Herbert Read's Art and Industry: a history

Introduction

On its publication in 1934, Herbert Read's Art and Industry was seen as perhaps the most important discussion of design to have been published in Britain since the renewed identification of the topic in this century. A reviewer expressed this feeling with the claim that 'we have waited a very long time for it one might say we have waited a hundred years'.1 The book went through five editions, finally going out of print in the 1970s. As late as 1980 one commentator could still describe it as 'the best available account of its subject, and generally speaking, it is also the best illustrated'.2 A history of this book throws some light on the design movement in Britain, for which it was so long a central text. And a historical investigation of a classic text should also have the useful function of reminding us that a 'classic', like any other human artefact, is the product of a particular set of circumstances, of varying degrees of necessity and contingency.

This essay attempts an analysis of the making of the book: both the progress of Read's ideas over the period in which he wrote it, and the progress of its design and production. The other elements of this history are: the reception of the book by commentators, and the subsequent life of its ideas in Read's continued engagement with design.

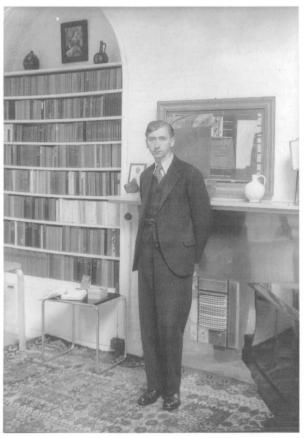
Genesis

Read's background

The intellectual career of Herbert Read (1893–1968) has been mapped out in two authoritative books, and it is not necessary to provide any complete summary here. But as a preliminary to a description of Read's concerns during the period of writing Art and Industry, it will be helpful to point to some features of his development before 1934.

Although born in rural Yorkshire Read studied at Leeds University, at a moment when it could boast a 'vigorous intellectual life' around the University, the Art Gallery, and the Arts Club, this latter founded by A. R. Orage, who had recently left the city for

London, to edit the New Age. Read was thus exposed at a formative period to such elements of an avant-garde culture as existed in Britain at that time (one would cite the work of Ezra Pound, T. E. Hulme, and especially the Nietzschean presence). Then, after the First World War, in London, he made personal contact with leading figures of literary modernism: T. S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, Richard Aldington, F. S. Flint, and the Imagists. Read worked as a civil



I Herbert Read, 1934, in his studio flat at 3 The Mall, Parkhill Road, London. Above the mantlepiece: Ben Nicholson, Collage with Spanish postcard (1933); on it: Barbara Hepworth, Mother and child (1934); Breuer and Aalto tables to Read's right. Photograph by Howard Coster (National Portrait Gallery, London)

servant throughout the 1920s, but from 1922 held a post in the Department of Ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was this extended period of intimate dealing with artefacts, between 1922 and 1931, which provided experience necessary for the writing of Art and Industry (especially its parts 2 and 3).

Read seems to have started work on the book that became Art and Industry already 'in his last years' at the V & A.5 David Thistlewood reports that, at that stage (i.e. around 1930), the book was to be 'primarily a defence of the abstract artist . . . whose researches into pure form were crucial to both the aesthetic and commercial well being of the community'.6 From this suggestion it would seem that at this point Read had not yet formulated his thesis of abstract art finding its place in industry, as design. Read left the V & A in May 1931 to take up a post as Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University. He was then free of the restraints on expression of opinion placed on him as a civil servant. Although before 1931 he had written regularly for the Criterion, and the Listener (articles for the latter had provided the material for his book The Meaning of Art of 1931), the flow of his journalism diminished, now that he had taken on the burdens of academic work. In the spring of 1933, he resigned from his Edinburgh professorship and came to London, eventually (later in that year) taking up the editorship of the Burlington Magazine and supplementing this work with freelance writing. There now began publication of the sequence of books for which Read may be best known: Art Now (1933), Art and Industry (1934), and Art and Society (1937). After this latter book, Read's energies turned, with the times, more directly to social and political questions.

If the main thesis of Art and Industry was not clearly formulated in the early version of the book (as it existed before 1931), what then were the conditions that helped Read towards his views, as finally published in 1934?

The native design movement

The design movement in Britain, up to the late 1920s, may be identified largely with the Design and Industries Association (founded in 1915). Its voice was a cautious one, seeming to be content with 'patient progress', in Pevsner's epithet. But whatever one may observe about the gentlemanly tone

of the DIA, or the internal conflicts over its Arts and Crafts legacy, it had at least publicly raised design as an issue for the consideration of those working in industry, as well as for the public at large. From around 1930 the design movement gathered some pace. The milestones are now well chronicled: the founding of the Society of Industrial Artists (1930), the appointment of the Gorell Committee on Art and Industry (1931) and its Report (1932), the 'Design in Modern Life' radio debates (1933), the Dorland Hall exhibitions (1933, 1934).9 In 1934, reviewing John Gloag's edition of the radio debates, Anthony Bertram could write: 'The recent extension of the word 'design' is one of the most interesting and significant indications of the whole trend of good modern thought. It is fast becoming one of the most inclusive words in the vocabulary, the symbol of a noble abstract conception . . . '. 10

As the sketch of his earlier career will have indicated, Read was essentially an outsider to this design movement, approaching it by way of museum curatorship and art criticism. This difference was registered at the time, in commentaries on *Art and Industry* by figures within the movement, who were typically employed in the spheres of journalism, advertising and commercial art.

Nascent British modernism

A second element in the shaping of Art and Industry may be identified in Read's dialogue with artistic modernism, particularly in his involvement in its passage from the Continent to Britain. On his move to London in 1933, this engagement—which had started in his Leeds days-became intense. Read himself later provided a memoir of that period (1933-8) when he lived as a close neighbour of Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson, Paul Nash, and other members of the British artistic avant-garde: he became their interpretative voice.11 This role was formalized clearly in Read's editorship of the book Unit One (1934). The alliance of artists and architects, which the book (and accompanying exhibition) represented, was short-lived: it was a coalition of largely heterogeneous members, united only by 'the modern spirit'. But the idea of Unit One did include some attempt to address the problem of the modern-especially the abstract-artist. And certainly, in one of the questions put by Read to the group's members, the theme of Art and Industry is

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touched on: '12. Are you content to confine yourself to one mode of expression (e.g. easel painting), or are you interested in applying your sense of design in other ways? Give examples of the ways in which you would like to extend your activities.'12 Although Nash had at one point considered inviting McKnight Kauffer—the designer of the book's cover—to become a member, design or 'applied art' was represented only through the work of Wells Coates. Apart from the architects Coates and Colin Lucas, Unit One was an alliance of pure artists.¹³

Continental modernism

Read acknowledged his debt to certain German aestheticians-especially Worringer-and, during his V & A years, visited Germany, making personal contacts. He was thus well placed to observe and help import continental modernism as it developed during the 1920s and early 1930s. The first report of any cultural importation by Read, outside the field of fine art, refers to 1932. In this year he made a proposal for the creation, in Edinburgh, of an experimental institute of art, along the lines of the Dessau Bauhaus.14 It would seem possible that he had visited the Dessau Bauhaus, and that he had made contact with Bauhaus figures, some years before their emigration from Germany. Moholy-Nagy, who helped to procure pictures for Art and Industry, visited London in 1933, and Read would probably have met him then, if not before.15 Herbert Bayer, the book's designer, is not known to have visited Britain before 1936. The question of the dating of these contacts is of some importance, in view of the crucial part given to the Bauhaus idea in Art and Industry. The role that Read assigns to it comes out clearly in the last section of part 1, headed "The solution proposed". After a long quotation from a paper by Gropius read to the DIA in Birmingham in May 1934, Read writes: 'I have no other desire in this book than to support and propagate the ideals thus expressed by Dr Gropius . . . '16 The Bauhaus idea, of art integrated into industry (and into life), becomes for Read the solution of the problem of the modern artist. The picture one has of the process of Read's assimilation of the Continental-modern conception of art and industry—design—is thus of: first, an awareness of contemporary developments in the 1920s; then in 1933 and 1934, when he must have been actively working on the final form

of the book, an alert reception of the writings of central figures in the movement, and some personal contact with them.

Eric Gill

Another presence in the formation of Read's ideas on design, less obvious than continental modernism, was that of Eric Gill, and the exchanges between the two men do throw light on Art and Industry. They seem to have met first in 1929, over the invitation to do the sculpture for the new Broadcasting House. Read had BBC connections (he had begun to write for the Listener) and was involved with this proposal. In a letter to Read from this time, Gill raised the issue that they were to argue about over the next decade. In response to Read's Listener article on 'The meaning of art', Gill wrote: 'I don't believe the working artist really desires to "communicate his exceptional vision" to his fellow men. . . . It seems to me perfectly certain that the artist's function is simply maker of things."

Shortly after this first exchange, Read brought up the question of the nature of the artist again, in a review of Gill's pamphlet Art and Manufacture. Against Gill's equation of art and skill, Read was concerned to distinguish art from simple making and to suggest that art was concerned with higher things. Modern conditions had clarified this distinction: 'Let the machines multiply in number and efficiency: they make the world a nicer place to live in. And let the artists keep to their only legitimate business, which is the statement of truth in terms of beauty. It may make the economy of life difficult for the artists: Who wants to pay for beauty? But the poets discovered that long ago, and the painter or sculptor is in no privileged position." At this point (1930), therefore, Read had not yet come to the notion that the artist could find a place in industry, and showed no interest in considering the qualities of industrial products, although he was then, as indicated above, already working on the manuscript that became Art and Industry. 19

Gill, meanwhile, had begun to concern himself persistently with the problems raised by mass production. Throughout the 1920s he had written on questions of art and 'making', from his experience as a letter-cutter and sculptor. And since starting serious work in designing typefaces for the Monotype Corporation (from mid-1928) he could speak from

intimate knowledge of the problems posed by 'the machine'. 20 He was thus brought to consider the question of art and industry some years before Read came to it: writing from his practice and with the support of strong social—religious beliefs. Gill's arguments are thus different in tone from Read's and are always more absolute in character: though Read could also have moments of blunt statement.

The radical difference between them persisted. Read still conceived of a pure realm of art, apart from reason or function—or industry (as he would come to call it, without moral overtones). While Gill was tormented by the crisis brought about by industrialism (his use of the term has the clearest condemnatory intention): 'Art is the making of things. | A motor-car is a thing made. | Therefore a motor-car is a work of art. | Its designer is an artist. | The men who make it are not men. (They have been reduced to a subhuman condition of intellectual irresponsibility.) They are 'hands'. | They are the hands of the designer . . .'²¹

The next exchange came a year later, shortly before the publication of Art and Industry, when Read reviewed Gill's Art and a Changing Civilization in the Spectator.22 He made two specific criticisms. First, to question the suggestion that art in the Middle Ages was characterized by impersonality and in the modern age by individual-mindedness. And then to dissent again from Gill's wish to lump together work and art. In considering both questions, Read now included—as he had not clearly done before in these exchanges—the machine and mass production. Thus he agreed with Gill about the good qualities of impersonal, hieratic art (the art of the Middle Ages) and said that the machine age rediscovers them. And after differentiating art from mere work, he added: 'unless we are clear on that point, we shall never be clear on the most pressing of problems connected with art in the twentieth century—the place of the artist in the machine age.' The exchange was continued in private correspondence, and again came to a halt over 'the artist' and 'art', each one sticking resolutely to his position.23

There is no direct engagement with Gill in Art and Industry. But, if only because Read turned to discuss Gill's ideas on these several occasions during its gestation, one can say that the provocation represented by Gill did have some effect on the progress of the book. The one, glancing, reference to Gill came

when Read quoted a passage from Arthur Penty's review of Beauty Looks After Herself. Penty had charged Gill with giving in to industrialism, in saying that only 'plain architecture' was now excusable. Penty argued that beauty could not look after herself in this dangerous, self-destructive age, but needed rather to be cultivated. Read picked on Penty as a case of someone stuck in discipleship of William Morris, blindly rejecting the modern age, and suggested that William Morris himself—given the hints dropped in his later writings—would have moved on to accept the machine as necessary and liberating.

In one passage of the quotation from the review, Penty felt able to write of 'Mr Gill and the modernists', as if there was an identity of views; and—given the use that Read makes of Penty—one might be led to assume that Gill and Read held a common position of the relation between art and industry. This was clearly not so: Gill held fast to his hatred of industrialism, but was driven to accept that, if things were to be mass-produced, then they should be plain. Read came to the question from another direction: the consideration of modern art, and in particular, abstract art. What role could such an art play? At some point, around 1933, Read began to recognize the possible connection with industry, and could thus resolve the problem of the abstract artist. Industrial goods could be abstract art (and thus, incidentally, 'plain'). Industry was not to be rejected (though its present organization might be unsatisfactory), but rather welcomed, as a means of giving purpose to art. Given the genesis and progress of the thesis of Art and Industry, its strong defence of the independence of formal properties of goods—as not derivable from function—is understandable.

Content

Art and Industry, in its several editions, is widely available, and this exposition of its content will be limited to a broad outline, such as is necessary for the immediate purposes of this essay. After an introduction that sketches the argument of the whole, the first of the book's four parts presents Read's thesis at length; this is then exemplified and amplified in the three following parts and in appendices.

The book is predicated on a 'problem': 'to think out new aesthetic standards for new methods of

production.'25 Read suggests that the resolution of this problem necessitates a fundamental aesthetic enquiry: 'the definition of the norms or universal elements in art.' The difficulty, or contradiction, thus posed for Read is that of dealing with objects that are for use rather than contemplation, while attempting to maintain the independence of aesthetic values: 'art implies values more various than those determined by practical necessity.' In defence of the relative autonomy of the aesthetic, he refuses any necessary connection between function and aesthetic quality (a view he came to modify: see Afterlife, below). Read goes on to suggest that this problem cannot be solved by a conscious reform of taste ('Sir Joshua Reynolds, Ruskin, Morris, the Royal Academy, the Royal College of Art, and 58,000 deluded art students') but that the seeds of a solution lie rather in the 'unconscious' work of 'a few practical engineers and technical designers' and—in the future—in the development of a 'new aesthetic sensibility', which owes nothing to traditional taste and academic art, but follows rather from 'the appreciation of abstract form'.

This thesis is presented in some detail in part 1. The illustrations here are predominantly photographs of the new industrial art, interspersed with some photographs of ancient artefacts. Through this juxtaposition and in the extended captions, the suggestion is made that all these eminently functional objects have notable 'abstract' aesthetic qualities. Read's text in this part mixes a historical account of art in industry (from early industrial conditions to the present) with discussion of aesthetic issues. The part ends by proposing the solution to the 'problem'. This lies with the abstract artist working in industry: the figure 'generally called the designer'. 26 In conclusion, Read introduces the long quotation from Gropius, already referred to (Genesis, above). This is the highpoint in the argument of the book, and the material that follows is ancillary in character.

Part 2 contains a discussion of 'form' across a range of objects and materials: pottery, glass, metalwork, woodwork, textiles. Here too the illustrations, mostly of exemplary artefacts, are a mixture of the new and the much older. A final section of this part, entitled 'Construction', is concerned with the new field of industrial design, which supersedes the handicrafts, and again Read argues for the aesthetic validity of industrial artefacts. This part

constitutes a long exemplification of the thesis stated in part 1.

Part 3 is a shorter additional consideration of 'colour and ornament'. Read admits the human need for these elements, while suggesting that ornament has a subsidiary relation to form and that with machine-produced objects the best ornament is geometrical. If this implies a suppression of human vitality, then that must be accepted: human invention will make itself felt in other, perhaps unexpected, spheres of life. Though signalled in the title of this part, colour is hardly touched on: perhaps for the obvious reason of the difficulty of illustrating it (the book uses black printing only).

Part 4, unillustrated, has the title 'Art education in the industrial age'. Read's discussion here approaches most nearly the social context in which he was writing. The immediate problem is one of taste, and the absence of it, both in the consumer and the producer. He argues for two approaches: education in aesthetic appreciation, which should be a matter for the general population at all age levels; and the education of invention, which will be conducted at a specialized, secondary level. In Read's vision of a reformed technical education, there would be an integration of art with industry. The main stream of artists would be instructed in specialized technical schools or in factories themselves. Again, the Bauhaus is invoked as providing a possible model: 'a school with the complete productive capacities of the factory, an industrial system in miniature."27

The book is concluded with two appendices: extracts from the Gorell Report of 1932, which Read sees as essentially flawed in its conception of the artist as external to industry; and a Design and Industries Association memorandum on 'Art School Education' (1934), with special reference to the Royal College of Art, with which, in its industrial emphasis, Read finds himself largely in sympathy.

Design

In the first edition of Art and Industry, the attempt was made to design the book in sympathy with its content. This aim—though no more than a matter of being consistent—meant a book that broke with the pattern of book design so well established in British publishing as to be regarded as inevitable. The surprise occasioned by this aspect of the book



2 Art and Industry, 1934, page size 253 × 192 mm; title-page spread

was evident in several of its reviews (discussed under Reception below). It will be helpful here to quote from one of the book's most sympathetic reviewers. Christian Barman wrote:

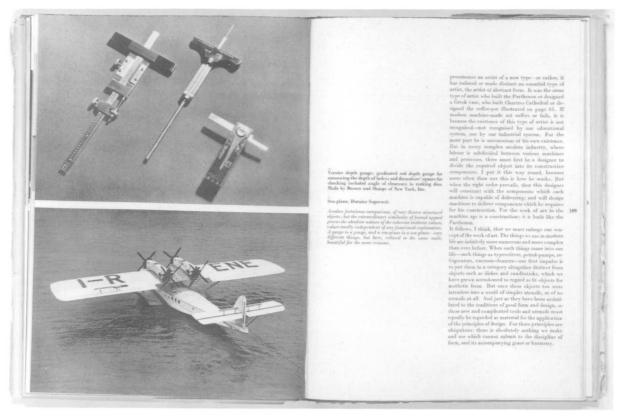
... it is in fact a piece of work as experimental and as challenging as any of the objects of which it contains illustrations, and fully deserving a separate, and not too lenient, notice all to itself. This much, at least, can be said: the main lesson of the author's text, that the greatest virtue today is to conquer sentimentality and nostalgia of the past, is here very strikingly demonstrated. No one handling this book can say that Mr Read (seconded by his publishers) omits to practise what he preaches.²⁶

Among the obviously 'modern' elements in the book's design are these: the two-column layout, frowned upon by traditionalists as suitable for magazines and industrial catalogues but not booksand for this reason liked by modernists; pictures integrated as much as possible with text and also printed in generously large sizes, sometimes bled off the page; page numbers in the side margins; a system of configuration whereby short columns of text were centred within the page depth; footnotes signalled by large dots; emphasis given to the text by bold side rules; a typeface (Monotype Bodoni) given sanction by the new typographers, perhaps for its neo-classical and thus proto-modern association; passages of text set entirely in bold; a double-page spread for the title-page; a pattern of red, blue, and

black abstract forms stamped on the cloth binding; lemon yellow end-papers; a semi-abstract dust jacket.

The photographs used in the book also bear out its thesis. Read anticipated potential criticism of these images, as being 'too artistic', presenting their subjects 'in a too striking or dramatic light'. In defence he wrote: 'I would claim that I have been careful to exclude any photographs which in any way distorted or misrepresented their subjects, and that otherwise I do not see why a product of industrial manufacture should not be given the same chance as a work of fine art." Many of the photographs of single objects show the same care in lighting and choice of background that one might expect in documentation of sculpture. But others do indulge in effects beyond the merely documentary: the soaring mast at the BBC transmitting station, against a backdrop of dramatic cloud formations (p. 16); the doubly exposed picture of hammer heads by the artist-photographer Francis Bruguière (p. 14); or the juxtaposed images of the BBC switching relay and the Dammerstock Siedlung (p. 32); and Vernier depth gauge and Dornier sea plane (p. 108). Read acknowledged the help of Moholy-Nagy in obtaining photographs, and he was thus able to incorporate the very material of the 'new vision' from Central Europe. But the principal shaping influence on the design of the book was that provided by the other ex-Bauhaüsler, Herbert Bayer, who was credited with 'typography and cover design'.

4() Robin Kinross



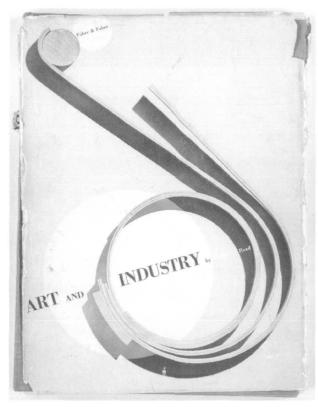
3 Art and Industry, 1934; pages 108-9

Some of the correspondence relating to the design and production of the book survives, and from these letters the story of its physical genesis can be traced in outline.30 The aim of making the book, in its design, a forthright statement of modernist principles is clear in the earliest document that survives. In a letter to Read (10 May 1934), translated into English by Faber & Faber for their internal discussions, Bayer restated the 'brief' as Read must have given it to him: 'It is my intention to use for your book a typography which corresponds with the modern contents . . . It is not at least my intention to choose a too extreme or even expressionist appearance. The layout is to be purely objective . . .' He then proposed a plan of his involvement, making clear that he wanted to participate fully: seeing the manuscript and all the pictures; giving the printer 'all necessary instructions regarding the typography, illustrations and making of blocks, in writing'; pasting-up galley and half-tone block proofs as instruction to the printer to make up pages. Before coming to name his fee (RM 500, with the suggestion of a possible reduction), Bayer returned again to the larger purpose behind any design: 'I do not know the mentality of the English public, but I really do believe that a modern book should have at any rate a modern layout, and I trust that this layout would mean a good sales argument.'

Faber's agreement to Bayer's involvement came in a letter from Richard de la Mare, the firm's production manager, to Read (5 June 1934): 'The only condition we feel we must make, and I fear you may disagree with it, is that he shall not use a sans serif type. My own feeling is that the best type to choose would be Bodini [sic] . . .' Read's book Art Now, published by Faber's in the previous year (1933), had been set in Gill Sans: one of the earliest uses of that typeface in book production.31 As it transpired, Monotype Bodoni was the typeface used in the book. One can assume that Bayer would have been amenable to the suggestion: typefaces of that style-group were acceptable in modernist circles, and he himself had just made an essay in type design along exactly these lines (his 'Bayer' typeface for the Berthold typefoundry). The choice of typeface would of course have been limited to those stocked by the

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printer. Cambridge University Press had printed Art Now and would normally have been an obvious choice for Faber's to make for the production of their illustrated books, though, as the correspondence makes clear, Art and Industry was not quite a normal Faber (still less, Cambridge) book. Faber & Faber were still a young firm and then among the handful of British publishers with a distinctive standard of design in their books: traditionalist, but not dogmatically so.³²



4 Art and Industry, 1934; front of dust jacket

By July Bayer had Read's manuscript and the photographs, and was at work on designing the book. At this point the difficulties of the operation became clear: Bayer, in Berlin, with only an imperfect command of the English language, trying to specify unorthodox instructions to Cambridge University Press, in the person of their Printer, Walter Lewis. As the letters reveal, and as other accounts testify, Lewis was down-to-earth, apparently the

very type of the blunt, good-natured Yorkshireman.33 He was bemused by Bayer: 'You will appreciate', he wrote to de la Mare (26 July 1934), 'I am out to help Mr Bayer in every possible way, and if you can suggest any way, I shall be pleased to know it.' Bayer seemed not to know about the Anglo-American system of typographical measurement and that it constituted an entirely different system of typographic units from the one with which he was familiar (the Didot point system): 'to my regret i can not use the typerule you sent me for i am not aquanted with these mesures, is it possible to give you the mesures after typographical points?' (letter to Lewis, 18 July 1934, as transcribed by Lewis for de la Mare). This suggests that Bayer's typographic knowledge was rather limited: that of an artist rather than a trained typographer.

As well as sending a copy of Bayer's letter to de la Mare, Lewis also (24 July 1934) sent one to the typographical adviser to Cambridge University Press, Stanley Morison, asking both for typeface specimens-Morison's main consultancy was with the Monotype Corporation—and also for reassurance ('I take it there will be no capitals in this book at all because there are none in his letter'). Thus the leading figure in the British 'reform of printing' movement was brought into the story: his response took the form of an explosion, by return of post (25 July 1934): 'THE MANIAC, INTELLECTUAL BAYER ASKS FOR SPECIMENS OF EIGHT FOUNTS. THESE ARE ENCLOSED . . . 'After the first paragraph, the letter changes to upper- and lower-case only, and moves towards the nub of Morison's objections to modernism in typography:

If Mr de la Mare wants to employ a German he should bring out the book in a so-called gothic fount. That no German understands roman typography is proved beyond all question by the fact that they do not use small caps, do not use italics for the purpose of articulating the text... This Mr Bayer, not content with being ignorant of the function of italics, deepens his ignorance by wilfully shutting his eyes to the utility of capitals. Of course he did not invent. Like most of the modern tricks which the German Jews have elaborated into an intellectual theory tied on to contemporary architectural customs, it was invented in Paris. (By German Jews I really mean Jews in Germany.) The effect of it is to make typography a romantic thing instead of a rational thing.

This, in the vivid language of an off-the-cuff letter, expresses the fundamental objections to modernism

in book typography that Morison articulated throughout his career. Lewis sent a copy of part of Morison's letter to de la Mare, commenting:

I know you won't mind his phraseology because I believe—like me—you have a great faith in Morison's judgement. In fact I find that outside of printing Morison has quite sound opinions even if they are expressed strongly, and we here find him, amongst his other qualities, a very good mental sharpener, and nothing Morison says would offend me. I think his point about italics etc. is very sound. (26 July 1934.)

By the end of the month, Lewis had received the design for the book: '... I have heard from Bayer with a very weird layout. All the folios will be in the middle of the page on the foredge and there will only be I m/m [i.e. I pica] more space at the foot than at the head, and some of the illustrations will bleed off.' (Letter to Morison, 31 July 1934.) The text would then have been set and proofed. Bayer's pasted-up proofs had been received by Faber's in September and sent on to Cambridge. There were still some loose ends: the contents page, which, the correspondence makes clear, was designed at the printer's rather than by Bayer, though (unusually for an English book, and at the wish of Bayer and Read) placed at the end of the text; and the jacket. Bayer's first proposal for the latter, using a photograph of an early Chinese vase, was rejected by author and publisher—as being not modern. It was de la Mare who suggested the Aalto plywood model used on the jacket as finally printed (letter to Bayer, 21 September 1934). The book seems to have been both printed and—as stated in its colophon published in October. There is no indication of what the participants thought of the finished product. It may be significant that there is no mention of the book in the authorized monograph on Bayer, as if he was not eager to admit it into the canon of his work.34 Read was apologetic about Bayer's economic 'extravagances' (letter to de la Mare, 29 September 1934); but was at least pleased with the outside appearance of the book: 'I think it is very successful. I showed it to Ben Nicholson who liked it very much.' (Letter to de la Mare, 29 October 1934.)

Reception

While varying in the degree of support for its arguments, most reviewers of Art and Industry

acknowledged that it did set new standards for discussion of design (in Britain).35 It was seen to have a seriousness and authority not previously achieved by writers on the subject. Thus J. M. Harding in Scrutiny contrasted it with I. de la Valette's The Conquest of Ugliness (judged to be 'insipid society entertainment'), finding Read's book 'an admirable example of a personal standard demonstrated and illustrated'. Edmund Dulac in the London Mercury thought it possessed 'all the qualities of concision, clearness and practical information that should make it a standard book on the subject'. A rather guarded anonymous reviewer in the DIA's journal Design for To-Day managed to suggest that the book 'must be regarded as a major contribution to the study and appreciation of the principal factors governing design at the present time', while allowing room for confusion over which of the four books under review this applied to.

The small group of writers who all came out with books on design at around this time inevitably found themselves reviewing each other. John Gloag, whose Industrial Art Explained had also been published in 1934, later confessed—in the course of a review of Noel Carrington's Design and a Changing Civilisation that while his own book had been 'a flippant piece of debunking . . . the only book that really mattered was Herbert Read's Art and Industry'. 36 Gloag repeated the second part of this judgement in the course of a discussion of Read's book—and especially its second edition—in the revised edition of his book on 'industrial art'.37 The most enthusiastic endorsements of the book's importance came from two insiders in the design movement. Writing in the Listener, Noel Carrington provided the statements that soon found their way into Faber's advertisements for the book. 'It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this book to industry and to artists because it is in a class by itself. Nothing has appeared in our time on this subject which can compare with it, either in scope or in clarity of thought . . . ' He added that it might seem surprising that such a book should have come 'from the pen of one who is a poet and critic and who has served his apprenticeship in a museum', but suggested that Read's distance (from the design movement) let him get to essentials.

The sense of a peak in the design debate was registered in the Architectural Review of January 1935, in lengthy reviews of Art and Industry, Gloag's

Industrial Art Explained and Geoffrey Holme's Industrial Design and the Future, and in an article by J. P. Thorp on issues surrounding the impending Burlington House exhibition. In his review of Read, Christian Barman, like Carrington, came up with an emphatic endorsement: '... to my knowledge no better book setting out the elements of industrial art has appeared in any language in modern times. This is no exaggeration ...' Though he proceeded to take issue with some details of the book's arguments and with the higher reaches of its thesis ('supererogatory doctrines'): 'Bloomsbury will accept his credentials.' But having got through those passages, 'the serious reader is free to get on with the job'.

Barman's remarks on the design of the book have already been quoted (see Design, above): his view was implied in the suggestion of a separate review on that aspect of the book, which would be 'not too lenient'. Carrington in the Listener was unqualified in his disapproval: 'Fitness is the first consideration. The type chosen is difficult to read, especially on a coated paper, and the arrangement of text, illustrations and captions is badly planned, so that progress is laborious. The art of the book-printer is largely self-effacement. These faults are almost unpardonable in a book of such merit and with such a title.' Gloag, writing in the 1946 edition of Industrial Art Explained referred aspersively to the doublecolumn configuration of text and 'the maximum irritation for the reader being provided by the "stunt" typography then fashionable'.38 These objections to the design of Art and Industry may be subsumed within a broader criticism articulated by the Times Literary Supplement reviewer: Read was found to be 'too much concerned with form in the abstract and not enough with form in relation to the means by which it is produced'. One feels the suggestion herein the ambiguity of 'form in the abstract'—that his interest in abstract form was suspect, in addition to the primary suspicion of his concern with form as such.

Afterlife

Continued arguments

With the publication of Art and Industry, Read had made both his first and his major contribution to the discussion of design. His engagement with the subject

continued intermittently, in revised editions of the book, in further essays, and through certain other channels. His continued dealings will be discussed here, insofar as they carry forward the themes already raised.

In the years following the book's first publication, the main development of attitude for Read was his turn towards anarchism and a greater concern with political issues. 39 Art and Industry, though it addresses the theme of its title, contains almost no discussion of the specific problems and issues of industrial production. Its stress is aesthetic, with some consideration of educational issues in an appendix. But Read's discussions of these matters after 1934 began to show a greater recognition of the political-economic contexts of design. Art and Industry, by pointing to the issue but then discussing it only in aesthetic terms, stands at a mid-point between his more purely aesthetic writings and those that demonstrate some political engagement. Read's development was in line with the rapid politicization of life of those years in Britain. Thus, in the autumn of 1934, reviewing the first exhibition of the Artists International Association, he was prompted to declare his broad position: "... I count myself "on the side of the working class against the capitalist class", and I call myself a socialist.'40 But he refused any simple socialist realism, which he saw as confusing art and propaganda.41

Read's defence of the independence of form in design, as a separate matter from considerations of function, seems to continue through this period. In his 1935-6 Sydney Jones Lectures at the University of Liverpool, published as Art and Society (1937), he included a brief discussion of 'functional art', which maintains this separation: 'The totality of the human being includes—it is my central hypothesis—an aesthetic impulse as well as various practical impulses; a concern for the form as well as for the efficiency of the instruments of production.'42 But at some point in the following years he gave up this formulation, surrendering—one feels this is how it might have seemed to him—to a straightforward 'functionalism': 'If an object is made of appropriate materials to an appropriate design and perfectly fulfils its function, then we need not worry any more about its aesthetic value: it is automatically a work of art.'43 This is from an essay first published in 1941, the title of which ('To hell with culture')

comes from Eric Gill: 'To hell with culture, culture as a thing added like a sauce to otherwise unpalatable stale fish.'⁴⁴ As in the earlier period of Read's recognition of design, there is some evidence to suggest that contact with Gill helped him towards a more radical position.⁴⁵

The Spanish Civil War had been a decisive issue for Read, bringing him to anarchism. He published articles on 'The necessity of anarchism' in 1937, which were then included in his book *Poetry and Anarchism* (1938). Here, as always subsequently, Read's politics were 'unpolitical' (for individual freedom, against the state), but he did now begin to include an explicit political dimension in his writings on art and design. Thus the passage quoted from 'To hell with culture' continues:

Fitness for function is the modern definition of the eternal quality we call beauty, and this fitness for function is the inevitable result of an economy directed to use and not to profit.

Incidentally, we may note that when the profit system has to place function before profit, as in the production of an aeroplane or a racing-car, it also inevitably produces a work of art. But the question to ask is: why are not all the things produced under capitalism as beautiful as its aeroplanes and racing-cars?⁴⁶

Gill's anarchist involvement was of longer standing than Read's, though, with its religious commitment, it was marginal to the main stream of the movement. Read did soon become a central, if slightly elevated, figure in anarchist circles in Britain. So anarchism would have helped to provide further common ground between Read and Gill. In 1938, Read moved out of London, to live in Buckinghamshire and (as it happened) near to Gill. In what proved to be the last two years of Gill's life (he died in November 1940), the two saw each other more frequently.47 Their last published exchange was on the 'true philosophy of art'.48 Read acknowledged the other's effect on him in essays written after Gill's death, but pointed to the sticking points of difference: 'I would insist that art is not merely skill to make, but also skill to express. Express what? Gill would ask . . . But I still maintain that there is a sense in which art is expression, and not merely making . . .' And he went on to suggest that great artists express 'the life of the community, organic group consciousness'.49 In another essay of this time, after affirming their common anarchism, Read summarized

the differences: his own acceptance of a separation between manual labour and intellectual labour; art inhabited the latter sphere, and without such a separation there could be no place for the artist (designer) in machine production. In refusing this distinction, Gill 'was compelled to renounce the whole basis of modern civilization'. And Read had been unable to share any of Gill's religious faith. 50

Despite Read's new simple equation of 'function' and 'beauty', and the condemnation of capitalism, it is hard to see that his conception of design had changed in essence from the one he had published in 1934. He was, however, now involved in an attempt at a practical implementation of the thesis of Art and Industry: Design Research Unit.51 At its outset (it was formulated in 1942 and started to operate in 1943), DRU was intended as rather more than the design practice that it subsequently became. This hope was indicated by the three talismanic words of its title, and especially 'research': not just to meet immediate needs, but to look forward, especially to the post-war reconstruction. And although the effective core of DRU was constituted by designers (Milner Gray, Misha Black-leading members also of the Society of Industrial Artists), in the early years of the group attempts were made to involve artists from the 'fine' end of the spectrum. The most celebrated case of such an involvement was Naum Gabo's work on car-body design for lowett. Nothing from this 'research' seems to have reached production stage, but the project remains the most literal and clearest attempt to act out Read's vision of constructive art finding application in industrial production.52

Around the time of the start of DRU, Read returned again to extended public discussion of design. In June 1943, he gave a lecture to the DIA on 'The future of industrial design', reiterating the thesis of Art and Industry, with some development. The distinction between two kinds of art, 'humanist' and 'abstract', was elaborated to allow a place for the former, especially within education (thus also the argument of Education through Art of 1943). Read could now propose, echoing Gill, that 'everyone should be an artist', not 'in a spirit of dilettantism, but as the only preventive of a vast neurosis which will overcome a wholly mechanized and rationalized civilization'. In an undated text first published in a collection of essays of 1945 Read argued with

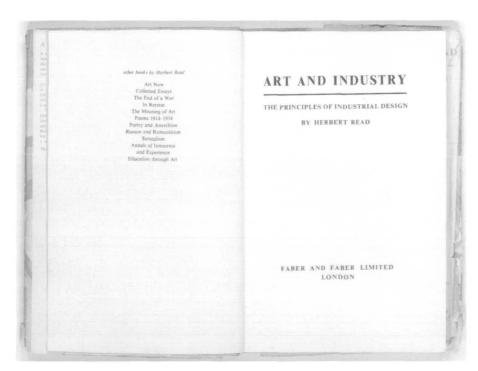
another emphasis, for a 'machine aesthetic'. He chided the English for dissociating entirely and undialectically the 'vital and organic elements' of their 'inherited concept of beauty' from 'the purely mechanistic elements of machine production'.54 Read's views were perhaps more dialectical than those he opposed, in the sense of holding opposite views in mind and proposing them in turn, on different occasions, over the years. But his ability to allow dialectical interplay of opposites within a single argument was, one feels, never very developed. However, in the period between the publication of the first edition of Art and Industry and its second edition of 1944, there had been a growth in Read's awareness of a social-political dimension to design. While refusing any party line, and not attracted by any single system of ideas, his involvement with design had begun to show signs of an engagement deeper than a merely aesthetic level, both in his writings and in practice (with DRU).

Further editions

The plan for a new edition of Art and Industry appears in correspondence in 1942.55 The first edition must have sold out and the topic was—as Read's activities make clear—still very much alive. No reasons are

given in the correspondence for the change in the format of the book in its second edition, but the decision to reduce its size must have been a matter of war economies. In January 1942, the 'Book Production War Economy Standard' was introduced by the Publishers' Association; its principal element was a constraint on the amount of unprinted paper on a page. With the reduction of page size and with (apparently) there being no question of re-employing Herbert Bayer or any other designer, the book was then unconsciously designed according to the conventions of book production in Britain (printed now by Shenval Press). Read went along with this, though, on seeing a specimen page, he did suggest 'that we might carry over one or two of the features which distinguished the first edition. For example, instead of the mean little asterisk to denote footnotes, a round spot as in the first edition. Also a fairly heavy rule between the text and footnotes.' (Letter to de la Mare, 24 February 1943.) These things were granted to him, and they are the only remembrances of the design of the first a different and the same of the first a different and the same of the first additional to the design of the first additional to the first additiona of the design of the first edition.

The content of the book was not greatly altered: the main change was a reduction in the number of German products illustrated. Read wrote that this proportion 'was quite justifiable in 1934 because

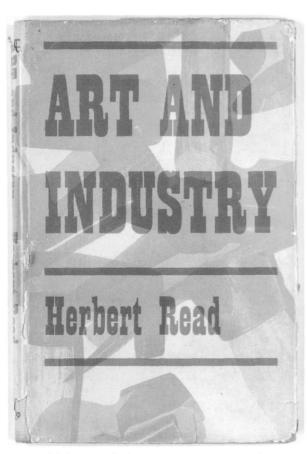


5 Art and Industry, 2nd edition 1944; page size 218 × 140 mm, title-page spread

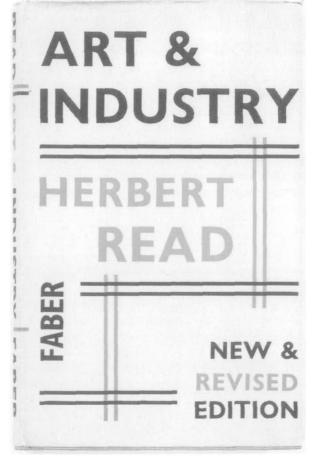
Germany had a distinct lead in industrial design then. But the position has somewhat changed . . . (letter to de la Mare, 7 October 1942). These omissions, together with others (such as the Aalto plywood model and BBC broadcasting equipment), meant a diminution of the book's representation of the hard-line modernist position. Small modifications were made to the text; for example, the slightly fulsome acknowledgement to Gropius was lost, while that to Moholy was pared down. But perhaps the most notable change was the new paragraph added at the end of the last section: 'But in the end, we shall find that the fundamental factor in all these problems is a philosophy of life. The problem of good and bad art, of a right and wrong system of education, of a just and unjust social structure, is one and the same problem.'56 These words hintbut no more than hint—at the sharper social criticism that Read had been articulating since the first edition, and they were enough to raise the ire of John Gloag:

Dr Read's philosophy of life unsheathes all the prejudices of those who believe that there is something to be said for the social and industrial system that has evolved in this country, and which nourished the genius and encouraged the enterprise that gave to our fighting men in the Second World War such superb examples of industrial design as the Spitfire and the Hurricane.⁵⁷

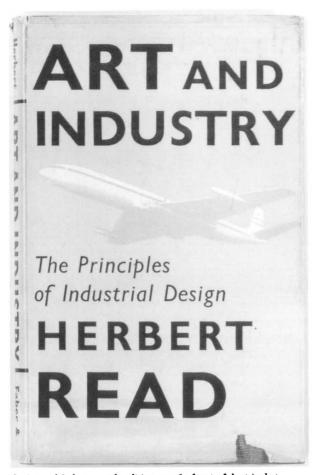
The second edition came out in 1944, to be followed over the next 20 years by three further editions. The covers for these books provide telling visual indexes of the current state of the design orthodoxy. The second edition reused the Bruguière hammers, with title and author's name set in a revived nineteenth-century display typeface. The third edition (1953) was purely typographic: Gill Sans capitals on yellow paper. The fourth edition (1956) employed the image



6 Art and Industry, 2nd edition 1944; front of dust jacket



7 Art and Industry, 3rd edition 1953; front of dust jacket

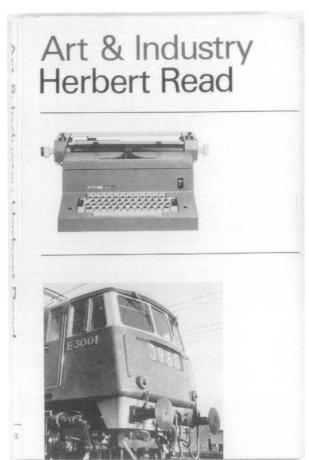


8 Art and Industry, 4th edition 1956; front of dust jacket

of a Comet 3 jet aeroplane, with Gill Sans again. The fifth and last edition (1965) showed an Olivetti Tekne 3 typewriter and a diesel train, and used the then new sanserif: Univers.

Conclusion

The book that became Art and Industry was, in its early stages, to have been a defence of abstract art and of the abstract artist's research into pure form. Although the original purpose of the book was still strongly present in its final state in 1934, Read, in the meantime, had come to recognize 'industry' as the field of application for abstract art. The solution for the problem of the abstract artist, who was otherwise without social purpose, was thus 'industrial art' or design. In devising this thesis, Read provided the British design movement with a theory of mixed benefits. The book was welcomed as a work of substance, with intellectual credentials: something that had been previously lacking in the British



9 Art and Industry, 5th edition 1965; front of dust jacket

discussion of design under industrial conditions. The book did also present the vision of Central European modernism more clearly and with less dilution than any other published discussion had so far done. Here the book's own design played its part. In breaking with British traditional book design Art and Industry offered a provocation. Those critics who were most S enthusiastic in praise of its qualities as a written discussion were also strongest in their disapproval of its material embodiment. Such a book was not > self-effacing: the reader's progress was impeded. 5 These objections are the familiar refrains of British design: what is wanted is something that does the job, without formal indulgence. And the rejection of the book's design seems particularly indicative of the literariness of British design circles: modernism as described in words, or even as embodied in certain objects, might be endorsed, but the form of books was established and inviolate. When the book came to be revised for a new edition, it was returned—

under the exigencies of war economies—to the conventions of British book production. And by then the formal radicalism that had been briefly smuggled into the country in the mid-1930s (one thinks also of the Lawn Road flats and a few other icons) had been suppressed or left stranded.

This essay has followed the line of development of Read's book and has thus kept away from much discussion of the wider context of Art and Industry. But this delimitation is also a consequence of the book's own lack of concern for 'the wider context': the aesthetic argument predominates, to the exclusion of any real consideration of the socialeconomic conditions within which a future 'industrial art' would have to operate. Read's tendency was to posit the universal and the timeless, and to defend independence of form from other factors. Though he did break from this at times, those moments seem as temporary deviations from an established cast of mind. The argument of Art and Industry thus gives no consideration to the function of design in marketing goods, except insofar as plain or abstract products are seen as liable to suffer in a culture of ingrained bad taste. There is no consideration of the decline of heavy industry in Britain, no mention of unemployment: factors that must have been pressing during the period in which Read wrote the book.58 The legacy of the book to the discussion of design has been a view of artefacts without much sense of any context of making or selling or use. In attempting a long-term (if not timeless) view, Art and Industry suffers a lack of particularity: it does speak of '1934', but rather by default.

ROBIN KINROSS London

Notes

- 1 Carrington, N. review of Art and Industry, Listener, 28 November 1934, supplement p. xiii.
- 2 Potter, N. What is a Designer, Reading, 1980, p. 91. I am grateful to Norman Potter for dropping hints in this book, and in conversations, which have prompted this essay. For advice and help, thanks also to: David Thistlewood, the editorial board of the Journal of Design History, and these archivists and librarians: Mrs Constance B. Cruickshank (Faber & Faber); Mr David McKitterick (Cambridge University Library); Mr Chris Petter (University of Victoria).
- 3 Woodcock, G. Herbert Read: the Stream and the Source, London, 1972; Thistlewood, D. Herbert Read: Formlessness and Form, London, 1984; see also: City of Bradford Metropolitan Council Art Galleries and Museums, A Tribute to Herbert Read: 1893-1968, Bradford, 1975.

- 4 City of Bradford, op. cit., p. 7.
- 5 Thistlewood, op. cit., p. 108.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 See Read's own testimony in his The Contrary Experience, London 1963, p. 206.
- 8 'Patient Progress: 3. the DIA', in Pevsner, N. Studies in Art, Architecture and Design, vol. 2, London, 1968, pp. 226-41.
- 9 See Carrington, N. Industrial Design in Britain, London, 1976; MacCarthy, F. A History of British Design: 1830-1970, London, 1979; Woodham, J. M. The Industrial Designer and the Public, London, 1983.
- 10 Architectural Review, vol. 76, September 1934, p. 97.
- 11 'A Nest of Gentle Artists', Apollo, vol. 77, no. 7, September 1962, pp. 536-40.
- 12 'Introduction' to Unit One, reprinted in City of Bradford, op. cit., p. 38.
- 13 For some documentation, see this anniversary catalogue: The Mayor Gallery, Unit One: Spirit of the 30's, London, 1984.
- 14 Thistlewood, op.cit., p. 16.
- 15 See a letter from Moholy to Read, dated 24 January 1934, in the University of Victoria Library (Read Archive), which suggests a spirit of mutual co-operation, though with no mention of Art and Industry. A translation is given in: Kostelanetz, R. ed. Moholy-Nagy, London, 1971, pp. 18-19.
- 16 Read, Art and Industry, London, 1934, p. 40. Except where specified, subsequent references are to this edition.
- 17 Letter to Read, 19 October 1929, in Gill, E. Letters, ed. W. Shewring, London, 1947, p. 245; Gill's orthography is given as there reproduced.
- 18 Listener, 29 January 1930, p. 192.
- 19 By as late as mid-1934, Art and Industry had not found its final title. In letters of 29 June 1934 (in the archive of Faber & Faber), Richard de la Mare used the title of 'Art at Work'.
- 20 Although Gill had since 1925 supplied drawings from which typefaces had been made, it was only in 1928 that he began to consider himself 'capable of' (or interested in) 'designing a fount of type'. See his letter to Stanley Morison of 23 June 1928, quoted in Barker, N. Stanley Morison, London, 1972, pp. 234-5.
- 21 Beauty Looks After Herself, London, 1933, p. 198.
- 22 Spectator, 10 August 1934, p. 197.
- 23 See Gill's letters to Read of 20 August, 27 August, and 16 September 1934, in Gill, Letters, pp. 291-4 and 297-9.
- 24 Read, op. cit., pp. 31 and 33.
- 25 This and the following quotations: ibid., pp. 1-3.
- 26 Ibid., p. 35; Read's italics.
- 27 Ibid., p. 131.
- 28 Architectural Review, vol. 77, January 1935, p. 5.
- 29 Read, op. cit. p. 1.
- 30 Two sources have been found: a file of letters to and from Richard de la Mare of Faber's (marked 'Rdlm 87') in the archive of Faber & Faber; and letters between Walter Lewis and Stanley Morison in Cambridge University Library (Stanley Morison Room). There are no letters relating to the 1934 edition of the book in the Read Archive at the University of Victoria. It seems possible that correspondence between Read and Faber's about his preceding books with them could contain discussion about the earlier progress of Art and Industry, and about the origins of Moholy's and Bayer's involvement, but I have not been able to investigate this.
- 31 While continuing to defend Gill Sans, Read later admitted that in the 1933 edition of Art Now it had been used in the wrong size and wrongly leaded. See 'The Crisis in Bookcraft', Penrose Annual, vol. 43, 1949, pp. 13-18. This and a previous article in Penrose Annual ('A Choice of Extremes', vol. 39, 1937,

- pp. 21-4) testify to Read's more than passing interest in typography.
- 32 This approach was outlined by Richard de la Mare in his J. M. Dent Memorial Lecture: A Publisher on Book Production, London, 1936. De la Mare died on 22 March 1986 (before I had been able to ask him for his recollections of these events).
- 33 See accounts of Lewis, and of this episode, in Barker, N. Stanley Morison, London, 1972, and Crutchley, B. To Be a Printer, London, 1980.
- 34 Cohen, A. A. Herbert Bayer: the Complete Work, Cambridge, Mass., 1984. The book is not documented by material in the Bauhaus-Archiv (Berlin) nor mentioned in their thorough catalogue: Herbert Bayer: das künstlerische Werk 1918-1938, Berlin, 1982. I wrote to Herbert Bayer in the summer of 1985 to ask about his part in Art and Industry, but he was then seriously ill and unable to deal with correspondence. He died on 30 September 1985.
- 35 Reviews have been found, and quoted from, as follows: Architectural Review, January 1935, pp. 3-5 (Christian Barman); Design for To-Day, January 1935, p. 38 (unsigned); Listener, 28 November 1934, supplement p. xiii (Noel Carrington); London Mercury, December 1934, p. 184 (Edmund Dulac); Scrutiny, March 1935, pp. 428-32 (J. M. Harding); Spectator, 4 January 1935, pp. 22-3 (Anthony Blunt); Times Literary Supplement, 13 December 1934, p. 888 (unsigned). It is surprising, and perhaps indicative of a certain antintellectualism on its part, that the Studio did not review the book.
- 36 Architectural Review, vol. 78, July 1935, p. 72.
- 37 Industrial Art Explained, London, 1946, p. 135.
- 38 Gloag, op. cit., pp. 135-6.
- 39 He had shown radical (Guild Socialist, Syndicalist) commitments as a young man, before and during the War, but these had been muted in his Civil Service years (1919-31). For an illuminating discussion of Read's persistently political aesthetics, see: Thistlewood, D. 'Creativity and political identification in the work of Herbert Read', British Journal of Aesthetics, vol. 26, no. 4, Autumn 1986, pp. 345-56.
- 40 London Mercury, vol. 31, no. 181, November 1934, pp. 95-6.
- 41 See also a collection of lectures given to the AIA: Five on

- Revolutionary Art, Rea, B. (ed.) London, 1935. This includes contributions by Read and by Gill, which contrast characteristically.
- 42 Art and Society, London, 1937, p. 265.
- 43 As reprinted in The Politics of the Unpolitical, London, 1943, p. 55.
- 44 This appears as an epigraph to Read's essay; the source in Gill's writings has not been traced.
- 45 This suggestion is also made, just with reference to the late 1930s, by George Woodcock; see his Herbert Read, p. 216, where he nicely characterizes Gill as 'that obstinate aesthetic leveller'.
- 46 The Politics of the Unpolitical, pp. 55-6.
- 47 See letters from Gill to Read of 14 March and 31 October 1940, in the Read Archive, University of Victoria.
- 48 In the New English Weekly in July and August 1940; Gill's letters to the journal are reprinted in his Letters, pp. 455-6 and 464-5.
- 49 The Politics of the Unpolitical, pp. 154 and 155.
- 50 'Eric Gill', in A Coat of Many Colours, London, 1945, pp. 5-16.
- 51 Read has been credited with jointly conceiving the organization; he was its first manager (and at the outset its sole member of staff). See Blake, J. and A. The Practical Idealists, London, 1967: a brief account, but the best source of information on DRU at the time of writing.
- 52 For some discussion of the philosophical background to this, see Gabo, N. and Read, H. 'Constructive Art: an Exchange of Letters', *Horizon*, vol. 10, no. 55, July 1944, pp. 57-65.
- 53 The quotation is from the text as reprinted in: DIA, Four Lectures on Design, London [1944], p. 32
- 54 'Machine Aesthetic', in A Coat of Many Colours, pp. 320-4.
 - 55 The main source of the letters is the file marked 'Rdlm 118' in the archive of Faber & Faber; copies of some of these letters (including those quoted from) exist also in the Read Archive, University of Victoria.
 - 56 Read, H. Art and Industry, London, 1944, p. 170.
 - 57 Gloag, op. cit., p. 136.
- 58 That 'industry' was brought into the book's title only belatedly suggests that the notion was not central in Read's intentions (see n. 19 above).

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