

Engelmann's Landscape alphabet

Michael Twyman

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The subject of this paper is a lithographed publication called *The Landscape alphabet*, which shows all the letters of the alphabet separately in rather contrived landscape views. It was issued anonymously by the London branch of the firm of Engelmann in 1830, though it has the initials EK on its first plate. The original drawings for the publication by EK, now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, are discussed in the context of the lithographs made from them. The publication plays on the duality of the lithographs, which are both views and letters. Versions of the publication are found in volume form and also as boxed sets of individual cards with embossed borders. Connections are made between this publication and a slightly later landscape alphabet printed by Engelmann's leading competitor, Hullmandel.

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Attention has been drawn in recent years to the publication of two unusual lithographed alphabets of capital letters: in one of them the letters appear within landscape settings, in the other they are formed out of landscape features. Both were published in London within a year or so of one another around 1830 with precisely the same title: *The Landscape alphabet*. The lithographic firms associated with them were those of Charles Hullmandel and Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co.

The landscape alphabet that is presently better known is the one printed by Hullmandel, which was published by J. Dickinson in aid of the Seaman's Hospital Ship 'Grampus' (figures 1 and 2). Two facsimile editions of this work have been published in recent years;¹ both have explanatory texts, which means that little more needs to be said about the original publication here. Its letters were drawn in lithographic crayon, each one on a separate leaf, seven of them being signed 'L. R. M. Jones'. Shortly after the publication of the second of these facsimile editions, a contemporary review of Hullmandel's original *Landscape alphabet* was spotted and kindly brought to my attention by Judy Ivy while working systematically through journals of the period with other purposes in mind. This review appeared under the heading 'Fine Arts. New prints' in the *Spectator* of 22 October 1831,² which was precisely the day on which another review of it was published in the *Literary Gazette*.³ Brief though the review in the *Spectator* is, it establishes what had hitherto not been known: that 'these tasteful ingenuities are the work of a young lady', someone referred to as 'Miss Jones'.⁴ The appearance of two reviews of Hullmandel's *Landscape alphabet* on exactly the same day in October 1831 is also significant because it establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the *Landscape alphabet* that forms the subject of this paper, which was published by Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. in London with the date 1830, was the earlier of the two.

1. *The Landscape Alphabet* (Northampton, Massachusetts, Friends of The Smith College Library, 1981), containing Ruth Mortimer, 'The Landscape Alphabet and the literature of landscape', pp.iii-ix; Christine Swenson, 'The Landscape Alphabet, Charles Hullmandel and English lithography', pp.x-xix; *The Landscape Alphabet* (Hurtwood Press, Silversted, Westerham Kent, 1987), with an introduction by Michael Twyman, pp. 5-24. The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books in Toronto Public Library has a bound set of twenty-six pencil drawings that relate closely to the publication. They are unsigned and cruder than the

published lithographs, both in their drawing and in the shapes of the letters. They appear to have been copied from the lithographs, but show minor differences from them in form and content. I am grateful to Lori McLeod for help in identifying these drawings.

2. p. 1029.

3. See the Hurtwood Press facsimile of Hullmandel's *Landscape alphabet*, 1987, p.8.

4. The use of the words 'tasteful ingenuities' here and 'ingenuity and taste' in the review published in the *Literary Gazette* suggest a common source for these reviews, such as a prospectus or advertisement for the publication.

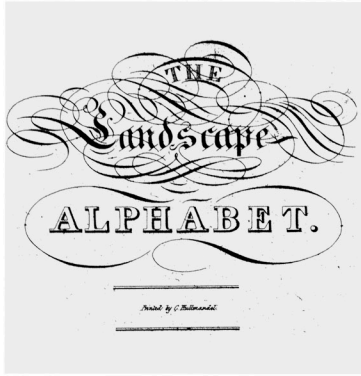


Figure 1. Title page of Hullmandel's *The Landscape alphabet* (London, c. 1831).

Charles Hullmandel and Godefroy Engelmann were the leading lithographic printers of their day and these landscape alphabets reflect something of the longstanding rivalry between them. This rivalry turned into public hostility in the late 1820s when Hullmandel, who had already established himself as the premier lithographic printer in Britain,⁵ found himself in dispute with a branch company set up by Engelmann in London around 1827 with the style Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co.

There is some doubt about the year in which Engelmann set up his branch establishment in London. An article in the *Foreign Review* in 1829, which was written by Thomas Crofton Croker, who was closely associated with Engelmann's London branch, gives it as 1827;⁶ a slightly later article in the *Library of Fine Arts* states that it was in 1826.⁷ No imprints of the firm have been traced that can be ascribed to 1826 and the earliest references to it in trade directories are to be found in the *Post Office London Directory* for 1828. On the basis of what is presently known, therefore, it would seem that 1827 is the more likely year for the founding of the firm. From the outset its style appears to have been Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co., and the first address known for it was 92 Dean Street, Soho. By 1830, however, it had moved to 14 Newman Street,⁸ within 500 metres of Hullmandel's establishment in Great Marlborough Street. Engelmann's position in the firm seems to have been that of a sleeping partner, and it was John Coindet who acted as its spokesman in a squabble with Hullmandel in 1829.⁹ Among those working for the firm in the late 1820s was Michael Hanhart, who became one of Britain's leading lithographic printers in the following decades; he came to England from Germany in 1827, without apparently a word of English, and left Engelmann in 1830 to set up his own company.¹⁰ Jeremiah Graf, one of Engelmann's partners, also left the firm; he set up in business with Soret, initially trading from the same address as Engelmann at 14 Newman Street. Within a few years Graf & Soret had moved premises, and by 1838 Jeremiah Graf was working on his own (to be succeeded in the mid 1840s by Charles Graf).¹¹ Despite Graf's departure, Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. continued in business, frequently using the same style, until the mid 1830s.¹²

The precise relationship between the establishments of Hullmandel and Engelmann is difficult to disentangle, but even before Engelmann set up his branch company in London Hullmandel had come under his influence. Anyone who has read, or even looked at, the practical handbooks on lithography written by the two men, Engelmann's *Manuel du dessinateur lithographe* (Paris, 1822; second edn 1824) and Hullmandel's *The art of drawing on stone* (London, 1824; later edns 1832, 1835), can hardly fail to have noticed the similarities between them. This is most obvious in the topics chosen to be illustrated and in the design of the plates. However, Hullmandel's debt to Engelmann took rather more tangible forms: it was reported (originally in 1829) that Hullmandel was supplied with printers from Engelmann's establishments in Paris and Mulhouse,¹³ and that he had entered into an arrangement by which Engelmann's improvements to lithography would be communicated to him for a small annual sum.¹⁴ Neither of these claims seems to have been challenged by Hullmandel, though he had many opportunities to do so. The second of these arrangements came to an end in the spring

5. See M. Twyman, 'Charles Joseph Hullmandel: lithographic printer extraordinary' in P. Gilmour (ed.), *Lasting impressions* (London, 1988), pp. 42–90, 362–67.

6. *Foreign Review & Continental Miscellany*, vol. 4, no. 7, 1829, p. 50. The attribution of this article stems from correspondence between Coindet and Hullmandel in the *Literary Gazette*, 2 Sept. and 3 Oct. 1829.

7. 'History and process of lithography', *Library of the Fine Arts*, 1831, p. 215.

8. *Post Office London Directory* (London, 1830); *Literary Blue Book* (London, 1830).

9. See the correspondence between Coindet and Hullmandel referred to in note 6.

10. See a typescript outline of the Hanhart family and its firm by Christine Jackson, deposited in the St Bride Printing Library.

11. M. Twyman, *Directory of London lithographic printers 1800–1850* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1976), p. 34.

12. Twyman, *Directory*, pp. 31–32.

13. See *Foreign Review*, vol. 4, no. 7, p. 52.

14. See *Foreign Review*, vol. 4, no. 7, p. 52; John Coindet's letter to the *Literary Gazette*, no. 661, 19 Sept. 1829, p. 623; Engelmann, *Traité théorique et pratique de lithographie* (Mulhouse, 1840), p. 45.



Figure 2. Letter B from Hullmandel's *The Landscape alphabet* (London, c. 1831).

of 1826,¹⁵ presumably because of Engelmann's plans to set up an establishment in London.

The long-term consequence of these links between the two firms seems to have been a degree of friction which found expression in an acrimonious exchange of letters in the pages of the *Literary Gazette* between John Coindet, the senior partner of Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co., and Charles Hullmandel.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that Engelmann's own brief account of his arrangements with Hullmandel, written many years later, gives no indication that he harboured ill-feelings.¹⁷ It may well be that the dispute was essentially between Hullmandel and John Coindet and that it had little impact on Engelmann, who seems to have remained in France.

The publication of Hullmandel's *Landscape alphabet* within a year or so of Engelmann's, and with precisely the same title (figures 1 and 2), must surely be considered in the context of these earlier events and the direct competition between the two firms from around 1827. Once again Engelmann was first in the field, though Hullmandel seems to have been intent on going a stage further than his competitor, much as he had done when he published his *The art of drawing on stone* in 1824.

The acquisition by David Block of various versions of Engelmann's landscape alphabet some years ago, coupled with his generosity in allowing me to study them, prompted me to write this article. It remained in my files until I learned from Dr Anna Lou Ashby that most of these items had been bought by The Pierpont Morgan Library in 1992. It then made sense to dust the article down and publish it with appropriate references and acknowledgements to The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Three versions of the alphabet were studied: a set of original drawings and two related lithographed publications. They can be described briefly as follows:

1. A set of thirty-three original pen and ink landscape views, each incorporating a letter of the alphabet (figures 3 and 5), drawn directly on cards embossed with a border design by the firm of Dobbs. The set consists of cards for twenty-six letters of the alphabet, plus alternative forms for seven letters: C H M O W Y Z. The cards are housed in a red morocco case, gold blocked with a decorative border and the initials EK in blackletter capitals. The cards measure 76.5 × 114 mm. (PML 86069. 1–33).

2. A set of twenty-six lithographed landscape views, each incorporating a letter of the alphabet (figures 4 and 6), printed on cards embossed with the same border design of the firm of Dobbs as in 1. The cards are housed in a publisher's box, covered outside in turquoise paper with a pebble texture (the sleeve lined with pink paper) and with a lithographed split label on its front. The label reads: 'The landscape alphabet, or introduction to belles lettres[.] Drawn on stone & published by Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. London & Paris 1830.' The cards measure 76 × 113–114 mm. (PML 86070. 1–26).

15. *Foreign Review*, vol. 4, no. 7, p. 52.

16. The dispute began with an article published anonymously (though apparently by T. Crofton Croker) in the *Foreign Review*, vol. 4, no. 7, 1829. Hullmandel challenged this in *A Reply to some statements, in an article entitled*

'The history of Lithography' published in the *Foreign Review*... (London, 1829). Coindet's letter and Hullmandel's reply to it appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, no. 661, Sept. 1829, p. 623, and no. 663, 3 Oct. 1829, p. 655.

17. Engelmann, *Traité*, p. 45.

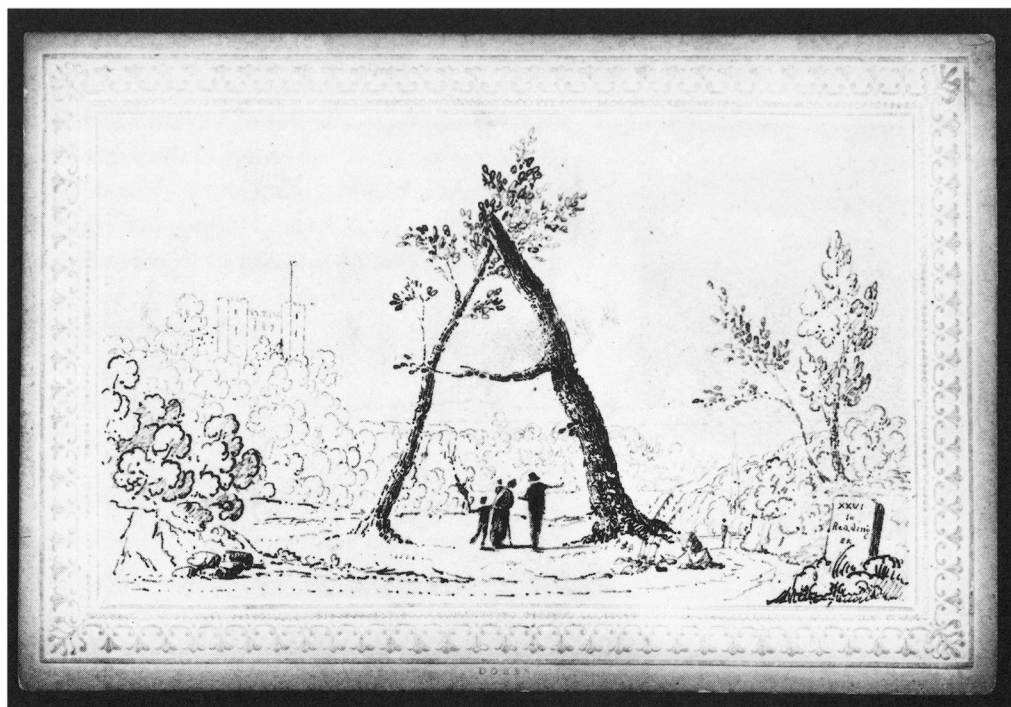


Figure 3. Letter A from a series of original pen and ink drawings by EK. The border embossed by Dobbs. Card size 76.5 × 114 mm. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. PML 86069.1.

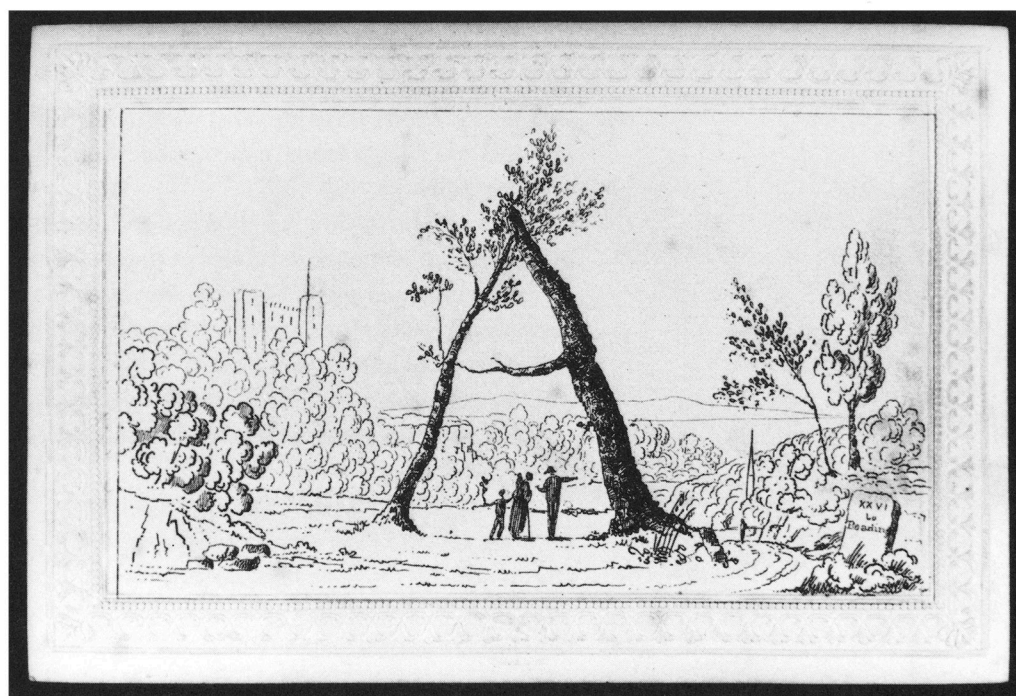


Figure 4. Letter A from *The Landscape alphabet* (London & Paris, 1830). Lithographed and published by G. Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. Lithographed on card, the border embossed by Dobbs. Card size 76 × 113–114 mm. Amoret Tanner Collection.



Figure 5. Letter K from a series of original pen and ink drawings by EK. The border embossed by Dobbs. Card size 76.5 × 114 mm. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. PML 86069.13.

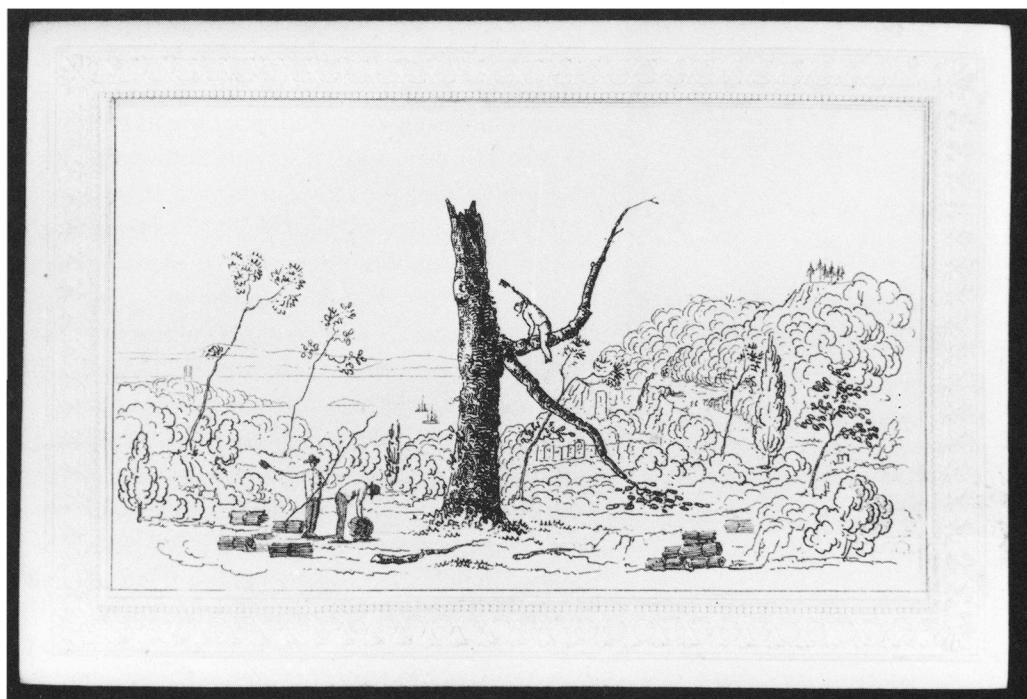


Figure 6. Letter K from *The Landscape alphabet* (London & Paris, 1830). Lithographed and published by G. Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. Lithographed on card, the border embossed by Dobbs. Card size 76 × 113–114 mm. Amoret Tanner Collection.



Figure 7. *The Landscape alphabet* (London & Paris, 1830). Lithographed and published by G. Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. in volume form. Page size 113 × 160 mm.

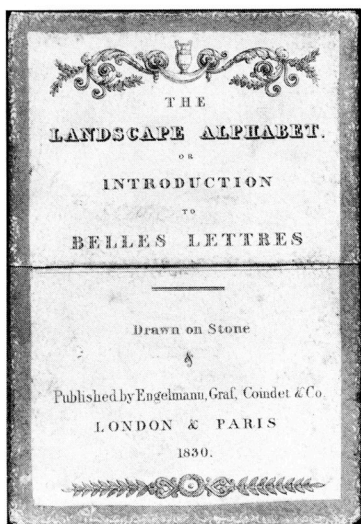


Figure 8. Publisher's box with lithographed label for *The Landscape alphabet* (London & Paris, 1830). 120 × 82 mm. Amoret Tanner Collection.

3. A landscape-format volume with the same twenty-six lithographed landscape views with letters as described in 2, printed on rectos only and without the embossed borders. The lithographed title-page reads: 'The landscape alphabet. Lithographed and published by Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co. London & Paris. 1830.' The volume is cased in ribbed green cloth and has a blind embossed decorative border on its front and rear boards with the words 'The Landscape Alphabet' gold blocked in condensed modern-face capitals on its front boards. The pages measure 104 × 155 mm. (PML 86071).

A further set of the printed cards in a publisher's box belonging to a private collector in Britain has also been studied; the label on the box is similar to the one described above but its sleeve is lined with blue paper (figure 8). An incomplete set of the lithographed cards with embossed borders (lacking O and not in its original box) was also once with David Block but was not acquired by The Pierpont Morgan Library. Further copies of the publication in volume form (figures 7 and 10–36) are in a private collection in Britain and Smith College Library, Northampton, Massachusetts.¹⁸ The copy of the volume in private hands is cased in green silk boards and has the words 'The landscape alphabet' gold blocked in blackletter capitals on its front boards.

The English Catalogue of books 1801–1836 (1914) gives the date of publication of Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* as August 1830, and this is corroborated by a review in the *Court Journal: Gazette of the fashionable world* of Saturday 21 August 1830. The review, which is quoted in full here, is based on the publication in its bound form and makes no reference to the sets on cards:

There need not be a prettier companion to the little volume just noticed [*Drawing Made Easy, &c.*, Engelmann, Graef, Coindet and Co, 1830] than the one now to be described, which presents the young student of drawing with six-and-twenty slight landscapes, each of which is so contrived, that its leading object or objects shall represent a letter of the alphabet, after the manner of the *initials* of early printed works. Some of these landscapes are contrived with great ingenuity, and the merit of them, as distinguished from the initial letters just referred to, consists in their not necessarily calling to mind the letter represented in them. The value of this little work will probably be found

18. Swenson, C. (ed.), *Charles Hullmandel and James Duffield Harding: a study of the English art of drawing on stone* (Exhibition catalogue, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1982), no. 15.

to consist in the stimulus it will afford to very young students of drawing, to form exact copies of the scenes here affixed to them; for without some exactness, the literary part of the view will be lost. We think many of the views might have been better contrived — the M, N, X, and W, for example, in which the letters are much too prominent to leave the scene any pleasing character of its own. But some of the views are very cleverly managed, and the work is altogether a pretty trifle.¹⁹

The appearance of this review alongside one for a drawing book, coupled with the references to its suitability for young students of drawing, suggests that we should consider Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* as having been intended for a similar purpose. The reviewer also pointed to the ingenuity with which the landscapes had been contrived and expressed misgivings about the way in which some of the letters related to them. Such comments highlight one of the essential differences between Engelmann's landscape alphabet and Hullmandel's. The images in Engelmann's publication are essentially landscape views, with letters figuring prominently within them (many of them, it seems, too prominently for the reviewer's tastes); those in Hullmandel's publication are the result of the artist trying to mould landscape views or elements of landscape into the forms of letters. Engelmann's landscape alphabet reveals a sense of playfulness of the kind seen in the polite comic journals of the period;²⁰ Hullmandel's reflects the prevailing idioms of landscape drawing and concentrates on picturesque effect. The choice of pen and ink for the Engelmann landscape alphabet and of lithographic crayon for Hullmandel's stems to a large degree from these different approaches.

Engelmann's letters are essentially in the idiom of those devised for the title-page of William Coombe's *The tour of Dr Syntax in search of the picturesque*.²¹ As it happens, Engelmann printed the lithographed plates for the French translation of this work (Paris, 1821), which included a newly drawn page²² with similar architectural letters in a landscape setting to those on the title-page of the English editions. Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* includes some architectural letters (figures 11, 13, 19, 21, 29) which are very similar in spirit to those in the French edition of Coombe's book (figure 9); its T in particular, which forms its stem from an architectural column clothed in vegetation, seems to have been influenced by it.

The intention of the unknown artist of Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* to stress the letters, even if at the expense of the integrity of the landscapes, is signalled in the very first image. In the right foreground of the landscape that represents the letter A there is a milestone which is lettered 'XXVI to Reading'. For some time I interpreted this milestone literally. I assumed, as I believe others have also done,

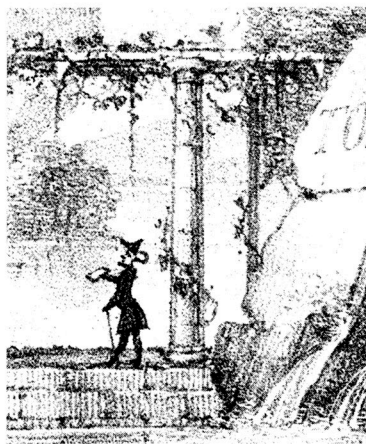


Figure 9. Letter T from the word 'Pittoresque' on a decorative preliminary page of M. Gandais, *Le Don Quichotte romantique, ou Voyage du Docteur Syntaxe à la recherche du pittoresque et du romantique* (Paris, 1821). Lithographed by Malapeau, printed by Engelmann. 37 × 30 mm.

19. Page 552. A very brief review of Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, Sat. 21 Aug., p. 548. Both reviews were kindly drawn to my attention by Judy Ivy.

20. For example, Thomas Hood (ed.), *The comic annual* (London, 1830–42) and Louisa Henrietta Sheridan (ed.), *The comic offering; or ladies' melange of literary mirth* (London, 1831–35).

21. Reproduced in the Hurtwood Press facsimile of Hullmandel's *The Landscape alphabet*, p. 20.

22. Reproduced in the Hurtwood Press facsimile of Hullmandel's *The Landscape alphabet*, p. 21.

Figures 10–35. The series of lithographed letters from *The Landscape alphabet* (London & Paris, 1830) in volume form. Each image approximately 56 × 94 mm. *Continued on following pages.*



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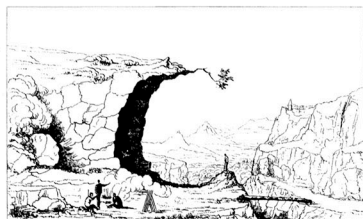
Figure 36. Detail of the lithographed letter A in a boxed set of cards of *The Landscape alphabet* (London & Paris, 1830). Approximately 16 × 15 mm. Amoret Tanner Collection.

that the message referred to the town on the River Thames called Reading (where, coincidentally, I work). It was only after considering where a view with what appears to be a castle in the middle distance might have existed some twenty-six miles from Reading that I realized I was almost certainly on the wrong track. The inscription on the milestone is a play on words and, in a sense, the key to the whole set of images. It seems clear to me now that though the inscription may well mean '26 miles to Reading' when seen in its pictorial context, it also – and more significantly – means '26 letters towards the process of reading' (figure 36). This interpretation may explain the sub-title that appears on the boxed version of the publication, 'introduction to belles lettres'; it also makes sense of the reviewer's rather strange reference to 'the literary part' of the views. The self-conscious duality of the images of this landscape alphabet, which are both views and letters, is revealed by the milestone of the first image: it can be interpreted both pictorially, as a legitimate part of the landscape view, and in a literary sense as a coded verbal introduction to what is to come. The publication is a set of drawings quite as much as an alphabet book.

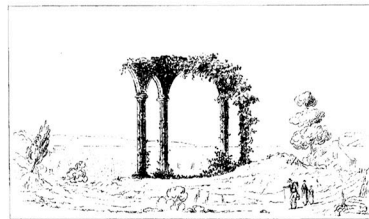
Unfortunately, the various versions of Engelmann's landscape alphabet pose more questions than they answer in terms of authorship and publication history. The original drawings, described briefly above, were made in pen and ink directly on to cards, each one having the same embossed border design signed with the name of the firm of Dobbs. It was technically possible for these borders to have been made after the drawings, but this seems unlikely for two reasons: first, it was common practice in the period for amateur artists to work within such embossed frames; secondly, the borders were upside down in relation to the drawings on sixteen of the thirty-three cards, which is much more likely to have been the case if the artist had drawn within existing borders than if the manufacturer had embossed the borders afterwards.

The drawings were made with a pen (or pens of different thicknesses) using ink of at least two tones. This technique was used to good effect to create distance by means of aerial perspective. The lighter toned ink was also used to touch in parts that were not meant to be too prominent and, on occasions, to produce small areas of solid tone. Overall, the drawings have a lightness of touch and sensitivity to detail that were not captured in the lithographed versions.

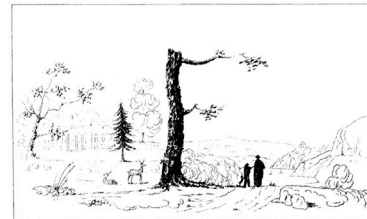
Nineteen of the thirty-three drawings in the set are signed EK, usually very discreetly and sometimes with the letters incorporated into the image itself. The letters EK also appear on the nineteenth-century red morocco case in which the drawings are preserved. It is unlikely that we shall ever know whether this case was lettered on the instructions of a contemporary collector following the signature on the



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cards, or whether it was the artist's own set marked with his or her initials. Of much greater significance, however, is the identity of EK.

Searches through the obvious sources of information about contemporary artists suggest very few possibilities. The most obvious contender is the miniaturist Emma Eleanora Kendrick (1778–1871) who exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy between 1811 and 1835 and also with the Water Colour Society and the Society of British Artists. A small instructional book of hers on miniature painting was published privately in London in 1830, and in the following year she was appointed miniature painter in ordinary to William IV.²³ In 1830 she was living at Duchess Street, Portland Place,²⁴ within a kilometre of Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co's printing establishment at that time. However, no landscape works of hers can be traced and published records of paintings she exhibited suggest that she was almost exclusively a portrait miniaturist. If the drawings for Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* are by her, they have to be seen as a most untypical *jeu d'esprit*.

A complication to the question of attribution stems from two crayon lithographs of letters in landscape settings, both signed EK, which were reproduced by Alison Harding in her *Ornamental alphabets and initials* (London, 1983).²⁵ These two lithographs would be of no more than passing interest were it not for the fact that they happen to feature the letters E and K, and that the K is identical in its theme and composition to the K in the various versions of Engelmann's landscape alphabet. Though my observations are necessarily based on reproductions in Alison Harding's book, since the originals can no longer be traced, it looks as though the lithographs were produced in the 1820s. It is possible, therefore, that the EK of Engelmann's landscape alphabet drawings made another complete set of similar images by crayon lithography. The similarity between the two images used for the letter K is so great that coincidence has to be ruled out. We are therefore left with the possibility that they are the work of the same artist or the result of plagiarism in one direction or the other.

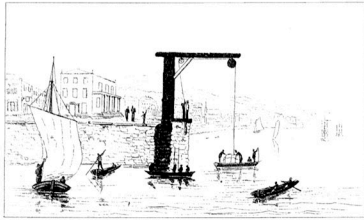
The two crayon-drawn letters illustrated by Alison Harding (E and K) appear to have been produced from the same, altered, stone, since the landscape setting and the trunks of the tree that form the upright

23. Brief accounts of Emma Eleanora [Eleonora] Kendrick appear in DNB and in many of the standard reference works on art and artists, including M. Bryan, *Dictionary of painters and engravers*, new edn, revised and enlarged, edited by R. E. Graves and W. Armstrong (London, 1893); J. L. Roget, *A history of the 'Old Water-Colour' Society* (2 vol., London, 1891), vol. 1, p. 394; E. C. Clayton, *English female artists* (2 vol., London, 1876), vol. 1, p. 393. Two of her portrait miniatures are reproduced in D. Foskett, *Miniatures dictionary and guide* (Woodbridge, 1987; reprinted 1990), plates 125A, 125C. Emma E. Kendrick's own book, *Conversations on the art of miniature painting* (London,

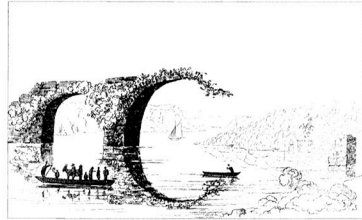
1830), takes the form of a dialogue between 'Ellen' and 'Miss K'. In the context of this study the use of names with the initials E and K is tantalizing.

24. This was the address provided in the imprint of her *Conversations*. She appears to have remained at this address for at least ten years (see *Royal blue book; fashionable directory, 1840* (London, 1840), p. 443.

25. Page 60. These initials, described in the text as engraved, must surely have been lithographed. They were among a small group of initial letters in a collection of miscellaneous items of a similar kind that can no longer be traced.



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stroke of the two letters are identical. It is clear, even from the reproductions of these letters, that the K was converted to an E by removing the diagonal strokes and adding horizontal strokes top and bottom. Alison Harding notes that the E was formed from an F (which was, apparently, identical to it except that it had no horizontal stroke at its foot). Clearly, therefore, the artist drew more than just the initials of his or her name, though there is no evidence to suggest that a whole alphabet of these crayon-drawn landscape letters was ever produced.

In the first half of the 1820s it was not possible to make substantial alterations, particularly additions, to crayon-drawn lithographs. As it happens, the two men who were the first to develop and promote such methods were Engelmann in France and Hullmandel in Britain. Engelmann was the first to do so, but declined to describe his methods.²⁶ Hullmandel took up the challenge offered by Engelmann and provided stunning examples of alterations made to two of J. D. Harding's lithographs.²⁷ It was Hullmandel's demonstration of what he could achieve using his method of altering drawings made on stone, which he published in his pamphlet *On some important improvements in lithographic printing* (London, 1827), that began a cycle of events that led to the dispute between his firm and that of Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co.²⁸ This dispute between Engelmann's branch company and Hullmandel is of some relevance to the altered crayon-drawn letters E, F, and K referred to above. In the first instance, it probably limits them in date to no earlier than around 1827; secondly, it is just possible that they were produced to demonstrate the making of changes (positively and negatively) to crayon-drawn lithographs.²⁹ Though the printer of these three letters is not known, it could well have been Engelmann. For the time being, however, the link between these crayon-drawn images (particularly the one with the letter K) and Engelmann's landscape alphabet has to remain a matter for conjecture.

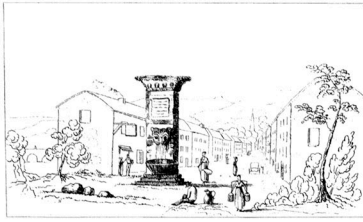
What can be said with some confidence is that the pen and ink drawings that relate to Engelmann's landscape alphabet were the basis for the published ink-drawn lithographs rather than copies made from them by some 'young student of drawing'. This judgment is made largely on the basis of the greater sensitivity and higher quality of the

26. This was revealed in Institut Royal de France, *Rapport sur la lithographie* (Paris, 1816), and G. Engelmann, *Manuel du dessinateur lithographe* (Paris, 1822), pp. 32–33.

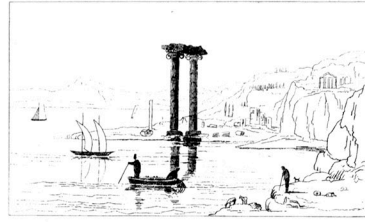
27. See M. Twyman, *Lithography 1800–1850* (London, 1970), pp. 128–129, 132–138, plates 58–60.

28. See Twyman, 'Charles Joseph Hullmandel', pp. 84–85.

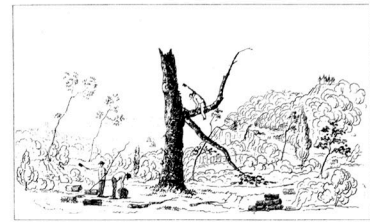
29. In 1828 the Société d'Encouragement awarded its gold medal to the chemist Chevallier and the lithographic printer Langlumé for their method of retouching drawings on stone. In the same year they published a description of their process with examples (see Twyman, *Lithography 1800–1850*, pp. 136–137).



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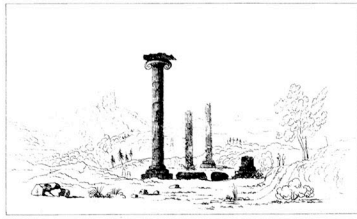
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pen and ink drawings compared with the lithographs (figures 3–6). But it is supported by the fact that among the set of pen and ink drawings are alternative versions of seven of the images (those representing the letters C H M O W Y Z). It seems unlikely that a novice artist who was reduced to copying lithographs stroke by stroke would have had the ingenuity to invent seven variant landscapes with letters.

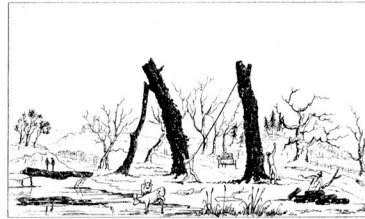
The relationship between the pen and ink drawings and the lithographed versions of Engelmann's landscape alphabet is remarkably close. The similarity applies dimensionally and also to points of detail. In order to compare these versions, the lithographed images on cards were photocopied on acetate sheets. These sheets were placed over the set of pen and ink drawings in order to discover how closely the two versions resembled one another. As one would expect, minor dimensional differences arose from the copying; these distortions have been taken into account when making the observations that follow. Overall the pen and ink drawings are slightly larger than the lithographed images on cards: some images are exactly the same size, but most of the drawings are between 1.0 and 2.0 mm wider than the lithographed versions made from them (over a total width of approximately 95 mm). Some of the lithographs in the bound volume, which was printed throughout on heavy cartridge paper, are slightly larger than those printed on card (between 0.25 and 0.5 mm wider). These variations are small enough to be accounted for by the damping of the different substrates on which the images were printed. Paper and card expand when damped and the amount of the expansion depends on their characteristics and the degree of damping. In the first half of the nineteenth century all lithographs would have been printed on paper that was damp, and therefore larger than it would have been in its dry state. When paper dries it shrinks along with any image printed on it. In general, therefore, lithographs of the first half of the nineteenth century will be found to be slightly smaller than the images on stone from which they were printed.³⁰ Presumably the card used by Engelmann for the boxed set of his *Landscape alphabet* expanded more than the paper used for the bound version; such a difference in expansion would have been sufficient to account for the slightly smaller size of some of the images on card compared with the equivalent ones printed on paper. The dimensions of the images on a further set of cards in a private collection are in most cases identical to those in the boxed set under discussion; where there is a variation it falls within the tolerances that can be accounted for by printing on card damped to different degrees.

Small dimensional differences caused by paper stretch have therefore to be ignored when comparing the pen and ink drawings with the printed versions of Engelmann's landscape alphabet. When these

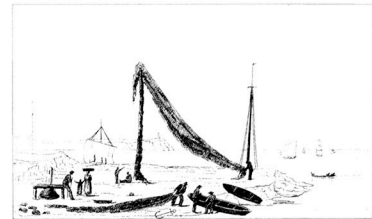
30. See M. Twyman, 'Thomas Barker's lithographic stones', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, no. 12, 1977–8, Tables 1 & 2, and pp. 7, 9. The overall decrease in size of the prints in Barker's *Rustic figures* (Bath, 1813) and *Landscape scenery* (Bath, 1814) when compared with the surviving drawings for them on stone is in the order of 2.0–2.5%; this compares with a difference in size of 1.0–1.5% between the pen drawings and lithographed versions of Engelmann's landscape alphabet.



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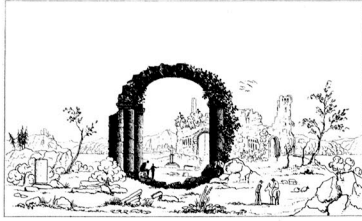
differences are discounted, the similarities between the printed versions and the pen and ink version are remarkable. They are so close that normal tracing techniques have to be discounted. There seems little doubt therefore that the draughtsman responsible for the lithographs would have worked on translucent transfer paper. This would have been placed over the pen and ink drawings so that they could be copied mark by mark using special lithographic transfer ink. The printer would then have laid the sheets of transfer paper face down on to prepared stones and transferred the drawn images to them by applying pressure from a lithographic press. The occasional small discrepancy between a lithographic print and the pen and ink drawing from which it had been copied might be accounted for by slippage of the transfer paper in the course of tracing.

It was possible to make a close copy of a drawing or piece of writing by using translucent transfer paper, since this involved a single stage of tracing, but it would have been much more difficult to be accurate when making a copy the other way round: that is, from a lithograph to a pen drawing on ordinary paper. The latter task would have involved three stages of drawing (tracing the lines of the lithograph on tracing paper; rubbing the underside of the tracing paper with graphite and going over the drawn lines again to transfer them to the drawing paper; and, finally, working over the traced lines in ink). This provides additional evidence to support the view that the pen and ink drawings are the original drawings for Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* rather than copies of its lithographs.

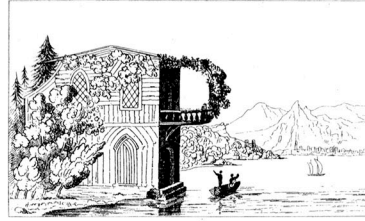
Inevitably, there was some loss in quality in the translation of the original pen and ink drawings into lithographs. The main reason for this is that pen and ink lithography did not permit the variation in tone of the original pen-drawn marks: at this stage in the development of lithography lines had to be absolutely black to print.³¹ The lithographic versions do not retain the sense of distance of the original drawings and are more monotonous in their treatment of lines generally. In addition, they show a tendency towards a regularity of handling that seems to be in an inevitable consequence of any tracing process.

All the lithographed images are surrounded by a thin line border measuring, typically, 56.5 × 94.5 mm (the height of these borders varies between 55.5 and 57.0 mm, the width between 93.5 and 95.5 mm). In the lithographed volume these line borders go some way to compensate for the absence of embossed borders, though the sets printed on cards have embossed borders in addition (sometimes a little out of register). Given that none of the lithographed images is signed and that the imprint on the boxed sets reads 'Drawn on stone and published by Engelmann, Graf, Coindet & Co.', the likelihood is that the

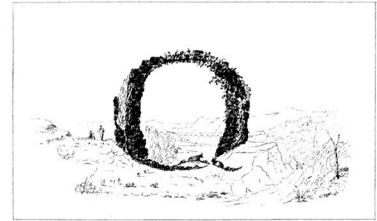
31. This was a point made by both Engelmann and Hullmandel in their treatises: G. Engelmann, *Manuel du dessinateur lithographe* (Paris, 1822), pp. 58–59, pl. III; C. Hullmandel, *The art of drawing on stone* (London, 1824), pp. 74–75, pl. V.



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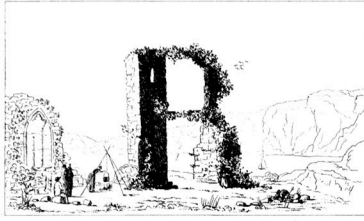
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lithographic work was done by one of Engelmann's staff draughtsmen. The specific reference to the images having been 'Drawn on stone' is a little disturbing bearing in mind the hypothesis advanced above that they were produced by transfer lithography. However, strict accuracy in the wording of the imprint may have been felt out of place in such an unpretentious publication, and it may be significant that a more general form of wording 'Lithographed and published by ...' was used for the imprint of the publication in its volume form.

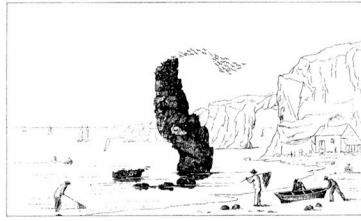
The images for both lithographed versions of Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* would have been printed several to view. Since there are 27 printed images in the volume (26 landscapes with letters and the title-page) it is likely that they were printed either in 2 workings (1 of 14, the other of 13), 4 workings (3 of 8, 1 of 3), or 7 workings (6 of 4, 1 of 3). It is most unlikely that they would have been printed from a single stone at that stage in the development of lithography. It would clearly have made sense to print the volume and cards from the same stones, even though this would have meant taking the title-page into account from the outset and considerable wastage of card (since the page size of the volume is considerably greater than the size of the cards).

It can be deduced that the copies on card must have been printed before those on paper. The evidence for this comes from traces of trim marks that are still evident on some pages of the bound volume, and particularly those for D and T (top left and right). These trim marks are in precisely the right position to produce the size of card found in the boxed sets. As it happens, the cards for the letters D and T in one of the boxed sets still show traces of trim marks at their top left edges. No other letters in the one bound volume inspected show trim marks so clearly as the D and T, which suggests that the intention was to remove them entirely after the versions on card had been printed.

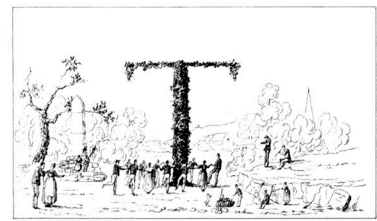
Peculiar pressure marks appear in the margins of some of the leaves of this bound volume which are very different from the normal pressure marks produced by the edges of stones. In the first place, they reveal that more pressure was applied in the margins (or some of them) than in the image areas; secondly, some are far from parallel to the image areas; thirdly, some run at right angles to one another in such a way as to produce an area of double pressure where they cross. There seem to be two possible explanations for such very unusual features. One is that strips of paper were placed on the stone around some images to protect the non-printing parts (perhaps near the edges of the stones where they may have begun to scum up). However, this explanation is not entirely convincing since it would have been much easier to clean the stone thoroughly than to insert paper strips before



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taking each impression. The second, more plausible, explanation is that these marks, which are quite pronounced, were produced at the binding stage. It is not clear whether the one copy of the volume that has been inspected was originally sewn in sections (it is now oversewn and it is not possible to determine its make up without causing damage). If further bound copies are traced, they might reveal how the volume was originally sewn and shed further light on these curious pressure marks.

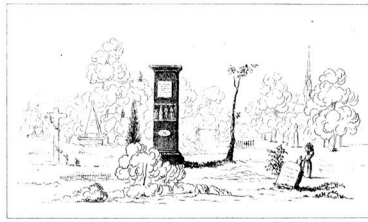
All the borders that surround the versions on cards (the pen and ink version and the boxed sets of lithographs) are identical in design. They have the name Dobbs in capital letters (0.75 mm high) in the centre of what was intended to be the bottom part of their frame. Dobbs seems to have been the most important embosser working in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the technique was extremely fashionable. The earliest work of the firm I have come across dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. It appears as borders to embossed stationery with a watermark date of 1798.³² By 1821 the firm was sufficiently well established to produce the prestigious compound-plate printed invitations for the Coronation of George IV.³³ Dobbs & Co. are listed in Holden's *Triennial directory ... for the years 1824, 1825* as stationers and manufacturers at 8 Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London. By 1839 the firm was listed as Henry Dobbs & Co. and was variously described as wholesale, plain and ornamental stationers, pencil makers, and manufacturers of London crayon and Bristol boards.³⁴ By this time it was trading from 134 Fleet Street and 13 Soho Square. With changes to its style (Dobbs Bailey & Co.; Dobbs Kidd & Co.), the firm remained in business throughout the nineteenth century, keeping its Fleet Street address.³⁵ It sold a wide range of stationery items including many with embossed designs, such as albums, ball tickets, baskets and boxes, blotting books, visiting cards, wedding cards, cards ruled for music, card and work boxes, coloured paper for backs of screens, drawing books, drawing paper, and envelopes. It also sold embossed pictures of birds, animals, and flowers. These and other embossed items are all listed in a detailed advertisement of the firm on the rear wrappers of one of its drawing books:

32. Several sheets of this stationery paper are to be found in the Rickards Collection, Department of Typography & Graphic Communication, The University of Reading.

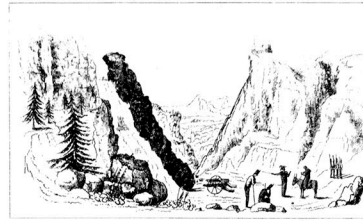
33. See Elizabeth Harris, 'Experimental graphic processes of the nineteenth century', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, vol. 4, 1968, pp. 62, 63–4; M. Twyman, *Printing 1770–1970* (London, 1970), pls 348–350, 397–8.

34. *Pigot and Co's alphabetical directory of London* (1830); *The Post Office London directory for 1839* (40th edn, 1838).

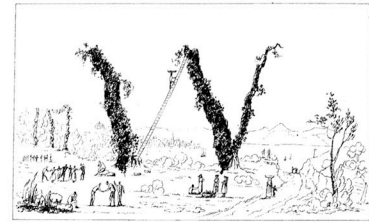
35. The firm is listed in *Kelly's directory of stationers, printers, booksellers, publishers, and paper makers* (London, 1900), but not in the edition for 1904. In an advertisement in the 1900 edition, p. 58, the firm claims to have been 'Established nearly Two Centuries'.



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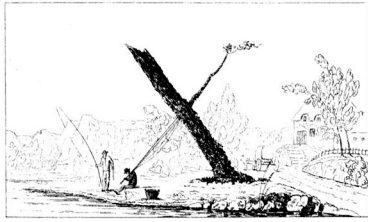
G. Childs, *Dobbs's elementary drawing book* (London: published by Dobbs & Co. from 134 Fleet Street and 13 Soho Square).³⁶ Though undated, the advertisement seems to belong to the 1830s. Among the other embossed items listed on this Dobbs advertisement are 'Borders, on Paper and Board, white and tinted, for bordering Drawings in Albums, Scrap Books, &c'. The borders used by EK for the pen and ink drawings of Engelmann's landscape alphabet must have fallen into this category. Sheets of paper with borders of this kind were commonly used by amateur artists and the name of Dobbs appears on many of them. This was the line of business the firm chose to emphasize at the Great Exhibition of 1851 where it exhibited 'Embossed drawing-boards, cards, and paper; enchased or lace-embossed cards and paper; also embossed tableaux exhibiting the application of embossing to the fine arts'.³⁷ The firm of Dobbs must have established itself as the market leader in its field as a trade list of the wholesale stationers Thorp and Burch of 2 Jewry Street, Aldgate, which seems to date from the 1820s, merely referred to 'Dobb's Papers' [sic] under the heading writing papers.³⁸

It has been suggested above that EK's pen drawings would have been made on cards that had already been embossed. The assumption is that they were bought from Dobbs (either directly or through a retailer) as a standard design of the kind listed in the Dobbs advertisement. On the other hand, the lithographically printed cards had to be printed first and embossed afterwards, otherwise the embossing would have been flattened during the printing process. There are some discrepancies between the position of the printing and the embossed borders that puts this beyond doubt. Such discrepancies would have arisen partly because the printed images vary slightly in size, whereas the borders are all the same size, and partly because of faulty registration resulting from inaccurate trimming of the cards after they had been printed. Small blemishes in the shapes of some parts of the border design and on the reverse of the cards establish that they must all have been embossed from the same die. This suggests that the cards were embossed singly (though it would have been possible to make replica casts of the die, it is hard to believe that this would have been done specially for this publication). In the two sets of boxed cards inspected, all but one of the borders around the lithographed images are the right way up and have the name of Dobbs at their foot, which is in marked contrast to the borders around the original pen and ink drawings which are upside down almost as often as not. The border for the letter J in the boxed set in private hands provides an exception: this is upside down, though the name Dobbs has been scraped flat very carefully either at the manufacturing stage or by a previous owner.

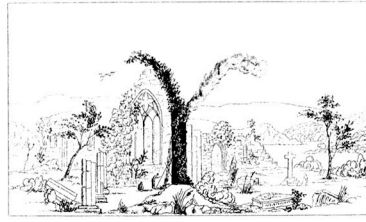
36. John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library.

37. Great Exhibition, *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue*, vol. II, 1851: Class 17 'Paper, printing, and bookbinding: 79 Dobbs, Kidd & Co.'

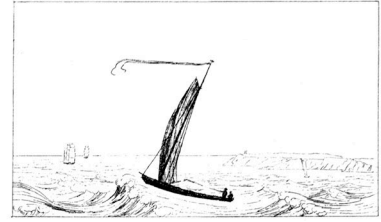
38. Rickards Collection, Department of Typography & Graphic Communication, The University of Reading. The list was printed by Gye and Balne, Gracechurch Street; my dating is based on the typographic style of the advertisement and the imprint address of the printer.



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The publication of Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* implies a degree of planning between Engelmann as printer and Dobbs as embosser in order to match the style of the border used in the published sets with the ones available over the counter to the artist EK. This raises the question as to whether EK's drawings were made with the publication in mind from the outside or not; though in either event Engelmann would have had to make special arrangements with Dobbs in order to have embossed borders applied to the lithographically printed cards. We should also ask whether there was anything as grand as a publication plan involving all these versions, or whether one followed the other without prior thought. Unfortunately, such questions, along with some of the technical issues raised above, are unlikely to be resolved until further copies of Engelmann's *Landscape alphabet* in its various forms can be located.