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Women 'as Subjects': Documentation, Methodology, Interpretation and Enhancement
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Introduction

Women's traces in the architectural archives are as faint as they are scarce and, with a few famous exceptions, women's contributions in the modern era appear too vague when we consider the radical changes in society and the roles played therein by women. While female protagonists were becoming more common in certain fields, the field of architecture seemingly had no equivalent to, say, Maria Skłodowska Curie. What we should rather say is that there is no evidence of an analogous female contribution to the history of architecture and design. Moreover, this presumed lack of input into the field of design might be misinterpreted as a failure to participate in building common ground. It might ultimately appear to be a failure – culpability even – 'to conceive' of a new modern environment for their own new life in a modern society. This nonsensical vision of a lack or, at best, of a discontinuous range of initiatives made by women within this framework highlights the importance of the role played by archives and source material in making history, and this necessitates some preliminary considerations. Were women really disinterested in shaping, in terms of design, a way of life tied up with their emancipation, or, rather, are sources providing evidence of their involvement really just not accessible? Some examples of overlooked female creativity may help to underline this lack of information and the consequent need to reformulate crucial links between sources and history in order to gain a new understanding of women's contributions.

It is our belief that there is a need to put female creative culture in the spotlight, and a digital approach offers a new perspective by making it possible to create a new kind of digital archive. In

any event, what is certain is that a new critical approach to collecting sources and making history is overdue. Institutional records offices are essential for the collection and spreading of cultural heritage as well as for the fostering of research. Digital platforms can create links capable of shaping a new cultural context since they provide an overview of the broad networks operating in design processes. From the point of view of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, as well as of the built environment, there exists no single author-demiurge but rather a collective of collaborative workers. In this perspective we aim to introduce a couple of case studies of women's creative work as demonstrations of possible new critical approaches to architectural and design culture and its history. The first focuses on the little known designers Margaret and Frances Macdonald and the entrepreneur Kate Cranston, the second on the almost unknown landscape designer Norah Geddes. In this context they aim to articulate some aspects of this cultural perspective. Case studies take into account the period just preceding the Modern Movement as a turn of important changes. Lastly we discuss how a digital archive which makes known the historical, creative culture of women as this comes to light.

Ici on ne brode pas des cousins

It should be noted that since the nineteenth century the matter of new designs has been tightly bound up with the reorganisation of private and social spaces. If, on the one hand, modern design has included noteworthy architectures devoted to institutional buildings where women were generally not very numerous, on the other, the general overhaul of the built environment has included a wide range of functional buildings essential to the lives of the general public and catering to all needs and pleasures, not to mention the domestic environment forever perceived as a 'womanly realm'. According to Le Corbusier, the design program to change architecture was a means for changing the world, and this light, the notion of 'architecture or revolution' must have represented more than a mere slogan for the women of the time.¹ Some masterpieces, such as the *Frankfurt kitchen* by Margarete Schütte - Lihotzky, have recently been highlighted by providing evidence of specifically female involvement.² Many others, however, are scarcely documented in spite of their extraordinary freshness and social significance. One such example is the iconic self-portrait of Marianne Brandt³

wearing⁴ her teapot on her head as a hat, which speaks of a multi-layered participation by women in innovating both products and imagery.³ Related architectural historiography revealing a still little-explored theme explains the difficult context in which she expressed her talent.⁴

Her direct participation in furniture production in the Walter Gropius atelier, albeit for a short period, also recalls the contribution of Charlotte Perriand to Le Corbusier's modernization of domestic furniture. Apparently both modernist masters were radically promoting architecture as social commitment, addressing their design to the aim of changing family life and social interaction by firmly believing that architecture could drive change. The naivety and failure of this kind of effort is evident in their underestimation of the female contribution to their ateliers.⁵

Given the significance and standing of Le Corbusier and Gropius, the difficulty experienced by these women designers to 'break through' is quite telling. Brandt, a woman student, was indeed admitted to the Bauhaus school, but, notwithstanding this, Gropius only allowed her to be part of the metal laboratory as an exceptional case since women students were almost always directed to 'more feminine' arts activities. On the one hand, if women were admitted and did enthusiastically apply to the school, they had all but disappeared from the studies on Bauhaus until some recent contributions on the subject were published.⁶

On the other hand, Perriand mentioned how Le Corbusier had been more than incredulous to take her on as a partner in his atelier. 'Ici on ne brode pas des cousins' (We don't embroider cushions here), he said on their first meeting as, in answer to her proposal to work in the atelier, he saw her to the door.⁷ These unpleasant behaviours are a sign that women were still ignored in the male domain of design. This sign is echoed in their personal archives; as Le Corbusier declared

3 Marianne Brandt, Model No. MT 49 teapot, 1924. Marianne Brandt (1893–1983) studied at Bauhaus with Laszlo Moholy Nagy. She entered the product metal design workshop by designing teapots, coffee sets and metal trays. Later in Paris she developed photography with photomontages. After working with Walter Gropius on furniture production, Brandt became the head of the design department at the Ruppelwerk hardware factory in Gotha, Germany. Naomi Blumberg and Ellen Ferry, 'Marianne Brandt: German painter, photographer and designer,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (last updated June 14, 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Marianne-Brandt> (accessed June 22, 2018).

4 Nahoum Cohen, *Bauhaus Tel Aviv: An Architectural Guide* (Tel-Aviv: Bauhaus Foundation, Private Museum, 2008).

5 Hayley A. Rowe, 'The Rise and Fall of Modernist Architecture,' *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse* 3, no. 4 (2011), <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=1687> (accessed June 22, 2018); Hubert-Jan Henket, 'Modernity, Modernism and the Modern Movement,' *Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement*, edited by Hubert-Jan Henket and Hilde Heynen (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2002), 10.

6 Ulrike Müller, *Bauhaus Women: Art, Handicraft, Design* (Paris: Flammarion, 2015).

7 Charlotte Perriand, *Une vie de création* (Paris: Éditions Edlie Jacob, 1998), 25. When the young designer went to the rue des Sèvres to put herself forward for his furniture program, Le Corbusier reproached her... He needed time and above all a visit to Perriand's *Bar sous le toit* exhibited at the 1927 Salon before he would consider her a suitable partner in his atelier.

1 'Architecture and revolution' was the title of a chapter in Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture*, (Paris: Éditions Crès, Collection de 'L'Esprit Nouveau', 1923).

2 Anne Söll, 'What's cooking?': Reconfiguring Gender and Domestic Space in the Exhibits of Margarete Schütte-Lehotsky's 'Frankfurt Kitchen,' *1st MoMoWo International Conference-Workshop: Women Designers, Craftswomen, Architects and Engineers between 1918 and 1945: Programme and Abstracts*, edited by Marjan Groot, Helena Seražin, Caterina Franchini and Emilia Garda (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2015), 49.

its archive was conceived to 'become a spiritual entity, that is, a continuation of the endeavour pursued throughout a lifetime'.⁸

Two Wives and One Client: Traces of Women in Glasgow

Irrespective of individual attitudes, the industrial revolution had started to change society radically and it had brought new duties and opportunities for women. In parallel it created enormous problems and a new poverty as much as it fostered women's integration and sociability. The manufacturing environment especially drove important transformations both in the urban setting and in life style. For example, innovative workers housing included new types of private and collective functions (e.g. kindergarten) which may be linked to women's 'liberation'. Some women, however, started to become involved in new challenges.

Margaret Macdonald (1864–1933) was already an acclaimed artist when she met Charles Rennie Mackintosh, having shared a Glasgow art studio with her sister Frances since the 1890s.⁹ After Margaret got married, her own artworks became secondary to her husband's leading architecture studio.¹⁰

Frances also married an architect, James Herbert McNair, with whom she carried out projects. Frances Macdonald's projects are even less well known than those of her sister even if as a student she did win local and national awards. In 1899 Frances and her husband moved to Liverpool where almost all her artworks were destroyed by him after her death in 1921. Some still extant artworks and documentation about Margaret and Frances Macdonald are collected in the 'Archives and Collections' of the Glasgow Art School.¹¹

The Macdonald sisters worked in the 'Group of Four' where Mackintosh played the lead while doing architectural practice in a studio.¹² Margaret and Frances certainly designed graphics, textile artworks and book illustrations. But we could argue that they did much more. Especially in the case of Margaret, however, we can assume that her involvement in the studio must have been very intensive. She worked closely with her husband for many years when he redesigned the studio partnerships and finally she assumed the leading role when they moved to Suffolk, London, and France. Mackintosh's ill health in this period leads us to believe that Margaret did not merely work on decorative details.

This approach includes a further path for a different research framework. Among celebrated masterpieces, the *Willow Tea Room* (1903) was Mackintosh's most important commission for Miss Cranston. It was the culmination of a meaningful 'partnership'.¹³

It should be noted that among Margaret Macdonald works, there is a record of a menu also designed for the same client for her exhibition cafe, The White Cockade.

Kate Cranston thus played a leading role as a client both of Mackintosh's atelier and of design products of the Glasgow style in general. She commissioned these projects because of her leading role within the city. Her *Cranston's Tea Rooms* were in fact a social endeavour.¹⁴ Glasgow, as an industrial city had to deal with the consequences of people's life styles, of which the consumption of alcohol was one, and a serious one at that, even for women. Kate Cranston created and supported these nice and pleasant tearooms to counter alcoholism through new social activities. In these places women could meet and socialize over a cup of tea and some scones. Alcohol was not served there, unlike in the pubs where workers would meet. Tearooms were a cross between parlours and social clubs, and they promoted new behaviours, women's emancipation included. Kate Cranston played an important role as a client by offering job opportunities for developing a common phenomenon known as Glasgow style. Furthermore, she also played an essential role in creating the concepts for design and production by conceiving new kinds of visions of urban life.

8 Le Corbusier collected his personal documentation and shaped his archive: 'I hereby declare, for every eventuality, that I leave everything that I possess to an administrative entity, the 'Fondation Le Corbusier,' or any other meaningful form, which shall become a spiritual entity, that is, a continuation of the endeavour pursued throughout a lifetime'. The online Gropius archive at the Bauhaus in temporary offline: https://www.bauhaus.de/en/bauhausarchiv/185_bibliothek_und_archiv/879_open_archive_walter_gropius/ (accessed June 22, 2018). On the Stanford Gropius collection see Busch-Reisinger Museum, *The Walter Gropius Archive: An illustrated catalogue of the drawings, prints, and photographs in the Walter Gropius Archive at the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University* (New York: Garland Pub: 1990).

9 Jude Burkhauser (ed.), *Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design 1880–1920* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1990); Janice Helland, *The Studios of Frances Macdonald and Margaret Macdonald* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Patricia Panther, "Margaret Macdonald: The talented other half of Charles Rennie Mackintosh," BBC (published January 10, 2011), http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/arts/margaret_macdonald_the_talented_other_half_of_charles_rennie_mackintosh.shtml (accessed June 22, 2018).

10 It should be noted that the first exhibition catalogue of the Glasgow School of Art quoted both, see: *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: Memorial Exhibition Catalogue* (Glasgow: Mclellan Galleries, 1933); George Rawson, "Select Bibliography with annotations," *Mackintosh's Matteredwork: The Glasgow School of Art*, edited by William Buchanan (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 173–192.

11 The Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections, <http://www.gsaarchives.net> (accessed June 22, 2018).

12 For a recent contributions cf. Cynthia Green, "The Scottish Sisters Who Pioneered Art Nouveau," *Jstorie Daily: Art and Art History* (published December 19, 2017), <https://daily.jstor.org/the-scottish-sisters-who-pioneered-art-nouveau/> (accessed June 22, 2018).

13 Juliet Kinchin, "Mackintosh and the City," *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, edited by Wendy Kaplan (New York: Abbeville Press: 1996), 31–61.

14 Kate Cranston opened her first tea room in 1878. Alan Crawford, "The Tea Rooms: Art and Domesticity," *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, edited by Wendy Kaplan (New York: Abbeville Press: 1996), 263–89.

Norah Geddes: a Talented Daughter and Creator of Children's Playgrounds

Although Patrick Geddes and his Outlook Tower in Edinburgh are well known, the role played by Norah Geddes (1887–1967) has received scant attention.¹⁵ Norah was one of a biologist-sociologist-town planner's children, and was deeply involved in her father's projects, even writing biographical notes on him and his archive.¹⁶

In 1915 she married Frank C. Mears, the architect with whom Geddes worked closely as his drawings could lend physical form to the latter's ideas. Norah worked, above all, in the context of the Outlook Tower Committees established to carry out the Outlook program in the absence of her father. It should be noted in fact that after its beginnings as a new kind of museum-laboratory in Edinburgh, the Outlook Tower project developed into a number of different activities. Several women were interested in Geddes cutting-edge project and were involved in the education and exhibiting program.¹⁷

Norah Geddes took part in various activities including design. She specifically signed some drawings of gardens and playgrounds for children. In the context of the hard living conditions of the industrial city, she focused particularly on the housing situation in the cramped old town as a social and philanthropic commitment. Her designs are clever reflections on rethinking unused urban spaces. In the courtyards as well as in marginal waste ground, she created and curated visions of a new and hopeful urban life. She certainly conceived her designs as forming part of Geddes' overall project for Edinburgh which included a survey of the city, also with the aim of introducing some improvements in urban life. Nevertheless, documentary traces of Norah's creativity do also provide evidence of her autonomy and independent spirit of initiative.

Norah has been overlooked by architecture historiography, but under her maiden name she did sign some drawings which redefined urban areas recognizable today as historical urban landscapes.¹⁸



15 The Outlook Tower was conceived as a proposal to establish a new kind of place for overlooking the city and at the same times a sort of laboratory for creating a new awareness among citizen about their city. Hellen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Rosa Tamborino, "The City on Display: Entering Urban History," *Built City, Designed City, Virtual City: The Museum of the City*, edited by Donatella Calabi (Rome: CROMA, 2013), 35–55.

16 Norah Geddes, memoir of Patrick Geddes, National Library of Scotland (NLS) Ms. 10508, in "Patrick Geddes and Perth," Murdo Macdonald (published January 7, 2017), <https://murdomacdonald.wordpress.com/patrick-geddes-and-perth/> (accessed June 22, 2018). Also Norah Geddes Mears, "Introduction to the Letters of Patrick Geddes," NLS, MS 10508, fol. 105. Some biographical information on Norah Geddes are in Tanya Cheadle, "Realizing a More Than Earthly Paradise of Love: Scotland's Sexual Progressives, 1880–1914," (PhD thesis, School of Humanities College of Arts, University of Glasgow, 2014).

17 Walter Stephen, *Learning from the Lassies: Women of the Patrick Geddes Circle* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2014).

18 Historical Urban Landscape is defined as 'the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting'. UNESCO's General Conference, *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (Paris: UNESCO, 2011), UNESCO, <https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf> (accessed June 22, 2018).

Fig. 1. Drawings by Norah Geddes related to King's Wall Garden and Chessel's Court. Courtesy of University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections, United Kingdom.

A commemorative plaque in still-existing gardens celebrates as their creator Patrick Geddes, but makes no mention of Norah. Although a direct trace of her signature can only be found in a few drawings – e.g. *Garden of Saint George's School for Girls*, *Robertson's Close Garden Playground*, *Garden near Castle Wynd*, *Garden at McConnachie's Close*, *Portsburgh Garden*, *St John's Garden*, *Castle Terrace*, *Chessel's Court*, *Kings Wall Garden* – we could argue that she was responsible for other projects only identified as 'Outlook Committee' (Fig. 1).¹⁹

Her work was developed over a long period and also includes involvement outside the Outlook Tower Committee. She is responsible for the landscape design of the Scottish Zoological Park commissioned to her husband (Fig. 2).²⁰ Moreover, her endeavours were not limited to practice with her husband or to assisting her father. The extent of her significance in the broader cultural framework is finally attested by some drafts of papers which she wrote on teaching methods.²¹ A written text on *What educational programme will best meet the needs of our developing social & economic situation*, is the only printed one to have come to light to date.²²

More traces are available, albeit scattered among various archives around the world, as she had contacts with artists and intellectuals of the day including Lewis Mumford.²³ It is to be hoped that we will be able to shed greater light on new connections in the future.

Toward a New Concept of Digital Archive

New sources need to be explored if a multifaceted history of architecture and design is to be built. However, new sources will become available only through the shaping of new approaches and new research frameworks.

In the public institutional archives, in fact, files are classified according to criteria set out by the producers of the papers themselves. The so-called 'architectural archives' are more or less recent collections of selected materials, the classification structure of which is a question of specific

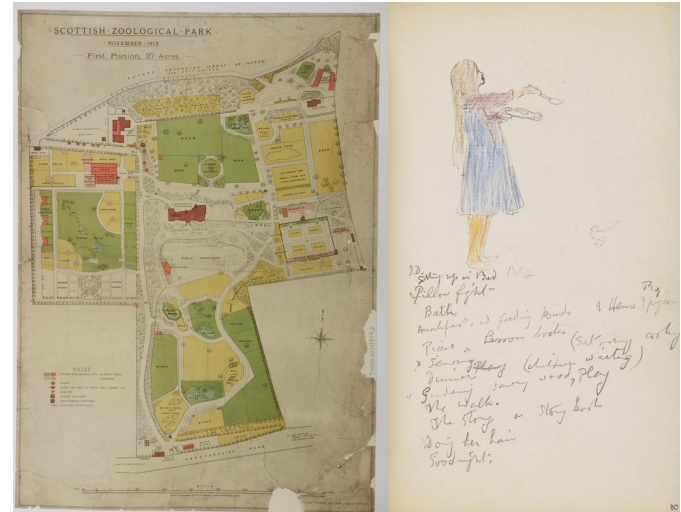


Fig. 2. (left) Frank C. Mears and Norah Geddes Mears, Map of Scottish Zoological Park, 1913, colour lithograph. Courtesy of University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections, United Kingdom. (right) John Duncan, Norah Geddes Feeding the Chickens, about 1890s, work on paper. Courtesy of National Gallery Scotland.

purposes. Choices and skeletons of the archives thus created are subordinate to cultural projects. Internationally, architecture archives have permitted an important conservation of recent materials from the design culture. By its very nature, in fact, modern documentation is especially fragile and specific actions are needed in order to collect and preserve them.²⁴

In western countries architectural archives were established in the years following the Modern Movement. Public and private repositories increased in the following years generating huge collections. According to Phyllis Lambert, the founder of the Canadian Centre for Architecture

24 Susan Koskinen, "Architectural Archives," *Journal of Library Administration* 39, no. 2–3 (2003), 15–27.

19 Some drawings in the University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collection: *Sketch of King's Wall Garden, arranged by Oljen Spaces Committee*, GB 249 T-GED/7/5/30/14, *Sketches of Chessel's Court*, GB 249 T-GED/7/5/30/1, *Sections and elevations of proposed steps at King's Wall Garden*, GB 249 T-GED/7/5/30/16.

20 Catherine Thompson, "Geddes, Zoos and the Valley Section," *Landscape Review* 10, no. 12 (2004), 115–19.

21 The drafts of some papers, University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collection: "The Writing of English in Schools III," GB 249 T-GED/7/7/58; "Suggestion for method in teaching that would integrate several of the newer ideas already in use here and there," GB 249 T-GED/7/7/59; "Suggestions for group activity in the junior classes of a secondary school," GB 249 T-GED/7/7/60.

22 Norah Geddes Mears, *What Educational Programme Will Best Meet the Needs of Our Developing Social & Economic Situation?* 1917, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

23 Norah Geddes, Letters to Lewis Mumford, Van Pelt Library, Philadelphia. See also the epistolary exchanges essential for the text of Philip Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-educator, Peace-warrior* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

CCA, the challenge facing architectural archives was to represent 'a new type of cultural institution, with the specific aim of increasing public awareness of the role of architecture in contemporary society and promoting research in the field'.²⁵ In the 1960s and the 1970s important nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings had been demolished and their loss generated a new awareness in rethinking modern heritage and collections were established when the post-industrial trend also put the fate of industrial heritage in the spotlight in the 1980s.

Architecture repositories, thus, dealt with the strategic task of both collecting and exhibiting a wide range of documentation. As a result, archives fostered new approaches to the history of contemporary architecture by providing direct sources (i.e. architectural drawings and documentation about designs produced by the architect). They made it possible to focus on a richer notion of architecture, as the output of a design process (from the creation to the building site through variants and changes over time). On the other hand, the increasing importance of these specialized architectural archives drove research in directions guided by the sources and their structure around the figure of an architect.

Existing collections of documents need to be contextualized in the light of updated criteria and coherent aims through dedicated surveys. Digital archives could improve both collections and their contexts. They can also improve documentation, provide links to related data, and lastly improve research and interpretations in order to achieve a reformulation of architectural and design culture in the modern era, as well as its tangible and intangible heritage.

The online Italian archives portal SIUSA provides a perfect example and includes a section entitled 'The Archive in the Feminine' which has been conceived in order to enhance and make more 'immediately accessible' papers related to women's history and activities in various fields.²⁶ This approach correctly emphasizes the complexity involved in the production of archives, and the need to draw attention to some special papers which may be 'hardly known' by providing a dedicated access to sources. This recommendation implicitly suggests that the scarce visibility of sources can have consequences on studies.

The classification and recording criteria of repositories need to be reconsidered with a different structure being required to take into account more kinds of contributions in the conception and production of architecture, design, and planning. This method could best be combined with the women's approach. Newer research on Macdonald shows that 'more than two thirds of Macdonald's

work is collaborative; therefore, collectivism is a definitive characteristic of Macdonald's artistic vision.²⁷ The Geddes Papers also make reference to a project conducted through a range of activities requiring collaborations and creating further opportunities. Not to mention Geddes' wife, Anna, who organized musical and artistic meetings.²⁸

Digital Humanities methodologies now allow us to conceive of completely new kinds of archives in the digital environment. One aim will be to create new more inclusive and gender-oriented approaches. Some interesting experiments in online digital archiving show how 'to translate' a personal archive by making accessible more than just drawings and papers.²⁹

A digital platform conceived as a collector of information can shed light on a range of subjects and ultimately promote a new history. The purpose of digitization, indeed, is not mere data sharing, it is knowledge implementation too.

In this way, a digital environment makes it possible to shape new large-scale research frameworks, and also collaborative research, with the aim of introducing new critical approaches to the interpretation of data. One new strategy for digital archives on design and architecture culture might be to emphasize the links among data as a critical and cultural approach. As an alternative backbone, a digital platform can be created for the purposes of linking related data. In addition, instead of emphasizing the producer or collector of the repository, the digital archive could be better serve to highlight sources in remote small archives, making accessible a range of connected sources, and finally making visible other hidden women creators. To this end, digital archives can be related to digital libraries in order to make the specific issue (i.e. the artworks and craftworks as part of the women creative culture) more understandable within a larger cultural and topographical context. Digital libraries can also host narratives and collect the new digital cultural productions on the subject (i.e. 3D models, videos, virtual reality environments). While documentation in archives and libraries is almost always aimed at experts, this approach can enhance both research and this intangible heritage for all.

25 "About," CCA-Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, <https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/about> (accessed June 22, 2018).

26 "Gli archivi al femminile," Sistema Informativo Unificato per le Soprintendenze Archivistiche (SIUSA), MIBACT <http://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?RicProgetto=donne> (accessed June 22, 2018). This project has expanded on the initial project 'Archivi femminili in Emilia Romagna' conceived by the Emilia-Romagna region and begun in 2010. 'Archivi femminili in Emilia Romagna,' SIUSA, <http://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?RicProgetto=preg-emr-arfem> (accessed June 22, 2018).

27 Kristie Powell, "The artist couple": Collectivism in Margaret Macdonald's and Charles Rennie Mackintosh's Modern Interior Designs of 1900-1906" (PhD dissertation, Master of Arts at the University of Cincinnati, 2010), 24. Thesis Chair: Dr. Kimberly Paice, University of Cincinnati.

28 The role of Chaele Geddes has been described by the French sociologist Edmond Demolins, "Le Mouvement Social," 1892-3, page 84, quoted in Tanya Chaele, "Realizing a 'More Than Earthly Paradise of Love'" (PhD thesis, School of Humanities College of Arts University of Glasgow, 2014), 122, n. 117.

29 The "Charles Booth poverty maps and Policy notebooks" website is a smart example of a continuously evolving project allowing development of new access to a document collection. The website is a development of a digital database on Charles Booth *Inquiry into Life and Labour in London, 1886-1903*, developed by the London School of Economics. It shows how a huge amount of data could be managed and made available by linking nineteenth-century places to the current city. "Learn more," Charles Booth's London: Poverty maps and police notebooks, <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more> (accessed June 22, 2018).

Conclusion

An archive backbone needs to take into account a range of builders and creators. If design activities have always been 'produced' collaboratively in studios, women's contributions have always been by definition up to the task. Importantly, this approach could make sources on women more accessible. While their names are not immediately identifiable as those of 'producers' of the archives, many women designers did indeed strive to create. In a field traditionally unfamiliar to women, cultural and social mores meant that they were not permitted to lead studios, and even in forward-thinking contexts they were only rarely allowed to study. Nonetheless, their talents were developed in collaborative projects. This approach to sources and to digital archives requires us to reshape our notion of architecture production by reformulating questions about attributions as well as about processes of creation and construction. The role played by clients is another important feature of this reformulation in terms of co-creation in this type of production. Some accounts of the role played by some female clients, while fragmentary, do lead us to understand that this was by no means a negligible one. When Miss Schroder was interviewed she gave an idea of her role in conceiving her house together with Gerrit Rietveld, the architect who she had chosen. The house was intended to interpret her new life with her children again after her divorce: 'It wasn't that I was determined to make something "modern." That was the direction I preferred. It was a spontaneous choice ...' –she said and added– 'So, when Rietveld had made a sketch of the rooms, I asked, 'Can those walls go too'.³⁰

Such wide-ranging involvement is extremely common but, this notwithstanding, it still remains difficult to recognize the full extent of women's contributions without first revising archive criteria and concepts.³¹

30 Lenneke Buller and Frank den Oudsten, "Interview with Truus Schroeder," *Lotus 60: Living in Architecture-Lotus International* (1988), 38–58, 41

31 Ann Calhoun, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand, 1870–1940: Women Make Their Mark* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000.)