In search of the First Lady of Typography:

A reappraisal of Beatrice Warde.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reappraises how the writer and typographic scholar Beatrice Warde (1900-69) established a role for herself in the male-dominated twentieth-century British printing industry, and, in so doing, became known as the First Lady of Typography. Because Warde continues to be well-regarded by the typographic establishment, the thesis sets out to establish the extent to which that reputation is justified. In particular, it considers how Warde used her gender to attain this position, the degree to which wider society and the prevailing conditions of the printing industry shaped her career, and how and why she created her own legacy.

Using a mix of methodological approaches, this research brings together primary historical evidence from hitherto untapped archives that focus on Warde, her networks and the printing industry. It also draws on reports in the trade and mainstream press which relate to Warde and the context in which she worked. A selection of her writings is also analysed alongside images of Warde herself.

As a result, this thesis provides a new understanding of how Warde established and progressed her position in the printing industry, what inspired and drove her ambition, where her ideas originated, and how she used them in support of her aspiration to establish a legacy in a male-dominated industry. It demonstrates the role of performance in Warde's quest for success, and how she adopted multiple identities such as that of the New Woman to achieve her desired outcomes. The extent to which she used diverse media such as the written and spoken word, radio, fashion, and photography in support of her goals is also shown to be critical to her success, as is her pioneering use of the new area of public relations. Finally, the wider cultural and social environment in which she lived, including religion, is demonstrated as important to Warde's professional ideas and development.

Ultimately, this thesis concludes that Warde's status as the First Lady of Typography is deserved not for what she said, but how she said it and that her communication skills not only reinvigorated the printing industry of her day, but also influences the way that typography is thought of, written about, and taught today.

TIMELINE

This timeline covers key historical, social, political and technological milestones pertinent to women in society opposite those of relevance to Warde and the printing industry in particular.

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	**PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES**
	1838 In New York, the first working typecasting machine capable of casting 6,000 separate pieces per hour was invented by David Bruce.
1866 In the US a petition for Universal Suffrage was part of the first national effort to obtain women's right to vote.	
	1873 In America May Lamberton Becker was born.
	1886 The Linotype, the first automated setting machine, designed by Ottmar Mergenthaler, was installed in the New York Tribune.
	1887 Patents were granted in the US for the Monotype Casting Machine.
	1889 In Britain Stanley Morison was born.
	1891 The St Bride Foundation was established in London.
	1894 Frederic Warde was born In America.
	1895 The Penrose Annual was first published.
1897 Over 729,000 women were eligible to vote in local elections in England and Wales.	
1897 Ferdinand Faithfull Begg MP, unsuccessfully introduced a women's suffrage bill to the British parliament.	
	1897 Lord Dunraven bought the patent rights for the Monotype Machine in Britain and the Colonies.
1900 Making photography affordable for consumers, the Kodak Brownie went on sale in America for $1 with film costing 15 cents a roll.	
	1900 Beatrice Becker was born in Manhattan.
1900 There were 211 different daily newspapers in Britain.	
1901 The census revealed that women outnumbered men in Britain by one million.	
1901 In Britain 900,000 children from ten to fifteen years old were at work.	
	1902 The Monotype Recorder was first published.
1903 The Women's Social and Political Union was founded by Emmeline Pankhurst.	

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES
	1903 In America, offset printing from a metal plate was proposed.
1904 Gertrude von Pretzold became the first female religious minister in England. She was a Unitarian.	
1905 In Britain, militant acts in support of women's suffrage began.	
1906 The British Daily Mail creates the term Suffragette.	
1906 In London, 300 women representing women's groups met the Prime Minister to demand votes for women.	
	1906 British-designed Offset printing presses were built with three cylinders.
1907 Pope Pius X issued the decree Lamentabili Sane Exitu, preventing Catholics from following Modernism.	
1907 Organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 3,000 women took part in the first large-scale procession in London supporting suffrage.	
1907 In favour of non-violent forms of protest, and supporting of suffrage, the Women's Freedom League was founded.	
	1908 In Manhattan, the marriage of Gustave Becker and May Lamberton Becker came to an end.
1908 In Britain the Women's Social and Political Union organised processions involving up to 500,000 women, some of whom smashed windows in Downing Street to gain the attention of the Prime Minister.	
	1909 Morison became part of the London Catholic Jesuit community.
1909 Marion Wallace Dunlop, member of the Women's Social and Political Union was the first suffragette to go on hunger strike in Britain after being arrested.	
1909 Suffragists on hunger-strike in Winson Green Prison, Birmingham were the first to be force-fed.	
1910 In what became known as Black Friday, 200 women were assaulted by the police during a London suffrage protest. Three women later died from their injuries.	
1911 A Conciliation Bill is debated in Parliament and wins a majority. The British Prime Minister agrees to devote time to a suffrage bill.	

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES
1913 Emily Davison threw herself in front of King George's horse at the Epsom Derby and died in hospital of her injuries four days later.	
1913 Approaching 10,000 new books were published annually in Britain.	
1914 The outbreak of World War One.	
	1915 In Britain, the Monotype Corporation turned its facilities over to manufacturing for the war.
1917 In Britain, the Electoral Reform Bill was passed giving the vote to certain women over 30 or those over 21 who owned their own home or were married, or householders.	
1918 In Britain, the Representation of the People Act was passed extending the vote to 8.4 million women aged over 30.	
	1918 Beatrice Becker met Frederic Warde
1918 World War One ended.	
1918 The British general election on 14 December was the first since the passing of the Representation of the People Act.	
1918 The Qualification of Women Act is passed giving women over 21 the right to stand as a member of the British parliament.	
	1918 Electrically-powered mechanised printing presses with automatic paper feed were adopted.
1919 Six per cent of British homes had an electricity supply.	
1919 Nancy Astor became the first woman to take a seat in the British parliament.	
1920 Prohibition began in America.	
1922 American Suffragette Rebecca Felton became the first female American senator.	
	1922 Beatrice Becker graduated from Barnard College.
	1922 Beatrice Becker began working at the ATF Library.
	1922 Morison became the Typographic advisor to the Monotype Corporation.
	1922 Beatrice Becker married Frederick Warde on 30 December.
	1923 The first issue of the Fleuron was published.
	1924 In America, Beatrice Warde met Stanley Morison.

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES
	1924 | Beatrice Warde left the ATF library.
	1925 | Beatrice Warde arrived in England.
1925 | The Law of Property Act in Britain enabled a married woman, to dispose of property she solely owned or that she owned jointly with her husband, for her own benefit.	
	1925 | The typeface Perpetua was designed by Eric Gill for the Monotype Corporation.
	1925 | Morison became Typographic Advisor for Cambridge University Press.
	1926 | Beatrice and Frederic Warde separated.
	1926 | Beatrice Warde devised and adopted the pseudonym Paul Beaujon.
	1927 | Beatrice Warde became Editor of the Monotype Recorder.
	1928 | The typeface Gill Sans is designed by Eric Gill for the Monotype Corporation.
1928 | In Britain the Equal Franchise Act was passed giving women electoral equality with men, making women in the majority in the 1929 election.	
	1928 | The new Monotype Super Caster, developed and made in Britain was introduced.
1929 | The Great Depression, a worldwide economic depression, began.	
	1929 | Beatrice Warde became interested in Roman Catholicism.
	1929 | Beatrice Warde became the Publicity Manager for the Monotype Corporation.
	1929 | Morison became Typographic Advisor for the *Times*.
1929 | Thirty-eight per cent of London families were living in poverty.	
	1930 | The final issue of *The Fleuron* was published.
	1930 | Designs for Morison's typeface Times New Roman were completed.
	1930 | On 7 October Beatrice Warde gave a speech 'Printing Should be Invisible' to the British Typographers' Guild at the St Bride Institute London.
	1930 | 'Printing Should be Invisible' was published in the *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer*.

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES
1930 Sixty per cent of Britons professed to follow the Church of England.	
1930 There were 2,781,000 Roman Catholics in Britain.	
	1932 The *Crystal Goblet* was published in America by Marchbanks Press.
	1932 The Monotype Corporation publish 'Inscription for a Printing Office' by Beatrice Warde to promote Perpetua Titling.
1932 Hattie Wyatt Caraway was the first woman elected to the US Senate.	
1932 Over sixteen per cent of British women were unemployed.	
1933 London County Council removed its marriage bar that had prevented married women being employed in certain roles.	
1933 Prohibition ended in America.	
1935 Kodachrome colour film became successfully used for motion pictures, the following year it became available for slides and home movies.	
1936 In Britain the Midwives Act was passed encouraging training and refresher courses for midwives with the aim of lowering deaths in childbirth.	
1936 Edward VIII abdicated to marry American divorcee Wallis Simpson.	
1938 The Great Depression came to an end.	
	1939 In Florida, Beatrice and Frederic Warde were divorced.
	1939 Frederic Warde died.
1939 In Britain 990 million cinema tickets were sold every week.	
1939 The outbreak of World War Two.	
	1939 In Britain, the Monotype Corporations engineering expertise went over to manufacturing armaments for the Government.
	1940 Eric Gill died.
	1940 The America Outpost of Great Britain was founded and Beatrice Warde became an early member.
	1940 Beatrice Warde wrote two variations of 'Inscription for a Printing Office'.

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES
	1941 Beatrice Warde founded Books Across the Sea.
	1941 In America the Typofiles published *Bombed but unbeaten: Excerpts from the War Commentary of Beatrice L. Warde*.
	1941 Beatrice Warde is baptised into Roman Catholicism.
	1941 Beatrice Warde's chapter, 'An American in the Blitz' was published in *This Burning Heat*, a book highlighting Catholic reflections of the War.
1943 In Britain, over seven million women were involved in war work.	
1944 The Education Act 1944 was passed, providing free secondary education for all pupils in Britain and raising the school leaving age to 15. The act also ended the marriage bar that had previously applied to women teachers.	
1945 World War Two ended.	
	1945 Beatrice Warde returned to work for the Monotype Corporation in Britain.
	1945 Books Across the Sea became part of the English-Speaking Union.
1946 In Britain the marriage bar was removed for female civil servants.	
1947 Women became eligible to take degrees at Cambridge University. Numbers were limited to one for every ten men.	
	1948 The first British photosetting machine the Rotophoto was manufactured.
1949 The British mainstream press including the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* reached 16,000,000 readers daily.	
1951 The British Government encouraged women to return to domesticity and the number of working women began to return to pre-war numbers.	
	1955 *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography* was published in Britain by Sylvan Press.
	1955 The Monotype Corporation began to market the Monophoto film setter.
	1958 May Lamberton Becker died.
	1959 Burt's *A Psychological Study of Typography* was published by Cambridge University Press, funded by the Monotype Corporation.

SOCIETAL MILESTONES	PRINTING INDUSTRY MILESTONES
	1960 Beatrice wrote 'A New Inscription for a Printing School'.
	1960 Beatrice Warde retired from the Monotype Corporation.
1963 America passed The Equal Pay Act.	
	1965 T.S. Eliot died.
	1967 Stanley Morison died.
1967 The papal decree Lamentabili Sane Exitu, preventing Catholics from following Modernism, ended.	
	1969 Beatrice Warde died.
1970 The Equal Pay Act was passed in Britain, prohibiting unequal treatment of men and women in terms of pay and employment conditions.	
	1971 The first Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture at the St Bride Institute was given on 31 March 1971 by Bror Zachrisson, speaking on 'The Education of a Printer'.
	1971 Sir Cyril Burt died.
1974 The US introduced the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, ending the practice of banks requiring single women needing to bring a man to co-sign credit applications.	
1975 The 1975 Sex Discrimination Act was passed preventing gender discrimination in areas including education, employment and harassment. This Act enabled British women to open a bank account in their own name without the permission of a man.	
	1976 Apple Computers was founded by Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak.
	1982 The Penrose Annual ceased to be published.
1994 The Church of England first ordained Women priests.	

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ATF – American Type Founders

BAS – Books Across the Sea

BCU – Birmingham City University

BFMP – British Federation of Master Printers

CRL – Cadbury Research Library

NPG – National Portrait Gallery

ODNB – *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

PRO – Public relations officer

TA – Typographical Association

ULC – University Library Cambridge

IMAGES

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My friends and family have, crucially, been ever present throughout my ups and downs and have listened patiently to my continuous discussion of Beatrice Warde. Thank you all. I must especially acknowledge the encouragement of my husband Michael, without whose support this project would not have been possible.

1. INTRODUCTION

MOTIVATION

It was Warde's gender that primarily attracted attention to her during her career. She was a unique female figure in the printing industry, raised to an influential, prominent position. With worldwide visibility reaching all levels of the industry and beyond, Warde's gender remains an attractant after her death and was a primary factor triggering my interest. It must be acknowledged that had she been male, her potential visibility would have likely diminished along with my curiosity.

My research has aimed to reappraise how Warde established a leading role in the British printing industry of the twentieth-century and became known as the First Lady of Typography. Examining justification for this title, her use of gender to achieve this position was investigated, as was how and why she created her legacy, and conditions of wider society and the printing industry which impacted her career.

As a female graphic designer and educator, Warde's circumstances are relevant to my own. During my upbringing my education and ambition were encouraged and supported as a way to a rewarding career and my gender was never a factor. However, this changed when I became a female graphic designer beginning with a design and typographic education conducted predominantly by male tutors. In the British art school I attended in the 1980s, the perspective of male lecturers governed my tuition as well as the vocational outlook of my course, where in some instances ideas were rooted in the stereotyped views of women in the printing industry that proliferated during Warde's career. I began to accept that within the companies I might work for, I would for the most part belong to a gendered minority. In 1994 I formed a design consultancy with a female business partner and in addition to our capabilities and experience, our gender became a positive factor and unique selling point. Before commencing this research, I had not acknowledged how interested I was in the experiences of female graphic designers progressing rewarding,

professional careers. Initially, my research considered how the language and vocabulary used to describe type and typography evolved. In the course of my initial investigations, I found that many of my questions and theories led me to the writings of Beatrice Warde and I began to appreciate the influence she had on current approaches to typography. Becoming aware of the high regard in which she is held — unanimously and unquestioningly — both by her contemporaries and by present-day designers, my focus shifted to Warde herself.

In her lifetime, Warde's work was described as 'witty, erudite, brilliant' and she was elevated to 'Queen of Type', 'First Lady of Typography', 'High Priestess of the Classical Typographical Renaissance', and the 'Leading Lady of Print', titles, incomparable with any ascribed to men of the industry.[1] After her death accolades continued and have been repeated and sustained unquestionably, including those in her obituary in *The Times* describing her as a 'Typographic authority and research scholar'.[2] During her life, admiration came from many sources. Leonard Jay, the first head of the Birmingham School of Printing, addressed Warde in a letter as 'the most gracious and illustrious woman to enhance the art of typography' and Stanley Morison, typographer, historian and close friend of Warde, referred to her as 'your Royal Uniqueness.'[3] These perspectives continue and her work is credited with

[1] Unkown author, 'Introduction to 'English Speaking Typography' *British Printer*, 76 (1963) pp.161-168. The Atlanta Printing Group crowned Warde Queen of Type in 1953. Unknown, 'Beatrice Warde Captivates Capacity Audience', *Printing Industry of Atlanta Bulletin*, 20 (1953) p.3.

[2] Dreyfus, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde The First Lady of Typography', *The Times*, September 1969. Unknown author, 'BP Gallery 3' *British Printer*, 79 (1966) p.59. Unknown author, 'Birthday Greetings to Beatrice Warde' *British Printer*, 73 (1960) p.7.

[3] Archer Parré C., *Jay, Leonard (1888–1963), printer and teacher*, Oxford University Press, 2018 [cited 8 March 2021] Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-110124.> Leonard Jay, 'Letter to Beatrice Warde 12 February 1962.' Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A2/3. Stanley Morison, 'Letter to Beatrice Warde 15 October 1957.' A2/4 Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library. Carter, H.G. and McKitterick, D, *Morison Stanley Arthur, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 22 August 2017] Available from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35107> 'I am greatly thrilled by all the progress you are making. It must be an absolute revelation to the Down Under to be visited by Your Royal Uniqueness.' Warde is touring Australia promoting the Monotype Corporation.

raising the profile of printing, framing typographic concepts, inspiring printing

education and helping to determine the direction of much twentieth-century

typography. To date, limited investigation of the circumstances of these achievements

has taken place and there exists a mythology around Warde and her work, which has

survived unchallenged. Consequently, I was curious to know the background to her

success, what influence she possessed and whom she affected, as well as how she

established her legacy and controlled her presentation. To find answers, I was

motivated to undertake a reassessment of her life and work to obtain a broad,

balanced picture of Warde's career and legacy.

The Warde Archive at the Cadbury Research Library (CRL), Special Collections,

University of Birmingham, is another factor that has supported my research into

Warde's role as a woman in the industry. It was this newly-available collection that

further motivated me to adopt Warde as a subject for my research. This material

could be used to re-assess existing judgments of Warde, allowing new light to be

shed on largely unknown areas, with relevance to her life and career, including her

wartime activity, networks, religious beliefs, the influence of her mother and the

significance of her upbringing and education. In the absence of studies exploring her

career and ideas, knowledge of Warde and her achievements is reliant on detail

formed, curated, presented and frequently disseminated by Warde herself and as a

result, exploration of her self-identification and presentation is vital to an objective

study of her background and work. Importantly, this archive also formed a basis from

which to find answers to my research questions and to interrogate existing

judgements of Warde, which are largely based on a hitherto restricted knowledge of

her life and work. For example, Warde's seminal work, the 'Crystal Goblet',

described as 'the single most famous pronouncement on type' has been discussed,

studied and paraphrased *ad infinitum*, but only now can its effect on her career be re-

contextualised and re-understood in the light of archival documentation relating to Warde and religion.[4]

Additional support for this research emanates from the rejuvenation of interest in women's history and the move to reinstate women in the history books. Printing history, like most histories, has been written from a male perspective and Warde's position as a woman in industry has until now been neglected. In the context of new developments in women's studies, it is timely that Warde should take her place in women's history. Although discussion of Warde's background in the printing industry is missing, the contemporary typographic community continues to admire her, viewing her as a female role-model, and 'instrumental in paving the way for future contributions by female typographers and designers', a legacy Warde did not set out to achieve.[5] My study of Warde is positioned within and stimulated by a number of current studies on women in printing, marking a renewed interest in this subject. These studies include 'Women in type: a social history of women's roles in type drawing offices, 1910-90' 'The Women's Print History Project 1750-1836,' 'Women In Book History Bibliography,' 'Unseen Hands, Women Printers, Binders and Book-Designers' and 'Women in Print.'[6] In addition, I was motivated to

[4] Simon Garfield, *Just My Type* (London: Profile Books, 2010), p.63.

[5] Amy Papaelias, 'New Wardens', *The Monotype Recorder*, 3 (2016) p.31. 'Pioneer in a Man's World', *The Times,* (10 February 1964), p.13.

[6] 'Women in type: a social history of women's roles in type drawing offices, 1910-90' is a Leverhulme Trust-funded project being undertaken by Professor Fiona Ross, Helena Lekka and Alice Savoie of the University of Reading. 'The Women's Print History Project 1750-1836' is a bibliographical database of women in print being produced by Michelle Levy and Kandice Sharren. *The Women's Print History Project 1750-1836*, [online] 2018 [cited 10 April 2018]. Available from <https://womensprinthistoryproject.wordpress.com/team/> Cait, Coker, and Kate, Ozment, *Women In Book History Bibliography* [online] 2018 [cited 10 April 2018]. Available from <http://www.womensbookhistory.org> 'Unseen Hands, Women Printers, Binders and Book-Designers' An exhibition at Princeton University Library, October 20 2002-April 13, 2003 *Unseen Hands, Women Printers, Binders and Book-Designers* [online] 2002 [cited 10 April 2018] Available from <https://rbsc.princeton.edu/exhibitions/unseen-hands> 'Women in Print: production distribution and consumption' was a conference organised by the Centre for Print History and Culture. 'Women in Print: production distribution and consumption' [online] 2018 [cited 10 April 2018] Available from <http://www.cphc.org.uk/events/2017/8/17/women-in-print-production-distribution-and-consumption>

understand whether or not Warde broke through the glass ceiling in printing, or if she had any part in progressing roles for women in the industry.

Through examination of how she achieved her leading, professional position, this research has revealed that where Warde's contribution to printing and typographic theory lies, is not in her ideas, but is in how she presented these ideas.

WHO WAS BEATRICE WARDE?

Beatrice Lamberton Becker (1900-69), best known as Beatrice Warde, was born in New York, USA, on 20 September 1900, the only child of Gustav Becker (1861-1959), pianist and composer, and his then wife, the journalist and literary critic May Lamberton Becker (1873-1958).[7] Following her parents' divorce, Warde was raised and home-schooled by her mother and widowed grandmother and was influenced by the intellectual environment they created, reflecting emancipation, love of literature and Unitarianism.[8] Warde went on to attend pioneering, ambitious liberal institutions for women, Horace Mann School and Barnard College, Columbia University.[9] Endorsed by a family friend, Bruce Rogers (1870-1957), her first job was as assistant librarian at the American Type Founders Library, the foremost printing library in America.[10] Rogers was an important American typographer, book designer and printer, and a friend of Lamberton Becker. This marked the beginning of Warde's

[7] Shelley Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading, 2005). pp.5-8.

[8] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.8-11. Nicholas Basbanes, *Every Book Its Reader, The Power of the Printed Word to Stir the World,* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), pp.1-6. John, Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', *Penrose Annual,* 63 (1970), p.71.

[9] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.11-16. Warde attended Horace Mann School, Manhattan (1912-16) and from 1916, Barnard College, Columbia University, graduating in 1921.

[10] From 1917 Rogers was printing advisor to Cambridge University Press, England and from 1920-28, advisor to Harvard University Press. Like Morison, Warde and others in printing at this time, Rogers rejected Modernism, favouring the use of Roman, serif typefaces and symmetry in design. Charles Zarobila, 'Bruce Rogers (14 May 1870-18 May 1957)', *American Dictionary of National Biography* [online], 2000, cited 15 February 2021. Available from:
<https://www.anb.org/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-1602205.>

career supported by influential colleagues, foremost amongst whom was Stanley

Morison (1889-1967), the British typographer and printing historian, who became her

mentor and close friend.[11]

Fig.1.1 Beatrice Warde with her parents circa 1902. MS823/9 CRL.

[11] Stanley Morison was acclaimed as Britain's authority on the design of letterforms and contributed significantly to the history of type and printing. In 1923, with Oliver Simon, Morison founded the printing journal *The Fleuron* (1923-30). A typographic advisor, writer and theoretician, Morison became a close friend of Warde. From his position as advisor to the Monotype Corporation, typefaces created under his direction became the most popular in British printing and overseas. Between 1925 and 1959 he was also typographic advisor to Cambridge University Press and from 1930-60 he was connected with *The Times*, advising on typography and writing a history of the newspaper. From 1945-47 he edited *The Times Literary Supplement* and acted as an organisational consultant. Nicolas Barker, *Stanley Morison* (London: Macmillan, 1972). Carter and McKitterick, Morison, 'Stanley Arthur (1889–1967), typographer'.

Beatrice Becker married the typographer Frederic Warde (1894-1939), printer at Princeton University, although their marriage was short lived.[12] Frederic Warde was initially introduced to the profession through connections of May Lamberton Becker and became acclaimed as a great twentieth-century book and type designer in spite of leading a peripatetic existence.

Encouraged by Morison, Warde moved to London in January 1925 and between 1926 and 1930 wrote for the typographic journal *The Fleuron*, which Morison edited.[13] To establish her career and reputation, in the male-dominated printing industry, she chose to write under the *nom de plume* of Paul Beaujon, and her second article, 'The "Garamond" Types: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Sources Considered' corrected a longstanding misattribution of the Garamond typeface by tracing its origins to the French printer Jean Jannon (1580-1658). This article was acclaimed and helped to cement her reputation as a typographic scholar. It continues to be important to French typographic history and was republished in 2011 by the French Ministry of Culture, commemorating the 450th anniversary of Garamond's death.[14]

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[12] Beatrice Becker married Frederic Warde on 30 December 1922.
Frederic Warde (1894-1939) was a printer, typographer and type designer and the only husband of Beatrice Warde. The Wardes separated in 1927 and divorced in 1938 and had no children. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.16-21. Simon Loxley, *Printer's Devil The Life and Work of Frederic Warde* (Boston: David R. Godine, 2013).
[13] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.32, 52-56. Loxley, *Printer's Devil,* pp. 50-57. Nicolas, Barker, *Stanley Morison* (London: Macmillan, 1972), p171.
[14] *Culture.Fr [online]*, The Article by Beatrice Warde, 2011 [cited 23 January 2017]. Available from: <http://www.garamond.culture.fr/en/page/the_article_by_beatrice_warde;>

This Certifies

that on the ___thirtieth___ ___ day of

___December___

in the year 1922

___Frederique Warde___

and ___Beatrice Lamberton Becker___

were by me united in

Marriage

at West Side Unitarian Church, N.Y. according to the

Laws of the State of ___New York___

Carol W. Huddleston

Gaius W. Merwin   Charles Francis Potter

Minister of the Gospel

Fig 1.2 Beatrice and Frederic Warde's marriage certificate 1922. MS823/4 CRL.

After freelance writing for the British Monotype Corporation, where Morison was typographic advisor, Warde become Publicity Manager, editing its promotional publications, including *The Monotype Recorder* and *The Newsletter*.[15] An American company and leading supplier of letterpress type, typefaces and manufacturer of casting and composing machines, Monotype had offices in Britain and Warde's articles not only publicised the company, but also contributed to contemporary typographic debate helping to drive typographic taste and interest.[16]

Her work at Monotype was pivotal to the early twentieth-century typographic renaissance, which saw the revival of historic typefaces and the design of new ones.[17] One such typeface was Gill Sans. Designed by the artist, sculptor and designer Eric Gill (1882-1940) and publicised by Warde, Gill Sans became a commercial success, ubiquitous and synonymous with British design.[18] Gill Sans was used during the Second World War by British Government departments including the Ministry of Food. It was also adopted by Penguin Books and the British Transport Commission and continues in popular use. At Monotype Warde became instrumental in the development and expansion of printing as an historical subject and practical, commercial activity, as well as discussing type and printing in a different way from

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[15] Judy Slinn, Sebastian, Carter and Richard, Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, (Woodstock: Vanbrugh Press, 2014) pp.68-70.

[16] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.24-41.

[17] Robin Kinross, *Modern Typography: An Essay in Critical History*, (London: Hyphen Press, 1994), pp.56-58. Caroline Archer-Parré, 'A brief history of the type historians' in *Graphic design reader*, ed. by Triggs & Atzmon (London: Bloomsbury. 2018) pp.323-31.

[18] Kinross, *Modern Typography*, p.62. Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.68. Fiona MacCarthy, *Eric Gill* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), pp.187,192. Eric Gill (1882-1940) was an artist, craftsman and lettercutter who become a type designer for the Monotype Corporation at the introduction of Stanley Morison. It was through Monotype that Warde met and developed a close relationship with Gill. F. MacCarthy, Gill, '(Arthur) Eric Rowton (1882–1940), artist, craftsman, and social critic'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], updated September 25 2014 [cited 14 January 2019] available from:< http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33403>

what had gone before.[19] However, Warde was speaking as a woman with little first-hand experience of printing, whereas most commentators in the preceding, almost three hundred, years had been men with personal experience of printing.

During the Second World War, Warde's obligations to Monotype were reduced but her commitment to raising the profile of printing was unabated, inspiring her charitable and political activities in support of the war effort and transatlantic relations. Warde became one of the first members of the 'American Outpost of Great Britain', joining in 1940.[20] This organisation comprised a group of American ex-patriots committed to defending the USA by aiding the Allies. It was also an information hub on American and British culture, publishing government updates and providing public speakers and lecturers for education programmes.[21] Warde frequently wrote for the 'Outpost' newsletter, keeping America informed about wartime-Britain.[22]

This was not her only wartime activity; she also founded 'Books Across the Sea', an Anglo-American book exchange fostering cultural understanding through the printed word and her friend, T. S. Eliot became the society's British president.[23] Additionally,

[19] Archer-Parré, 'A brief history of the type historians', pp.323-31. Through her home and educational environments, Warde's use of language was influenced by the tone of voice of her mother May Lamberton Becker, a popular journalist. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.8-10. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71. Warde described her closeness to her mother and her mother's moulding of her which included approaches to writing, in a letter to Sir Cyril Burt. Warde 'Fragment of a Letter to Sir Cyril Burt' c. 1960 MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[20] Alicia Street's account of Warde joining the American outpost is recorded in a filmed interview: 'Interview with Alicia Street' [Filmed Interview], Dir. Dick Ellis, and Gill Hale, c2000. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[21] Arthur Newell summarised his memories of Warde in the American Outpost in: Arthur Newell, 'Letter Responding to the Obituary of Beatrice Warde', *The Times,* (1969), section Letters, p.12.

[22] Warde, Beatrice, 'Shopping Hint', *News from the Outpost,* (15 November 1940), p.4, MS823/23 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. This piece encouraged Americans to buy British made products. 'Declarations by Americans-In-Britain Outpost of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies' [Pamphlet] 1940. MS823/23. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[23] Newell, 'Letter Responding to the Obituary of Beatrice Warde', *The Times,* p.12.

in 1941 Warde co-founded the 'Kinsmen', an organisation representing the families of evacuees to America.[24]

During this period Warde also published her letters to Lamberton Becker in New York as *Bombed but Unbeaten: Excerpts from the War Commentary of Beatrice L. Warde* and in *This Burning Heat* 'an American in the Blitz'.[25] She also lobbied for the ideals of the 'American Outpost', expanding 'Books Across the Sea' and broadcasting her ideas on Radio for the British War Relief Society in America.[26]

Morison had written to Warde in America during wartime, encouraging her post-war return to Monotype with promises of regular promotional trips to the U.S.. In 1946 she returned to the printing industry, re-engaging her status as a typographic authority.[27] An energetic workaholic and a confident and inspiring speaker, she travelled extensively in Britain and overseas, addressing industry and educational audiences to link Monotype's commercial aims with typographic practice and taste.

Jessica, Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker and Books Across the Sea', in *Women in Print*, ed. by Rose Roberto and Artemis Alexiou (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2022) pp.277-98. In 1940, through the cessation of the transatlantic book trade, Warde founded 'Books Across the Sea', an Anglo-American book exchange fostering cultural understanding through the printed word. Warde worked for the Society until her death.

[24] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker and Books Across the Sea', pp.277-98. Joseph, S., Evans, 'British Parents Unite, Thank U.S. For Hospitality to Their Children', *New York Herald Tribune*, March 1941. MS823/19. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[25] Beatrice Warde, and Paul Standard, *Bombed but Unbeaten: Excerpts from the War Commentary of Beatrice L.Warde* (New York: The Typophiles, 1941). Beatrice, Warde, 'An American in the Blitz', in *This Burning Heat*, ed. by Maisie Ward (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1941), pp. 107-145.

[26] Warde, Beatrice, *The Token of Freedom: A Selection of Immortal Words by Pericles, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Lincoln, Whitman and Others Together Forming a Spiritual Passport Fit to Accompany the Children of the Defenders of Freedom Who Set Sail from Great Britain in 1940* (London: The Americans in Britain Outpost, 1940). Warde's wartime correspondence, details of her newsletter articles, *This Token of Freedom* and exhibition at the Library of Congress are located in the Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. MS823/8/9/17/19. Warde made twenty-five radio broadcasts, between 1942 and 1944 for the British War Relief Society and they were aired across America. Barbara Bonner, 'Books Across The Sea: Bulletin to Members', 1944, p.1. MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[27] Stanley Morison, 'Letter, Old Friend' October 5 1942. 9817 A2/4 Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library.

Warde raised the profile and reputation of printing, creating an enthusiasm for the subject that stimulated and informed generations of students and teachers.[28]

On retirement she continued lecturing and writing but died unexpectedly aged 69 on 14 September 1969.[29] Events and initiatives were staged to commemorate and celebrate her life and in so doing, perpetuated her legacy, including a memorial service which was held at the Church of St Bride.[30]

Despite discriminatory attitudes to women, Warde was ambitious, confident and assured of her importance and success. She relished the opportunity to engage with audiences and her skill as a communicator and strategist created an extensive legacy of writings and correspondence.[31]

Notwithstanding her importance, there is scant literature on Warde and no work in the public domain detailing her life and work. The primary academic source is *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* an unpublished doctoral thesis by Dr Shelley Gruendler.[32] Structured, for the most part chronologically, Gruendler begins by

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[28] Warde's promotional visits to printing schools worldwide included a tour of Australia in 1957, during which she recorded a radio interview. Type Radio [online], 1957, updated and placed online 2004, [cited 27 December 2019]. Available from:< http://www.typeradio.org/#/518 > . Warde's visits to printing schools were reported in school journals and in the press, including: Mrs Warde, Typographer Speaks at RIT Meeting', *Spirit*, Volume 24 number 20, (1950), p.1. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'Typography Expert to Speak' *Atlanta Journal*, May 11 1953. MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[29] Warde's mother, who had spent summers in Britain, settled with her in Epsom, Surrey and died there in April 1958, as did her father in February 1959. Warde died of a subarachnoid haemorrhage at her home, 2 College Avenue, Epsom, Surrey, and was buried in Epsom cemetery. Jessica, Glaser, 'Warde (Née Becker), Beatrice Lamberton Becker (1900-1969)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online] Oxford University Press, 2019 [accessed 2 November 2020] Available from: <[https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48493>

[30] Glaser, Warde (Née Becker), Beatrice Lamberton Becker (1900-1969). Beatrice Warde Memorial Service Order of Service, Eulogy by Jack Matson, Church of St Bride, 17 October 1969. Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9814.

[31] John Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'the First Lady of Typography', *Penrose*, 63 (1970) 69-76 (p.71).

[32] Shelley Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde*. Completed in 2005, this thesis used material sourced from St Bride Printing Library, London; Cambridge University Library; the United States Government Printing Office; the Grolier Club, New York; and the University libraries of Reading,

describing Warde's formative years in America, then describes aspects of the English typographic arena and Warde's early writings before progressing to an account of Warde's professional career. She also provides a brief insight into Warde's wartime writing and post-war life and work. An important part of Gruendler's thesis is her analysis of Warde's 'Crystal Goblet'; believing that 'The strength of the essay lies in its accessibility, not its theoretical foundation'.[33] Devoting a chapter to this, Gruendler begins by tracing the origin of themes and individuals she believed influential to the 'Crystal Goblet,' 'There were…influences on Beatrice Warde's life …leading up to her 'Crystal Goblet'…which appear to have originated from the…most influential people in her life: her husband, her mother, and Stanley Morison'.[34]

Gruendler's research represents existing knowledge of Warde's life and work. However, in the light of recent findings on the significance of Warde's religious belief, my thesis challenges and extends her approach to the 'Crystal Goblet' and to other elements of Warde's life and work. The detailed chronological narrative of Warde's life is a strength of Gruendler's thesis, as is the bibliography of the extensive corpus of her writing. Gruendler's conclusions support Warde as an important figure within typography and communication, affirming the esteem in which Warde was held, highlighting 'the complexity of the woman behind the 'Crystal Goblet'' and perpetuating Warde as a typographic heroine. [35]'Beatrice Warde often referred to herself as 'the outsider' and 'a woman in a man's world'. She was the embodiment of her own cliché, since being 'the only female in the typographic trade… defined and shaped her personality and career direction.'[36]

Gruendler's ideas do not acknowledge Warde's role in controlling her own career and identity and by her own admission, her study was intended to open up research into Warde's life and work, paving the way for new understandings of Warde by providing strands of inquiry for future research. Thus, a number of the topics touched on by Gruendler are picked up in this research, including the significance of Warde's gendered identity on her professional success. Approaching Warde thematically, my research examines the context shaping her life and work, her influence and those she influenced, her legacy and her presentation as a strategist for success.

References to Warde are found in the biographies of three men who affected her both personally and professionally: Nicolas Barker's *Stanley Morison*; Simon Loxley's *Printer's Devil: the Life and Work of Frederic Warde;* and Fiona MacCarthy's *Eric Gill*.[37]

Stanley Morison is important to this thesis because along with her mother, Morison was a confidante, friend and an influential figure in Warde's life. It's author, Barker had a professional relationship and friendship with Morison, Warde and other significant figures from the printing industry, many of whom he thanked and credited in the 'Preface' to his book. His writing sheds light on the life and work of the man who was a guiding force for Warde, describing his importance to the printing industry as finding 'typography without organized history or principles [and leaving] it with both'.[38] It provides an overview of the printing networks of Morison and Warde's era, helping to situate Warde in this environment and revealing many of her influences and connections. Barker describes Warde and Morison's meeting, the early stages of her career and offers insights into their friendship, 'his association with Beatrice Warde was the closest of his life'.[39] However, as a eulogy, Barker's work reveals that

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[37] Barker, *Stanley Morison.* Loxley, *Printer's Devil*. MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*.
[38] Barker, *Stanley Morison,* p.508.
[39] Barker, *Stanley Morison,* p.11.

he was in awe of Morison and that their association had consequences for his perspective in this biography. Significantly Barker's writing confirms gendered attitudes to Warde in the printing industry, acknowledging that 'Beatrice left you feeling on top of the world and twice the man you thought you were'.[40] This is an important reflection of the perceptions of Warde, emphasising that she was thought of differently from male colleagues.

Beatrice's husband, Frederic Warde, was an acclaimed American printer, typographer and type designer and Loxley's biography, *Printers Devil: the Life and Work of Frederic Warde,* is valuable to this thesis.[41] It sheds light on the relationship between husband and wife as well as setting the scene for their interest in printing.[42] Importantly, Loxley explains their transition into the British and European industry, emphasising the Wardes' reliance on Morison, 'Newly arrived in England with no other contacts, the Wardes would indeed have been dependent for both work and introductions on Morison'.[43] As with Greundler's research, Loxley reveals existing ideas on the Wardes' relationship and the circumstances of their early careers, providing a 'platform' on which this research can build.

MacCarthy's biography of Eric Gill provides an account of his life and work, and contains detail of Warde's early years in Britain. It accentuates her 'exotic' character, lively mind, emancipation and professional position: 'She was a professional lady from New York…she had left her husband…[and was] living on her own in a situation of conventionally dubious morality;… making her own way in… the predominantly male world of typography'.[44]

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[40] Barker, *Stanley Morison,* p.169.
[41] Loxley, *Printer's Devil.*
[42] Loxley, *Printer's Devil*. pp.17-98.
[43] Loxley, *Printer's Devil*. p.49.
[44] MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, pp.232-4.

MacCarthy emphasises the uncommon nature of Warde's situation professionally and as an independent woman in Britain, highlighting discriminatory attitudes that existed and confronted her. *Eric Gill* also alludes to Warde's effect on Morison 'their obvious affection and dependence made them a kind of couple'.[45] In the context of this thesis, this is an important disclosure, stressing their mutual reliance and particularly opening up discussion of Morison's professional support for Warde. Of relevance to this essay, through revealing Warde's affairs with Gill and Douglas Cleverdon (1903-87), - a Bristol publisher and bookseller who later became a radio producer for the BBC - MacCarthy casts Warde, as a promiscuous woman, using her body to facilitate professional connections: 'her spirit appealed to Gill as did her body, her 'fine American carcase' as he called it'.[46] Perpetuating gendered attitudes to Warde as an independent woman, MacCarthy explains connections with Morison, Gill, Monotype and Warde.[47] She examines Warde's modelling for Gill as an element that enabled her to use the resulting images for flirtatious, communication and self-promotion.[48] *Eric Gill* is valuable to this thesis for its direct account of Warde, for providing Gill's perception of her and for its view of the 1920s and '30s' world in which Warde moved and was moulded.

To emphasise the limited literature on Warde, Gruendler, Barker, Loxley and MacCarthy reference one another and in some cases, repeat the same views and perpetuate the same myths. Collectively, these works are essential in understanding the significance of key relationships in Warde's career, which are in turn discussed

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[45] MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, pp.232-5.

[46] MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, p.308. MacCarthy does not precisely reference the source of her information on Warde's affairs. MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, p.234.

[47] Barker, *Stanley Morison,* p.169. Through her link with Gill, throughout her career Warde wrote articles on his work, including 'the Diuturnity of Eric Gill,' which is referenced in the sources section to MacCarthy's work. Paul Beaujon [Beatrice Warde], 'the Diuturnity of Eric Gill', *Penrose Annual* 53 (1959), pp.26-29. MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, p.315.

[48] MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, pp.232-4

further in this thesis. Additionally, these works reveal gendered attitudes confronting Warde in both Britain and the printing industry.

Warde had links to other important figures, including the psychologist Sir Cyril Burt and the writer T. S. Eliot.[49] Biographies have been written on both men; Greundler described Warde's relationship with Burt as one of the most significant of her life, and although Warde is not indexed in Hearnshaw's *Cyril Burt Psychologist*, the principle biography of Burt, she does appear in the text.[50] Hearnshaw describes Warde as a typographic authority who 'did much to establish the reputation of the Corporation [Monotype]', also detailing the nature of Burt's friendship with her and her admiration for him, 'My gratitude for what you do and *are* wells up in such measure as to go straight to God in thanksgiving'.[51] Little of the correspondence they exchanged was believed to have survived, however, much has come to light in the Warde Collection (CRL) which allows me to pick up where Hearnshaw left off and discuss further Warde's relationship with Burt.[52] Also useful to this thesis, Hearnshaw provides perspective on a relationship, developed between Burt and Warde, which was outside of the printing world. Hearnshaw touches on the mutual professional support afforded through the publication of *Psychological Study of Typography*, which is particularly relevant for its part in Warde's intended legacy and her strategising for success.[53]

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[49] Pauline, H, Mazumdar, 'Burt, Sir Cyril Lodowic (1883–1971), Psychometric Psychologist and Eugenicist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2012, [cited 21 February 2020] Available from : <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30880.> Warde was a friend of T. S. Eliot and worked with him at Books Across the Sea. Ronald Bush, 'Eliot, Thomas Stearns,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], Oxford University Press, 2016 [cited 27 August 2017] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32993>

[50] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p218. L.S. Hearnshaw, *Cyril Burt Psychologist*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton Educational, 1979), pp.199-203.

[51] Hearnshaw, *Cyril Burt Psychologist*, pp.201, 203.

[52] The Cadbury Research Library particularly holds copies of Warde's letters to Burt. It also contains some of Burt's replies to her. Burt's archive, including some of his communication to Warde is located in the University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives.

[53] Cyril Burt, *A Psychological Study of Typography*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

I have not found written reference to Warde in any of the biographies of T. S. Eliot, which is notable in itself, as Warde was not classed as an important or influential figure by the literary establishment; her repute was located within printing. However, evidencing the significance of their relationship, Ackroyd features a photograph of Eliot at his desk, on which is prominently displayed a photograph of Eliot with Warde.[54] This image is indicative of Warde's association with the publishing and literary elite, relationships that have to date not been researched but that have ramifications for her presentation and place within publishing.

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[54] Peter Ackroyd, *T.S. Eliot*, (London: Cardinal, 1988). Located on an unnumbered page between pages 224-225 of text. This photograph is credited to the Bettmann Archive

Fig.1-3 Photograph of Beatrice Warde with T. S. Eliot, on Eliot's desk at Faber and Faber circa 1945. Part of the Bettman Archive. Photograph from Ackroyd, Peter, *T.S. Eliot* (London: Cardinal, 1988).

Curiously, as Publicity Manager to the Monotype Corporation, Warde was given scant reference in a recent history of the company.[55] Significant to this thesis, it afforded Warde's importance to the history of Monotype much lower priority than she herself believed. This situation ran counter to her self-presentation as an important person in the industry, a position achieved in part through her publicity for Monotype. This brings into question the significance of her place as 'First Lady of Typography'; she is first mentioned by the authors as Morison's protégée and the new editor of *The Monotype Recorder* and thereafter is referred to only intermittently.[56] However, both Morison and Warde are acknowledged: 'The role that both had played in the development of the Corporation had contributed to the reputation on which it had built in the 1960s … [and which] differentiated the Corporation… giving it a flavour that was unique.'[57]

Analysis of Warde's role in this achievement is missing but has relevance to her legacy and influence. Overall, this work reveals the uncommon nature of the environment in which she worked, highlighting gendered attitudes to employment that she dealt with throughout her career. 'It was an unusual appointment, to say the least,'.[58]

Counter comment on Warde's achievement is scarce but noticeably, the writings of Professor James Mosley*,* refer to Warde's work and begin to take this approach.[59] Mosley explains his research into the history of the Garamond typeface and in so doing questions aspects of her article 'The Garamond Types' and as a result her

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[55] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation.*

[56] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.70.

[57] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.132.

[58] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.70.

[59] Professor Mosley's work both online and in the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* begins to question Warde's position. James Mosley, 'Typefoundry: Documents for the History of Type and Letterforms'[online], available from < http://typefoundry.blogspot.co.uk> [accessed 31 March 2018]. James, Mosley, 'Garamond or Garamont' *the Journal of the Printing Historical Society,* 23 (2015), pp.77-104.

abilities as a typographic historian: 'there are some parts of her own narrative of the process that are still puzzling… she never indicated how she knew of the existence of the specimen of Jean Jannon… nor did she say in *The Fleuron* where the original specimen could be found… Perhaps help came from the printer Marius Audin, Lyon'[60] Mosley's writings are the only academic studies to challenge aspects of Warde's work, questioning that is vital to this thesis as his voice opens new vistas on the role and impact of Warde, adding impetus to this research.

One of the most extensive and referenced articles on Warde, 'Beatrice Warde: "The First Lady of typography"' was written by her friend and colleague John Dreyfus and is a transcript of an interview between the two. [61] Relevant to this thesis for being a piece in which Warde 'speaks for herself, of herself', its content is selective and carefully crafted to provide Warde's perspective on significant elements influencing her life and work. For the first time, Warde described herself as a 'communicator' rather than a writer. 'I am a communicator. In my time, I have also been a research scholar, but I know that was not my *real* vocation'[62] She outlined her upbringing, pre-war work, mentioned individuals in her network and emphasised her mother's influence: 'What I'm really good at is standing up in front of an audience… In part I can see this was a genetic thing [my mother May Lamberton Becker] understood the reader.'[63] Henry Lewis Bullen was also highlighted in this piece as influential, inspiring Warde's interest in printing and type by encouraging her engagement with the American Type Founders Library.[64] However, there was one important omission

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[60] James Mosley, 'The Types of Jean Jannon at the Imprimerie Royale', Typefoundry [online], available from < http://typefoundry.blogspot.co.uk> [accessed 31 March 2018]. Mosley, 'Garamond or Garamont? A version of this piece is also published in *the Journal of the Printing Historical Society*. Mosley, 'Garamond or Garamont' pp.77-104. Paul Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types: A study of XVI and XVII Century Sources', *The Fleuron,* 5 (1926), pp.131-179.

[61] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'the First Lady of Typography'', pp.71-6.

[62] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'the First Lady of Typography'', p.71.

[63] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'the First Lady of Typography'', p.71.

[64] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'the First Lady of Typography'', p.71-4.

from this piece; Morison, one of the closest, influential relationships of her life, was not mentioned, creating the impression that Warde's professional progression was achieved through her own fruition, without his patronage. All relationships mentioned or neglected in this piece are significant and discussed in thesis, helping to explain the background to her success in the industry, and the impression Warde wanted to create.

Online articles on Warde are plentiful and tend to proliferate and endorse Warde as the First Lady of Typography. One notable piece presents Warde's own view of herself; 'Beatrice Warde: Manners and type', is a transcript from a radio interview Warde gave in Adelaide, Australia in 1957.[65] It introduces her as an 'American typographic expert… Well known for her essay 'The Crystal Goblet'… she was also a prolific writer, researcher and public speaker'.[66] Featuring questions followed by Warde's answers, it is relevant to this research for highlighting topics that she used in her professional presentation, briefly discussing her views on gender in printing, her use of a pseudonym, the education of printers and designers and raising print consciousness and good taste in typography. There is no analysis of this interview and nor did the author mention that the interview was part of a publicity tour for Monotype.

My thesis builds on the limited writing on Warde and aims to fill gaps in discussions of her life and work, including the significance of her environment, circumstances and connections. Previous writings were completed before the Warde Archive at CRL became available in 2010; invaluable to this research this collection offers the opportunity to revisit and refresh knowledge of Warde, creating new perspectives on

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[65] Sara De Bondt, 'Beatrice Warde: Manners and Type', *Eye* 84 (2012), available from: <http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/beatrice-warde-manners-and-type >[accessed on 31 March 2018]. This article incorrectly states that this interview took place in 1959. Warde's tour of Australia and South Africa was in 1957.
[66] Sara De Bondt, 'Beatrice Warde: Manners and Type'.

her life and work, addressing misconceptions and filling in gaps left by earlier writers. [67]

AIMS

Perceptions of Warde and her influence, and the generally accepted view that she challenged expectations that gender and paternity were prerequisites for a successful career in the printing industry, are for the most part based on a mythology that Warde herself was complicit in establishing. To establish the accuracy of these perceptions this research aims to:

- reappraise how Warde established a role for herself in the male-dominated, twentieth-century British printing industry and, in so doing, became known as the First Lady of Typography;

- establish the extent to which that title was justified;

- understand how Warde used her gender to attain this position;

- establish how and why she created her legacy;

- and determine the degree to which wider society and the prevailing conditions of the printing industry shaped her career.

Although not a biography of Warde, owing to the significance of her environmental and familial influences in particular, by necessity this thesis contains some biographical information.

CHAPTER STRUCTURE

The structure of this thesis has been developed in response to research findings. Alternative approaches were attempted until the current option was found to provide the clearest reflection of the research project and its methodology.

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[67] MS823, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

The thesis begins with preliminary material including a timeline. It is not confined to the time frame of Warde's life but extends from the 1830s, when the first typecasting machine was invented, to the 1990s when the Church of England first ordained women priests, a period selected for containing events which impacted, or were of significance to Warde's life and work. Divided in two, the first part charts major historical, social, political and technological milestones pertinent to women in Britain and America, countries in which Warde lived, whilst the second emphasises elements with specific pertinence to Warde's place in the printing industry.

The thesis is then divided into seven chapters, commencing with this introduction, which examines my motivation for the research and, goes on to explore who Warde was, and the nature of her achievement; it probes factors impacting her career including her home environment in Manhattan and familial and social role models. Existing research on Warde is explored, incorporating articles on and about her and limited though it is, counter comment on her achievement. The aims of this study, exploring the impact of a woman on the twentieth-century printing industry are also part of this first chapter.

Methodology forms the second chapter of this thesis and covers the development of my personal approach to research into Warde, particularly using archival sources and my efforts to find individuals who knew her. This chapter discusses the advantages and pitfalls of archival research, highlighting Warde's own writings and presentations as her testimony and consequently stressing the need for a balanced approach into the analysis of her life and achievement. Ethics are discussed in this chapter as is awareness of potential bias. My endeavour to gather reflections on Warde's life and work from those who knew her are examined together with the need for anonymity when discussing subsequent findings. This chapter also discusses the responsibilities associated with dissemination of research findings.

Pertinent to her success in the industry, the third chapter illuminates the context relevant to Warde's lifetime, 'fixing' her in a time frame, locations, cultures, and strata of twentieth century society. The printing industry is examined, including changes and developments, together with the evolution of education in this field, an area that significantly interested Warde. Changes in the industry, unionisation, the division of labour, the typographic renaissance, and the emergence of the professional typographer are also analysed as crucial to her lifetime. As she did not fit into the traditional role of a printer, the concept of the Gentleman Amateur is revealed as apt to Warde's career, having parallels with individuals whose affluence allowed them to take an amateur interest in the industry. This section goes on to discuss women in society and their changing roles in this period. Important to the appreciation of Warde's distinctive position and impact on the industry, it focuses on environment, domestic life, education, religion, the Suffrage movement and employment. The transitory nature of gender is also discussed including changes to Warde's gendered identity for professional advancement.

The influence of Warde is dealt with in the fourth chapter through examination of her impact and the spread of her authority. The location of this chapter ensures understanding of the nature of her prominence, prior to examining her strategies for success in later chapters. Warde's impact on the British and overseas printing industries, educational environments, members of the public, government and intelligence agencies is discussed in this chapter, as are the audiences that Warde intended to cultivate. As with other chapters, a 'thread' of attitudes to gender and the circumstances of the printing industry pervades this section.

The fifth chapter focuses on Warde's legacy making ambition; exploring how it was created, motivated and supported, as well as factors which Warde intended would validate and confirm her legacy. Documents in the Warde Archive at the CRL, in combination with others about or by her within the Morison Collection, have been

invaluable for this chapter, as has her correspondence, which has revealed her intent to establish a legacy, as well as disclosing her approach to this ambition. Warde's own involvement in her legacy making is discussed here in terms of both verbal and visual elements, including discussion of the archives to which she contributed and hoped to contribute, the articles she wrote for legacy making and the awards and accolades she received. Her conscious creation of opportunities for legacy making is examined, incorporating her educational work, publishing, development of the *Recorder* and commissioning and placement of imagery of herself. Her conviction of the capacity of printing to extend through time is crucial to this area of Warde's intent and is examined in this section. Chapter Five also focusses on her aim to establish her own archive and her plan to write and publish her memoirs.

Warde's achievement in the printing industry was predicated on her performance and in combatting the barriers she confronted. She adopted strategies for self-presentation for professional success, a topic which is the focus of Chapter Six. As with other sections of this thesis, common issues link the themed areas of this chapter, including attitudes to gender and the circumstances of the industry which Warde encountered during her professional life. Research into Goffman's theory of Dramaturgy, viewing professional presentation as a performance, is revealed as having parallels with her approach and hence a number of different professional identities adopted by Warde are the focus of the sections of this chapter. Although alternative approaches are possible, this chapter is divided thematically, 'clustering' discussion on Warde's strategies into three areas: these are Warde the 'scholar', the expert in public relations and the 'religious woman'. In the first section of this chapter Warde the scholar is examined, discussing her presentation as an intellectual authority, an identity she argued as based on expertise gained while working at the ATF library. Gender is also discussed as a factor in the theming of this section through Warde's manipulation of her identity in devising and adopting the male pseudonym of the typographic

authority Paul Beaujon. The second themed section discusses Warde's use of public relations, revealed through archival and contextual research. The case studies examined draw on her abilities in this area including her use of language, image making with her body and clothing and also events, circumstances created by Warde in which she changed her presentation to communicate different messages. The third themed section of this chapter focuses on Warde the religious woman. This topic, revealed through archival and contextual research, has a presence in this thesis as Warde's religious beliefs were crucial to her presentation for success, permeating all aspects of her professional career in the printing industry. The chapter ends by also discussing two further themes revealed by research to have parallels with Warde's presentation for success: that of women writers within her lifetime, whose careers and approaches are argued as inspiring Warde; and also the construct of the New Woman, an identity it is argued that Warde adopted, having previously observed her mother and other ambitious women do the same.

The final chapter concludes the thesis, summarising the focus of the research and bringing together the various findings. This section also acknowledges that extensive archival methods have not only helped to direct this study but also made this investigation possible, significantly contributing to the new areas of study disclosed in this thesis and the new knowledge revealed.

The thesis also includes supplementary information in the form of two bibliographies and an Appendix. The first bibliography provides contextual sources consulted for this thesis and a second reveals a corpus of work by Warde herself, as well those she produced using her pseudonymous identity of Paul Beaujon. The Appendix follows, detailing the honorary councillors that Warde retained to support and promote the efforts of the Books Across the Sea Society during wartime; a section that is especially pertinent to Chapter Four which explores her influence.

2. METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this thesis are to re-evaluate Beatrice Warde's position in the printing industry and to examine factors that contributed to her success. Research to achieve this end uses historical methods, interrogating archives, journals, books and printed ephemera as well as attempts to find individuals who knew Warde and were willing to share their memories. This chapter aims to discuss how research for this thesis has been collected, examined and analysed. As with the other chapters in this thesis, the limited nature of existing studies of Warde and their reliance on Warde's own writing has a bearing on this methodology.

The founding of the new CRL Warde Archive is fundamental to this thesis and its methodology. The first objective of this chapter is to examine the historical methods used to interrogate this new archive and other collections, for what they may and may not reveal about Warde, as well as for how they connect with each other or with existing research on Warde. Additional objectives have been to examine conversations set up with those with personal memories of Warde and to appraise ways of analysing findings.

This research has evolved and has been transformed during the period of my study and an equilibrium has developed between maintaining direction and responding to newly discovered avenues. Shotter describes this situation: 'long before we can account to others for our 'observations', … our 'looking' must go through a developmental process in which, often, we only slowly arrive at the appropriate "organizing idea" – and after that we can still have great difficulty in linguistically expressing it in a way that crucially influences others.' [1]

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[1] John Shotter, 'Goethe and the Refiguring of Intellectual Inquiry: From 'Aboutness'-Thinking to 'Withness'-Thinking in Everyday Life', *Janus Head*, 8 (1) (2005), p.139.

This thesis has involved much consideration of organising findings and ideas, and alternative approaches are undoubtedly possible. However, my perspective has emerged from my personal relationship with the Beatrice Warde Collection at the CRL which I first encountered in 2014 as a new PhD student looking for research on Warde's connection with the *Psychological Study Of Typography*.[2] My initial visit to this collection stimulated what became weekly forays, gradually exploring the collection's twenty-four boxes of content, and as a result becoming fascinated by the collection and Warde herself. What this disclosed connected with the Stanley Morison collection at Cambridge University Library, the collection of the Typographic Hub at Birmingham City University and with published writings on Warde and her work. Ultimately my research revealed different approaches to understanding the experience of a woman in the twentieth-century printing industry whilst opening new interpretations of Warde's professional ideas and circumstances.

Through this process Warde and the CRL collection became central to my professional life as a graphic designer and lecturer, however, in executing this study my role has changed to focus on research. Informed by my prior knowledge and experience, it has involved the identification and questioning of established assumptions. In part these stemmed from Warde's contribution to printing and typography and, in addition, what can be described as 'academic mythology' which perpetuates ideas about the First Lady of Typography, her work and legacy. This exploration is situated in the context of its origin, the range of sources that are considered and presented through the breadth of the different methods used, as well as the approach to writing this thesis. My findings from the CRL suggested a value and identity to the collection that emerged particularly from the scale, scope and focus of the collection, as well as the way detail it revealed, fitted, or did not fit with

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[2] Burt, *A Psychological Study of Typography*.

detail in other collections, or with existing research on Warde. As a result, my starting point was to investigate the archive's history and to explore its implications for understanding the influence of a woman on the twentieth-century printing industry. 'When one knows how something came to be, one will often know what it presently is and one will have a powerful voice in determining how it will develop in the future.'[3]

In her 2005 biographical doctoral thesis *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* Gruendler predicted that in the future more evidence of Warde's work would emerge.[4] In 2010 this prediction came to fruition when the CRL was gifted the Beatrice Warde Collection.[5] Twenty-four boxes including Warde's correspondence, articles, notes, photographs, draft memoirs and family papers, extending from the 1860s to the late twentieth century, present details of her personal and professional life and glimpses of the society in which she lived. It is the most significant collection of Warde material and its recent availability has triggered a major advance in Warde studies and renewed interest in her life and achievements.

The establishment of this collection is complex. After her death, Warde intended that an archive of her life and work should be established within the Stanley Morison collection at the University Library, Cambridge (ULC). This was not, however, specified in her will, which left her estate to Morison, who had predeceased her. Nicolas Barker was appointed literary executer by Warde's solicitors who were looking to capitalise on her estate for the benefit of her half-siblings. To this end, they instructed Louise Snyders, Warde's live-in companion, to clear her house and dispose of her papers, which resulted in some coming onto the open market where a few were

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[3] Svend Brinkmann, Michael Hviid Jacobsen and Søren Kristiansen, 'Historical Overview of Qualitative Research in the Social Sciences', in *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by Patricia Leavy, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.18.

[4] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde*, p.4.

[5] MS823, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham.

purchased by Barker.[6] This material, along with other items in his possession relating

to both Warde and Morison, was donated to the ULC Stanley Morison collection.

However, unbeknown to Barker, Snyders entrusted the majority of Warde's papers to

Alicia Street, a close friend and colleague of Warde at the American Outpost and

Books Across the Sea, circumstances that were confirmed by Street in a recorded

interview that is part of the Warde archive at the CRL.[7] Street kept these documents

for forty-one years until, in 2010, they were presented to the CRL, as the focus of

Birmingham University's Department of American and Canadian Studies linked with

aspects of Warde's life and work, including Books Across the Sea and The American

Outpost.[8]

My interpretation of the circumstances around this collection and Warde's intention

for her archive is drawn from documents in the CRL, Warde Archive, the filmed

interview with Alicia Street, material in the ULC Stanley Morison collection and a

conversation with Nicolas Barker.

The majority of primary sources in this collection are correspondence with

individuals including Lamberton Becker, Morison and Burt; these documents are

vital in providing 'behind the scenes' insight and understanding of Warde's place in

and power over the twentieth-century printing industry. Dobson is vital to the

interpretation of Warde's correspondence as a primary source.[9] The collection shows

the development of her ideas, emphasising that: 'In political and intellectual history,

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[6] Louise Snyders was an American friend of Warde. They initially met through their mutual involvement with Books Across the Sea. As mentioned in a conversation with Nicolas Barker.

[7] Street, interviewed on film in the early 2000s by Professor Dick Ellis of the University of Birmingham and Gill Hale of the English Speaking Union, describes how, in 1969 at the invitation of Louise Snyders, she rescued and removed Warde's papers from her home. Without knowledge of the specific circumstances, Warde's solicitors believed her papers had been dealt with and Barker thought they had been sold.

[8] Birmingham University's Department of American and Canadian Studies also linked with Warde's involvement with British American Canadian Associates and the Kinsmen.

[9] Miriam Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts From Nineteenth and Twentieth century History*, ed. by Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (London: Routledge, 2009).

therefore, private correspondence has always been respected as an important source both for tracing the development of ideas and ideology and for unmasking personal characteristics.'[10]

Important to this research, Warde's letter writing was an attempt to construct meaning from her life. She preserved, and in some instances published, 'letters' for the benefit of her immediate readers but also for future generations. Letters ordered and narrated her experiences that were shaped by her relations, friends and networks, by Monotype and by American and British society and culture. Backing up Dobson's notions, her letters were intentionally created for both current and future audiences and although some of her correspondence with Lamberton Becker was personal, some of it was for publication in syndicated newspaper columns: 'the letter's apparently personal nature is rather deceptive. Very often, letters though ostensibly for a single reader have been used in a wider context… some were re-copied and forwarded to additional readers, while others even made it into print.'[11]

Uncommon in a male dominated industry, in curating her own life and work, Warde built a collection providing a female perspective on themes including British and American culture and the printing industry. Dobson highlights that letters can be a meeting place between a public and private persona, and 'became an important source for examining the history of a social group that had previously been excluded from many historical accounts'. [12] This view emphasises the importance of Warde's correspondence for shedding light on women in the industry; stressing that 'historians of the… twentieth century in particular have been drawn to letters as a means to explore the lives of the …powerless within society'.[13]

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[10] Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*… p.59.
[11] Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*… p.57.
[12] Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*… p.59.
[13] Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*… p.59.

In acknowledging that this thesis has been triggered and developed by the CRL Warde Collection, the Collection itself needs to be approached with caution. Warde's documents do not offer a clear view of her ideas, but they 'allow the careful historian to examine the complex web of relationships between individual, family and society that shapes a person's sense of self and their understanding of the world they inhabit.'[14] The Collection contains documents written by Warde, however, it also evidences the approach of Street who salvaged and, in part, appears to have ordered and added material, as well as the ideas of the CRL curators involved in its archiving.[15] However, Warde's priorities come through in these documents, unmediated by others, narrating her life's circumstances and inevitably disclosing a one-sided picture, allowing her to engineer the impression created.[16] Dobson suggests an approach to the interpretation of letter-writers' ideas in comparison with commentary from other sources: 'we get a sense of these letter-writers' understanding of the discursive boundaries of the system in which they operated: we have a record of what … people felt was an acceptable interpretation or commentary on their lives and on …events occurring… we can by reading between the lines, get a sense of how their own ideas and beliefs departed from the official script'. [17]

As described by Dobson, this research evaluates Warde's writing, balanced with contextual commentary provided by the ideas of others from sources including journal articles, book chapters and conversations.

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[14] Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*… p.69.

[15] In taking possession of this collection, on Warde's death, Street added documents on the circumstances of Warde's death, British American Canadian Associates, and Books Across the Sea. She also clustered documents attempting to bring themed areas together in a manner that has been maintained by the boxing of documents within the Cadbury Research Library.

[16] 'Authors and other literary figures, or their families, sometimes weed or 'sanitize' an archive before transferring it to a repository.' Lisa Stead, *The Boundaries of the Literary Archive: Reclamation and Representation,* (London: Routledge, 2016), p.165.

[17] Dobson 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*… p.65.

The reality of working with the CRL Collection has involved moving between the boxes of the Warde Archive, examining their content, a task undertaken whilst at the same time reading methodological approaches to research, bringing together narratives and pursuing 'leads' from secondary sources, as they became apparent. The Archive itself has been catalogued in broad terms but individual items do not possess separate accession numbers. It was not my objective through this research to inform the CRL of any gaps in the curatorial process. However, whilst progressing through the boxes of the Archive, in order to familiarise myself with its content, I reassembled the contents, documenting my progress photographically for the purpose of my research, an approach that 'felt' important to this enquiry. I examined each item as an object in itself, looking at all sides of pieces of paper and on occasion using my camera to magnify areas of detail focussing my attention. However, in concentrating in this way to formulate new understanding and 'reaching back in time', I was searching for elements that Howes believes impossible to capture: 'it is precisely those qualities which cannot be reproduced in photographs … which are essential to consider'. [18] Whilst photographing the content I also made notes, which were occasionally reflective, sometimes descriptive, and in other instances took the form of lists. Working this way also became about sensory perception impacting meaning and if the 'properties of the thing itself are essential to how our bodily senses detect it and thus how we… formulate ideas about it' then these activities became vital to my research itself. [19] After undertaking similar archival research, Mitchell claims that these approaches 'do not… give me direct access to those in the past who handled the very same objects, but perhaps they make me more aware of

[18] David Howes, 'Scent, Sound and Synaesthesia: Intersensoriality and Material Culture', in *The Handbook of Material Culture,* ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer, (London: SAGE Publications) p.169.
[19] Mark O'Neill, cited in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010) p.8.

what it is I am doing'.[20] Additionally, I believe that my approaches informed the making of new connections with both primary and secondary sources, leading to discoveries necessitating the reinterpretation of detail and unexpected enquiry.

At the same time as working in the Warde Collection, I was in contact with others who have written about Warde. I read their work, and also made efforts to gather insight from individuals who knew her, as well as reading a broad range of other sources, including archival material, trade journals, books and theses in order to compile an 'image' of the First Lady of Typography, her work, repute and context. Other essential archival sources have included the Stanley Morison collection and the Typographic Hub.

Warde's documents in the ULC Stanley Morison collection also inform this thesis. Originally assembled by Morison, it contains documents which interlock with, and sometimes add to or complete, the 'picture' created by items within the CRL. In isolation, elements from the Stanley Morison collection provide a view of aspects of Warde's life and work, including correspondence with her mother, grandmother and Gill, as well as documents on her relationship with Morison and items on her historical research in Paris and London.[21] Again it must be borne in mind that this collection presents a selected view of Warde's life and that it was intended to be a larger archive but the circumstances of her death, as previously discussed, prevented this.

The Typographic Hub houses a collection including journals, books and typographic ephemera relevant to Warde's work. Located within Birmingham City University and

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[20] E. S. Mitchell, 'Believe me, I remain…' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2018) p.59.

[21] University Library Cambridge, Stanley Morison collection, MS9814, MS9817. Warde did not always date her correspondence with her mother but by reviewing the contents, her correspondence with her grandmother and mother dates from 1925-51. Her exchange of letters with Eric Gill in the Stanley Morison collection is dated from 1927-37.

part of the Centre for Printing History and Culture, it covers topics including the book trade, printing processes, typography and writing. Invaluable for this research, elements of this collection help to provide a broad view of the twentieth-century printing industry in which Warde was located. It also contains a significant body of journals featuring many of Warde's articles together with pieces by others that either reference or are of relevance to her ideas.

This thesis uses historical research centred on archives and as such, melding the relationships drawn from these collections has been a challenge. Throughout, this necessitated reflection on how areas should be integrated or separated whilst taking into consideration that the structure of the writing required an 'untangling' of detail, naturally giving preference to certain connections over others. A number of different approaches to this process have been attempted, primarily using different thematic divisions, before settling on the adopted approach.

The Warde Archive also contains personal and professional photographs essential in examining Warde's identity, presentation and professional communication skills. The methodology of this research included maintaining an awareness that these images 'contain valuable information not found in written records, information that 'can only be communicated and analysed in visual terms.''[22] In addition, consciousness of the role of Warde's professional understanding of the power of photography, has been vital.

Using photographs Warde had planned to communicate with researchers like myself – she had intended that interpreting images would be an element of future research into her work. Her communication through photography was a conscious choice, ensuring she would be seen and that her ideas and status would be evidenced and

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[22] Marsha Peters and Bernard Mergen, ''Doing the Rest': The Uses of Photographs in American Studies,' *American Quarterly* 29: 3 (1977), 280-303 (p.280).

sustained. In emphasising the importance of imagery as historical evidence, Burke warns that: 'it would be unwise to attribute to these artist-reporters an 'innocent eye' in the sense of a gaze which is totally objective, free from expectations or prejudice of any kind.'[23] Burke believes that 'literally and metaphorically' these images consciously portray an intended perspective, which is emphatically the case with Warde's photographs.

Secondary sources are vital to this research and archives consulted contain items including press articles, reprinted versions of Warde's articles and printed versions of her speeches for distribution by Warde to her friends and colleagues. Pieces published in the trade and mainstream press are also present, as are documents relating to her work for the American Outpost, Books Across the Sea and other organisations.[24] This thesis also utilises secondary texts contemporary to and post-dating Warde, providing insights into her position in the industry and society. Additionally, these texts are important for illuminating the opinions of others on Warde's work.

When examining press articles, I became aware that they only featured events to make readers aware, with reporters adopting the position of 'gatekeepers and filterers of ideas'.[25] However, Vella believes that 'critical reading of newspapers can lead to significant insight into how societies or cultures came to understand themselves and the world around them' and as a result, they are helpful in the examination of Warde's professional circumstances.[26] Newspapers revealed how information on Warde was organised, presented, selected or neglected. They 'created influential categories of thought and established, enforced or eroded conventional social

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[23] Peter Burke, *'Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence'* (London: Reaktion Books, 2019), p.19.

[24] Pieces were also published for The Kinsmen, and British American Canadian Associates.

[25] Stephen Vella, 'Newspapers', in *Reading Primary Sources*, ed. by Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp.192-208, 193.

[26] Vella, 'Newspapers', p.192.

hierarchies and assumptions'.[27] These articles highlighted frequent bias, often being written by Warde's friends and almost entirely, without question, upholding her position as First Lady of Typography. Thus, Smith stresses that journalists build a particular reality, rather than noting one: '[Journalists] weave the tapestry of reality which society accepts – or rejects - as being a true image of "things as they really are"'.[28]

The press were allied to the industry in which Warde worked and the networks behind the press undoubtedly directed the choice and focus of their reporting. Vella advocates that in analysing press articles there are three categories of investigation: 'institutional structure (the social context), format (the textual context) and content (the text)'.[29] These categories include probing how a publication is internally organised and how it fits into broader society and systems of power as well as the design choices and organisation of pages and why these choices have been made. Analysing the text includes considering who the author is, the tone of voice used, who the likely readers are, what the sources of information were and whether assumptions are being made to emphasise a particular point of view. What becomes evident when researching press articles on or applicable to Warde, was that they are for the most part biased towards Warde and her ideas, or reflect discriminatory attitudes towards women. Nevertheless, they are imperative in building an impression of twentieth-century industry and society and the uncommon nature of the position of the First Lady of Typography.

This thesis also uses Warde's published writing, articles in the trade press and pieces written as Beaujon, of which there are a significant number, as evidence of her ideas

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[27] Vella, 'Newspapers', p.192.

[28] A. Smith, 'The Long Road to Objectivity and Back Again: The Kinds of Truth we Get in Journalism', in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day,* ed. by G. Boyce, J. Curran, P. Wingate, (London: Constable, 1978), pp.168-70.

[29] Vella, 'Newspapers', pp.198-200.

and priorities. Her most notable essay, 'The Crystal Goblet', is the most widely

quoted and most influential of her works.[30] However, other essays she published

during World War Two, including *Bombed but Unbeaten* and *An American in the*

Blitz, evidenced her ideas on the power of printing to enhance communication and

cultural understanding, whilst also affirming her presentation as a legacy maker and

influential figure using printed material.[31] Giving a sense of Warde's personality and

her approach to twentieth-century society, these essays uncover her individuality and

details of her networks and her political ideas. They provide insight on how she saw

and presented herself and how she used and developed her professional skills and

ambition, whilst situated within and without the industry. Her articles for the trade

press, including *The Monotype Recorder, The Monotype Newsletter*, *Penrose Annual*

and *British Printer,* illuminate her ideas more specifically on printing, her position in

the industry as well as emphasising her professional priorities and interests. She used

these pieces, the environments in which they were published and their audiences to

enhance her own presentation as well as that of her friends, exposing the extent of her

printing networks and power in the industry. Warde's articles and presentation as

Paul Beaujon also inform this thesis. They are relevant to how she saw herself, to the

development of her identity and to the establishment of her legacy and repute. [32]

Beaujon's articles instantly attracted acclaim in the industry, especially from

Morison.

Warde's writing, also the focus of her verbal presentations, can be interpreted as her

'testimony' 'based on [her] direct experience'.[33] Pendasa's ideas on testimony have

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[30] Beatrice Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography* (London: Sylvan Press, 1955).

[31] Warde and Standard, *Bombed but Unbeaten*. Warde, 'An American In the Blitz', pp.107-145. Warde, *The Token of Freedom*.

[32] An article that is particularly relevant to the development of the Beaujon identity is: Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types: A study of XVI and XVII Century Sources,' pp.131-179.

[33] Devin, O. Pendasa, 'Testimony', in *Reading Primary Sources*, ed. by Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp.226-42.

valuable parallels to the methodology of this research. Believing that history is about people and broad social processes, Pendasa views testimony as contributing critical information to historical analysis.[34] He highlights Bloch's division of this historical evidence into two categories, intentional and unintentional.[35] The former, Bloch views as narrative sources 'consciously intended to inform readers', shaping the way others understand events. Examples include sources used by Warde, such as journalism and lectures, which Pendasa sees as 'deliberate attempt[s] to create history.[36] Unintentional evidence he views as informing the reader in a non-narrative form and includes elements such as government documents, statistical data and archaeological findings.[37]

When analysing Warde's writing I have constantly been aware that, '…its author is deliberately trying to convey information to the reader' and that it is 'safe to assume that …she has a definite and possibly self-interested perspective.'[38] For Warde, this approach incorporated promoting the ideas of Monotype as well as those of her friends, religion and, during World War Two, political groups. Pendasa discusses methods of reading these sources, initially focussing on language: 'because language only acquires meaning in specific cultural contexts, it is crucial…to enter into the logic of that cultural context to decode…evidence'.[39] This notion has relevance to Warde's ideas, which throughout her career were influenced by, and in turn also has consequences for, the culture of the industry and society in which she lived and worked.[40] Warde's testimony also needs to be examined not just for what was said

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[34] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.226.

[35] M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954) pp.60-61.

[36] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.227.

[37] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.227.

[38] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.227.

[39] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.228.

[40] D.H. Fischer, *Historians, Fallacies: Towards a logic of Historical Thought,* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970) pp.132-40.

but also for what she failed to say, which included an intent to disseminate her religious ideas and to establish her own reputation.

Pendasa attributes defining characteristics to testimony that are relevant to examination of Warde's testimony. The first is linked to the status of the witness, and acknowledges that it is a report of first-hand experience or observation. The second explains testimony principally as oral but potentially also written. Both characteristics equate to Warde's work and personal experience expressed in presentations or in articles. A third characteristic highlights the focus of testimony as established by others rather than the researcher themself, having been gathered for reasons that may not directly link to the interest of the historian. [41] In the case of testimony gathered within the Warde Collection, it was compiled by Warde and not intended to specifically respond to the objectives of any specific researcher. With these characteristics in mind interpreting Warde's testimony as intentional evidence involves 'listening' to what she said 'since testimony is a monologue by the witness and not a dialogue with the historian'. [42] In the context of this research multiple forms of evidence have been examined to gain a balanced view as 'Different forms of evidence are useful for accessing different forms of truth'[43] Throughout this research developing analytical skills has involved the use of contextual sources requiring 'historical knowledge to situate what one hears, meaningfully to cross check one witness against others and against other sources, to notice minor and major errors and to evaluate… subjective trustworthiness and objective plausibility of any…witness…above all it takes willingness to take another person's experience seriously …[as] recounting a human life.' [44]

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[41] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.230.
[42] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.231.
[43] Pendasa, 'Testimony', p.231.
[44] Pendasa, 'Testimony', pp.239-40.

Without this approach analysis and understanding of the impact of the First Lady of Typography would be impossible.

ETHICS

From the beginning of this research, ethics have been at the forefront of my consideration, from both the perspective of gathering findings and also with regard to interpretation and dissemination. Frustrated by the lack of available research into women in the printing industry of the twentieth century, my approach to this research began from a position of personal reflection. My experience as a female designer, studying and beginning work in Britain during the 1980s, kindled my interest in the experiences and work of other women in the printing industry and was influential to my research approach and therefore, the results gathered. [45] My own reflection has been important for providing me with the opportunity to consider and challenge conclusions relating to Warde. Dewey's description of this process is valuable for defining reflective thought: 'Active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it, and the further conclusions to which it tends, constitutes reflective thought… It is a conscious and voluntary effort to establish belief upon a firm basis of reason.'[46]

Dean highlights two issues of relevance to the use of reflexivity within the methodology of this research, the first being: '*disciplinary* reflexivity, in which studying the history, prevailing literature, and common practices of a particular academic discipline may lead to a narrowing of the gaze.'[47] Whilst researching Warde this issue has been evident as existing literature and history of Warde is routed in her personal testimony. The second issue is: '[that through] personal reflexivity… we have to think about how a researcher's personal characteristics (such as their …social

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[45] Jon Dean, '*Doing Reflexivity*', (Bristol: Policy Press, 2017), p.2.
[46] John Dewey, '*How We Think*', (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1910), p.6.
[47] Dean, '*Doing Reflexivity*', p.2.

class, gender… and social disposition) and their position in the field of research…affects their research practice and their results.' [48] From the beginning of this research this issue has been apparent to me as my own gender and profession were factors inspiring my interest in and approach to Warde, resulting in a personal response to this project. I have been at pains to maintain a breadth of view extending beyond the printing industry, examining contextual issues and sources with potential consequences for Warde and the industry. Invaluable in providing perspective, this approach has illuminated factors stimulating and supporting her professional approach whilst also accounting for the circumstances of the culture of this period within and beyond her professional environment. When considering ethics relevant to my research, Kara has been invaluable. [49] Her ideas on designing ethical research relate to my use of reflexivity, highlighting potential difficulties: 'if you are passionate about your topic and research question… it can be hard to step back and take a broader view.'[50] This was a possible issue I was aware of from the outset but having acknowledged this situation, I was also looking to 'find, and use, evidence that contradicts [my] convictions'. [51] By studying my research topic from different sides, including archival research but also consulting secondary sources and examining the broad context of Warde's environment, lifetime and work, I have been able to find evidence that has contributed to knowledge and that has taken this research to unexpected areas and conclusions. Kara also highlights an additional, possible pitfall to which, it can be argued, I succumbed. She advises that when planning data gathering 'aim to gather only as much as you need to answer your research question' for fear of adding unnecessary burden. [52] Arguably, my archival research resulted in this outcome, however, owing to cataloguing only providing the

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[48] Dean, '*Doing Reflexivity*', p.2.

[49] Helen Kara, '*Research Ethics in the Real World*', (Bristol: University of Bristol Press, 2018).

[50] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.73.

[51] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.73.

[52] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*'.

briefest overview, careful examination of the entire content of collections was necessary to ascertain detail vital to my research.

Kara believes 'ethical research requires an ongoing and active engagement with people and the environment around us'. [53] Examining two forms of ethical research, Indigenous and Euro-Western, her ideas are relevant to my research. She highlights that in Euro-Western societies, 'truth, is something that can be empirically verified… while for researchers in Indigenous societies truth may exist in stories, experiences and relationships'.[54] From the outset I must acknowledge that in the context of my research the concept of 'truth' is complex; it is present in accounts of Warde's life and work, written by herself and others and is also open to differing interpretations. Having considered this dichotomy, the importance of studying a broad range of both primary and secondary sources was emphasised. In addition, I decided to look for individuals who studied or worked in the twentieth-century printing industry. I was hoping, through discussion, to gather memories of Warde as valuable insight into the woman herself, her ideas and professional approach, the culture in which she worked, audiences' views of her work, as well as helping to complete a picture of those audiences. My aim was to balance these anticipated findings with detail gathered from other sources. After discussion and approval from my supervisors, I placed advertisements in the printing trade press and in UK newspapers whilst also considering ethical issues associated with 'planning research, setting it in context, gathering and analysing… reporting, presenting and disseminating… findings'.[55] Disappointingly no one came forward through this approach. As an alternative way of contacting people with knowledge or memories of Warde, and also to disseminate my research, throughout my period of study I have spoken at events and conferences. As a result I have been fortunate to meet individuals who knew Warde, including Nicolas

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[53] Kara, *'Research Ethics …'*, p.9.
[54] Kara, *'Research Ethics …'*, p.9.
[55] Kara, *'Research Ethics …'*, p.16.

Barker who has written about her in his biography of Morison.[56] In addition, I had conversations with an individual who generously explained their experiences of Warde and their ideas on her work. I will refer to this person as 'Printer A'. Kara believes that 'Euro-Western systems of research governance usually requires researchers to take responsibility for their participants' anonymity' in advance.[57] However, Printer A made their requirement of anonymity apparent, a desire that I have respected throughout this thesis: 'particular confidences must be respected; they must not be transmitted… they may be introduced into the public sphere only by generalisation and anonymity.'[58] Hammersley and Traianou highlight an issue that I considered, in the context of the printing history, as potentially problematic: 'Preserving anonymity is especially difficult where people and/or places are very distinctive, such as people who play prominent roles in small recognisable communities.'[59] Thus, in order to maintain their anonymity, Printer A and I carefully discussed what aspects could be revealed or not. However: 'Much of the time, anonymisation has been successful in protecting the identities … And while there will be occasions when it is unlikely to succeed, this fact does not count against its use generally.'[60]

Conversations with Printer A have provided a perspective on Warde's personality, status, capabilities and presentation. They were helpful in revealing new lines of enquiry into aspects of her work, including the circumstances of her death and the origins of the Beaujon pseudonym.

The dissemination of my research, and in particular what Kara describes as 'authorial power', has a bearing on ethics. She believes that as writers 'we choose the words

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[56] Barker, *Stanley Morison*.

[57] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.99.

[58] E. Shills, '*The Calling of Sociology*', (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), p.431.

[59] Martyn, Hammersley and Anna Traianou, *Ethics in Qualitative Research: Controversies and Contexts*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), p.127.

[60] Hammersley and Traianou, *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, p.130.

and the order, what to put in and what to leave out of our accounts.' and as a result we have considerable power. [61] Accompanying this situation is a responsibility, through which I have realised that it is impossible to write a 'complete' account of my research. 'You have to be selective, and there are likely to be ethical considerations in most, if not all, of the decisions you need to take'. [62] For Kara, skilled and persuasive writers can hold sway over others and as a result 'there is an ethical aspect to each decision about how to tell the story of … research'[63] With this in mind I have spent time considering how to 'tell the story' revealed by this research. I have assessed how to impart narratives giving accurate accounts of my findings, as opposed to 'myth-making' based on either what I might suspect and hope to find or, on long-established, unsupported notions about Warde – of which there are many. In order to achieve this I have continually reviewed my research and my approaches, paying particular attention to ideas that have gone against prevailing notions on the life and work of the First Lady of Typography. An important additional responsibility of the author is to clarify the status and scope of the research but 'writing down the boundaries and limitations… can create the illusion of a neat and tidy process', which was not the case with this research. [64] Kara suggests that writing reflexively can be a solution but that this can also conceal a researcher's lack of knowledge, uncertainty or bias. 'Sometimes people have an inherent bias …We all have them… it's about being conscious of what they are.'[65]

Contextualising research has been vital to the ethical approach of my investigations: 'The work involved in contextualising research helps to clarify ideas about what to investigate and why' and it has helped to 'locate work within the wider

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[61] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.123.
[62] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.123.
[63] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.123.
[64] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.125.
[65] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.125.

conversation'.[66] An ongoing activity rather than a process completed early on, contextual research is evidenced in the literature survey that permeates each chapter. I made a conscious decision after discussion with my Director of Studies to disseminate this survey throughout my thesis, thus embedding literature and contextual studies within discussions as they progressed.

This chapter has aimed to investigate the research approach of this thesis and to explain and justify choices made in this research and its interpretation. The outcomes of this chapter have revealed the changing nature of this methodology which evolved in response to archival findings and literature reviewed. The extent and structure of archival sources pertinent to studies of Warde has been exposed, as prior to this thesis the Warde archive at the CRL was unexamined and its content had not been aligned with that of other collections or sources. The circumstances of the origin of this archive are new findings in this chapter, revealed through cross referencing its content with other collections and discussions with those who knew Warde. What has been learnt by this process is the extent of the involvement that Warde had in creating this collection and the messages exposed by its content. Her intent for this collection is disclosed, but the unsuccessful outcome of her efforts reveals that this collection has now been presented for its value to American studies rather than the printing industry.

As personal correspondence forms a significant aspect of the CRL Warde Archive and the Stanley Morison collection at ULC, the examination of research on correspondence traces the role of letter-writing in ordering and narrating life but also in controlling messages for audiences of such writing. Reading Warde's correspondence has revealed the pattern of relationships she had with others in the printing industry, her family and society and they also disclose how she felt about

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[66] Kara, '*Research Ethics …*', p.85.

herself and how she fitted into society. A new factor exposed by this research is that Warde frequently corresponded not just to communicate with a recipient but also with publication, or future broader audiences reading her archive in mind, and initially what may seem private was a constructed communication for public consumption. This finding has stressed the importance of balancing findings from Warde's letter-writing with contextual detail from other sources.

Examining archival items not just for their written content but as objects, has enabled new findings, particularly on Warde's use of photography, which has been studied and analysed in visual terms. What this revealed, representing new findings, is that Warde used image making, clothes and her body as part of her strategy for success, disclosing that she constructed and used photographs to convey an intended perspective.

Studying Warde's documents at the ULC Stanley Morison collection not only revealed items that connect with the content of the new Warde archive CRL but also that this collection has been compiled selectively and as a result existing research reliant on this source presents an incomplete view of Warde, and needs to be approached with caution.

As part of this methodology, Warde's wartime articles and her pseudonymous works have been found to disclose a sense of her personality and the culture in which she was located. The individuality of her notions and approach, as well as the nature of her political ideas, although lacking objectivity, reveal new knowledge that due to the circumstances of Warde's death had not previously been examined.

Warde's approach to publication of her work, and the consequential impact this had on accounts of her ideas and achievements, necessitated examination of printing industry journals and other writings on the industry from the Typographic Hub at BCU. Aligning these findings with those from the Warde's published writings and

correspondence revealed a new, changed perspective, one of printing industry commentators whose views and approaches differed from Warde's own, bringing into question the extent of Warde's influence.

This methodology has highlighted the significance of trade and mainstream press in research into Warde and a new factor that has come to the fore through reading these secondary sources is that of the press control of the perspective and focus of their articles on Warde; and as she worked in an affiliated industry with significant contacts with the press, information about her is for the most part biased. Although these articles convey a particular desired view of Warde's ideas and achievements, they clarify the culture in which she was placed.

This methodology has revealed that Warde's work, and the content of archives about her, can be regarded not only as her testimony but that as a 'witness' she is conveying messages she wants her audience to hear. Overall, what has been learnt, and described in this chapter, is that for any research on Warde, cross-checking and balancing different forms of evidence is vital to interpreting research findings.

3. CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain what the background factors underpinning Warde's lifetime were and its aim is to establish if these factors had any relevance to her. This is necessary because, prior to this research, exploration of Warde's professional life has been lacking and what little that exists is principally located within the unpublished, biographical, PhD thesis by Dr Shelly Gruendler, or in articles with which Warde herself was involved; in both cases, the exploration of contextual factors is minimal and lacking breadth.[1] As a result, in order to reappraise her life, consideration of context is essential and consequently the objective of this chapter is to use archival and secondary sources to examine Warde in the context of four themed areas: the printing industry, women in that industry, gender and women in society. These themes have been selected for their potential effect on, or relevance to, Warde's ambition, experience and achievement.

The first section of this chapter examines the British printing industry, the area in which Warde chose to work, which had grown in response to factors including: 'the increase in population, expansion of trade, improved means of communication, advances in technology and pressure for the propagation of ideas'.[2] However, when Warde began employment, the industry remained traditional, reflecting culturally-embedded, discriminatory attitudes to women which, Macdonald believed resulted from 'A natural monopoly is constituted by the superior strength of man'.[3] Warde arrived in London from New York in 1925 and began working in the British printing industry, a position she retained until her death. Therefore, because of Warde's

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[1] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde.* Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography'', pp.69-76.

[2] Michael Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970: an illustrated history of its development and uses in England,* (London: The British Library, 1998), p.1.

[3] James Ramsey Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades: A Sociological Study* (London: Forgotten Books, 2015), p.vii.

situation, the circumstances of women in the printing industry are examined in the second part of this chapter. Also introduced in this section is the place of the 'gentleman amateur', a genteel figure who adopted printing for pleasure rather than profit and whose status is found to have parallels with Warde's own circumstances.

In the third area of this chapter, gender is apraised as Warde's gender was obviously recognisable and remains an element influencing interest in her work. Being a man or a woman during her life was not a 'fixed state'; it was a position reflecting learnt behaviour - a conditioned construct, resulting in individuals becoming distinctly gendered and for the most part, following expectations that they would behave accordingly.[4] However, through her approach to life and work, Warde stood out and did not comply; consequently, gender is an area discussed in this thesis. Chapter Six, examining her strategies for success, in particular deals with this theme in the context of Warde's image making through choice of clothing and use of photography and artwork.

In Britain, Warde was in a country where the place of most women was obfuscated and as a result, aspects relating to women in society form the focus of the fourth section of this chapter. Retrospectively, it was observed that during the twentieth century, 'Edwardian even Victorian culture cast a long shadow over the lives of older women, as well as moulding institutions in post-war England'; these are circumstances which touched Warde and the reason for this exploration.[5] The nineteenth century separated men and women, with men said to 'engage themselves in the worlds of business, work and politics; whilst women were consigned to the home and family' but Warde did not emulate this position.[6] As a professionally-ambitious, independent woman, the circumstances of women in twentieth-century

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[4] Raewyn Connell, *Gender in World Perspective*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2020) p.6.

[5] Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995) p.2.

[6] Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) pp.1-2.

society, examined in this chapter, are important as a background to Warde's success, as they highlight societal attitudes, as well as the extent of the 'glass ceiling' she attempted to break.

THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

Warde was embedded within the printing industry during a time of development and change. The industry facilitated 'the information explosion' which Warde explained as a 'way of getting messages into many peoples' heads through their eyes' whilst conveying 'identical messages to a thousand or more people…miles apart'.[7] Whilst using the output of the industry to disseminate their ideas, Warde was aware that literary figures also reinforced the importance of printing, a theme that is explored in Chapter Six for its relevance to inspiring Warde's interest in and approaches to disseminating her ideas through printing. After praising writing as the skill of the human hand, Wordsworth said of printing:

> 'Then followed printing with enlarged command
>
> For thought – dominion vast and absolute
>
> For spreading truth and making love expand.'[8]

Twyman's *Printing 1770-1970* is wide ranging and provides insight into the circumstances and influences on the industry in the period approaching and during the twentieth century, the period of Warde's working life.[9] Developments discussed include innovations in paper making, experimentation with materials and new powered printing presses, increasing the outputs of the industry as demand grew. Twyman sets the scene for the continued industrial development of the twentieth

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[7] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* p.5. S. H., Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing,* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1955) pp.7-8.

[8] *The Collected Poems of William Wordsworth* (London: Wordsworth Editions, 1994) p.583.

[9] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* pp.48-57.

century thus discussing the circumstances of the industry that Warde joined and which impacted her work. Providing an overview from the advent of the first composing machine, developed in New York in 1838, to the early stages of computerised typesetting which began in the 1960s and 70s, Twyman also focuses on their contribution to increased productivity within the industry; this is a recurring topic within Warde's work and one that is highlighted in Chapter Four which discusses her emphasis on printing and typography as commercial assets.[10] He explains the development of Monotype machines, manufactured and sold by her employer and promoted by Warde, clarifying how they were used, placing them within the field of competitor technology and contextualising the technological changes taking place in parallel with her career.

Vital to Warde's success, printing became a subsidiary activity in most areas of society; as a result nineteenth-century printers developed skills and used specific machinery to cater for the discrete requirements of clients.[11] By 1907 the industry was the tenth largest by output of any in Britain, with increasing paper manufacture rising from 100,000 tons in 1860 to 652,000 in 1900, supporting and evidencing this expansion.[12] Warde was aware that increasingly, society became reliant on printing through the daily use of items including timetables, advertisements and instructions.[13]

Technological developments in printing and the typographic renaissance
A brief overview of technological developments and historical circumstances is helpful to understanding the effect of the changes taking place in the printing industry in the period leading up to and during Warde's life. Since Gutenberg was credited with inventing printing, the industry and its associated occupations had remained for

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[10] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* pp.60-66.
[11] Printing became a subsidiary activity in areas including education, politics, religion, commerce and industry. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing,* p.11. Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* p.6.
[12] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* p.10.
[13] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* p.17.

the most part unchanged.[14] By 1800 it was still a hand-crafted industry, reliant on a skilled workforce for tasks including making paper and ink, casting moveable type, setting text, printing, and finishing; improvements in education escalated the demand for printed reading material, whilst growing industrial innovation led to mechanisation in the industry.[15]

Warde's time in the industry traversed the period, progressing printing from reliance on craft skills to dependency on technology. Printing speeds and outputs increased and thus employment and educational requirements for the industry changed.[16] Slinn, Carter and Southall discuss the history of the Monotype Corporation, Warde's employer, and their capitalisation of the timing of the nineteenth-century breakthroughs enabling letters to be individually spaced and positioned via concurrent casting and typesetting. The first machine of this kind was created by a competitor company; the Linotype, which in 1886 was installed in the office of the *New York Tribune*, the precursor to the *Herald Tribune*, where Lamberton Becker went on to work.[17] It is likely that she noticed the capabilities of the machine and discussed them with Warde. Composing machines replaced the need for the composition of printed material to be executed character by character, and despite Linotype developing a presence in Britain, it was Monotype, designers and makers of another composing machine, which sustained Warde's success in the industry.[18]

Invented by Tolbert Lanston, the Monotype Composing machine was patented in America in 1896 for casting type from hot metal.[19] Opening London headquarters in 1898 and a factory site in 1899, in 1902 Monotype began a promotional publication,

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[14] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing,* p.18

[15] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.15.

[16] Previously a man working a press could print up to 250 sheets per hour but by the beginning of the twentieth century, machines printing newspapers were capable of 288,000 sheets in this time Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* pp.48, 53. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing,* p.279

[17] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.15-16.

[18] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.16-23.

[19] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.17.

The Monotype Recorder, to inform printers about their composing machines.[20] *The Monotype Recorder* is discussed recurrently in this thesis for supporting Warde's professional achievement, and enabling her to disseminate ideas, as she first wrote for the publication when it was edited by Morison in 1925 and ultimately became its editor.[21] By 1925, despite a dip in manufacture during World War One, the Monotype Corporation was flourishing in Britain, with its machines widely used. It was this atmosphere that Warde joined in 1927, when she began working for the Corporation to edit *The Monotype Recorder,* and it was this atmosphere that became a constant background supporting her career.[22]

Having discussed the technological developments that formed a background to Warde's life, the responses to these changes that impacted her career are examined here. Monotype machines had generally replaced hand setting, gaining popularity especially in publishing and jobbing printing work.[23] However, there were still those advocating letterpress as the best method of printing; Claybourn highlighted resistance to change and his conviction in 'the majority who justly maintain their faith in letterpress printing.'[24] This article emphasises diverse responses to technological changes that Warde had to respond to and accommodate in order to professionally progress. In addition to composing machines, the period of her career saw the development of photo composition and trade journals provide valuable insight into these circumstances. The pace of technological development is apparent in Fishenden who examined the products and publications of the Monotype Corporation and competing photo-composing machines including the Uhertype and: 'The Fotosetter by Inter Type Corporation, the 'Desk Model Fotosetter', Lino film by

[20] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.30, 36-7.

[21] Warde become the editor of the *Recorder* in 1927. Barker, *Stanley Morison,* pp.176-77. Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.68.

[22] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.68.

[23] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* p.63.

[24] L.W. Claybourn, 'The Printer and the Future', *Penrose Annual*, 35 (1933) pp.28-33.

Mergenthaler Linotype Company and the 'Hadego' machine by the American Type Founders co'. [25] Fishenden highlights the pressure under which the Monotype Corporation and Warde were placed, in an industry perpetually changing as the market in which they once led became saturated.[26]

An additional consequence of these developments that provided commercial and scholarly opportunities for Warde is examined by Kinross, who explains the origination of composing machines, as inspiring the growth in typographic design: 'In the post-war period, with … cheap hand-labour gone, any … doubts over the benefits of mechanized type-setting could hardly be sustained. The question was simply one of quality of typeface design'.[27] Chapter Four also highlights this theme in the context of Warde's emphasis on the aesthetics of typeface design as important commercial property. In response, Monotype, and ultimately Warde, began to revive and market typefaces grounded in historical designs. 'Typographic quality was to be found by scouring the past' and this 'became their pattern of operation' and a central part of the 'typographic renaissance'. [28] Warde and her networks are analysed here for their support of this typographic revival; Morison, was a leading figure and Warde was also significant to this movement, becoming his 'inseparable and incomparable lieutenant in the great work of the British typographic renaissance.'[29] Principle American printers within her network also supported the circumstances of this

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[25] Photo-typesetting enabled the making of printing plates through a light sensitive process, becoming commercially available in 1945 with Monotype's own Monophoto photo typesetting system marketed in 1952. R.B. Fishenden, 'Editors Note Book', *Penrose Annual*, 36 (1934) p.147. The Uhertype was being tested in Germany and Switzerland and was the first photo-type invented in Augsburg, Germany in 1925. The first commercially-available photo typesetting system available in Britain was the Rotofoto which came in to use in 1949. Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970*, p.63. R.B. Fishenden, 'Editorial Review', *Penrose Annual*, 45 (1951) p.2.
[26] R.B. Fishenden, 'Editorial Review', p.2.
[27] Robin Kinross, *Modern Typography: An Essay in Critical History* (London: Hyphen Press, 1994). p.57.
[28] Kinross, *Modern Typography*, p.57.
[29] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, p.123. Allan, Hutt, 'Beatrice Warde a Personal Tribute', *The Monotype Newsletter,* 86, (1969), p18. MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

revial, notably D.B. Updike (1860-1941), who was a friend of Warde and in regular correspondence with Morison.[30] Updike's *Printing Types ...*was one of the first works stimulating this revival, taking a literary approach which diversified from existing writing including Hansard's *Typographica* which was instructional in nature and Savage's *Dictionary of the Art of Printing,* which gave a first-hand account of the nineteenth century English printing industry.[31] Published during the early years of Warde's career, *Printing Types* is discussed here for helping to establish a new way of discussing printing and type, stimulating interest in historical revivals and becoming influential and inspiring to Warde in the development of her ideas on printing. It became, and remains, an essential and respected text on typographic history, dealing with the printing history of one country at a time and discussing the influence of political, social and artistic movements. In addition, Updike wrote about type developments and provided illustrations and typefounders' specimens whilst also outlining typographic history in more detail and accuracy than had previously been easily available.

In the 1920s and '30s Monotype typeface design was fundamental to the British typographic renaissance, establishing a planned programme which Morison emphasised as rational and linked to the requirements of the industry and the Corporation's responsibilities; *The Monotype Recorder* with Warde as the editor, described it as a 'private initiative and enterprise on behalf of the Corporation. It was not forced upon the Corporation by the exigencies of competition, or by the impulse

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[30] David McKitterick, ed., *Stanley Morison and D. B. Updike* (London: Scholar Press, 1980). Charles Zarobila, 'Updike, Daniel Berkeley (1860-1941), book designer and printer,' *American National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press 2000, [cited 25 March 2021] Available from: < https://www.anb.org/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-1602294>

[31] Daniel Berkeley Updike, *Printing Types - Their History, Forms and Use: A Study on Survivals* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922). T. C. Hansard, *Typographica* (London: Baldwin & Co., 1825). William Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1841, re-published in 1965 by Gregg Press Ltd., London).

of the so-called "profit-motive"[32] A leading figure in the movement, Warde explained the programme as complex, altruistic and for the greater benefit of book design, involving re-cutting 'classical designs of which Garamond, Bembo, Baskerville, Fournier are examples; others were new creations, such as Gill Sans and Perpetua.'[33] However, commentators alleged the programme resulted from 'a good deal of improvisation if not muddle'; this is not the case and Morison and Warde's attitude to the type design of the typographic renaissance connects with their religious beliefs and is analysed in Chapter Four for its relevance to her influence.[34]

Consideration of the great interest in type and typography during Warde's lifetime is discussed here for creating an environment which supported Warde's career. Tarr believed this interest reflected the modern spirit, particularly complementing the design of Gill Sans promoted by Warde.[35] He also quoted Morison on the importance of design not distracting the reader, a concept connecting with Warde's the *Crystal Goblet.*[36] 'any disposition of printing material… which whatever the intention, has the effect of coming between author and reader is wrong...', this piece clarifies prevalent ideas on typography during the early part of Warde's career as well as highlighting support for her ideas and those of Morison.[37] 'On Style in Typography', also by Tarr, endorsed this typographic notion by emphasising the place of the past in modern typography: 'the work of the earlier printers possesses the characteristics of all good typography, i.e., an acceptance of technical, mechanical, economic, and social facts which form the structure of their lives.'[38] It is evident from Tarr that through her promotion of Monotypes typefaces, Warde's ideas became far-reaching.

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[32] 'Fifty Years of Type Cutting a Policy Reviewed,' *The Monotype Recorder*, 39 (January 1950), pp.6-7.
[33] 'Fifty Years of Type Cutting…', p.8.
[34] Kinross, *Modern Typography*, p.57. Moran, J., 'Stanley Morison 1889-1967,' *The Monotype Recorder*, 43 (Autumn 1968), p.76.
[35] John C. Tarr, 'What are the Fruits of New Typography?', *Penrose Annual*, 37 (1935) pp.38-40.
[36] Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography.*
[37] Tarr, 'What are the Fruits of New Typography?', pp.38-40
[38] John C. Tarr, 'On Style in Typography', *Penrose Annual,* 39 (1937) pp.85-88.

Having examined the technological changes that led to the typographic renaissance, new publications on the printing industry that originated during this period are discussed here as they became vital platforms for the dissemination of ideas in Britain and overseas. Explaining how the approaches of printing and typography fitted into and responded to changing priorities of the time, pieces highlighted Warde's importance: '[speaking of 'The Crystal Goblet'] Its author has been one of the outstanding personalities of British printing for the past twenty years or more.'[39]

The Fleuron, originally the publication of the short-lived Fleuron Society - founded in 1922 to demonstrate the quality of machine-set books - was edited by Morison and Simon; it appeared annually from 1923-30 and was acclaimed for discussing contemporary and historical type and typography. [40] Its articles were by respected, influential figures of the industry and took an exhaustive approach questioning and adding to existing knowledge. Through her friendship with Morison, *The Fleuron* was significant to Warde as a platform for her writing as Beaujon and for building her early experience as commentator; she contributed to the last three issues.[41]

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[39] 'New Titles For the Printer's Bookshelf: The Industries Position of Responsibility', *British Printer*, 69 (1956), p.64. Additional examples include: *'Newspaper Design Award', British Printer*, 71 (1958), p.57. This discusses Warde's place on the judging panel for this competition.'Printers Bookshelf Important Reprints and Two New Titles', *British Printer*, 72 (1959), p.65. This article emphasises her as a key figure writing on graphic arts. 'BP Commentary Birthday Greetings to Beatrice Warde', *British Printer*, 73 (1960), p.71. This article highlights Warde's position in the printing industry and wishes her a happy birthday.

[40] Founders of the society were Stanley Morison, Francis Meynell, Holbrook Jackson, Bernard Newdigate and Oliver Simon. The society did not thrive but the journal of the same name extended to seven volumes, the first four issues were jointly edited by Morison and Simon, the last three by Morison alone. McKitterick, David, *'Meynell, Sir Francis Meredith Wilfrid (1891-1975),' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 14 January 2019] Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31442> Ruari McLean, 'Bernard Newdigate' *Typographers on Type* (London: Lund Humphries, 1995), pp.23-34. Wren, Howard G. Trevitt, Rev. John, 'Simon, Oliver Joseph (1895–1956), Printer,*' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 6 April 2021] Available from:<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36099.>

[41] Simon Oliver [ed.], *The Fleuron*, (London: The Office of *The Fleuron*, 1923).

Typography, a quarterly magazine was published from 1936-39 and edited by Robert Harling (1910-2008). It considered elements of typographic history, design and contemporary typographic developments.[42] Contributors were notable writers such as John Betjeman, as well as figures from Warde's circle including Morison, and Meynell. Although Warde did not write for *Typography,* its varied approach reflected her interests, ranging from pieces on Eric Gill to articles on mass-produced printed ephemera including bus tickets and train timetables, ecclesiastical typography and typography in New York. From the outset Warde was quoted and referred to in *Typography* reinforcing her significance to debates of the time: 'Or think of it (with Paul Beaujon, who is often worth thinking with) in this way: The advertiser's task, he says is like the music – printer's: that of making it as easy as possible to sight-read what is on the page.'[43]

Penrose Annual was a long-lived publication, established in 1895 that lasted until 1982. Initially it conveyed technological developments in printing but it grew to include typography, photography, illustration and the social, cultural and political elements of printing; it included articles by Warde and many of her network including Morison, Newdigate and Gill.[44] The Annual represented the changing industry of Warde's era and provided a respected platform for her ideas and it remains an influential publication for historians of typography, design and printing.

Signature: A Quadrimestrial of Typography and the Graphic Arts, a journal for printers and typographers, was published from 1935-50 with a gap during World War

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[42] Fiona MacCarthy, 'Harling, (Henry) Robert (1910–2008), typographic designer, novelist, and magazine editor,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2013 [cited 12 August 2021] Available from:
<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-99915> Robert Harling[ed.], *Typography*, (London: James Shand at the Shenval Press, 1936-39).
[43] Francis Meynell, 'Voices and Vices' *Typography 1*, (1936), pp.2-7.
[44] William Gamble, Richard Bertram Fishenden, Allan Delafons, Herbert Spencer and Clive Goodacre' [eds.], *Penrose Annual*, (London: Percy, Lund Humphries, 1895-1982).

Two, and was edited by Oliver Simon.[45] It was unlike other publications as it brought together typography and art and Warde, writing as Beaujon, was a contributor providing a platform for her work outside Monotype. [46]

European and American publications for the printing industry also developed during this period, including the French *Arts et Metiers Graphiques,* and the American magazines *Print* and *Graphis.*[47] As a leading pioneer, Warde's ideas were also featured in these publications.[48]

In addition to the expansion of trade publications, trade shows are acknowledged here for becoming regular occurrences during Warde's career; they highlighted the skills, capabilities and ideas of the British printing industry and were an additional platform for the dissemination of ideas. At these events Warde was able to maximise her audience, which is a theme discussed in Chapter Five for its significance to her legacy making.[49] Held every four years, the International Printing Machinery and Allied Trades Exhibition, known as IPEX was described as 'a great industrial fair at which printers and their associates … could inspect the latest machines and methods'.[50]

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[45] Oliver Simon [ed.], *A Quadrimestrial of Typography and the Graphic Arts*, (London: Signature, 1935-40;1949-54). *Signature* was published initially from 1935-40 and then post World War Two, from 1949-50.

[46] Articles in *Signature* by Warde include: Paul, Beaujon, 'Progress in Bible production', *Signature, 4* (1936), pp.1-11. Paul, Beaujon, 'Recent Editions of Shakespeare's Work', *Signature, 7* (1937), pp.17-32. Paul, Beaujon, 'Review of the Specimen Books of Binny and Rolandson', *Signature, 6* (1937), pp.52-53. Other important figures of the industry who contributed to *Signature* included Newdigate, Meynell and Morison.

[47] Charles Peignot, *Arts et Metiers Graphiques*, (Paris: Deberny & Peignot, 1927-38). William Edwin Rudge, *Print,* (USA.1940). Walter Herdeg and Dr. Walter Amstutz, *Graphis*, (Zurich: Graphis, 1944). *Graphis* was originally founded in Switzerland.

[48] Beatrice Warde, 'Printer and Customer: A Change of Attitude 1851-1951', *Graphis, 37* (1951), pp.376-377. Beatrice Warde, 'The Promotion of Typefaces', *Graphis, 84* (1959), pp.336-343.

[49] The 1851 Great Exhibition was an early high-profile show.

[50] Beatrice, Warde, 'The IPEX Educational Feature Training for Tomorrow an Introduction to a 'Show within a show'', *British Printer, 68* (1955), p.67.

The division of labour; unionisation and emergence of professional typographers

Technological developments brought changes for those working in the printing industry and this section examines their circumstances, highlighting the fortunate nature of Warde's experience in comparison with that of others. Printers had been the source for all processes associated with the industry, from design and composition to finishing techniques and binding. However, technological developments necessitated a specialised workforce, with expertise in discrete roles: 'modernization of printing entailed a greater division of labour, as individual operations grew in size, and as work-processes became more specialised with the introduction of complex machinery.'[51]

In Europe and America, printing presses were mostly machine-powered: paper was machine-made, the finishing process demanded skilled machine use as did typesetting and consequently printing education and the workforce were required to respond to these circumstances. One outcome of these developments was the emergence of the professional typographer, a 'mantle' Warde accepted, being described as 'one of the world's leading typographers [who believed that typographers]… presented [words] with dignity '. [52] Period articles evidence this situation and are discussed here for emphasising emerging roles within the industry and for explaining the design of educational courses. In 'Editors Review: Unity in the Graphic Arts', Fishenden discussed the sub-division of roles and processes, highlighting the importance of designers and artists and those involved with technical processes.[53] Futhermore, he pointed to the value of co-operative working between different areas of the industry and thus stressed that Warde was no longer just addressing 'the printer' but communicating with a range of differently-skilled workers with varied backgrounds.

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51 Kinross, *Modern Typography*, p.25.
52 The staff correspondent 'Typography: Like A Crystal Goblet' *Sydney Morning Herald*, c.1957. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
53 R.B. Fishenden, 'Editorial Review', *Penrose Annual*, 36 (1934) pp.xix-xx.

'It is impossible to think of the best ultimate results unless we can assume a complete collaboration'[54] The significance of this theme was again stressed by Fishenden's return to the topic emphasising the importance of a 'close alliance between the groups of professions and trades … [as] essential'.[55] These articles highlighted that, from her earliest working life in Britain, Warde had joined an industry in flux, but also one that presented opportunities for her presentation for success, a subject that is explored in Chapter Six.

Perspective on the fragmentation of roles in the US printing industry is found in Thomajan and highlighted here for discussing the outcomes of the roles of designers and artists on the commercial ends of the industry in Warde's home country.[56] In advance of that in Britain, the US industry adopted new roles to enhance commercial outcomes. Thus this piece also helps to explain the place of Warde's American industry knowledge on her perspective and recommendations for the British industry, which enabled her to report with authority and emphasise the importance of designers to commercial outcomes.

A piece that is stressed here for discussing typographers as arbiters of design and typographic taste, a subject on which Warde also focussed, is Pickering's 'The Future of The Typographer'. This article examined the new role of a typographer, their education and responsibilities, urging that, for practical reasons and commercial return, typographers should be embraced and respected by the industry.[57] On this topic Warde believed 'it is on the refined aesthetic sensibility of the typographer and his approach to the finesse of his craft that ultimate success must be judged…in addition there is the not unimportant sales factor in attracting new business by means

[54] Fishenden, 'Editorial Review', p.xix.

[55] R.B. Fishenden, 'Editors Review', *Penrose Annual*, 37 (1935) pp.1-4.

[56] P. K. Thomajan, 'Printing for commerce in the USA', *Penrose Annual,* 47 (1953), pp.55-7.

[57] Charles L. Pickering, 'The Future of The Typographer', *Penrose Annual,* 44 (1950), pp.48-50.

of the well-presented layout.' [58] Warde herself as an arbiter of typographic taste is a matter examined in Chapter Four for its effect on her influence.

Having examined the proliferation of discrete roles in the industry, it is vital to discuss the resulting boom in unions and professional bodies dedicated to specific trades which, during Warde's career, became influential.[59] The British Federation of Master Printers [BFMP] was one such organisation, established to foster an atmosphere of cooperation through social interaction.[60] It believed 'competitors are better for being friends… [and the Federation provides] … the chance to hear other people's opinion and voice one's own, to exchange information and find inspiration in a common desire to progress.'[61]

Influencing the environment in which Warde worked, unions and federations were more powerful than their numbers frequently indicated and even the smallest fulfilled a unique function in their own specialised fields.[62] In the nineteenth century the printer 'worked long hours in conditions of considerable strain' and Howe presents an overview of this atmosphere whilst discussing detailed negotiations over pay and conditions throughout the industry, circumstances that illuminate these conditions and role of unions.[63] During Warde's career, unions perpetuated a system of protectionism preserving the status quo, preventing improvements to conditions and remuneration and also stopping workers from entering the industry if they had not undertaken specific training. An example of this came in 1902 when the BFMP

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[58] Pickering, 'The Future of The Typographer', pp.48-50.

[59] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing,* p.299. From 1890 some English unions linked to the printing industry and allied trades nationwide moved towards the formation of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation; initially comprising sixteen unions, by 1956 it represented 320,000 workers.

[60] In 1901, The British Federation of Master Printers was established. Ellic Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers 1900-1950* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p.ix.

[61] Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, pp.ix-xii.

[62] The smallest union was the 'Map and Chart Engravers' Association and the Society of Music Engravers, which numbered together 82. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, p.300.

[63] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970: an illustrated history of its development and uses in England,* p.9. Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, pp.153-231.

presented at two arbitration tribunals against the Typographical Association [TA]. At the first in Stockport the TA attempted to stabilise the working week to fifty hours and at the second in Glasgow they argued for a rise in wages; in both cases the BFMP ensured that existing status was maintained.[64]

Responding to criticism of their role, the BFMP said: 'Our enemy is not the working man; our enemy is the man who will not pay enough for his work and if we can do something to get a fair working profit for printers we shall be doing far more than trying to beat down the wages of any man.'[65] The workforce comprised men, women and children and conditions of employment and wages differed depending on status, age, and gender. Howe's writing reveals the 'sorry state of affairs' in the industry in which Warde worked, and consequently highlights the importance of 'unpicking' the background to her motivation, success and influence. Additionally, Howe emphasises the gendered circumstances that permeated Warde's life. Gender is a topic that imbues this thesis and that is particularly apparent in Chapter Six which focusses on Warde's presentation for success, highlighting approaches including her manipulation of gender as a strategy for success.

The circumstances discussed in this chapter reveal that more happened in the industry during Warde's life than in the preceding five hundred years. This seismic revolution mechanised processes, taking composition from a manual process to mechanisation and computerisation and printing from letterpress to litho. This period saw a surge in typeface design revealing tensions between Revivalist and Modernist attitudes, a topic discussed in Chapter Five for its significance to Warde's influence. In addition, this period was the timeframe that marked the rise of the typographer and graphic designer. The ripples and repercussions of these changes were navigated by Warde

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[64] Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, p.11.
[65] Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, p.6.

during her career; they underpin the context of this thesis and are vital to understanding her accomplishments.

Significant figures in the printing industry

In addition to technological changes, the period of the typographic renaissance coinciding with Warde's career was notable for the emergence of leading figures in the industry; Warde connected with many of these individuals, endorsed their ideas and was supported by their patronage. Writing on these individuals is relevant to this chapter and the selection made represents those major figures who were the most influential to her career.

Warde's initial employment in America was in part initiated by the intervention of typographer, book designer and printer Bruce Rogers (1870-1957).[66] Like Morison and Warde, Rogers rejected Modernism, favouring the use of Roman, serif typefaces and symmetry in design. Of his support Warde said: 'When I came out of Barnard College, Bruce Rogers said to me, 'I will give you a letter to Henry Lewis Bullen – he's looking for an assistant librarian'… Bullen said to me…'You've got a letter from Bruce Rogers. You get the job''.[67] Henry Lewis Bullen (1857-1938) was a printer, writer and founder and librarian of the most important printing library in the US, the American Type Founders Library [ATF]. Warde become his assistant, an appointment providing the foundation and direction of her career.[68] Dreyfus discusses Bullen's achievements, highlighting how impressed Warde was by his ideas and the opportunities that they presented through working for him.[69] At the Library

[66] Zarobila, *'Bruce Rogers (14 May 1870-18 May 1957)'*. Friend of Lamberton Becker, from 1917 Rogers was printing advisor to Cambridge University Press, England and from 1920-28, advisor to Harvard University Press.
[67] John Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', p.69.
[68] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.21-3.
[69] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', p.69.

Warde's professional responsibilities and knowledge expanded, widening her industry networks and linking her with other important figures.[70] 'I stayed at the American Type Founders Library for over three years…and read the books; so of course I became an expert – you can't help it with training like that.'[71] Warde regarded Bullen as a leader in the industry and a great but unrecognised man. She believed he was responsible for significant developments, including formulating typographic terminology, creating an appreciation for the study of type morphology, establishing a world-renowned printing library and for being an advocate for the printing industry with a special interest in encouraging apprentices.[72] She was inspired by him and the consequential opportunities presented, particularly in the context of her educational ambition which she credited as being in response to a conversation with him: 'I … dedicated myself to … propaganda which would leave a … noble impression on the minds of young people and which would inspire them to realise what a glorious thing they were doing by serving … that ancient method of communication … the printed word.'[73] Bullen's inspiration is also discussed in Chapter Four, which highlights his impact on her ambition to become an influential figure in the industry and in Chapter Six, which examines his impact on her presentation as a scholar.

Stanley Morison (1889-1967) was a leading authority on printing, who contributed significantly to the history of type and printing and was instrumental in establishing and supporting Warde's career in Britain.[74] Becoming close friends, they initially met while Warde was working at the ATF Library and Morison was first visiting America. Acclaimed as Britain's foremost expert on the design of letterforms, a

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[70] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde*, pp.34, 23-32.
[71] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', p.69.
[72] Beatrice Warde, 'Speech on the occasion of her sixtieth birthday [unpublished]', 1960. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[73] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', pp.71-4.
[74] Barker, *Stanley Morison*. Carter, H.G. and McKitterick, D., *Morison Stanley Arthur*.

prolific writer and theoretician Morison was advisor to the Monotype Corporation, and typefaces created under his direction became the most popular in British printing and overseas. Additionally, from 1925-59 he was typographic advisor to Cambridge University Press and from 1930-60 he was connected with *The Times*, advising on typography and also writing a history of the newspaper. From 1945-7 he edited *The Times Literary Supplement* and acted as an organisational consultant. Morison's guidance to, and endorsement of Warde, is evident in a number of sources, including, Gruendler, Barker, McKitterick and Loxley.[75] Gruendler, Barker and Loxley traced his support of Warde's career, and in the context of her US professional networks, McKitterick emphasised the admiration in which Morison was held, resulting in Warde admiring him and aspiring to his status. [76] She described him as a 'learned academician' an 'inventive designer and influential practitioner', with responsibility for the 'most important new typeface of our century [whose work] … *Four Centuries of Fine Printing (1924)* influenced a generation and more of printers'.[77] Flattered by his support and attention, Warde inevitably saw him as a role model and throughout their careers they were mutually supportive and 'inseparable'.[78] Morison's support has relevance throughout this thesis but is particularly pertinent to Chapter Four, for providing Warde with a platform on which to build her influence, to Chapter Five for

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[75] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.29-31, 53-61. Barker, *Stanley Morison*, pp.160-3, 174-183. McKitterick, *Stanley Morison and D. B. Updike*. Loxley, *Printer's Devil The Life and Work of Frederic Warde*, pp.40-82.

[76] McKitterick, *Stanley Morison and D. B. Updike*.pp. ix-xxx. On meeting Morison, Warde realised that she was in the presence of a 'personality more vivid and stimulating than that of anyone I'd ever before encountered.' Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde*, pp.25-7. Beatrice Warde, 'Stanley Morison', *The Sunday Times,* 15 October 1967, p.32.

[77] Beatrice Warde, 'Stanley Morison: Innovator', *The Architectural Review*, May 1961. McKitterick, *Stanley Morison and D. B. Updike*, p.xv.
Warde believed Morison's impact on typography was 'difficult to overestimate' and that he was renowned as the greatest figure in the printing industry for three hundred years. John Bath, 'Blowing the Crystal Goblet: Transparent Book Design 1350-1950' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of English, University of Saskatchewan, 2009), p.205.

[78] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde*, pp.52-3, 66-75, 86-92. Hutt, 'Beatrice Warde a Personal Tribute', p18.

sharing prominent ideas and networks that were essential to her legacy making and to Chapter Six for endorsing her presentation as a scholar.

Daniel Berkley Updike (1860-1941), friend of Warde, Lamberton Becker and Morison, was an American printer and typographic historian.[79] As owner of the Merrymount Press, Boston, he designed typefaces and in 1922 published *Printing Types: Their History, Forms and Use.*[80] Like Morison and Warde, Updike rejected Modernism in favour of revivals of historic type styles.

Receiving support from a network of leading industry figures was unheard of for a woman in the industry but vital to Warde's career. Complementary in nature, this assistance enhanced her confidence, enabling her to identify and present as an important person in the industry. Furthermore, without this patronage it is uncertain that Warde's career in the printing industry would have flourished and endured.

Printing Education

The changing circumstances of the industry that have been examined in this chapter resulted in an additional consequence that was essential to the success of Warde's career. Developments in printing education, during this period which transitioned from apprenticeships to printing schools, proved short-lived. They coincided in parallel with Warde's lifetime in Britain but prior to this period formal printing education had not existed. Warde had a significant interest in, and influence on, this subject and used education as a powerful platform from which to exert guidance on the industry's workforce and apprentices, as well as the public, a topic that is examined in Chapter Four. In addition, the continued educational value of her ideas is a subject that is analysed in Chapter Five. As a consequence a historic overview of

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[79] Zarobila, *Updike, Daniel Berkeley (1860-1941), ...*

[80] Merrymount Press opened in 1896, its main activity was printing for private collectors and limited edition clubs. Updike, *Printing Types*.

printing education is helpful to understanding its role in her success. Essential to this research, in three sections, Skingsley discusses approaches to the education of printers in the period pre-dating printing schools.[81] Since the sixteenth century the industry had been reliant on a system of apprenticeships, each lasting seven years. A hierarchical system resulted and those who had not been apprenticed were prevented from becoming a master printer and running a printing company.[82] Mostly for boys, apprenticeships were regulated and defined as: 'the contractual relationship between an employer and a worker under which the employer is obliged to teach the worker…and…the worker is to serve the employer'.[83]

Skingsley affirmed that industrialisation, mechanisation and unionisation had few consequences for apprentices, whose contractual obligation was maintained, whilst recruitment to printing was guarded by unions. 'To members of early trade unions the apprentice was the future craftsman and a potential competitor for employment' and thus, union members had concerns about their 'status and security, with differential wages and subsequently with issues of demarcation'.[84] Skingsley examined complaints that employers were failing in their educational obligations and that the conservative industry was unresponsive to change, causing the systems to disintegrate. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the lack of effectiveness of apprenticeships in the industry was an issue in the 'run-up' to Warde's working life: 'The undertaking to instruct apprentices had become more contractual than moral, …[and] there were increasing complaints that employers were failing to honour both'.[85]

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[81] T.A. Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education in the English Printing Industry', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 13 (1978/79) pp.1-25. T.A. Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education in the English Printing Industry', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 14 (1979/80) pp.1-58.
[82] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education …', pp.1-2.
[83] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education …', p.1.
[84] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education …', p.3.
[85] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education …', pp.5, 13.

During Warde's career, the need for new educational approaches was timely, influential and frequently discussed. 'The Pressure for Change' focused on the decline of training on the British 'shop floor': 'there was a transition from a hand craft to a mechanised industry, during which time…indentured apprentices … almost entirely disappeared,… replaced by a subdivided system of specialised machine training of a very narrow kind.'[86]

This type of education is significant, as for Monotype having an educated workforce able to use its products, was important. Foreign approaches to printing education added pressure to the British industry as comprehensive overseas technical courses in schools created a supply of educated foreign workers with ramifications for British printing: 'the focal points of British anxiety over foreign competition in the late nineteenth century were Germany and to a lesser extent, the USA.'[87] 'The Pressure for Change' is particularly relevant to this research for emphasising the challenging industrial and educational environment in which Monotype and Warde were located.

The third part of Skingsley's work, 'Technical Education for Printing' continued to emphasise problems with apprenticeships, whilst also exploring slow development, adoption and support for classroom-based technical education and the place of practical workshop experience.[88] In the late 1870s debate over technical printing education 'aggravated in the printing industry by the continuing belief of most employers in the virtues of workshop training…'[89] This article reveals opportunities which encouraged Warde's engagement in the development of technical education and printing theory whilst supporting Monotype's commercial outcomes.

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[86] T.A. Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education in the English Printing Industry: The Pressure for Change', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 14 (1979/80) pp.1-23, 11.

[87] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education in the English Printing Industry: The Pressure for Change', pp.16-20.

[88] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education in the English Printing Industry: Technical Education for Printing', pp.23-58.

[89] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education in the English Printing Industry: Technical Education for Printing', pp.23-58.

Additionally, through these circumstances Warde created professional repute, ensuring she became synonymous with the development of new printing schools and their technical and theoretical curriculum.

Post World War Two printing education continued to evolve, schools carried on developing and the apprenticeship system kept declining. Through the impetus for increasing profitability, printing education became a focus of the press. Articles provide background to Warde's post-war success, furthermore, they describe the environment of printing schools in which she worked and on occasion, her approach to communication. 'The First Sortie: The Wolverhampton College of Art' deconstructed printed exercises produced by students; acclaiming the technical quality of their work, a variety of approaches were complimented as good practice.[90] This piece, although not directly associated with Warde, is helpful to understanding the post-war environment and focus of the printing schools in which she lectured.

This section has highlighted that, by the beginning of Warde's career, the shortcomings of the apprenticeship system had become apparent, giving way to the timely development of printing education, which provided opportunities for both the Monotype Corporation and Warde.

WOMEN IN THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

Having discussed aspects of the industry in which Warde was located, there remains a discrete area to be examined. As her position extended beyond that usually credited to women, it is vital to consider women's role in the twentieth century industry. Even though most suffered from gendered discrimination, there is no evidence of this happening to Warde. On the contrary, her gender, determination, confidence, upbringing and education, together with the support she received from influential

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[90] 'The First Sortie: The Wolverhampton College of Art', *British Printer* January-February (1952), pp.69-70. Warde lectured at Wolverhampton Printing School.

individuals in the industry, enabled her to establish and maintain a prosperous career. The curiosity of the press was aroused by Warde's unique position: 'For Hundreds of years this has been a man's job. Until an attack on this masculine stronghold was made over 30 years ago by a woman, Mrs Beatrice Warde'.[91] With little experience, Warde was able to transcend gendered boundaries, become the 'First Lady of Typography' and a role model for future generations of women working with type.

It is useful to understand the prevailing attitudes to female workers and this section considers factors affecting their employment and elements that were prejudicial but which Warde appears to have overcome. Prejudices were rooted in male-dominated unions and trade organisations within a patriarchal industry which, according to Burr, operated 'a system of interrelated social structures through which men exploit women'.[92] For most women, patriarchy worked against them but for Warde, her career and self-identification as an important figure, was supported and encouraged by men, including Bullen, Morison and other leading industry figures. This is a subject that recurs throughout this thesis and that has particular significance for supporting her influence and legacy making, topics discussed in Chapters Four and Five. It is also of relevance for contributing to her presentation for success, examined in Chapter Six.

Warde had experience of the industry on both sides of the Atlantic, where there were different approaches to women and in the light of this research the circumstances in each country are relevant.

Warde's birth place was vital to her professional ambition and approach in the printing industry. Born and raised in Manhattan as it emerged as a global city, she was inevitably stimulated by its eclectic culture, commerce as well as the education

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[91] 'Pioneer in a Man's World', p.13.
[92] Christina Burr, 'Defending "the Art Preservative": Class and Gender Relations in the Printing Trade Unions, 1850-1914', *Labour/le Travaile Journal of Canadian Labour Studies,* 31 (1993), p.5.

provided by its liberal institutions. Lockwood accounts for the development and growth of Manhattan, following the rise of important neighbourhoods and the development of rural areas into fashionable residential and commercial districts: 'New York was the most populous city in the nation…not only equal [but surpassing] either of the great cities of London or Paris in population, trade, commerce, navigation, arts, science.' [93]

Lockwood detailed many of the social and economic aspects of the city, enabling an overview of how its changing status transformed Warde's opportunities, ambition and prosperity. The publishing and printing industry boomed, assisting all other industries in the communication and circulation of information and Warde was aware of this. [94] Weil, when writing about the history of New York, believed the 'key to this greatness was economic' which in turn was aided by multiculturalism resulting in commercial activity, including printing and publishing.[95] Weil also discussed New York's reputation as an important centre of arts and literature, exposure to which was a trigger to Warde's professional ambition and strategies for success, a subject examined in Chapter Six.[96] The location of Warde's first employer, the ATF library in Jersey City, close to Manhattan but in the expanding suburbs, is an example of how the economic growth moulded her opportunities, as it became an industrial and residential centre, served by ferries from Manhattan. [97] 'Jersey City… offered less expensive land and better… resources than Manhattan' for industries.[98]

Although there is little written on women in the printing industry, most extant literature tends to consider those deployed in menial roles. While it is important for

[93] Charles Lockwood, *Manhattan Moves Uptown: An Illustrated History* (Mineola, New York: Dover, 2014), p.1.
[94] Francois Weil, *A History of New York*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p.89.
[95] Weil, *A History of New York*. pp.68, 72-92.
[96] Weil, *A History of New York*. pp.148-53.
[97] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.98.
[98] Weil, *A History of New York*, pp.88-9.

this thesis to consider women working on the 'shop floor' it is also relevant to compare Warde with accounts of other women in influential positions, few though they may be. However, it has not been possible to source accounts detailing circumstances of other leading women in the printing industry during the first half of the twentieth century. Thus Warde's unique position is emphasised, whilst highlighting challenges and barriers she will have faced.

Despite Warde benefiting from the support of male colleagues, this was not the experience of other women. Hartmann explored the origins of gendered discrimination in the workplace through capitalism and paternity and British and US examples from industries, including printing were selected.[99] Hartmann argued that discrimination dominated the work of women and children and they grew accustomed to certain hierarchies and levels of control which appeared to promote equality but were devised for other reasons.[100] '[Unions] backed equal pay for equal work as a way to protect the men's wage scale, not to encourage women.'[101] With relevance to how women were viewed and treated, and to understanding women's attitudes towards work, this piece serves to emphasise Warde's uncommon and privileged position.

Craig provides an overview of the place of women in the early modern world onwards using women proprietors of printing and publishing businesses as case studies.[102] This work gives a brief account of Charlotte Guillard (1480-1557) the first known female printer, running a Parisian publishing business and a bookshop employing twenty-five workers. Guillard particularly interested Warde for being a successful woman and role model and was the subject of Warde's first published

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[99] Heidi Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex' *Sign Women and the Workplace: Implications of occupational Segregation*, 1, 3 (1976), pp.137-169.

[100] Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation …', p.139

[101] Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation …', pp.163-64.

[102] Béatrice Craig, *Women and Business since 1500: Invisible Presences in Europe and North America?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). pp.58-61.

work on the printing industry 'Charlotte Guillard, Printer of the Renaissance'.[103] This piece introduced Warde's curiosity for the subject, importantly emphasising her knowledge of the uniqueness of Guillard's situation and highlighting Warde's early scholarly presentation and ambition, a topic discussed in Chapter Six. Significant to this research, Craig's work highlights longstanding attitudes to women in the industry that Warde would have come across in her own research. [104]

Assumptions are made that the gendered circumstances of the twentieth-century industry were long established, contributing to the uniqueness of Warde's position; however, this was not the case.[105] Over time, women were pushed down the scale in the industry by unionised control and restrictions of apprenticeships. Important for illuminating the background to the position of women in the industry that Warde joined, Craig's research reveals that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: 'Historians have no difficulties finding women running important trading houses, presiding over the birth of manufacturing firms…Big business was thus comfortable with the presence of women in its midst.'[106] Small businesses were less assured and women were often marginalised in occupations disliked by men.

An overview of the roles generally occupied by women in printing is found in both Macdonald and Abbott.[107] Published at the turn of the twentieth century these titles are important for detailing the positions of women in printing in England, and America, with Macdonald emphasising the menial nature of women's roles, including sorting grass and cutting rags for papermaking; folding, wrapping and adding gold

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[103] Beatrice Lamberton Becker, 'Charlotte Guillard, Printer of the Renaissance' *The Inland Printer*, (December 1923). p.438.

[104] Craig, *Women and Business since 1500,* pp.58-61.

[105] Craig, *Women and Business since 1500,* p.1

[106] Craig, *Women and Business since 1500*, p.1. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries up to 15% of sizeable European trading companies were run by women.

[107] Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades.* Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry a Study in American Economic History*, (London: Appleton and Company, 1918).

leaf in bookbinding; and packing envelopes.[108] London was highlighted as a centre of employment, providing more opportunities for women than elsewhere in Britain, albeit fewer and more menial than those for men.[109] Using census statistics on gender divisions, Macdonald demonstrated the lowly place of most women in the industry; this, coupled with his description of the industry environment, would not have appealed: '[of typefounding] … no married women seem employed…The occupation has a special feature of unhealthiness – the danger of lead poisoning' [110] Macdonald, yet again is an author reinforcing the unusual nature of Warde's career choice in an industry where women's expectations, success, remuneration and intellectual reward were limited.

In North America the economy was expanding, a factor triggering different attitudes to women whom Craig emphasised were encouraged to run businesses of any size and were not seen as competitors to men.[111] Abbott's account of women in this industry at the turn of the twentieth century provides an optimistic and inspiring account of roles for women, highlighting them as publishers of newspapers, printers supplying the state, and as compositors and bookbinders.[112] Abbott discussed gender balance in printing, presenting women in the US industry positively, highlighting their potential for a rewarding career, albeit with some restrictions. A high-achieving woman herself, Abbott acknowledged that professional women from upper middle classes received more respect, remuneration and a higher level of employment in the industry; important context for this research, this detail outlines potential advantages experienced by Warde due to her middle-class status.[113] Abbott's detail of mid-eighteenth-century female printers in America connects with Warde's later ambition

[108] Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades,* pp.17-23.
[109] Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades,* pp.29-43.
[110] Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades,* pp.17-22, 15-6.
[111] Craig, *Women and Business*, p.1.
[112] Abbott, *Women in Industry*. p.247.
[113] Abbott, *Women in Industry*. p.323.

in the industry: 'Margaret Draper of Massachusetts "printer" for the governor and council; in South Carolina a woman was appointed printer to the State after the close of the revolutionary War'.[114] Abbott indicates that being a certain level of printer was a prestigious occupation and was also fitting for distinguished individuals, including Benjamin Franklin's sister-in-law who printed for public offices: 'and in 1745 printed for the Government an edition of the laws, containing three hundred and forty folio pages. Her two daughters who assisted her were said to be "correct and quick compositors at case"'.[115] This description shows the quality and scale of printing undertaken by women and does not reveal any reduction of quality due to perceived lack of ability. Thus, ideas in Abbott's work might go some way to explain the appeal and potential of the printing industry to Warde, who, as a young American, may have been encouraged by Abbott's view.

Despite this motivation, working class American women did not generally take up printing, again an additional emphasis of Warde's uncommon circumstances. Abbott's reasoning for this was firstly that apprenticeships were required for career progression and secondly because there was an assumption that responsibilities of marriage discouraged women from professional education. However, Warde's marital status is a subject discussed in Chapter Six, which examines how being Mrs Warde, wife of the important printer Frederic Warde, supported her profession[116]. The third reason was that there was no scarcity of men willing to become printers and their jealous attitudes resulted in diminished opportunities for women. Moreover, men in the industry reasoned that women should be excluded because of their alleged physical limitations and because they were said to lead men astray and cause trouble.[117] Although Abbott stressed that men were in the majority, she was at pains

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[114] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.247.

[115] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.247.

[116] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.250.

[117] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.250.

to emphasise that women's employment was a customary state of affairs and that it was unlikely there had been a time when women had not been employed in printing offices as printers or compositors.[118]

In America gendered, protectionist attitudes were supported by trade union policy managed by men and 'hostile to the employment of women'.[119] This approach was also adopted in Britain, 'Men acted to enforce job segregation in the labour market; they utilized trade-union associations and strengthened the domestic division of labour.'[120] Typographical societies in five cities across East Coast America canvassed members to see if any girls were employed as compositors, requesting numbers and engaging in discussion of what was to be done to 'prevent the further progress of this evil'.[121] By the mid nineteenth century unions and trade organisations came to the realisation that women could not be removed from the industry. However, apprenticeships were still only nominally available to them, as employers regarded the scope of engaging boys as preferable when filling a broad range of positions. Of a Female apprentice, it was said that she: 'steals the trade'; … she learns it without undergoing the same course of instruction that is prescribed for those who enter the trade properly and she is, in consequence, imperfectly equipped.'[122] Surprisingly these circumstances did not discourage Warde from her ambition but may have contributed to her role, developing as a commentator, rather than a practical printer.

Prejudices with consequences for women's employment in the industry are discussed by Abbott, Macdonald and Howe, who repeated the same biased ideas, including that women had inferior intellect and physical strength, that they engaged in inappropriate

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[118] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.247.
[119] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.251.
[120] Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation', p.153.
[121] Typographical societies in Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Baltimore were questioned.
Abbott, *Women in Industry: a Study in American Economic History* p.251.
[122] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* p.254.

behaviour and that maternal responsibilities adversely affected the industry. [123] Pay was adjusted and women earned only twenty to thirty per cent of the amount earned by men in the same role, with cultural respect for men as the head of households used as an argument for men's financial position.[124] By the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of the 'breadwinner wage' had been devised to provide for a man and his family and achieving and protecting this goal became a union aim.[125] In the British industry, women were often deferential towards men, an approach reflected in Macdonald who referenced a woman as saying 'I know my place, and I'm not going to take men's work from them.[126] Burr is key for highlighting uncertainty that the 'breadwinner wage' principle was used to support notions of patriarchy, or that 'women participated in the strategy with the influence of bourgeois family ideals'.[127] Women were described as not being broadly accomplished and a: 'great inconvenience…she needed a great amount of attention and assistance…required boys to prepare her type…a strong armed man to lift her cases.'[128] These ideas are significant for providing further evidence of attitudes to the position, treatment and remuneration of women, that contrasted with Warde's experience. It must be acknowledged that these prevailing approaches for the most part affected working class women and that Warde's middle class origins, ambition and confidence ultimately inspired and extended uncommon professional opportunities.

Mechanisation resulted in the reduction of the number of workers necessary and fearing for the jobs of male workers, unions demanded that composing machines should only be operated by those with a comprehensive industry training. In

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[123] Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades*. Abbott, *Women in Industry*. Howe, *The British Federation of Master of Master Printers*.
[124] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* pp.254-5.
[125] Burr, 'Defending "the Art Preservative…', p.63.
[126] Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades*. p.viii.
[127] Burr, 'Defending "the Art Preservative…', p.63.
[128] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* pp.254-5.

comparison to the percentage of women previously in roles as hand compositors, this further reduced the chances for women in the industry.[129] Abbott concluded that despite there being no legal bar to women, by the twentieth century a discouraging 'organised hostility' existed and although they were admitted to printing unions few took up the opportunity as demanding equality to men 'invite[d] discharge'.[130] Warde, on the other-hand, in creating and adopting a role that was beyond the remit of union oversight, can be described as assuming equality, a theme discussed in Chapter Six which deals with her strategies for success.

One corner of the industry was known to have discriminated against Warde on account of her gender. The Double Crown Club was a men-only dining club established by, and for the elite of, the industry to create professional and social connections for its members, most of whom Warde classed as friends and colleagues; first meeting in 1924 it focused on the arts, fine wine, food, books and typography.[131] Gruendler provides a detailed description of this gender inequity, a long-term frustration Warde believed: 'If I'd been a man, I'd have been among the first to be elected', she was excluded on account of her gender.[132]

In contrast to this attitude another important organisation of the industry, the BFMP, invited Warde in 1929 to address a major conference of its members.[133] Howe recorded her speech as a significant event in the history of the organisation, primarily because of her focus on the importance of promotions to printers but also, it must be assumed, because Warde was female. In commenting in this way, Howe particularly

[129] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* pp.257-8. Craig, *Women and Business*, p.56.
[130] Abbott, *Women in Industry,* pp.260-1.
[131] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.43.
[132] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.43-9, 47.
[133] Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, p.106.

highlighted the acceptance of Warde by the grass roots of the industry, and her influence on this area of the workforce is a theme examined Chapter Four [134]

Particular political conditions reversed these discriminatory attitudes, emphasising periods, specifically war time, when women were invited to work in the industry. Abbott, Howe and Hartmann reported that during these periods the intellectual capacities, strength and behaviour of women were no longer questioned, and as the male workforce was in military service, women were encouraged to adopt vacated roles.[135] During 'periods of economic change, capitalists' actions may be more instrumental in instituting and changing a sex-segregated labor force – while workers fight a defensive battle.'[136] This factor is relevant to Warde, as during World War Two she took on greater responsibility. She become a leader of BAS and other organisations, an approach which inspired her post war ambition in the printing industry, a circumstance which is examined in Chapter Four. However, in 1946 at the cessation of hostilities, gendered attitudes reverted, disadvantaging most women but for Warde, this period marked the resumption of her influential professional position. Outside wartime, her employer, Monotype, generally employed women in administrative roles and in their drawing office but its history by Slinn, Carter and Southall provides scant referencing to these circumstances, thus implying that these roles were believed insignificant.[137] When women were mentioned it was in relation to wartime work, substituting for absent men, or outside war times through their adoption of menial roles, reinforcing the need for better understanding of how Warde achieved and maintained her position.[138]

[134] Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, p.106.

[135] Abbott, *Women in Industry*. Howe, *The British Federation of Master of Master Printers*.

[136] Hartmann, 'Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation …', p.167.

[137] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.28, 43-5.

[138] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.43-5.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these were the conditions of and prevailing attitudes to working class women on the 'shop floor' in the printing industry. An appreciation of these circumstances is significant to this research as they contrast with Warde's ambition and attitude, as well as the opportunities extended to her. Despite progressing to work in the industry, she was not a printer and her ambition lay in writing, commentating and legacy making, which are themes examined in Chapters Four that discusses her influence, Five, her legacy making and Six, her strategies for success. Warde rarely reflected on the situation of women in the industry, a notable exception being in a 1957 radio broadcast where she said 'the printing trade is barred to women, on the craftsman level. You can't be apprenticed to the printing trade if you're a woman.'[139] Importantly, Warde was acknowledging gender bias in the industry but was not making a stand against it for herself or for others. Her greatest rebellion against this status quo was her adoption of the male pseudonym Paul Beaujon, discussed in Chapter Six for being her approach to presentation as a scholar. Beaujon was an identity she created to prove that she was as capable as any man: 'I wasn't quite sure … that women would be taken quite as respectfully. I thought that if I was going to have a pen name, I might as well have a man, and I took a Frenchman's at that… And they all thought this learned Frenchman wrote English remarkably well.'[140] Beaujon's obfuscation of Warde's gender as a means of gaining employment was highlighted in 'Pioneer in a Man's World', which discussed the uncustomary nature of Warde's success in using this moniker to progress her career.[141] In reality it is unclear whether Beaujon facilitated Warde's employment at Monotype but this notion persists.

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[139] Warde recorded a radio interview in Australia during her 1957 tour. Type Radio [online]. De Bondt, 'Beatrice Warde: Manners and Type'.

[140] De Bondt, 'Beatrice Warde: Manners …'.

[141] 'Pioneer in a Man's World', p.13.

It can be argued that the 'gentleman amateur' was a constructed identity Warde adopted that had resonance to her position as a woman in the industry. Archer-Parré is essential in understanding this term, which referred to 'amateur interest [which]… started in the early eighteenth century when fashionable people – royalty, gentry and men of letters – first took up printing as a hobby'. [142] Marking an expansion of printing for pleasure and sometimes for profit, the gentleman amateur clouded and complicated the differences between professionals and amateurs, allowing non-professionals a way into the tightly controlled industry. By the end of the eighteenth century the amateur was understood as 'one who cultivates and participates [in something] but does not pursue it professionally or with an eye to gain'.[143] Wealthy and educated the gentleman amateur was 'primarily interested in the products of the press rather than contributing to its technological advancement or its aesthetic progress.'[144] Women also adopted printing as a hobby, including the high profile Queen Charlotte (1744-1818) who had a printing press.[145] By the nineteenth century printing was regarded as a satisfying middle class hobby: 'a vogue for printing for pleasure broke out among middle-class wives and daughters who started to use their leisure time to print calling cards, invitations for parties, or even small books of prose and verse of their own composition.'[146] They 'saw themselves as 'publishers' rather than artisans', an approach it can be argued that Warde was inspired to follow and one that is discussed in Chapters Two and Six, with regard to her own publication and dissemination of her work,.[147]

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[142] Caroline Archer-Parré, 'The Rise of the Amateur Printer' in Pen Print and Communication, ed. by Caroline Archer-Parré and Malcolm Dick (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), p.92.
[143] Etymology Dictionary [online], [cited 27 April 2021]. Available from:<https://www.etymonline.com/word/amateur#etymonline_v_10949>.
[144] Archer-Parré, 'The Rise of the Amateur Printer', p.93.
[145] Archer-Parré, 'The Rise of the Amateur Printer', p.96.
Queen Charlotte was consort of George III; she had a printing press at Frogmore Lodge Windsor.
[146] Archer-Parré, 'The Rise of the Amateur Printer', p.99.
[147] Archer-Parré, 'The Rise of the Amateur Printer', p.94.

The gentleman amateur and printing for pleasure developed during Warde's lifetime and was an identity she recognised. In the early 1930s she bought into a private press established by Guido Morris (1910-1980) and in correspondence described having 'the time of her life' composing small texts.[148] Ryder illuminates the popularity of printing as a hobby, capturing many of the twentieth-century enthusiasms and attitudes developed by Warde.[149] Describing printing as '… absorbing, creative, … that will occupy hand and mind for a long time', readers were recommended not to consider adopting it for financial gain but as a pleasurable pastime, a luxury that was unavailable to most in the industry. However, this was an option for Warde, who received financial support from Lamberton Becker, for whom printing was important.[150] Ryder suggested 'it would be far better…to give your designs freely and to take friendship in return', and in mixing her personal and professional lives, Warde was doing this.[151]

Emphasising that Warde and her networks also moulded the amateur printer, Ryder recommended sources of inspiration, including *The Fleuron*, in which Warde's writings as Beaujon were published, and Updike's *Printing Types,* as well as typefaces and decorative characters from Warde's employer, the Monotype Corporation. [152]

In this period private presses were being used to publish literary works and promote authors, factors that undoubtedly encouraged Warde's interest. [153] Virginia Woolf and her husband bought a small press, and began printing at home. They named their

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[148] Warde, 'Fragment of a letter on needing a hobby but not printing' circa 1935, MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Morris, established the Latin Press in his home at Langford near Bristol in the 1930s.

[149] John Ryder, *Printing For Pleasure*, (London: The English Universities Press, 1957).

[150] Ryder, *Printing For Pleasure*, pp.16, 13.

[151] Ryder, *Printing For Pleasure*, p.13.

[152] Ryder, *Printing For Pleasure*, pp.101-5.

[153] Ryder, *Printing For Pleasure*, pp.87-8. An example of this included Elizabeth and Lilly Yeats who started the Dun Emer press in 1902, publishing works by amongst others, W. B. Yeats and Ezra Pound.

printing and publishing business the Hogarth Press, first publishing their own writings and then the works of others, including Katherine Mansfield and friend of Warde, T.S. Eliot.[154] Parallels between Woolf and Warde are made in Chapter Six. The potential of home printing and publishing was visible to Warde and although not actively printing herself, she published her articles and lectures privately for dissemination to those in the industry whom she wanted to inform about her ideas.[155]

Through amateur printing the industry lost a certain amount of trade and the notion of women taking up printing alarmed male printers. There is no evidence of Warde taking an interest in making personal financial gain through the act of printing, however she was a curious amateur from a genteel background, who 'dallied' with the subject and made her way in the industry.[156] While the gentleman amateur inspired Warde so did women in literary professions which is a theme of Chapter Six.

For the most part, studies on women in this industry reflect a bleak scene of inequalities as well as cultural and social attitudes impairing the confidence and ambition of women. The works highlighted here emphasise the challenges and

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[154] Ryder, *Printing For Pleasure*, p. 88. Gordon, Lyndall, 'Woolf [*née* Stephen], (Adeline) Virginia (1882-1941),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], Oxford University Press, updated 1 September 2017 [cited 4 May 2021], Available from:
<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37018> Claire Tomalin, 'Murry [née Beauchamp; other married name Bowden], Kathleen [known as Katherine Mansfield] (1888–1923), writer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 4 May 2021], Available from:
<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35172.> Ronald *Bush,* 'Eliot, Thomas Stern' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, *2016 [cited 27 August 2017]* Available from:
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32993>
[155] Throughout the Warde Archive there are examples of Warde's 'private publishing' including: Beatrice Warde, 'Books As Ammunition' (reprinted by Warde Circa 1943), MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Reprinted from: Beatrice Warde, 'Books as Ammunition', *Wilson Library Bulletin,* (October 1943), MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[156] In a fragment of letter dated 1935 Warde said she was only interested in composing and writing and not the action of printing itself. Beatrice Warde, 'Fragment of a letter on needing a hobby but not printing'.

barriers presented to women wanting to work in the printing industry and also the rare, privileged position that Warde occupied as 'First Lady of Typography'.

GENDER

Having discussed the theme of women in the printing industry, Warde's gender is highlighted as a 'thread' running through this thesis and before examining aspects of womens' lives in the twentieth-century a brief examination of gender is helpful in gaining perspective on her place in the printing industry. Newton, Ryan and Walkowitz define gender as 'the systematic ways in which sex differences have cut through society and culture.'[157] Significantly in the context of women in the printing industry, they emphasise that gender 'conferred inequality upon women', a situation which was not totally experienced by Warde.[158] During her lifetime, individuals were recognised by their gender, with life arranged around the distinction of being male or female and stereotyping taking place according to the traits that men and women were assumed to possess.[159] Connell is valuable to understanding these circumstances as '…part of an enormous social effort to channel people's behaviour', where ideas about 'fitting' gendered behaviour were perpetuated in every area of life.[160] However, being male or female was not a fixed state people were believed to either 'form' as an individual of a particular gender or 'respond to the place…given' and in so doing adopt a position within societies' gendered order. [161] These notions are important as Warde chose to express her gender by shifting between her female identity and her

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[157] *Sex and Class in Women's History: Essays from Feminist Studies,* ed. by Judith Editors L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan, Judith R. Walkowitz (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.1.
[158] *Sex and Class in Women's History,* ed. by Judith Editors L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan, Judith R. Walkowitz, p.1.
[159] For example, the conventions and legalities of marriage required a person of each gender and the protocols of certain occupations and activities, such as those in the printing industry, were also gendered.
[160] Connell, *Gender: In World Perspective,* p.6.
[161] Connell, *Gender: In World Perspective,* p.6.

male pseudonym. Beaujon was an identity-affirming pseudonym that eventually drew attention to Warde when few women had prominence in the printing industry; her creation and adoption of this nom de plume is examined in Chapter Five for its relevance to Warde's legacy making. Gender expression in English publishing has parallels with Warde's approach. Mullan used studies to examine why authors from the sixteenth to the twentieth century chose to obfuscate their gender as Warde did, writing anonymously or pseudonymously.[162] Mullan examines the circumstances in which women write as men, believing mostly that either authors needed anonymity or they needed to establish a reputation in a male-dominated profession, the latter being the case in Warde's situation. Mullan also presents instances when the author wished to arouse curiosity, which could also have been a motivation for Warde. [163] Mullan's hypotheses are relevant to the interpretation of Warde's circumstances; certainly, the desire for a respected legacy in the industry was a reason for her gender flexibility.

Connell suggests 'Neither totally fixed by nature nor imposed by society, gender identity denoted a 'sense of belonging to a gender category [linking to] what that belonging means'. [164] As 'First Lady of Typography', having utilised a male pseudonym, Warde's female gender ultimately signalled her belonging and distinction within an elite group of male figures in the industry. Her position was uncommon and for most women in the industry the assignment of gender stereotypes supported sexist attitudes. Lindsey emphasises 'the belief that the status of female [was] inferior to the status of male'. [165] Patriarchy reinforced attitudes to gender roles that were seen as 'biologically determined and therefore unalterable'. [166] Gender boundaries marked professional and societal inequalities favouring men, with commercial, governmental power and wealth in their hands and quality educational

[162] John Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2008).

[163] Mullan, *Anonymity*, pp.5-7.

[164] Connell, *Gender: In World Perspective,* p.7.

[165] Linda L. Lindsey, *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016) p.3.

[166] Lindsey, *Gender Roles,* p.4.

opportunities open to them and mainly unavailable to women.[167] Lindsey's

explanation contrasts with Warde's experience, which was beyond what was

available to most women. It emphasises circumstances that contributed to Warde's

success, including the inspiration and education provided by her mother, a topic

examined in Chapter Four for supporting Warde's ambition to become influential, in

Chapter Five for highlighting to Warde the importance of professional legacy

making, and in Chapter Six for emphasising the value of self presentation to

professional literary woman. Lindsey is also key for highlighting a sociological

perspective on gender, including the functioning and interdependency of aspects

within society supporting a middle-class family model. Men were the head of a

household whilst a wife was subordinate, undertaking domestic activities; an

approach that did not apply to poorer or single women like Warde, who needed paid

employment. [168] Lindsey's view emphasises the contrast with Warde's middle-class

upbringing and highlights the connection between gender and the social structure of

status. Ascribed status, positioning an individual within a social system, reached

every area of life in the twentieth century and the most important ascribed status was

gender. [169] 'All societies categorize members by status and then rank these statuses in

some fashion, thereby creating a system of social stratification' and, consequently,

women were nearer to the bottom in social stratification systems. [170] In highlighting

vulnerability to 'stigma, prejudice and discrimination', Lindsey speaks of the plight

of most women in the twentieth-century printing industry. [171]

Warde's ascribed status differed from Lindsey's explanation, despite her gender, as

her formative environment, and the consequences of her mother's profession and

wealth, resulted in her expectation of an elevated social status. These are themes

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[167] Connell, *Gender: In World Perspective,* pp.7-8.

[168] Lindsey, *Gender Roles,* p.7.

[169] Lindsey, *Gender Roles,* p.2.

[170] Lindsey, *Gender Roles,* p.2.

[171] Lindsey, *Gender Roles,* p.2.

explored in Chapters Five and Six as having a bearing on her legacy making and presentation for success. Warde's gender was a factor pervading her career and a situation she manipulated for success, and it is this 'break' with the conventions of the twentieth-century gender connotation that has created interest in the 'First Lady of Typography'.

WOMENS' ROLE IN SOCIETY

Having examined women's roles in the printing industry and approaches to gender in the time running up to and during Warde's lifetime, attitudes to women in society generally within this period are pertinent in understanding Warde's success. Consequently, this section briefly explores this topic, not intended as a comprehensive history of women, instead, it is deliberately divided into areas of significance to the development of Warde's professional success. Starting with a brief exploration of the attitudes towards women in Manhattan during Warde's upbringing, and her expectations on moving to London, it also focusses on domestic life, education including elements of Unitarianism, the suffrage movement, and the employment available for women.

Referred to as the 'queen of the Atlantic coast' and the 'empire city', Manhattan, was an important, fast-developing city and was also discussed earlier in this chapter from the perspective of the emergence and expansion of industry in this location. [172] The circumstances of the city ensured continued success and development, offering opportunities for men and women, a situation that was different from other areas of America and from Britain. [173] In America generally, the mainstream printed media reflected different attitudes to women, including announcing 'should girls be trained

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[172] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.68.
[173] Warde was born in 1900. Weil, *A History of New York*, p.68.

in college for wifehood and motherhood', a perspective that did not reach Warde's home life or education.[174]

Marriage was a status that had a significant impact on women's roles in society, which necessitates its discussion in this section. Beatrice Lamberton Becker had married Frederic Warde in 1924 and following their marriage they left America in search of new roles in the printing industry of London.[175] It was through her experiences in Manhattan that Warde's London expectations and ambitions were raised.[176] The same opportunities and attitudes to women were initially forthcoming, and in her correspondence home, Warde described writing for *The Fleuron,* as a 'brilliant publication… settling the typographic problems of the universe'.[177] However, in Britain, 'marriage was considered most women's primary occupation' and employment of married women was 'defined as a problem', a situation governing attitudes in the printing industry and contributing to Warde's conspicuous professional position.[178] The impact of Warde's position as a married woman in the industry is examined in Chapter Six for her use of this status and its influence on her presentation for success.

Bruley is crucial to appreciating women's domestic circumstances in Warde's Britain, where marriage and motherhood were a 'matter of social class' with longstanding repercussions for women.[179] For the 'better off', nannies and maids executed time-consuming routine duties and parents were left free for 'socialising and

[174] 'Our announcement page for September' *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, 51, 2, p.116. [cited 5 May 2021], Available from:< https://modjourn.org/issue/bdr472197/>

[175] 'Marriage certificate 30 December 1922, Frederique Warde and Beatrice Lamberton Becker'. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Loxley, *Printer's Devil The Life and Work of Frederic Warde,* pp.18, 28-34. Frederic chose to spell his name with a 'que' on this certificate.

[176] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.68. Warde arrived in London in 1925.

[177] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde*, pp.54-5.

[178] Davidoff, *Worlds Between*, p.2. Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades*, p.vi.

[179] Sue Bruley, *Women In Britain Since 1900,* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), p.9.

'good works''. [180] In working-class families, a mother was a worker providing a home and meals, leaving little time for playful interaction with children and 'mothers would often go without in order to provide for their children'. [181] The class system also created inequalities in the circumstances of childbirth, the mother's health and recovery and childhood health, with the 'stress of continual pregnancies, overwork and poor nourishment [leaving] many [working-class] women with permanently-damaged health'. [182]

Warde wanted children, writing to Lamberton Becker '…at 35 I shall sit back & have 6 babies as fast as possible… and retire from the world.'[183] However, the breakdown of her marriage meant that not having any children enabled her to focus on professional ambition in a way that was unavailable to most married British women. Warde had not been educated for domesticity and in the cosmopolitan Manhattan of her childhood, 'modernity involved a rejection of the social conventions of the Victorian era…' including domesticity.[184]

Bruley explains that running a home was arduous but for British middle and upper-class married women: 'An army of housemaids, parlour maids, cooks and nannies relieved these women of all routine housework… Even the most down-at-heel …family had a maid-of-all work… to be a live-in drudge.' [185] Without the advent of labour-saving devices, there was a constant round of household duties. These were the typical domestic conditions when Warde arrived in Britain.

However, life for British women was changing and popular magazines began showing the ideals of womanhood centred on domesticity; publications including

[180] Bruley, *Women In Britain,* p.8.

[181] Bruley, *Women In Britain,* p.100.

[182] Bruley, *Women In Britain,* p.10.

[183] Loxley, *Printer's Devil*, p.80. Beatrice Warde, 'Unpublished letter February 1926, Dearest M,' Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A1/6

[184] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.226.

[185] Bruley, *Women In Britain,* pp.7-8.

Woman's Own and *Woman* showed the ideals of domesticity, featuring new consumer goods, including washing machines and vacuum cleaners. This resulted in women of means being 'made to feel that … they were technicians in charge of an advanced scientific workshop.'[186] Growing affluence created the desire for women to have a 'home of their own', outwardly displaying respectability and a better life. Warde engaged with this, initially renting her home before purchasing a house with her mother in 1947. [187] British domestic circumstances have a bearing on Warde's role in the printing industry because from her early years in London until 1966, rather than finding time for domestic activities, Warde employed a housekeeper, Mrs Ellis, thus freeing Warde to focus on her career. Ellis was regarded by Warde as her 'second mother', with all the caring skills the title implied and it wasn't until 1966 after Ellis's death that Warde installed labour-saving, domestic appliances in her home and wrote to her friends about learning to cook.[188]

Highlighting relief from domesticity is important when discussing the role of women in society, as cinema-going in particular was influential to Warde. Gardiner provides detail of this relief, which became a vital aspect of life in Britain.[189] 'When you came into the cinema you really were getting the only touch of luxury you could possibly acquire in those days'.[190] This is relevant to Warde's career as 'the influence of …films can be traced in the appearance of … women…girls copy the appearance of their favourite film star.'[191] Warde was attentive to her appearance, often emulating a

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[186] Bruley, *Women In Britain,* p.72.

[187] Correspondence on purchasing her house in Epsom is located in MS823/5 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[188] Beatrice Warde, 'New Year's Greetings' 31 December 1966, MS823/4 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[189] Juliet, Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History* (London: Harper Press, 2010), pp.652, 659-60. By the 1930s cinema going was the most popular form of entertainment in Britain.

[190] Cinemas were acceptable public spaces for single women, like Warde, as well as couples and family groups. Through cinema going Britons were transported to exotic locations, exposed to glamorous role models and '…in a sense everything you [Britons] learned about being a unit in modern society came from films'. Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History*, pp.652, 659-60.

[191] Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.664.

film star aesthetic and selecting clothing to create particular messages with printing-industry audiences, a topic that is discussed in Chapter Six, for its relevance to her strategies for success.

Her upbringing in Manhattan had not prepared Warde for aspects of life for women in London. 'New York confirmed its cultural domination. Its vitality stemmed from its economic dynamism, its social heterogeneity, and its capacity for innovation.'[192] As an important location, middle-class women were afforded professional opportunities and respect, benefitting 'from [the city's developments] more than the poorer classes'.[193] This was the experience of Warde's family, her mother was a powerful journalist and her grandmother, a renowned teacher.[194] The distinct educational and religious environment of the city were important to opportunities for and treatment of women, and are examined here for their impact on Warde.

Weil is useful in understanding education in New York, linked to religion and to the creation of public schools.[195] By 1900, the municipality was aiming to improve mainstream education, creating playgrounds, parks and public libraries.[196] Warde's educational environment was devised by Lamberton Becker and saturated with

[192] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.226.

[193] Weil, *A History of New York*, pp.119, 210, 226.

[194] Basbanes, *Every Book It's Reader,* pp.1-6. Basbanes discusses Lamberton Becker's huge following, expertise and influence. Dreyfus, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde The First Lady of Typography', p.12. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71.
In Dreyfus's article in the *Penrose Annual*, he quotes Warde's description of her parent's influence in their individual fields. The extent of Warde's grandmother, Emma Lamberton's leadership of her students is highlighted in obituaries after her death in 1933. Unnamed Newspaper article 'Mrs Lamberton Dies, Educator and Traveler' 1933. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'Mrs Ellis G. Lamberton, obituary', *Fall River Herald News*, 12 January 1933. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'Mrs Ellis G. Lamberton, obituary', *New York Herald and Tribune*, 11 January 1933. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Warde's father, Gustav Becker, was a popular musician,

[195] Weil, *A History of New York*, pp.218-9.

[196] Weil, *A History of New York*, pp.217-9.
More than half a million children, both boys and girls attended municipal schools, however 'the middle classes benefited from them more than the poorer classes and whites more than blacks'.

stimulation to inspire ambition and future professional success. Containing successful

female role models and providing privileged, educational opportunities, Warde

attended Horace Mann School and Barnard College, two of Manhattan's leading

educational establishments for female students.[197] *A Long Tradition,* the history and

philosophy of Horace Mann School, is helpful in understanding how her school

environment inspired Warde.[198] Elite and unusual, an independent, fee-paying

secondary school, it offered a quality liberal education instilling ambition and

confidence, preparing pupils for university and high-achieving careers.[199] The

School's mission statement expressed its ambition for students as developing a

'selfless dedication to the greater good', to take on leadership roles, 'challenge

traditions that have shaped the world' and thus become respected citizens.[200] Warde

attended this institution because its approach and philosophy linked with Lamberton

Becker's views and the ideas of her Unitarian religion. A focus that accounts for

Warde's ambition and professional confidence, the school had five core values

preparing students for future roles as successful leaders. They were described as: 'the

life of the mind, mature behaviour, mutual respect, a secure and helpful environment,

and a balance between individual achievement and caring community.'[201] The

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[197] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.11-6.

[198] *A Long Tradition* [online] Horace Mann School, 2010, [cited 13 April 2018]. Available from https://www.horacemann.org/page.cfm?p=138

[199] Horace Mann School was founded by Nicholas Murray Butler (1862-1947), it was a co-educational, experimental, institution and the developmental arm of Columbia University Teachers College. Nicholas Murray Butler was an educator, university president, American presidential advisor, Republican politician, author and peace advocate. *The Nobel Organisation* [online] Nicholas Murray Butler, Nobel Media 2014 [cited on 10 November 2018]. Available from:
<http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1931/butler-bio.html> Its namesake, Horace Mann (1796-1859) was a Unitarian, educational reformer; academically ambitious, Mann also thought education should build character in preparation for future employment. He believed public education should be free, non-sectarian and available to all, ideas which stemmed from his religion. *The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men*, ed. by Lawrence A. Cremin (New York: Teachers College Press, 1957).

[200] *Horace Mann* [online]. The Mission Statement of Horace Mann and Our Core Values, 2010, [cited 10 November 2018] available from: <http://www.horacemann.org/page.cfm?p=136>

[201] *Horace Mann* [online]. The Mission Statement of Horace Mann and Our Core Values.
The core values of Horace Mann School are the same today as they were when Warde was a pupil.

success of the school is evidenced by the achievements of its alumni, many of whom went on to be leaders in areas including politics, writing and the media and may have inspired Warde.[202]

After her years at Horace Mann School, Warde progressed to higher education at Barnard College. *Barnard's Story* providing the history and philosophy of the institution clarifies the university environment which motivated Warde.[203] A high-achieving liberal arts establishment for women, it was part of Columbia University. It was inspired by the suffrage movement at a time when, even in the metropolitan atmosphere of New York, 'Columbia University, like most other institutions of higher learning …, would only admit and educate white men.'[204] Following two years of petitioning 'In 1889, Barnard became the first college in New York City to offer degrees to women… where 14 women in the School of Arts took classes in Greek, Latin and maths.'[205] This was only twenty-seven years before Warde became a student, emphasising the fortunate timing of her education. The college had a particular reputation for educating respected writers, which may have been an additional factor influencing Warde's selection of the institution. The inspiration of women writers and their impact on her strategies for success and self presentation are areas discussed in Chapter Six. During her study Warde emulated her mother's written publications, contributing articles to the college's literary journal, which can be seen as an indication of her interest in becoming a professional writer. [206] Barnard College recognised its pioneering role: 'generations of bold Barnard women have challenged themselves and one another to redefine — and keep redefining — what it

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[202] Notable Horace Mann Alumni include Helen Keller, author, activist and the first deaf-blind person to study for a Batchelor of Arts degree in America; Jack Kerouac, painter, novelist and poet and judge and lawyer Dorothy Kenyon.

[203] *Barnard's Story: The Idea was as bold as its time* [online] Barnard College, Columbia University, 2018, [cited 13 April 2018]. Available from <https://barnard.edu/about-barnard/history>

[204] *Barnard's Story* [online].

[205] *Barnard's Story* [online].

[206] *Barnard's Story* [online]. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.13.

means to be a woman, a scholar, an activist, and a leader.'[207] This statement revealed the college's expectations for its alumni and shows the ambition and intent that shaped Warde's aspirations. The College promoted and emphasised the legacies of its alumni in its newsletter and Warde was highlighted as 'very serious about printing…and has worked her way into the masculine world of British big business until she is now … the most important woman in the printing industry in the world.[208] However, at college, Warde's position was still privileged, as this type of educational opportunity was not widely available to women, and her elite experience, included studying English, psychology, French and philosophy.[209] Despite this opportunity, Warde did not study printing but, through theatrical performances and writing, she honed the communication skills and confidence that would become vital to her later professional success.[210] In addition, her study of psychology inspired her later professional interest in psychology and typography, an area she pioneered with the support of Burt, and a topic discussed in Chapters Four and Five for its unsuccessful contribution to her influence and legacy making. Warde credited Barnard College with stimulating her interest in letterforms and with directing her to the American Type Founders Library which was the location of her first job linked to the industry.[211]

As Warde spent most of her life in Britain, a brief insight into the educational opportunities of British girls is useful in understanding the context of Warde's

[207] *Barnard's Story* [online].

[208] Georgia Mullen, Mansbridge, 'Alumni Abroad: Beatrice Becker Warde', *Barnard College Alumni Monthly,* (c.1935), pp.13-4, MS823/4 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[209] Barnard College, part of Columbia University, linked with Horace Mann School and was named after Frederick A.P. Barnard (1809-89), Columbia University's tenth President who was an advocate for women's access to university education. Established in 1889 by Annie Nathan Meyer (1867-1951) it was the first institution in New York City to offer women a liberal arts education at this level. *Jewish Women's Archive*: Annie Nathan Meyer [online] Jewish Women's Archive, 2016, [cited 10 November 2018]. Available from <https://jwa.org/people/meyer-annie>

[210] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.13-6.

[211] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', p.69.

professional success. Bruley explains the circumstances of British education during the early twentieth century, highlighting that it was shaped by, and perpetuated the notion that men were breadwinners on whom women were reliant as wives and mothers, a position which contrasts with Warde's experience.[212] Primary education for both boys and girls became compulsory in 1870 and by 1900 girls' education had progressed but it was still common for those from affluent backgrounds to be home-educated by governesses. For middle-class girls, the number of day schools increased but boarding schools were customary.[213] The curriculum responded to girls' future roles as wives and mothers and 'it was common in day schools for the girls to finish at lunch-time to spend the afternoon with their mothers learning 'domestic arts''.[214] Absences were problematic, as mothers relied on daughters to look after younger siblings and assist at home, resulting in daughters missing days of schooling each week.[215] From the age of seven in state schools pupils were separated by gender and at the expense of education in academic subjects, girls were taught what were deemed essential skills including needlework, cookery, laundry and child care, subjects of which Warde had no experience.[216] However, opportunities for girls increased and 'the number of girls in secondary education rose, but were far fewer than boys'.[217] By 1910 some more able girls progressed to teaching and 70 girls from elementary schools entered English and Welsh universities with scholarships.[218] Middle class women were studying, particularly in part-time courses, and they 'constituted about 15 per cent of the student population by 1900'.[219] They were not allowed on the same

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[212] Bruley, *Women in Britain Since*, p.18.

[213] Bruley, *Women in Britain Since*, p.16.

[214] Bruley, *Women in Britain Since*, p.16.

[215] A. Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram, 1996) p.101.

[216] Bruley, *Women in Britain Since*, p.16.

[217] Bruley, *Women in Britain Since*, p.17.

[218] Bruley, *Women in Britain Since*, p.17.

[219] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities, 1870-1939,* (London: University College of London, 1995), p.7.

courses as men, neither were they allowed to study in the same environment and there existed an acknowledgement of prejudices against women students.[220] Education is an important factor in understanding Warde's authority in the printing industry, including the educational circumstances of women in Britain, which contrasted significantly with those Warde experienced in Manhattan. Consequently, her school and college experiences contributed to her confidence, the unique nature of professional opportunities available to her and to the status of the professional position she occupied. It is debateable that, had Warde been schooled in Britain, she would have had the same confidence and ambition, or achieved the same career outcomes. The Anglo – American disparity in women's educational experience, helps to account for her unique professional position, as few British women were educated with professional expectations.

Having examined Warde's educational experience at school and college and discussed the experiences of British Women, an additional area that contributed to learning in both countries, remains to be explored. Religion was a factor of consequence to women and in nineteenth-century America, it was an influential force maintaining their subordinate status. Although American colonists were distanced from the Church of England, it was still believed that a 'woman's place was determined by limitations of mind and body, a punishment of the original sin of Eve. However, in order to fit her for her proper role of motherhood, the Almighty had taken especial pains to endow her with virtues including modesty, meekness, compassion, affability and piety.'[221]

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[220] J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England,* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991), p.117.

[221] Eleanor Flexner, Ellen Frances Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, (London: Belknap Press, 1996) pp.7-8.

Nevertheless, Manhattan was supportive of religious pluralism and this had consequences for Warde. [222] In the years leading up to her birth, different faiths and denominations freely worshipped and some groups specifically supported women: 'New York counted Dutch Calvinists,… Anglicans…Catholics, orthodox Quakers who were Women especially,.. some Independents, some Jews'.[223] Additionally, Protestant churches proliferated '…respond[ing] to the spiritual and social expectations of thousands of middle-class New Yorkers.'[224] Warde's mother and grandmother were followers of the Protestant religion, Unitarianism, and Warde was brought up within this faith. Both Watts and Gleadle are vital to the exploration of the emancipation of Unitarian women and levels of respect afforded to them, as well as for illuminating the significance of the religion to Warde's ambition and confidence, an area explored in Chapter Six. Watts reveals that Unitarianism played a 'significant part in changing assumptions about the capacities and role of women and thus gender conceptions…'Knowledge is power'….They wished to give the knowledge and thus power to women as well as men', consequently helping to progress the emancipation of women.[225] Gleadle explored female Unitarians who 'were born into a denomination which encouraged a considerable amount of respect for their intellects and judgements', a situation that it can be argued applied to Warde.[226] Both Watts and Gleadle are important for shedding light on how Warde's religion stimulated her aspirations and confidence.

Chryssides provides a chronology of Unitarianism from a dissenting movement within the sixteenth-century Protestant reformation, to its emergence as a religion in Britain and America; 'The origins of Unitarianism in America can be traced back to

[222] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.60.
[223] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.60.
[224] Weil, *A History of New York*, p.130.
[225] Ruth Watts, *Gender Power and the Unitarians in England 1760-1860*, (London: Longman, 1998) p.9.
[226] Kathryn Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movements, 1831-51 (London: Macmillan, 1995)*, p.21.

the Great Awakening of the mid-18th century. The age of enlightenment had created an emphasis on reason.' [227] This approach reached Unitarian education, including Warde's and may have focussed her selection of topics of relevance to printing education, including the psychology of typography. This is an area examined in Chapter Five, for its pertinence to her legacy making, and her attitude to the sans serif, discussed in Chapter Four as central to her influential ideas on the typographic renaissance. Chryssides highlighted the faith's promotion of all levels of education for men and women and its support for emancipation and the suffrage movement: 'One of the most important Unitarian contributions to societal issues is their attitude to Women…Unitarians with few exceptions would find themselves in support of women's rights.' [228] This pioneering attitude must not be underestimated in underpinning Warde's success. The religion 'had developed a powerful social, political and cultural critique of modern society, and women's role within it', with a propensity for developing new modes of social organisation in Unitarianism, 'barriers to conventional ways of thinking about women were lifted'.[229] Women's right to equality with men was crucial and campaigners in the religion worked to reform areas including the legal position of women and rights to equality of education.[230] Unitarianism gave followers the knowledge and confidence to express their ideas and to fight for causes, encouraging prominent female followers to achieve this professionally, particularly through writing as Warde did. These were key factors supporting Warde's conviction of success, enabling her confidence and reinforcing the development of her communication skills.[231]

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[227] George Chryssides, *The Elements of Unitarianism* (Shaftesbury: Element Books Ltd, 1998), pp.25, 91.

[228] Chryssides, *The Elements of Unitarianism*, p.91.

[229] Gleadle, *The Early Feminists, 1831-51*, p.6.

[230] Gleadle, *The Early Feminists, 1831-51*, p.7.

[231] Beatrice Warde/Paul Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator,' *The Monotype Recorder*, 44 (1970), p.6.
Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71.

A brief overview of potential role models in Britain and America is helpful when considering high profile Unitarian women who may have inspired Warde. These include Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Gaskell, who both expressed their ideas professionally. [232] Gaskell believed: 'women should have moral responsibility for themselves, … speak out when necessary… share in the creation of values and do their own appointed work,' ideas which chime with how Warde presented herself.[233]

Women were in the majority in Unitarian congregations with many taking on the influential position of faith leader. (Peart discusses the circumstances of female Unitarian leaders).[234] Gertrude von Petzold (1876-1952) was the first woman to be accepted to train as a Unitarian minister in Britain and was one of many female minsters working in America during Warde's childhood.[235] Seeing female leaders occupying visible positions within her religion, Warde took for granted that women were important and influential.

As women's rights were central to Unitarianism, the suffrage movement is pertinent to this research, for being where middle-class women like those in Warde's family were influential, engaging followers with different outlooks and varied backgrounds

[232] R.K. Webb, 'Martineau, Harriet (1902-1876), Writer and Journalist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], Oxford University Press, updated September 28 2006 [cited 20 December 2018] available from:<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18228> Jenny Uglow, 'Gaskell [née Stevenson], Elizabeth Cleghorn (1810–1865), novelist and short-story writer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], Oxford University Press, updated September 23 2004 [cited 20 December 2018] available from:<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10434>. Watts, *Gender Power and the Unitarians*, pp.192-3.

[233] Watts, *Gender Power and the Unitarians,* p.201. Patsy Stoneman, *Elizabeth Gaskell* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), p.172.

[234] Ann Peart, *Unitarian Women: A Legacy of Dissent,* (London: Lindsey Press,2019), pp.vii-x. Mary Wollstonecraft and Harriet Martineau were two such women. Barbara Taylor, 'Wollstonecraft [married name Godwin], Mary (1759–1797), author and advocate of women's rights,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], Oxford University Press, updated 1 September 2017 [cited 26 April 2020], Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10893.>. Webb, 'Martineau, Harriet (1902-1876), Writer and Journalist.'

[235] Peart, *Unitarian Women,* pp.170-74.

to achieve the right to vote.[236] Bridenthal, Koonz and Stuard are important in identifying that during the first quarter of the twentieth century one of the most significant factors remoulding women's role in society was the development of a movement endeavouring to enfranchise women and achieve equal rights with men. [237] This movement was 'clearly on the road to success in many countries, especially Britain…and some American states'; Warde did not describe herself as suffragist but her ambition to achieve an important professional role in the male-dominated printing industry 'spoke' of her support for gender equality. [238] During her lifetime, women's suffrage was one of the largest and most significant women's movements and the unequal status of women was 'at heart a struggle for a new definition of femininity which would transform male public space and thereby burst open the public/private divide that regulated and defined women's lives.'[239]

The women's movement not only sought political and economic equality, decent working conditions and equitable wages but also held the ultimate ambition of women as achieving economic independence and new ways of combining work and family life. [240] In Britain there was a backlash against the 'fight' for equality, with over a thousand women imprisoned and treated brutally for their actions in support of this movement.[241] In America, Lamberton Becker had links with womens' groups including the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, founded in Boston in 1877 for the advancement of women and to provide support for women and children in the city. She was also linked with prominent feminist, Vera Brittain (1893-1970), whose

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[236] Renate Bridenthal, Claudia, Koonz and Susan Mosher, Stuard, *Becoming Visible*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p.400.

[237] Bridenthal, Koonz and Stuard, *Becoming Visible*, p.400.

[238] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.24.

[239] M. Vicinus, 'Male Space and Women's Bodies: The Suffragette Movement', in I*ndependent Women, Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985) p.263.

[240] Bridenthal, Koonz and Stuard, *Becoming Visible*, p.400.

[241] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, pp.32-3.

activities during World War Two she reported in correspondence with Warde.[242]

These connections were present as background to Warde's early life and directed her outlook.

Later in her career Warde herself was linked with 'the most significant inter-war feminist', Eleanor Rathbone (1872-1946), leader of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (NUSEC). [243] It is unknown how this connection came about but Pedersen suggests their similarity of early experience as a possible link. Rathbone was 'surrounded from childhood by strong-minded women and influenced by…Unitarian principles'; a description which also fitted Warde.[244] A 'practical politician' after 1918, Rathbone was regarded as the 'architect of 'new feminism'' and her ideas also included 'the integration of women into political life, the development of state benefits and the defence of democratic political ideals in the face of the rise of Fascism'. [245] Rathbone's defence of democratic political ideals may ultimately have brought her and Warde together in BAS, the Anglo-American book exchange founded by Warde and Lamberton Becker during World War Two, and an area explored in Chapter Four, for the part it played in expanding Warde's influence.[246]

Factors including education and emancipation provide the context for Warde's professional ambition, experience and direction of the printing industry. However, it is also imperative for this research to touch on the employment experiences of other

[242] May Lamberton Becker, 'Letter to Beatrice Warde' Sunday April 7 1940, MS823/6. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[243] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.79.
The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship was the updated, 1919 name for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
[244] Pedersen, Susan. 'Rathbone, Eleanor Florence (1872–1946), social reformer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004. [cited 24 May 2021] Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35678>.
[245] Pedersen, Susan.'Rathbone, ….'
[246] Rathbone was mentioned in wartime correspondence between Warde and Lamberton Becker.

women in Britain, in order to recognise the different circumstances experienced by Warde. For married women in early twentieth-century Britain, it was not considered respectable to work. However, women's incomes were essential for many working class households, as well as being vital for single women such as Warde.[247] The prevalent attitude was that: 'skilled work, that is, highly-paid work of protected status, was the preserve of men [meaning that] women's employment opportunities were severely restricted' and their wages reduced to forty per cent of that earned by men.[248] The 1900 census recorded just thirteen per cent of married women as in employment. The area employing the most women was domestic service, undertaking tasks including washing, sewing and charring, 'work that could be performed under the illusion that the woman was still a full-time housewife'.[249] Wages were minimal and time off restricted, with many women 'living in' with their employers, who factored board and lodgings as part of their remuneration.[250] Warde was aware of these circumstances as she employed Mrs Ellis, her house keeper, in this way. Having said this, clerical opportunities for women were expanding and by 1911 there were 166,000 female clerks in Britain.[251] These 'white-collar' jobs, segregated from the male workforce, with little opportunity for promotion, were in demand as ideal posts for middle-class girls. Had Warde been educated in Britain, these administrative roles may have represented the pinnacle of her ambition.

When examining the circumstances of women's employment, it is vital to consider the effect of both twentieth-century World Wars. They triggered changes in attitudes

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[247] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.18.

[248] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.18.

[249] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.19.

[250] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.19.

[251] M. Zimmeck, 'Jobs for the Girls: the Expansion of Clerical work for Women 1850-1914' in A. John(ed.), *Unequal Opportunities, Womens Employment in England 1800-1918*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986) p.154.

to women's employment and it must be acknowledged that the consequences of World War Two particularly, recast Warde's success in the printing industry.

Braydon's analysis highlights the changes that war brought to women's employment, revealing how these changes may have touched Warde at the beginning of her British career.[252] Although this conflict is widely acknowledged as increasing job opportunities for women, as by 1915, industry was: 'looking hungrily at women workers to help fulfil the enormous demands now placed upon it by war production and the loss of male workers to the front,' Braydon offers an alternative perspective.[253] This was that working-class women in particular had always worked and that the distinction during this period was made between paid employment versus unpaid labours at home: 'attitudes towards them [working-class women] influenced their lives as paid workers, … but in addition the importance of their unpaid domestic work has to be taken into account. It was this which was used to limit their job opportunities and wages, and this which made their lives harder'.[254]

Significant to the beginning of Warde's employment in Britain, the longer-lasting consequences of World War One had shaped women's employment in the 1920s, when there was a desire to 'get back to normality'. Fears centred on this period of change were emphasised by Braydon, who highlighted that there was a 'reluctance of women in England to abandon their wartime jobs and 'go home' [which led to] … women wage-earners in the 1920s … face[ing] far more hostility than they had before the war'.[255] Importantly, Braydon also highlights that the consequences of the war for women did not lead them to 'escape from the classic female trades'.[256] In emphasising the demand to reassert pre-war gender differences after their wartime

[252] G. Braydon, *Women Workers the First World War* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).

[253] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.39.

[254] Braydon, *Women Workers,* pp. 11-3, 13.

[255] Braydon, *Women Workers*, pp.13-4.

[256] Braydon, *Women Workers*, p.14.

obfuscation, Kingsley Kent stresses the challenges faced by Warde beginning her career in Britain.[257] 'The upheavals produced by the First World War provoked responses designed to re-create the social, political and economic order that had prevailed prior to August 1914' and, despite the atmosphere of post-war Europe appearing significantly different, conservative forces 'sought to re-establish stability and reassert their status'.[258]

By the end of World War One women were losing their jobs and the pace of dismissal of female workers increased, with, by the end of 1918, over 775,000 leaving within the year.[259] Women working in 'white collar' roles in government departments and businesses were also dismissed and a 'formal marriage bar came into force in many areas for women teachers, clerks, nurses and civil servants'.[260] Celphane's first-hand account of post-war attitudes to working women, emphasises the fortunate position in which Warde was placed when she came to work for Monotype in Britain: 'From being the saviours of the nation, women in employment were degraded in the public press to a position of ruthless self-seekers depriving men and their dependants of a livelihood.'[261]

Reconstructing the post-World War One economy resulted in a decline in traditional industries and created mass unemployment in areas of Britain. There was an accompanying emotional atmosphere that produced violent outbursts with women workers frequently blamed for the unemployment created by the great depression.[262] These conditions reinforced the pressure to remove women from the job market and single women were 'especially vilified in the media as being useless members of

[257] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[258] Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace,* p.3.

[259] D. Beddoes, *Back to Home and Duty* (London: Pandora, 1989), p.48.

[260] D. Beddoes, *Back to Home*, p.61.

[261] I. Celphane, *Towards Sex Freedom,* (London: John Lane 1935), pp.200-1.

[262] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.62.

society'.[263] It was within these conditions that Warde arrived in Britain but one particular post-war situation benefited her: 'alongside the gloomy picture…there was new hope in the booming consumer industries of the Midlands and the South'.[264] As a result, there was more demand for printers to supply consumer industries and Warde undoubtedly gained from these circumstances.[265] However, it was still difficult for women in Britain, even if they were educated, to enter professions and the atypical circumstances in which Warde was placed are apparent.[266]

Known as 'the people's war', the Second World War was a significant twentieth-century moment especially reshaping the employment and ambition of women.[267] Summerfield's analysis traces the ramifications of this conflict on women.[268] She believes that during the conflict 'the need for women's labour and the readiness of the state to intervene to release them from their homes for war work' was a significant factor; women: 'could not be treated as 'background' separate from other attitudes, but were themselves a vital focus for ideas about women's place in social relations.'[269] Government departments arbitrated between established views on women and the increasing pressures for women workers to expand Britain's production. Summerfield highlights this approach as vital to establishing how much the pressure of war shaped attitudes to gender during this period. These circumstances were emphasised from March 1941, when women were required to register at employment exchanges to be directed to specific jobs.[270] They worked in factories, white-collar occupations, civil defence, areas of the military and voluntary

[263] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.62.

[264] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.60.

[265] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.60.

[266] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.69.

[267] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.92.

[268] P. Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War*, (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

[269] Summerfield, *Women Workers*, pp.1-2.

[270] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.94.

roles.[271] 'Educated married women were eager to take up positions of responsibility' previously denied and with her work for Monotype reduced, this was a situation applying to Warde.[272] In 1940, using her contacts and expertise in the printing industry she founded and became leader of the Anglo-American book exchange, Books Across The Sea, which is discussed in Chapter Four for its relevance to her influence.[273]

Post-war circumstances of Britain are helpful to the appreciation of the unusual position Warde continued to occupy in this period. The country was in optimistic mood; there was a 'new consensus to overcome the old divisions of the past' and ambition to benefit from consumerism and economic growth, circumstances that may have seemed beneficial to women including Warde.[274] Bruley explains that however, for emancipated women, accustomed to working and occupying positions of responsibility 'The progressive vision of the New Britain of 1945 was flawed by a fundamentally conservative view of women'.[275] Society was concerned about a falling birth rate and the need to cheer returning soldiers with the notion that, at home, their wives would be waiting for them. Conditions 'reinforce[ed] the idea of women at the heart of the family, which was to be the heart of the New Britain' and by 1947, two million women had left work.[276] This readjustment emphasised that many women were content to 'return to domesticity to bear the children postponed by the war' and by the 1950s much of the emancipation gained during wartime had given way to a climate where 'mothers of small children feared public condemnation if they worked'.[277] Although the number of working, married women did not return to

[271] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, pp.92-116.

[272] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p.95.

[273] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', pp.277-98.

[274] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p. 117.

[275] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p. 118.

[276] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p. 119. S. Carruthers, ''Manning the Factories': Propaganda and Policy on the Employment of Women 1939-1947', *History*, 75, 244, p233.

[277] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p. 118.

pre-war levels, a trend for part-time working developed emphasising women's perceived obligations to home and family.[278] By this time the 'most common outlets for female school-leavers were secretarial or factory work and, as was the case pre-war, women's wages were unequal, with their earnings amounting to just over half that of working men.[279] These circumstances emphasise that wartime was the only period of Warde's life where gender was not a factor in her professional development and that it had been a period that allowed her to build respect at the helm of Books Across the Sea, and 'cement' her ambition to occupy a leading professional role. However, returning to the printing industry, Warde remained a 'curiosity', a woman in a male-dominated industry whose gender was at the centre of her professional position and was reported in the press.[280]

The experiences of most women throughout Warde's lifetime were challenging and frequently contradicted those of the 'First Lady of Typography'. Other than in wartime, it was uncommon for women to find rewarding careers outside the home, a position that was endorsed through gender stereotyping, a topic examined in Chapter Six for its pertinence to Warde's presentation for success. Her particular Anglo-American circumstances dovetailed with the timing and developments in the printing industry and despite prevailing attitudes to education, employment and remuneration favouring men, Warde achieved an unprecedented position.

This chapter has appraised previously unstudied contextual areas which underpinned Warde's life and achievement. Using archival research, including period publications, articles from the trade press and other secondary sources, it reveals knowledge which

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[278] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p. 119.

[279] Bruley, *Women in Britain*, p. 122. P. Summerfield, 'Women, War and Social Change: Women in Britain in World War Two' in A. Marwick (ed.), *Total War and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1988) p.100.

[280] The Staff Correspondent 'Typography: Like A Crystal Goblet'. 'Typographers Dress is "Lettered"!', *Sun Herald,* (25 August 1957), MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

although not new to her time frame, offers a new perspective when applied to the study of Warde herself. This outlook substantiates the uncommon nature of her achievement and emphasises barriers to, as well as factors supporting, her success. Tracing changes in the printing industry, this chapter emphasises increasing reliance on technological development, circumstances that resulted in Warde's long-term employment at the Monotype Corporation. This situation triggered barriers to women in the printing industry, with friction, resulting from protectionist attitudes to employment, leading to unionisation and the fragmentation of roles and discrimination against most women. These circumstances led, amongst others, to the discrete profession of the typographer, a situation that expanded the number of Monotype's clients. The significant industry figures examined in this chapter are revealed to have supported Warde's position in the industry, enabling a career that would have otherwise been impossible. Printing education which developed during her lifetime, as an additional consequence of changes in the industry, provided an important platform for Warde's ideas and has been discussed in this chapter as vital to her professional development. Within this chapter the attitude to women in the industry is for the most part an area evidencing discrimination. It emphasises the unusual circumstances and barriers to Warde's career development and offers the opportunity to compare Warde with the identity of the 'gentleman amateur', an approach that is unique to this research. The construct of the 'gentleman amateur', changes the view of Warde. An identity devised to represent an amateur from an affluent background who 'tinkered' with printing for personal satisfaction rather than financial profit, this was an identity which parallels Warde's circumstances and one that has not previously been linked to her identity. Women, however, were found to have held influential positions in the industry, although these were few and far between, and historical examples discussed in this section may have helped to support Warde's ambition. The investigation of the social construct of gender is also new to research in this area, aligning with the circumstances of Warde's manipulation

of this status to benefit her career. Attitudes to women in American and British society are shown as having a bearing on Warde, with domestic life, education, religion, suffrage and employment highlighted as influencing her ambition and career.

The timeline within the preliminary section of this thesis also emphasises factors impacting the lives of Warde and women in Britain and America. Conditions of this period did not for the most part support an emancipated status but were nevertheless the undercurrent shaping Warde's ambition, career development and status. The contextual areas discussed here combine to create uncommon circumstances crucial to the development of Warde's career and without consideration of these factors it is impossible to understand her professional achievement.

The aim of this chapter was to determine and discuss whether there were background factors with a bearing on Warde's life; it investigates four themed areas to gauge elements impacting her ambition, experience and achievement, findings that are significant to this reappraisal of Warde.

This chapter evidences a changed perspective, as circumstances presenting barriers to women were also those which created opportunities for Warde. Technological changes in the industry which strengthened protectionism and unionisation resulted in discrimination for most women and yet created career opportunities for Warde as Monotype's products and consumers expanded.

Gender is an area revealed as contributing to a changed view of Warde. Although gender was a conditioned status, a situation that she recognised and manipulated through becoming Paul Beaujon for professional success, ultimately it was her identity as a woman that ensured her unique professional situation and renown. Attitudes to women in British society is also a topic revealing a changed standpoint on Warde. Evidencing hurdles to women that also negatively affect their ambition,

Warde's experience during her upbringing in New York was a significant factor, supporting and raising her expectations and ambition, hence it is debateable that this outcome would have been achieved had she been born in England. Warde's wartime experience is also an area that fits into this category of altering views on Warde. As World War Two provided opportunities for women, including Warde, the post-war years reverted this situation with many women redirected to domestic duties. However, Warde's experience was different, as wartime increased her post-war ambition, expanding her influence to a worldwide audience.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF BEATRICE WARDE

Examining the influence of Warde, and the breadth of her relationships with others, provides perspective on her unconventional position in the printing industry. Commentators tend to divide her authority into three areas: raising the profile and respect for printing; her effect on establishing standards in printing; and her impact on printing education. In addition, her public relations skills, a theme of Chapter Six, were vital to her influence, as was her role as Monotype publicity manager.

Highlighting the significance of Warde's expertise, gender, Anglo-American status and relationship with her mother, this chapter argues that she encouraged those working, or with an interest in printing, to follow her ideas. The writings of senior figures from the industry took up this approach, and the press followed suit, Warde's correspondence and personal documents are also significant to this topic. The Monotype Corporation expanded her networks and skills and provided her with a platform to promote the company and extend her own reach. Her articles for Monotype and the trade press are significant in illuminating these ideas, exposing her effect on the printing industry and typography.

Within her formative educational environment Warde enjoyed communication with others and savoured attention. Privately and publicly, she relished conversation, theatrical performance and writing, experiences that prepared her for the printing industry, where her ideas and approach affected the elite, as well as printers at every level, including apprentices. These early experiences, the background to which was examined in Chapter Three, were also instrumental to building her confidence and guiding her strategies for success, which is the focus of Chapter Six. During World War Two, Warde used her ideas on the value of printing for campaigning purposes and her reach increased to include public groups interested in publishing as well as adults and children, in both Britain and America. This experience increased her post-

war ambition and ultimately enhanced her worldwide authority. Her audience read her work, heard her speak and saw her image and Warde enjoyed her position, changing the topics she discussed and varying her tone of voice, to capture attention from different groups.[1]

During Warde's professional life her gender and position as promotions manager for Monotype was vital to her influence. Her unique position as a woman in a leading, public-facing role in British industry stimulated curiosity, a situation which she used to increase and evidence her power as well as for success making, which is the focus of Chapter Six.

When Warde joined the Monotype Corporation 'The business was entering its golden age', which also increased her influence; this period was discussed in Chapter Two as part of the context supporting her career.[2] Slinn explained these circumstances, as despite worldwide recession, the Corporation 'enjoyed what was perhaps its most … successful decade' due to technological developments and a worldwide, stable demand for its products.[3] In addition, Monotype had established a school after recognising that 'without well trained operators Monotype's machines were not cost effective'.[4] The Corporation's authority extended beyond Britain '[it] had built its business across the world' and this reach was vital to Warde.[5] In addition to discussing Warde's worldwide reach in this Chapter, her promotional trips overseas were a significant aspect of her legacy making plans discussed in Chapter Five and

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[1] Examples of Warde changing her tone voice can be found in her 'Inscription for a Printing Office' which she developed for different circumstances. Warde and Standard, *Bombed But Unbeaten*, pp.91-3. In addition, Warde developed a variation to appeal to printing schools and students: Beatrice Warde, 'A New Inscription For A Printing School', *The Monotype Recorder,* 42, 1, 1960, pp.19-21. During World War Two Warde changed her tone of voice for different audiences, including developing her communication skills with children; an ability which post war, she applied to printing apprentices. Beatrice Warde, 'United We Stand' *Scholastic Magazine* Circa. 1943. MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[2] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.52.

[3] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.73.

[4] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.52.

[5] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.122-23.

were also part of her public relations strategies examined in Chapter Six. The Monotype Corporation. It had a worldwide network of offices and user groups of professional printers and compositors with whom Warde communicated developments of Monotype products, with a view to creating customer loyalty and increased sales. These conditions increased Warde's audience and developed her influence.

An example of one of Warde' post war, overseas promotional visits for the Monotype Corporation which evidences her leadership efforts was her visit to the Government Printing Office, Washington DC. circa 1950, to speak to the Washington chapter of the American Institute of Graphic Artists; here she used her unique position and appearance to communicate her leadership.[6] Her clothing was intentionally selected to communicate her authority, highlighting Warde as a woman using religious symbolism to indicate her influence as a leader in the industry. Warde knew the significance of this aesthetic of her clothing from bible study, as it evoked a pastoral style, redolent of a biblical shepherdess: 'Tell me, O you whom my soul loves, Where do you pasture your flock, Where do you make it lie down at noon? For why should I be like one who veils herself beside the flocks of your companions?' This verse uses the metaphor of the mother of God as the shepherdess guiding the church.[7] Warde's strategies for success included her presentation as a religious woman, which is a theme examined in Chapter Six. The significance of the shepherdess identity was also known to Warde from the classical designs of advertising work by her friend T.M.

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[6] Warde posed with the Public Printer of the United States, John J. Deviney, by her 'Inscription for a Printing Office.' John J. Deviny was Public Printer of the United States 1948-53. He was head of the Government Printing Office, responsible for all governmental printed material. He was nominated by the President of the United States. Barnum, *Beatrice Warde at the GPO*. Warde used apparel to signal her awareness of her gender distinction and influence. Wearing a tailored dress and hat, tied under her chin with lace, Warde's clothing was noticed; importantly, she was photographed during this visit, thus perpetuating her impact for as long as the image was seen. 'She poses in one shot in a very chick black dress and … exuberant hat'.
[7] Song of Solomon 1:7.

Cleland, and from her mother's writing.[8] Warde's hat intentionally created a visual metaphor, revealing her as influential, leading her 'flock' of printers along her own and the Monotype Corporation's 'typographic path'.

[8] T.M. Cleland, *The Decorative Work of T.M. Cleland* (New York: Pynson Printers Inc., 1929) p.83. Lamberton Becker discussed this style of hat describing it as a 'Dolly Varden' hat from Barnaby Rudge. Lamberton Becker, *Introducing Charles Dickens*, (London: George G. Harrap, 1941) pp.144-45.

Fig 4.1 Beatrice Warde at the Government Printing Office circa 1950. MS823/2 CRL.

In addition to image making evidencing Warde's use of clothing, gender and religious symbolism to denote her influence, the trade press was also important for emphasising the extent of her following, believing that 'there can be few who hold positions of authority in print whose ideas have not been shaped, in greater or lesser degree, by her influence'.[9] A lofty accolade, confirming her ideas as infectious, it emphasised the breadth of her audience and power. Warde knew editors and was a regular contributor to publications which were complementary in describing her international influence 'Mrs Beatrice Warde is the first American woman to achieve international recognition as a writer and expert on typography.'[10] These relationships supported her position and any printer reading these descriptions who had not come across her ideas, would have been prompted to take note. However, Peters explains why press validation was vital to Warde, as 'Success too, strengthened another necessary condition for the effective exercise of authority – the expectation of being believed followed and obeyed.'[11] Warde, appreciated press endorsement, and looked for it as confirmation of the breadth of her position; she kept track of reports using press-cutting agencies which provided clippings of articles by or about her.[12]

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[9] Anonymous, 'New Titles for the Printers Bookshelf, The Collected Editions of Beatrice Warde's Essays', *British Printer*, 69 No. 2 (March 1956), p.45.

[10] Articles in the trade press presenting Warde and her work of leading importance, include: 'Beatrice Warde speaks at the USA Govt. Printing Office on 'Typographic Design', p.30. 'College of Design and Production', *British Printer* (May June 1951), p.62. Richard Bertram Fishenden, 'Editors Note Book: Typographic Progress', pp.145-47. A.J.A. Symons, 'The Necessities of the Printers Library', *Penrose Annual*, (41, 1939), pp.51-53. 'Mrs Beatrice Warde is Welcomed Home', (1957). Warde contributed to journals including *The Fleuron, Typography, Penrose Annual, Signature* and *Graphis.* Beatrice, Warde, 'BW Said:', *Type Talks the Journal of the Advertising Typographers Association of America Inc,* 71 (1953), pp.8-11, MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Moran, Beatrice Warde: A Personal Tribute, p.67. 'New Titles for the Printer's Bookshelf, p.45. 'Clear, Legible Writing Urged: Type Authority Here', *Milwaukee Wisconsin Journal*, 10 May 1953. MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[11] R.S. Peters, *Authority, Responsibility and Education*, (Abingdon: Routledge Revivals, 2015), p.17. Peters was originally published in 1959.

[12] Press clippings that Warde kept include: Unknown Author, 'Woman Advises Throwing Eggs At Ugly Signs', *New York Herald Tribune*, February 5 1937. MS823/5. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'Typographers Dress is Lettered' *Sun Herald*, 1957. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of

In England the most effective media was the printed press and in 1958, the British public were regarded as 'the greatest newspaper readers in the world'; over 28,000,000 copies of daily newspapers were sold, 32,000,000 Sunday newspapers and 16,000,000 weekly and other papers. [13] Newspapers were classified as 'quality' and 'popular' press and Warde was predominantly reported in 'quality papers', including *The Times,* a publication with which her friend and benefactor Morison had influential links.[14]An article seeming to confirm her authority was 'Pioneer in a Man's World'.[15] It is possible that *The Times* was interested in Warde because of her gender, as this piece made extensive reference to the topic and was located within an area containing, for the most part, articles focussing on women.[16] This page also included a feature on women and drugs problems, another championing nursery school provision and an advertisement for women's clothes. Warde's effect on the industry is the central reason for this piece but so is her gender, which is focussed on as a factor underpinning her position: 'She is smart without harshness and young in appearance. The quality which is perhaps hard to define is one of enthusiasm, of optimism.'[17] Additionally, press reports of her work formed part of Warde's strategies for success through public relations, an area that is examined in Chapter Six.

Birmingham. 'Clear, Legible Writing Urged'. 'Pioneer in a Man's World', p.13. 'Printing' *The New York Times*, (31 May 1953). MS823/9 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[13] *A Guide to The Practice of Public Relations,* ed. by Lex Hornsby, Trevor Powell and F. L. Stevens (London: Newman Neame for The Institute of Public Relations, 1958), p.49.

[14] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, pp.441-3. Warde's articles, or pieces about her in the quality press included: 'Pioneer in a Man's World' p.13. Beatrice Warde, 'Books Across The Sea: "Ambassadors of Good Will"'. *Books Across The Sea*, p.4. Beatrice Warde, 'Anglo-American Links' *The Times*, 23 October 1944, p.5. Brian, Innes, 'Across the other side of the Equator', *British Printer*, 71 (1958), pp.68-70. Beatrice Warde, 'English Speaking Typography, *British Printer,* 76 (1963), pp.161-8.

[15] 'Pioneer in a Man's World' p.13.

[16] 'Pioneer in a Man's World' p.13.

[17] 'Pioneer in a Man's World' p.13.

Warde is esteemed for raising the profile of, and respect for, printing and was believed to have used a: 'fast talking blend of scholarship and salesmanship [to raise] the typographic consciousness of the English-speaking printing world.'[18] Many of her texts can be argued as having an 'eye on' on this outcome and 'Inscription For A Printing Office', inspired by Bullen's ideas and subsequently discussed in Chapter Six for its pertinence to her strategies for success through her presentation as a religious woman, is one such example that has become one of her most influential texts.[19] 'Inscription For A Printing Office' must also be considered for its effect on Warde's influence. Having been created as a promotional broadside for Perpetua Titling, a typeface designed for the Corporation by Eric Gill, it provided Warde with the opportunity to promote her ideas and reach a wide audience, as 'This was to be a big broadsheet and the copy was to go out not only to Monotype's customers, but to other firms as well.'[20] An opportunity to promulgate her influence, Warde saw the potential of an enduring, printed communication: 'What a chance, I thought', 'every author from Socrates on would be proud to have his words set forth in those noble capitals. Whom shall I choose?' and I decided, 'I'll write it myself.'[21] Created to promote the Corporation for the long-term, it was a presentation of Warde's ideas and by emphasising the term 'inscription' her notions would be metaphorically 'carved' into the fabric of printing offices and into the minds of generations of printers. Upholding the importance of printing to the freedom of ideas, Warde spoke directly to readers, using understandable language and covering familiar subjects valued for

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[18] Sebastian Carter, 'Black Art' in *Unjustified Texts Perspectives on Typography*, ed. by Robin Kinross, (London: Hyphen Press) 2002. p.145.

[19] Warde, Beatrice, 'Inscription for a Printing Office,' (London: The Monotype Corporation, 1932). In an interview with Dreyfus, Warde acknowledged Bullen as the inspiration for this piece: 'I looked at it and thought, 'Henry Lewis Bullen, you would have loved this thing! It's right up your street. And if it hadn't been for you and your vision, I would never have written it.' I know this is the one thing that I have written which will probably last'. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71.

[20] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', pp. 69-76, 74-5.

[21] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', pp.74-5.

their pertinence to the industry.[22] She addressed readers personally as her friends, describing printing offices as the 'cross-roads of civilization', providing shelter for the arts in difficult times, communicating truth in the face of hearsay and broadcasting activities for trade; in taking this approach Warde was emphasising the influential nature of this piece. [23] She explained the concept of printed words being distributed in a permanent form and also expressed satisfaction with the power of her broadside: 'I can say with deep pride that I've seen it framed on the walls of nearly every printing-office I have visited in England.'[24] 'Inscription for a Printing Office' became 'the most famous publicity item of her career' and during wartime her variations of this text were important to her influence, taking on political resonance.[25]

Evidence of the breadth of her audience resulting from this publication was important to Warde and she used *The Monotype Recorder* to publish reports of high-profile sightings, emphasising the extent of her reach. A framed version was said to hang in the waiting room of *The Times* newspaper whilst another was outside the Ashanti *Pioneer* printing office in Ghana and Warde mentioned that the text had been translated into twenty-eight languages.[26] She reported that complimentary responses came from Mr Robert St. John in the *New York Editor and Publisher* on December 21 1957 who said 'I defy many of 'our people' to put the case for the printed word any better!' and also Mr Robert Targett of *The Sunday Times* January 17 1960, who reporting the British Prime Minister's visit to Africa, referred to the Inscription saying 'With sentiments so grand, can one doubt that Ghana and Nigeria alike will flourish?'[27] Confirming the resonance this piece had for others, commentators also

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[22] Warde, 'Inscription for a Printing Office'.
[23] Warde, 'Inscription for a Printing Office'.
[24] Warde and Standard, *Bombed But Unbeaten*, p.95.
[25] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.195. The original print run of this piece was 6000. Warde and Standard, *Bombed But Unbeaten*, p.94.
[26] Warde, 'A New Inscription For A Printing School', pp.19-21.
[27] Warde, 'A New Inscription For A Printing School', pp.19-21. Warde also reported the Governor General of Australia as having quoted from 'Inscription For A Printing Office'.

reported sightings which indicated the spread of her audience: 'It was hung in frames, cut in stone and even in the case of the United States Government Printing Office, cast in bronze. In her lifetime, it was translated … parodied…misquoted and improved… It is an example of the extraordinary influence exerted by this 'Yank Female', as she described herself.'[28]

In the longer term, 'Inscription For a Printing Office' has continued to perpetuate Warde's influence and after her death, Monotype acknowledged the breadth of her importance and continued to reprint and promote 'Inscription for a Printing Office' for sale: 'There are three versions of this famous inscription by Beatrice Warde: (1) the English text in Perpetua Titling; (2) the English text surrounded by 12 Asian language versions; (3) a Latin translation surrounded by 16 European language versions.'[29] The Inscription remains apparent and relevant through display in locations including the Marx Memorial Library in London and the University of Washington. In addition, it continues to be credited with inspiring interest in contemporary graphic design: 'I came to this conclusion [of being interested in graphic design] as a student having been inspired by just a few texts. One was this very short piece written by the American typographer Beatrice Warde. It adorned the walls of many printers and typesetters.'[30]

Not all areas of Warde's influence are as prominent as her 'Inscription For a Printing Office', and an overlooked sphere of her influence stems from her activities during World War Two, when her work for the Monotype Corporation diminished. Benn's interpretation of this aspect of Warde's influence connects with her activities during the period, when she was giving 'stirring voice to her generation's reverence for the

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[28] Moran, Beatrice Warde: A Personal Tribute, p.67.

[29] 'Publications', *The Monotype Newsletter 94* p.11. In this piece the Monotype Corporation advertise printed copies of 'Inscription For A Printing Office' for 15 pence a copy.

[30] Lucienne Roberts, *An Introduction to Ethics in Graphic Design*, (Lausanne, Switzerland: AVA Publishing, 2006), pp.8-9. 'Inscription for a Printing Office' is also quoted within: Baines, Phil and Haslam, Andrew, *Type and Typography*, (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), pp.120-1.

printed word as the very cornerstone of modern civilization', whilst also using her skills, contacts and her Anglo-American position for causes she believed were important to the War. [31]

In London, at the outbreak of war, Warde became an anti-fascist campaigner joining an ex-patriot organisation, the American Outpost, which believed America 'could not ignore the Fascist threat without sacrificing its security, economy and liberty'.[32] She felt misinformation in Britain and America was fostering distrust and wanted to share her first-hand experience of war in Europe, as well as her appreciation of British culture, with Americans.[33] She wrote articles and gave talks for the Outpost and in 1940, together with Lamberton Becker in Manhattan, founded Books Across the Sea (BAS). [34] An Anglo-America Book exchange, Newell explains the circumstances of the founding of the organisation as 'new books in commercial quantities [were] …not … allowed shipping between Britain and America'.[35] With her respect for printing, Warde recognised that readers were denied any opportunity to learn about each other and spread goodwill, and feared that Nazi propaganda would become influential.[36] She appreciated the value the Nazi Party placed on the 'importance of the printed word' to the spread of ideas, 'controlling publication of books through censorship and book burnings in order that German culture should be cleansed of liberalism, Marxism and Jewish influence'.[37] Warde was resolute that the power and respect for

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[31] *Taking Her Seriously: Bookwoman Beatrice Warde* [online] Marlowe Benn, 2020, [cited 20 June 2022]. Available from: < https://marlowebenn.com/taking-her-seriously-bookwoman-beatrice-warde/>

[32] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', p.280.

[33] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', p.280.

[34] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', p.281.

[35] Newell, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde', p.12.

[36] Beatrice, Warde, Alicia, Street, 'How Books Across the Sea Started' [Typescript] c.1966, (London: Unpublished). MS823/17 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[37] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', pp.281-2.

printing was vital to spreading goodwill and knowledge of other cultures, dispelling misconceptions and countering Nazi propaganda.[38]

BAS was founded with a gift of seventy American books unpublished in Britain, selected from recommendations by Lamberton Becker's readers; 'they provided insights into American life, history and culture and … acted as ambassadors for those working for improved Anglo-American understanding.'[39] A reciprocal gift was sent from British readers to America and the Society quickly grew.[40] BAS's aims corroborated Warde's efforts to raise the profile and importance of printing, attesting to books being 'goodwill emissaries and warriors'.[41] After Warde's death, this aspect of her work became for the most part hidden until 2010, with the formation of the Warde Archive at the University of Birmingham, which revealed a collection of documents on the subject. This is an area that is also examined in Chapter Five for its relation to Warde's legacy making.

Having discussed a previously overlooked area of Warde's attempt to raise respect for printing, which was the first acknowledged area of her influence, it is necessary to investigate the second recognised area of her influence, that of establishing standards in printing, where she is predominantly associated with aesthetics and functionality. Irwin appreciates her notions for enhancing 'both meaning and legibility …imbue[ing] the text with a sense of grace and appropriateness that is reminiscent of a finely performed piece of music…[whilst] transforming the act of reading into an aesthetic experience.'[42]

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[38] Warde, and Street, 'How Books Across the Sea Started' [Typescript].

[39] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', p.283.

[40] The British gift of books was sent by the end of 1941.

[41] '*Books Across the Sea*' *A Transatlantic Circle to Promote Better Understanding through Books*' [pamphlet] (London: Books Across the Sea, c.1941),MS823/ 17, Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[42] Terry Irwin, 'Fine Typography: Is it Relevant? How can it be Taught?', in *The Education of a Typographer*, ed. by Steven Heller (New York: Allworth Press, 2004), p.91.

In Victorian times beauty was agreed as 'a fundamental attribute of women', hence women were said to be ideally qualified to introduce beauty into the home. [43] This notion is important for investigations of Warde's authority on the aesthetics of printing, firstly because Warde was born in the Victorian era and will have been influenced by period attitudes and priorities; and secondly because Davidoff and Hall interpret this as meaning that 'Women would be the purveyors of taste'. [44] 'Taste made visible became an important social sign', implying that a woman had the luxury of time to involve herself with 'activities of an aesthetic… nature'. [45] What became known as the cult of domesticity increased in importance, and the style and atmosphere of the home gained importance as a crossroad of: 'religious belief, politics, commercial activity and family life, serving to bring together all these facets… by making the family and within it the idealised image of woman, a vital component not only of the moral community but also of successful business practice and national prestige.' [46]

Warde's interest in, and focus on aesthetics was not uncommon and by the 1930s women were regarded as experts in style and together with their knowledge of consumption, they were seen as 'ideally suited to becoming designers for industry'. [47] Despite these circumstances there were few female designers influencing aesthetics in any area of commercial design. However, Warde was an exception, appreciated for her authority on style and aesthetics, with no other commentator said to 'expound better… the principles of good typography' as essential to the workings of effective communication. [48] She prioritised functionality in design, over stylistic choices,

[43] Penny Sparke, *As Long As It's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste,* (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 2010), p.102.

[44] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class*, 1780-1850 (London: Routledge, 1987), p.191.

[45] Sparke, *As Long As It's Pink,* p.113.

[46] Sparke, *As Long As It's Pink,* p.4.

[47] Sparke, *As Long As It's Pink,* p.102.

[48] Hutt, '*Beatrice Warde a Personal Tribute*', p.18.

believing they would distract the reader from the subject of the text. Speaking directly to managers in the industry Warde, advised 'build up an appreciation of the moving trends of present-day and future developments in design so that some of the more obnoxious signs of "modernity"… might be ruthlessly eliminated.'[49]

Her religious beliefs come to the fore in her guidance of typographic standards and aesthetics, and in converting to Roman Catholicism, Warde asserted the Church's perspective and its rejection of Modernism. This idea was prominent in her perspective on 'modern' typography, which focussed on the use of contemporary revivals of historic typefaces, an approach known as Revivalism.[50] Warde's notions were set against the background of England's typographic renaissance, an area examined in Chapter Three which deals with the context supporting Warde's career. The typographic renaissance was marked by a blending of practice and historical revival, embracing an aesthetic awareness of traditions, together with technological developments in printing and composing equipment, including that of Monotype.[51] Kinross highlights Warde's connection with leading typographic revivalists in America, including Rogers, Updike, Cleland and Frederic Warde, as well as in Britain, where her closest mentor and supporter, Morison, was 'the principle figure in the revival of historic typefaces'.[52] By the 1930s the modern world was visible in the printing industry and European designers had an increasing presence that was not always welcomed. These circumstances are captured by McKitterick citing correspondence between Updike and Morison and providing perspective in

[49] Beatrice Warde, 'Design and Management: The Special lecture Given to the London Centre on Wednesday May 25, 1949', Reprinted from *The Managing Printer,* (July 1949), p.9. MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[50] Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1997), p.x.

[51] England's typographic renaissance began in the years before World War One.

[52] Kinross, *Modern Typography*, pp.43-65. Warde's influential, Catholic, printing industry network included, Morison, Gill, Thorp, and Meynall. Ruari McLean, *Typographers on Type,* pp.17-21. McKitterick, 'Meynell, Sir Francis Meredith Wilfrid (1891-1975).

understanding the attitudes of the typographic Revivalists of which Warde was part: 'About world conditions one can't be very cheerful, the way things are going nowadays is not all my way, and the world I liked…is shattered.'[53] Updike described modern changes in printing design as 'discouraging', all be it, going 'neatly with jazz'; he saw this approach as 'sloppy exhibitionism', preferring to take refuge in contemporary revivals of typefaces of the past.[54] Cleland, another leading figure from Warde's professional network, also captured this atmosphere, describing sans serif letterforms as 'simplification for simpletons… and… block letters for blockheads'.[55] To cope with the problem of Modernism in type design and typography Cleland suggested: 'we organize a pogrom of type designers…we establish a concentration camp in which to intern all those who think up or think they think up new ideas in typography for such time that it will take them to recover from their delusion.'[56] Expressed in an address to the American Institute of Graphic Arts in New York, 1940, Cleland's ideas were later published as *Harsh Words*.[57] The Institute was founded in 1914 and became the largest, influential professional organisation for design in America, illustrating the prevalence of these views in Warde's environment.[58]

Allitt examines a significant group of English and American intellectuals who converted to Catholicism and who set out in turn to convert others.[59] Analysing how they reshaped culture, especially through their writing, and their desire to place their

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[53] McKitterick, *Stanley Morison and D. B. Updike*, p.180.

[54] McKitterick, *Stanley Morison and D. B. Updike,* p.180.

[55] T. M., Cleland, *Harsh Words* (New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1940), p.35.

[56] Cleland, *Harsh Words*, p.37.

[57] Cleland, *Harsh Words*, p.iii.
Cleland's address took place at an occasion celebrating the opening of the seventeenth annual exhibition of The Fifty Books Of The Year, an important exhibition for the printing industry.

[58] Cleland, *Harsh Words*, p.iii. 'Norman Rockwell Museum, American Institute of Graphic Arts (AIGA)' [online], 2020, [cited 20 July 2022], Available from:< https://www.illustrationhistory.org/resources/american-institute-of-graphic-arts-aiga>

[59] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*.

work at the centre of British intellectual life, he explores their rejection of Modernism following the papal decree 'Lamentabili Sane Exitu', and also their attempt to raise intellectual standards within Catholicism. Allitt's research helps to place Warde in a body of intellectual converts, whilst also explaining how she came to convert through the encouragement of other converts. The group's attitude to Modernism illustrates tensions experienced by Warde and others of the typographic Revivalist movement this and includes their rejection of most sans serif typefaces in favour of new or revived, classical serif typefaces, whilst supporting modern printing technology such as that designed and made by the Monotype Corporation. In coming to their new faith as adults, converts, unlike those born into Catholicism, were educated outside the religion and sometimes, like Warde, in other, more liberal churches.[60] Warde's presentation as a religious woman is appraised in Chapter Six as an element of her strategising for success. Many converts worked in areas including history, literature and philosophy and were keen to prove that their work substantiated their beliefs and also to assure others that their new religion was 'intellectually liberating rather than restrictive'.[61] They wrote and expressed their ideas for Catholics but also for distrusting, Protestant audiences, 'hoping to vindicate their own conversions by persuading others to follow them'.[62] This was the approach that Warde took in her explanation of many of her typographic ideas, which she used to perpetuate her religious perspective.[63]

In giving aesthetic guidance based on revivalist views, Warde upheld the Catholic Church's directive 'Lamentabili Sane Exitu' and the following encyclical letter 'Pascendi Dominici Gregis'.[64] Issued by Pope Pius X, it prevented Roman Catholics from following Modernism and demonstrated that the Church and its followers,

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[60] Warde was raised within the liberal, Protestant religion of Unitarianism.
[61] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*, p.2.
[62] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*, p.2.
[63] Allitt, *Catholic Converts,* p.2.
[64] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*, p.x.

including Warde, had 'resolutely turned its face away from modernity.'[65] The decree spanned Warde's professional life, lasting from 1907-67 and teachers and priests were required to take an annual oath pledging to abide by the decree or face excommunication. [66] Thus, it was unlikely that intellectual Modernists found the religion appealing. However, Catholicism continued to attract those 'disillusioned by elements of modernity, especially following the First World War', when the religion become a haven for those looking for shelter from uncomfortable changing times. [67] In the printing industry, Modernist approaches and design changes were embodied by new sans serif typefaces. Being a Catholic woman reshaped Warde's ideas on typography and design standards, resulting in her rejection of the sans serif of German origin and her unsuccessful attempt to use science to prove the superior functionality of Revivalist, serif typefaces, (which is discussed later in this chapter). The notions of the papal decree were manifest in Warde's influential and professional ideas on the functionality of serif typefaces, as superior to those of Modernist, sans serif tyepfaces, particularly of German origin. Warde made one exception, for Gill Sans, designed by her friend the Catholic convert, Eric Gill. To justify its acceptability she explained it, as closer in origin to Roman and italic typefaces than to those of German origin: 'it retains the classic q, g, and t forms and is by no means rigidly monotone… that's why Gill Sans is the standard typeface for the whole British Railways system and for many other similar undertakings here'.[68] Warde also recognised the commercial perspective of Gill Sans as a factor for its justification, arguing that 'In my official capacity as a member of a 'supply company' I have no business to attack any variety or group of typefaces that represent potential sales'.[69] In leading printers to make an exception for Gill Sans she described it as 'practically

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[65] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*, p.x.

[66] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*, pp.x, 123.

[67] Allitt, *Catholic Converts*, pp.x, 123.

[68] Warde, 'BW Said', pp.8-11.

[69] Warde, 'BW Said', pp.8-11.

foolproof' and 'simple and free from artiness' with good readability for passers-by in a rush.[70] Her advocacy resulted in Gill Sans becoming a Monotype best-seller, however, Warde advised that other sans serif typefaces had functionality and legibility issues and she could not understand their popularity when functionality was considered important.[71] To argue her case for the superior functionality of serif typefaces, Warde's uncommon use of language and carefully selected approach, is apparent.

The way Warde discussed typography was unique and vital to her influence, with frequent use of metaphor and figures of speech in her argument, and this was motivated by her literary upbringing and Lamberton Becker's manner of familiar communication with her audiences. Lamberton Beckers inspiration is also analysed in Chapters Five and Six, for supporting Warde's legacy making and her strategies for success using public relations. Knowledge of, and regard for, her audience was important to Lamberton Becker and became a focus that Warde inherited and applied to her work in the printing industry, apparent in her structuring of ideas and use of language. Warde's objection to the sans serif provides an opportunity to examine this use of language in her article 'BW Said'. Warde understood her audience and selected her language deliberately. Writing for 'printers, designers, art teachers and advertisers', she was addressing an audience with varied knowledge and experience of the industry and one that was familiar with existing typographic commentators' focus on historical and technical subjects using formal jargon.[72] Warde wanted her ideas to be easily understood and memorable, and consequently her language also became a matter of her gender. As existing commentators were mostly male, she was aware that for her ideas to be respected, her approach needed to 'stand out'.

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[70] Claire Badaracco, 'Rational Language and Print Design in Communication Management', *Design Issues*, (1996), pp.26-37.
[71] Warde, 'BW Said', p.10.
[72] Warde, 'BW said', p.9.

Her themes and words had to retain her audience's attention and consequently she linked her approach with accepted social and cultural norms as well as using humour and developing an individual, colloquial style. Her use of language originated in her spoken presentations which frequently transitioned to publication in journals, and this was the circumstance of her article 'BW Said'. Overall, her perspective in this piece, was rhetorical. She emphasised functionality, explaining not being able to understand 'the popularity of sans serif types in this age and generation when 'function' is supposed to be so important and 'sentimentality' so reprehensible'.[73] By sentimentality she was referring to an evocation of 1920s style, a period she saw as synonymous with the sans serif. With this historical example, she explained not being able to grasp any reason apart from a yearning for the past, for the sans serif to still represent the 'the spirit of the times'.[74] Any reader disputing Warde's position would consequently be interpreted as believing functionality to be unimportant.

With her opening words Warde established her position for the rest of this piece, going on repeatedly to reinforce her perspective in different ways. Initially her language and themes were technical, focussing on specific examples of words set in sans serif that had potential for confusion, including 'Illicit' and 'Illegible, words she purposefully selected to emphasise her views. Warde explained the sans serif was ineffectual and that her examples proved this by showing a capital 'I' and lowercase 'i' as 'indistinguishable' parallel lines.[75] She went on to object to a typeface that did not separate the style of certain Arabic numerals from capital letters as well as the disregard for the legibility provided by thick and thin strokes of serif typefaces, giving the example that sans serif faces made the capital Q indistinguishable from the capital 'O'; and the lower case 't' so unclear that the slightest spread would be seen

[73] Warde, 'BW Said', p.9.
[74] Warde, 'BW Said', p.9.
[75] Warde, 'BW Said', pp.9-10.

as a lower case 'f'.[76] Again, none of Warde's audience were going to be seen to disagree as this would be admitting to a lack of regard for legibility.

Warde was aware of the importance of the framing of her argument and her use of language in maintaining the attention of her audience; she moved on from her technical comments to use metaphor, flippancy and humour, an approach that was distinct to her professional idiolect. She frequently used this approach and metaphor to achieve an ease of understanding, to amuse her audience, to make them feel at ease and to encourage a consensus with her views. In this article she provided the analogy of the sans serif as representative of the 'Nudist Movement, which is so characteristic of 'our times'. Take something off, that's the great thing'.[77] Warde's idea was based on the story of *The Emperor's New Clothes,* which she explained as 'it's time [someone] stood up and said, paraphrasing Hans Christian Andersen, 'Sans serif hasn't got any serifs on!''[78] Warde was using an idiom, aligning the circumstances of the story, knowing it would be familiar to her audience, and again that they would not be in a position to publicly disagree. In addition, through her language, Warde wanted to be remembered and she was aware that there were no other commentators in the industry aligning typography with popular literature. She also knew that this approach would prompt her readers to discuss her words with others, thus perpetuating her ideas and presentation to a wider audience.

Taking her use of humour further and selecting a topic that linked to her gender, Warde's analogies continued. She joked that the sans serif became popular in the 'decade of the Boyishform Brassiere and all those devices which streamlined the feminine figure to a simple tube'.[79] Her language and example were again designed as a type of mnemonic, to amuse and to surprise, in a way that no other period or for

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[76] Warde, 'BW Said', p.10.
[77] Warde, 'BW Said', pp.9-10.
[78] Warde, 'BW Said', p.10.
[79] Warde, 'BW Said', pp.9-10.

that matter, contemporary male commentator would be able to do. As with the other thematic approaches of this article, this theme left little opportunity for reader disagreement.

Warde's next reinforcement of her ideas returned her language and focus to design history, paralleling sans serif letterforms with modernist furniture: 'It goes with that period of interior decoration when we were expected to put our warm hands down on cold chromium chair arms: who minds a little discomfort as long as we can make our furniture express the spirit of the machine age'. [80] In this case, she was selecting an example that would not have been experienced by her audience but one that again would have been memorable, easy to understand and indisputable.

To add credibility, her discussion moved on to connect her ideas with those of other leading figures in the industry. She explained why the sans serif designs of Gill were acceptable 'Gill Sans … is much nearer to classic roman and italic than any sans of German origin…and is by no means monotone…' [81] Warde gave a commercial example stressing the variety of weights available in Gill Sans, explaining this was why it was used by the British Railway system and that the London Underground, which had previously used Edward Johnston's sans serif, had 'abandoned sans serif in favour of special serifed…figures designed by Harry Carter and devised from Monotype Times New Roman'. [82]

Throughout this article the reader was given no opportunity to consider an alternative perspective. Warde deluged her audience with ideas on the sans serif, ensuring that her notions appealed through examples using historic detail, technical information, humour, references to leading industry figures and commercial outcomes. She was insistent, purposefully selecting approaches and language repeatedly to impress her

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[80] Warde, 'BW Said', p.10.
[81] Warde, 'BW Said', p.10.
[82] Warde, 'BW Said', p.10.

ideas on the sans serif to all in her audience. Readers had no avenue to respond and should they manage to voice differing views, these would have been seen as unsound and going against the need for effective commercial outcomes, functionality and legibility. This was the effect that extended throughout Warde's work; her views were insistent and pervasive throughout the industry and ideas that were at odds with Warde's were few and far between and would be seen as going against accepted wisdom.

As well as Warde, there were commentators whose views on typographic aesthetics saw the origins of modern typography as stemming from fine artists and constructivists, as well as from new principles of design in areas including furniture and cinema: 'The work of Picasso, Paul Klee, Matisse shows a freedom of concept and technique which is not related in any sense to the formalism and constructivism of artists like Metzinger, Léger, Baumeister… Present-day typography owes its vigour to both these streams.' [83] Tarr was one such commentator but he also complemented the design of Gill Sans and, like Warde, discussed the importance of design not overshadowing the message: 'Any disposition of printing material which, whatever the intention, has the effect of coming between author and reader is wrong'.[84] This piece is helpful in clarifying the ideas on typographic aesthetics that were prevalent during the early part of Warde's career and also the friction that existed, as well as indicating the stylistic consequences of her ideas.

Having discussed Warde's influence on typographic standards, and the ideas of other commentators on this theme, it is vital to examine the value of the aesthetics of type and typographic design within the twentieth-century printing industry. Twyman examines early reaction to the excesses of the Victorian period in this industry and

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[83] Tarr, 'What are the Fruits of New Typography?', pp.38-40.
[84] Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography.* p.39. This concept connects with the Crystal Goblet

stresses the place of Edward Johnston's (1872-1944) sans serif lettering for London underground and Johnston's influence on Eric Gill. [85] He emphasised the effect Monotype had on typography during this period, explaining that 'in this century the Monotype Corporation has taken over from type founders the role of principle patron and promoter of new type designs.'[86] Twyman's writing emphasises the aesthetically-influential position Warde occupied in her role as publicity manager for the Monotype Corporation , as she was ultimately responsible for the successful promotion of their typefaces. Twyman also discusses the typefaces and type foundries that developed in competition with Monotype, showing that there was indeed competition in spite of Monotype being the leader in the field.

Both Sparke and Light are essential to understanding Warde's public rejection of Modernism and endorsement of 'modern' aesthetics in typeface design. In the early twentieth century, women took diverse approaches to expressing their taste both personally and professionally. This extended from consciously or unconsciously accepting the ideas and attitudes of Modernism to totally rejecting them, or somewhere in-between: 'In their various capacities as designers, consumers, craftspeople and homemakers, women negotiated modernism and the modern in a variety of ways', with many developing their own interpretation of modernism. Known as 'conservative modernism', this is the approach that Warde adopted.[87] Light believes that conservative modernism: 'could simultaneously look backwards and forwards; it could accommodate the past in new forms of the present; it was a deferral of modernity and yet it also demanded a different sort of conservatism from that which had gone before.'[88] These ideas describe Warde's attitude and provide context for her aesthetic ideas on typography, which rejected Modernism in favour of modern

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[85] Twyman, *Printing,* pp.67-84.
[86] Twyman, *Printing,* pp.79-81.
[87] Sparke, *As Long As It's Pink*, p.99.
[88] Alison Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism, Between the Wars,* (London: Routledge, 1991). p.10.

typefaces that were either reinterpretations of historic typefaces, or said to be inspired by historic letter forms. In her article 'What Does Modern Mean in Typography?' without naming it, Warde explained her form of conservative modernism, giving her interpretation of the term modern: '[it means] more than 'contemporary'. It always implies that something has been superseded and for a special reason because the new thing works better, That is why it is such a fatal mistake to speak of the modern style in any art.'[89] She used examples, 'Litera Moderna', and the 'Eighteenth Century Modern Face' to highlight errors in type style-naming, explaining '[the term] modern designers and critics of aesthetics have adopted instead of the confusing 'modernism' is functionalism.'[90] Advocating tests to prove functionality was Warde's recommended way of discovering if an aesthetic approach to type and typography was modern or not.

In the trade press typographic aesthetics was a commonly addressed topic. Wildman, writing in *Penrose Annual*, was critical of the views of Beaujon and Morison, accusing them of remoteness from commercial necessity and of working in the past: 'Mr Morrison and his erudite contributors (for whom I have the greatest admiration) are only saved from boredom by having four hundred years of "past" to explore.'[91] There are few instances of commentators criticising Warde's ideas and work, and such pieces are helpful in providing a balanced view of her influence which is otherwise predominantly favourably portrayed. Another contemporary, Otto Bettman, mentioned mathematical forms of expression as the basis for modern letterforms, highlighting the work of Paul Renner and Jan Tschichold; he discussed radical changes in German typography as being greater than those taking place in Britain 'Revolution in German typography has been more radical. It reaches its results in

[89] B. L. Warde, 'What does 'Modern' Mean in Typography?', *Penrose Annual*, 38 (1936), p.45.
[90] Warde, 'What does 'Modern' Mean …', p.45.
[91] A.S. Wildman, 'Commercial Typography Five Years Hence', *Penrose Annual*, 31 (1929) pp.87-91.

daring raids… Germany may be called the country of typographical experiments.'[92]

In focussing on aesthetic approaches to type and typography that were different from those of Warde, Bettman highlighted an interest in alternatives to her ideas.

Although few, critics of Warde's ideas on typographic aesthetics did not 'mince their words' and Evans is one such commentator important for providing perspective. Without direct reference to Warde he was critical of her approaches to type and typography, using strong language to say that post World War One, typographic promise was not fulfilled: 'Typography has suffered an abortion. The promise of post-war years has disappointed us.'[93] Believing that typography should express the spirit of the time, Evans described the typography of the 1930s as supported by 'props of the past' and with metaphor said 'the food of historical tradition alone is an ill-balanced diet that ends in debility.'[94]

In America there were also ideas on modern typography that differed from Warde's. Rand described the history of typographic arts in the US as a struggle between tradition and modernity.[95] He credited the guidance of contemporary artists on his own design and typographic education as well as acknowledging the place of designers who were Warde's friends, but did not believe they had contributed anything new to the dynamic art of graphic and typographic design: 'One cannot deprecate the contributions made by such men as Goudy, Rogers, Dwiggins, Cleland, etc. To say, however, that any of these men is creative in the vernacular of the twentieth century is certainly an error of classification. For these men who are perpetuating the past, are in a sense, historians.'[96] In this piece Rand quoted a selection of other American designers working across the traditional and the modern,

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[92] Otto Bettman, 'Elements in German Typography', *Penrose Annual,* 32 (1930) pp.116-121.

[93] Bertram Evans, 'Typography in England 1933: Frustration and Function', *Penrose Annual*, 36 (1934) pp.57-61.

[94] Evans, 'Typography in England 1933, p.59.

[95] Paul Rand, 'Modern and Traditional Typography in America', *Penrose Annual*, 43 (1949) pp.19-20.

[96] Rand, 'Modern and Traditional Typography…', p.19.

giving their views on approaches to type in the US. His article highlights aesthetic friction between those advocating the use of 'modern' typographic styles and those in favour of the revivalist approach advocated by Warde and her network. Important to this research for providing perspective, there is an implicit criticism of Warde's typographic views and taste and Rand was one of the few in America going against the prevailing support for Warde's ideas.

In addition to highlighting those whose ideas differed from Warde's, it is also important to examine those who supported her views on standards in printing. In 'On style in Typography' Tarr discussed the consequences of the past and modern ideas on contemporary typography.[97] This piece examined differences between typography of book design and advertising, highlighting Gill Sans as a legible typeface and echoing Warde's views on its stylistic origin: 'Gill Sans is found to be the most legible sans serif letter because it is, in effect, an unserifed roman with thick and thin strokes and shapes that closely follow the traditional roman letter.'[98] This article emphasises interest in typefaces and typography during the 1930s and is significant evidence that Warde's aesthetic ideas were successful. Another contemporary, Robert Harling, examines the new typefaces of 1937, describing those by Monotype as 'bread and butter' necessities and he particularly praised Walbaum and Albertus: 'the very best type of the year is Albertus Titling, for the Monotype Corporation. ... It is brilliantly done, and, although quite traditional ... There are no concessions to twentieth-century novelty maniacs here: the whole fount has a unity that should make it useful for every class of work.'[99] Harling's article has particular relevance to this research because, without naming her, the author was complimenting Warde's

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[97] Tarr, 'On Style in Typography', pp.85-8.

[98] Tarr, 'On Style in Typography', *Penrose*, p. 88.

[99] Robert Harling, 'Necessities and Novelties', *Penrose Annual*, 39 (1937) pp.65-8.

aesthetic ideas as well as the effect of her promotional work for the Monotype Corporation.

As Publicity Manager, Warde acknowledged her stylistic recommendations as endeavours to influence the standards of typography which were 'designed to serve all the multifarious requirements of the industry'.[100] Embedding the Corporation's intent to achieve artistic and commercial benefit through the design and redesign of typefaces, Warde used detailed explanations of the historic origins of typefaces, the 'micro' detail of letterforms and the benefits of particular typefaces in contemporary use, to support her guidance.[101] An example of this comes from 1930 when, as Beaujon, she recommended Perpetua, designed by Gill. She described it as 'not a theoretical but practical type;…it results not from a designer's whim of the moment but from the experience gained in a hundred arguments with stubborn stone and metal and from the finest school of engraved lower-case we know – the gravestone inscriptions antedating 1820.'[102]

Warde reasoned that printing and typography were commercial assets 'help[ing] printed words to leap the twelve-inch chasm between the flat surface of the page and their destination in the reader's brain'.[103] She believed that the appearance of printed material transformed the reception of messages and affected commercial outcomes and consequently devoted an issue of *The Monotype Recorder* to explaining printing as essential to business: 'Suppose that a modern business man sitting down to his desk were to discover that every impression of printed type had vanished… If you were to tell him that a very few centuries ago… people got on quite comfortably without printing, he would ask you, "How?"' [104] Warde regularly discussed this topic,

[100] Beatrice, Warde, '50 Years of Type Cutting: A Policy Reviewed and Renewed', *The Monotype Recorder*, 39 (1950), p.1.

[101] Warde, '50 Years of Type Cutting…', p.11.

[102] Paul, Beaujon, 'Eric Gill: Sculptor of Letters', *The Fleuron*, 7 (1930), pp.27-51.

[103] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator', p.21.

[104] Beatrice, Warde, 'The Selling of Printing', *The Monotype Recorder*, 28 (1929), p.1.

which she also dealt with through displays of printed, commercial examples: 'look at these two wine lists… This gentleman… sells very little wine and no wonder. His competitor… does a roaring trade – but just look at the wine list. It is set in beautiful type.'[105] It is plausible that her strategy for influencing aesthetics using printed samples stemmed from her own experience at the ATF library, where she explored and was inspired by the library's content. When representing the Monotype Corporation, Warde travelled with suitcases containing printed samples produced with the Corporations typefaces and machines, whilst at the same time, gathering new ones.[106] 'Over 1000 samples of English printing which represent only a fraction of Mrs Warde's collection were displayed and discussed.'[107] The opportunity to attend her presentations was sought after and promoted in the press.[108] Warde was a pioneer; when exposure to design samples from international sources was limited and when there were no other printing commentators doing the same, her innovative approach was admired: 'At a special meeting of the … American Institute of Graphic Arts at the Government Printing Office, Mrs Beatrice Warde… spoke on the factors of good design … She illustrated her talk with many fine samples of typography and printing.'[109]

A clear example which emphasises the reach of Warde's ideas on printing aesthetics, is the series of before-and-after case studies of good design which she presented in

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[105] The Man on the Reef, 'World's Greatest Authority: Lively American Woman is true to Type' Unknown South African Newspaper, c. November 1957. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[106] Warde's Diary covers her travels throughout the east coast of the US. She describes having five suitcases and gathering additional Monotype print samples - printed books at 35 cents each. Beatrice Warde, '[Unpublished] Journal, Third instalment April 6th Thursday' c.1953. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[107] 'Mrs Warde, Typographer Speaks at RIT Meeting', p.1.
[108] 'Typography Expert to Speak'. Beatrice Warde, English Type Authority Tours U.S., *The Inland Printer*, June 1953, MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[109] Unknown Author, 'Beatrice Warde Speaks at the USA Govt. Printing Office on 'Typographic Design", *British Printer,* July-August 1950 (1950), p.30.

The Monotype Recorder .[110] Examples came from a Corporation exhibition which was displayed in London, around Britain and in 'thirteen American and five Continental cities' in 1952. [111] Warde highlighted how innovative and influential her showcasing practice was, explaining that her method had been adopted by other bodies, including the Council of Industrial Design: 'it offers a solution … whenever there is need to show the general public what typographic design means, what importance it has…and how it is working … in the service of every kind of organisation that uses the printed word' [112] She was confident in the effectiveness of her influential method and to bring this article, exhibition and approach back to her own designs ideas, explained that: 'An exhibition of current typography, should be first and foremost, a report on the ways in which the typographic renaissance has changed and improved the 'look of the printed word.'' [113] In collecting printed samples, Warde was also keeping abreast with changing typographic taste and ideas, at a time when changing ideas on aesthetics, focussed on progressing typography from serviceability to elegance.[114] Criticising Modernist design, Reilly looked forward to mid-century taste: 'modern design had shifted from formal clarity and geometric precision to a new and softer mood expressed in a greater fluidity of line and a more relaxed appearance.' [115] Reilly's view is relevant to this research as Warde had to keep abreast of changing aesthetic ideas, which were key to her typographic authority.

Warde had a new way of discussing printing in order to mould aesthetics and commercial outcomes and, as the only female commentator, her approach was made more evident. She united her followers and with an informal tone of voice and direct

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[110] Beatrice, Warde, 'Typographic Transformations', *The Monotype Recorder*, 39 (1952), pp.1-21.
[111] Warde, 'Typographic Transformations', p.1.
[112] Warde, 'Typographic Transformations', p.1.
[113] Warde, 'Typographic Transformations', p.3.
[114] Paul Reilly, 'The Maturing Taste of the Mid-Century', *Penrose Annual,* 48 (1954) pp.24-7.
[115] Reilly, 'The Maturing Taste of the Mid-Century', p.25.

address, focussed on topics relevant to their everyday concerns. Explaining that she had their best interests at heart, she took every opportunity to propagandise and advocate for the industry and consequently established devoted admirers. An example of this occurred in a special issue of *The Monotype Recorder* celebrating twenty years of typographic progress; dedicated to readers and printers, Warde flattered them for being the final arbiters of good taste in typography and in life as whole:

'TO THE READER OF BOOKS

FINAL ARBITER OF TYPOGRAPHY

UNCONSCIOUS CENSOR

OF ALL LETTER-DESIGN THAT IS UNWORTHY OF HIS GENERAL

STANDARDS OF GOOD TASTE IN LIFE AND LITERATURE.' [116]

She charmed readers as an influential group whose feelings and interests were respected and valued, proclaiming them loyal supporters of the industry and 'signed off' as their 'respectful servant'.[117] In this issue, Warde also explained there had been an increase in type consciousness and obfuscating her ideas, Beaujon advised on the choice of typefaces, giving examples from Monotype's catalogue.[118] In 1933 Beaujon's identity was for the most part unknown, but her pseudonymous 'alter ego' will have previously been encountered as a new, respected voice of the industry. Beaujon's identity is analysed in Chapter Six for its role in Warde's presentation as a scholar. Again, her advice used language that was uncommon in the industry but easy to understand: 'Type, the voice of the printed page, can be legible and dull or legible and fascinating, according to its design and treatment…what the book-lover calls readability is not a synonym for what the optician calls legibility.'[119]

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[116] Beatrice Warde, 'To the Reader of Books' *The Monotype Recorder*, 32 (1933), p.2.
[117] Warde, 'To the Reader of Books' p.2.
[118] Paul Beaujon, 'On the Choice of Typefaces', *The Monotype Recorder,* 32 (1933), pp.5-12.
[119] Beaujon, 'On Choice of Typefaces' p.5.

Interest in typeface design and standards in printing, in combination with mechanisation, and the consequential splintering of roles in the industry, resulted in existing approaches to printing education no longer being fit for purpose. During Warde's lifetime, printing schools superseded the apprenticeship system but ultimately proved short-lived. Warde recognised the value of an enlightened workforce and printing education became her main interest, providing a vital 'stage' for her ideas and professional success; a situation supported by the Monotype Corporation which 'had always believed that education was part of the service it could offer to customers.'[120] Her professional commentary was educational and in addition to working with printing schools, she guided the existing printing workforce, who were the product of an outdated educational system and ideas, a topic that is examined in Chapter Three which focusses on the context impacting Warde's career. Warde acknowledged the significance of these circumstances within her approach: 'As long as the printing trade abides by the apprenticeship system, every printing office has to be thought of incidentally as a school or training-centre'. [121] In this environment, through promoting the products of her employer, she ensured that, worldwide, her name and that of the Monotype Corporation became synonymous with education and good taste in design and typography. Skingsley emphasises the educational needs of the industry that Warde recognised: 'the number of apprentices allowed was in some cases so inadequate for the needs of an expanding industry that firms were compelled to look for additional recruits among those unapprenticed.'[122] The new printing schools and pre-apprentice training provide the background for understanding Warde's educational influence. One such school with which she was connected was the Birmingham School of Printing. An internationally renowned institution, the head of the School was Leonard Jay, friend of and devotee of Warde's

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[120] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.124.

[121] Warde, 'A New Inscription For A Printing School', p.19.

[122] Skingsley, 'Technical Training and Education …', p.25, 13.

work. Jay became a respected pioneer through his development of new approaches to education, which were established in parallel to Warde's professional growth. Archer- Parré discusses the development of Jay's innovative approach to pre-apprentice education and reveals the environment in which Warde became influential.[123] Recognising the importance of connections with the 'local printing trade [and helping] employers to understand the expectations and requirements of the industry' his courses were developed to serve this community and emphasised the value of good general education: 'the greater the improvement in materials and machinery the greater the need for more real, intelligent and enlightened craftsmen'.[124] There was initial resistance to Jay's approach from trade associations, which were clinging on to 'protectionism, obsolete traditions, a perceived loss of power and the refusal to accept … change'[125] Warde admired the Birmingham School of Printing and Jay's ideas which connected students and printing companies, and the School, like others, became a platform from which she promoted her ideas. In expounding his results she described them as 'some splendid page of which everyone could be proud'.[126] Jay facilitated Warde's access to printing apprentices and complimented her authority: 'There is not a school in the country which does not owe you a debt of gratitude for its existence today'.[127] To Jay, Warde was a leader of printers: 'I have often repeated that when the history of printing in the 20th century comes to be written… your name will illumine the pages and shine.'[128] Jay was not the only figure in the industry to extol Warde's educational influence. Moran also thought highly of her and saw her as 'the guide, philosopher and friend of many

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[123] Caroline Archer-Parré, 'Leonard Jay: A Pioneer of Printing Education', *Journal of the American Printing History Association*, (Winter 2017), pp.13-31.
[124] Archer-Parré, 'Leonard Jay…', pp.19, 20.
[125] Archer-Parré, 'Leonard Jay…', p.20.
[126] Archer-Parré, 'Leonard Jay…', p.26.
[127] Leonard Jay, 'Letter to Beatrice Warde [unpublished] 7 January 1963', Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A2/3.
[128] Jay, 'Letter to Beatrice Warde …'.

printing schools, not only in this country but throughout the English-speaking world'. He supported her as a leader, confirming his views by addressing them to others from the industry: 'no superlative [was] too great to use for the work of Beatrice Warde… I regard her career and her work as quite astonishing.'[129]

Warde described her interest in the education of apprentice printers as her hobby, and acknowledged the breadth of this audience, describing the mutual admiration she shared with apprentices: 'I must tell you a few things about the men that I have loved,…if I may call them children, the chaps between 15 and 20, the apprentices…It has all just been one collection of love affairs.'[130] Warde's impact on printing schools and students encouraged enthusiasm for the profession, extending to generations of apprentices and printing tutors. She was aware of this continuing effect, describing 'grandchildren', meaning a second corps of colleges benefitting from the knowledge of tutors that she knew.[131]

The origin of Warde's dedication to printing education is vital to this discussion. She credited Bullen with inspiring her commitment to the education of apprentices and paraphrased his explanation of the profession to apprentices as: 'I always tried to tell the young ones, the apprentices, that printing isn't just dealing with lead the way plumbing is and that pica-slinging isn't like putting meat on a hook at a butcher's: There's something more in it than that.'[132] Warde took on this responsibility, believing that: '[I] dedicated myself to the kind of propaganda which would leave a fairly noble impression on the minds of young people and which would inspire them

[129] James Moran, 'Introduction to Speech on the occasion of Warde's Sixtieth Birthday', 1960. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[130] Moran, Introduction to: Warde, 'Speech on the Occasion of her Sixtieth Birthday', p.3.
[131] 'The Wolverhampton School of Art and Crafts has recently made spectacular progress with its classes in typography under E. J. Gee, formerly a teacher in the Birmingham School.' Beatrice Warde, 'Training the Young Printer in Typography and Design', *Penrose Annual* 43 (1949), pp.37-8.
[132] Moran, 'Introduction to Speech …'.

to realise what a glorious thing they were doing by serving… the printed word.'[133] Warde also credited Bullen with encouraging her towards research topics for legacy making, an area examined in Chapter Five and also for providing the opportunity through her experience at the ATF library, of 'sealing' her reputation as a scholar, an area discussed in Chapter Six.

Warde's regard for printing education was evident and she was highlighted as a leader of apprentices who regularly addressed student groups: 'In shop or school, whoever is helping to fortify young blood with the regime of sound training is supplying something beyond price.' [134] 'Training in typographic design' explained the role and significance of a typographer, discussing full and part-time courses and their responses to the fragmentation of roles in the printing industry it highlighted the increasing demand for skilled designers with type and also revealed the circumstances of the educational environment in which Warde worked [135] This article stressed the value of good typographic taste to commercial outcomes, a notion that linked with Warde's ideas and highlighted her power. Her educational authority, focussed on raising standards in, and respect for printing as a profession whilst also emphasising the qualities of good printing and typography on outcomes, connected increased profitability through use of Monotype Corporation products. An example of her approach comes from *Penrose Annual*, where she wrote: 'machine-set jobs that played the game economically, and yet seemed to say to the printer: "Wouldn't we

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[133] Moran, 'Introduction to Speech …' p.7. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography'', pp.69-76.
[134] Warde, 'Training for Tomorrow…', pp.67-9. 'Progress in Printing Schools', *The Magazine of the Master Printers Alliance*, 1950, p.18. Warde is highlighted as a leader of printing apprentices, addressing students at Wolverhampton School of Printing and presenting prizes. Innes, 'Across the other side of the Equator', pp.68-70.
[135] Charles L. Pickering, 'Training in Typographic Design', *Penrose Annual*, 48 (1954), pp.64-7.

fetch a better price than usual, even though we cost no more?" The difference is in the design and choice of a good face.'[136]

Press articles on the newly fragmented areas of printing and typographic education proliferated, including a piece by Pickering discussing educational examinations for typographic design. This article asserted this level of study as higher than studies in general printing and composition: 'the compositor often attains the post of typographer - but only when he has included in his studies the necessary background of design, colour, illustration and draftsmanship'.[137] Without mentioning Warde, Pickering is noteworthy for supporting her ideas on the importance of typographic education and illuminating her beliefs on the value of typography; additionally this piece stressed the occupation of a new group in the industry which became her audience.

Helpful in showing the heritage, attitudes and environment of printing schools visited by Warde, Johnstone discussed 'the teaching of designers', focussing on the history of the Central School, listing eminent tutors of printing, bookbinding and other subjects and reflecting their contribution to high standards of education.[138] Johnstone particularly emphasised the importance of a close friend of Warde, Eric Gill, whose work was said to transcend multiple areas of teaching: 'By now, however, most authorities have come to the conclusion that Eric Gill was the most significant artist of his time.'[139] Highlighting the power of Warde's friends, an area that is also examined in Chapter Three as part of the context supporting her career and in Chapter Five as aiding her legacy making, this article confirmed her place within an educationally influential elite. It also discussed course developments, the adoption of

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[136] B. L. Warde, 'Apprentice Training in Typography: A New Movement of Great Economic Significance', *Penrose Annual,* 37 (1935), pp.34-7.

[137] Pickering, 'The Future of The Typographer', *Penrose Annual* 44, (1950), p.50.

[138] William Johnstone, 'Graphic Design at the Central School', *Penrose Annual* 47, (1953), pp.58-60.

[139] Johnstone, 'Graphic Design …', pp.59-60.

the term 'graphic design' and touched on reorganisation of pre-apprenticeship

training for day release students from industry in the expectation they would become

fine printers and creative designers.[140] Johnstone's writing spoke of the School's

achievements and supported ideas repeatedly made by Warde, including that the

quality of 'all-round' education, and recognition of the importance of high standards

and good taste, were essential in achieving necessary ambitious, economic outcomes.

This article stressed the degree to which Warde's ideas permeated printing education.

In addition to accounts of Warde's influence within printing education in Britain,

reports of her overseas visits evidence the spread of her ideas and educational

methods whilst emphasising the admiration and respect she received. 'TinType: The

Warde Story' highlighted her presentation to the New York School of Printing,

stressing her impact on printing schools and future printers worldwide: 'Mrs Warde

has for the past thirty years been extremely active in graphic arts education and has

visited printing schools in many parts of the world, including the Monotechnic

Institute of Melbourne, Australia. On her recent visit to the United States…she visited

Danbury, Toledo, Chicago and Yellow Springs.'[141] In *The Blab Slab*, the newsletter

of the Southern School of Printing in Tennessee, Warde's presentation on the

importance of learning through the exchange of ideas was described.[142] It discussed

her presentation on good taste in typography using models from printed case studies

featuring Monotype Corporation typefaces. This article illustrates Warde's approach

to influencing perceptions of typographic taste: 'I have here an exhibition tonight, a

few typical "before and after" pieces showing how something old-fashioned and,

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[140] Johnstone, 'Graphic Design …', p.60.

[141] Marshal Settel and Ivan Muscant, 'TinType: The Warde Story', *The Student Printer: The Newspaper of the New York School of Printing,* 22 (March 1960). MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[142] 'Forums, SSP Visit, Banquet' *The Blab Slab, a newspaper printed and published by students of the Southern School of Printing*, pp.3, 4, 15. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

from the readers point of view inefficient, has been replaced by something …

appetising and …legible. Here is the new famous contrast.'[143] These texts confirm

Warde's effect on printing education and taste- making, explaining the environment

of printing schools and the frequency and spread of her work, whilst emphasising

whom she affected and their admiration and respect for her ideas. Warde's

educational visits were part of her public relations skillset, a theme that is examined

within Chapter Six for its part in her strategy for success.

Having examined Warde's text 'Inscription For a Printing Office' earlier in this

chapter, it is important to recognise the influential potential she saw in developing

this piece for an educational context. In 1960 Warde wrote 'A New Inscription for a

Printing School', her response to the development of new, purpose-built printing

schools. [144] These included new facilities in the Monotechnic School in Melbourne

Australia, New York School of Printing, Birmingham School of Printing, Sydney

School of Printing and the anticipated new London School of Printing and Graphic

Arts. Accentuating her influence on the importance and profile of printing to present

and future generations of printers, she stressed the value of time to learn and 'perfect

invaluable skills' and, also emphasising the confidence gained from printing

education, she assured readers that it was worthwhile to study in a printing school in

preparedness for future careers.[145] Warde introduced a religious dimension to this

piece, stating printing schools were made of 'strong walls' as if like a temple and by

wishing students 'godspeed' on a glowing career. [146] Intended for the School of

Graphic Arts Printing School in Sydney, Australia and publicised in *the Monotype*

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[143] 'Forums, SSP Visit, Banquet', p.15. Warde's presentations on taste in typography are also reported in: 'Mrs Warde, typographer speaks at RIT.

[144] 'A New Inscription for a Printing School' was a reworking of 'Inscription for a Printing Office'. Warde, 'A New Inscription …', pp.19-21.

[145] Warde, 'A New Inscription …', p.21.

[146] Warde, 'A New Inscription …', p.21. Warde described the glowing career of printing as a 'sunlit road'.

Recorder, Warde gave permission for other printing schools also to use these words. Twenty-eight years after writing her first 'Inscription', Warde was reaffirming the value of her ideas in an educational setting, at a time when she was considered a veteran and about to retire from Monotype.

Warde also looked to further her educational authority through her position as editor of *the Monotype Recorder,* where a notable attempt to achieve this outcome was her effort to direct the way typefaces were spoken about. She recognised that an accepted vocabulary did not exist and through commissioning her friend Joseph Thorp to produce articles on a nomenclature of typefaces, she aimed to establish an enduring lexicon of terms.[147] 'It is unfortunate…that discussion of typefaces in …detail which would be most helpful to the technical and to the skilled professional has been seriously handicapped by the lack of anything like a working vocabulary.'[148] Warde explained previous attempts to create a recognised vocabulary for type but omitted to mention these were her own work: 'One is the long study of the Garamond types by Mr Paul Beaujon which appeared in the *Fleuron* Number Five, the other is the article which formed the special number of the MONOTYPE RECORDER, September-October, 1927, dealing with the work of John Baskerville.'[149]

This was a pioneering and 'lofty' ambition, that if successful, would associate Warde, the Monotype Corporation, and Thorp with future discussion of typefaces and typography. In addition it would support her legacy making ambition, a theme which is the focus of Chapter Five.[150] Using the reach of *The Monotype Recorder*, which she

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[147] J. M. Lee, *'Thorp, Joseph Peter (1873–1962), Journalist and Typographer,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2008 [cited 14 January 2019] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-74756>

[148] Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy', p.5.

[149] Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy', p.6. Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types…', pp.131-179. Beatrice, Warde, 'The Baskerville Types', *The Monotype Recorder,* 26 (1927), pp.3-30.

[150] Joseph Thorp, 'Experimental Application of A Nomenclature of Letterforms II', *The Monotype Recorder*, 32 (1933), pp.15-20.

knew was read by 'practically all students of typography in the English speaking world', Warde aimed to embed the nomenclature centrally in printing education: 'We feel that students of type design throughout the world – from the ambitious apprentice to those masters of typography who are honouring us with their present collaboration – will welcome the essay in typographic nomenclature'[151] In the introduction to the first article Warde, as editor, emphasised Monotype's responsibility, ensuring that readers judged this initiative and herself as considerate to the needs of the industry.[152] She used language to present herself as an advisor, expert and friend, articulating views that flattered readers for their discernment as 'designers and publishers to whom economy and efficiency were attractive, but only if they could be gained without sacrificing one single element necessary to good typography.'[153] Warde took six pages to explain her ideas, arguing that to understand and use typefaces it was imperative for technical and skilled professionals to have a vocabulary for discussion.[154] Throughout she was seen as a pioneer directing ideas and activity; creating pride in the industry, commitment to the Monotype Corporation and significantly, revealing herself as influential to this planned, crucial, element of typographic education. Learning from Lamberton Becker, who approached her own readers encouraging dialogue, Warde's piece ended with an invitation to readers to comment on the article. However, in later issues of *The Monotype Recorder*, there was no evidence of any discussion of the nomenclature which ultimately did not fulfil Warde's educational ambition and faded from attention.

The years post world war two provided an environment that was particularly significant to Warde's influence on educational audiences. The 1944 Education Act made it mandatory for local authorities to provide technical education for industry

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[151] Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy', p.6.
[152] Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy', pp.3-6.
[153] Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy' p.3.
[154] Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy' p.5.

where there was demand and, together with commercial pressures, this resulted in an expansion of printing education.[155] Warde was aware of these circumstances which provided the opportunity for her to expand her influence. Not only did she lecture to students but because of her reputation she also opened printing-school events and presented awards, events which were reported in the trade press. These occasions were also an indication of her audience and educational repute at this time: 'Mrs B.L. Warde of the Monotype Corporation will open an exhibition of the work of students… and will distribute prizes… Mrs Warde is well known to all who are interested in Typography and we shall be pleased to welcome anyone wishing to be present at the address.'[156]

Overseas printing schools saw her in the same way: 'Mrs Warde… has achieved in the field of publishing what few women have ever achieved: world fame' [157] The use of the term fame was apt and Warde thrived on the attention she received from these audiences. In the 1950s she went on her largest number of international visits for the Monotype Corporation. These tours included America in 1950 and 1953, and Australia and South Africa in 1957, where Warde had up to four speaking engagements a day with professional groups and printing schools.[158] These events confirmed the success of her work for the Monotype Corporation, as she had never visited Australia or South Africa before, yet through the regard for her articles for the Corporation she attracted large audiences. In devising speaking events, Warde was intentionally seeing and presenting herself as an important figure, addressing capacity audiences who were absorbed by her ideas and presence. To emphasise the importance of these circumstances, Warde commissioned photographs of herself engaging with groups. It is not known if or how she

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[155] Warde, 'The IPEX Educational Feature …'', pp.67-9. *UK Parliament* [online] The Education Act of 1944, 2022, [cited 15 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/educationact1944/> Education Bill, *Hansard* [online] [cited 15 July 2022]. Available from:<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1944/jan/19/education-bill>
[156] 'Progress in Printing Schools', p.18.
[157] Settel and Muscant, 'TinType:…', p.1.
[158] [Unpublished] 'Itineraries for tour of Australia 1957'.

used these images, but they confirm the make-up of her followers and also her intent to be seen as an authority and leader. [159] Warde's use of Photography for public relations and as part of her strategies for success is examined in Chapter Six.

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[159] Two photographs of Beatrice Warde speaking to a printing industry group in South Africa, 1957. MS823/3. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Two photographs of Beatrice Warde speaking to a printing industry group in America, c.1959. MS823/3. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

Fig 4-2 Beatrice Warde addressing a South African audience. 1957. MS823/3 CRL.

Fig 4-3 Beatrice Warde addressing a South African audience. 1957. MS823/3 CRL.

Fig 4-4 Beatrice Warde Addressing US audience circa 1960. MS823/3 CRL.

The photograph of her audience at a talk in South Africa emphasises her gender and, in what could have been an intimidating situation, Warde is captured at ease in this male-dominated environment. In photographs showing her address to an American audience, the situation is different, revealing her less formal approach to presentation to a group, who are more diverse in age, gender and dress. She is seen to be changing her approach depending on her audience.

Warde also had face-to-face meetings in the Monotype Corporation Publicity Office. She would verbally advocate for the industry, promote careers, and present Corporation promotional material that she had created.[160] Gruendler described these meetings: 'people in the initial stage of their careers … began their education by visiting the Monotype Publicity Office to meet with Warde … obtain …brochures and booklets. … corporate public relations became typographic education.'[161]

During the post war period, respect for Warde's educational ideas continued to grow and in 1960, on her retirement, the staff of British printing schools held a testimonial lunch for her.[162] She was presented with a map indicating the location of over eighty printing colleges in the country at which she had lectured.[163] This gift confirmed her broad educational resonance and signalled the admiration in which she was held. Printing tutors and their students were her dedicated followers and the map became an everlasting accolade, describing Warde as the 'Printing Schools' Philosopher and Friend'.[164]

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[160] This has been endorsed in a conversation with 'Printer A' who described, as a young person visiting the Monotype publicity office, speaking to Warde, being presented with corporation publicity, and consequentially being inspired to take up printing, initially as hobby and then professionally.
[161] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.250.
[162] The lunch was held at the Hotel Russell on 10 June 1961.
[163] The map was drawn by calligrapher Heather Child (1911-1997). Nicolas, Barker, 'Obituary: Heather Child,' *Independent* [online], 1997, [cited 30 March 2020]. Available from
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-heather-child-1258901.html>
[164] Barker, 'Obituary: Heather Child.*'*

Fig 4-5 Map of Printing Schools of Great Britain presented by them to Beatrice
Warde 10 June 1961. Map by Heather Child. 9817 C3 ULC.

Warde continues to be respected and to have educational relevance, circumstances which are endorsed by Gruendler and Kinross. Gruendler reinforces the concept that Warde was influential to students: 'instigating discussions… [she wanted] people to deliberate ideas, whether historical or contemporary and believed debate to be a characteristic lacking in both the professional and the educational printing and typographic environments.' [165] Kinross confirms her educational audience as achieved through 'propaganda' for the Monotype Corporation where: 'in the hands of Beatrice Warde…[Monotypes] publications and its exhibitions were a powerful source of education. Monotype became the medium through which several generations of printers and typographers learnt about the practice and… the history of their subject.'[166] Warde's educational influence led to her building a considerable legacy in this area, a theme which forms part of Chapter Five.

Warde's Anglo-American status intrigued her educational audiences and was an important factor to her influence, on which she capitalised overall. An Anglophile, shaped by British culture, she worked for an Anglo-American company, frequently traversed the Atlantic, and as a result she straddled the two cultures. Audiences in Britain were interested in her as an American woman, whilst Americans were curious about her British connections and knowledge. Throughout the period of Warde's career, British perceptions of America and Americans were for the most part drawn from Hollywood. Warde was aware of this situation and used self presentation and image-making in a way that linked to the style of Hollywood personalities. This is an approach that is discussed in Chapter Six, as part of her control to ensure success. Her Anglo-American status had a considered bearing upon who she influenced, as she was able to capitalise on this position, commissioning images of herself purposefully to emulate film-star glamour. Nicholas examines what Britons knew about early

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[165] Shelley Gruendler, 'The Crystal Goblet as a Teaching Tool', in *The Education of a Typographer*, ed. by Steven Heller (New York: Allworth Press, 2004), pp.98-100.

[166] Kinross, *Modern Typography,* p.65.

twentieth century America, its society and culture, through the analysis of American coverage in the British media and thus provides insight into audience attitudes to Warde: 'by the mid-1930s, … the aping of film stars, and the prevalence of American slang among the young, had been identified as a key marker of the cultural power of the movies. According to the Daily Express in 1927: 'The bulk of our picture-goers are Americanised…They talk America, think America and dream America.' [167] Warde's Anglo-American status undoubtedly broadened her audience, but the extent of Anglo-American exchange in interwar-Britain is open to question. The decline of the British Empire and rise in the prosperity and prominence of America were of concern to areas of the British media creating potential alternative responses to Warde: 'In Britain in the 1950s both Left and Right mounted a crusade against what they took to be the 'Americanization of British Culture, the culmination of a deep sense of anxiety that had been growing exponentially since at least the 1920s.' [168]

Waters examines what was meant by Americanisation, which areas of culture and society were Americanised and also what commentators of the time thought of this influence: 'critics of Americanization focused…[on] the role they played in the presumed decline of cultural standards ... [and] the need to protect 'taste' from being debased, 'discrimination' from being undermined, individuality from being rendered null and void.' [169] No evidence has been found suggesting that these notions had ramifications for Warde but nontheless, these ideas provide perspective on the potential consequences for Warde's cultural authority.

Warde's Anglo-American position became especially significant during World War Two, when her promotion of printing, an important focus of her power, was reliant on

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[167] Siân Nicholas, 'American Commentaries: News, Current Affairs and the Limits of Anglo-American Exchange in Inter-war Britain', *Culture and Social History*, 4 (2007), pp.461-79, 462-3.
[168] Chris Waters, 'Beyond 'Americanization': Rethinking Anglo-American Cultural Exchange Between the Wars,' *Culture and Social History*, 4 (2007), p.451.
[169] Waters, 'Beyond 'Americanization'…' pp.451-2.

her international experience and connections. At this time a distinct genre of writing emerged that shaped and increased Warde's audiences. Focussing on informing Britons about America, its culture and people, its intent was to correct misconceptions. Important for emphasising how interested in America Britons were, Street's *U.S.A. at Work and Play* is an example of this genre, discussing the nature of Americans and describing their everyday lives: '[An American] …had his wife and the children; his home, a white clapboard bungalow equipped with an electric washing machine and refrigerator; he had a steady job, a car… and perhaps even owned a few acres of land and a cabin on some quiet lake in the wilds.' [170] Street explained the origins of US traditions and covered themes including equality, education, government and literature. In his foreword Newell praised Street's book for making a 'unique contribution to Anglo-American understanding': 'Mrs Street presents the Americans as they are, not as over-zealous propagandists would like us to be or as Hollywood has sometimes made us out to be.'[171] As close friends and fellow Americans, Street's title would have been known to Warde, emphasising her awareness of British interest in America and Americans, a situation that was to her professional advantage in broadening her British audience; likewise, American's interest in Britain was also to Warde's advantage. Sources including books, newspapers and films were informative about British life and culture. This interest was emphasised in 1942 when, in preparation for life in England, the US War

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[170] Alicia Street, *U.S.A. at Work and Play* (London: Cassell, 1942). This book was also republished by in 1943 by the Right Book Club, an organisation founded by Christina Foyle to counter what she believed to be the dangerous influence of the Left Book Club. Foyle published titles on Conservative and Liberal topics.

[171] Professor Arthur Franklin Newell, was an expert in international relations who founded British American Associates. An American he came to Britain 1931. During World War Two he was joint Chairman of the London International Assembly, and broadcast in American Commentary on the BBC Overseas service. He founded and was the first President of the American Outpost and also first President of Books Across the Sea and The Kinsmen.
Obituary 'Professor A. F. Newell, British-American Relations' *The Times* 59633 (1976), p.16.
Street, *U.S.A. At Work and Play*, p.vii.

Department distributed *Instructions for American Servicemen in Britain*.[172] Wide-ranging guidance included advice on manners and behaviour and warnings against comparisons of scale and affluence: 'England is a small country, smaller than North Carolina or Iowa. The whole of Great Britain… is hardly bigger than Minnesota. England's largest river, the Thames (pronounced "Tems") is not even as big as the Mississippi when it leaves Minnesota.'[173] It provides insight into the limited knowledge and expectations that Americans had of Britain and its people, which consequently increased interest in Warde and broadened her U.S. audience.

In 1946, having previously written on America for Britons, Street published *The Land of the English People,* a companion volume for Americans on British life and culture.[174] As close friends, Warde and Street shared ideas and perspective on Wartime circumstances and the importance of the printing industry in this situation. This endorsed Warde's recognition that in America there was an appetite for learning about Britain and its culture and this would provide an opportunity for her to broaden her audience.[175]

In addition to books on Britain, high-profile newspaper columns by British writers were popular in the US and inspirational to Warde; they included 'Mrs Miniver,' by Jan Struthers and 'Letters from London' by Molly Panter-Downes.[176] Mrs Miniver

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[172] *Instructions for American Servicemen in Britain,* (Washington D.C.: War Department, 1942).

[173] *Instructions for American Servicemen*, p.9.

[174] Street, *U.S.A. at Work and Play.* Alicia Street, *The Land of the English People* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1946). *The Land of the English People* described the British countryside, its people and gave a brief overview of the country's history from Roman times.

[175] In an interview with Professor Dick Ellis, in the Warde Archive at the Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham University, Alicia Streets comments that her book on life in Britain was in all American School libraries. The interview took place c. 2000. 'Interview with Alicia Street' [Filmed Interview].

[176] Mrs Miniver,' was originally a column in *The Times* of London, a 'Book-of-the-Month Club' bestseller in America and a 1942 it became an Academy award-winning film starring Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon. Jan Struther, *Mrs Miniver* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1941). The film 'Mrs Miniver' was a 1942 romantic wartime drama inspired by Jan Struther's book. It was distributed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, winning six academy awards. Mollie Panter-Downes, *Good Evening Mrs Craven: The Wartime Stories of Mollie Panter-Downes* (London: Persephone Books, 2008).

was a fictitious account of an allegedly, ordinary British housewife, symbolising armies of women maintaining homes and families whilst playing their role in the war. Panter-Downes' narrative captured conditions of wartime in Britain, again from a female perspective and sometimes with journalistic precision. Through observation of this genre, Warde developed an appreciation of the popularity of women diarists and their power and importance for informing Americans about Britain. Thus she saw the potential to disseminate her own ideas in this manner, increasing her own effect on American audiences. Warde's own letter-based narrative from wartime Britain was published by Lamberton Becker in her newspaper column and then as *Bombed But Unbeaten: Excerpts From The War Commentary of Beatrice L. Warde.*[177] It increased Warde's US reach and highlighted her ideas on the challenges of influencing audiences, emphasising her awareness of the circumstances: 'All writing for publications means addressing unknown people in the dark; the writer of books for sale talks (if he's wise) to himself and people pay to eavesdrop; the writer of stories for magazines writes for whatever public is known to like that sort of thing; but the writer of advertising copy writes *at* people who are known not to like that sort of thing. So he becomes extremely conscious of his audience.'[178] This comment highlights Warde's heightened awareness of creating her influential position.

In addition to being a diarist, wartime was a crucial period for Warde, as she extended her international reputation, and it became the period on which her post-war approaches and ambitions were based. Through BAS she was embedded in a broader area of publishing and, during wartime, working for the society and for other charities, she advocated for the importance of printing to freedom of speech and cultural understanding. Those individuals and organisations she 'reached' during this period were geographically, professionally, and demographically diverse.

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[177] Warde, and Standard, *Bombed but Unbeaten*.
[178] Warde, and Standard, *Bombed but Unbeaten,* p.viii.

Run by volunteers, the society's book recommendations were debated and selected at public meetings and, as the founder, Warde's vision was influential. Sharing and endorsing her respect for the importance of printing, twenty-nine honorary councillors were 'selected for their knowledge, contacts and respected positions' in America and England.[179] Warde used this network to further the aims of society, reinforce the spread of her ideas and raise the regard for printing and books in particular. The group included Pulitzer prize-winners, Nobel prize-winners and politicians and, in 1943, the writer and publisher T.S. Eliot, one of the most important twentieth-century literary figures, became the second President of the society in Britain.[180] He corroborated Warde's ideas and reinforced the influence of BAS, emphasising the value of books for affirming: '…cultural understanding between countries, which is in the long run, more important than politics.'[181] Poore understands the importance of Eliot's Presidency as 'one of the most material expressions of his trans-Atlanticism', a notion which also emphasises the extent of Warde's authority.[182] BAS Honorary councillors are listed in the Appendix.

Emphasising the extent of Warde's achievement, by 1945 the BAS collection comprised over 2,000 books in America, housed within Columbia University Library, and 2,750 books for adults and children in London, located in the society's reading room.[183] Combined membership including the public, authors, publishers and librarians, was 2,000 and, despite the ending of the War, the society continued to

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[179] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', pp.286-7.
Honorary councilors were respected in areas including literature, printing, politics and culture.
[180] Bush, *Eliot, Thomas Stern*.
[181] T. S., Eliot, 'Books Across the Sea', *The Bookseller*, (26 August 1943), MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[182] Benjamin Poore, 'Notes from the Archive: T. S. Eliot and the Second World War,' *The Times Literary Supplement* [online], 2015 [cited 24 September 2018] Available from:<https://www.the-tls.co.uk/notes-from-the-archive-t-s-eliot-and-the-second-world-war/>
[183] 'The Latest From Books Across The Sea Society in England' (London: Books Across the Sea, October 1945). MS823/9 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. In both countries these were the only available copies of each title.

expand. [184] By 1978, nine years after Warde's death, BAS's popularity and continued

respect for her ideas, were being reported in the press as having increased society

membership to 70,000 in 160 branches worldwide.[185] In the US, publications

including the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Wilmington Morning Star* and the

Washington D.C. *Evening Star* published pieces on the aims and work of the

society.[186] British national newspapers - which, by 1949, had some 16,000,000

readers - including the *Daily Telegraph*, *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times,* were

also reporting the activities and aims of the society and consequently disseminating

Warde's influence.[187] Warde's work for BAS was also part of her presentation as a

scholar, a theme that is highlighted in Chapter Six.

During war time Warde was convinced that the printing industry was essential to, and

powerful in, engaging Britons and Americans in 'an intellectual war...'. She believed

a 'central authority' [should] take responsibility for mental mobilisation'. To extend

the reach of her ideas she lobbied governments and intelligence services, informing

them about BAS and her notions of the importance of printing. [188] Forging contacts,

Warde kept records of favourable comments from leading figures in the British

Ministry of Information, including Brendan Bracken, Mary Agnes Hamilton and

Elmer Davis, Director of the US Office of War Information: 'As victory over our

enemies becomes more certain each day, it becomes more important that we build a

[184] *British Books for March Selection,* (London: Books Across the Sea, 1942)*,* MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[185] 'International Exchange: Books Across the Sea', *Unknown Newspaper,* (1978)*,* MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[186] Willa, Martin, 'Quizzical English Hear about U. S.', *Wilmington Morning Star [North Carolina],* (6 March 1945), p.6. Phillip, Love, H., '*Just between Ourselves', The Evening Star,* (4 May 1947), section B, p.8.

[187] '*Books Across the Sea', The Daily Telegraph,* (12 June 1944), p.4. 'Books Across the Sea', *The Manchester Guardian,* (12 April 1947), p.6. 'Index [Advertisement of BAS Event]', *The Times,* (4 May 1943), p.5. Beatrice, Warde, 'Books Across the Sea: "Ambassadors of Good Will"', *The Times,* (2 January 1942), p.5.

[188] Warde, 'Books as Ammunition'. Beatrice, Warde, 'Letter to Professor Arthur Newell', June 3 1942*,* MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker and Books Across the Sea', p.292.

secure and stable post-war world. Certainly, the efforts of such groups as yours can contribute much towards this end.' [189]

In describing the first AGM of the society, Holman confirms the extent of Warde's influence on British intelligence: 'Indeed, the new Head of the American Division of the Ministry of Information was invited to its first AGM, and those involved read like a 'Who's Who' of the book world in the 1940s…chaired by the American … Beatrice Warde, members included Chester Beatty, Walter Harrap and Stanley Unwin.' [190]

Warde's political connections and international authority were at the highest level. In 1946 when BAS became part of The English Speaking Union, an international charity increasing communication and understanding through the English language, a public reading room dedicated to the collection was opened in South Audley Street Library, Mayfair, and through her connections, Warde secured Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962) as a speaker at the event.[191] *The Times* reported that at the event: 'Mrs Roosevelt said

[189] 'Extracts from Supportive Letters on the Activities of Books Across the Sea', c.1943, MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. This quote is from Mr Elmer Davis, Director of the US Office of War Information. Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …', p.292. J., Tomes, Bracken, 'Brendan Rendall, Viscount Bracken (1901–1958), politician and publisher,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [online]: Oxford University Press, 2008, [cited 27 July 2022], available from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32020.> Janet E. Grenier, 'Hamilton, [Née Adamson] Mary Agnes (1882–1966), Politician and Broadcaster,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2007 [cited 30 October 2019] Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-39455>

[190] A British government agency, The Head of the Ministry of Information, American Division was Mary Agnes Hamilton (1882– 1966). Hamilton was a former Labour Member of Parliament for Blackburn, who endorsed the aims of BAS. Grenier, 'Hamilton, [Née Adamson] Mary Agnes (1882–1966) Politician and Broadcaster'. Valerie Holman, *Print for Victory: Book Publishing in Britain 1939-1945* (London: British Library, 2008), p.133.

[191] The English Speaking Union was founded in 1918 by Sir Evelyn Leslie Wrench (1882-1966). Alex May, 'Wrench, Sir (John) Evelyn Leslie*,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2009 [cited 25 August 2017] Available from : <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37031>. Warde, Beatrice, 'Dear Colleagues in America' [Letter], 1946. MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

she did not think there was any better way to know each other than through books'.[192] Roosevelt also connected reading books with the aims of the United Nations and in so doing endorsed Warde's ideas on the value of respect for printing. Throughout her working life, Warde appreciated the value of being located within supportive, influential networks, and members of her network in the printing industry are analysed in Chapter Three for their championing of her career.

An aspect of Warde's wartime experience that prepared her for working with and influencing printing apprentices, was her work with children. In 1941 she established the BAS scrapbook exchange. The exchange was announced in the *New York Herald Tribune*, as produced by those who wanted to 'hurt Dr Goebbels [whilst doing something for] …the British [who] would like very much to know what the real America is like'.[193] In the *Scholastic*, an American high school, weekly magazine, Warde explained why the making of scrapbooks for exchange with a British school was an important part of fighting Nazi Germany: 'It's within the power of every citizen over 7, to strike a direct personal blow at the most dangerous man in Germany – not the squalling Hitler, but Dr Joseph Goebbels whose scientific methods of "mind-warfare" are the real "Secret Weapon" of this war.' [194] She highlighted Nazi attempts to divide allegiances and foster distrust, explaining that doing nothing did not alter Nazi plans but that those who fought back, encouraging understanding, communication and respect, would consequently derail Nazi ambition.[195]

Warde's writing in *Scholastic* had a powerful effect and it was circulated to 400,000 US students as an aid to classroom study. [196] Lamberton Becker wrote regularly for

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[192] 'Books Across the Sea: Mrs. Roosevelt on A Valuable Tie', *The Times,* (1 February 1946), p.7.
[193] The scrapbook exchange was unpublicised until 1943, for fear of overstretching transatlantic post. 'Schools Show American Life in Scrapbooks' [press article] *New York Herald Tribune,* 11 July 1943, MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[194] Warde,'United We Stand'.
[195] Warde,'United We Stand'.
[196] Warde,'United We Stand'.

the magazine and became editor, and Warde was introduced as her daughter, a link intended to extend her credibility and authority. Warde's article attempted to reassure rather than frighten and her idea of a scrapbook exchange explained books as weapons. She described them as ambassadors of goodwill and understanding in a time of paper shortages in England when books were needed to foster understanding between Britain and America and to bring each nation to life for the other. Warde said that wartime circumstances delighted Goebbels: 'but he wouldn't be so glad to hear that your school, and some similar school in England had each formed a "Books Across the Sea" group and were exchanging goodwill gifts of books that explain America to Britain and *vice versa*.'[197]
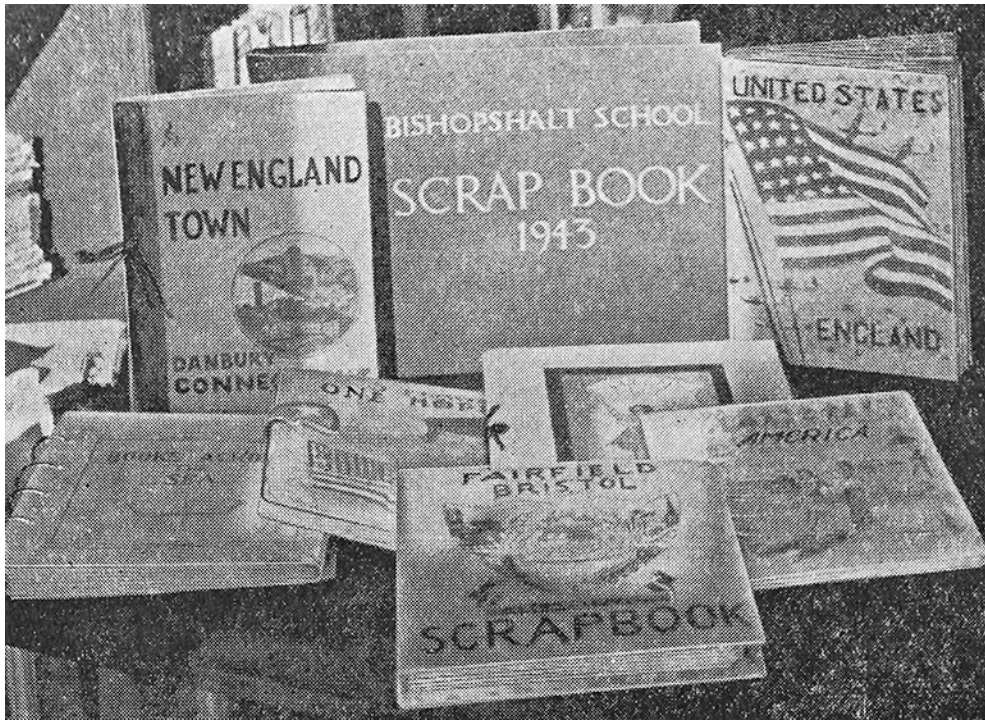
[197] Warde, 'United We Stand'.

Fig. 4-6 Books Across the Sea Scrapbooks, featured in *News From the Outpost,* April 1944. MS823/17 CRL.

By 1943 forty Schools across America, including North Central High School Spokane Washington, West Seattle High School, and Newton High School Queens, New York, were involved and books were also referred to as 'handmade' books which 'vividly portrayed the day–by-day scenes of life at home and at school and national holidays'.[198] By 1945 news of the exchange had spread and was gaining popularity. In conjunction with Messrs Roy Publisher in New York BAS held an annual competition for the best school scrapbook written and compiled by 'juvenile ambassadors' with the winner to be published, and there were also plans to exhibit scrap books in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[199] In addition to educational value, children's scrapbooks helped Warde publicise BAS, using quotes from scrapbook compilers to stir emotions and elicit support. These quotes also confirmed Warde's achievement through this initiative: 'Boys and girls of England: we the pupils of junior high school 45 send you this book. We know that even if England is 3500 miles away from the United States in distance, it is not more than a few inches from our hearts.'[200] Asking for scrapbooks in return, the pupils of Junior High School 45 described their book as token of a love and friendship, wanting it to have a permanent place and value in England. In creating these books, children across America and Britain became Warde's army of child followers, each promoting the value of printing and books to foster understanding in a time of war. Post-war, on return to the Monotype Corporation, this experience had ramifications for Warde's work with the apprentices on whom she had a similar 'hold' and who also became disciples of her ideas.

The aim of this chapter has been to investigate what professional influence Warde held, through examination of her effect on the profile and standards of the printing

[198] Beatrice Warde 'Books Across the Sea' [presentation], Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux, [ASLIB] 1945, MS823/17. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
[199] Barbara Bonner, 'The Latest from BAS' p.2.
[200] Unknown Author, The Latest from BAS Society in England, p.2.

industry and through study of the audiences she affected and the circumstances of her reach.

The outcomes described in this chapter have revealed that Warde worked for the Monotype Corporation during a successful period in its history, occupying a distinctive place as a woman in an elite position in British industry. These were the circumstances which stimulated interest in her ideas, providing her with a platform and a variety of audiences. Revealing a changed perspective of her prominence, it has been found that to extend her position Warde used her unique ideas, including her clothing, to communicate with her audiences, a strategy that supported her success, and a discreet theme examined in Chapter Six. Through this method she created visual figures of speech with biblical connotations to signal her leadership and to indicate that her audiences were her followers. This was a new approach in the printing industry and made possible by her gender and through her public relations abilities, themes that are also analysed in in Chapter Six.

Knowledge of Warde's relationship with and reliance on the press to support and endorse her leadership is an outcome of the research for this chapter. Secondary sources have verified that reports in the press were seen as an indication of her being influential and having followers. This new knowledge has been found to be vital to understanding Warde, as throughout her career she employed press clippings agencies to provide evidence of her influence. What has been learnt in this chapter is that Warde was not just content to address audiences but she also valued the evidence of her impact and reach. The extent of reports of Warde has also come to the fore through this research, as during her working life, the British were regarded as the greatest newspaper readers in the world. This research also underlines that press curiosity centred on Warde's gender, stimulating the reports of her activities. Consequently it is debateable as to whether Warde would have achieved the same influence had she been a man.

Warde was reported and respected for raising the profile of printing and this research has confirmed this as an objective she aimed to achieve. She set out to promote her employer using the opportunity to tell Monotype users that their profession was respected and essential, messages that were popular and indisputable. This approach, importantly, had the additional effect of increasing Warde's influence and it has been revealed that Warde designed her texts with this outcome in mind. 'Inscription For a Printing Office' and her work for BAS have been discussed as examples of Warde's endeavours to raise the profile of printing; the first from within the industry and the second from outside, in Britain, America and ultimately worldwide. Through founding the Anglo-American book exchange, BAS, to counter fascist ideas, Warde was able to raise the profile of printing, speaking of it as imperative to freedom of thought, democracy and learning about others. This period is also revealed as significant for being the only time frame during her working life when gender was not a factor affecting Warde's influence. In these circumstances she was raising the profile of printing for political ends and books became her weapons of war. This is a new area of Warde's influence which has arisen from this research. Through BAS she was found to influence the public in Britain and America, and her audience also included children and senior figures in publishing, politics and government. This period has also been found to be significant for stimulating her post-war influence, as at the end of the war her impact through BAS continued and had bearing on her return to work in the printing industry in 1945, increasing her ambition to reach wider audiences: 'Spreading the gospel… She was an evangelist for the written and printed word…writing in …periodicals, lecturing all over the world and becoming in particular the darling of the printing schools.'[201]

This chapter has highlighted that, during the years leading up to Warde's career, women were regarded as purveyors of taste particularly in domestic settings but

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[201] Moran, Beatrice Warde, p.69.

Warde was still a curiosity dealing with style in industry. Aesthetics were a topic that was central to her influence and one which she paralleled with enhanced commercial outcomes, creating an indisputable argument to affirm her impact. Warde's stylistic influence and guidance in the printing industry is an area where knowledge has changed as a consequence of this research. A new area which is disclosed in this chapter links Warde's Catholic beliefs to her professional aesthetic guidance, revealing a new perspective on her motivation and consequent typographic influence. The research shows that Warde belonged to a network of important typographic commentators whose religious beliefs corroborated hers and impacted their work and influence in the printing industry. Warde selected her language carefully, rejecting modernism but argued that modern typography equated to functionality for commercial outcomes. Not all Warde's efforts to influence aesthetic considerations were successful and her attempt to instigate a nomenclature for typography, permanently linking her name with the way letterforms were discussed, was one such failure. This research has also found examples of commentators disagreeing with Warde's aesthetic views, but her ideas and those of her network formed the basis of her influence and were, and continue to be impactful with, up until this point, little questioning of her motivation for this guidance.

Warde the Revivalist, her ideas on the sans serif, her place as a 'conservative modernist' and her use of printed examples to showcase 'best stylistic practice' have been examined as part of her efforts to mould attitudes to aesthetics in the industry. She '[rationalised] the functional aspect of design' arguing for enhanced comprehension as essential to commercial outcomes.[202] 'Inscription for a Printing School', her relationship with printing schools as well as her use of *The Monotype Recorder* as a platform for her educational ideas, have been highlighted as vital to Warde's guidance of printing education, ultimately providing a way for her to 'touch'

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[202] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator', p.5.

generations of printers. Despite being discussed discretely, the three aspects examined in this chapter are interconnected. Warde created an atmosphere in which she repeatedly reinforced her ideas and, consequently, her aesthetic and educational influences contributed to her raising the profile of printing as an important profession in the twentieth century. Warde's involvement with printing education is long established and has been regarded as an altruistic as well as a professional activity, disseminating her employer's ideas and representing good practice in the industry. The findings of this chapter provide a new perspective on her motivation for this area of her activity, that of spreading the priorities of her Roman Catholic religion under the guise of educational outcomes. Warde's presentation as a religious woman is an area examined in Chapter Six for being an aspect of her presentation for success

Exploring the reach of Warde's ideas, the subject of this chapter has gone beyond printers and printing apprentices, two previously-acknowledged areas of her authority. The significance of her Anglo-American status is also an outcome analysed in this chapter, as an identity that she consciously used to create curiosity and to extend interest in her ideas. The previously unresearched area of her wartime experience also has a bearing on existing knowledge, for extending the spread of her ideas about the importance of printing beyond the industry, whilst also increasing her post-war ambition to reach a broader cross section of audience.

5. BEATRICE WARDE'S LEGACY

Beyond archives and awards the term legacy maker is interpreted as an individual believing that the story of their life, ideas and accomplishments will create a heritage of significance and influence for present and future generations. Without examining the circumstances, previous research has for the most part, assumed that Warde achieved a legacy that is significant to printing and typography. The aim of this chapter is to establish if legacy making was important to Warde, and its purpose is to reappraise the circumstances of legacy making in her life. The objectives of this chapter are to examine the origin of Warde's legacy making ambition and how she approached this activity. Additionally, they include an investigation of any instances that question the rigour of her legacy as well as investigating the circumstances of unsuccessful legacy making attempts made by Warde.

This chapter investigates topics including Warde's writing which is long-believed to have formed part of her heritage, as are her ways with language and her use of publication, which she believed transcended time and place. Accounts of the intellectual environment of her childhood and role models of this time are discussed for revealing the origins and inspiration of her legacy making ambition. The circumstances and justification of her legacy, together with contemporary evidence of the continued respect she was afforded after her death, are analysed in this chapter. The previously unexamined areas of Warde's envisaged use of memoirs and life writing, her intended development of literary and personal archives, and the academic discussion of these areas, are also studied for their relevance.

The value of Warde's legacy stems in part from her regard as a pioneering, high-achieving woman within the printing industry whose identity and notions had, and

continue to be regarded as having, cultural significance.[1] Prior to Warde, writers on the industry focussed on historical chronologies and techniques, with accounts invariably written from a male perspective by those directly involved with the industry. In the late 1920s, coming from outside the industry Warde established a legacy based on the reflection, framing and interpretation of ideas in a fresh, unfamiliar voice that became important for helping to change the way type and typography were discussed. In taking this approach, she became, and continues to be renowned as a typographic proselytiser, who proclaimed the professionalisation of the printer whilst encouraging new generations to value the profession.

Support and inspiration for Warde's legacy making came from sources including the press, her parents, the educational environment of her youth and leading male figures of the printing industry.[2]

Honorary memberships of professional bodies were a factor supporting and evidencing Warde's legacy. The most prestigious awards of professional societies were given to recipients like Warde who occupied significant roles and who provided distinguished service to the industry. Evidence of the esteem in which the award-holder and their ideas were held, these memberships provided tributes, and in Warde's case, elevated her significance. Her honorary memberships included the Wynkyn De Worde Society, The Institute of Advertising Managers Association, the British Direct Mail Advertising Association, the St Bride Printing Institute (where she was a Governor), The Society of Typographic Designers, the Typophiles (New York)

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[1] Warde's biography is part of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* a research project bringing together biographies of culturally significant historical figures.

[2] 'Pioneer in a Man's World' *The Times*, 10 February 1964, p.13. Unknown author, 'Clear, Legible Writing Urged: Type Authority Here',. The Man on the Reef, 'World's Greatest Authority: Lively American Woman is true to Type'. 'Expert Cites Value of Good Printing', *New York World Telegram and Sun*, 28 May 1953. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

and the Society of Typographic Arts (Chicago). Warde was also an honorary Fellow of the Institute of Public Relations.[3]

During her early life in New York, Warde's environment was filled by familial role models and she saw the establishment of a personal and professional legacy as customary behaviour for an ambitious woman. Dreyfus's interview with Warde reports her ambition as consequential to parental inspiration, particularly emphasising Lamberton Becker's skills as a communicator with a considerable legacy.[4] Gruendler also discusses the role played by Lamberton Becker and Emma Lamberton in inspiring Warde's legacy. Speaking of *Little Girls and Boys Stories*, a book written and produced by Warde circa 1908-10, Gruendler highlights Warde's emulation of her mother's approach to professional writing, as well as her awareness of the potential legacy value of this work.[5] She believed Warde had knowledge of these factors, including recognition of the value of book layout and formatting, made visible through 'excellent replica[tion] of a book with fictional quotes and blurbs, … amusingly advertises[ing] 'other stories by the same author''.[6]

Through press highlights, Warde would have been aware of other authors' acclamation of Lamberton Becker's legacy: 'I was told that "Adventures in Reading" was to be used as a text-book.' [7] The achievements of her mother, grandmother and father signalled that professional ideas and attainment resulted in influential legacies

[3] 'A Tribute to Beatrice Warde', *Printing World*, September 24, 1969, p.346. James Moran, *A Handlist of More Important Writings of Beatrice Warde Paul Beaujon with Brief Biography compiled by James Moran* [typescript], p.6. MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[4] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', p.69.

[5] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.9-10.

[6] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.10.

[7] Bertha E. Mahony, 'May Lamberton Becker and Her Adventures in Reading', *The Horn Book,* (1928), pp.9-12, MS823/6. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

that Warde herself aimed to achieve using similar methods, including writing, public speaking, publishing, education and performance.[8]

The support Warde received from influential, male figures in the printing industry inspired her legacy making. This was an unusual situation, as not only were these individuals encouraging the career of a woman in a male-dominated industry, but they were also facilitating the publication and dissemination of her ideas and proclaiming her notions as important. These figures including Morison, Updike and Jay discussed in Chapter Three, are relevant to Warde's legacy, which would not have been established in industry without their support. Bullen is another figure of importance to Warde's legacy and Dreyfus records his professional encouragement of Warde's legacy making. Recollecting a conversation with him, Warde herself credited his revealing the potential of a subject through which she went on to establish a legacy linked to the typeface Garamond: 'this is definitely not a sixteenth-century type… [and that] Anyone who discovers where this thing came from will make a great reputation.'[9] In these uncommon circumstances, Warde could not fail to believe that she was creating an important legacy.

Leaders in the printing industry ascribed various titles to Warde: the 'High Priestess of the Classical Typographical Renaissance', the 'most important woman in the printing industry in the world' and the 'Leading Lady of Print'; however it is as the 'First Lady of Typography' that she is best known.[10] This title had multiple meanings.

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[8] Basbanes, *Every Book It's Reader*, pp.1-6. Basbanes discusses Lamberton Becker's following and legacy. Dreyfus, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde The First Lady of Typography', p.12. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71. In Dreyfus's article in *Penrose Annual*, he quotes Warde's description of her parent's influence on their individual fields. The extent of Emma Lamberton's educational legacy is highlighted in obituaries after her death in 1933. 'Mrs Lamberton Dies, Educator and Traveler'.
[9] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71.
[10] The Atlanta Printing Group crowned Warde Queen of Type in 1953. Unknown, 'Beatrice Warde Captivates Capacity Audience', p.3. Dreyfus, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde the First Lady of Typography'. Unknown author, 'BP Gallery 3' p.59. Mansbridge, Mullen, 'Alumni Abroad…', pp.13-4. Unknown author, 'Birthday Greetings to Beatrice Warde' p.71.

Primarily, the name symbolised Warde's unique position as a woman and the respect she commanded for her communication abilities and advocacy for the industry. It also indicated her American heritage, echoing the title given to the wives of a U.S. heads of state, who as First Ladies were regarded as: 'active public communicators…[who] utilize public discourse, the media and writings…[to] impress their image on the public conscience' which, it can be argued, is the service Warde performed for the printing industry.[11] First Ladies were considered among the most powerful individuals in the U.S. and the world and, during Warde's professional life when women's rights were in their infancy, their power was remarkable.[12] The title also represented the importance of her ideas, an interpretation which has been maintained by scholars of the printing industry. Warde was flattered to be regarded as the First Lady of Typography, which to her was a statement of her unique position and achievement.

Since Warde's death, perceptions of the importance of her legacy have been endorsed and perpetuated through the establishment of high-profile awards bearing her name. The Governors of the St Bride Foundation Institute, an important educational, social and cultural organisation for printers and students of printing, commemorated Warde through the formation of the 'Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture Fund'. The Institute describe Warde as a 'prominent woman contributing to our understanding of type design history' and used a public appeal to fund an annual lecture as a permanent reminder of the legacy of Warde's contribution to typography.[13] Speakers were to be

Allan, Haley, *Typographic Milestones*, (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2008) p.127. Ina Saltz, *Typography, Referenced A Comprehensive Visual Guide to the Language, History, and Practice of Typography*, (Beverly MA.: Rockport Publishers, 2012) pp.16-7.

[11] Myra Gutin, 'Using All Available Means of Persuasion: The Twentieth century First Lady as Public Communicator', *The Social Science Journal*, 37:4 (2000), pp.564-75.

[12] Robert P. Watson, 'The First Lady Reconsidered: Presidential Partner and Political Institution', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 27:4 (1997), p.805.

[13] 'The Annual Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture,' St Bride Foundation [Online] 2019, [cited 2 November 2020]. Available from: <https://www.sbf.org.uk/whats-on/view/the-annual-beatrice-warde-memorial-lecture/>

a: 'Typographical authority of international standing…[they would be] keeping fresh the memory of Beatrice Warde but also adding to our fund of knowledge', as Warde herself had.[14] The appeal was made by thirty-nine leading figures from the industry and other prominent individuals connected to Warde, including: Nicolas Barker, Brook Crutchley, John Dreyfus, Sir Francis Meynell, Jan Tschichold and Sir Cyril Burt. The approach testified to the importance of her legacy and the reputations of those who launched the appeal were used as validation and enhancement.[15] The lecture remains prestigious, taking place annually, supporting the continued value of Warde's legacy.[16]

Established for the same outcome, the Beatrice Warde Scholarship is run by the Type Directors Club, awarding a tuition scholarship to a winning female undergraduate student for excellence in typography. In promoting the scholarship, Warde is described as having 'championed education in typography and, through her numerous essays, books, articles, and lectures, spread understanding of type…. Beatrice Warde's dedication and enthusiasm for typography during her career at Monotype is still widely admired'[17] Both organisations perpetuate the legacy of Warde as a leading woman in the industry and those engaging with these events are associated with her legacy, signalling their respect for the First Lady of Typography.

After her death, the mainstream and trade press were also important proclaimers of Warde's legacy:'the depth and breadth of her involvement in every facet of the

Documents on The St Bride appeal for the Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture Fund, Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9814.

[14] Draft documents for The Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture Fund Appeal. Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9814.

[15] The first Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture was given on 31 March 1971 by Bror Zachrisson, speaking on 'The Education of a Printer'.

[16] In promoting the 2019 Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture, it was said that 'Beatrice Warde is an exceptional example of a prominent woman contributing to our understanding of type design history'. 'The Annual Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture,' St Bride Foundation [online] 2019.

[17] 'A Tribute to Beatrice Warde', p.346. 'Beatrice Warde Scholarship Competition,' The Type Directors Club [online]: 2020, [cited 14 July 2020]. Available from:< https://www.tdc.org/news/2020-beatrice-warde-scholarship-competition-open/>

printing industry has secured her place in its history'; the same sentiments were expressed in *The Times* and *The Monotype Newsletter*.[18] However, it was the *British Printer* that announced most emphatically that Warde's legacy through printed writings would live on forever: 'Death has robbed us of her vital presence but her vivid phrases are immortalised by Gutenberg's invention'[19]

Confirmation of Warde's legacy continues, emanating from those who write and talk about her achievements, although for the most part it is based on information originating from Warde herself. She is respected for determining the direction of much twentieth-century typography and printing, for framing typographic concepts and for her influence on typographic and graphic design theory.[20] Additionally, national records and collections include items on Warde and thus perpetuate the importance of her legacy. These include the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB] and The National Portrait Gallery [NPG], London, where her photographic portrait forms part of the collection.[21] These records acknowledge her as an important woman whose identity and work has significance beyond the printing industry. The ODNB is a record of over 60,000 figures who 'shaped British history and culture, worldwide, from the Romans to the 21st century'.[22] To be included in the ODNB, individuals are nominated by scholars and experts, a process acknowledging cultural significance and legacy and a similar outcome is achieved through Warde's portrait

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[18] 'A Tribute to Beatrice Warde', p.346. Dreyfus, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde The First Lady of Typography', p.12. Hutt, 'Beatrice Warde …', p.18.

[19] James, Moran, 'Beatrice Warde: A Personal Tribute', *British Printer,* November (1969), 67, MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[20] John Dreyfus first described Warde as the First Lady of Typography: Dreyfus, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde the First Lady of Typography', p.12.

[21] Gruendler, 'The Crystal Goblet …', pp.98-101. Papaelias, 'New Wardens', pp.30-7. Irwin, 'Fine Typography…', p.91. Glaser, 'Warde (*née* Becker), Beatrice Lamberton Becker (1900-1969)'. 'Beatrice Warde (1900-1969), Authority on Typography,' National Portrait Gallery [online], 2017 [cited 28 February 2017]. Available from <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp96752/beatrice-warde?search=sas&sText=beatrice+warde&OConly=true>

[22] 'About', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [online]: Oxford University Press, [cited 8 June 2020]. Available from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/page/about;jsessionid=15DF65C3F22650D35447C4F72FEDF33B>.

held in the NPG.[23] Jaffe examines the structure of the NPG in affirming the legacies and reputations of those captured in its portraits. These ideas are important for not only understanding the legacy attesting value of Warde's image within the NPG but also for affirming the value she placed on the creation and use of imagery. [24] Founded in 1856 the NPG was 'to promote through the medium of portraits the appreciation and understanding of the men and women who have made and are making British history and culture.'[25] Its success was seen as dependent on the fame of its subjects and a motion for 'forming a gallery of the portraits of the most eminent persons in British history' was tabled in the House of Lords; a factor which, ultimately confirms Warde's significance and legacy.[26] Jaffe confirmed that portraits were: 'Valued…for their implied connection with the sitter, their capacity to represent lived identity as once experienced first-hand… [and] the best portraits are the ones that best frame their subjects as objects of worship'.[27] Warde's portrait was by the eminent photographer Howard Coster and after his death in 1959, his archive became part of the NPG's collection.[28]

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[23] 'Beatrice Warde (1900-1969), Authority on Typography,' National Portrait Gallery [online].

[24] Aaron Jaffe, *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). pp.169-75.

[25] 'About Us: Who We Are' National Portrait Gallery [online], [cited 8 June 2020]. Available from <https://www.npg.org.uk/about/>.

[26] Forming a Gallery of Portraits, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates* 140 (January-March, 1856).

[27] Jaffe, *Modernism*, p.172.

[28] 'Beatrice Warde (1900-1969), …,' *National Portrait Gallery* [online].

Fig. 5.1 Beatrice Warde Beatrice Warde (1900-1969), Authority on Typography,

1956, portrait by Howard Coster, National Portrait Gallery.

Warde appreciated the value of photographs in the establishment of her legacy and in commissioning Coster, she was 'purchasing' a place in his archive. Warde was guaranteeing that through the placement of this portrait, she would make a connection with viewers in perpetuity and that as a result her identity, status and legacy would be confirmed.[29] An additional relevant factor raised by Jaffe is that the criteria establishing the NPG collection did not require examination of the legitimacy of the sitter's renown.[30] This detail supports the presentation of Warde's legacy, as through inclusion in this collection her status was unquestioned.

Warde was aware that printing was a significant factor supporting her legacy. Shillingsburg's exploration of texts transcending time and place presents reasons for her adoption of a career in the industry as essential to personal promotion and legacy making, as Warde believed that notions presented in printed form would transcend time and 'carry forward, as in the current of a river, the accumulation of texts from the beginning of recorded time to the very recent past.'[31] Printing transcending time was a theme that Warde highlighted, and examples can be drawn from her texts on Monotype calendars where she described printers as having 'wrought enduring pages', as well as her introduction to *Five Hundred Years of Printing* which is also redolent with this notion: 'Printing – graphic communication by multiplied impression – will go on as long as civilization goes on ....printing is the safer (and of course speedier) way of getting messages in to people's heads through their eyes.'[32] In these comments Warde was expressing certainty that her ideas would be enduring,

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[29] Terrance Pepper and Susanna Brown, 'Coster, Howard Sydney Musgrave (1885–1959), Photographer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 28 September 2006 [cited 14 October 2019] Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-62983. >

[30] Jaffe, *Modernism*, p.173.

[31] Peter L. Shillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google: Electronic Representations of Literary Texts*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.12.

[32] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator', p.49. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, p.8.

and presenting herself as important to generations of printers, if not within wider culture too, revealing the intentional nature of her legacy making. In her draft memoirs Warde discussed this topic, explaining that humans had been 'taught to freeze the perishable sounds of words into little black marks that can travel safely through time'.[33] Her planned legacy making through the printing of her ideas included the development of *The Monotype Recorder,* within which her position as editor guaranteed her a platform for publication. Warde became the editor in 1927, reshaping the journal to promote the Monotype Corporation but also for self-promotional purposes.[34] As it grew in popularity the publication became collectible, being read and re-read, establishing a printed legacy to be passed on and promoted to future generations of readers.[35] Typographic commentators agreed that: '[Monotype] constantly put the highest ideals of typography before the world's printers and publishers by means of an enlightened publicity programme, the chief feature of which was the *Monotype Recorder*.'[36] Articles that were highlighted as part of Warde's legacy included 'The Book of Verse' and 'Recent Achievements in Bible Typography'.[37] Her ideas were described as: 'so rich and varied in colour, so logical and precise in definition, so meaningful and imaginative in metaphor. They are perfectly fitted to clothe the wealth of ideas which shot through her mind like rays of the sun, illuminating the everyday scene for all to see.'[38]

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[33] Beatrice Warde, [unpublished] 'Writings to Sir Cyril Burt about Memoirs'.
MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[34] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator', p.7.

[35] The popularity, availability and resale of 'back copies' of *The Monotype Recorder* was discussed in: 'The Monotype Recorder', *The Monotype Recorder*, 39 (1949), pp.1-2. 'Publications', *The Monotype Newsletter,* 94 (June 1973), p.11. Warde described developing the *The Monotype Recorder* to become a collectable, scholarly publication in: Warde, 'I am a Communicator', p.7.

[36] Ruari McLean, *Modern Book Design* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), p.46.

[37] Paul Beaujon, 'Twentieth-Century Problems in Print (4): The Book of Verse', *The Monotype Recorder,* 35 (1936). Beatrice, Warde, 'Recent Achievements in Bible Typography', *The Monotype Recorder,* 37(1938).

[38] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator', p.6.

In 1970, less than twelve months after Warde's death, the significance of her legacy was emphasised in a special edition of *The Monotype Recorder* devoted to her work. 'I am a Communicator', an edited compilation of extracts from her most celebrated writings and talks, served as a memorial to Warde and her work.[39] Acclaimed for part republication of her legacy pieces, it contained forty-four of her articles and talks regarded as of continuing importance. This issue of *The Monotype Recorder* remains sought after, emphasising and perpetuating Warde's legacy and success.[40]

The ability of printing to transcend time was a theme that Warde also interpreted in exhibition form, as panels used at 'Printing and the Mind of Man'. Part of the Eleventh International Printing Machinery and Trades Exhibition [IPEX], a 1963 show at the British Museum and Earls Court, it was devised to emphasise the pivotal nature that printing and type played in the development of western civilization. Although not formally credited as part of the organising committee, Warde played a significant role in the planning and organising of the exhibition. IPEX, was the largest trade fair of its kind and guaranteed that Warde achieved the widest reach.[41] Exclaiming that 'Printing will stand alone through the centuries to come as the Gateway to the Freedoms of the Literate mind,' Warde justified the power and benefits of printed material as being that the reader could revisit, reconsider or challenge whenever they liked.[42] In these panels not only was Warde referring to her ideas on printing enduring but she was referencing the value of the printing industry and her legacy.

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[39] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator'.
[40] Warde/Beaujon, 'I am a Communicator'.
[41] *Printing and The Mind of Man*, (London: Messrs F.W. Bridges & Sons Ltd. and The Association of British Manufacturers of Printers' Machinery (Proprietary) Ltd., 1963), pp.7-9. Warde, 'The IPEX Educational Feature …', pp.67-9.
[42] *Printing and The Mind of Man*, p.58.

A text that must be acknowledged in this chapter as the most well known within

Warde's legacy, originated as a speech she gave to the British Typographers Guild.[43]

Known as 'The Crystal Goblet' it has become the most widely quoted and

paraphrased texts on typography of the twentieth century and is applauded as 'the

single most famous pronouncement on type'.[44] Its educational legacy remains of

value and it is praised in two chapters of *The Education of a Typographer*.[45] In 'Fine

Typography: Is it relevant? How can it be taught?' Irwin paraphrased Warde's

definition of fine typography and typographic taste from 'The Crystal Goblet',

commenting that typography 'transforms the act of reading into an aesthetic

experience'.[46] In 'The Crystal Goblet as a Teaching Tool' Gruendler also recognised

this continuing legacy, stating that '…what the 'The Crystal Goblet' does is inspire

dialogue and provoke reactions which is surely one of our primary goals in studios

and classrooms.'[47] The text became the most referenced and arguably influential of

Warde's ideas on typographic style, discussed by commentators and accepted as good

practice: 'The basic object of a book typographer… is to present the thoughts of an

author without being noticed.'[48] In acknowledging that 'The Crystal Goblet' is

significant to Warde's legacy, this research has importantly revealed the value of this

piece to her presentation for success as a religious woman and, therefore, it is a theme

which is analysed within Chapter Six.

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[43] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.104. Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography*.

[44] Simon Garfield, *Just My Type*, p.63.

[45] Steven Heller, *The Education of a Typographer,* (New York: Allworth Press, 2004).

[46] Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography*. Terry, Irwin, 'Fine Typography: Is It Relevant? How Can It Be Taught?', p.91.

[47] Gruendler,'The Crystal Goblet…', p.100. Gruendler believes that 'The Crystal Goblet' has been constantly mentioned in the printing, typographic and design communities, since its publication. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.132, 196.

[48] *'Fit to be Styled a Typographer: A History Of The Society of Typographic Designers 1928-1978',* (London: Westerham Press, 1978), p.21. Raymond, Roberts, *Typographic Design*, (London Ernest Benn Ltd, 1966), p.95. Garfield, *Just My Type*, p.63.

Lamberton Becker was a significant influence on Warde's approach to legacy making.[49] As a popular writer, who had intended to write her memoirs, Lamberton Becker believed that her publications were her heritage providing an enduring, valuable legacy, a notion that Warde mirrored.[50] Couser's writing on memoirs is helpful to understanding why Lamberton Becker and then Warde intended this form of expression as support of their legacy.[51] He highlights the idea that 'The essence of memoir is to make identity claims' and suggests that '…in writing one's life one may bring a new self into being', concepts which are relevant to Warde's presentation for success.[52] This work also has relevance to another intended purpose of Warde's memoir, 'Among the other things a memoir can do that fiction cannot is to immortalize.'[53] To aid her planned memoir, throughout her life Warde assembled documents, both professional and private, with the intent of establishing an archive and on retirement she began writing and discussing her ideas with her friend Burt.[54] To be named *Mrs Warde and Gentlemen,* and published through Chatto and Windus, her memoirs were intended as an enduring account of her life and work written from her own perspective, whilst the title highlighted her gender in the context of the printing industry.[55]

[49] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.10.

[50] Lamberton Becker, *Adventures in Reading (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1927),* pp.5, 10, 11. Also influencing Warde's ambition, her grandmother, Emma Lamberton attempted to create her own published memoir: Unknown author, 'Mrs Lamberton Dies, Educator and Traveler'.

[51] G. Thomas Couser, *Memoir: An Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Ultimately, neither of these memoirs were published.

[52] Couser, *Memoir*, pp.13-4.

[53] Couser, *Memoir*, p.14. Catherine Hobbs, 'The Character of Personal Archives: Reflections on the Value of Records of Individuals', *Archivaria,* 57 (2001), pp.126-35.

[54] Couser, *Memoir*, p.13. Letters to Burt and notes for Warde's memoirs are located in MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[55] In her correspondence with Burt, Warde mentions publishing her memoirs and sending him ideas and drafts for discussion. There are undated letters and notes in MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'Pioneer in a Man's World', p.13. Warde's memoirs were not completed due to her unexpected death in 1969.

Warde identified as a culturally important person and strategised to support this perception, and 'recording' her life and ideas became part of her professional activity. Her collected documents, although not used in her intended memoir, ultimately contributed to archives including the Warde Archive at CRL and Stanley Morison collection at Cambridge University Library, and is an area examined in Chapter Two which focuses on the methodology of this research. An outcome that would have likely surprised Warde, was that her collection at the CRL was gifted primarily for its significance to American and Canadian studies, rather than her legacy linked to the printing industry.[56] The strongest evidence of Warde's identification and presentation as a legacy maker, her desire to write her memoirs and intent to establish a personal archive also stressed that potentially, as the creator of her own archive, Warde was seeking 'to highlight certain aspects of …[her] life or career and to conceal or downplay others' [57]

In stressing the successful identification and presentation of Warde's legacy, it is important to acknowledge her legacy making failure, in particular, her endeavour to become an innovative authority on the psychology of typography.

By the 1950s commentators on the printing industry had increased and, instead of being seen as a pioneering expert within a small network, Warde became a veteran within a larger group. At similar stages in their careers, Sir Cyril Burt was considered a veteran psychologist, when previously he too had been a pioneer with an important professional legacy.[58] Warde's interest in psychology stemmed from her classes in

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[56] The Beatrice Warde Collection at the Cadbury Research Library is listed in their Library Services as being of interest to those studying American and Canadian Studies. 'Library Services, Cadbury Research Library' [online] University of Birmingham, 2020, [cited 19 June 2020]. Available from: <https://libguides.bham.ac.uk/subjectsupport/specialcollections/AD>

[57] Gruendler, describes that after Warde's death Nicolas Barker arranged a donation of some of her papers to Cambridge University Library. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.246. Jennifer Lynn., Douglas, '*Archiving Authors: Rethinking the Analysis and Representation of Personal Archives*' (University of Toronto, 2013), pp.209-10.

[58] Mazumdar, 'Burt, Sir Cyril Lodowic (1883–1971), psychometric psychologist and eugenicist'. Hearnshaw, *Cyril Burt Psychologist*, pp.200-1.

this subject at Horace Mann School and Barnard College, and in Burt she found a kindred spirit, someone else who self-identified as, and was considered, an expert and with whom she also shared an interest.[59] Both in part maintained their profiles through publishing their own work in the journals they edited.[60]

[59] Warde, [unpublished] '*Writings to Sir Cyril Burt about Memoirs*'.
[60] Warde had published her own writing in *The Monotype Recorder*, Burt in the *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, which he edited.

Fig 5.2 Beatrice Warde with Sir Cyril Burt circa 1959. MS823/6 CRL Right to left:

Beatrice Warde, Cyril Burt, unknown individual.

In 1955, Burt published his own paper 'A Psychological Study of Typography'.[61] It had not received attention from the printing industry and provided Warde with the opportunity of reconnecting with her pioneering, industry position whilst also establishing a legacy linked to psychology and typography, and benefiting Burt.[62] Using her Monotype Corporation budget Warde funded the publication of *Psychological Study of Typography* through Cambridge University Press. The book covertly promoted Monotype typefaces and overall aimed to create a new and important area of study within the industry, for which she and Burt were responsible and would become known as pioneering experts.[63] Warde emphasised the importance of this work: 'A new 'study' has been opened to research, and this time it is going to correspond accurately with that practical section of the arts in which typographers have to 'apply psychology' to the making of what they are paid to make – not printed pages but effects on the minds of readers.'[64] In 'The Reader and the Printed Word', a review in the *British Printer* of the *Psychological Study of Typography*, she described Burt as 'one of the greatest philosophical psychologists of this century'.[65] Of the book, Warde said: 'it would be hard to find so much varied information about typographic history, practice and science in any other conveniently accessible volume on the printer's bookshelf today.'[66] Of the index, compiled by John Dreyfus and

[61] Cyril Burt, W.F. Cooper and J.L. Martin, 'A Psychological Study of Typography', *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, 8 (1955), pp.29-56.

[62] Burt, Cooper and Martin, 'A Psychological Study …', pp.29-56.

[63] Beatrice Warde, [unpublished] 'Letter to Sir Cyril Burt 17 April 1957'. MS823/10 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. In this letter Warde confirms that she, on behalf of the Monotype Corporation is making an application for Burt's permission to publish a new edition of *A Psychological Study of Typography* with Cambridge University Press. Warde also instructs Burt on how to refer to The Monotype Corporation in his book, so as not to infringe the registered trademark. 'In confirmation of our telephone conversation this morning I now make formal application for your permission that we should put in hand a new edition of 'A Psychological Study of Typography', to be published at Cambridge University Press at our expense.'

[64] Beatrice, Warde, 'New Light on Typographic Legibility', *Penrose Annual,* 50 (1956), p.55.

[65] Beatrice Warde (written anonymously), 'The Reader and the Printed Word a Review of a *Psychological Study of Typography* by Sir Cyril Burt', *British Printer*, 72 (1959), p.61.

[66] Beatrice Warde, '*A Psychological Study of Typography* by Sir Cyril Burt. Introduction by Stanley Morison' [Unpublished typescript]. Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 B13.

supplied without any credit to the Monotype Corporation, she said: '[it is] the rearguard of honour to this first scientific investigation of any field of typography' [and] 'The front guard of honour is provided by a learned and pungent eleven-page Introduction by another Fellow of the British Academy, Stanley Morison.'[67] In extoling the work of her friends and emphasising their important status, Warde was also proclaiming, by association, her own expertise within an important group of experts. She also went on to emphasise that never had such a combination of internationally famous individuals worked together on an important work for printers. In reviewing the *Psychological Study of Typography* herself, Warde was aiming to support her desired legacy in this area.

In 1957 whilst on a publicity visit to Australia and South Africa, speaking at printing schools and to professional groups, Warde wanted to disseminate the importance of the *Psychological Study of Typography.* Prior to the tour she wrote to Burt on this topic: 'If you can get the main part of the copy to the printer by the end of May, it ought to be possible for me to have copies to present to the various institutions that I shall be visiting in Australia and South Africa.'[68] The opportunity to address audiences allowed Warde to attempt to establish an expertise and legacy in this area. However, after these efforts and the initial abundant reviews*, Psychological Study of Typography* faded from the limelight. Neither it, Warde or Burt achieved the degree of anticipated attention and repute and she wrote to Burt expressing disappointment

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[67] 'John Dreyfus', *The Times*, (8 January, 2003) available through: <https://link-gale-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/apps/doc/IF0500451961/TTDA?u=tou&sid=TTDA&xid=c0ef572d> [accessed 31 December 2019] (p.27). Beatrice Warde, [unpublished] 'Letter to Sir Cyril Burt 17 April 1957', In MS823/10. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. In this letter Warde confirms that an index by John Dreyfus for the Monotype Corporation would make a useful addition to *A Psychological Study of Typography.* Dreyfus was the typographic advisor to the Monotype Corporation. Warde, (written anonymously), 'The Reader and the Printed Word a Review of a *Psychological Study of Typography* by Sir Cyril Burt', p.61. Warde also wrote a review of '*A Psychological Study of Typography*' in *Penrose Annual*. Warde, 'New Light on Typographic Legibility', pp.51-5.
[68] Warde, [unpublished] Letter to Sir Cyril Burt 17 April 1957.

and trying to account for this situation: 'But the educational world does seem to me to show, by and large, a greater degree of ignorance of the look of the printed word.'[69]

This chapter has aimed to establish the role of legacy making in Warde's life and, through research using primary and secondary, sources it has affirmed the value she placed on her professional heritage for present and future generations. The objective of this chapter looked to reappraise this aspect of Warde's life through establishing the origin of her legacy making ambition, how she approached this task and if she was always successful in this attempt.

Evidencing a changed perspective, Chapter Five refreshed ideas on the circumstances of Warde's legacy. Research on the background of Warde's early home and educational environments is a new finding. Filled with legacy making role models, this environment speaks of the confidence instilled in Warde from an early age to become a legacy maker. Lamberton Becker valued the use of publication as a professional skill for this end and selected schooling for Warde that re-enforced this idea. These circumstances led Warde to believe that her work would have enduring significance in whatever profession she adopted. Ultimately, Warde's professional role was commercial and her status representing the Monotype Corporation connected her with trade and mainstream press, printing schools, and professional organisations, an ideal position to enable her legacy making.

Recognition of the value Warde placed on the ability of printed materials to transcend time and place is a factor that is newly-emphasised in this chapter as being central to the establishment of her reputation. This chapter reveals that her legacy making did not just focus on her ideas, but was reliant on the way she presented her ideas. Recognising that the place of journals and the press would endure, and through the

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[69] Beatrice Warde, [unpublished] 'Letter to Sir Cyril Burt 14 May 1959'. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

patronage of her network of influential friends in the industry, many of whom were commentators and journal editors, Warde ensured the long-lasting, widespread presentation of her ideas, essential for legacy making. A new finding revealed by this research is that Warde designed her work to endure for legacy making purposes. She developed *The Monotype Recorder* to be long-lasting, re-read, collected and respected, producing other work with longevity in mind, intending that her ideas would be displayed in printing offices and other locations pertinent to printing, outcomes that established her own prominence and enduring reputation.

A reinterpretation of a factor discussed in this chapter centres on the range of invented titles ascribed to Warde by leading figures from her network in the industry. These titles were devised and used throughout her career to signal her distinction but they were also instant signals of her importance and the value of her legacy, without specifying details. Those hearing about Warde referred to by one of her invented titles would, without knowing anything about her ideas, instantly have an impression of her importance.

A number of new areas of research which reveal a changed perspective on Warde's legacy are uncovered in this chapter. Her use of photography, and placement of that photography for legacy making, is a topic that has not previously been discussed in research into Warde. Unveiling her strategic choice of photographer, and art direction of imagery, this research discloses the legacy endorsing value Warde placed on her image becoming part of a British national collection.

A changed perspective on the legacy value of Warde's work is revealed by discussion of one of the few instances of research into her legacy that questions the rigour of her work. This chapter adds to this discussion through the examination of her failed attempt, working with Burt, to create a heritage of scientific work on the psychology of typography. Warde's attempt to control this area of study, and to purchase its place

in history through funding its publication, was unsuccessful and resulted in this becoming a neglected and previously unexamined aspect of her legacy, countering the notion that her ideas have positive legacy value to typography.

As an additional intended aspect of her enduring reputation, this chapter has disclosed that Warde had planned to write and publish her memoirs, exposing an alternative motivation for this as being to control the impression she created about her life and ideas. Warde's career-long collection of documents intended to form her own archive was a further attempt she made to control her position and reputation. Thwarted by the circumstances of her unexpected death this intent has not previously been discussed in studies of Warde and represents new learning, casting a new light on the value of her legacy. In believing that her ideas were of lasting value, Warde was declaring them to be influential, a theme discussed in Chapter Three.

Since her death, Warde's legacy making has carried on as leading printing and typographic organisations in Britain and the US have continued to reinforce the perceived value of her importance through annual lectures and awards made in her name. A confirmation of the significance of her reputation also comes from the ODNB, which commissioned and published her brief biography, an honour given to deceased individuals regarded as possessing important legacies. In 2010 the Beatrice Warde Archive at the CRL was established for its value to a previously unknown area of her legacy, within American and Canadian studies. Revealed by this research, her activites in this area through BAS were affiliated to raising the profile of printing, this is a new area of Warde's legacy disclosed by this research which presents opportunities for future areas of Warde studies.

Throughout, the exploration of Warde's legacy in this chapter, reveals the control she exerted and intended to place over her own repute. During her career Warde was planning the evidence of her enduring importance, which was compiled through

publication of her work and its placement in journals, national collections, books and archives and this became part of her professional activity. Warde's unexpected death interrupted some of this intent, nevertheless in part the establishment of her archive at the CRL provides future researchers with the opportunity to examine The Beatrice Warde's collection and reassess her documents' pertinence to her legacy.

6. WARDE'S STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS

Warde is known to have described herself as, '… a communicator. In my time, I have been a research scholar, but I know that was not my real vocation…. For I am a vocal communicator.'[1] It is apparent from her interview with Dreyfus that she believed herself adept at conveying ideas to others in spoken and written form and using photography, artworks, clothing and her body. This term was a comment on her overall image but not necessarily representative of what she did to ensure her own success. Warde used manipulation to control her presentation and relationships, and her achievement as the First Lady of Typography was based on how she made herself successful, influencing not only how she was perceived but also how she was supported in the male-dominated industry. Through self-titling in this way she could create the persona she desired but her identity was more complex.

The objectives of this thesis include examining how Warde controlled her presentation for a successful career. The limitations of existing research mean that this is not a subject that has been previously explored. Consequently, this chapter aims to investigate what Warde did to make herself successful and its purpose is to assess the circumstances of her strategies for achieving this outcome. The findings of archival and contextual research have provided the focus for this chapter, which examines topics with a bearing on Warde's control of her image for success and others that reflect her approach directly. The themes of this chapter include the ideas and experience of women writers within Warde's lifetime and the construct of the New Woman, as well as Warde's presentation as a scholar, her expertise in public relations and Warde the religious woman. The objectives of this chapter are to examine these areas as the basis of, or for having a bearing on, her approach to success making.

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[1] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, the First Lady of Typography', p.71.

Warde executed a professional performance, adjusting her control of self, tone of voice, style and appearance depending upon whom she was addressing and the ideas she was conveying. In the Government Printing Office in Washington DC she was a shepherdess leading her flock; in her Garamond piece written as Paul Beaujon she was a mature expert, a typographic historian; and, in 'the nature of the book', she was an educator speaking to printing apprentices.[2] This multi-faceted approach can be seen as 'providing a variety of clues as to the social identity of the speaker' and in addition, through changes to her performance, Warde was able to link with her audiences.[3] Through this approach, she enjoyed attention and renown, promoted her ideas for personal success and provided a legacy of visual and verbal language for future study. Few commentators have explored her life and achievements and as result, her own words and images are a major source of insight into Warde's determination to be successful.

The public and the private Warde were immersed in the printing industry, a connection that began during her youth, inspired by her mother's profession as a writer and that was cemented by her marriage to leading printer, Frederic Warde.[4] Appreciation of these early influences on Warde is important to understanding the foundation of her strategy for success, as without them, it is debatable as to whether Warde would have held ambition in the industry.

Warde admitted that she was raised to be 'diagrammatically' alike to Lamberton Becker, meaning that her ideas and views were learned from her mother as were her approaches to self-presentation.[5] Kroger verifies the likeness of mother and child,

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[2] George Barnum, 'Beatrice Warde at the GPO, New York': *The American Printing History Association* [online] 2016 [cited 31 January 2017] Available from <https://printinghistory.org/beatrice-warde-gpo/> Paul Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Sources Considered', pp.131-79. Beatrice Warde, *The Nature of the Book*, (Birmingham: Birmingham School of Printing, 1930).
[3] Penelope Gardner–Chloros, *Code-switching*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) p.42.
[4] Beatrice Becker became 'Mrs Warde' in December 1922 after her marriage to Frederic Warde.
[5] Warde, 'Fragment of a Letter to Sir Cyril Burt'.

when she says the individual, 'becomes like those significant others with characteristics or features that are admired.'[6] Lamberton Becker passed on a love of language to her daughter and her writing is an insight into the intellectual environment she created. Explaining reading as beneficial to mental and spiritual growth and for the general enrichment of life *Adventures in Reading* is a 'blueprint' for Warde's formative environment and taste, accounting for her lifelong love of publishing.[7]

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[6] Jane Kroger, *Identity Development: Adolescence Through Adulthood* (London: Sage Publications, 2006) p10.
[7] Lamberton Becker, *Adventures in Reading*.

Fig 6.1 Beatrice Warde and May Lamberton Becker circa 1935. MS823/2 CRL.

Warde's early environment also equipped her with verbal communication skills and confidence that supported her professional presentation and success. Until she was twelve she was home tutored by her grandmother, Emma Lamberton, a situation that was not uncommon for girls from affluent backgrounds. Speaking to adults and being the centre of attention was the norm for Warde, who was kept remote from state education with little contact with other children. Her centrality in her home environment helped to inspire her confidence and enjoyment of communication and attention: 'I think we were exceptionally close in understanding… [Lamberton Becker and Emma Lamberton] gave me all the moulding and tempering that a child usually gets from school mates and teachers, siblings, and two parents.'[8]

Warde was cocooned in a position of safety from which she could view the world, a situation that continued throughout Lamberton Becker's life as she stayed close to her daughter, providing a professional, financial and emotional 'safety net' that was a foundation for Warde's confident presentation for success.

An important notion relevant to understanding Warde's determination to be successful, that also has pertinence to gender, is revealed by Lindsey, who believes that individuals act out roles in society and that people behave: 'according to how they perceive a situation, how they understand the social encounter and the meanings they bring to it.'[9] The breadth in the way roles are enacted, and the context in which they take place, assist in determination of the roles that are performed, leading to modifications of cultural norms when social interaction occurs.[10] These ideas are important to this research emphasising Warde's presentation as a performance, learnt from her earliest years, undertaken for professional positioning and which changed depending on the audience she was addressing and the message she wished to create.

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[8] Warde, 'Fragment of a Letter to Sir Cyril Burt'.

[9] Lindsey, *Gender Roles*, p.10.

[10] Lindsey, *Gender Roles*, p.10.

A notion central to understanding Warde's presentation, Lindsey's ideas are based on Goffman's (1922-1982) theory of 'Dramaturgy', which considered presentation to be a theatrical performance focussing on how individuals in work situations presented themselves and their activities to others to guide and control impression. Goffman suggested that it was possible for observers to 'glean clues from…[the] conduct and appearance' of an individual believing 'that only individuals of a particular kind are likely to be found in a given social setting'.[11] Thus, using their previous experience observers could apply 'untested stereotypes' to an individual, resulting in them being able to: 'rely on what an individual says about [themselves] or on what documentary evidence [they] provide as to who and what [they] are.'[12]

Warde's audiences were able to interpret clues from her behaviour, appearance and from what she said about herself, convincing them of the legitimacy of her status.

From an early age Warde had learnt that performance was a means of how to communicate in an adult-only environment; she also gained performance skills through her participation in recitals whilst studying at Barnard College. In line with many other 'ivy-league' institutions, 'Greek Games' took place annually and Warde wrote and performed poems, winning the Games in 1917.[13] These are both instances evidencing her willingness to perform and her capabilities, supporting the application of both Lindsey's ideas and Goffman's theory to her presentation for success.

Additionally, Warde's marriage was an important element impacting her self-presentation for success. On marrying, Beatrice Becker adopted the name of her husband. The significance of this choice is important to her presentation for success and Boxer and Gritsenko, as well as Miller and Swift, discuss this established custom as reflecting the organisation of society, whilst also showing how status and power

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[11] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (London: Penguin, 1990) p.9.

[12] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, p.13.

[13] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.13-5.

were maintained: 'Naming conventions, like the rest of language, have been shaped to meet the interests of society and in patriarchal societies the shapers have been men.'[14] In 1800s America, a wife's possessions were the property of her husband and at this point women were seen as property, and taking their husband's name was an indicator of this possession, but by the mid-nineteenth century this was being challenged.[15] Lamberton Becker was one of the increasing number of women who, on marrying, chose to hyphenate her maiden and married names, Beatrice Becker did not. As 'Mrs Warde', wife of Frederic, she indirectly established her position as a leading figure in the printing industry. Aided by Lamberton Becker in obtaining his first role in the industry, Frederic Warde quickly attained the prestigious position of Printer at Princeton University.[16] This support 'in kind' also helped Beatrice Warde achieve her ambition in the industry and she came to see herself as part of a promising typographic partnership where each would attain high-achieving, mutually supportive careers. Loxley is key to understanding these circumstances, describing their combined professional situation as ''the Wardes' double star was in the ascendant'.[17] It is valuable to note that for Frederic Warde, his gender made career progression in the industry less-challenging than for his wife.

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[14] Diana Boxer, Elena Gritsenko. 'Women and Surnames Across Cultures: Reconstructing Identity in Marriage', *Women and Language*, 28 issue 2 (fall 2005), pp.1-11, (p.1). Casey Miller, Kate Swift, *Words and Women*, (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976), p.15.

[15] Boxer and Gritsenko. 'Women and Surnames Across Cultures…', pp.1-2.

[16] 'Marriage certificate 30 December 1922, Frederique Warde and Beatrice Lamberton Becker'. Loxley, *Printer's Devil The Life and Work of Frederic Warde,* pp.18, 28-34.

[17] Loxley, *Printer's Devil,* p.20.

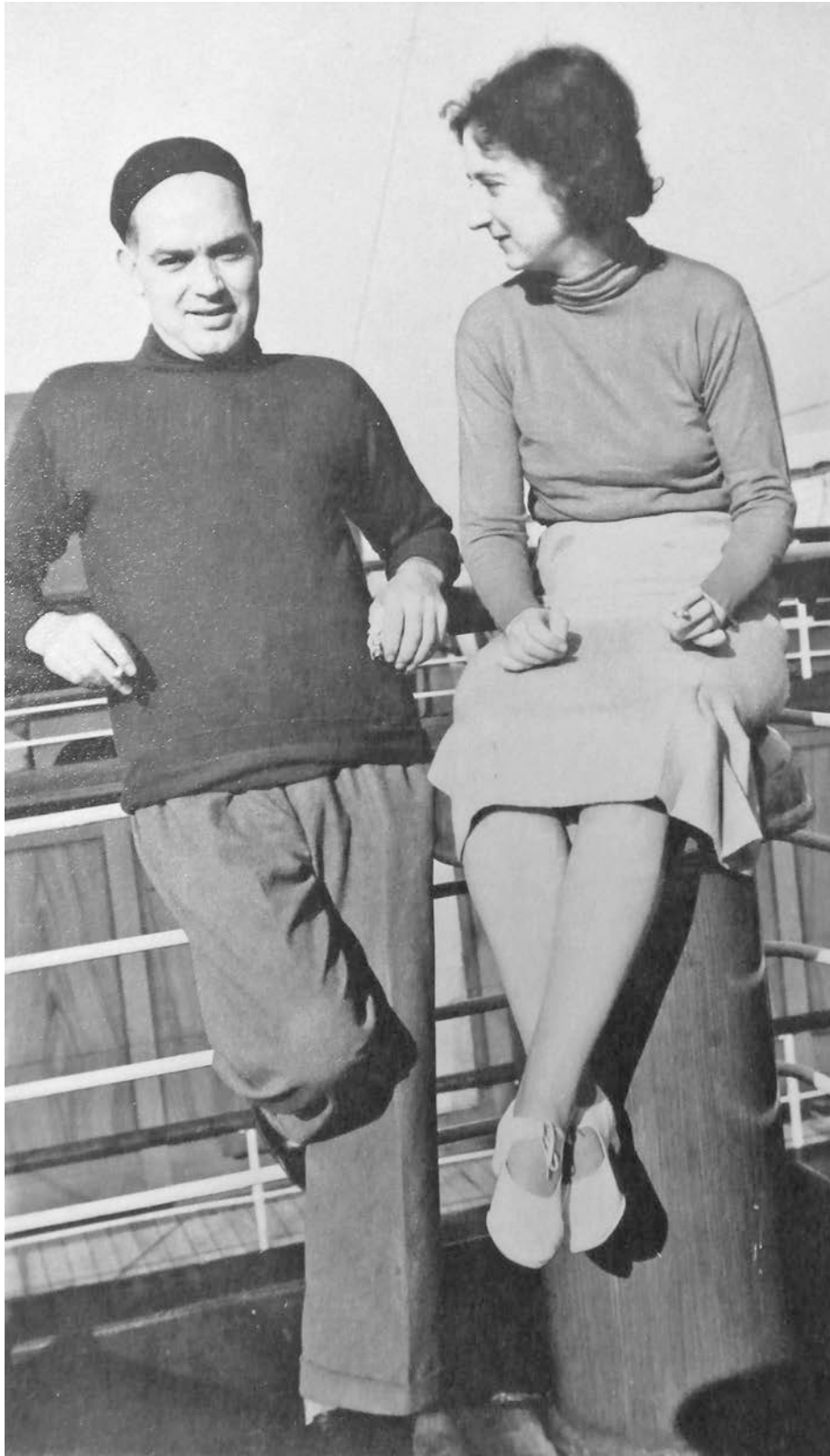Fig 6.2 Frederic Warde circa 1919. MS823/2 CRL.

Fig 6.3 Frederic and Beatrice Warde circa 1925. MS823/3 CRL.

Throughout the rest of her life, Warde utilised her name and status as wife of an important printer for professional positioning. This allowed her to link herself with the reputation of Frederic Warde in perpetuity, despite ultimately being separated (1926), divorced (1939) and widowed (1939); associating by default with his achievements and expertise and becoming an authority on his work.[18] This choice was vital to her success, as in Britain there were social and financial pressures on women to be married, which Gardiner examines as a significant factor impacting women of the 1930s. Marriage was seen as the desired status for women, whose husbands would be paid a 'family wage' whilst women, if they worked, were generally believed to earn 'pin money'. [19] Married women, raising children and looking after the home were described as 'worth their salt', whilst it was believed that 'Happy and lucky is the man whose wife is houseproud…who likes to do things well, to make him proud of her and her children.'[20] This description did not 'fit' Warde but being 'Mrs Warde' provided her with cultural security and a degree of protection from scrutiny. Her name and title were status symbols signifying respectability, becoming particularly useful after the breakup of her marriage, when establishing a career was not only a personal ambition, but also a financial imperative.[21] Using the title 'Mrs Warde' was helpful to furthering her success and an uncommon title in the industry, where a woman had to be ambitious just to earn a 'living wage'. It accelerated her professional progress, and the transfer of reputation from Frederic Warde was professionally effective within Monotype, which did not employ women in prominent positions.[22] Slinn, Carter and Southall scrutinise the environment of the Corporation, where the notion of employing a married woman to edit *The Monotype*

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[18] Beatrice Warde did not publicly announce her divorce from Frederic and after his death, also in 1938, referred to him as her late husband.

[19] Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.542-53.

[20] *Housewife Magazine* in Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.542.

[21] Loxley, *Printer's Devil,* p.86.

[22] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.51, 190.

Recorder and to 'spearhead' public relations was 'unique in British manufacturing industry at that time'.[23] Warde was aware of the singular nature of her situation, describing the 'petrification of Monotype executives. They had never hired a woman in their place above the rank of secretary and had no idea how to deal with her!'.[24] Gardiner highlights the discrimination and suppression 1930s' women endured, which is helpful in appreciating the hurdles confronted by the ambitious Warde: 'most married women were denied the opportunity to continue in employment. The so-called 'marriage bar' operated in the Civil Service, in medicine – including nursing - in teaching, and in numerous private firms.'[25] However, with the security and reputation provided as the wife of printing expert Frederic Warde, the Monotype Corporation were persuaded of her expertise and were in turn able to convince their customers of her status.

After initially discussing how Warde's early years and marriage supported her determination to be successful, this chapter goes on to discuss three classifications ascribed to Warde through findings of this research; Warde the scholar, the expert in public relations and the religious woman.

THE SCHOLAR

Scholars are believed to possess intellectual authority and expertise, yet throughout most of the twentieth century, it was difficult for women to achieve this status in any profession. As the number of women in the printing industry was limited or concealed, Warde's presentation as a scholar of printing and typography was pioneering and is worthy of exploration.[26]

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[23] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.70.

[24] John Dreyfus, 'Early Years and the Influence of Henry Lewis Bullen', *The Monotype Recorder* 44 (1970), p.6.

[25] Gardiner, *The Thirtiesy*. Factors with repercussions for women are discussed in Gardiner, including unemployment: pp.35-51, hunger and poverty: pp.67-69 and the circumstances of marriage: pp.543-582. Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.553.

[26] Abbott, *Women in Industry*. p.247.

Scholarship had been valued within Warde's early environment in Manhattan. Throughout her professional life she continued to respect this activity, linking herself with and admiring leading male figures in the industry, including Morison and Updike who were recognised for their scholarship. As a way of identifying as an important individual Warde, followed their example and presented herself as a scholar.

Peters expresses period ideas on authority during Warde's career. A man-made status, he described authority as establishing what was correct and giving certain individuals the right to make decisions or pronouncements on particular topics. [27] This was a status that applied to Warde and her professional notions on printing and typography which became synonymous with knowledge, good taste and practice. Peters believed a distinctive type of authority was derived from personal history, with credentials and achievements reliant on exemplary character. [28] Again, these circumstances applied to Warde and the familial and professional role models shaping her ideas, actions and self-identification as a scholar.

On graduation, Warde's first job at the ATF Library has relevance to her presentation as a scholar. ATF was the premier printing library of America and her employment had been secured through the advocacy of a family friend, the important typographer Bruce Rogers. The ATF library was founded in 1908 by printer Henry Lewis Bullen, who was committed to the importance of an archive of printing materials for professional printers. [29] Warde began working at the Library in 1922. She became assistant to Bullen, a role that in later life she credited as the foundation of her expertise and scholarship: '[speaking of the ATF Library] And this most complex

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[27] Peters, *Authority*, p.17. Peters was originally published in 1959.

[28] Peters, *Authority,* p.17.

[29] Bruce Rogers (1870-1957) was an eminent American typographer and type designer. He was friends with May Lamberton Becker and through this connection took an interest in Warde's life. Zarobila, 'Bruce Rogers (14 May 1870-18 May 1957)'. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.21-3.

pattern of what graphic communication meant was spread out before my eyes for nearly three years … so I … read what was in the collection. Naturally I became an expert.'[30]

Despite her youth and inexperience, in December 1923, during Bullen's absence, Warde became 'Acting Librarian', a status she inflated to 'Librarian'.[31] This role quickly expanded to include publicity, production of promotional material, tours and talks; experience that became useful to her work for the Monotype Corporation. [32] This status validated Warde's self-conviction of expertise and scholarship in the industry, however, her self-confidence was revealed as misplaced. Seeing herself as a scholar and expert, Warde intervened with the planned expansion and reorganisation of the library and opted for a different library categorisation from that planned by Bullen. The resulting change 'was a complete disaster', a situation compounded by Warde's resignation, prior to the completion of this task.[33] In correspondence with Bullen, Warde made initial expressions of remorse to be leaving the Library in order to visit Britain, however, she never returned or made any reparation for the chaos caused. It took Bullen and his wife years to re-establish order, in which time the finances of the Library collapsed and in 1936 the collection was moved to Columbia University.[34] Gruendler believed that Warde's attempted restructuring was not an attempt to seize control, or to assert self-importance, but was an indication of her desire to clarify the Library systems. Either way it signalled that, in taking on this task, in combination with her other experience at the Library, Warde had confidence in her expertise and scholarship.[35] Throughout her career, she went on to reference

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[30] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', p.71. Beatrice, Warde, 'Speech at Stationers Hall', September 1960, MS823/7 Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[31] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.23-4.

[32] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.34.

[33] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.35-6.

[34] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.37.

[35] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', pp.71-4.

her experience at the Library proudly. It became fundamental to the way she saw and presented herself as an expert and scholar, a status she attributed to knowledge gained through working there and Bullen, whom she credited with inspiring her interest in the broad subject of printing and inspiring her approaches to her career.[36]

An additional affirmation of Warde's self-presentation as a scholar came when she published 'Charlotte Guillard, Printer of the Renaissance', on a gendered aspect of industry history.[37] Gruendler describes this piece as in 'stark contrast to those surrounding it in the *Inland Printer*, since it was written in the manner of a storyteller as opposed to the standard professional tone of other articles.'[38]

Regardless of debates about its approach, this article was unique as a scholarly work being by a young, female printing historian and focussing on a female pioneer of French printing. Its publication confirmed early support for Warde's scholarship, attested to her taste for scholarly activity, whilst also indicating that Guillard was inspirational to Warde from the outset of her career. Its publication was also a sign of general interest in women's achievements and inclusion in the industry. Gruendler's analysis of this piece is vital to understanding the development of Warde's unique tone of voice as a scholar in the industry: 'Warde inserted descriptive sentences that were more conversational than academic and in doing so converted what could have been a dry description of French and Italian renaissance printing into a quick and interesting read about a successful female and her career.' [39] This interpretation also highlights part of Warde's approach to drawing in audiences using language and making her form of scholarship accessible in a manner that was new.

[36] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', pp.71-4. Warde, [unpublished] 'Speech on the Occasion of her Sixtieth Birthday'.

[37] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.9-15. Lamberton Becker, 'Charlotte Guillard, Printer of the Renaissance', pp.438-440.

[38] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.65.

[39] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.65.

After moving to Britain in 1924 Warde's interest in presenting herself as a scholar continued and initially, lacking permanent employment in the industry and having little recognition, she made her living through freelance writing, with Morison providing freelance options for her to write for *The Fleuron*. In addition he also created an opportunity for her to write anonymously for *The Times Literary Supplement,* telling her mother that: '*Morison was offered the job but he told them I could do it better…I was invited to Printing House Square and came back with a commission.*'[40] At this time Warde also wrote a 12,000-word piece for *The Times* on the Paris book exhibition and took on freelance writing projects for Lamberton Becker.[41] Providing Warde with a model, freelance writing was her mother's approach to demonstration of expertise and scholarship**.** Warde's confidence, self-esteem and connections increased and she started to see herself as accomplished, accepting a permanent communication role with the Monotype Corporation. Morison was a vital advocate for Warde's professional development and important to her acceptance in the industry, introducing her to significant people including Eric Gill, Oliver Simon and Francis and Gerard Meynell, whilst also being complimentary and initiating high-profile opportunities in an industry that operated gender bars.[42] His endorsement set in motion her employment and through his championing of her

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[40] Beatrice Warde, [Unpublished] 'Letter to Lamberton Becker August 12 1927', Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A1/8.

[41] In June 1931 Warde was commissioned by *The Times* to write 12,000 words on the Paris book Exhibition. Beatrice Warde, [Unpublished] 'Letter to Lamberton Becker June 1931', Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A1/10. Lamberton Becker also provided Warde with freelance writing opportunities including authoring an article on the Garrick [Theatre]. 'Ive done your Garrick article, knock it about anyway you like.' Beatrice Warde, [Unpublished] 'Letter to Lamberton Becker on Garrick article', Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9827 A1/5.

[42] MacCarthy, 'Gill, (Arthur) Eric Rowton (1882–1940), artist, craftsman, and social critic'. Wren and Trevitt, 'Simon, Oliver Joseph (1895–1956)'. McKitterick, 'Meynell, Sir Francis Meredith Wilfrid (1891-1975) typographer and publisher'. In a letter to Oliver Simon, Morison described the Wardes as 'important typographical personages of the future' and suggested that Simon would be able to publish their work. Barker, *Stanley Morison* p.163.

position she became Editor of *The Monotype Recorder* in 1927 and Publicity Manager in 1929; both were positions he had previously occupied. [43]

Warde first met Morison in 1924, and was familiar with his published work; she was 'star-struck': 'Within five minutes … I knew I was in the presence of not only of a wit and a scholar, but of a personality more vivid and stimulating than that of anyone I'd ever before encountered.'[44]

Gruendler observes that Warde made this observation over forty years after meeting Morison and that possibly Warde's memory was somewhat altered. However, the 'crux' of this statement is that Warde acknowledged how impressed she was with his charisma and scholarship. Hutt corroborated the closeness of their relationship, describing Warde as 'Stanley Morison's inseparable and incomparable lieutenant in the great work of Britain's typographic renaissance', implying that she was supporting and working to fulfil his ideas.[45] Warde's view of Morison affected how she felt about her position in the industry. Albeit focussing on twenty-first century examples, ideas in *Celebrity Worship (Media Religion and Culture)* are relevant to these circumstances, arguing that individual consumption of celebrities through the media is a way of processing who an individual is and their place in the world.[46] In the context of Warde, her view of Morison endorsed how she saw and presented herself, bringing repute which transferred from Morison the expert, to herself by association. She also achieved the same outcome through connections with other leading figures in the British and US industries.

Warde's employer, the Monotype Corporation, was the most significant manufacturer of printing and composing machines and designer of typefaces in Britain and Warde

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[43] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, p.70.
[44] Beatrice, Warde, 'Stanley Morison', *The Sunday Times,* (15 October 1967), p.32.
[45] Allen Hutt (1901-1973) was a journalist, editor, and designer; he was a friend of Warde, first meeting her in 1935. Allen Hutt, 'Beatrice Warde a Personal Tribute', p.18.
[46] Pete Ward, *Celebrity Worship (Media Religion and Culture)*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), p.5.

was aware that her work for the Corporation was influential.[47] For *The Monotype Recorder* she wrote and commissioned articles on historical subjects but also discussed contemporary, commercially relevant themes, creating a new focus and voice within in the industry. Her pieces explored new topics, including the prestige indicated through the quality printing of letterheads and the public relations benefits of printed publications in creating commercial goodwill.[48] In addition to *The Fleuron* and *The Monotype Recorder* and other Monotype publications, Warde's scholarship was presented in her articles in trade journals. These included *Penrose* where her first piece as Beaujon, drew on her experience in America through complimentary discussion of the work of designer friends: 'He [the designer] is the person who takes in impressions directly … and he presents those impressions to our eyes with equal directness. There is no dictaphone in art; the hand remains as the cunning craftsman who carries out, with all technical skill it can master, the orders of the brain.'[49]

Warde was confident of success but writing to her mother she considered her name an important factor: 'I have still to choose my pseudonym under which my Life Work will be done. Reputation made, etc… It won't be a woman's name anyway.' [50] She acknowledged her husband and mother's reputations as linked to the names Warde and Becker but wanted to be distinct. Warde was also looking for opportunities to publish her ideas and Morison provided her with a distinguished ally able to facilitate professional opportunities.[51] Given the gendered nature of the British printing

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[47] Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*, pp.9-10.

[48] Beatrice Warde, 'The Letter-head as an Index of Prestige', *The Monotype Recorder*, 27 (1928). Beatrice Warde, 'House Organs: The Printer's Journal', *The Monotype Recorder*, 27 (1928).

[49] Paul Beaujon, 'American Artists Tend to Study Graphic Technique' *Penrose Annual,* 31, 1929, pp.83-6.

[50] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.73. Warde was writing to Lamberton Becker in 1926.

[51] Warde's relationship with Morison was described by Barker as the closest of Morison's life. Barker, *Stanley Morison* p.11.

industry it is debatable whether the work of an unknown American woman would have been credibly received as scholarly, even with Morison's endorsement.[52]

Grappling with this conundrum, in 1926 Warde devised and adopted a pseudonymous identity of a male typographic authority: 'nobody at that time had any idea that a woman could possibly know anything about printing, typography and such like. So the name Paul Beaujon was invented to conceal the personality of the actual writer.'[53]

Before presenting Beaujon to the printing industry, Warde tried out this identity with an article in an architecture journal, a sufficiently separate environment so that should she be uncomfortable with Beaujon's presentation, she would be 'out of sight' of the printing industry.

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[52] Carter and McKitterick, 'Morison, Stanley Arthur (1889–1967), typographer'. Barker, *Stanley Morison* pp.159-63. Slinn, Carter and Southall, *History of The Monotype Corporation*. Macdonald, *Women in the Printing Trades*. Abbott, *Women in Industry*.
[53] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.73. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', p.74.

Modern Building Construction

MAKERS OF MAGIC DUST

By PAUL BEAUJON.

What would the ancient builders say if they could see the towering walls and pinnacles of our time, built not with massive stones or timbers, but of sand, water and Magic Dust—that almost impalpable powder that we call Cement—over a slender skeleton of steel? This article tells of a journey to the Dust-Maker's land, where strange marvels may be seen amid a smiling Kentish landscape.

They had come—the Artist and the Writer—to pay a visit to the Future; to see the milling of that white powder out of which modern architecture weaves the clothing of our new civilization. And as the car turned down the green road toward Holborough they could see only the Past; the ancient cottages and thorny hedges that might have sheltered a rural fairy but seemed worlds removed from that fairyland of the Future which was the object of the pilgrimage. And yet when the change did come—abruptly, uncannily—it was as if centuries had twinkled by at a single sign.

THE SIGN WAS A WHITE TREE.

Not a tree laden with white flowers, or silvered with frost; an ancient oak that had mysteriously blanched to cloud-like whiteness—from trunk to leaf-tips—which stood on white ground by a road of which the very tar had paled into grey. No ordinary Dust had caused that miracle.

And in another moment the towers of the Dust-Maker loomed into view, shimmering in the sun. They were unlike any building the pilgrims had ever seen, unless it were some Norman keep, huge and cylindrical.

" You shall see," said the Dust-Maker, " what can be done with English earth in this particular part of the island. For the cement we make was ready-mixed for us by Nature when the whales were still swimming over this ground. All we have to do is dig it out and burn it. In other parts of the world Man has to bring the different materials together, but Nature is the better mixer of the two."

They walked across the road and into a vast round dimple in the earth—a quarter-mile across—around which a miniature train was rumbling. At the farthest point a metal snout nuzzled for a moment at the sheer side of the excavation, and several tons of earth fell away from the cliff. The Artist whipped out his sketch-block and ran toward the grunting steel monster, a steam-shovel with gleaming teeth that lowered its head as he watched and scooped up half-a-ton of the crumbled cliff. As the cars rolled beneath those clenched jaws, there would come a snort of steam from the monster, a chain would rattle somewhere in its vitals, and that blind cunning head

would deposit just half a jaw-load in each car, delicately, spilling not a shovelful. Then the human brain that mastered it would turn it again to butt like a colossal ram at the side of the cliff, scoop up its incredible mouthful, perhaps snatch an extra morsel on the prongs of those steel teeth, and swing back obediently to the cars to disgorge. The Artist worked feverishly to set down each gesture of that unconscious Hercules, that symbol of brute force too blind, too man-made to resent the labours it must do for man. " It is beautiful," muttered the Artist as his pencil flew, " but it is a strange, savage beauty, too near at hand, too real to be recognized. The men of the Future will know how beautiful this monster is . . ."

NATURE PRODUCES THE MATERIALS.

Finally they returned along the tracks of the little railway, to where the raw stuff was dumped from the cars into a splashing maelstrom fed by a constant stream of water, where lumps were broken down and coarser matter strained off. " Now you will see," said the Dust-Maker, " how fine this natural clay is in texture. You see
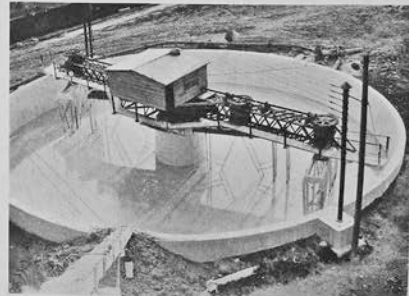
Storage Tank, Holborough Cement Works.

this stream of what looks like thick cream pouring into this next vat? That stuff has to go easily through a copper-mesh screen which has 34,000 holes to the square inch. These fins, that keep swirling slowly through the vat, keep it from settling, and it moves from one vat to another, while we keep an absolute check on the consistency and the amount of water in the mixture."

They had come back to the very foot of the towers, and now they began a dizzy climb to the top to rejoin the stream of liquid clay that had been pumped up there. After that they had to follow the stream only in imagination, and even imagination reeled at what was happening

The Quarry, Holborough Cement Works.

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Fig. 6.4 'Makers of the Magic Dust', *Modern Building Construction* circa 1927, 9817 B5 ULC.

'Makers of Magic Dust' is an account of Beaujon's visit to a concrete works in Kent and includes a photographic portrait of the author.[54] Circa 1926, her appearance, emulated a masculine aesthetic and highlighted the dichotomy of the author's gender, presenting her as a New Woman, a concept that is discussed later in this thesis. As a New Woman, Beaujon was: 'ambiguously gendered or a mixture of feminine and masculine… Her gender-bending constituted a profound declaration of this figure's transgressive nature and inherent modernity.'[55]

This article also evidences Warde's exploration of presentation, enabling her to gain experience, make professional connections and try out Beaujon's potential visual and verbal identity in advance of introductions to the printing industry. No other images of Beaujon have been found and it is likely that Warde perceived her modern image unsuited to the traditional nature of the industry. This decision may have led to the development of Beaujon's backstory, supporting a masculine presentation.[56]

Created to build credibility, Warde developed a background for Beaujon, who was said to be a mature Frenchman, have a 'long grey beard, four grandchildren, a great interest in antique furniture and a rather vague address in Montparnasse'.[57] Presenting as a man meant that those involved in the British printing industry identified with and accepted Beaujon's writing without question, thus speedy acceptance may have been an additional motive for the development of this guise. Beaujon's maturity may have equated to instant credibility and acceptance implying a long-established scholarship of the industry and its history. Identifying Beaujon as French was another considered choice, accounting for the scholar's obscurity in Britain and covertly supporting

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[54] Paul Beaujon, 'Makers of Magic Dust,' *Modern Building Construction*, 20/43, c.1927 pp.56-7. Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 B5.

[55] E. Otto, and V. Rocco, eds., *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), p.7.

[56] Moran, *A Handlist of More Important Writings of Beatrice Warde Paul Beaujon.* Beaujon, 'Makers of Magic Dust,' pp.56-7.

[57] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography'', p.74.

credibility. Beaujon's first published typographic work featured research from within French archives, the detail of which, in combination with his backstory, resulted in this work being received as persuasively scholarly. In addition, the idea that a young American woman would choose to pass herself off as an elderly Frenchman, deceiving members of the industry was inconceivable.

Moran noted Warde's uncommon attempt to challenge status in the industry, both recognising the value of the opportunity provided by Beaujon's identity, whilst criticising the printing industry for making a change of gender a necessity to progress her ambition: 'but had those patriarchally-minded persons known a little more about her background they might have been able to face in daylight the terrible idea of a woman writing on such a specialised subject without the protection of the dark glasses of pseudonymity.'[58]

Griffin's exploration of the background to these circumstances is key, as writing pseudonymously or anonymously was commonplace in British literary history but uncommon in the printing industry. In the 1820s, eighty per cent of authors wrote anonymously and it has been a relatively recent change that caused readers to focus on a writer's name to indicate authority and literary property: 'Rather than invoke the flesh-and-blood writer, the [pseudonymous] name signals the status of a certain kind of writing, works as a principle of classification, and establishes a relation of homogeneity and filiation between texts.'[59]

Griffin confirms that Beaujon's name was created to symbolise a certain type of writing, that of scholarly, expert commentary on the printing industry, and that through continuing to use this pseudonymous identity Warde was establishing a consistency of status indicated and identifiable throughout Beaujon's work. Griffin

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[58] Moran, *A Handlist of More Important Writings of Beatrice Warde/Paul Beaujon* [typescript], p.2.
[59] Robert J. Griffin, *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from Sixteenth to Twentieth century*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.1-4, 9.

discussed the author's obfuscation behind a pseudonym, creating a 'brand name', recognisable as an indication of quality, cultural and intellectual commodity.[60] This point is relevant to Beaujon, whose identity as well as Warde's name, became synonymous with expertise in the industry.

Mullan's ideas are connected to Warde's establishment and use of Beaujon's identity. He suggests the use of a male pseudonym as evidence of, in the case of women such as Warde, reputation-making in a male-dominated profession and points out that readers became familiar with literary works without knowledge of authors' genuine identities. [61] Such was the interest in pseudonymity, that the *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* was published, with subsequent twentieth-century issues, including a fifth issue, presenting Paul Beaujon.[62] Pseudonymity provoked curiosity, and speculation about authors' identities was part of the reader experience, which in Beaujon's case may have created attention and interest. Motives for anonymity or pseudonymity were discussed and Halkett and Laing included diffidence, fear of consequence, shame and in some cases fear of persecution. None of these motives, apart from potentially 'fear of consequence' applied to Warde. It can be argued that her concern was that as a woman her ideas would not be accepted or valued in the gendered environment of the industry. Throughout her education and through her love of literature, Warde had become familiar with authors who worked pseudonymously and whose personal identities had been obfuscated to progress their careers, including Jane Austen (1775-1817), Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855), Mary Shelley (1797-1851) and George Eliot (1819-

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[60] Griffin, *The Faces of Anonymity,* pp.1-4.

[61] Mullan, *Anonymity*, pp.3-6.

[62] Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *The Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1883). *The Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain,* Volume 5 (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971) p.281.

1880). This knowledge had provided a familiar model that Warde drew on to establish and sustain her own scholarly status as Beaujon.[63]

Warde's interest in scholarship is apparent in her selection of the Beaujon name, however, prior to this research there has been little focus on the origin of this identity with Gruendler speculating that it was a construct for the combined writing of both Warde and Morison.[64] The experiences and knowledge of Printer A have been essential to this area of research findings.

Originating at a time when Warde was immersed in typographic research in Paris, there are several possible influential factors behind the selection of Beaujon's name. The first mixes French language and pronunciation with typographic history, combining 'beau' meaning beautiful with the name 'Jon' which may have originated from the pronunciation of 'Jean' as in Jean Jannon, the seventeenth-century type engraver and focus of Beaujon's first article in *The Fleuron*.[65] However, a second option stems from the similarity in pronunciation of the name of another seventeenth-century type engraver, Philippe Grandjean. A third and more plausible alternative originates from the figure of Nicolas Beaujon (1718-1786) who, in 1770, was Banker to the French court of Louis XV, Secretary to the King in 1779 and Advisor of State in 1779. In 1773, Beaujon became owner of the Palace of the Elysée Bourbon which,

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[63] Mullan, *Anonymity*, pp.3-7.
Marilyn Butler, 'Austen, Jane (1775-1817)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*[online]: Oxford University Press, 7 January 2010 [cited 25 November 2019]. Available from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-904.> Christine Alexander, 'Brontë [*married name* Nicholls], Charlotte [*pseud.* Currer Bell]' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*[online]: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004 [cited 25 November 2019]. Available from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3523.> Rosemary Ashton, 'Evans, Marian [*pseud.* George Eliot]' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004 [cited 25 November 2019]. Available from https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6794.
[64] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.74.
[65] Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types…', pp.131-179.

in 1848, became the official residence of the President of France.[66] After Beaujon's death the Palace was sold, becoming property of the state and during the French Revolution (1789-1799) it became the location of the printing works of the French Government, the Imprimerie Royale.[67] Whilst researching in Paris, Warde had access to archival material on Beaujon and given that she was presenting herself as an important expert, devising Beaujon's identity from the knowledge of another important figure, tenuously connected with printing, is credible and may have reinforced her own sense of significance and scholarship.

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[66] Silvia Marzagalli and Hubert Bonin, *Négoce, ports et océans, XVIe-XXe siècles: mélanges offerts à Paul Butel* (Bordeaux: Presses Univ De Bordeaux, 2000), p.25.
[67] *The Select Circulating Library, Volume 16* (Philadelphia: Waldie and Co., 1841) p.309.

Fig. 6.5 Nicolas Beaujon portrait by François-Hubert Drouais

Nicolas Beaujon was a collector of artworks, antiques and fashionable objects and similarly Paul Beaujon was said to be interested in antique furniture; Warde and Nicolas Beaujon also shared other interests. In 1784 Nicolas Beaujon built a hospice to care for the poor children of Paris; it provided a home and education for twenty-four orphans, before becoming a hospital for sick children.[68] This links Beaujon and Warde, as her commitment to the welfare of children became apparent during World

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[68] The Hospice Beaujon was located at 208 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honore, Paris. Marzagalli and Bonin, *Négoce, ports et océans, XVIe-XXe siècles: mélanges offerts à Paul Butel,* pp.25-6.

War Two, when she was involved in children's charities and raising funds for Great Ormond Street Hospital.[69]

Beaujon's typographic writing first appeared in *The Monotype Recorder* and a second article was published in the fifth issue of *The Fleuron*.[70] These were the most authoritative, prestigious typographic journals of the day and Beaujon was able to publish these works through the support of Morison who edited both. Enhancing Warde's self-esteem, publication was vital endorsement of Beaujon's scholarship and instantly asserted her expertise, a situation that boosted her professional prospects without a lengthy career progression as well as raising her awareness with audiences. Morison controlled the content of these journals and in *The Fleuron* entered into the deception surrounding Beaujon's identity for Warde's benefit, recommending the first Beaujon piece 'The Garamond Types: A Study of XVI and XVII Century Sources' in his article 'Towards an Ideal Italic'. [71] He described Beaujon as 'an erudite and welcome addition to the thin line of typographic scholars', in other words, an expert.[72] Readers accepted Morison's advice and believed the credentials he attributed to this never-before-published Frenchman and Warde herself acknowledged the articles strategic success '…it gave M. Beaujon his promised reputation'.[73] Morison believed Warde was a significant typographic figure but he

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[69] Warde fundraised through sales of *Bombed But Unbeaten* and also supported child evacuees to the US. through the Kinsmen. Warde and Standard, *Bombed But Unbeaten.* Joseph, S. Evans, 'British Parents Unite, Thank U.S. for Hospitality to their Children', *New York Herald Tribune,* (March 20 1941), p.1, MS823/19. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[70] Paul Beaujon, On XVIIIth Century French Typography and Fournier Le Jeune [Pierre Simon Fournier (Sept. 15, 1712-Oct. 8, 1768) and XVIIIth Century French Typography & Modern Printing in France], *The Monotype Recorder*, 1926. *The Fleuron*, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926).

[71] Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types…', pp.131-79. Stanley Morison, 'Towards an Ideal Italic', *The Fleuron,* 5 (1926), pp.93-130.

[72] Morison, 'Review' section, *The Fleuron* 5 pp.189-90.

[73] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', pp.69-70. Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.73. Beaujon, 'The Garamond Types…', pp.131-79. Stanley, Morison, 'Review' section, pp.189-90.

was also captivated by her and she in turn was enthralled by him, a situation which determined his treatment of her and the opportunities he facilitated for her.

Fig. 6.6 Stanley Morison and Beatrice Warde circa 1935. MS823/3 CRL.

Bullen had first advised Warde of the need for more scholarship on the typeface

Garamond and that a reputation could be made through researching its origins. It

wasn't until paraphrasing Bullen during a speech on her sixtieth birthday that Warde

credited him with directing her towards this topic: 'I've looked at all the sixteenth-

century stuff that I can see, and this type [Garamond] was never designed in the

sixteenth century. At least it wasn't designed by Claude Garamond, that's a cinch.

Anyone who ever discovers who did design this type will make a great reputation.'[74]

In 'The Garamond Types' Beaujon explored the origin of the typeface of the same

name, previously credited to French punchcutter Claude Garamont (1490-1561),

although according to Beaujon, Garamond was created by Parisian printer Jean

Jannon.[75] The article's focus on aspects of French typographic history whilst

'unpicking' and solving a typographic mystery, engaged and intrigued readers.

The piece, has continued to be regarded as an important aspect of her legacy, referred

to as 'one of the most famous articles on the history of printing ever published'.[76]

Additionally, the digitisation of Beaujon's Garamond article, available on the French

government's website on the history of Garamond, ensured that her text became

available in perpetuity to new audiences worldwide.[77] In engaging in this form of

publication, the French government was reinforcing Shillingsburg's ideas on

'collecting, maintaining and transmitting the texts… of literary cultural heritage' and

confirming and contributing to the perpetuation of Warde's scholarship.[78] There is

little evidence which contrasts with the supportive attitudes to Warde's scholarship

and instances of differing views are significant. Contrasting ideas are found in

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[74] Warde, [unpublished] 'Speech on the Occasion of her Sixthieth Birthday'.

[75] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.69-73.

[76] The Garamond Types Considered in *The Fleuron* no.5, Fonts In Use, *Fonts In Use* [online], 2016 [cited 17 January 2017]. Available from <http://fontsinuse.com/uses/14168/the-garamond-types-considered-in-the-fleuron->

[77] The article by Beatrice Warde in *1561-2011 Garamond* [online].

[78] Shillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google*, p.4.

Mosley's writings where he contradicts Beaujon's ideas on the origins of Garamond.[79] He questions: 'Without being ungenerous, since Warde's essay clearly represents the result of some serious research of her own …, one should note that it is in need of critical attention.'[80] Beginning by explaining her claim that the design of the types 'was based on their appearance in Jannon's type specimen book of 1621 in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris' Mosley explains 'I have seen no attribution of this type to 'Garamont' earlier than the one that appears in the Imprimerie royale specimen of 1845.[81] As her article on Garamond provided a foundation for her career with the Monotype Corporation and continues to be revered, he is questioning the rigour of her research and the value of her scholarship.

Those close to Warde knew she was Beaujon but the majority of *The Monotype Recorder* and *The Fleuron* readers did not, and the nature of the identity of the new French expert was absorbing.[82] In the printing industry, had Beaujon's identity and gender been discovered and denigrated, it would have caused embarrassment and derision. Initially as his fictitious identity came to life, divorced from the work of the author, it had allowed Warde to develop a separate identity and profession at Monotype where she said:'I shan't put my name [Mrs Beatrice Warde] on anything that is sold or published because being with a supply company [the Monotype Corporation] I mustn't "compete with my customers" even in a tiny way.'[83]

The commercial value of Beaujon's scholarly status was apparent to Warde, especially after the breakup of her marriage, when Beaujon provided an income at a time when she had limited finances. At this point in her life Beaujon safeguarded

[79] Mosley, 'The types of Jean Jannon …'. Mosley, 'Garamond or Garamont?'. A version of this piece is also published in *the Journal of the Printing Historical Society 23 (2015),* pp.77-104.
[80] Mosley, 'Garamond or Garamont?'.
[81] Mosley, 'The types of Jean Jannon …'.
[82] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', p.74.
[83] Beatrice Warde, 'Letter to Lamberton Becker, on Beaujon printing with Morison'. c.1933. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

Warde; her initial anonymity meant that her gender was hidden when attitudes to women in the industry were discriminatory and also that her reputation was protected should any of her early pseudonymous work be unfavourably received. Lamberton Becker advised Warde to combine part-time working with freelance writing and never to sell the rights to Beaujon.[84] Beaujon gave her an independent voice that improved her reception at the Monotype Corporation and after the breakup of her marriage, provided a level of financial independence.

Within two years of arriving in London and after seeing herself as a scholar, through responses to 'The Garamond Types', Beaujon, became an established expert. However, as proof of her pseudonymous identity, Warde obtained a certificate from the American Embassy in Paris. Signed by an official, it named her as Beaujon and may have been used as identification for financial purposes or to aid her entry to typographic archives in Paris which, were not easily accessible to women.[85] This is also evidence of potential concern on Warde's part that her status as a scholar may not have been believed and the certificate may have been sought in case proof was needed.[86]

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[84] The freedom and value of Beaujon as a reputation maker was recognised by Warde but also by Lamberton Becker, who advised Warde to combine part-time working with freelance writing and never to sell to the rights to the Beaujon name. Loxley, *Printer's Devil*, p.86. May Lamberton Becker, [unpublished] Letter to Beatrice Warde, December 29. c.1928. MS823/6. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Griffin, *The Faces of Anonymity*, p.3.

[85] This last option has been suggested by 'Printer A'.

[86] 'Certificate identifying Beatrice Lamberton Becker Ward[e] as Paul Beaujon', (Paris: American Embassy, 1926). MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham

Fig. 6.7 Certificate identifying Beatrice Lamberton Becker Ward[e] as Paul Beaujon.
MS823/4 CRL.

Through her writing, Warde's identity as Beaujon was gradually revealed, providing her with a distinctive name, recognisable throughout the industry that labelled her a typographic scholar and gender pioneer. [87] Warde continued to write under this pseudonym intermittently throughout her working life, in journals including *Penrose Annual, Signature* and *The Monotype Recorder*. [88] Beaujon's articles were reminders of Warde's scholarship and her final piece under this name was published in *Penrose* in 1959. [89]

Warde's use of written and spoken language and printing was essential to the dissemination of her ideas and presentation.[90] Dreyfus is valuable for emphasising this, describing her words as 'so rich and varied in colour, so logical and precise in definition, so meaningful and imaginative in metaphor'.[91]

Warde first recognised the power of printing during her youth in Manhattan, 'a world where… a writer was a person of consequence [receiving] prestige, respect and celebrity.'[92] New York was the richest, largest and most impressive city in America; it had world-class educational establishments, creating scholars, attracted commerce, professional opportunities and created a consumer society in which printing played a vital role.[93] Warde experienced first-hand the consequences and potential of growth in printing technology and its capacity to reproduce increasing numbers of printed

[87] Beaujon, 'On XVIIIth Century French Typography and Fournier Le Jeune' [Pierre Simon Fournier (Sept. 15, 1712-Oct. 8, 1768) and XVIIIth Century French Typography & Modern Printing in France]. Paul Beaujon, 'Bergerettes and other Light Lyrics of the French XVII & XVIII Centuries', *The Fleuron*, 6 (1928) Bauer Type Foundry Type Specimen. Paul Beaujon, 'On Decorative Printing in America', *The Fleuron*, 6 (1928), pp.69-93.

[88] Articles by Beaujon include: Paul Beaujon. 'Sonnet for A Printer's Specimen Book', *The Monotype Recorder,* 29 (1930). Paul Beaujon. 'The Anthology of Verse as a Typographic Problem', *Signature,* 13 (1940), pp.1-14. Paul Beaujon. 'B.R. Marks and Remarks', *Signature,* New Series 4 (1947), pp.54-6.

[89] Paul Beaujon. 'The Diuturnity of Eric Gill', *Penrose Annual,* 53 (1959), pp.26-9.

[90] Barker, *Stanley Morison.*pp.169,178. Loxley, *Printer's Devil,* pp.50-68.

[91] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', pp.71-4.

[92] Richard Fine, *Hollywood and the Profession of Authorship, 1928-1940* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1993) p.41.

[93] Weil, *The History of New York*, p.67.

items, instantly communicating with audiences.[94] In this situation and after moving to London, another important city, she immersed herself in printed communication.

During her career Warde created and contributed to print media through trade journals, newspapers and books.[95] She generated opportunities to self-publish her ideas privately, as well as organising speaking engagements and occasionally radio broadcasts.[96] Gruendler discusses Warde's use of print media for promoting the Monotype Corporation which, in turn, emphasises the opportunities this presented to evidence her own scholarship: 'it seems that both *The Monotype Recorder* and *The Monotype News Letter* were the focus of her role as Publicity Manager… and Warde transformed it…through content as well as the design…The historical focus of the editions…expanded during the 1930s'[97]

The Monotype Recorder had been the Corporation's promotional, printed, house journal and Morison had started to include articles on academic subjects. Warde furthered this, making changes for the benefit of the Monotype Corporation but also to enhance her own reputation believing: 'if it [the *Recorder*] were to be a contribution to scholarship it should come out whenever there was anything worth bringing out… Consequently most numbers of the Monotype Recorder have become collectors' items and are greatly prized.'[98]

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[94] Michael Twyman, *Printing,* pp.85-130.

[95] Warde contributed to *The Monotype Recorder* and *The Monotype Newsletter* and to trade journals including *Penrose Annual*, *British Printer* and *Graphis*. She also published her ideas in books that included: Warde, 'An American in the Blitz', pp.107-145. Beatrice, Warde,'I Know What Books Mean', in *Bookmaking and Kindred Amenities*, ed. by Earl Schenck Miers and Richard Ellis (New Bruswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942), pp.15-9.

[96] A series of twenty-five radio broadcasts, made by Warde, between 1942 and 1944 for the British War Relief Society, were aired across America to promote the work and ideas of Books Across the Sea. Bonner, 'Books Across The Sea: Bulletin to Members', p.1. Warde recorded a radio interview in Australia during her 1957 tour. Type Radio [online]. Warde contributed to a 1961 radio programme on Eric Gill. Douglas Cleverdon, Portrait of Eric Gill. BBC, 1961, [cited 31 March 2018]. Available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/sculptors/12816.shtml>

[97] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.139-45.

[98] Warde, 'I am a Communicator', p.7.

Warde's focus on *The Monotype Recorder* in this way enhanced her own presentation as a scholar and she altruistically linked herself and the Monotype Corporation, a commercial corporation, with the academic study of printing and with education, a status which continues.[99] Warde became renowned for this scholarship: ''Mr Beaujon' (Mrs Beatrice Warde) took on the editorship of *The Monotype Recorder* and the tradition of special numbers maintaining the scholarly reputation has continued.'
[100] Hazzlewood emphasises that *The Monotype Recorder* from this period including Warde's writing 'are now sought after by typographic collectors and are listed in the catalogues of dealers.' [101]

As editor, Warde authored pieces herself and also as Beaujon and commissioned other experts to discuss the topics she selected.[102] As *The Monotype Recorder* developed it provided her with a platform for maintaining her scholarly status, as did its collectible nature which ensured copies were kept and re-read as a source of reference, extending her scholarship to future readers. After her death, *The Monotype Recorder* proclaimed her as a scholar 'her reputation as a scholar was firmly established', she was 'brilliant at rationalising the functional aspects of design' and her ideas analysed 'The significance of the invention of movable type, [whist] keeping one eye fixed on the Third Millennium'.[103]

Warde also used public speaking engagements both nationally and internationally to evidence herself as a scholar, seeing her strength as being able to engage an audience, maintaining their interest with little preparation. [104] Her first experience of public

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[99] Both Gruendler and Irwin link Warde's value to the contemporary study of typography. Irwin, 'Fine Typography…', pp.91-7. Gruendler,'The Crystal Goblet as a Teaching Tool', pp.98-100.
[100] John Hazzlewood, 'Aims and Objectives of House Journals', *British Printer,* 71 (1958), p.78.
[101] Hazzlewood, 'Aims and Objectives …, p.78.
[102] Warde's articles for *The Monotype Recorder* included: Warde, 'Recent Achievements in Bible Typography'. Beaujon, 'On the Choice of Typefaces: History and Characteristics of Bembo'. Joseph Thorp, friend of Warde wrote articles for *The Monotype Recorder*, including: Joseph Thorp, 'Towards a Nomenclature of Letterforms' *The Monotype Recorder*, 30 (1931), pp.7-19.
[103] Warde, 'I am a Communicator', p.5.
[104] Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography'', p.71.

speaking was in 1928 when she responded on behalf of guests at the Worshipful Company of Stationers first ladies' night dinner.[105] Reported in the press as 'A Woman Typographer of Note', it detailed her American career, her published writings as Beaujon, Editorship of *The Monotype Recorder* and scholarly activity as her hobby.[106] The occasion, and particularly the report of the event in the *British Colonial Printer and Stationer*, was a public verification of her expertise and scholarship.

Speaking on behalf of the Monotype Corporation, Warde was renowned for her lectures to professional and student groups. These events were synonymous with the Corporation's commercial activity, of good practice and taste in typography, as well as the academic study of the printing industry. Evidencing her presentation as a scholar, the Montreal Technical School promoted her talk: 'Mrs Warde brings with her a treasure-chest of knowledge and experience in the Graphic Arts, which coupled with her exceptional talent as an interesting and enlightened speaker, will make her visit not only a memorable one, but also a profitable one to all who have the opportunity of hearing her.'[107]

A vital demonstration of her scholarship, through regard for her scholarship, her presentations became a significant aspect of her work blurring her commercial aims with scholarly activity. Warde enjoyed public speaking, believing herself most skilled as a 'vocal' communicator, rather than a writer: 'Writing is the hardest job in the

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[105] 'Woman Typographer of Note', *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer,* 20 December (1928), p182. MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[106] 'Woman Typographer of Note', p182. Warde's hobby was described as the scholarly activity of 'making metrical translations of Latin and 18th Century French Poetry' which was said to be published that year.

[107] 'Invitation to a Lecture: New Trends in Type Design by Beatrice Warde. Montreal Technical School', 1953. MS823/8. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. In her undated journal of a tour to America she describes travelling with 5 suitcases and collecting extra copies of print samples of books printed in Monotype Corporation typefaces. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

world – it's done with sweat and agony and there is not a paragraph I have ever written which has not been re-written three or four times.'[108]

During World War Two, despite the reduction of her role with the Corporation, Warde continued as a scholar, utilising her professional skills honed as a publicity manager at the Monotype Corporation for philanthropic activities, in particular her work for Books Across the Sea [BAS]. An Anglo-American book exchange, it promoted understanding through reading, and highlighted and disseminated her scholarship through the demonstration of her knowledge of publishing.[109] Formed by Warde in London and Lamberton Becker in New York, the society aimed to counter Nazi propaganda and its efforts to foster distrust. Warde gave lectures promoting the ideas of BAS, compiled an anthology of libertarian texts *The Token of Freedom* to be presented to British evacuees to America and staged an exhibition on bombed books from London in the Library of Congress in Washing DC. [110] Her wartime experiences as founder of BAS also increased her post-war ambition, framing the impression of herself she created and her presentation as a scholar.

Warde used photography to reinforce her scholarship, creating an image that has previously been discussed for its contribution to her legacy making. In 1956 she was photographed by Howard Coster (1885-1959), whose subjects were leading cultural figures in the fields of politics, literature and art and included, friend of Warde, Eric Gill, as well as Aldous Huxley, John Gielgud and Laurence Olivier.[111] Coster's

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[108] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* pp.9-10. Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, 'The First Lady of Typography', p.71.

[109] Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …'.

[110] Warde wrote an account of one of her talks on American Life and culture in *Scholastic Magazine*: Beatrice Warde, 'United We Stand'. Details of Warde's wartime correspondence, her newsletter articles, *The Token of Freedom* and her exhibition at the Library of Congress are located in the Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. MS823/8/9/17/19

[111] Beatrice Warde (1900-1969), Authority on Typography, [online]. Pepper, and Brown, *Coster, Howard Sydney Musgrave (1885–1959), Photographer*.

portrait was a stereotype showing Warde in front of a bookcase of antiquarian books, holding an open volume and looking directly at the photographer. The art direction of this image was devised to uphold and communicate Warde's presentation as a scholar. Antiquarian books were selected to convey her as an expert on publishing, a bibliophile and as a confident, educated figure. Presented to the National Portrait Gallery in 1958, this photograph became a public endorsement of Warde the Scholar.

This section has explored Warde's determination to be successful through her presentation as a scholar. Believing that through scholarship she would be an authority in the printing industry, and establish a rewarding career, the inspiration and support of her family and friends furthered her professional opportunities. Additionally, the status and expertise of her friends in the industry transferred to Warde through association, endorsing her self-belief in her scholarship.

Warde recognised that gender was an issue curtailing her ability to become a leading scholar in a male-dominated industry. To overcome this issue, and inspired by pseudonymous writers from literature, she established a nom-de-plume to obfuscate her gender. This section examined the origin and use of her pseudonym, Paul Beaujon, a strategy which in itself evidences her scholarship and that succeeded in speedily establishing her expertise. The focus of her writing was also vital to the establishment of her scholarship and solving the typographic mystery of the origin of Garamond types was selected specifically to endorse this position.

Using language in all its forms, Warde created areas of scholarship previously unknown in the industry, whilst also maintaining the commercial interests of the Monotype Corporation. Her wartime activities also utilised her intellectual abilities, expanding her reach to worldwide audiences, and increasing her post-war scholarly ambition.

Self-centred in her aims and recognising that women were not represented as scholars of printing, Warde was not looking to forge a way for other women in the industry. She was not content with being regarded as a scholar but what was equally important to her was the profile and attention this status brought. Warde's scholarship publicly evidenced and validated her position as an important figure within the industry. This is a focus that leads on to the next section of this chapter.

PUBLIC RELATIONS EXPERT

This section examines the second area of control ascribed to Warde through the findings of this research, that of her presentation as a public relations expert. Pioneers in the printing industry of the twentieth century have been described as 'bursting with ideas and exhilarated by a new concept of art and society who were determined to make their voices heard effectively' and this description fits with Warde's presentation for success. [112] Her professional skills in public relations provided her with the ability to control her presentation including through image making, which was a visible but previously overlooked aspect of her self-control for success.

In the British, post-war printing industry, public relations had growing importance; it was the foundation of Warde's work for Monotype and vital to her success.

Hornsby, a period commentator, describes the role of the public relations officer [PRO] as: 'I am the mouthpiece of my organisation…I answer all the questions and provide all the information about my firm…it is my job to create goodwill.' and this provides a description of Warde's activities at Monotype. [113] An added consequence of her position was that as a PRO Warde had the potential to increase her own profile and attract attention: 'He [the PRO] must be an extrovert and that entails a liking for

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[112] Herbert Spencer, *Pioneers of Modern Typography*, (London: Lund Humphries, 1982), p.11.
[113] Lex Hornsby, 'Its Purpose and Functions' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public Relations*, ed. by Lex Hornsby, Trevor Powell and F. L. Stevens (London: Newman Neame for The Institute of Public Relations, 1958), p.6.

talk at all times and to all comers.' [114] Again this is an apt description of Warde and the qualities she brought to her role.

The advent of professional public relations is traced to America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and its history is investigated by Cutlip who is helpful in understanding Warde's knowledge and experience of this topic.[115] Linking population increases to commercial, social and political progress in the early twentieth century, Cutlip explains that the growing awareness of the importance and benefits of courting public favour was a reason for the development of public relations. The increasing power of the newly emerging role of PROs and their evolving strategies highlighted public relations as an important 'weapon' of politics, religion, economics and social causes. Cutlip's analysis emphasises that during her early life, Warde had awareness of the significance of public relations in mainstream America, particularly as it was a facet of her mother's profession.[116] Warde and Monotype in Britain were pioneers in public relations because, notwithstanding its origins in America, the British printing industry did not generally promote the value of public relations until after World War Two, when there was an emphasis on maximising commercial returns and public relations was seen as an aid to this outcome. The *British Printer* highlighted the importance of a public relations exhibition that was staged by the Federation of Master Printers to explain to the public the significance of printing and printers to business and society. This article also contained text extracted from 'Your Printing Industry', which accompanied the exhibition and listed the uses for printed material, whilst praising the professionalism of printers and highlighting their creativity and intelligence. Although this piece did not mention Warde, it dealt with themes that recurred in her work and formed the foundation of her public relations approaches,

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[114] Paul Reilly 'The Spoken Word' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, ed. by Lex Hornsby, Trevor Powell and F. L. Stevens (London: Newman Neame for The Institute of Public Relations, 1958) p.207.
[115] Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations A History*, (London: Routledge, 1994).
[116] Cutlip, *The Unseen Power*, pp.1-9.

whilst consequently emphasising her influence on key themes in the printing industry of this period: '[an exhibition about public relations was]… to show the British public just how important in the life of the nation, the achievements of the printing industry are'.[117]

A Guide to the Practice of Public Relations was the first British book on this topic, giving a view of the environment that Warde occupied: 'the world's most urgent need and opportunity are for a more sensitive and penetrating system of communications at every level from the transmission of ideas between peoples to the daily exchange of information and opinion….That new system [public relations] must combine both old media of proven authority, notably the press and new media.'[118]

Warde advised the Institute of Public Relations and contributed to this book, which discussed different media employed for public relations and detailed the organisation of its practice. Containing chapters on 'Press Relations,' 'Use of Photography,' 'Exhibitions,' 'House Journals,' 'the Spoken Word' and 'Use of Print' it is essential to the understanding of Warde's professional activity and public relations expertise.[119]

In 'The Use of Print' MacPhail paraphrased and quoted Warde's views on the importance of typography in public relations, discussing the persuasive capacity of typefaces as a reflection of good manners: 'Type can be made to talk. The tone of its voice, its inflections, diction and audibility, will depend on what you want to say and

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[117] 'Public Impression', *British Printer*, January February (1950), p.18-22.

[118] Sir Stephen Tallents, 'By Way of Introduction', *A Guide to The Practice of Public Relations*, ed. by Lex Hornsby, Trevor Powell and F. L. Stevens, (London: Newman Neame Limited for The Institute of Public Relations, 1958), p.5.

[119] *A Guide to The Practice of Public Relations*, ed. by Lex Hornsby, Trevor Powell and F. L. Stevens, (London: Newman Neame for The Institute of Public Relations, 1958). John, Pringle, 'Press Relations' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, pp.57-74. Eric, H., Underwood, 'The Use of Photography' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, pp. 84-90 . Trevor Jones, 'Exhibitions' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, pp.168-75. Bernard W. Smith, 'House Journals' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, pp.201-206. Paul Reilly 'The Spoken Word' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, p.207. Ian MacPhail, 'The Use of Print' in *A Guide to The Practice of Public* Relations, pp.160-7.

how you want to say it. Tone and inflection are the design of the type-face your designer chooses, clarity of diction is the readability of the type and audibility is the size of the type.'[120]

In using Warde's ideas and words, this section is a blueprint for her approach to public relations for the industry and, consequently, an indication of her own expertise in this area. It quotes from an address she made to the Institute of Public Relations, providing her perspective on the outcome of public relations, success through printing: 'every use of print is performing – deliberately or unconsciously - an act of spokesmanship to the outside world and conveys an impression of the organisations standing'[121]

Warde was acknowledging her role as a performance, drawing attention to the Corporation and herself. Regard for her ideas on this subject was emphasised when the *British Printer* carried an edited version of this chapter under the heading 'The Use of Print in Public Relations.'[122]

An example of Warde's expertise in public relations evidenced and perpetuated through use of print, comes from an event created to attract media attention. This was her coronation as 'Queen of Typography' at the Atlanta Printing Club.[123]

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[120] MacPhail 'The Use of Print', p.165.
[121] Warde was a member of the Institute of Public Relations from its inception, however, the date of this address is unknown. MacPhail 'The Use of Print' pp.161-2.
[122] Ian MacPhail, 'The Use of Print in Public Relations' *British Printer*, 71 (1958), p.47-9.
[123] 'London Visitor Gives Brilliant Address to The Atlanta Printing Club', The Southern Printer, May 12, (1953). MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

BEATRICE WARDE CAPTIVATES CAPACITY AUDIENCE AT MAY DINNER

Top left (1): Richard N. McArthur crowns and proclaims Mrs. Beatrice Warde, noted London authority on typography, "Queen of Type," at May 12 dinner meeting at Atlanta Athletic Club attended by 125 people. PIAtlanta had its own "Coronation." President C. C. Barfield looks on with obvious interest.

Top right (2): After the dinner, Mrs. Warde, still wearing her crown which McArthur miraculously produced after much searching around Atlanta, graciously autographs souvenirs for her admirers. Prominent personalities of the local printing industry in this scene.

Middle left (3): Mrs. Warde, Mr. McArthur, Walter Lieb, Atlanta manager for Lanston Monotype Machinery Company, and Lanston's President Robert Nelson, at the cocktail party given by Lanston before the dinner. This party was a huge success because of the wonderful hosts.

Lower left (4): Mrs. Warde was an expressive speaker, held her audience. A characteristic pose at the head table.

Lower right (5): Mrs. Warde puts aside her crown and gets down to business discussing famous typography of the London Times.

on Taxation, is considering rounding up his Committee in Washington at the time of the national PIA convention. Washington is the logical meeting place for the Committee on Taxation . . . John Butler, of John H. Harland Company, has been re-appointed member of the Research Committee representing the bank stationers of the U. S. of the Lithographic Technical Foundation. Congratulations to John who has served for two years in this important capacity. Incidentally, Mr. John Harland has left for a visit with his mother in Bessbrook, Ireland. We wish him a pleasant summer vacation.

JUNE, 1953 *Printing Industry of Atlanta, Inc.* ● 3

Fig 6.8 Queen of Typography, 'London Visitor Gives Brilliant Address to the Atlanta Printing Club' *the Southern Printer*. MS823/9 CRL.

The occasion was preceded by a lecture which was reported, and photographs of her wearing her crown and signing autographs were published. Proclaimed as 'Queen of Typography', Warde was the centre of attention. She was confirmed as an industry figurehead or 'head of state' and although a public relations gimmick, the event confirmed the successful outcome of her public relations expertise. From this point, Warde was referred to fondly through this mock title: in a letter Morison called her 'Your Royal Uniqueness', elevating her self-impression and presentation in the industry.[124]

Under the guise of public relations for the Monotype Corporation, Warde created promotional opportunities using print that also furthered her self-presentation.[125] However, despite representing a corporation, media reports provided minimal detail on the Monotype Corporation and Warde herself was central.[126] After touring Australia and South Africa in 1957, and purposefully to create reports in the press, a party was held in Warde's honour. The resulting headline announced: 'Britain's ambassadress of typography, the wittily vivacious, erudite Mrs Beatrice Warde, has returned after four triumphal months in Australia and South Africa.'[127] Her identity was paramount, and her revered status in the industry as a media personality was emphasised. In making these overseas visits and staging events around them, Warde

[124] Morison, [Unpublished] Letter to Beatrice Warde 15 October 1957.

[125] Warde made regular visits to America and in 1957 she visited Australia and South Africa: 'Expert Stresses Value of Writing', *West Australian*, 12 September 1957. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'Expert on Type: Tell The World About Hobart Says Entranced Visitor' *The Mercury* [Hobart], 6 September 1957, p.3. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. The Man on the Reef, World's Greatest Authority: Lively American Woman is True to Type. 'Unpublished Itineraries for tour of Australia 1957', MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[126] Media reports included: 'Value for Money', *The Australasian Printer*, January (1958), pp.33-7. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Daily News Reporter 'Introduced by an Expert. All types and many different Faces', the *Natal Daily News* Durban, November (1957). MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[127] 'Mrs Beatrice Warde is Welcomed Home', *Printing World* (1957). MS823/3. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

created news for the benefit of the Monotype Corporation but also maintained her own prominence.

The British Federation of Master Printers 1900-1950 by Ellic Howe, charts the first fifty years of the Federation and its adoption of public relations. Mr R. A. Paget-Cooke was appointed the first public relations secretary in 1947, the same year as the formation of the organisation's public relations committee: 'It was thought essential that the Federation should have some means of 'projecting' the printing industry in the widest possible sense to the general public and Government Departments.'[128] Howe explained the significance of this committee and stressed the importance the Federation placed on the new area of public relations, as well as emphasising their regard for Warde's spokesmanship promoting printing: 'Among those who addressed this Second Publicity and Selling Conference was Mrs Beatrice Warde of the Monotype Corporation…This was the first time that Mrs Warde… addressed a major gathering of Federation members.'[129] In 'To Start You Talking: Who Speaks for Print,' the need for public relations within the industry was outlined: 'Printing… sorely needed the service of a trained professional propagandist – one who could propagate in the public's mind a deeper respect and appreciation for the part which this particular sort of activity had played and was playing in the affairs of civilisation.'[130] Although employed by the Monotype Corporation, Warde extended her role to promote the printing industry more widely and this article is an indication of the authority that came through her position, highlighting the attention and respect her role brought.

The trade press respected Warde's public relations expertise, highlighting house journals she edited for Monotype, especially *The Monotype Recorder*, discussing

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[128] Ellic Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers 1900-1950*, p.xxi.
[129] Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers*, p.106.
[130] 'To Start You Talking: Who Speaks for Print', *British Printer*, 69 (1956), p.41.

history, popularity, focus and readership.[131] 'Viewed as a piece of public relations, the trade has no better example of a house journal…'[132] However, in disseminating her ideas, Warde attracted attention; her name and image became significant aspects of not only her articles but also third-party reports of her work: '[Warde] is possibly the world's only woman typographer…she achieved her position by pretending in her early days to be a man…Today, 30 years later Mrs Warde is still the editor of the "Monotype Recorder".' [133] *The Monotype Recorder* was credited with being the best example of printed public relations for the industry and respect for Warde's public relations skills was emphasised. The article underlined her dominance in the field and the effectiveness of her presentation as a propagandist for the industry, in essence also praising her professional self-presentation.

The texts reviewed here highlight the interest in public relations during Warde's working life, demonstrating the increased awareness of the benefits in relation to the printing industry. Most of these texts reference Warde, accentuating her success with public relations and thus emphasising her skilled self-presentation, which was manifest.

One significant, as yet unexamined, approach was through her image making with clothing and photography.

'Use of Photography' was an important section in *A Guide to The Practice of Public Relations*. It explained the importance of photography in communicating messages and how to choose the best photographer to achieve the desired aims, notions of which Warde was aware: 'Pictures are one of the most successful methods of

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[131] Hazzlewood, 'Aims and Objectives …', pp.76-9.

[132] Hazzlewood, 'Aims and Objectives …', p.78.

[133] Warde's image was shown in articles including: Warde, 'The IPEX Educational Feature', pp.67-9. Unknown Author, 'Typographers Dress is Lettered'.

conveying information and in the present century their importance has increased rather than diminished.'[134]

Image making and its presentation was prominent during Warde's upbringing, and commercial imagery appealed particularly to female viewers, imparting notions of emancipation and mobility, factors that were key in her all-female home.[135] Manhattan was also key to Warde's self-presentation and being raised in this environment, she recognised the connection between styles in clothing, professional activity and achievement, a notion that Wilson also acknowledges; 'Fashion, … originates … in the early capitalist city. Fashion 'links beauty, success and the city'.[136] In New York Warde saw the increase in the use of images in printed ephemera and was aware of their power and value, whilst also recognising the attention they brought to those individuals captured. Warde realised that 'In all societies the body is 'dressed', and everywhere dress and adornment play symbolic, communicative and aesthetic roles'.[137] From her upbringing she knew that fashion had ramifications for social status, responses to gender and professional behaviour, themes that were crucial during her career and relevant to her self-presentation: 'A part of the strangeness of dress is that it links the biological body to the social being and public to private. This makes it uneasy territory, since it forces us to recognize that the human body is more than a biological entity. It is an organism in culture, a cultural artefact.'[138] Warde identified the power of photography, which went on to become significant to her expertise in public relations. During her working life, photography became a variation of contemporary communication and a new language that, resulting from printing developments, brought images to the page and linked text with image: 'One of the most revolutionary effects of [photography] was in offering

[134] Underwood, 'The Use of Photography' p.84.
[135] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.4.
[136] Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams* (London: Virago, 1985), p.9.
[137] Twyman, *Printing 1770-1970,* pp.85-130. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*. p.3.
[138] Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*. p.2.

hope of new methods of representation…hovering in a kind of utopian space between, where the informational utility of writing meets the immediacy of sight.'[139] From the interwar period, and particularly in the 1950s, attention was being drawn to the power of imagery, and Warde fully engaged with this which became a tool of her communication and self-presentation. It helped to create and reinforce her ideas and messages, whilst speedily affirming her identity and status in the minds of those who viewed images of her.

Constructing her identity using sartorial methods and photography was inspired by popular culture and was also part of how Warde aimed to engage with and shape popular culture: 'To participate in society we cultivate a public persona, a manner of being in the world that works to sustain our engagements with others. Much of the training for this duel and divided mentality is delivered through popular culture.' [140]

Warde's image making became synonymous with the Monotype Corporation, ensuring the instant transmission of her ideas and her selected clothing became a 'costume' for professional performance.[141] To ensure her desired presentation Warde selected photographers for their reputations for capturing the fashionable elite of the arts-world and her resulting imagery was planned for use within print media.[142] She chose photographers including Angus McBean (1904-1990), Florence Vivienne Mellish [Vivienne] (1889-1982) and Howard Coster (1885-1959).[143] Being captured

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[139] Michael North, *Camera Works: Photography and the Twentieth-Century Word*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 3-9. Vike Martina Plock, *Modernism, Fashion and Interwar Women Writers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.), pp.15,16, 20, 21.

[140] Joanne Finkelstein, *The Art of Self Invention: Image and Identity in Popular Visual Culture*, (London: I.B. Taurus, 2007), p.2.

[141] Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*. pp.3-15.

[142] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1982), pp.217-19, 260-3.

[143] Val Williams, 'McBean, Angus Rowland (1904–1990), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2004, [cited 14 October 2019] available from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-39960>. Vivienne, *National Portrait Gallery* [online], 2022 [cited 18 March 2022]. Available from <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp17559/vivienne-florence-

by eminent photographers, Warde presented herself as important. Plock is significant for recognising that in literary professions and in the arts, the image was vital to promotion and 'image cultivation was of such significance to a female author who hoped to sell her books'.[144] Warde was aware of this notion, seeing it in practice throughout the professional life of Lamberton Becker who had already taken this approach. She had used important photographers including the Bachrach studio, a dynasty of portrait photographers renowned for capturing luminaries from the arts, business and politics, including US presidents.[145] Their work not only showed the image of the sitter but also the Bachrach name, which appeared prominently as part of the image, ensuring the viewer recognised the connection and Warde followed this approach.

vivienne-entwistle-nee-mellish>. Pepper and Brown,[online] *Coster, Howard Sydney Musgrave (1885–1959), Photographer*.

[144] Plock, *Modernism,* p.3.

[145] Samantha Baskind, 'The Story Behind the Photography Studio that Captured America,' *Smithsonian Magazine* [online], [cited 18 March 2022]. Available from: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/bachrach-photography-studio-captured-america-180977701/ >. Portrait of May Lamberton Becker, Bachrach, circa 1930. MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

Fig. 6.9 Portrait of May Lamberton Becker, the Bachrach Studio circa 1930.

MS823/9 CRL.

The photographer's name or signature is a critical aspect when viewing Warde's images and Sayer's ideas are significant to interpreting this aspect of Warde's use of Photography: 'In looking at Photographs… we need to attend to the photograph itself – the assemblage of signifiers …instead of focussing, as historians are wont to do, simply on what it depicts'.[146] Without the name or signature the self-presentation and public relations value of Warde's photographs would be reduced.

A portrait photographer, Vivienne's subjects included Vivien Leigh and Winston Churchill and she first photographed Warde circa 1933. This image is discussed later in this chapter for its relevance to Virginia Woolf's use of clothing as signs; however, it is an image which features Vivienne's signature. Her name is embossed, emphasising the significance of the photographer's identity to Warde's presentation. A later portrait of Warde by Vivienne appeared in the *British Printer* and also emphasised the photographer's name: 'Mrs Beatrice Warde in a new portrait by Vivienne'. [147] In addition to highlighting the significance of the photographer's identity to this image, the approach of the photograph itself is notable. Soft-focus, it emulated styles of fashion photography and created a youthful appearance, presenting Warde, who was 55, as having a vitality and relevance competing with the increasing number of younger commentators within the printing industry. Craik's ideas on fashion photography are important in thinking about why Warde selected this image for self-promotion: 'Fashion photographs were 'quite conspicuous constructions' portraying an 'unreal', glamorous world designed 'to seduce and to captivate'.[148]

Since the 1930s, models in fashion photography had been seen as 'uniformly youthful… and advertising set up a form of vision grounded in notions of seduction,

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[146] Derek Sayer, 'The Photograph: The Still Image', in *History Beyond the Text,* ed. by Sarah Barber and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird (London: Routledge, 2009) pp.49-71 p.65.
[147] Beatrice Warde, 'Training For Tomorrow …', pp.67-9.
[148] Jennifer Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion,* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.101.

possession, dominance and control'.[149] These notions link to Warde's expertise in public relations and self-presentation through photography, captivating and controlling her industry audience to respect and follow her ideas.

Newhall's overview of the development of celebrity portrait photography in the printed media has relevance to the origin of Warde's inspiration. 'Fashion magazines were among the earliest to make regular editorial use of photographs.'[150] From these images Warde was able to observe and emulate the styles of notable photographers, including Edward Steichen: 'he produced a great quantity of portraits of celebrities… they form a pictorial biography of the men of letters, actors, artists, statesmen…[this photography] relies for its effectiveness on the ability to grasp at once the moment when a face shows character, on dramatic use of artificial light and a solid sense of design.'[151]

In emulating the style of these images, Warde linked herself with important celebrities. Craik details the development and consequences of fashion photography connected to celebrity: 'Photographs became synonymous with 'the modern look' which encapsulated Hollywood glamour, new urban lifestyles and new freedoms for women.'[152] This was the effect Warde was aiming for, emulating celebrity photography for self-promotion while endorsing her own professional freedom in the printing industry.

Another celebrated photographer selected by Warde was Angus McBean whose work was renowned as inspired by the fine art movement of Surrealism, and his subjects included Audrey Hepburn, Elizabeth Taylor and Laurence Olivier. [153] McBean produced three portraits of Warde in 1938 and the first was originated to model

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[149] Craik, *The Face of Fashion,* p.103.
[150] Newhall, *The History of Photography*, p.263.
[151] Newhall, *The History of Photography*, p.263.
[152] Craik, *The Face of Fashion,* p.101.
[153] Williams, *McBean, Angus Rowland (1904–1990)*.

Hollywood photography; her pose was confident and her clothes were carefully

selected, 'offering an opportunity for individual performance' whilst denoting

affluence and importance.[154]

[154] Portrait of Beatrice Warde by Angus McBean, 1938. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. R.S. Koppen, *Virginia Woolf, Fashion and Literary Modernity,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009) p.1.

Fig 6.10 Portrait of Beatrice Warde by Angus McBean 1938. MS823/3 CRL.

Warde's clothing and pose replicated fashion images of Hollywood stars such as Steichen's Greta Garbo.[155]

Fig 6.11 Portrait of Greta Garbo by Edward Steichen 1928.

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[155] Edward, Steichen, *Greta Garbo* 1928 in Newhall, *The History of Photography,* p.263.

Using her public relations expertise, Warde was relying on viewers to associate her McBean image with celebrity imagery, for the successful fulfilment of her self-presentation and again, the photographer's signature was a significant element of this image. Warde acknowledged the importance she placed on these photographs and the photographers name, referring to them in a letter to Lamberton Becker as 'the McBean photographs' stressing his name in the knowledge that Lamberton Becker would appreciate this distinction.[156] Other images of Warde by McBean are discussed in the later section of this chapter examining the New Woman.

It is not known where Warde used most of the Mellish and McBean images but they are important in considering her public relations skill within the industry. They indicate how she saw herself when she had freedom to create her own image and were vital in increasing her comfort behind the camera and helping her to learn to use photography for public relations outcomes, self-presentation and as a communication tool. Through working with these photographers Warde was curating her image to become whomever she wanted, acknowledging her mobility, highlighting her gender, glamour, and energetic appearance in an industry where there was an absence of women. At the same time, she was displaying her capability and testing her appearance as an indicator of her ambition; and she was evidencing her perception of her own significance, a situation that ultimately helped her elevation within the industry.

In combination with her public relations expertise, Warde realigned her experience with photography in her press images for articles, reminding readers of her importance through her appearance as prominent, comfortable and immaculately dressed, woman.[157] Her outfits were selected for their symbolism and because 'people

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[156] Beatrice Warde 'Letter to May Lamberton Becker' [referencing the McBean Photographs] undated. MS823/5. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[157] Fred Davis, *Fashion Culture and Identity*, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). p.13.

often make judgements concerning other people's social worth or status on the basis of what those people are wearing.' [158]

Predominantly a literature review, Johnson, Lennon and Rudd align with this topic through examination of 'how an individual's dress-related beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, feelings and behaviours are shaped by others and one's self.' [159] Their paper presents a hypothesis that clothes not only affect behaviour and engender confidence but change how the wearer is perceived by authority as well as discussing responses that clothes elicit in others.[160] In addition, these notions are beneficial to the interpretation of Warde's use of garments for public relations.

'By the mid-twentieth century, the idea of a fixed personality based on a stable mentality became increasingly untenable and the counter idea, of identity or subjectivity being an asset to be groomed and presented to best effect had gained acceptance.' [161] This was Finkelstein's conclusion after her investigation of the fashioning of identity through personal style, sartorial methods, body language and tone of voice. It can be argued Warde was taking this approach when adroitly using her personal style, fashion and tone of voice for professional success.

Davis is another author discussing the contribution of clothing to identity and, in addition, he recognises that garments also impact perceptions of status: 'we know that through clothing people communicate some things about their persons, and at the collective level this results typically in locating them symbolically in some structured universe of status claims and life-style attachments'[162] Warde understood that this could be an outcome of her sartorial approach consciously utilising clothes as

[158] Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, (Oxford: Routledge, 1996), pp.59-65, 61. Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, pp.3-6.
[159] Kim Johnson, Sharron J. Lennon and Nancy Rudd, 'Dress, Body and Self: Research in the Social Psychology of Dress', *Fashion and Textiles*, 20 (2014), p.1.
[160] Johnson, Lennon and Rudd, 'Dress, Body and Self…', pp.1-24.
[161] Finkelstein, *The Art of Self Invention*, p.3.
[162] Davis, *Fashion Culture and Identity*. p.4.

professional tools for career success. Reflecting on the social and cultural forces in society, in examining how clothes communicate and contribute to individuality, Davis devised and discusses a 'clothing code', but was cautious because 'The very same apparel ensemble that "said" one thing last year will "say" something quite different today and yet another thing next year'. [163] Warde's was conscious of this, and her choice of clothing was often based on the period and setting, 'depending upon the identity of the wearer, the occasion, the place, the company and …the viewers' moods.' [164] An example of this approach occurred during World War Two when Warde used her interest in fashion in promoting charitable endeavours, fundraising for an ambulance for London's East End through sales of Lamberton Becker's *Introducing Charles Dickens*.[165] Presenting the ambulance, she was photographed by the press and two images were taken, each communicating different messages through changes in clothing. [166] In the first, Warde wore a turban and large woollen coat with fur collar, a style of clothing which emulated that worn by Clementine Churchill (1885-1977) when accompanying her husband inspecting the American Mechanised Home Guard in Britain. The American Home Guard in Britain was founded in 1940 and comprised Americans who had chosen to remain in Britain rather than returning to US. Its commander was Brigadier General Wade H. Hayes, who was also Honorary Chairman of the American Outpost. Warde met him and was invited to attend Churchill's visit. Clementine Churchill wore a turban and oversized,

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[163] Davis, *Fashion Culture and Identity*, p.6.

[164] Davis, *Fashion Culture and Identity*, pp.7-8.

[165] Beatrice Warde, unpublished letter, 'B.W. to her friends in the U.S.' 1941, MS823/18. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Warde is raising money for the RAF Benevolent Fund. Lamberton Becker, *Introducing Charles Dickens*.

[166] Unpublished letter from London County Council Social Welfare Department c.1941, MS823/6. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

light-coloured fur coat to attract attention and contrast with the clothing of others, making her the most visible person at this event.[167]

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[167] Brian Harrison, 'Churchill, Clementine Ogilvy Spencer- [*née* Clementine Ogilvy Hozier], Baroness Spencer-Churchill,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, January 12 2018 [cited 15 October 2019]. Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30929.> Paul Addison, 'Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer (1874–1965), prime minister,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, September 25 2014 [cited 15 October 2019]. Available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32413> The Universal News: 'Premier Inspects London American Guard' Youtube, [cited 03 November 2017] Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HDBCtD6n3yE>

Fig 6.12 Beatrice Warde in fur collar presenting an ambulance 1941. MS823/2 CRL.

Fig 6.13 Clementine Churchill Inspecting the American Home Guard 1941. *The*

Guardian.

Warde was emulating this style as: 'Clothing and fashion may also be used to indicate or define the social roles that people have. They may be taken as signs that a certain person occupies a certain role' [168] Warde was aloof and distinct from the people around her, the scale, tones and textures of her clothes contrasted with uniformed ambulance workers, thus increasing her visibility. This clothing was selected to convey a particular impression, associating her with importance, attracting attention and positioning Warde socially.[169] In the second image from this event, her clothing was selected to create the opposite impression, her coat was plainer, she no longer stood out, adopting the same lower level of prominence as the uniformed workers.

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[168] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, p.63.
[169] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self,* pp.1-82.

Fig 6.14 Beatrice Warde presenting an ambulance in 1941. MS823/2 CRL.

In the first image she was undertaking overt self-promotion, but in the second Warde was modest: 'Uniforms here give an indication of economic worth or status insofar as they indicate the service, as opposed to the roles, to be expected from an individual.'[170] This was a different form of promotion, allowing Warde to link herself with the occupation of service givers working for the wartime community. Warde was trialling the use of clothing as part of her 'tool kit' for self-presentation and public relations, and she could become whomever she wanted, in this case, the leading light or the worker. Marshik examines how clothes could be used to provide new perspectives on the wearer's personality, reflecting their ideas and values, and imbuing the wearer with a particular identity.[171] In the first image Warde, despite wartime restrictions, 'continued to influence fashion', indicating that she was an important, powerful person, to be admired. [172] In the second, clothing was used to show Warde as one of the workers, signalling that she was identifying with those viewing the image: 'garments can place a new lens over a purportedly known personality; they can stake claims to ideas and values that turn out to be inappropriate moments later; they can inscribe individuals in groups that strip them of specificity; and they can infuse a wearer with someone else's identity.'[173]

In these photographs Warde was wearing a costume which allowed her to adopt a flexible identity through changing garments, thus linking concepts of self-identity with the outer surface of clothing. Marshik's ideas on this topic are also significant to Warde's sartorial practices during her 1957 promotional trip to Australia and South Africa.[174] Previously mentioned with regard to her public relations abilities, Warde's self-presentation on this tour involved garments chosen for communication, image

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[170] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, p.64.

[171] Celia Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes: Modernism, the Middlebrow and British Garment Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

[172] Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, p.171.

[173] Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes*, p.3.

[174] Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes,* pp.103-144.

making and to attract press interest. Shedding light on her personality this 'costume' allowed her flexibility to change messages through changing her dress, when different situations demanded: 'fancy dress … offered Britons a wide range of lenses to place over their normal identities – to enhance, but not disguise, their everyday appearance and persona.' [175]

This occurred when the title 'Typographer's Dress is Lettered' was highlighted by the Australian press, emphasising Warde's professional identity as well as her gender.[176]

[175] Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes*, pp.1-18, 103-144, 105.
[176] 'Typographers Dress is Lettered', *Sun Herald*, 1957.

Fig 6.15 Beatrice Warde in lettered dress, 1957. MS823/3 CRL.

This sartorial approach controlled media attention through use calligraphic fabric, in countries Warde had not previously visited. It triggered curiosity, providing her with the opportunity to emphasise her identity, status and ideas. Through her responses to questions about this garment, Warde could focus on the topics of handwriting and letterforms, areas in which she came across as an expert.

'Off the peg' from a London department store and purchased by Warde for her tour of Australia and South Africa, this dress provides the opportunity to examine Warde's use of a particular garment for communication.[177] Images of Warde wearing this garment disclose that before leaving home, she was considering her appearance and the messages and opportunities her clothing would create. As these circumstances emphasise her knowledge of, and regard for, the power of dress and sartorial image making, it can be argued that she curated her couture for public relations purposes.

Warde wore this dress for its impact on her audiences, but it was also chosen with the creation of photographic opportunities in mind. In this image (figure 6.15), taken in 1957 by the Dotman Pretorius Studio of Photography in South Africa, Warde positioned herself centrally. She was flanked on either side by members of her audience and her dress was emphasised, standing out against the background of plain dark suits. This photograph was taken during a period when colour photography was in its infancy and the colours of this dress are unknown, however, captured in black and white, the tonal contrast of its textile design ensures Warde's visibility. Her femininity is highlighted by the shape of this dress which has a deep 'V' neck and was gathered at the waist. However, it can be argued that this approach was at odds with her creation and adoption of the pseudonym of Paul Beaujon, manipulating her gender for success. Despite identifying and presenting as a mature, French printing expert, Warde did not blur the boundaries between her two identities and

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[177] Warde mentions buying this dress in her correspondence in the Warde Archive, Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

professionally, she did not wear any garments that were synonymous with masculinity; she never wore trousers, preferring dresses, often paired with distinctive hats. Identifying as a leading figure in the industry, her approach emphasised her gender, setting her apart from other, influential figures, who were male. This photograph reveals a posed Warde, a stance that was deliberately effected to showcase the dress and her identity. In addition to standing centrally, Warde holds a book showing it to her male companions. However, her head is held high with her eyes turned downward and the book is sloped towards the photographer, ensuring that they, and those ultimately viewing this image had a clear view of Warde herself, her clothing, and the printed item. A contrived image, discussing this photograph emphasises the success of her communication efforts with dress. Following a style contemporary to the 1950s, the dress was made with fabric covered in Gothic letterforms, a design which was a significant aspect of this outfit. These characters were not accurate replicas of a Monotype typeface but were a derivative of Goudy Black designed by American typographer Frederic W. Goudy (1865-1947) and subsequently developed and marketed by the Monotype Corporation.[178] A vital aspect of this dress, had this fabric featured sans serif letterforms, it is debateable whether Warde would have selected it. As it was, the letters printed on this textile were sufficiently close to Monotype's Goudy Text that it allowed her usefully to connect with her remit to promote the Monotype Corporation, whilst also becoming a walking advertisement for typography. These characters, being historic in their design inspiration and presented against the background of modern, 1950s clothing, were an embodiment of Warde's revivalist ideas, discussed in Chapter Four, and will have triggered opportunities for the discussion and reinforcement of these notions.

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[178] Monotype gained permission to market this typeface, changing its name to Goudy Text. *'Science Museum Group Collection, Specimen sheet for Goudy text'* Science Museum [online], 2023, [cited 13 January 2023]. Available from: <https://collection.sciencemuseumgroup.org.uk/documents/aa110126452/specimen-sheet-for-goudy-text-series-number-292>

Through this dress, Warde became the embodiment of her own ideas and the metaphors she created for their expression: 'People who love ideas must have a love of words, and that means given the chance they will take a vivid interest in the clothes which words wear.'[179] Warde believed that appearance was important to commercial outcomes both in terms of typography and also, as is apparent from this image, through her own professional dress which was always immaculate: '[people who love ideas and words] The more they like to think, the more they will be shocked by any discrepancy between a lucid idea and murky approach'. [180] Taking a considered, sartorial approach, Warde was linking her own appearance with her professional aims and outcomes. In choosing and wearing this dress covered in letterforms, it can be argued that she was an 'early adopter' of luxury, branded clothing, in this case, using letterforms to advocate for the importance the printing industry and the Monotype Corporation.

Although this photograph was captured in South Africa, during her 1957 tour, it is impossible to discern the exact location. Background detail is purposefully minimal and dimmed by the selected lighting which aimed to create a central focus accentuating Warde and her dress. Through this constructed view, Warde's influential position in the industry was emphasised and her self-assurance accentuated, as was her awareness of her need to maintain her presentation, cultivating a distinct image of herself as a leading figure in the industry in a way that would be recognised in the male-dominated industry: 'A woman has to survey everything she is and everything she does because how she appears to others, and ultimately how she appears to men, is of crucial importance for what is normally thought of as the success of her life.'[181] In using her clothing in combination with photography Warde was ensuring that

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179 Beaujon, 'On the Choice of Typefaces', p.10.
180 Beaujon, 'On the Choice of Typefaces', p.10.
181 John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, (London: Penguin, 1972), p.46.

through public relations, her presentation was recognised and perpetuated through reproduction of her image in the media.

Dressed in this garment, Warde signalled her elite place in the printing industry; it did not indicate that she had a role on a printer's 'shop floor' but it was her 'uniform' '[which is clearly] being seen as signalling class identity'.[182] Barnard discusses the differences between 'white collar' and 'blue collar', terms adopted to indicate a distinction between non-manual and manual labour based on styles of clothing. The term 'blue collar' was used in association with the working classes as the colour blue was believed not to show the grime that was consequential of manual labour. 'White collar' was a signal of a higher status of non- manual employment, where employees could wear clothing without the risk of dirtying their garments. Warde's dress was designed and selected to signal her 'white collar' position in the industry.

Overall, Warde's attire highlighted her gender and her correspondence supported her regard for fashion and fashion brands as well as her intentional use of her body for public relations and self presentation; her letters included descriptions of outfits, drawings of dresses and self-portrait photography.[183]

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[182] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, p.112.

[183] Beatrice Warde, Unpublished letter Dearest M 12 April 1926'. Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A17. Portraits Circa 1928. MS823/2. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Beatrice Warde, Unpublished letter 'Dearest AP January 18 1925', Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9827 A1/4.
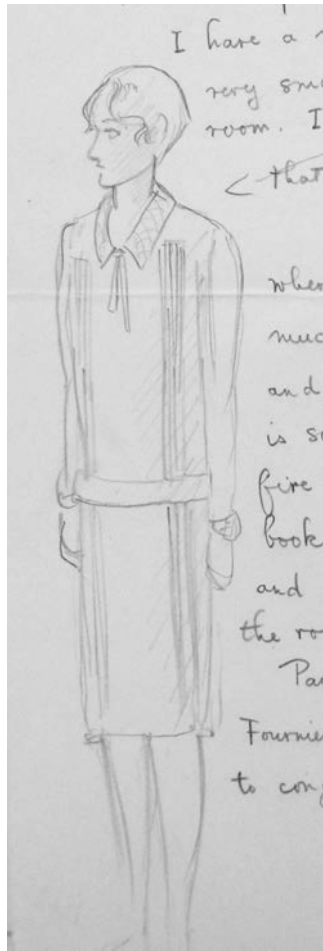
Fig. 6.16 Beatrice Warde drawing of herself to illustrate her dress. 9817 A17 ULC.

Fig. 6.17 Beatrice Warde self-portrait highlighting her clothes circa 1930. MS823/2
CRL.

Warde emphasised the colour, fabric, style, and brand of her clothing as well as describing the attention she received wearing certain garments, and the messages she communicated: 'Everybody is enraptured by my new outfit… The coat is silver-grey teddy-bear cloth, very well cut; the Jaeger dress is delft blue woollen, admirably tailored… the shoes from F&M …; The hat matches the dress and is most becoming. I look the lady and altogether the executive.' Jaeger was and remains an upmarket, British clothing company and, established in 1884, it received a royal warrant in 1910.[184] Warde recognised that certain fashion brands and fabrics denoted messages: 'Fabrics and textiles as well as garments… can be signs' leading to the onlooker drawing particular conclusions through what is signified via these aspects of clothing.[185] In the case of this outfit, the fabric was purposefully selected and emphasised for being indicative of formality as 'a fine, smooth, woollen worsted may signify urban sophistication.' [186] In noting that her dress was 'Jaeger', a luxury brand, Warde was also expressing her success and distinction, as a brand like this was: 'selective and exclusive… giving it the desirable attributes of being scarce, sophisticated and in good taste. The scarcity and 'aristocratic dimension' of these brands went hand in hand with a lofty price tag, making them inaccessible to most people,' including other women in the printing industry. [187] Warde's description of this outfit emphasised her 'white collar' position, social status, confidence and intended self-presentation.[188]

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[184] Jaeger garments for men and women were British made in natural fibres including cashmere, angora and alpaca. Beatrice Warde, 'Unpublished Letter to May Lamberton Becker January 12 1934,' Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9827 A1/14.

[185] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, pp. 64, 81.

[186] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, p.82.

[187] Mark Tungate, *Luxury World: The Past Present and Future of Luxury Brands,* (London: Kogan Page, 2009), p.2.

[188] Davis, *Fashion Culture and Identity*, pp.1-12. Johnson, Lennon and Rudd, 'Dress, Body and Self: …', pp.1-24.

This section examined Warde's use of public relations for self-presentation and to help communicate her ideas. In the male-dominated printing industry, public relations had been unknown, only becoming valued post World War Two to increase commercial returns. Warde's American influences have also been discussed, providing her with public relations knowledge that benefitted Monotype, the Federation of Master Printers, the Institute of Public Relations and importantly herself. In particular her expertise lay in the use of print for public relations leading her to create opportunities where she was the centre of attention. Warde's image making with clothing and photography were two significant manifestations of her self-presentation that have not been previously examined. She knew clothing had a symbolic and communicative role, influencing social status, responses to gender and professional behaviour. Thus, Warde identified the power of photography for public relations linking it with clothing for image making and self-presentation and success. Also discussed in this section was how she was photographed and who she was photographed by, important contributory factors to her self-presentation, as were the brands she wore. Warde chose photographers with reputations for working with society's elite and she was captured emulating Hollywood glamour, the style of some of the most photographed visible women in the world. Warde's identity was being formed through this self-presentation which transformed her status in the printing industry. Clothing became a visual language which Warde changed to indicate different things to differing audiences, including her own importance. This was a behaviour, previously unknown in the printing industry, where leading figures were male and respected for their knowledge rather than their image making. Warde was emphasising herself as woman in the industry, standing out and forming a unique identity in an important, central position.

WARDE THE RELIGIOUS WOMAN

Research has revealed that Warde's beliefs were fundamental to her ideas and control of self for success. Thus, this section examines a third classification attributed to her, that of being a religious woman. An attribution with which Warde self-identified, little attention has been previously paid to this topic. Warde was remembered as: 'religious and eventually found her spiritual home in the Roman Catholic Church'. [189] Her beliefs were described as inconspicuous but apparent: 'Her faith gave colour to her thoughts and actions – indeed we remember her as a person of bright and vibrant colours – and it showed itself in a generosity of spirit to all who came into contact with her.'[190]

The religious environment in Britain during Warde's early professional life was crucial to her place and success and Gardiner highlights respect for religion during this period: 'most Britons in the 1930s would have said that they were Christians…something like 60 per cent of the population professed to be Church of England'. [191] Lower numbers were church-goers: 'Being Christian frequently meant that a person was baptised, married and buried by the Church and generally adhered to a sort of morality which was considered to be how a 'good Christian' should live.'[192] Thus the religious facets of Warde's ideas and her portrayal as a religious woman would have been understood and respected.

Unitarianism, the religion of Warde's birth, and Roman Catholicism, her faith of choice, are for the most part absent from intellectual discussion on Warde. Through the lens of these beliefs, she moulded printing, typography and graphic design, covertly perpetuating her religious ideas and becoming a successful leading figure.

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[189] Jack Matson, Beatrice Warde Memorial Service, Order of Service (1969). Warde's memorial service was held at the Church of St Bride, Fleet Street, 17 October 1969.

[190] Matson, Beatrice Warde Memorial Service, Order of Service (1969).

[191] Gardiner, *The Thirties*. p487.

[192] Gardiner, *The Thirties*. p487.

Notes for Warde's memoirs clarify this facet of her presentation for success; here, she explained the origins of the written and printed word as important gifts from God, a notion supported by ideas from sixteenth-century texts on humanist manuscripts.[193] Bath reveals ideas linked to this aspect of Warde's beliefs, where the reader 'could forget that he was reading the physical product of intermediaries and instead imagine that he was in direct contact with the author or with God'. [194] Warde used her importance in the industry to promote her notion on God's work: 'What makes His [God's] own human method of communication more spectacular … is precisely the fact that it is un-natural ... It all has to be done without an atom of help from biological instinct, by will and skill… contrived and carried through not by accident but by design.'[195] In becoming a devout Catholic, Warde discussed her religion with friends, read and wrote about it and committed to the guidance of the Church. Morison guided Warde's adoption of Roman Catholicism, engaging in religious discussion with her when she first arrived in Britain. [196] A Catholic convert himself, he led by example resulting in Warde's adopting of Catholic attitudes and beliefs and her ultimate conversion to the religion in 1941.[197] In the 1930s the Catholic Church launched 'an aggressive missionary campaign' which, combined with converts through mixed marriages, brought in 12,000 believers a year. [198] Part of the London Jesuit Community at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, religion was the centre of Morison's life.[199] His Catholic obligations included promoting the values of Catholicism which, in part, Jesuits believed could be achieved through

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[193] Beatrice Warde, 'Notes on the printed word,' undated. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[194] Jon Bath, 'Blowing the Crystal Goblet: Transparent Book Design 1350-1950', p.13.

[195] Warde, Notes on the printed word, undated.

[196] Nicolas Barker, *Stanley Morison*, p35. In these early discussions with Morison Warde looked to endorse Unitarianism and wrote to her grandmother for Unitarian propaganda to support her side of debate. Beatrice Warde, [unpublished] 'Letter late January 1926, Dear Grandma' Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A1/6.

[197] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, p35. Warde, 'An American in the Blitz' p.145.

[198] Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.490.

[199] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, p35.

publishing, a way of approach that suited Morisons's and ultimately Warde's professional interests.[200] Morison encouraged Warde to adopt Catholic beliefs, in part supporting her professional ambitions for religious ends.[201] Gardiner is vital for explaining the nature of the Catholic community and culture of which Morison and ultimately Warde were part, highlighting Westminster Catholics as 'close to government and to Rome with a fashionable aspect of old-money… and 'snob Catholic' converts'.[202] Many of these converts were leading figures from the fields of culture, literature and politics; some 'were brought into the fold by the worldly, subtle… Father Martin D'Arcy' who converted individuals including G.K. Chesterton, Graham Greene and friend of Morison and Warde, Eric Gill and whom Gardiner explained as working 'on the principle that 'The bigger the stone, the bigger ripple''.[203] It can be argued that Morison and Warde, although not converted by D'Arcy, were part of this important community of converts, targeted for their cultural influence and potential for disseminating Catholic ideas. With this in mind, Warde's professional ideas take on additional meaning and she can be seen as using her successful presentation in the industry, aptitude for communication, knowledge of printing and her networks, to promote her Catholic values and fulfil religious duty.

The personal circumstances that led to Warde's conversion were captured in letters to her mother, potentially for publication in Lamberton Becker's *Herald Tribune* column.[204] They were, however, published in *This Burning Heat*, an edited volume by [Maisie] Ward containing collections of writings on the spiritual effect of war on Catholic authors in England.[205] Warde's connection with Ward, linked her to leading

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[200] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, p.35. 'Mission and Aims, Jesuits In Britain', [online]. Jesuits in Britain, 2020, [cited 2 April 2020]. Available from: <https://www.jesuit.org.uk/mission-and-aims>

[201] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, pp.169-70.

[202] Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.490.

[203] Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.490 -1.

[204] These letters were part of Warde's wartime correspondence.

[205] Warde, 'An American in the Blitz', pp.107-145.

Catholics and authors. Of British aristocratic descent, [Masie] Ward (1889-1975) was

an influential Catholic writer and commentator, who with her husband, Frank Sheed,

founded the Catholic publishers, Sheed and Ward. They were Catholic activists, and

published works by leading Catholic writers including G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire

Belloc[206] *This Burning Heat* also helps to illustrate how Warde's professional

activities, including her commitment to education, were bound up with her religious

beliefs.[207]

The previously discussed 'Inscription for a Printing Office' also endorsed Warde as a

religious woman through symbolic connection with religious artefacts, vocabulary

and ideas.[208] Referencing words inscribed in stone, a common sight in places of

worship, the title also linked with biblical history, including the Ten Commandments,

given to Moses by God, for ethical guidance.[209] The Commandments were 'the work

of God, and the writing was the writing of God', a perceived origin and function, with

a bearing on Warde's intended interpretation of 'Inscription for a Printing Office'.[210]

This notion connects with, and emphasises, Warde's belief that communication was a

gift from God and that her ideas in this text, as well as the activity and outputs of a

printing office, were fulfilling God's will.[211] Describing the printing office as 'sacred

ground', Warde flattered printers and she implied that their work was venerated and

of great importance, an approach that was difficult to dispute and that consequently

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[206] Greene, D. 'Ward [married name Sheed], Mary Josephine [Maisie] (1889–1975), writer and publisher,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]: Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 24 Sep. 2022] Available from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-45905. > Hastings, P., *'Sheed, Francis Joseph [Frank] (1897–1981), Publisher and Author,'* Oxford University Press [online]: Oxford University Press, 2004 [cited 15 January 2019] Available from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-66037>

[207] Throughout her chapter Warde discusses her daily life in wartime, paralleling her activities with her Catholic beliefs.

[208] Warde, 'Inscription for a Printing Office*'.*

[209] The Bible, Exodus 20, 1-17.

[210] The Bible, Exodus 32, 16-7.

[211] Warde, Notes on the printed word.

elevated her status in the minds of printers, who will also have regarded her as upholding religious values.

Warde produced three variants on the 'Inscription for a Printing Office'. In her second, wartime version, she developed the religious significance of her text and enhanced her religious position. Warde evangelised for printing and Catholicism, whilst also becoming a campaigner for democratic values and freedom of speech. She urged printers to: 'take this new Inscription; set it up in your own titling capitals; display it in your windows; and (I adjure you by the Honour and Freedom of your craft) never pretend that it is *only your* office, or *only your country's* printing offices, that must be defended, held sacred, against the enemy of the Human Spirit.' [212]

Using impassioned language connecting with Catholicism, in 'adjuring' printers Warde linked to a historic term meaning swearing an oath, a task connected to religious belief. She referred to printing offices as holy places, flattering and stirring printers to display her words in their windows, as a public expression of their value and concern. Her concept for this approach stemmed from the Old Testament book of Deuteronomy, where the love of God is said should be written as an outward expression: 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might. These words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart. You shall teach them diligently to your children and shall talk of them when you sit in your house and when you walk by the way and when you lie down and when you rise up. You shall bind them as a sign on your hand and they shall be as frontals between your eyes. You shall write them on the doorposts of your house and your gates.'[213] Warde believed a prominent display of her text was a communication from God, a public attestation of belief and consequently confirmation of her success as a leading figure in the printing industry through her

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[212] Warde, Beatrice, 'Second Variant, Inscription for A Printing Office', *Newspaper World,* (1940).
[213] The Bible, Deuteronomy 6, 6-9.

presentation as a religious woman. Searching for the validation of her position, Warde recalled seeing this text in nearly every printing office she visited in Wartime England: 'I've seen it hanging askew on a half-charred, dripping wall still saying "Crossroads of Civilization."'[214]

Warde's most celebrated text attesting to her as a religious woman is *The Crystal Goblet,* which gained its widest audience in 1955 on, publication by Sylvan Press with sixteen other typographic essays also by Warde.[215] When examined by Gruendler, despite mention of its link to religious imagery, no analysis of its religious significance was found.[216] Bath highlighted and offered *The Crystal Goblet* as a metaphor for 'perfect readability', however, Warde's religious beliefs and their significance to *The Crystal Goblet* were not mentioned.[217]

Speaking metaphorically, Warde used 'The Crystal Goblet' to demonstrate the importance of clarity in the typography of books, prioritising the message communicated as opposed to the style of type and typography. 'Printing Should be Invisible' the original version of 'The Crystal Goblet' was written in 1930 and first reproduced in *The British and Colonial Printer and Stationer* (1930) and subsequently published as a pamphlet by Marchbanks Press, New York (1932 and 1937).[218] This was a time when Warde was in religious discussion with Morison and ideas about Catholicism were at the forefront of her mind.[219] This led her to connect the symbolism of wine in Catholic communion as representation of the blood of Jesus Christ, with typography, an explanation that also linked with her idea that

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[214] Beatrice Warde, 'February 1941 letter to the Typophiles On the Three "Inscriptions" and The "Token"' in Warde, *Bombed but Unbeaten*, pp.94-5.

[215] Warde, 'Printing Should be Invisible', pp.996-8. Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography*.

[216] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.111.

[217] Bath, 'Blowing the Crystal Goblet…', p.iii.

[218] Beatrice Warde, 'Printing should be "Invisible"', The *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer,* (1930), pp.996-8. Warde Beatrice, *Printing should be Invisible* (New York: Marchbanks Press, 1932, 1937).

[219] Warde, 'Printing Should be Invisible', pp.996-8. Beatrice Warde, [unpublished] 'Letter late January 1926, Dear Grandma'.

communication was 'God given'. Ultimately her ideas were indisputable, as in the 1930s 60 percent of the population 'professed to belong to the Church of England, about 15 per cent Free Church and 5 per cent Roman Catholic', and readers who didn't support her notions would be interpreted as going against a central construct of Christianity.[220]

In 1955, to mark the publication of *The Crystal Goblet* and as a publicity vehicle, an actual crystal goblet was made and presented to Warde by Charles Rosner of Sylvan Press during a party with her publishing friends.[221]

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[220] Gardiner, *The Thirties*, p.487.
[221] Unknown Author, 'New Titles for the Printers Bookshelf', p.64.

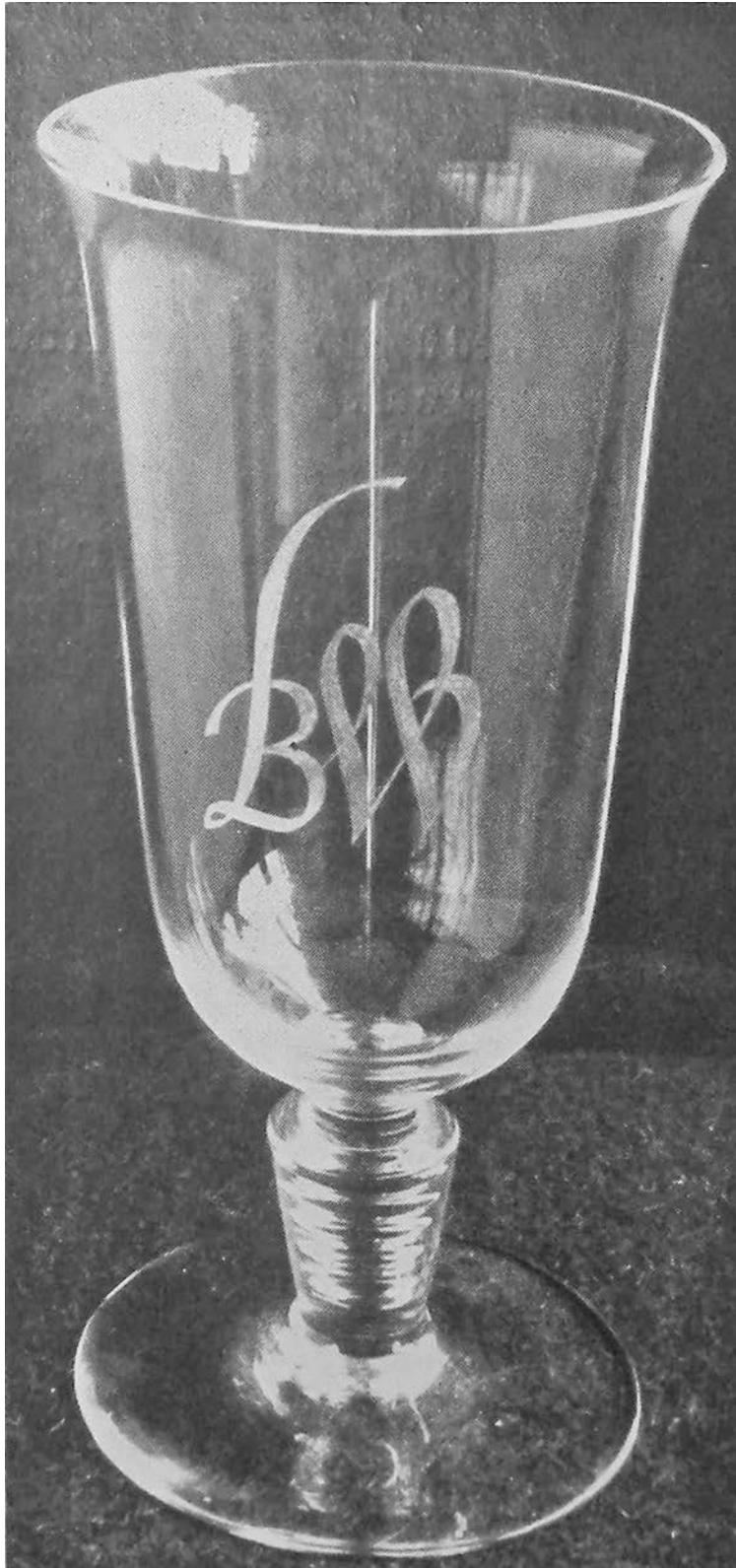Fig. 6.18 Beatrice Warde with the Crystal Goblet. MS823/2 CRL.

Fig. 6.19 The Crystal Goblet. 'New Titles for the Printers Bookshelf', *British Printer* 1956.

Publicity photographs were taken and the ceremony was reported in the *British Printer,* validating Warde as a religious woman and a successful figure in the industry.[222] Subsequently the goblet was used at typographic events, filled with wine whilst guests were invited to take a symbolic sip, as if publicly concurring with Warde's wine and goblet metaphor. Creating an event where printers could drink from the goblet meant that Warde was evangelising for the printing industry and for the ideas of Catholicism. She was re-enacting the Eucharist and by sipping from the goblet, printers were seeing her as a religious woman and agreeing with her ideas connecting printing and religion. The Eucharist was believed to bring the divine into the ordinary world through the consumption of consecrated bread and wine, in a symbolic re-enactment of the Jewish meal at the festival of Passover, that ultimately became the Last Supper of Jesus and his disciples.[223] The cup used by Jesus at this meal gained prominence, establishing myths about its power and significance. The Eucharist imparted symbolic meaning to bread and wine as representational of the body and blood of Jesus and for Roman Catholics like Warde, 'celebrating' Communion was the most important act of worship and extending this concept, it can be argued that Warde saw printing and typography as important acts of worship. A ceremonial use of Warde's Crystal Goblet was reported in *Printing World*, 25 December 1957 at Monotype House, celebrating Warde's return from Australia and South Africa and 'before the party wound up guests took a draft from the enormous wine glass, the 'Crystal Goblet' presented to Mrs Warde by members of the trade.'[224]

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[222] Unknown Author, 'New Titles for the Printers Bookshelf', p.64.

[223] Luke 22:7-38.

[224] Unknown Author, 'Mrs Beatrice Warde is welcomed home'.

Fig. 6.20 Party on Warde's return from Australia and South Africa, 1957. MS823/2

CRL.

Additional significance came from Warde's initials engraved on the outside of the goblet and also from its scale and use. Warde's initials located her centrally as leading in an act of reverence to printing and religion, and the scale and use of the goblet emphasised communication through printing as a shared experience, with an ability to transcend boundaries of country, language and alphabet. Having developed this metaphor and created the concept of the goblet, Warde was encouraging members of the printing industry to follow her religious ideas and implying that it was the duty of those working with type to continue God's work, ensuring the clearest, effective communication in books.

Admiration for *The Crystal Goblet* continues, inspiring contemporary wine-centred metaphors on typographic discernment and in so doing, unintentionally, confirms Warde's status and authority as a religious woman in the printing industry.[225] 'In many ways types are like wines: one can learn discrimination between the varieties of Garamond as produced by Monotype, Linotype, ATF or Stempel, just as the wine taster can detect the Chardonnay grape, whatever vineyard it comes from.'[226]

Other interpretations of Warde as a religious woman can be drawn from *The Crystal Goblet*, elaborating on her understanding of God whilst also placing printed type within her view of God's capacity for nurturing. In her correspondence Warde discussed her religious knowledge and ideas, notions she frequently linked to readings.[227] One such text, *Revelations of Divine Love* written in 1373, by the anchoress, Julian of Norwich, was an account of sixteen revelations received by

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[225] Carter, 'Black Art', p.147.
[226] Carter, 'Black Art', p.147.
[227] Warde's correspondence reveals her religious discussions with friends and relations including Morison, Gill, Cleland, Burt and Lamberton Becker: Warde, [unpublished] 'Letter late January 1926, Dear Grandma'. Eric Gill [Unpublished] 'Letter to Beatrice Warde Midnight Jan 21-2, 29', Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A2/2. 1 of 4. Beatrice Warde, [Unpublished] 'Letter Dearest T.M.' circa 1945. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Collection Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Beatrice Warde, [Unpublished] 'Letter Dear Professor on religion' [undated] MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Collection Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. *Warde, 'An American in the Blitz', in This Burning Heat,* pp.107-145.

Julian, through her personal relationship with God and was the first book on a

religious theme by a woman; and it may have inspired Warde to publish the *Crystal*

Goblet as part of a collection of sixteen essays.[228] Like Warde, Julian was a

pioneering woman with a significant following and her ideas went against the

prevailing views of the male-dominated Church, portraying God as having an infinite

capacity for forgiveness and as being both male and female. In the early twentieth

century, Julian's writing gained following from Catholics and supporters of the

women's movement. Julian was seen as a role model and Warde and her religious

friends read *Revelations of Divine Love*.[229] Thus it is likely that Warde was inspired

by Julian, and there are similarities in the reach and context of their work; Warde's

ideas on printing were also presented within a male-dominated environment where

she also accumulated a significant following. Additionally, Julian had an alternative

interpretation of God's gender using a metaphor for God's nurturing role: 'And

therefore he is compelled to feed us, for the precious love of his motherhood makes

him a debtor to us. The mother may suckle her children with her own milk, but our

precious Mother of Jesus, he may feed us with himself.'[230] Warde's wartime writings

were redolent with a similar notion of the nurturing role of a mother in a religious

context, and it can be argued that it also had relevance to ideas expressed within *The*

Crystal Goblet.[231]

This section discussed Warde the religious woman, a previously unexamined yet

significant aspect of her presentation, shaping her ideas and success in the industry.

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[228] An anchoress was a female, religious hermit. Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1998). Warde, *The Crystal Goblet: Sixteen Essays on Typography*.

[229] Margaret Walters, *Feminism: A Very Short History,* (London: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp.7-8. T.S. Eliot a friend of Warde, was interested in Julian's work and included a quote from Julian in his 1942 poem *Little Gidding.* Barbara Newman, 'Eliot's Affirmative Way: Julian of Norwich, Charles Williams, and Little Gidding' *Modern Philology*, vol. 108, no. 3, (2011), pp. 427–461. T.S. Eliot. *Little Gidding* III, in *Four Quartets*, in *Collected Poems*, 1909-1962 (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1963).

[230] John Skinner, *Julian of Norwich: A Revelation of Love,* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1996), p.121.

[231] In *This Burning Heat* Warde described the place of the Church as being symbolic of home and that: 'any place I can be sure of finding my mother *is* home'. Ward, *This Burning Heat*. p.125.

Becoming a Catholic through the support and encouragement of Morison, Warde was part of an elite group of converts who were singled-out for their culturally influential positions and resulting ability to disseminate Catholic ideas through their work. Arguably, had Warde not embraced Catholicism, it is debatable whether Morisons's support for her professional development would have endured.

Identifying the written and printed word as a gift from God, and working in Britain where the majority of the population respected religion and identified as Christians, Warde used her position in industry to promote her religious ideas. 'Inscription for a Printing Office' and its variants as well as her most well-known work, *The Crystal Goblet*, and its promotion are evidence of Warde the religious woman.

WOMEN WRITERS

In addition to the topics previously discussed in this chapter, two additional areas relevant to Warde's determination to be successful require examination. The first is the significance of women writers of the period and the second is the construct of the emancipated identity of the New Woman.

During her upbringing in New York, the emancipation of women had been evident to Warde who, as a result, identified with the achievement of these women, desiring independence and a rewarding career. Lamberton Becker, who had forged her career as a writer, was one such woman; writing generally became a fundamental part of Warde's early life, exposing her to the ideas and work of other contemporary female writers and their awareness of clothing's 'capacity… to carry the self and even to make the self.'[232] Modernity motivated Warde, 'To be modern seemingly meant the desire for a flexible identity, that remained out of reach for most Britons.'[233] As a modern, married, American woman, forging her place in the printing industry, Warde

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[232] Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes,* pp.21-23.
[233] Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes,* p.103.

was a 'conspicuous exception within her field'.[234] Men had been writers for centuries and literary skills had not been regarded as a female characteristic:

'Alas! A woman that attempts the pen

Such an intruder on the rights of men,

Such a presumptuous Creature is esteem'd

That fault can by no virtue be redeem'd.'[235]

Gilbert and Gubar examine women writers in the period leading to Warde's lifetime exposing attitudes towards them that confronted Warde and shaped her thinking for success. [236] Writing was not regarded as a suitable career for women 'It cannot be, the metaphor of literary paternity implies, because it is physiologically as well as sociologically impossible. If male sexuality is integrally associated with the assertive presence of literary power, female sexuality is associated with the absence of such power.'[237] Writing was an issue of gender and as a woman in a gendered environment, Warde was confronted by attitudes supporting male importance in literary professions. It was obvious to her that men saw the pen as a powerful tool, however, she recognised the printing press as a more powerful tool, allowing her to multiply her words for worldwide, long-lived dissemination of ideas.

To progress literary ambition, many female writers, including Warde, worked pseudonymously, obfuscating their gender, a topic that is discussed in the earlier section of this chapter on Warde the Scholar.

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[234] Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.40.

[235] *The Diary of Anais Nin, Volume Two, 1934-1939*, ed. Gunther Stuhlmann (New York: The Sallow Press and Harcourt, Brace, 1967), p.233.

[236] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gurbar*, The Mad Woman in the Attic* (London: Yale University Press, 2000).

[237] Southey to Charlotte Brontë, March 1837. In Winifred Gérin, *Charlotte Brontë: the Evolution of Genius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.110. in Gilbert and Gurbar. *The Mad Woman in the Attic.* p.8.

Gilbert and Gubar argue that: 'the literary woman has always faced … degrading options when she had to define her public presence in the world. If she did not suppress her work entirely or publish it pseudonymously or anonymously, she could modestly confess her female "limitations" and concentrate on the "lesser" subjects reserved for ladies as becoming of their inferior powers.' [238] Warde partially followed this approach; as Beaujon she formed an unquestioned reputation for writing and scholarship and, when writing as Warde, she was not modest in the topics she tackled. Instead she purposefully discussed printing in a new way, one that was not the approach of male commentators. For Warde, printing was an historical, practical and commercial subject and writing as a woman with little to no personal, practical experience of printing her approach was bound to be different from existing male commentators.

Although Warde was the only high-profile female writer in the printing industry, there were other prominent women writing in the period leading up to and throughout Warde's professional life and, consequently, they are relevant to this research. One deserving brief discussion and comparison is Virginia Woolf, whose work as a writer and analyst of culture extended from the early twentieth century to the beginning of the Second World War. [239] Transue is valuable in this context, believing that Woolf was 'critical of the patriarchal, social and political system of values in the western world, particularly as it related to women'. [240] Transue also highlighted Woolf's notion that 'When a woman novelist is angry… then her art suffers'.[241] No evidence has been found of Warde criticising the patriarchy; in the printing industry it was a system she appeared to accept, advocating that, despite her own approach, particularly with clothing and image making, women in the industry should not

[238] Gilbert and Gurbar. *The Mad Woman in the Attic*, p.64.
[239] Gordon Lyndall, 'Woolf [*née* Stephen], (Adeline) Virginia (1882-1941)'.
[240] Pamela Transue, *Virginia Woolf and the Politics of Style*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), p.2.
[241] Transue, *Virginia Woolf*, p.6.

emphasise their gender: '…a woman must behave primarily as a person… being neither consciously mannish nor deliberately feminine'[242] Woolf believed in the increased power and responsibility for women but not that art should be used to disseminate political views. [243] Warde's writing during World War Two was politicised but her work in the printing industry was never overtly political nor feminist, however, her distinct tone of voice emphasised her gendered difference.[244]

The earlier section on Women in the Printing Industry in Chapter Two briefly examined one similarity between Woolf and Warde, in that Woolf also used self-publication to disseminate her work; An additional element connecting both women was their interest in fashion. Koppen is key for exploring Woolf's clothes consciousness and writing for its interest in fashion as commodities and symbols, as it places it in 'the context of sartorial practice from the Victorian period to the 1930s' a period spanning the build up to and early part of Warde's career. [245]

Koppen believes clothing had a presence in writing and culture, the latter being thought as: 'constitutive to the extent that clothes as embodied cultural practice contribute to bringing forth and performing culture… [and that this is] …tied to the nature of clothes as objects, things and signs'[246] Clothes offered Warde the opportunity to 'signify the place of [her body] in social, economic and sexual orders; … [and] the opportunity for individual performance.'[247] Woolf used clothing as a way

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[242] 'Pioneer in a Man's World', p.13.

[243] Transue, *Virginia Woolf*, p.6. Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.395.

[244] Outside the printing industry, during World War Two, Warde was political in her expression. She became an anti-fascist campaigner, joining the London-based, American ex-patriot organisation, the American Outpost, a bipartisan organisation and branch of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies [CDAAA]. At this time, Warde also became a political lobbyist in America, aiming to convince U.S. politicians that support for the allies' cause was essential to protect America. Glaser, 'Beatrice Warde, May Lamberton Becker …, p.279.

[245] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf*, p.ix.

[246] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf*, p.1.

[247] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf,* p.1.

of attracting attention, she was 'unable to merge with any crowd' having a 'look of great distinction' in a similar way to Warde.[248] For both Woolf and Warde clothing '[proclaimed] different corporealities, different ways of being a body in the world and different interpersonal relations whether of gender or of class.'[249] A particular type of clothing identified as a signifier for Woolf, which has also been used by Warde, was hats and veils.

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[248] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf,* p.10.
[249] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf,* p.10.

Fig. 6.21 Portrait of Beatrice Warde circa 1933 by Vivienne. Beatrice Warde

Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

A portrait by Vivienne shows Warde wearing an asymmetrically shaped, dark velvet hat with a trailing wrap-around scarf. [250] The pose and styling were selected to denote specific messages. In the context of Woolf's ideas these types of 'draperies and garments signified excess, concealment and conventionality in a Victorian culture of mourning.' [251] Wearing this type of accessory within the context of the printing industry, Warde can be interpreted as signalling excess and affluence, implying success and potentially also concealment, or an air of mystery.[252] Woolf also saw this type of garment as suggesting 'revelation and concealment …of ideal celestial or mythological truths.'[253] Again this has the potential to connect with the notions that Warde aimed to communicate, showing her status as an important figure. It is not known where Warde used this image but Koppen's ideas relating to Woolf's interpretation of the meaning of hats and veils, apply to this image and have the capacity to show her as sophisticated, ethereal and elevated, or with aspirations for this positioning.

The second (additional) aspect relevant to Warde's thinking for success came to my attention through considering 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question'. [254] The 'New Woman' became a prominent figure in the culture of late Victorian period and was an identity associated with women writers including Woolf: 'in recent years the title the New Woman has been… loosely applied…to women writers, from Olive Schreiner and Sarah Grand in the 1880s and 1890s right through to Radclyffe Hall

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[250] Florence Mellish, Vivienne, Photograph of Beatrice Warde in Velvet Hat by Vivienne c.1935, MS823/2. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[251] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf,* p.153.

[252] Additionally, to her family in America, this image may also have been an indication of mourning for her grandmother Emma Lamberton, who died in New York in 1933, when Warde was absent in London. 'Mrs Lamberton Dies; Educator and Traveler', Obituaries.

[253] Koppen, *Virginia Woolf,* p.154.

[254] Sarah Grand, 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question', The *North American Review*, 158, (1894), pp.270-6.

and Virginia Woolf'.[255] Popular novelists introduced the New Woman among their characters and she became a crucial role model in literary culture, an environment in which Warde was immersed.[256]

The New Woman was associated with freedom in all aspects of life. She was visible and could travel, and consequently, her place as a role model inspired 'Habits of modern life formerly associated with men… that now opened up to Women of the middle and upper classes'.[257] She was sexually unconventional with liberated views on marriage, which she believed, 'despite all dangers and difficulties should be free. So long as love and trust and friendship remain.'[258] The New Woman was politically aware and educated often within institutions that were previously male domains; they engaged with male-dominated professions and became 'catered-to consumers of goods, services and media; and lived and loved in ways that defied convention.'[259] Warde is identifiable through these descriptions, which particularly connect with her approach to marriage, experience and education and her professional position. Linked to female enfranchisement, rather than campaigning for women's rights, the New Woman took possession of these rights and she was: 'a beacon to the adventurous and a threat to the upholders of traditional values. To female youth, the New Woman offered a paradigm of liberation and agency: liberation from corsets, long hair, … and the denial of achievement through career and work outside the home'[260] Accused of ravaging gender norms, the New Woman was said to encourage mannishness, to be ambiguously gendered, mixing feminine and masculine attributes, and giving rise

[255] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin De Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p.1.

[256] Arnold Bennett, *Anna of the Five Towns*, (London: Penguin, 1975). H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica*, (London: Penguin, 2005). Joseph, Conrad, *The Secret Agent*, (London: Penguin, 2000). Virginia, Woolf, *The Voyage Out,* (London: Penguin, 2020). Virginia, Woolf, *Night and Day*, (London: Penguin, 1992).

[257] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International,* p.8.

[258] Mona Caird, 'Marriage', *Westminster Review* 130 (1888) p.197.

[259] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.1.

[260] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International,* pp.vii-viii.

to concern that she might take men's authority and jobs.[261] These notions link with Warde, who self-identified as Beaujon and, although not destroying gender norms, manipulated them for success.

Ledger highlights two generations of New Women: 'Late twentieth-century feminist literary history has constructed a genealogy of first-and second-generation New Women: the first living and writing in the 1880s and 1890s, the second in the 1920s and 1930s'[262] This second generation were adventurous in spirit, liberated from restrictive clothing, released from the ties of marriage and free to pursue professional careers. They were international and representations of them were found in the arts and media. This is a description which fits Warde completely, and therefore it is necessary to view her in the context of the New Woman. Born in 1900 and raised by a single, independent, high-achieving, literary mother, Warde was 'touched' by the first wave of the New Woman, and become part of the second.

The ideas of Ledger and Otto and Rocco clarify how Warde's self-presentation within the printing industry was influenced by the New Woman. *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin De Siècle* explored the experiences of the New Woman, enhancing understanding of the role and respect for women in the late nineteenth century. Displayed in numerous ways in this period, the New Woman could be: 'The 'wild woman', the 'glorified spinster', the 'advanced woman', the 'odd woman'; the 'modern woman',… the New Woman was predominantly a journalistic phenomenon, a product of discourse…[and] largely a discursive phenomena' whose history is available textually. [263] However, for Warde her knowledge of the New Woman was also experiential, drawn from her upbringing, and fundamental to who she became as

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[261] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, pp.1,7.

[262] Ledger, *The New Woman,* p.1. referring to: Carol Smith-Rosenberg, 'Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman 1870-1936', in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past,* ed.by Martin Baumil Duberman, Martha Vicinus, George Chauncey, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1980) pp.264, 275.

[263] Ledger, *The New Woman,* p.3.

an adult. Lamberton Becker's self-presentation was synonymous with the approach of the New Woman; she visibly seized female enfranchisement through her writing and also through new media. She used an informal tone of voice and spoke directly with, and engaged, audiences, sharing insights into her own life and addressing readers as friends. In *Adventures in Reading* Lamberton Becker provided insight into her own family life. She discussed her life in Vermont and gave details of a literary walking holiday she shared with Warde in England.[264] Lamberton Becker produced and published personal biographical text, including within 'As One Reader to Another' and 'A National Book Guide for Youth'; this was an approach that Warde also adopted.[265] Otto and Rocco are significant for highlighting that printing, photography, artworks, public relations and clothing were part of the New Woman's identity and presentation and also argued that this was indicative of the increasing role of women: 'The New Woman was a creature not only of modernity but also of modern technology. … it was through her mass media representation in burgeoning urban cultures that she became a cultural lightning rod'[266]

Although taking a contemporary view, Turner has relevance in discussing the formation of cultural identity, celebrity and leadership using media visibility, an approach synonymous with that adopted by the New Woman and Warde. 'the growth

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[264] May Lamberton Becker, *Adventures in Reading,* pp.1-11 155-163. Warde's communication skills modelled on those of Lamberton Becker are evidenced in: Dreyfus, 'Beatrice Warde, The First Lady of Typography', p.71. Beatrice Warde, 'Typography: A Statement of Policy' *The Monotype Recorder*, 30 (1931), pp.3-6. Warde, 'Inscription for a Printing Office'.

[265] May Lamberton Becker, 'As One reader to Another', *The Horn Book Magazine*, February (1928). MS823/6. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. May Lamberton Becker, 'A National Book Guide For Youth', *Scholastic* (c.1929). MS823/6. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Personal promotional text by Warde includes: S.A. Morley, 'Ambassadress of Fine Typography', *Print Review*, 3 issue 12 (1957), pp.510-11. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. 'The Right Type' Unknown US publication, advertisement for the St Louis Typesetters Association c.1953. MS823/7. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

[266] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.2.

of celebrity is attached to the spread of the mass media (particularly the visual media). Increasingly it is also connected to the invention of public relations'[267]

The New Woman was visible in art, fashion and culture creating 'the market driven appeal of the starlet, model or salesgirl' and because of the long-lasting nature of print, film and photography the ideas her images promoted continued to be influential well into the mid twentieth century.[268]

Lamberton Becker's renown was important to Warde who used her status as 'the daughter of May Lamberton Becker' to support her self-control for success: 'I was being welcomed in California. … because I was the daughter of Mrs May Lamberton Becker, "Reader's Guide" of the *New York Herald Tribune*… the unique thing about it [the Reader's Guide] is the power which its one-and-only conductor has.'[269]

As publishing was linked to, and dependent on, printing, Warde was acknowledging that her powerful mother was helpful to her professional presentation. Being the daughter of Lamberton Becker broadened her audience, elevated her reputation, ensured media attention and created professional opportunities that were otherwise unavailable. Lamberton Becker had a significant following and through gradual, consistent references to her daughter she established and promoted Warde's professional identity to her own audience and contacts.[270] Media attention to Warde's status as the daughter of Lamberton Becker continued even at her death in 1969, eleven years after the death of her mother; Warde's obituary in the *British Printer*

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[267] Graham Turner, *Understanding Celebrity,* (London: Sage, 2004), p.10.

[268] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.3.

[269] Warde was discussing the value of being known as the daughter of Lamberton Becker in an article on her reception at British Book Week in California 1944. Beatrice Warde, 'Books that "Mean England" to Americans' *John O'London's Weekly*, May 19, 1944, p.63.

[270] Lamberton Becker had a weekly column 'Readers Guide', in the *New York Herald Tribune*. Lamberton Becker talked about publishing her daughters writing in her column in: Warde and Standard, *Bombed But Unbeaten,* p.vii.

presented her as 'The Daughter of May Lamberton Becker', 'Her mother Mrs May Lamberton Becker, [was] a powerful literary figure'[271]

Lamberton Becker knew the value of linking to Warde's career, having observed the consequences of relationships connecting Modernist writers and celebrity culture. Jaffe examines the interdependencies of Modernist literature and modern celebrity culture, probing the supportive strategies used to construct reputations which 'transformed the textual signature itself into a means of promotion'.[272] Although neither Warde nor Lamberton Becker were Modernists, the methodologies analysed by Jaffe reflect the approaches utilised to support Warde's professional success: 'the need for collaborative work was never a blind spot. It was rather territory visited frequently but cautiously, entered into for various ends and above all for purposes of promotion'.[273] It can be argued that this was the approach that Warde was also taking through her link with Morison and other prominent individuals in the industry.

As well as recognising the New Woman in Lamberton Becker, Warde saw her vitality and status in Manhattan. Professionally connected to Lamberton Becker, New Women, were literary, magazine and newspaper publishers, authors and politicians; they were important people using communication in all its forms to support self-presentation. This network included the publishers Stokes and Dodd Mead. Stokes were Lamberton Becker's publishers. They had been founded in 1890 and were an important American publishing company, with a specialism in children's books. A leading editor at Stokes was Helen Dean Fish (1889-1953). One of her most notable achievements was the discovery of Hugh Lofting's *The Story of Dr. Dolittle,* which was published by Stokes in 1920. Ernestine Evans (1889-1967) was another literary figure in Warde's domain, an American journalist, author, editor, literary agent and

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[271] Moran, Beatrice Warde: A Personal Tribute, p.67.

[272] Jaffe, *Modernism*, pp.94-168, 61.

[273] Jaffe, *Modernism*, pp.94-168.

friend, who went to work for the Office of War Information. In addition, Lamberton Becker had connections with authors including Rebecca West (1892-1983), Vera Brittain (1893-1970) and Pearl S. Buck (1892-1973).[274]

Hammill is relevant for examining the position of literary celebrity and the role that women writers had in shaping their own reputation and image. She addresses the relationship between literary and celebrity culture and if, and how, this connection was affected by gender; how fame and commercial success affected the cultural authority and reception of women writers and, thirdly, the role women writers had in determining their own reputation and image. Contributing to the understanding of how Warde's work was received and supported by the literary and printing elite, Hammill also touches on education, journalism and freelance writing. Part of the background to everyday life the position of the female celebrity author was elevated; 'the high-profile authors of the twenties and thirties were constructed in relation to new models of fame emerging from Hollywood'. [275] This is an approach that Warde recognised and one which inspired her to pursue her own professional success: '[authors] were frequently photographed usually for publicity purposes…while publicly exhibited paintings and sculptures provided more solid testimonies

[274] 'Pearl S. Buck', The Nobel Prize [online] *The Nobel Organisation*, 2020, [cited 19 March 2020]. Available from: <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1938/buck/lecture/ > Bonnie Kime Scott, 'Andrews [née Fairfield], Dame Cicily Isabel [pseud. Rebecca West], (1892–1983),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, [online], updated September 23 2004 [cited 19 March 2020] available from:<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31819> Alan Bishop, 'Brittain [*married name* Catlin], Vera Mary, (1893-1970),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, [online], updated September 23 2004 [cited 19 March 2020] available from: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32076>

[275] Faye Hammill, *Women, Celebrity and Literary Culture Between the Wars*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), pp.1-2.

to…fame… The marketing of authors through images was a fast-developing commercial strategy' [276]

As has been discussed, photography was part of Warde's control to ensure her success and as part of her 'toolset' as a New Woman. Earlier in this chapter a photograph of Warde by McBean was examined. An additional image of Warde by this photographer captures her as a New Woman; informal and unsigned and taken at the same time as the other McBean image, Warde wears the same clothes. She 'thumbs her nose' at an exotic mask fixed to a wooden panel, as a gesture and pairing it implies a rebellious, liberated identity, symbolically identifying Warde as an explorer. [277]

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[276] Beatrice Warde, 'I am a Communicator', p.5. Hammill, *Women, Celebrity and Literary Culture*, pp.4, 1-8.

[277] Two portraits of Beatrice Warde with mask by Angus McBean, 1938. MS823/3. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. In McBean's early career he made theatrical masks and it can be assumed that this was one of his designs.

Fig. 6.22 Portrait of Beatrice Warde with a mask by Angus McBean 1938. MS823/3

CRL.

Fig. 6.23 Portrait of Beatrice Warde with a mask by Angus McBean 1938. MS823/3
CRL.

This photograph shows a confident empowered 'New Woman' embedded within an exotic, fashionable aesthetic. The New Woman evidenced an appetite for adventure and was challenging the conviction that 'expeditions and safaris were unsuitable for ladies. While such depictions [of the New Woman] played to the rhetoric of empowering the modern woman'.[278] Warde was attempting to create similar notions in the minds of those viewing this image, as she was showing herself as a pioneering explorer, looking for adventure in a new country and realm that was alien to most women, that of the British printing industry.

Eric Gill's artworks of Warde also reinforced her identification and presentation as a New Woman.[279] She appeared in his *Twenty-Five Nudes* and modelled for his well-known work, 'Belle Sauvage', as well as for other portraits.[280]

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278 Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.95.

279 MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, pp.72-75.

280 Eric Gill, *Twenty-Five Nudes* (London: J.M. Dent & Son, 1938). Eric Gill, *Belle Savage* [engravings] featured as a frontispiece for *Art-Nonsense and Other Essays* by Eric Gill (London: Cassell & Co and Francis Walterson, 1929). Warde and Standard, *Bombed but Unbeaten* [introduction] p.i.

Fig. 6.24 Belle Sauvage wood engraving by Eric Gill, 1929. *Eric Gill* Fiona

MacCarthy.

Fig. 6.25 Beatrice Warde by Eric Gill. Reproduced in *Bombed but Unbeaten*.

Belle Sauvage was embedded in high fashion and posed within foliage, in an exotic location.[281] It imparted many of the messages connoted by McBean's portrait with a mask as well as those discussed in Otto and Rocco: 'This pairing of women …[in an exotic environment] ultimately referenced a host of discourses ranging from contemporary fashion aesthetics to more serious issues involving contemporary scientific studies'[282] Endorsing her self-confidence and identity, Gill's work communicated that Warde was a New Woman, a status she achieved without leaving Britain.[283] Moreover, Gill's artworks revealed a sexualised Warde, a facet linked to her as a New Woman which has relevance to her presentation in the printing industry. Images of Warde were frequently sexually charged and she was aware of their appeal to men, including leading figures in the printing industry. It can be argued that she consciously generated images with this in mind. Otto and Rocco are important for highlighting: 'New Women disrupted conventions of gender by refusing traditional performances of such feminine traits as passivity, aversion to public space, indifference to sexuality, and lack of creative genius. In these women's public and private lives, appearance could be strategic'[284]

Important to Warde's success, the issue of sexuality simmered through use of her body and image making. However, Warde did not admit this situation, describing herself as 'A Woman in the distinctly anti-feminist world of the printing industry who neither rustles petticoats nor smokes cigars.' [285] As a New Woman Warde collected male admirers, including Morison, Gill, Simon, Jay, Cleverdon, Cleland, Rogers,

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[281] Belle Savage was commissioned for publishers Cassell & Co promotions. MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, p.232-3.

[282] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.95.

[283] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, pp.98-104. Gill's image showed Warde as possessing a liberated, exotic identity linked to exploration.

[284] Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International*, p.7.

[285] Warde, 'Six pages of Typed Notes for Memoirs …' c.1960. MS823/4. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham.'Pioneer in a Man's World', p.13.

Burt and her husband, Frederic. MacCarthy mentions Warde's relationships with Morison, Gill and Cleverdon; Loxley her appeal to Frederic, Simon and Cleland; Simon described her as 'like sunrise after a night of rain'.[286] Jay's letters evidenced his admiration for her: 'I shall be able again to worship my goddess and sit at the feet of the most gracious and illustrious woman to enhance the art of typography.' [287] Morison and his biographer Barker, also a friend of Warde, were aware of her physical appearance: 'Nothing prepared him [Morison] for Beatrice, she was stunningly beautiful…the sort of woman that men stop and stare at…All of this went with the most beguiling, … warm-hearted, vivacious manner – any meeting with Beatrice left you feeling on top of the world and twice the man you thought you were.'[288] Warde's use of her body led Morison to an awareness that she had an 'obedient energy', making her the best student and promoter of his work. [289]

Her behaviour as a New Woman was also in part due to her experience of the social norms of America during her upbringing. Different from those of Britain, they included the acceptability of flirting during courtship, as a way of revealing manners and setting social horizons: 'By it [flirting] the value of a woman is exhibited, tested, her capacities known, her temper displayed and the opportunity offered of judging what sort of wife she may probably become.'[290] Whilst courting Frederic, she had adopted this attitude, which enhanced her confidence, affecting her professional life

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[286] MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, pp.232-4. Loxley, *Printer's Devil Warde,* p.79.

[287] Amorous letters containing messages of love and loyalty came from Cleland. Thomas Maitland Cleland, 'Undated letter to Beatrice Warde – Hey You.' MS823/9. Beatrice Warde Archive, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Jay, 'Letter to Beatrice Warde 12 February 1962.' Correspondence with Eric Gill is located at Stanley Morison collection, University of Cambridge Library, 9817 A2/2.

[288] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, pp.169-170.

[289] Barker, *Stanley Morison*, pp.169-170.

[290] Sarah J. Hale and Louis Godey, ed. *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine,* (Philadelphia: Louis A. Godey 1860). Harvey, Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of Lives of Women in Victorian America* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003). p.12.

in Britain, where this behaviour was not the norm.[291] In the printing industry Warde was not displaying her matrimonial suitability but was exhibiting her confidence and capacity to be an important figure. With no women of her level in the industry and being professionally ambitious, she adopted this attitude, and was articulate and knowledgeable so as to engage in educated discussion with influential men in the industry. They found her attention flattering and indicative of her enthusiasm for the industry which, in turn, assured and advanced her career. Cleverdon's description of her endorses this aspect of her identity: 'At one moment she would be bubbling over with gaiety and wit; at another you would find her absorbed in hard intellectual argument, or forcibly putting her publicity across to a bunch of printing executives. She was a first-rate printing historian. And she was very beautiful.'[292]

Examined in this section, women writers and the New Woman are additional factors germane to Warde's presentation for success. Both have a bearing on her confidence, providing her with role models of confident women who created their images and literary capabilities to seize opportunities unavailable to women. In Manhattan, Warde was exposed to the notions of women writers and the ideas of the New Woman, which later shaped the development of her determination to be successful in the industry.

This chapter considered what Warde did to make herself professionally successful and its purpose has been to analyse the circumstances of her approaches for achieving this outcome. Directed by the findings of archival and contextual research, the objectives of this chapter have been to examine areas with a bearing on Warde's approach, including the experience of women writers and the construct of the New

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[291] In a 1965 interview Warde revealed her flirtatious approach when meeting Frederic Warde, '[he] had unconventional ideas, so had I… mother called me Freddie's concubine – I had rather advanced ideas about marriage, as [Frederic] had too.' Paul Bennett, 'Unpublished notes from an Interview with Beatrice Warde, 4 June 1965'. Frederic Warde Collection, Grolier Club New York in Gruendler, *The Life and Work of Beatrice Warde,* p.19.
[292] MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, p.234.

Woman. Additionally, her presentation as a scholar, an expert in public relations and her position as a religious woman have been explored for their place in Warde's presentation for success.

This chapter has established a new area of study, scrutinising Warde's strategies for success. Uncovering her use of professional performance tailored for different audiences and circumstances, and inspired by Lamberton Becker and the formative environment she created, this section reveals a changed perspective disclosing that in addition to verbal language, Warde used her appearance and gender to communicate with audiences for success making. Goffman's theory of dramaturgy, which holds professional presentation to be a theatrical performance and from which audiences can draw meanings, is a new finding, pertinent to Warde's presentation for success, as she used performance throughout her career to this end.

Offering a level of security in a society that discriminated against women, and single women particularly, Warde's use of her married name is part of her presentation for success examined in this chapter. Her married name offered a form of social security and by association she was linked to her husband's success. Warde was aware that the use of this name was a way into, and a means of, substantiating her relevance in a male-dominated industry.

Original to this research, archival and contextual study have uncovered three particular 'identities', that of the scholar, the expert in public relations and the religious woman, which Warde adopted. This study has newly identified her awareness of the value of identity manipulation for success. In recognising that her identity was flexible and, that in creating different personas, her presentation could be made more effective for different audiences, Warde was an identity pioneer in the printing industry.

This research has revealed that scholarship was valued and supported during Warde's upbringing and within her professional environment. A respected and constructed status, Warde self-declared as a scholar and expert, crediting her experience at the ATF Library as the foundation for this identity. New information in this chapter discloses that Warde admired scholarship in others, valuing it and self-characterising as a scholar throughout her life; this was an identity she believed to be integral to her status and success in the industry. This chapter has shown that Warde was impatient for success and she believed that being regarded as a scholar was a way to achieving this. New knowledge in this section presents her use of gender fluidity in support of this outcome and that working pseudonymously as Beaujon she was able to construct a back story, quickly endorsing her scholarship. Although female writers of fiction were known to take on male pen names, this research has disclosed new knowledge, that by self-characterising for success in this way, Warde was in an individual position, negotiating the specific location of the printing industry, where pseudonymity was previously unknown. No evidence of other authors working pseudonymously in the industry has been found, yet Warde was in a position to select her identity and gender, working as Beaujon or as herself. As Beaujon she could choose to be independent of Monotype, writing particularly but not exclusively on historical and academic subjects, whereas as Warde, her work for the most part contained a more commercial or practical slant.

Identified for the first time, this research has revealed that the derivation of the Beaujon name was linked to Nicolas Beaujon and that Warde made this selection to indicate her scholarship as it associated her with Parisian printing history. Using the name as a covert message, Warde was signalling her scholarship to leading figures in the industry, who were likely to recognise this association. Especially vital during the early years of her career in Britain, this messaging and gender fluidity created professional opportunities in the industry that would otherwise have been

unavailable. This chapter has also disclosed the commercial value of Beaujon at a time when Warde needed to support herself.

Working as promotions manager for the Monotype Corporation, Warde was able to present as a scholar in the guise of commercial activity. This chapter has revealed that the changes she made to its promotional publication the *Recorder*, of which she was the Editor, resulted in the publication being viewed as scholarly and having educational value, consequently bolstering her own presentation as a scholar. New knowledge in this section discloses that affirming her identity in this way, Warde used it to control academic and educational discussion in the industry. Through her successful self- presentation Warde's reputation has become such that she continues to have relevance to typography in the twenty-first century.

An overlooked area of her presentation as a scholar is new to this chapter, that of her wartime role in founding the Anglo-American book exchange, Books Across the Sea. Using her expertise and knowledge of publishing and literature for political ends, this area of her scholarly identity has been revealed to be fundamental to her enhanced, post-war ambition in the printing industry.

Also uncovered by this research is that Warde used photography to confirm her identity as a scholar. In her portrait by Coster, she controlled the art direction to reinforce this reputation and the ultimate placement of this image in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, reinforces this identity and ensures its longevity. This was a unique approach to self-presentation, elite women in the arts used photography for self-identification but this was pioneering for a woman in the printing industry.

Having disclosed Warde's use of self-characterisations for success, the second identity newly revealed in this chapter is her position as an expert in public relations. Her expertise in, and use of, public relations, which stemmed from her early experience in Manhattan, has been disclosed as integral to her success, yet prior to

this thesis no examination of this area has been made. In the printing industry Warde pioneered public relations, advocating for its commercial importance and using her abilities in this area for self-presentation. It is debateable if, without these skills, Warde would have achieved personal success. This chapter has examined her use of public relations through image making, creating opportunities where she was at the centre of attention and in control of the messages she communicated. Through this approach Warde linked her body with her professional status and the Monotype Corporation. Her choice of photographer was significant and she selected individuals with reputations for capturing elite cultural figures, including movie stars. Warde's image making is a new area of study, emphasising her use of public relations, photography and particularly, clothing to make statements about her gender, identity and status, as well as to trigger and support discussions centred on her typographic ideas whilst also through this approach becoming whomever she wanted in the printing industry.

Warde's third identity, revealed and discussed for the first time in this thesis was that of the religious woman. Raised as a Unitarian and converting to Roman Catholicism as an adult, this research has disclosed a new perspective, which motivated Warde's ideas for the printing industry. Encouraged to follow Catholicism by Morison, this chapter has discussed that they, and others in their network, were part of a religious community of culturally influential figures targeted by the Catholic Church for their ability to disseminate Catholic ideas. Promoting Catholic values was a religious duty for followers of Catholicism and this is an area revealed as important to Warde, who used opportunities presented by the printing industry to fulfil this obligation. With these circumstances in mind, Warde's professional ideas take on a new significance, that of disseminating her religious beliefs. In particular the origins and ideas of Revivalism have been shown for the first time by this research, as reflecting the Catholic Church's decree, Lamentabili Sane Exitu, which prevented Catholics from

following Modernism. Known as a leading Revivalist with Morison and other leading members of the printing industry, to reflect and disseminate her Catholic ideas, Warde argued for the importance of functionality in typography advocating the superiority of Revivalist, serif typefaces and the inferiority of Modernist, sans serif, typefaces. Warde's most well-known writings, 'Inscription for a Printing Office' and 'the Crystal Goblet' have been analysed for the first time from the perspective of Warde's religious beliefs, which both texts have been found to reflect. Prior to this research, commentators on Warde asserted that her religious beliefs did not influence her work in the industry.[293] However, the changed notions presented in this research uncover Warde's presentation as a religious woman whose professional ideas and their motivation reflected and promoted the notions of her beliefs.

In addition to the highlighted identities adopted by Warde, aspects disclosed in this chapter as pertinent to her presentation were the circumstances, ideas and approaches of women writers and the construct of the New Woman. Prior to this research neither of these topics had been examined for their relevance to Warde, however, as during her upbringing she was exposed to both the position of women writers, including her mother, and the ideas and image of the New Woman, both topics are relevant for inspiring her approach and attitude.

Gender impacted attitudes to mainstream authors during Warde's lifetime and male authors were in a favoured position; these were also the circumstances within the printing industry. This chapter has disclosed that in response, Warde used approaches she had observed from mainstream, women authors. Initially she chose to work pseudonymously, to obfuscate her gender and as Beaujon her presentation in the industry was unquestioned. Newly discovered in this research, other similarities

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[293] Nicolas Barker, one of the few commentators on Warde gave the 2022 Beatrice Warde Memorial Lecture at which he was questioned over the influence of Warde's religion on her professional ideas. Barker's response was that her religion had no impact on her ideas and approaches for the printing industry.

between Warde and the approaches of mainstream, women authors have been revealed, including the use of self-publication to disseminate ideas and awareness of the value of image making with their bodies and clothing for strategic purposes, to denote select messages and indicate cultural positioning. The identity of the New Woman and its relevance to Warde is also a new finding discussed in this chapter. Before this research, Warde has never been compared with and considered a New Woman. A constructed identity, the New Woman linked with a liberated attitude; she was politically aware and educated at elite institutions that had previously all been male domains. Linked to female enfranchisement, the New Woman seized possession of her rights, was accused of destroying gender norms and of being ambiguously gendered and these are descriptions which fit Warde entirely. Lamberton Becker was discussed in this chapter for being a member of the first generation of New Women and for the first time in this research Warde has been disclosed as part of the second generation; educated, independent and confident, she manipulated her gender to achieve success and like the New Woman was aware of the value of new media, using it tactically for increased visibility through image making and public relations.

7. CONCLUSION

This thesis used a mix of methodological approaches. It brought together primary historical evidence from hitherto untapped archives with a focus on Warde, her networks and the printing industry. It also drew on reports in the trade and mainstream press which related to Warde and the context in which she worked. A selection of her writings was analysed as part of this research, as were images of Warde herself. In addition, findings were supported by discussions with individuals who knew Warde either as a friend or colleague.

The main aim of this research was to reappraise how Warde established a role for herself in the male-dominated, twentieth-century British printing industry, and, in so doing, became known as the First Lady of Typography. The study also set out to establish the extent to which that reputation was justified. In particular, it considered how Warde used her gender to attain this position, and, because she continues to be well-regarded by the typographic establishment, a further aim was to understand how and why she created her legacy. A final consideration of the research was to determine the degree to which wider society and the prevailing conditions of the printing industry shaped her career. Addressing these aims has enabled an understanding of how Warde established and progressed her position in the printing industry, what inspired and drove her ambition, where her ideas originated, and how she used them in support of her ambition to establish a legacy in a male-dominated industry.

When Warde entered the workplace in the 1920s, there were few rewarding career opportunities for women, certainly not in the printing industry. However, the circumstances of her upbringing, including her family situation, education, and Unitarian religion, taught her that her gender was neither an impediment to success nor a hindrance to career progression, instead her sex—and sexuality—could be used positively to further her ambitions. Through reappraising Warde's background,

this research has identified how Warde drew on her early experiences and used her knowledge of society, culture, and the publishing industry to frame her strategies for achieving professional prominence within the British printing industry. These strategies also extended into her retirement, when Warde intended her reputation would be maintained via the publication of her memoirs and the establishment of an archive of her papers at the University of Cambridge, where they would be available to the public in perpetuity.

This study has revealed how Warde used gender to achieve her ambitions, a tactic she adapted to suit prevailing circumstances. Her first-hand experience of the commercial printing industry demonstrated to her that men were more likely to succeed than women. In response, her use of the male pseudonym Paul Beaujon was an approach that helped her rapidly to achieve her goal of rising to a position of influence. But rather than directly challenging the male-dominated industry, Warde consciously used her female identity to achieve her ambitions by exploiting her femininity and exercising her allure to good advantage when circumstances demanded. She fully understood the appeal this had for her male contemporaries and how it contributed to their appreciation of both her and her work, and, because all the leading members of the printing industry were men, she deployed her femininity as part of her strategy for success. Gender was not her only tactic; Warde also constructed different personas to create her success, whether as an aged French printing historian, as a charismatic American expatriate in London, an artist's muse and model, or through the multiple characters—consciously clothed and carefully curated— that she assumed for her public engagements. Through her experience in public relations, Warde knew how to construct and convey her multiple identities to her audiences using all available media, including writing, publishing, photography —and other forms of image-making — public speaking, and radio broadcasting, leading her to declare 'I am a communicator'.

To facilitate her own advancement Warde was adept at networking both within and without the printing industry. Her relationships whether professional, social, sexual, or religious were pivotal in supporting her career, and her employment at both the ATF Library and the Monotype Corporation resulted from the patronage of friends and leading typographic figures who not only assisted her progress through the printing industry but also guided her ideas. Understanding Warde's networks is fundamental for revealing the origins of the ideas for which she became renowned, and by which she ultimately formed her legacy.

In part, Warde can be seen to be a New Woman, confident, ambitious, career-minded, educated, conversant with new media, and of independent means. On the other hand, findings reveal she intentionally resisted the more forceful aspects of the New Woman stereotype in favour of a more persuasive approach connected with her femininity. However, despite the admiration of her male contemporaries, and despite her success as a pioneering woman in the industry, Warde failed to break the barriers that prevented women succeeding in the printing industry, and there is no evidence to suggest that she enabled, or even encouraged other women to realise their ambitions. It is a finding which brings into question her status as the First Lady of Typography.

It is a position that can also be challenged when her scholarly contributions are considered, because Warde's core ideas, expressed in words and images, were neither new nor novel but were substantially based on the concepts of others. Instead, it is how Warde presented these ideas that is notable and her contribution to the printing industry and typographic theory lies not in what she said, but how she said it. This is important because her communication skills undoubtedly energised the industry and transformed the way the subject was thought about, written about, taught, and discussed. It was a unique skill and no other figure in the industry came close to Warde's ability to communicate, nor did they have the same understanding of the diversity of media needed to capture audiences. Warde's media knowledge coupled

with her communication skills wholly changed the way type and typography are considered. It is for this the title of First Lady of Typography is warranted, for it signals the esteem in which she was held, her unique position as a leading woman in the industry, her contributions to progressing the subject and raising the profile of the industry during her life, and which continue to resonate with those with an interest in type, typography, and the printing industry.

That Warde was able to make such a name for herself can also be attributed to a unique combination of circumstance. Warde entered the printing industry just as it was modernising and undergoing the first major changes in its 450-year history: it was moving from a craft-based trade to a technology-led industry; training relocated out of the workshop and into the newly established schools of printing; there was a revived interest in type; the structure of the organisation segmented and labour became divided with the emergence of new roles, including that of the professional typographer. The remodelling of the printing industry required communicating, and Warde with her skills in the new area of public relations, was well-equipped to do this. She also found herself in an era which saw opportunities for women starting to open up, and attitudes to women in the workplace were changing, partly due to the arrival of universal suffrage and outbreak of two world wars. The timing of her introduction to the industry was, therefore, both opportune and essential to Warde's career and achievements. Doubtless had she been born in another era her personality and determination would have been such that she would have realised an alternative outlet for her ambitions.

The evidence on which this thesis is constructed, is, of course, partial, and necessarily based on Warde's selective, self-curated archive. This has been both an advantage and a limitation of the study. Without the Warde Archive at the CRL it is unlikely that I would been either motivated or able to undertake this research. However, the substantial nature of the archive provided such a surfeit of material that it became a

monumental task to sort, sift, prioritise, and interpret the documentation. Having been compiled by Warde with the specific intent of crafting her own legacy, there is but a single voice in the archive which I have attempted to balance by drawing on the limited available evidence that exists outside the collection. It can be argued that Warde's boundless communication skills are also a factor constraining this study, as the few secondary sources that do exist also draw on material which stems from Warde's own work and words and which consequently reinforce a limited perspective.

However, the gaps and limits of this thesis also open up avenues for further exploration by scholars of printing and other areas, and the extensive nature of the archive means there is plenty of scope for further investigations. In particular, there is more work to be done on Warde's networks and how she contributed to the wider culture of the twentieth century including art, literature, fashion, photography, and psychology. I suggest that Warde's use of gender, her creation of multiple personas, and her use of performance as tools for success might also be considered in relation to how other twentieth-century women negotiated and succeeded in male-dominated industries. It is my own intention to undertake further research into Warde's impact on Anglo-American relations, particularly during World War Two, and I am keen to further understand the influence of religion on Warde's ideas and how this ultimately determined the progress of Britain's twentieth-century printing industry.

This study has been valuable for expanding my understanding of the printing industry and Warde's life and work. It has made me consider the influences on my own typographic education and the fortunate timing of my career as a graphic designer, in a period when attitudes to women have progressed. In turn this research has made me question the basis of many of my typographic and design decisions, whilst also heightening my consideration of the approaches of other typographic designers. I have come to appreciate my broadening awareness of twentieth-century culture and

its impact on Warde, the printing industry and the lives of those that came after her, including my own family and friends. I treasure the opportunities this research has presented, including the chance to access archives and writing that I would not otherwise have examined, and being part of the scholarly debate on typography and twentieth-century culture. Throughout this experience, I have particularly valued the connections I have established with individuals who have encouraged me and supported my research.

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APPENDIX

British Honorary Councillors, Books Across the Sea, London

A. Chester Beatty Jnr (1875-1968), American-born British citizen, copper-mining magnate and collector of rare manuscripts and books.

Professor D. W. Brogan (1900-74), Scottish author and historian, Professor of Political Science at Cambridge University and the star of 'Transatlantic Quiz', a BBC radio programme founded in 1944 that exchanged questions between teams in London and New York with the aim of testing the team's knowledge of the other country.

Dr. Winifred Cullis (1875-1956), Professor of Physiology at the University of London and President of the International Federation of University Women.

Dr. W. C. Dickinson, of the Library of London.

The Hon. Lewis Einstein (1877-1967), American-born diplomat and historian.

Sir Robert Evans, founder of Evan's Brothers Printers which focussed on journals for teacher training. The company began book publishing in the 1930s.

John Meath Evans, Fellow of Queens College Oxford.

John Hadfield (1907-99), author and publisher and during wartime, book officer of the British Council.

Walter Harrap, Director of George G. Harrop, an Australian printing company and also of several British printing, binding and distribution companies. During wartime he was President of the Publishers Association.

The Rt. Hon. Earl of Ilchester, OBE – Edward Henry Charles James Fox-Strangways (1905-64), philanthropist and British peer.

R. J. L. Kingsford (1900-78), author and Secretary of Cambridge University Press.

Walter Lewis (1878-1960), Cambridge University Printer between 1923-45.

Sir Robert Mayer (1879-1985), German-born philanthropist and one of the founders of the London Philharmonic Orchestra. Mayer had also lived in America.

Sir Humphrey Milford (1877-1952), editor and publisher to the University of Oxford, and head of the London Operations of Oxford University Press.

Sir Thomas Moore MP, OBE (1886-1971), Scottish Unionist politician.

Stanley Morison (1889-1967), typographer and printing historian also close friend of Warde.

D. L. Murray (1888-1962), author.

Dr. Luxmoore Newcombe, Head of the National Central Library, London.

The Hon, Harold Nicolson, CMG, MP (1886-1968), diplomat, writer and politician, married to Vita Sackville-West, he was Labour MP for Leicester West and during wartime he was on the board of governors of the B.B.C. In the late 1930s he was one of the few MPs to alert the country to fascism. Nicolson was friend or colleague to many politicians including Winston Churchill, Ramsay MacDonald and Anthony Eden.

Dame Una Pope Hennessy (1875-1940), writer and historian.

G. K. Prior.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Malcolm Robertson GCMG, KBE, MP (1887-1951), Conservative MP for Mitcham and Chairman of the British Council. Robertson had been First Secretary to the British Embassy in Washington.

Robert Speaight (1904-76), British actor and writer who had acted in the first production of Eliot's 'Murder in the Cathedral.' Speaight, like Warde was a Roman Catholic convert. He was a biographer and personal friend of Eric Gill.

The Rev. Marcus A. Spencer, American minister of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Kensington.

Dr. Henry Thomas, Keeper of the Department of Printed Books, The British Museum, he had wide knowledge of Spanish-American literature.

Stanley Unwin (1884-1968), publisher and founder of George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Rebecca West (Dame Cicely Isabel Fairfield) (1892-1983), British author, journalist, literary critic and travel writer. West reviewed books for papers including the *New York Herald Tribune*, the newspaper where Warde's mother, May Lamberton Becker was a renowned writer and critic.

J. G. Wilson (1876-1963), proprietor of London bookseller J. & E. Bumpus Ltd. Wilson was regarded as the most influential bookseller in the country.

Mrs. Beatrice Wright, MP (1910-2003), was an American-born British politician and Conservative MP for Bodmin. Like Warde, Wright was a convert to Roman Catholicism.

American Honorary Councillors, Books Across the Sea, New York

Mr Raymond Bond (1893-1981), publisher, editor, director of advertising and promotions and ultimately the president of Dodd Mead Publishers (the publishers of May Lamberton Becker).

Pearl S. Buck (Pearl Sydenstricker Buck) (1892-1973), writer whose first novel *The Good Earth* was the best-selling fiction in America in 1932. She also won the Pulitzer Prize in this year and in 1938 was the first American woman to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Mrs J. Hamilton Coulter.

Mr and Mrs Merril Denison. Mr Merril Dennison (1893-1975) was a Canadian playwright and pioneer of radio drama. Mrs Merril Dennison (Muriel) was an author of children's books and writer under the pseudonym of Frances Newton in publications including *This Week* and *Reader's Digest*.

Miss Marion E. Dodd, writer and founder of the Hampshire Bookshop in Northampton Massachusetts, the first American bookseller to be founded, owned and managed by women.

Sir Angus Fletcher, Director of the British Library of Information New York, and Chairman of the UN Headquarters Commission.

Miss Jennie M. Flexner (1882-1944), a staff member of the American Library Association and from 1924 until her death she was Readers Advisor at the New York Public Library. When in the 1930s European refugees came to New York, Flexner helped to recommend resources to stimulate their professional and intellectual lives. During World War Two, she chaired a committee selecting books for American Military personnel.

Mr Howard Haycraft (1906-91), publishing executive, author and editor for H.G. Wilson Company, publishers of library reference books. During World War Two he was in the US Army Special Services and had responsibility for troop education and recreation.

Miss Marion Humble, author of *Rural American Reads*, a study of rural library service published in 1938 by the American Association for Adult Education. Humble also wrote books for children.

Miss Flora B. Ludington (1898-1967), American librarian and author, from 1953-4 she became president of the American Library Association. Ludington also worked on post war rehabilitation of European libraries.

Dr and Mrs John Matthew.

Mr Frederic G. Melcher (1879-1963), American publisher and bookseller, he was a major contributor to library science and the book industry and also known for his contribution to children's books. Like Warde and Lamberton Becker, he was Unitarian and from 1946 provided BAS with headquarters in New York.

Miss Rebecca Mixner, teacher.

Mr Bruce Rogers (1870-1957), type designer, typographer and book designer, Rogers was a close friend of Warde and Lamberton Becker.

Miss Jan Struther (Joyce Anstruther) (1901-53), English writer known for her character 'Mrs Miniver' who initially appeared in *The Times*. Mrs Miniver, was a fictitious 'ordinary' woman living in Britain during wartime and Struthers' writing, popular in America, was published in book form before in 1942, being made into a film and winning six academy awards. Struther also wrote a number of popular hymns, including 'Lord of All Hopefulness.'

Mr John Tunis (1889-1975), writer and broadcaster known for his sports novels for children and young people.

Mr Hendrik Willem Van Loon (1882-1944), Dutch-American historian, journalist and award-winning children's author. His work was banned from Germany but gained the respect of Franklin D. Roosevelt on whose 1940 presidential campaign he worked.

Captain M. W. Alan Williams MBE.