE YOU. **UMM, SURE?** YES, SURE. YOU AMERICANS ARE TOUGH, SO BASIC. AND THAT'S WHY I LIKE YOUR FACES. **OK, THANKS,** he sighed, **I DIDN'T REALLY SEE MYSELF IN SUCH A WAY BEFORE. HOWEVER, I MUST SAY I ADMIRE YOUR DELICATE LOOKS, YOUR DELICATE SERIFS. TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, THEY ARE ACTUALLY KIND OF EXCITING. I'D LIKE YOU TO KNOW THAT.** After a moment of silence, she replied, THAT'S NICE OF YOU, AND STRANGE, OUR APPRECIATIOIN FOR EACH OTHER, BUT NOT LIKING OURSELVES AT THE SAME TIME. SHALL WE CALL IT OUR "TRANS ATLANTIC MISUNDERSTANDING"? **YES, BODONI. YES, MAYBE.**

For some more time both typfaces hung around, talked about their work, and after that, they each went their way. Bodoni, had to look good for a fashion shoot the next day. Franklin, for his part, had to get up early to do heading for some scary front page news. Great character, both.

Document

Introduction to Enzo Paci's Presentation at the 10th Triennial
Giovanni Anceschi

Translated by John Cullars

"Relation" and "experience" are two words that we hear all the time today. They are key notions belonging to those working in the most up-to-date design activity (Web site design as well as maintenance design). I heard them for the first time fifty years ago while attending the university lectures of Enzo Paci. These are two expressions—as we well know-that have very much to do with our "wetwear" (that is, our bodies).

Similar to Per Aldo Rovatti,[1] who may be considered one of Paci's most eminent pupils and perhaps his intellectual heir, I too have a very vivid memory of how he made his own body the vehicle and the fulcrum for his lessons on Husserl's *Cartesian Meditations*, beginning with the theatrical entrance of the imposing figure of this man, with his Etruscan profile, into a crowded, expectant hall and ending with the infinite revolutions around a large ashtray: each movement accompanied by a descriptive, critical, unbiased, that is, phenomenological observation.

Enzo Paci (1911–1976) was born in the province of Ancona, completed his studies at Cuneo, and became a precocious reader of the neo-idealistic philosophers Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile, and of the ethico-political writings of Piero Gobetti. Enrolled in philosophy at the University of Pavia, he chose to transfer to Milan to take his degree with the prestigious professor Antonio Banfi.[2] A major scholar of Husserl, with an autonomous perspective that nonetheless privileged the speculative character of the *Logische Untersuchungen* [Logical Investigations] and *Ideen* [Ideas], Paci elaborated his own reflections on subjectivity, objectivity, and consciousness, especially beginning with *Cartesian Meditations* and *Crisis*, which brought him to a particularly harmonious attitude with Merleau-Ponty, on the one hand, and Sartre, on the other. Paci essentially interpreted phenomenology in exactly its *relational* sense, concentrating on the question of temporality, and situating it upon a horizon of the phenomenology of *experience.* Among his works after *Esistenzialismo e storicismo* [Existentialism and Historicism] of 1950 and *Il nulla e il problema dell'uomo* [Nothingness and the Problem of Man] of 1954, the originality of the essential *Tempo e relazione* [Time and Relations] (1954, revised 1965) should be pointed out. To this we add *Funzione delle scienze e significato dell'uomo* [The Function of the Sciences and the Meaning of Man] (1963) and also

1   Pier Aldo Rovatti, "Che fine farà il nostro corpo? La filosofia (ancora) non lo sa," *Télema* 9 (Summer 1997).

2   Antonio Banfi's pedagogy was an essential and innovative presence in the Italy and Milan of the 1930s. In a cultural climate marked by fascism, often drenched with provincial spiritualism and idealism, his reference to, among others, Husserl and Simmel and the concrete capacity to form an authentic philosophical school (aside from Enzo Paci, Luciano Anceschi, Remo Cantoni, Giulio Preti, etc.), and to attract a group of young intellectuals and artists (from the sculptor Lucio Fontana to the poet Vittorio Sereni), took on the value of an extraordinary turn of events and an opening. See, for example, a theoretical and militant text such as Antonio Banfi, "Per la vita dell'arte" in *Corrente di vita giovanile* 4 (February 1939); reprinted in *Vita dell'arte: Scritti di estetica e filosofia dell'arte* in *Opere* (Reggio Emilia: Istituto Antonio Banfi, 1988, vol. 5). For a vivid and detailed description of the context, see Isabella Amaduzzi, *Io sono uno scultore: Lucio Fontana nella Milano degli anni Trenta* (Milano: Guerini e Associati, 2001).
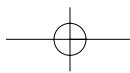
Relazioni e significati [Relations and Meanings] (1965) to conclude the course of his works with the perhaps neo-illuministic *Idee per una enciclopedia fenomenologica* [Ideas for a Phenomenological Encyclopedia] (1973).[3]

The Fabulous '50s were fifty years ago, which, in Milan, was the temporal background against which Enzo Paci delivered the lecture published here at the First International Conference on Industrial Design, October 28–30, 1954. Max Bill, Conrad Wachsmann, and Walter Dorwin Teague, among others, were invited to speak at this meeting. The meeting was proposed in the context of the 10th Triennale (1954). Its planning committee was composed of personalities representing speculative and critical culture such as Paci, the president of the group, and Giulio Carlo Argan but also Berto Morucchio; as well as representatives of industry and finance such as Ernesto Frua and Gino Martinoli; and obviously, exponents of design culture such as Marcello Nizzoli, Ernesto Rogers, Enrico Peresutti, and a very young Marco Zanuso. Reflecting an atmosphere of discovery and diffuse socio-cultural innovation, the meeting pivoted precisely on the design and industrial production of utility objects. In other words, Italian industry and the productive culture of Lombard furniture designers, who had begun to collaborate with Milanese architects, joined with the international *design* tradition. They took as their own certain principles of aesthetic quality and functional efficiency, whose institution in the Italian design prize Compasso d'oro [Golden Compass] was the most public manifestation (still in the framework of the 10th Triennale).[4]

In general, the cultural climate of Milan was the optimistic one of the second phase of postwar Italy: the so-called reconstruction. This was the period that saw an energetic reactivation of productive structures and of forms of political and social organization. The cultural life of Milan, the propulsive center of industry and publishing as well—which was truly extremely lively—as two such "provincials" of that time, the Piedmontese Umberto Eco and the Sicilian Mario Spinella-was particularly characterized by an attitude and by a life style that was extremely open and hospitable, and by a period that was extremely multidisciplinary and enamored of cultural hybridization and cross-fertilization. At the mythical Bar Jamaica in Brera, as in the most exclusive salons, the future movie star Mariangela Melato would sit next to the proto-cybernetics scientist Silvio Ceccato, the ultra avant-garde painter Piero Manzoni next to the experimental writer Germano Lombardi, the journalist Paolo Murialdi next to the musicologist Roberto Leydi, the graphic designer Max Huber next to the model Fleur Jeggy, the architect Vittorio Gregotti next to the electronic poet Nanni Balestrini, and the silversmith next to the mime, the industrialist next to the philosopher. The philosophical figure of Enzo Paci was very much present in this panorama. His activity was completely disposed toward the de-provincialism and the criticism of culture. His efforts tended to

3 For an in-depth study of Paci's character and works, see Amedeo Vigorelli, *L'esistenzialismo positivo di Enzo Paci, (1929–50)* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 1987) and Alfredo Civita, *Bibliografia degli scritti di Enzo Paci* (Florence: la Nuova Italia, 1983) and, particularly, *aut aut*, 214–215 (July-October, 1986), including a biographical and bibliographical form.

4 See Anty Pansera, *Storia e cronaca della Triennale* (Milan: Longanesi, 1970).
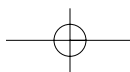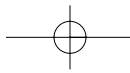
attribute the accomplishment of the function, constantly renewed, of juxtaposing ever more strictly and judiciously the most distant areas of knowledge and cultural activity to philosophy and relational thought.

But we cannot present an image of Paci without speaking of what doubtless was his most agile surveying instrument, of interconnection and intervention in the world of cultural and creative activity: the journal *aut aut* [either...or] whose fiftieth anniversary occurs this very year. Regarding his theoretical and cultural interventions, we may refer to the heading that Paci himself tenaciously championed, "The Sense of the Words,"[5] which concerned his presentations and critical remarks, always anticipatory and against the current, on positions and productions emerging from national and international culture. Let's allow Gillo Dorles, who was the sole editor of *aut aui*[6] to draw up a long list of intellectuals and thinkers invited to participate that went "from Paul Ricoeur to Giuseppe Semerari, from Charles Morris to Adriano Buzzati-Traverso, from Luciano Anceschi to Ludovico Geymonat, from Ernesto Grassi to Ernesto de Martino" and then "Luigi Dallapiccola, Niccolò Castiglioni and Luigi Rognoni" in music, "Herbert Read, Ernst Gombrich, and Max Bense" for art history, and many others.

The sign of a deep scientific curiosity that rebels against "analytical, neo-positivist, scientific, and methodological tendencies" is manifested in a little essay on design that cites Pierce's tripartite division of linguistics (semantics, syntax, and pragmatics), but it is not an episodic fact: from the very first number of *aut aut*, the heading "Methodology and Analysis of Language" would be upheld by Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, Charles Morris's pupil.[7] These tendencies, as Paci would say at a later time, are only resisted when we aspire "not only to establish a method in philosophy but to condemn philosophy in the name of technicalities and the treating as absolutes of 'particular' problems."[8]

5   See Enzo Paci, *Il senso delle parole*, Pier Aldo Rovatti, ed., (Milan: Bompiani, 1987).

6   Gilles Dorfles, "Aut-Aut, idee controcorrente," *Corriere della sera,* (Wednesday, November 28, 2001).

7   See the reprint of the first number of *aut aut* in *Cinquant'anni di aut aut,* (September-December 2001, Commemorative Number).

8   Enzo Paci, "Aspetti di una problematica filosofica," *aut aut* 55 (January 1960).
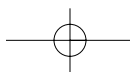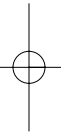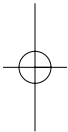
Presentation at the 10th Triennial
Enzo Paci

1   This fundamental division of semiotics is universally adapted by linguists. Now, given that architecture and industrial design, can be structured as languages, this division may be usefully applied to this activity. (The demonstration of the linguistic structural properties of industrial design, however, has yet to be given correct philosophical formulation, and studies in the area are still in their initial stages.)

This is clearly shown, for instance, by the fact that it is futile to discuss which of the following objects is the better of the three: the one that works best, the one that is most beautiful, or the one that is the least expensive. These exist on three distinct semiotic levels: the first semantic, the second syntactic, and the third pragmatic. They cannot be compared or confused. Each linguistic analysis is valid only in the semiotic field in which it was carried out.
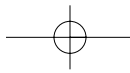
With regard to philosophy and language, based on the reports that I heard yesterday and today, I have some reflections that I'm tempted to pass on.

In the contemporary philosophy of language, we can distinguish three dimensions. We call these three dimensions—semantics, syntax, and pragmatics.[1] In general, by "semantics," we mean the relationship between expression, discourse, style, and the object. In the particular case of industrial design, this relationship is extremely complex in the sense that the object is a fabrication, a construction; thus it isn't a question, as with words, of the correspondence between the word "table" and the object-table, but of the correspondence between the word "table" with the entire process of production of what we, at a certain moment, designate as a table. Regarding "syntax," it is a question of the connection between expressive elements and expressive forms, which creates a relationship between a function and a material; this connection no longer considers the relationship initially established between a form (once viewed as a simple element) and an object, but considers the multiplication of those forms. Then there is "pragmatics." (My philosopher friends have a mania for classifying all those things that they can't manage to place under "semantics" and "syntax" under the word "pragmatics.") Pragmatics concerns the relationship between the object and society and humanity in general. Now I wish to point out two facts: the first is extremely philosophical. Seeing what happens here, I've observed that the distinction is fundamentally logical, but also is very abstract. We can truly differentiate the material from the function. The first attitude taken by the designer is that of syntax, that is, style, form, and relationship with society. Thus, we can distinguish that which is a desired expressive construction from the elements that it possesses. One of the dangers that I feel arises from taking an initial attitude concerning production is that of designing formalistically, incorporating this initial attitude, and then saying that we've taken accounted for social relationships in this construction.

But this follows upon, and according to a predetermined form that makes me think that this relationship somehow is instilled in the process. For example, I've had the opportunity to observe that one attitude that has been superseded is that of disguising the appearance of the mechanical components to hide its mechanical nature. We should not have any illusions that this attitude is easily surmountable. Even today, it appears that what we do disguises it.

2   In this discourse, Paci, after having
    mentioned the fact that there can be
    three distinct analyses for each object
    produced by industrial design—the
    semantic, concerning its functionality;
    the syntactic, concerning the formal
    values among its components; and the
    pragmatic, concerning its commercial
    potential for distribution—makes an
    energetic demand for the substantial
    unity of expressive form, and for the
    artist's ability to synthesize, connect, and
    unify these three aspects of the object.

    The criticism of an object isn't
    completed by a semiotic analysis of its
    language, but rather by an examination
    of the creative process of producing the
    object, which goes from the study of the
    artist's personality to "knowing how to
    see" the way in which the artist has
    moved gradually through the three
    aspects of the object with continuity and
    coherence.

    Positivistic culture, to which we owe
    the analysis of language, and
    idealist/spiritual culture, to which we
    owe this trial vision of the work of art as
    the creative construction of the artist, are
    not opposed but integrated. The first
    analysis is necessary so that the second
    does not remain in the pure limbo of the
   world of ideals.

3   Essentially, paraphrasing the Bauhaus,
    we can sum up Paci's concept by saying:
    *the function tells us what we have to do,
    but not entirely or precisely.* Or more
    accurately, the function determines the
    field in which the designer must operate,
    but the choice of approach is extra-func-
    tional; it is aesthetic, economic, etc. The
    choice of the relationships between the
    various "post-functional" components is
    precisely the characteristic of the
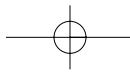   designer's work.

    So the problem of the form/function
    relationship is not as simple as it seemed
    in the happy days of the Bauhaus. The
    form that is perfect because it is
    perfectly functional thus is an illusion;
    but from time to time, from condition to
    condition, we have objects that are *all
    equally functional* but have different
    qualitative values.

But how do we disguise its mechanical nature? We give it an appearance that corresponds to function, on the one hand, and to the user's taste on the other. And what is that taste? A streamlined taste; thus we see coffee makers streamlined so that they don't correspond to their function, but rather to society's tastes. Should we accept this? Should the artist be concerned with this question? Should the artist reconcile his or her own tastes with this? So, in making this analysis, we see that the artist's function is not only a fusion of semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic elements, but also the expression in these forms of something more in us that, using Max Bill's formulation, we call "the aspiration of humankind." [2]

I wish to expand on this point a bit. The negative impression that industrial design makes on philosophers and artists—that sense of inadequacy regarding aesthetic productions—derives from the fact that there seem to be few possibilities for artistic choice in creating the industrial product. Yesterday, Mr. Teague brought to our attention the fact that the airplane always is beautiful in spite of itself because, unless it is extremely well designed, it won't fly at all. So since it is impossible to draw on a variety of forms in designing an airplane, we can't always come up with a beautiful form. All this is true; far be it from me to impose a beautiful form on an airplane that then wouldn't fly. As far as I'm concerned, there is something more to be said relating to this function. If we don't succeed in establishing this concept, we are saying that there must be just a strict correspondence of form to function, with no consideration given to the harmony of an existing society for which we are all struggling, whether we are constructing machines, creating form, or writing poetry. That is, if we don't posit something more than the mere correspondence, the homage to facts, then the aesthetic function must proclaim that there is no such societal component.[3]

I think that this attitude links up to information theory. Allow me a moment to clarify this concept of "information." It is a very complex concept that, in contemporary culture and philosophy, derives from rather strange origins: it may be said to derive from communications, such as broadcasting or telegraphic communications. We see that there is someone transmitting a message and someone receiving it. If we take away all the original meaning of this word "information" and cause it to pass through the different meanings that it can assume, for instance the relations between individuals using a language and the relations within a society, or relations between two different societies, we notice a quite interesting fact that remains constant: the <u>consumption of information</u>. An important thing is that, in creating a language, at a certain moment this language no longer means anything because we've worn out or exhausted it. We wear out language as we wear out all social relations as well as the forms that, at a given moment, we gave to certain industrial products. "We wear out" means that they not only
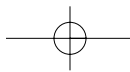
4   Regarding this concept of the consump-
tion of forms, see Gillo Dorfles's *Il
divenire delle arti. [The Future of the
Arts].* See also the next to last of these
essays, which states consumption is
extremely important for industrial design,
particularly for the distribution of various
forms of designed objects, much more so
than for architecture.

5   Paci views the designer's social function
under a broader and more original aspect
than we normally are accustomed to. The
designer isn't just the person who
creates objects for agreeable uses; other-
wise, the designer would be little more
than the "cosmetician" for industrial
production. But by renewing forms, the
designer's contribution conquers the
"linguistic wear and tear" of the object.
By opposing the using up of forms, the
designer struggles against the death of a
category of form through the use of a
process that is quite similar to that of
creation in nature, in which everything
dies and everything is reborn. Just as the
spoken language is a continuous becom-
ing contributed to by both poets and the
mass of those who use the language for
simple communication, so the language
of forms also is a continual becoming to
which both designers and those who
treat objects as simple tools contribute.

6   One more example of Paci's linguistic
precision: if the poet draws on the com-
ponents of the living language for his
own poetic language, he is not a mere
"recorder," for the linguistic foundation
(the *langue*) becomes the "parola" [word]
of the poetic work. It is loaded with
significant details, it is enriched, and it
acquires a new force. The poet writes to
establish a communication that is a step
higher than the level of everyday dis-
course. While remaining comprehensible
(otherwise there would be no communi-
cation), the poet "forces" the language
and depends on it to establish the direc-
tion of this exertion, which can be nega-
tive if the direction is mistaken.

Exactly the same thing happens with
the designer, who must be a step ahead
of society, not behind, otherwise, the
designer would be a pure stylist; but not
two steps ahead, which would interrupt
the communication process, and the de-
signer's work would amount to nothing.

go out of fashion, but that the forms are used up, just as we used up the materials that we used initially.[4]

Half our lives and half of our futures depend on the inventions of machines as substitutes for the materials that are wearing out. Think of the importance of a new form, a new mode of communication, a new language; think of the importance of the fact that, at a given moment, an object (that is, an industrial product used by human beings) has a relationship with other objects that society has yet to realize.

All this is entrusted to the artist's invention, or else the artist repeats himself; then the language and the form given to the product inevitably end up forfeiting any connection, any relation, and any meaning; or vice-versa, the artist invents and this invention of new forms, which are aesthetic but also possible new forms of life, fits the needs of consumption. So in speaking of the aesthetic relations of a form that are separate from its simple functionality, which represents not just artistic beauty, <u>but a possible beauty</u>, let's give this great achievement of the "renovation" of the language to the artist and to industrial design. Poets, confronting linguistic institutions, renew and create styles and new forms of communication. Were it not for such poets, the language of these things, <u>the Italian language</u>, would be exhausted and depleted: at a given moment, it would no longer say or mean anything at all.[5]

Now, says Bill, the artist's creation shouldn't reflect only him/herself. He or she expresses a new conclusion, a new communication, and new relations not yet realized, which are anticipated, even dreamed of, if we wish to use this word that is so ill-adapted to the production of industrial design. Again, design should provide new forms that function within society. Design must function, however, not only according to the tastes of the present society, but function precisely in terms of this invention, with the harmony that is conditioned by the machine but always is of such a nature as to be created by those whom we call artists. Thus, I defend invention, but equally, in a certain sense, I validate and recall the activities of contemporary humanistic studies because there is nothing new regarding aesthetics in the productions of industrial design. This must be our mission that we have as human beings: we must create new forms and new relationships. The industrial designer who conforms to society, who no longer seeks to be inventive but only to repeat himself, definitely is fated to deplete his abilities and energies.[6]
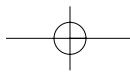
Nineteenth-Century Mexican Graphic Design:
The Case of Ignacio Cumplido
Marina Garone Gravier

Introduction

The study of the history of typography, beginning with its use in publications, is one of the most important research projects that historians and graphic designers can undertake in order to contribute to the body of knowledge and criticism concerning a country's publishing industry. For book lovers, viewing the printed page is confirmation of its being one of the most effective means of transmitting ideas, but questions as to the real nature of these marks, when they came into use, what publishing houses served as models and how the national industry arose often are insufficiently dealt with. Examining nineteenth-century Mexican typography will provide various elements of immense importance in answering these questions and consolidating a portion of the history of graphic design in Mexico. Due to lack of rigor or the appropriate methodology on the part of graphic designers, it has fallen upon historians and bibliophiles to relate this history—and their perspective has determined some of the observations made and conclusions drawn concerning the impact of these materials on the Mexican visual tradition. Therefore, I now propose to examine the work of Ignacio Cumplido, a printer who was emblematic of the nineteenth century, and pay particular attention to the typographic aspects of his production.

Mexico in the Nineteenth Century

Once the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule ended in Mexico, the new country's need for information provided a strong impetus for the circulation of a variety of printed materials, with the traditional medium of the book now accompanied by newspapers, pamphlets, and even budding commercial adjuncts such as posters and flyers. The political and cultural ferment resulting from Mexico's birth as an independent nation in 1821 stimulated the circulation of new ideas, and the appearance and progressive institutionalization of the various academies—both scientific and cultural—that took charge of the generation of local knowledge, Mexico's insertion into the modern world, and the population's interest in the events taking place elsewhere. In this context, we might mention the founding of the Institute of Sciences, Literature and the Arts in 1824 and the

National Museum a year later while, in 1857, the Industrial School of Arts and Crafts—the direct antecedent of the industrial design schools—came into being and resulted in the introduction of modern machinery into Mexico.[1] All of the latter was an inducement to open numerous print shops and produce all manner of graphic materials.

On the international scene, the increase in commerce resulting from the Industrial Revolution allowed Mexico to forge links with countries other than Spain. Although France, England, Germany, and the United States were Mexico's commercial and artistic reference points during the nineteenth century, it was in the realm of politics that foreign influence was most keenly felt. We must not forget that the nineteenth century witnessed the two most devastating invasions of Mexican soil: the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848 [2] that had, as its antecedent, the secession of Texas in 1837 and which resulted in the loss of the territories north of the Rio Grande; and the French intervention of 1865, preceded by the occupation of Veracruz by French, Spanish, and British troops in 1862. This foreign climate was prolonged until the beginning of the twentieth century, due both to prevailing tastes and to concessions granted to foreign concerns during the Porfirio Díaz regime.

The Publishing Industry and Typography in Nineteenth-Century Mexico

The development of publishing in nineteenth-century Mexico was influenced by various factors. Since freedom of the press was not guaranteed by law,[3] the risk involved often limited production. In addition, the physical conditions were inadequate due to the lack of basic materials such as movable type and paper. During the era of insurgency, many printers who also were political activists traveled the country with manual presses in order to nourish the ideological struggle with rudimentary manifestos and proclamations. The diminution of political convulsions allowed intellectual concerns to be channeled through a publishing industry of national scope; however, some decades would pass before quality improved significantly.

In any event, there were many printers in nineteenth-century Mexico, the most active of whom were Arévalo, who published the first Mexican edition of *Don Quixote in 1833; Díaz de León (1837–1903), famous for printing Joaquín García Icazbalceta's classic* Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI; García Torres (1811–1893), founder of the newspaper *El Monitor Republicano;* Lara (1800–1892), whose Spanish version of Saint-Pierre's *Paul and Virginia* made him Cumplido's major competitor, and who also printed the *Tratado de Paz entre México y Estados Unidos* in 1848, and the American typographer Sebring, responsible for introducing new methods of composition to Mexico's publishing industry.[4]

1   Óscar Salinas Flores, *La enseñanza del diseño industrial en México,* (Mexico: SEP-CONAEVA, 2001).

2   The War ended with the signature of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848.

3   The law guaranteeing freedom of the press was passed on November 12, 1820, but was revoked on May 31, 1834, by President Santa Anna.

4   More can be learned about all of the latter through the meticulous study dedicated to them by Enrique Fernández Ledesma, *Historia crítica de la tipografía de la Ciudad de México* (Mexico City: Palacio de Bellas Artes-SEP, 1935).
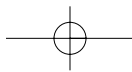
From a typographic perspective, the prevailing models at the beginning of the century continued to be those in the Spanish tradition, such as the editions of Ibarra, Sánchez, and those of the Imprenta Real Española—although, as a result of the enthusiasm for encyclopedias generated by the Enlightenment, the French tradition also made itself felt among Mexican printers who were able to view the work of Didot and Fournier the Younger. All of the aforementioned became the basis for eclectic tastes in type, iconography, and composition that combined Rococo and Victorian styles with those of the colonial era. It is evident that during the nineteenth century, Didot, Egyptian, and the new sans serifs (used in advertising) were much in vogue, complementing the traditional Roman type that had been used in the Americas since 1554.[5]

The Printer Ignacio Cumplido

Ignacio Cumplido, one of the first masters to develop his own style, had a considerable influence on other publishing houses. His work showed almost constant development throughout most of the nineteenth century. His production previously has been reviewed from a historiographic perspective, because of the role it played in the consolidation of the publishing industry, but no one has yet analyzed its design and typography in depth.[6]

Ignacio Cumplido y Marsto was born on May 20, 1811 in Guadalajara, Jalisco. He left for Mexico City at a young age, and began working as a printer around 1830, although other sources think 1835 may be more accurate.[7] His publishing activity encompassed a wide variety of printed material—from regular calendars and those containing the days of the saints to newspapers and magazines—and permitted him to establish close relations with political and cultural groups in the Mexican capital, since he was politically active. He gradually became famous for the quality of his work, some of which (as was the case with the newspaper *El Siglo XIX*) was circulated in various European and Latin American countries.

One of the factors responsible for the recognition that Cumplido received was his having been an agent of technological innovation in the Mexican publishing milieu. Concerned about maintaining the technical quality and typographical variety of his business, he made a number of trips to Europe and the U.S. to obtain typographical material and machinery. These trips enabled him to stay up to date on other cultural trends and methods of production.[8] Cumplido was one of the catalysts for both the introduction of the literary magazines common in European journalism of that era, and the translation and publication of diverse foreign writers.

In 1840, he became the first Mexican publisher to acquire a steam-driven press, also utilizing Stanhope-type flat iron presses and cylindrical French Sellingue presses that allowed him to print the color lithographs that were so characteristic of his work.

5   Marina Garone, Laura Esponda and David Kimura, "Gótico, letras y detalles" in *Dediseño* 33 (August-September 2001).

6   María Esther Pérez Salas, "Ignacio Cumplido: un empresario a cabalidad" and "Una empresa educativa y cultural de Ignacio Cumplido: El Museo Mexicano (1843-1846)," both in *Empresa y cultura en tinta y papel (1800-1860)* (Mexico City: Instituto Mora-UNAM, 2001), 145-156.

7   "On April 15, 1830, Master Cumplido paid 7000 pesos for the property, building, and equipment. Freedom of the press was declared on May 31, and Master Cumplido started his presses... ." Jaime Avilés, *Ignacio Cumplido; Un impresor del siglo XIX,* (Inst. Mora, Mexico: "El tiempo vuela" collection, 1998), 24.

8   The strict organization imposed by Cumplido in his print shop is described in *Reglamento provisional del establecimiento de Imprenta situado en la calle de los Rebeldes núm. 2,* 1843, and in *Cartas para los señores encargados en recibir y cobrar las suscripciones de los periódicos publicados en el establecimiento del que suscribe,* both mentioned by María Esther Pérez in "Ignacio Cumplido: un empresario... ".
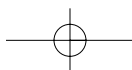
As for his iconography, Cumplido used European images with the signatures in his sample catalog (Bertrand, Lacoste *et fils,* Beuglet, and David, among others), indicating that he favored the French. His use of European-style vignettes may have been the result of his friendship with the French painter Etienne of Alesia, whom he met around 1834 and whose exuberant steel engravings graced Cumplido's first *Calendario de México.*

Ignacio Cumplido died in Mexico City on November 30, 1887 at the age of 76, leaving a wide range of published material in various genres as his legacy.

Cumplido's Publishing and Typography

As Fernández Ledesma said when referring to the third decade of the nineteenth century:

> The thirties increasingly display more security and style. Materials, "implements" and machinery for Mexico's presses are now being freely imported. A sense of artistic and technical responsibility is now increasingly manifesting itself, and the public is becoming aware that at the slightest availability of "paper" in the supply rooms, notebooks, books, calendars and all kinds of miscellaneous printed materials will appear; in sum, an artistic ethic is more and more in evidence.[9]

It was, of course, in this decade that Ignacio Cumplido began his career as a printer. The following is a brief recapitulation of the works he was responsible for publishing.

Among his early works are: *Catálogo,* a catalog of type and other materials necessary for printing (1836), *El Mosaico Mexicano* (1836), and the *Almanaque Portátil* (1838). In 1842, Cumplido issued an edition of *Don Quixote* featuring the fortuitous selection of a clearly legible Anglican Didot for the body of the text (a choice he would repeat in later works), the use of ornamental letters to begin chapters, paragraphs with the first word in capitals, and justified composition—all subtly framed and enhanced by a flyleaf. (fig. 1) The publication of Juan Bautista Morales's *El Gallo Pitagórico* in 1845 marked the beginning of his effusive use of frontispieces in widely varying styles—some geometrical, others floral or architectonic, but all clearly printed and enhanced by beautiful lithographs.

Presente Amistoso de las Señoritas Mexicanas, considered to be the best women's magazine of the mid-nineteenth century, appeared in 1847. He used a Didot for the text and special watercolor chromolithograph frames on every page. (fig. 2) In 1849, Cumplido published *Traslación a México de las Cenizas del Libertador* and *El Álbum Mexicano,* a romance magazine characterized by an eclectic typography drawn from the diversity of ornamental families, as well as by the use of lithographs with allegoric themes. (fig. 3) One of the last examples of Cumplido's graphics, *Hombres Ilustres Mexi-*

9   Enrique Fernández Ledesma, "*Historia crítica de la tipografía de la Ciudad de México,* 49.
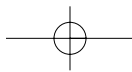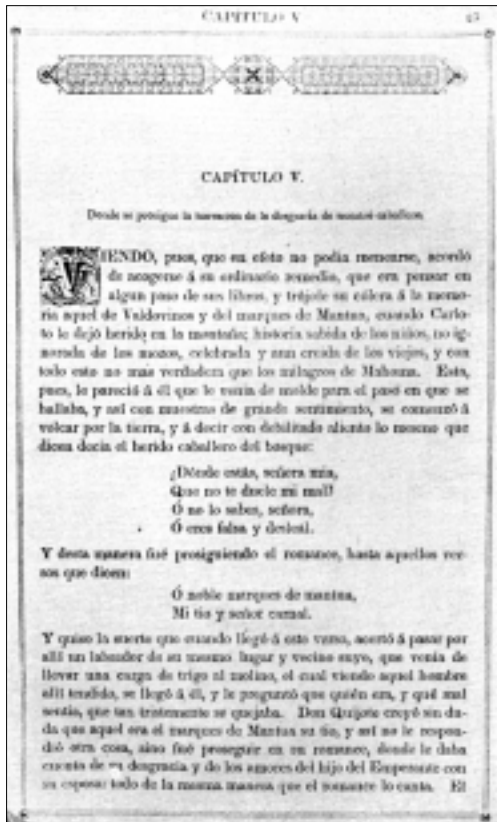
Figure 1 (Left)
Edition of *Don Quixote,* 1842
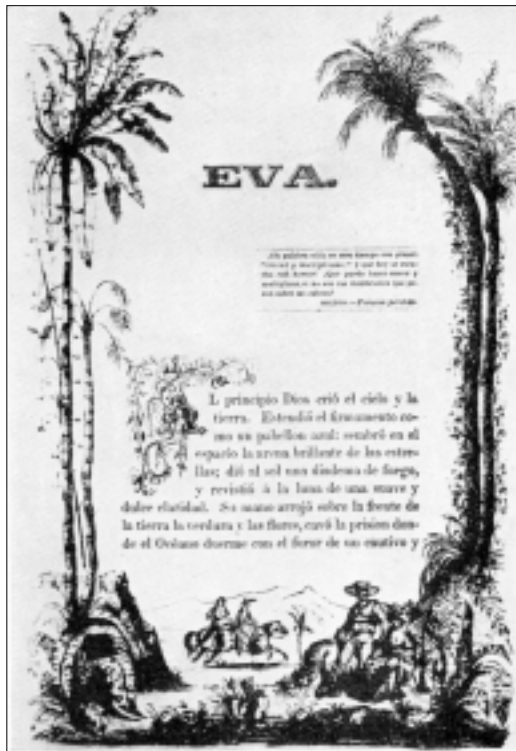
Figure 2 (Right)
*Presente Amistoso de las Señoritas
Mexicanas,* 1847

canos, was published in 1875: it was a minor work that to a certain extent is dissonant with his otherwise impeccable career in that the frontispiece is somewhat crude and the choice of type undistinguished.

1871 Sample Book

Sample books were one of the printers' most useful assets for informing potential clients of the graphic options available and for promoting their services. Early nineteenth-century Mexican printers utilized a wide range of these books, such as that published by Vincent Figgins in 1815, which contained a rough selection of "modern" types including tri-dimensional, shaded, and super-black; William Caslon IV's 1816 version featuring *sans serifs* (also known at the time as "grotesques"), and that of Thorowgood (1821) in which the designation "Egyptian" was used for the first time to describe boldfaced type.

Few nineteenth-century sample books have been preserved, given that they were used almost exclusively within the print shop and few copies were made. Although Cumplido had put together several previous catalogs, the one we will study is the 1871 edition (now part of the reserve collection of the Instituto José María Luis

Mora). In spite of not having an introduction or index, the following structure can be observed:

1 Models of type cases and formats for various publications
2 Distinct type families (with style and size variations) and other typographic elements.
3 A section of vignettes and miscellanies for text decoration. (figure 4)

First Section

This section contains the ordering of both roman and cursive upper and lower cases, which varies somewhat with respect to the traditional Spanish case organization.[10] There also is a display of paper formats using Spanish designations, i.e. folio, quarto, octavo, and sextodecimo. The formats chosen by Cumplido for the publication of his works coincide with those traditionally assigned according to theme.[11]

Second Section

In the second section, there are fifteen different typographic styles (both roman and cursive) for the composition of texts; 130 distinct types for the printing of announcements, posters, and both short

10   Jorge De Buen, *Manual de diseño editorial* (Mexico City: Santillana, 2000), 67.

11   José Martínez de Sousa mentions the following formats according to the type of publication: literary works:16° and 8°, scientific and studio: 8° and 4°, art, engineering, cartography, etc., 8°, 4° and folio. *Diccionario de tipografía y del libro* (Madrid: Paraninfo, 1995), 158.
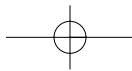
12 For more information concerning the criteria for type classification, see Marina Garone, Laura Esponda and David Chimera, "Tipos de remate. Notas sobre tipografía," *Dediseño 32* (Mexico, June-July 2001), 18-21.

13 Although, in this instance, the designation is used for a *sans serif*.

14 This designation first appeared in England in 1845. It was used in the catalog to refer by extension to square-finished type.

and ornamental texts, eight different models for drop caps—the majority of which have vegetable motifs—and large, wooden types.

The classification system employed by Cumplido for the presentation of typographic models in the catalog corresponds to their commercial uses, mixing both historical and stylistic descriptions.[12] He also combines type families with styles, and makes a subtle distinction between calligraphic and decorative type. The types cataloged are: roman (normal, condensed, extra-condensed, and extended), Egyptian (normal and extended),[13] Clarendon (normal and extended),[14] capillaries (referring to typefaces of greater height than width, and with a thin stem), fancy, decorative, gothic, secretaries, English script, garibaldi, notaries, and calligraphies. (figures 5–12).

Figure 5 (below left)
Roman (normal, condensed, extra-condensed, and extended)

Figure 6 (Right)
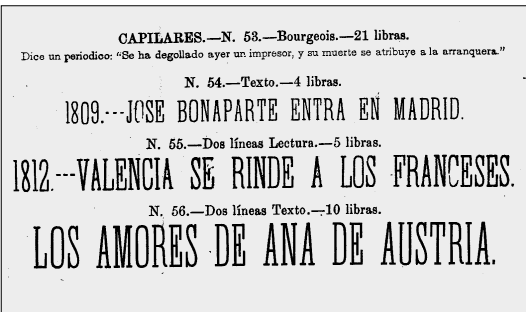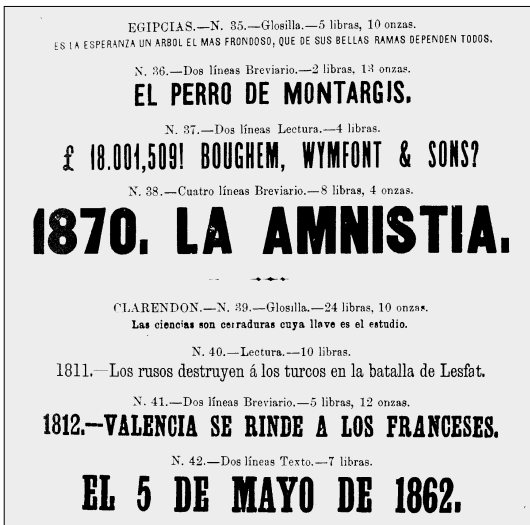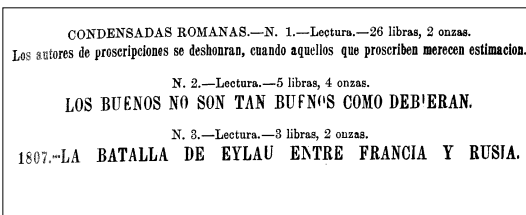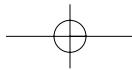Egyptian (normal and extended) and Clarendon (normal and extended)

Figure 7 (Left)
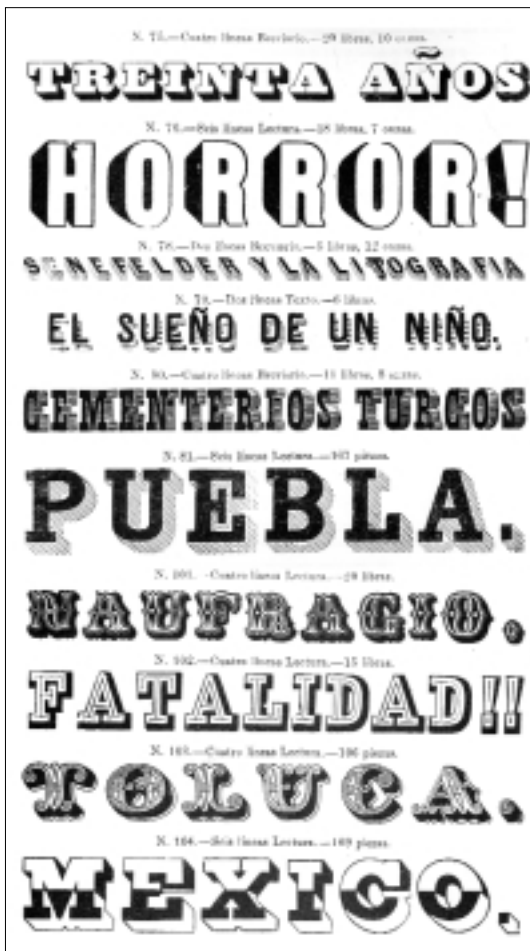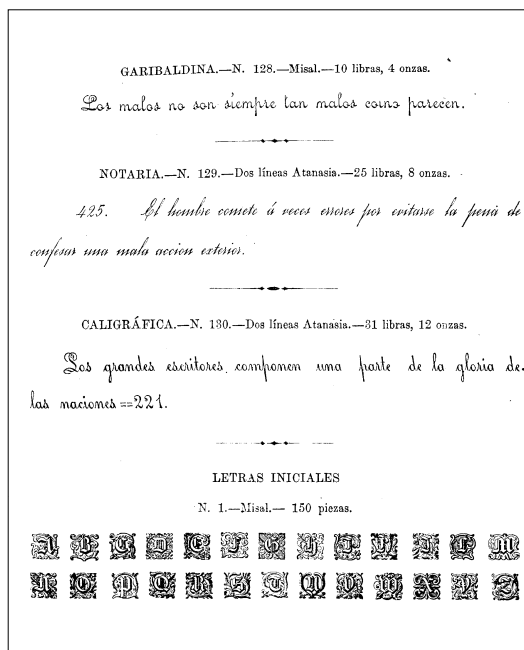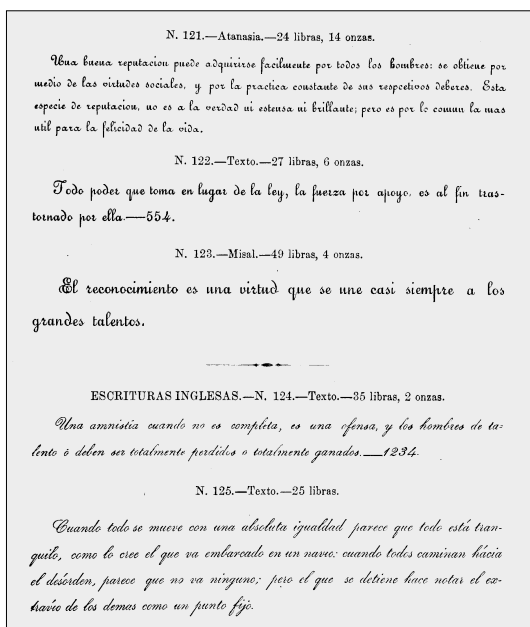Capillaries

Figure 8 (Right)
Fancy

Figure 9 (Left)
Decorative

Figure 10 (Below)
Gothic

Figure 11 (Below left)
Secretaries, and English script

Figure 12 (Below right)
Garibaldi, notaries, calligraphies and drop caps

PLANETAS.

El Sol.	Marte.	Palas.	Luna.
Mercurio.	Vesta.	Júpiter.	Cabeza de Dragon.
Vénus.	Juno.	Saturno.	Cola de Dragon.
La Tierra.	Céres.	Sidus.	Conjuncion.
	Oposicion.		

ALGEBRA.

Mas.	Mas ménos.	Menor que.	Progresion geom.
Ménos.	Multiplicado por.	Es á.	Progresion arit.
Igual.	Mayor que.	Como.	Radical.

GEOMETRICOS.

Paralelo.	Triángulo.	Círculo.	Minuto.
Perpendicular.	Rectángulo.	Lusange ó rombo.	Segundo.
Angulo.	Cuadrado.	Grado.	

Figure 13 (Left)
Series of conventional symbols and metallic flourishes

Figure 14 (Right)
Vignettes

As we can see, the majority of the ornamental characters are consonant with the popular tastes of the age, and the manner in which Cumplido combined them in his work reflects the tendencies of incipient nineteenth-century advertising design. Among the formal effects presented by the catalog's type families is that of volume, which was achieved through the use of shadows, the duplication of letters and perspectives, outlined type, and letters textured with geometric and vegetable motifs.

The nomenclature employed to designate type size generally conformed to European tradition, e.g., Perla (4 pt), Nomparela (6 pt), Entredos (10.5 pt), Breviario (more commonly known as "Cicero": 11 pt), and Misal (22 pt), to mention a few.[15] The family designations always are accompanied by an additional datum: either the weight of every product in the catalog in pounds or the number of existing pieces of each type in the print shop. This indicates that their registration and commercialization was done according to weight or unit, depending on the kind of type.

In this second section, we also find a series of conventional symbols used for making calendars such as those representing the Zodiac, the planets, and lunar phases, plus those employed in scientific work, e.g., algebraic, geometric, and medicinal symbols, and Greek and Hebrew characters. The catalog also contains a selection of fillets, tapered dashes, braces, and metallic flourishes that complemented both the composition of the texts themselves and the frontispieces and flyleaves that Cumplido frequently used. The romantic tastes of the age encouraged the combination of distinct typographic

15   Jorge De Buen, Jorge, *Manual de diseño editorial*, 127.

styles, and their integration with different ornamental elements, as well as the use of lithographic images for the covers and interiors of publications. (fig. 13)

Third Section

The third part of the catalog presents an ample range of vignettes (1,189, to be exact) covering the most diverse themes and necessities (permitting us to infer that Cumplido's clients had widely varying tastes). There are all kinds of allegorical images; a large selection of engravings with religious themes; depictions of crafts and professions, and scientific, technological, historic, and artistic illustrations, both abstract and figurative. As mentioned previously, these vignettes came primarily from France, and almost always were made of metal. (fig. 14)

Some General Conclusions

This description of Ignacio Cumplido's work gives us some idea of the prevailing cultural and creative environment in the Mexican graphic arts during the nineteenth century. Printers, committed to the cultural production of the young, independent country, were instrumental in the propagation of ideas, and their excellent graphic talents enhanced the consolidation of a visual identity nourished by a grand diversity of traditions—an identity still in full development.

Cumplido's publishing and use of typography demonstrated a modern spirit, blending visual and technological elements of European and American origin with the traditional Spanish canon, These elements, together with the themes and modifications contributed by Mexican artists and literati, resulted in a post-colonial graphic syncretism. His consistent output throughout almost the entire century, the manner in which he gradually incorporated new machinery (e.g., steam and rotary presses) and new types (as presented in his catalog), and his combination of text and image (especially around the early 1840s) all give us an excellent overview of nineteenth-century technological and stylistic changes.

I hope that this brief summary will serve to stimulate awareness of the work of those who had such a pronounced influence on nineteenth-century Mexican graphic arts.

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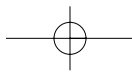
Arthur Rackham's Phrenological Landscape: In-betweens, Goblins, and Femmes Fatales
Leslie Atzmon

Introduction

In this essay, I will explore several of Rackham's fairy illustrations in J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906), in Edgar Allan Poe's book of short stories, *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* (1935), in the Germanic legend *The Ring Series* (1910), and in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* (1933). The illustrations, I will argue, are marked by the effects of late-nineteenth-century psychology. Late nineteenth-century psychology, venturing into the pseudosciences of phrenology and physiognomy as well as exploring notions of the unconscious, produced threatening images both of the grotesque and of enchanting beauty. Each area of psychology reflected and was influenced by the material of the other; each evidenced anxieties and habits of thought that characterized Victorian visual imagery. In this essay, I will address the impact of widespread cultural presumptions about the grotesque and the seductive on Arthur Rackham's fairy images. I also will explore the ways that the unconscious incorporation of anxiety-provoking natural stimuli-such as jagged shapes and forms resembling staring eyes—magnified the perception of threatening visual images in both Victorian physiognomy and in Rackham's fairy illustrations.

Fairy traits, behavior, and origins were serious and valid research subjects in nineteenth-century social science.[1] Fairies captivated the Victorians, who flocked to exhibits of fairy art and lavish productions of plays involving fairies. Rackham's believable but fantastic fairyland helped generate and sustain this fascination. Rackham's popular illustrations played an important role in creating the Victorian image of fairies, simultaneously disclosing hidden implications for the understanding of the Victorian psyche. In this essay, I also will discuss the ways in which Arthur Rackham's fairies manifest, in visual form, both phrenological precepts and Victorian notions of the fearsome animalism of the unconscious mind. Rackham's interpretive imagery gave visual form to such concerns, making an original and important contribution to late nineteenth-century culture.

Phrenology, the Unconscious, and Biological Threat Stimuli in Art

Founded by Franz Joseph Gall in the early part of the nineteenth century, phrenology was widely popular, although it got mixed support from the scientific community. The pseudoscience of phrenology—based on a particular version of faculty psychology in which the mind was shaped into distinct faculties that determine human behavior—proposes a materialist interpretation in which the mind is located corporeally in various organs (or sections) in the brain. These organs determine the character of those who possess them— the shape and proportions of the head preordain innate qualities.

Phrenologists also explored the faculties that animals share with humans. These primitive faculties include, among others: Philoprogenitiveness—the love of offspring; concentrativeness—the ability to focus on one object; combativeness—the tendency to self-protection and courage; destructiveness—the desire to meet and overcome obstacles; and secretiveness—the instinct to conceal unbecoming behavior and thoughts. These propensities are most relevant to this study of fairies—who were believed to be aboriginal in the best case, and animistic in the worst—since the propensities specifically target those attributes common to both humans and animals.[2] This group of faculties was well-known among British proponents of phrenology; their physical manifestations were clearly spelled out in phrenological guidelines.

Phrenology operates as a visual medium utilizing detailed anatomical drawings, charts, and diagrams (see fig. 1). Phrenological drawings exhibit the Victorian fascination with the contrast between the normal and the grotesque. These drawings associate positive and negative character traits with a variety of attractive and distasteful outward appearances, respectively.

Figure 1
"George Combe's Chart of Phrenological Organs"

Phrenology was believed to be a landscape of the mind that revealed the character within. In his book *The Human Body and Its Connexion with Man,* phrenologist James John Garth Wilkinson describes such a landscape as "inhabited by human natures in a thousand tents, all dwelling according to passions, faculties, and powers." [3] The brain's faculties are concretely linked to a specific visual domain—a panorama of "tents," each with its own complexion.

Rackham's illustrations depict physical types similar to those designated in phrenological charts and descriptions. His scenes are full of characters—amalgams of trees, animals, and humans—displaying various dispositions (see fig 7). The disagreeable qualities demonstrated by his fairies' physical features—for example, fierceness, greed, evil, seductiveness, and callousness—correlate with negative phrenological designations that hint at the beast within the unconscious mind.

Late nineteenth-century notions of the unconscious intermingled with and modified associationist philosophy, which proposed that the mind links ideas in chains of associations, and phrenology, which located psychological traits in areas of the brain. Psychologists pondered connections between conscious thought and unconscious thought. Victorian psychologists were fascinated by the boundaries between the normal and abnormal, which they compared to the border between the conscious, rational mind and the unconscious mind. The unconscious mind, considered an out-of-control beast which could "come out" under the right circumstances, thus took on a sinister quality. [4] The emergence of the hidden beast within was a familiar theme in Victorian culture (in the story *Dr. Jeckyll and Mr. Hyde* written by Robert Louis Stevenson in the late 1800s, for example). [5] In the image "The Kensington Gardens Are in London, Where the King Lives" (see fig. 6), Rackham places a host of imaginary creatures behind the king and underground. That these beings emerge from the dark world "behind" and "underground" is suggestive of the emergence of the beast from the unconscious mind. Their physical appearance, which combines plant, animal, and human features, gives a clue to their psychology.

Animalistic or base character could be ascertained, many Victorians believed, from the face. Many so-called base facial features correlate directly with natural anxiety-provoking visual cues. Nancy Aiken, who discusses certain well-established visual triggers of fear and anxiety in *The Biological Origins of Art*, suggests several such natural triggers: false eye spots (see fig. 2) that mimic direct eye contact, pointed versus curved shapes, and the quality of a drawn line. [6] Aiken proposes that art has assimilated anxiety-provoking direct eye contact imagery, sharp-angled shapes, and characteristic line quality for affective purpose. Phrenology and physiognomy have assimilated them as well.

For analysis of the effects of direct eye contact and line quality, Aiken uses psychologist Rudolph Arnheim's technique for com-

Figuree 2
"Eye Spots on Moths and Butterflies"
The Biological Origins of Art, Nancy E. Aiken.
Copyright ©) 1998 by Nancy E. Aiken.
Reproduced with permission of Greenwood
Publishing Group, Inc., Westport, CT.
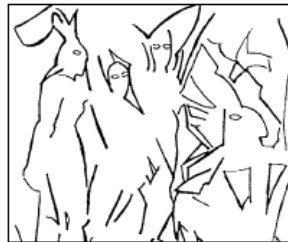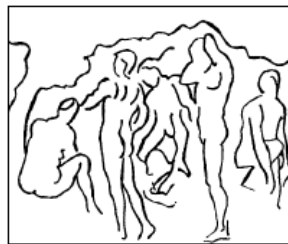
parison of line drawings of two paintings—one by Cezanne, who uses mostly gentle curved line, and one by Picasso, who utilizes sharp, jagged line and mask-like eye shapes (see figs, 3 and 4).[7] Like Picasso's painting, phrenology and physiognomy internalize the unconscious power of anxiety-provoking visuals, including direct eye contact, sharp angles, and line temperament. These visual treatments often translate into intimidating cerebral and facial features. In his essay "Personal Beauty," nineteenth-century psychologist Herbert Spencer compared ugly people to "inferior races," and correlated extremely sharp-angled features with low intelligence:

> If the recession of the forehead, protuberance of the jaws, and largeness of the cheekbones, three leading elements of ugliness, are demonstrably indicative of mental inferiority-if such other facial defects as great width between the eyes, flatness of the nose spreading of the alae, front ward opening of the nostrils, length of the mouth, and largeness of the lips, are habitually associated with these, and disappear along with them as intelligence increases, both in the race and in the individual, is it not a fair inference that all such faulty trials of feature signify deficiencies of mind?[8]

Sharp, protruding facial features signified not only lack of intelligence, but aggressive and destructive temperament. In Rackham's illustrations, round, bulging eyes, convex faces, prominent noses and chins, and low facial angles characterize fairies of all ilks (with the exception of seductive females). Jagged lines that trace grotesque features—a hybrid of the human and the repugnant—confirm the brutish nature of his fairies.

Arthur Rackham's Fairies

The best Rackham illustrations are conceptually suggestive—facial expressions, gestures, and compositions are "loaded" with symbolism and with hidden and obvious implications. Rackham brings this about by using exaggerated facial characteristics phrenologists (and physiognomists) attribute to negative behavior such as brutish sexuality and violence. His fairy illustrations combine familiar human physical traits with repugnant, exaggerated renditions of the human face and form or with animal features. In his landscape compositions, trees become grotesque and frightening animals. Such combinations grip our emotions; we interpret an image as grotesque when we perceive it as a mixture of the normative and the loathsome. Admixtures of the typical human form and the grotesque renditions of it strike a chord in the human psyche because we relate to the familiar aspects and we recoil in horror from their deformities. Rackham's complex and varied compositions contribute to the suggestive symbolism that invigorates his work. His line quality, jagged and angular in anxiety-ridden environments, adds intensity to his illustrations.

Figures 3 and 4
"Line drawings of Paintings by Cézanne and Picasso Depicting Line Quality"
The Biological Origins of Art, Nancy E. Aiken.
Copyright © 1998 by Nancy E. Aiken.
Reproduced with permission of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., Westport, CT.

At the same time, Rackham's renderings—fortified by twisted notions of Darwinian evolution in which humans evolve from apes—hint at the beast within the unconscious mind. To Victorians, the beast represented not just the grotesque, animal portion of the self, but specifically the animalistic libido. Rackham's illustrations give form, visually and conceptually, to the threat that grotesque features and seductive beauty pose to Victorian culture. Rackham visually merged an abundant and surprising variety of human and animal (or plant) traits. Such imaginative hybrids were a consistent feature of his fairy illustrations. "Rackham's world" burgeoned from one part individual imagination and one part Victorian world view. His vision is colored by prevailing presumptions about nature.

Rackham's nephew, Walter Starkie, gives some insights into the inner workings of Rackham's imaginary fairy world that were based on accepted notions of fairy tradition. Starkie describes Rackham's imaginary symbiotic relationship among fairies, animals, and trees; in this relationship, his trees become animals which are milked by fairies for their sap.

> He would make me gaze fixedly at one of the majestic trees with massive trunk...He would say that under the roots of that tree the little men had their dinner and churned the butter they extracted from the sap of the tree. He would also make me see queer animals and birds in the branches of the tree and a little magic door below the trunk, which was the entrance to Fairyland. He used to tell me stories of the primitive religion of man which, in his opinion, was the cult of the tree...[9]

Rackham's narratives were generated from a deep visual and imaginative engagement with the world. His unique concepts, spurred by his view of nature, culminated in animistic notions of the supernatural. According to Rackham, a primitive religion is practiced by fairies who live within trees and milk them for butter.

Such a view has its basis in notions of fairies "clearly derived from animistic perceptions of nature" and centuries of ideas regarding fairies inhabiting trees and their love of milk.[10] Tree fairies often did worse damage than stealing milk. Particularly striking in this context are Rackham's varieties of threatening, anthropomorphic trees. Victorianist Carole Silver describes the spirits that haunt these trees as extremely threatening.[11] Rackham's tree illustrations capture this grotesque horror in a powerful and unique way. The English periodical *The Outlook* described Rackham's anthropomorphic tree illustrations from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (see fig. 5) as: "a Rackham tree; one of those trees, gnarled and black and twisted ...appearing as trees that only one man has ever perceived and drawn...."[12] In the image "Come, Now a Roundel," a gnarled and twisted tree roots in and draws sustenance from a so-called "fairy ring" or ring of mushrooms. From its branches, the tree exudes

Figure 5

"Come, now a roundel" from Shakespeare's
A Midsummer Night's Dream
© Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/
The Bridgeman Art Library.

fairies who ostensibly haunt the tree—in fact, it is difficult to say where tree ends and fairy begins.

Rackham's imagery integrates cultural precepts into a believable fantasy world visually rendered in a provocative manner. His work draws conceptual power from combinations of accepted beliefs and suggestive imaginary scenarios; it draws visual power from his novel juxtapositions, of human and animal, familiar and grotesque, repugnant and beautiful. In Rackham's work fay, flora, and fauna merge—to produce what I call "in-betweens"—in an array that forges a phrenological landscape. In this landscape individual traits, striking on their own, are modified by an illustrative environment that insists on perceptual transitions between the shape of the parts and the design of the whole.

In-betweens

Rackham's hybrid characters not only draw power from their compositional environments, but are themselves visually and conceptually complex. In *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, the young narrator David tells the story of one-week-old Peter Pan's adventures in Kensington Gardens. Peter is halfway evolved from a bird to a boy, and can still fly merely because he has faith that he is able to do so. When he realizes that he is part human, he loses his ability to fly; Peter must then consult with the fairies that inhabit the park. Peter, who is accepted because he remains part animal, is our guide to the fairies. In *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*. Rackham portrays a realistic fantasy world—a world of in-betweens, where the commonplace morphs with the deformed—in which birds and fairies converse, and trees come to chat. In the illustration "The Kensington Gardens Are in London, Where the King Lives," (see fig. 6) Rackham presents an imaginative version of Barrie's take on Darwinian

Figure 6
"The Kensington Gardens are in London, where the King lives" from J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*
© Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/ The Bridgeman Art Library.

Figure 7
"White and gold Lizzie stood" from Christina
Rossetti's *Goblin Market*
©) Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/
The Bridgeman Art Library.

evolution in which birds, like Peter, become baby boys and girls, and kings become zoological specimens. In this image, the fairies emerge from the tree in a bristling mass, clinging to the tree trunk and roots. It is almost as if the tree gives birth to a clutch of fairies, some of whom cling to its trunk as newborn infants cling to their mother. Several fairies have limbs that mimic the tree's branches and their gesture exactly matches that of the tree. An anthropomorphic tree close to the fence tips his garland to the king in very human fashion, and the king responds in kind. The boundaries among fairy, tree, and human remain indistinct—trees behave like humans, and fairies behave like trees. Rackham elaborates on Barrie's idea that Kensington Gardens "is where the birds are born who afterwards become baby boys and girls," effectively creating a realistic but ethereal world in which creatures aren't always what they appear to be, and where in-betweens are plausible.

In-betweens also characterize the illustration "White and Gold Lizzie Stood" from *Goblin Market* by Christina Rosetti (see fig. 7). In *Goblin Market*, two sisters are tantalized by the forbidden fruit offered by a band of goblin men. Laura is tempted and succumbs, but ultimately is rescued by Lizzie. Lizzie exacts retribution for her sister's capture by refusing to be tempted, thereby vanquishing the goblins. The illustration "White and Gold Lizzie Stood" depicts the

goblins' intoxicating temptation and Lizzie's stalwart fortitude. Rackham goes to all lengths to blur boundaries between animal and human. Some goblins are mostly animal with subtle human nuances. Two goblins at the bottom right resemble a cat and a rat, respectively. However, the cat's sneer is more human than feline, the rat's long nose and beady eyes are exaggerations of the nose and eyes of the other, more human, goblins in the image. Another of the goblins on the left side of the image looks like a werewolf, his teeth fang-like and his nose flat against his face. Yet another goblin who offers fruit is green with a large beak. His hand is webbed like a duck's. He resembles a vulture until one notices a grotesque smile below his beak. The smile anamorphically transforms the beak into a large hooked nose, which again is an exaggeration of the hooked nose of the fairy directly across from him in the image.

This anamorphosis—a normal image that looks distorted when viewed through a special instrument or perspectival angle—compels the viewer to function as distorting instrument. These unexpected distortions expand the variety of morphing goblin heads and shifting facial expressions, and help fashion a phrenological landscape blanketed with horror.

The Phrenological Landscape

The visual axis oscillates between the parts and the whole, between the phrenological traits of the characters and the cumulative vision in the illustration "A Band of Workmen Who Were Sawing Down a Toadstool, Rushed Away, Leaving their Tools Behind Them" from *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (see fig. 8). All the fairies have low, sharp-angled foreheads, which signify both little intelligence and

Figure 8
"A Band of workmen who were sawing down a toadstool, rushed away, leaving their tools behind them" from J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*
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small phrenological organs of Veneration and Benevolence. This combination of physical traits precludes devotedness and empathy for others, respectively. When small organs of Veneration and Benevolence are overcome by organs of Combativeness and Destructiveness, as they are in this case, "cruelty," according to phrenologist Combe, "may result." The fairy in the middle of the composition has an enormous portion of his skull above his ears, therefore his organs of Combativeness and Destructiveness are extremely large. Overactive Combativeness, according to Combe, "inspires with the love of contention of its own sake; and pleasure may be felt in disputation or in fighting." He says of Destructiveness, "The organ is conspicuous in the heads of...persons habitually delighting in cruelty." [13] These gnomes' facial structures—gaunt, skull-like, and angular, with masculine features to excess—match nineteenth-century American artist and physician William Rimmer's debased types from his depictive book *Art Anatomy* (see fig. 9). [14] The gnomes' eyes are disconcerting, too. The fairy in the middle of the composition has eyes that are far set, oval, and lizard-like. The two fairies in front of him have bulging oval eyes with prominent dark pupils that resemble eyespots. Although these fairies flee in fright rather than attack, their eyes range from repulsive to unnerving in appearance.

These fairy characters dovetail with their environment—Rackham's overall composition. In this image, the shapes of the fairies' faces and bodies mesh with the shapes of the toadstools and trees. The toadstool illustrations look like bumpy, bald heads—the gnomes are bald as well-rendered in such an engaging and vital fashion that the viewer can practically "feel" the bumps. In the greater image, the shapes of toadstools and gnomes resemble lumps on a landscape surface (their varied expressions and skull shapes suggest a strong dose of destructiveness or combativeness, and a missing capacity for veneration or benevolence). These jagged-featured gnomes fearfully scuttle away through a landscape replete with sharp angles. The angular shapes point in all directions, leaving the viewer anxious about finding a visual way out of the composition around sharp rocks, thorns, and bony fingers.

Rackham cultivates this anxiety in the image "They Will Certainly Mischief You" (see fig. 10) from *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*. In this illustration, a little girl is caught in sharp thorns and held by bony goblin fingers. Two impish male fairies (and a tree with claw-like branches) yank on her clothes—this image is typical of popular stories about trees inhabited by destructive fairies. The fairies' eyes suggest their dark side—they bulge unattractively and are oval with large, dark pupils. Just as disturbing, the drawn line cuts a multitude of sharp angles that make up the faces and bodies of the fairies and the tree which resemble a spider's web. Rackham incorporates jagged curves peppered with small, sharp thorns in the tree branches which instill disconcerting anxiety in the viewer. The

Figure 9
"Rimmer's debased types" from *Art Anatomy*

Figure 10
"They will certainly mischief you" from J.M.
Barrie's *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*
© Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/
The Bridgeman Art Library.

composition meshes with the physiognomic expression of the fairies' phrenological traits, and the physical features of the fairies intertwine with the threatening landscape and anxious line. All these coalesce to create a sense of wickedness in the illustration.

Goblins and Dwarfs

More frightening than these little tree fairies are primitive, animal-istic goblins. Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*, a book of short horror stories, begins with a justificatory essay that lobbies for a phrenological organ called Perverseness. Perverseness, according to Poe, "is a radical, a primitive impulse—elementary." Perverse in-deed is *Hop-Frog*, the story of a dwarf who, when mistreated by the king, tricks him and his seven ministers into dressing up as orang-utans, trusses them up, and burns them alive. At first, Rackham was concerned that he wasn't up to the task, that his images wouldn't be grotesque enough. Rackham admitted that his illustrations for *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* were "so horrible I was beginning to frighten myself." [15] Rackham was understandably frightened by images portraying behavior so cruel as to be unimaginable—even for a dwarf (Victorian dwarfs, real and supernatural, were consid-ered brutish and crude). We recognize Hop-Frog's behavior. Hop-Frog is acting human. Premeditated cruelty for cruelty's sake, the

Figure 11
"Tripetta advanced to the monarch's seat, and, falling on her knees before him, implored him to spare her friend" from E.A. Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*.
© Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/ The Bridgeman Art Library.

Figure 12

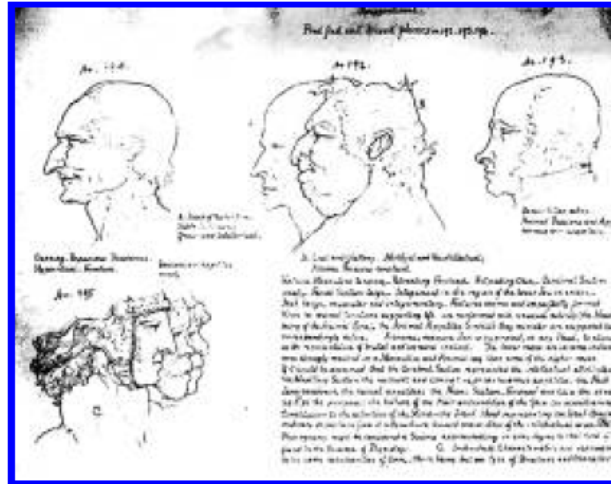"Rimmer's cunning, rapacious, treacherous type" from *Art Anatomy*.

Figure 13

"Rimmer's coarse-featured, lustful, gluttonous type" from *Art Anatomy*.

Figure1 4

A black and white illustration of Hop-Frog" from E.A. Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*. © Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/ The Bridgeman Art Library.

sort only humans are capable of, verifies that people behave worse than either supernatural dwarfs or animals do. The beast that is the unconscious mind, then, demands a combination of bestial savagery and the human ability to conceptualize.

Rackham gave Hop-Frog the phrenological face of evil. In the illustration "Tripetta Advanced to the Monarch's Seat, and, Falling on Her Knees Before Him, Implored Him to Spare Her Friend" (see fig. 11), Hop-Frog has bulging oval eyes, high cheekbones, a large and grotesque nose, snarling lips, a protruding chin, and a low forehead that slopes back at a steep angle. Rackham has drawn him as the cunning, rapacious, treacherous type described in *Rimmer's Art Anatomy* (see fig. 12). Incidentally, the king and his ministers resemble the type who exhibit these traits: "Lust and gluttony; mirthful and unintellectual; animal passions constant" (See fig. 13). A black and white illustration (see fig. 14) shows Hop-Frog's skull wide above the ears, which indicates large organs of combativeness and destructiveness. The black-and-white illustration is criss-crossed with sharp angles that seem to point like an arrow to the image of Hop-Frog. He is drawn from a series of sharp angles which focus the viewer's eyes onto his face. Here, one finds thick, short lines angled anxiously from his nose backward. His expression is that of a wild beast. These designations are augmented by a deep-rooted fear of dwarf animalism. As Silver explains:

> throughout the Victorian period, dwarfs...had been conflated with each other and equated with goblins (a generic name for small hostile, unattractive, grotesque, and almost exclusively male supernatural creatures) and thus with malice and evil...they were voracious in their sexual appetites and bestial in their behavior.[16]

Hop-Frog the beast takes the devil's work into his own hands and gleefully exacts fiery retribution.

Although we do not get an opportunity to observe the "voracious sexual appetite" typical of goblins in Hop-Frog, the illustrations for Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* explore this fully. Because there are no females among them, goblins must kidnap human women. In the illustration "White and Gold Lizzie Stood" (see fig. 7), Rackham shows Lizzie enticed by goblins who swarm over her like insects and claw at her body. The implications are both sexual and ruinous—if she succumbs, she will ultimately die. The luscious fruit they peddle conceals from Lizzie a grotesque array of evil intentions which are expressed in their demeanor. At the very center of the image is a second rat. Both cat and rats have very wide skulls near their ears, which indicate large organs of Destructiveness and Secretiveness. These three, who offer Lizzie fruit, are intent on tempting her to taste her own destruction. This bird-goblin has similar physical characteristics to Rimmer's coarse-featured, lustful, gluttonous type (see fig. 13). He, too, manifests large organs of Destructiveness and Secretiveness. Combe explains that too great an endowment of Secretiveness, "when not regulated by strong intellect, and moral sentiments, produces abuses. The individual then mistakes cunning for prudence and ability...and he may even be led to practice lying, duplicity, and deceit." [17]

Right next to Lizzie in the center of the illustration, a more human-looking goblin offers Lizzie fruit both down over her shoulder (juice runs down her chest) and up by her waist, pointing directly to her bare shoulder and full breast. The fruits near her waist that the leering goblin fondles are suggestive of breasts; here is the voracious goblin sexual appetite. [18] All the goblins in this illustration are more or less animalistic. What is interesting about the specific goblin that assaults Lizzie—he is the most human-looking of the bunch—is the uncanny juxtaposition of animal features with human ones. What makes him Rackham's most effective choice for a rapist is that he is simultaneously human enough to allow the viewer to imagine the act, and animalistic enough to make the act unimaginably horrible. The fleshy fruit creates a plant/human in-between that suggests cannibalism as well. The viewer is not sure whether the goblin intends to rape Lizzie or eat her.

Femmes Fatales

In contrast to these two sisters, the youthful female fairy in the illustration "The Fairies Are Exquisite Dancers" (see fig. 15) is temptress rather than tempted. Female fairies are animals under cover. Graceful and lovely features belie their immense sexual appetite, accompanied by the fairy propensity to bring ruin to humans who cross their paths. The beast within expressed itself openly in fairies. Silver explains the Victorian point of view: "women were closer to 'nature,' less rational and more instinctual, hence more prone to regress to the beast within." [19]

Figure 15 (Left)
"The fairies are exquisite dancers" from J.M.
Barrie's *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*.
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The Bridgeman Art Library.

Figure 16 (Right)
"Rimmer's ideal female facial characteristics"
from *Art Anatomy*.

Alluring female fairies functioned as femmes fatales, impossible to domesticate and eager to destroy human males. Such fairies employ their beauty for destructive ends. Perfect human female beauty, discussed at length by Victorian psychologists and in phrenological and physiognomic texts, was, of necessity, interwoven with proper female behavior: sexual virtue, placidity, and domesticity. Beautiful fairies, more base and animistic, lack these qualities and therefore pose a threat to the men they tempt—a threat that stirs up a pernicious fear of female power. Silver cites Barbara Leavey's recent book *In Search of the Swan Maiden*:

> the [fairy] female beauty is...often exposed as a
> monster...Not purely human, not purely animal, she can be
> perceived as monstrous and frightening because she is able
> to call up forces civilized women have repressed and can no
> longer call on...overt bestiality and blatant sexuality.[20]

Victorians both were titillated and terrified by blatant sexuality. Female fairies, primitive and highly sexed, served as a psychic release valve for both unconscious sexual anxiety and tantalizing erotic fantasy. The dancing fairy in "The Fairies Are Exquisite Dancers" is seductively lovely. Phrenologically, she has Rimmer's ideal female facial characteristics; round head, aquiline nose, concave lips (see fig. 16). However, her hair, which flies out behind her as she dances, prevents the viewer from assessing her organs of Philoprogenitiveness and Concentrativeness are organs that, when large, accentuate a woman's domestic side. Her domesticity is in doubt and her sexuality is suspect. The curved, sensual drawn line of her face and figure lull the viewer and obscure her sexual hunger. The fairy's clothes are translucent and the viewer can see her body underneath, a tantalizing erotic overture. A spider dances behind the fairy, in almost the exact pose. Her web lies underneath the two

Figure 17
"The Rhine-Maidens obtain possession of the
ring and bear it off in triumph" from Richard
Wagner's *The Rhinegold and the Valkyrie*.
© Courtesy of the estate of Arthur Rackham/
The Bridgeman Art Library.

dancers, waiting to ensnare a victim. Grasses point upwards to the spider and to the fairy's legs and crotch, which add to the eroticism of the illustration.

Even more erotic is the illustration "The Rhine-Maidens Obtain Possession of the Ring and Bear It Off in Triumph" from Richard Wagner's *The Rhinegold and the Valkyrie* (see fig. 17). This is Rackham at his most sexually suggestive. Two nude water nymphs tease the elf Alberich while they battle him for the possession of the ring—one restrains him from behind and the other from the front—in a tussle that has strong sexual overtones. They appear to be thoroughly enjoying themselves. The third Rhine-Maiden gleefully holds up the ring, exposing a sinuous body with full breasts, long legs and a barely concealed pubic area. Their faces are perfectly beautiful, matching Rimmer's designation of well-balanced female features. Victorian "ladies" whose sexuality had been "civilized" would never be portrayed in this fashion; however, fairies, with their primitive impulses, could. This image functions as soft-core pornography—it stirs up common male sexual fantasies, including one man together with several women. Male fear of female sexual power, represented by the femme fatales, is a turnabout for male anxiety about male sexual fantasies. Victorian culture projected the sexual beast hidden within the male unconscious onto female fairies.

Conclusion

In his 1866 book, *The Gay Science,* writer Eneas Sweetland Dallas suggests that unconscious fantasy is an "automatic action of the mind present in all mental activity" and compares it to an invisible, "tricksy" fairy:

> The hidden efficacy of our thoughts, their prodigious power of working in the dark and helping us underhand, can be compared to that of the lubber-fiend who toils for us when we are asleep or when we are not working... Our backs are turned and it is done in a trice, or we awake in the morning and find that it has been wrought in the night... We have such a fairy in our thoughts, a willing but unknown and tricksy worker...[21]

Dallas contrasts the light and dark character of conscious and unconscious thought, respectively. Dallas's fairy is a hidden, underhanded fay who only appears when it is dark. Rackham's fairies represent the unconscious—the unknown mind that lurks in the dark recesses of human animalism, waiting for an opportunity to rear its ugly head.

The crude, animalistic, and even sexually charged traits assigned to "others," such as the "lower" races and fairies, were meshed with their assigned physical characteristics. The soothing, sinuous features attached to female fairies hid an overcharged

sexual appetite, while the male fairies were pictured as grotesque admixtures of man and beast. Perceptions of these physical characteristics—which can be correlated with natural anxiety-provoking stimuli such as jagged lines and eye spots—found their way into negative phrenological and physiognomic designations, into cultural stereotypes, and into Rackham's illustration.

Victorian psychologists searched for and formulated explanations of behavior which tended either to normalize or to pathologize. This "black-or-white" method of categorization produced pervasive images of abnormal animalistic behavior and grotesque appearance that were, in turn, codified by the tenets of phrenology and the psychology of the unconscious. Rackham's work was not immune to these influences. He was both a conduit of cultural mores and a creator of them. The hue and spirit of Rackham's work had a tremendous impact on late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century conceptions of Fairyland. At the same time, common Victorian beliefs about animalistic "primitives" are boldly suggested in the narrative of Rackham's compositions in a number of ways. Animalism also is inferred by images of fairies with unsavory cranial and facial features and by seductive-looking female fairies. Compositions replete with jagged lines drawn with sharp angles stimulate subliminal anxiety in Rackham's imagery. Phrenology and notions of the unconscious imbue his fairy illustrations with narratives that express certain fears and anxieties pervading the Victorian psyche.

Rackham's biographers have examined both his style and his creative motivations at length. There is no analysis, however, of the ways in which Rackham's illustrations reflect Victorian culture. This deficiency is due to prescribed methodologies of visual analysis-visual analysis of illustration tends to focus on artistic influences, style, and close reading of symbolism, and to ignore the greater cultural context of the work. Exploring an illustration's cultural context reveals the limitations of a purely visual approach. Cultural analysis of an illustration divulges the greater narrative quality of the image, allowing the embedded messages of a culture to emerge. One could easily spend long stretches of time engrossed in the conceptual content of the scenes in Rackham's fairy illustrations. Rackham's imagery lends itself to close reading and intense visual scrutiny. His illustrations stand on their own as cultural narrative, at least as powerful and eloquent as the text they accompany.

1   Carole G. Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33–57.

2   Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*.

3   James John Garth Wilkinson, *The Human Body and Its Connexion with Man*, (Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), 22.

4   Nineteenth-century psychologist Frederick Myers describes a contemporary case study in which this disturbing side of a boy's personality emerges:

    "Louis V. began life (in 1863) as the neglected child of a turbulent mother. He was sent to a reformatory at ten years old, and there showed himself, as he has always done...quiet, well-behaved, and obedient. Then, at fourteen years old, he had a great fright from a viper—a fright which threw him off his balance and started the series of psychical oscillations on which he has been tossed ever since... His character became violent, greedy, and quarrelsome...He is constantly haranguing anyone who will listen to him, abusing his physicians, or preaching with a *monkey-like* impudence rather than with reasoned clearness...."
    (Frederick W. H. Myers, "Multiplex Personality." (1886) in Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth, eds., *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830–1890* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 134.)
    Italics are my emphasis.
    The abnormal Louis V. is monkey-like; his unconscious self—his dark, bestial side—has emerged to overtake his rational side.

5   Interestingly, it was a fearful reaction to a frightening animal itself that brought out the savage in Louis V.

6   Eye spots, which resemble a fixed and direct stare, are threatening to a variety of animal species. In particular, such anxiety may be provoked by portraits—which have a strong focus on the eyes—and masks—in which exaggerated eyes are associated with magical intent.

7   "The composition or internal form is very similar. However, the emotions evoked by the two paintings are very different because of the treatment or the shapes chosen to illustrate the women...the Picasso...faces are depicted as masks...and their bodies are drawn with pointed shapes....the emotional effect evoked by the Picasso can still be described as anxiousness or uneasiness....Their pointed shapes may trigger an emotional response on the fear continuum; their eyes...very likely trigger an emotional response on the fear continuum."
    (Nancy Aiken, *The Biological Origins of Art* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 118.)
    It is surprising that Aiken neglects to mention shapes in the Picassos that resemble eyespots. Interestingly, the anxiety-provoking mask-like faces and jagged shapes reflect the primitivism Picasso embraced—primitivism Victorians associated with animism. Picasso employs subliminal correlations among these triggers, animism, and anxiety to produce a reaction in the viewer.

8   Herbert Spencer, *The Haythorne Papers No. VIII, Personal Beauty,*" *Leader* 5 (1854): 356–7.

9   Walter Starkie quoted in James Hamilton, *Arthur Rackham* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1990), 72.

10 Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 44–45.
    Scholar Lewis Spence explains the connection among fairies, trees, and milk:

    "In all British countries, fairies are regarded as great thieves of milk. Indeed one of their chief haunts is the dairy...it was believed that fairies took away cows at night in order to milk them, and sent them back in the morning...[There is a] legend in the Hebrides which tells how a fairy once a year issued from a tree to distribute 'the milk of wisdom' to the women of the district."
    (Lewis Spence, *The Fairy Tradition in Britain* (London: Rider and Company, 1948), 215, 321.)
    Milk, then, sustains not only the rudimentary needs of infants, but those of their primitive fairy counterparts as well.

11 "The annir-choille...haunted the woods and snared men...One group of two thorn trees and a boartree...'is guarded by three malevolent demons who, after dark, haunt that stretch of the road... ' Passersby...have had their arms grabbed with marks to show for it, heard inhuman laughs 'and even caught glimpses of dim and horribly misshapen figures.' Others passing hostile trees have sensed from them 'feelings of vicious, bitter evil...' Hatred of humans literally emanated from their branches." (Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 151–152.)

12 *The Outlook* (11/21/08) as quoted in James Hamilton, *Arthur Rackham* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1990), 170.

13 George Combe, *Elements of Phrenology* (Edinburgh: John Anderson, Jr., 1824).

14 "[The figures] exhibit those features that the *Art Anatomy* regularly associates with diminished mental and moral capacity...convex face, retreating forehead, Roman nose, and prominent chin all belong to the aggressive or conquering races.

    Rimmer linked a low facial angle not only to impoverished intellectual and moral faculties, but also to powerful Combativeness and Destructiveness." (Charles Colbert, *A Measure of Perfection: Phrenology and the Fine Arts in America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 106.)

15 Arthur Rackham as quoted in James Hamilton, *Arthur Rackham* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1990), 153.

16 Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 117.

17 Combe, *Elements of Phrenology*, 47.

18 "What marks...Rossetti's goblin men as particularly threatening...is their grotesque materiality; their physical ludicrousness combined with their 'primitive' sexuality. Their assaults on women are rapes; perceived as disgusting phallic figures, they suggest the grotesquerie of the erotic...And all are depicted as subhuman; that they are bestial and primitive is suggested by their characteristic hairiness as well as by their explicitly animal features." (Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 128.)

19 Ibid., 100.

20 Ibid., 100.

21 Eneas Sweetland Dallas "On Imagination" from *The Gay Science* (1866). In *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Tests in 1830–1890*, Jenny Bourned Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth, eds., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 92.