DESIGN RESEARCH IN ACADEMIC PRACTICE

The stories that archives tell: the quest to produce a symbol dictionary

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Archives, Isotype, Symbol Sourcebook, Henry Dreyfuss

Archives reveal unexpected truths. This paper describes a journey beginning in the Otto and Marie Neurath Isotype Collection at University of Reading and concluding in the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum in New York. The Isotype Collection contains correspondence relating to a proposed symbol dictionary project involving Marie Neurath, Rudolf Modley and American industrial designer Henry Dreyfuss. It was known as the "Preparatory Survey on Communication through Graphic Symbols", a project that formed one of the several failed attempts to produce a symbol dictionary going back as far as 1940. Transatlantic correspondence between M. Neurath in the UK and Modley in America commenced in 1958 and ceased in 1960 after funding beyond a pilot study was not forthcoming. Other symbol dictionary-related project proposals followed in America during the 1960s, involving Dreyfuss, Modley and the anthropologist Margaret Mead. Finally, in 1970, Dreyfuss secured US funding for the Henry Dreyfuss Symbol Sourcebook *(first published January 1972). In 2015, correspondence from 1969 came to light in the Symbol Sourcebook Archive at the Cooper Hewitt, between Paul Clifton (*Symbol Sourcebook *design manager) and M. Neurath, relating back to the "Preparatory Survey", asking for advice on the classification systems that she and Modley had developed in relation to the* Symbol Sourcebook*. This evidence prompted my visit to the Symbol Sourcebook Archive. Seen in its entirety, this archive contains a vivid account of the maturing of graphic design from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. As a researcher interested in Isotype, it also provides a glimpse of how Isotype was regarded in America at a time when internationalism was taking hold and symbol-related matters were burgeoning, nearly fifty years since Isotype was conceived in the mid 1920s. This paper will describe why and how* the Symbol Sourcebook *evolved and reveal Isotype-related observations discovered in the archive.*

Introduction and background

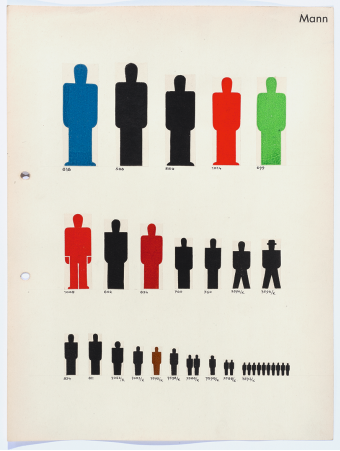


Figure 1: "Mann", page from a version of the Isotype "Picture dictionary" showing symbols in a variety of sizes and configurations (IC 4.1). © Isotype Collection, University of Reading.

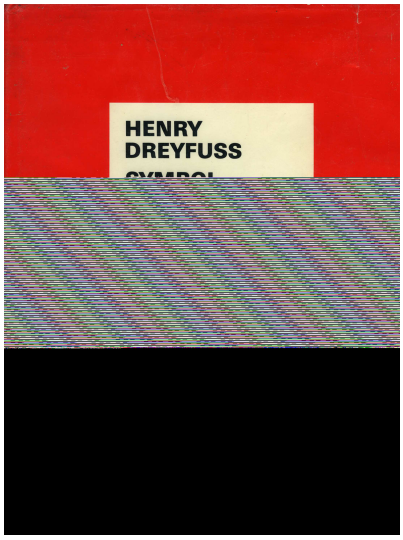
The starting point for this paper was an exploration of the Otto and Marie Neurath Isotype Collection at the University of Reading, carried out as part of the AHRC funded "Isotype Revisited" project. I researched correspondence between Marie Neurath and Rudolf Modley from 1956–1960 that outlined the progress, aims and objectives of the "Preparatory Survey on Communication through Graphic Symbols" (IC 1/49) a one-year feasibility study (1958–59)[1] instigated by US Industrial designer Henry Dreyfuss. Its primary objective was the compilation of a symbol dictionary – a project which Dreyfuss was to finally realise with the launch of his *Symbol Sourcebook* in 1972. Correspondence between M. Neurath and Modley ceased in 1960, when hope for the project faded. But a chance find in the Henry Dreyfuss Symbol Sourcebook Archive by pictogram researcher Wibo Bakker revived the transatlantic conversation as correspondence dating from 1969–70 between M. Neurath in the UK and Paul Clifton (design and production manager of the *Symbol Sourcebook)* in America came to light.[2] In correspondence, Clifton requested information about classification systems that M. Neurath and Modley had developed for the "Preparatory Survey". Dreyfuss had been involved with projects associated with symbols for much of his life as an industrial designer and *Symbol Sourcebook* was to be his retirement

project. The correspondence between M. Neurath and Clifton evidenced renewed interest in M. Neurath and Modley's earlier classification experiments and extended commentary on Isotype in relation to international pictographic language by another decade.[3] Letters from Dreyfuss evidence the fact that M. Neurath and Modley's classification systems were actually used in the Graphic Forms section of the *Symbol Sourcebook*,[4] and her introduction to Isotype "Education Through the Eye" is printed towards the start of the book, but the Henry Dreyfuss Symbol Sourcebook Archive reveals even more involvement with Isotype.

A research grant awarded by University for the Creative Arts allowed me to visit the Symbol Sourcebook Archive in Summer 2017. The entire archive contains Dreyfuss' personal and professional papers and spans the years 1923–1986. The Symbol Sourcebook material[5] consists of 23 boxes of well-ordered material leading up to the design of the *Symbol Sourcebook*.[6] It includes correspondence, information gathering, symbol material, post-publication data, submissions not included, material from the Hallmark Symbol Exhibition, publication drafts, presentations, publicity and symbol display material. My primary aim for the visit was to gauge the level of support for a possible project to attempt to realise Dreyfuss' dream of the "computerised database" that he had contemplated for his symbol collection in Pasadena in the early 1970s.[7] But during my short visit, I was struck by the historical significance of the archival material which goes far beyond the symbols themselves.

The relevance of the Symbol Sourcebook Archive

Within the 23 boxes of material there is a wealth of correspondence from Dreyfuss and his team to global organisations and prominent international designers of the time, generated by Dreyfuss' symbol-gathering questionnaire sent out in the late 1960s to collect symbols for the *Symbol Sourcebook*. He originally used his extensive database of international clients, friends, associates and institutions built up over decades as an industrial designer, but based on the five boxes of 'information gathering' material (1958-1973) the process of collecting symbols was far more extensive than this and what comes across most clearly is the rigour of Dreyfuss and his team's design and administrative expertise.



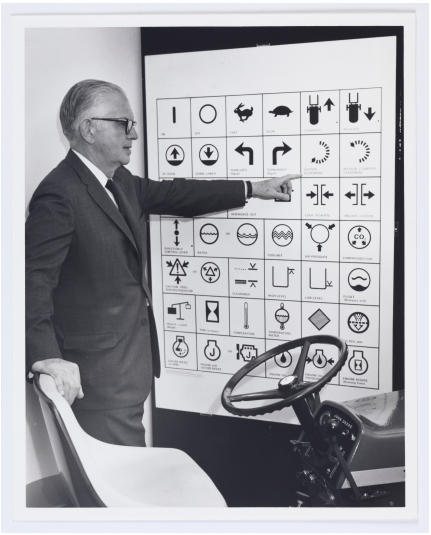


Figure 2: Left, First edition of the Henry Dreyfuss Symbol Sourcebook, 1972. Figure 3: Right, Henry Dreyfuss with his universal tractor symbols. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Henry Dreyfuss Archive, Gift of Henry Dreyfuss, Photo © Smithsonian Institution.

Dreyfuss and the *Symbol Sourcebook*

The *Symbol Sourcebook* was published in 1972 and has been reprinted many times. It contains an extensive collection of Western symbols and for a long time formed the classic go-to-book for information on symbols, which are classified through discipline, graphic form and colour. The foreword is by R. Buckminster Fuller, introduction by Dreyfuss, with articles by C. K. Bliss (Semantography) and M. Neurath ("Isotype: Education Through the Eye"). The contents pages are set in 18 different languages.

The *Symbol Sourcebook* is the successful culmination of several failed symbol dictionary projects from the 1940s onwards, bringing together symbols from international organisations. It forms the tip of a huge graphic design iceberg, underpinned by the archive which provides a unique window into graphic design in the late 1960s and early 1970s – a coming of age of the symbol in a world quickly becoming more connected as internationalism begins to take hold. The

archival material is the result of an impressive systematic exercise in symbol collection, cataloguing, collation, editing, academic understanding, administrative prowess, classification and design expertise. It is almost impossible to imagine the 23 boxes of material being condensed into a 292-page book. But this archival material also demonstrates how the symbol permeated into public life – something that can be seen on many levels as Dreyfuss' publicity machine moved into action promoting the *Symbol Sourcebook* in the many design publications where he released articles showing the progress of the project and advertising the book. Dreyfuss' passion for symbols is evident, his symbol crusade extended to women's and teen magazines, explaining the importance of symbols to an ever-widening audience. Dreyfuss was the ideal person to undertake this work as he had the knowledge to bring together symbol material from the contacts and clients that had taken a lifetime to assemble.





Figures 4 & 5: McCalls magazine, September 1972 which includes 'Betsy McCall Learns Symbol Talk' – a symbol quiz for children. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Henry Dreyfuss Archive, Gift of Henry Dreyfuss, Photo © Smithsonian Institution.

The popularity of symbol projects in the 1960s

Post war prosperity lead to an increased interest in symbol projects during the late 1950s and early 1960s which facilitated international travel and opportunities to visit world expos, fairs and Olympic gatherings. But the desire to foster international peace and avoid nuclear disaster was also a prime factor (Bresnahan 2011). In response, organisations such as UNESCO and United Nations supported projects promoting internationalism.[8] Design commentators such as Dreyfuss, Modley and Margaret Mead responded to these inspirational ideas and became involved in projects concerning the standardisation and universal acceptance of graphic symbols.

Henry Dreyfuss' involvement with symbols

Henry Dreyfuss (1904–1972) was one of the most successful American industrial designers of his age. Throughout his long career, Dreyfuss was actively involved with organisations that wanted to develop and standardize symbols. The universal tractor symbols he designed for John Deere and his work on distance symbols for the Polaroid Swinger camera show his expertise in this area, as did his efforts to make symbols designed for his clients into American industry standards. It was Dreyfuss who originally motivated Modley to secure funding for the "Preparatory Survey" in 1956, and it is clear that their two careers were interlinked through the symbol database projects that followed between 1958 and 1970 (Ihara 2011, 2–4).

A short history of symbol projects 1940-1972

In May 1940, Modley collaborated with social scientist Harold Lasswell of Yale University on the "Dictionary of Graphic Symbols in Current Use in America" which aimed to promote the standardisation and wider use of symbols. It was submitted to the Carnegie Corporation, but never came to fruition. Two years later, Modley published *1000 Pictorial Symbols* (1942). The project with Lasswell provided a starting point for the 1958–59 "Preparatory Survey" with Dreyfuss, M. Neurath and Martin Krampen. In 1962, Modley worked on a third symbol dictionary project "A Feasibility Study for the Creation of a Dictionary of Symbols and the Development of a Universal Symbolic Language" with Herman Weisman, the Executive Director of Colorado State

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University's Center of Research in Communication. This was submitted to the National Science Foundation, but sadly again came to nothing (Ihara 2011). In 1968, Modley collaborated with anthropologist Margaret Mead to form "Glyphs Inc.", a non-profit making organisation founded to encourage the development of a set of language-independent universal graphic symbols (Mead and Modley 1968). They published the newsletter *Glyphs* from 1966–76. Modley was also involved in a "Project for Creating Archives" in 1970, which formed the basis of Dreyfuss' symbol archive into which the symbol collections of M. Neurath, Dreyfuss, and Modley would eventually be channelled. Mead and Modley worked on the "Symbol Archive" project in 1970 and Modley, worked on "Data Bank", a further symbol archive in collaboration with Dreyfuss.

In 1965 Dreyfuss, aided by Modley and Mead began to approach clients and other large corporations for symbol related information. To support the project, Modley and Mead's suggestions for the "Henry Dreyfuss Board of Advisors" 1968[9] included psychologists, anthropologists, eminent designers and public figures such as Will Burtin, Colin Clipstone, Mildred Constantine, Armin Hoffman, Gyorgy Kepes, Peter Kneebone, Martin Krampen, Harold D. Lasswell, Tomas Maldonado, Charles Morris, Rudolf Modley and Mary [Marie] Neurath.

In 1968 Dreyfuss and Clifton began to seriously collect symbols from organisations such as UNESCO, ANSI and ISO to augment the existing collection of 8,000 symbols using a questionnaire sent out all over the world. In early 1969 plans for a symbol dictionary were shelved and focus was directed on the design of a proposed computer database containing approximately 25,000 symbols, although exactly how this was going to be realised is difficult to imagine. In 1970 Dreyfuss and Clifton initially failed to get a book contract, but persevered and finally with support from the Academy for Educational Development, McGraw-Hill published the *Symbol Sourcebook* in January 1972, followed by an exhibition in the Hallmark Gallery, New York City. In the opening pages of the first edition of the book, Dreyfuss showed his continued commitment to collecting symbols by asking readers to continue to send symbols, which are now contained in the archive.

Dreyfuss' process

It was an enormous undertaking for Dreyfuss and his small team of dedicated designers and administrators to complete the *Symbol Sourcebook* over an intense two-year period. The team



HENRY DREYFUSS · 500 COLUMBIA STREET · SOUTH PASADENA, CALIFORNIA 91030 · TELEPHONE (213) 799-7151

OUR SEARCH FOR SYMBOLS

INTRODUCTION

My interest in symbols as a means of graphic communication goes back more than 20 years. As industrial designers, we designed and applied them to many consumer and industrial products. I was fully convinced of their value in every field of activity and with a small staff, began to collect and catalogue a functional Data Bank of all the material that was available, on a broad international and interdisciplinary basis. My ultimate goal is to compile the results of this research in a single reference available to everyone involved with the development, application and standardization of graphic symbols.

WHAT IS A SYMBOL?

Practically anything - person, place or object - can be given symbolic significance. However, for purposes of this research, we are concerned with the kind of graphic devices which express the meaning of an object or action and which replace written captions. Their interpretation is independent of any written or spoken language.

Prescription · Barber · Music · Railroad

WHY USE SYMBOLS?

Safety - A graphic symbol can convey a message faster and more precisely, thus promoting quicker and more appropriate reaction; it demands greater attention.

Caution

Language Barrier - Since a symbol is independent of any one language, it can be understood equally well by all nationalities.

Keep Dry

Even children, who have not yet learned to read, can recognize and respond to graphic symbols.

Poison

Consistency - Once a person has learned a given symbol under one set of circumstances, he can readily apply it to another.

Telephone

Efficiency - Within a limited space - as on a control knob or keyboard button - the legibility of a single graphic form is much greater than a written legend.

Machine

WHAT KINDS OF SYMBOLS?

We are interested in every kind of symbol. The following are a few examples.

Traffic Information

Machinery Controls

10 H · 20 H · 40 H

Olympic Games

Electronic Diagrams

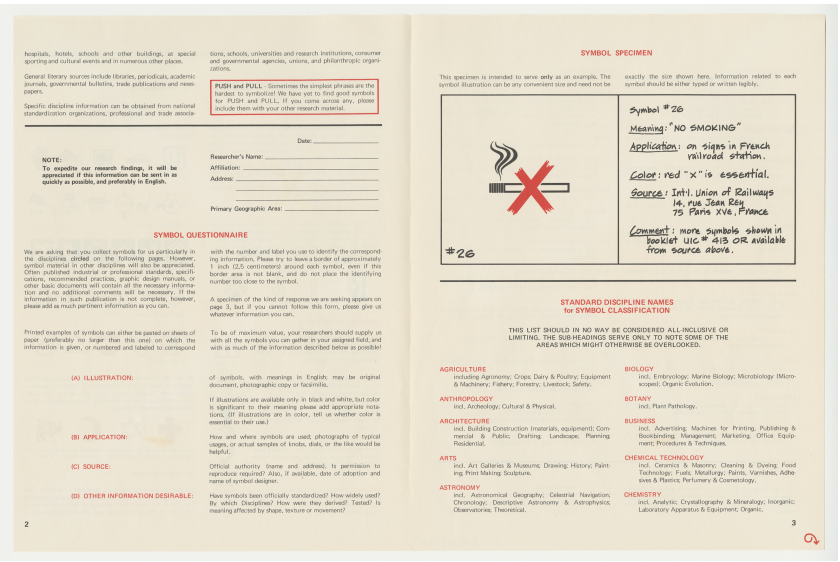
Traffic Signs

We are not concerned with trademarks or logotypes which identify or have limited application to a specific company or organization. However, some marks, such as the "red cross", have gone beyond merely identifying an organization and are considered as generic symbols.

Humanitarian assistance organizations: National Red Cross, Israel's Red Star of David, Muslim's Red Crescent and Iran's Red Lion & Sun).

WHERE TO LOOK

Symbols can be found practically anywhere in daily life. They are often encountered in local businesses, on public transportation, along the streets and highways, at parks and recreation facilities, on home appliances and industrial machinery, in



hospitals, hotels, schools and other buildings, at special sporting and cultural events and in numerous other places.

General library sources include libraries, periodicals, academic journals, governmental bulletins, trade publications and newspapers.

Specific discipline information can be obtained from national standardization organizations, professional and trade associations, schools, universities and research institutions, consumer and governmental agencies, unions, and philanthropic organizations.

PUSH and PULL - Sometimes the simplest phrases are the hardest to symbolize! We have yet to find good symbols for PUSH and PULL. If you come across any, please include them with your other research material.

NOTE:
To expedite our research findings, it will be appreciated if this information can be sent in as quickly as possible, and preferably in English.

Date: _____

Researcher's Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Address: _____

Primary Geographic Area: _____

SYMBOL QUESTIONNAIRE

We are asking that you collect symbols for us particularly in the disciplines circled on the following pages. However, symbol material in other disciplines will also be appreciated. Often published industrial or professional standards, specifications, recommended practices, graphic design manuals, or other basic documents will contain all the necessary information and no additional comments will be necessary. If the information in such publication is not complete, however, please add as much pertinent information as you can.

Printed examples of symbols can either be pasted on sheets of paper (preferably no larger than this one) on which the information is given, or numbered and labeled to correspond with the number and label you use to identify the corresponding information. Please try to leave a border of approximately 1 inch (2.5 centimeters) around each symbol, even if this border area is not blank, and do not place the identifying number too close to the symbol.

A specimen of the kind of response we are seeking appears on page 3, but if you cannot follow this form, please give us whatever information you can.

To be of maximum value, your researchers should supply us with all the symbols you can gather in your assigned field, and with as much of the information described below as possible:

(A) ILLUSTRATION: of symbols, with meanings in English; may be original document, photographic copy or facsimile.

If illustrations are available only in black and white, but color is significant to their meaning please add appropriate notations. (If illustrations are in color, tell us whether color is essential to their use.)

(B) APPLICATION: How and where symbols are used; photographs of typical usages, or actual samples of knobs, dials, or the like would be helpful.

(C) SOURCE: Official authority (name and address). Is permission to reproduce required? Also, if available, date of adoption and name of symbol designer.

(D) OTHER INFORMATION DESIRABLE: Have symbols been officially standardized? How widely used? By which Disciplines? How were they derived? Tested? Is meaning affected by shape, texture or movement?

2

SYMBOL SPECIMEN

This specimen is intended to serve only as an example. The symbol illustration can be any convenient size and need not be exactly the size shown here. Information related to each symbol should be either typed or written legibly.

#26

Symbol #26
Meaning: "NO SMOKING"
Application: on signs in French railroad station.
Color: red "x" is essential.
Source: Int'l. Union of Railways 14, rue Jean Rey 75 Paris XVe, France
Comment: more symbols shown in booklet UIC # 413 OR available from source above.

STANDARD DISCIPLINE NAMES for SYMBOL CLASSIFICATION

THIS LIST SHOULD IN NO WAY BE CONSIDERED ALL-INCLUSIVE OR LIMITING. THE SUB-HEADINGS SERVE ONLY TO NOTE SOME OF THE AREAS WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE BE OVERLOOKED.

AGRICULTURE
including Agronomy; Crops; Dairy & Poultry; Equipment & Machinery; Fishery; Forestry; Livestock; Safety;

ANTHROPOLOGY
incl. Archeology; Cultural & Physical.

ARCHITECTURE
incl. Building Construction (materials, equipment); Commercial & Public; Drafting; Landscape; Planning Residential.

ARTS
incl. Art Galleries & Museums; Drawing; History; Painting; Print Making; Sculpture.

ASTRONOMY
incl. Astronomical Geography; Celestrial Navigation; Chronology; Descriptive Astronomy & Astrophysics; Observatories; Theoretical.

BIOLOGY
incl. Embryology; Marine Biology; Microbiology (Microscopes); Organic Evolution.

BOTANY
incl. Plant Pathology.

BUSINESS
incl. Advertising; Machines for Printing, Publishing & Bookbinding; Management; Marketing; Office Equipment; Procedures & Techniques.

CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY
incl. Ceramics & Masonry; Cleaning & Dyeing; Food Technology; Fuels; Metallurgy; Paints, Varnishes, Adhesives & Plastics; Perfumery & Cosmetology;

CHEMISTRY
incl. Analytic; Crystallography & Mineralogy; Inorganic; Laboratory Apparatus & Equipment; Organic.

3

Figure 6: Pages from Dreyfuss' questionnaire sent out circa 1970. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, Henry Dreyfuss Archive, Gift of Henry Dreyfuss, Photo © Smithsonian Institution.

was led by Paul Clifton and included Doris Marks (Dreyfuss' wife), Kathryn Bray, George Ball, Pamela Holaday and Jeanette MacFarland (Dreyfuss 251). They managed all correspondence, sent out symbol-gathering questionnaires, chased lost correspondence, sought permissions and managed expectations (not all symbols were accepted for publication) – all by post, some of it international and needing translation. They had to discern which disciplines were most relevant, and be sufficiently informed to assemble a collection of symbols which accurately represented each of the 26 selected disciplines. The 15-page bibliography lists 21 eminent subject experts along with symbol organisations such as ISO, IEC, ANSI and DNA. The 14 pages of bibliographical details show the depth of enquiry that Dreyfuss was prepared to go to achieve his aims. The classification system had also to be designed to make the book work, and it was here that M. Neurath's ideas were incorporated.

The Symbol Sourcebook Archive is the custodian of a host of symbol-related stories from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. Even after sampling correspondence from a few archival boxes, I could see references to important symbol systems for road, rail, air travel, tourism and Olympic games and work by prominent designers such as Otl Aicher, Lance Wyman, Masaru Katsumie, Massimo Vignelli, Anton Stankowski, Yukio Ota, Martin Krampen, Paul Arthur, FHK Henrion – to mention only a small cross section of the material I accessed. The material spans a time when graphic design was coming of age and commercial organisations were realising the power of design, both in terms of safety, global expansion and advertising. But it was the references to Isotype that I was drawn to, and the following narratives are taken from Glyphs file 1/2 which gives an indication of how Isotype and M. Neurath were perceived by Modley in 1970, in correspondence to Dreyfuss and Marks.

Perceptions of Isotype from the Symbol Sourcebook Archive

This section provides a glimpse into impressions of Isotype in 1970, at a time when M. Neurath was still active designing children's educational books, but also contemplating her retirement.

The correspondence shows that Isotype was still relevant nearly fifty years on, and that Modley's previous working relationships with M. Neurath may be the reason for this, and for his latter loyalty towards Isotype.

In the 1920s, Modley interned with Otto Neurath and his team at the Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum in Vienna, and in 1930, went to America, initially to take Isotype exhibits to the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, where he was briefly employed. He then developed "Pictorial Statistics Inc." (later to become the "Pictograph Corporation") a more decorative form of pictographic language, popular in America during the 1930s and 1940s. There were several public disagreements between Modley and O. Neurath, with each protecting their pictographic principles.[10] It was clear from correspondence that M. Neurath and Modley had little or no contact since Modley left Vienna for USA in 1930, until his letter of 13 June 1956: "It seems a hundred years since I have seen you – and it almost is. My kids love your books and it serves as a reminder between my pictograph past and future."[11] In 1969, through Modley's past association with M. Neurath in the "Preparatory Survey" (1958-1959), Clifton contacted her regarding the experimental classification systems that she had previously developed.

There is a letter in the Symbol Sourcebook Archive from Dr N. Howard-Jones of the World Health Organisation sent in response to Dreyfuss' symbol-gathering questionnaire dated May 1969 which shows that Isotype has not been forgotten. Howard-Jones, whilst saying that his organisation has no symbols to offer is "very surprised to see in neither of the publications that you enclosed any reference to the pioneer – and very sophisticated – work of Otto Neurath in this field." Howard-Jones goes on to describe his knowledge of Isotype and finishes by stating "It appears to me that it is, in general, easier to recognise the meaning of the ISOTYPE symbols than of the examples given in the publications that you enclosed".[12]

Dreyfuss engaged Modley to go on a fact-finding trip in 1970 to find useful collaborators for the Symbol Sourcebook project, one of which included M. Neurath. A report of a meeting from 25 May 1970 between Modley and M. Neurath forms part of this task. He states that "Although she must by now be 70 years old, Marie Neurath is as active, enthusiastic and alert as ever. She is

primarily working on the "They Lived like this in…" series. She works at home and goes to the office mostly to pick up and handle mail… In regard to Katsumie's interest in early Isotype work, Mrs N. says that no early originals are available, and that any exhibit material will have to come primarily from published works. She suggests *Modern Man in the Making* as the best source. In regard to the archive, she has a card file of pictorial symbols which, she says, is badly used and will have to be put into shape before it can be reproduced and used by others."[13]

In June 1970 Modley candidly reported back to Dreyfuss with suggestions for the possible collaborators. He lists, Katsumie, who Modley deems someone who only likes working with organisations and not "individual collectors" as Katsumie considers Dreyfuss to be); Tschinkel (who worked with O. Neurath in Vienna); Stankowski, as being "of little interest to you"; Meldau, "useful if the history of trademarks were needed, but he would want money and an invitation to the US"; Koberstein, who has a valuable pictogram collection and would be co-operative; Christensen, who has a collection of 2,000 symbols but is "a bit of a nut but has a good grasp of cataloguing"; Neurath who is planning to update her collection (and Modley considers would co-operate) and finally Kneebone (Icograda) who Modley considers is "not too happy about the job slipping to the US".[14]

It would appear from correspondence from Modley to M. Neurath that "an agreement had been reached with Henry Dreyfuss under which we shall jointly try to provide symbols for his symbol handbook and for our eventual symbol archives. The inclusion of your material in this effort is, of course, very important… I hope we can count on your co-operation in these projects". [15] But M. Neurath was also not overly co-operative, and worked to her own deadlines, as can be seen in a letter from Modley to Dreyfuss 1 September 1970 when he reports that "Our chances of getting some of the Isotype material in time do not seem so good. I have a note from Marie Neurath that the symbol work has to wait until 1971 or 1972. She says she had never planned it for this year".[16]

Modley's letters to Marks of 26 and 31 October 1970 show how Dreyfuss was trying to understand what had gone before in terms of the development of symbols. In Modley's letter to Marks on 26 October 1970, he states that "it will be sufficient to mention only Neurath and Bliss

in your book. There are two other people who developed "picture languages": a Dutchman named Charles J. A. Janson published PICTO in 1958 and a German, Prof Eckart published some work earlier… but they are incomparable in value to the work of Bliss and Neurath." He goes on to discuss the versatility of Isotype seen from the 1936 book *International Picture Language* but once again refers back to his old argument of both Bliss and Neurath being "utopian" and both "drastically over-estimated the potential of their work – which does not say that they did not both make major contributions". [17]

Finally, this letter from 31 October 1970 from Modley to Marks reveals Modley's candid impressions of the Neuraths:

"I remember quite a few funny incidents with Neurath but they have an Austrian "flavour" which doesn't seem to go well in this country. N. would go into a delicatessen and order "Wurst" by the inch (instead of the weight). He would stretch out on the table in our Vienna office and sleep; he would sign his letters with a (non-Republican) elephant shown in different moods. He was a very tall and heavy guy – probably six-foot three or four and used to wear a long red beard. But he shaved it off later. You probably know that he started as an economist and wrote some books on the economics of early periods. He was a great believer in guild socialism and was a member of the short-lived Soviet government in Bavaria. He was also a great philosophical positivist and a founder and member of the "Vienna School" along with Carnap, Feigel, Frank and others…

About Marie Neurath… She did, of course, do the book with Lancelot Hogben [*From Cave Painting to Comic Strip*] on the history of picture writing and she has done some pretty exciting teaching books for African governments and for English children. These are in pictograph style but not statistical. She was Neurath's assistant for many years. He married her after he divorced his wife[18].... She is a wonderful tough old North German type, blue-eyed, blond, tall, and VERY firm. I am usually in the dog house with her for something." [19]

Conclusion

Glyphs file 1/2 has provided fascinating glimpses into how Isotype was seen from an American perspective at a time when M. Neurath was nearing the end of her working life, internationalism was taking hold and symbol-related matters were burgeoning. Correspondence has shown that the reputation of Isotype was still regarded as relevant nearly fifty years on. Archival material touches on stories involving the key players in the symbol world during the late 1960s and 70s, such as Modley, Mead, Katsumie and Henrion, and how Dreyfuss was dealing with the old (Isotype) and the new (Glyphs and Icograda). More candid observations will emerge as the Symbol Sourcebook Archive is gradually digitized. In 2022 it will be fifty years since the publication of the *Symbol Sourcebook* and Dreyfuss and Marks' untimely death. It is my hope that Dreyfuss' achievements can be celebrated and an electronic symbol resource created that would go some way to realising his dream for a "computerised" symbol database as described at the start of the original 1972 version of the *Symbol Sourcebook*.

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[1] Participants for the "Preparatory Survey" included M. Neurath, Modley, Dreyfuss, Martin Krampen, Harold Lasswell and Harden Bishop. The aim of the one-year feasibility study was to lay foundations for a five-year project which would entail compiling, cataloguing and classifying an extensive collection of international graphic symbols.

[2] Cooper Hewitt, "Isotype Institute" 1972–88–123.2.

[3] It was previously thought that work by the Isotype Institute in the area of international pictographic systems came to a close in 1960 when the "Preparatory Survey" reached its conclusion (Perks 2012, 161–179).

[4] "…we wanted to tell you that your symbol classification terminology seems to be adapting itself beautifully to the material in our Graphic Form section..." Correspondence from Dreyfuss to M. Neurath, 3 December 1970, Cooper Hewitt, "Isotype Institute" 1972–88–123.2. Mead is credited in the *Symbol Sourcebook* with "the inspiration" behind the Graphic Form section (Dreyfuss 250), but M. Neurath's work on classification systems was of a more practical design application.

[5] Series 6: Symbol Sourcebook Working Papers (1941–1973).

[6] This can all be accessed through the 'Final Dreyfuss Archive Finding Aid', catalogued by the Smithsonian Women's Committee in January 2017.

[7] "One day a symbol archive will be established, in which all symbols used throughout the world will be catalogued and available for reference. Looking toward this goal, we are keeping our data bank active and open for further contributions – which indeed will be welcomed". (Dreyfuss 18).

[8] The United Nations celebrated their 20th anniversary in 1965 by naming it "International Co-operation Year".

[9] Margaret Mead and Rudolf Modley Suggestions: Henry Dreyfuss Board of Advisors November 1968, Glyphs 2/2.

[10] The crux of our difference lies in our different interpretation of the character of the symbols. Dr. Neurath holds firmly to the belief that pictorial symbols should be international, designed within rigid limitations so that a pictorial Esperanto will be created. He wishes to circumvent a pictorial Tower of Babel and produce at once an international picture language. With that ultimate aim I heartily agree, but I believe his method of achieving it is Utopian. (Modley 1937, xiii). Modley softened his approach to Neurath in his 1952 update *Pictographs and Graphs*, where he acknowledges Neurath's contribution to the growth of modern pictographs (Modley 1952, 6).
[11] Correspondence Modley to M. Neurath, June 13, 1956, IC 1/49.
[12] Correspondence between Howard-Jones and Dreyfuss 19 March 1969, Cooper Hewitt, "Symbol Sourcebook Working Papers Correspondence/Information Gathering W" 1968–1971. It is not known exactly which publications were enclosed with Dreyfuss' symbol-gathering questionnaire.
[13] This refers to the card index that Clifton was asking M. Neurath to send from the "Preparatory Survey", which consisted of hand-made symbol classification cards.
[14] The ability to collect symbols sparked old jealousies and controversies. A report of a phone call between Marks and Modley brought up a report that Katsumie had met Kneebone, De Mayo and Henrion (representing Icograda) in London. Modley was the US representative for Icograda, and found them "not always sympathetic to Dreyfuss' project, and that there was "a mutual lack of sympathy between Dreyfuss and Icograda". Dreyfuss refuted this. Report of telephone conversation from Marks to Modley 26 October 1970, Glyphs 1/2.
[15] Correspondence from Modley to Neurath 23 July 1970, Glyphs 1/2.
[16] Correspondence Modley to Dreyfuss 1 September 1970, Glyphs 1/2.
[17] Correspondence from Modley to Marks, 24 and 31 October 1970, Glyphs 1/2.
[18] This is incorrect, Neurath's second wife Olga Hahn died in 1937 in The Hague. Neurath married Marie Reidemeister in 1941 after they were forced to flee to the UK to avoid Nazi persecution.
[18] Correspondence from Modley to Marks, 31 October 1970, Glyphs 1/2.

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Archives

Otto and Marie Neurath Isotype Collection, IC 1/49. Department of Typography and Graphic Communication, University of Reading.

Symbol Sourcebook Working papers/Correspondence/Information Gathering, Glyphs 1/2. Henry Dreyfuss Archive, Gift of Henry Dreyfuss, Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York.