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The Revival of Calligraphy in
the twentieth century

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Visual Communications

THESIS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following:

Dr. Francis Ruane;
The Society of Scribes and Illuminators, London;
Denis Brown and Tim O'Neill for their time;
The staff of the N.C.A.D. library;
and Susan Byrne who typed my thesis.

INTRODUCTION

My thesis is based on the revival of calligraphy in the 20th century, though it is not a comprehensive historical account. It is a look at the contribution of Edward Johnston, 20th century scribe, whose work and studies sparked the revival of calligraphy in this century.

My thesis includes a brief outline of the background to the revival and then moves on to a more detailed study of Johnston's ideas and teaching methods. I have then studied two of Johnston's students, Eric Gill and Irene Wellington and have discussed how Johnston's teaching affected their work. This also led me to a comparison of the work of the teacher and pupil. For example, Gill demonstrated an increased interest in type design, which Johnston rejected in favour of what he called a pure art, calligraphy unspoiled by the growth of industrialisation. In contrast, Irene Wellington was a devoted student of Johnston's teaching, but still managed to reconcile her own personal ideas in her work. This led me to an interest in the future of calligraphy and the role Johnston's work plays in calligraphy today. I have also looked at the effect technological advances have had on lettering today and the role handwriting plays in the education and appreciation of letterforms.

Above all, I see my thesis as an exploration of Edward Johnston's teaching, its' effect on subsequent calligraphers and the relevance of it to the lettering arts of today.

chapter one~

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE REVIVAL

(a) The Contribution Of William Morris

Before the printing press was invented, around the middle of the 15th century, there was a long tradition of writing books by hand on parchment, papyrus or paper. As a result of the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, there was a distinct decline in the quality of formal writing. The study of antiquities had been aroused in the 18th century and this continued, though in a more scholarly fashion in the 19th century. It led to a serious study of medieval art, including manuscripts. Unfortunately, colour reproductions were hard to come by. Before a commercially viable form of colour printing became available, copies of manuscripts could only be published in black and white, sometimes with handcolouring for more expensive editions.

In the 1830's, the introduction of colour printing by chromolithography, revolutionised the printing of books. Magnificent illuminated volumes were produced, illustrating pages from early medieval manuscripts, drawn in outline for hand colouring. As a result, interest revived considerably; it even became quite fashionable, especially for ladies to make their own manuscript books as gifts or displays. However, the enthusiasm for the art of illumination did not have much influence on the art of lettering.

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No artists concentrated on the field of lettering alone or made any significant changes to the art of lettering, until William Morris, aided by Emery Walker, founded the Kelmscott Press in 1891.

The inventions of photographic block-making and mechanical composition accelerated the end of handcrafts in book production from the 1870's. There was a sharp decline in the visual quality of books at this time. In 1908, Edward Johnston acknowledged the debt owed to Morris and his work, saying:

William Morris was the first person in England to revive the art of writing and illuminating, as he revived so many other arts, on the lines established by the ancient masters. 1

Morris had practised the writing and illumination of manuscripts in the early 1870's. He wrote and decorated several books such as a Horace, a Vergil and two copies of Omar Khayyam. He had used an edged pen which Johnston saw as the way forward for writing. When using an edged pen, the thick and thin strokes were gained by changing the direction of the pen rather than by applying pressure. Previously, in the study of medieval manuscripts, Victorians had traced out the letterforms in outline with a mapping pen, and then filled in the spaces with a brush. The edged pen revived the spontaneity so important in writing.

Morris was also concerned with all aspects of book production, including typography, ornament, layout and illustration. Morris's influence on the book arts and calligraphy was to be of great importance to Edward Johnston in the following years. Morris's concern and enthusiasm paved the way for the revival of scripts and calligraphy in the twentieth century.

(b) The Use Of Calligraphy As Advertisement Art In The
19th Century

Bill headings and many kinds of advertisement had been hand drawn for years, but for the most part, they merely demonstrated the various scripts the calligrapher could accomplish at that time (fig. 1). In my opinion, much of the use of hand drawn lettering in advertisement had a certain charm to it, but very little consideration was given to the interaction of the hand executed lettering and other relevant printed text or illustration. It was almost as if the hand lettering was considered a way of proving the ability of the calligrapher in many different scripts, all combined on one poster, instead of providing a means of advertising or notice for the reader.

The
Writing Masters Assistant
(Containing **FOUR** Sets of)
(Alphabetical Copies viz.)
Large Text, Round Text, Round Hand & Running Hand;
(**W R I T T E N**)
By William Thomson,
Professor of ARITHMETICS and ACCOUNTS
And accurately Engraved on 22 Copper Plates by H. Baily.
L O N D O N.

Published Sept^r 16: 1820, by RICHARD HOLMES LAURIE, N^o 53, Fleet Street, London.

FIG. 1. The writing masters assistant. 1820.

During the 19th century, a few books were published containing alphabet designs for various occasions or advertisements. In 1897, Johnston purchased Edward Strange's book Alphabets, which included alphabet designs by many well known artists and architects, such as William Morris and Walter Crane (fig. 2). Now calligraphy styles were being created for advertising. The increased interest in lettering was stimulated by the new growth of its use in advertising. Johnston's interest in Strange's Alphabets continued well in the 1930's. He recommended it to students and still used it himself as reference. This was yet another step in the right direction for the revival and future of the hand written letter.



FIG. 2. Walter Crane's Art Nouveau Alphabet. 1898.

chapter two~

CHAPTER TWO

(a) Johnston's Greatest Influence: W.R. Lethaby

Edward Johnston arrived in London on 4 April 1898, having decided, as he put it, 'to go in for art'.² He was an ex-medical student, who had to abandon this career due to the threat of tuberculosis. Within hours of arriving, Johnston was introduced to William Richard Lethaby, 'the one man in the world who could have helped me',³ he later said.

Lethaby was the founder and principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts. Lethaby believed that the crafts were of great necessity in the light of an increasingly industrialised society. When choosing staff, he drew upon his contacts in the Arts and Crafts movement. He was a member of the Art Workers Guild, founded in 1884 and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, founded in 1888. The Central School was unique in many ways. The school was set up by the London County Council and was administered by the Technical Education Board, where Lethaby had contacts; contacts that had the greatest confidence in him. As a result he was able to run the Central School as he saw fit. Staff were not required to be registered teachers. Lethaby merely required that they be successful practitioners at their crafts. The school had been set up because the system of apprenticeship required a more comprehensive training in many areas of craft. Classes were held in the evenings and the students did not receive diplomas; they simply left when they felt they had learnt all they needed to know.

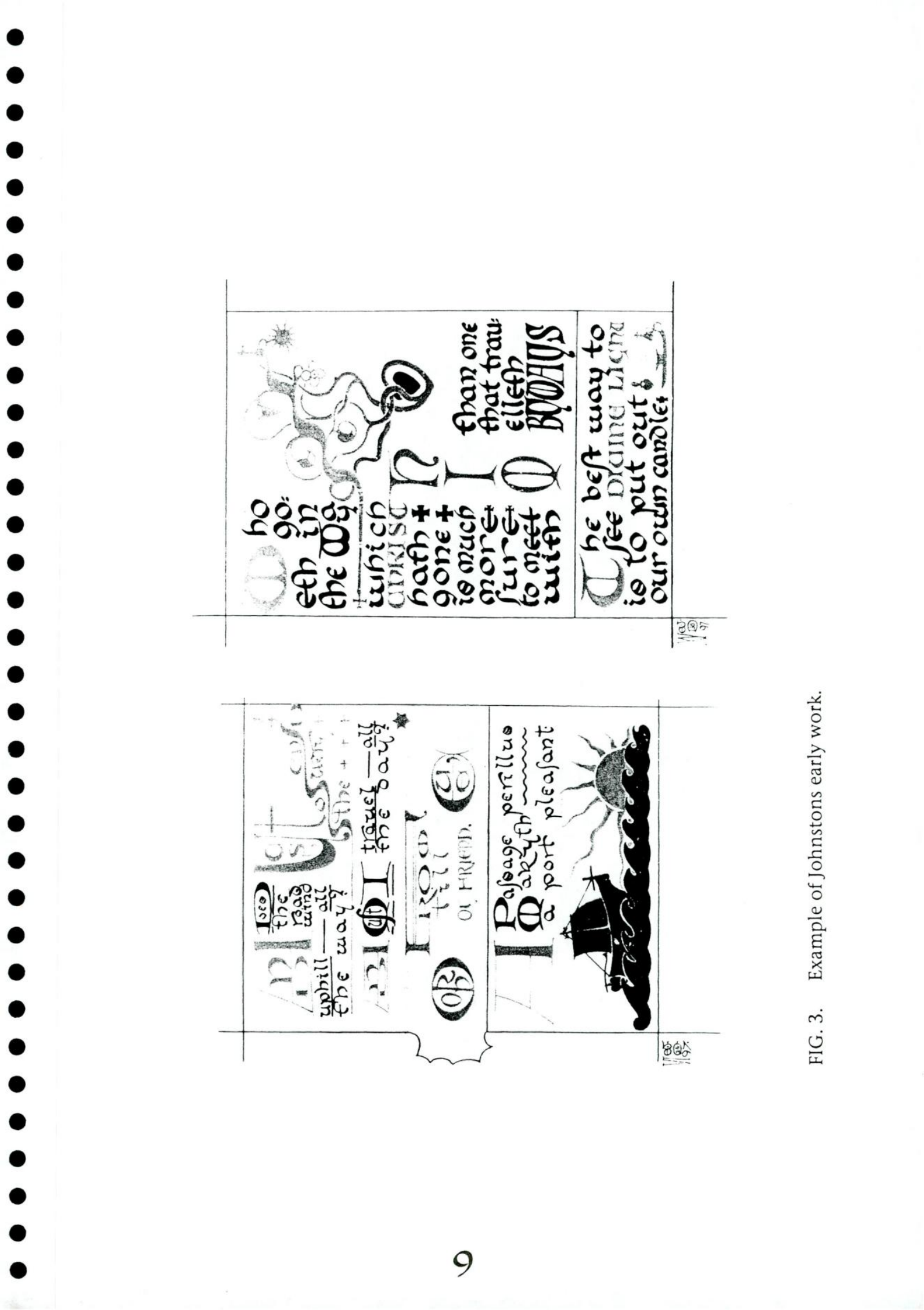
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Lethaby was respected and admired by students and staff alike. Edward Johnston considered himself very fortunate to have met him upon his immediate arrival in London.

When Johnston arrived, he was unsure of the type of art he should practice. Lethaby asked him whether or not he had considered a craft. Johnston had, but it was a craft he had practiced in his spare time, not something out of which he had ever considered making a living (fig. 3). He confided in Lethaby that he had done some writing on parchments. Lethaby was delighted.

Calligraphy or illumination, as it was called, was one of the crafts that no-one had seriously followed up after the crafts revival, started by William Morris. Lethaby wanted to start classes in the subject, but where would he find a teacher? He encouraged Johnston to study historical manuscripts and told him he hoped to start calligraphy classes in the Central School. To Johnston's amazement, Lethaby asked him to be in charge of them. Johnston protested that he did not know enough about the subject, but Lethaby encouraged him to learn and study further. In 1899, Lethaby offered Johnston a class at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, to teach his new discoveries and studies on the subject.

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FIG. 3. Example of Johnstons early work.

How could Lethaby have known that the inexperienced Johnston was the man he was looking for? Possibly Lethaby was a remarkable judge of character, seeing in Johnston the potential and enthusiasm needed to pass on his knowledge and inspire the students as he had been inspired. Johnston's classes developed beyond Lethaby's hopes. They were an enormous success with the pupils.

'I cannot tell you how much I think of it',⁴ Lethaby later said referring to Johnston's work. Johnston was forever indebted to Lethaby's encouragement and faith in him. Lethaby had a great ability for giving students confidence in themselves and it is him we must thank for encouraging the early thoughts and work of Edward Johnston and for setting him on the course that was to spark the revival of calligraphy in the 20th century.

(b) W.R. Lethaby's and Edward Johnston's Ideas:

A Comparison

From my study of Johnston's ideas and teaching methods, I can draw many comparisons between his beliefs and those of W.R. Lethaby, whom I have already mentioned as one of the most influential figures in Johnston's life.

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Lethaby's ideas and attitudes towards the arts and crafts and their value to society, were drawn directly from the views circulating within the arts and crafts movement at the time. Lethaby believed that the work ethic was man's foundation - his basic need. He felt that society was replacing manual labour by machinery and that industrialisation was leaving man sluggish and lazy. He saw work as man's way forward, the basis for his existence.

Johnston was also a great worker; he believed in the thoroughness of work. Nothing was ever too small or insignificant to give maximum effort. Johnston claimed that work and its creation had three stages - 'embodying, animating and inspiring'.⁵ The craftsman's work should inspire him, encompass his ideas and give the result life. He always said that his inspiration for lettering came from his idea 'to make living letters with a formal pen'.⁶ The arts and crafts movement encouraged revivals of craft forms with the emphasis on the tools and the basics of design. Johnston's teaching came from his own application of calligraphy and his theories came directly from his own use of the tools. Aspects of Lethaby's teaching and the views of the arts and crafts movement stayed with Johnston throughout his teaching years and these he passed on to his many pupils.

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In 1901, Lethaby asked Johnston to write a book on calligraphy as part of a series, The Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks. Johnston's book, Writing, Illuminating and Lettering was published in 1906. He spent two years writing the book and another third year rewriting and shortening it, almost to half its original length. During these years, he cut out all of his other work except for a little teaching. The book was a derivation from Johnston's evening classes at the Central School, which had included mostly personal teaching with some seminar and blackboard lectures.

The manuscript of Johnston's original draft for the book is in the Newberry Library, Chicago. This copy contains many of the passages Johnston was forced to cut out for printing when shortening the original draft. Another completed manuscript of the book is in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is the printers copy and there are very few changes to the text of the original copy. Some small but important changes, according to Johnston were added on in further editions.

Lethaby planned and edited the Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks. The other books in the series included Book Binding And The Care Of Books by Douglas Cockerell, Silverwork and Jewellery by Henry Wilson, Woodcarving Design and Workmanship by Georges Jack. Johnston considered it a series that brought the ideas of the workman and the artist together 'a happy combination from the artists and the workmans point of view.'⁷ Johnston's comments on the series go hand in hand with Lethaby's view that an object should be designed by the craftsman who makes it, his ideal of the thinker and worker brought together.

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From my own use of the book, I think it fulfills all its ambitions. Writing, Illuminating and Lettering is written with great precision, and enormous thought has been put into the perfection of letterforms and the qualities they should aspire to, making the book applicable not just to calligraphy and fine writing but to architecture and all the arts.

(c) Edward Johnston's Edeas and Teaching

Johnston was a firm believer in the truth of living. As I have already mentioned the idea 'to make living letters with a formal pen' was what always inspired him. Johnston's daughter Bridget Johnston saw his search for truth as the key to her father's character. He had three main approaches to truth. These were religion, science and art. Religion first. He was not an over-religious pious man, but was a firm believer in the commandments of the new testament, to love God and Man. He applied himself to his work with all his heart and strength, always using the best of his ability. Shoddy work annoyed him greatly, very like Lethaby's idea that work was man's greatest need and should be done to the best of one's ability.

Johnston believed that modern science was not just the accumulation of facts and conclusions that previous scientists had discovered. He believed that modern discoveries were only a part of the reality of science - hence his desire for deeper research and further knowledge. Johnston's work always provided endless possibilities for him.

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Johnston's theories on art are interesting. He never claimed to be an artist, he always titled himself as a craftsman, involved in the making of things. He was concerned with the tools and materials of calligraphy and above all the words. He believed that writing is based on the words and his craft was how he was to present and interpret these words for the reader.

Lethaby also did not believe in the 'artist'. His definition of art was 'the well doing of what needs doing'. He had no time for talk of fine arts and believed that art schools were merely for scholarship gaining. The product of an art school was a professional artist, that according to him, could not apply the work to a basic living. To him 'only daily art is worth a button'.

One of the basics of Johnston's teaching was the construction of letters, their proportions, from where they derived and their growth into the shape as we know them. I believe this is why his book Writing Illuminating and Lettering consists of so much theory. Johnston found these theories to be of great value to his own work and therefore encouraged his students to research themselves. He saw the basic theories of lettering as an excellent foundation point for good work.

As a teacher, Johnston tried to explain in the simplest manner, relevant and to the point. He stated that 'sharpness, unity and freedom' were the essential qualities of writing - sharpness being the sharpness and cut of the pen, ensuring a clear letterform; unity was the consistency of the letterforms, ensuring an even composition; freedom was the important quality that gave the letterforms life and flow.

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Traces of Morris's influence were also evident in his teaching. Johnston stressed the importance of the vellum or paper, saying it was as much a tool of the writing as the pen itself, reminiscent of Morris's concern for all aspects of book production, including the paper type and layout.

Johnston did not approve of writing for practice. He believed that knowledge came from doing, creating the actual real thing. He did not approach his own work as a series of mock-ups. He approached every piece as a finished piece. Often he would have to write the piece three or four times but each one was always intended as a finished one. On the other hand, he never underestimated preparation. Before writing he could spend hours, days or even weeks in careful thought and calculation before writing, making sure he had explored every possibility in his mind. If he failed on an attempt at a piece, it would be because of fault in his execution, not in his planning.

He had extraordinary thoughts on the idea of beauty. In order for a piece to be at its most beautiful, it had to have spontaneity to it. 'Thinking while writing is death to writing'¹² he was quoted. The speed and motion had to be maintained, therefore a series of mock-ups and practices stunted the spontaneity and feeling of a piece. Here we can refer to Lethaby, who said that letters could not be drawn nor designed, they must be written. The only way forward was for the forms to make themselves with the pen.

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Throughout all his ideas on the teaching of calligraphy one point was always stressed. While the skill of execution was important, the words themselves were the starting point of the work. Johnston was always fascinated by words and never travelled without his dictionary. He loved to trace words back to their roots. One of his favourite discoveries was the derivation of the word authentic from 'one who does a thing himself', the idea of the craftsman and designer together. A piece of work could be excellently executed but have no meaning.

Lethaby in his contribution to a book called Plain Handicrafts, published in 1892, wrote about the craft of cabinet making: 'Now comes the point at which we must consider design consider place, use, size ... strains ... shape and service'.¹³ The duty of the furniture maker was to consider what the furniture was for and the first duty of the scribe was to consider the author of the words, they must be presented in his context. The scribe should not intrude or interrupt the thought of the words for the sake of a beautifully ornamented page. Again, I quote Lethaby, one would 'reach the beauty of pleasant form'¹⁴ by considering the uses of the cabinet, and the scribe would reach the beauty of calligraphy by considering the words. Beauty is the natural progression of work that is well intentioned and worked at, a philosophy of design that will never go out of fashion.

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chapter three~

CHAPTER THREE

ERIC GILL, Calligrapher and Type Designer

Eric Gill, an early pupil of Edward Johnston, had an interest in lettering from a young age. When he was 17 years old, he went to work in an architects office, where it became evident to him that the industrialisation process, had well and truly set in, much to his disgust. He went on to study in the Westminster Technical Institute, studying lettercutting and masonry. He also studied under Edward Johnston at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. Of Edward Johnston, he had to say that 'he profoundly altered the whole course of my life and all my ways of thinking'.

Despite the fact that Gill was an enthusiastic and devoted pupil of Johnston, it became evident that he was not going to settle himself into a life dedicated to the perfection of calligraphy and craftsmanship. It was noted that, while he greatly respected Johnston's teaching and learnt a great deal from it, he was not entirely under his influence. Gill had always held strong functional theories on design in his work in the architect's office. Though in line with Johnston's theories, he wished to take them one step further. ¹⁵

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Gill claimed that even though Johnston pointed him in the right direction, his own experience in stone cutting and masonry brought the craft of lettering into another direction. Gill, a headstrong fellow, was anxious to establish himself as a master in his own right and in the field of cut inscriptions he successfully did so.

Edward Johnston, in his teaching and demonstration, confined himself to the chalk and blackboard and the reed pen and paper, perhaps in my opinion unfortunately so, for who knows what would of come of his type design had he delved further. But he believed in his craft and stuck to its ideals. Gill did not have this same belief and had the desire to explore the possibilities of other tools and materials. Through his engraving and stone cutting he moved away from the hand-drawn calligraphic manner.

Gill did not want to be seen as a disciple of Edward Johnston and was reluctant to associate himself with William Morris and the ideas of the arts and crafts movement. Despite this, from my reading of his theories on typography and study of his work, I think their influence is clearly evident.

One important aspect of Johnston's teaching, which Gill holds with him through all his work, is the idea of beauty. In his reprisal of modern designers, he says they 'fall over one and other' ¹⁶in their efforts to design fancy lettering. He claims 'if you look after goodness and truth, beauty will take care of itself'. ¹⁷ His functional approach to design appears to stem straight from Johnston, to design and build well is beautiful.

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Laurence Cribb, an apprentice of Gill's in his workshop, also recalls that when designing a piece, Gill always designed the layout of the type first, then put the panel around it. The words were the priority; probably why his inscription work was so successful.

Gill, throughout his lifetime, always held a great grudge against the industrialisation of his country. The main problem he saw was the fact that the human was missing in machine manufacture; the machine had taken over. He searched for the ideal world of craft. He claimed that mechanisation, while it did not wish to kill the arts and crafts, pushed it into the space of man's spare time. He said man needed his crafts, whether it be his window box garden or his small shop and it should not be pushed into the realm of spare time. In his ideal world spare time would not exist. Work would be man's craft and he would love it and the need for spare time for enjoyment would not exist. He lived the idea of work and always claimed himself to be a workman. He believed in the worker and the idea of worker and designer together. He criticised modern machinery methods, claiming that too many people were involved along the way (especially modern punch cutting, saying that the original idea was lost in the finished piece). To him, modern manufacture took the crafts away from the ordinary man, reducing him to the level of a tool to the machine, rather than the machine as a tool.

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Joseph Cribb, another apprentice to Gill, and brother to Lawrence, noted that as Gill's interest in painting and type increased, he lost interest in the chiselled letters. He also felt that some of Gill's best inscriptions were his earlier ones; they had more of a sense of the written letter rather than printed type. I think even looking at his instructional sheet for The Doves Bindery and its finished piece (fig. 4), though the finished piece is very beautiful, it lacks the charm and character of his hand drawn instructional sheet.

Despite Gill's condemnation of industrialisation, he became very involved in type design and its industrial nature. Nevertheless, he stuck firmly to his theories on design and became a very successful type designer. And it is here where I am going to compare the type design of Gill and his teacher Edward Johnston. Johnston did very little work for print and the only thing he designed for mass production was his block letter alphabet for the underground railways in 1913.

The 20th century saw a decline in interest of previously extensively used roman typefaces, such as Baskerville (fig. 5). They were unsuited to the needs of commercial printing, due to the fact that they were not legible enough for quick reading. A more modern style of typeface was emerging. Alphabets and type at this time, were still very much under the influence of Edward Johnston, due to his immense research on the subject. Gill had developed a less formal approach to lettering and was seeking a more disciplined alphabet.

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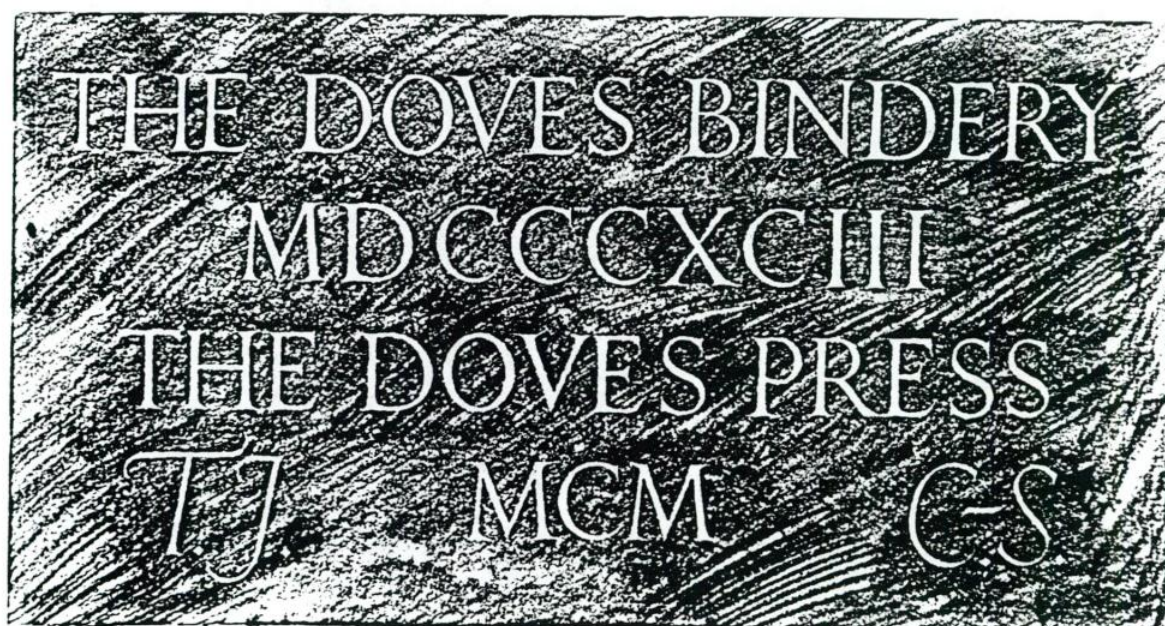


FIG. 4. The Doves Bindery. Instructional sheet and finished sheet.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNO
PQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstu
vwxyz

FIG. 5. Monotype Baskerville.

In 1927, Gill's sans serif type 'Gill Sans' (fig. 6) was introduced by the monotype organisation. Johnston's type for the underground railways had proved to be revolutionary in its time and became a solid foundation for many of the modern sans serif typefaces (fig. 7).

Gill defends his typeface, admitting that there is very little difference between Gill sans and Johnston sans. He stresses that Johnston's sans serif was designed for the purpose of station nameboards, while monotype Gill sans was designed specifically for typography. He felt that his design was an improvement from the point of view of modern methods of printing. Personally, I think Gill sans is far more successful and it proved very popular, as it still is today. It was the English answer to the onslaught of sans serifs from the German typefoundries, especially the successful Futura design by Paul Renner of the Bauer type foundry in 1927 (fig. 8).

Gill's sans serif took Johnston's plain alphabet a little further, in particular the removal of the serif from the lower case 'l' and thus simplifying it again. He also removed the diamond dots from Johnston's sans which I do think look peculiar. Overall it has a clearer and of course mechanical shape and his lower case 'g' is very successful for a letter that causes many problems, not only for the type designer but calligrapher as well. I certainly prefer Gill's version to the German Futura design, which I think even though it is an excellent plain sans serif typeface, it is a little clinical.

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ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

FIG. 6. Gill sans.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

FIG. 7. Johnston sans.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

FIG.8. Futura by Paul Renner.

Gill sans and Johnston sans are true plain alphabets, but do maintain a certain humane friendliness, unlike their German counterpart.

From my study of Gill's type and lettering, I can see the evidence and influence of Johnston and I think it is good that he moved away from the art of calligraphy. He became a master of letterforms in his own right and also showed us how many of Johnston's theories were valid to the design of type as well as calligraphy; for above all, I think Gill's type is beautiful in its simplicity. It would have been interesting to see what kind of typographical work Johnston would have produced had he succumbed to the world of mass production and printed matter more often.

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chapter four~

CHAPTER FOUR

This next chapter is devoted to Irene Wellington, a 20th century calligrapher and pupil of Edward Johnston. It is based on the book More Than Fine Writing, Irene Wellington, Calligrapher (1904 - 1984), which includes writing by calligraphers Heather Child, Ann Hechle, Heather Collins and Donald Jackson.

IRENE WELLINGTON, Calligrapher

Irene Wellington was born on 29 October 1904, in a large farmhouse called Tourney Hall on the Kent coast. Her life as a child, revolved around the farm, her family and her religion and these all instilled in her a deep love of nature; a theme that was to re-occur time and time again in her lifetime's work.

In 1921, she began an art course in Maidstone School of Art. It was there she first became interested in lettering and was introduced to Edward Johnston's book Writing, Illuminating and Lettering.

In 1925, she won a Royal Exhibition Scholarship to the Royal College of Art in London, where Johnston was teaching one day a week. When she received her diploma, she spent a further two years at the Royal College of Art and studied teacher training.

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From 1927, she was Edward Johnston's assistant in the writing class. Of him she said:

He was of anyone I have ever met, the one to have the strongest influence on me, in both my life and my work. I learned from what he was. 18

In 1930, she married and moved to Edinburgh. Edward Johnston recommended Irene as a teacher at the Edinburgh School of Art and in 1932 she became a part-time instructor of writing and illuminating at the college. Irene Wellington devoted most of her life to developing the work of Edward Johnston and many of his ideas are evident in her teaching methods. But first, a note on Irene's own work. Her work was undoubtedly very skilful; she was technically very accomplished in the art of calligraphy. But what makes her work in many ways, is that it is deeply personal and free. It has a wonderful movement in it and this is especially evident in work she executed for friends, or letters she wrote; a notable example being 'Upon Being Given A Norfolk Turkey For Christmas' (Fig. 9); a spontaneous piece of work done as a present for the Marquess and Marchioness of Cholmondeley. These personal pieces show her ability to express emotion in her work. Irene Wellington never had a passion for teaching and had many doubts as to her own ability as a teacher; but she considered it vital to continue the techniques and discipline she had learnt and to promote the craft of calligraphy.

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In her teaching, she placed great importance on the actual piece of work itself, its text and meaning. The hope was that it would encourage students to see calligraphy as more than a technical piece of writing, but as a celebration of the words themselves. She, like Johnston, stretched her students to their limits, always demanding their best, but she also had the ability to criticise in a constructive way, without disheartening a student.

Her desire for thoroughness and perfection is evident in her own work. She completed one of her pieces a quotation by Professor E.A. Lowe, beginning Calligraphy is distinguished by harmony of style (fig. 10) at least a dozen times, finding fault with minor details many others would not even notice. When Irene began to teach she noticed that many of her pupils wrote their words in between two measured lines to ensure uniformity of height in the letters, which gave the resulting composition a more correct and formal look. Irene Wellington insisted that her students write on one bottom ruling line only, thus encouraging a more free and expressive script.

Irene tried to write a book on the basics of calligraphy and put a lot of work into the project, but unfortunately she abandoned it, despite the fact that it was almost ready to be published. It has been suggested that she abandoned the venture because of her belief in writing itself. To Irene, the only way to learn writing was to write. An instructional book would stagnate the idea of a letterform. Only by physically writing a piece, could it develop and its obstacles be overcome. Irene believed that writing had to constantly change and develop.

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Calligraphy
is distinguished by
harmony of style.
It is conscious of the
methods by which
it gets its results.
Its forms are definite.

Calligraphy
is distinguished by
harmony of style.
It is conscious of the
methods by which
it gets its results.
Its forms are definite.

LETTERING: CIRCULATION OF THE PEN

On Vellum, 1st Trial: Decision to return to pencil B planning - abandoned because edges not clean or sharp enough for reproduction - also the size of the letters and the texture of line vary - especially line 4. 2nd Trial: 'the q' in Calligraphy oozed - or the skin did not take the ink at the first touch of the pen in this letter: dislike of capital 'l' with gothic flick in line 4: not satisfied with sweetness of form or rhythm (last line too stiff & too close in texture).

3rd Trial: a lost rhythm in Calligraphy: all the writing livelier because of the resistant surface of the vellum & the pen could grip the surface. but although these points were good the whole was spoilt as the skin was too porous, allowing the ink to spread. Surface a little like horny blotting paper. (of such an apparent contradiction may be suggested as an example) the surface shd be matt & velvety pen making a 'trough' to catch & contain the ink.

4th Trial The letter 't' in distinguished a b in 'by' line 1 & the letter 'f' not so good in any line. The 'f' is not crossed through the stem & the base of every 's' is short, too short. The surface is not sympathetic it gives an oozed letter rather than a crisp letter clean at the edges. This particular vellum surface was chosen for use for reproduction purposes since less fine lines reproduce more truly but the surface

affects the control of the pen in the wrong way instead of aiding the hand and pen. Faults which are acceptable in long (or short) REAL MSS carried by the life of the writing & the fineness of pen touch in an original MSS are not acceptable in such a short text for reproduction accep

These all were
wrong
not really easy
paper too porous
prob all too
wordy

LETTERING: CIRCULATION OF THE PEN

FIG. 10. 'calligraphy is distinguished by harmony of style'.

Irene acknowledged her debt to Johnston but was responsible for her own ideas, whereas many before had merely repeated what they had learnt from Johnston. As Johnston said, the rules are there as a basis 'not for rigidity but for liberation'.¹⁹ As a young student, it is obvious in her work for 'the defence of Gwenevere' that Irene Wellington was influenced by Johnston's 'modernised half uncial' in his book (fig. 11) Writing, Illuminating and Lettering, which she studied in Maidstone School of Art. In his book Johnston thought this script to be a good starting model, as it showed the thick and thin strokes made by a broad edged pen well. But he later changed this idea, thinking the script looked too archaic and provided a 10th century hand as a starting point. Even though Irene was in many ways of thinking like Edward Johnston - for example in her search for perfection and thoroughness in work - as she developed, she did not stick so rigidly to Johnston's changing ways of thinking. When she had moved to Edinburgh and was away from his style of calligraphy and teaching, her own personal style of calligraphy developed.

The early work of Johnston and Wellington show that they were influenced by the decorative work of Victorian illumination (fig. 12). In his latter years, Edward Johnston began to place more emphasis on the simplicity of form and encouraging paring down to the bare essentials. Irene on the other hand was a far more complex character. She thought and felt very deeply, both in her work and life and found Johnston's idea of simplicity in itself very difficult.

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BUT knowing
now that they
would have her speak
She threw her wet hair backward
from her brow
Her hand close to her mouth touch-
ing her cheek

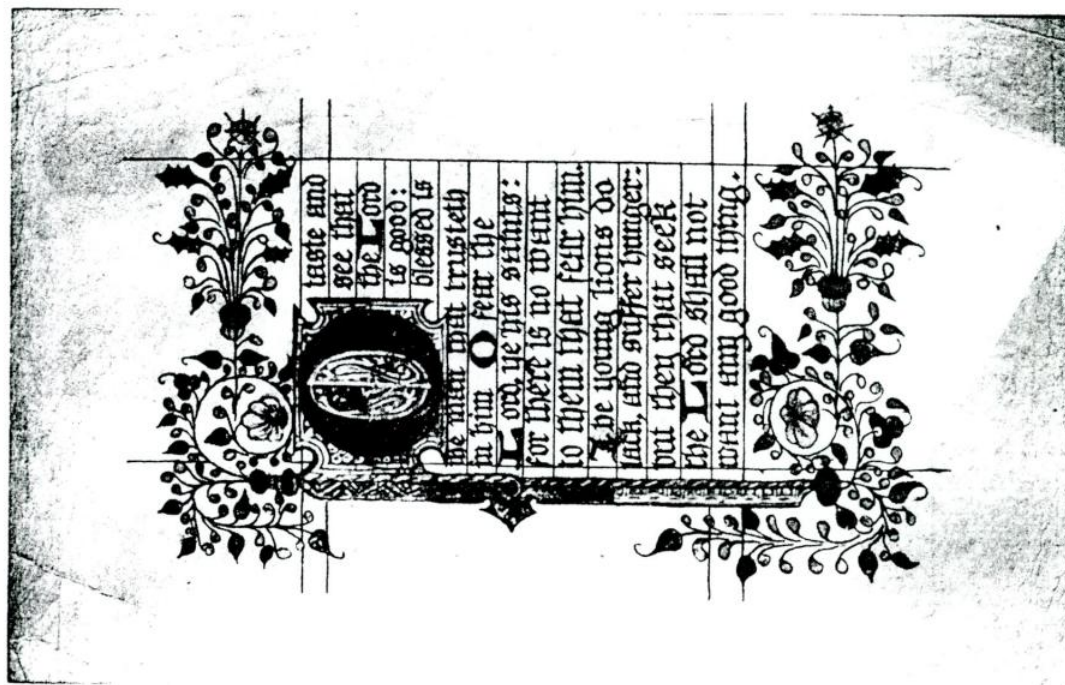
abcdefghijklm
nopqrstuvwxyz:

Modernized Half-Uncial (I.).

FIG. 11. The defence of Gwenevere and Johnstons modernised half uncial.



FIG. 12. Early work of Irene Wellington.



Early attempt of Johnston.

As a student, the idea of the decorated page was always attractive to Irene. Her work over the years shows many designs and problems on her rough drafts, illustrating her fascination with the combination of writing and decoration. She had a lively imagination and had to search to strive a balance between the essential formal roots of Johnston's teaching and her own lively personal expression. Her work is a combination of these two ideals and I think that is what makes it so full of life and exuberance, yet it never loses the sense of importance of the words. It is worth noting that Heather Collins, in her article, 'Cataloging the Irene Wellington Collection', notices that Irene Wellington has hidden a cat and squirrel in the top right corner of one of her most formal pieces of work The Wykehamist Role of Honour (Fig. 13).

I think Irene Wellington's work is valuable in the study of 20th century calligraphy. Many modern day designers may consider it old fashioned and a little too personalised, but I see it as an important furthering of the work of Edward Johnston; Calligraphy taken a step further. Her work is a link between Edward Johnston's traditions and the calligraphic work of today. It also shows us how the input of our own personalities and emotions can make for a very real living piece of work and give a good composition in design the extra addition of a sense of life.

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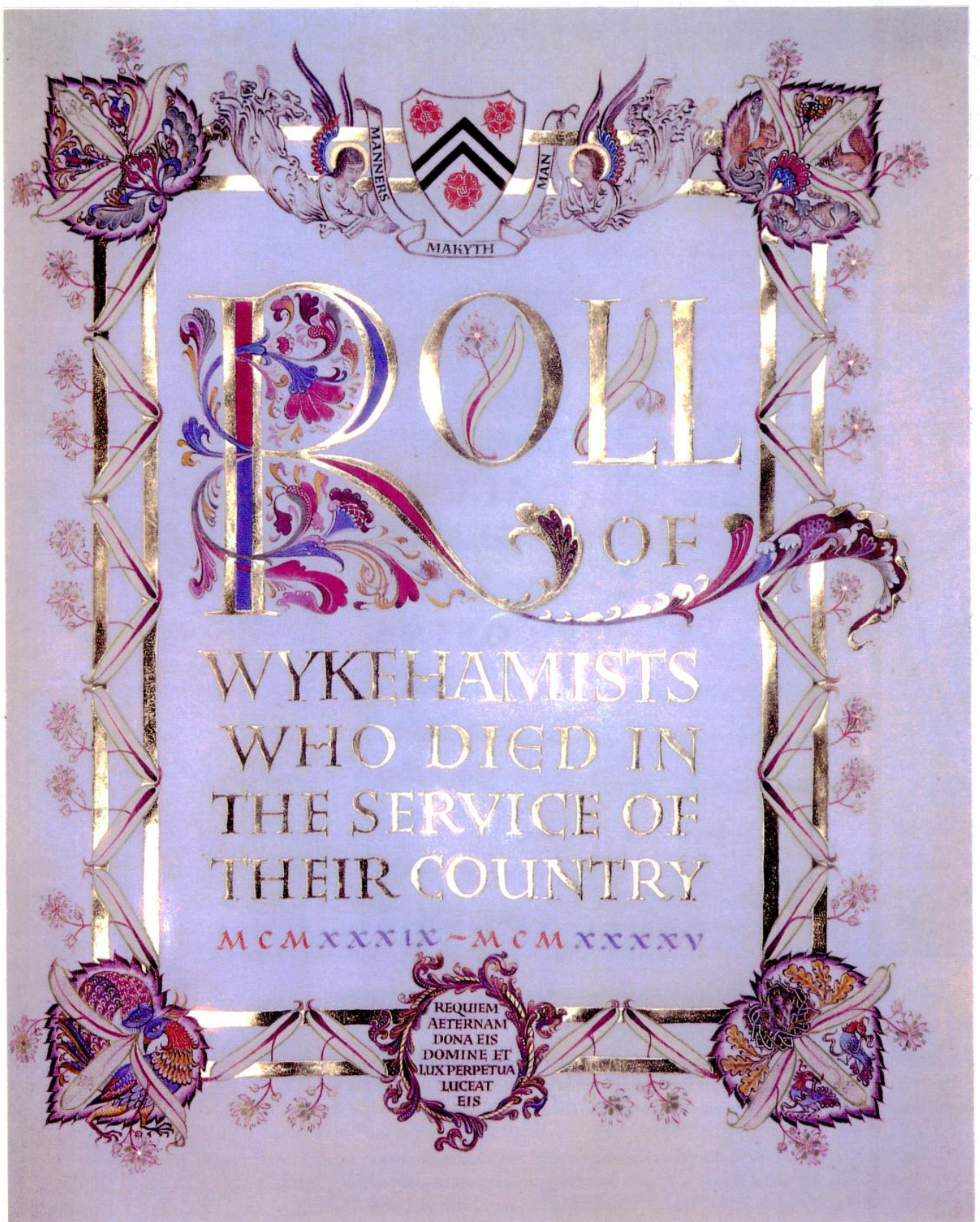
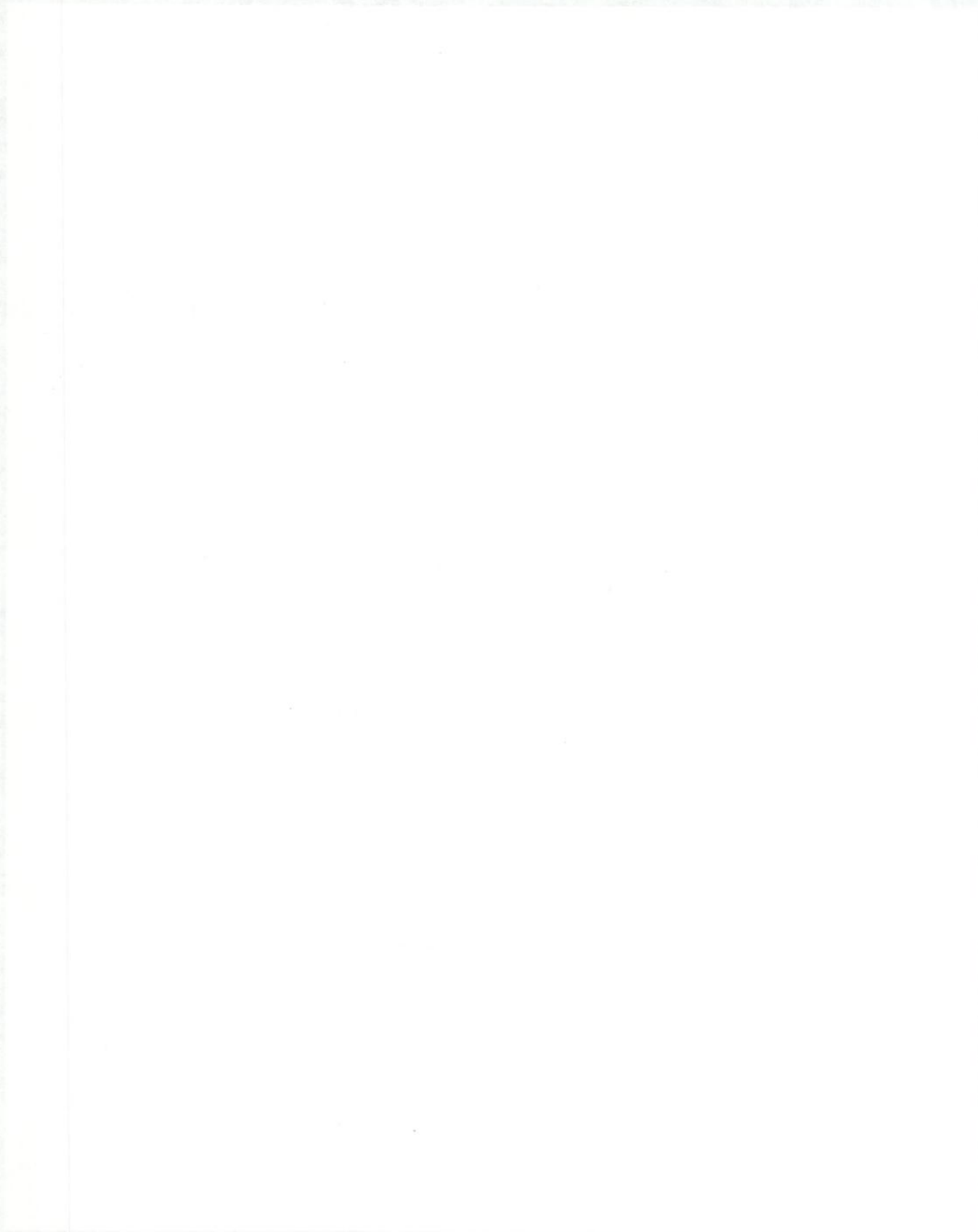


FIG. 13. The Wykehamist Roll of Honour. Irene Wellington.





chapter five~

CHAPTER FIVE

In the author's preface to his book Writing, Illuminating and Lettering, Edward Johnston suggests that one's handwriting and scribbling can be an excellent foundation for the execution of good letters. This next chapter is devoted to handwriting and the theories of the calligraphers I have studied.

THE DECLINE OF FORMAL HANDWRITING

I personally see handwriting as an important part of modern calligraphy; it reflects our age and the times we live in. Unfortunately today, it reflects our age all too well and the result is bad lettering which is often illegible. Not only did Johnston think handwriting was a good foundation for the improvement of one's letterforms, but he also states that good handwriting is one of the 'most practical benefits of the study of calligraphy'.²⁰ He advises the calligrapher to train his hand to make the strokes automatically so that the results are as much like the calligrapher's handwriting as they are like his formal scripts. He obviously feels that the freedom and personality of handwriting are an important aspect of calligraphy.

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On 2 January 1913, Johnston gave a lecture on the 'General Principles of Handwriting' at the L.C.C. Conference Of Teachers, complete with blackboard illustrations. He admitted that he had never formally taught handwriting at schools but had spent ten years teaching students a basic formal round hand based on the use of a square ribbed reed or quill pen. He criticises the fact that handwriting copybook manuals were biased towards quick writing. Rapidity, he stated, comes from 'practice and necessity'²¹ and in the teaching of handwriting the foremost aim should be the teaching of writing well. Only then, would good writing develop into a faster hand if it was necessary. He also recommends the practice of a Roman or Irish uncial hand to slow the speed down and train the hand away from the common fault of handwriting, which is excessive angularity.

Eric Gill also had something to contribute in the criticism of rapid writing. In the final chapter of his book the Essay on Typography he states that handwriting today is poor because everyone is forced to scribble for speed. He acknowledges that handwriting will always be used as a form of communication, despite the fact that typewriters were being more widely used. In order to counteract the ill effects of speed on handwriting, he suggests that we all learn phonography - the writing of symbols corresponding to sounds - and use this as our means of written communication. This would also serve the purpose of linking up the phonetic differences between what our language sounds like and what we write.

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In his lecture, Johnston also recommends the study of the roman capital alphabets when teaching handwriting and he stresses its importance as the ancestor of all our alphabets. He also traces the developments of the italic hand that is closer to natural handwriting, which tends to have a slight slant.

Irene Wellington executed a series of handwriting copybooks, thought to be inspired by the Victorian copybooks her father and mother studied. They were originally intended to be published in four parts. The first three parts were published between 1955 and 1957. The fourth book remained incomplete for 20 years until the Pentalic Corporation suggested the four parts be joined in one edition which was published in 1977 and is still in print. An enormous amount of work went into her copybooks; the rough sketches and trials fit into a fair-sized suitcase. At the beginning of her edition of copybooks, she said:

the models in this book are meant to be a beginning, not an end first make a thorough study of the essential shapes your own freedom has to grow from personal movements. 22

Like Johnston, she stresses the writer's personal input into handwriting and calligraphy. Irene Wellington felt that our handwriting was an expression of our time. I have already mentioned that she always thought that lettering must change and grow in order to develop and she felt the same about handwriting. She thought that insufficient consideration was given to it in the school curriculum and she saw her copybooks as an example for handwriting, but not to be slavishly copied. She stressed the individuality of handwriting. It should be seen as 'a living thing'. 23

So what can be done about modern handwriting? In his Essay on Typography, Gill complains that our traditions of handwriting make no reference to printed letters. Despite this, he notes that we often use the printed copper plate style type (fig. 14) for invitations, visiting cards, etc., which while having no relation to the development of printed typography, is much more firmly rooted in the style of handwriting. He claims that modern handwriting, if it is to change for the better, must be changed with the knowledge of good printing styles and not by the revival of ancient calligraphy. I think Gill is being a bit extreme in this attitude and likewise in his suggestion that we abandon our handwriting in favour of phonography, for we cannot underestimate the contribution of ancient calligraphy in today's handwriting and practice of letterforms, calligraphy or printed type. Gill also notes how highly the Chinese consider calligraphy and good inscription work. For them, good handwriting is more highly honoured than good painting for us. Gill puts this down to the fact that the art of writing is free from the constraints and snobbishness of fine art. Everyone can appreciate it for what it is, therefore the Chinese think highly of it.

Hermann Zapf, the type designer and calligrapher, studied calligraphy through Edward Johnston's book Writing, Illuminating and Lettering. He also appreciates the interest the orientals have in writing. In his article on The Future of Calligraphy, he notes that Japanese children have a contest every year in Japanese brush writing. You do not have to be an artist or calligrapher or have an artistic family background. It is considered an important part of their culture.

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ci abcdefghijklmnopqrstu
vwxyz 1234567890 ? ! &
A B C D E F G H I J K
L M N O P Q R S T U
V W X Y Z 55° S O R

FIG. 14. The copperplate style.

His contribution to the improvement of modern handwriting is his suggestion that people must be made aware of good and bad letterforms, on television, in print and in general public use. He, like many others, regrets that good handwriting is no longer taught in primary schools, where the education in letterforms should start. We should not forget the art of good handwriting. It not only has a lot to offer the future fields of new growth in calligraphy style but, as Irene Wellington has put it, it is an expression of our culture - an expression that can be enjoyed by all and not just the artistic few.

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chapter six~

CHAPTER SIX

This final chapter discusses the future of calligraphy, the courses of study available, the effect of technology on the lettering arts today and the availability of work in calligraphy. I have also consulted Hermann Zapf's article on The Future of Calligraphy and looked at the role of the Society of Scribes and Illuminators in the development of calligraphy.

THE FUTURE OF CALLIGRAPHY

Edward Johnston's work and study in the field of calligraphy signalled a revival in the early 20th century - a revival that is still in progress today as the development of calligraphy continues. The Society of Scribes and Illuminators, the oldest guild of calligraphers, was founded in 1921 by students of Edward Johnston. Its aims are the advancing of the crafts of writing and illuminating.

The society has approximately 70 fellows and to be elected as a fellow requires technical accomplishment, an appreciation of historical models and techniques, and an ability to adapt them for contemporary work. Lay membership was introduced in 1952 and is open to all. The Society has now about 2,000 members worldwide. It holds public exhibitions and also has a lay member's exhibition day, which is a popular event in the society's year.

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In order to encourage the craft, the society has published the Calligrapher's Handbook and a series of one day workshops on a variety of related subjects is also part of it's annual work.

Despite Johnston's work, the revival did have it's misfortunes. In the 1950's and 1960's, calligraphy was removed from the curriculum in many of the art schools. In the Royal College of Art, a re-organisation of the curriculum took place in the early 1950's. It was decided to return to the original purpose of the college, directing it more towards designing in industry. A new school of graphic design was set up which did not see the potential of calligraphy in the field of design. In 1953, Dorothy Mahoney, the calligraphy tutor, was removed from the college staff, so that calligraphy was no longer an option for study.

In the early 1960's, there was a re-organisation of the curriculum in the art schools in England. The Diploma in Art and Design replaced the National Diploma in Design and calligraphy was not included in the curriculum. As a result of these changes, no national qualifications with degree status is available to students of calligraphy. Reigate School of Art and Design did continue to offer an advanced course in calligraphy, heraldry and illumination up until 1987. The course was restructured and is now under the authority of the Business and Technician Education Council, which stipulates that the courses be broadly based. As a result, the studies do not go much beyond an introductory level of calligraphy or other areas. But there is a growing interest in calligraphy in the past few years and many colleges now offer it as a study in relation to their courses.

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the Society of Scribes and Illuminators also run many short courses and workshops. Since the changes in Reigate School of Art and Design, Digby Stuart College (which is one part of the four colleges forming the Roehampton Institute of Higher Education) has become the college with the most comprehensive education in calligraphy in Britain.

In her article 'Ninety Years On', Ann Camp - who is the course leader in calligraphy at Roehampton Institute, gives a description of the course and its aims. Ann Camp and Derek Starkey, the bookbinder in the department, decided to set up a course aimed more at the education of professional calligraphers rather than school teachers. This one year full-time diploma course in calligraphy and bookbinding began in autumn 1979. As the course progressed, it became evident that many of the students applying, were not up to diploma level and a one year certificate course was started. They also started a course in advanced calligraphy for those who wished to further their studies. In 1983, problems arose and the courses in calligraphy and bookbinding were taken out of the art department and came under the department of Roehampton Institute of Continuing Education.

The Roehampton Institute now offers a certificate course in calligraphy and bookbinding, which can lead on to a diploma in calligraphy and finally the diploma in advanced calligraphy.

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Ann Camp briefly outlines the aims of the course. They are based on the integration of history, theory and practice. They explore the basic principles and methods of work. These are partly based on Edward Johnston's later teaching, but she stresses are not an imitation of his original work, which she does see as excellent and very important in the revival of ²⁴ calligraphy, but 'very much of its period'. She states that the courses are more concerned with 'method, structure, related form and rhythmic flow 'rather than exact copies of example writing.' ²⁵

From Ann Camp's outline of the aims of the course, it is obvious to me that calligraphy is taking a different direction to the teaching of Johnston. His studies are nevertheless seen as a good base for the future development of calligraphy.

I can see many possibilities for calligraphy in the field of graphic design, especially Ann Camp's interpretation of letterforms in the context of 'rhythmic flow'.²⁶ Perhaps free flowing calligraphy could become a powerful ally with set type design in the future of typography? I think design today can sometimes be over-dependant on computer type which can be limiting in range compared to what is available. I think, type in a free calligraphic way in conjunction with the stricter set type could be a fresh way of looking at typography in the future of graphic design.

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Hermann Zapf was also critical of the lack of attention given to calligraphy in modern education in his article on the future of calligraphy published in Newsletter in 1983. He criticises the German authorities, noting that the curriculum is organised by the state officials who believe that calligraphy is out-dated and not modern enough in the field of visual communications, which has become so computerised. So what does the computerisation of design hold for the art of calligraphy? Is it possible for the hand written letter to compete with the new technology graphic design has embraced?

Hermann Zapf's work is proof that technology does not have to kill the beauty of design or inhibit it in any way. He always explored new technology in relation to his type design, perhaps this is why he is so successful. Zapf had an excellent grasp of letterforms both in calligraphy and type design plus the ability to use new technology to see his work furthered. Zapf's typeface Zapf Renaissance Italic (fig. 15), designed in 1985-86 is an excellent example of Zapf's knowledge and interest in calligraphy being put to use in his type design to produce a free-flowing yet formal typeface. How will the craft of calligraphy and lettering fare in design, especially in the light of the growth of desktop publishing and computer aided design? Will the craft and hand-workmanship disappear from design?

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Zapf Renaissance Italic ♣ TABVLA ABCDARIÆ

a a b c d d e e e f f f g g g g h i j k k

¶ *A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O*

l m m n n o p p p q r r r r s s s t t t u

P Q R S T U V W X Y Z ♣ Æ Æ

u v v v w w w x x y y y z z z & fi ff

‡ *A B C D E F G H I J K L M*

fl ß ff ffi ffl ll qu th sp st Q b d h k l ♣

N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

♣ *1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 ♣ \$ 12,345,678.90¢*



SCANGRAPHIC DR. BÖGER CO.

(D-2000 Hamburg-Wedel (West Germany))

In her article, 'The Writing on the Wall', Bridget Wilkins discusses whether or not new technology will be the death of lettering as we know it. She states that calligraphy and typography are both lettering, but their close relationship to each other is no longer there. They are now seen as two different ideas when they are fundamentally the same thing. She notes 'the time when monotype worked with Gill and Johnston is gone'.²⁹ Bridget Wilkins blames the calligraphers of today for their narrowmindedness in the fields of lettering design. She feels that the Society of Scribes and Illuminators in their journal The Scribe concentrate too much on past calligraphers and brush and quill methods. She stresses that exploring the potential of tools and materials has always been an important part of developing and improving a craft, so why can't letterers and calligraphers of today explore the use of lettering on the computer? Importantly, she points out that holding on to tools and methods of the past is perfectly valid as long as we are aware of modern tools and we use them in conjunction with old tools and methods. Holding on to what we have learnt in the past and exploring what we are learning in the present is the only way to progress.

Perhaps for the future of calligraphy, calligraphers should be ready to explore the possibilities computer-aided design presents to us; while, on the other hand, typographers should explore the potential of the handwritten letter.

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In her excellent article, Bridget Wilkins also encourages letterers to explore the cultural differences in the use of letters, commenting that in the west, we tend to limit it to the book. I think there is a need to bring letterforms into a new dimension. They can be an art form in themselves; they need not necessarily be legible. They can break out of the field of communication in which they are confined. Perhaps in the future, calligraphers and letterers will begin to see letterforms as something other than a written message or sign for us to read.

I recently talked to Denis Brown, an Irish calligrapher, about his work. Denis Brown was born in Dublin and is the first Irish Fellow of the Society of Scribes and Illuminators. He is also the youngest fellow, being elected at the age of 20. He studied at Digby Stuart College between 1986 and 1989, completing the Certificate course in Calligraphy and Bookbinding, the Diploma in Calligraphy and the Diploma in Advanced Calligraphy. He is now a fulltime self-employed calligrapher. His work seems to be a combination of the traditional work of calligraphy with a contemporary exploration as a form of expression. He sees calligraphy as being many different things and has experimented in various different approaches.

His Sir John Nevill piece (fig. 16), is an excellent example of classical calligraphy being used in a heraldic piece. It is a beautiful piece of work illustrating how calligraphy can be used in contemporary pieces of work for scrolls, certificates, etc., which may require a more traditional approach.

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rapidly took on a major position in the book's circulation.

Three times a year, the book receives the highly esteemed, six-figure, \$100,000 prize which reports and information interest in the publishing industry. The book is the Library, which may be consulted in the Central School of Art and Design, through nearly 500 books and journals, 100 of these sections and 100 of these books, through the public library system.



Brown acknowledges the traditional approach towards certain work where the text takes preference to any visual ideas the calligrapher might have, in order not to change the ideas of the author. Recently he, like many others, has been experimenting with a different approach to calligraphy and looking at it as a form of expression. Legibility is sacrificed to a certain degree, depending on the piece and Brown has adopted quite a painterly fashion and artistic approach in pieces such as 'What Anguish Between Us?' (fig. 17).

In a series of wall hangings for the four seasons in which legibility has been sacrificed (fig. 18); colour and mood are more important. Brown justified this, saying that the pieces were commissioned to be displayed as wall hangings in a restaurant. If they were legible, they would be seen as a sign rather than a wall decoration. His work is a contemporary approach to calligraphy that is changing the status of it to an artform. Nevertheless, the traditional and more functional approach to calligraphy will also continue to be developed and practiced.

We appear to see so little of calligraphy in our daily lives. We are unaware of how much the hand drawn letter surrounds us. Advertising (fig. 19), we see almost every day, but do we consider it as calligraphy?

For something we appear to see so little of, there is quite a lot of scope for work, especially in the design field.

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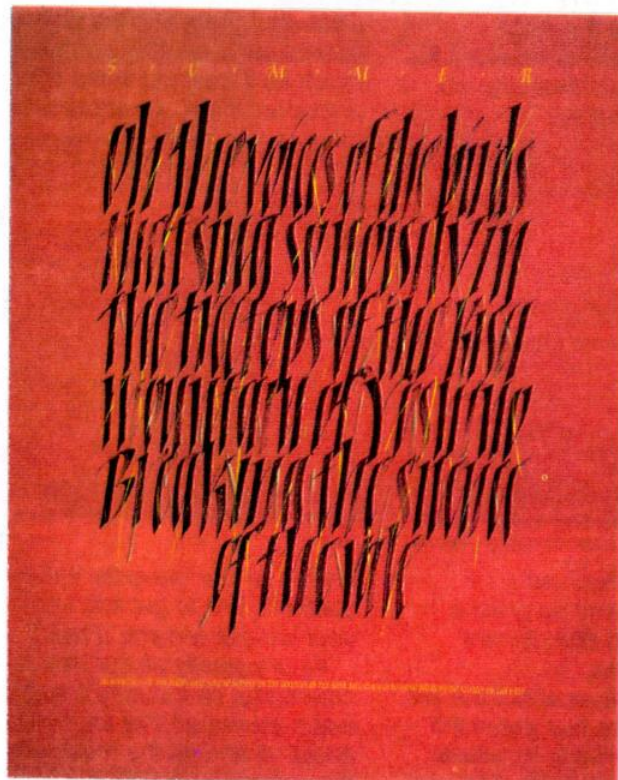


FIG. 18. Summer by Denis Brown.





FIG. 19. calligraphy in modern advertising.

Irene Wellington remembers her first sight of Edward Johnston. It was a class she attended in 1925, a class of 93 new students, most of them there because attendance was compulsory. Many of the students did not share Irene's interest in calligraphy; many of them saw it as a rather monkish pursuit.

Donald Jackson, an American calligrapher, notes that many of the students probably left the classes because of the greater employment potential in other crafts, and the attraction of fame in fine art. Johnston at the time was still critical of the photo-mechanical industrial reproduction methods of printing. He claimed he had chosen a purer craft. This attitude unfortunately did not provide much work prospects.

Many calligraphers have had many of their pieces and commissions printed and this has led to a promotion of calligraphy in the design field and provided much work for contemporary scribes. Donald Jackson, a contemporary American scribe quite recently designed the type for Cranks health food shops (fig. 20). I think it is an excellent example of modern calligraphy being used in design. The lettering is ideal for the image of health and wholefoods Cranks specialise in.

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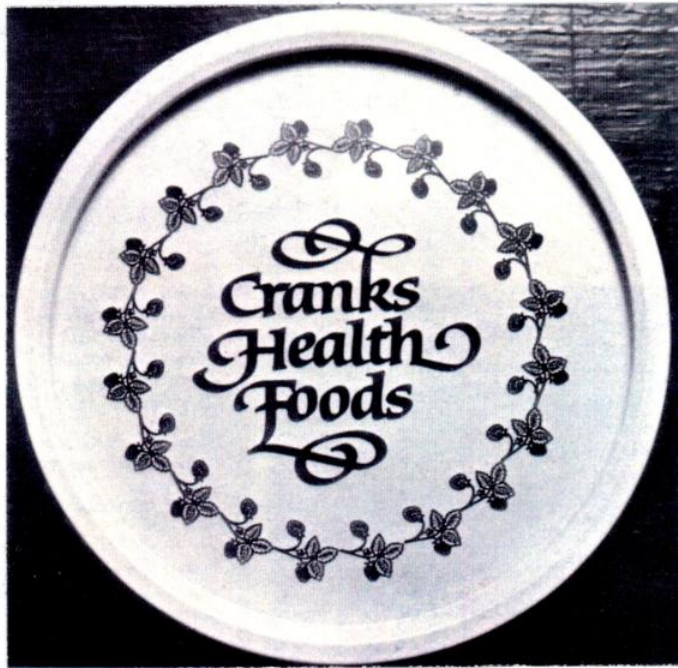
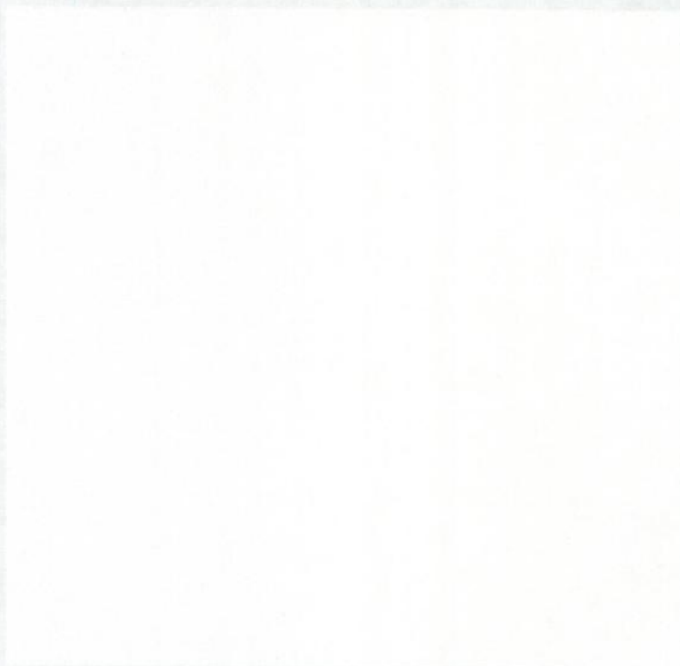


FIG. 20. Cranks Healthfood logo by Donald Jackson.



I talked to another Irish calligrapher, Tim O'Neill, author of The Irish Hand and asked him about work availability for calligraphy. He felt that there was a market there for handwritten work, especially in the field of design. He found that once people knew he was a calligrapher, they often offered work, but he thought that people were not aware of the possibilities that calligraphy had to offer contemporary design and that this needed to be promoted more. But he also thought that younger calligraphers such as Denis Brown would be changing people's attitudes towards calligraphy and there would be an increase in it's use in print and design. It is just a case of making people more aware of it's possibilities.

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SUMMARY

To quote Edward Johnson's 'Calligraphy is a means to many ends',²⁸ and it is in this aspect I have learnt most from my study of calligraphy in the 20th century. My first and second chapter provided me with a basis for the study of the effects of Johnston's teaching. The beginning of a revival in calligraphy had started well before Johnston had ever considered a career in art, under the guidance of William Morris. Morris's interest in the arts and crafts spanned many fields of work, but before Johnston arrived nobody had concentrated on a thorough study of letterforms or made any significant changes to the art of lettering. We are indebted to W.R. Lethaby for the support and encouragement given to Johnston in the renewed study of calligraphy. Johnston embraced Lethaby's ideas, many of which were drawn directly from the views circulating within the arts and crafts movement at that time. He passed these ideas on to his students and developed them in his own work. Both Lethaby and Johnston were firm believers in the work ethic. Work was the way forward and knowledge came from doing, applying oneself to one's work. Their idea of the designer and craftsman being one was an important theory in the revival of all crafts, not just calligraphy. Johnston's and Lethaby's perception of how to attain beauty was perhaps the most interesting discovery of my thesis. Their belief that work that was well done and well intentioned would be naturally beautiful. The 'beauty of pleasant form'²⁹ was only reached by first considering the use of the piece or, in the case of calligraphy, the author's intention. When we are true to these intentions, beauty is the natural progression.

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My chapters on Johnston's pupils, Eric Gill and Irene Wellington provided me with an insight into the effect of Johnston's teaching and the different routes of study available to the calligrapher. Gill and Wellington could not have diversified further away from one another in their understanding and development of Johnston's teaching. Gill's interest in cut inscriptions and type design stemmed directly from Johnston's teaching. Johnston's sans serif typeface, 'Johnston Sans' proved to be a solid foundation for Gill's typeface, 'Gill sans' and many other modern sans serifs. Johnston unfortunately did not pursue his career in type design. Had he, I think he would have been very successful, but he, like Irene Wellington, chose to develop the art of calligraphy further. Many students of Johnston were not so successful, perhaps because they took Johnston's teaching too literally. Johnston stressed the fact that his teaching was merely a basis for the construction of letterforms. Irene Wellington's work stood apart as successful calligraphy in its own right because she put so much of her personality and liveliness into it and developed away from Johnston's more rigid theories.

When I had studied Johnston's students and the effect his teaching had on their continuing work, I thought it appropriate to assess the effect of his teaching today.

My chapter on handwriting, another subject that Johnston influenced greatly, draws attention to the lack of care taken in handwriting today. I feel that Zapf's contribution to the improvement of handwriting is most important. People must be made aware of good and bad letterforms in their surroundings, on the television, in print and in general public use.

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My final chapter on the future of calligraphy leads me to conclude that Johnston's teaching is not as relevant to calligraphy today. As Ann Camp said it is 'very much of its' period'.³⁰ The calligraphy courses today place more emphasis on the rhythm flow and structure of letterforms rather than exact copies of example writing. Graphic design holds many possibilities for calligraphy, for what is calligraphy but a different way of looking at type? The computerisation of design today could be the death of the handwritten letter as the printing press was in the mid-15th century, but I don't think it will be. The revival Johnston started is continuing and the relevant courses are available. Calligraphy is branching out in different directions; it is now seen as an art form in itself. Above all, Johnston's studies sparked the revival and proved to be a sound foundation point for students of calligraphy in the early 20th century and today.

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