Absence and presence: a historiography of early women architects in New South Wales

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Publication Date:
2000

DOI:
https://doi.org/10.26190/unsworks/20184

ABSENCE AND PRESENCE:
A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN NEW SOUTH WALES

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1999

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

Women architects are effectively absent from architectural history in Australia. Consulting first the archival record, this thesis establishes the presence of 230 women architects qualified and/or practising in NSW between 1900 and 1960. It then analyses some of these early women architects' achievements and difficulties in the profession, drawing on interviews with 70 practitioners or their friends and family. Finally it offers brief biographical accounts of eight leading early women architects, arguing that their achievements deserve more widespread historical attention in an adjusted canon of architectural merit. There are also 152 illustrations evidencing their design contributions. Thus the research draws on quantitative, qualitative, biographical and visual modes of representation in establishing a historical presence for these early women architects. The thesis forms part of the widespread political project of feminist historical recovery of women forebears, while also interrogating the ends and means of such historiography. The various threads describing women's absence and presence in the architectural profession are woven together throughout the thesis using three feminist approaches which sometimes harmonise and sometimes debate with each other. Described as "liberal feminism", "socialist feminism" and "postmodern feminism", they each put into play distinct patterns of questioning, method and interpretation, but all analyse historiography as a strategy for understanding society and effecting social change.

Note to on-line version

Privacy concerns have dictated that the names of those who contributed to the qualitative research with information about the lives and careers of early women architects, and also the names of the early women architects who were not already well published, have been deleted or disguised in the on-line version of this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the following people and institutions for their contributions to this research project:

Sophie Watson, then Professor of the Department of Planning and Regional Development at the University of Sydney, was my initial supervisor who helped me get this project off the ground with the backing of an Australian Postgraduate Award scholarship. Robert Freestone, Associate Professor in the Faculty of the Built Environment at the University of New South Wales (UNSW), took over the role of supervisor halfway through my candidature and has offered prompt and astute critical comment throughout the long process of writing.

Other academics have helped with technical and/or moral support: Joan Kerr with advice in the first stages; Susan Thompson for moral support and advice in the last stages; Peter Murphy for being an excellent employer on two research projects during my candidature and for encouraging me to move to UNSW; James Weirick for alerting me to the work of Eva Buhrich and offering comment on my essay about her; Rosemary Pringle on questions regarding women professionals; Elizabeth Turnbull for sociology references and wise overviews; Alison Bashford for references on women's history; Paula Hamilton for references on oral history and autobiography. Also thanks to Barbara Caine, Anna Rubbo, Adrian Snodgrass, Bev Kingston, Matthew Devine and Elizabeth Teather.

My student colleagues have been very supportive, especially: Sue Stewart for careful, constructive readings and insightful discussions, also for finding us a great house with nice neighbours; Cristina Martinez for teaching me how to use Excel and the internet and for pulling my postgraduate cohort together into a dynamic, friendly network; Julie Willis for swapping references, primary information and eventually theses in our parallel studies; Sharon Veale for sharing research insights about Florence Taylor; Rose Bulgin Hannah for computing help; and Leonie Matthews, who made a copy of both her excellent undergraduate thesis on early women architects in Western Australia and the slides she had put together for an exhibition of their work. Also thanks to Belinda Mason, Scott Robertson, Carol Morrow, Suzanne Mitchell, and finally Emma Wise for great help with formatting and proofreading.

Many architects have contributed to the research presented here. When I began the project in 1992, I joined Constructive Women, a Sydney-based group of women architects and other professionals working in the built environment, and have found the organisation very supportive. I particularly thank Bev Atkinson, Judy Ambler, and Sally Dryburgh for their collaboration in founding the Constructive Women Architecture and Design Archive at Stanton Library; also Ro Murray for her excellent undergraduate thesis on Florence Taylor and her patience with my questions more than 20 years later; Ms R for directing me to Ms H; Ms C for wise insights. Other architects who helped include: Louise Cox who put me in contact with Ms N's family; Ms H who described her historical work on the Ryde Council housing project of the 1950s; Mr C for directing me towards Ms B; Mr N for sharing reminiscences of three pioneering women

architects in Western Australia; and Mr F for sharing information about Ms S in his research project on Malcolm Moir.

I owe a special debt to the women, and their friends and families, who told me about their lives as early women architects, especially: Ms R and Ms H, daughter and sister of Ms A; Ms B, one-time employee of Ms A and Ms S; Ms C; Ms C; Ms M; Ms G and Ms A, sister and niece of Ms N; Mr G Jnr, son of Mr G Snr; Ms B, administrator at Ku-ring-gai Old People's Welfare Association; Ms N for early advice on the project as well as an interview on her own career; Ms M for her courageous example of persevering in the face of adversity; Mr M, son of Ms S; Ms W, whom I have not yet had the pleasure of meeting, although we have had numerous telephone conversations regarding her reminiscences of university friends; and Ms and Mr M, who told stories about their greatly respected aunty Florence Taylor and lent photos from her personal photograph album.

Archival and library sources which have been used in this research include: the Mitchell Library manuscripts and general collection; the State Library of New South Wales, the Australian National Library manuscripts section, the archives at Sydney TAFE; the State Archives at Kingswood, the University of Sydney archives, the UNSW archives; the Royal Australian Institute of Australia archives in Sydney and Canberra offices; the archives of the Board of Architects of New South Wales in Sydney; and the Sydney Day Schools and Nursery Association in Redfern.

Most of all, I would like to offer thanks to my family and friends for their patience and support in the long process of completing a PhD: to my parents and grandparents for providing me with the social context and emotional support to pursue a doctorate; to my parents-in-law for devoted childcare one day a week, also thanks to Cong for transcribing several interviews; and to my best friend Marijke for reading much of the thesis in its nearly final form. More than anyone, I am indebted to my husband Martin and son Vincent, who uncomplainingly did without me on so many evenings and weekends. Martin has supported me with endless good will, generosity and jokes, financially, socially and emotionally, while Vincent has convincingly maintained the role of most beautiful baby/toddler/child in the world to our great delight these last three years.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACT—Australian Capital Territory, site of the Australian national capital, Canberra
ADB—Australian Dictionary of Biography
AIA—American Institute of Architects
ANG—Australian National Gallery, ACT
ANU—Australian National University, ACT
AGPS—Australian Government Publishing Service
art'cl.—articled to (or apprenticed to)
ASTC—Associate of the Sydney Technical College (holder of diploma)
att.—attended (school)
b.—born
b.c.—born approximately
BHP—Broken Hill Propriety Company Limited, one of Australia's largest industrial firms
the Board—the Board of Architects of NSW, a statutory body which supervises the registration of architects
c.—circa (approximately)
CBD—central business district
CBE—Commander of (the Order of) the British Empire
CPA—Communist Party of Australia
CSIRO—Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
C/W—Commonwealth of Australia
CWA—Country Women's Association
CWADA—Constructive Women Architecture & Design Archive, held Stanton Library, North Sydney
d.—died
Dip.—Diploma
div.—divorced
DPW—Department of Public Works
FRAIA—Fellow of RAIA
FRIBA—Fellow of RIBA
gr.—graduated
husb.—husband
IANSW—Institute of Architects of New South Wales, forerunner to NSW chapter of RAIA
Int.—respondent for questionnaire or in interview with B. Hanna between 1992 and 1997 (see list of respondents, appendix 2)
j.RAIA—joined the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, also used to designate those who joined state institutes before their federation into the RAIA in 1929
j.RIBA—joined the Royal Institute of British Architects
J&G—Joseland & Gilling
LEP—local environment plan
m.—married
MARS—Modern Architectural Research Society
ML—Mitchell Library
MRA—Moral Rearmament
MSS—Mitchell manuscripts
NAWIC—National Association of Women in Construction
NESB—non-English speaking background
n.m.—never married
NCDC—National Capital Development Commission
NLA—National Library of Australia, Canberra
NSW—the state of New South Wales, Australia
OBE—Officer (of the Order) of the British Empire
Part'ship— partnership
PLC—Presbyterian Ladies' College
PMG—Postmaster General
Publ.—published
Qual.—qualified as an architect
QLD—the state of Queensland, Australia
RAIA—Royal Australian Institute of Architects
RAIAYB—Royal Australian Institute of Architects *Yearbook*
Ref.—reference
Reg.—registered
RIBA—Royal Institute of British Architects
RMIT—Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
RSSS—Research School of Social Sciences
SA—the state of South Australia
SAHANZ—Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand
S&T—Stephenson & Turner
Sands—Sands Directory, early version of telephone book giving names, occupations and addresses of Sydney residents until 1933
SCEGGS—Sydney Church of England Girls Grammar School
SMH—Sydney Morning Herald, metropolitan newspaper
STC—Sydney Technical College architecture school
TAS—the state of Tasmania, Australia
Trans.—translated by
TPA—Town Planning Association of NSW
UK—United Kingdom
UNSW—University of New South Wales
UoS—University of Sydney architecture school
UoWhere—University of whereever
VIC—the state of Victoria, Australia
WA—the state of Western Australia
WWI—the First World War
WWII—the Second World War

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Middle row, from left: J. Gardiner, W. Forbes, D. Trevor-Jones, K. McConnell, J. Collier, Jessie Ross, J. King, W. King, F. Munro, R. McGrath, B. Clamp.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

> *For women have sat indoors all these millions of years, so that by this time the very walls are permeated by their creative force, which has, indeed, so overcharged the capacity of the bricks and mortar that it must needs harness itself to pens and brushes and business and politics. But this creative power differs greatly from the creative power of men. And one must conclude that it would be a thousand pities if it were hindered or wasted, for it was won by centuries of the most drastic discipline, and there is nothing to take its place*. Virginia Woolf [1]

INTRODUCTION

Early women architects are virtually absent from architectural history in Australia. Yet, in the course of this research project, I have discovered women architects to have been present and active in considerable numbers in New South Wales throughout the twentieth century. How did they disappear? Can their historical presence now be strategically constructed and maintained? In this thesis, I establish and explore this dual problematic in relation to Australian architectural history. I lay out some groundwork for demonstrating women's integral involvement in the development of the modern built environment in Sydney in the twentieth century, while also questioning the ways and means by which their efforts have become "hidden from history" (Rowbotham, 1973).

This study of early women architects forms part of the feminist project of historical "recovery" of women's achievements in western culture, part of the political agenda of second wave feminism. This widespread academic project was begun by feminists in the 1970s in response to the realisation that women were largely "absent" (Grimshaw, 1991), simplistically stereotyped (Summers, 1975a) or presented as the "other" (Beauvoir, 1972) in almost every academic discipline (Greer, 1979; Wolff,

[1] Woolf, 1977:83-84.

1985; Lake, 1988; Lloyd, 1984; Vries, 1998) including architecture (White, 1975; Willis, 1997a). As feminists have repeatedly noted:

> History scarcely mentions her (Woolf, 1977:44).
>
> The literature of modernity describes the experience of men (Wolff, 1985:37).
>
> Women do not appear in most Australian histories in any important way (Grimshaw, 1991:153, quoting Ann Curthoys).[2]

Feminism has often engaged with the practice of history as an aspect of its political activism. New interpretations of history allow a means of accounting for women's contemporary life situations. They can provide evidence that these situations are not "natural and inevitable but contingent and changeable" (Allen, 1986:173). As Griselda Pollock explained when advocating critical feminist art history:

> We are involved in a contest for occupation of an ideologically strategic terrain. Feminist art history should see itself as part of the political initiative of the women's movement, not just as a novel art historical perspective aiming to improve existing, but inadequate, art history. Feminist art history must engage in a cultural struggle for power over what sense we make of the world (Pollock, 1982:5).

This research project is entitled a "historiography" rather than a "history" of women architects. I offer "critical examination and evaluation of material taken from primary sources" (*Macquarie Dictionary*, 1991:836) and also critical analysis of information from secondary sources. The project is keenly concerned with the empirical recovery of past events involving women architects in NSW, but also with examining the play of meanings in writing them into different types of histories. I reflect upon, even as I put into practice, a variety of historical methods for exploring the political and cultural implications of women's historical ambivalence: being both present (in past events) and absent (in the historical account of those events).

THREE FEMINIST APPROACHES TO HISTORIOGRAPHY

[2] Curthoys, 1970:37.

> Whatever their differences, most feminisms have been marked, at least in their creative political phase, by an experimental approach to the present, a desire to shape the future, and an enterprising approach to representing the past. In other words, feminism is sceptical but *constructive* (Morris, 1998:xiv).

As the feminist project of historical recovery has developed in substance and sophistication, many debates have developed in recent years about how it might best be done and, indeed, if it is worth doing at all. Joan Scott expressed some of the difficulties:

> How could women achieve the status of objects in a field that subsumed or ignored them? Would making women visible suffice to rectify past neglect? How could women be added to a history presented as a universal story exemplified by the lives of men? Since the specificity or particularity of women already made them unfit representatives of humankind, how could attention to women undercut, rather than reinforce, that notion (Scott, 1988:18)?

Because of the complexity of feminist debates concerning historiography, it is important here to briefly explain my understanding of my intellectual and political position within feminism and how it has affected the formulation of this thesis. Over the last three decades or so, second wave feminism has developed a great variety of political analyses and practices. While perhaps sharing the general aims of "changing existing power relations between women and men" (Weedon, 1987:1) and "understanding and improving the position of women in society" (Little et al., 1988:4), these feminist analyses propose very different strategies for historical analysis. Rather than privilege any one feminist approach, in this thesis I put into play a three-part counterpoint of feminist "voices" or methodologies, combined in sometimes harmonious and sometimes dissonant ways, and presented here as: liberal feminism, socialist feminism and postmodern feminism.[3] They correspond to my

[3] This is a fairly conventional although not comprehensive categorisation of second wave feminist thought. Many writers discuss feminism as occurring in distinct waves or movements including "liberal feminism", "radical feminism", "socialist feminism", "Marxist feminism", "postmodern feminism" and "poststructuralist feminism" (Tuana & Tong, 1995; Wearing, 1996; Bulbeck, 1994:119). Other overviews of feminism offer different emphases, such as stressing disparities between radical feminism and socialist feminism, between "feminism of equality" and "feminism of difference" (Jardine, 1985) or between "women's history" and "gender history" (Scott, 1988; Butler, 1990; Thurner, 1997).

understanding of my own plural subjectivity as a feminist, trying to make sense of the world in different ways in order to change it.

This tripartite division of feminist scholarship was inspired by an essay by geographer Louise Johnson, which analysed a planning textbook using three similarly distinct critiques.[4] Johnson's first critique (which I see corresponding with liberal feminism) focused on sexism or individual acts of discrimination; the second (socialist feminism) focused on patriarchy and capitalism as systematic structures of oppression; and the third (postmodern feminism) focused on phallocentrism or the means by which language and representation construct and differentiate women and femininity.

This categorisation of feminism is contestable both intellectually and politically, for risking diminishing the complexity and accomplishment of feminist scholarship. These three feminist approaches have developed in different times and places, with different political motivations and epistemological assumptions, and sometimes in opposition to each other. Moreover they are rarely distinct from each other, with most feminist texts displaying at least some overlap. In cataloguing them thus, I do not aim to be reductive, but to develop an understanding of the different historiographical strategies they make possible. I seek to utilise each approach in order to address a variety of possible readers, while also paying homage to the breadth of intellectual work developed through feminism.

Here I briefly rehearse these three feminist approaches as I understand them, in order to demonstrate their various strengths, differences and commonalities.

Liberal feminist historiography

> Women architects have little if any information about their past to claim and relate to, not enough known history to define their professional roots and developments, and very few professional models to follow (Bliznakov, 1985/86:122).

[4] Johnson acknowledged philosopher Elizabeth Grosz as inspiring this approach (Johnson, 1989).

The liberal feminist approach to history tends to focus on "historical recovery" of the lives, struggles and achievements of women who have been left out of established histories. Often described as "women's history", it presents stories about earlier women who might complement the "great man" narratives that dominate much "malestream" history.[5] Judith Allen describes this approach as offering accounts of women's activities as an *addition* to existing history in the hopes of making it "more accurate and more comprehensive" (Allen, 1986:174), as if women had been somehow accidentally omitted. For example, Susana Torre introduced her 1977 edited collection of essays on women in American architecture by stating:

> This project to document the achievements of women in architecture grew out of a concern that this important area of investigation had been *overlooked* (Torre, 1977:7, my emphasis).

The approach is informed by the liberal call for equality of opportunity. It is liberal because of its emphasis on the individual as sole author and source of cultural meaning in the objects they are held to have created. Such meanings are thought to be explicable by reference to the subject's personal and educational background and stated or inferred aims. It is also liberal insofar as there is an emphasis on the empirical recovery of historical "facts" as being able to enlighten our understanding of past events, parallelling the Enlightenment's faith in the scientific method as a mode of establishing empirical facts about the physical universe. Liberal feminism can mount useful analyses of institutional sexist discrimination as an explanation for the absence of women and other social groups from the historic record. As Joan Ockman states:

> inserting...significant female figures into a historical record that has tended to ignore them [is] in itself...an essential contribution to twentieth century architectural history. [Such research says] something about the cultural conditions out of which such individual women emerged as architects: conditions that are the not-too-distant preconditions for the present professional status of women (1992:54).

[5] The term "malestream" is discussed in Pateman & Gross (1986).

However, there are limitations to this liberal mode of feminist history writing. One problem is that insofar as it is conceived as an addendum to established histories, women's history may have no life of its own, no motivating thesis other than "women were there too". Occasionally a woman's life work is eventually accepted to be of the highest order (for example, Joan of Arc amongst saints, Virginia Woolf in modern literature, or Margaret Preston in modern Australian art). However, it is more common for "recovered" women to be represented as students of or collaborators with the leading males (for example, Mozart's sister, Rodin's mistress, Churchill's mother, Heyson's daughter, Griffin's wife, Taylor's widow). Sometimes presented as people whose potential was tragically thwarted, more often their inferior status implicitly serves to further entrench and glorify the leading men. Through such accounts, women are typically diminished into the role of pale imitator or "also ran". They tend to be referred to, at best, as an additional topic of limited interest, and most often not at all. Thus women's history is itself all too easily marginalised within the established academic structures.

Of the women architects introduced in Torres' book, several such as Julia Morgan and Eileen Gray have attracted further studies (Boutelle, 1988; Adam, 1987; Constant, 1994; Colomina, 1996; Wadsworth, 1990), but none have yet entered the canon of great architectural achievement. Twenty years later, even highly-educated people may still struggle to come up with the name of a single woman architect in the history of the world. Yet, on a more positive note, Marion Mahony Griffin is no longer ignored in discussions about the original plan for Canberra, and is increasingly cited in both academic and non-academic circles as its co-author (Freeland, 1971; Proudfoot, 1984; O'Brien, 1993; Watson, 1998).

Socialist feminist historiography

In my understanding of socialist feminism, the emphasis is on the analysis of race, class and gender oppression (Eisenstein, 1984:xx). This feminist approach transposes certain elements from the Marxist framework, especially criticising modern society as systematically or structurally exploitative. Socialist feminism also typically draws on the Marxism of the Frankfurt School's "critical theory", developed by writers like Theodore Adorno, which introduced psychoanalysis and theories of mass media to help explain the ideological effects of twentieth century capitalism.

Where Marxism focuses on “class” as the main area of oppression within the social economic system called “capitalism”, socialist feminists address “biological sex” and/or “gender” as the main area of oppression within a system called “patriarchy”. Their image of society is like a cold war, where different groups of people, be they workers and owners, or women and men, are struggling in a relationship based on the exploitation of one group by the other—a relationship often covered up by social niceties. Critical theorists tend to present their sophisticated analyses as scientific in character, as allowing them to see through ideology (false illusions) to the social “truth” or “reality”. Marxism also posits the important notion of a historical dialectic, that this system of conflict progresses by collapsing and evolving into a higher state of evolution. The Marxists imagined this higher state to be socialism or communism, while the feminists called for “Women’s Liberation”.

In this view, the empirical measurement of isolated sexist acts or policies is insufficient. These are simply the surface appearances of inequality, indicative of the underlying social structures of capitalism and patriarchy. As Elizabeth Grosz explains:

> Rather than consisting of visible acts, patriarchy is a latent system which organises, makes possible, and gives support to, individual acts of sexism. It provides the context, support and meaning for these empirical acts. Even if sexism were removed, it would not eliminate women’s oppression (Johnson, 1989, quoting Elizabeth Grosz).[6]

The socialist feminist approach to history also typically eschews the liberal emphasis on individuals. Germaine Greer argues, for example, that the few women chosen for inclusion in establishment histories are considered relevant only because they successfully acted like men, or because they serve as historical oddities or freaks:

[6] From Grosz, E. “Discourses of definition, philosophy” in Women’s Studies Course Team (eds) *Feminist Knowledge as Critique and Construct*, Deakin University Press, Geelong.

> Any work by a woman, however trifling, is as astonishing as the pearl in the head of a toad. It is not part of the natural order, and need not be related to the natural order (Greer, 1979:4).[7]

Socialist feminists are more interested in how patriarchy and capitalism influence if not determine the processes of socialisation of the sexes (males and females), into the genders (masculine and feminine). Where "sex" is assumed to be a biological fact, "gender" is understood to be "the multiple and contradictory meanings attributed to sexual difference" (Scott, 1988:25). The sex/gender distinction (Rubin, 1975) posits gender as the social framework which presses males and females into distinct ways of thinking, and into restricted social roles understood to oppress or disfigure women (for example, "the feminine mystique" in Friedan, 1963 or "the female eunuch" in Greer, 1971). Alternatively, socialist feminism has also interpreted femininity as superior because of its capacity for nurturing, listening and caring (Kennedy, 1981a, 1981b).

The issue for socialist feminist historical analysis in this thesis is less whether individual women may have been included in the profession of architecture, and more whether femininity and "women's ways of knowing" have been excluded from professional knowledge and practice, to the detriment of the built environment in general and "ordinary" women in particular. The architectural

[7] Virginia Woolf quoted a similar observation fifty years earlier about a woman musician: "Sir, a woman's composing is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all" (1977:53).

establishment has been denounced for being male (Matrix, 1984), macho (Lindquist-Cock & Jussim, 1974), phallic (Hayden, 1977) and the lackey of capitalist developers (White, 1975). Margrit Kennedy's classic radical feminist essay proposed that there were "male and female principles in architecture" and that the dominance of male principles in the profession was at the root of its problems (Kennedy, 1981a:79-80, 1981b).[8] Where individual women architects have been historically recovered by liberal feminists, socialist feminists search for traces of feminine difference in women's design work, such as evidence of feminine and feminist knowledges, networks or practices.

Socialist feminism furthermore argues self-reflexively that academic scholarship is itself a result of gendered modes of socialisation and thus historically biased in favour of white, masculine, middle-class knowledges that entrench white, middle-class male privilege. During the 1980s they led forceful "challenges" of numerous academic disciplines (for example, Pateman & Gross, 1986). Methods of research in the social sciences have been affected, and one example relevant to this thesis is the development of critical feminist modes of "participatory research". This advocates interactive qualitative research, designed not only to gather information for academic debate but also as a process for listening to and empowering (while trying to avoid exploiting or confusing) the people being studied (Kerkin & Huxley, 1993).

It is important to mention that while socialist feminism has been immensely successful in shifting long entrenched dogmas—for example, that "a woman's place is in the home", and that sexist language and sexist harassment is acceptable—it did set up a few dogmas of its own. These included a common mode of analysis which presented women simplistically as "victims", which resulted in some research projects with depressing results. For example, Germaine Greer suggested that women were so deformed by patriarchy that they were incapable of greatness (Greer, 1971, 1979). There was also the suggestion that men were the entire problem and women would be the salvation of civilisation, as if either social group was homogeneous. A further

[8] The gendered principles are presented as encompassing "gradual differences instead of exclusive categories" where "the 'female' principle opposite the 'male' principle" is defined as:

> more user oriented than designer oriented; more ergonomic than large scale/monumental; more functional than formal; more flexible than fixed; more organically ordered than

problem was the setting of normative standards of behaviour and dress for feminist activists—such as avoiding cosmetics, marriage and even child-bearing—which sometimes dismissed the majority of women as having "false consciousness", and limited research into the breadth of women's historical experiences. Most problematically, there was a pronounced tendency to generalise the experiences of white middle-class women as representative of all times and cultures (Ortner, 1974; Spain, 1992). This tendency has been substantially critiqued in the writings of black and postcolonial feminists (Carby, 1982; Spivak, 1987; hooks, 1990).

On the other hand, socialist feminism has opened up a rich array of research topics and methods concerning the ways that gender can be understood to organise social institutions such as the architecture profession and academic research. Many of these are explored and developed in this thesis.

Postmodern feminist historiography

Judith Allen has suggested that the liberal and socialist feminist approaches are mutually contradictory because the first entrenches the status quo while the second challenges it (Allen, 1986). However, any study of women's "absence" has an implied critique of the status quo, and any academic research, although challenging established knowledges, has an implied offering for the status quo. In any case the status quo and its ideology is not as homogeneous and omnipowerful as socialist feminist scholarship often implied (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Pringle, 1995). In proposing a multiple feminist analysis, I am influenced by Mary Poovey's essay which argues for a synthesis of approaches used by "historians of experience" and "historians of representation", on the basis "that real historical women do exist and share certain experiences *and* that...demystifying makes theoretical sense" (Poovey, 1988:59; also see Thurner, 1997:131). While neither liberal nor socialist approaches answer all the possible questions, both offer a variety of useful interventions within historically distinct discourses. This understanding positions the thesis within a third developing feminist approach to history, a methodology associated with postmodernism.

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abstractly systematized; more holistic/complex than specialized/one-dimensional; more social than profit-oriented; more slowly growing than quickly constructed (Kennedy 1981a:79).

Although postmodern feminism may be seen to arise from the women's movement in the last decade or so, it is somewhat more dispersed than socialist feminism, much more *slippery* as a term and as a practice. If the spirit of the modern age was "progress", the spirit of the postmodern era is "uncertainty", even uncertainty about the term "postmodern" and whether it is appropriate to talk about it in terms of any Zeitgeist.[9] Rather than assume either sex or gender as knowable, postmodern feminism tends to focus on "difference" between women, and between men and women. The body is not an ahistorical, biological given, but a site of inscription and contestation (Grosz, 1995; Kirby, 1991). The "sex/gender distinction" is itself argued to be a dichotomy which may obscure as much as it reveals (Gatens, 1983). Focus shifts from the individual to the "subject" as a site of constructed identity. The subject is understood as plural and "decentred" rather than having an "essential" unity, and which is partially approachable through theories such as psychoanalysis and phenomenology (Kirby, 1991). Rather than trying to establish reality through scientific methods, postmodern feminism tends to argue that reality is socially constructed. It tends to analyse symbolic representations in literature, art and mass media.

A postmodern feminist approach to the question of women's absence from history suggests that the problem is not only the liberal feminist issue that men discriminate against women, and not only the socialist feminist issue that women carry most of the load of reproduction, but also that the language in which all communication takes place and all meanings are interpreted is phallocentric. By phallocentric, I mean a context of understanding where values and cultural meanings are gendered, and those associated with maleness and masculinity are considered superior while those associated with femaleness and femininity are considered inferior. For example, this building is vigorous (i.e. masculine, positive), while that building is effeminate (i.e. feminine, negative):

Phallocentrism is explained by Elizabeth Grosz as:

[9] Explanatory texts on postmodernism, especially in relation to theories of space include: Lyotard, 1984; Jameson, 1984; Foster, 1985; Nicholson, 1990; Kirby, 1994; Harvey, 1989 and his feminist critics—Morris, 1992; Massey, 1991; and Deutsche, 1991.

> the ways in which patriarchal systems of representation always submit women to models and images defined by and for men. There are three forms phallocentrism generally takes: whenever women are represented as the opposites or negatives of men; whenever they are represented in terms the same as or similar to men; and whenever they are represented as men's complements (Grosz, 1989:xx).

If logocentrism is Derrida's term for the way that western philosophy has privileged presence, "phallogocentrism" is the postmodern feminist appropriation of this notion to insist that such privileging is also always gendered. As Marilyn Lake argues:

> gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. Gender is implicated in the conception and construction of power itself (Lake, 1988:3).

Postmodern feminism moves beyond the contention that our culture simply privileges masculinity over femininity to suggest that the ways we think about all relationships and values are gendered.

Phallocentrism presents difficulties to the project of inscribing women in history, since it extends to the very notions of presence and absence. As psychoanalysts have argued, men have cultural presence in possessing the phallus (a particularly slippery notion, both/ either description of body part and/or metaphor for patriarchal power) while women are culturally absent because of their "lack" of the phallus (Lacan, 1982; Grosz, 1989). However, psychoanalytic feminists have variously argued for women's presence in the clitoris (a mini phallus), the vagina (the opposite or complement to a phallus) and the womb (for growing babies, their phallus-substitutes). However, in this (literally *and* figuratively) phallocentric view, all attempts by women to assert their (sexual and social) presence can be interpreted as pretences to being honorary men. Psychoanalysts have furthermore suggested that professional women, succeeding as honorary men but troubled by their sexual identity, often then adopt the "masquerade" of femininity (Riviere, 1986). The most sophisticated attempt to extricate women from this bind of presence/absence through lack or imitation of a phallus is Luce Irigaray's icon of femininity as "lips"—a non-phallic body image, imagined as autonomous. Postmodern feminist cultural critique may thus aspire to construct non-phallocentric images of women's agency and

presence, although this is a difficult if not impossible project (Irigaray, 1985; Grosz, 1989; Kirby, 1991).

Postmodern feminism also suggests that women are not simply victims of patriarchal exploitation, but are complicit in power relationships in all directions of our lives, and this is particularly so for feminist academics who have been made aware of the problems and pitfalls in attempting to speak for "the other", including any other women (Kirby, 1993).[10] Rather than visualising power oppressing women from above, this theoretical approach is more likely to draw on Michel Foucault's notion of power operating in a "capillary" style, emphasising "the more fluid and local contexts in which power and gender operate", and embracing "ambiguity, complexity and partiality" (Pringle, 1995:199; also see Foucault, 1980b).

A major criticism of postmodern feminism is that it seems to have lost its political way: it has become so sophisticated that its basic categories of analysis, like the word "woman" (Riley, 1988) have become confused, thus diminishing its ability to direct action (Alcoff, 1988). However, this confusion, this uncertainty, can be enriching, as bell hooks has argued in relation to black identity. hooks suggests that critiquing the essentialism of race enables recognition of "multiple experiences of black identity that are the lived conditions which make diverse cultural productions possible" (hooks, 1990:29).

My understanding is that the politics of postmodern feminism encourages analysis of diversity and tactics carried out in historically specific times and places. It is not a strategy thought to be led by a "vanguard," but instead incorporates tactics of "resistance" practised by marginalised individuals and groups as they struggle through the complexities of their everyday lives. Whereas

[10] Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* took the term the "other" from Emanuel Levinas' philosophy to describe the situation of women in western civilisation as always being described as the *object* by men in the more powerful position of being the enunciating *subject* (1972:16-21). The term has since been adopted as a major problematic in postmodern politics as well as feminism, and especially postcolonialism (Said, 1991; Nalbantoglu & Wong, 1997).

the tone of much socialist feminist writing is angry (White, 1988; Hanna, 1988), postmodern feminist writing is more typically poetic (Le Doeuff, 1989), humorous (Diller, 1997) and intellectually ingenious (Morris, 1998; Colomina, 1996).

Postmodern feminist historiography does not attempt to rewrite history so much as reinterpret textual details, much in the spirit of cultural studies as explained by Meaghan Morris and John Frow:

> Cultural studies often operates in what looks like an eccentric way, starting with the particular, the detail, the scrap of ordinary banal existence, and then working to unpack the density of relations and of intersecting social domains that inform it. Rather than being interested in television or architecture or pin-ball machines in themselves—as industrial or aesthetic structures—it tends to be interested in the way such apparatuses work as points of concentration of social meaning, as "media" (literally), the carriers of all the complex and conflictual practices of society (Morris & Frow, 1993:xviii).

Despite their differences, I understand all three feminist approaches to share: a common concern with the revelation of injustice, the devising of tactics for social improvement, and a concern with sex/gender as an organising principle in history. The postmodern perspective is the latest development, which provides the overview in which this thesis is structured. It is the theoretical context which allows for a "pluralism of voices and approaches", and for a more "relational, power-conscious, and subversive set of analytic premises and questions" (Thurner, 1997:132-133).[11] However, I set out to maintain respect for the integrity and indeed subversive potential of the earlier approaches as well. Each has its own justifications, advantages and logic, and all contribute in different ways to different debates about women in our culture. Although these feminist approaches sometimes contradict and critique each other, I find myself using all three, as the postmodern theory of "decentred subjectivity" makes possible (Grosz, 1989:24-25). Thus the overall epistemological framework of the thesis is postmodern feminist, although its original research question is arguably liberal feminist and its usual mode of address—analytic, self-

[11] For these comments Thurner refers respectively to Barbara Christian (1987) "The race for theory" *Feminist Studies* 14(1), Spring:67-79, and Linda Gordon (1991) "On 'difference'" *Genders* 10, Spring:91-111.

reflexive—is predominantly socialist feminist. These three approaches offer different epistemologies for framing and examining different historiographical questions. They also demonstrate some of the major theoretical developments of second wave feminism in its various manifestations, as offering sustained intellectual critiques and imaginative reconstructions of our culture in the late twentieth century.

RESEARCH BOUNDARIES

In this study I focus empirical research on “early women architects” in NSW. Early women architects are defined here as women who trained or worked in architecture in NSW between 1900 and 1960. Thus a small proportion of the women in the survey sample are still active, contemporary architects. My definition is broad in that it can include non-professional women: those who worked but may never have gained formal accreditation, or alternatively those who did qualify but never practised for a living.

This definition departs from the legal understanding of the term “architect”, which in NSW since 1923 has been reserved for people registered with the Board of Architects of NSW (the Board). However, the research project demanded flexibility for considering the life stories and work of women who participated in the field in a variety of ways, without limiting the analysis to those who met formal requirements of professional membership—requirements which may have been operating in gendered ways as mechanisms of exclusion. However, my empirical research tended to follow the archival record’s emphasis on technically qualified, professionally practising women architects. These people (and their addresses/places of work) are annually recorded in membership lists of professional societies, and are therefore relatively easy to track in terms of the history of their professional movements, and often also personally. Where possible, I have noted the activities of women who participated in the wider field of architectural discourse—including education, writing, planning, interior design, business and art—as contributing to the cultural history of the built environment.

Perhaps because an education of some kind was usually a prerequisite for working in these areas, the women studied in this thesis were predominantly white and middle-class, although some were also from non-English speaking backgrounds.

The cut-off date of 1960 was chosen partly to limit the scope of research to a manageable size. I also chose this date because it meant that by the 1990s, when this research was undertaken, most careers would have run their course and it would be possible to develop generalisations and overviews about the group, understood as a cohort of sorts. Of course, many of the stories they tell are set in the decades after 1960 and, as with all oral history, their memories are inevitably framed by the present.

The focus on NSW allows for attention to the historical specificity of people and places, especially Sydney, the oldest and largest city in Australia, and is appropriate for a study based in NSW with access to local records. Nonetheless NSW is not culturally isolated from the rest of Australia and the western world. Because of its origins as an English colony and its two hundred year history of continuous immigration, professionals have often been mobile and in any case have always read texts circulating in other parts of the world (though predominantly from the UK and the USA). I draw on examples from elsewhere and also expect that the issues discussed here would be relevant to at least these other parts of the advanced industrialised English speaking world.

Thus in this thesis I seek to fill some gaps in Australian architectural history by producing new, empirically rich representations of women as active agents in the production of the built environment. I also set out to challenge that history by questioning its criteria of evaluation of architectural activity and design. In the process I also discuss various debates concerning the representation of women from various feminist perspectives, as developed in second wave feminism over the last twenty years or so.

STRUCTURE AND METHODOLOGY

Sampling procedures

The thesis draws on historical documents and analyses, archival information from institutional records, and qualitative information gathered from various types of interviews with numerous early women architects or their family and friends between 1992 and 1998. I offer far more empirical information than originally envisaged, largely because of the astonishing numbers of early women architects discovered in the course of the research. In formulating the research project, I assumed I would be focusing on the textual analysis of very few appearances of women in architectural discourse and analysing a small number of qualitative interviews. Instead I have engaged in much archival research, tracing unexpectedly large numbers of women's names through various institutional records. I have also interviewed numerous early practitioners, almost all of whom had many built designs which could be examined. The structure of this thesis has been developed in response to this rich historical content.

Historic documents and secondary sources consulted include the established Australian architectural history texts concerning the twentieth century—both books (for example, Boyd, 1978; Freeland, 1972; Johnson, 1980; Jahn, 1997) and journal articles (for example in *Transition*, *Fabrications*, and papers from the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ) annual conferences). I scanned most editions of the various journals of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA), known before 1929 in NSW as the Institute of Architects of NSW (IANSW), including *Art & Architecture* (1907-1911), *The Salon* (1912-1916), *Architecture* (1917-1954), *Architecture in Australia* (1955-1975) and *Architecture Australia* (1976-present). I also scanned much of *Building* magazine (published monthly in Sydney by George and Florence Taylor between 1907 and the 1960s). Apart from several feminist studies (*Transition* 25, 1988; *Architecture Theory Review* 1, 1996; Huxley, 1986; Schoffel, 1988, 1989, 1990; Willis, 1996, 1998; Edquist, 1997; Nash, 1997; Hurst, 1997), there were very few mentions of Australian women architects in any of these publications.

I used various methods to locate and approach interviewees over the period of research. I began with just three names—Florence Taylor, Marion Mahony Griffin, and Olive Withy. When I enrolled in August 1992, I contacted several women architects to ask them what kinds of questions they felt needed to be explored in a

research project of this nature.[12] Also from this early date, I made every effort to interview in person all the most elderly women architects who came to my attention. I began this qualitative research by following up any elderly women architects known to friends and acquaintances,[13] and asked them for further contacts, a research method known as "snowballing" (Burgess, 1984).[14] I also interviewed any respondents who approached me and offered to be interviewed,[15] which occurred several times after publicity about my project.[16] I joined Constructive Women, a Sydney association of women architects, and interviewed three members there.[17] Also with this organisation I set up the Constructive Women Architecture & Design Archive (CWADA) in Stanton Library in North Sydney, partly in the hope that publicising this new institutional site for documenting women's design work would attract further women architects to my research.[18] I contacted Louise Cox, who was then President of the federal RAIA and who gave me two important leads.[19] With all respondents I asked for further names of women architects, particularly those of older women whose work they had heard of or admired.

At the same time, I was conducting archival research. My list of women graduates from the University of Sydney had to be compiled by various complicated means because universities apparently do not make the names of their own graduates accessible to the public. I traced the names of students enrolled and graduating from the architecture school between 1922 and 1942 by consulting the university's *Calendar*, held in its archives. For graduates between 1943 and 1960 (whose names

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[12] Those contacted included: Judith Brine, Kim Crestani, and Sue Zeising.
[13] Olive Withy is the grandmother of a close friend from high school, and Elsa Davey was the mother of a university friend, Lucy Davey.
[14] For example, Lucy Davey put me in contact with her parents' former next-door neighbours, the Cullis-Hills, of whom the mother Eleanor Cullis-Hill as well as the father and two daughters, were architects.
[15] Respondents are sometimes called "informants" to distinguish them from people who only respond to structured questions. Ideally qualitative research invites the interviewee to lead the discussion into areas perhaps unexpected by the interviewer. However, the term "informant" in everyday parlance has "spy" connotations, so it has not been used it here.
[16] Chalice Roughan (daughter of Winsome Hall Andrew) and Moya Merrick approached me after hearing about my research (for example, Smith, 1993).
[17] Judith Ambler, Judith Macintosh and Zula Nittim.
[18] We received a grant for $3000 from the NSW Department of Planning's Heritage section in 1994 and built up a collection of over 300 slide images and many articles documenting the work of more than forty women architects in NSW. CWADA is an ongoing project sustained by the volunteer work of Constructive Women members.
[19] Cox advised me to speak to Eleanor Cullis-Hill, and also referred me to relatives of Ellice Nosworthy, who had died in 1972.

were no longer published in the *Calendar*), I traced names from ephemeral "graduation leaflets", also held by the university archives. I also gathered the only two names of early women architecture graduates from the University of NSW before 1960 using this method. Numbers of architecture graduates from the University of Sydney between 1961 and 1997 were kindly supplied courtesy of Sue Clarke, the Faculty of Architecture's research associate. My list of enrolled students at the Sydney Technical College (STC, later Sydney TAFE, now Sydney Institute of Technology) was derived from the State Archives records of the STC (examination results 1915-1954, Kingswood Reference:19/16136-6 89). My STC statistics traced enrolled students rather than graduating students because very few students ever completed its diploma in architecture (and, of these, only one or two were women). Thus the list of students who sat for examinations at all levels of the STC gives a better overview of the considerable size of the student body, and provides many names of women who, although they may never have qualified, were actually working in the industry (since this was a prerequisite for enrolment). The Board of Architects of NSW is the statutory body created by NSW state legislation in 1923 to register legitimate practitioners in the architecture profession. Since 1923, it is only such registered practitioners who have been legally entitled to call themselves "architects". My list of registered architects is derived from the Board's list of registered architects, published annually since 1923. The Board also kindly allowed me to consult their members' files, including the registers of retired and deceased architects, for any further information about their women members. The RAIA, known in NSW as the IANSW before the state institutes federated in 1929, is a voluntary society of architects which provides a meeting place and means of representing the profession politically and culturally. Its membership record is now difficult to access, but my list of women members was derived from historic lists of members published intermittently before the 1960s in some of its publications, including *Architecture* (during the 1920s), and the RAIA *Yearbook* (1930s-1960s). I also consulted census statistics for records of females who had nominated themselves as architects or as working in the architecture industry throughout the century, although unfortunately this information was not often reported in comparable formats. The census was the only source of information which noted the sex of practitioners. In all the other archives, the information was gleaned though the laborious process of reading through

lists looking for women's names and manually counting the number of male and female names listed overall (in order to calculate the percentage of women present).

This research gradually revealed that the pool of possible respondents was much larger than I had originally supposed—over two hundred rather than the few dozen envisaged. Many of these women remained registered until the 1980s or 1990s, and were thus relatively accessible. As the archival research developed to reveal this unexpected number of early women architects, it became obvious that I could not hope to personally interview all the respondents who could conceivably be contacted. Thus in late 1997 I sent a two-page questionnaire to all the women whose names could be traced to an address.

Thus between 1992 and 1998, I carried out formal, transcribed and (usually) authorised interviews with 25 early women architects (or family or friends).[20] The 1997 questionnaire was sent to over sixty early women architects. Where possible, the sending of this questionnaire was accompanied by a telephone call, encouraging the recipient to answer, either in writing or verbally over the telephone if preferred. The questionnaire generated 13 written responses as well as notes taken from informal telephone conversations (not transcribed or authorised) with a further 33 early women architects or their family and friends (see appendix 2 for the list of respondents and appendix 3 for copies of

[20] Several respondents did not return a signed authorisation covering the completed transcription of our interview.

questionnaires, letters of introduction and information sheets outlining my research). All the transcribed interviews were sent back to the interviewees for checking and editing (sometimes several times), and they all received a final copy. Also, written segments of the final draft of the thesis (from chapters 4 and 5) which quoted people in substantial ways were sent to about twenty interviewees for their information, and for feedback. Their comments largely consisted of factual corrections, all of which have been incorporated. Most of these respondents were very interested to read about their colleagues' life stories and experiences. Thus this "participatory" feminist qualitative research methodology has in itself begun the work of making early women architects more "present", at least to other early women architects and their friends.

All statements obtained from oral sources are referenced within the text in a way that is similar to the Harvard style—(interview with so-and-so, year)—whether the information was derived from transcribed interviews, questionnaires completed in writing or over the phone, conversations with respondents, or from conversations with other researchers or interested parties. The references for these oral communications, in these four categories, are detailed in appendix 2 and do not appear in the bibliography.

All place names are in NSW unless they are followed by the name of another Australian state (abbreviated) or another country.

In this thesis, women are referred to by their names at the time of interview.[21] I also reverse the common tendency to call women and especially wives by their first names and men by their last names. Here, whenever husbands and wives who share the same name are discussed, it is the wife who is called by her last name and the husband by his first name. While this strategy could be criticised for inverting the hierarchy and

[21] This was usually their married names, or maiden names if unmarried. Only Heather Sutherland seems to have kept her unmarried name, in the business at least . Some divorcees changed their names a second time after marriage break-ups (for example Ruth Mary, who adopted her own middle name for a surname after her divorce). In my biographies on them in chapter 5, I describe Winsome Andrew as "Hall Andrew" and Marion Griffin as "Mahony Griffin", in each case including their single name before their married name, because both were well established in their careers by the time they married in their late 30s. Using both names allows for continuity in story telling. The lists of women architects in appendices 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 15 retain the (often unmarried) names used at that time (the names on these lists are matched with their married names, if known, so that they may be looked up in appendix 1).

retaining the problem of trivialising innocent historical figures, it does allow for clarity when referring to the main topic of this thesis—early women architects. Also, because the inversion is often noticeable and sometimes uncomfortable, it draws attention to the patriarchal language structure. The difficulties associated with the changeability of women's names have hampered the research for this thesis as they must have hampered many women's careers.

Structure

Each chapter commences with a quote from Virginia Woolf, English feminist novelist and essayist. As an early twentieth century professional woman writer, and thus a contemporary of the earlier women architects described here, Woolf frequently commented on the possibilities and difficulties for modern women in entering the worlds of intellectual and public achievement traditionally reserved for men. The quotes pay homage to Woolf's writerly skills and astute observations, while broaching some of the themes developed in the chapters they introduce.

After the introduction in this chapter and the literature and methodology discussions in chapter 2, three core empirical chapters describe early women architects' historic significance and contributions. In order to create different types of "presence" for early women architects (for different arguments and audiences), I have recovered empirical information about early women architects in four modes: quantitative, qualitative, biographical and visual. The focus of empirical attention gradually narrows: from a broad quantitative overview of the professional field of 230 women architects practising or qualified in NSW between 1900 and 1960 (appendix 1), through a qualitative description of some of the experiences described by my survey sample of 70 early women architects (appendix 2), to a biographical description of the careers of eight leading early women architects. There are 152 images of women architects' work, evidencing the breadth of their accomplishment. The vast majority of these images have never before been reproduced in any historical overview.

Chapter 2, "Constructing images of women architects: a literature and methodology review", offers an interpretative analysis of the major writings relevant to the content of this study. I seek to justify central assumptions in the thesis (that early women architects are absent in established Australian architectural history), to acknowledge

relevant debates on methodology (such as ethical and epistemological issues for qualitative research), and to describe historical representations challenged by the thesis (pointing to differing images of early women architects which predominate in different disciplines). I discuss how my work within various chapters of the thesis contests or develops the issues addressed.

Chapter 3, "Discovery! A quantitative analysis of early women architects' presence" presents the results of my institutional survey of women's involvement in the architecture profession in NSW before 1960. It presents statistical information about women's participation rates in educational institutions, in professional societies and regulatory boards, and in the census. There are also two cohort studies describing quantitative aspects of information derived from interviews with 70 early women architects and/or their friends and family. The chapter thus establishes the empirical existence of great numbers of early women architects in NSW: 230 women were discovered to be qualified or working as architects in NSW before 1960 (see appendix 1). Of these, 145 women were formally qualified, and 85 were otherwise working in the industry. This information addresses: firstly the liberal feminist interest in individual education and career paths, evidencing that women were capable of qualifying and practising architecture alongside men, and secondly some socialist feminist concerns about structural opportunities and obstacles, evidenced in the statistical analysis. A postmodern critique points out the institutional dependence of this information, which limits the identification of women's contributions to the built environment to those women whose presence was recorded in certain archives.

Chapter 4 "A half-open door? Qualitative descriptions of early women architects' experiences of the profession" describes something of early women's experiences of their careers and lives as architects. This information was collected predominantly from interviews with 70 early women architects (or their family or friends), following the critical feminist methodology of creating knowledge through qualitative research by asking marginalised groups to present their world views in their own words. This chapter addresses the contention that gendered social structures impacted on the careers and life experiences of early women architects in ways which contributed to their absence from architectural history. Its conclusion offers liberal feminist suggestions for reform, a socialist feminist critique of the underlying social structures,

and a postmodern feminist analysis which acknowledges the heterogeneity of ways in which women interpreted their own experiences.

Chapter 5 “Lost and found: biographies of leading early women architects in New South Wales” presents brief biographical descriptions of eight of the leading women architects who had trained or worked in NSW before 1960. This approach falls into the liberal feminist mode of “women’s history”—recovering stories of individual women, in narratives told in chronological order and emphasising their achievements in the already established canon. However, socialist feminist analysis also emerges in this chapter in a questioning of the established criteria for “leading” and “successful” historic architects, in making observations about the interaction of public and private domains in influencing these women’s architectural practice, and in addressing the specific circumstances which contributed to the reduced historic prominence of each woman. The chapter also argues, in a postmodern feminist tactic, that it is strategically useful to be able to name eminent females to stand alongside famous males as a means of insisting on women’s historic presence in an institutional site.

The conclusion in chapter 6 offers a summary and some analysis of the complexity of issues and themes addressed throughout the thesis, and relates these to the multiple strands of feminist interpretation.

Chapter 2

CONSTRUCTING IMAGES OF WOMEN ARCHITECTS: A LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY REVIEW

> *She pervades poetry from cover to cover; she is all but absent from history. She dominates the lives of kings and conquerors in fiction; in fact she was the slave of any boy whose parents forced a ring on her finger. Some of the most inspired words, some of the most profound thoughts in literature fall from her lips; in real life she could hardly read, and could scarcely spell, and was the property of her husband... A very queer, composite being thus emerges. Imaginatively she is of the highest importance: practically she is completely insignificant.*
>
> Virginia Woolf [1]

INTRODUCTION

In an interdisciplinary project, there are a great many possible literature reviews. This project spans the disciplines of architecture, history, sociology, Australian studies and women's studies. In my research I have touched on a great many relevant literatures: from the sociology of women in professions (for example, Theodore, 1971; Hearn, 1989), histories of feminism (Grimshaw, 1991; Thurner, 1997; Caine et al., 1998), theories of history (Young, 1990; Foucault, 1977), the semiotics of architecture (Eco, 1980; Barthes, 1979), and the ethics of different qualitative methods (Gluck & Patai, 1991), to name just a few. I cannot hope here to review all the texts that have influenced the intellectual framework for this thesis; however, many emerge within the thesis proper in the course of discussion. Here, instead, I offer an interpretative analysis of the major writings on the central themes and content of this study, in order to describe how knowledge is currently represented in each area, and to position my research therein. Thus, this literature and methodological review is intended to justify central assumptions of the work (for example, that early women architects *are*

[1] Woolf, 1977, 43.

absent in established Australian architectural history), describe established historical representations questioned here (most importantly, pointing to differing dominant images of early women architects), and acknowledge debates that impinge on my research method (such as problems with biography as a mode of history). The topics addressed here are: the representation of women architects in Australian architectural history, previous feminist studies of early women architects in Australia and overseas, quantitative and qualitative studies of contemporary women architects, feminist debates on qualitative method, and feminist debates on biography as history.

WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN ESTABLISHED AUSTRALIAN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

The absence of early women architects in Australian architectural history can be demonstrated with a brief discussion of several establishment Australian architectural histories written in the last three decades. These barely acknowledge the existence of women architects when describing Australian architecture in the first half of the twentieth century. The authors discussed here are: Robin Boyd, Max Freeland, Donald Leslie Johnson and Graham Jahn.[2]

Robin Boyd's histories of Australian architecture, while incisive, original and witty, are perhaps the most disturbing in their treatment of women. Women architects are not mentioned in *Australia's Home* (Hanna, 1991). Willis argues that Boyd makes "only the barest mention of women architects in Australia and then usually to devalue the woman architect's contribution to a project" (Willis, 1997a:62). She points out that his only comment on Marion Mahony Griffin in *Victorian Modern* (Boyd, 1947:17) was to deny the rumour that Mahony Griffin had made any contribution to the Melbourne Capitol Theatre (Willis, 1997a:209). Historians now largely agree that Marion Mahony Griffin was responsible for the extraordinary ceiling design for the Capitol Theatre (Rubbo, 1996a:89). Boyd's derogatory treatment of women clients

[2] In her literature review on women in early twentieth century Australian architecture, Julie Willis also discusses texts by Boyd, Freeland and Johnson as "the core of published study on the era" (Willis, 1997a:61).

and feminine artifice in suburbia has also been criticised by feminists (Gartner, 1992; Hanna, 1991:27-31).

Max Freeland's *The Making of a Profession* (1971) is a description of the historic development of the architecture profession in Australia, commissioned by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA). Freeland focuses on:

> those *men* who made the story...It is the story of constant struggle, a great deal of hard work and occasional flashes of genius by hundreds of *men* striving to improve their profession (Freeland, 1971:vii, my emphasis).

Of the 60 photographs of individuals and groups reproduced in the publication, not one includes a woman, although any photograph of the student body at the University of Sydney or the staff of Stephenson & Turner, for example, would have shown a considerable proportion of women present (plates 67, 101). Moreover, the presence of women, who made up nearly half the first cohort of students in the Sydney University architecture school between 1918 and 1922, is obscured in Freeland's description of the first year's graduates of the school as "William R. Laurie, F. Bruce Lucas and C. N. Hollinshead" (Freeland, 1971:219). In fact there were seven graduates in the first cohort of 1922, including three women—Ellice Nosworthy, Lenore Lukin and Beryl McLaughlin—as well as John Cunninghame (appendix 1).[3] While this is a perhaps trivial oversight, the effect is that early women architects are represented as absent at a significant symbolic moment in Australian architectural history—the first graduation of university-trained professionals—when in fact they had been present.

In the entire book, only two women architects are mentioned: "Emma" (apparently referring to "Eileen") Good, solely for her role as the first woman member of the Victorian institute in 1920; and Florence Taylor, who merits several anecdotes as a somewhat extraordinary historical character. Florence Taylor features in one story

[3] These women are pictured in a photograph of the first cohort of Sydney University architecture students (Cable, 1994). For unknown reasons, only the men's names mentioned by Freeland appeared in the University of Sydney *Calendar* of 1922, suggesting that this is where Freeland obtained his information. Although the rest of the names were duly acknowledged in the following year's *Calendar* and in all later lists of graduates, Freeland apparently did not check this information. Peter Proudfoot repeats Freeland's mistake in stating, "The first three graduates completed the course in 1922" (Proudfoot, 1984:205).

about the many fracas in the early days of the Institute of Architects of New South Wales (IANSW), when her application to join as its first woman member in 1907 was "blackballed". Freeland states that the incident was "a small storm" but with "serious" consequences that were "to last a long time" (Freeland, 1971:77). However, Freeland never comments on these consequences nor again mentions the participation of women architects in the profession outside of his anecdotes about Taylor. He erroneously credits Taylor with being the first woman member of an architectural institute in Australia in 1920 (Freeland, 1971:77) when in fact Beatrice Hutton was first—she joined the Queensland branch in 1916 (McKay, 1988). Freeland does comment on Florence Taylor's achievements in publishing and town planning and her marriage to George Augustine Taylor, describing them as "possibly the most amazing couple in Australia's history" (Freeland, 1971:78). However, he goes on to say that George "was even more remarkable than his wife, and with an even wider range of talents" (Freeland, 1971:78).[4] Freeland's texts operate to obscure the extent of participation by early women architects in the profession in the twentieth century while constructing a somewhat heroic (although flawed) image of Florence Taylor as lone pioneer.

Max Freeland's better known text is *Architecture in Australia* (1972), a widely utilised, introductory textbook on Australian architectural history. While claiming to offer an overview of "a society's architecture" (Freeland, 1972:preface), Freeland names no women architects at all, although by 1968, when the book was first published, there were 218 women registered as architects across Australia (appendix 18). The only attribution of design authorship to any woman is Freeland's acknowledgment of Walter Burley Griffin's "wife" as "the co-author of the prize-winning design [for Canberra]"[5]—but Marion Mahony Griffin is not named in her own right. Although Freeland states that, "The *Griffins*...disseminated a type of architecture *they* had learnt from the giants of the Chicago School", he describes the Griffins' architectural firm and designs as "*his*", not "*theirs*" (Freeland, 1972:245, my

[4] In 1982 Freeland wrote a populist biography of Taylor which was broadcast over radio by the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) (Freeland, 1982). This text makes no comment about her architectural design or town planning work, but focuses on biographical anecdotes.
[5] Joint attribution to both husband and wife for the outstanding urban plan for Canberra which won an international competition in 1912 is still controversial (Rubbo, 1996a).

emphasis). Thus Freeland's language in describing the authorship of their work is confused—sometimes singular and sometimes plural.

Freeland acknowledges Mahony Griffin's contributions better than Donald Leslie Johnson's *Australian Architecture 1901-1951* (1980). Here, Marion Mahony Griffin is mentioned only as the "fellow colleague in [Frank Lloyd] Wright's office" whom Griffin married the year "*he* entered the international competition for the design for Canberra" (Johnson, 1980:36, my emphasis). Johnson does describe the career of Louise Lightfoot, a young woman who qualified as an architect in 1925 while "articled to Griffin" (in the singular) and who later was "asked to work and live at Castlecrag and also act as a kind of companion to Marion" (Johnson, 1980:110). This is an astonishing trivialisation of Mahony Griffin's considerable work at Castlecrag. It is ironic that Johnson devotes this paragraph to a young woman who left the profession within a few years to become a professional dancer, but makes no mention of Mahony Griffin's contributions—a woman who devoted her professional life to her architecture career and was described by Reynor Banham as "the greatest architectural delineator of her generation" (Rubbo, 1988:20).

Johnson does implicitly refer to the work of five other early women designers. However, his references to three of these were confined to their writings: "Edith" (apparently referring to "Edna") Walling, Rosette Edmunds and Florence Taylor. Johnson is less than complimentary about their written work, describing Walling's *Cottages and Gardens in Australia* (1947) as derivative (Johnson, 1980:48). He is openly derogatory towards Rosette Edmunds' *Architecture, An Introductory Survey* (1938a).[6] Johnson treats Florence Taylor's writing with more respect, referring to many of her articles in *Building* magazine and to her work as editor of "one of the better" books of designs for postwar homes (Johnson, 1980:154, see also pages 77, 83-84, 171). Although Taylor is not identified as being editor and publisher of *Building* magazine, her journal is described as one of "four magazines [which] set the pace of introducing the new European architecture in the 1920s" (Johnson, 1980:78-79). Julie Willis has pointed out that Johnson renders Mary Turner Shaw effectively "invisible" when he discusses the work she produced in partnership with Frederick

[6] He characterises the textbook history as atypical, "naive" and inappropriately praised by Leslie Wilkinson (Johnson, 1980:144, 169).

Romberg: “Romberg is implied as the true designer as Shaw is not credited with a first name anywhere in the book” (Willis, 1997a:66 discussing Johnson:1980, 148). The last woman architect, Winsome Hall Andrew, is not named by Johnson. However, research for this thesis has established that she was a partner in the firm as well as principal designer for the E. W. Andrew entry for the ANZAC House competition which won second prize in 1949 (interview with Bland, 1995), which is mentioned by Johnson in a footnote (Johnson, 1980:171). Thus in his overview of modern architecture produced in Australia in the first half of the twentieth century, Johnson’s text touches on the work of six women architectural designers, but of these, five are not named as designers (Mahony Griffin, Andrew, Walling, Edmunds and Taylor), two are criticised for their writing (Walling and Edmunds),) the contribution of one is suppressed (Shaw), and one is acknowledged for having produced some useful publications (Taylor).

Graham Jahn’s recent publication *Sydney Architecture* (1997) suggests that practices for acknowledging early women architects have not much improved by the late 1990s. The book focuses on significant individual buildings in Sydney and their authors, in a purview stretching from colonial times to the present day. Like Freeland’s *Architecture in Australia*, Jahn’s publication stumbles over how to credit Marion Mahony Griffin’s participation in the Castlecrag houses, designed by the Griffins’ architectural firm. Photos of the houses are captioned “Walter Burley Griffin houses” although in the text they are described as “the surviving legacy of Griffin, his wife Marion and his partner Eric Nicholls” (Jahn, 1997:112). In biographical notes about the major “Sydney architects” at the end of the book, “Walter Burley Griffin” is headlined with dates of his birth/death, and illustrated with a portrait photograph of Griffin alone. Although the text in this section acknowledges that the Griffins had worked “together” on their winning design for the Federal Capital Competition in 1912, Griffin is here given sole credit as the designer of the Castlecrag houses and the famous Sydney incinerators (Jahn, 1997:221). Like Freeland’s *Architecture in Australia*, the text is self-contradictory, sometimes crediting Mahony Griffin’s involvement, sometimes ignoring her existence.[7] Jahn’s book mentions just two other

[7] An explanation for this internal contradiction was presented to me in a coincidental conversation with architect Jennifer Hill, who worked as an editor of Jahn’s publication (interview with Hill, 1999). Aware of Mahony Griffin’s involvement, Hill changed several pieces of text which credited only

women who made architectural contributions to Sydney before 1960:[8] Elizabeth Macquarie, who is acknowledged as a partner in the architectural work planned and commissioned by her husband Governor Lachlan Macquarie to Francis Greenway in the early days of the penal colony in Sydney (Jahn, 1997:16, 214), and Ruth Lucas, who is given joint credit with her husband Bill for the "Glasshouse", a home designed for themselves in 1957 (Jahn, 1997:162).[9]

With some consistency, early women architects in these established architectural history texts are not mentioned and their contributions not acknowledged. A liberal feminist reading might assume that this is an oversight, that perhaps early women architects were too rare or too junior to warrant long attention. A socialist feminist reading might argue that women are being diminished here, especially considering the inconsistencies around the figure of Marion Mahony Griffin. A postmodern feminist analysis might draw attention to the representation of women architects here as more precisely *ambivalent*: alluded to but erased, sometimes absent and sometimes other. In any case, the predominant image of early women architects in these established architectural history texts is consistently one of "absence". This discursive absence contradicts the breadth

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Griffin to include Mahony Griffin—however, she did not have access to the entire manuscript to make all the changes consistent.

[8] Jahn's acknowledgment of women designers improved when choosing significant buildings to represent the 1990s. In the final pages of his book, three of the 12 most recent projects included contemporary women architects as co-authors (Virginia Kerridge, Tina Engelen and Margaret Kremff) and one as a sole author (Jennifer Hill).

[9] Ironically, Ruth Mary (as she is now known) stated in a response to a questionnaire for this thesis that "he [Bill] designed [it] even though he puts my name on the credits" (interview with Mary, 1997). However, this may be somewhat self effacing. A contemporary article about the house, written by Bill and Ruth Lucas, attributed its design credit to both architects jointly (Lucas & Lucas, 1958). A friend and colleague of Mary's, Judith Ambler, commented on Mary's career: "Ruth worked for a while with Bill but then she had six children and she sort of faded out of the practice. Which was really bad as she was one of the best in our year" (interview with Ambler, 1994).

and richness of early women architects' historical participation in the profession, as evidenced in this thesis.

FEMINIST RESEARCH ON EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS

> Architecture has traditionally been a gentleman's profession...women as designers and users of environments have been the focus of more work by feminist historians and sociologists than by architects, planners or environmental historians (Hayden & Wright, 1976:923).

This thesis, in researching aspects of women's historic involvement in the architecture profession in Australia, contributes to an intermittent feminist recovery project of some twenty-five years standing. Second wave feminist discussion of early women architects in Australia was inaugurated in 1975 with Deborah White's astute "personal observation" of the contemporary situation for women architects, which also alluded briefly to several women forebears (White, 1975). In this review, I distinguish four main genres of writing that discuss early women architects, each of which help to orient the research presented in this thesis. These are: theoretical/historical overviews in which a few individual early women architects are presented as examples of trends, studies of pre-twentieth century amateur women designers and builders, heroic accounts of pioneering professional women architects, and brief accounts of numbers of early women practitioners and their work.

Theoretical/historical overviews

The theoretical/historical overviews are usually written in a socialist feminist framework, and offer a broad historic context addressing the impacts of social changes associated with modernity and modernism,[10] before focusing on relatively few early women architects as examples of trends. These are excellent introductory texts, enabling readers to grasp how early twentieth century women architects' experiences were mediated by the wider currents of industrialisation, professionalisation, and the changing roles and rights of women in society.

[10] There is a substantial and impressive literature in art history positing "modernism and modernity" as a framework for understanding the major works of twentieth century art (Berman, 1982; Bradbury & McFarlane, 1976). Little work has been done in this area in relation to architectural history, although

Gwendolyn Wright's influential essay "On the fringe of the profession: women in American architecture" argues that Victorian expectations, around the notion that a woman's place was in the home, had a major influence on early women architects' careers. Wright points to a broad array of nineteenth century texts insisting that if women had any role to play in the architecture profession it was in "domestic architecture and especially interiors...since here they were dealing with other women's needs" (Wright, 1977:280). This pressure to work in one restricted field of architectural design effectively relegated women to the periphery or "fringe" of the profession. Wright suggests that in the face of considerable tension between social expectations and professional aspirations, early women architects tended to adopt one of four identities: "exceptional women", "anonymous designers", "adjuncts to the profession" and "reformers" (Wright, 1977:184). A few individual life stories exemplifying these trends are woven into her discussion of historical documents (published and archival), institutions and events.

Matrix offers the most sustained socialist feminist critique of the built environment professions and institutions in the UK (1984). While its focus was on the present, it also offered some historical perspectives where available, but with an emphasis on broader social currents rather than individuals. Lynne Walker's work on women architects in Britain develops Matrix's overviews with historical detail (Walker, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1990). Her work offers the only description of a national body of women's built environment design between the Renaissance and the twentieth century, addressing both broad social currents and outstanding individual careers. Walker's understanding of pre-nineteenth century architectural institutions suggests some parallels with the development of two distinct architectural schools in Sydney in the early twentieth century, as discussed in chapter 3:

> Entry into architecture before the nineteenth century was by two routes: through the building trades, (a mason, for instance, could become a builder-architect) or through an amateur interest in architecture which led to building (Lord Burlington is perhaps the best known example). For women the route to architecture through the trades was

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the architecture chapter in Robert Hughes' *The Shock of the New* is a good example albeit written for a populist audience (1980).

> blocked as women were excluded from the building crafts, but within the amateur tradition, opportunities existed for aristocratic women to plan and to design buildings (Walker, 1984:8).

Renja Suominen-Kokkonen's text on Finnish women architects (1992) is the only book-length survey of the history of professional women architects. An excellent publication, it offers a theoretical and historical framework, emphasising the impact of industrialisation in Finland as leading to the professionalisation of architecture practice at the end of the nineteenth century. Her book overlaps with the "pioneering" genre of writing in that she also presents three case studies of leading early women architects.

In Australia, Sarah Schoffel's undergraduate thesis on early women architects in Victoria (1988) and Peter McNeil's Masters thesis on gender and interior design (1993) are the best examples of this genre. While Schoffel's work offers more biographical information, and McNeil's work offers more analysis of historic and theoretical texts (with little information on individual practitioners), both describe the wider social milieu while emphasising gender as pervasively influencing the career paths of early women designers.

These historical and theoretical overviews tend to position women architects within wider social classes and movements. Individual life stories are offered occasionally to exemplify the opportunities and experiences available to women rather than as models of great cultural achievement. The image of women architects which emerges in this genre of history writing suggests distinct groupings of people coping with historically specific struggles with social and professional institutions (perhaps parallelling the struggles of the proletariat under capitalism).

Pre-twentieth century amateur women designers

While some writers have suggested various mythical origins for architecture itself which feature women as the "first builders" (Mumford, 1961; Cole, 1973; Torre, 1977), little information has been recovered about women's design work in the built environment before the emergence of the architecture profession in the late nineteenth century.

Studies attempting to find evidence of women's design work in the built environment have noted a variety of amateur activities by mostly nineteenth century philanthropical women. In the social context where women were supposedly relegated to the private world of the home, Doris Cole argues that only upper-class women were in any position to make a contribution to architecture. Cole suggested their contributions were limited to two fields: having a knowledge of architectural style, or sharing information about domestic management. Catherine Beecher's books, designed to help women create "comfortable, attractive homes" are described by Cole as encouraging women to become "environmental designers" (Cole, 1973:34, 48). Cole also acknowledges nineteenth century women who involved themselves in health and urban reform movements, philanthropists who helped poor people into better housing, and women who formed part of progressive religious communities which experimented with social and spatial forms to improve women's equality by reorganising domestic labour. Gwendolyn Wright (1974) and Dolores Hayden (1978) have considerably expanded upon the latter topic. Cole argues that professional women architects would have been an aberration in the nineteenth century: such work for women would have been "considered totally illogical within traditional cultural, social, educational and economical contexts" (Cole, 1973:70). However, Susana Torre's *Women in American Architecture* (1977) shows that some women such as Sophia Hayden and Marion Mahony Griffin were active architects by the end of that century.

In *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*, Joan Kerr discusses some attributions of architectural design to nineteenth century gentlewomen living in Australia, and includes images of their attributed designs. Kerr argues that "a woman's part in architectural design was ignored in the nineteenth century and evidence of this role is very hard to discover" (Kerr, 1980, 32). Nonetheless:

> A growing accumulation of circumstantial evidence makes plausible the suggestion that women were largely responsible for the cult of the Gothic cottage ornée in NSW in the 1840s and 1850s when sketching and designing in the Gothick taste had been fully accepted "as a branch of female education". "Vernacular cottages" did not just erupt spontaneously onto the Australian scene. Somebody had to design them. The

> likelihood that the designer was the female owner helps to explain why these architects are generally labelled "anonymous" (Kerr, 1980:35).

This literature on pre-twentieth century women architects again projects an image of early women architects as largely absent. One or two historic figures are shown pioneering women's entry into the male bastions of architecture schools and societies, but their presence is faint, their accomplishments pale. The alternative representation of amateur women environmental designers is more vivid, showing potential for the development of both individual and collective stories of social achievement outside professional constraints. This suggests that histories of pre-twentieth century women's achievements in the built environment would be better oriented away from strictly architectural design projects and towards less professionally-defined planning and spatial activities.

Recovery of pioneers

Matrix sums up what was known of England's pioneering professional women architects in a few sentences:

> In 1889 Ethel Mary Charles had passed the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) examinations and, according to their statutes, was entitled to become a member. After a long debate, the RIBA Council decided that they would appear more foolish if they excluded her than if they admitted her. Ethel's sister, Bessie Ada Charles, was the second woman member and joined in 1900; but there was no great rush to follow them. A third woman joined in 1911, and three more in 1922. RIBA has no record of any buildings designed by their first women members, though Ethel Charles won their essay medal in 1905. Women continued to be a small minority within the profession (Matrix, 1984:19).[11]

American scholars have been most focused on individuals in their recovery of early women architects. The first American woman architect, Louise Bethune, has been conscientiously documented (Pettengill, 1975; Paine, 1977; Grossman & Reitzes,

[11] For further information, see *RIBA Journal* 1898-99 VI: 77-78.

1989).[12] Adriana Barbasch recounts Bethune's "firsts" achieved during the "auspicious conditions" of the late nineteenth century in the USA when women were "actively pursuing emancipation": the "first professional woman architect" who was also the first to open her own architectural office (in Buffalo, New York in 1881), the first woman to join the Western Association of Architects (in 1885), and the first woman to join the American Institute of Architects (in 1888). Bethune also managed to raise a child while maintaining a career which specialised in commercial rather than domestic design (Barbasch, 1989:17). Julia Morgan is another American pioneering professional whose life story has been thoroughly documented. As the first woman to enrol in the Parisian École des Beaux Arts in 1889, and with her own substantial architectural practice culminating in the extraordinary Hearst Castle project in southern California, her story has been told in several coffee table books (Boutelle, 1988; Wadsworth, 1990).

In Australia, the honour of being "the first Australian woman architect" has long been claimed by Florence Mary Taylor, who qualified with the completion of her apprenticeship c.1902 and studies at Sydney Technical College (STC) in 1904. The research for this thesis confirms her claim (see chapter 4 "Milestones..."), although it is possible that an unknown earlier woman practitioner may yet emerge from the archives. Although Taylor gave up work as a design architect only a few years after qualifying, she continued to maintain a significant public role by launching a series of long-running building industry magazines with her husband George Taylor. Taylor's life and work has been presented in Maegraith's unpublished biography and a number of short biographical articles (Freeland, 1982; Loder, 1989; Ludlow, 1990; Freestone, 1991; Hanna, 1995c; Vries, 1998). Rosemary Murray's undergraduate thesis, supervised by Max Freeland, is extraordinarily well researched, although sketchily written. My short biography of Taylor, presented in chapter 5, corrects many inaccuracies in earlier accounts of Taylor's life and offers evidence of her design work, both architectural and urban. I also emphasise her autobiographical contribution in writing or arranging numerous and sometimes contradictory accounts of her life, as well as her complex and changeable stands as a right-wing feminist.

[12] Indeed the excellent collection of essays edited by E. P. Berkeley (1989) *Architecture, A Place for Women*, was designed to accompany an exhibition of women's work celebrating the centenary since Bethune joined the American Institute of Architects.

A focus of recent sustained and rigorous research is Marion Mahony Griffin, an American architect who had worked with Frank Lloyd Wright before accompanying her husband Walter Burley Griffin to Australia to work on the urban design for Canberra. Mahony Griffin's reputation has recently undergone a significant shift from the nominal status of being the architect-trained wife of Burley Griffin, a woman who had given up her own career aspirations to help her husband's genius (Paine, 1977). She has become a source of fascination in Australia and overseas, as a world-renowned architectural draftsperson in her own right, and co-author with her husband of the excellent urban plan for Canberra (Rubbo, 1988, 1996a; Weirick, 1988; Watson, 1998; Pregliosco, forthcoming). Mahony Griffin is an attractive subject for the myth of a pioneering woman architect because of her superb drawings and her progressive politics, and also because of the dramatically hard time the Griffins had at the hands of the parochial Australian establishment. My short biography on Mahony Griffin is the only life story presented here which is based on secondary sources rather than primary archival information or interviews. However, it is important to outline her story and achievements in order to discuss her previous historiographical absence.

Such detailed studies reveal the textures of the societies in which these women worked, the obstacles they faced and some feminist content in their work. Griselda Pollock provides an excellent example of this in her socialist feminist-inspired analysis of the painter Mary Cassatt (Pollock, 1980). Beatrice Colomina's essay on Eileen Gray is a superb example of postmodern feminist writing about an early woman architect focusing on details in the politics of representation rather than recounting a life story (Colomina, 1996). However, for the most part, early women architects represented in this genre are middle-class Europeans, in images which are usually heroic, sometimes tragic and often romanticised.

Early practitioners

The final genre of writing about early women architects focuses on the career experiences of a number of early women practitioners, often based on interviews with them after retirement. The genre is empirically oriented towards gathering facts of life stories, experiences of discrimination, and evidence of women's design work. It doesn't require a sophisticated theoretical framework, since the usual approach is

liberal humanist, and is thus familiar to both researchers and readers. Yet, in its attempt to present a wider picture of social conditions encountered by a variety of women practitioners, it departs from the usually heroic and often romanticised narratives associated with individual pioneers.

Historic research in this genre has been published in the edited collections by Susana Torre (1977), Eileen Berkeley (1989) and Lynne Walker (1984). The one Canadian study I have seen also offers this style of overview (Ginkel, 1993). These works tend to produce images of respectable, capable, white middle-class women. Respectability tends to be heightened when the early women architects, or their friends or family, are themselves involved as respondents in the research. Courage and persistence are discussed more often than genius, and sociological understandings of architectural practice tend to be of more interest than individual achievements.

Within Australia, this has also been a popular genre of research for undergraduate students. Annette Burl and Avril May's undergraduate theses discuss several historic women in the course of more general discussions of the difficulties and achievements of contemporary women architects in the eastern states (Burl, 1978; May, 1988). Leonie Matthews' excellent undergraduate study focuses on historic practitioners in Western Australia, outlining archival findings and the results of interviews with surviving women architects and colleagues (Matthews, 1991).[13] Queensland curator Judith McKay also joined the field with her brief descriptions of the careers of pioneering women architects in Queensland (MacKay, 1984, 1988).

The most thorough research in the genre is a parallel study to this thesis, a doctorate recently completed by Julie Willis focusing on early women architects in Victoria between 1905 and 1955 (Willis, 1997a). Written in a liberal feminist framework, Willis provides a chronological description of some of the careers of around sixty women who had qualified as architects in Victoria between 1905 and 1955, interspersed with discussion of media reports about them. Willis explains women's absence from historical accounts of architectural achievement as the result of a historical emphasis on individual designers or partners of firms—who were invariably

[13] Matthews also organised two exhibitions on the work of early women architects in Western Australia (interview with Matthews, 1995).

men—at the expense of acknowledging the broader "team" of designers which almost always supported architectural production, and which usually included women in the lower ranks (Willis, 1997a:209). Willis also published an empirical study of women architects' historic registration rates in all the states of Australia between 1923 and 1997—the first historic "indication of the size of Australia's architectural profession" and women's presence there (Willis, 1997b:12). It demonstrates that throughout the century, NSW and Victoria had by far the largest numbers of registered architects and also the largest proportions of registered women architects (Willis, 1997b:30-32, see appendix 18; graphs 7, 8). Willis' figures show that women architects in NSW constituted more than half of all the registered women architects in Australia before 1960. Thus my study of the careers and achievements of early women architects in NSW is important for any empirical recovery project on early women architects in Australia.

The image of women architects projected in this last genre of feminist architectural history writing is similar to earlier genres which insist on women's presence as a social group rather than as creative individuals. While some individuals may stand out in the various studies produced so far, the emphasis is often on a straightforward assertion of their presence, capability and productivity as a group.

STUDIES OF CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN WOMEN ARCHITECTS

My study of early women architects has been informed by the research produced in many quantitative and qualitative studies of contemporary women architects in Australia and elsewhere. Such research probably also affected the comments offered by early women architects interviewed for this project, since the overall findings—that women architects face particular difficulties in the profession—would be familiar for most respondents, even if they don't always agree. Therefore it is appropriate to briefly overview the literature, mostly produced by liberal feminists, concerning the difficulties women architects tend to encounter in the profession. In this literature review I argue that quantitative representations of women architects emphasise their low participation rates, i.e. their relative absence, in order to call for reform to make the profession more attractive to women. Qualitative representations, on the other

hand, tend to present woman architects as present but as victims—subject to discrimination or prevented from achieving their potential.

Quantitative aspects of studies of contemporary women architects

Almost every study and report of the last twenty years that discusses women in the architecture profession in the US, the UK and Australia begins with statistics evidencing women's low participation rates. Doris Cole's history of women in America architecture announces on its introductory page that:

> Approximately 2 percent of the architects practising today are women. Less than one half of the women who have earned architectural degrees are registered architects...Why is this happening? (Cole, 1973:ix)

Similarly, Torre introduces her book on women in American architecture as founded upon certain questions, including: "Why have there been so few women architects?" (Torre, 1977:10). Matrix points out that not only are 95 per cent of architects men, but that construction of the built environment is also dominated by males at all other stages of production, as clients, developers, planners, local councillors, engineers and builders (Matrix, 1984:2). Commentators have been surprised by higher proportions of women architects in Finland and the Soviet Union (about a third of architects), while in Argentina nearly half of all architects are women (Bliznakov, 1985/6:122).

In Australia, Deborah White's "personal observations" on women in architecture begin with the comment that "the number of women who occupy positions of professional responsibility in the basically commercial enterprises which make up the mainstream of modern architecture is small" (White 1975:399). Naomi Rosh White's report on "equal career opportunities" begins with the observation that despite women's rapidly increasing participation in the waged work force, there had been virtually no increase in the proportion of women entering the profession of architecture between 1960 and 1980. In her cohort study based on a 38 responses by male and female architects from Victoria who had graduated around 1960, White found that only 50 per cent of women compared to 80 per cent of men were involved in "the design and supervision of buildings". Women were more likely to be self-employed, working part-time, and paid less. White concluded that "women are more

likely than men to be found in positions that can be called marginal in the labour force" (White, 1985:69, 67). In a widely quoted but unpublished report in 1989, Judith Brine reported that women constituted only 8 per cent of tenured academics teaching in Australian architectural schools, and about 8 per cent of RAIA members (Brine, 1989). Most recently Julie Willis showed that women architects currently constitute approximately 10 per cent of all registered architects (Willis, 1997b). Meanwhile, women students are graduating at the rate of between 40 and 50 per cent (Rubbo, 1997). This apparent "gap" between increasing graduation rates of women architects and their relatively low level of participation in the workforce was cited as the motivating problem for one recent student study. The gap was seen to symbolise the profession's "missed opportunity for a more balanced gender make-up" (Allan et al., 1992).

This reliance on statistics underestimates the difficulties involved in describing women's participation rates in the architecture profession, both historically and in analysing the contemporary situation. The task is difficult because of the complexity of the professional field, the inaccessibility of relevant institutional records, and the fact that the situation has been undergoing continual change.[14] Moreover, the emphasis on numerical "facts" rarely comment on the malleability of statistics, which are rarely presented in ways that acknowledge their limitations. To say that women make up 8 per cent of members of the RAIA does not necessarily mean that only 8 per cent of architects are women. It could be that 50 per cent of practising architects are women, but only a few join the Institute, or alternatively, that very few women enter tertiary courses in the first place. A range of statistics describing the overall professional field is required to produce a workable hypothesis for explaining women architects' participation rates. Nonetheless, statistics on women architects continue to be stated and restated without such context and without clear interrogation.

In chapter 3, I address this absence in the literature by offering a detailed study of quantitative aspects of early women architects' participation in the architecture

[14] For example, in compiling its list of registered architects in NSW, the Board does not ask applicants to state their sex, so that gender breakdowns may only be estimated by guessing the sex of the members by their first names. Similarly, graduate records of some universities do not distinguish between "domestic" and "overseas" students, and others enforce strict confidentiality restrictions (Cowdroy, 1995:1).

profession in NSW, measuring numerous relevant indicators (graduation rates, registration rates, RAIA membership rates, census findings) and discussing their interrelations. Moreover, in the context of this thesis, which is intent on establishing a *presence* for early women architects, I interpret these statistics differently from earlier researchers. I argue that these statistics prove that there were a great many more women architects both qualified and working in NSW than anyone had imagined. For example, although I show that women may have only constituted between 1 and 5 per cent of registered architects in NSW between 1923 and 1960, I also demonstrate that numerically, this small percentage amounts to more than one hundred women architects fully qualified and registered in NSW alone during this time, most living in Sydney. I suggest that a large proportion of these, married and with children or otherwise, had substantial working careers as architects or in closely allied fields. Whereas the established literature, although largely feminist, has actually tended to minimise women architects' participation towards *absence*, my research works to utilise similar statistics to emphasise women architects' *presence.*

Qualitative aspects of studies of contemporary women architects

There has been substantial qualitative research on women architects' experience of the profession in Australia and overseas, usually produced either by academic feminists interested in the sociology of professions, or by professional societies concerned about their membership ratios (and often also motivated by feminist members). The leading studies are worth describing because they establish and develop many of the gender issues which have informed my qualitative research in chapter 4.

The RAIA first voiced a concern about gender balance in the profession in 1981 in an editorial by national president Ian Ferrier. Describing the profession as "overwhelmingly masculine", Ferrier suggested that "the feminine point of view is one which must be of great value to the profession" (Ferrier, 1981:15).[15] Since then the RAIA has commissioned two substantial reports on women in architecture, which both commented on quantitative, qualitative and policy issues for improving women's involvement in the architecture profession in Australia. The first, entitled "Women in the Architecture Profession" (RAIA, 1986), was commissioned by the (Australian)

[15] Ferrier's interest in the issue may have been prompted by his wife Mercier Ferrier, who had recently completed her Masters degree addressing similar issues for "women in planning" (Ferrier, 1976).

Human Rights Commission. It was substantial in length, empirical in findings, and critical in tone. In its introduction, it argued that women architects in Australia suffer "patterns of overt and covert discrimination" typical of women's experience of professional life in Australia generally. It went on to describe the results and recommendations of three Australia-wide surveys: of the profession as a whole (based on a postal survey of 7,402 members garnering a 43 per cent response rate), of architecture students (based on a questionnaire completed by over 70 per cent of all first and final year university students in Australia), and of a sample of women architects (151 responses by women practitioners to a postal survey). It reported that women architects tended to be younger than men, less well paid, less likely to be registered, less likely to be a partner, less likely to be employed in the public sector, less likely to be involved in contract administration, marketing and design, and more likely to be involved in interior or landscape design (RAIA, 1986:14-16). Many women had experienced some form of discrimination, however, none had taken or threatened legal action, and indeed the issue of discrimination was not of particular interest to them. Half the respondents in the women's survey had children and a complex question about how the domestic workload was distributed indicated that, "at best" they were carrying half the domestic workload on top of their careers (RAIA, 1986:28). A large proportion of the women surveyed perceived "male and female differences in architecture",[16] and 60 per cent thought the RAIA should develop an affirmative action policy. The report concluded that "women are not equal in the architectural profession in either employment patterns or incomes" (RAIA, 1986:36). Recommendations and suggestions for further research mostly suggested that the RAIA initiate education campaigns directed at high schools and universities to encourage women to enter the profession and to inform women about how to formally respond to instances of harassment and discrimination.

In 1991 the RAIA's Committee on the Status of Women produced a second report entitled "Towards a More Egalitarian Profession".[17] This report was less empirical and more policy oriented; its tone was less militant but some of its recommendations were

[16] 25 per cent found "systematic differences in design style", 35 per cent found "major differences in values in design" and 61 per cent thought "architecture would benefit from more women architects". These differences were attributed to "women being generally more sensitive" (25 per cent), "having better understanding of user needs" (17 per cent) and being "more dedicated and conscientious" (10 per cent).

more radical than those of the 1986 report. Suggesting that “a higher representation of women in the profession is a desirable objective as it will provide a balanced creative response”, the report also noted pragmatically that this should “ensure that finances spent in education are used to the best possible advantage of the Australian community”. Explicitly excluding consideration of social forces beyond the control of the profession, it concentrated on the problems for many women (and some men) posed by “traditional architectural practice”, in juggling the long hours and relatively low pay with family responsibilities. This report made much more thorough policy recommendations for the RAIA and the architecture schools than its predecessor,

[17] Committee members included Anne Cunningham, Judith Brine, Brit Andresen, Judy Vulker.

advocating better promotion of the RAIA linked to reforms in the areas of careers advice and education. It also called on the RAIA to seek a "gender balance" on its committees, and for architecture schools to employ more women staff and guest lecturers on the understanding that:

> It is generally agreed that the single biggest factor in encouraging women students in schools of architecture is the employment of female academic staff (RAIA, 1991:4).

The report also called for professional practice to incorporate issues like flexible hours, part-time work and mentoring systems into everyday architectural practice, and to address the "lack of recognition and respect for the female creative response". However, these recommendations have not been adopted in full by the RAIA National Council (Allan et al., 1992:8) and three years later none of these policies had been well implemented (Quinlan, 1995:79; Major 1995).[18]

An excellent undergraduate group student project resulted in another published qualitative study of women in architecture (Allan et al., 1992). A telephone survey of 58 recent male and female graduates confirmed that women were less likely to be in full-time employment and to be in commercial practices, and more likely to have experienced sexual harassment and to have careers affected by having had children. The students also organised structured individual interviews with ten "well established" practising women architects, which resulted in a complex of quotations difficult to summarise but well worth reading.[19] All of

[18] For example, architectural juries and committees are now required to have at least one woman member, but as one commentator has pointed out, "despite the fact that there are numerous women with the skills to fill these positions, it is often the same small group of women who are called upon to participate" (Major, 1995:22).

[19] The comments included:

> Major clients are male and they will give jobs to other men they know through the male network, i.e. clubs or sport (Allan et al., 1992:14).
>
> It is quicker for a man to be promoted because 1)...Promoting women is potentially an area open to sexual innuendo; 2) Men are more up-front about promotion; 3) Women are perceived as fickle and having less control, they may become pregnant or their partner may be positioned overseas (Allan et al., 1992:14-15).
>
> A woman architect who plays a major role at home and work and is exhausted and therefore does not have time left for RAIA committees (Allan et al., 1992:16).
>
> Equality begins at home and the solution to this lies with society and not with the profession. The profession can, however, accommodate the changing needs of women by...providing some flexibility...In reality, however, architectural firms exist to make a profit, not to engineer social change (Allan et al., 1992:21).

these women interviewees agreed that the lack of women role-models was of concern and felt that women's contributions to the profession needed greater recognition. While the study didn't seek to investigate the question of whether women designed differently from men, the "interviewees continually mentioned it" (Allan et al., 1992:23). Many proposed that women work better on a cooperative basis and were more concerned with process and function rather than aesthetics and appearance, and that the criteria for judging awards should change to value this emphasis. Nonetheless, "women did not want their designs and achievements to be judged in a separate category but instead wanted all designs to be judged in a multitude of ways" (Allan et al., 1992:24). The study concluded that the main problems involved the culture of the profession itself, the difficulty of balancing career and family commitments, and perceived deficiencies of the education system. The report concluded:

> although the profession does not exist to facilitate social change it has a significant role to play in creating a more egalitarian environment in which women can work (Allan et al., 1992:abstract).

These detailed studies followed similar methods and offered comparable findings and recommendations to studies on women architects produced during the same period in Britain (Wigfall, 1980; Fogarty, 1979) and the USA (Dinerman, 1971; Dean, 1975). However, one further area of analysis given more attention in overseas studies was the issue of gendered images of the architect. Wigfall commented on the historic image of the profession as "a man's field" and the architect as "a masculine figure" (Wigfall, 1980:51). Dinerman also commented on the image of the architect as "a relatively tough, masculine figure" compared to the myth of the woman architect having questionable "intelligence and competence [a feminine] pull towards home and family [and] excessive emotional involvement". Dinerman found that some women architects believed that "male architects don't want their field invaded by outside competition" while others thought that "the successful female architect is viewed as a threat to the very masculinity and ego strength of her male colleagues". One of Dinerman's recommendations was a campaign to feminise the image of the profession "by, for example, depicting women architects at work in career brochures". Fogarty also mentioned the problem of the image of the woman architect, "seen by themselves as well as others" as having "less drive and motivation than men". Maternity leave was

understood to result in “a loss of receptivity and creativity” and working mothers to have “a divided mind”. He suggested that even single women were also tainted by this “general climate” of “indirect discrimination” (Fogarty, 1979:42-43). In his conclusion Fogarty attempted to counter these images by arguing that:

> any general or average differences between men and women are overwhelmingly outweighed by differences in the individual performances of members of either sex (Fogarty, 1979:40).

The Australian study by Allan, Darvall and van Klaverenreferred to this issue obliquely in reporting that respondents had commented on the “need for women to empower themselves so as not to personify the problems that men see women as having” (1992:17).

Until recently, most feminist research on contemporary women architects in Australia and overseas have been focused on these types of sociological surveys. Studies like these typically pinpoint inequalities and advocate reforms in the hope of clearing a “level playing field” for all (Bussel, 1995). In the USA and Britain as well as Australia, the national professional representative societies of architects have been involved, by helping survey their own members and by considering reforms to professional tertiary education as well as their own organisation, in the interests of social justice as well as efficiency. It is intended that the research findings from this study concerning early women practitioners be used to feed back into analyses of problems women still face in the contemporary situation.

However, while these images may help in lobbying for structural reform, many women architects have little sympathy for sociological representations of them as “disadvantaged players” or “victims”. In my qualitative chapter 4, I present a complexity of perceptions by women architects as well as a broad range of their responses to the constraints in which they operated. While the chapter does emphasise gender to be an important influence upon the careers of early women architects in a variety of ways, its effects are not always considered to be negative. In offering a range of images of the experiences and work of early women architects, the

qualitative research in chapter 4 contributes to the thesis project of producing a greater historic presence for early women architects addressing a variety of audiences.

FEMINIST APPROACHES TO QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research is one of the major research methods utilised in this thesis, being central to the findings reported in both the large chapters, chapters 4 and 5. Qualitative research is still controversial in some academic fields because it departs from the traditional reliance on archives and statistics, and resorts to asking ordinary living people for their memories and opinions. Like any form of research, it is open to abuse, and the issues involved here have been the subject of much debate amongst feminist qualitative researchers (Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1982; Geiger, 1990; Shopes, 1994). Nonetheless, qualitative research, including the specialised practice known as oral history, is a method of creating academic knowledge which is important for feminist historians. It gives voice to the opinions and perspectives of marginalised "others" who have been traditionally "spoken for" rather than empowered to represent their own world views in their own ways (Gluck & Patai, 1991). As Emily Honig explains:

> As one of the only means of retrieving the historical experience of non-elite people whose lives are not recorded in historical documents, oral history has played a crucial role in women's history (Honig, 1997:139).

Black American feminist bell hooks has advocated utilising memory as a form of political activism:

> Memory need not be a passive reflection...it can function as a way of knowing and learning from the past..."retrospection to gain a vision for the future". It can serve as a catalyst for self-recovery (hooks, 1990:40).

In Germaine Greer's analysis of the careers of historic women artists in *The Obstacle Race*, the motivating question was: why did women so consistently fall behind in the race for professional success (Greer, 1979)? I share her understanding that success is not based purely on each individual's aptitude and hard work, but is mediated by

social conditions and linked to underlying political and socio-economic conditions. I also agree with Greer's conclusion that women failed to gain prominence as artists because of a complexity of "external", "internal" and inter-subjective obstacles:

> In the last analysis the external obstacles are less insidious and destructive than the internal ones...you cannot make great artists out of egos that have been damaged, with wills that are defective, with libidos that have been driven out of reach and energy diverted into neurotic channels...The point is...to interest ourselves in women artists, for their dilemma is our own. Every painting by anyone is evidence of a struggle...There are more warring elements in women's work than in men's, and when we learn to read them we find that the evidence of battle is interesting and moving (Greer, 1979:325-327).

However, I disagree with a major assumption framing Greer's study, that the masculine experience of the profession was the norm, and that women practitioners were *inevitably* victims of both external discrimination and the effects of their own internal socialisation as women (assumed to be negative). This approach often frames the recent surveys of women in professions, which tend to characterise women as discriminated against, oppressed or victimised (RAIA, 1986; Breakwell, 1985; Walby, 1986; Hearn, 1989; Witz, 1992).

The framework for my study here is less normative, and more motivated by a postmodern feminist concern for examining the historical specificity of different constraints as capable of *both restricting and enabling* particular types of activities (Foucault, 1980b). In chapters 4 and 5, I present women architects' stories of constraints and difficulties as capable of generating differential effects, rather than as purely exploitative or oppressive experiences. As Judith Brine commented in preparation for this study:

> one needs to tease out contradictions which are made through preference, and contradictions which are made perforce through exclusion or discouragement (interview with Brine, 1992).

Some dilemmas in qualitative research

Chapters 4 and 5 draw on the observations and opinions of many women who actively cooperated with my research by being interviewed or answering a questionnaire, and who may read at least some of the completed study. I believe I have an ethical responsibility to produce a text which respondent-participants do not find too esoteric or hostile, but which ideally also "empowers" them by explaining something of the complexity of the wider society in which they were, and to some extent in which we still are, operating (Shannon, 1994; Farrow et al., 1995).

Of course this feminist ethical responsibility operates in addition to the academic ethical responsibility to try to describe the situation as accurately and "truthfully" as possible in methodologically appropriate terms. This means that as a writer I must walk a tightrope between respecting the ways in which events were described to me and taking proper account of critical theories relevant to my understanding of those events (for example incorporating issues of race, class and gender). As Katherine Borland described the dilemma:

> feminist theory provides a powerful critique of our society, and, as feminists, we presumably are dedicated to making that critique as forceful and direct as possible. How, then, might we present our work in a way that grants the speaking woman interpretative respect without relinquishing our responsibility to provide our own interpretation of her experience (Borland, 1991:64)?

A further, related dilemma concerns how to interpret the factual validity of such "oral history" accounts and their epistemological status as "knowledge". Common sense, backed by psychoanalytic theory, suggests that memories may change as a result of shifts in emphasis, editing and elaboration—changes that may be quite unconscious, especially if the memories concern traumatic or unpleasant experiences. Moreover there is the issue of conscious and unconscious self-representation to the interviewer during the "performance" of story telling, in so far as interviewees may organise their accounts relative to what they think the interviewer wants to hear (or doesn't want to hear). Finally, the interviewer inevitably engages in processes of reorganisation both in listening and in re-presenting these accounts, which includes re-interpretation for a different audience, and the possibility of misunderstandings (Borland, 1991; Honig,

1997). However, feminists are well aware that selections and transformations are inevitable in any form of history writing, as Patricia Grimshaw noted when searching for reasons for women's general absence from Australian history:

> Historians never have nor could attempt to record everything that occurred in a nation's past. On the contrary, historians have been forced to select certain features to describe and analyse (Grimshaw, 1991:153).

One proposed response to these problems is the suggestion that oral history always be backed up by other documents (Wolford, 1994). This suggestion comes out of the traditional western emphasis on positivism, which typically leads to arguments asserting that knowledge only arises validly through multiple attestations. Some researchers address this by relying on "triangulation", the use of multiple data collection methods to enhance trustworthiness of qualitative research (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). However, others deny the superiority of scientific epistemology altogether, arguing that it is based on a fiction of objectivity (Geiger, 1990; Thompson, 1997).

The positivist stance fails to take into account the problem of partiality inherent in the public domain of official accounts—for example, the control of written records by a small elite, largely composed in Australia of white, middle-class men. Moreover, it is arguable that our public culture has had historical difficulties in listening to and believing women's stories ("old wives' tales"). To insist that women's accounts of their experiences are valid only when backed by more official, written documents may operate to entirely exclude them, thus entrenching the status quo. Qualitative research is valuable precisely because it promises information which may not be written down and insights by subjects who might otherwise be silent in western historical discourse. It may point to assumptions which were not publicly articulated about women's acceptance in the profession, as well as providing insights into how women incorporated such experiences.

The attempt here is to balance the human frailties of self-representation inherent in any qualitative research against a numerically impressive number of voices consulted. Where possible, these voices are further "triangulated" with available historically

documented accounts, and then interpreted against established feminist arguments about the constraints and changes which have been operating on middle-class Australian women during the twentieth century.

FEMINIST APPROACHES TO BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

> To write a biography of...a biographised name is a project with a very clear political shape...You have an extensively debated name (a discursive object), and you can work to transform its significance. But when there is practically no object in that sense, no aura to the name—what do you do (Morris, 1992b:20)?

As a form of cultural analysis, the writing of biographies of individuals has been substantially critiqued. Any notion of history as "the sum of biographies" (Kennedy, 1985) is inadequate. Moreover, feminists have pointed out that those who focus on recovering insufficiently appreciated historical women have rarely dwelt on the reasons for their omission (Allen, 1986:174). Although feminist recovery history may offer an implicit critique of "malestream" history for ignoring women, such research also offers an implicit validation of the status quo, by trying to add accounts of women's contributions. Moreover, recovered women risk being positioned as "also-rans", pale imitations of the already established masculine heroes, and easily marginalised as an optional or lesser study. Another problem with biographical recovery is that it tends to follow the realist narrative form of the nineteenth century novel, presenting a hronologically ordered life with a fictional illusion of coherence and completion (Morris, 1992b:15). At the same time, it may "strip" the subject of "social and architectural context" (Willis, 1997a:23). Finally, there is the influence of Roland Barthes' essay "The death of the author" (Barthes, 1977). This text undermines the traditional assumption that authors (including writers of books, painters of art, designers of architecture) are the producers of all meaning in cultural objects. Instead Barthes proposes a more semiotic understanding of culture where meaning is focused in the act of "reading" (for example, reading the book, viewing the art, using the building). His work has helped inspire the new discipline of cultural studies, characterised in part by a shift away from empirical studies of authors and towards more theoretical studies of practices of reading (Morris & Frow, 1993).

Despite these critiques, biographical history continues to be an influential form of representation. In “I don’t really like biography”, Meaghan Morris describes her own variety of negative reactions to “scholarly biography”, but goes on to admit, “I do find it very annoying when I want to learn about someone’s life because of a project I’m doing…and no biography exists” (Morris, 1992b:18). The implication is that biography continues to offer a near indispensable method of ordering information for contemporary research. Moreover, Morris questions the Anglo-American interpretation that poststructuralism has an “anti-biographical bias”. She suggests that this understanding is “mistaken”, that Barthes’ death of the author was, rather:

> a critique of the idea that a text has a single *origin*, not a denial of writers’ intentions; for Barthes, the Author is an historical myth, not a fallacy (Morris, 1992b:20).

She presents Michel Foucault’s “What is an author?” (Foucault, 1984) as a critique of Barthes’ essay which asks important questions “about the ways in which the author—the *concept* of the author—can and does matter”. These questions:

> should be of interest to feminism, precisely because they are questions about the history of discourse and institutions in which works signed by women have occupied such a tense and marginal place (Morris, 1992b:21).

Biographical stories of individual authors (architects, planners, etc.) remain a powerful method of making sense of how the built environment has evolved. Biographical history remains important possibly because so many institutional structures in our society revolve around stories of individual achievement, thus biographies slot readily into arenas such as newspaper and magazine articles, books on individuals or groups of individuals, television documentaries and dramas, and encyclopaedias and dictionaries of biography. It is arguable that in generating interest in women’s accomplishments—often understood as forged in the interstices between their domestic and public obligations—women’s biography inevitably questions some of the conventions of the genre. Moreover, the pessimistic assumption that stories of women’s lives and achievements must always rate second best is contradicted by the

spectacularly successful recovery stories of women such as Hildegard of Bingen,[20] and Frida Kahlo.[21] Finally, the nineteenth century realist narrative mode of recounting biographies can be disrupted, for example, by self-referential acknowledgment of methods used to gather and order information, by leaving questions open for further research, or by collaging together different narratives and perspectives.[22]

CONCLUSION

As Virginia Woolf noticed many decades ago, there are certain established and often contradictory representations of women associated with particular disciplines. This review of the most relevant literature and methodology argues that there are established and contradictory ways of representing women architects. Australian architectural history renders early women architects very nearly absent. Contemporary sociology of the architecture profession posits them as either minimal in their participation rates (i.e. again nearly absent), or as victims. Feminist architectural history poses them as faintly present, often struggling on the peripheries. Some socialist feminist and postmodern feminist theory problematises the convention of constructing architect/authors at all. Since it is the objective of this thesis to encourage a greater historic presence for early women architects, with each topic reviewed I have also shown how this thesis attempts to change or develop the predominant images of early women architects already established by these disciplines.

[20] A fourteenth century nun who composed religious music and wrote a treatise entitled "The city of women" (Flanagan, 1989).
[21] A Mexican artist overshadowed in her lifetime by her muralist husband Diego Rivera, but now an internationally acclaimed painter in both popular and academic circles. Kahlo is impressive because analysis of her work has shifted the discussion of what constitutes modernist art to include and even emphasise autobiographical analysis of personal issues such as love, pain and child-bearing (Drucker, 1995).
[22] See for example, Brian Matthew's *Louisa* (1987) and Drusila Modjeska's *Poppy* (1990).

Chapter 3
DISCOVERY! A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS' PRESENCE

> *One knows nothing detailed, nothing perfectly true and substantial about her. History scarcely mentions her...I thought, looking about the shelves for books that were not there, to suggest to the students of those famous colleges that they should rewrite history, though I own that it often seems a little queer as it is, unequal, lop-sided; but why should they not add a supplement to history? Calling it, of course, by some inconspicuous name so that women might figure there without impropriety?*
> Virginia Woolf [1]

INTRODUCTION

In 1965 when Irene Selecki set up her own architectural practice, she believed that she was the only woman in NSW then working as a sole practitioner (interview with Selecki, 1997). In 1983 when Eve Laron made a public invitation for women architects to meet for dinner in Sydney, she expected a couple of dozen to respond and was astonished to find herself in a room with over 200 others (Laron, 1997:12). The assumption that there have been very few women architects seemed to be confirmed by articles which emerged during the 1980s reporting on low rates of contemporary participation by women in the profession, rates well under 10 per cent (RAIA, 1986; White, 1985; Brine, 1988).

In this chapter I analyse the numbers of women architects qualifying and working in NSW between 1900 and 1960. I present the results of my own exhaustive statistical survey of the archival records relating to women's presence in the architectural profession in NSW between 1918 and 1960. I report on women's participation rates at the two architecture schools training students in Sydney before 1960, the Sydney Technical College (STC) and the University of

[1] Woolf, 1977:44-45.

Sydney, in the registration records held by the Board of Architects of NSW (the Board), in the membership records of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA) and the national census. Also I present two cohort studies detailing the quantitative aspects of my interviews and questionnaires with early women architects. The first cohort study concerns graduates from the University of Sydney and the University of NSW, and the second concerns all the qualified early women architects contacted through this research project, categorised and compared over three generations. The chapter concludes with three feminist interpretations of the findings.

Methodological notes

It is not as easy as it may seem to establish definite participation rates of women in architecture. The statistics gathered depend on how an architect is defined: is an architect someone who has completed their articled apprenticeship, or graduated with their diploma or degree? Is it someone who has registered with the Board, and is thus legally entitled to call themselves an "architect"? Is it someone who is a member the RAIA, the professional representative body? Do you count someone who is listed in all these institutional sites but who has temporarily or permanently withdrawn from practice, perhaps to have children (and how could this be established)? What about someone who simply practices without being a member of any of the formal institutions, possibly because their qualifications from elsewhere are not recognised here or because they never completed formal training? How do you track down members of the last group, who by legal definition, are not allowed to call themselves architects?

This chapter addresses these difficulties by offering statistics for each of the above categories of documented participation in the profession: education, registration and membership of the RAIA. The question of "actual participation" is addressed by resorting firstly to somewhat inadequate census statistics and secondly to two cohort studies of actual career paths of about half of all women architects who were qualified and working in NSW before 1960. None of these measures are comprehensive in themselves, but their combination offers a relatively clear overview of the situation.

Few of the archives consulted had collected information on the question of the relative involvement of men and women. Thus the statistics gathered here have mostly been collected by laboriously counting and recording names which had feminine first names or which included "Miss" or "Mrs" in the appellation ("Ms" was not in use before 1960). This has introduced a level of uncertainty, because some English first names are common to both genders (such as Meredith, Vivian and Kim) or unfamiliar as women's names (such as Ellison). In the case of registration records from the 1980s when many unfamiliar foreign names became common, I have included the third category of "gender unknown from name".[2] However, it is possible that some appropriate names have been excluded and other inappropriate names included.[3] There is also some level of human error inherent in the laborious process of sifting through old records and counting lists of hundreds of names.

I anticipated that it would be difficult to trace many women who had changed their names after marriage (and divorce) and who might not be listed in telephone directories except under their husbands' names and initials. However, it was possible to trace more name changes than I had envisaged. Firstly, careful study of the annual *Architects' Roll* indicated name changes: when a (single) name suddenly disappeared from the register, and a new (married) name, with the same first name and same original year of registration, appeared. Secondly, my growing pool of women respondents often knew the married names of their contemporaries and their husbands. Nonetheless, some women architects must have slipped through my survey sample net in this way. The western custom of women changing their surnames upon marriage to that of their husband (and earlier in the century, quite commonly to "Mrs husband's initials and surname")

[2] In some archives the level of uncertainty becomes untenable and other methods of raising statistics would have to be developed. I tried to produce a table of women architectural graduates from the University of NSW "Conferring of degrees" pamphlets after 1960, but for example in 1987, the list presented 23 male names, 7 female names, and 36 names whose gender was indistinguishable to an Anglo-Australian reader.

[3] For example, I originally included the name "Meredith Smith" from the records of the Sydney Technical College and the Board's *Architects' Roll* between the 1920s and the 1960s, but eventually decided that "she" was really a "he" on the basis that: his name never attracted the appellation "Miss" in any record, that he twice described himself as a "draftsman" in his registration application, and because his career differed noticeably from the rest of the group of early women architects in his mainstream employment by large private offices. The popularity of his surname meant that it was impossible to contact him or his relatives.

is particularly inappropriate for professional women, who in the process must have sometimes lost clients as well as historical researchers.

Graphs and tables are presented in the text of this chapter while more detailed information and statistics can be found in the appendices, presented at the end of this thesis.

THE PRESENCE OF EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS: OUTLINE OF FINDINGS

Pre-twentieth century architectural education

In his history of the architecture profession in Australia, Max Freeland describes architectural practice in early nineteenth century Australia as unsupervised by any government body. There were no technical or university courses in architecture, no statutory obligations and no architects' societies. People who practised architecture in the mid nineteenth century tended to be "generalists in the widest sense", often surveyors, engineers, or tradesmen such as master builders who simply put a sign outside their door announcing that they were also an "architect" (Freeland, 1971:6). There was also a certain kind of "gentlemanly" practice of architecture by wealthy, middle-class people, including some women, who copied pattern books in creating designs for suitably cultured public and private buildings (Winton-Ely, 1976; Kerr, 1980).

By the 1840s three-to-five year apprenticeships or "articles" to established architects were becoming increasingly common as a form of training in architecture.[4] Students didn't attend formal classes but learnt on the job, and the quality of their education was entirely dependent upon their employers' varying skill and generosity. Records of their education were generally poorly kept by the individual firms involved and the RAIA (NSW chapter) doesn't have a register

[4] Freeland describes the relationship as founded in a payment of a substantial sum by the student's family to the architect, with responsibilities on both sides—the student to be conscientious and neat, the architect to instruct and to pay wages in the third year, somewhat like a "medieval master-apprenticeship" (Freeland, 1971:204). The payment meant that children from very poor backgrounds were unlikely to enter the system.

or record of where articled architects were employed.[5] However, it seems that informal and indirect codes of conduct were observed to ensure that very few, if any, women engaged in this type of apprenticeship in the nineteenth century.

The STC architecture school

The first formal training in architecture in NSW was offered by the Sydney Technical College (STC). Originally founded as a "school of arts" for working men in 1833, the STC became a NSW state government funded "working man's college" in 1878. From 1884 its architecture school offered part-time tuition to students (including some women who were attending classes by 1895).[6] In 1890 the architecture course was formalised into a three-year part-time diploma. There were no educational prerequisites for entry, as a contemporary ministerial report on the college, quoting Wright Campbell, head of the architecture school, stated:

> Many of the students are raw lads of the tradesmen class, frequently with imperfect elementary education and, in most cases, with no previous education in the art of drawing (Minister of Public Instruction, 1890:280).

In 1914 the Institute of Architects of NSW (IANSW) agreed to accept the STC diploma as an alternative to their own entrance examination, and in 1925 this was accepted as a qualification for registration in NSW on an equal basis with the university degrees (Leone, n.d.; Neil, n.d.). Possibly in a competitive response to the opening of the Sydney University architecture school in 1918, in 1920 the STC lifted its educational prerequisite to a full Leaving Certificate, and also began publishing a good quality architecture school yearbook featuring student work. The work of women students is prominent in these issues published between 1920 and 1931, and includes drawings by Marjorie A. Matthews, Dorothy Toohey and Enid Hunt (m. Beeman).

[5] The WA branch of the RAIA has a "Register of Articled Pupils" 1914-1954, according to an excellent undergraduate thesis by Leonie Matthews (Matthews, 1991). However, the NSW branch of the RAIA has no comparable records.

[6] An 1895 ministerial report noted that "females" were found not only in "Domestic" classes, but also many others including "Architectural Drawing" (Minister of Public Instruction, 1895:175).

Another measure of the STC's seriousness was that the course grew from being a three-year course in 1918 to a five-year course in 1928 and finally a six-year course in 1934. Although Sydney University is the most famous educational institution, it was the STC which was quantitatively the major site of architectural education in NSW before World War II and indeed for many years afterwards. Although very popular with students and employers,[7] in 1950 the STC's architecture school was taken over by the newly founded architecture faculty at the University of NSW and gradually wound down.

The STC rarely awarded its diploma, not even to students who sat final exams, a tendency also seen at Melbourne's Working Men's College (Willis, 1997a:57). Perhaps this was meant to increase its prestige. Only one woman was awarded an architecture diploma from the STC between the 1880s and 1947 (NSW Department of Education, 1946; NSW State Archives 7/8826-28).[8] Because the list of diploma recipients is so small relative to the numbers of enrolled students, I have documented examination records to get a clearer picture of women's involvement in the course there. Such records for the STC were only easily accessible for the period between 1918 and 1954,[9] and these showed that the STC had an average of 137 students enrolled in the architecture school each year during this period. However, there was such a high drop-out rate that an average of only 16 students per annum sat for their final-year exams (with less than half of these obtaining the diploma).[10]

There was a consistently small number of women enrolled at the STC. Just 65 female names appeared amongst the thousands of names counted in the examination registers between 1918 and 1954, averaging just 3.2 per cent of students (appendices 4-8; graphs 1-2). However, because it was a condition of

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[7] As Ms F explained:

> You worked all day and went to tech at night, and if you were persistent enough through all those years, you came out really very well qualified because you had all the practical experience. Whereas if you spend those years at university, and it was all theory, then you had no idea of how an office functioned (interview with Ms F, 1997).

[8] This was Jean Mackellar (m. West), who was awarded the diploma in 1940.

[9] Examination records of the STC, held in the State Archives (Kingswood 7/8816-25).

[10] Diploma recipients are called Associates of the Sydney Technical College (ASTC). I have not been able to determine what further requirements might have been needed beyond passing the final exams in order to be awarded the diploma.

enrolment after 1906 that students were already working full-time in an architectural office, the names which appear in the STC records during this period must represent 65 women who were already employed in the industry in Sydney in some capacity. Women were slightly less likely than men to drop out of the course, indicated by the fact that they sat for final exams at the rate of 3.4 per cent. Thirteen women in 36 years reached final-year status, and only one of these was awarded the diploma. However, seven more of these final year women managed to register as architects later by sitting for the Board's examination.[11]

When the school split into two streams in 1928, diploma versus non-diploma (or Miscellaneous) students, women were far more likely to enrol in the Non-diploma course: three-quarters of the women were enrolled in the non-diploma course while three-quarters of the men were enrolled in the diploma course. This would have been disadvantageous for women in that only diploma graduates were eligible for automatic registration with the Board; also the nomenclature suggests a less serious commitment. Reasons why the STC had two concurrent courses apparently offering the same classes are no longer apparent. My only clue comes from an interview with Ms F, who explained that she was in the non-diploma course because she enrolled late in first year, having taken some time to find her first job (interview with Ms F, 1997). Perhaps women generally took longer than men to find an employer willing to take them on, and in consequence were forced to enrol in the non-diploma stream rather than wait a further year before starting.[12] That very few women were enrolled in the diploma stream, especially during the 1930s, may be evidence that the double system operated (intentionally or otherwise) as an exclusionary mechanism. However, both women graduates from the STC who spoke to me insisted that it was an excellent course and that they had suffered no discrimination there whatsoever.[13]

In 1950 the STC architecture course was taken over by the newly established University of NSW (originally the "NSW University of Technology"

[11] These included Marjorie Matthews, Enid Hunt (m. Beeman), June Winsbury, Beryl Powditch (m. Fakes) and Mary Brown.
[12] This explanation was suggested by Anne Colville at a public presentation of this research to a meeting of Constructive Women, 1997.
[13] Interviews with Ms Wt, 1997 and Ms F, 1997.

Kensington, 1949). The university largely incorporated the STC's staff: the head of the STC architecture school, F. E. Towndrow, became the university's first Professor of Architecture. Until 1954, students had the choice of enrolling in the full-time five-year university course or the part-time six-year diploma course, and would often sit in the same classes until the diploma course was finally wound down in 1960.[14] However, this was not quite its end, as the diploma course was immediately re-instituted at STC's Ultimo campus, probably catering to the demand for a part-time architectural training course for those wishing to study while also working. However, the course was soon incorporated into the newly-formed NSW Institute of Technology's school of architecture (now the University of Technology, Sydney), which offered its architecture degree as a "sandwich" course, interspersing work experience with semesters of full-time study. The last STC diploma in architecture was awarded in 1969.

Whereas Freeland saw the university courses that developed later in the century as theoretical and philosophical, he describes the technical school courses as "naturally enough...technically biased":

> They consisted almost wholly of subjects such as physics, chemistry, mathematics, mechanical drawing, materials, construction, mechanics, structures, specifications, and a short smattering of history of architecture. Nangle had a subject called "design" in his course, but it was structural-engineering design. In none of the courses was there any worthwhile teaching or practice in architectural designing, planning theory or aesthetics (Freeland, 1971:214, 220).

The University of Sydney architecture school

The University of Sydney was founded in 1851 and admitted its first women students in 1882 (Bygott, 1988:3; Turney et al., 1991:183-87). While some architecture subjects were taught in the Bachelor of Engineering course from 1884 (Turney et al., 1991:387; Freeland, 1971:218), lobbying for an architecture

[14] Ms Se, a qualified architect who had migrated from Poland, was told she needed to confirm her training by studying in an Australian school of architecture. She thought that she *was* enrolled in the university course until she was presented with a diploma from the STC (interview with Selecki, 1997).

degree course at the university began in earnest in the late 1880s with John Sulman, and continued in architectural journals such as *Art & Architecture* (May/Jun. 1910, Mar./Apr. 1912) and *Building* for many years. It wasn't until 1916 that the IANSW successfully convinced the Senate of the university to establish a Chair in Architecture, funded by the NSW state government. The appointment of the first professor to the University of Sydney was made in 1918—British architect and academic, Leslie Wilkinson.[15] Although he didn't arrive in Sydney until August, the first cohort of architecture students commenced the course at the beginning of 1918,

> since the greater part of the first-year course was already provided by existing courses at the university...Nine students enrolled in 1918, four of whom surprisingly (given the profession's close links with engineering) were women (Turney et al., 1991, 394).

No further university courses became available in NSW until the UNSW architecture school opened in 1950 (graduating just two women before 1960) and the NSW Institute of Technology course in 1965.

Since university education typically required full-time attendance over a number of years and levied expensive fees, the students attracted to the architecture course at Sydney University can be expected to have been from more wealthy backgrounds than those who went to the STC.[16] The university insisted on a matriculation level of secondary schooling and offered scholarships to fund talented poorer students, so it probably attracted the best prepared students from a variety of backgrounds and worked them more intensively than would have been possible in a part-time course. Whereas the STC focused on technical and

[15] Another decade passed before Australia's second Bachelor of Architecture course opened at the University of Melbourne in 1927, with the first Bachelor degree conferred there in 1931 (Willis, 1997a; Turney, 1991, 395). However, the University of Melbourne did establish a school of architecture in 1919, with a diploma course specialising in design conducted through the "atelier".

[16] Ms CH recalls that "about half" of the thirty or so students in the faculty when she was at the University of Sydney in the mid 1930s were on scholarships, known as "exhibitions" (she also accurately recalled that about a third of the students in the faculty were women). However, poorer families may not have been able to support an adult child not working for six years, even if they had an exhibition and, culturally, many poorer families would not have considered university as an option.

practical skills, the University of Sydney attempted to develop the intellectual and cultural potential of its students. The course under Wilkinson focused on historic architectural aesthetics and ideals such as the Greek orders, while in the post World War II period the architecture school has developed a strong stream of studio-based design, apparently meant to foster the modernist tradition of individualised creativity.

The university architecture graduates were probably seen as less immediately employable than STC graduates, who by the time of graduation already had six years work experience under their belts. However, they were probably expected to lift the status and standards of the profession and, armed with their intellectual training (and social contacts for clients), to become the leading architects. On the other hand, some students may have attended the university architecture course in order to obtain a rounded education encompassing arts and science. Thus it might be expected that many more university students than technical students would never have worked in the profession at all.

In contrast to the STC, women formed a considerable proportion of students at the Sydney University architecture school from its inception (appendices 9, 11-13; graphs 3-4).[17] Women constituted three of the first seven graduates in 1922. Women continued to graduate in comparable numbers to men until the 1950s, constituting 31 per cent of the first 184 graduates from the school by 1949. However, enrolments of male students after World War II rose dramatically while numbers of women students remained constant, therefore falling as a proportion of overall student numbers. Women graduates averaged just 16.3 per cent of all graduates from the architecture school from the 1950s to the 1970s. Since 1980, numbers of female students have been gradually climbing, while the numbers of male students have remained constant. Thus women constitute 40.8 per cent of all graduates between 1981 and 1997. Throughout the university's 75 years of architecture graduates traced here, 1731 students have been awarded the

[17] The University of Sydney statistics come from the University of Sydney *Calendar* 1922-1942, from conferring of degrees pamphlets 1942-1960, and from figures kindly given to me by the University of Sydney Faculty of Architecture researcher, Sue Clarke.

degree of Bachelor of Architecture, and of these 485 have been women, or 28 per cent.

Graph 4 shows graduation rates on a decade-by-decade basis, and thus irons out the idiosyncrasies of particular years to give a general picture. It shows that male and female graduations were of a comparable order before World War II, and have moved towards being a comparable order in the late twentieth century. It was only in the postwar period that the numbers of male graduates took a sudden leap while the numbers of female graduates rose very little, but this was balanced during the 1980s and 1990s when the rate of female graduations rose steadily while male graduations remained constant. The period after World War II in NSW has seen two bursts of economic expansion linked to population growth and, more specifically for this study, to growth in construction activity. The first boom, in the 1950s, nurtured male architecture students, while the second boom, in the 1980s, benefited female architecture students. Reasons for the gender disparity in the middle decades of the twentieth century may relate to the dominant (and opposing) gender ideologies: in the 1950s "a woman's place was in the home" while in the 1980s the growth of the women's movement combined with other economic factors to encourage women into the paid labour force.

It is possible to compare the completion rates of men and women for the first six years of the University of Sydney architecture school, since students sitting for exams at all levels were noted in the university *Calendar* between 1922 and 1927. This record shows that 28 women sat for an exam at some level of the architecture course during this time, and that 15 of these women graduated—a completion rate of 53.6 per cent, or a drop out rate of 46.4 per cent. The men fared somewhat worse than this. Of the 57 men who sat for an exam during this period, only 22 graduated—a completion rate of 38.6 per cent, or a drop out rate of 61.4 per cent. This finding, for an admittedly short period, goes against the expectation that women tended to find architecture education more daunting than men and dropped out in greater numbers. On the contrary, in the initial years of the University of Sydney architecture school at least, women were rather more likely than men to complete the course.

Registration

Almost since Sydney architects had begun meeting in societies and clubs in the late nineteenth century, they had lobbied for legislation which would restrict the use of the term "architect" to those who had been registered under strict guidelines, in an attempt to exclude unprincipled practitioners. The NSW state government was the first in Australia to meet this demand for setting a legally enforceable professional standard in the *Architects Registration Act* (NSW) in 1921. The legislation set up the statutory Board of Architects of NSW to admit and administer an official list of registered architects in the state. While the Board initially accepted those who had been articled or "practised in NSW as an architect for sole or main source of livelihood before 1923", registration requirements thereafter usually required qualifications from the recognised educational institutions. The Board's annual *Architects' Roll* provides a fair historical indication of the number of architects in NSW, although there are many qualified and unqualified people working in the industry who have not registered, and many registered architects who do not practice.

Six women were registered with the Board in its first year of operation in 1923, from a total of 634 architects in NSW, or 0.9 per cent (appendices 15-16; graph 5). From the 1920s to the 1950s, the proportion of women grew by about a percentage point per decade—reaching 73 registered women in 1960, or 5.4 per cent. Altogether 99 women were registered at some time as architects in NSW between 1923 and 1960. In 1997, women constituted between 300 and 400 of the 3036 registered architects in NSW, or around 10 per cent of the roll (the uncertainty here relates to the expansion of unfamiliar foreign names on the roll since the 1980s). About four-fifths of the women who had graduated from the University of Sydney by 1960 (82 out of 104) went on to register as an architect in NSW, while little more than half of those who reached final year status in architecture at Sydney Technical College did so (7 out of 13).

The Royal Australian Institute of Architects

The first society of architects in NSW met in 1871, eventually calling themselves the Institute of Architects of NSW (IANSW). This group didn't attract widespread membership or meet regularly until the late 1880s when, according to

Max Freeland, John Horbury Hunt finally took the "rambunctious, kicking mob of architects by the scruff of their red necks and forced them to become a profession" (Freeland, 1971:60, see also 55, 204). The motivation for forming the society was probably largely business oriented, an attempt to exclude unqualified practitioners and regulate ethical practices in order to enhance the profession's reputation, reliability and prestige. Freeland described the nineteenth century IANSW as "a sort of gentleman's club" (Freeland, 1971:55). While he was probably referring to its membership's exclusion of working-class men, the term also accurately describes its initial reluctance to include women.

Florence Taylor claimed that she was "blackballed" by the IANSW when she attempted to join in 1907 (Hanna, 1999b). It wasn't until 1920 that the Institute invited Taylor to be its first woman member.[18] At that time she was one woman amongst 128 members (appendix 14).[19] Most of the state institutes federated into the national RAIA in 1929; the rest followed later, with the Victorian Institute finally joining in 1967 (Willis, 1997a:56). In NSW there were four female names out of 236 members in 1934 (1.7 per cent) and from that time the proportion of women members gradually increased at slightly less than 1 per cent per decade. By 1961 women constituted just 3.9 per cent of the RAIA's members in NSW. Altogether 52 women were members of the RAIA at some time between 1934 and 1960 in NSW.

Throughout the century, women were only about three-quarters as likely as their male colleagues to join the RAIA, a trend that was found to have continued into the 1980s at least (RAIA, 1986:26).[20] They may have been discouraged by the expensive annual fees: women were certainly earning less as a group than their male colleagues, as a combination of women generally advancing less than men in employment hierarchies and fewer women being in full-time employment.

[18] It was perhaps no coincidence that this was the same year that the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects elected its first woman member, Eileen Good (Willis 1997a:87).
[19] *Architecture* Jan. 1920, 27-28.
[20] This lower rate of female membership is estimated by comparing the percentage of women who were registered with the percentage of women who were members of the RAIA. A survey of registered women architects in the 1980s suggested that "most of those who were not members

The census

Between 1911 and 1996, the Commonwealth of Australian census gathered information at intervals of five-to-ten years, which includes the numbers of people across the nation who identified themselves as architects. This then should be a good measure of practising architects—as distinct from those who have graduated, joined the RAIA or registered with a statutory body. The census is the only available measure of how many women have identified themselves as practitioners, with or without qualifications, as opposed to measures of those qualified or capable of practising but possibly not doing so.

However, most census publications this century combine the number of architects with other variables (such as numbers of people working in the architecture industry, or numbers of professionals in all industries). It may be possible to isolate the numbers of male and female architects measured by each census, but so far such information hasn't been processed for general publication.[21] However, this study briefly presents the information readily available from the official publications.

Only one census publication offered statistics comparing male and female employment in the "occupation" of architect. The 1901 state census of NSW reported that there were 417 male architects and no female architects (*Census of NSW 1901*:655). This seems reasonable until we remember that Florence Taylor was already working as an articled student architect in 1901.[22] Did the census figures not include articled student architects, and if so, how many other women were not counted in this way?

Most census publications offered only the numbers of men and women employed in the "industry" of architecture, which included related fields such as landscape architecture and, even more problematically for measuring women professionals,

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indicated that they had not joined because they could see no benefit to belonging and/or it cost too much" (RAIA, 1986, 25).

[21] Indeed, in several letters and phone calls to the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1997, I could not confirm whether or not these statistics could be obtained at any price.

[22] However, A. Van Rooijen's thesis (1976) includes a copy of the Taylors' marriage certificate of 1907 which gives Taylor's and George's occupations respectively as "clerk" and "artist". It is possible that Taylor had not identified herself as an architect on the census form six years earlier.

support staff.[23] However, these statistics are worth quoting because they offer an overview of the growth of women's general employment in the architecture industry in Australia between the 1920s and the 1990s. Also, they must include women architects who had shifted into related fields such as town planning or interior design.

In 1921 women numbered 130 workers nationally out of 1907 or 6.8 per cent of employees in the industry (appendix 17; graph 6).[24] In 1947 there were just 263 women workers out of 1386 workers, or 19 per cent percent of the industry. The numbers of both men and women workers doubled by 1954, so that there were 553 women out of 2618 workers, maintaining a similar proportion of 21.1 per cent. By 1963 numbers of women had doubled again to 1043 out of 4418, or 23.6 per cent. By 1993, however, the numbers and proportion of women had grown substantially to 6050 women workers out of 18 581, or 32.6 per cent, nearly a third of the industry. The fact that the national rate of registered women architects was growing only slowly over this period (appendix 18; graphs 7-8) suggests that the large industry increases in women staff were not the result of employing increasing numbers of qualified women architects, but may be attributed to employing more unregistered women designers, more women support staff or more women in the associated industries measured by this census statistic.

Two cohort studies

Another means of measuring the numbers of women architects who pursued careers once they were qualified is to find them and ask them (or their family or friends). On the basis of my approach via interview or questionnaire to as many women architects as could be contacted (70 early women architects or their family/ friends, appendix 2), I have constructed two different statistical tables describing career paths for certain samples from the 230 early women architects discovered by this research project.

[23] The figures quoted here all come from the periodical *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, which offers the information in a table with varying titles around the theme "Males and females according to industry".

[24] The statistics for 1933 show a bizarre result of 1875 women workers out of 3395 or 44.8 per cent. This seems very unlikely and this statistic has been excluded from this analysis.

The first statistical table (table 1) analyses career paths for 53 early women architects who graduated from the two university courses in NSW between 1922 and 1960. This group has been chosen because it is readily defined and is small enough to analyse several lifestyle issues, including family composition, place of residence and type of architectural career. It may also offer a comparison with other cohort studies of women graduates.

The second statistical table (table 2) discusses less detailed information about a slightly larger group of 74 early women architects, who were all qualified and working in NSW before 1960, although some were educated in other places. This reading is specifically concerned with the lifestyle choices made by early women architects around the issues of marrying, having children and continuing to work. This analysis groups the respondents into three generational groups, each two decades long: 1900-1919; 1920-1939 and 1940-1959.

Cohort study of women architecture graduates from the University of Sydney and the University of NSW (table 1)

This table traces details of the lives and careers of 53 of the 106 women graduates from the University of Sydney and UNSW, or exactly 50 per cent.[25] This is a fair rate of return for a survey sample. However, the biases in my research project (seeking information on the earliest women architects, and on the most prominent early women architects) may have skewed the survey sample, for example in favour of the more publicly successful women practitioners. The term “substantial career” is used here to refer to a full-time full-length career, or a full-time career cut short by early retirement or early death after at least ten years work, or a period of full-time work (usually between one and ten years) followed by part-time work during child-rearing years.

Of the 53 women architects’ careers traced in this sample, 45 women (85 per cent) had substantial careers while only 8 women (15 per cent) had little or no paid professional career after graduation. Thirty-one women (58 per cent)

[25] 104 women architects graduated from the University of Sydney between 1922 and 1960, while just 2 women architects graduated from UNSW between the first cohort of 1955 and 1960.

worked almost exclusively in architectural practice. Twenty-six of the 45 women with careers worked predominantly full-time (58 per cent of women with careers) while the others worked predominantly part-time (42 per cent of women with careers). Of the 14 women whose careers moved into other fields, four went into town planning, three went into architectural education and research, one into ceramics, one into architectural publishing, one into interior design, one into real estate, one into horticulture, one into administration (as a partner in her husband's engineering business) and one into agricultural science. The fields of practice were, on the whole, closely related to their training.

Of the 31 women who pursued substantial careers in architectural practice, 11 women had their own practices (20 per cent of total), and another 6 women (11 per cent) were in partnership with their husbands; most women in both these groups worked from home. While three quarters of those women who worked as architectural designers did at least some domestic design, fully a quarter of these women architects did none at all. Fourteen women (26 per cent) worked as employees, mostly in private firms, but no woman in this sample reached partnership status in a private firm outside of the self-employment arrangements. Three (6 per cent) worked in the public service. Many of the small, mostly home-based firms had long, extensive and successful practices. Only one woman in this sample had an outstanding career characterised by public accolades, and this was Helen Newton Turner, who became a leading international authority on sheep genetics (Moyal, 1994).

Of the 53 women in the sample, 41 women married (77 per cent) and 36 women (64 per cent) had children. Seven of the eight women who dropped out were mothers. But so too were 29 of the 45 women with substantial careers (55 per cent of the total, 64 per cent of career women). Eleven mothers continued working predominantly full-time (if with some interruptions) while 18 mothers worked a combination of full-time and long-term part-time. Of the 17 women working as sole practitioners or in partnerships shared with their architect-husbands, 15 were mothers (33 per cent). Although these 17 women represent just 32 per cent of the sample, they are 55 per cent of the women who pursued substantial careers as design architects. Self-employment may have been popular

because it had the flexibility to be more or less part-time as family commitments allowed. Also since most offices were home-based, mothers could also be on hand to deal with any domestic issues.

Other findings show that 15 women in the survey married architects (28 per cent of the sample, 37 per cent of those who married). All of these women continued their careers except one who had left the field years before her marriage. Of the 34 women whose schooling was identified, only five had been to a publicly funded school, suggesting that the survey group was predominantly middle-class. This was confirmed by the fact that most married other professionals and a great many lived most of their lives on Sydney's affluent north shore—23 women (43 per cent).[26]

The findings from the cohort study are remarkable. Firstly, that even before 1960, when there were very few support mechanisms in place for professional women such as equal pay or anti-discrimination legislation, the large majority of women who trained in architecture went on to have substantial careers in the field or in closely related fields. Secondly, that the large majority of women married and had children and continued their careers through decades such as the 1950s, when working mothers were often frowned upon for supposedly neglecting their families. Thirdly, this study confirms the expectation that many architects who became mothers chose self-employment, usually in practices run from home. This allowed them to combine their careers with their domestic responsibilities, but reduced their likelihood of producing large-scale design. Fourthly, the lack of conventional public success is remarkable, in that no women became partners in already established firms, although many ran their own practices by themselves or with their husbands.

Cohort study of three generations of women architects in NSW (table 2)

The second cohort study offers an alternative type of statistical analysis of the career paths of women architects in NSW, showing generational changes in the choices of 74 qualified early women architects traced in this study regarding

[26] Peter Spearritt has argued that although categorising classes in Australia is tricky, one reasonable measure is place of residence (Spearritt, 1974).

marriage, children, and work (table 2). This analysis is intended to analyse whether patterns of combining families and careers shifted in the first half of the twentieth century.

This analysis groups the sample of 74 woman architects into three generations, each spanning two decades: the first generation consists of women who qualified as architects any time from around the turn of the century to 1919; the second generation, those who qualified from 1920 to 1939 (the commencement of World War II); the third generation, those who qualified from 1940 to 1959 (before the Australian development of the counter-cultural movement and second wave feminism). This discussion of generational change is not limited to the Sydney University graduate cohort, but includes any qualified women architects (i.e. those listed in parts 1 and 2 of appendix 1) of whom sufficient information was obtained as to whether they remained single or married, whether they had children, and whether they continued their careers after marriage and/or children. Thus this research sample traces 74 qualified women architects out of the possible list of 145 qualified women architects working in NSW before 1960 (parts 1 and 2 of appendix 1) or 51 per cent of the sample: 4 women in the first generation, 25 women in the second generation and 45 women in the third generation (table 2).

Of the four women architects traced from the first generation, all seem to have made a choice between a primarily professional lifestyle or a primarily domestic lifestyle. The first two qualified women architects in NSW—Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) and Marion Mahony Griffin (qual. MIT 1894, arrived 1914)—were both married, but neither had children. Moreover both husbands worked in the same field and supported their wives' full-time careers.[27] The later two women in this generation, Ruth Alsop (qual. Melbourne before 1912) and Beatrice Hutton (qual. Brisbane before 1916) were unmarried but both retired early to take care of ailing parents. Although the research sample is very small, it suggests that mixing a professional feminine role with a private home-caring feminine role was not easily achieved for this generation.

[27] George Taylor published an essay calling for more recognition for women artists (*Building* 25(147) 1919).

The statistics show a considerable change for the second generation of 25 traced women architects, qualifying between 1920 and 1939. While several of the leading practitioners such as Ellice Nosworthy and Rosette Edmunds remained single and worked full-time, a surprising proportion of the women in the research sample married (64 per cent), had children (52 per cent) and continued their career after having children (77 per cent of mothers, constituting 44 per cent of the generation).

The third and final generation addressed in this study are those who qualified between 1940 and 1959. Of 45 women traced, 37 married (82 per cent), 30 had children (67 per cent) and 21 of the mothers continued their architectural work after the arrival of children (70 per cent of mothers, constituting 47 per cent of the generation).

The first generation differs firstly for being small and secondly for its comparatively rigid allocation of feminine roles into either professional or private. By comparison there are many commonalities between the second and third generations. While there was an increase between the second and third generations in the proportion of women who married (from 64 per cent to 82 per cent) and in those who had children (from 52 per cent to 67 per cent), there was not much increase in the proportion of women who continued working with children (from 44 per cent to 47 per cent). There was actually a drop between the second and third generations in the proportion of mothers who worked (from 77 per cent to 70 per cent).

These brief statistics suggest that a significant shift in lifestyle options for women architects occurred between the first and second generations (i.e. around 1920), rather than between the second and third (around 1940). This suggests that a major social reorganisation affecting working women in twentieth century Australia occurred after World War I, rather than after World War II. This evidence questions the historical interpretation that World War II was the pivotal point for the modernisation of Australian family life (White, 1981; Clark, 1987:vii).

THREE FEMINIST INTERPRETATIONS

A liberal feminist interpretation

The research presented in this chapter establishes an empirical groundwork which outlines the extent of women's involvement in the architecture profession in NSW between 1900 and 1960. While women did constitute only a small minority of architects, this minority was considerably more established and more consistently growing in numbers and proportion throughout the century than expected. Far from being alone in 1965, Irene Selecki was just one of 92 registered women architects in NSW.

While women's modest participation rates at Sydney Technical College and the low level of their appearances in the Board's list of registered architects are no surprise, the University of Sydney figures are startling. Nearly a third of all graduates in the first quarter of a century before World War II were women, and more than a quarter of all architecture graduates overall between 1922 and 1997 have been women. More than one hundred women had graduated from the architecture school by 1960, and many more (such as Marion Hall Best, see Richards, 1993) would have engaged in some training there.

This quantitative survey of archival and biographical information about women in the architecture profession in NSW between 1900 and 1960 goes some way towards answering the questions asked at the beginning of this chapter. The high rates of women entering and completing the University of Sydney architecture course suggest that middle-class women at least were interested in becoming architects and suffered few structural barriers to obtaining university-based qualification. The low rates for women sitting for exams at the Sydney Technical College suggests that women from poorer backgrounds were less interested in gaining an architectural qualification.

The study shows also that only a small minority of university-trained women dropped out of the profession to marry, and that most graduates attempted the difficult combination of having a family while pursuing a career. Although those

women who are constituted here as the first generation seemingly had to make a choice between career or marriage, the second and third generations made widespread efforts to achieve both. The great majority of all graduates worked for substantial periods of time in architecture or closely related fields, although often in a part-time capacity which could be combined with domestic responsibilities.

The statistical evidence does suggest that women architects were marginalised into less prestigious corners of the profession. Women architects were less likely than men to join the RAIA and participate in its activities, and this probably contributed to their low profile in the profession. A very low proportion reached partnership status in established firms, and a high proportion worked in sole or husband-and-wife practices from home, which may have confined their work to small-scale domestic and community design. However, domestic design has been a focus of modernist architectural criticism at least, and these women architects' absence from that genre of architectural history can not be so far accounted for.

This research shows that women were qualified and working as architects in NSW in the first half of the century in far greater numbers than anyone has previously suspected. This research offers the names of 230 women qualified or practising or training as architects in NSW before 1960: 124 women who were formally qualified in NSW by that time; 21 women who were working in NSW by 1960 but formally qualified elsewhere or after 1960; and 82 women who worked in the industry or related areas who never formally qualified in Australia or whose qualifications from overseas were never recognised here (appendix 1).

A liberal feminist analysis of this phenomenon, sensitive to issues of gender and race as well as class, suggests that the processes of professionalisation were differential in their effects on social groups. Formal, publicly scrutinised requirements for professional entry seem to have been much better negotiated by women and people from non-English speaking backgrounds compared with earlier informal and private gatekeeping measures which were apparently sexist

and racist in their effects.[28] While working-class students must have been discouraged from the profession by the closure of the STC, the processes of professionalisation seem to have worked in tandem with other processes of modernisation to facilitate the inclusion of women. Women were nearly absent from the field in 1850 but are well established at about 11 per cent of the registered architects in NSW by 1997.

A socialist feminist interpretation

The empirical findings reported here agree substantially with those found by Julie Willis in her study of women architects in Victoria over a similar period. My socialist feminist interpretation uses my similar data to question the liberal feminist interpretation offered by Willis, and suggests further issues for consideration. Willis argues that women were not marginalised into domestic design work, but "were involved in every facet of architectural production and showed no particular inclination or dominance in the areas of design, rendering, interiors, decoration or domestic work, areas that could possibly be construed as appropriately feminine" (Willis, 1997a:217). This contrasts with my findings in NSW where, although women did indeed work in a broad array of architectural fields, much of the work they did was domestic design work and alterations. This concentration was possibly a function of so many women architects being self-employed in small practices ideally suited to small-scale projects where client networks tended to be composed of other women who were not involved in large-scale commercial and industrial businesses (an issue Willis recognised in her sample, 1997a:214). However, my findings do concur with Willis in so far as a quarter of all the women architectural designers traced in this study did no domestic design at all, but were working in an array of other design genres (table 2). However, I disagree when Willis writes:

> The experience of women architects in Victoria does not greatly differ from their male counterparts, except for the effect of marriage on the pre-WWII generation of women architects and the effect of child-birth and rearing on the postwar generation. They suffered remarkably little direct discrimination, their

[28] Some social groups which were entirely absent from the Australian profession in the early twentieth century also now constitute a prominent proportion of practitioners—most notably

> problems more a reflection of the general societal attitude towards women than a concerted effort by male architects to exclude and discourage women architects (Willis, 1997a:209).

The effects of marriage and child-rearing were central to women architects' career patterns and should not be easily discounted. Although neither Willis nor this study has traced the patterns of men's careers,[29] there can be no doubt that the female careers evidenced here are no representative "microcosm" of the profession in general (Willis, 1997a:8, 67).[30] Men architects did not often resort to part-time work once they had children. The great proportion of those working in architectural design were not self-employed from home. Men did not fail to reach positions of partnership in the firms where they were employed, and their contributions were not consistently ignored by journals in their own day and by historians later on. Willis herself points out that women did not receive equal pay, did not have the same promotional opportunities, faced certain presumptions about their abilities, rarely undertook job procurement, that even women who didn't marry often had extra domestic obligations such as caring for aging parents, and that women as a group were not conventionally "successful" in architecture (Willis, 1997a:72, 214, 215, 219). Like Willis' research, many women architects in my survey tended to state that they had not encountered instances of direct discrimination. However, others certainly did have stories to tell (see chapters 4 and 5).

Willis absolves the architectural profession of responsibility for women's career patterns being generally different from men's. Firstly, there is a denial that there were significant differences at all. Secondly, it is stressed that any discrimination women did encounter was the fault of societal attitudes rather than of the architecture profession. Thirdly, blame for women's lack of prominence is laid on architectural history writing rather than on any professional obstacles might have been in operation. However, the profession is part of society and tends to

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Asian Australians. However, indigenous Australians are still almost unknown in the profession.

[29] See White, 1985 for the only cohort study which compares male and female careers in Victoria between the late 1950s and the mid 1980s.

[30] Willis herself qualifies the use of this word by saying, that her history "cannot be regarded as a replacement history, merely a parallel one" (Willis, 1997a:67).

share its gender assumptions. Moreover most architectural history writing has been produced by members of the profession, despite Joan Kerr's exhortations to them to stop (Kerr, 1984). This defence of the profession arises from Willis' rigorously liberal feminist approach, which typically defends the status quo while arguing for reform (Hanna, 1995b). Willis' project is committed to showing that women are equal to men by arguing their "sameness" to men, in the mode of liberal feminism as described by feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz:

> The project of women's equal inclusion meant that only women's *sameness to men*, only women's *humanity* and not their *womanliness* could be discussed [In this approach] women began to assume the role of surrogate men (Gross, 1986:191-2).

Thus the liberal feminist approach congratulates the few women who acted like men and excuses from full acknowledgment many women who, for example, took time away to pursue the womanly functions of child-bearing. Lorna Phillips, who married a barrister, had two children and continued her architectural practice part-time, is described by Willis as having "remained involved in architecture albeit in a rather dilettanti fashion" (Willis, 1997a:109). Phillips isn't counted in the list of qualified women architects before World War II who both married and continued working (Willis, 1997a:72), suggesting that only full-time architectural practice constitutes "working". The implicit criterion of inclusion here is the norm of long working hours, while women (as well as men) who choose (or are required) to spend time with their families are excluded, despite the possibility that spending more time in the community might be beneficial for their practice as well as for the community. Rather than assume that women must meet established masculine standards of professional work, socialist feminists have argued for professions to change, to become more inclusive of feminine norms, for example by offering shorter and more flexible working hours for mothers without loss of status or career progress (WALAP, 1972).

Women may be better served by the socialist feminist approach which acknowledges women's differences, and tries to present difference as a strength rather than a weakness. Rather than argue that apart from the effects of marriage

and child-rearing, women's careers were the same as men, a socialist feminist perspective would prefer to trace how women's different relationships to public and private social institutions affected their working patterns. Certainly there were disadvantages, but there were also advantages, such as new insights which women brought into their design practice, new markets that they served, and new ways of completing a week's work inside school hours while staying on top of the ironing. As well as being critical of the societal expectation that women design better houses, a socialist feminist approach might try to establish why commentators were so often dissatisfied with the housing being delivered. Such an approach might consider whether women's closer experience of domestic work had indeed helped them deliver better design, and if their work was better appreciated by its inhabitants than the profession. Rather than denying women's historic differences, acknowledging them could open up architectural writing to new genres and aesthetics informed by perspectives outside the profession.

A postmodern feminist interpretation

This chapter analyses the predominantly liberal feminist research question of how many early women architects qualified and worked in NSW. It is liberal feminism that takes an interest in a scientific-styled search for precise "facts" kept in historic records and archives, that searches for empirical proof of women's careers and achievements. This can be seen to be part of the Enlightenment approach—the idea that rational, scientific observation of nature (and by extension, of culture) can accurately reveal the workings of the world (Foucault, 1980a). Liberal feminism rarely questions the methodologies employed in such research, largely accepting them to be neutral and objective. By contrast, the postmodern condition has been famously characterised by its "incredulity towards metanarratives", and especially towards the philosophical legitimations of science (Lyotard, 1984:xxiv). A postmodern feminist interpretation might negotiate this incredulity by attempting to account for the ways in which scientific methods and theories, including statistical constructs, are embedded in (gendered) social hierarchies. This does not render the statistics invalid, but positions them as social, historically specific constructs rather than "facts".

Statistics are a form of representation which can be moulded to offer different claims to truth (Waters & West, 1996; Anderson, 1992). Feminists concerned by the statistical representation of women have long pointed to the:

> biases, omissions, and misrepresentations in historical data and in classification schemes and constructs that form the canon of statistical method (Anderson, 1992:14).

A postmodern perspective on the socialist feminist analysis of Julie Willis' liberal feminist findings (see above) might suggest that the debate is a demonstration of the malleability of statistics in the hands of distinct political agendas, rather than a question of the accuracy or integrity of one analysis over the other. Whereas liberal feminism typically positions women as the capable equals of men, socialist feminism positions gender as a central analytic category, affecting every aspect of women's lives. The postmodern interpretation stresses the various operations of representation itself.

One issue of representation emerging from this study is the importance of processes of professionalisation in defining institutions and characteristics proper to professional qualification and practice. This study suggests that between the mid nineteenth century and the late twentieth century, architecture in NSW was engaging in a process of professionalisation—with its formation of institutes, its introduction of registration legislation and its regulation of training based on an exclusive cognitive base (Larson, 1977:208). Such processes exclude certain types of people while elevating the status and conditions of those who remain (Reiger, 1985; Ehrenreich, 1989). A key aspect of professionalisation is this closure against outsiders, through the maintenance of distinct borders.

The archives investigated in this chapter provide an historic record of the names of those who succeeded in becoming identified as architects, "citizens" within the patrolled borders of the profession. They provide no record of those "others" who were excluded. The broad range of people who were engaged in the design, production and consumption of the built environment are ordered into a small group of recorded insiders (effectively citizens), who are legally legitimated as

professionals and experts, while all the work of the large group of unknown outsiders (effectively aliens) is de-legitimated and largely undocumented.

My findings from this archival search are concerned only with the legitimated insiders. In its conception, this search already excludes the vast numbers of women who engaged in the historic development of the built environment in non-professional ways. For example, the large numbers of women activists who were involved in hygiene reform, eugenics and slum demolition (Freestone, 1995; Nittim, 1980; Greed, 1994); the thousands of housewives who were designing dream homes for themselves in the postwar reconstruction period (for example, Bunning, 1946a-d; "They do not ask for mansions", 1943; "Housewives' choice on house design", 1956; "Women tell...", 1957); and the thousands of "ordinary" women who occupied their lived spaces in creative and subversive ways. My archival sample also inevitably excludes the presence of women migrants who arrived in NSW with architectural qualifications not recognised here, and who did not retrain or register here. For example, my list of 230 early women architects in NSW lists Eve Buhrich and Peri Kosa as two "unqualified" women architects—they were qualified overseas but their degrees were not recognised in Australia. They do not appear in any archival search, and only came to my attention through the processes of qualitative research. My own classification reinforces the de-legitimation of their overseas qualifications (although not excluding them altogether).

In choosing to examine only the figure of the legitimated architect as documented in these archives, I have become complicit with the architecture profession's self definition, and conceptually excluded from my study the great majority of women's design contributions to the built environment. However, this limitation also has had the positive effect of allowing me to focus on the state-supported records of qualified women architects, which offer considerable information about their movements and efforts. This dual epistemological effect of the process of professionalisation can be seen as a historiographical demonstration of Michel Foucault's understanding of "power" as both constraining and productive (Foucault, 1980b).

Finally, this postmodern feminist interpretation of the chapter can emphasise self-reflexively that the major work done here has been to try to change the usual meanings found in the quantitative measurements of participation rates of early women architects. Earlier feminist commentaries on women in architecture have emphasised women's *absence* in the profession by stressing their low rates of participation (for example, "women were only 5.4 per cent of all registered architects in NSW in 1960", appendix 16). By contrast, this chapter has demonstrated the variability in the statistics describing women's participation rates, and at the same time has self-declaredly attempted to maximise women's *presence* by focusing on the surprising numbers of women at work (for example, 73 registered women architects in NSW in 1960, appendix 18). Whereas 5.4 per cent sounds low, the existence of 73 individuals implies a great deal of education, talent and commitment, of breaking down barriers, juggling family commitments, and also hundreds if not thousands of buildings and designs to be historically documented. Whereas the established literature, although largely feminist, has interpreted statistics in ways which reduced the sense of women architects' participation, towards *absence*, this research works to interpret those statistics in order to emphasise women architects' *presence*.

Chapter 4

A HALF-OPEN DOOR? QUALITATIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS' EXPERIENCES OF THE PROFESSION

> *Even when the path is nominally open—when there is nothing to prevent a woman from being a doctor, a lawyer, a civil servant—there are many phantoms and obstacles, as I believe, looming in her way. To discuss and define them is I think of great value and importance; for thus only can the labour be shared, the difficulties solved. But besides this, it is necessary also to discuss the ends and the aims for which we are fighting...Those aims cannot be taken for granted; they must be perpetually questioned and examined.*
> Virginia Woolf [1]

INTRODUCTION

In the quantitative overview of the career paths of early women architects in New South Wales (NSW) presented in chapter 3, I established that there were at least 230 women qualified, registered or working as architects in NSW by 1960. While they have always been a minority in the profession women architects have been present in significant and consistently growing numbers since the 1920s. This quantitative research contradicted expectations by showing that from the early days of the century, the majority of women architects had pursued substantial, life-long careers in the field, rather than dropping out when marrying or having children.

These findings shift the emphasis of historiographical questioning of women's absence from "Were there any women architects?" to "Did NSW's early women architects experience the architecture profession in gendered ways, which might explain their absence from the historical record?" and "Did the architectural profession resist the equal participation of women architects?". This chapter

expands considerably on the findings of the quantitative research, which offered some initial evidence that women architects had tended to pursue different career paths from men architects,[2] that they were less likely to join professional societies, to reach leadership positions, and to control large projects.

These and other reasons for the apparent tendency for women architects to pursue different career paths are elaborated in this chapter, largely through the presentation of early women architects' stories of their experiences in the profession. Most stories are derived from my qualitative research, based on interviews with 70 women architects (or their family members or friends), either in a formal, taped setting, or in oral or written responses to a short questionnaire.[3] This survey sample constitutes about a third of the 230 women identified in appendix 1; while the focus is narrowed, the detail and depth of description is increased. Quotations and information from other studies of early women architects in Australia are included on occasion. Several issues are further contextualised by discussion of how they relate to established historic issues and frameworks.

The information is presented in a series of themes which address recurrent issues in the literature on women architects, and also allow for comments describing experiences of various stages of the career cycle. These themes are: "Choosing architecture"; "Payment"; "Gendered spaces: Kitchens and building sites"; "Milestones and achievements"; and "On 'being a woman' in the architectural profession". These themes were chosen because they offer insights into the operation of gender in the architecture profession. They highlight areas where gender has been continually emphasised, such as the suggestion that women

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[1] Woolf, 1979, 62-63.

[2] However, no-one has produced a sociological or historical overview of the careers of men architects in NSW although Naomi Rosh White conducted a small sample survey of men and women architects who graduated in Victoria around 1950 (1985). A quantitative analysis of the broad range of oral history interviews collected by Johnson & Lorne-Johnson (1995), the NSW chapter of the RAIA (for example, Veale, 1996) and the history course run by Trevor Howells at the University of Sydney, might reveal an overview of male professional norms in Australia in the mid century comparable to this study.

[3] A list of the respondents interviewed for this research is given in appendix 2, copies of the information sheet and questionnaires given to respondents is offered in appendix 3. A description of how early women architects were chosen and approached is given in the overall introduction to the thesis in chapter 1.

architects should be especially good at domestic design. Finally, they offer some answers to one of the motivating questions of this thesis: what kinds of contributions have women made to the built environment? In addition to these rational justifications, I have also made an effort to incorporate the most "interesting" comments generated from the qualitative research, rather than rigidly exclude everything which did not fit into a predetermined argument. There is a sustained attempt to allow this multiplicity of voices to articulate a variety of observations and opinions in a context which respects their differences.

I have entitled this chapter, "A half-open door?" in homage to an excellent book of oral histories of women professionals in Australia (Grimshaw & Strahan, 1982). At one stage the chapter was provisionally called "The obstacle race", quoting Germaine Greer's study of historic women artists (Greer, 1979). However, Greer's metaphor seemed less appropriate as research and writing progressed. Whereas "the obstacle race" assumes that everyone is in the same place at the same time, pursuing the same goal under agreed conditions that only one or two may win, a "half-open door" is more open to subjective interpretation—like a glass of water which is "half full" or "half empty" depending on the viewer's frame of mind. The "half-open door" may be seen as a metaphorical entrance to professional qualification and practice, suggesting that professional life was less available to women than men. The metaphor of a half-open door allows for women to move in different directions rather than simply to "lose the race". Moreover, a door is an appropriately architectural object which allows for an evocation of the heterogeneity of worlds in which women understood their professional experiences and opportunities.

This chapter provides historical and sociological insights into the everyday life of ordinary women practitioners; it emphasises the ways in which women encountered difficulties and benefits related to their gender. Their difficulties are understood to have sometimes prevented them from excelling in the public domain, but as also to have often led them into different lifestyles enriched by other interests, and of benefit to other communities. The conclusion offers three feminist interpretations of the empirical information presented here, suggesting

different ways of understanding the historiographical significance of these women's experiences.

Methodological notes

Rather than continually interrupt this chapter's text with references to "interview with so-and-so, 1997", the reader can assume that the person quoted was interviewed. Further information about the interview is given in the comprehensive list of respondents consulted in this research project in appendix 2. However, each respondent's comments are introduced here with the date and place where they completed their education, in order to give some minimal context to their statements. The designation "qual. 1936" means the respondent qualified by graduating from the University of Sydney in that year. In the cases where the respondent qualified elsewhere, the alternative place of qualification is specified, for example at the Sydney Technical College (qual. STC), or in an interstate or international city (qual. Budapest). Registration with an appropriate statuary body in an Australian state is signified by "reg. NSW". Respondents' names have been disguised for the web-based version of this chapter, although already published stories concerning women architects have retained the correct names.[4]

CHOOSING ARCHITECTURE

The question of how and why individuals come to choose their vocation is a common one in biographical monographs. Studies of male architects tend to offer answers that point to early influences, perhaps suggesting motivations for what they hoped to achieve in the profession. Asking this question of early female practitioners tends to bring the issue of gender to the foreground. For a woman to make the decision to spend many years studying architecture and then establishing herself in a strongly male-dominated field contradicted the early twentieth century stereotype of a woman as a full-time wife and mother. Moreover it was often an expensive decision, requiring financial support from

[4] Hard copies of this thesis contain the correct names of correspondents and also whatever information could be gathered about each individual in Appendix 1. This information has been edited in the web-based version out of considerations of privacy.

family and/or elsewhere.[5] The fact that so many women in NSW chose to commit themselves to this profession before 1960 suggests that by the early decades of the twentieth century there were various and complex influences available to them, not only the late-nineteenth century ideology of domesticity. It suggests that by the early decades of the twentieth century, other models of feminine behaviour, involving the possibility of substantial public participation, were available and desirable to the Anglo-Celtic middle-class women who constitute most of my survey sample.

Ms N (qual. 1922) is remembered by many architects as the first successful woman practitioner in Sydney and a very good architect (interviews with Mr B 1995; Ms K, 1997; Ms S, 1997; and Ms C, 1997). She ran an extensive practice from her north shore home from the 1920s until her death in 1972. When her sister Ms G was asked how Ms N came to choose architecture for a career, she replied that Ms N was a "planning sort of person. I think she naturally took to it...She had a very good brain". Ms G explained that all four daughters of Ms N's parents were encouraged "but not pushed" to attend university:

> It was really the legitimate thing to do if you wanted to live a good life and do the right thing. And my family were very much that way inclined, all of my mother's brothers were university people.

This answer is interesting for being gender non-specific, and when pressed about whether it was unusual for a woman to take up a profession in the 1920s, Ms G agreed that it was, "a bit", although she pointed out that "they were starting to do that then". However, she later remarked about her sister, "It was courageous enough to go to university as a woman when she did". Ms G's representation of the situation suggests a predominantly liberal perspective asserting that women were simply men's equals. Ms N had completed two years of a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Sydney when the new architecture school opened

[5] Architecture as a profession contrasts, for example, with writing in terms of its difficulty of access for women:

> Writing was a reputable and harmless occupation. The family peace was not broken by the scratching of a pen. No demand was made upon the family purse...The cheapness of writing paper is, of course, the reason why women have succeeded as writers before they have succeeded in the other professions (Woolf, 1979:57-58).

under Professor Wilkinson in 1919; she promptly transferred into the course and graduated with the first cohort in 1922. It is significant that Ms N had commenced her tertiary education by studying the humanities rather than in the Sydney Technical College architecture course, suggesting that initially at least it was the university education rather than the vocation which was the key issue for her. Also possibly influencing Ms N's shift into architecture in 1919 was losing someone "she was very fond of...who was killed in the war". She may have decided that if she was not going to marry she might as well equip herself with an interesting profession. Indeed, that tragic loss of a substantial part of a generation of young men in World War I may have contributed to the sudden increase in numbers of women entering professional training in Australia during the 1920s.

An early graduate who chose architecture because it offered the possibility of earning a reasonable living was Ms W (qual. 1926). She explained that her father, who had lost money in the economic shifts after Federation in 1901, had wanted both his daughters educated so that they could provide for their mother if necessary. She believed that she "definitely" would not have been sent to university if her parents had had a son, even though she was dux of her high school. There was a family tradition of being doctors, but she couldn't imagine herself in medicine. She made up her mind to do architecture after visiting an open day put on by the new architecture school at the University of Sydney—to which, remarkably, SCEGGS high school girls had been especially invited, suggesting that the university was actively seeking women architecture students. Her classmate Ms H (qual. 1926) was also influenced to enrol in architecture after the same event. The daughter of an Anglican minister, Ms H's education was funded by scholarships for clergymen's daughters, suggesting that the church also supported women's involvement in the professions. Ms H had received good marks for maths and thought that architecture would be "a good outlet for that".

Lack of preparation in girls schools

Ms W pointed out that in the early 1920s, SCEGGS had not offered the appropriate science subjects considered useful for studying architecture at

University of Sydney (physics, in particular), so both women initially had extra work to do to catch up with their male peers. Ms C (qual. 1945) also noted the same problem with her secondary education in the early 1930s at SCEGGS and Frensham (both private girls schools), though she remembered that Biology was popular at Frensham. Ms C (qual. 1952) also remarked that there were no science courses offered at Kincoppel Convent in Rose Bay, although she enjoyed the architecture history she encountered in the art course there. Ms F (qual. STC 1946) confirmed that she had not studied science subjects at Homebush Girls' High (a public school), but also pointed out that it hadn't made any difference in her architecture education at Sydney Technical College, where science was not emphasised and it was expected that anyone who had gaps in their knowledge (and she mentioned "geometry" rather than "physics") would look it up for themselves or ask their architect employers. Ms A (qual. 1951) concurred that the lack of a physics background hadn't affected her studies in the university architecture course nearly as much as her lack of knowledge about architecture generally.

Nonetheless, the apparent absence of "hard" science subjects such as physics and chemistry in Sydney's secondary school education for girls in the first half of the century suggests an institutionalised gendering of what was considered to be appropriate knowledge for girls and boys, implying to the historian now as it must have to students then, that women who went on to work in certain areas such as architecture were moving outside normal feminine roles.

Prior personal acquaintance with architects

Few of the women respondents spoke of being personally acquainted with an architect before they enrolled. However, Ms C's (qual. 1952) uncle was an architect whose work impressed her; when she told him about her intention to study architecture, he advised her not to "because there were no toilets on site". She remembers that she didn't take much notice. All three daughters of Ms C (qual. 1938) started training to be architects and two of them graduated from the University of Sydney architecture school in the early 1960s: Ms R (qual. 1961) and Ms M (qual. 1964). No doubt inspired by the different career models of two architect parents before them, Ms M explained that their parents had not

encouraged them to be architects, in fact if anything they had almost discouraged them. Upon completion, Ms R was interested in doing commercial work in her father's office while Ms M was more inspired by their mother's experience of practising from home. As children, neither had queried their mother's lifestyle and in the end both emulated it by marrying early, having families and running practices part-time from home. Ms K (qual. Budapest 1949) also unsuccessfully tried to dissuade her daughter Ms W (qual. UNSW 1974) from following both parents into a career in architecture, but seems secretly proud when Ms W insisted, saying: "If you want me to go to university, that's the only thing I'm interested in".

Ms M (qual. 1935) was inspired to do architecture by her Point Piper neighbour Ms S (qual. 1926) who had recently completed the University of Sydney degree and told her that it was "a wonderful course". Similarly, Ms B was inspired both by the example of her interior designer mother Marion Hall Best, and by the "brilliant" house designed for her grandmother by Ms N (plate 1).

By contrast, Leonie Matthew's thesis on early women architects in Western Australia tells the story of Ms B, daughter of a draughtsman/builder, whose headmistress told her in the late 1930s that a career in architecture was "not at all possible". The headmistress went so far as to invite Perth's first and most distinguished woman architect Ms P to the school to try to dissuade Ms B from her ambitions. However, Ms B interpreted Morison's talk as an outdated problem—"I think she hadn't had much chance because she was one of our very first"—and went ahead with her articles, but her training was first interrupted by the war and later brought to a halt by motherhood (Matthews, 1991:38, 73). Ms P was not alone in giving such advice to younger women. Ms A (qual. 1950) entered the University of Sydney course as a mature-age student, having fought in World War II in the British airforce. She had enough experience of the world to first approach three or four older women architects to ask them whether they thought a career in architecture was a good idea and "all of them said 'no'". She can't now recall who they were, only that she ignored them and went on to a full-time career in architecture, working always for established firms in the private sector.

Family support

Many women spoke of the support they received from their parents in choosing architecture, some emphasising their fathers and others their mothers as encouraging them into an architecture career. Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) claimed that she was inspired by her father:

> "You will do something constructive in life, Florence, one day you might be a draughtsman like I am, or even an architect," he had said, with a gleam in his eye she had not forgotten (Maegraith, 1968, chapter 1:1).

However, in another account from her life offered during Taylor's more feminist phase in the 1930s, she mentioned instead being inspired by the courageous example of her mother building their first home in Rockhampton from kerosene tins (*Building* May 1933:52).[6]

The father of Ms H (qual. 1928) somehow managed to get seven of his ten children through tertiary education on his modest public servant's salary as a surveyor. As Ms H's sister remembered in her family history:

> I think Dad had very exalted dreams of careers for [his daughters Winsome and Lesley]...It was almost a religion with our Dad, that his children should win their way to university with a scholarship or bursary of some kind, no matter how small (Whitley, 1994:57, 65).

The grandfather of Ms L (qual. 1950) had been committed to education and had specified money in his will for his grandchildren's education. Ms L (qual. 1947) remembered that her father was prepared to pay for a university education for her, "which was pretty unusual for women in those days". She remembers:

> There weren't too many university courses. We went down the list of all the things and I crossed out medicine and arts. By process of elimination I think I got to architecture.

[6] A more complex interpretation of Taylor's entry into the profession is offered in Hanna, 1999b.

Helen Newton Turner (qual. 1930) wanted to be a scientist but also followed a process of elimination arriving at architecture:

> I went to Sydney University and did architecture because I couldn't see anything ahead of science except teaching and I didn't want to teach. It wasn't until I got to university that I realised there were other avenues, we didn't have careers advisers in those days (Moyal, 1994:54).

Turner's mother was a university medallist in the humanities and both parents were keen that all their children went to university. Ms C (qual. 1952) similarly says that both her parents were very helpful in supporting her as well as her brothers (an internationally prominent art historian, and a nationally prominent barrister) through their university courses. Family legend suggests that the tragic death of Ms M's (qual. 1922) brother in World War I led to an inheritance which funded her degree in architecture (interview with Mitchell, 1998). Whereas Ms C's (qual. 1945) lawyer father was only willing to fund her training as a secretary/typist, it was her mother who insisted upon, and largely paid for, Ms C's formal tertiary education in the architecture profession. As Ms C understood it, "she was not about to have her child thrown away that way. She knew what I was capable of". Not only did she support Ms C's career:

> Why, she practically invented the idea...my mother seemed to think it was a good idea to have an architect in the family since she had two sons with professions, a doctor and a lawyer, though my sister didn't go to university. Architecture didn't really grab me. I must have thought the things I'd wanted to do—this journalism or economics—were not appropriate. It was really my mother's idea [for me] to become an architect.

Similarly, Ms C's (qual. 1935) mother thought her daughter's wish to become an artist impractical, and insisted that she go to university and have a career, so she chose architecture. Ms H (qual. 1949) wanted to study science at Sydney Technical College but her mother objected to her working full-time and studying part-time: "She said she'd not have me walking through Ultimo at night". Instead

Ms H's mother followed up a newspaper article where The University of Sydney's Professor Hook had described the sort of people he thought would make good architects:

> My mother thought it would suit me and she went up and had several sessions discussing it with Professor Hook. And I went up and mother and Professor Hook decided I should do architecture. I was quite happy with the idea.

Similarly it was the mother of Ms L (qual. 1950) who chose architecture and "firmly" enrolled her daughter in the course. The mother of Ms M (qual. 1944) was the daughter of an architect who would have liked to have been one herself and who encouraged her daughter to enrol; Ms M remarks that both her parents enjoyed the course. Ms W's (qual. 1940) widowed mother worked as a dentist's secretary to put her daughter through school and university. The mother of Ms F (qual. STC 1946) took her off to a vocational guidance expert when she was finishing school and was impressed when Ms F showed great aptitude for technical subjects and none for office routine. As Ms F remembered it, the expert was:

> very hard pressed, he didn't know where to put me, because I was a woman. He suggested I'd probably be very good at dress design or something. If I'd been a man he would have recommended a technical field. So my mother immediately said, "Right, OK, engineering, architecture or whatever it is you want to do [you can do]"!

Ms D's (qual. 1929) sister Jean had wished to become an architect but had been advised wrongly at their East Maitland Girls' High School about entrance procedures. When it was Ms D's turn to apply, from Sydney Girls High, after the family had moved to the city, Ms D took on the baton of architectural education. Ms D went on to run a substantial architectural practice from home, linked to her husband's engineering firm and employing up to six staff, while bringing up six children (written statement by GD, 1995).

Guidance from schools

Some women students were encouraged to do architecture by authorities at their high school. As a student Ms M was "pretty bright" and it had always been "taken for granted in the family" that she would go to university but she didn't know what to study. Ms M was interested in law but her father was a lawyer and she knew he'd say "it's nothing for women". Then one of the nuns at school at Loreto Convent, Kirribilli, suggested that "architecture would be a nice thing for a woman" which set her off. After being told that she was technically proficient, Ms F (qual. STC 1946) didn't know where to turn until a teacher at Homebush Girls' High suggested architecture and recommended her to an architect in the city, who owed him a favour.

An outstanding school from which women enrolled into the architecture degree at the University of Sydney was Frensham, a private girls' boarding school near Mittagong, south-west of Sydney. At least ten of the first 104 early women graduates from the University of Sydney had completed their secondary education at this one private girls' school outside Sydney.[7] The famous Sydney interior designer Marion Hall Best was another Frensham "old girl" (Richards, 1993). Ms C (qual. 1938) tells the following story about the school in explaining how she came to decide to study architecture:

> One thing that influenced me towards architecture was that I did art as a subject. We had an art mistress, Dore Hawthorne, who was meant to give us lectures on the history of architecture. Now she was an "odd bod", I've never heard of her since but she was eccentric enough to have been Picasso. The idea of standing up and lecturing on the history of architecture was just too much for her so she did several posters and they were brilliant. They demonstrated the particularities of different historical styles: there was a Byzantine one, Egyptian, Greek and Roman...These very interesting posters...I think probably interested me more than lectures [could have].[8]

[7] Early graduates who had been to Frensham included: Ms CH (qual. 1938), Ms L (qual. 1950), Ms Dw (qual. 1944), Ms Fw (qual. 1944), Ms C (qual. 1945), Ms RM (qual. 1951), Ms Sl (qual. 1952), Ms Wl (qual. 1945), Ms Br (qual. 1952) and Ms Hl (qual. 1954).

[8] Heliodore Hawthorne was a friend of Ms NH, Ms HA's older sister, who was interviewed for this thesis. The family history notes that Ms NH met Dore Hawthorne at Julian Ashton's art school (Whitley, 1994). There they produced a student magazine entitled *Undergrowth* between 1925 and 1929, described by Elen Rensch as "the voice of modernism in Sydney". They were part of a crowd of women painters including Grace Crowley and Dorritt Black, and Ms NH has

By contrast, Ms C (qual. 1945) found the education there:

> defective...not scholastically oriented...It was rather like getting a good dose of everything including classical music on Sunday afternoons and joining clubs.

Frensham is an independent school first opened in 1913 by a remarkable woman, Miss Winifred West, who remained its headmistress until 1938. She ran the school along lines designed to encourage its students to develop their interests and talents rather than focusing on rote-learning, and with an emphasis on theatre rather than science (Kennedy, 1976; Richards, 1993). Ms L (qual. 1950) didn't remember any particular teacher but rather the general principles followed by the school, the desire that everyone should fulfil their potential. West's pedagogical philosophy seemed to provide a sound basis for encouraging women students to move into architecture, and no doubt into other non-traditional fields.

Encountering disapproval

Many women who displayed an interest in studying architecture had to counter disapproval from various quarters. Marion Hall Best graduated from Frensham wanting to become an architect, but instead and "in accordance with her father's wish" she trained as a nurse. She married and had children, developed her love of the visual arts and waited nearly fifteen years before enrolling in first year architecture at the University of Sydney; however, by this stage she had no intention of completing the course but instead sought some formal drawing and

photos of the them together on picnics. Ms NH says that Dore Hawthorne built a house for herself to her own design near Sydney's northern beaches, while a biographer describes it as being in the Burragorang Valley (Rensch, 1995:369).

design skills in preparation for what turned out to be a brilliant career as an interior designer (Richards, 1993:17, 23). For Ms M some discouragement came from outside the family:

> I remember my father saying one of his friends [had said], "Oh it's stupid to spend money on a girl, she'll get married and that'll be wasted money".

In the case of Ms H (qual. 1928) it was the aunts and uncles who were "always pestering [her father], and us, with their credo that all this higher education for girls was a waste of time and money as they'd end up getting married anyhow (Whitley, 1994:57). It is significant that such stories of off-hand negative comments by distant friends and relatives, discounted at the time, can remain as vivid enough memories to be retold to a researcher many decades later. The criticism that an education would be wasted if a girl married assumed that marriage was incompatible with a career. This proved not to be the case for the majority of women in this survey sample, who carried on substantial practices even after the birth of children. Yet even when architecture careers were dropped at marriage, as in the cases of Ms W (qual. 1926), Ms C (qual. 1952) and Ms L (qual. 1950), the education was considered of lifelong value to them both as individuals and as mothers.

Other reasons for studying architecture

Ms N (qual. Melbourne 1955) offered a different kind of rationale for her decision to study architecture. Born in Poland, she arrived in Melbourne as a young woman after World War II with some important advice from a refugee friend: to study architecture, and to specialise in footings and foundations, because then you could work anywhere in the world without having to speak the language. She explained that it was very important for refugees to have a "portable profession". She lived in Women's College at the University of Melbourne and was "amazed" to find very few women enrolled in technical or professional areas but rather concentrated in the humanities. She explained that Eastern Europe was so vulnerable to war and so full of refugees that the idea of giving women a lesser professional education than men was unusual, and that all

the refugees did professional courses whenever they could and wherever they landed in the world.

Ms W (qual. 1950) tells an extraordinary story about how she came to be studying architecture during the 1940s. She had always wanted to be a doctor and had already enrolled in medicine at the University of Sydney, but under wartime exigencies she was told by "the government" that she was required to study architecture. She agreed to do that in preference to her only other alternative, which was to work in a jam factory. She says she didn't know what architecture was, and moreover met a hostile reception from the architecture school's Professor Leslie Wilkinson, who had told her: "I don't want any medicine rejects". Wilkinson was apparently only mollified by his colleague Professor Hook, who had said, "Give her a go". She found the course very demanding ("it made medicine look easy"), and she was very impressed by the prowess of some of the other students. Later in the course she tried to transfer out to study physiotherapy but Hook intervened with a letter which announced that the Architecture Faculty would not "release her". In person he told her, "How dare you try to leave, there are other people who should give up architecture but not you!". Yet Ms W concludes now that "I've never been a really inspired architect—I never wanted to do it...That's why I never made any startling movements, it wasn't in my blood". However, she also notes that when her marriage broke down, architecture turned out to be "a bit of a life-saver because you could practise from home".

These stories suggest that few of the women in this sample seem to have consciously chosen architecture as a profession. However, Ms C (qual. 1952) says she was inspired by seeing her aunt and then her parents organise the building of new homes for themselves, that she always loved visiting building sites as a child, and was impressed by American *House & Garden* magazines bought by her family. For her, the architecture profession was a very positive choice. Similarly, Ms W (qual. 1940) says that although her grandfather, two uncles, cousin and nephew were all architects, she wasn't influenced by the family tradition so much as some "inborn thing" within herself: "I never wanted to do anything else" (Veale, 1996:2). Ms S (qual. 1926) told her family a tongue-

in-cheek story about inspiration hitting her on holidays in her early teens, when she "read an article on the 'toilet paper' about architecture" (letter to B. Hanna from P. Freeman quoting Ms S's stepson, 20/1/1999).

This array of stories gives some indication of the variety of influences which were working on women when they made the decision to enter a career in architecture in NSW between 1900 and 1960. Family obligations and pressures figured far more prominently in these stories than individual inspiration. Especially noteworthy is the number of mothers who encouraged their daughters into the profession. Ms H (qual. 1952) noticed that she got a lot of verbal support from older women who said that they would have loved to be an architect. The difficulties of working daily in a male dominated profession don't seem to have been envisaged or of much concern to these early women architects as they made their choice to become architects, but perhaps these were taken for granted as the expected context for a woman entering any of the established professions at that time.

It is interesting also to note that several women who felt that they had been steered towards architecture managed to reorient themselves towards their original interest later in life. Ms H (qual. 1949) wasn't allowed to study science but she completed a PhD in the architectural science of building materials. Helen Newton Turner (qual. 1930) turned post-graduation unemployment during the Great Depression into an opportunity to retrain in science (although she never obtained a further degree until awarded an honorary doctorate in 1970). Turner followed a brilliant international career in genetics in the Commonwealth Science and Industry Research Organisation (CSIRO) (Moyal, 1994). Ms C (qual. 1935) wasn't allowed to study art but became an artist when architectural work became hard to obtain. In each case, their architectural education provided them with a sound foundation for diversification into other areas of professional and cultural activity.

GENDERED SPACES: KITCHENS AND BUILDING SITES

Many women told stories of encountering comments voicing the expectations that they would be good at domestic design and especially the functional design of kitchens, and that they would have difficulties on building sites—supervising contractors and builders in the physical construction of a project. The implication of such comments was that even professionally trained women architects would benefit from their feminine knowledges of domestic labour in the indoor, (feminine) areas of domestic design, and would equally be inhibited by their feminine socialisation in the outdoor (masculine) spaces of the building site. This section describes women's stories both in terms of how these issues were presented to them and how they dealt with them.

Kitchens: women's supposed affinity for domestic design

As early as 1910, Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) was busy rebutting the expectation that women architects had a special affinity for domestic architecture (Taylor, 1910). She wrote a response to a "London journal" which had recently suggested that there was a place in the profession for "lady architects"—to design homes which might satisfy women clients' request for cupboards. The article had concluded:

> The woman's place is in the home, though she may be the most hardened, or rather ardent, suffragette. Her place is in the home, and we like to see her there; but we quite agree that she shall build the house according to her own sweet way (Taylor, 1910 quoting a "London journal").

Describing the article as "mere male philosophy", Taylor first asserted women's right to work:

> When women as well as men have to earn their living, why shouldn't they take up a genteel profession, provided they are capable?...[However,] a woman who takes up a profession should devote her whole time to it (Taylor, 1910).

She argued that a woman who has undergone years of training has of necessity experienced a "complete estrangement of home duties" such that "the home becomes to her as distant as to a man similarly situated". Apparently responding to the London article's trivialisation of the skills needed for domestic design, she went on to offer a professional outline of the architectural issues involved in designing a house, which concluded with a ringing denouncement of "lady clients" who:

> in their eagerness for cupboard room...cannot be convinced that cupboards are only meant for dirty people, a harbour for mice and vermin, and a collection of dirt and rubbish. The "cupboard crank" generally wants to cover up untidiness (Taylor, 1910).

Taylor's article suggests the many ways in which the debate about whether women architects are better at domestic design is loaded. She alludes to the question of the proper "place" for women and men being respectively inside and outside the home. She broaches the question of whether women architects could or should maintain their domestic duties and expertise alongside their career duties. She contests the inference that domestic design is somehow easier as well as more appropriate for women. She herself voices the entrenched hostility of the professional architect's (masculine) attitude towards housewife clients, an attitude adopted without irony even after she admitted that she knew as little about the requirements of a home as a male architect.

The debate is also loaded because the proposition that women are better at domestic design assumes that they are not neutral professionals but bring to the profession already gendered knowledges, which exceed those of men in just one instance, while presumably below those of men in all others. As Ms M (qual. 1935) commented, "people used to say women should be architects because they know about kitchen cupboards, as if that's all they know about". Ms A (qual. 1951) noted her women architect friends saying:

> people always used to say to us when we were starting off. "Oh that's good news. There should be more women architects. You know where to put the cupboards in the kitchen". That used to really get us.

And although Ms C (qual. 1952) felt that "architecture was one profession where we weren't on the outer", still she says, "I used to get terribly sick of being told, 'women are good at designing kitchens'—because I designed very few".

One response to such expectations was Florence Taylor's strategy of arguing that women architects were as ignorant of domestic requirements as men architects, i.e. they were the same as men. This was apparently also Professor Hook's aim in a newspaper debate in 1945, where he argued that he was "defending" women architecture students from the assumption that they were different from men when he suggested that they were more likely to forget the sink in their kitchen plans (*Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) 17/3/1945). Many women in my survey subscribed to a similar view. Ms M (qual. 1944) and Ms A (reg. NSW 1963) spoke for many women when they stated that they would like to be known simply as architects, not women architects.

But weren't women architects affected by their womanliness? Florence Taylor does seem to have escaped the traditional gender role for women: her husband supported her career, she never had children, and she was proud of being "completely undomesticated" (McKinnon, c.1953), boasting on the point of retirement at the age of 80 that she couldn't cook or sew (*Daily Telegraph* 30/12/1959). However, it seems likely that she had an "honorary wife" in the form of her spinster sister Annis Parsons, who lived with her most of her life and probably assumed many of the domestic responsibilities of their household. For the majority of women architects this century, such arrangements were not available. Ms L (reg. NSW 1965) notes that all her women architect friends shouldered most of the burden of running family households on top of their careers, a point which has been demonstrated repeatedly in the literature of women in professions (for example, RAIA, 1986). Thus the strategy of affirming women architects' sameness to men architects often involved denying that their domestic responsibilities affected their careers. So, for example, Ms A explains

that she chose to run a part-time architectural practice from home within school hours, and to turn down any jobs which conflicted with her family responsibilities (which she identified as her first priority) because it was her *individual choice* to have a "low-key" career.

In fact, many women architects in my survey who had children similarly chose to run part-time practices from home. These practices usually specialised in domestic work, both because that scale of design could be best accommodated to a small office and because client networks tended to operate through family, friends and neighbours rather than on a commercial or old-school-tie basis. In addition there probably *was* the added advantage that women architects who were also running their own homes might better understand the needs and requirements of domestic architecture by dint of their own experience. Ms W (qual. 1926) recalled, "They thought women would be architects for houses, not banks. I thought it was fair enough". When explaining why she liked doing domestic alterations, Ms A (qual. 1951) offered a wonderfully apt metaphor, suggesting that the familiarity with domesticity might produce an expertise enriched by its processes as well as its content:

> It's almost like, I always think, like opening the fridge and finding a few little oddments in there and then turning it into something that's really nice. It's got the same sort of challenge.

Ms N's (qual. 1922) sister Ms G still lives in a house designed for her by Ms N in 1939. With great pride she showed me the intact kitchen which was deliberately small, designed with the housewife in mind to "be able to stand in the middle and reach everywhere" and with generous cupboard space reaching right to the ceiling: "It's wonderful". According to Ms G, Ms N would take great account of her clients' wishes and compromise aesthetic principles if necessary. Far from seeing women or indeed men clients as adversaries, they tended to become her very good friends. Thus Ms N seems to have incorporated her feminine life experiences of domesticity, such as respecting housewives' knowledges and accommodating a diversity of needs and wishes, into her architectural practice in a productive and professional manner.

The arrival of second wave feminism in the 1970s also contributed to the development of new ways to respond to this expectation that women were better at domestic design. Rather than resisting the suggestion that women were different from men, the group of women architects who founded Constructive Women in Sydney in 1984 actively embraced the notion. As founder Ms L (reg. NSW 1965) explained:

> All those people keep saying they are just as good as men. To my way of thinking, what you are saying then is "Well, if I can't get a man I would employ a women but otherwise of course I want the genuine article". Quite as good is not good enough. So as far as I'm concerned what we should go for and what we did go for [in Constructive Women], is, we are very different, and by implication very much better. Come and try us and see. It succeeded beyond expectations. I think it was without any doubt the smartest thing I've ever done in my life.

As a result of this strategy of proclaiming women's difference, Ms L's career boomed and many other women in the group have benefited not only from regular publicity but also from meeting and helping each other. Yet it is perhaps not surprising that the group is avoided by many women architects who argue for women's complete equality in the profession with men. Many women would like to go to the office without having to face gendered assumptions about their potential and capabilities—assumptions which are likely to be more negative than positive. Peter McNeil has argued that the identification of women with domestic and interior design resulted in the simultaneous "parallel denigration of women and applied art":

> The hierarchies of art and design were not only informed by feminine stereotypes, but implicated in the production of a discourse of gender. They reproduced the associations of femininity with decoration, surface, artifice and intuition, the Otherness of male rationality (McNeil, 1993:46).

However, Constructive Women's tactic could be understood alternatively as an attempt to revalue the feminine, in both domestic design and female

practitioners, in a positive public representation which also financially benefited the individual practitioners involved. However, the tactic could be threatening, as one woman architect indicated to Ms L, when invited to participate in a debate about whether gender affected architecture: “There’s no way. I’m spending my life proving that it doesn’t. I’m not going to admit that there is. Quite frankly”.

The apparently trivial expectation that women architects would be good at designing kitchens is shown here to be entwined with several larger issues concerning women’s proper place in society and how women should manage the combination of their public and private roles without detracting from their perceived professionalism. The positions outlined here can be seen to fall into the still unresolved feminist debate of the 1980s: should we argue for a feminism of equality or a feminism of difference? Calling for equality seems to entail denying femininity while foregrounding femininity risks denying all-round professional competence. Yet practitioners such as Ms A and Ms N offer a middle ground where both feminine knowledge and professional competence can coexist in a productive practice, to the benefit of both the profession and its clients.

Resistance to women on building sites

Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) complained as early as 1910 that:

> It is rarely a client will have confidence to put thousands of pounds under the spending judgement of a woman. He, or she, thinks a woman cannot combat with “the tricks of the trade” that architects should know so well. This particular knowledge comes with years of experience, and mostly from inspections under the architect by whom one is employed, but he invariably thinks “drafting” a more congenial occupation for a woman, and never gives her much chance of inspecting (Taylor, 1910:84).

Here Taylor once again links a seemingly small problem to the bigger issue—that women who don’t gain experience in site visits can be seen to, and in fact probably do, lack the all-round expertise required by an architect to perform the job capably.

Ms H (qual. 1949) pointed out that as students at the University of Sydney during the war they had very few opportunities to visit building sites, partly because there was "virtually no civilian work being carried out". Then after graduation she found that architecture firms were "reluctant to send women out onto the site". Ms L (qual. 1947) recalled:

> There was such incredible prejudice against women architects that we were stuck on a drawing board, we weren't allowed to go out. Women didn't go out onto the site my dear...Mostly women went into government.

Ms H ended up testing materials for a building materials company where by contrast:

> There were no problems getting out on jobs, testing concrete. Oh I tested concrete on Concord Rd, on Epping Rd, on Bellevue Rd...Although my work with Ready Mixed Concrete frequently took me to major building sites (where I never had any problems) no architectural office gave me the opportunity to experience this aspect of the work.

In the 1950s and 1960s Ms H (qual. 1952) and Ms K (qual. Budapest 1949) noticed that the expectation that women would have trouble on site was somewhat stronger in Australia than in their work experiences overseas. Ms H was given the responsibility for site supervision of a building in the UK just one year after graduating from the University of Sydney, but when she arrived back in Australia she found that although she did get some chances to go on site, "the fellows had more opportunity to go out. They were being protective, not unpleasant...they thought the workers wouldn't like it". This was her only experience of discrimination in her long career in architecture and town planning. Ms K had already worked for a decade in the architectural teams which designed substantial modern buildings under the communist regime in Hungary when she migrated to Australia in 1957. Yet after all the difficulties of procuring her first job here (qualifications not recognised, language barrier, different scale of measurement and childcare problems), she found that she was rarely allowed out to supervise on site. She thought this was because her firm didn't like their

employees having any contact with the clients for fear that they would steal them. When she went into partnership with her architect husband at the end of the 1960s, she continued to do mostly documentation while he did most of the site work, presumably because she had never developed any Australian expertise in supervision or contract administration.

So why were site visits considered uncongenial for a woman architect? As already noted, Ms C's (qual. 1952) uncle was concerned at the lack of women's toilets. Ms N (qual. Melbourne 1955) remembers being informed at a job interview that the employer didn't like to employ women because "architecture was too heavy". Indeed he had managed to convince his aspiring architect daughter to do nursing instead. As Ms N commented in retrospect: "talk about heavy work!"

An obvious problem in the early days was women's clothing. Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) mentions "climbing up ladders, in skirts that practically swept the ground" (*Sun Herald* 1/6/1961). Ms C (qual. 1938) remembers "being sent up ladders last and down first as a courtesy", noting that "now you wouldn't dream of going on site in anything but trousers". Other women obviously decided early on that dresses simply wouldn't do: Mr M recalls that his mother Ms S (qual. 1926) wore tailored slacks to site meetings long before it was fashionable for women to wear pants. Several people remember that Ellison Harvey (qual. Melbourne 1928), who in 1946 became the first Australian woman partner in a major architectural firm (Stephenson & Turner), habitually wore men's suits to work (interviews with Ms G, 1995; Ms C, 1997).

Another issue, apparently, was the sheer unexpectedness of finding a woman in authority on a building site. Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) tells a story of running into the client's friend on a site visit and being offered a tour of the house; she offered to guide him instead (*Orange Leader* 4/9/31). Ms M found that this unexpectedness worked both against and for her. She recalled that with employer Clement Glancey she never made site visits—except on one occasion when she was sent out on her own to ask a foreman if he had any problems. As she remembers it, "The foreman was so flabbergasted to see a woman, I'm sure

that was it, that he [said he] had no problems. He couldn't even look at me". The next day she reported back to the office that everything was fine, while the foreman called to say that he needed help with the roof. On another occasion when Ms M was self-employed, the effect of being a woman was to her advantage. She found that the builders had added a costly item to their bill which she had to query:

> the manager...was said to be a very difficult man to deal with. So I must tell you I was quaking in my shoes when I went up to Wellington to see him that morning...When he came in it was obvious he had been drinking, and I knew I'd won...We compromised a little but I won the main point. He couldn't cope with a woman so he'd had a few drinks.

There are further examples of the working culture of the building site being affected by women's presence. Ms P (reg. WA 1924) told a story about completing a site visit then going back because she'd forgotten something:

> I heard a piercing whistle...Bill was the foreman, I said, "What was that whistle all about?", and he said, "Oh just to tell the boys that you were coming back through, so they could modify their language" (Matthews, 1991:113).

Ms C (qual. 1938) remembers similarly that in the early days, her employer would call out on site, "Women present, women present" in order to warn workers to behave themselves. She didn't mind that or think it was a disadvantage.

The only issue that some of the women themselves seemed to see as a problem on site was managing how to give instructions to the workers (who were assumed by everyone to be men). Ms R (qual. 1951) felt that being a woman had affected her career insofar as she had had "difficulty in supervision of tradespeople, especially realising they knew more than me". The brother of Ms A (qual. 1931) thought that she "had difficulties sometimes going out to site and giving orders" (interview with Mr L, 1997). The (architect) son of Ms G

remembered stories of builders swearing on site and suddenly stopping as they realised that the architect was a woman (interview with Mr G, 1997). Mr M considered that it must have been hard for men to take directions from a woman earlier in the century; he remembers that his mother Ms S (qual. 1926) was seen to be in partnership with his father and that they were "given respect as a team". Some women on their own had it tougher. Ms M had several stories of recalcitrant builders. One concerned a house she designed as a wedding present for friends who had bought land from the builder:

> [The builder] decided that the front door had to face the street, whereas I had the front door on the side. So he [turned the house around ninety degrees], set the house out with the front door facing the street.

She managed on that occasion to get it turned back the right way. Ms W (qual. 1953) found that "some builders tend to think they will do the job their way without consultation, but maybe they have the same attitude to men". Ms C (qual. 1938) recalls that:

> ahead of my time, I heard of a bricklayer throwing down his trowel and saying "I'm not going to take any instruction from a such and such woman". I never had that done to me.

She said that "you had to have the workmen happy to work with you" but she learned to develop that over time. Ms H (qual. 1952) used a "protocol, not to speak to the workers but to their supervisor and of course everything went very well. You're just polite to them, and they're polite to you". Ms P (reg. WA 1924) found that things went better if "you don't try to order men around". She believed that:

> you can get an awful lot of experience by asking the tradesmen their opinions about things…if they find out that you know what you want to do...and you can say that you want it done that way, you can get it done (Matthews, 1991:112).

The expectation that women architects would have difficulties on building sites was apparently widespread in NSW and must have had a detrimental effect on many women architects' careers, insofar as they were inhibited from gaining supervision experience. It seems that most women were prepared to give it a go but were largely prevented by a paternal attitude on the part of their male colleagues—who probably feared that the traditional hierarchy of professionals over workers could be compromised by being in conflict with the traditional hierarchy of men over women. Yet women who did manage to get on site generally found that they performed well, especially if given sufficient opportunities to develop skills and protocols for communicating with builders. In fact, early women architects evidently had some potential to use feminine skills of politeness, non-confrontationalism and negotiation, to improve the relationship between architects and builders, again to the benefit of the profession and its clients.

PAYMENT

How did early women architects in NSW historically encounter the issue of payment? Were they paid equal wages if they were doing exactly the same work as men architects, as the law prescribed? The question of measuring equal pay amongst professionals is fraught with difficulty because professions typically avoid unionisation and rigid guidelines for pay, apparently preferring to allow the market to pay whatever is necessary "to get the right man for the job". Also the level of payment is usually considered to be a private arrangement between company and employee (while at the same time constituted as a kind of public knowledge in gossip, and understood as an indicator of how well an employee is valued). Moreover self-employed architects may reduce their wages radically at their own behest in order to attract work or meet local community demand.

The issue of equal pay was not a direct line of questioning in my interviews or questionnaires, and descriptions of unequal pay situations usually emerged under the more general question of whether women felt that they had encountered any discrimination in their working lives or whether being a woman had affected their careers. While the majority of women architects interviewed did not

mention the issue, it is likely that these stories represent the experiences of a significant proportion of early women architects.

Historic context of legally endorsed unequal pay

It is commonly recognised that women in paid employment have tended to and indeed continue to earn substantially less than men. In Australia this inequality was institutionalised in the *Harvester Case* of 1907 when the Federal Arbitration Court laid down the principle of the "family wage", that a minimum wage for men should be based on the cost of providing for a wife and three children "in reasonable comfort", while a minimum wage for women needed only to provide for the woman worker herself, and was usually set at around 50-60 per cent of a man's wage.[9] This legal principle was developed in the same court's *Mildura Fruit Pickers' Case* of 1912, which dealt with the threat that lower-paid women workers might supplant men from their jobs. It established that equal wages should be paid to men and women when engaged in exactly the same work, but reaffirmed that work done primarily or solely by women should be paid at the lower rate of women's wages. A further justification for paying lower wages to women was that they were considered physically weaker, less productive, less efficient and of inferior endurance (Summers, 1975a:400; Ryan & Conlon, 1975:96-97). Paying women equal wages risked "challeng[ing] the traditional roles of the sexes and family life would be imperiled" (Summers, 1975a:338). Although the Federal Parliament had early legislated for Commonwealth employees to receive equal pay in the *Commonwealth Public Servants Act* of 1902 (Ryan & Conlon, 1975:99), the general principle of the family wage was also entrenched in the Commonwealth Public Service at least by the 1940s when there was evidently a set of established "male" versus "female" rates of pay. The rule barring the employment of married women was not phased out until 1966 (Encel et al., 1974:135).

[9] Ryan & Conlon note that the concept of the family wage can be traced back to Roman times (1975:92-93). They also argue that the basic requirements for a family to live in "reasonable comfort" were seriously underestimated in the *Harvester Case*. A. B. Piddington's *Royal Commission on the Basic Wage* in 1920 found that the family wage was about 20 per cent less than the actual cost of living for a family of five. With a recession in the offing, the Commonwealth Government of 1920 introduced family endowment payments to supplement the basic wage, combined with small quarterly increases (Ryan & Conlon, 1975:105).

The obvious failure of Australian society to live up to the fiction implied by the *Harvester Case*—that everyone was grouped into distinct nuclear family groups headed by a responsible patriarch—meant that many people, particularly women and children, suffered under this industrial orthodoxy.[10] Edna Ryan and Anne Conlon argue that the concept of the family wage stood almost unquestioned for decades for two reasons: because "People believed in it [and] the trade unions accepted it" (Ryan & Conlon, 1975:111). It offered men a living wage while discouraging competition from women workers, and reinforced the ideal that husbands should work for wages while wives stay home to look after their families, thus encouraging a patriarchal mode of stable family life. As Summers has pointed out, women's low wages made it almost impossible for them to leave an unhappy domestic situation (Summers, 1975a:138, 338, 399).

The law was only changed in 1974 when the National Wage Decision awarded all women a minimum wage equal to men (Summers, 1975a:138). Feminist lobbying has since contributed to the institution of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation, insisting that women (and other marginalised groups) be offered the same opportunities in education and the workplace. However, women continue to fare worse than men in wages and career advancement in almost every occupational category.[11]

Early women architects' experiences of unequal pay

Ms H (qual. 1928) evidently believed that she obtained her first job in a small Sydney office in the face of the Great Depression only because it was on the lower women's rate of pay:

[10] In the *Harvester Case* Justice Higgins acknowledged the possibility that some women workers would be solely responsible for dependents but considered this situation to be "exceptional", that such women "defy definition, they defy classification". Moreover he deplored the notion of women being "dragged from their homes to work while men loaf at home" (Ryan & Conlon, 1975:95-96). Ryan & Conlon described the Harvester case as "a material force for wage injustice", and point out that an industrial policy of equal pay would not only have "saved some women and children from utter poverty and degradation", but would also have relieved "many hopeless men who could not carry the role of family breadwinner" (Ryan & Conlon, 1975:111).

[11] Waring, 1988. The European Union webpage notes that on average women continue to earn less, are more often in part-time jobs, constitute a higher percentage of the unemployed and remain under-represented at decision-making levels in the working world (http://www.europs.be/en/progaee1.htm).

> She knew she'd got it because she was a woman and could be paid less than a man, but she jumped at it anyway; and so off with her to work, hooray! (She was the only woman in her year, and the only person to get work) (Whitley, 1994).[12]

This comment from Ms H's sister's family history suggests that it was possible but not desirable for a woman architect to be employed on a lower rate of pay. It gave Ms H a competitive edge on her male peers. The tone of this comment also implies that it was understood to be a double-edged sword: it enabled Ms H to make that vital "leap" between education and practice, but into a situation where her training and skills were underpaid and possibly undervalued. Moreover it seems likely that she (and no doubt her male peers) believed that she was employed because she was cheaper, not because "she was the best man for the job", a perception found to be common, however unfair, in affirmative action policies. Such perceptions would have contributed to a sense of injustice which would often be directed at women (themselves already disadvantaged in receiving poor wages) for undercutting men ("who had families to support"), rather than at the system.

Clement Glancey was Ms H's first employer, and he continued to employ

[12] This fragment appears in a family history by Ms HA's sister Barbara Whitley, suggesting that the story was common family knowledge. Whitley avoids mentioning the name of the firm, stating only that it was "a Catholic gentleman who did have some work to do for the Church" but other records indicate that Ms HA's employer at least between 1932 and 1934 was Clement Glancey (Board of Architects of NSW *Architects' Roll*).

women architects during the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed, his office stands out as the launching pad for the careers of many of NSW's most successful early women architects.[13] Besides the public service,[14] and Ms N's (qual. 1922) Lindfield practice,[15] only two other, much larger, firms were regularly mentioned as sites of employment for early women architects: Stephenson & Turner,[16] and Joseland & Gilling.[17] It is not known whether Glancey employed so many women architects as a money saving exercise, or because he found them to be good workers, or because having women architects tended to attract other women architects to apply for jobs—as it did in the case of Ms F (qual. STC 1946), who was recommended to apply there because Glancey already employed Ms E (qual. 1924). Most likely it was a combination of the three factors. Even if Glancey's motives were mixed, the effects of his employment practices were strongly beneficial to many women architects in offering them their first professional work experience. Ms F remembers that as an employer, "Clem Glancey was wonderful, very helpful...I got very good practical experience".[18]

One perception on the issue of equal pay comes from Ms H (qual. 1926), who said that even though she had been paid less than men in the office jobs she had held during the late twenties (including a stint in the Commonwealth public service), she considered that fair enough because she was still single while men

[13] These included: Ms Ed (qual. 1924), Ms S (qual. 1926), Ms M and Ms F (qual. STC 1946). Other women architects employed there included Ms Le (qual. 1943), Ms Ha (qual. 1925), Caroline Swayne and Maria Terkel (qual. Riga, Latvia 1929, reg. NSW 1960).

[14] Women architects who worked for the public service in NSW include: Gwendolyn Wilson (qual. 1940), Winsome Kelman (qual. 1950), Ms Sh (qual. 1950), Myrna Tudor (qual. 1941) and Ms Wh (qual. 1950).

[15] Over the course of nearly half a century, Ms N employed a good many women architects in her practice including: Ms Mo (qual. 1930), Ms Wl (qual. 1945), Ms Ha (qual. 1947), Libby Hall, Ms Ht and Ms ER (qual. 1932).

[16] Women architects in my survey employed at one time or another by Stephenson & Turner include: Ms Wl (qual. 1945), Margaret Rowan Browne (qual. 1940), Ms H (qual. 1949), Janet Single (qual. 1952), Ms Cr (qual. 1952), Ms B (qual. 1934), Ellison Harvie (qual. Melbourne 1928), Ms G (interior designer sister of Ms N), Winsome Kelman (qual. 1950), Viwa Turner (qual. 1935) and Elizabeth Causwell (qual. 1945).

[17] Women architects in my survey employed at one time or another by Joseland & Gilling include: Ms L (qual. 1950), Ruth Mary (qual. 1951), Ms Sh (qual. 1950), Janet Single (qual. 1952), Joan Mackey (qual. 1942) and Ms M.

[18] By contrast, Ms M felt that Glancey was reluctant to take women out on site and she preferred her time at Joseland & Gilling: "Mr Gilling would go look at a job and he would always take one of us with him, we were supposed to take the notes of what was wrong and inform the builder. So, he was sort of preparing us for practice and I really appreciated that very much".

were expected to support an entire family.[19] Leonie Matthew's study of women architects in Western Australia tells the story of Ms P (reg. WA 1924) being retrenched during the Great Depression because she was single, while men with families to support were kept on. She went to her brother's house in the country and kept house for his family while his wife was ill. She explained, apparently without bitterness, that it taught her about country domesticity which was "quite interesting" (Matthews, 1991:66). Later however, it was also Ms P who explained to high school girls that architecture was no career for a woman (Matthews, 1991:38).

Ms C (qual. 1945) as a single woman architect and town planner in the 1950s considered the situation of unequal pay in the public service to be outrageous. Arriving back in Sydney after studying architecture under Gropius at Harvard in 1948 and obtaining academic qualifications in Town Planning from Edinburgh in 1952 (the world's first school in town planning), she was appalled to be offered a town planning job at the Cumberland County Council for 800 pounds a year. She remembers remarking, "You know, I can scrub floors for that!". Further negotiations resulted in her being offered 1200 pounds per annum at "the top of the female scale". Soon afterwards she obtained a job as an architect for Stephenson & Turner at 1750 pounds a year (evidently a wage equivalent to that earned by male architects of similar standing at that time). However, she was quickly retrenched when recession hit. Ms C then encountered a series of experiences of discrimination which led to her leaving Australia altogether in 1957 for work in Canada and the USA (see "On 'being a woman' in the architecture profession" below). She eventually settled in Jamaica where she worked for the government from 1964 until 1980, finally returning to Australia in 1989.

[19] She noted that in her "first job" (either as a tracer for a Sydney firm of engineers, or as an architect for a small firm in Wagga) she had earned 3 pounds per week, double the wage of a secretary at that time. She was earning 5 pounds per week for her stint in the Commonwealth Public Service in Canberra in the late 1920s at a time when the basic wage was about 4 pounds per week.

Other women architects also avoided jobs where they were paid less because they were women. Jan Besser trained in Perth and Melbourne, and worked in Townsville before settling in Newcastle in 1970:

> My most remembered slight was in about 1954 or so when I'd successfully applied for a position with the Commonwealth only to find when about to sign up that I was to be paid at 75% of the male wage—"that was the rule"!! No equal pay for equal worth, so I declined the job in a blaze of wrath. There must have been plenty of work around then (Matthews, 1991:125).

According to Mr B, the issue of equal pay was also influential in the decision his late wife Ms B (qual. Zurich 1937) made during the 1950s, to switch from architectural practice to architectural journalism where the differential pay rates apparently didn't apply.

An equal pay claim by women architects in the Commonwealth Public Service

Such loss of practising architectural skill might not have occurred if the initiative of a group of women architects during the 1940s had met with permanent success. The group of ten or so public servants, led initially by Ms M (qual. 1930),[20] and later by Ms W (qual. 1940), began lobbying the Federal Parliament during World War II to put an end to differential pay scales for men and women architects. They met with temporary success when the Commonwealth agreed to pay all architects in its public service at the male rate of pay between 1945 and 1949. Ms F (qual. STC 1946) remembered that:

> Ms M...decided, when we were doing exactly the same thing, why should the women be paid that much less than the men? It was about 70 per cent of the men's wage. So we got a court ruling for equal pay for architects [and] we were paid equally for the rest of the war, and even some back pay. But as soon as peace was declared they whipped it off us. The direction only stood for what was happening during the war. So then we dropped back again…Oh we hated their guts. They had to go along with the law and then as soon as they got an opportunity they got it revoked.

[20] Her father was, usefully, an eminent professor of law at the University of Sydney.

Ms W has kept a copy of one of the reports and several letters she wrote during the campaign, which together with her recollections fill in further details about this interesting episode.[21] In 1941, women were typically employed in the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing's Sydney office under the female rate of pay (around 350 pounds per annum for Grade 1 architects compared to the male rate of 414 pounds per annum). However, they began agitating for pay equity when they discovered that two women had been employed in the Melbourne office under the male rate of pay. They were supported by a sympathetic boss in the Department, as well as the Professional Officers Association. Following "lengthy discussions" with the Department and the Allied Works Council:

> an agreement was made out of court under the powers of the National Security Act and Regulations, and based on the Rulings of the Women's Employment Board, which entitled the female architects to full male rate of pay and cost of living increases (Ms W, c.1950:1).

This agreement became effective in 1944, backdated to 1942, but was almost immediately "discontinued on the instructions of the Commonwealth Public Service Board". A further year of talks resulted in the decision being reinstated in 1945, and remaining effective for several years. However, in September 1949, several women architects were employed under the female rate of pay, and in November 1949, the women architects employed under the male rate were informed that their rates of pay would remain static until matched by the female rate of pay. The justification given was "the invalidation of the Women's Employment Board and its Rulings by a High Court decision" (Ms W, c.1950:1).

[21] Wilson's report, dating from around 1950, is entitled "Salaries—Female Architects, Department of Works and Housing, Sydney NSW". There are also two letters addressed to Dame Enid Lyons, a female member of the Federal House of Representatives, in 1950 and 1951 (appendix 20). Women architects mentioned in the report who were probably part of the delegation included: Ms Be (qual. STC 1931), Beryl Fakes (qual. STC 1946), Winsome Kelman (qual. 1950), Joan King (m. Mackey, qual. 1942), Ms Le (qual. 1943), Ms Lh (qual. 1947), Ms Lo (qual. 1949), and Ms Mo (qual. 1930). Further women mentioned as employees include: Ms Bo (qual. 1948), Ms Hu (qual. 1947), Ms Ml (qual. 1949), Ms Wd (qual. 1950) and Ms Wh (qual.

It was at this juncture that Ms W's surviving report and letters were written. The report details some of the anomalies arising from this situation: for example, that more experienced women architects employed after 1949 would be paid considerably less than women employed earlier on the male scale, and that women who had advanced to Grade 3 on the female scale could end up being paid less than the Grade 1 men they would be supervising. While the first anomaly is transitional, the second one makes obvious a problem in the principle of differential pay rates for men and women—when women rise in employment hierarchies to supervisory positions over men where their lesser income are clearly absurd. The report also argued persuasively that: the differential pay system gave no consideration "to females with families to support or other responsibilities, nor to the fact that a single man earns as much as a married man"; and that architects had particular expenses that required a decent income; that other professions (including medicine, dentistry, law and journalism) had established equal pay rates for women practitioners. It quoted the Prime Minister himself stating that:

> Our instructions to the Public Service re-introduces the old rule of no discrimination. To me it is impossible to justify a position where two tax-payers working for the Commonwealth and doing identical jobs should be treated differently by the country for which they work (Ms W, c.1950:6).

The report was sent to Dame Enid Lyons, a Liberal (conservative) Member of Parliament (MP) and the first female elected to the Federal House of Representatives, who was chosen as the recipient because "we didn't know what else to do" (interviews with Ms W, 1997-1999). Lyons was sympathetic but failed to take up the case, although the architects pointed out that *she* was being paid on the same rates as male members of parliament. The women's equal pay claim remained overturned. Ms W herself suffered an anomalous situation the following year when she married and was re-employed, since "it was considered a new appointment", at a substantially reduced salary on the female rate, after having enjoyed the male rate of pay for over five years. Perhaps not so

1950). A copy of the report is held in the Constructive Women Architecture & Design Archive (CWADA).

surprisingly, she retired from architecture at the end of the year with the intention of starting a family.

Women's different approaches to the question of payment

Some women architects were not particularly concerned about how much they were paid, probably because they were already comfortably supported by husbands or family income. Being middle-class, they tended to marry professional men, who by and large would have enjoyed comfortable incomes (table 1). Many women running their own architectural practices from home under those circumstances exercised considerable discretion over their fee scales. Domestic design and renovations are among the most time-consuming and lowest paid types of architectural work and yet women working in small practices from home have often been confined to this genre, partly because of resources, and additionally because their client base tends to spread out from family and friends rather than through commercial networks. After her marriage, Ms A (qual. 1951) hadn't really needed to make a living from her home-based architectural practice: "One year I thought I'd made just enough to feed the cat and that was all". However, since separating from her husband in the early 1990s the income issue had become more important. The brother of Ms A (qual. 1931) thought that she had never practised as a professional in order to make money. Six years after graduating Ms A had married a farmer and from then on conducted a part-time architectural practice from their property west of Wagga Wagga. Clients sought her out, mostly friends and acquaintances, but they often had to talk her into doing some work for them. She was apparently reluctant because she was a "worrier", but once she took on a job she would throw herself into it and end up with excellent results (interview with Mr L, 1997). However, it seems likely that Ms A 's architectural income would have been important at least for the decade she worked between graduation and marriage while living with her parents in Wagga Wagga, just as Ms A's was for her in the years before and after her marriage.

While women architects who were supported by their husbands perhaps missed out on the creative impetus that might have accompanied the need to make an income from architecture, one shouldn't underestimate the social advantages of

not having to work for money. Many male colleagues might well envy the choices available to women architects in this situation. Many were not stressed by having to shoulder the weight of serious financial responsibilities; for example, Ms B (qual. 1934) said that she enjoyed working but only so that she could earn money to go travelling, while Ms C (qual. 1952) quit her job at Stephenson & Turner soon after graduating because she wanted to go skiing. Some were able to turn down unattractive work—as Ms J (qual. 1952) put it, "I only took what work appealed to me and therefore always enjoyed it". Others were able to spend more time than commercially viable on getting a design just right, like Ms C. It was possible to adopt the feminine role and "keep house" for a relative if retrenched, like Ms P, rather than facing outright homelessness. However, this social understanding undoubtedly contributed to more women being retrenched. Many women had the choice of presenting themselves to society entirely in terms of their domestic situation, with any achievements in their architecture career a bonus rather than definitive of their social standing, as Ms H (qual. 1926) explained:

> you were rather looked up to...because it was unique. We didn't think it was unique in Sydney, of course, because there were quite a lot of women architects. But in the country, you know, people would open their eyes and say "Ooh!"

They enjoyed social prestige as university graduates. They had an enviable ability to earn "pin money" in an interesting occupation. Perhaps most importantly, they had the capacity to support themselves and their children in relative comfort if their marriage ended, like Ms W (qual. 1950) and many others. Yet maintaining a foot in both spheres of masculinity and femininity, of domesticity and professional life, would have involved many struggles.

One woman who made a good income from her home-based architectural practice was Ms S (qual. Warsaw 1957, reg. NSW 1966). Ms S became involved in substantial domestic development work in the mid 1960s, beginning with a successful block of 14 flats in Rockdale commissioned by her accountant. Within a few years she became financially independent, able to support herself and her children, so that she could leave an incompatible marriage with dignity as a fully

independent, self-reliant person. Ms N (qual. 1922), who never married, operated a large domestic architectural practice from her north shore home, probably with low overheads and possibly with an independent income, but in any case with a large enough flow of work to justify having several employees at any one time. She spent a consistent proportion of her working life providing honorary architectural advice to her alma mater, the Women's College at the University of Sydney, and even donated back to their building fund the fees they paid her for substantial design work, such as the construction of the Reid Wing in 1958. Many other women spoke of honorary work they had performed for good causes: Ms M (qual. 1935) designed the Country Women's Association (CWA) premises in Gundagai as an honorary job; Ms H (qual. 1926) had done the same for the CWA premises in Junee in the mid 1930s; Ms E (qual. 1960) wrote that "there is unlimited opportunities for voluntary work here in Portland (rural NSW) [but] there are rarely fees". Ms C (qual. 1938) explained that she had worked for reduced rates "if the building was being paid for by public subscription" but she harboured some doubts about the practice: "I think people thought I ought to be interested. I somehow or other justified charging them less than I should".

Several women told stories of being expected to do free work for acquaintances: Ms M (qual. 1935) offended the doctor's wife in Gilgandra during the 1930s by presenting a modest bill for a house design; she remembers that it took some effort to get her to pay, and never heard whether the house was built. It is hard to imagine such a situation arising for a male architect.

On the other hand, many women architects depended on their income as an architect as their sole source of livelihood, and when they also had dependents the unequal rates of pay and employment conditions became obviously unjust. Ms W (qual. 1940) remembers the plight of her colleague Ms B (qual. STC 1931), whose husband had been institutionalised in a mental asylum and couldn't be divorced. She had a child to support but her pay was reduced from male to female rates of pay after 1950. Moreover she was not allowed to join the superannuation fund because she wasn't single: "She had a very rough time".

This discussion of women's experiences in relation to professional payment gives an indication of the breadth and cultural importance of the issue, and the complexity of ways in which it interacts with other facets of personal and professional life. The *Harvester Case* and the *Mildura Fruit Pickers' Case* indicate that gender was a key category in the organisation of wages in Australia until the 1970s. The legal principle of differential work rates for men and women had many contradictory flow-on effects for the women architects interviewed in this study—even though one might have supposed that they would have been doing exactly the same work as men architects, and thus should never have been affected at all. Indeed some, like Ms H (qual. 1949), never encountered an unequal pay situation, and "had not realised that some of my fellow women architects received lower pay than their male counterparts" (letter to B. Hanna, 5/7/1999). Some women architects, particularly those who conformed to the stereotype of wife and mother such as Ms H (qual. 1926), found the system "fair enough". Others did not, especially those who were dependent upon their incomes for their livelihoods and had a more difficult time of it (although no doubt better, even on the female rate of professional pay, than unqualified women trying to subsist independently on the minimum wage). Architects were also advantaged by having the choice exercised by Ms C (qual. 1945), in having a portable profession enabling them to leave the country altogether for greener pastures abroad.

In advanced capitalist societies money is not only central to establishing a comfortable lifestyle, it is also a key signifier of cultural value and success. Payment is a sign of appreciation, and is a source of competition within professions as a sign of success within the hierarchy. Women starting on a different pay scale must have found it difficult to compare their relative worth. Even women architects working in their own businesses and setting their own pay rates, were typically affected by their gender, insofar as they were often self-employed at home specialising in the low-return genre of domestic architecture precisely because they were trying to fulfil their obligations as mothers while pursuing their careers.

MILESTONES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

This section documents firstly some of the milestones that early women architects reached in participating in the architecture profession in NSW and Australia. Secondly it outlines some early women architects' professional achievements,[22] briefly discussed under the headings of: "Women's own homes", "Favourite other projects".

This section answers many of the most basic questions about women architects' work in NSW, from "Who was the first woman to design a major building in NSW?" and "Who was the first formally qualified woman architect?" to "What was the range of buildings constructed?" and "Did the design of early women architects differ from men architects' work?". This is the first step in establishing a body of women architects' achievements for further historical analysis and evaluation.

Milestones for women architects in New South Wales

Probably the first significant building designed by a woman in NSW was the "Female School of Industry" in 1826 (on the corner of "Macquarie Street and Adelaide Crescent" now the site of "our Parliament bowling green"), attributed to Eliza Darling, wife of Governor Ralph Darling.[23] While genteel women sometimes practised architectural design in nineteenth century NSW, their efforts were by definition amateur and in practice intermittent. Nonetheless some women contributed substantially, for example, Elizabeth Macquarie's influence on the building program for Sydney, which was aided by her husband Governor Lachlan Macquarie and largely executed by convict architect Francis Greenway (Jahn, 1997:16, 214; Kerr, 1992; Broadbent, 1998). Joan Kerr argues that the extent of the influence of the activities of middle-class women in the development of the built environment in nineteenth century NSW is substantial

[22] Achievements are also described in chapter 5, in individual biographies of eight leading early women architects in NSW.

[23] The attribution of this building to Eliza Darling was first made by an unknown writer, Patrick McGuanne, who refers to her as "Sarah Darling", wife of the Governor (McGuanne, 1922). Joan Kerr has described Darling's architectural efforts in some detail, including her winning competition entry for the NSW Government House (never built) (Kerr, 1992). Some small houses and shanties would almost certainly have been designed and built by women in NSW, however, it is unlikely that any record of these remains.

but has yet to be properly documented and evaluated (Kerr, 1980; Hanna, 1999a).

By the 1890s, women were attending architecture classes at the Sydney Technical College, very likely for the purpose of obtaining professional employment at some level. A report by the Minister of Public Instruction in NSW noted as early as 1895 that women were found in many STC classes "including 'Architectural Drawing'" (Minister of Public Instruction, 1895:175). Women were employed in the industry by the early years of the twentieth century, according to a commentator in 1907:

> I have known more than one capable [female] architectural assistant, both in England and Australia; and builders' technical assistants as well (Haddon, 1907:219-220).

It is possible that some nineteenth century and very early twentieth century women in Australia may have practised professionally as architects, by earning their living in the field—an early definition of the term "architect" accepted by the Board of Architects of NSW (the Board) when it began registering practitioners in 1923. No such women have come to light in the course of this research but it is possible they may yet be discovered. Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) was the first woman to undergo full professional training as an architect in NSW (and also the first, according to all the available evidence, in Australia).[24] Ms Ht was the first woman in Australia to join an architectural

[24] The first woman architect to qualify in Victoria was Ms Al, who was apprenticed with her brother's Melbourne firm, Klingender & Alsop, from about 1907 until completing her articles in 1912. She also worked for the firm's Sydney office for some time before retiring in 1916 to help with the war effort and care for her elderly parents (Willis, 1997a:80-81). The first woman to qualify in Queensland was Ms Ht, who was also the first woman in Australia to join a formal architects' society when she was accepted as a member by the Queensland Institute of Architects in 1916 (*The Salon*, November:84). In 1931 she became the first woman partner in an already established firm, Chambers & Ms Ht, Sydney (*Sands Directory*, 1931), however, she retired early, in 1934, to care for her elderly parents (McKay, 1988). The first woman to qualify in Western Australia was Margaret Pitt Morison, who enrolled as an articled architect in 1921, and registered in 1924 (Matthews, 1991). She worked as a design architect for decades before securing a teaching position at Perth Technical College, where she was an impressive influence on several generations of student architects (interview with Mr N, 1995). Margaret Findlay was the first woman to register as an architect in Tasmania, after she completed her education at Hobart Technical College in the early 1940s. She worked for the Tasmanian Department of Public Works for a year or two before moving to Sydney, where she taught in the architecture

institute when she was accepted by the Queensland Institute of Architects in 1916 (McKay, 1988; *The Salon* Nov. 1916:84).[25]

Several women were working in responsible positions in established architectural firms in Sydney before 1920. Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) worked as "chief draftsman" in Burcham Clamp's office between about 1904 and 1907 (Maegraith, 1968, chapter 1:21). Taylor also claimed to have designed fifty or a hundred harbourside mansions for developer Alfred Saunders, although so far only one modest domestic residence for her sister in Roseville can be attributed to her (plates 50-52). Ms A (qual. Melbourne before 1912) worked in the Sydney office of her brother's Melbourne-based firm Klingender & Alsop between 1912 and 1916. Although she must have worked on many projects in her brother's firm, just one building has been attributed solely to her—a house built for her sisters in the late 1930s in Croydon, Victoria (Willis, 1997a:80-81). A mysterious early figure in Sydney is that of Ms Hr who was the first woman to advertise in her own name as an architect in *Sands Directory* in 1926. Ms Hr had completed her articles with "R. Collins" before 1923 when she registered as an architect in NSW (Archives of the Board). She was also a member of the RAIA by 1926 but in 1934 was listed there as a "retired associate", and remained so until the late 1960s at least. Ms Ht (qual. Brisbane before 1916) moved to Sydney from Queensland soon after joining the Queensland Institute and worked for C. W. Chambers for more than a decade. When the firm's title was changed to "Chambers & Ht" around 1930 (*Sands Directory*, 1931), Ms Ht became the first woman in NSW and probably Australia to become a partner in an established architectural firm. However, she returned to Queensland within a year or so to care for her ailing father and, although she later opened a craft shop in Brisbane, she never rejoined the architectural profession (McKay, 1988). Only one other woman in my research sample achieved partnership status in a major firm in NSW before 1960. This was the Melbourne-based architect Ellison Harvie (qual.

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school at the University of Sydney from 1946 to 1970. There have been no studies so far on the historical emergence of women architects in South Australia or the Northern Territory. However, the lack of architectural training schools in those areas in the first half of the twentieth century suggests that Taylor was almost certainly the first woman in Australia to qualify professionally as an architect.

Melbourne 1928), who was registered in NSW for occasional project work here, and who became a partner with Stephenson & Turner in 1946.

The most notable woman architect to have practised in Sydney in the early years is Marion Mahony Griffin (qual. MIT 1894), whose life and career has been extensively documented and interpreted (for example, Rubbo, 1996a; Weirick, 1988; Watson, 1998). While her architectural drawing skills have long been hailed as brilliant, her intellectual contribution to the design oeuvre normally credited only to her husband Walter Burley Griffin is now being increasingly acknowledged (Watson, 1998). Mahony Griffin is the only woman architect found by this study to have qualified before 1920 and worked as a design architect throughout her working life.

All the other earliest women architects retired early or moved into other fields. This movement was probably influenced by a combination of the family obligations expected of unmarried daughters and the difficulties these early practitioners encountered in maintaining a professional presence as women. Florence Taylor's voluminous autobiographical writings describe many examples of sexist discrimination she encountered in her early years in the profession. As late as 1944, Ms MM (qual. STC 1920) wrote in response to a derogatory comment about women architects as reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*: "Women in the profession have had an uphill fight and have survived" (*SMH* 16/3/1945:2).

There were more long-term career success stories in the second generation of women architects—those women who qualified between 1920 and 1939 (table 2). Ms N (qual. 1922) was the first woman architect to establish a substantial practice, which lasted nearly fifty years from the mid 1920s until her death in 1972. She was respected and admired for her quality of design as well as her gracious concern for her clients' wishes, and she was also a generous employer of many other women architects over the years. Ms E (qual. 1924) was the first

[25] The first woman to join the Victorian Institute of Architects, Eileen Good, also joined in 1920 and was welcomed for having "attained the position by merit and industry" (Willis 1997a:87 quoting *Journal of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects* 18, Nov. 1920:136).

woman architect to write a substantial architectural textbook (Edmunds, 1938a) as well as many articles on architectural and town planning issues. Like Ms N, Ms E remained single and worked full-time all her adult life, although in her career she successfully moved between the roles of design architect, writer and town planner. When Ms S (qual. 1926) joined forces with architect Mr M Snr in Canberra after their marriage in 1936, they formed one of the first husband-and-wife architectural partnerships, an impressive success story both in terms of their range of modernist architectural achievement (Freeman, forthcoming) and their egalitarian and harmonious relationship. Both Mr M and Ms S worked full-time and they managed the raising of children with the help of nannies and housekeepers (interviews with Mr M, 1997-1999). By contrast, Ms C (qual. 1938), although also married to an architect, worked as a sole practitioner in her own home and took on most of the responsibility for childcare while her husband ran his own partnership in the city; Ms C thus pioneered the late twentieth century pattern of running a practice from home in combination with child-rearing.

Margaret Findlay (qual. Hobart 1942) was the first woman to have a permanent teaching position in architectural education in NSW. As a recent graduate with a few years experience with the Tasmanian Public Works Department, Findlay began teaching at the University of Sydney in 1945, in charge of first-year students during the great chaotic expansion of the school from an average of around 8 students per year to around 80 students per year. Findlay does not appear to have obtained any higher degrees nor to have published, although she remained with the university until 1970. Ms A obtained an early Master of Architecture degree from the University of NSW in 1957, two years after graduating with the university medal in the first cohort of UNSW architecture students in 1955; she went on to obtain a teaching position there, specialising and publishing widely on architectural acoustics, and eventually retiring at the level of Associate Professor. The first PhDs by women architects were obtained in close succession in the early 1970s: Ms H's (qual. 1949) PhD in Building Science from the University of Sydney in 1971 addressed the deterioration of building materials in public housing, and led to work in architectural writing and research. Ms N (qual. Melbourne 1955) completed a PhD at the University of

NSW in 1972 which addressed urban design and the politics of gentrification in Kings Cross. Ms N's PhD was the first awarded in the Faculty of Architecture at the University of NSW and it helped entrench her employment there as a lecturer in Town Planning, where she served several times as head of school.

Because women architects are so often associated with domestic design, women's pioneering involvement in major non-domestic work is worth documenting. As early as 1905, Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) designed the lower floors of the Farmers Department Store in Pitt Street (plate 49) while an employee of Burcham Clamp (Taylor, 1964, 2; Taylor, 1962). As an employee and later a partner of Stephenson & Turner, Ellison Harvie (qual. Melbourne 1928) was project manager in the highly technologised area of major hospital additions, working in Sydney on St Vincent's and Royal Prince Alfred hospitals, as well as in Melbourne throughout the inter-war and post-World War II periods (Willis, 1997a:251-4). Several women architects such as Ms B (qual. STC 1931) and Jessie Ross (qual. 1924) were employed long-term in the NSW Department of Public Works between the wars, and further research into those archives should reveal their contributions to government projects. Ms H (qual. 1928) produced an impressive urban design for the 1933 Martin Place competition (plate 2), and was also design architect for her partnership's entry to the competition for the ANZAC House office building (plate 3) for Sydney's CBD in 1949 (Andrew family papers; interview with Mr B, 1995). In 1944 Ms M (qual. 1944) won the University of Sydney's Sulman Prize for her final-year project for a multi-storey office tower, a design recently described by Professor James Weirick as "stunning, both in conception and execution" (plates 4-5).[26]

However, it was not until the 1960s that Ms T (qual. Melbourne 1928) became the first woman to have major input into the actual construction of a skyscraper in NSW. As Superintending Architect with the Commonwealth Public Works Department, the Melbourne-based architect made a major contribution to the 23-

[26] Ms Mc's 1944 drawings for this office building were recently exhibited in the University of Sydney architecture faculty, as part of an ongoing series exhibiting early graduates' work in the foyer. Professor James Weirick happened upon them there and described them as sophisticated high modernist design; he couldn't imagine where she would have had exposure to the

storey Commonwealth Offices in Sydney, constructed in steel frame and concrete slabs in 1963. She was also instrumental in the construction of the massive Redfern Mail Exchange which covered a three-acre block of land near Sydney's Central Station (Schoffel, 1988:40). Between 1969 and 1973, Ms L (reg. NSW 1965) worked as design architect for Eric Towell & Partners and was responsible for three multi-storey apartment blocks in Manly, including the 22 storey Carillon tower, which was composed entirely of interlocking hexagonal rooms (plates 6-7). Numerous other women interviewed in the course of research mentioned their involvement in the design of factories, shops and other industrial and commercial ventures.

Ms E was the first woman to become president of an RAIA chapter, when she was elected chair of the Canberra committee in 1956. It was not until the 1990s that a woman became prominent in the RAIA national leadership when Louise Cox, after serving as president of the NSW chapter became the first woman president of the federal RAIA (*Financial Review* 5/5/1994; *SMH* 5/5/1994; *Australian* 6/5/1994).

Until very recently, women were almost entirely absent as recipients of awards presented by the architecture profession to its leading practitioners. A recent exhibition of the history of one of the leading national prizes, the Sulman Award, noted the "puzzling" lack of women recipients of the award: that all 51 awards had been made to male architects (Museum of Sydney exhibition, 1997). However, women were centrally involved in at least two of these prize-winning buildings: Ms H was mentioned in the catalogue but not the exhibition as being on the "architectural team" for Eric Andrew's *Manly Surf Pavilion*, which won in 1939 (Metcalf, 1997:70); while Ms J was mentioned in the exhibition but not the catalogue as "collaborator" in the design of the family home, which was won in 1957 by her husband and his partner.[27]

international influences necessary to design like that at that time. When told about his impression, Ms Mc explained that she had only been reading international journals such as *Pencil Points*.

[27] A similar inconsistency was apparent recently in the Hyde Park Museum's *Demolished Houses of Sydney* exhibition (1999). Whereas the catalogue noted the possibility that Florence

Dorothy Weatherstone together with Mr L. McCredie won third prize for her entry in the British Medical Association Building competition in 1928 (*Architecture* May 1928) and Ethel Richmond shared the winning entry for a "timber framed house competition" with H. O. Orr in 1945 (*Architecture* Jan./Mar. 1940). Ms H's (qual. 1928) entry for the famous ANZAC House competition in 1949 won second prize (interview with Mr B, 1995); however, Ms H's contribution was masked by the name of the partnership being in her husband's name. Ms C (qual. 1938) was a finalist for the 1956 Sulman Award for her kindergarten in Wahroonga, 1954 (*Architecture in Australia* Oct./Dec. 1956) (plate 135). In 1982 Penny Rosier (qual. 1974) shared with Gareth Cole the NSW chapter's Merit Award for their environmentally benign Harrison House, although the award should probably have been Rosier's name alone because she was the design architect (plate 9). It was not until 1984 that a woman on her own won a major architectural award in NSW, when two women were simultaneously honoured. Beverley Garlick (qual. 1974) won a NSW RAIA chapter Merit Award for the Petersham College of TAFE in Leichhardt, 1984, now part of the Sydney Institute of Technology (plate 10) and Christine Vadasz won the President's Award for walkways on the coast near Byron Bay.

The general failure to honour women's work in the established architectural

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Taylor was the architect for 48 Darling Point Road, Darling Point (Hughes, 1999), the exhibition captions did not mention her (Hyde Park Barracks Museum, 1999).

award systeMs H been considered problematic to the extent that two organisations have recently developed awards especially for women. Since 1996 the National Association of Women in Construction (NAWIC) has been hosting a glittering event presenting numerous awards to women across the building industry, while the NSW RAIA has developed the Marion Mahony Griffin Award, with the inaugural 1998 award being presented to architectural historian Professor Jennifer Taylor. Moreover in the 1980s and 1990s women have developed several support and lobbying organisations in the building industry in Sydney including Constructive Women, NAWIC, the Women in Architecture Issues Committee of the NSW RAIA, and the "Women in Building Forum", run since 1994 by the Affirmative Action officer of the Master Builders' Association.

This list of "milestones" illustrates various aspects of the progress of early women architects towards participating equally in all aspects of the architecture profession: from first sightings of women in the profession around the turn of the century, to the earliest to qualify, to design substantial buildings, to write, to complete higher degrees, to win awards, and to lead the RAIA. This list describes women's achievements in relation to the established canon of architectural merit, and it shows women capable of figuring in all categories. However, it also implies that they tended to lag behind or perform less brilliantly than men. In the next section, I discuss early women architects' achievements as described in their own terms, rather than those of the status quo.

Women architects' favourite projects

Women architects' own homes

In asking women and their family and friends about their careers as architects, many mentioned a particular building or project of which they had been particularly proud. For many women architects, as for many men, the design of their own home was an important opportunity to work unencumbered by the demands of a client (although of course they were also designing for the needs of their families). While the issue of women's design of their own homes was expected to enlighten debate on the question of whether women really do design houses better than men because of their assumed domestic experience as housewives, few respondents touched on this issue. In combining these stories, it

seems apparent that these women's own houses had a more intimate function part of themselves or their lives or partnerships.

In 1935, Ms M (qual. 1935) was one of the first professionally qualified women in NSW to design a home for herself. It was an ambitious building for a for a final-year student, a stone house perched on the cliff overlooking the ocean on Florida Avenue, Palm Beach (plates 11-12). However, Ms M, who was raised as the daughter of a wealthy doctor in a harbourside mansion,[28] married a farmer soon after graduation and has spent the rest of her life in rural NSW. She lived for a decade in Gilgandra and then half a century on a cattle property at Tumblong in an already established farm house which she partially renovated to improve the view down to a creek below. Ms M found it impossible to pursue her career living in the country with four children, a husband who was "not impressed" by a working wife, and with local communities who thought she should design for them for free. In the early years of the marriage, the family holidayed at the Palm Beach house designed by Ms M, before they had to sell it. An apparently simple symmetric design, with generous verandahs offering views down to the ocean, the house can be seen as a symbol of Ms M' urban youth, nurtured amongst more generous expectations of women's public capability than she encountered later in life.

Ms C's (qual. 1938) first family home, "Rathven", 29 Bangalla Street, Warrawee, can be seen to be a sign of the Ms Cs' harmonious family life. Although both spouses were architects, it was Ms C who designed the house soon after graduating, while her husband drew several beautiful perspective drawings of the north façade of the home as it developed over the years (plates 13-15, 135). Both architects still feel very warmly about this first house, having brought up their four children there: "our hearts—our children's and our own—are still with our original home in Bangalla Street". In contrast to a professional photograph of the house which focuses on architectural details and surfaces

[28] "Vig Lodge", on Wentworth Place, Point Piper, recently described in an unreferenced newspaper clipping held by Ms Ms as a "spectacular neo-Gothic pile occupying one of the best blocks of land in Sydney", which had been passed in at auction for $10 million.

around the entrance on the south façade to the street (plate 137),[29] the drawings depict the side of the house which the family inhabited, facing towards the sunlight and overlooking play areas and gardens. These drawings, while at first glance seeming technical and dispassionate, depart from the architectural norm in that they include images of real people—family members—playing tennis, strolling and, in the 1973 drawing, preparing for a daughter's wedding in the garden. These "portraits" of a home constitute a significant social statement which blends public and private discourses, documenting the architectural skill of the wife through the architectural skill of the husband, and merging the conventions of objective architectural rendering with nostalgic family snapshots.

By remarkable coincidence, the Ms C's next-door-neighbour at 31 Bangalla Street was another early woman architecture graduate who also designed the family home. A working mother of six children who ran her own architectural firm from home, Ms D (qual. 1929) designed "Netherby" around 1938 (plates 16-17). Built in collaboration with her engineer husband, Ms D's house was huge and largely constructed in pre-stretched concrete on three levels; the living room ceiling was for many years the largest self-supporting concrete span in a domestic residence in Australia. Ms M (qual. 1944), who was briefly employed in Ms D's firm in the early 1950s, recalled the formal rooms as being "large and empty...like an unattended railway station". The entertaining rooms were separated both from children's rooms located in a separate wing, and from Ms D's architectural office on the top floor (where she employed up to six staff). The house included innovations such as steel framed windows, glass bricks, concealed neon lighting, central heating to supplement the passive solar design, an internal incinerator, a laundry chute and a wading pool on top of the garage. Ms D also carefully landscaped the garden with deciduous trees to provide protective shade in the summer and sunshine in the winter. This house can be seen as a big response to a big set of domestic issues, incorporating the technological innovations made available by her husband's engineering expertise to help cope with the combination of six children and a professional practice under one roof.

[29] Taken in the 1950s by Douglas Baglin for an unidentified group exhibition of architects' work including Ms CH.

Ms G (qual. 1929) also lived most of her married life in the house she designed at 19A Buckingham Road, Killara in 1937. This design was featured in a newspaper article soon after completion (*SMH* 4/11/1937:22) and in a journal article on contemporary women architects in 1948 (Robson, 1948). Ms G is presented in the newspaper article as arguing that architecture is a particularly suitable profession for a woman, because she "has the advantage of knowing the special needs of a home". Ms G's home is presented as remarkable because of its careful consideration of the housewife as domestic worker, for example featuring: "many labour saving devices"; built-in cupboards "which mean so much to a woman"; minimal furniture and ornaments to reduce time spent looking after the home; and "everything in a kitchen in close relationship, so that you do not have to waste steps" (*SMH* 4/11/1937:22). Both publications carry the same photo of Ms G in her pristine kitchen, immaculately dressed and apparently preparing food (plates 18-19). This image identifies the woman architect as first and foremost a housewife, and can be seen as a visual pun on the term "homemaker".

Several other "joint" efforts by early architectural couples deserve mention here. Ms C (qual. 1935) designed her own home in Wahroonga in collaboration with her architect husband Tony. The house was completed in 1952 after they had spent a decade in the UK working in a variety of architectural positions. The house is a sophisticated modernist arrangement of cubist volumes, although now largely screened by an overgrown garden. Ms B (qual. 1934) also designed a superb modernist home in collaboration with her Swedish architect husband when they retired to Sydney in 1980 after working for most of their lives in Sweden. Built high in the hills in Bayview in Sydney's northern suburbs, it is superbly detailed and offers spacious, light-filled living areas oriented to the views over Pittwater. Both these houses deserve further documentation and analysis as evidence of some of the direct influence of overseas modernism in Australian architecture. They are also examples of architectural collaboration between partners of long-term marriages.

Ms M (qual. 1944) designed the family home in Pymble in 1949 (plates 20-21) during the partnership she shared with her husband before their marriage broke up. They had a practice where both prepared initial design responses to a brief, compared them and then developed the one they agreed was best. In this case, it was Ms M's design which was built, largely by her husband as owner-builder. In this type of collaboration, it is difficult to determine the question of authorship: should design produced by the partnership be attributed to one or another of the partners according to whose sketch was chosen in the early stages of development, or should all design be attributed jointly on the understanding that both partners were involved in a joint effort that produced work which would not otherwise have been built? In any case, this house was described as "marvellous" by colleague Ms C (qual. 1945). In an article for a *Sydney Morning Herald* series on architects' own homes, Ms M described it as open yet cosy, sensitive to its bushland setting, and part of a developing "Australian idiom". However, the article wasn't finished in time to be published because of illness (Ms M, 1958). Unfortunately, this was typical of the tragic run of Ms M's career, which had begun brilliantly with the award of the University Medal upon her graduation in 1944, and should have been nurtured by her Fulbright Scholarship visit to the USA in 1955. Her Pymble house remains one of her few constructed designs. She later sold it to help finance her studies in sociology, although illness again prevented her from completing her PhD.

The design emphasis for Ms A (qual. UNSW 1955) in her own home in Warrawee in 1958 (since demolished) was the incorporation of advanced technical innovations. This can be seen to be an aspect of incorporating contemporary intellectual understandings of domestic space into her own lifestyle. A tiny house on a huge, battle-axe block, Ms A described this as her favourite design (plates 22-24):

> It was a concrete slab on the ground, which was very innovative in those days. It had structural window walls with tiny bits of supporting timber, and a pitched beam roof with aluminium and a flat roof on top of that...They actually hand rolled and cut the aluminium roof on the site...It was really funny because [our loan required that their] architect come along to supervise it. At one stage when

> it was half up he said, "I really think you ought to have a tiled roof", and I said, "There's no way it could hold up a tiled roof"...I did put it in an exhibition but it didn't arouse much interest.

In fact the house is a fine exploration of the modernist dictum, "less is more". It incorporated an innovative, minimalist structural support system for the ceiling/roof, designed by yachting expert Gordon Ingate. Ms A's watercolour perspective of its projected appearance (plate 23) makes obvious reference to Mies van der Rohe's glass house, although Ms A's house was mercifully enclosed by stone and concrete bricks on the west and south façades. This is a minimalist house with considerable intellectual ingenuity and integrity.[30]

Ms A (qual. 1951) experimented with ecologically sustainable principles in a house she designed for her own family during the 1970s (plates 25-26). In the early 1970s her family pooled resources with nine other families to buy 600 acres of bush near Mittagong, south-west of Sydney, for a kind of communal holiday retreat. Rather than dot houses throughout the selection, they chose to build in a small circle, which was allowed under rural town planning regulations recently developed for "hippy" towns like Nimbin. The group discussed their needs and desires and set limits on materials and types of construction:

> so there was a sort of harmony between the buildings...all vertical boards or stone or adobe...corrugated iron roofs...verandah posts are all [saplings] just taken off the property...I really hate things being knocked down or thrown away if you can use them at all. I am very, sort of, I suppose, passionately environmental. To me, it's one of the most important things.

Ms A's house "was done on practically no money at all and with almost all second hand materials" with an open plan design with bedrooms opening directly onto the living areas. Her architect ex-husband was not much involved in its design, and later told her that the house lacked a formal "concept". In thinking this over, she has decided that she meant it to be elastic and flexible, and she has in fact changed it several times to accommodate her children's wishes: "I keep

having little pulls and pokes at it". There is almost no external view of the façade at the entrance because the communal circle of dwellings in which it sits is so tight that there is only an impression of earthy materials and an doorway. Inside, the combined living areas open out from the entrance area into a light and airy space, calm and harmonious, while out the back a huge verandah and some bedrooms have broad views of the valley. In its setting it is imbued with the friendliness of a village, with neighbours dropping by with food and stopping for cups of tea.[31] The aesthetic value of the house lies in its social and spatial effects as much as in its visual experience.

Ms L (reg. NSW 1965) built a remarkable home for herself and family in Killara in 1983 (plate 27). Light and airy, lined with timber and oriented carefully towards the sun, it was in the style of the Sydney "nuts and berries" school, although it was never written up by architecture critics as part of that movement. However, Ms L did use this house repeatedly in the great publicity drive which she embarked upon with the formation of Constructive Women later that year. This was a turning point in her career:

> I always believed that what holds women back more than any other single factor is that women don't know how to sell themselves. Watch the very terminology, "sell yourself". There is such an inbuilt bias in women against this because nice girls don't, and it's nice to wait until you're asked. And it's not a coincidence that I had to be over fifty before I could say, "To hell with that, I am going to sell myself, and ourselves, as strongly as I can". Because I was simply past the age that I was interested in that sort of sexual implication.

Ms L nurtured publicity for herself and fellow Constructive Women in the mass media, attracting over one hundred articles about her work over two decades in publications as diverse as the metropolitan daily and weekend newspapers, local newspapers, lifestyle magazines, women's magazines, news magazines and the

[30] Ms AL has a home video featuring the house in its prime.
[31] Ms Am explained that although the village had been developed fairly equally by both men and women, she thought that "the women in our group are very vocal" and has observed that after several marriage break-ups over the years, it is the women who tend to stay involved rather than the men.

environmental press.[32] The Killara house has appeared in many publications featuring its different aspects: its use of timber ("Fresh air..".., 1979; Woodhouse, 1987); its merits as an entry for the Wilkinson Award (Reader, 1985); its linking of indoor to outdoor space ("Embracing the garden", 1988); its use of solar technology (Masters, 1990); as an example of domestic design which accommodates adult children (Loos, 1990); and as an example of an architect's own home. In this instance, it appeared as the last article in a series where it is admiringly described by the reporter as "quite the nicest I had been in" (Clare, 1984).

Favourite non-domestic projects

Ms T (qual. Melbourne 1928) described working on a major office block as her favourite project: the Sydney Commonwealth Offices, 1963, for which she was Superintending Architect:

> I've always enjoyed designing office buildings, and of course, we came into it when people were getting away from the old height limit and you were able to build really high-rise stuff. [It may seem] as though there's not much scope for design but there is really you know. Because it's got to be tied up with the economics side of it, and all the flexibility that's required...Very, very interesting (Schoffel, 1988:97).

Ms T noted that her public service work had always been a team effort: "it was a group, a team. So I can't say I designed that, that's mine" (Schoffel, 1988:40).

Ms F (qual. STC 1946) was similarly impressed by her involvement during the 1950s in England on "the world's first pre-cast, pre-stressed multi-storey concrete office building" for the huge architectural office of Thomas Bennett, under the direction of Ove Arup. Ms F found it "exciting" and an honour to be on a project team at the cutting edge of skyscraper development in postwar Europe. Similarly Ms K (qual. Budapest 1949) enjoyed her work on Standards House, a skyscraper built in North Sydney in 1967-68 by Figgis & Jefferson. The client

[32] The CWADA in Stanton Library, North Sydney, has made a copy of Ms Lr's collection of press clippings on her work and Constructive Women.

was a building firm which brought in their own advanced design and technology, including a Swiss engineer. Ms K's bosses insisted on doing supervision themselves—she thought because they were nervous about employees having too much contact with clients for fear of stealing them—so her role focused on documentation of the project. Even as her work became more and more responsible, Ms K was never called the Project Manager but the "Queen of Heaven" (while the client was "God"). These contributions exemplify the historiographic problem discussed by Julie Willis: that women architects have been involved in many major construction projects this century, but rarely at the apex of the design team so that their contributions have become all but invisible.

Ms B (qual. 1934) admired an unexpected aspect of professional life in her early career. As an employee of Stephenson & Turner, she was encouraged into the international "chain of friendship" which Stephenson had commenced among architects interested in hospital design, a network which, according to Ms B, continues today. She notes that she was the only one in John Shaw's biography of Arthur Stephenson to emphasise Stephenson's achievement in this area (Shaw, 1987:65). Ms B remembers that in the years following World War II when she had moved to England, hospital construction was furiously progressing throughout Europe. She joined the International Hospital Federation link in the chain, and would travel abroad visiting other members and bring ideas back to her UK employers: "I wasn't designing whole hospitals. I was carrying out what had been thought out by other people". Nonetheless in this highly technologised area of design, it made sense to share and disseminate ideas and processes across regions and nations rather than to keep designing every major project from scratch. It is remarkable that Ms B was aware of the significance of this process when the importance and positive effects of such networking are only beginning to be acknowledged and studied in academic circles in the 1990s (Martinez, 1998).

Ms A (qual. UNSW 1955), an academic who specialised in architectural acoustics, was given free rein, just once, as an acoustic consultant when "they let me design the whole auditorium". Working for architects Dunphy Bell for the Sutherland Shire Auditorium in 1976, she not only developed a sophisticated

solution but also later wrote it up for her internationally distributed book, *Acoustics & the Built Environment* (plate 28). According to Ms A, the acoustic problem for such spaces is that they are generally multi-functional, for example, required to operate variously as a banquet hall (ideally wide and flat) and a concert hall (ideally sloping to ensure "good sight-lines" which are an accurate measure of good transmission of sound). In the Sutherland Auditorium, Ms A addressed this problem by designing a huge balcony with stepped seating overhanging a wide hall area designed for banquets. The front part of the hall nearest the stage was appropriate for small concerts, while seating for bigger audiences was provided by the balconies:

> the auditorium is wrapped around the acoustic design, rather than trying to fit the acoustic design in. [It was] the only one where I managed to influence the whole show.

Ms L's (qual. 1947) major project was accidentally acquired but has become something of a crusade. Although she left the architecture profession soon after graduating to join her father in his real estate business, her education was indispensable later in life when she found herself passionately involved in restoring her own ghost town (plate 29):

> In 1971 I bought out a company that owned Yerranderie. Yerranderie is a little old silver mining town...in the Blue Mountains, in a very remote spot. It had fallen into disrepair when the Waterboard had flooded Burragorang Valley and cut it off from civilisation. Very stupidly I thought that I could restore it and make it something that people would love to go and see, because it was not only beautiful, it was historic, it had the old [silver] mines. So over all this period of time I've been working to do exactly that.

Ms L has reorganised the land uses, landscaped the private town and restored several buildings: a job combining the expertise of architect, landscape designer and town planner. For her considerable efforts in Yerranderie over a quarter of a century, she was awarded the Australia Medal (AM) in 1996. However, this project has also brought Ms L into conflict with several interest groups. These

include Sydney Water (formerly the NSW Waterboard), which has difficulties in providing regular access to Yerranderie on their road from Sydney because its runs through a catchment area (the only alternative route is via Oberon, nearly doubling the distance). Thus even the restricted tourism envisaged by Ms L as a way of helping the town pay for its own upkeep has been difficult to attract. And, although she is a long-time environmentalist, having worked with Alan Strom and Miles Dunphy to institute the Blue Mountains National Park, Ms L has also found herself at loggerheads with more recent and more radical environmentalists.

Ms L prefers the senior Dunphy's vision of "Yerranderie being the gateway to the wilderness", and the positive potential for the place to be "educational in many different ways". Recently she has written an historical novel about the "discovery" of Yerranderie by the French explorer Frances Louis Berralier in 1802 (more than a decade before the Blue Mountains was crossed for the first time by English explorers Wentworth, Blaxland and Lawson):

> What I have done is to write Berralier's story in an imaginative way, and tie him in with the other French explorers and the Aborigines that he meets, and bring them to life as part of the story line. It's a story of Australia's history at that stage from the Aboriginal point of view, the French point of view and the English point of view.

However, Ms L hasn't been able to find a publisher, largely because of the risk of offending Aboriginal people by her appropriation of the indigenous historical perspective. Ms L's work on Yerranderie nonetheless remains an extraordinary and much embattled contribution to the built environment of NSW.

Many women architects have been involved in church design, often in their own community. As chief designer for Clement Glancey, Ms E (qual. 1924) was responsible for the design or substantial alteration of at least 26 Catholic churches around Sydney during the 1930s, mostly in the Romanesque style (plates 87-96). Ms C (qual. 1938), an Anglican, designed several major extensions to her local St James Church in Turramurra, including a games room

and a chapel (plates 30-31). Her neighbour Ms D (qual. 1929), a Catholic, designed the Holy Name Priory Church at Wahroonga, 1953 (plate 32),[33] and also worked on several other Catholic churches, including the interior design for the Sacred Heart Church in Darlinghurst in the early 1960s. Ms H (qual. 1953) worked on the Catholic church in Gwynville in 1953; Ms E (qual. 1960) worked on a convent in Granville in the 1960s; Ms S (qual. 1950) was proud of her work on the Castle Hill Baptist Church in the 1970s, describing the design by her employers Noel Bell and Ridley Smith, as "refreshing and imaginative" (plates 33-34).

Ms M was a devout Catholic who designed mostly school buildings in the Orange region for the Church in the 1950s, but also worked on two major commissions in Queensland in the 1960s. The first of these was a convent in Hyde Park, Townsville in 1968: "the nuns were very happy about it I remember". The second was a collaboration on St Raphael's, the Catholic women's college for James Cook University: "really a beautiful college and it's by far the nicest on the campus". Ms M also had one opportunity to design a church, for the tiny Queensland town of Fairleigh in 1967, but the experience was both very enjoyable and somewhat disappointing in so far as several fundamental details concerning the altar and the positioning of the cross outside were changed without her permission.

In the late 1980s, Ms M worked on a project which comes closest of any found in this research to Joan Kerr's "desirable event" of a building in Australia "entirely designed and constructed by women" (Kerr, 1996).[34] The client was a woman owner-builder who, in organising alterations and additions to her home in Leichhardt, employed both Ms M as architect and a woman carpenter as builder.

[33] "A brush with history! Following the opening of the largest church designed by Ms D (The Holy Name Priory Church at Wahroonga), PM Robert and Pattie Menzies dined at Netherby. (They had nice sandwiches which Nancy made before the ceremony!)" (written statement by GD, 1995).

[34] There must be buildings designed and constructed by women in the various separatist communities that developed during and after the 1970s, especially in rural areas where building regulations are perhaps less strictly enforced. Caroline Denigan's undergraduate thesis also points to the area of "women's self help housing" as a site for women's relative autonomy as agents in the design and construction of [a small section of] the built environment; this excellent study documents several homes largely designed and built by women for themselves (Denigan, 1995).

While the other tradespeople were generally men, they were from a variety of multicultural backgrounds—a Greek concreter, a Chinese plumber and an Italian electrician. Ms M admitted that there is nothing unusual about the house as a result of this eclectic group of people involved in constructing it, explaining, "I've never had a client that had a lot of money". Ms L concurred with this understanding: "to do quirky, beautiful, fluid design, you need a client with a budget". Ms L estimates she has done nearly 300 buildings in her career, but only a few dozen have been houses where she had much leeway for design, and only three had a budget of over a million dollars. Her favourite design was one of these.

Perhaps a better example of a project for and by women is Ms N's (qual. 1922) 1960s design of four blocks of housing units for elderly people for the Ku-ring-gai Old People's Welfare Association (KOPWA). Effectively public housing provided at the local community level, the project is remarkable for having been instigated and run by women largely for the benefit of women, although men are not excluded either from participation in administration nor from receiving housing if they meet the criteria. However, because the housing is oriented at low-income elderly people, KOPWA addresses a housing need experienced more acutely by elderly women, who tend both to be on lower incomes and to live longer than men. The architectural merit of the units is difficult to fit into existing categories. The bedsit units are small and deliberately unprepossessing, in order to avoid attracting the type of stigmatising attention that federally funded public housing was receiving at the time (plates 35-36, 80-83). However, KOPWA's administrator described Ms N's work as exactly what was required for this charitable organisation: "practical, functional design, the best value for money...The buildings have fulfilled their purpose admirably, and continue to do so" (interview with Ms B, 1995).

A surprising number of women architects have worked on low income housing and workers' villages, both in NSW and elsewhere in Australia. Margaret Feilman is already known and admired for her work on Kwinana New Town in 1952, housing workers from the Kwinana oil industry sited on Cockburn Sound (Melotte, 1993; interview with Mr N, 1995). Less well known is the work by

landscape designer Edna Walling and Victorian architect Alison Norris (qual. Melbourne 1941) in constructing workers' housing in Port Kembla in the late 1940s. Norris later went on to work on the Telfer Gold Mine Township in Western Australia (Nash, 1997; Watts, 1981). Ms M worked on housing for British miners when travelling in the UK between 1935 and 1937 (*SMH* 27/12/1937). In the late 1950s Ms D (qual. 1929) worked on the planning of prefabricated housing and public buildings for the uranium miners' village of Mary Kathleen in central Queensland (written statement by GD, 1995). In the early 1970s, Ms M (qual. 1944) commenced her PhD studying the sociology of mining towns around Gove in the Northern Territory, with a view to improving the design of mining towns:

> that could keep people happy instead of everybody being blooming miserable in them. [I wanted to study] the sociology of it, and how they could live, and instead of just making it like suburban Melbourne or Sydney.

However, when Cyclone Tracey nearly wiped out Darwin on Christmas Day 1975, local resources were restricted and Ms M ended up pursuing a different thesis topic. More recently, Ms M has been attempting to coordinate a community of people to build a private housing development for older single people. In 1950 Ms H (qual. 1949) was designing workers' housing for the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. She remembers that:

> Within the considerable constraints on floor area and materials available, I tried to make the houses convenient and comfortable for the women who would be shouldering the major burden of establishing homes in a difficult environment.

Ms H's (qual. 1928) firm designed community housing (plates 37-40) funded by the local government of Ryde Council in Sydney during the postwar reconstruction times of the 1940s and 1950s (interview with Mr B, 1995). There have also been early women architects who worked in public housing departments in NSW and elsewhere including Zoe Fryer (qual. Perth 1933), who was working in a senior position with the Workers Homes Trust of Western

Australia in the late 1930s, and Ms S (qual. STC 1946), who worked in public housing in South Australia during the 1950s.

The breadth of accomplishment in this quick description suggests the desirability of further research on the contribution of women professionals generally. Women architects seem to have concentrated their efforts particularly in the areas of domestic design, religious building and public housing in Australia.

ON "BEING A WOMAN" IN THE ARCHITECTURE PROFESSION

> The very title "Women in Architecture" serves to isolate these players, categorising them by gender. Male architects are never classified by sex alone, so why present women in these terms? Why? Because there is a presumption that the "norm" is masculine. The Italian word for architect is "architetto", with the masculine ending "o"...an architect who is a woman is not referred to (as one would expect) as "architetta", with the feminine ending "a", but rather as "architetto la donna": woman architect as "other than architect"...Male architects are not classified by gender because they inherently belong. They have a horizon and a genealogy. They are the subject. Woman as object is...the "other" (Hannah, 1993: 34).

Some of the early women architects interviewed in this research project were uncomfortable with the designation "woman architect" and preferred to be known simply as an "architect". Ms H (qual. 1952) spoke for many when she stated that she had encountered almost no discrimination: none at university, none in salaries, none in finding jobs. She noted one small exception when coming back to Sydney after having worked in London in the 1950s, of not being let out to site jobs as often as men. Ms H felt that she was typical of many women of her generation who had successful careers, and whose achievements were generally ignored in popular portrayals of women all apparently ensconced in home duties during the 1950s. She felt that women of her generation had had plenty of opportunities and successes in Australia, especially if they were aided by a privileged background. She argued:

> There were many women architects in Sydney who weren't discriminated against, working for years and years. They did what they wanted to do. Family background and education was more important [than gender].

Similarly, Ms A (qual. UNSW 1955) felt that being a woman never made any difference until the Women's Liberation Movement came along in the 1970s, when for the first time "I think my colleagues looked at me and said, 'She's a woman'". Generally, however, "they used to call me "Al", for my initials. I was one of the boys".

However, while most respondents did not think themselves badly done by, all responses were affirmative to the questionnaire's inquiry: "Has being a woman affected your career as an architect?". Responses ranged from Ms H, who had no complaints, to Ms C (qual. 1945), who was strongly indignant about discrimination she had encountered. The stories told in interviews have been grouped into stories of "direct discrimination", and stories of "indirect discrimination".

Discrimination has been legally defined in Australia by the Equal Opportunities Board as:

> Treating a person less favourably because of private life or status e.g. sex, race, or treating a person less favourably because of the characteristics that apply, or are thought to apply, to a person of such private life or status.[35]

Direct discrimination is understood here to describe explicit acts of discrimination on the basis of *female sex*, such as saying "We don't employ women here". Indirect discrimination is understood here to describe experiences where characteristics associated with *feminine gender* are differentiated, for example, a woman architect apparently failing to be promoted because she was working part-time in order to care for her family. While direct discrimination usually addresses clear-cut incidents of injustice, indirect discrimination is open

[35] Definition from the Office of the Status of Women (1991) *National Agenda for Women Implementation Report* AGPS, Canberra, as quoted in the introduction to Allan et al., 1992.

to more nuanced interpretations of what the story meant to everyone involved. In indirect discrimination, although femininity may have been treated less favourably by the profession, individual women may feel that their gender allowed them to make better choices, for example, to spend more time with their children, than those available to men.

Direct discrimination

Several instances of discrimination encountered by women architects have already been discussed above in relation to unequal pay and to accessing building sites. Most other examples of direct discrimination described by early women architects concerned either education or employment, suggesting that Australian equal opportunity legislation in the 1970s and 1980s was well warranted.

Stories of discrimination in education

None of the women in this survey spoke of encountering institutionalised discrimination which prevented or discouraged them from enrolling in the architecture courses at either the University of Sydney or the Sydney Technical College. This was considerably better than Western Australia's Perth Technical College, where as late as 1947, a woman encountered a "Principal of the School of Architecture [who] let me know that he didn't think it was the right profession for a woman" (Matthews, 1993:56). Indeed, most of the respondents remembered their days at university with fondness, but they also recalled stories where their gender was at issue.

The respondents who graduated from the University of Sydney course before World War II were unanimous in their admiration of the course, and in particular of the charismatic founding chair, Professor Leslie Wilkinson, who had migrated from England to take up the position. Ms H (qual. 1926) said: "Wilkinson was very much respected. [He was] a beautiful draughtsman, handsome and tall. [It was] hero worship I suppose". Ms M (qual. 1935) also agreed: "We were all crazy about him. He was a wonderful man. So amusing and so down to earth". Ms N's (qual. 1922) sister Ms G concurred: "they all thought an awful lot of him". Ms B (qual. 1934) described him as very clever and "a bit mad, but that can be quite a good thing".

However, in David Wilkinson's biographical study of his grandfather, written for his final-year thesis in architecture in 1973, there is a strange comment concerning the elder Wilkinson's attitude to women:

> Leslie enjoyed New Southgate life with one ounce of tobacco costing four pence and no women serving in shops at all. These phenomena educated him to become a lifelong heavy smoker and a decidedly anti-women's lib protagonist (Wilkinson, 1973:chapter 4, 1)!

The term "women's lib" is decidedly 1970s, and Leslie Wilkinson's objection, if this comment is accurate, may have been to the militancy of the 1970s women's movement rather than to the long-term "liberation" of women which his architecture school had fostered in providing professional education for them. Wilkinson is known to have encouraged his friend Marion Hall Best to enrol in the course (Richards, 1993), and must have also approved of his own daughter Ms H (qual. 1947) presence there. Professor Alfred Hook's daughter Ms J (qual. 1951) also attended the school. And yet, the existence of such attitudes resisting the encroachment of women into public life is disturbing. In retrospect Ms C (qual. 1938) suspects that the architecture staff felt differently about women and men students:

> Lindsay Thompson was one of our teachers and he was quite as patient with the women as the men. In recent years though, his widow told me, "You know, Lindsay used to think it was an awful waste of everyone's time, training you girls". I think the teachers all had that feeling a little bit, that they were educating us and that was that. (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:54).

When asked whether her teachers felt the women students wouldn't be using their training after they graduated, Ms C replied: "Well, a lot of the women didn't" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:54). Ms G remembered a gesture that her sister Ms N (qual. 1922) had encountered when she was in her first year at university, in the first cohort of students in 1919:

> They draped the halls out in purple. In mourning. Because they didn't want women to invade their careers. The women took it all in their stride, I must say...I think the men quite liked it, the intrusion of women.

In the early years there were generally several women in each cohort so few had felt isolated by their gender unless they happened to be the only woman in that year, like Ms C (qual. 1938):

> I just presumed I'd go along and find a few girls and a few boys. [It was 1932], mid to late Depression, so student numbers were probably down. It was a bit of a shock for somebody who had been to boarding school, so I almost gave it up. There was nobody to go off to lunch with. Then I got used to it and they were always very kind to me...you just had a very normal relationship with the men students, like your brothers and cousins...Most people were fairly chivalrous to you. There weren't enough women working for us to be any particular danger to the men, yet.

Ms L (qual. 1947) had no trouble in the architecture subjects but remembers being terrified when required to attend lectures with the engineers:

> When Clare [Humphries] and I were in second year by ourselves, we had Building Construction with the engineers, and we'd go into this enormous lecture theatre with wall-to-wall engineers. Both of us were very young and very shy. I'd never seen so many men in my life!...I think we were so shy you couldn't have even seen us. We used to practically get right down under the desk. [But] they were very nice. Those were the days when gentlemen were gentlemen. No, we didn't have a bad time at all. We made many friends.

On the other hand, Ms M remembered that one of the boys used to try to touch her every time she went past him, and that this had upset her. It only recently dawned on her that this "was really sexual harassment". There was another incident which her father had considered to be discrimination, but about which she still wasn't sure:

> I failed one year...in the [news]paper, my name wasn't there...But Professor Wilkinson was quite hard pushed to find what I had done wrong when I went to see him. We went through my folder for the year and he'd say "you didn't label this properly". It was all the labelling, it was none of the drawings that was wrong...They were really minor things and my father did think it was discrimination [that] they didn't want too many girls' names to appear in the list. But I don't know whether that would be so.

Ms M also remembers an incident where she did not receive full public recognition for winning the university's Sulman Prize for a multi-storey building design:

> When I...handed [my final-year design] in...I don't remember whether it was Professor Wilkinson or Professor Hook but one of them said, "Oh this looks good"...I don't know whether they would have given [it to] me but I said to them...something to the effect, "Are you going to give the Sulman Prize this year?"...I can't believe that I had such push! And anyhow it appeared in the paper but it didn't appear on the graduation list. Normally the graduation listed the prizes and mine wasn't there. But anyhow I did get the prize, it was eight guineas I remember and just a little scrap of paper that said "prize".

However, Ms M countered this story by pointing out that the following year, the architecture school gave out the University Medal, its most prestigious award, to a woman student for the first time, Ms M (qual. 1944). Yet the awards of the University Medal and Sulman Prize to Ms M in 1944 were also not recorded in the graduation pamphlet nor even on her graduation certificate, apparently because Wilkinson did not finalise the marks until too late. Indeed, Ms M remembers arriving at the graduation ceremony with influenza, not knowing that she was to receive the two top honours, then getting a thorough (if pleasant) shock. Decades later she got around to arranging for an amended copy of her graduation certificate. Ms C recalls that when she won the Sulman Prize for design when she graduated in 1935, "I do remember the men were all jealous and that rather spoiled it".

Ms D (qual. 1961) tells an even more disturbing story of being awarded the university's Stephenson Prize as an undergraduate in the late 1950s. The professor had apparently decided not to award the prize; it was "no contest" because there were two outstanding women students in the year but no outstanding men students. Ms D believed that he went ahead with it only under pressure from Arthur Stephenson (whose firm, this thesis research suggests, had an excellent record of employing early women architects). However, the award was presented over a sherry in a professor's office, rather than in the graduation hall, with no public record made of it. Although she felt honoured to meet Stephenson (who also must have found the ceremony remarkable) she felt so humiliated by the incident that she told no-one about it—including her architect/academic husband Mr D—until it came out in a story to her daughter some twenty years later. Interestingly, in 1995 Ms D was still hesitant to name the professor concerned in case the story might offend his surviving family members.

Almost all the women interviewed generally found their architecture education stimulating, enjoyable and useful. While only a few reported experiences of discrimination, these stories suggest certain consistent strategies used by the University of Sydney architecture school to minimise public acknowledgment of the full extent of women's considerable presence and achievements there. This may have been for fear of displacing the prominence of male students in the school, probably because it was expected that most women students would marry and retire from the profession, wasting the career boost offered by university honours. These techniques for reducing women's prominence in the educational institutions seem to have been intermittent and low key. However, they must have reduced women's professional profiles, with effects inside and outside the university arena: first (sociologically) in reducing women's opportunities for professional development; second (psychologically) in reducing women's expectations of professional success; and third (historiographically) in reducing the likelihood of women receiving equal public acknowledgment to men in later areas of professional endeavour. Nonetheless, most early women students remember their time both at University of Sydney and Sydney Technical College

with gratitude for their education, respect for their teachers, and regard for a wide circle of friendly colleagues.

Stories of discrimination in employment

Ms R (qual. 1951) remembered that when she started out, there was an "original reluctance of firms to take on women". Ms H (qual. 1949) also recalled that:

> In the 1940s private offices were reluctant to employ women. I was told by the principal of one practice that he would not have a woman, but most discrimination was more subtle.

Ms F's (qual. STC 1946) first job as an architecture student was with a city architect who couldn't quite cope:

> It was alright for the girls to be in the typing alcove outside the office, but to have a [professional] girl in the office was really quite something then.

Ms C (qual. 1938) also felt that she would have been unwelcome in an architectural office in the 1940s.

> In my time, women were better not hanging around in an office...I would only have been an embarrassment to [my husband] in the office. The partners wouldn't have liked it, though oddly the clients didn't seem to mind. Women never got up very high in offices in those days. In architecture, as in many other areas, it was difficult to be recognised for the level of experience one had, so it was probably better to work from home and do one's own thing.

As late as the 1960s her daughter Ms R (qual. 1961) was told in an interview that the firm had never employed a woman and was not yet ready to do so.

By contrast Ms C (qual. 1945) had no employment difficulties in her initial years in the profession. However, after returning to Sydney in 1953 with a Diploma of Town Planning from Edinburgh, Ms C encountered discrimination for the first time: firstly, in accessing equal pay in her job as a town planner with

Cumberland County Council and, secondly, in being retrenched from Stephenson & Turner during a recession:

> Women got fired first, including me. Do they suppose that we don't eat, or that we've got somebody to support us? That we have nobody else to support? Which one of the girls there did...I could feel it through my pores when I was talking to the man who was doing the firing...It was the bloke protecting the other blokes...[Afterwards] I was seeking jobs and I rang all the obvious employers of architects and planners. I was told, "You can have two thirds of the pay"; "You can have a lesser job"; "No we don't employ women".

A few months later, Ms C missed being employed in the position of Deputy Planner for the city of Perth:

> One of the people I knew said, "You know, your application fizzled because the hiring board couldn't possibly hire a woman, because you might have to deputise some time". Well, what did they mean? That I lay eggs or something? That's when I started looking for work abroad.

Ms N (qual. Melbourne 1955) was told at an interview in the late 1950s (for the NSW Department of Public Works) that the work was too heavy for women architects and that they might distract the draughtsmen. The assumption that early women architects were sometimes considered a threat to the smooth running of an office was also mentioned by several others. Ms M (qual. 1944) remembered Ms N (qual. 1922) talking about her experience of an architecture office in New York, where she was not allowed to work in the same room as the rest of the employees, who were all men. Similarly Ms R (qual. 1951) recalled:

> In a London office I was working in a small room with the only other girl in a large office plus two unattractive married men. All the young men were in other areas. Many Sydney offices felt having women on the staff would distract the males! ([That was the nineteen] fifties).

Ms C (qual. 1938) also recalled that when women began to obtain employment in her husband's firm in the 1950s:

> There was a suggestion that perhaps they [the women architects] might distract the young draftsmen...if everybody was out. Sometimes they knew there was a bit of fooling going on. But the women usually had their heads down and continued working. That was his impression of them. That might have been because women felt there was a bit of sufferance about.

Ms F described a Catch-22 situation she had encountered in Western Australia in the 1950s after becoming engaged to a fellow architecture student during her studies. When applying for a student position with an architectural firm she followed the advice of her teacher, Ms P, and removed her engagement ring for the interview, on the assumption that this sign of an imminent marriage might reduce her chances of being employed. Unfortunately, the architect interviewing her was already aware of her engagement, and rejected her application on the basis that she was "dishonest" for not wearing the engagement ring. Perhaps this humiliating experience contributed to her becoming a school teacher rather than an architect (Matthews, 1991). Equal employment opportunity (EEO) legislation now prevents such "private" considerations being articulated in job interviews.

Ms A (qual. UNSW 1955) thought that the only discrimination she'd encountered was in relation to promotion, that she was never made Professor and instead she retired from the University of NSW at the level of Associate Professor. Similarly, it is likely that Ms E (qual. 1924) left Clement Glancey's office after twelve years because a glass ceiling prevented her from becoming a partner. Although the problem of a glass ceiling was not generally mentioned by respondents, discrimination against women in terms of both glass ceilings and the related problem of a lack of professional mentoring were almost certainly involved in the general failure of early women architects to reach prominent positions in established public or private architectural organisations.

The only two early women architects discovered by this research project to have enjoyed long-term mentoring were the two most publicly successful women amongst the research group of 231 women who qualified or worked in

architecture in NSW before 1960: Ellison Harvey and Helen Newton Turner.[36] Ellison Harvey started working for Arthur Stephenson in the mid 1920s, and eventually rose to be a partner in Stephenson & Turner in 1946. Her mentor was Stephenson himself, who referred to her as his "right hand" (Willis, 1998; Shaw, 1987, 95). Helen Newton Turner (qual. 1930) graduated during the Great Depression, but the architectural office which had employed her as a student refused her further employment as a graduate and offered her secretarial work instead. She took this but soon moved to a position as secretary to Ian Clunies Ross in the CSIRO, who enabled her retraining, re-classification and set her on a promotion track resulting in her becoming a world-class sheep geneticist, researcher and lecturer. Awarded an honorary doctorate from Macquarie University in 1991, an OBE and an Order of Australia, she commented, "I don't think I would have got anything like the career I've had without [Clunies Ross'] help" (Moyal, 1994:61). One can only wonder what kind of a career Newton Turner might have had in architecture, had someone offered proper professional support or mentoring after her graduation. Ms B (qual. 1934) described the situation generally in the architecture profession: "It was never easy for women to get good jobs. They could get slave jobs, but not good jobs".

Indirect discrimination

Culturally homogeneous assumptions

Some respondents commented on attitudes or comments they had encountered concerning their presence in the profession. Ms C (qual. 1935) said she had not encountered any direct discrimination, but had noticed that "the men were sometimes intrigued". Ms B (qual. London 1941) wrote more strongly that being a woman:

> put me at a disadvantage, I was regarded as an oddity, regarded doubtfully, as if they weren't sure that you could do what you were supposed to. At [one interview]...someone actually asked, "Did you really do those drawings?". I showed them my signature at the bottom.

[36] Other common factors in these women's career paths were that they effectively worked for just one organisation almost their entire professional lives (respectively Stephenson & Turner and the

Ms G's (qual. 1929) architect son Mr G also commented that "it was considered something of an 'oddity' to have a woman architect". Ms W (qual. 1953) remembered with exasperation: "A male client complimented me on my professionalism! What did he expect?". Ms A (qual. UNSW 1955) commented:

> All my life I was in a very small minority, but in several cases this was to my advantage, because people remembered me! I am more comfortable in the presence of male colleagues, and am now learning to adjust to the females that are now appearing on some of the Boards, etc., on which I serve (letter to B. Hanna, September 1999).

Ms M remembered being told by her employer of a conversation he had had with a competing architect, a junior partner in a major firm, who argued that Ms M shouldn't be getting time off to do freelance work. The competitor had said: "You shouldn't be letting her do this, you shouldn't be giving her that day off, she's taking work out of our mouths!". The disturbing aspect of this conversation is the assumption that although the men were officially competitors, they had a common interest in opposition to Ms M, who was understood to be an outsider, although she was employed by one of them.[37] Indeed, the warlike metaphor of "invasion" was sometimes used to describe the initial entrance of women into the profession. For example, in 1910, Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) defended women architects against writers who "decry the woman who...is usurping the man's place" (Taylor, 1910).

Marion Mahony Griffin's disillusioned comment on "foreigners" in her memoirs was probably intended as a literal description of her experience as a migrant from the USA. It also offers a cynical insight into the early twentieth century Australian response to "others" of any kind:

> A foreigner is a person to be feared, to be hated, to be despised...A foreigner is one whose honesty, intelligence, industry are things to be deadened as establishing bases of comparison threatening established methods of muddling

CSIRO), and both were unmarried and without children.

[37] This assumption was voiced by the competitor and apparently was not shared by Ms M's employer, since he told her about the conversation—as if he also found it surprising.

> and monopoly. The whole community unites to hound, to cheat, to defame the foreigner wheresoever he may come from. These methods are common to business, professions and unions (Mahony Griffin, n.d.,Vol.2:309, quoted in Weirick, 1998:77).

Notions of an apparently coherent architectural community were probably further threatened by non-English speaking background (NESB) migrant architects, who began arriving in increasing numbers after World War II. NESB migrant women architects such as Ms B (qual. Zurich 1937), Ms K (qual. Budapest 1949) and Ms S (qual. Warsaw 1957, reg. NSW 1966) faced many difficulties including being able to communicate easily in English; failing to get their qualifications and experience recognised; having to work in Imperial measurements after being trained in metric; and coping with their relative lack of networks, both public and private, to help with everything from commissions to childcare. Some even risked being mistaken for the "enemy" (being German during World War II, or being from a communist state during the Cold War of the 1950s). For example, when Ms K first arrived in Australia in 1957 with her architect husband, their degrees were not recognised and they both resorted to employment as cleaners. They soon left for South America where they gained further professional experience and, after their return in 1962, both managed to find full-time work as architects. Still, Ms K found that she was not warmly encouraged by her employers:

> They were worried that they would have to carry me because of the English, because the measurements were different and the Australian practice and construction was different. [And] "you are a woman". They didn't say that, but it wasn't an advantage. "You have a small child and if she gets sick you'll have to take time off". They weren't interested in overseas people. They were worried that you might take away business. I was grateful to them for employing me.

After eight years with the one firm, Ms K went into partnership with her husband, and from 1970 until his death in 1993, ran the small practice which depended largely on the Hungarian community for commissions. In fact all three migrant women mentioned above ended up in sole or freelance practice,

suggesting that the employment culture of the architecture profession after World War II was not particularly friendly towards them.

Anglo-Celtic early women architects also were far more likely than male architects to work in sole practices from their own homes (see chapter 3). Many of the early Anglo-Celtic women practitioners also did not seem to be regarded as part of the mainstream architectural community. Perhaps Ms W's recent experience of this is emblematic. Ms W contacted me after a letter was published in the January 1998 issue of *Architecture Bulletin* following the publication of an article there on Ms N (Hanna, 1997). Elderly architect Mr W had written:

> The article was a surprise to me as I can remember the name cropping up at times during my career, and I never realised it was not a masculine name, until seeing it with this article. Such was the overt masculine culture of the profession which prevailed in the 1970s. The only well known female architect was the outspoken Florence Taylor, who edited the magazine *Construction* for many years.

Ms W was astounded:

> He was a junior who worked from the desk in front of me in the Commonwealth Public Works during the 1940s, for years. There were also many other women in the office at that time. It is ridiculous that he hadn't noticed our existence!

Feminine conditioning

> As a woman I could bring calm and charm to the otherwise nerve-racking, rat-race building industry (Ms S, qual. Warsaw 1957, reg. NSW 1966).

Several women respondents considered that their own attitudes and behaviours seemed to be at variance with the professional norms they encountered. Ms S (qual. 1950) remained single and worked full-time all her life, but never scaled the professional hierarchies of the firms where she was employed. She explained: "I didn't push, hence didn't have all round experience. Always accepted well and

appreciated as reliable documenter. I wasn't unhappy about that.". In a similar vein, Ms L (qual. 1947) and Ms B (qual. 1934) respectively said:

> You had to be pretty pushy to get anywhere...And I wasn't pushy. I've acquired it over the years.
>
> I belonged to that period when girls weren't supposed to do much talking. I've gotten over that now.

Ms A's (qual. 1931) daughter stayed with her mother's friend Ms G (qual. 1929) for several childhood holidays and described both architects as "retiring...Both little mice". Ms A's (qual. 1931) brother also remembered her as lacking in confidence, a "worrier". This meant that she found architectural commissions stressful, and apparently did not seek them out, but if prevailed upon to design something "she gave it all she could. Possibly too much, it took a lot out of her".

Ms E (qual. 1960), one of the youngest architects to qualify in this research sample, wrote: "I don't think like a man, so it was always hard to communicate in the office scene". The comment is interesting for not assuming that a feminine way of thinking was automatically inferior to a masculine way, even if it was incompatible.

Ms M (qual. 1944) emphasised another unfortunate result of feminine conditioning when she explained that in her day women were expected to not excel beyond their husbands in their careers. Ms M says that both she and her friend Nancy Bridges (qual. 1939) felt they should hold back from their careers as architects in order to preserve their husbands' "ego". Ms N (qual. 1959) also wrote in this vein:

> As I married another architect I realised early on that if I practised and became successful this would put too much challenge on the marital relationship. So I decided to follow in a support role in the architectural partnership.

After the marriage break-ups experienced by both Ms M and Ms N, these efforts at their own career reduction must have seemed somewhat unfair. Ms M experienced further difficulties in her career at this point, which discouraged her from practising. She felt that potential employers often seemed to be friends with her ex-husband and uncomfortable about employing his ex-wife.[38] Similarly, when her ex's friend became chairman of the RAIA Design Committee that she had founded, she was effectively expelled. Ms M opted out of the design profession and initially found work in a department store advising buyers on industrial design, before moving into academia.

Balancing career and family

Perhaps the most obvious social difference between men and women in twentieth century Australia was the convention for men to be the primary breadwinners and women to be primarily responsible for the domestic well-being of their families: the patriarchal division of labour. Caring for the family includes child-bearing, child raising, cooking, housework, caring for older or unwell family members and also often means mediating between people; it is physically and emotionally challenging and time consuming while also being unwaged—although it can also be very rewarding. As such it conflicts with the demands of a professional career, especially: continuity of employment (which conflicts with maternity-leave and carer-leave); dedication of long hours (which conflicts with the care of children and other family members as well as housework); and the meaningfulness attributed to the work (which can conflict with meaningfulness attributed to family relationships). In an era when "a woman's place was in the home" and "a woman's first responsibility was towards her husband and children", how did early women architects manage the conflicts between the opposing demands of public and professional work on the one hand, and private and domestic work on the other? A British study of women architects found this to be "the central problem", concluding that women are disadvantaged by:

[38] Ms Mc explains that since her husband had been in the war, he attended the university architecture course some years after her when it had a huge enrolment of new students, thus he made friends and contacts with a much larger number of colleagues than possible in her year.

> the application equally to men and women of conditions of employment, and particularly of promotion, which in current circumstances fewer women than men are in a position to fulfil…the fact recognised by all informants [was] that the traditional division of family roles, though modified, is still very much alive (Fogarty, 1979:41).

Some early women architects' careers were stymied by the societal expectation that they would accompany their husbands geographically wherever the men's careers should take them, that the husband's career should take precedence over the wife's. Thus Ms H followed her accountant husband around rural NSW, finding part-time or casual architecture work in each town they settled; Ms J followed her husband in his numerous different postings in the Australian army; Ms W followed her "well-known" scientist husband around Australia and South-East Asia, finding part-time work in architecture and town planning: "I trailed around in my husband's wake". While no articles were written about her own work, she was sometimes credited as the scientist's wife. These latter situations, where women found themselves suppressing or continually uprooting their own careers for the supposed benefit of their husbands, was dependant upon an understanding of the feminine half of a marriage partnership as self-sacrificing and accommodating.

Chapter 3's statistical analysis of early women architects' career paths suggested that no-one in the "first generation" of women architects (i.e. those who qualified by 1919) managed to combine such professional and private roles in NSW. Australia's first woman architect Florence Taylor (qual. STC 1904) told reporters in a late life interview:

> "I can't cook and I can't sew", she announced with a certain amount of pride. "I can do eggs in two ways; hard and soft. And I've got more safety pins holding my clothes together than Woolworths would sell in a week" (*Daily Telegraph* 30/12/59).

It is probably no coincidence that two of the most publicly successful women in the research sample—Ellison Harvey (qual. Melbourne 1928) and Helen Newton

Turner (qual. 1930)—remained single, apparently devoting themselves entirely to their careers. However, Ellison Harvey, at least, was an ambiguous role-model for some of the women architects following her. Ms C (qual. Melbourne 1960) recalled that when Harvey had addressed her cohort at university in the late 1950s, the women students were appalled by her masculine attire (a suit). Ms B recollected her, "strongest memory of Ellison Harvey...sitting down at lunch absolutely disregarded by all at an architectural conference". Ms B (qual. 1934) was told at Stephenson & Turner that she could be a "partner, like Harvey": "But I didn't want to be like Harvey. I wasn't that dedicated. I enjoyed my work but I wanted to earn money to travel and that's what I did". These comments suggest that Harvey had paid a heavy personal price for her public success which these later women architects did not wish to emulate.

In fact the majority of both the second and third generations of women architects surveyed in chapter 3 (those who qualified between 1920 and1939 and between 1940 and 1959 respectively) managed to combine the public and the private role (table 2). However, respondents frequently commented on the difficulties and benefits involved in balancing these roles, especially where children were involved.

Finding suitable childcare for pre-schoolers was an important issue for mothers who wished to stay in the profession. Some women like Ms A (reg. NSW 1963) and Ms C (qual. 1938) temporarily withdrew from practice to look after their pre-school children. Ms A (qual. 1951) became a single mother in 1964, and supported herself by running a small practice from home, often working late at night after her daughter was asleep. Ms K (qual. Budapest 1949) had difficulties with child-care until her daughter was at school; by then her mother had immigrated from Poland and could help with care outside school hours and during holidays or when the child was ill. When Ms L (reg. NSW 1965) arrived in Sydney from Israel in 1955 with her husband and 18-month-old son, she quickly found him "a very nice kindergarten" which:

> was small [with] a nice playground and equipment. The carer was a teacher and of course you had to pay for it. [He] loved it. It was rather funny that later on,

> his friends used to complain to their mothers, "Why can't we go to the play centre [after school] why do we have to go home?"

Whereas many Australian mothers in the 1950s were made to feel guilty for "neglecting" their children by putting them into care, Ms L came from a background where childcare was considered normal, even where mothers were not working:

> The idea of one suburban home with a mother and a child in it, it's just insane. Again, the fact that I'm a European makes it very much easier for me because I never knew anybody who was brought up by their parents. We all had nannies and governesses.

The decision wasn't so easy for others. Both Ms H (qual. 1928) and her husband Eric had kept working in their partnership after their only child Ms C was born in 1944, sending the child to boarding school from an early age. Ms C says that her mother later "anguished" over whether she'd given her daughter enough time, and wondering if she should have given up architecture (interview with Ms C, 1992). Mr M Snr and Ms S (qual. 1926) also kept working full-time with a family of three children (two from Mr M Snr's former marriage and one son with Ms S), with the help of a string of nannies and housekeepers (interview with Sloane, 1997). Everyone seems to have been perfectly happy with the arrangement.

The difficulties of arranging childcare do not cease when a five-year-old goes to school. School hours, generally stretching from 9am to 3pm, are shorter than full-time working hours and holidays take up about ten weeks per annum compared to the usual annual holidays of four weeks per annum enjoyed by workers; moreover children also need care when they are sick. Many architect mothers addressed these constraints by working only during school hours so that they could be with their children during the hours before and after school. This was effectively part-time, considering the long hours generally expected of a professional. Such long-term patterns of part-time employment, lasting for well over a decade, probably led to the greatest differences between male and female

architects' career paths. For some early women architects, it meant dropping out of the profession altogether. Ms C (qual. 1935) noted that: "It does affect your career when you start a family. You've got certain skills if anyone will have you part-time". Ms C couldn't find such a firm and had to retire, despite the professional experience she had gained in a decade spent working in England. It was a rare employer who appreciated the skills acquired in mothering sufficiently to overcome any institutional difficulties involved in offering part-time employment. Ms S (qual. Warsaw 1957, reg. NSW 1966) also pointed out, that although she was always a member of the RAIA, she didn't serve on juries or committees because, "I was too busy with work and looking after family".

One difficulty with being a sole practitioner was the isolation. Ms C (qual. 1938) believes that she couldn't have worked from home without having a husband who was an architect, partly because he brought some work home but more importantly because he was someone with whom she could discuss problems.

Many early women architects were conscious of having made a decision to spend time with their families at the expense of their careers. Ms W (qual. 1926), who retired when she married a year after graduation, says that she never really contemplated practising architecture. Ms C (qual. 1952) retired from architecture when she married after working for seven years because she "didn't believe in mixing career and family". She felt that she had achieved the right balance. Ms C (qual. 1935), who retired when she couldn't find part-time work, reflected: "there are compensations for being a woman, for example, time with the family. I don't regret it". As someone who attempted both roles, Ms S (qual. Warsaw 1957, reg. NSW 1966) felt stretched both ways:

> To pursue a profession and raise a family at the same time requires enormous energy input and lots of sacrifices in both, profession and motherhood. I think that I would have been able to expand my talent further if I had not had children. Or, I would have been a better home-maker if I had not pursued such an intensive architectural practice.

Ms J (qual. 1952) felt privileged in having worked from home so that she could spend time with her children: “Although I would have loved to have achieved more—the combination of family and architecture was truly rewarding”. None of the early women architects consulted here described their experiences of balancing career against family life in terms of being victimised, yet their stories demonstrate that their careers were not an easy or automatic fit into the profession. Each of their paths had to be negotiated amongst the competing priorities of what was expected of women by others, what was expected of professionals, and their own needs and desires. While the stories indicate that established workplaces tended to demand a masculine norm of full-time commitment, there was an opportunity for part-time employment for women prepared to operate their own businesses from home. The price for this flexibility tended to be serious limitations on the type of work that could be done, a lack of professional contact with other practitioners, and poor financial rewards. However, the women who took up this opportunity were generally well aware of the privilege of having both an interesting career and time with their families. These stories evoke the variety of ways in which early women architects combined the available social roles of professional, wife and/or mother, and also the complexity of ways in which they understood the choices they had made.

THREE FEMINIST INTERPRETATIONS

A liberal feminist interpretation

The stories told here concerning early women architects’ experiences of the profession in NSW provide evidence of widespread but intermittent practices of discrimination. While the incidents were often minor and indirect, it is arguable that they had a cumulative effect in preventing early women architects from reaching the highest echelons of professional achievement, and thus partly explain women’s absence from architectural history.

Examples of direct discrimination included: girls’ high schools which failed to offer useful or prerequisite science and maths subjects; parents who were unwilling to finance daughters to get a professional education; male students who made public gestures of hostility towards the presence of women students; a

university course which avoided bestowing public honours on its best women students; employers who were unwilling to employ women; firms which employed women but seated them in separate spaces from eligible men, or didn't allow them to make site visits, or failed to give them all-round experience, or failed to promote them to partnership positions; and an industrial system which until 1974 endorsed lower wages for women workers, even though the principle of paying only men a "family wage" was not supposed to operate in contexts where men and women were doing the same work.

Examples of indirect discrimination, which did not prevent women's access to the profession so much as discourage their participation, included: comments from family and friends suggesting that any career, or that architecture in particular, was inappropriate for a woman; the failure by educational institutions to address women students' discomfort when greatly outnumbered by male students; the often-voiced assumption that women were better suited to domestic design because of their domestic experience, and that by implication that they were less suited to other genres of design; women's socialisation to not be "pushy", to not "sell" themselves, and to "think" differently from men; comments disapproving of women who wanted to maintain involvement in their careers after marrying or having children; and the general failure of the profession to accommodate women architects who were also mothers by, for example, providing child-care facilities or by crediting maternity leave as a form of personal and professional development, or by offering part-time work without loss of professional status or career development.

Many of the forms of direct and indirect discrimination described here have already been addressed in Australian industrial reforms and equal opportunity legislation, which have, by and large, made direct discrimination illegal. The RAIA has also prepared several reports specifically on women in the profession, making recommendations for improving their situation (RAIA, 1986; RAIA 1991). These, however, do not seem to have been widely instituted (Allan et al., 1992). While changed social mores have ensured a general acceptance of women

maintaining professional careers in Australia whether they have children or not,[39] few workplaces (architectural or otherwise) have family-friendly policies or practices.[40] Working mothers still often struggle between competing priorities of family versus career, apparently often to the detriment of their career progress.

Nonetheless, women have become more prominent in the Australian architecture profession since the mid 1980s—in winning awards, being featured in magazines and newspapers, editing the key professional journals, sitting on professional committees, forming their own societies and taking leadership positions in the RAIA. However, there is still no contemporary Australian woman architect who is a household name like Harry Seidler or Glenn Murcutt, although many people are now aware of Marion Mahony Griffin. This may be a matter of timing, until contemporary women architects have had the long-term benefit of a more supportive professional milieu. There are several prominent mid-career architects such as Christine Vadasz, Virginia Kerridge, Penny Rosier and Kim Crestani who may yet gain outstanding professional and public recognition. The section entitled "Milestones" offers hope for this scenario, by demonstrating that women architects have been performing well for decades in most aspects of professional life.

A socialist feminist interpretation

The liberal feminist argument that women architects are progressing in the profession may be questioned. The historic evidence presented in this chapter suggests that women architects have been struggling against the odds for decades, and recent reports suggest few signs of improvement in their professional prominence (RAIA, 1986; RAIA 1991). Early women architects' experiences can be understood as more than a sum of a series of discriminatory acts able to be remedied by piecemeal reforms. In addressing a similar situation experienced by women engineers, socialist feminists Ruth Carter and Gillian

[39] There is still public and private debate in Australia about the merits of institutionalised child care and frequent disapproval of working mothers (but not usually working fathers) who spend long hours at the office.

[40] Family-friendly employment practices include: paternity as well as maternity leave in the 12 months after birth (which could be extended to two or three years, of which a significant period is paid), family leave to care for sick children, ability to change from full-time to part-time

Kirkup argued that it was not enough to offer a "description" of women's marginalisation in the profession without attempting to "explain its origins". Rather, theorisation is required to explain how such "gendered occupational stereotyping has arisen [and] whether and how that gendering is being perpetuated". (Carter & Kirkup, 1990:1-2). This is a brief attempt to illustrate how these early women architects' experiences can enrich the socialist feminist critique of patriarchy and capitalism.

The patriarchal capitalist system has long benefited from the sexual division of labour whereby men work for wages in the public domain of the marketplace and women reproduce labour power, unpaid, in the private domain of the home (Engels, 1972; Zaretsky, 1976; Barrett, 1980).[41] The system maximises the possibility of capitalist profit while entrenching male privilege over women's sexuality and reproductive potential. As Zillah Eisenstein argues:

> All the processes involved in domestic work help in the perpetuation of the existing society: (1) Women stabilize patriarchal structures (the family, housewife, mother, etc.) by fulfilling these roles. (2) Simultaneously, women are reproducing new workers, for both the paid and unpaid labour force... (3) They work as well in the labour force for lesser wages. (4) They stabilize the economy through their role as consumers. If the other side of production is consumption, the other side of capitalism is patriarchy (Ehrenreich, 1995, 266-67, quoting Zillah Eisenstein).[42]

The various stories told by early women architects suggest that the entry of women into the professional workplace threatened this traditional patriarchal capitalist order in a number of ways. For example, women architects who were single were seen as a sexual threat, both to capitalism (men might be distracted from their work), and to patriarchy (men might be tempted from their marriages).

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employment without loss of privileges, status or career progress, flexible hours, ability to work from home at least occasionally.

[41] Women reproduce labour power both biologically, through pregnancy and childbirth, and sociologically, through raising children and caring for husbands so that the public domain can profit from the healthy productivity of workers (Barrett, 1980; Game & Pringle, 1983).

[42] Eisenstein, Zillah (1979) *Capitalist Patriarchy & the Case for Socialist Feminism*, 29. Ehrenreich's essay offers a critique and development of socialist feminist analysis, describing Eisenstein's "introduction to and chapter" in this publication as "an excellent state-of-the-art summary of mid-seventies socialist-feminist theory" (Ehrenreich, 1995, 271).

Similarly, women architects who were married were seen as a threat both to capitalism (they may no longer provide their unpaid work in reproducing other workers), and to patriarchy (they may no longer be financially dependant upon their husbands, and might choose to leave their marriages). Several stories showed that male students and architects saw women architects as outside competitors, who threatened the homogeneity of the professional field, rather than as colleagues.

The frequent political and sociological pronouncements throughout Australian twentieth century history which told women that they should be having more children, or that they should be devoting themselves whole-heartedly to their children (Encel et al., 1974:20, 49), can be seen to be capitalist/patriarchal postures in defence of the supposed stability of this traditional sexual division of labour. Related defensive manoeuvring can also be seen in the stories told by the early women architects in this study. For example, women who attended girls schools were offered a restricted curriculum which best prepared them for domestic work rather than giving them a broad-based set of skills. Employers sometimes avoided employing women altogether or, if they took them on, did not offer them equal exposure to the whole range of professional skills, ensuring men's relative advantage in the race for career enhancement. The failure to accommodate working mothers' need for part-time work must have excluded them from many established firms, again entrenching men's dominance in the profession. However, many enterprising early women architects did develop the opportunity to set up their own part-time or full-time businesses from home. Women as home-based sole practitioners were, however, little threat and probably advantageous to capitalism: they provided cheap and flexible professional skills that could fill gaps left by the more profit-conscious corporate firms, while maintaining a strong presence in the home capable of fulfilling the needs of labour power reproduction. The restriction to small-scale work meant that male practitioners would remain predominant in the field.

The practice of paying women architects less than men had the ambiguous potential of either leading to doubly exploiting women or to playing off the underlying social structures of patriarchy and capitalism against each other.

Paying women architects lower wages had the advantage for capitalism that more profit could be generated at a lower cost. However, this also meant that women architects might be employed in preference to men, disadvantaging patriarchy. In fact, it probably worked out to the benefit of both systems, in that women who worked in the profession provided cheap labour while also being discouraged from taking themselves seriously as professionals and encouraged to maintain the stability of the households they tended so cheaply.

Many women quoted here failed to see that they were encountering discrimination, some felt it was appropriate to be paid lower wages than men, while others "shrugged off...the pervasive social denigration of women...as negligible, or fanciful" (Grimshaw, 1991:158). This could be seen to be the convenient outcome of women's socialisation to be docile and cooperative, an outcome which worked to entrench the system. Other women, like Florence Taylor and Ms C, were rightfully indignant about the treatment they encountered, and set about changing their situation.

The successes of both capitalism and patriarchy in excluding women from professional opportunities suggest that early women architects were effectively prevented from reaching their full potential as architects, or "castrated" as Germaine Greer argued women to be in *The Female Eunuch* (1971). Thus early women architects were largely prevented from designing "great" works. However, in the socialist feminist historical perspective, monumental works and their authors are not to be admired since they are inevitably the result of exploitative social systems based on concentrations of wealth and privilege.

Instead, historiographical scholarship should focus on the social construction of gender and privilege. From the wealth of testaments presented here, it may be possible to develop an historic model of the architecture profession as being predominantly masculine in gender—not just in its demography, but in its professional practices and cultural values. These stories suggest that the masculine subject was the professional norm in architectural workplaces, and that women were expected to mimic masculine professional behaviour, and even

then their acceptance was reluctant and partial. How may such gender bias have distorted the historic development of the built environment?

A postmodern feminist interpretation

> [W]hen we analyse a life history, we are analysing a text, not social reality, and this text is itself the product of a complex collaboration...We may be discussing the dynamics of narration rather than the dynamics of society (Shopes, 1994:99 quoting Vincent Crapanzano).[43]

A postmodern feminist interpretation self-reflexively emphasises the status of the women's stories told here as *representations*. These stories are themselves texts which were *generated* by the qualitative methodology employed, and are open to different interpretations. They are no less real or truthful than the statistics reported in the last chapter, which were also *generated* by the research process of archival fossicking. They are social constructions which can be edited, manipulated and put to different uses. In presenting them here, I have tried to respect the integrity of the stories with their different interpretations of what happened—while also moulding them into an overall feminist argument evidencing widespread (although not uniform) historical emergences of gender difference in the architecture profession.

Although I find it insightful, I am also critical of the structural analysis offered by the socialist feminist interpretation. It is problematic in that it fails to articulate differences in professional practice, both in terms of changes in practices at different times and in different places, and as experienced by different women. It tends to construct capitalism as a homogeneous unity, a monstrous indestructible foe, and masculinity as pure, undifferentiated dominance. It suggests that anyone who interprets the situation differently is suffering from false consciousness. Such images of capitalism are the object of a postmodern critique by J. K. Gibson-Graham, which argues that they are politically disabling. Gibson-Graham argues for the development of more nuanced ways of representing capitalism (and patriarchy), which might allow for

the imagining and theorisation of "noncapitalist economic practices, or of capitalist retreats and reversals" (Gibson-Graham, 1996:3). The mass of empirical information about women's experiences of the architecture profession, presented here, could be understood instead as providing evidence for complex and differentiated representations of both middle-class working conditions and family life in twentieth century Australia. For example, the stories describing women's different reasons for choosing architecture are diverse, suggesting that these women were subject to many discursive influences beyond the supposedly dominant ideology of feminine domesticity or "the angel in the house" (Woolf, 1979: 59; Ms NH, 1992).

In contrast with the overview favoured by the socialist feminist stance, a postmodern feminist critique might focus on symbolic meanings apparent in details or even gaps, in Freudian "slips" or recurrent metaphors. For example, the sexual symbolism of the "gendered spaces" proposed here as kitchen cupboards and building sites invites analysis. Perhaps it is no coincidence that these spaces, continually reiterated as appropriate for women and men respectively to concentrate their design expertise, can be readily identified as sexual metaphors. Interior spaces or "boxes" link to the womb, while exterior spaces, specifically devoted to "erections" are phallic. But what are the possible meanings? Why would designers be linked to the image of their own gendered bodies, as proposed by radical feminist critics in the 1970s (Lippard, 1976)?

Another image which invites further development is found in comments which describe women's participation in the profession as "invading" or "usurping". The metaphor of invasion evokes an image of rightful citizens of an established territory being overrun by outsiders who will corrupt the established culture. It is a powerful representation of woman as alien or "other". Simone de Beauvoir was the first to transfer the philosophical category of the other coined by Emanuel Levinas, to the social representation of woman in her ground-breaking text, *The Second Sex* (first publ. 1949). Her analysis of woman as other explains how men make sense of who they are by defining what they are not, and thus produce the

[43] Vincent Crapanzano "Life Histories" *American Anthropologist* 88(4):359.

dominant subjectivity of our culture as masculine. This analysis has been extended to analyses of occidental social representation of oriental cultures (Said, 1991) and is central to the burgeoning literature of postcolonialism (see for example, Nalbantoglu & Wong, 1997). The figuring of woman as other to architecture requires more substantial documentation, but may help explain the usual representations within the relevant literatures of women as *absent*. Further research focused on architectural publications might pursue the argument that architecture as a discipline has historically generated a sense of its own identity as positive by being gendered masculine (as strong, virile, seminal or muscular), by quite simply excluding women from its discourse, as well as denigrating other signs of femininity (as weak or effeminate).

Chapter 5
LOST AND FOUND: BIOGRAPHIES OF LEADING EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS IN NEW SOUTH WALES

> *What one must do to bring her to life was to think poetically and prosaically at one and the same moment, thus keeping in touch with fact—that she is Mrs Martin, aged thirty-six, dressed in blue, wearing a black hat and brown shoes; but not losing sight of fiction either—that she is a vessel in which all sorts of spirits and forces are coursing and flashing perpetually.*
> Virginia Woolf [1]

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present brief biographies of some of the leading women architects who were working in New South Wales (NSW) before World War II. Whereas chapter 3 demonstrates that there were unexpectedly large numbers of women following substantial careers as architects in NSW before 1960, and chapter 4 indicates the types of constraints within which many women worked, this chapter demonstrates how eight individual women architects were contributing to architectural discourse in innovative and noteworthy ways. Recovering the stories of these impressive early careers is designed to contribute to the creation of historic female identities worthy of inclusion in Australian architectural (and cultural) history, provide a variety of role models for contemporary women architects and throw light on how these women negotiated the ordinary, everyday difficulties involved in coping with the interaction of public and private spheres and responsibilities (Caine, 1994).

This chapter begins the work of evaluating these women's careers by emphasising firstly, the ways they contributed to the established cannons of architectural achievement, for example, how they contributed to award winning buildings, or how they participated in the development of modernist architectural

design; and secondly, how they contributed to the built environment as an aspect of "women's history", for example, by participating in the construction of buildings to be used primarily by women, or by promoting and networking with other women, or by fighting for women's rights. The biographies also stress aspects of these women's stories which may help explain how they were "lost" to history, by describing some of the social obstacles they faced, as well as historiographical impediments I encountered in the process of "finding" them.

The biographies are presented in chronological order according to when these women qualified as architects. Narrowing the choice down to eight architects involved several sets of considerations. Ultimately, women architects were included here if they had a reputation for being good at what they did, if they had produced a substantial number of documented or accessible designs, buildings or writings which could be analysed and if their story was accessible to this research. In addition, this chapter follows the ongoing emphasis of this research project to focus on the earliest women architects possible inorder to gather information before the sources disappear. Of the eight presented here, only Marion Mahony Griffin has been rigorously studied elsewhere,[2] although Florence Taylor has also been the subject of several short and sometimes inaccurate articles (Loder, 1989; Ludlow, 1988, 1990; Vries, 1998) as well as an excellently researched undergraduate thesis (Murray, 1976).[3] Finally, these women were chosen to represent a range of lifestyles: while six were born in NSW, one was a long-term visitor from the USA and another was a refugeee of non English speaking background from Europe; two remained single and six married, and of these, two had no children and four had children but continued

[1] Woolf, 1977:43-44.

[2] See Rubbo, 1988, 1996, 1998; Weirick, 1988, 1998; Watson, 1998; Pregliosco, forthcoming. I have struggled over the decision to include the essay on Marion Mahony Griffin because she has been well researched elsewhere, and because my essay on her differs from the rest of the chapter in so far as it is based on these other secondary sources rather than my own original research. However, I considered that any reader using this thesis as a reference source would expect some explanation about NSW's most internationally prominent early woman architect. Also, my essay answers my own basic questions about her, for comparison with the rest of my research sample, such as: What are the details of her training and background? What is her accepted oeuvre? What is her possible oeuvre, if her work with Griffin was taken into account? How has her contribution been represented by other historians? How could she be given better historical acknowledgment?

[3] For short, good biographical articles see Freestone, 1991 and Hanna, 1995c, 1999. For discussions of the right-wing implications of Taylor's work, see Teather, 1993,1994 and Margalit, 1999.

working; one was Catholic, one Jewish, one a theosophist and the rest Protestant. All, however, were white and effectively middle-class.

Space and resource limitations have led to the exclusion of many biographies of women with significant careers which commenced post-World War II, for example, Ms M, Ms M and Eve Laron (see appendix 1 for further details). Also, some prominent women traced in appendix 1 have already been addressed by other scholars, including: Edna Walling, landscape designer who also designed some of the houses in her developments (Watts, 1981; Watts, 1991; Dixon, 1988); Marion Hall Best, modernist interior designer (Richards, 1993); and Ellison Harvie, who achieved partnership with Stephenson & Turner in the 1940s, and who worked mostly in Melbourne (Willis, 1997).

Of all the women architects studied in this thesis, only the first two to qualify, Florence Taylor and Marion Mahony Griffin, produced extensive autobiographical writings,[4] suggesting that they both had an acute awareness of their role as "pioneer".[5] None of the women architects in NSW following Taylor and Griffin have so far involved themselves in comparable practices of self-representation. Indeed few seem to have made or kept documentation of their careers or achievements in any form. Thus the biographical stories presented here have been stitched together largely from my interviews with family and acquaintances and, in the cases of Eleanor Cullis-Hill and to a much lesser extent Winsome Hall Andrew, with the architects themselves. The significant research efforts necessary just to recover these names and the outlines of these women's careers means that these biographies do not offer a comprehensive evaluation of each woman's contribution to the built environment. This chapter is presented as an introductory effort at making sense of these women's careers and contributions to the development of the built environment in twentieth century

[4] Florence Taylor gave numerous interviews throughout her long life describing her life story, published a book about her career as a town planner (Giles, 1959) and commissioned an "authorised" but uncompleted and unpublished biography by her friend Kerwin Maegraith (1968). After her retirement as a widow in the USA, Marion Mahony Griffin wrote 1500 pages of memoirs entitled "The Magic of America" (Mahony Griffin, n.d.), of which a microfiche copy is available in Australia.

[5] Jill Kerr Conway's study of nineteenth century American women's autobiographical writings suggests that this form of self-interrogation was widespread in that generation of women (Conway, 1992).

NSW. Although some drawings, historic photographs and buildings are documented here, few are analysed in detail because of resource and space limitations. Nonetheless this is a long chapter because the richness, variety and interlapping themes found in these stories of these women's lives.

The style of biography writing in this thesis responds to the critiques of the genre discussed in chapter 2 in a variety of ways. The eight short biographies presented here all follow the conventional, chronologically ordered biographical narrative that characterised nineteenth century novel writing, including the use of the third person, omnipresent narrator. I found this to be the most appropriate way of constructing "authors" worthy of inclusion in history in a conventionally recognisable sense; for example, such that each biography could be inserted fairly directly into other contexts.[6] It was also considered to be a style of writing which the many people interviewed for the chapter would probably find most approachable and respectful. The chronological narrative offered a simple template for ordering a considerable collection of original information about each architect. However, there is a socialist feminist content to each biography, in that they all comment on the intersection of public and private lives and concerns, and they all address the question of how and why each woman has been excluded from established historical accounts of their field. This biographical research attempts to negotiate the difficult historiographical terrain of critiquing the "loss" of women from history, while attempting to "find" them by providing evidence of where they might fit into the established stories, and suggesting possibilities for where they might become protagonists of new narratives.

[6] For example, the piece on Ellice Nosworthy is being published in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* in an abridged form. I have published five short biographies in this style for an audience of mostly women architects in Constructive Women's newsletter *Constructive Times* between 1994 and 1997.

FLORENCE TAYLOR (1879-1969)

Florence Taylor was Australia's first professionally qualified woman architect, first woman engineer and the first Australian woman to fly (plates 37-39). She was avidly interested in city planning and produced many ambitious schemes to transform Sydney. She is best known as the editor and publisher of *Building* magazine, begun with her husband George Taylor in 1907 and continued alone after his death in 1928 until her retirement in 1961. Although she was secretive about circulation figures,[7] her publications sold widely enough for this "penniless orphan" to die a wealthy woman. Her opinionated, authoritarian style of writing found favour with a wide audience, including many people who were instrumental in the construction of the built environment in Sydney over five decades. She also gave dozens of interviews about herself as well as arranging for several writers to tell her life story (Parsons, 1933; Giles, 1959; Maegraith, 1968), resulting in a rich series of semi-autobiographical texts, often strongly feminist in tone and suggesting a profound self-consciousness of her status as a pioneering career woman. Described as "the great lady of Sydney town" and "the most remarkable woman in the empire" (*Smiths Weekly* 10/5/1933), Taylor was honoured with an Order of the British Empire (OBE) award in 1939, a "citizens' appreciation luncheon" in 1955 (*Construction* 23/11/1955:4) and a Commander of the British Empire (CBE) award in 1961, although not the coveted title of "Dame". She died just short of her 90th birthday in 1969.

Florence Mary Parsons was born in Bristol, England on 29 December 1879, the sixth of eight children to John Parsons and Eliza Brooks. Her "authorised biographer" Kerwin Maegraith describes her father as a "humble clerk" employed by a local Council, his wage a "miserable pittance". Stories of Australia being "a land of milk and honey" convinced the family to migrate, arriving in Rockhampton on the Ravenscrag in 1883. By 1884 however, the family had relocated to Sydney, where her father quickly found employment as

[7] In "Business Tactics and Questionable methods" *Construction* 22/6/60, Taylor declared that she never confided circulation figures, not even to advertisers. She was critical of another journal's claim to having the widest circulation: "the bigger it is the more watered-down must be the contents to meet the layman's standards of knowledge who are not in the ambit of the building fraternity, of which we have 100% readers. No-one could get more than 100%".

"a draughtsman and utility clerk" with Parramatta Council (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 9) and later as a sewerage inspector with the Public Works Department (Parsons, 1933:1; John Parson's death certificate 1899 in Murray, 1976). The children evidently attended local state schools, with Taylor completing her secondary education to intermediate level.[8] Taylor's mother died when she was 16 and her father just three years later. In 1899 she found herself penniless and with younger sisters Annis and Jane to support:

> Until my father died when I was 19 I was the most indolent little person in the world. I did nothing: just loafed and enjoyed myself. Then I suddenly found I had to earn a living. And it put a mettle in me that I didn't have (*Sun Herald* 1/6/61).

According to Maegraith, Taylor was a tall and beautiful young woman, but not yet interested in matrimony. Domestic work was her most likely option, but with some difficulty she managed to obtain clerical work in the Parramatta architecture office of Frederick Stowe, an acquaintance of her father's (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 10-12), who also apparently took her in to live with his wife and young children for some months (Murray, 1976:20; Cusick, 1984). This short stint of clerical employment with Stowe led to an architectural apprenticeship with Edward Skelton Garton in Sydney from around 1900.[9] Meanwhile she attended night classes at Sydney Technical College (STC) between 1900 and 1904,[10] the first woman to complete final year studies in the architecture school, although she did not receive a diploma.[11] Taylor attended

[8] Various sources describe her as having attended different schools: the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* states that Taylor attended Ladies Presbyterian College Croydon, however, (Ludlow, 1990:176); an article in the *Daily Mirror* 25/2/1961 reported that Taylor attended Greenwood School in North Sydney, and this was repeated in Murray's thesis (1976:15), but both schools seem unlikely for a lower income family in Parramatta; Maegraith says vaguely but most plausibly that "The State school was nearby and provided a good education" (1968:chapter 1, 9).

[9] Maegraith says five years (1968:chapter 1, 16), while Parsons records that Taylor's indenture was signed by Garton in May 1902 after three years (Parsons, 1933:1).

[10] State Archives records (7/8014-15, 2(407)) show that Florence Parsons completed 12 subjects while enrolled for five years between 1900 and 1904.

[11] It is not known why Taylor did not take out a diploma of architecture from the STC. It is clear that she never listed this amongst her achievements and her name does not appear in the register of "all diplomas and certificates issued 1887-1946" (NSW State Archives 7/8826-28). However, the STC record lists only 21 architecture students as having received diplomas out of the hundreds enrolled in the school in the years between 1900 and 1910, suggesting that they were issued to only a small percentage of students. This trend was also noted in Victoria (Willis, 1997a:57).

lectures in architecture at the University of Sydney (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 16 and 36) and studied at Frederick Stowe's Sydney Marine Engineer's College.[12] She also spent weekends learning to paint watercolours and also developed her singing voice. Soon after completing her articles with Garton she moved to the prestigious city office of Burcham Clamp, where she apparently reached the status of chief draftsman and says she was offered partnership (which she turned down) (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 21; Taylor, c.1965).

Taylor says that in her spare time she also designed 50 or 100 houses in Mosman, Neutral Bay and Darling Point for developer Alfred Saunders (*Sunday Sun* 6/9/1931; *Christian Science Monitor* 22/7/1924). The houses developed by Saunders in these suburbs just after the turn of the century have been identified (plates 40-46),[13] although little further documentary evidence has been found in

[12] She did not receive any degrees from the University of Sydney, contrary to the statement in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Ludlow, 1990). Ludlow's entry on Taylor apparently confuses her with a Mrs Florence Taylor who graduated with a B.A. in 1906, when "our" Taylor was still "Florence Parsons".

[13] My search of the NSW Land Titles Office yielded a series of possible addresses for land owned by Alfred Saunders between 1900 and 1907 in Mosman, Neutral Bay, Cremorne and Darling Point. The addresses found there include:

> 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 42, 44, 46, 48 Raglan Street, Mosman
> 45, 47, 49 Musgrave Street, Mosman.
> 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28 Lower Wycombe Road, Neutral Bay
> 15, 15A Wycombe Road, Neutral Bay
> 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47 Kareela Street, Cremorne
> 20, 22, 24, 26, 34A, 36 Darling Point Road, Darling Point
> 34, 36, 38, 44, 46, 48, 48A, 50 Mona Street, Darling Point.

Another study of Alfred Saunders' turn of the century land holdings in Darling Point, "based on Council Assessments and Council Valuations prepared for 1908 and 1909" has turned up similar, although not the same set of addresses:

> 9, 11, 13, 22, 34, 36, 38?, 42 (originally called 44?) 46, 48, Darling Point Road, Darling Point
> 42, 44, 52, Mona Road, Darling Point
> 14 Yarranabee Road
> Also houses explicated only by their names: on Mona Road—Myrlyn", "Wendover"; on Darling Point Road—"Kama", "Ascham" (formerly "Delamere"), "Cooliatta"; on Yarranabbe Rd "Springfield" (although possibly the same house as 38 Darling Point Rd.).

This study was produced by the "Local History Librarian" at Woollahra Council, Woollahra Council Memorandum 474G, 3/4/1998 on "Landholdings of Alfred Saunders in Darling Point between 1907 and 1909", based on Council Assessments and Council Valuations prepared for 1908 and 1909 for the Double Bay ward, and was obtained from Ruth Daniel, Heritage officer at Woollahra Council, August 1998. Woollahra Council became interested in 48 Darling Point Road when a redevelopment application was lodged in 1997. Although the building was not listed in the Council's heritage register or LEP, the building was considered, along with its neighbours of similar style at 42/44 and 46 Darling Point Road, to be of:

evidence that Taylor was indeed their architect, despite extensive searching. The one snippet of evidence recovered in this thesis appeared nearly fifteen years after the event, in an article written by George Taylor in one of the Taylors' journals (*The Property Owner* 5/9/1921:12) (plate 47).[14] The article presents a small perspective drawing of a Federation styled house, captioned, "A cottage drawn by Florence M. Taylor", with the accompanying comment from George:

> I like that little sketch because it was done by my life mate. It is a sketch of a building which she not only devised in her mind, but she made the drawing from the idea she had of it and she had it put into shape, or what you may say, built. It is in Neutral Bay, Sydney, Australia.[15]

Unfortunately, the sketch does not match the appearance of any of the houses built by Saunders still standing in Neutral Bay. To date, the only architectural designs which can be definitively attributed to Florence Taylor are, firstly, a tiny reproduction of a plan and perspective for a kitchen design which won a special prize at the 1907 Women's Exhibition in Melbourne (*Building* Apr. 1908) (plate 48). Secondly, this research project has unearthed evidence that Florence Taylor designed a home in Roseville, on land owned by her sister Annis during the 1920s, long after when she says she gave up architecture. The house has been extensively altered at the back and side, but the façade and front rooms seem to

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> heritage significance as a group of Arts and Crafts style residential buildings displaying unity and high streetscape value through common design features, building materials and landscape settings. Individually and collectively the three houses were significant representative examples of a predominant style of building constructed in the first decade of the twentieth century (Hyde Park Barracks Museum, 1999).

Council's rejection of the development application was contested in the Land and Environment court, in a case which Council won. However, the decision was then revoked by the NSW Minister of Planning and Urban Development in December 1997. Before the building could be demolished, the Council managed to gazette a new LEP (on 3 July 1998) which included the three houses in a heritage zone, thus protecting them under NSW state heritage legislation. 48 Darling Point Road featured as one of a few houses which were "saved" in the "Demolished House of Sydney" exhibition (Hyde Park Barracks Museum, 1999). Florence Taylor's possible involvement as architect was mentioned in the catalogue to the exhibition (Hughes, 1999), although not in the exhibition proper (Hyde Park Barracks Museum, 1999).

[14] I am indebted to Sharon Veale for noticing the attribution to this tiny drawing in *The Property Owner* and alerting me to its existence.

[15] However, it is again unfortunate that the apparent clarity of this attribution to Taylor is confused by at least two previous publications of the same drawing in their own magazines, both giving credit for its design and its execution to Taylor's previous employer Burcham Clamp (*Building* Jul. 1908:36 and *Building* Aug. 1910:745).

be in original condition (plates 50-52).[16] The house was identified as a Taylor-designed house by an elderly, long-time neighbour who wrote in some memoirs:

> It was designed and built by Mrs Florence Taylor as her week-end bush retreat...I do not really remember her, I was quite a small child when she ceased to live there but the house always fascinated me. As well as the southern verandah there was a westerly balcony that reached out among the tree tops and looked down the gully. Later tenants turned this into a kitchen. Mrs Taylor would sometimes entertain at luncheon on the front patio—a table set with a white cloth, ladies and gentlemen strolling around drinking red wine from green bottles. I peered through a crack in the paling fence until an irate lady arrived and demanded that my mother remove me, and the dividing fence became out of bounds.[17]

This is the only built structure in Australia at present which may be confidently attributed to Florence Taylor.

Maegraith and other later life accounts describe incidents of discrimination which Taylor experienced when training as the first woman professional architect in a calling then considered "not fit for a woman" (Taylor, c.1964; Maegraith, 1968:chapter1). At the STC, students and teachers avoided her or treated her rudely, and she later accused the administration of failing her while "duller males got through" (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 17-18). Whereas Taylor remembered her three employers with fondness and gratitude, she also encountered difficulties in the office with fellow staff members, whom she considered jealous of the attention she received (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 31). Her questions would be answered with the growl "Find out", but afterwards she decided that "they did her a great service for the research work involved was very beneficial" (*Orange Leader* 14/9/1931). A misogynist review, published in the Institute of

[16] Because the owners are nervous about the heritage implications, no further information indicating its location is presented here.

[17] Letter by Dorothy Shaw to "Sylvia and George", April 1997. I discovered this house through a bizarrely improbable coincidence. I mentioned my research to a couple I met the end of the same difficult week I spent tracing Saunders' land at the Land Titles' Office, who announced that they lived in a house designed by Florence Taylor. Their elderly neighbours had told them about the original owners, and had furthermore documented their memoirs in a letter about the neighbourhood, quoted here. I made another visit to the Land Titles Office which revealed that the land was indeed bought by Taylor's sister Annis Parsons in 1923.

Architects of NSW journal in 1907, offers a sense of the atmosphere of disapproval in which she moved:

> Much of the work in the Fine Art and Applied Art sections at the recent Sydney exhibition [of women's work] would have been simply ludicrous, if it were not saddening to think of the many wasted hours, the misapplied energy, and the unprofitable labour required to produce even these hopeless, worthless results. The inability to distinguish between the good and the bad is more marked among women than among men, and so is that defiant self-satisfaction, that ignorant egotism, which forever bars the door to knowledge...The worst of it is that the making of a bad artist involves the loss of, perhaps, a passable cook or a decent dressmaker ("Australian exhibition of women's' work, 1907: 184, 191).

The review concerned a Sydney-based preview of NSW women's work, which was shown the following month as part of a huge national show in Melbourne, *The First Australian Exhibition of Women's Work*. Several architectural designs by Taylor and other NSW women on display were not mentioned in this first, anonymous review, although these were possibly the first professional women's drawings ever exhibited in Australia. However, a second review of the entire exhibition, authored by Robert Haddon, appeared in Art and Architecture the following issue. Its comments, which did include grudging acknowledgment of the women's architectural drawings, was less vehement in its disapproval, although still condescending. Haddon wrote:

> It is borne in upon me in a very marked degree how much work, how much time, thought, industry, and service has been given to produce work of but limited usefulness...But how much of our woman's work is in vain? Ask again by the close-packed storeways of mediocrity. Yet I write not to discourage the humblest, the poorest, and what is far poorer than the poorest—the tawdriest, work sent in, is work—think of that; it is good—to work...That woman should study at least the domestic aspect of architecture seems only reasonable, and I have known more than one capable architectural assistant, both in England and Australia; and builders' technical assistants as well; and it is questionable whether it is necessary to go up a ladder to become an architect (Haddon, 1907:219-220).

By contrast, the Taylors' own *Building* magazine published a warm acknowledgment of the women's achievements in the Melbourne exhibition, mentioning Taylor's awards and her distinction as "the only qualified woman architect in Australia", and noting that "Several other women are now studying the same profession" (*Building*, Dec. 1907:64).

The most serious incident of discrimination occurred in the course of Taylor's 1907 application to become the first woman member of the NSW Institute of architects.[18] Dozens of architects turned up unexpectedly to the routine meeting where her application was to be processed. Her employer Burcham Clamp's eloquent speech in her favour was met with a barrage of "hate" and an overwhelming vote against her nomination. Later Taylor claimed that "New South Wales was girl-hostile" and that she had been "blackballed" (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 20-23).[19] This event may be seen as the genesis of her somewhat marginalised position in the profession, as a critical interventionist:

> It was at this stage I learnt that the biggest invitation I could get to do a thing or enter a place was to be told to keep out (*Sydney Sun* 9/6/31)!

Taylor did become the first woman member of the NSW Institute, but it was not until 1920 and then at the invitation of the president, George Sydney Jones.[20] Ironically, by then Taylor had been effectively retired from architectural practice for 13 years, although she had developed a prominent role in the profession through her writing and publishing work. Nonetheless, Taylor's difficulties in the profession continued. In a 1931 newspaper article Taylor described being excluded from the Institute's dinners until she threatened to issue a Writ of Mandamus, legally enforcing her right to attend. She was admitted, and took her

[18] The forerunner to the NSW chapter of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, which formed a federal body through an amalgamation of state organisations in 1929 (the Victorian state institute remained independent until the 1950s) (Willis, 1997a).
[19] A more complex interpretation of this event is offered in Hanna, 1999b.
[20] Maegraith states that the articles of the Institute had to be "altered so as to allow her admittance" (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 2, 17). However, *Architecture* notes in the minutes for the meeting of the NSW Institute of Architects 10/8/1920 only that J. Peddle moved and A.W.Anderson seconded a motion in principle: "That ladies be admitted as members of the Institute on the same terms as men", carried unanimously (Aug. 1920:31). In 1921 Florence Taylor was listed as the first woman Associate Member of the Institute (*Architecture* Jul. 1921).

friend (an ex-Premier's wife)[21] to the first dinner, where they were humiliatingly seated "at the foot of a very long table with their backs to the speakers." This insult was partly alleviated by the gallantry of "Professor Warren (Dean of the Faculty of Engineering) [who] asked somebody else to occupy his seat at the top table, and joined them" (*Orange Leader* 14/9/31). That this was not an isolated incident is suggested by the reminiscences of several early women architects interviewed in the course of this study. Ms H only ever saw Florence Taylor on one occasion, at an Institute of Architects' meeting. She remembers that when Taylor stood up to speak, the men present began to rattle their papers and tap their pens, in what Ms H thought was a disruptive manner. She didn't know why, whether it was because Taylor pushed herself forward, or because the men didn't like to hear a woman speak. Ms H confided, "I never got up to speak. I never had any problems like that" (interview with Ms H, 1995). Ms Y recalled in a similar vein:

> many years ago at a committee meeting at the Institute of Architects, there were two older men discussing some matters and the name Florence Taylor came up. They seemed to think it was rather amusing that in the early days the secretary always sent out notices of meetings very late to Florence. Hoping she wouldn't turn up. Because in those days it was very much a boys' club (interview with Ms Y, 1998).

In April 1907, Florence Parsons married the tiny, "deaf" but charismatic George Augustine Taylor, who was nine years her senior (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 1, 38-39). She left her job at Clamp's and although they remained childless, "keeping pace with her husband's activities completely filled her life" (*Country Life Stock & Station Journal* 10/12/48). Described by Max Freeland as "possibly the most amazing couple in Australia's history" (Freeland, 1971:78), Florence joined George in his numerous enthusiasms including: town planning (they were founding members of the Town Planning Association in 1913), aeronautics (they were the first man and woman to fly in Australia when they took off in a glider for several hundred metres in 1909) (plate 38) wireless and radio technology,

[21] Mrs Holman (Giles, 1959, 17).

astronomy, poetry, music, art, travelling and most notably, publishing.[22] Taylor's sisters Annis and Jane also lived with the couple and shared in their activities.[23]

Several months after their marriage, George and Florence Taylor launched *Building*, a trade magazine for "the architect, builder, property owner and merchant", as it proudly announced on its cover. This journal, whose first issue in September 1907 sold out quickly (Murray, 1976:65-66), became the flagship of their small publishing empire, Building Publishing Company. As Murray points out, the capital required for launching the venture was most likely obtained with the financial assistance of Taylor's old friend Frederick Stowe. However, it was the Taylors' energy and talent which motivated the business' expansion (Murray, 1976:64). By 1918, the business found premises at 20 Loftus Street near Circular Quay, in a multi-storey building which housed printing presses, offices and eventually the Taylors' own accommodation on the top floor (plate 54).

A substantial issue of *Building* appeared every month between 1907 and 1970—a rich source of images and sometimes idiosyncratic commentary about the twentieth century built environment in Australia. Florence and George Taylor also published numerous other journals, mostly written and edited by themselves, including *Construction*, *The Australasian Engineer*, *The Commonwealth Home*, *The Property Owner*, *Harmony*, *Young Australia* and *The Soldier*. They sought out advertisers, kept regular subscribers and linked their journals to various associations as their official mouthpieces.[24] Although neither Taylor had attended university, they developed in these publications an opinionated authorial voice in relation to a wide range of political and urban issues, "an eclectic but sometimes confused mix of progressivism, populism and pragmatism" (Freestone, 1991).

[22] George's brother Vincent Taylor was also an aviation pioneer, known internationally as "Captain Penfold". George Taylor's manuscripts at the Mitchell Library include a photograph of George and Vincent with Houdini and other young men with early aeroplane, 1911 (ML MSS 2539, "Taylor family photos", no.200).
[23] Jane Parsons married Frank Archibald March in 1919, and moved to the outskirts of Wollongong to be a farmer's wife; it was not a happy marriage and Jane moved back in with Florence and Annis after her youngest son Frank's marriage in 1951 (interviews with March, 1998-1999).
[24] So for example, *Building* became the journal of the Master Builders Association.

Max Freeland describes their relation to the architecture profession as eccentric outsiders:

> Florence Taylor and her husband, George, were to ride on the shoulders of the profession for forty years, occasionally praising when they believed it to be deserved, which was seldom, but usually criticising, probing, revealing, needling and abusing both the Institute and individuals (Freeland, 1971:77-79).

George Taylor died suddenly in 1928, having drowned during an epileptic fit in his bath. He was discovered by his wife when she came upstairs from her day's work in the office (Maegraith, 1968: chapter 2, 27). With George's untimely death, it seems that Taylor's public status shifted from being half of the "Triumphing Taylors" to being "The Widow of Loftus Street". She consolidated her position as a businesswoman, rationalised the publications down to the three most successful journals (*Building*, *Construction* and *The Australasian Engineer*), and concentrated on her oddly disparate interests as Sydney socialite and town planner. She ran Building Publishing Company from 1928 until her retirement in 1961, aided by her sister Annis as Administrator and later by employees Adrian Ashton as Associate Editor and Edward Yanz as Works Manager. Maegraith recounts a tale of Taylor's iron fist tactics when faced with the only labour dispute she encountered with her employees:[25]

> June 5th, 1929, the day Vesuvius decided to erupt, a spot of real trouble happened at 20 Loftus Street, of all places. The faithful staff for once, became wildly discontented and decided to strike...She called every single member of staff into her office...and one at a time behind closed doors, she "dressed" every one of them down. Back they were early next morning, and life went on peacefully at Loftus Street, never to see a strike or even a resemblance of it in the next 33 years (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 4, 1-2).

[25] The dispute probably arose in response to the harsh measures Taylor had introduced in the face of the Great Depression, which included sacking staff and reducing the wages of those left by a third (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 4, 3).

When she sold up to "mystery millionaire" John Galvin and Stanley Smith in about 1950,[26] she kept news of the sale entirely secret from staff, advertisers and subscribers and stayed on as managing editor for another decade or so (Murray, 1976:331).

The three sisters Florence, Annis and Jane invested substantially in property. Between them they owned at least: a house in Roseville designed by Florence on land bought in 1923 by Annis; the city office blocks at 20 Loftus St and 18 Loftus Street; a house in Vaucluse for themselves bought around 1950 but which became too difficult to live in because of steps; three flats for themselves in 1953 in the apartment block at 43 Macleay Street Potts Point; and a block of 19 apartments, "Sunderland", in Bellevue Hill (Murray, 1976:330; "Black marketeering and Wall house" *Building* Jun. 1946). They were evidently good businesswomen: George's estate, left to his widow in 1928, was valued at £10,147, while Taylor's estate at her death in 1969 was valued at $226,281 (Ludlow, 1990). Throughout her widowhood, Taylor also dipped her fingers in many other pies including art, music, feminism, militarism, aviation, engineering, builders organisations, philanthropy, travel, various sports, and Sydney society life. She was founder and president of Sydney's Arts Club during its heyday in the early 1930s, a women's organisation devoted to:

> the advancement and appreciation of art, music, painting and literature [which played] a very prominent part in the social life of the city [and provided] a home away from home where women can refresh themselves with wholesome music and entertainment, and thus bring contrast into life (Parsons, 1933:8).

Parsons' list of guests honoured by the Arts Club by 1933 included: Nellie Melba, Annette Kellerman, Gladys Moncrieff, Lady Street, Amy Johnson, Florence Austral and John Bradfield, as well as many international diplomats and titled people:

[26] Letters between "Stanley Smith and John Galvin" and Florence Taylor, dated July and August 1951 (ML MSS 1853/1/7) suggest that the business had recently changed hands. Murray's appendix reproduces an undated letter from Stanley in response to a demand for a pay rise from Taylor, which suggests that she had been on the pay-roll since 1950 (Murray, 1976).

> To enumerate the world celebrities who came...to be entertained...would entail a cavalcade of men and women who mattered in the ear of social prominence from 1918 to the 1950s (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 5, supplement to 15)

When in later life Taylor was advised to slow down, she resigned from 38 clubs but retained her position on 24 others (*The Sun* 8/10/1969:21).

Taylor considered town planning to be her special area of interest, and was proud of the formative influence she and George had exercised in helping found the Town Planning Association (TPA) in 1913. In 1922, as a result of a motion moved and seconded by women, Taylor became the TPA's first woman Vice President (Freeland Archive, UNSW, card file) and she was later honoured as a life member (see memorial testament to Taylor from the TPA, plate 56). Throughout her life Taylor contributed ideas about the potential urban development of Sydney in a long series of town planning schemes and ideas which were partially documented in a book by J. M. Giles entitled *Fifty Years of Town Planning with Florence Taylor* (1959). Outside her own circle of friends and supporters, these schemes were largely ignored in their own day as outlandish, typically demanding huge government expenditure to build private transport and capitalist infrastructure. However, many of her suggestions have actually come to fruition during the several decades since her death—so much so, that her town planning schemes, although often right-wing, deserve more serious historical consideration (Hanna, 1995a).

Taylor retired in May 1961 at the age of 81, but her retirement was saddened by the death of her sister Annis just one month later. However, her youngest sister Jane took on the role of housekeeper and nurse in Taylor's increasingly infirm last years, when Taylor effectively refused to see other family or friends (interviews with March, 1998-1999). Excerpts from a collection of letters written in the 1960s by Taylor to her husband's near-namesake nephew, George Augustus Taylor, give some indication of Taylor's last years:

> Since I retired from business on May 31st 1961, I went to Annis' funeral on June 28 1961, since when I have been outside the door only twice—by stretcher

> to an ambulance waiting at the door. I feel that I have lived my life to the full and as I am a cripple and writing is a thing of the past...I have no desire to contact the outer world. My doctor comes twice weekly and that is all that matters to me now...I have had all the activity I can take. I will soon be 85 (Freeland Archive, University of NSW, letter dated 18/9/1964).

Building *magazine*

Building magazine's introductory editorial stated:

> This magazine is published in the interests of architects, builders, craftsmen and property owners, to record their doings, study their requirements, watch legislative and other movements that affect their interests, lay before them the cream of the world's research in their various lines and study for them fluctuations in property and building materials. Merchants who handle building accessories will therefore, find gathered under its influence the whole of the people who they do business with (*Building* Sep. 1907).

At a generous length of 176 pages each month, the first year's issues addressed themes such as technological change, the regulation of building trades and professions, local building news from different states, historical notes on the built environment, arts and crafts, conservation of forests, property owners' interests, competitions, descriptions of construction processes, and philosophical thoughts and comical fictions, all set amongst numerous advertisements.

Such themes set the tone for the publication as an polyglot mixture of commentaries offering a range of perspectives on the built environment. The magazine pronounced aesthetic opinions, discussed professional and political issues, described costs, and documented completed buildings both in Australia and overseas. The mixture was progressive in that there was an emphasis on processes rather than intentions. It represented the built environment as constructed by an array of interests and professions, and as of interest to a variety of readerships, in a remarkably heterogeneous manner.

Building was initially successful to the extent that the Council of the Institute of Architects NSW evidently considered it a threat. Some continuing hostility

towards Taylor may be surmised in their reaction to its appearance: it was discussed at the October 1907 meeting in terms of "the competition it exercised against *Art & Architecture*" and the November meeting agreed to "insert a slip in *Art & Architecture* recommending it to the public as the only journal in which the Institute was interested" (IANSW *Council Minutes*:Vol.1, 118, 122). Nonetheless, *Building* grew in size and circulation and began fragmenting into new journals rather rapidly. The February 1908 issue included a "Weekly Supplement to Building" which by September 1909 had transformed into the separate publication, *Construction*, the "Builder's bible". In 1909, Building Publishing Company acquired *The Australasian Marine Engineer* which had been published under the auspices of *The Worker* in Brisbane, which continued under Building Publishing Company as *The Australasian Engineer* (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 2, 1; Murray, 1976:77-82).

In 1909, the Taylors organised NSW's first "building exhibit" in Prince Alfred Park, a "mass display of all implements, machinery and materials employed in the building trade" (*Building* Nov. 1909), although Murray points out that the exhibitors were largely *Building* magazine's advertisers (Murray, 1976:77). The event was a success, with visitors being transported to the site near Central by special trains running until 11pm (Murray, 1976:76, quoting J. M. Giles, 1959:16-17).

The Taylors used their journals to campaign on various issues of debate within the building industry: George considered them to be "in a sense, the police of the profession" (*Construction* Feb. 1911). For example, they put forward the case for the State architects' institutes to be federated (*Building* Oct. 1907:40; *Building* Sep. 1928). They lobbied successfully for Walter Burley Griffin's plan for Canberra to be constructed rather than a hobbled-together bureaucratic replacement plan.[27] They advocated and promoted an idiosyncratic collection of

[27] One commentator has noted that "Canberra today was not invented by Taylor, but owes its existence largely to his farseeing views" (Murray, 1976:114 quoting Simon *Edgar Allen News* 42(492), Jun. 1963). See G. Taylor "The Fight for Canberra" *Building* Jul. 1915.

architects at the expense of others considered by later historians to be more important.[28]

Building magazine had a complex and shifting relationship to modernism, apparently often influenced by personal likes and dislikes of its publishers. For example, in 1914 in the warmth of welcoming Walter Burley Griffin to Australia, they called for the incorporation of modern technology and innovative principles of design such as Louis Sullivan's "form follows function" (as carried forward by Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Burley Griffin). They advocated an architecture which is "healthy" and "democratic", and the development of a national style of architecture that "the virile young Australian architect will embrace with avidity" (Murray, 1976:149 quoting *Building* Mar. 1914). Yet when their relationship with the Griffins had soured by July 1915,[29] they were suggesting that the seed of Sullivan's genius was "withering", that Frank Lloyd Wright was "clever" but "lacked the strength of personal character needed to give him the stability of his achievements" and that Wright's pupils [ie the Griffins] "who are now scattered are reproducing these freaks" (Murray, 1976:169 quoting *Building* Jul. 1915; see also *Building* Feb. 1917).[30] Murray describes an incident where the Taylors sided with the traditionalist architectural establishment against modernism over Le Corbusier's contribution to the

[28] Richard Apperley's thesis, which investigated Sydney's architecture profession in the first half of the twentieth century, noted that *Building* criticised Wilkinson and Hardy Wilson and ignored Griffin, an odd treatment of "the three greats" of the time (Murray, 1976:126 quoting Apperley, 1972).

[29] The Taylors began their relationship with the Griffins in friendship and support e.g. *Building* Oct. 1913, Jun. 1914, Jan. Feb. and Mar. 1914. On their first trip to Sydney the Griffins stayed with the Taylors at their home in Bannerman Street Neutral Bay (Max Freeland Archive, card catalogue)

[30] Murray described the Taylors' turn on the Griffins:

> The Taylors must have suddenly realised Griffin's direction was entirely different from what they had intended. With the same energy they had supported Griffin, they began to criticise. They were going to make sure that no-one could follow and that Griffin could go nowhere (Murray, 1976:167-168).

In "The Fight for Canberra", George indicted "Griffin's bungling and political naivety" (Murray, 1976:165). An article in *Building* quoted a Government Minister's opinion that Griffin was costing too much and "his re-engagement for three years was a prolific waste of public money" (Murray, 1976:166 quoting *Building* Jun. 1915). They pronounced Griffin's architectural designs for several Canberra buildings as "abominably designed" and announced that the buildings "should not be allowed to be created and stand as a monument to public laxity in allowing them to be erected" (Murray, 1976:174, *Building* May 1919). The Taylors even offered a public apology for their former association with the Griffins: "we take it upon ourselves to blame for bringing Mr Griffin to Australia" (*Building* Mar. 1918).

international competition for the League of Nations building in Geneva (Murray, 1976:215-218; *Building* Feb. 1928). On the other hand, a plan for the modernisation of Darling Harbour drawn up by Taylor in association with architect George Hann in the 1950 shows an obvious visual debt to Le Corbusier. Nonetheless, the Taylors remained enamoured of modern technology and "progress" (see Taylor's letterhead in the 1950s, plate 57).

While the overall language of *Building* was predictably sexist, the journal did, surprisingly, develop certain themes specifically for women readers, understood to be ensconced in the domestic sphere. The April 1908 issue introduced a new "Home Building Section" edited by Florence Taylor, addressed to women on the assumption that "Men make houses but women make homes" (*Building* Apr. 1908:60) (plate 58). And whereas the first few issues' covers featured an image of a male building worker, later covers featured a remarkable image of a male and a female statue jointly holding up a globe of the world (*Building* Jul. 1908) (plate 59). Maegraith describes Taylor here as "furthering feverishly every feminist stride ahead that she could lay her clever hands on" (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 2, 2), though George remained the public face of the business during his lifetime.

Florence Taylor's politics

By the end of World War I, Florence and George Taylor's political liberalism was clearly right-wing. During the war the Taylors had advocated militarisation and conscription. Taylor's ongoing quest for a civic square for Sydney during the 1920s and 1930s was partly motivated by her admiration for Mussolini's crowd organisation in Italy (Teather, 1993; Teather, 1994). She was reported stating to a town planning meeting in 1933:

> We have no place to hold a meeting that will inspire feelings of loyalty and instil patriotism. I brought along with me some illustrations of a patriotic meeting in Italy. I was there when Mussolini was addressing such a crowd as this, and the cheering was like a deafening roar. I asked if he was promising more money or lesser working hours, and they said "No, he is charging the men with a sense of their duty, commanding them to do something for their country." All over Italy

> one reads in big letters, "This country is being governed." The populace accept that and conform" (*Construction* 11/10/1933:9).

In 1932 Taylor was photographed congratulating De Groot a few weeks after he hijacked the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge (plate 55). She was reported to be organising a Woman's Auxiliary to the proto-fascist New Guard movement through the Arts Club in a meeting attended by 500 women—which fortunately never developed much beyond its initial enthusiastic meeting (*Daily Telegraph* 8/4/1932:12; unreferenced newsclippings from Apr. 1932 in ML MSS 1853/4/3; see also Maegraith, 1968:chapter 4, 4; Murray, 1976:282).[31] In an article entitled "Proud of husband", De Groot's wife had commented that "Scores of congratulatory messages from women have poured in" (*Daily Telegraph* 21/3/1932:9). This, in combination with the Arts Club meeting, suggests a widespread enthusiasm by women in support of the New Guard. Now considered a somewhat unsavoury organisation, its appeal to Australian women in the 1930s may deserve some historical attention and explanation.

A keen advocate of free enterprise, Taylor railed against unions, strikes, Labor politicians and bureaucratic controls of all kinds (including legislative protections for tenants). She opposed public housing for "individuals who have not been enterprising enough to build a home of their own" and argued that the postwar housing shortage would be sufficiently addressed if government removed barriers to private investment in real estate. She accused unemployed people of laziness and workers of frittering away their money on gambling and drink. In calling for increased military spending, she worried about Australia's vulnerability to its northern Asian neighbours (Taylor, 1935; Giles, 1959:65). On the other hand, Taylor made extended travels to Asia in 1934; her substantial book offering her observations about the countries visited, *A Pot-pourri of Eastern Asia*, is often respectful. As Teather and Roe point out, "Fascism in its pristine form, was not [yet] that synonym for evil which both reality and rhetoric later made it" (Teather, 1993:104). Taylor's political interests were eclectic

[31] For a brief explanation of the bridge opening incident see Manning Clark (1995) *A Short History of Australia*, Mentor, Sydney et al., 212. A longer "fictional" description of the New Guard is provided in D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo* (1923), whose title character was apparently based on Charles Rosenthal, a friend and colleague of the Taylors (Teather, 1993).

rather than sinister, consistently right wing but also inventive, independent and often feminist. Freestone offers a planning historian's impression of Taylor's public standing:

> Today she might variously be cast as hero, pioneer, dilettante and ratbag. In reality she was a bit of all four (Freestone, 1991:11).

The Taylors were prominent supporters of equal opportunity for women. Murray lists the ways in which Taylor fostered women's involvement in the public domain, including employing women such as her sister Annis in responsible positions in the firm (see plate 54). Indeed, on several occasions when George was indisposed as editor, Taylor and/or her sisters Annis and Jane carried the load of publication with no noticeable change of format (Murray, 1976:151).[32] Taylor also: commissioned female photographers for her portrait such as Rita Martin in London and Mary Moore and Dorothy Welding in Sydney; supported early doctors such as Fanny Redding, Constance D'Arcy and Mabel Maguire; and sponsored female flyers Amy Johnson, Jean Batten, Nancy Bird Johnson and Amelia Earhardt (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 8, 4). *Building* promoted the achievements of: "Ann Clifford, Duchess of Dorset", a British aristocrat who "rebuilt six castles" (Jan. 1909); Alice Durkin, an American contractor and builder (May 1914); Grace Boelke, who made efforts to improve women's lot through town planning (Aug. 1916); and Elizabeth Scott, who won the competition to design the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon (Jan. 1928; Apr. 1932). Building also positively noted the emergence of women architects internationally on several occasions (Feb. 1932; Sep. 1918:50). The Taylor papers at Mitchell Library contain a letter from "Anita Greenslade", c.1956, who as a recent architecture graduate wrote,

> I remember the encouragement you gave me many years ago at the beginning of my course in architecture, and I feel all women architects should be grateful to

[32] For example, when George was busy with his work in the Army during the First World War, and also during the Taylors' various visits overseas in 1914, 1922 and 1934.

> you for your efforts in the establishment of women in this profession (ML MSS 1853/1/3).[33]

However, there are very few mentions of local women architects within the pages of *Building* either before or after George's death, even when they were responsible for or deeply involved in a published design: for example, two churches said by Clement Glancey to have been designed substantially by Rosette Edmunds when employed by his father are described in some detail, even to naming the tradespeople involved, although Edmunds' name is never mentioned (*Building* Jan. 1932, Mar. 1932). Similarly, Eric and Winsome Hall Andrew's Manly Surf Pavilion, which won the Sulman Medal in 1939, is attributed solely to Eric Andrew (*Architecture* Jan. 1939). A sketch of a Catholic school designed by Ms M at Kandos was published in *Building* in the mid 1950s, but according to Ms M, "she didn't say who designed it, my name wasn't mentioned" (interview with Ms M, 1993). On the other hand the publication did reproduce and acknowledge the authorship of the Wahroonga Kindergarten by Eleanor Cullis-Hill, considered for the Sulman Award in 1956 (*Building* Mar. 1956) (plate 136).

Taylor prided herself on speaking up for women's rights. Maegraith recalls the public debate when a judge remarked, "It is a pity husbands no longer have the right to punish their wives with a thrashing". Taylor argued the then controversial position that "any man, married or not, who put his hand on a female in anger, should be charged with assault" (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 8, 17). When visiting China in 1934, she was entertained by Chang Kai Shek and, rather embarrassingly, took the opportunity to instruct him in western feminist politics:

> [In Nanking] she was entertained by Chiang Kai Shek, who, she soon noticed, was at the beck and call of his brilliant wife, Madame Soong. She could not be quick enough to remind the General that he and his Chinese had a long way to go to catch up on the decent treatment of women in his backward country,

[33] Anita Greenslade pursued a successful academic career specialising in acoustic design and management of the built environment at the University of NSW. She worked briefly (about two weeks) for Taylor at Building Publishing Company in the 1950s (interview with Ms L, 1997).

> compared to us in the West. Chang smiled peacefully. "That is just how *you* look at that problem, Mrs Taylor", he said. For the problem did not worry him, obviously, as it did her (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 5, 18-19).

Herself tall and handsome, Florence Taylor always presented herself as ultra feminine, wearing long formal gowns and extravagant hats from the Edwardian era right into the 1960s. It was her contention that "every woman should be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with the men folk without losing the characteristics of her sex" (*Women's Weekly* 8/7/1933).[34] Unfortunately, most interviewers seemed to focus on her remarkable appearance and manner while failing to examine the significance of her opinions (Hanna, 1994a). Yet Florence Taylor articulated vigorous, complex and changing statements about feminism throughout her long career. Late in life she proudly announced, "At heart, I've always been a woman's woman" (letter to Justice Else 8/7/1964, ML MSS 1853/1/2).

In her early years Taylor consistently argued that women were just as capable as men of any kind of work. She suggested that a wife could help her husband in business in order to lighten his load and improve their common prospects, and equally that men were too indolent around the home and should take an interest in domestic affairs. This understanding of women as men's equals also informed her conviction that women architects would be no better at designing homes than men, because by the time they had completed the many requisite years of training they would know as little about the domestic functioning of a house as any man. She felt that women had no particular gifts to offer the profession, that they were just the same as men (*Building* Aug. 1910; *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) 29/6/1927).

However, by 1914 Taylor was involved in the formation of a "Women's Committee" for the Town Planning Association, on the understanding that women had a special perspective to offer town planning (Freestone, 1995). However, it was short-lived, apparently ending in acrimony between Taylor and

[34] Late in life she donated a large collection of her hats and dresses to the Independent Theatre (letter from Independent Theatre, 22/5/1964, ML MSS 1853/1/3).

Mahony Griffin at least (Mahony Griffin, n.d.:Vol.2A, 45-65).[35] Nonetheless, Taylor continued to advocate that housewives involve themselves in civic affairs, at least in order to develop their intellects, but also as a logical extension of their interest in their own homes. She wrote:

> We agree that there are over a hundred and more small details in municipal life on which women's advice and practical knowledge may be of...value. For after all, the shire or municipality is only the larger house, and the organising power and grasp for detail which are necessary in the management of a large household should be helpful in the management of a suburb...it certainly would let light into many a council meeting if the housewives of the district could air their opinions on things as they are, and things as they ought to be (*Building* Feb. 1914:131-2).

By the 1920s Taylor was strongly advocating that women enter politics in their own right because men didn't understand the needs of women and children. She went so far as to call for a male and a female representative for every electorate, and "make it a fifty-fifty affair, as we desire to do in art and science". In an address as the President of the Women Painters Auxiliary which she had founded in 1925, Taylor pointed out that women typically sacrificed themselves to help their men with the result that the achievements of "great men fill the annuls and women's contributions are few". She advocated that women reject the "passive part selected for us" and step forward to take an active role in the world. "Women are not getting a square deal. We must cling together more than we do" (Taylor, c.1930s). A photograph in her manuscripts at the Mitchell Library bears this inscription:

> Never did one woman try to save so much of one city from so many men. Taylor leads the TPA delegation to tell the Premier just what she thinks about the Quay Railway Station (ML MSS 1853/4/2) (plate 53).

[35] Mahony Griffin's memoirs record this event in some detail by reproducing a series of letters about the events written at the time by Mahony Griffin to her husband (who was apparently working in Melbourne). The letters offer fascinating and unflattering historic portraits of the characters involved, especially Taylor, who is described as "pathetic", George, Frederick Stowe and John Sulman.

Yet as early as 1933, Taylor was retreating from her more militant feminism into right-wing orthodoxy. Alternately, she may have decided that feminists were another group she would enjoy provoking:

> When Miss Preston Stanley asked me if I would say something about Professional Woman and Her Problems, I set myself furiously to think if there were any, and decided, after deliberation, that there were not...There is a feeling among women that there is a sex prejudice. But to my mind, the only thing that keeps a woman back is her own limitations, just as they keep a man back (Taylor, 1933:9).

However, the difficulty of women's domestic duties interfering with the development of their careers became increasingly apparent to Taylor in her later years. Taylor despaired that "no woman can function at her full potential if she has to slop, cook and clean as well as work at her professional calling". Taylor in fact had never held much hope for mothers participating in public life, who "have plenty enough to do until the children grow up". However, she did suggest that women not suited to mothering should be allowed to have their children "trained scientifically by others". However, with little prospect for developing "sufficient domestic labour" in Australia, in her later life Taylor thought that the prospects for future career women were bleak (*People* 30/12/53).

As Taylor headed into a somewhat embittered old age, she seemed to lose faith even in women and feminism. In later years, she railed against women for preferring "a caress to a career" (*Daily Mirror* 4/6/1952); she considered women to be their own worst enemy, for "petting themselves" and wanting "time off to do this or that" (*Sun Herald* 1/6/61). She boasted of being expelled from a Feminist Club meeting "for daring to suggest six o'clock closing as a compromise for complete prohibition". She said that "she had encountered surprisingly little prejudice during her years in the architectural and engineering professions" (*Country Life Stock & Station Journal* 15/2/1957):

> All life expected of me was to work, and in that I rose to the occasion (*Sun Herald* 1/6/61).

Clearly Florence Taylor is an extraordinary character in Australian history. Her rags-to-riches story, her personal development from a handsome and optimistic young woman into an militant feminist and right-wing social commentator, decaying into dogma and loneliness in old age, has the cinematic elements of tragedy. If so, what was her tragic flaw? And why has she fallen into historical obscurity? Giving up architecture at such a young age, and failing to get her town planning schemes adopted meant that her contribution to urbanism in NSW has rested largely with her writings, which are dauntingly voluminous and often ephemeral. Certainly Taylor's predilection for right-wing politics has made her an unattractive figure for historical analysis, such that labelling her as "elitist", "eccentric" and "fascist" has replaced detailed analysis of her life and work. Yet many of her opinions are commonly found in government and business circles today, and a more complex understanding of Taylor would address her role as spokesperson for a range of right-wing discourses circulating in Sydney that historians have largely trivialised, possibly to our current detriment. Perhaps the very complexity and contradictoriness of Taylor's various stances on urbanism and feminism over her long life has made her appear too difficult, not quite representative enough of a single movement. Finally, Taylor herself repeatedly complained that her town planning schemes had been ignored because she was a woman at a time when many believed that "women should have been confined, and often were, to an ill-lit kitchen and the backyard of society" (Maegraith, 1968:16). Considering, for example, the fame and prestige accrued to John Sulman, her contemporary in so many ways, one cannot help feeling that Taylor was quite right to suggest that she would have been taken far more seriously had she been a man. Hopefully it is now possible to acknowledge her seriously as a complex and paradoxical historic character of national significance, worthy of attention for the publicly articulated complexities of a life spent negotiating gender, the professions and the mass media, as well as for her contributions to the development of the built environment in Sydney in the twentieth century.

MARION MAHONY GRIFFIN (1871-1961)

Marion Mahony Griffin is the most famous of the early women architects who worked in Australia (plate 60).[36] This is largely due to her personal and professional partnership with Walter Burley Griffin, who won the competition in 1912 to design Australia's federal capital city, Canberra (plate 63). She is also known in the USA where she was born and trained, but there it is more for her professional association with Frank Lloyd Wright, with whom she worked between 1895 and 1909. Mahony Griffin is the only woman who worked as an architect in NSW who has been the subject of extended serious scholarship; her story has been part of a recent international wave of scholarship focused on the Griffins (Rubbo, 1988; Rubbo, 1996; Watson, 1998). Thus this brief biography attempts only to outline the contours of her life and work, and point to some of the historiographical problems and debates which have evolved in attempting to disentangle the extent of her architectural contributions from those of her husband. Long recognised as a superb draftsperson (see for example, plates 62-64) and described by Reynor Banham as "the greatest architectural delineator of her generation" (Rubbo 1988:20), Mahony Griffin's intellectual contribution until recently has been somewhat trivialised to being simply the expression of the ideas of Walter Burley Griffin (or Frank Lloyd Wright).

Marion Mahony was born in Chicago in 1871, the second of five children. Both parents were school principals but her Irish-born father died when she was twelve, and her mother was clearly the more important influence on Mahony Griffin's social development. Clara Mahony moved in a circle of intellectual and activist women including Jane Addams, and was prominent in social and educational reform. This "supportive network of independent women" can be seen to have "propelled" Mahony Griffin into professional life as an architect: one of Clara's women friends paid for Mahony Griffin's education, while another was responsible for introducing her to Frank Lloyd Wright (Weirick, 1988). She maintained life-long friendships with many remarkable women on

[36] This essay on Mahony Griffin includes jut a few illustrations because they are comparatively readily available in publications such as Watson, 1998.

several continents, including Australia's Miles Franklin, and at one stage Florence Taylor.[37]

In 1894 Mahony Griffin became the second woman to graduate from America's Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the country's first university-based architecture school (established in 1868).[38] In 1897 in Illinois, Mahony Griffin became the first woman in the world to register as an architect (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99), and she proceeded into a lifelong career in architecture. Anna Rubbo has divided Mahony Griffin's life into three phases (Rubbo, 1988): 1894-1912, working in Chicago, largely with Frank Lloyd Wright (eventually rising to the equivalent of "head designer"), combined with freelance work for other architects and several of her own commissions; 1912-1937, the period of her marriage and architectural partnership with Walter Burley Griffin, spent mostly in Australia; and 1937 until her death in 1961, as a widow in Chicago, where she completed several more architectural commissions and wrote a 1500 page opus about her life and times entitled "The Magic of America" (n.d.; Rubbo, 1988).

Despite having had a career spanning so many decades, and never having had children, very few building designs can be definitively attributed to Mahony Griffin alone. Those that can be attributed include: her thesis project "The House and Studio of a Painter" (1894), which Weirick argues was used as the basis for Frank Lloyd Wright's addition of a studio-atelier to his own home in 1898 (Weirick, 1988). All Souls Church, Evanston Illinois (1902) (plate 61); a one

[37] Taylor and her husband were firm supporters of the Griffins when they came to Australia in 1914, with the Griffins apparently actually staying with the Taylors in Neutral Bay when they first arrived (Freeland archive on Taylor, card catalogue). Taylor and Griffin were both active in the Town Planning Association's "women's section". However, the couples became estranged very soon. The Taylors' criticism of the Griffins' work in Canberra was articulated in articles published in *Building* magazine (e.g. Jul. 1915, Apr. 1916, Mar. 1918), as well as George Taylor's (1915) *The Fight for Canberra* Sydney, Building Publishing Company. Mahony Griffin's memoirs describe the Taylors as "enemies—we to whom the word enemy had been heretofore unknown" (n.d., Vol.2, 45, 51):

> Griffin's fight with the government was reflected in my battles in private life. The publisher of a magazine, Mr and Mrs Taylor and their pal, Mr Stowe, who had tied up with us from the first days, called me into their office and told me that from now on Griffin was to do what they told him to do in Federal Capital matters, etc. I left pronto.

[38] The first woman had been Sophie Hayden in 1890, who as a new graduate won a competition to design the Women's Building for the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, but suffered a nervous breakdown in the politically fraught course of construction and thence effectively retired or at least disappeared from the historical record (Paine et al., 1977:57-60).

storey house for herself and her mother in Chicago's Roger's Park (1906); Adolph Mueller House in Decatur, Grand Rapids, David Amberg House, C.W.Wills House, and drawings for the unbuilt Henry Ford House (all between 1909-1912). In Australia, historians have largely agreed that Mahony Griffin was responsible for the extraordinary ceiling design for Melbourne's Capitol Theatre and that she worked on the interior design for the "extravagant and breathtaking" Cafe Australia in Melbourne (1916) and that Mahony Griffin contributed to the Griffins' Castlecrag development in Sydney by preparing drawings, promoting sales and developing the community, for example, through producing and designing plays in the outdoor theatre (Rubbo, 1996:89, 90). Mahony Griffin's registration papers in Victoria in 1923 stated that she was solely responsible for the design of Jeffrey House in Surry Hills, Melbourne (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99). In her retirement back in Chicago, Mahony Griffin worked on two "communities" for the World's Fellowship Centre, in New Hampshire and in Hills Crystals, Texas in 1943 (Rubbo, 1988:16), as well as a plan for South Chicago in 1947 (Paine et al., 1977:79).

Considered more important by historians has been Mahony Griffin's drawing design for the two "great" male architects in her life, which has contributed to her reputation being based more on her role as "decorative artist" rather than architect (Rubbo, 1988:16). Many beautiful drawings from Frank Lloyd Wright's atelier are now attributed to Mahony Griffin. She drew "the set of pen-and-ink perspectives which formed the basis of the Wright portfolio published by Ernst Wasmuth in Berlin in 1910 [and which captured] precisely the freedom of Wright's domestic architecture" (Weirick, 1988:53) (plate 64). This publication was considered by Vincent Scully to be "one of the three most influential architectural treatises of the twentieth century" (Rubbo, 1988:20). Just as significantly in the Australian context, it was Mahony Griffin who drew up the designs for the winning Griffin entry to the international competition for the design of Canberra in 1911, "subtle and sophisticated renderings on tontine now [considered] central to Australian architectural history". It is generally accepted that Walter had "little talent" for rendering and did next-to-none of the drawings for their business in Australia, and that the Griffins divided their architectural workload so that Mahony Griffin did the "lion's share of the drawings and office

management". Yet their letterhead read in the singular: "Walter Burley Griffin, Architect, Landscape Architect, Sydney, Chicago, Melbourne" (Rubbo, 1988:22, 25). Later in life, Mahony Griffin apparently blocked out the name of Burley Griffin in some architectural plans, suggesting that she may have felt resentment about the neglect of her contribution (plate 62).

The competition entry for Canberra was also apparently submitted in the singular name of Walter Burley Griffin, and it is only recently that historians have attempted to include Mahony Griffin in the credit given for this outstanding urban design. For example, Anna Rubbo simply asserts that "Together they entered the international competition for the design of the Federal Capital City at Canberra". Although probably correct, this contradicts the commonsense historical view established for seventy years that the plan was Walter's alone. The assertion is indirectly backed only by a letter written by Frank Lloyd Wright (in response to a request from Robin Boyd for information on Burley Griffin):

> Walter came to me as a young man—a novice from the University of Illinois. He was a faithful apprentice for about four years. Together with another talented apprentice, Marion Mahony who was with me for eleven years—and whom he later married, he entered the competition for a plan for Canberra and won it. Since that time all I know of him is hearsay (Rubbo, 1988:18).

Other empirical evidence for Mahony Griffin's substantial participation in the Canberra design is scant. There only remains the likelihood that Mahony Griffin would have been fascinated by, and involved in, the Canberra project at every step. She married Griffin the same month that the competition was announced, thus it must have been a key aspect of their early days of marriage. She was forty, five years older than her husband, and somewhat senior to him in the Wright office where they had met as co-workers some years before. They shared similar philosophical outlooks, including an interest in theosophy, which, it has been recently argued, underlies the whole Canberra plan (Proudfoot, 1994). It is almost impossible to imagine Mahony Griffin withdrawing her mind from the process of design, offering only her skills in delineation, restricting herself to "illustrating Griffin's ideas" (*Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1981:108).

For the historian eager to include her, Mahony Griffin certainly didn't help matters by consistently refusing to promote herself, and by making statements like:

> I can never aspire to be as great an architect as he [Walter] but I can best understand him and help him and to a wife there is not greater recompense (Paine et al., 1977:79 quoting Mahony Griffin, n.d.).

Weirick argues that Mahony Griffin herself contributed to the myth of her life in architecture as being "entirely in relationship to male practitioners". She refused the opportunity to take over Wright's practice when he left for Europe in 1909, instead choosing "the subsidiary role of Design Architect to Hermann Von Holst" (Weirick, 1988:54).[39] Weirick suggests that the model of the "woman architect" which Mahony Griffin presented to colleagues and proteges—always "pouring her energies and abilities into the work of Wright and Griffin"—was enough to inspire several to leave the architecture profession (Weirick, 1988:54). As further evidence that "this was a patriarchal profession Marion had dared to enter", Weirick notes that she was subject to many unflattering descriptions of her physical appearance and strong personality as "unwomanly" (Weirick, 1988:51). Thus Richard Apperley's Master's thesis of 1972 described her as Griffin's "highly gifted and coldly intellectual wife—the kind of woman to generate instant suspicion in the bosoms of the ladies in the Golf Club and the Bridge Club" (Murray, 1976:167 quoting Richard Apperley[40]). The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* only includes Mahony Griffin in the entry on Walter Burley Griffin and describes her as "Tall, with a tomahawk profile and theatrical demeanour". Weirick argues that:

> To the extent that she has gained cultural recognition, it is as a person who embodies male-identified ideals: her pioneering status, her dominant personality, her mastery of technique (Weirick, 1988:54).

[39] However, Rubbo argues that Mahony did eventually go into partnership with von Holst and Fyfe for some period before 1912 (Rubbo, 1988:21).
[40] Apperley, 1972:320.

Both Weirick and Rubbo make admirable efforts to develop new ways of making a greater historic acknowledgment of Mahony Griffin as a woman who has long been seen only in a support role. One of Anna Rubbo's tactics, mentioned above, is to assert Mahony Griffin's presence in the Canberra design. She also presents evidence that the Griffin partnership generally was a "close collaboration", "an artistic union so perfect that to distinguish or separate their careers...becomes impossible" (Rubbo, 1988:22 quoting Marc Piesch). On a different tack, Rubbo implies that assigning all credit to the architect-designer is in itself a problem when she points out that:

> Architecture is always a collaborative effort. Immediately it involves client, architect, assistant architect, consultant, project manager, builder. Less immediately it involves the source of ideas and inspiration and their re-interpretation, and the social, political, economic and intellectual climate in which work is done (Rubbo, 1988:25).

She goes on to suggest for example, that "more interesting...than attribution to one or the other of the Griffins" is the question of how particular designs produced by their office might be linked to their interest in theosophy. She even goes on to ask: why all this fuss about the Griffins' development of a middle-class enclave at Castlecrag when there is so much work to be done on the history of housing for low income people in Sydney? (Rubbo, 1988:15).

James Weirick responds differently, by rewriting the significance of Mahony Griffin's drawings as an object worthy of cultural analysis in themselves. By describing them as a "great expression of Marion's genius" (Weirick, 1988:53), Weirick implicitly contests the usual cultural identification of genius with maleness (Battersby, 1989). Rather than accepting Mahony Griffin's architectural drawings as the invisible conduit of her male collaborators' ideas, he draws attention to their materiality, and to the intellectual specificity which makes them so excellent:

> Inspired by the Japanese print, Marion's drawings captured precisely the new freedom of Wright's domestic architecture—fluid, ambiguous, unconstrained—

> suggesting the possibility of movement in many ways between public and private. To reach this resolution between architectural ideal and graphic expression, Marion had to transcend her academic training and embrace the spirit of a totally different aesthetic—one based on transparency, overlay and suggestion rather than agglomeration, axiality and bombast (Weirick, 1988:53).

He suggests that Marion Mahony Griffin was thus part of the imagining and practising of a new type of modern space described as "felicitous". She participated both intellectually in developing Wright's design—which offered the potential for "freeing women from the confines of the drawing room, the basement kitchen", the box-like rooms of traditional domestic design—and socially by herself experiencing the life of a professional woman, moving freely between public and private spheres (Weirick, 1988 quoting J.Fryer).[41]

Weirick's approach is important for transforming Mahony Griffin from decorative illustrator to fine artist, and is appropriate for including her in the history of art and culture generally. However, for architectural history, it is vital to also better acknowledge Mahony Griffin's built design work. This will probably be best done by pursuing the issue of her "creative partnership" with Griffin, as begun by Rubbo. If the work produced by the Griffin offices in Australia was also attributed equally to Mahony Griffin, her oeuvre would grow enormously to include the initial design of Canberra, urban design for the towns of Leeton and Griffith as well as Castlecrag, the acclaimed Newman College at the University of Melbourne (1917), Capitol House (1921), Leonard House (1924), the many houses designed by the partnership for Castlecrag and elsewhere, as well as the famous Sydney incinerators. It is logical and fair to share the credit when it is acknowledged that Mahony Griffin was a capable designer in her own right, better educated and more experienced than Griffin when they met; that they did share intellectual ideas and work closely together; and that her management and drawing skills were central to the operation of their Australian practice. Without her, Griffin could not have followed the career path that he did.

[41] J.Fryer (1986) *Felicitous Space*.

However, while some journalists have already begun to adopt this approach to the Griffins,[42] historians are more likely to encounter structural impediments in both conceiving of and writing about cultural achievement in these terms. Architectural history is already complicated by the fact that design by employees is often appropriated by their employers—here the legal rights of copyright conflict with the ethical rights of artistic authorship, all difficult to disentangle and substantiate later. Moreover, as in other areas of cultural achievement, women's contributions to architectural partnerships are typically submerged under the name of the masculine partner: for example, in the cases of Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi (Brown, 1989), Aino Marsio-Aalto and Alvar Aalto (Suominen-Kokkonen, 1992; Kingsley, 1991), Margaret Macdonald and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (Hurst, 1997), and Maggie Edmond and Peter Corrigan (Hamann, 1993).

However, even more significant would seem to be architectural history's discursive resistance to the notion of plural authorship of great works. Rubbo suggests that architectural discourse has a "predilection for heroes and stars", and notes a prominent woman practitioner's wry comment after a joint entry was rejected by a design competition, "They still don't know how to have a mom and pop guru" (Rubbo, 1996:84 quoting Denise Scott Brown, 1989). Rachel Hurst's exploration of the collaboration between Charles Rennie Mackintosh and his wife Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh points out that "orthodox" histories tend to be structured in particular, limited ways:

> historians have examined male/female partnerships from the point of view of the either the male partner, the products themselves or the context under which the works were produced. The effect has been to privilege the individual and the work in a manner which neglects both the contribution of the female partner and the relationship between the pair as determining factors in the partnership (Hurst, 1997:91).

[42] For example a *SMH* article which describes the Griffin's marriage as "very much a partnership", although the article elsewhere attributed sole authorship of much of the Australian work to "Griffin" rather than "the Griffins" (O'Brien, 1993). A later *SMH* article describes Canberra consistently as designed by "the Griffins" (Huxley, 1994).

In her study of the Mackintoshes, Hurst forwards a proposition which disrupts the usual separation of public and private concerns by relating professional creativity quite literally to personal fecundity. Her feminist suggestion, which mixes public and private issues in a confronting way, is that the Mackintoshes' creativity was at times influenced by their childlessness:

> Were the collaborative projects, in particular the intense and intimate spaces of the white interiors, the surrogate children of the Mackintoshes (Hurst, 1997:93)?

This is one example of the imaginative rethinking possible within the proposed new paradigm of collaborative authorship, within which a re-writing of Marion Mahony Griffin's life and work might be situated. As Whitney Chadwick and Isabel de Courtrivon comment in the introduction to *Significant Others*:

> Traditional biographies and monographs have typically described creativity as an extraordinary (usually male) individual's solitary struggle for artistic self expression. We decided, instead, to explore the complexities of partnerships and collaborations, painful as well as enriching. We started with the assumption that, given our culture's emphasis on solitary creation, one is always constructed as Significant, and the partner as Other, and concluded with the realisation that although this schema remains powerful, the truths we are learning to decipher are indeed much more interesting (Rubbo, 1996:84 quoting Chadwick & de Courtrivon, 1993).

The 1999 exhibition at the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, "Beyond Architecture, Marion Mahony and Walter Burley Griffin", was a first in its attempt to show-case the work of an architectural marriage where both partners are given equal credit. It offers a impressive collection of drawings, photos and even reconstructions of architectural details from the Griffins' work in America, Australia and India, and is well documented in an exhibition catalogue/book edited by Anne Watson. A brief viewing of the show suggested that it tended to present the work as two oeuvres with each design attributed to one or the other of the Griffins, rather than address the problem (and potential) of collective authorship. However, in the title and breadth of work shown, this exhibition with its accompanying publication makes a major public acknowledgment of the

historic significance of Marion Mahony Griffin's architectural and cultural contribution. Moreover, James Weirick's essay for the catalogue makes an admirable effort to write about the collaboration between the Griffins, using a heterosexual metaphor of two sexes, each requiring the other in order to produce offspring. Weirick's effort is worth quoting at length in conclusion as an example of an admirable and complexly sexualised architectural history:

> Walter helped Marion on her "Wrightian" projects for Von Holst and Marion helped Walter on his austere experimental houses in reinforced concrete. In formal design terms, Griffin's skill was in plan generation and the manipulation of geometric solids—cubes and prisms—endlessly inventing ways to inter-relate mass and void. Marion lacked this ability, as evidenced by the unresolved massing of her first design for the Church of All Souls, but she was supremely adept at working with motifs—and she could draw anything.
> Walter lacked Marion's drawing ability, and Marion lacked Walter's almost limitless capacity for ideation. Together they could see and test, enrich and resolve each other's ideas. In a set of Griffin's own architectural sketches, undated but probably surviving from the early years of his independent practice, there is a pencil drawing, repeatedly over-worked, in which he is struggling to express the idea of rotating a fireplace mass 45 degrees in the centre of a room with a tent ceiling—a design move which would create a prismatic mass in a prismatic void. Griffin could imagine this and he could build this—it is similar to the entranceway of the Harry Peters house of 1906—but he could not draw it. Once Marion was beside him, there was no such problem. Marion's independent work had some affinities with Walter's. Her completed design for the Church of All Souls incorporated triangular and prismatic elements. So, for example, did Walter's design for the Peters house. But Marion's church lacked articulation in its massing and spatial complexity; while Walter's house lacked repose and refinement of detail. Combine the two and we begin to see the possibilities of a richly articulated crystalline architecture—the architecture of the Canberra plan (Weirick, 1998).

ELLICE NOSWORTHY[43] (1897-1972)

Ellice Nosworthy (plates 65-66) was probably the first woman in Australia to qualify and work all her life as an architect.[44] She was in the first group of graduates from the new architecture degree at Sydney University in 1922, and worked full-time for nearly fifty years until her death in 1972. Most other early women architects in Sydney had heard of Ellice Nosworthy, and considered her, rather than Florence Taylor, to be Sydney's first woman architect.[45] She built up her own substantial and respected business from her home in Lindfield, often employing other women architects in her practice, which focused on domestic and community design. Her sister Ms G remembers that many of Nosworthy's clients became very good friends, which "gives an indication of her work...She gave so many people pleasure, and got a lot of pleasure herself". This is an unusual but admirable characterisation for a historic role-model.

Ellice Maud Nosworthy was born in 1897, the second of four daughters. Her father Robert John Nosworthy was a shipping company executive and her mother Maud Jane Eliza Smith came from a family of noted academics. She attended high school at SCEGGS Redlands in Cremorne, and began an Arts degree at the University of Sydney in 1917. When Professor Leslie Wilkinson arrived at the University of Sydney to establish the nation's first academic architecture course, Nosworthy transferred into the newly established faculty with the first group of students in 1918.

Though Nosworthy was very fond of Wilkinson, it was not all smooth sailing for

[43] All quotes, unless otherwise indicated, from interview with Ms G, sister of Ellice Nosworthy, 1995.
[44] Following close behind her however, was Margaret Pitt Morison in Perth, who qualified in 1924 (Matthews, 1991), worked as an architect and later for many years as an academic; and Ellison Harvie in Melbourne, who qualified with articles under Arthur Stephenson in the mid 1920s and who in 1946 became the first woman to become a partner in a substantial architectural firm, Stephenson & Turner. Although Florence Taylor had qualified as an architect in 1902, 20 years before Nosworthy, she gave up architecture for publishing in 1907.
[45] Respondents and people interviewed in this study who mentioned Ellice Nosworthy as an admired pioneer included: Mr B, Ms B, Ms B, Ms C, Ms C, Ms C, Ms F, MS H, Ms H, Ms M, Ms M and Ms R, Ms S and Ms W.

women students in the architecture school at that time. As Ms G recalls it, the men students used to do "funny things":

> They used to put kerosene tins on a piece of string, and they'd go up and down the lecture room. They'd play tricks on them [the women] like that. They draped the halls out in purple, as if in mourning. Because they didn't want women to invade their careers. Actually I think the men quite liked it, the intrusion of women. The women took it all in their stride, I must say.

When asked whether it was considered unusual for Nosworthy to embark on a career in architecture in the 1920s, Ms G thought that taking on a profession was not unusual for women, even at that time: "Women were starting to do that then." In her family, the daughters were encouraged but "not pushed" to pursue their education: "It was really the legitimate thing to do if you wanted to live a good life and do the right thing. All my family were very much that way inclined." Ms G herself studied at London Polytechnic to be a furniture designer and was later employed in the Sydney office of Stephenson & Turner where she continued to work intermittently even after marriage and the arrival of children (plate 67).[46]

By contrast, Nosworthy never married,[47] and her career was interrupted only by her extensive travels to Europe and the Americas, her war work (for the Department of the Interior during WWII) and later when caring for her elderly parents.[48] As a new graduate she was employed by architects Waterhouse & Lake during 1922 and 1923, where she executed drawings for several homes in harbourside Vaucluse and Mosman. On 26 June 1923, she was amongst the first to be registered as an architect in NSW. By 1925 she was setting up her own practice specialising in domestic architecture, which would be the mainstay of

[46] Ms G worked in London on the Cumberland Hotel, and designed furniture for Stephenson & Turner for the Darwin Hotel which was subsequently damaged in the bombing raids of World war II.

[47] When asked why not, Ms G hinted only that Nosworthy "was very fond of somebody who was killed in the war. And I always thought that interfered with her life very much, because she missed out on that era".

[48] Nosworthy lived with her parents and cared for both as they became elderly. Ms G recalled:

> when the minister came around, who [Ellie] knew would always ask for money, she had to take the afternoon off work and sit in, to make sure that father didn't give it all away!

her working life. The business was conducted from home, initially from her parents' and later from her own house in Treatts Rd Lindfield. A story told by former employee Ms M gives some insight into Nosworthy's decision to open her own practice at home. Ms M remembers Nosworthy talking about her experience of an architecture office in New York, where she was put to work alone, and not allowed to work in the same room as the rest of the employees, who were all men (interviews with Ms M, 1997-1998). The story suggests that earlier in the century, women's presence in established architectural offices, even in cosmopolitan New York, may have been somewhat uncomfortable for all concerned.

Working from home, Nosworthy's clientele consisted largely of North Shore friends and acquaintances. According to Ms G, "she never advertised for work at all." One of Nosworthy's first commissioned houses was for her friend, Mrs Amy Burkitt, at Pacific Road Palm Beach in 1928 (plate 1). The house was considered "brilliant" by this family, which itself produced two generations of women designers: Marion Hall Best (daughter, modernist interior designer) and Ms S and Ms B (granddaughters, cousins who both qualified as architects in the 1950s) (interview with Ms S, 1997). It is likely that this house not only served Amy Burkitt well, but worked as an early inspiration for her daughter and granddaughters, that women could achieve excellent design in the built environment.

Another example of Nosworthy's early domestic work is the house in which Ms G lives, Pymble House,[49] which Nosworthy designed for Ms G and her family in 1939 (plates 68-69). Terra-cotta pink inside and out, it has a tiny black spiral staircase in the foyer (one of Nosworthy's favourite features). The double-storey house has a cottage-style façade and a comfortable interior with a partial open plan design. The living areas are oriented to the north, and another distinctive Nosworthy feature is an outdoor living room on the north east corner, a large room covered by the main roof but with low walls, protected from sun and rain

[49] Nosworthy's own home in Treatts Rd Lindfield is still inhabited by a member of the family but has been substantially altered since her death. *Pymble House* remains as a intact example of Nosworthy's early design (plates 68-69).

but open to the air. A tennis-table room wing to the east, added later, was also designed by Nosworthy. The kitchen is intact: adjacent to but separate from the living areas, small and expertly organised along modernist principles, with ceiling-high cupboards, generous bench space and clever detailing so that the cook can, according to Ms G, "stand in the middle and reach everywhere. It's wonderful".

Though Nosworthy's work only ever appeared in an RAIA journal when she was a student (*Architecture* Jun. 1920), several of the homes she designed were photographed by Max Dupain and Harold Cazneaux and published elsewhere during the 1940s (*Australian National Journal* Autumn 1940; Biers, 1948) (plates 70-75).[50] These photographs show substantial single storeyed houses with minimal decorative detail, which are oriented around courtyards, emphasising the interconnectedness in each house between interior order and exterior gardens and bushland. Nosworthy's own house, constructed in her parents' orchard in 1956, is another design with minimal decorative detail, but which includes her trademark internal spiral staircase and an outdoor north facing covered porch (plate 76). Nosworthy's work on Bloomfield House in 1952, an experimental "pise" design, suggests that she may have had an early interest in ecologically sustainable design.

Much of Nosworthy's work consisted of house renovations, an area of architectural achievement which has been generally neglected by the profession. According to Ms G, renovations were:

> a puzzle for her. She loved doing puzzles. She liked to get an old house with its problems so that she could solve them out [She] had a very good brain. She was a planning sort of person.

[50] The same house is associated with different owners in the two publications: "Mr and Mrs G.U.Allen" in the *Australian National Journal* (Autumn 1940) and "Mrs Peter Russo" (Beiers, 1948), although the address in both instances is given as Pacific Road, Palm Beach. The house may have changed hands during the 1940s.

Perhaps related to this aptitude for the intricate detail of renovations was Nosworthy's hobby of sewing and embroidery. Ms G thought it was "beautiful work. Everything was superb in Ellie's world."

From 1941 to 1972 Nosworthy was the Honorary Architect for Women's College at the University of Sydney, her alma mater, where for decades she provided free advice for the maintenance of its buildings. She also designed several substantial alterations for the College, including an air raid shelter for 100 people under the cloister in 1942, the Reid Wing in 1958 to house 31 students (recently substantially altered), a redesigned window for the Main Common Room in collaboration with Professor Wilkinson in 1961, and the bronze and glass entrance enclosure to the college in 1967. There is also an attractive drawing for a major semicircular additional wing which was never built (plate 77). She often returned the fees for these major projects as a donation to the College's building appeal, suggesting both that she was not financially dependant on her income as an architect, and that she saw her work for the Women's College as a labour of love. Nosworthy also collaborated with Professor Wilkinson on alterations and additions to St Andrews College at the University of Sydney in the late 1950s.

Other non-domestic projects included additions and alterations to the Karitane Mothercraft premises in Woollahra in 1942; to the YWCA buildings in the city and Kirribilli 1958-59; and to the Twilight House buildings in Beecroft 1952 and Mosman 1966. She designed child care centres for the Sydney Day Nursery and Nursery Schools Association in Erskineville 1945 and Newtown 1955 (plates 78-79), and also for the Ku-ring-gai Municipal Council in Park Street Gordon 1950. A major late life project was designing four blocks of community housing for elderly people for the Ku-ring-gai Old People's Welfare Association (KOPWA) in the 1960s (plates 80-84, 35). KOPWA's administrator Ms B described Nosworthy's work as exactly what was required for this charitable organisation: "practical, functional design, the best value for money...The buildings have fulfilled their purpose admirably, and continue to do so" (interview with Ms B, 1995). Ms B wasn't with the organisation when Nosworthy was its architect, but she understood that Nosworthy had a professional interest in aged housing, and that she shared social contacts with the organising committee of the time. Ms B

remembers original committee members such as Miss Henderson and Miss Partridge as "remarkable women of great capacity" (interview with Ms B, 1995)—like Nosworthy herself. Much of the credit for the outstanding and continuing success of KOPWA as a community housing project must go to the networking prowess and perseverance of these committed women, north shore "society ladies" who are more usually associated in the popular imaginary with designer clothes and golf than with practical welfare provision.

Nosworthy employed many other women architects in her practice over the years. Ms M, the daughter of a respected Professor of Law, worked with her for twelve years, and is remembered by Ms G as "a very formidable person, I must say. Very reliable. They got along awfully well". Other employees and co-workers included Ms R, Ms H, Ms H, Ms H (the architect-trained daughter of Professor Wilkinson), Ms W, Ms K and Ms M, to name a few that have come to attention in this study. Despite her impressive record of employing other women, Ms G says that Nosworthy wasn't fixed on working with women, that she would discuss problems with male architect friends, and that "she would help anyone." Ms M tells a story which illustrates Nosworthy's impressive women's network. When Ms M became pregnant in 1945 she gave up work but found herself bored at home, and her woman doctor advised her that this was affecting her well-being. The next day Nosworthy, who was the doctor's next-door neighbour, rang up Ms M to offer her some part-time work, and this employment helped Ms M through her pregnancy until the birth of her daughter in 1946 (interviews with Ms M, 1997-1998).[51]

Nosworthy's work tended to follow the architectural norms of the periods she

[51] The story is a remarkable insight into one of the productive benefits of having women in the workforce. Whereas a male doctor may have diagnosed Ms M's problem as some form of hysteria, or prescribed drugs for depression, the female doctor recognised the problem as social and, using her own network of women acquaintances, helped form a link between Nosworthy as a benign employer and Ms M as a talented part-time employee, which also benefited Ms M's health.

worked in, so that her early houses exhibit English Cottage style detailing while later work shows a preference for non-decorative, functional, modern design (plates 1, 84-85). Her architectural philosophy focused on accommodating her client's complex needs rather than imposing stylish aesthetic solutions. In handwritten notes for a talk given in the 1960s, she wrote:

> The more I plan houses for people the more it is brought home to me that there will never be the perfect house, for the very things that one person thinks so desirable another would not want at any price (Nosworthy manuscript collection, NLA).

This recognition of the variety and validity of her clients' wishes suggests that while she understood and used modernist principles of design and construction, her oeuvre was not restricted to them. She was aware of the profound and diverse array of meanings which people attach to their homes and was prepared to listen to and accommodate her clients' opinions, even when it went against her own aesthetic principles. According to Ms G, "she was an amazing person because she'd fit in with anyone". This suggests a more feminine approach to the construction of the built environment than that of Harry Seidler, for example, whose fame rests largely on his monumental, highly aestheticised buildings, imposed on sometimes reluctant clients, local councils and landscapes. Nosworthy's work is not nearly as visually impressive, perhaps because of the complexity of social factors woven into design solutions which are not easily photographed.

Nosworthy was a Fellow of the RAIA and an Associate of RIBA. The Women's College tribute on her death commented on her expertise, energy and patience. Just as impressive is the outstanding reputation she achieved amongst women architects of her generation and for many years afterwards for her successful and respected architectural business. Nosworthy's work deserves more detailed evaluation, and this has been made possible with the donation by her family of a large archive of her drawings and professional documents to the National Library of Australia.

ROSETTE EDMUNDS (1900-1956)

Rosette Edmunds (plate 86) has been described as "extremely talented" and "insufficiently recognised" (interview with Mr G, 1997). An early graduate from the University of Sydney who never married, she specialised in designing Catholic church buildings in Sydney until the second world war, when she trained as a town planner and worked for Sydney's Cumberland County Council, before settling in Canberra in her own business as an architect and town planner. She wrote a textbook survey history of western architecture which grappled with the complexities of modernism (Edmunds, 1938a) and numerous intellectual articles on architecture and town planning. Edmunds was a member of RIBA, and in the RAIA was one of the first women to achieve the status of "Fellow". She helped found the RAIA's Canberra Committee in the early 1950s, the forerunner of the Canberra chapter of the RAIA, and was its president at the time of her early death in 1956, aged 56.

Born Rosina Mary Edmunds at the turn of the century in Strathfield, she was known from an early age as "Rosette". She was one of six children (five daughters and one son) of Walter Edmunds, who, although the son of two convicts, became a Labor MP in the NSW parliament and later a judge (Minchin, 1981). Rosette Edmunds attended a Dominican school, Santa Sabina College in Strathfield and went on to complete an arts degree at the University of Sydney. She then joined the new architecture course at Sydney University in 1920, graduating with the third cohort of students in 1924. From 1926 until 1941, Edmunds worked for Clement Glancey in his Sydney city office, one of many successful women architects of her generation to be employed there (including Ms A, Ms S, Ms H, Ms C, Ms F and Ms M).

Mr G, who took over the business in 1963, isn't sure why the office employed so many women architects (interview with Mr G, 1997). Perhaps Glancey just didn't discriminate against women and this in itself became a magnet for women. Ms F remembers that as a student interested in training on the job, she was directed towards Glancey's office in 1936 "because Clem employed Rosette Edmunds", although Ms F never formed any special relationship with the older

woman (interview with Fakes, 1997). Edmunds was Glancey's lead designer, involved in most of the firm's projects during the 1930s, which specialised in Catholic churches and schools. Throughout this period, Edmunds lived with her parents at 6 Elwin Street Strathfield, later designing and building her own home on the same site (recently demolished).

During the Second World War, Edmunds left Glancey's office, probably because she had hit a "glass ceiling" there since Glancey was unwilling to take on a partner (interview with Glancey, 1997). She worked for the Department of the Interior, planning naval defences around Australia, before working for two years as a field officer with the Department of Post War Reconstruction. Soon after the war she completed a Diploma of Town and Country Planning at Sydney University and joined the Town and Country Planning Institute of Australia. From 1946 to 1950 she worked as a civic survey officer for the Cumberland County Council on the master plan for Sydney (*SMH* 1/5/1946; "Distinguished woman architect dies", 1956; *RIBA Journal* Apr. 1957). Perhaps the most impressive string on her town planning bow concerns the anecdote that it was Edmunds who convinced Sydney Luker that Bennelong Point should be the site for the Sydney Opera House (Freestone, 1995).[52]

In 1950 Edmunds moved to Canberra, initially to mind the practice of Malcolm Moir and Heather Sutherland while they travelled to Europe and the USA. Peter Freeman notes that Edmunds worked with the Moirs on several projects and was solely responsible for several designs (Freeman, 1997:12). By 1954 Edmunds was in her own business as an architect/town planner in Braddon, which included working with Barbara Munro (*SMH* 14/5/54:13). She also designed and built a new home for herself in Griffith in 1952. One of the obituaries explains her work in Canberra as:

> related to private building, but she was also called into consultation from time to time with Government architects on planning. She was responsible for the extensions to the Catholic Archbishop's residence at Canberra and was the chief

> architect to Mr Clement Glancey on the drawings for St Christopher's pro-Cathedral ("Distinguished woman architect dies", 1956).

She took up the Presidency of the Canberra committee of the RAIA in 1955, the year before her death, the first woman to hold such a position within the RAIA in Australia.[53]

Edmund's architectural design

Rosette Edmunds' twenty years of practice as an architectural designer deserves more intensive scrutiny than can be offered here. This discussion only gestures towards her output, and describes some of the historiographical problems involved.

Edmunds' main areas of architectural design were those of the office of her employer, Clement Glancey, which specialised in Catholic church work and domestic design during the 1930s. Mr G gave this researcher a list of 26 churches designed or substantially altered by the office, for which he believed Edmunds was primarily responsible (appendix 1)—both according his memory and from identifying her drawing style. Mr G did not mention any domestic design in which Edmunds may have had a hand. This discussion thus only addresses Edmunds' ecclesiastic work.

A major problem of attribution arises immediately. All the drawings produced by the business then were signed "Clement Glancey", although as lead designer it is possible that Edmunds was entirely responsible for the nominated buildings' design and construction. Mr G was, not surprisingly, unwilling to divest Clement Glancey of credit for these churches so it is currently unclear how attribution can be divided between Edmunds and Glancey. A detailed study of the buildings produced by the Glancey office in the interwar period would probably suggest stylistic differences between Glancey, Edmunds and other architects employed

[52] This makes Edmunds one of several claimants to this honour; she was probably part of a coterie of interested people at the Cumberland County Council who lobbied around this issue (interviews with Weirick, 19987-99).
[53] The RAIA's ACT committee did not become an official chapter until 1962, when Malcolm Moir became the first president (Freeman, 1997:17).

there, which could be used to attribute particular buildings to particular authors. In the meantime, this study will resort to simply assigning joint credit to Edmunds/Glancey for the churches designated by Glancey, although architectural historians tend to feel uncomfortable attributing buildings to teams rather than individuals (Willis, 1997a; Rubbo, 1996a). However, this is an improvement on the situation where Edmunds' contribution until now has been entirely ignored. For example, two of the churches in Glancey's list appear in *Identifying Australian Architecture* without any acknowledgment of Edmunds: St Christopher's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Canberra is attributed solely to "Clement Glancey, architect" while St Joseph's Enfield is described as "architect unknown" (Apperley et al., 1989:195, 155).

Eight churches in Sydney from Glancey's list have been briefly viewed and photographed (plates 87-95). Most of these conformed to the style described in *Identifying Australian Architecture* as "Inter-war Romanesque", where one of the book's examples was Edmunds and Glancey's St Christopher's Cathedral in Canberra (plate 87) (Apperley et al., 1989:195). The authors argue that the style was a response to the difficulty of applying modernist principles of function to ecclesiastic architecture, that architects who wished to "move more cautiously towards the uncluttered simplicity of mass and detail favoured by the modernists" sometimes undertook such "an essay in Romanesque" (1989:194). This explanation of the rationale for the style accords well with Edmunds' understanding of modernism as articulated in her writings (see below)—modernism as an approach for reconciling time-honoured traditions with new materials and social requirements.

The Edmunds and Glancey churches share: a similar size and scale; the use of elaborately detailed brickwork, a trademark of the firm (interviews with Mr M, 1997-1999); fairly symmetrical street façades with a prominent central entrance and a low-pitched gable topped by a small, centrally positioned cross; use of rounded rather than pointed arches and circular window motifs; and heavy, almost squat massing of the architectural volumes. These church buildings are weighty and solemn, built during the Great Depression when religious emotions

such as solace, stability, and fear of judgement and retribution, may have had even more resonance (plates 88, 90-93).

Three of these buildings prompt comment here. St Francis Xavier's on Forest Road in Arncliffe is remarkable for being an eye-catching example of the "Romanesque" style because of its extraordinary rounded tower, which gives the building a quaintly medieval air (plate 88). On the other hand, St Joseph's Enfield and St Patrick's Cathedral Parramatta provide exceptions to the Romanesque style. St Joseph's offers a grandiose classical façade closely abutting the Hume Highway with massive three-story high classical columns topped by a pediment featuring relief sculptures (plate 89). It is described by Apperley et al. as "a paraphrase, in brick and faience, of a Roman Corinthian temple" (1989:155). St Patrick's Cathedral in Parramatta is currently a burnt-out hull, having been ravaged by fire in 1996 (plates 94-96), although an appeal was launched in 1998 to restore it. Ms B, the Parramatta diocesan archivist, explains that the Glancey office substantially rebuilt this church in the 1930s in the same style and with many materials re-utilised from the original 1840s church on the site—which itself had been based on a Gothic revivalist design by the British architect A.W.N.Pugin.[54] Ms B pointed out that in a casual viewing of photos of the 1840s and the 1930s churches, they could be easily be mistaken for one another. However, the latter church was much enlarged to accommodate a larger congregation, with a wider nave giving it a squatter, more Romanesque sense of mass, although it still features Gothic architectural details such as steep gables, pointed arches and gargoyles. This is an example of Edmunds and Glancey venturing into practices now more closely associated with postmodern than modernist design: the historicist quotation of an older building style fused with contemporary requirements, and recycling of materials.

Edmunds' writings

Edmunds' history of western architecture, published in 1938, was entitled

[54] Brian Andrews argues that this was one of many designs brought back to Australia by Australia's first Catholic Archbishop, Bede Polding, who was a friend and admirer of Pugin, and who gave the designs to various parishes in the 1840s, including those in Berrima, Ryde, Broadway and Brisbane (Andrews, 1997; Atterbury et al., 1994).

Architecture, An Introductory Survey. Brief but written with incisive intelligence, its tone is authoritative and yet informal, readable yet challenging. All 95 elegant Art Deco styled illustrations in the book are by Edmunds' hand, suggesting a great love for drawing, design and order (plates 97-100). Edmunds described her intention for the book in a contemporaneous newspaper report:

> "I have endeavoured", Miss Edmunds said in an interview, "to dispel the idea that architecture is merely a mass of academic formulae relating to ornament. I have endeavoured to survey architecture in its right relation with the life we lead—as something vital, that plays a formative part in everyday life" (*SMH* 16/11/1937:15).

The fact that its publisher was "Dymocks Book Arcade" suggests that it was designed for a popular rather than an academic audience, but its argument deserved serious attention by the architectural profession. More concerned with generalisations than with specific examples, it is arguably as theoretical as it is historical. Edmunds' approach to architecture as not just aesthetic but also sociological—with buildings considered "a formative part of everyday life"—was decades ahead of its time.

The book attempts to combine social, technological and aesthetic analysis in offering a clearly articulated criteria of architectural quality with universal application. This typically modernist aspiration is one now considered problematic for its indifference to the internal integrity of other cultures. Edmunds at least was aware of this difficulty and tried to justify her approach in articulating an early notion of the global village (1938a:272). The book's thesis relates to the modernist dictate that "form follows function", that aesthetic value inevitably arises out of materials brought together with integrity. She argues that far from being a modern concept, this slogan is descriptive of all good architecture.[55] However, Edmunds develops the notion by laying as much weight on the social considerations of "function" as technological ones. Each chapter

[55] This argument either followed from or inspired that of her former teacher Leslie Wilkinson, who wrote the forward to the book, and who argued that "All 'good architects' were 'functionalists'...because they had to be 'good planners'" (Proudfoot, 1984:208 quoting Falkiner, 1982:89-110)

surveys an epoch by commencing with a thumb-nail sketch of the social conditions before describing typical building genres for that culture, which are then analysed in terms of their success in meeting their "purpose", while using the right building "method". Her history suggests that western civilisation began as a child in Egypt, developed in Greece and Rome, reaching maturity in the middle ages and declined after the Renaissance, reaching its nadir/death in the "horrible fussiness" of Victorian eclecticism. Her enthusiasm for modernist principles might then be read as the figuring of western architecture's rebirth (or resurrection). She evokes the potential of the twentieth century context for architects in utopian language reminiscent of Le Corbusier's *Towards a New Architecture*:

> The architect has come back to his rightful status. He is vitally concerned with the life that surrounds him. That is, he is in touch once more with *Purpose*. He is also adapting *Method* to suit *Purpose*. When these two principles are observed, one can feel assured that architecture is a living art...To the *problems* in *planning* that the world has to face today, the contribution of the architect is indispensable. His training embraces all the necessary knowledge to cope with the situation (Edmunds, 1938a:265).

While applauding Le Corbusier and the leading modernists she is critical of some of their less talented followers for over-emphasising the "mechanical and scientific side of architecture" and breaking with all "tradition and sentiment". In an article entitled "The Dream", written for the RAIA's journal about the same time, Edmunds suggests that architects should carefully tread a middle path between "The Modernist at Any Price" and a Philistine "General Public", while having an open eye for unfamiliar beauty:

> When the planning and construction are good and the façade is logical, there is no ultimate court of appeal on proportions and finish save the human eye. And your eye, to which certain forms seem good, should search for the strange harmonies, shapes and rhythms underlying [any] foreign method (Edmunds, 1942:23).

Unfortunately, Edmund's book ended up being used more as a reference book in schools rather than a critical text contributing to the modernist debates in universities. Modern architecture in Australia might have avoided some of its worst excesses had architects adopted her approach, which appreciated both selected traditions and the potential of new materials and new social conditions for producing exciting new articulations of space. Her respect for medieval culture, apparent in both the churches she designed and her textbook, suggests a desire for the social stability of pre-modern communities. Edmunds was probably linked to the Catholic-Labor intellectual tradition in Australia which valued the notion of "organic community" in the middle ages, and can be traced back through William Morris and Ruskin to Pugin and beyond (interview with Mr K, 1998). However, this nostalgia is creatively moulded into strategies for making a better modern world, which she further developed in her writings on town planning.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s Edmunds published four articles on town planning in the Canberra based journal *Twentieth Century*.[56] In each article she took on a controversial issue and explored its ramifications with a modernist bent, arguing for the efficacy of town planning combined with sensitivity to social considerations. There is also a subtle but sustained edge of Christian ethics underlying each essay. This discussion briefly describes remarkable aspects of two of these essays.

In "Slums" (1949), Edmunds advocated slum clearance in terms mostly typical of writers of her day, such as calling for the state to perform the "surgery" necessary to cure the diseased "organism" of the city. However, the essay does include several original features: firstly a long introductory emphasis on substantive problems in defining "slums";[57] secondly the naming of basic standards which should form the criteria for evaluating habitations as "fit for

[56] She also published an article of literary criticism in this journal concerning the poetry of Christopher Brennan, who had been a protege of her father's. She herself wrote serious poetry which was never published (interview with Edmunds, 1997).
[57] Slums are seen to be caused by complex historical forces linked to industrialisation, profiteering and poverty, but nonetheless she ends up favouring a technical definition of slums as places which fall beneath certain minimum standards considered by the town planner as "necessary to make it fit for living purposes" (Edmunds, 1949:82).

living purposes" (addressing issues such as population density, accessibility to services, and levels of pollution); finally the almost exclusive reference to women writers as experts in this field—to novelists Kylie Tennant and Ruth Park, to American planner Catherine Bauer and to English "housing expert" Elizabeth Denby. It was then unusual to acknowledge the validity of fiction as an insight into social problems, and very unusual to show respect for a broad range of women writers in the usually male dominated field of planning.

Also thought provoking and somewhat more controversial was her essay entitled "Planning for the Atomic Age" (1952). Here Edmunds explores the implications for town planning of the threat of nuclear attack. She suggests that town planners might try to minimise the effects of a nuclear bomb by: planning cities as dispersed rather than concentrated and regions as decentralised rather than metropolitan; using mixed zoning rather than targetable single zoned areas; building in valleys rather than on hills; and for cities and regions to be economically independent so that if one is hit the others might not be automatically crippled. These common sense proposals seem somehow shocking to the late twentieth century reader who is more likely to envisage nuclear war as an end-point to our civilisation, a universal carnage from which at best a few savages might emerge, Mad Max style; or, as the postmodern writer Jean Baudrillard argued, a simulacrum which has "already happened" (Baudrillard, 1987). However, Edmunds approaches the problem as part of a generation who had struggled through the horrors and deprivations of two world wars and probably understood nuclear war only as a quantitatively bigger (rather than qualitatively different) type of threat. Underlying the whole article is the metaphorical story of Joan of Arc, who won a seemingly impossible battle because of her courage and faith in God. By this analogy, itself a tribute to a courageous woman, Edmunds offers a ray of hope for the faithful, that the threat of nuclear war should not overwhelm us.

These essays on town planning appeared in a small Catholic journal which addressed a wide array of cultural studies topics from a perspective both intellectual and Christian. Though these arguments were obviously formed within the dominant town planning discourses of the day, it is unlikely that they

were read by the Australian planning community at large. Yet they are valuable for attempting to discuss planning in terms of the bigger picture of cultural and ethical issues rather than in the more common limited framework of physical planning techniques. They are much more carefully crafted, intellectual essays than Edmunds' short and more populist writings for architecture journals (Edmunds, 1938b, 1938c, 1939a, 1939b, 1942).

In Edmunds' writings there is no obvious feminist content, and in fact the architect or town planner is always referred to as the generic "he". Yet themes deemed feminist by more recent theorists do recur throughout her work: for example, her emphasis on the "social" implications of architectural design; her even-handed discussion of the merits of decoration (now often identified with femininity, see Schor, 1987) as opposed to a "virile emphasis on structural form" (Edmunds, 1938b); and her referencing to other women professionals, as well as the mythical-historic figure of Joan of Arc.

In her personal life, Edmunds maintained warm friendships with other leading women architects of her day. She included a design by "Winsome Hall" (m. Andrew) as one of only four illustrations of post-Renaissance architecture in her history book in 1938. On one occasion she helped out Ms M by supervising a Wellington job when she was overseas, taking the time out to travel there from Canberra (interview with Ms M, 1993). Ms F recalls that she was close friends with Ellice Nosworthy, who had graduated two years before her. She worked with Heather Sutherland and Malcolm Moir when she first moved to Canberra in the late 1940s and later with Barbara Munro during the 1950s.

Mr G imagines that Edmund's attitude towards feminism might have parallelled that of many nuns, and he meant this with great respect, having spent much of his life working with nuns as clients: "they know who they are, they're independent, they run large organisations and they can often run rings around men for getting things done." Her remembers Edmunds as "a very majestic figure", tall, fine featured and charismatic, who "projected upper middle-class values". He suspects that Edmunds' Catholic training would have been a important aspect of the development of her character. The RAIA obituary described her as:

> a person naturally interested in people [who] gave of her time generously to civic affairs; an exhibition of painting, pottery or the like always found her present, taking an intensely analytical part. Never hesitating to express an opinion on any matter, she had a natural quietness of manner and a keen appreciation of other peoples work, which at all times made her a sympathetic and stimulating colleague. All those who knew her will be greatly distressed by her sudden death ("Distinguished woman architect dies", 1956).

Edmunds apparently had a heart condition and her early death tragically cut short her various brilliant careers as an architect, town planner and writer. A respected designer, she was also a Catholic intellectual who argued for a better world through the integration of social, aesthetic and moral considerations in architectural and town planning theory and practice.

HEATHER SUTHERLAND (1903-1953)

Heather Sutherland's (plate 101) partnership with Malcolm Moir is only now being recognised as the leading architectural practice in Canberra between the 1930s and the 1950s (Freeman, forthcoming). Both graduates from Sydney University, they brought sophistication and flexibility to their broad range of work in the newly emerging city, which had recently been designated the national capital. Although married with children, Heather Sutherland worked full-time as an architect throughout her adult life, until her tragic early death in a car accident at the age of 50. Unfortunately, both because of the difficulties architectural historians encounter in writing about creative collaboration, and because Moir practised as an architect in Canberra both before their marriage and after her death, the historic acknowledgment of Sutherland's architectural contribution risks being subsumed into the story of Moir's longer career (Freeman, 1997).

Heather McDonald Sutherland was born 25 May 1903 in Sydney,[58] the eldest of four children from her father's first marriage. Sutherland's Scottish grandfather

[58] This was just two days before Malcolm Moir, who was born 27 May 1903 in Petersham NSW.

had been a master builder and stonemason, while her father William McDonald Sutherland immigrated to Australia and prospered as a gentleman's tailor, raising his family in the exclusive harbour-side suburb of Point Piper. Sutherland's mother died in the influenza epidemic of 1919, and her father's second marriage produced two more daughters, Barbara, and Joan Sutherland, the internationally acclaimed opera singer—a half-sister born in 1926, who was young enough to be Sutherland's daughter. Joan Sutherland's recent autobiography recalls Sutherland only as a "promising young architect" who would let little Joan gaze upon her working at her drawing board in the breakfast room (Sutherland, 1997:3).

Sutherland attended Shirley College, a private girls' school nearby in Edgecliff, before studying architecture at the University of Sydney from 1923 to 1926. She obviously enjoyed her studies because she recommended it as "a wonderful course" to a young neighbour Ms M, who also went on to graduate (interview with Ms M, 1997). Sutherland was almost certainly acquainted with Malcolm Moir, who completed the course two years before her, graduating in 1924. Their son Mr M recalls "strongly that there was a great deal of camaraderie between the early graduates of the Sydney University architecture school, both women and men. Some very close friendships formed and a number of marriages" (interviews with Mr M, 1997-99). This is an aspect of the social organisation of the architecture profession in NSW from the 1920s which deserves further exploration.[59] One sign of these friendships are the elegant bookplates which several early architecture graduates designed for one another (plate 102, 122-125).

However, in 1927 Malcolm Moir married Laura Aubrey, known as "Nance",

[59] For example, Heather Moir's friendship with Raymond McGrath, one of the most successful early graduates from the Sydney University architecture school, is mentioned in a recently published biography about him (O'Donovan, 1995:24, 62, 70). Sutherland is described in McGrath's biography:

> "She has most of the tantalising characteristics of her sex. She can be witheringly sarcastic...She had very large dark eyes and I found it dangerous to look into them [one] of those enigmatic, tantalising people."

with whom he had two children. Nan was the first of three wives who would leave Malcolm Moir a widower. She died of tuberculosis in 1935. Moir subsequently married Sutherland in 1936,[60] and they had one son Mr M who also became an architect. In 1955, two years after Sutherland's death, Moir married Delitia Harrington, another early woman graduate who however, had given up architecture soon after graduation; she died in 1970 after an illness, the year before Moir's own death in 1971. Moir's life, punctuated by these private tragedies, was however, counterweighted by a public life of considerable success. Moir registered with the NSW Board of Architects of NSW (the Board) in 1925, when he was working for the Government Architect's Branch of the Public Works Department. By 1927 he was working with the Federal Capital Commission in Canberra, on the Institute of Anatomy, until the Commission was disbanded in 1930.[61] With the Great Depression settling on the country, he found himself unemployed for two years, resorting to occasional labouring work before obtaining a job with Capitol, Canberra's picture theatre then sited at Manuka. He stayed with the company, eventually rising to become its managing director. He also set himself up in private practice as an architect, thus maintaining two careers "in parallel" (interviews with Mr M, 1997-99). The two career lines occasionally converged, as when he organised several sets of alterations in the late 1930s for the Capitol Theatre in Manuka (since demolished), and designed two innovative new theatres for the company: the Civic Theatre in Mort Street, Braddon in 1935 (since demolished) and a cinema for an adjoining site in the CBD, where the current Centre Cinema is now located (never built). With Sutherland and others, he also designed hundreds of houses in Canberra, many commercial buildings such as shops and service stations, and numerous embassy buildings including those for the USA, South Africa, the Netherlands, France, Malaysia and the Philippines. He was also active in politics and the community: a member of the ACT Advisory Council for several years, the endorsed Liberal candidate for the ACT at the 1949 Federal Election, President of the Canberra Chamber of Commerce, a member of an ANU advisory committee (*Canberra*

[60] They married on 25 November 1935. Sutherland had moved to Canberra six months before the wedding and stayed at Beauchamp House near the ANU, while Moir was in residence at Barton Court flats with his children.
[61] He employed another early woman graduate architect on this project: Ms H (interview with Ms H, 1995).

Times 24/9/1971), the Commonwealth Club and the Canberra Wine and Food Club (interviews with Mr M, 1997-99). "He was an astute manager of people, and consummately at ease in social situations" (Freeman, 1997:17). He also helped found the "Canberra Area Committee" for the RAIA in 1951 and was its first president when it became the official ACT chapter of the RAIA in 1962.

By contrast with Moir, Heather Sutherland's public life was low-profile. However, Ms H, a contemporary who had graduated in architecture the same year, recalled Sutherland as someone who was ambitious about her career as an architect. Sutherland initially found work as an architect in the office of Clement Glancey, where she was employed between 1928 and 1931 at least (Board of Architects of NSW *Architects' Roll*). This firm provided the crucial stepping stone of practical experience into the profession for Sutherland as it did for many of her female contemporaries, including Rosette Edmunds, Winsome Hall Andrew and Ms H. Nothing is yet known about the work she performed in this office. Her professional experience between 1931 and 1936 is also unknown, and it is possible that like many other architects and other workers of all descriptions during the Great Depression, she was unemployed. In the early 1930s she wrote a novel, which she sent for comment to the famous Australian writer, Norman Lindsay. Lindsay's evaluation was both complimentary and condescending. The manuscript, which according to her son Mr M addresses architecture and feminism, was never published. Lindsay wrote:

> I have just been reading your "Robert the Robot" with distressed astonishment that any one who writes as lightly and well as you do should waste an excellent talent on such a febrile theme. If your neat faculty for discriptive (sic) phrase and your eye for character, and your naturally sardonic inflection of outlook had been exerted over the normal process of conflict of personality and the analysis of emotion, with a solid realistic backing of the average life under its average economic struggle, what an excellent novel you could write.
> I am getting quite a number of these fantasy novels; mainly by women, all well written, but all scooting in any direction to escape the hard constructive problem of an emotional theme, and I'm beginning to suffer serious doubts whether the

> genuine impulse for the novel is in this country (letter to H. Sutherland from Norman Lindsay, November 1932, held by Mr M).[62]

Heather Sutherland married Malcolm Moir in late 1936 and a year later they moved into the fine modernist home newly constructed at 43 Melbourne Ave Forrest, a house now honoured by the ACT branch of the RAIA (Firth, 1997). An upstairs studio space became the office of their partnership, which in its title retained Sutherland's single name, "Moir & Sutherland", although she was known as both "Heather Sutherland" and "Heather Moir". On her marriage, Sutherland also became step-mother to the two children of Moir's first marriage, and six years later during the second world war gave birth to her only child, Mr M. Mr M remembers Sutherland as a working mother, helped by a succession of live-in domestics. Having the office/studio at home made the dual workload easier to manage, and meant that Sutherland could work at night. Mr M remembers Sutherland dressing as "her father's daughter: petite in elegant women's clothing and hand-made shoes". However, she would wear (tailored) slacks to site meetings, long before it was fashionable for women to wear pants (interviews with Mr M, 1997-99).

The Moirs maintained an active social life, partly linked to their architectural practice, for example, retaining friendly relations in diplomatic circles which led to embassy commissions (interviews with Mr M, 1997-99). They also had strong friendships with other women architectural graduates from Sydney University: Rosette Edmunds, who was a locum in their practice when they travelled to Europe in 1950; and Winsome Hall Andrew, whom they employed in the late 1930s. Hall Andrew worked with them again in the early 1950s when Hall

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[62] Lindsay's letter was sent in two parts, the first part type-written in the form of a formal critique, while the second part was hand written, and more personal. In the second part, he suggests that Sutherland's book is a response to the situation of Modern Woman::

> I don't say there isn't a profound enough motive behind your R. the R., but you could hardly have emphasised it without getting into the area of Post Freudian psychoanalysis. A male robot is practically the only solution to the problem of the intellectual woman of Today, if she is to maintain her intellectual isolation and get a little sex entertainment at the same time. Modern woman is grappling with all sorts of devices to keep her mentality from foundering in her material impulses, and your robot would [obviously?] supply a magnificent solution to the fantasy impulse of the bright modern girl who to get rid of the danger of a lover must either take them by the dozen or neglect them altogether.

Mr M is investigating the possibility of getting the book published.

Andrew's architectural partnership with her husband Eric Andrew joined forces with Moir & Sutherland on several projects in Canberra's CBD, including the Brisbane Building. The Moirs were apparently also friendly with Sydney University's Professor Hook; they employed newly arrived German immigrants Eva and Mr B for six months in 1939, after being introduced by Hook (interview with Mr B, 1997). An employee of the Andrews' Sydney-based business, Mr B remembers being "lent" to the Moir & Sutherland practice on occasion:

> Those four people were very close, very friendly. I worked on details for the American Embassy, I worked on...the Brisbane Building, a joint venture between Mal Moir and our office. Our office did all the drawings in Sydney, he did all the supervision down in Canberra (interview with Mr B, 1995).

Mr S was another Andrew employee who went to Canberra to help Malcolm Moir keep his business commitments after Heather Sutherland's death in 1953. He recalls that this event had "distressed Eric and Winsome very much because they were close friends" (interview with Mr S, 1997).

Mr M tells a story about this friendship of particular interest to the feminist historian. Winsome and Eric Andrew had been visiting the Moirs for lunch one day in 1938, soon after the house in Melbourne Ave was completed, and they happened to look outside and see an older woman photographing the house. Winsome and Heather walked out to introduce themselves, only to discover it was Marion Mahony Griffin. Marion announced that this was one of only two buildings in Canberra that her deceased husband Walter would have approved of, and the other was the Civic Theatre—also a building designed by Moir, since demolished (interviews with Mr M, 1997-98).

This story has become a proud part of the family history. Sutherland and Moir also considered their overseas trip to Europe in 1950, which included visiting with Alvar Aalto in Finland, as one of the highlights of their life together (Freeman, 1997:12). Moir's daughter Ms S recalls that the Moir & Sutherland

partnership was "a very cooperative arrangement...at every meal there was talk of architectural projects" (Letter from Freeman, 20 Jan. 1999, quoting Mr M).[63]

Attribution

A local history article about Mrs Pattie Tillyard, Canberra's "grand old lady", credits Sutherland as the designer of her home in 1936 (known as "The Spinney" at 2 Mugga Way Red Hill and since demolished) (Wardle, 1989) (plate 103). A drawing for the same house is held in the Moir & Sutherland manuscript collection in the Australian National Library, although it designates the architect as "M. J. Moir in association with J.A.V. Nisbett". These two pieces of information suggest firstly that Sutherland was in Canberra and working with Moir by 1936, and secondly that the designation of "architect" on the Moir & Sutherland drawings may not be a precise descriptor. It is likely that the published article is correct, because it was written by Tillyard's own daughter, and that Moir was probably legally responsible for the commission while Sutherland did all the work in an employee or sub-contractor role.

According to Peter Freeman's draft monograph on Malcolm Moir, the name "Moir & Sutherland" was used to describe the name of the "architect" in most building applications submitted by the partnership between 1937 and 1953, although a significant proportion were signed "Malcolm J. Moir", or "MJM, Moir & Sutherland". By contrast, just one work cited there was attributed specifically to Sutherland: a house for "Advertiser Newspapers" at 2 Hotham Crescent Deakin, 1951, signed "Heather McDonald Moir, Moir & Sutherland" (Freeman, 1997). However, some attributions to Sutherland alone can be made on the basis of recollections by their son. Mr M remembers that his mother had a house for "Coopers & Lybrand in Tennyson Cres Forrest" (Cooper Bros Way & Hardie House, Tennyson Crescent Forrest, 1951) (plate 104); that "she went to a lot of effort for a house for a Miss Barnett in Yarralumla" (Barnett House, 20 Denman Street Yarralumla, 1953); and "one for Rowan Osborne diagonally behind their home in Forrest" (Osborne House, 9 Ord Street Forrest, additions 1967)—this was memorable because Malcolm later added a top storey and Mr M

[63] Mr M is Malcolm Moir's son and Heather Sutherland's stepson.

still later added a garage: it was the only building to which all three architects in the family made separate contributions (interviews with Mr M, 1997-99).

It may also be appropriate to give Sutherland credit for the bulk of domestic design produced under the name "Moir and Sutherland". This is firstly because Malcolm Moir had a substantial job in the cinema industry, thus he would have had limited time for design. Moreover, Mr B recalls that the couple operated almost distinct businesses under the one roof, and that Moir's was more commercial/industrial while Sutherland's was more domestic (interview with Mr B, 1995). Mr S also remembers that Heather did a good deal of domestic work—"the smaller stuff generally as well as whatever needed to be done in the bigger projects" (interview with Mr S, 1997). This division of labour is also suggested by an analysis of the description of "architect" in the practice's building applications, which tended to name "M. J. Moir" alone in most of the commercial and institutional design (Freeman, 1997). However, this division of labour by signature is not absolute: about 30 drawings for *houses* are also signed "M. J. Moir", while about 20 *non-domestic* projects are signed "Moir & Sutherland". These latter drawings include the practice's largest work, the "Brisbane Building" in Canberra's CDB, as well as two sets of flats, a service station and numerous alterations to commercial premises. Moreover, and to confuse the situation further, Freeman suggests there is evidence that Moir may have submitted work in his name alone which was actually done by Sutherland (interviews with Freeman, 1997-1999)—as in the Tillyard House.

From a feminist perspective, "Moir & Sutherland" would appear to be a pioneering example of an egalitarian male/female architectural business partnership. However, this closer examination of architectural attribution reveals that the male name is privileged by being attached to every project either singly or in collaboration, while the female name is often absent, and at best publicly acknowledged as part of a collaboration—when in fact Sutherland probably produced a great deal of the practice's design work on her own. Thus the confusion of attribution, which may seem trivial and probably *was* casual and undeliberated, nonetheless contributes to the tendency documented throughout this thesis—for women architects to disappear from history. In Sutherland's case,

this tendency is exacerbated by her tragic early death, so that her contribution is easily interpreted as just one of several co-workers with Moir over his lifetime.

It is tempting to counter this tendency by giving Sutherland sole credit for the design work signed "Moir & Sutherland", and giving Moir credit only for design work specifically attributed to "M. J. Moir" between 1937 and 1953. However, such an approach could only be convincing if more detailed analysis of the drawings and the buildings yielded evidence of Moir's and Sutherland's personal styles, leading to individual attribution. However, it is also possible that they did work together in a genuinely collective manner and should not be turned into separate "authors".

Design

This brief discussion of Sutherland's architectural contribution will focus on the design work of "Moir & Sutherland", considered as a collaboration or joint authorship, as designated in the monograph by Peter Freeman (1997). A more detailed evaluation of the practice's work is expected in a book of essays to be edited by Peter Freeman (forthcoming).

In the mid 1930s when Moir & Sutherland established themselves in the "bush capital", they formed one of just two qualified local architectural practices servicing the newly burgeoning town (the other was run by Ken Oliphant). Their position was an enviable one of being capable fish in a small but fast growing pond. While commissions for the major ceremonial buildings were often awarded through competitions or given to large Sydney/Melbourne-based firms, as a local practice they picked up a broad variety of "everyday" architectural projects, from housing, flats, and small commercial outlets, to larger jobs such as theatres and embassies. In their 16 years of joint practice, Moir & Sutherland were remarkably prolific, completing at least 70 houses, ten domestic alteration/addition jobs, and twenty non-domestic projects.[64] If the lean years of the war are excluded, when little civilian work was constructed in Canberra as elsewhere,[65] Moir & Sutherland's output can be averaged out to approximately

[64] As documented in the drawings held in the manuscript collection of the NLA.
[65] This was also when Heather Sutherland had her baby, and she probably took maternity leave.

ten houses, one alteration and two non-domestic projects per annum (not including work signed by Moir alone).

Peter Freeman's draft monograph is primarily a list of works associated with Malcolm Moir over his lifetime in chronological order (Freeman, 1997). Many of these works are documented in the collection of Moir & Sutherland drawings in the NLA. However, the Freeman monograph does not reproduce any of those drawings; rather, most works cited are illustrated with a recent photo of the property. Unfortunately most of these photos are dominated by shrubs and greenery, making visual analysis of the buildings difficult. However, several comments can be made.

The practice appears to have been diverse and flexible in meeting the needs of the community, both in genre and style. For example, housing styles vary considerably, from conventional steeply hipped roofs and Georgian symmetry to Art Deco and "streamlined" flat-roofed structures (see plates 105-109). There are several houses which look like typical 1960s minimalist Australian suburbia, but which were constructed well before their time in the early 1940s (plates 110-111). Some of the houses apparently generated local controversy for their innovativeness, but were nonetheless well regarded. Patience Wardle reports of Tillyard House (1936, plate 103):

> Heather Sutherland...designed the house and caused great local interest with the use of the (then) modern steel-framed windows, low hung and giving maximum light and air...A professor's wife...wrote after Pattie's death to say, "Mrs Tillyard's was the most indigenous house in Canberra"; indeed it was, the low, red-tiled roof and sand coloured bricks blending sympathetically into the reds and browns of the hill behind (Wardle, 1989:11).

The owners of Frolich House (1953, plate 112) recalled that "the house caused some interest as it was one of the first in Canberra to feature the garage under the

house...and presumably, a monopitch [skillion] roof" (Freeman, 1997:156). The only negative story about Moir & Sutherland design comes from a biography of client Mark Oliphant (Cockburn, 1992).[66] However, a more complimentary description of this house as a major domestic design, appears in the March 1955 issue of *Home Beautiful* (plates 113-114). [67]

A series of five flat-roofed houses with carefully arranged proportions in Evans Crescent Griffith (1938-1940, plates 108-109) have been cited as a "local precinct of historic importance" in the Interim Heritage Places Register of the RAIA, ACT chapter. Moreover, of the 14 Moir projects recommended by Peter Freeman to be nominated for the ACT Interim Heritage Register, at least five should be attributed jointly to "Moir & Sutherland". The commissioning of Freeman's studies on Moir by the Canberra chapter of the RAIA is another sign of the growing significance being attached to Moir & Sutherland's work in Canberra during the middle decades of the twentieth century.

WINSOME HALL ANDREW (1905-1997)

Winsome Hall Andrew (plates 115-117) was an early graduate of the University of Sydney architecture school.[68] She followed a successful career as an architect employed in a variety of firms in Sydney and London, contributing to several award-winning modernist buildings. She went into architectural partnership with Eric Andrew soon before they married in 1942. Winsome continued to work full-time, combining the complexities of marriage, motherhood and career before retiring early in the mid 1950s to work for a progressive Christian group, Moral

[66] Freeman informally explains the problem as "a saga of a grumpy client and two fairly strong-minded architects — Brian Ballantyne Lewis and Malcolm Johnson Moir...Oliphant and Lewis didn't hit it off...Malcolm Moir was asked to take on the design for Oliphant on a difficult site and an irascible client" (interviews with Freeman, 1997-1999).

[67] Mr M explains that Oliphant House was situated on a huge block of land in Turner which had been arranged by Prime Minister Menzies as an incentive to bring the famous nuclear physicist to the ANU (interviews with Mr M, 1997-1999)

[68] This essay departs from my usual practice of referring to the biographical subject by the surname they were using at the time of writing or the end of their life. However, here I refer to her as "Winsome Hall Andrew", combining both single and married names, or as "Winsome". However, the fact that Winsome changed her name with her marriage at the comparatively late age of 37 makes for difficult nomenclature, and after some experimentation this seems the least awkward solution.

Rearmament (MRA). Her design work has never been documented or evaluated, although she worked on substantial buildings in a broad range of fields, including commercial, domestic, public housing, and urban design. Her contribution to the Manly Surf Pavilion, which in 1939 won Eric Andrew the Sulman Medal, has never been properly acknowledged.

Born Winsome Alice Hall in Woollahra in 1905, she was the fifth child of ten born to Arthur Hall and Susy Foy. Although Winsome's mother was from a wealthy family, her father worked in the NSW public service as a surveyor on a clerical wage. Nonetheless the parents encouraged all their children to pursue higher education, and most of them managed to complete university degrees.[69] For Arthur Hall, "It was almost a religion...that his children should win their way to university with a scholarship or bursary of some kind, no matter how small" (Whitley, 1994). Winsome attended high school at Sydney Girls High, where she was an outstanding student, both academically and athletically, before winning a scholarship to study architecture at the University of Sydney, from 1922 to 1927.[70] Her family have kept her elegant architectural drawings produced at university (plates 118-121).

The family's upbringing in a large but ramshackle house in the working-class suburb of Balmain is skilfully recounted in "Kid Sister", an unpublished family history by Winsome's youngest sister Barbara Whitley (Whitley, 1994). The telling of the story is remarkable for its juxtaposition of charming vignettes of family life against intimations of underlying conflicts. For example, the story demonstrates with certain irony each parent's different attitude towards their ambiguous social position. Whitley explains that her mother:

> would have liked such a house in a seemly suburb where we could have more "suitable" friends; but there wasn't enough money...Mother still had snobbish

[69] Ian (B.ScAgr. 1939), Nancy (B.A. 1930), Barbara (B.A. 1931), Peverley (L.L.B. 1924), Septimus (L.L.B. 1935), Winsome (B.Arch. 1927); Mary (Dip. Journalism 1925) and Lesley (B.Sc. 1924) ("Grapevine" *University of Sydney Gazette* 23(2) Oct. 1995:31). Two of her brothers were involved in establishing the legal firm Hall & Hall which merged with Sly & Russell, eventually to become one of Australia's largest legal firms, Sly & Weigal.

> notions about the children in Balmain being "not our class" and girls in particular, she felt, shouldn't be mixing with "common people" (Whitley, 1994).

By contrast, once Winsome was at university, her father:

> kept her on a poverty-line allowance, [yet] she seemed to find her friends amongst wealthy people—"not our class". Dad used to accuse her of "having champagne tastes on a beer income" (Whitley, 1994).

Winsome's parents were strict Christian Scientists and her father is described as "a hard man" who "set his standards on perfection, and was ruthless with his children when they didn't reach it...He'd have been highly respected, certainly, but popular, no". Whitley didn't discover until much later that the parents marriage had been less than happy, because her father was always criticising the children and her mother always defending them, "taking their side against him" (Whitley, 1994).

Whitley remembers "Winty", as she was nicknamed, as "tall, slim and elegant", with "a gift for looking beautifully dressed", although she seemed sometimes "remote" (Whitley, 1994). Her years at university, with her older sister Leslie who was enrolled in Science, were perceived by her little sister as a magical time:

> Lesley and Winsome were out of my world altogether now, like princesses in a fairy story, trailing clouds of beauty, brains and boyfriends as they went their ways through university. They were lost creatures to me, except for the grand occasions when they went to the theatre or a ball, in beautiful taffeta dresses and silk shawls with long fringes...None of their swains had cars or could afford taxis, and the pattern was for the girls to go across on the ferry and be met at the wharf on the other side (Whitley, 1994).

Although Eric Andrew was in her class, Winsome's boyfriend at the time was

[70] She won the swimming "Blue" or championship for her year at the University of Sydney, in a race where she cut her hand on some broken glass when she dived in, but nonetheless swam to victory (interview with Ms R, 1992).

another architecture student, "Jim" [J. M. King]. At one stage, "Our Winsome was sporting an engagement ring...Not that there was any setting of dates" (Whitley, 1994). However, by the time they finished their course:

> The boom years were over, and the Depression was full upon us; if any skerrick of work was going, the very last chance of all would have been for an architect. Building had all but stopped (Whitley, 1994).

"Jim" couldn't get work in Sydney and went to work on his family's farm in the far west, and the ring eventually disappeared from Winsome's finger. As Whitley saw it, Winsome's life had come down to earth with a "thud":

> She was through [her course], and tossed straight back into the home arena, helping hum-drum things along, her five years of intense learning chopped off behind her, and her gadding about to exciting events in pretty dresses a thing of the past...But after some months, luck came her way, and the miracle of a job in a small firm, with a Catholic gentleman who did have some work to do for the Church. She knew she'd got it because she was a woman and could be paid less than a man, but she jumped at it anyway; and so off with her to work, hooray! (She was the only woman in her year, and the only person to get work) (Whitley, 1994).

Winsome was earning enough in her job to start saving for a fare to travel to Europe, and her social life was busy. In the late 1920s her older sister Ms H was at art school, co-producing a student art journal called *Undergrowth*, which would later be acknowledged as an important outlet for modernism in the Sydney art scene (Kerr, 1995, 369). The influence of Art Deco is apparent in a series of bookplates designed by Hall Andrew for friends and family in the 1920s and 1930s (plates 122-125). Whitley remembers Winsome as:

> quite the dasher in those days, keen on whatever was new—wearing striking clothes, keeping company with artists and potters, going to Italian restaurants (the very latest thing), and to coffee houses where would-be bohemians sat talking for hours (Whitley, 1994).

Barbara Whitley's stories offer anecdotes evoking the social context of the architecture profession in the late 1920s, from taffeta ball gowns to bohemian cafes, and suggesting direct links between the worlds of modernist art and architecture in Sydney at that time. They also offer insights into Winsome's personal background, for example, that being middle-class was not a straightforward, undifferentiated category, and that Winsome early developed a personal style which could disguise her lack of wealth. The family history highlights the difficulties of completing an architectural education just as the Great Depression was descending, with its personal and career implications for Winsome, with the startling observation she was the first to be employed in her year, possibly because women could be paid less than a man.

Architectural work

The "Catholic gentleman" with whom Winsome obtained employment soon after her graduation in 1928 was Clement Glancey, who also employed many other young women architects during this period. According to registration records, Winsome was still employed there in 1934, although she may have also worked for other firms ("Girl architect holds job for soldier", c.1940). The Andrew family papers contain several drawings signed "Clement Glancey", but apparently drawn by Winsome. These include a beautifully drafted set of blueprints of the St Ignatius church in Taralga NSW 1933 (plates 126-128)—styled in the Glancey office's typical Romanesque idiom (see discussion of "Rosette Edmunds").[71] Winsome was apparently also working freelance during these years, since the family papers contain drawings signed by herself for: a "Proposed weekend cottage in Newport" c.1930; "Proposed flats Meta and Grosvenor Streets Croydon" 1933; and an urban design for the Sydney CBD's Martin Place extension competition of 1933 (plate 2). Also likely to have been produced during these years was Winsome's design for a "Modern house" which Rosette Edmunds redrew and included in her survey book of architecture as one of only four illustrations of modern architecture (Edmunds, 1938a) (plate 100).

[71] Hall may have worked with Rosette Edmunds on this church, since Edmunds was also employed in the Glancey office at this time. Glancey nominated the "Christ the King" church at Taralga as one of those to which Edmunds had contributed.

By 1934 Winsome fulfilled her ambition to travel to Europe, where she stayed for some years. In England she worked for at least two firms on several prize-winning designs between 1934 and 1936. Her hand-written draft resumé from the mid-1950s states that she was a "senior assistant" in Robert Atkinson's office, working on Stockleigh Hall at Regents Park—"a luxury block of 90 flats"—which won a RIBA Medal ("Girl architect...", c.1940); and that she was "job captain" for Stanley Livrock on the Police Section House residential block for Scotland Yard, which also won a RIBA Medal (plate 129) (Andrew family papers). Winsome also may have completed a "London degree" in town planning ("Girl architect...", c.1940)—she was listed as a member of the Town and Country Planning Institute of NSW in 1950 (Annable, 1995), although neither her resumé nor her family make mention of this accomplishment. Winsome had also linked up with Eric Andrew by this time, having worked with him on his design for a surf pavilion for Manly. This won a major competition in 1936 while they were overseas, prompting them to return to Australia. As their later employee and partner Mr B recalled:

> There was a group of them that had graduated [together] and they were freelancing in Europe...when they [Eric and Winsome] won the Manly Surf Club competition. That really got them on their feet, when they won that competition (interview with Mr B, 1995).

Eric's resumé from this time states that he had recently "completed extensive tours of England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Italy for the purpose of studying Modern Architecture" (Andrew family papers). It is likely that Winsome also travelled with him to some of these destinations. Mr B recalled that she was a strong believer in the Bauhaus movement and that much of her design work was based on carefully arranged proportions, for example, of windows within elevations (interview with Mr B, 1995).

The Manly Surf Pavilion (plates 131-132), an admired and elegant modernist structure, was completed in 1938 (since demolished because of "concrete cancer"). In 1939 it won the Sulman Medal, the RAIA's most prestigious design

prize, which was presented solely to Eric Andrew. The documentation for the building must have noted that the "architectural team...included E. A. Winsome Hall (later Andrew)" since this association was recently acknowledged in a study of the first fifty years of Sulman Award winning buildings (Metcalfe, 1997:70). However, neither the prize nor any of the publicity mentioned Winsome at the time, not even Florence Taylor's *Building* magazine (Jan. 1939; see also *Architecture* Feb. 1937 and Nov. 1940; *Constructional Review* Jan. 1939). Winsome herself did stress her involvement with the project in contemporaneous accounts of her architectural experience: in her resumé, the pavilion is detailed as a product of her architectural partnership with Eric Andrew (Andrew family papers), while in one interview she explained that she "was closely associated with Mr Andrew in this work" ("Girl architect...", 1940). Late in life she intimated that she was involved only with the design of the interiors (interview with Ms A, 1997).[72]

A rumour amongst contemporary architectural historians is that the modernist design was outside Eric Andrew's usual repertoire and this might be explained by the possible involvement of Sydney Anchor (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99; Metcalfe, 1997). An alternative explanation is that Winsome Hall Andrew made a more substantial contribution to the project than has been recognised until now. Mr S, who was employed by the Andrews briefly in the mid-1950s, remembered hearing talk that "it was in fact Winsome who was the designer". He thought the general impression was that Winsome was the creative one in the partnership. When asked why had Hall Andrew not received any credit for the surf club, he replied, "There wasn't women's lib around then and it wasn't normal to give women accolades the way it is now" (interview with Mr S, 1997).

After returning from Europe, Winsome worked for Malcolm Moir and Heather Sutherland, a husband and wife architectural partnership in Canberra, who were

[72] In 1997 I interviewed Winsome Hall Andrew informally at the request of her sister Ms H, who believed that the encounter might be stimulating for her. Her family understood that while her short-term memory was poor, her long term memory seemed sound. Winsome was inarticulate but responded to questions written on paper by pointing her finger at "Yes" or "No". In this way she indicated that she had not designed the Manly Surf Pavilion overall, but had designed its interiors; that she had drawn up the Taralga Church for Clement Glancey and the student hostel for Moir & Sutherland but had not designed them.

friends from university days. Winsome's resumé states that her work for Moir & Sutherland included detailing the American Embassy buildings. In addition the Andrew family papers include an impressive set of blueprints, signed "Moir & Sutherland" but apparently in Winsome's hand, for a "Proposed Student Hostel and Lecture Room" c.1939 (plate 130), never built.

When the second world war broke, Eric Andrew joined up for war service and at the end of 1940 he and Winsome entered into a formal architectural partnership to establish a business known initially as "Eric W. Andrew & Hall". The contract stated that it was to last for the duration of Eric's time in war service, that Eric would be absent but supply capital and receive one third of the profits while Winsome would staff and run the business, collect wages and receive two-thirds of the profits. A newspaper article presented a celebratory and oddly distorted story about this, entitled "Girl architect holds job for soldier" ("Girl architect...", c.1940). The article is notable firstly for describing the 35 year old Winsome as a "girl", and secondly for representing a business partnership as an arrangement where Winsome was merely "deputising in a job for a man who has enlisted", holding his job rather than sharing the responsibility of owning a business. The article implies that a woman in the architecture business was a transitory phenomena, suitable only for young women (presumably before they married) and/or as a wartime contingency measure rather than as a normal state of affairs. Nonetheless the article also usefully described many of Winsome's achievements to date and noted that she was "at present engaged in the designing and supervision of private homes in Sydney" ("Girl architect...", c.1940).

Eric Andrew and Winsome Hall married in 1942 when Eric was on leave from war service in North Queensland. Two years later their only child Ms R was born in Charters Towers, Queensland. The place of birth suggests that Winsome had left Sydney to be near where her husband was stationed. The interruption to her career was apparently brief, and Winsome continued working in the Sydney partnership throughout Ms R's childhood, an arrangement probably made possible by the fact that Ms R stayed in boarding schools from a young age

(interview with Ms R, 1992).[73] However, Winsome's hours (and share of the partnership and profit) were formally reduced to two-thirds of Eric's in a new partnership agreement of 1948, a contract which also excised her name from the business, now called "Eric W. Andrew". The partnership was further modified in a new agreement of 1963 when Robert Mr B was admitted, with the business name changed again, to "Eric W. Andrew and Mr B". Again Winsome remained a partner claiming a share one third less than that controlled by Eric, although now the proportions went down to 39% for Eric, 26% for Winsome and 35% for Mr B. Winsome was "not required to perform detailed office work and shall only make herself available for advice and consultation from time to time". This final agreement of 1963 also made provision for both Winsome and Eric to "devote a reasonable part of their time to carrying on the work of Moral Rearmament", a progressive Christian group based in Switzerland, with which both Winsome and Eric had become involved during the 1950s (Andrew family papers). Mr B felt that "things went a little bit astray when they got mixed up with Moral Rearmament", that their attention was diverted from the business. Mr B left only a year after joining the partnership, to become the Executive Architect for the University of Sydney. Winsome had already effectively retired from everyday involvement, as the 1963 contract implies, and was working with MRA (interviews with Hall, 1997-1998). Mr B understood that Eric also retired a year or so after he left (interview with Mr B, 1995).

The list of work produced by Winsome in the course of this twenty-five year business partnership with Eric is somewhat sketchy. However, her draft resumé notes the Manly Surf Pavilion; a competition entry for the ANZAC House Competition, 1949—a CBD office building which won second place after

[73] From the mid 1940s until the mid 1950s, the Andrews lived adjacent to a small school run by Winsome's sister Ms H. Ms R attended the school, boarding each week from Sunday night to Friday evening, and spending holidays with the school's matron while her parents worked (interview with Ms R, 1992). In 1954, the Andrews became interested in MRA and a three week visit to Switzerland turned into six months travelling overseas, while Mr B's family looked after Ms R:

> Dorothy and I and our two small daughters moved into their house, took over their housekeeper and took over Ms R. That's why Ms R is very dear to us, because she was nine at that stage, never had a family life, had a mother and father but no family. With the two small sisters, she became a shadow to us...So Ms R became very close to us, always has been (interview with Mr B, 1995).

Bunning & Madden's famous design (plate 3); the Australian Institute of Builders Headquarters 1956; and "various buildings" for the University of Sydney, including the Merewether Building, the Department of Music, (alterations to) the Architecture Building, and extensions to the Administration Block; she also notes here that she designed the "Memorial Gates" for her alma mater Sydney Girls High School (Andrew family papers). Mr B suggested that the two Andrews generally had distinct clients and jobs: "I would generally be doing Eric's work but then I'd be hived off to Winsome" (interview with Mr B, 1995). Eric did a lot of arbitration, helping solve legal disputes involving buildings. He was president of the NSW chapter of the Institute of Architects 1952-1954. As part of his interest in MRA, he developed low-cost housing schemes for South East Asia. On the other hand, both Ms R and Mr B recalled that Winsome had an ongoing domestic architecture clientele, although neither could cite specific addresses.[74] Ms R remembers her father pointing sometimes when they were driving in Sydney and saying, "That was the little house your mother did" (interview with Ms R, 1992). As a former client herself, Winsome's sister Ms H knows that Winsome designed alterations in 1948 for Edgeworth, her small private school in Vaucluse—which included adding a schoolroom to the original cottage on one side and an flat for their mother on the other side, with an open verandah in-between for staging plays, "a beautiful job" (since altered) (interviews with Ms H, 1997-1998). In a newspaper interview of 1954, Winsome described her work experience:

> "I've been through the whole gamut", says Mrs Andrew. This includes shops, factories, housing estates, a swimming pool, the Manly Surf Pavilion, and assisting in the detailing of the Chancellery of the American Embassy in Canberra...Mrs Andrews [sic] says: "I wasn't determined to stick to my architecture, it just stuck to me". "I don't think women architects should be restricted to domestic architecture", she says (*SMH* 14/5/1954:13).

When Ms R was due to start high school, the Andrews moved to Wahroonga and Ms R then boarded at Frensham, near Mittagong, south of Sydney (interview with Ms R, 1992).

[74] Ms R remembered only a house at Mona Vale, also that her parents never built a house for themselves, but renovated houses they bought; Mr B thought there was a house Winsome had designed in Clontarf.

A final major project undertaken by the partnership in the late 1950s, according to Mr B, was a public housing group of dwellings for the Ryde Housing Scheme (plate 36).[75] This was a major local government initiative, of increasing contemporary interest because of its planning issues, its architectural merit and its municipal context (Hill, 1995). The Andrews partnership constructed about 50 houses, based on six or seven designs mixed throughout the site.[76] Mr B felt that there was no particular philosophy underlying this project: "we did the best we possibly could within the cost constraints, rigid building regulations and lack of materials". However, paring down to functional essentials can be seen to be part of the modernist approach to design. Mr B's understanding of the partnership was that:

> They were not really into making money...Eric was...the "big vision" type of man...ahead of his time...But when it came down to the nuts and bolts of planning and so forth, then Winsome would get down to the details (interview with Mr B, 1995).

Social relations of partnership

The three partnership agreements between Winsome and Eric help indicate the subtle and probably unconscious means by which Winsome's professional identity was suppressed within the firm. Even in the first contract, when Winsome's single surname formed part of the business title, it was already rendered secondary to Eric's by being positioned second and without her first names or initials. In 1948 and 1963, Winsome's name was omitted altogether from the business name: their daughter Ms R did not know why, while Mr B recalled, "Oh, Eric thought it was just a bit unnecessary".[77] The effect however, was that the named architect tended to personally accrue all credit for the partnership's design work, for example, as in *Architecture in Australia*'s report on their Australian Institute of Builders Headquarters ("Australian Institute of

[75] Mr B recalled that Winsome's brother was mayor of Ryde at the time.
[76] The scheme was in the Eastwood area, bounded by Shaftsbury Ave and included Sluman St, Perkins St and Dunshea Ave, and the builder was W. G. Mason & Sons from Beecroft. Mr B believes they may have done two or three groups of housing for Ryde Council prior to this scheme.
[77] There were no doubt also "rational" business reasons, because Eric was then prominent in the profession for having recently won the Sulman Prize, and possibly also because stressing a feminine name could have deterred clients in a male dominated industry.

Builders Headquarters", 1956) which cites the "Architects" as "Eric W. Andrew",[78] or in the Merewether Building at Sydney University, which has a plaque acknowledging "Eric Andrew and Mr B" as the architects. The use of proper names in partnership titles is more significant in architecture than in many other technical and business fields. It is a field like art and literature where authorship is attributed to individuals, whose work may be subject to cultural evaluation. The study of Rosette Edmunds as outlined earlier suggests how a woman's contribution can be historically appropriated by her employer; it is ironic to observe a similar process in a situation where a woman was herself a founding partner.

Winsome's position as a partner in the firm was apparently also undermined in other ways. The reduction of her proportion of the business to two-thirds of Eric's in 1948 was probably based on the fact that she was taking time away to address family commitments outside the business; however, it might have been more symbolically appropriate if it had been acknowledged that Eric, as her husband, benefited from her fulfilling her domestic responsibilities and kept the business ratio at 50/50. Winsome's lesser position in the partnership was also demonstrated spatially. Mr B recalled that although Eric had his own office, Winsome did not: "We had a drawing office and Winsome would come in and just take a desk in that office" (interview with Mr B, 1995). Mr B was of the opinion that Winsome's "role was never very prominent within the firm. She was always there when required, but she wasn't there every day...she'd be home doing her other chores, other activities". On the other hand, he also commented:

> So while she was a full partner, I would never recommend two professionals marrying. It's a 24 hour, seven day a week job. You never get away from it. It would get to the stage where they were obviously so much on tenterhooks, I'd say, "For goodness sake, go for a week down to the snow". They loved skiing and all the rest of it. Even though they'd come back shattered from the experience of the exercise, at least they'd hopefully get away from thinking about architecture. They used to eat sleep and talk and eat architecture. [She

[78] It is an interesting contrast that the firm's ANZAC House competition entry was published as a design by "Mr E. W. Andrew, B.Arch., A.R.I.B.A. (F.) and Mrs W. A. Andrew, B.Arch, A.R.I.B.A. (A.)" (*Architecture* Jan. 1949).

> was] very involved. She was a great bouncing board. He used to bounce all these things off her (interview with Mr B, 1995).

Although Mr B's various descriptions of the division of labour in the Andrews' partnership sounds as though it could be complementary, by all accounts their relationship was conflictual. Their daughter Ms R described their marriage as "stormy" and suggested that it may only have been their shared Christian faith which kept them together. She perceived them to have very different personalities: whereas "Eric was very much the dominant male, Winsome was the softer, feminine, creative female". Nan also commented on the partnership difficulties between these "two strong and different personalities: Winsome the more artistic, Eric the more technical, it was a big strain on them" (interviews with Ms H, 1997-1998). Mr B also commented, "I must say it was great having Winsome in the office. She was a really mellowing influence on some of the hard-line attitudes Eric took in terms of dealing with people" (interview with Mr B, 1995). Kevin recalled Eric as:

> a bit of a fault-finder, not easy to work with...I would hear Winsome chip at him, saying, "Leave him alone" (interview with Mr S, 1997).

After being introduced to the "more cooperative" teachings of Moral Rearmament in the mid 1950s, Winsome decided to "stop competing" with her husband and commit herself instead to simply supporting him. This meant withdrawing from the office, and in effect retiring from her architecture career. Ms H recalled Winsome's metaphor to describe this change of life: instead of living on a rose bush resting on the thorns, her life became one of living on a rose bush resting on the petals (interviews with Ms H, 1997-1998). However, it is possible that the continued strain of not succeeding in her own expectations contributed to the serious brain aneurism she suffered in the early 1970s, which left her largely immobile and inarticulate for a quarter of a century until her death in 1997. Eric remained devoted to Winsome, and later Ms R cared for them both when they lived in a granny flat adjacent to her home throughout the 1980s. Nan poignantly interprets Winsome's last two decades as "the good Lord giving her a rest before the challenge of the next life" (interviews with Ms H, 1997-1998).

These aspects of Winsome Hall Andrew's private life have been broached in order to indicate how gendered expectations in the mid twentieth century in Australia may have affected a talented woman's ability to carry off a complexity of new social roles. They also contribute evidence to the question of how women disappear from history. Winsome Hall Andrew enjoyed a 14 year stint as a single professional woman between her graduation and her marriage in 1942, maintaining employment in a male-dominated industry throughout the difficult years of the depression, working in a variety of architectural genres and being involved in a series of award-winning projects. Her marriage and business partnership at the age of 37 with Eric, another well-established architect, might have formed the basis for a secure articulation of her talent. Instead, it lead to a stressful situation where Winsome worked to maintain her professional identity in a business where her contribution seems to have been under-acknowledged, while her marriage was often in conflict and her child-rearing inattentive to the extent that she suffered "anguish" about it in later life (interview with Ms R, 1992). This account of Winsome's pioneering attempt at the "working mother" role in the immediate post World War II period is somewhat tragic. One interpretation of the problem is that the Andrews' partnership unfortunately developed many of the patriarchal aspects of the traditional marriage contract: where the woman drops her name, where she has no "room (or office) of her own", and where her role is seen as "supportive" rather than fundamental. This transfer of patriarchal assumptions from the private to the public realm is seen in much of the language used by her peers, which tends to trivialise Winsome's professional role: for example, by describing her domestic design as her "little houses", and by representing her as merely filling in the details of her husband's vision, or offering a conduit between ordinary people and his hard-line attitudes, or serving as a "bouncing board" for his ideas. It is likely that none of these patriarchal tendencies were deliberate or ill-meant by any of the participants, but rather were habitual and simply endemic to Australian culture in the mid twentieth century. This interpretation is useful because it explains Winsome Hall Andrew's difficulties as the result of getting caught up amongst conflicting value systems: between the older styled, patriarchal assumptions of traditional marriage

and the newer, modern call for women to be educated, independent and productive in the public sphere.

Winsome Hall Andrew's story, as currently told by family and friends, is poignant for its suggested thwarting in maturity of her early promise as a talented architect. However, further development in the evaluation of Winsome's design work could well shift the emphasis of the story towards a better acknowledgment of the cultural contributions she made despite such obstacles.

ELEANOR CULLIS-HILL[79] (1913-)

Eleanor Cullis-Hill (plate 133) was one of the earliest woman in Australia to have combined marriage and child-rearing with a life-long career as an architect working from home. She was thus a pioneer of the ambition increasingly entertained by late twentieth century Australian women (and men): to pursue a profession while maintaining a private role of substantial domestic involvement with the family. This was a life-path not readily available to the generation of women before her, who generally had to choose between career and family (see chapter 3). Married to an architect who had a partnership in the city, Cullis-Hill worked as a sole practitioner, maintaining the business at her home in Warrawee between 1946 and 1983 while raising four children. She understood that working from home was her most appropriate option at a time when women were not particularly welcome in architectural offices. As a sole practitioner she designed at least thirty houses and fifty sets of domestic alterations and additions, as well as several kindergartens and significant additions to schools and churches. Her architectural oeuvre was thus influenced by the feminine sphere she inhabited, with an emphasis on the home and local community in Sydney's upper North Shore. Her three daughters all studied architecture, with two graduating and following in their mother's footsteps by maintaining long-term, part-time careers as architects while bringing up their families. Confident and patrician, with a marvellous collection of mid twentieth century Australian art, Cullis-Hill produced buildings which are gracious and functional, designed to meet the

[79] Unless otherwise stated, all information comes from two transcribed and authorised interviews by Bronwyn Hanna with Eleanor Cullis-Hill, 1994.

requirements of a particular situation rather than driven by a signature style. One of her nursery school buildings is fine example of modernist design displaying elegant manipulation of geometric form and materials (plates 134-136), and was considered for the Sulman Award in 1956 ("Nursery school, Wahroonga", 1956).

Born Eleanor Beresford Grant in Sydney in 1913, she was one of five children of Joseph Beresford Grant and Jessie Telfer Raftan, both of Scottish descent. Her father was involved in insurance and property evaluation.[80] As a child, Cullis-Hill would accompany him to look at local houses under construction. She attended boarding school at Frensham where she was impressed by her art teacher Dore Hawthorn's striking posters illustrating the architectural styles of different civilisations (appendix 1). Her parents tended to take their daughters for extended travels overseas every three years or so, but when she was 14 years old Cullis-Hill insisted on staying home, like her brothers, to avoid interrupting her studies—a wise decision since it enabled her to matriculate successfully. It was expected that she would attend the university to "occupy" herself and choosing architecture was more a result of eliminating subjects she didn't want to do rather than following a passionately held vocation (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:52). Her family backed her decision and paid her fees, discouraging her from applying for an "exhibition" (scholarship) "because they were needed for the needy...particularly during the depression". She remembers that about half the thirty or so students in the faculty were on exhibitions, and that about a third of the students in the faculty were women.

Cullis-Hill attended the University of Sydney between 1932 and 1937, taking 1935 off to travel with her parents, and graduating in 1938. She considers that "it was a very good course for anybody to do [with] a terrific team of people teaching". She was impressed by Professor Leslie Wilkinson, who was "a very good lecturer" with "wonderful slides", and whose "history of international

[80] A recent newspaper article on the "magnificent garden estates" of Warrawee described J. Beresford Grant as "an insurance company clerk who rose to become the first chairman of the real estate firm Raine & Horne and a director of Commercial Union Trustee Company". Grant built three houses for himself in Warrawee: one by B. J. Waterhouse in 1913 and two by Leslie Wilkinson; also a house each in Killara and Pymble (*SMH* 3/10/1996:Domain 21). Grant was also friendly with Hardy Wilson and Mr Marks of Robertson & Marks (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:52, 56).

architecture provided an excellent general education". After years at an all-girls boarding school, she was a little "shocked" to find herself the only woman in her year with four fellow male students, but "they were kind enough, and they helped me rather than hindered me" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:52). However, sharing lectures with male engineering students could be a more intimidating experience, as two women students in the year before her discovered:

> The girls used to sit in the front seat and when they were halfway down the aisle the men would get into rhythm with them and there'd be this most terrible stamp, stamp, stamp! They said to me, "It'll be awful for you on your own". But the men were sorry for one lone student and ignored me.

In retrospect Cullis-Hill suspects also that some of the architectural staff felt that teaching women was a waste of time because they were just going to go off and have children (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:54).

Cullis-Hill worked for two Sydney architecture firms on either side of her trip to the UK in 1935: for Robertson & Marks from December 1934-March 1935, and for Fowell, McConnel & Mansfield from November 1935 until March 1936 when she recommenced university. Although she was helped into both jobs by family connections,[81] she found the latter position to be far more satisfactory than the former, in spite of Ken McConnel's pronouncement on her commencement:

> He pointed out to me that he didn't really approve of women around the place. He told me that I would be a nuisance and an embarrassment but if I was going to be there he would treat me the same as all the others (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:56).

At Robertson & Marks, not only was Cullis-Hill not paid (although admittedly "a lot of students were unpaid in those days"), she was effectively ignored: "There

[81] Her father arranged the job at Robertson & Marks over lunch with Mr Marks. Her sister was a friend of one of McConnel's daughters. Such personal connections were "extremely helpful" during the depression when "it was very hard to get jobs " (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:56, 57).

was no attempt to make any use of me or teach me anything at all...It was just a waste of time" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:56-57). McConnel, on the other hand, paid her a wage, took her out surveying on site and generally expected the same standard of work from her as from "the boys".

Soon after graduating in 1938, she married Grandison Cullis-Hill (known as "Cullis"). A fellow architecture student, she points out that they were just one of at least five pairs of students in the faculty at that time who married.[82] While her husband quickly found a job with a large firm, she settled into her new domestic responsibilities: "To be trying to run a job as well as trying to look after a husband is something that didn't enter my head" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:57). They set about building a home for themselves on land they bought in Warrawee, very near where she had grown up—in fact, Cullis-Hill has been fortunate to live her long life entirely within several elegant houses about 200 metres from each other in Warrawee. Cullis-Hill designed their first home, "Rathven", at 29 Bangalla Street in 1938-1939. It was not a joint effort because "very early we decided that each of us did a better job on our own than we did working together". The house is Georgian in style, rectangular in its proportions, two storeys high with regularly spaced windows and double brick walls painted white, with a portico entrance way. When asked whether "Professor Wilkinson would have approved?", although no doubt aware of Wilkinson's predilection for Georgian architecture, Cullis-Hill replied that "I think it is more related to *Pencil Points* [an influential international architecture journal of the period] and America" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:59). They lived at Rathven from 1939 until 1975,[83] when they moved to another house in Warrawee, also designed by Cullis-Hill, which happened to come up for auction just when they were looking for a home which would be smaller and easier to maintain.

Cullis-Hill busied herself during the war years by bearing and caring for three daughters while her husband served in the war effort. She did a couple of honorary house designs during these years, such as for the matron from the

[82] The others she mentioned were: Edith Moore and Hamilton Croaker; Viwa Piper and Frederick John Turner; Nancy Charlton and Peter Bridges; and Winsome Hall and Eric Andrew.

hospital where her first baby was born. After the war her husband set up a firm with Rupert Minnett; however, because "there wasn't going to be any money from the partnership for a while [he got some contract work with] the Housing Commission on an introduction from the army" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:58). Before long Cullis-Hill had joined her husband in this part-time work for the newly established public housing body, which consisted of surveying housing sites for drainage and siting, rather than the design of houses. Her two older children were already at school but she would sometimes take the youngest out driving with her (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:58). Also soon after the war, some friends of Cullis-Hill found they were getting into difficulty trying to design their own house and contacted her for (paid) help: " My own work started from that and there was always another job and another one coming up, for quite a lot of years" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:58). She worked for many years as a sole practitioner, based at home, where her workspace merged with her family life:

> The drawing equipment was always there. Our house wasn't as big as all that. We had a study and in it I had a work bench on one side and the rest of the room was used by the family. Everybody fitted in but you couldn't swing any cats (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:61).

Although Cullis-Hill's next-door neighbour was another early woman architect, Nancy Davey, the two women had little professional contact, possibly because Davey's work was closely linked to her husband's engineering practice.[84] For Cullis-Hill, it was more important that she had a husband who was also an architect, "someone with whom to discuss my work. I couldn't have done it without Cullis, to talk over problems. You couldn't do it in a vacuum". Nonetheless, she did very little joint work with her husband: just one unsuccessful competition entry, for the Melbourne Olympic Stadium. Their daughters remember that their careers were just "naturally apart" (interview with Ms M and Ms R, 1994).

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[83] See further comment in chapter 4 about several beautiful drawings of this house at different periods by Cullis-Hill's husband, Cullis (plates 13-15).

[84] There was also an eight year age difference and the significant factor, then, of religious difference: Davey was Catholic while Cullis-Hill was Anglican.

Cullis-Hill believes that working from home was her only viable option at that time. She made several comments pointing to women's marginalised position in the profession earlier in the century, although she suggests that the situation has been gradually improving:

> I know that ahead of my time, I heard of a bricklayer throwing down his trowel and saying "I'm not going to take any instruction from a such and such woman". I never had that done to me. Most people were fairly chivalrous to you. There weren't enough women working for us to be any particular danger to the men, yet.

However, she does feel she encountered difficulties. Her response to a question about whether women approach design differently from men was: "You were lucky in my day if you were given something to approach" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:53). After her student work experience in two architectural offices, Cullis-Hill avoided employers and never sought to work in her husband's firm. She says that:

> In my time, women were better not hanging around in an office...I would only have been an embarrassment to [my husband] in the office. The partners wouldn't have liked it, though oddly the clients didn't seem to mind. Women never got up very high in offices in those days. In architecture as in many other areas, it was difficult to be recognised for the level of experience one had, so it was probably better to work from home and do one's own thing.

However, her husband's firm later became one of the earliest to regularly employ women architects (including Pamela Jack and Helen Shearer):

> My husband said that the women were good in the office. There was a suggestion that perhaps they might distract the young draftsmen, and if everybody was out, sometimes they knew there was a bit of fooling going on. But the women usually had their heads down and continued working. That was his impression of them. That might have been because women felt there was a bit of sufferance about.

However, Cullis-Hill also has a charming story about the time when being a woman architect was a distinct advantage, just after the Second World War when:

> There was a call for buildings but there was the building materials problem. I had a very frantic client who had leased a house and it couldn't be leased any longer and she must, just must, get underway building. And so I agreed to go to the brick yard with her. And I happened to be having my last child at the time, and we went along to interview this man and he said, "Madam, you need them, you'll have them next week." They didn't know I was the architect, they thought I was the owner. We couldn't get normal sized face bricks, so the home was built externally with fire bricks which are altogether smaller (see plate 138).

Although daughters Ms M and Ms R have followed careers very like their mother's, they concur with their mother's opinion that women's experience of the profession is changing. They thought the "coming generation" would be different, that it has "the expectation of being more professionally organised" than they were, and might find ways around the problem that dropping out of practice for any length of time for child-rearing being so detrimental. They understood that men are increasingly sharing the housework, which was not the case either in their day nor their mother's. Finally, it is becoming more common for architects to work professionally from home—because of costs of office, staff, and the opportunities afforded by new information technology, so women practising solo from home are no longer marginal. Ms R said, "I do think this generation will be different from ours and very different from the one before us." On the other hand, the significance of the material similarity between the sisters' and the mother's career should not be overlooked, nor the similarity in their professional ethics, perhaps best illustrated by Ms R's proud story of a client who simply said, "Thank you for designing the house I wanted" (interview with Ms M and Ms R, 1994). This was a kind of recognition valued by both generations as much as any public award, which suggests the existence of an alternative, feminine approach to design.

Cullis-Hill considers that her training taught her to approach each design problem in itself, rather than to use models or repeat a style: "Everything begins from base rather than from the buildings before." Just as her art collection is open-minded, including modernist abstractions alongside pastoral landscapes, she was open-minded in her design solutions (plates 139-144). She considers that the quality she offered her clients was " detailed attention":

> Sometimes you are told strictly by your client that they want this, that and the other. Well unless they're wildly wrong, or it's absolutely sinful, you try to go along with that...It's no good trying to design what you think the client ought to have...I think I was ready to be very patient designing things and trying to find what people wanted...The big firms can't be bothered with it because it is very demanding. The big firms are quite happy to hand it over to the spec builders I think.

She agreed that there is a gendered dimension to this, for example, "I think that women are very good at detail." She also points out that as a mother, she had a "better understanding of the needs of a kindergarten than any male architect a) because I was especially interested and b) because I understood the needs of children." Finally, as a woman architect working from home she had more time to find out what the client wanted: "I did forty hours a week when necessary and I didn't mind devoting more time to it, to get things just right" (Johnson & Lorne-Johnson, 1995:53).

She also did occasional work at lowered rates for local community causes, such as the two kindergartens she designed, in Wahroonga (plates 134-136) and North Turramurra (plate 145) for parent groups:

> I had a good deal of respect for mothers of two or three children who were doing all this painting and baking cakes for stalls and you name it, just to get something for their children...I somehow or another justified charging them less than I should.

Cullis-Hill's 1954 kindergarten for Wahroonga was entered for the Sulman Award in 1956 and reproduced in the RAIA's journal *Architecture in Australia*

Oct./Dec. 1956 (plate 135). This was the first publication of any of Cullis-Hill's designs and the closest she has come (so far) to recognition by the Institute, of which she has been a member for over half a century. The published images of the kindergarten suggest that the parent group received good value for their cut-rate fees in this elegant modernist design: a minimalist brick hall which could be divided into two classrooms with folding internal walls, lit by a bank of windows to the north, with kitchen and back-up facilities to the south, and enlivened outside by the lightweight butterfly roof and checkerboard panelling on the east and west façades.

Cullis-Hill's stories about the way she approached her architectural work suggests she saw herself as a craftsperson and a concerned citizen as well as a businesswoman, a complexity of roles which might be the envy of many in the profession today. This meant that she could, for example, provide work for Gib Gate, a preparatory school for girls planning to go to Frensham (her alma mater), both as a paid professional—in designing a series of classrooms and other additions over a thirty year period (plate 146), and as a volunteer—in her skilful compilation of an oral history book about the school entitled *A Gib Gate Anthology* (Cullis-Hill, 1984). Her approach meant that not only high-profit yielding ventures would benefit from her professional skills, but that the community of women of which she formed a part (admittedly white, middle-class, relatively privileged women) would also benefit directly from her architectural design: for example, as clients of high quality domestic design, as parents of children attending a local kindergarten, and as parents and daughters at Gib Gate as well as alumni interested in its history. Her series of major extensions to St James Anglican Church Turramurra, including a games room and a chapel, meant that the community of her local congregation also benefited from her work (plates 30-31).

Eleanor Cullis-Hill is one of very few women architects of her generation encountered by this study to have documented her work in any significant way. She holds a collection of fine professional photographs of her work, taken by Douglas Baglin firstly for a group architects' exhibition in the early 1950s and

later as commissioned for herself. She has also kept most of her drawings, which usually show the names of clients, addresses and dates of the work, as well as documenting the designs themselves. Finally, she has an impressively detailed memory, and could calmly describe basic information about almost every design she ever did, including dates, addresses and the names of the builders involved. She refused to single out any buildings as being of particular significance, saying "they were all interesting for different reasons".

Eleanor Cullis-Hill's dedicated professional work was balanced by her attention to her domestic responsibilities as well as to her local community. She also pursued another intellectual involvement in Australian culture as a private collector of contemporary art. Her understanding of her career path as an early woman architect is sophisticated: critical but not bitter about difficulties she encountered, while appreciative of the opportunities she enjoyed. Eleanor Cullis-Hill provides an admirable historic example of a long-term career by a woman architect as a sole-practitioner.

EVA BUHRICH[85] (1915-1976)

Eva Buhrich (plate 149) arrived in Sydney just before World War II with her husband Hugh Buhrich. Just married, both were architects recently qualified in Europe, and both were fleeing from Hitler's Germany. In Australia, Hugh worked exclusively as a designer of modernist architecture and furniture, eventually being accepted as a registered architect in 1971 after 32 years, but Buhrich never registered here or joined the RAIA. She worked intermittently as a designer before settling into freelance writing about architectural issues in the popular press and trade journals. Although a native German speaker, Buhrich's English writing style was fluent and thoughtful, and she became a prominent commentator on architecture and building in Sydney. Writing for the *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) from the late 1950s, she was probably the first woman to

[85] All information, unless otherwise stated, is derived from a transcribed interview with husband Mr B, 1997.

write about these issues under her own by-line in a major Australian newspaper.[86] Professor James Weirick would not be alone in remembering Buhrich's well informed weekly column as a formative influence on his appreciation of the built environment (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99).

Buhrich was born Eva M. Bernard in April 1915 in Nuremburg, Germany, one of two children of liberal Jewish parents. Her father was a cloth merchant and her mother involved in pacifist politics. Her parents supported her education as an architect, which she commenced in 1933 at a nearby technical university in Munich. There she met Hugh Buhrich, who was studying architecture on a scholarship. However, his enrolment was suspended for political activism against the Nazi regime, while she encountered increasing difficulties associated with being Jewish. They moved first to Berlin to study under Hans Poelzig and later to Switzerland where she completed her diploma in architecture at the technical university in Zurich under Otto Salvisberg in July 1937. Hugh's family could not afford Switzerland's higher living expenses and he ended up completing his degree at Danzig. James Weirick points out that both their educations brought them into contact with leading figures of the Modern Movement, and they thus represent a direct line of continuity with the mainstream of German "neues Bauen" (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99).

After graduating, they met up again in The Hague and moved to England, where they married in London in 1938. Although Buhrich had been awarded a scholarship to do postgraduate research on schools and education, Hugh insisted that with the threat of an approaching war, they must emigrate to a distant part of the world: "We had to get out. There was no time!" Their list included: Canada, the USA, Uruguay, Argentina, Kenya, New Zealand and Australia. However, the application to each country required "landing fees" in the order of hundreds of pounds which, as they repeatedly stated, they didn't have. It was only as they neared the bottom of the list of possible destinations that they realised they needed a different strategy. Finally, their New Zealand application was accepted

[86] Although Florence Taylor wrote literally volumes of articles about the built environment, these were generally only for her own publications, such as *Building* and *Construction*, and the audience tended to be limited to those working in the construction industry.

because a firm in Christchurch agreed to guarantee them jobs, while for their Australian application they stated that they did have the £200 landing fees required, and then when given permission to migrate, managed to borrow it—with the help of architecture friends in RIBA.[87] They chose Australia over New Zealand, but their arrival here in 1939 was nonetheless somewhat accidental, if fortuitous for this country.

Neither of the Buhrichs' degrees was recognised as an automatic basis for registration as an architect in NSW. However, Professor Alfred Hook from the University of Sydney, introduced them to Heather Sutherland and Malcolm Moir in Canberra, who gave them their first six months employment:[88]

> [The Moirs] had an architect working for them, Miss [Winsome] Hall, but she wanted to go to Europe and she left and the Moirs were quite happy to take the two of us instead. But this was before the war and unfortunately she never got any further than Sydney because the war broke out and she wanted her job back. And we had to move again. Then Eva got a job working for General Motors at Homebush [as a draftsperson]. That was to do with the war effort and it finished when the war finished. She was friendly there with two other refugee women architects from Europe, [including] Mrs Terkel.

Other architects with whom they became friendly included Sydney Ancher (with whom Hugh felt professional kinship), Arthur Baldwinson, Sydney University's Professor Ashworth, and Walter Bunning.

In 1940 Buhrich gave birth to twin sons, and her full-time work during these years must have been difficult to organise around child-rearing without extended family supports.[89] After the war she worked for two years with the

[87] £100 was lent by an architect friend and another £100 acquired when the RIBA secretary Edward Carter "put the hat around" at an Institute meeting. When they paid the money back after three months, "I got a letter of thanks from Mr Carter, and that he was going to put that money [towards a fund for other people]."

[88] Weirick suggests that Hook played a key role in helping the Buhrich's settle in Australia, and was probably encouraged to do so through RIBA connections: "If so, it was one of the few campaigns to actively help refugees from Hitler's Germany, and may warrant more [research]" (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99).

[89] Buhrich's brother and mother also managed to immigrate to Australia, but after the war. Largely through her mother, they became friendly with Faith Bandler, and got involved with

Commonwealth Experimental Building Station: "that was very nice, she liked that job". In the later 1940s, she spent a year in partnership with her husband and later also worked as a freelance designer. Hugh suggests that Buhrich eventually gave up architectural design because of the poor wages she received on the female rate of pay for architects. She found she was paid much better as a writer; indeed, with Hugh working in the boom and bust building industry, it seems likely that her writing often financially sustained the family. In addition, Hugh felt, "She wasn't really interested in practising architecture, but she was very interested in writing".

By the 1950s Buhrich was working in public relations as a writer with the advertising agency J.Walter Thompson, and from there obtained freelance work as editor for the industry journals *Building Ideas* (between 1959 and 1973) and *Furniture Trends* (for Pyne Board between 1964 and 1975). She designed the elegant graphic layout for these magazines as well as writing much of their material. She also wrote freelance about architecture for the *Australia Women's Weekly* (mid 1940s), *Woman* (1950s), *House and Garden* (early 1960s), *Walkabout* (mid 1960s) and other publications although she probably appealed to the widest audience through her column for the *SMH* (from 1957 to late 1960s). She wrote an essay on Walter Burley Griffin in a 1970s booklet published by the Castlecrag Infants School, described by Weirick as a "particularly handsome work of graphic design and layout", designed in collaboration with artist Bim Hilder (interviews with Weirick, 1997-99). Not long before her death from cancer in March 1976 she published her only book, a populist self-help text on outdoor living areas (Buhrich, 1973)—an area of domestic design which had long fascinated her.

Hugh could not recall any of Buhrich's architectural designs actually being constructed. He also asserts that she didn't collaborate on either of the two

Aboriginal rights and the Vietnam Moratoriums. They also contributed to the Sydney protest over the proposed demolition of the Griffin incinerators.

superb modernist houses they built for themselves in Castlecrag overlooking Sydney harbour, the first in 1947 at 315 Edinburgh Road, and the second between 1968-1972 at 375 Edinburgh Road (plate 150). They were houses designed in a purist Bauhaus aesthetic which has made them popular icons for architectural students to the present day. However, according to Hugh, Buhrich was more impressed by Scandinavian design and "never would go that far". On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine an architect not contributing to the design of her own home in any way.

When asked for his opinion of her architectural writing, Hugh replied that she could have been more aggressive and initiated more debate, but that her preferred approach was to "even things out". However, an examination of the family collection of Buhrich's newspaper clippings of articles shows that she consistently championed modernist design, and sometimes took on contentious issues, including backing causes against influential people. For example, two articles in the early 1960s opened by quoting anti-modernist comments by Prime Minister Robert Menzies and the Duke of Edinburgh respectively. Menzies "made it clear he didn't like some modern architecture, especially the glass box" (*SMH* 30/11/1965:18) and Prince Philip (in comments foreshadowing those of his son Prince Charles) "told a young man who is planning to become an architect, 'don't design buildings that look like upturned cigar boxes. I don't like them'" (*SMH* 12/3/1963:18). In both cases, Buhrich pointed out the financial imperative behind office buildings, "designed for the greatest amount of floor space within the permissible height on the available minimum site", so that architects have little choice over their appearance. She suggested that public attention would be better diverted to discussing buildings in which architects had the opportunity to exercise artistic vision—such as the Sydney Opera House. The article on Menzies went so far as to imply that his architectural aesthetic was homogenising and narrowly Anglo-American. In an early statement acknowledging the possibilities of multiculturalism, she alluded to Australia having also absorbed a variety of architectural influences from migrants, some of whom "had grown up without the benefit of British traditions" (*SMH* 30/11/1965:18). Innovative international architects were praised in Buhrich's writings, including Frank Lloyd Wright (*SMH* 8/6/1957) and Le Corbusier (*SMH*

23/5/1967) as well as the Australian work of Walter Burley Griffin (*SMH* 3/8/1965 and 15/10/1965) and Joern Utzon (*Walkabout* Apr. 1966). Other local modernists such as Ken Woolley (*SMH* 18/8/1964, 18/7/1967 and 19/3/1968), Harry Seidler (*SMH* 6/10/1964) and her husband Hugh (*Woman* 16/11/1953:32-33) were presented sympathetically. Yet she was also independent enough to be opposed to the destruction of Paddington's nineteenth century terrace houses, long before they were widely recognised as a unique urban heritage. As early as 1966, and again probably aided by her appreciation of the efforts of other migrants who had started gentrifying the inner city "slum" suburbs, Buhrich noted the architectural excellence of historic Paddington, and pointed to positive outcomes in recent trends towards private renovation as "an object lesson of urban renewal without large-scale development" (*SMH* 26/4/1966:14). Her articles, while addressing often complex issues in a difficult language somewhat removed from her native cultural context, were persistently clear and well written, avoiding jargon without patronising her readers.

There are few references to any women architects in Buhrich's writing.[90] However, many of Buhrich's earliest articles presented her own architectural designs (for example, *Australian Women's Weekly* 7/9/1946 (plate 151), 31/5/47 and 12/7/1947; *Woman* 4/2/52, 7/4/52 and 22/12/1952 (plate 152); *SMH* 4/12/1952 (plate 153): *Australian House & Garden* Feb. 1960 (plate 154) and Apr. 1966). These may have been used by people in the general public to design or influence many unidentified buildings. Buhrich's house designs tended to be modernist, featuring flat or very slightly gabled roofs, open spaced planning of living areas often with closely integrated outdoor courtyard areas, and modern motifs such as glass bricks, granite brick contrasts, curved walls and the use of white paint with vivid coloured trim. One article offered suggestions for "adapting an old house to a new life" by removing walls between rooms to make open living areas, removing or reducing detailing such as architraves and picture rails, and enclosing verandahs (plate 152). Another article demonstrated some design features of Buhrich's own house in catering to 10 year old twin boys who,

[90] Even Burley Griffin's work is generally addressed as if produced by him alone, although in two articles Buhrich does make fleeting reference to the fact that his wife Marion Mahony Griffin was also an architect (*SMH* 11/9/1965; *Walkabout* Apr. 1967).

for example, were allocated their own cupboards, designated respectively "bright royal blue" and "orange" with handles in the shape of their initials, in a room with polished wood floors, floor-to-ceiling bookshelves and built in desks under a huge window (plate 153). The imagery in these articles probably contributed to the modernisation of Australian public taste in architecture. Buhrich's "Project Home Series" in the *SMH*, which appeared on an almost weekly basis from May 1966 to Feb. 1967 (plate 148), also must have contributed to the initial success of this initiative to enrich lower-price suburban home construction with an excellent standard of architectural design.

Amongst the hundreds of newsclippings in the Buhrichs' scrap-book, there was just one article commenting *about* Eva Buhrich herself as a writer and working mother. Published in Queensland's *Sunday Mail* in 1957, the article contrasted her appearance, "a dainty little five-footer" against her achievements, "a busy woman (wife, mother of twins) in a man-size job". But it also reported her professional opinions about the need to control noise, before noting some of her "interesting comments on working mothers":

> "Keep a job and keep a house too? Well, of course it can be done! Our households today (washing machines, nylon shirts—all those things) are not full-time jobs. Any woman who hasn't a very young family can work. My week-ends are busy and I neglect the garden, but it still can be done. Women may tell their husbands that they're always busy at home, but they can still find two days a week for tennis or a hobby".
> Footnote: When Mrs Buhrich...writes her do-it-yourself hints, she always omits the "Mrs". "Men don't like to be told how to do these jobs by a woman", she said (*Sunday Mail* 8/9/1957).

This is one of the few comments which hints at Buhrich having made efforts to adjust to carrying the double load of being a working mother, probably exacerbated by working in a male dominated industry. Hugh thought that Buhrich had never encountered sexual discrimination apart from the unequal pay issue—although that issue became significant enough, in influencing her to change careers. This newspaper article suggests that negotiating gender issues

was an everyday concern for Buhrich, however, addressed with patience and humour. Buhrich deserves further recognition, particularly for her role in advocating modern architecture to a mass audience and publicising the cultural contributions of non-English speaking migrants to the Australian built environment.

THREE FEMINIST INTERPRETATIONS

A liberal feminist interpretation

This collection of eight short biographies offers evidence of the substantial contributions made by early women architects in NSW to the twentieth century built environment—in terms of writing/publishing and professional practice, as well as design. These also operate as extended chronological accounts of the ways in which modes of discrimination, already explored in chapter 4, affected some women's career paths as well as their access to historical acknowledgment, in often cumulative ways. These life stories are important for providing role-models for contemporary women architects, and particularly so because they describe some of the pitfalls as well as achievements that have been negotiated with greater and lesser success. However, they are only a beginning, and many further avenues for historical research can be suggested as a result of this investigation.

Florence Taylor's historical significance could be secured on several grounds. If her design authorship was proved in regard to the group of fifty or so substantial Federation-style houses erected by Alfred Saunders at the beginning of the century, Taylor could be included within mainstream architectural history for her contribution to the "arts and crafts" architecture movement, in designing these numerous fine mansions around Sydney Harbour near the turn of the century (Hyde Park Barracks Museum, 1999). More importantly, she deserves recognition for her multitudinous, opinionated publications about the built environment. Also, her town planning proposals, although largely ignored in her own day, have been effected to a remarkable degree (Hanna, 1995a; Freestone, 1991). Her frequently told life story also deserves closer attention, by feminists at

least, for her changing self representations as a feminist, pioneering woman struggling for recognition within a male dominated profession.

It is arguable that Marion Mahony Griffin's historical importance has already been secured by dint of her close association with the architectural giants, Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Burley Griffin. However, this dependence on association with a great male figure can be seen to be a major stumbling block for early women architects if it means that they never seem worthy of historical attention on their own. My essay analyses the arguments made by Anna Rubbo and James Weirick to secure historical significance for Marion Mahony Griffin in her own right. Such recent exercises in historiographical methodology make a considerable contrast to the trivialising and contradictory representations of Mahony Griffin made by earlier architectural historians (Freeland, 1972; Boyd, 1949; Johnson, 1980) (chapter 2).

Ellice Nosworthy and Eleanor Cullis-Hill are worthy of more historic attention because both pioneered running their own small-scale but widely respected practices, specialising in domestic and community design, however, Nosworthy did this as a single woman while Cullis-Hill combined the practice with child-raising. While neither practice was ground-breakingly "modernist", both did utilise modern techniques and materials within a pluralist approach to style which was sensitive to their clients' wishes. Several aspects of Rosette Edmunds' career and contributions also invite further research. A detailed study of her ecclesiastic work in Clement Glancey's office is an obvious first step, first to analyse and possibly differentiate the varying contributions of herself and Glancey—as well as the many other women architects employed in that practice. Further research is also required to track down the domestic architecture Edmunds may have designed for Glancey or freelance, as well as her own home in Canberra in the 1950s, since this research project has not recovered one example of her domestic design work. Finally, her contribution to the decision to position the Sydney Opera House on its spectacular site at Bennelong Point deserves further documentation and elaboration, insofar as it implies a woman's

involvement at the foundations of one of the most successful urban design projects in the twentieth century.[91]

This account of the careers of Heather Sutherland and Winsome Hall Andrew offers differing examples of early architectural husband and wife partnership arrangements. My analysis of Hall Andrew's career suggests that it was her experience of marriage which largely undermined her career: by depriving her of her professional name; by progressively reducing her partnership status in her own firm; and by directing her energies away from design into attempts to "mellow" her husband or into "anguish" over her child-rearing. By contrast with Hall Andrew, married life was beneficial for the career of Heather Sutherland. In marrying Malcolm Moir in the mid 1930s, Sutherland moved away from Clement Glancey's glass ceiling (or possibly Great Depression time unemployment) into the wide open architectural opportunities of the burgeoning capital city, including substantial responsibility for the firm and many of its design projects while her husband was employed elsewhere. She managed to keep her professional name, to have a baby during the building lull of the Second World War, and to later maintain a full-time career with a happy family life with the combined help of housekeepers and an office at home. Such a comparison of extended biographies allows for the interpretation that the social structure of marriage was not in itself an inevitable problem for early women architects so much as how the individuals in each marriage managed the details of their personal and professional lives together. It seems that whereas the Andrews superimposed a pre-modern, patriarchal division of labour and value from family life into the office, undermining Hall Andrew's standing, the Moirs superimposed a modern, public model of egalitarianism into their family life as well as their working partnership, to Sutherland's benefit.

The Hall Andrew, Sutherland and Marion Mahony Griffin biographies also point to the problem of historiography addressing architectural collaboration. Whereas the husband architect in each partnership has tended to attract historic attention, this study suggests that care should be taken by architectural historians to

[91] Florence Taylor was most vehement that Bennelong Point was a bad place for the Opera House, proposing the Sydney Domain instead (Maegraith, 1968:chapter 7).

acknowledge the significant architectural (and social) collaboration of the wives. The failure to address collaboration could also be implicated in the situation where Eva Buhrich is left out of the architectural adulation lavished on the two modernist Buhrich homes in Castlecrag, although this view is no doubt encouraged by Hugh's assertion that he was the sole author of the houses. A more encompassing style of architectural history would also acknowledge the collaborative role which Buhrich must have played as his wife, in supporting his design practice materially, intellectually, and as a client. Again on the question of collaboration, a study of Clement Glancey's office and product might provide a great wealth of information about joint design involving many women architects, and contribute to a theoretical development of this vexed issue of combined attribution.

Winsome Hall Andrew's career also invites further research on her contribution to the Sulman Award winning Manly Surf Pavilion, ideally leading to posthumous acknowledgment of her role as co-designer. This would give her the status of being the only woman architect recipient of the award in fifty years (Museum of Sydney, 1997). Hall Andrew's involvement in the 1933 Martin Place Extension Competition—in which Florence Taylor was also greatly interested (*Construction* 11/10/1933:9; Giles, 1959:24, 68)—suggests that the scheme was of greater concern to the Sydney architecture community than is usually recognised in planning and architectural history. Further research might unravel reasons for this interest, in term of the motivating social, aesthetic and planning issues. Already of contemporary interest is the Andrew partnership's involvement in the Ryde Housing Scheme (Hill, 1995). What were the specific contributions of the Andrews to this unusual scheme (managed by a local government as opposed to a state or federal government body), and how did its planning and building design contribute to and compare with the great interest in public housing schemes in the postwar reconstruction period? Finally, this description of the biographies of both Hall Andrew and Sutherland suggests that further study of social relationships amongst students at the University of Sydney's architecture school would reveal the development of complex architectural networks and friendships possibly influencing architectural styles and practices.

Issues deserving of further research about Eva Buhrich include the strange parallel between the Buhrichs and the Griffins as talented architectural couples who settled in the same harbourside suburb of Castlecrag, both couples foreign and left-leaning, although they never met (the Griffins had left Australia more than a decade before the Buhrichs arrived). Were the Buhrichs attracted to Castlecrag by the Griffin legacy of modernist planning and housing, combined with a communal local culture of like-minded people? Another research approach might attempt an analysis of Buhrich's response to being a survivor of the European holocaust, and how that may have affected her life's work—for example, whether it contributed to her apparent determination to address serious issues while also being prepared to work through conflicts and "even things out".[92] At the level of gender, it seems likely that Buhrich's European background, like that of Eve Laron, may have provided an alternative cultural tradition enabling her to carry both roles of mothering and full-time wage-earning after the second world war, at a time when Australian women were often successfully exhorted from their jobs into full-time roles as mothers (Encel et al., 1974). Finally, the Buhrich story suggests the inadequacy of the historiographical approach which assumes that modernist influence was brought to Australia largely through magazines or Australians travelling abroad. Although several migrant architects such as Walter Burley Griffin and Harry Seidler have been acknowledged, there is considerable number of post World War II migrants from Europe and later from Asia and other parts of the world whose cultural contributions are unknown because their qualifications were never recognised or they do not yet form part of the formal architectural record. The contemporary interest in Australian multiculturalism makes a study of the historic effects of architectural multiculturalism valuable, to examine how migrants' direct links to other traditions enriched their contributions to the built environment here.

Like chapter 4, these biographies demonstrate the existence of many forms of social and professional discrimination which affected the careers of early women architects. Examples of discrimination encountered here included: open hostility

[92] I am indebted to James Weirick for many of these suggestions, offered when commenting on an earlier draft of this essay.

from individuals in the profession (Taylor), unequal pay (Hall Andrew, Buhrich), being treated differently when employed by architectural firms (Nosworthy, Cullis-Hill), hitting a glass ceiling (Edmunds), being overshadowed by husbands in an architectural partnership (Griffin, Hall Andrew, Sutherland), and child-raising conflicting with their careers (Hall Andrew). While the examples are fewer than in chapter 4, the chronological aspect of these stories, demonstrating the accumulation of disadvantage over time is instructive.

These detailed biographies are moreover useful for being suggestive of how broad patterns of social discrimination (and in some cases, simple bad luck) have cumulatively reduced the historical acknowledgment of these women's achievements. This contributes to an explanation of how some outstanding architects could have been ignored in previous historical accounts of the profession. For example, Rosette Edmunds had perhaps the most impressive career of all the NSW women architects of her generation. She excelled in the architectural design of substantial buildings, in intellectual writing, in town planning, and in her involvement in the public life of the profession as President of the Canberra Committee of the RAIA. She never married or had children but devoted herself to her career, yet she has disappeared from history just as thoroughly as the rest of her female peers. My telling of Edmunds' life story suggests some mechanisms which may account for her disappearance: the tendency in architectural writing to give design credit for buildings to the partners of a firm so that talented employees may completely drop out of the historical record; Edmunds' own tendency to write for audiences outside the mainstream architectural and town planning profession (although this was probably a result of being invited or encouraged to write by these other audiences); Edmunds' choice (possibly inspired by hitting a glass ceiling in Glancey's office) to change professions and cities mid-career, which meant that she had to develop expertise and reputation in a new area; and her sudden early death, which cut short her various careers as well as the opportunity to document or promote her achievements. While only some of these factors can be related directly to gender, it is likely that such gender issues could have been the straws which broke the back of the camel of historical significance.

A socialist feminist interpretation

The liberal feminist focus on individual life stories often results in attention being drawn to the problems of privileged middle-class women at the expense of major social questions. Surely the issue of historic concern, which is not easy to raise in individual biographies, is whether the male domination of architecture as a profession has led to the masculinist domination of architecture as a practice? Has a male dominated profession resulted in a hostile built environment? Does having women architects make any difference if they are trained and socialised to act just like men architects? Shouldn't feminist research confine itself to finding and analysing critical feminist practice in architecture, conceivably performed by male as well as female practitioners? While the research methodology centred on biography offers some insights into the social mores of the profession, it does not address these bigger issues of the profession's effects upon society at large.

Similarly, the liberal feminist emphasis on collaboration misses the point that the built environment is less dependant upon creative authorship by (one or more) architects than it is formed by social, political and economic forces which enframe all architectural practice (Hanna, 1988; Rubbo, 1988; Willis, 1995; Willis, 1997a). Architectural history has traced stylistic variation primarily because this is one of the only areas where architects could exercise choice. As noted in this chapter by Eva Buhrich as early as 1965, architects of skyscrapers work under major financial constraints, with very little room for manoeuvrability (Buhrich, 1965). Many architects are more akin to accountants than artists, in so far as their work is oriented towards the maximisation of their clients' profit rather than motivated by any concerns for the public good. This is not to denigrate particular individuals or even the profession per se, since this is an inevitable result of working within the capitalist framework. However, it does question the value of focusing on individuals as a way of understanding the historic development of the built environment.

Perhaps the most radical implication of the information unearthed in these biographies of early women architects concerns those aspects of their work which invite re-writing of the architectural history of modernism. In Australia, as elsewhere, the established histories fail to acknowledge issues of gender and

sexuality as well as race and class (Willis, 1997a:19 quoting Gusevich, 1991). Modern architectural history has tended to follow the art history model of connoisseurship, where "honouring artistic expression [is] pre-eminent" (Willis, 1997a, 20 quoting Saint, 1983:6). It has relied on two main models of representation: "architecture-as-object" and "architecture-as-author" (Willis, 1997a, 20 quoting Porphyrios, 1981:99). Whereas the architecture-as-object approach is written largely in terms of the arrival and development of "progressive" styles of design associated with modernism (for example, see Freeland, 1972), the architecture-as-author approach privileges certain "avant-garde" practitioners as heroes fighting against both tradition and kitsch (for example, see Boyd, 1978). Even combined, the two approaches fail to address the stupendous changes wrought upon the built environment in Australia in the twentieth century as a result of the processes of modernity, compared to studies such as Marshall Berman's *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (1982). These biographies of early women architects demonstrate some of the limits of the established histories by indicating a vast range of activities and achievements completely ignored there. They suggest firstly new sources of information and secondly new objects of analysis for a revolutionised architectural history of modernism.

Florence Taylor's involvement with *Building* magazine highlights the existence of trade publications about the built environment, produced outside the RAIA. Although never fashionable with architects, *Building* nonetheless documented, cajoled and influenced the broader building industry in Sydney for half a century, and still awaits proper evaluation for its breadth of commentary on almost every conceivable issue of architectural, planning and building significance in the first half of the twentieth century.[93] Such a study would shift the focus of the story of Australian modern architecture by providing a broader overview of the debates and their stakeholders, and including issues of concern to builders, developers, even property owners and housewives (all of whom were addressed by the publication). Similarly, an analysis of Rosette Edmunds' writings in Christian

[93] Initial steps in this direction have been made with Jennifer Hill's recent project to construct an index of the magazine. Miles Lewis has made a less comprehensive index of *Building* magazine (interview with Hill, 1999).

cultural journals should contribute to a more multifaceted understanding of Australian modernism, especially issues motivated by religious convictions, or linked to Australian Catholic intellectual traditions. Again, Eva Buhrich's contribution to public understandings about architecture through her influential architectural criticism in Sydney's metropolitan newspapers suggests another alternative. The current historiographical situation has neglected popular publications—which have contributed to public understandings of what constitutes the built environment—in favour of professional publications — often developed in parochial competitions amongst architects or limited by their narrow professional concerns (Kerr, 1984).

These biographies also suggest new objects of focus for a new history of architectural modernism in Australia. For example, several of these women architects developed client networks through family and women friends rather than through the conventional male business networks. Further research might demonstrate that such networks contributed to women having a more substantial input into the construction of the built environment than previously recognised, as, for example, with the impressive community housing scheme by KOPWA. This may suggest that the education of women architects led directly to improved access to quality architectural design by women clients at the local and domestic levels, particularly on the North Shore, where a large proportion of early women architects lived (table 1). A heritage study of early women architects' work might establish whole new precincts of architectural significance, linked by social research to women's networks in places like Warrawee, where, for example, Eleanor Cullis-Hill designed numerous houses. Similarly, it seems likely that small home-based businesses run by women may have designed a large proportion of the domestic alterations and renovations produced by architects. This may be a rich new topic area for historic and contemporary research, to analyse the complex issues negotiated by architects in relation to style, function, cost and emotions when altering an established home—an area of great complexity which has been little valued historically, although it may represent a major interface between the profession and the general public.

Another means of rewriting the architectural history of modernism is suggested by the importance placed by many of these women architects on client satisfaction. Whereas the current criterion of architectural success largely relies on the visual analysis of style, a new set of criteria could be developed, based on user-evaluations of buildings and spaces. This could completely shift the types of buildings analysed, the individual buildings considered important, and the criteria for valuing them—by broadening, or democratising, the source of opinions about what should be valued in the built environment. For example, the approach could take up the analysis of churches designed by Rosette Edmunds with Clement Glancey, to study how they have been interpreted by their congregations, variously within the local communities as well as in different times and different places. Such an approach would contribute to the structuralist mode of cultural theory, for example, advocated in Roland Barthes' early writings, which called for a shift of focus of cultural evaluation from the "author" to the "reader" (Barthes, 1977), or from the architect/producer to the user/consumer.

A postmodern feminist interpretation

Socialist feminism often suggests that the most appropriate topic for feminist research is deliberate, politically motivated, feminist practice. According to this view, it is not appropriate to spend limited resources tracing the life stories of pioneering women professionals, who for the most part were white, middle-class and conservative, did their best to act and appear as "honorary men", and made few attempts at reform of the profession. However, until some research is done, it is not possible to know whether or not early women professionals made attempts at reform, or acted like honorary men. The evidence from all the empirical research presented in chapters 4 and 5 suggests that many of the early women architects did develop conscious, resistant feminist practices of various kinds.

Moreover, postmodern feminism does not see an equivalence between being a "man" and being an "honorary man". An "honorary man" is, by definition, a lesser man, a "not man" pretending to be a man. No matter how politely an honorary man is treated, her difference is a chink in her armour, visible to all and keenly felt by herself. Women who act like men are playing a gender game just

as seriously as women who act like women. Detailed analyses of some of their moves, as presented in these biographies, provide both memorable game plans (or role-models) but also insights into the constitution of the rules as they affect both genders, and as they may have changed over time.

This postmodern defence of biographical monographs emphasises the strategic uses for these monographs in a multitude of discursive contexts. They generate historical identities for subjects considered unworthy of attention in phallocentric discourse—they are a means of creating historic presence, in a form that can be readily inserted into many discursive contexts, from dictionaries of biographies to short articles in popular publications. That presence moreover is deliberately feminist on my part (if not always on their's), stressing sex/gender as categories which they continually negotiated, and public/private as a social/spatial dichotomy which was persistently blurred for them.

However, the very phallic metaphor of "insertion" suggests that in using biography to try to represent woman, *it is I* who has constructed honorary male subjects, possibly only masquerading as women (Riviere, 1986). This is a considerable problem. As the first step in bringing these early women architects to historical presence, the empirical process of fact-finding has taken precedence in this thesis over the theoretical development of an alternative, autonomous mode of constructing feminine historic subjects: some biographical equivalent of Irigaray's "lips" (Irigaray, 1985; Grosz 1989). The biographies presented here begin the work of Virginia Woolf's exhortation to "think poetically and prosaically at one and the same moment" (Woolf, 1977:43). They are presented with the hope that they may provide a factual basis and inspiration for other types of image-making, perhaps "in which all sorts of spirits and forces are coursing and flashing perpetually" (Woolf, 1977:44).

Chapter 6
CONCLUSION

> *But it is obvious that the values of women differ very often from the values which have been made by the other sex; naturally, this is so. Yet it is the masculine values that prevail. Speaking crudely, football and sport are "important"; the worship of fashion, the buying of clothes "trivial"...This is an important book, the critic assumes, because it deals with war. This is an insignificant book because it deals with the feelings of women in a drawing room. A scene in a battle-field is more important than a scene in a shop—everywhere and much more subtly the difference of value persists.*
> Virginia Woolf [1]

In this thesis, I have presented evidence of the existence, experiences and achievements of a large array of early women architects in NSW who are virtually absent from the established architectural histories of Australia. The research attempts to construct a "presence" for NSW's early women architects in four modes of historical recovery: quantitative, qualitative, biographical and visual. I have reflected on the various historiographical strategies of "feminist recovery" used here, using three feminist perspectives, described as liberal, socialist, and postmodern. At the same time, I have generated a variety of explanations for women's persistent absence from history.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ABOUT EARLY WOMEN ARCHITECTS

A variety of possible reasons for women's absence from architectural history have been proposed and discussed in this thesis. The different kinds of historical recovery have produced different types of information for different audiences. The information presented in chapter 3, "Discovery! A quantitative analysis of early women architects' presence", refutes one seemingly plausible explanation for early women architects' absence—that they never trained as architects in the

[1] Woolf 1977:70-71.

first place, or that they quickly dropped out to become full-time wives and mothers. In fact, women constituted more than a quarter of all architecture students who graduated from the University of Sydney architecture course between 1922 and 1997, and 85 per cent of the university graduates traced in this study pursued substantial architectural careers. Moreover, 64 per cent of these career women, or 55 per cent of the traced cohort, continued their careers after having children (table 1). The statistics presented here also offer the unexpected discovery that, although the women who qualified as architects before 1920 apparently saw their choice as lying *between* career and family, as predicted, those who graduated in the 1920s and 1930s were just as likely to attempt to have career, husband *and* children as women who graduated in the 1950s and 1960s (table 2). This quantitative research is important, therefore, in suggesting that a cultural shift in middle-class white women's expectations of participating in the public domain while maintaining their own family life is not a recent phenomena, but a somewhat older women's tradition, established at the end of the World War I rather than at the end of World War II, or with the advent of second wave feminism in the late 1960s.[2] The lack of prominent historic women architects is all the more surprising in the light of this finding.

Table 1 also indicates that once qualified, early women architects did tend to pursue substantial and lengthy careers in architecture. However, they can be seen to have followed certain types of career paths which can be seen to have reduced their historical prominence. About one sixth of graduates married early and retired permanently to care for their families; nearly a third of graduates worked primarily as employees in architectural firms, invariably in the lower echelons; a similar proportion moved into related fields such as town planning, academia or writing; and another near third ran their own architectural design businesses from home, either by themselves or in partnership with their husbands. I suspect, should a similar break down of male architects' careers be undertaken, a significantly different pattern would emerge. I would suggest that these women's career paths varied from men's in significant ways: most obviously in the loss of

[2] Perhaps more research on women working in other fields might suggest that this was a *paradigm shift* which followed in the wake of first wave feminism rather than second wave feminism, as is often assumed (Kuhn, 1962).

one-sixth of the sample to home-duties, but also in the very small number of women reaching partnership status in established architectural firms and, perhaps most importantly, in the preponderance of women in small home-based practices, who were usually limited to small-scale commissions.

Chapter 3 also shows that despite the high rate of women graduating from the University of Sydney, the proportion of early women practitioners remained at less than 5 per cent of registered architects before 1960. I point out that it was the STC, rather than the University of Sydney course, which trained the bulk of architecture practitioners for the profession in NSW (until forcibly closed down during the 1960s), and that very few women attended the STC architecture course, averaging only about 3 per cent of students who sat for examinations. In so far as the two different schools tended to attract different classes of students, probably for reasons both financial and cultural (the university course tended to attract upper and middle-class students while the technical course attracted working-class students), my quantitative research suggests that women's low numbers in the profession before 1960 were the result of the relative absence of women from specifically poorer and working-class backgrounds who might have attended the STC. This is another unexpected finding, worthy of further research and consideration. Why were working-class women disinclined to train as architects? Did working-class men also have different perceptions of and aspirations in the profession from middle-class men? Are any effects from such different aspirations and perceptions apparent in the career paths and architectural achievements of (both male and female) graduates from the two schools?

The *statistical* information in chapter 3 tends to generalise, allowing for broad sociological and historical overviews. This style of information allows for questioning of widely held assumptions in relevant disciplines contradicting: in women's history, the belief that few women and very few mothers pursued long-term professional careers in Australia before World War II; and in architectural history, the understanding that architects were generally university trained, male and middle-class. There is a certain violence inherent in the simplifications in this kind of statistical representation (for example, in reducing each early woman

architect's career into a single line in a table, as in table 1), but also a certain clarity and power in the algebraic substitution of numbers for details and stories. The exercise also self-reflexively demonstrates that the same set of statistics can be interpreted to offer very different meanings. Unlike previous studies, I place less significance on early women architects' low participation rate of less than 5 per cent of the profession (which emphasises their relative *absence*), and more significance on the actual numbers of practising women architects (emphasising their *presence*).

Chapter 4 addresses the contention that women architects are absent from history because their careers were hampered by the "half-open door" of direct and indirect discrimination and of gender differentiation. Using *qualitative* information derived from questionnaires and interviews with 70 early women architects (or their family or friends), this chapter discusses perceived obstacles and advantages they experienced in relation to their gender, in a series of themes entitled: "Choosing architecture", "Payment", "Gendered spaces: Kitchens and building sites", "Milestones and achievements", and "On 'being a woman' in the architectural profession". Hundreds of anecdotes describe different experiences of the profession ranging from pleasure and satisfaction, through calm acceptance, to outrage at discriminatory incidents. This chapter demonstrates that although most did not feel that sexist discrimination had played much part in their careers, all had been affected by their gender in a variety of ways, ranging from positive to negative.

While making an effort to allow these many voices to be heard in all their multiplicity, and without inserting them into a rigid interpretive framework, I have drawn some conclusive observations. The evidence suggests that gender differentiation is not an incidental aspect of life in the architecture profession, but central to it. Women's access to the professional field of architecture was gendered according to their family's understanding of a woman's professional prospects, that especially their mothers and often also their fathers were supportive of their tertiary education. While both the University of Sydney and the STC architecture courses were highly regarded by alumni, evidence of minor gender discriminatory practices were implied at both places. However, more

explicit difficulties seemed to have been encountered in the professional workplace than in institutions of training. Examples of direct discrimination were described, for example in relation to unequal pay, job interview situations where the employer did not believe in employing women architects, and the reluctance to let women onto building sites. Examples of indirect discrimination related to cultural understandings associated with the patriarchal division of labour. These included widespread expectations that women were better suited to domestic design, and the difficulties for mothers in having a full-time career in combination with full responsibility for child-rearing—a situation which was solved by most mothers choosing to run their own architectural design businesses from their homes, or else retiring altogether. I believe that the overall effects of these practices of direct and indirect discrimination, leading to significantly different work opportunities, resulted in the different, feminine trends in the career paths described in table 1 above, and in a reduction of the professional and historical profile of women architects.

However, many early women architects personally benefited in some ways from gender differentiation and even from the patriarchal division of labour. Their added domestic responsibilities allowed the development of more intense relationships of caring with their children, partners and parents, than was perhaps possible for men architects. While they were not often offered the same professional challenges as male peers, they had better opportunities for varied and creative employment than most other women workers. Several women who ran their own businesses from home noted that they had more time to execute their commissions to their own satisfaction, unlike many commercial architects whose first priority must be business management and profit. It was precisely because women's social responsibilities were more divided across a range of duties that their lives were arguably quite balanced and rewarding. The historical neglect of such women's life stories and achievements can be seen to be the result of a masculine criteria for historical significance which is dominated by evidence of public achievement.[3]

[3] I noticed this bias recently when reading a metropolitan newspaper's weekend magazine article about pianist Roger Woodward, which represented his public career as a triumph and his private life as a wreck (Leser, 1999). It offered a vague parallel with the tragic life story of his now

The qualitative information in chapter 4 has been utilised to address a range of sociological issues and debates about the ways gender differentiation was experienced by a certain group of professional women in modern society. This type of information lends itself to *structural* description and the analysis of social systems. It is not a good method for developing historical or geographical analyses of changes over time or place, nor is it a very effective platform for identifying or promoting women's cultural achievements. However, it has generated a rich and multifaceted expression of early women architects' experiences of the profession and working life in twentieth century Australia. This approach has also worked to enable an historical presentation of the diversity of world views and strategies used by these women in making careers for themselves in a sometimes hostile field.

The *biographical* research in chapter 5 is also largely reliant on qualitative information gathered in interviews and questionnaires, but uses the information differently, to create a different type of presence for women architects. It examines the careers of eight leading early women architects in NSW, concentrating on women who qualified before World War II, and chosen largely because of their public prominence, reputation amongst the other women interviewed, and evident achievements.[4] The brief narratives of their life stories are conventional in form but they do demonstrate some cumulative effects of femininely gendered experiences of professional life. They also disrupt the public/private divisions usually enforced in biographies of architects, suggest ways in which early women architects broadened the profession's client base (to include more women and local community work), and promote some new criteria for determining architectural excellence (for example, by developing the genre of domestic renovation, or by using client appraisals rather than relying on professional evaluations and visual critiques). This chapter presents substantial

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famous peer David Helfgott, featured in the movie *Shine*. These two men provide the public face of Australian pianists, while outstanding women pianists of that generation who also trained under Alexander Sverjenski, such as my mother Ms H and my mother-in-law Ms B, remain unheralded. Both these women compromised their musical careers in each raising three children, but both have worked all their lives combining their public and private responsibilities with generosity and dignity, in ways that are apparently not considered historically significant.

evidence for these early women architects' hitherto unacknowledged contributions to Australian architecture and to the development of the modern built environment in NSW.

These women's biographies are also useful in that they generate further explanations for the absence of women architects from Australian architectural history. While most of these women encountered the prevalent types of direct and indirect discrimination discussed in chapter 4, the more detailed analyses of their life stories also suggest *historiographical* means by which acknowledgment of their contributions have been, and continue to be, diminished. I will mention just two examples here.

Firstly, both Marion Mahony Griffin and Heather Sutherland were married to successful architects Walter Burley Griffin and Malcolm Moir respectively, with whom they worked in partnership for at least part of their careers. In each case, their contribution to the partnership, both architectural and personal, has been downplayed in historical accounts which have tended to focus on the husband's work—either by treating him as sole author or by acknowledging but then ignoring the wife's contribution (Johnson, 1980; Freeman, 1997).[5] By contrast, Eleanor Cullis-Hill was also married to a successful architect, Grandison Cullis-Hill, but they never worked together, and she has not encountered the historiographical difficulties apparent in the other biographies. It is an irony that being married to a successful man architect could improve a woman architect's connections within the profession and help her obtain good commissions, but at the same time, it could work to diminish the likelihood that she would be credited for her efforts. I concur with Anna Rubbo's argument about the Griffins: that architectural history currently seems capable of focusing only on individual genius, and it needs to acquire skills for representing architectural collaboration. I also concur with Julie Willis' related concern about architectural historiography: that in light of the fact that most major works of architecture this century have required a concerted *team* effort in design and production,

[4] The eight women are: Florence Taylor, Marion Mahony Griffin, Ellice Nosworthy, Rosette Edmunds, Heather Sutherland, Winsome Hall Andrew, Eleanor Cullis-Hill and Eva Buhrich.

architectural history needs to expand its understanding of the authorship of built design. The names of the partners in an architectural firm are not a sufficient sign of authorship, especially of large projects involving the work of dozens or even hundreds of designers—some means of acknowledging the entire team is required (Willis, 1997a).[6]

Secondly, architectural historiography seems to have followed the broader historical tendency to disregard women's activities as relatively meaningless or unimportant. Thus, in so far as leading early women architects such as Ellice Nosworthy and Eleanor Cullis-Hill were engaged in their profession through networks primarily linking them with other women (architects, clients and friends), it is difficult to represent their activities as significant to the established histories. The north shore middle-class women's networks which characterised both practices were probably largely concerned with child raising, housekeeping, social functions, community gatherings, leisure and philanthropy, as well as more personal networks of information exchange—all undoubtedly vital to the maintenance and reproduction of that elite class. While informal and rarely documented, the potential power of these networks to produce public effects is demonstrated by Ellice Nosworthy's participation in the amazing Ku-ring-gai Old People's Welfare Association (KOPWA) project. This philanthropic project, initiated and managed by women for decades, has succeeded in providing nearly 60 units of long-term, low-cost community housing for poorer elderly people, again primarily women. Nosworthy's architectural design was deliberately low-key in order to avoid being visually identifiable as "public housing", which was already stigmatised in Sydney by the mid-1960s (Hanna, 1991). It succeeded in providing good spatial and material functioning for each unit and an overall impression of pleasant suburban style at an economical price (plates 35, 80-83). It is evident that all the other women involved performed equally capably to produce this extraordinary result: a self-financing, low-rental, community

[5] A similar tendency was noted in the biographies of Winsome Hall Andrew and Eva Buhrich, both also married to architects with whom they worked.
[6] This approach could be seen to inevitably lead to authorship being socialised, thus demoting the significance of the very individuals promoted in the writing these biographies (Alcoff, 1988). However, the political concern of this thesis, in seeking the increased historical presence of women, would still be addressed in that numerous women architects working at the lower echelons of the architectural hierarchy would emerge in the new historiography.

housing scheme in one of Australia's most expensive residential areas. The KOPWA housing project is unsung, even in Australian planning history circles, and certainly in architectural design circles which emphasise visually innovative buildings. Yet this scheme is a triumph for women's cultural history, and deserves to be widely promoted as a model for privately-organised community housing.

Each life story in chapter 5 provides a bite-sized chunk of "history" which can be nibbled by scholars working in the field or even swallowed whole in a variety of discursive contexts, such as dictionaries of biography, or academic or popular forums and journals concerned with the history of the built environment or women's history. While various critiques describing biographical modes of history writing as inadequate are valid (Gusevich, 1991), our cultural histories nonetheless continue to utilise narratives focused on individual life stories. Despite Roland Barthes timely critique of the modern privileging of authorship over readership, the author is far from dead (Barthes, 1977; Foucault, 1984). The primary research presented here is essential for the project of preparing women's names and women's contributions to be palatable to those narratives. Even if the dominant cultural histories are only capable of absorbing masculine names, as argued by Christine Battersby (1989), other narratives may be in the making which can make much use of these stories.

THREE FEMINIST INTERPRETATIONS

This thesis has mobilised three feminist approaches, described as liberal feminist, socialist feminist and postmodern feminist. While these three approaches were inevitably entangled in my construction of the questions, method and empirical recovery work throughout the thesis, they were explicitly mobilised in the conclusions to the three major empirical chapters (chapters 3, 4 and 5). There, they separately commented on the recovery work and significance of the findings. The device of multiple feminist interpretations was adopted from an essay by feminist geographer Louise Johnson (1989). It has allowed me firstly to both practise and demonstrate the diversity and intellectual richness of second wave feminist analysis. Secondly, it has provided an opportunity to explore the

different intellectual potential of these feminist approaches for particular kinds of critical evaluations of and interventions in academic knowledges. Thirdly, it has helped in considering the stakes involved in constructing a variety of historical presences for early women architects, in different discourses and for different audiences. Finally, in postmodern style, it has disrupted the usual linearity of academic argument, replacing the certainty of a single authoritative voice with the productive uncertainty of multiple conflicting or harmonising voices, which operate in different genres and for different audiences. In conclusion, I engage with these three feminist approaches once more, so that each may offer its own interpretation of early women architects' absence from history, as evidenced in this study.

The *liberal feminist* mode of analysis is particularly concerned with *discrimination*, and calls for reform to policies and practices which discriminate amongst social groups. This study concurs with the finding of several earlier studies that most women architects interviewed were not concerned about discrimination (Willis, 1997:x, 29; Allan et al., 1992). My understanding, however, is that this was *not* because early women architects had *not* encountered discrimination, but because they had *expected* it. Most respondents understood such modes of discrimination as part of the landscape in which they lived and worked. Direct discrimination was endemic in the Australian workplace before the Australian women's equal pay legislation of 1974 and the national anti-discrimination legislation of 1977. Differing male and female rates of pay were accepted by the union movement in the "family award" system, which deliberately privileged male workers on the assumption that they had dependants. Indirect discrimination was then and is still the norm in the Australian workplace, in so far as social and psychological norms still assume that women will do the bulk of child raising, and few workplaces have instituted family-friendly employment policies. However, although early women architects may have expected certain modes of discrimination, any notion that such discrimination was universally accepted is contradicted by the range of responses reported by the women in chapters 4 and 5. For example, a broad-based

resistance to unequal pay is evidenced in the collective action by Commonwealth Public Service women architects in the Sydney office during the World War II.[7]

Stories which surprised respondents more often concerned incidents of *unexpected* discrimination. I was struck by the clarity with which Ms D recalled her experience, nearly forty years later, of being presented with the University of Sydney's Stephenson Award in a reluctant private ceremony in a professor's room rather than in the public arena of the graduation hall.[8] Such stories suggest that practices of discrimination may become more prevalent as women progress up the professional hierarchy, or into arenas of greater symbolic importance. Thus earlier women architecture students experienced more incidents of discrimination than later cohorts at both the STC and Sydney University, outstanding women students were more likely to encounter difficulties than pass students, mid-career women striving for partnership were apparently less successful in continuing up the professional hierarchy than new graduates in entering it. As Ms B pointed out succinctly: "It was never easy for women to get good jobs. They could get slave jobs, but not good jobs" (interview with Ms B, 1996).

Although women have been qualifying and working in the profession for a century, they have had little access to the challenging jobs, great commissions or prestigious awards. Discriminatory practices have operated in slight but consistent ways within education and practice, with some stories suggesting that some men took pleasure in it.[9] Discrimination can be seen as an obstacle to historical acknowledgment in so far as women architects were prevented from practising architecture at its most challenging and influential levels. The fact that contemporary women architects still lack prominence in the profession (Major,

[7] However, it might be noted that this equal pay claim was sparked by resentment not at unequal pay scales between *men and women*, but at unequal pay scales between *women and women*—by the discrepancy that a woman architect had been employed in the Melbourne office on a man's rate of pay (Letters by Ms W to Dame Enid Lyons, 1951).

[8] This incident linked several unclear examples of other women not receiving formal public recognition for student achievements (e.g. Ms M, Ms M, and the failure of the University of Sydney *Calendar* to note women's presence in the first cohort of graduates).

[9] For example, in the misogynist reviews of the Melbourne Women's Exhibition in *Art & Architecture* in 1907 ("Australian exhibition…", 1907; Haddon, 1907) and Ms H's story of overhearing elderly RAIA members reminiscing about tricks used to exclude Florence Taylor from meetings (interview with Ms H, 1997).

1995) suggests that liberal feminism must persevere in its efforts to identify and combat modes of discrimination apparently still preventing women from reaching the upper echelons of professional practice (RAIA, 1991). De-familiarising accepted modes of discrimination, so that they are surprising rather than expected, may be an important part of this work.

The *socialist feminist* analysis is typically less interested in specific instances of discrimination than in the structural systems underlying them—patriarchy and capitalism. Socialist feminism points to the interactive exploitative effects of these social systems, ensuring that women as a class have had unequal access to professional participation in architecture, as in all aspects of public life. Fundamental to women's lack of prominence in the profession has been the operation of gender in social roles, such that women carry the substantial added responsibility of *reproduction* apart from any professional aspirations. Where this issue is addressed obliquely in the liberal feminist analysis under the notion of "indirect discrimination", under the socialist feminist analysis it assumes central importance. Reproduction refers not only to the biological role of bearing children, but to the associated gendered role of raising them and caring for family members on a day-to-day basis so that they are fit for school and work. While this research suggests that the large majority of early women architects had children and compromised their careers by carrying out the bulk of associated responsibilities, even those who did not marry often had substantial family responsibilities expected of unmarried daughters, such as caring for elderly or infirm parents. Women architects also sometimes noticed that their feminine socialisation to be accommodating, to think differently from men, or to be less "pushy" than men affected the ways they pursued their careers. In addition, the tendency for women to socialise with other women meant that even in privileged north shore circles, women architects could rarely attract the substantial commissions usually controlled by businessmen. Instead they often found themselves contributing to good causes with in little architectural prestige such as low-cost community buildings. The combined disadvantages accruing to women in this gender system help explain why women architects have remained absent from architectural history.

While it is arguable that anti-discrimination measures have improved employment conditions for women in the last three decades, women remain disadvantaged by a professional model of working life which is fundamentally masculine. In assuming that a professional can devote themselves to their careers for fifty or sixty hours per week, the model inevitably assumes that someone else is caring for them, both ensuring the reproduction of their labour power on a daily basis (that they are clean, fed, and emotionally secure) and generationally (that their children are borne and nurtured) (Johnson, 1989). Even women who are unmarried are disadvantaged by this model in so far as they have no wife to look after them. The obstacle of professional disadvantage suffered by women as a class seems insurmountable unless the model of professional lifestyle is fundamentally reorganised to be androgynous. In an androgynous model of professional life, production and reproduction would be shared equally by both genders, while the characteristics associated with each role would be more equally distributed and valued. As Nancy Chodorow has argued, "Dual careers and dual parenting must become the rule", remedying also "male overindividuation and female overconnectedness" (Tuana & Tong, 1995, 196, quoting Nancy Chodorow).[10] It is a radical proposition, requiring the undermining not only of patriarchy but also of the capitalist system, such that profit derived from long working hours would be relinquished in favour of a healthy and socially-just reorganisation of work. Moreover, such changes to the social relations of architectural practice would encourage development of its intellectual and aesthetic values, as one RAIA president suggested: "the feminine point of view...must be of great value to the profession" (Ferrier, 1981:15).

For *postmodern feminism*, this socialist feminist solution seems somewhat utopian (carrying with it the associated difficulties of utopias) (Certeau, 1985; Mumford, 1966). Rather than focusing on patriarchal structures or sexist modes of discrimination, postmodern feminist analysis attempts to intervene in phallocentric representation, that is, our society's tendency to interpret events in ways which privilege maleness/masculinity and devalue femaleness/femininity. This thesis presents substantial evidence of this tendency. As Virginia Woolf

[10] Chodorow, 1995.

noted, “everywhere and much more subtly the difference of value persists” (Woolf 1977:71). From the postmodern perspective, women’s absence in architectural history can be argued to be most fundamentally a problem of *recognition*. While women have been graduating and working as architects in substantial careers in ever increasing numbers throughout the twentieth century, the discourses of architecture (both historical and contemporary) have persistently failed to notice their existence or acknowledge their achievements.

As shown in chapter 2, the establishment histories of architecture have ignored and trivialised women, even individuals as internationally prominent as Marion Mahony Griffin (Johnson, 1980), to an extent which is hard to fathom. They have also failed to note the presence of large numbers of women students at the University of Sydney or smaller numbers of women working in architectural offices (Freeland, 1971).

Early women architects found themselves typecast as domestic designers (probably because women worked as housewives)—one of the least profitable and least prestigious areas of design (perhaps because of its association with women). One woman said that her group of friends had a term for the part-time contract design work they did at home— “taking in washing” (interview with Ms C, 1997). The metaphor ironically reduces prestigious professional work to the humdrum status of women’s ordinary domestic work (which is itself grossly underestimated in its economic and social value) (Waring, 1988). The awards for domestic design have tended to reward visual innovation but not other, more social aspects of domestic practice such as meeting clients’ needs or staying within a budget.

An employee of Ms A remarked rather candidly when asked why Ms A had not been credited for her involvement in a prize-winning project: “There wasn’t women’s lib around then and it wasn’t normal to give women accolades the way it is now” (interview with Mr S, 1997). These practices and assumptions must have encouraged specific situations of discrimination and affected women’s self-perception as well as generating phallocentric representations which have trivialised women’s achievements (historically and otherwise).

This analysis of architectural representation as being fundamentally biased along gender lines suggests a huge task ahead for the re-interpretation of architectural histories and values. This thesis both establishes the problematic of women's absence and presence in Australian architectural history, and presents some suggestions for alternative representations and historiographical strategies for shifting phallocentric, patriarchal and sexist practices and assumptions.

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Part 2) Newspaper and popular magazine articles
Part 3) Theses
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Important note: All personal details have been edited from the online version of these appendices for privacy reasons.

Appendix 1

List of 231 women architects and architectural designers found by this study to be qualified or working in NSW before 1960.

Part 1) List of 124 women formally qualified as architects in NSW before 1960 by either: graduating from the University of Sydney, University of NSW or the Sydney Technical College; registering as an architect with the Board of Architects of NSW; or, becoming a member of the RAIA in NSW. In alphabetical order by married (where applicable or known) surname. Information from archives of University of Sydney, Sydney Technical College, the Board of Architects of NSW (the Board), the RAIA and other sources as noted in brackets.

***Important note*: This list under-estimates the number of women working in the industry—it excludes even fully-qualified women working in NSW before 1960 but who were registered etc. elsewhere. Its focus is on specifically NSW archives.**

àBeckett, Hilary Elliott (nee Lawrence)
Alblas, Joan Machin (nee Lees)
Ambler, Judith Margery Haworth (nee Hill)
Anderson, Jean Mary
Bates, Toni Elizabeth
Beecham, Phyllis Beauchamp (nee Beauchamp)
Beeman, Enid (nee Hunt)
Bennett, Helen Henty
Booth, Maxine (nee Allen)
Bridges, Nancye Clare Scott (nee Charlton)
Brink, Catherine Helen Dalrymple (nee Wood)
Broughton, Deirdre (nee Hall Best, "De De")
Brown, Madeline
Browne, Margaret Rowan
Burns, Mary (nee Horsley)
Burnstein, Adele
Causwell, Elizabeth Mary (nee Pilcher)
Collins, Roseanne (nee Mould)
Coventry, Margaret Ann (nee Ball)
Crisp, Constance Margaret Patricia Forrest (nee Hughes)
Croaker, Edith Lilian (nee Moore)
Cullis-Hill, Eleanor Beresford (nee Grant)
Cunliffe-Jones, Margaret Ainslie (nee Morris)
Dalley, Jocelyn Bede
Davey, Elsa Annette Isabel (nee Hazelton, known as "Nancy")
Dawson, Mary Helen (nee Wishart)
Edmunds, Rosette Mary
Edwards, Royalene Rebecca (nee Scott)
Epps, Camille Elisabeth
Fakes, Beryl Peace (nee Powditch)
Flockhart, Pamela Ellison (nee Macartney)
Foley, Moira (nee Kennedy)
Forbes, Mary Laurel (nee McManus)
Fowler, Ethel Valmai (nee Spencer)
Gray, Kathleen Joyce (nee North)
Hall Andrew, Winsome Alice (nee Hall)
Hare, Elizabeth Mary (nee Wilkinson)
Hamilton, Margaret Gibson (nee Husband)
Harvey-Sutton, Margaret
Harvie, Edythe Ellison

Havyatt, Valerie (nee Luker)
Heath, Edna Jean (nee Pritchard)
Hilyard, Shirley Irene (nee?)
Holroyde, Marjorie Stansfield Dunelm (nee Hudson)
Horrocks, Edith Constance
Horsley, Patricia
Howard, Elizabeth Ann (nee Breden)
Howell, Margaret (nee McDonald)
Huckell, Joan
Humphries, Clare Matilda
Hutton, Beatrice May
Jack, Pamela Purves (nee Lyttle)
Jackson, Barbara Dorothy (nee Hansen)
Jackson, Constance Enid Ashford (nee Hook)
Jackson, Joan Muriel (nee Manning)
Jones, Shirley Rose (nee Brown, married Laurie?)
Kell, Dianne Jacynth (nee Parrott)
Kelman, Winsome Barclay (nee Shand)
King, Joan (nee Mackey)
Lawes, Eugenie Camille Robert Morton (nee Kirkpatrick)
Lawrance, Jean Mackay (nee Gordon)
Lawrence, Anita Barbara (nee Greenslade)
Lennon, Jean Josephine (nee Lopes)
Liebesman, Maria (nee ?, married Terkel)
Lhuede, Valerie Anne
Lorimer, Uliana Nenette (nee Minasi, known as “Nenette”)
Macintosh, Judith (nee Moreau)
Madsen, Jessie Phyllis (nee Northcott)
Main, Alison Margaret
Mary, Ruth (nee Harvey, married Lucas)
Matthews, Marjorie May (married?)
McCredie, Nellie
McLaughlin, Beryl Mary
Merrick, Moya Catherine
Millar, Beresford Florence
Miller, Pamela McLennan (nee Cridland)
Moir, Delitia Eleanor (nee Harrington)
Moss, Kathleen Isabel (nee Rutherford)
Moss, Marie Pauline (nee Peter)
Munro, Barbara Constance Wyburn (nee Peden)
Munroe, Freda Pearl (nee Teasdale)
Nelson, Winsome Margot
Nicholls, Marie Christina (married and div. McClelland)
Nosworthy, Ellice Maud
O’Donohue, Margaret Mary
Packham, Diana Kathleen (nee Hill, married Conolly?)
Pearson-Smith, Virginia Lee (nee Wilkins)
Phillips, Leonore Rennick (nee Lukin)
Price, Nancy Elizabeth
Richmond, Ethel Mary
Roberts, Helen Catherine (nee Walker)
Rock, Lorna (nee Smith)
Rolin, Lynn Bately
Ross, Jessie Forrester
Saksena, Urmila Eulie
Shearer, Helen Calder
Showers, Jean Alison (nee Cunningham)
Simpson, Marjorie Constance (nee White)
Single, Janet Elizabeth (nee Halliday)
Spooner, Mary Ellen Gordon (nee Smith)

Stephenson, Ethel Margaret (nee Hyland)
Stringer, Elizabeth Johnston (nee Miller)
Strong, Margaret (nee Murch, married Brandt)
Sutherland, Heather McDonald (married Moir but known as Sutherland)
Talbot, Alice Christine (nee Zacharewicz)
Tanner, Shirley Mabel (nee Andrew)
Taylor, Florence Mary (nee Parsons)
Taylor, Margot Anita Darnley
Tudor, Myrna (nee Atkinson, nickname "Michael")
Turner, Helen Alma Newton
Turner, Viwa Minnie (nee Piper)
Walden, Marie Mitta (nee Newnan)
Walmsley, Nina Isabel Orton (nee Anderson)
Walton, Mary Storey (known as "Mollie")
Weir, Catherine Anne (nee Murray-Jones)
West, Jean C. (nee Mackellar)
Wharton, Helen Mary (nee Pulling)
Willmott, Dorothy May (nee Weatherstone)
Willsford, Gene Marsali (nee Turner)
Wilson, Gwendolyn Howard (nee Robertson)
Winsbury, June
Withy, Olive Hodgson (nee Cannan)
Woffenden, Sylvia West (nee Marriott)
Wong, Theresa Mun Sim

Part 2) List of 20 women working as architects or architectural designers in NSW before 1960 who were either: qualified or registered elsewhere without registering or joining the RAIA in NSW or not qualified until after 1960. In alphabetical order by married (where applicable and known) surname.

Alsop, Ruth
Arundel, Janine (married McPhillany)
Buhrich, Eva (nee Bernard)
Findlay, Margaret Keitha
Fryer, Zoe Tijou (nee Bennett)
Gibbon, Lorna Burns (nee Lee)
Hope, Elizabeth
Hutchinson, Louise Helen Henrietta Mondell (nee Wilson)
Kosa, Peri (nee Kaufman)
Laron, Eve (nee Biro)
Lewis, Hilary
Lightfoot, Louisa Mary
Mahony Griffin, Marion (nee Mahony)
McCutcheon, Joan Lutzon (nee Hyland)
Nittim, Zula
Norris, Alison (nee Banks)
Rollins, Shirley Elizabeth (nee Michael)
Selecki, Irene (nee Kinal)
Teague, Cynthea
Tippett, Margaret Helen (nee O'Donnell)

Part 3) List of 86 women working as architects or architectural designers in NSW before 1960 who never qualified as an architect but who trained or worked in architecture or architectural drafting, interior design, town planning, writing, academia, design of own home or related fields in NSW before 1960. In alphabetical order by married (where applicable and known) surname.

Alberde, Beryl
Albrecht, Marian
Antill, Nancy
Aronson, Zara Born
Bertram, Miss
Best, Marion Hall (nee Burkitt)
Boelke, Grace
Bohringer, Yvonne
Brigden, Judith
Campbell, Zara
Carroll, D.
Carter, Emmie Maude Sophia.
Carter, Patricia F.
Christie, Thelma I.
Coleman, Patricia Mary
Collins, Margaret
Cooper, Nora
Cope, Grace
Dark, Eleanor
Darling, Eliza.
Davis, Hera
Davison, Jane C.
Denne, Marion (nee Sissons)
Farraher, Catherine
Finlay, Constance M.
Foster, Sadie
Fusselle, Adrienne
Gibson, Madge.
Gibson, Margaret Hope
Grear, Fay
Green, Irene
Griffiths-Bowen, Leonona
Gunz, Cecily (nee Nosworthy)
Hall, Libby (nee Bright)
Hawthorne, Heliodore ("Dore")
Herbert, Kathleen Mary
Huckle, Mary.
Hutson, Clarisse
Innes, Loreli
Isherwood, Jean
Ladd, Norma Paterson
Lamrock, Olive J.
Lewis, Jean
London, Lorna
Lord, Margaret
Madigan, D. M.
McArthur, Nellie
McElvanney, Margaret
Mudgee girl
Mullius, Lilian
Nicholls, Mollie
Nicholls, Bertha
Oldham, Ray (nee ?, pen name Jane Scott)
Osborne, Olive D.
Pechey, Edith

Porter, Enid J.
Pye, Juanita
Ramsay, Miss Murial Born
Roberts, Hera
Russell, Doris Iva
Sandy, Ann Montagne
Service, Joan
Shillito, Phyllis
Small, Iris
Stead, Thistle (nee Harris)
Stephen, Judith Lois
Stevenson, Jessie N.
Stiassny, Dinah
Summerhayes, Isabel
Swayne, Caroline (nee Bannon)
Szabo, Mrs Louis (nee?)
Toohey, Dorothy
Tottenham, Stella
Townsend, Narelle R.
Tyler, Monica Anne
Walling, Edna
Walsh, Margaret
Warren, Violet D.
Watson, Marcella
White, Mary.
Whittel, Vivienne E.
Williams, Dorothy
Willoughby, Berna
Wilson, Barbara Kathleen
Wilson, Betty T.
Wren, June G.
Wyatt, Annie

Appendix 2

Names of the 70 people (mostly early women architects) who constitute the survey sample for this thesis, plus names of 17 other people consulted, together with details of manner of consultation. All people whose opinions are presented in this thesis, whether obtained by formal interview, questionnaire or informal conversation, are referenced in the text in the Harvard–style format within the text, for example, "(interview with so-an-so, 1997)".

Part 1) List of 25 respondents who engaged in formal or transcribed interviews, or who authorised notes from interviews, with details of type of interview and level of authorisation.

Ms A, interviewed at Cammeray in 1994, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Mr B, former employee and former partner of **Ms A**, also former employee of **Ms S**, interviewed at Wahroonga in 1995, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms B, administrator of KOPWA, former client organisation of **Ms N**, interviewed at Roseville 1995, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms B, interviewed in person at Bayview 1996, taped, transcribed (since deceased).
Mr B, husband of **Ms B**, interviewed at Castlecrag in 1997, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms B, niece of **Ms N**, interviewed at Pymble in 1995, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms C, interviewed at Clovelly in 1994, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms C, interviewed at Warrawee in 1994, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms D, daughter of Elsa Davey, interviewed at Annandale in 1993, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms F, interviewed at Strathfield in 1997, taped, transcribed.
Ms G, sister of **Ms N**, interviewed at Pymble in 1995, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms H, interviewed at the University of Sydney in 1998, taped, transcribed, authorised, especially helpful on **Ms H**.
Ms H, interviewed at Castlehill in 1995, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Eve Laron, interviewed at Killara in 1998, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms L, interviewed at St Ives in 1997, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms L, interviewed at Kirribilli in 1997, taped, transcribed.
Ms M, interviewed at Forrestville 1997-1998, taped, transcribed, authorised, also telephone conversations.
Ms M, daughter of **Ms C**, interviewed at Red Hill in 1994, notes taken and authorised.
Ms M, interviewed at North Sydney in 1993, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms M, interviewed at Tumblong in 1997, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms N, interviewed at North Sydney in 1995, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms R, daughter of **Ms C**. Interviewed at Red Hill in 1994, notes taken and authorised.
Ms R, daughter of **Ms A**, interviewed at Randwick in 1992, taped, transcribed, authorised.
Ms S, interviewed at Darling Point in 1997, notes from interview and extensive response to questionnaire transcribed, authorised.
Ms W, interviewed at Engadine in 1992, notes transcribed.

Appendix 2
Part 2) List of 11 respondents who sent written responses to questionnaires or other written information. Also names of people who did not respond to questionnaire sent to last known address.

Ms B, written response to 1997 questionnaire.
Ms C, President of national RAIA. Written response to an early questionnaire about appropriate approaches this research project could take, 1993; also telephone interview with notes taken, 1995.
Mr D, son of **Ms D**, sent information about and drawings by his mother, 1995.
Ms E, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms H, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms M, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms N, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms S, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms S, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms W, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms W, written response to questionnaire, 1997.

List of 12 women who did not respond to questionnaire sent to last known address.
Ms B.
Ms H.
Ms K (deceased 1998).
Ms M.
Ms M.
Ms R.
Ms P.
Ms P.
Ms R.
Ms S.
Ms T.
Ms W.

Appendix 2
Part 3) List of 34 early women architects or their family or friends who engaged in informal, telephone and other conversations, most in answering the 1997 questionnaire orally. Notes taken but interviews neither transcribed nor authorised.

Anonymous, owners of Annis Parsons' house designed by **Florence Taylor**, Roseville.
Ms A, interviewed at Hornsby in 1997, notes taken.
Ms A, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms A, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1998.
Ms A, niece of **Ms T**, several conversations, notes taken, 1997-1999.
Ms B, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms V, telephone interview 1998 - didn't fall into research group.
Ms B, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1998.
Ms C, daughter of **Ms W**, answered questionnaire questions by telephone, 1998.
Ms C, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms C, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms E, niece of **Ms E**, several telephone conversations, notes taken, 1997-1998.
Ms F, several telephone conversations, including completing questionnaire, 1997.
Mr G Jnr, interviewed at Surry Hills in 1997, notes taken.
Mr G, son of **Ms G**, several telephone conversations, 1997. He also sent copies of her work.
Ms H, sister of **Ms A**, interviewed on several occasions at Gordon in 1997-1998, notes taken.
Ms H, daughter-in-law of **Ms J**, and lecturer in Australian history at UTS, who mediated without success to ask Jackson to complete questionnaire.
Ms H, written response to questionnaire, 1997.
Ms H, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1998.
Ms J, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms K, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms K, one telephone conversation around questionnaire, with much additional comment, 1998.
Ms L, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Mr L, brother of **Ms A**, interviewed at Darling Point, 1997, notes taken.
Mr amd Ms M, nephew (and his wife) to **Florence Taylor**, interviewed at Coniston in 1998-1999 and in several telephone conversations, notes taken.
Mr M, son of **Ms S**, interviewed by phone and in person several times between 1999-1999, notes taken.
Ms O, one telephone conversation, 1998.
Ms S, daughter of **Ms A**, who also had memories of her mother's friend **Ms G**. Telephone conversation, notes taken, 1997.She arranged for me to borrow a suitcase of her mothers' drawings in Wagga Wagga.
Ms S, former employee of **Ms A** and of **Ms S**. Telephone conversation, notes taken, 1997.
Ms W, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997, also helpful on **Ms F**.
Ms W, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms W, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1997.
Ms W, several very helpful telephone calls between 1997 and 1999 offering stories and reminiscences, especially helpful on **Ms B**.
Ms W, one telephone conversation completing questionnaire, 1998.

Appendix 2
Part 4) List of 17 people who offered useful information in the course of usually informal discussions, not transcribed or authorised. Not counted as respondents in survey sample.

Ms B, then Professor of Architecture at University of X. Offered some initial advice in 1992 about questions the thesis could address.
Ms C, several conversations as member of Constructive Women, who didn't fall into research group since she qualified in Victoria in 1960 and didn't move to Sydney until a few years later.
Ms C, well known practising Sydney architect. Offered some initial advice in 1992 about questions the thesis could address.
Mr D, researcher for the National Trust of NSW and the NSW RAIA.
Ms D, secretary for Mr G Snr and Mr G Jnr, worked in the office from the 1930s-1998.
Ms E, Ms E's niece and an academic at ANU, 1995.
Mr F, heritage consultant commissioned by the Canberra Chapter of the RAIA to prepare a comprehensive documentation of Malcolm Moir's work, as well as a book on Moir's practice.
Ms H, Sydney architect and heritage consultant, 1999.
Dr K, Senior Lecturer in architectural history and theory at the University of NSW, discussion 1998.
Ms M, WA Architect who wrote excellent undergraduate thesis on early women architects in Western Australia, 1995 (also see Matthews, 1991).
Ms M, Master of Arts student at UTS who shared some of her extensive research in her public history project on Beryl McLaughlin, 1998.
Ms M, PhD candidate in early stages of study of interior design education in NSW.
Mr N, heritage architect, Perth, trained under Margaret Pitt Morison, interview notes authorised, 1995.
Mr S, architect and heritage consultant, Sydney.
Professor W, Professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of NSW.
Ms W, completed PhD on parallel topic, history of early women architects in Melbourne, now lecturer at University of Melbourne.
Ms Z, Sydney architect, notes taken in discussion, 1992.

Appendix 3
Not included in on-line version of thesis.

Appendix 4
Sydney Technical College architecture school, names of women students sitting for examinations at any level per annum at the Sydney Technical College architecture school, 1923-1954 (65 different names overall), also noting one woman each enrolled at Hobart and Newcastle, in chronological order. Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

1918:
Hera Roberts, (Miss) (Arch. Drawing II)
Doris Iva Russell, (Miss) (Arch. Drawing I)
Dorothy Toohey, (Miss) (Arch. Drawing I)
Dorothy Williams, (Miss) (Arch. Drawing III)

1919:
Marjorie M. Matthews (Miss) (Arch. Drawing II)
Edith Pechey (Arch. Drawing II)

1920:
Hera Davis (Arch. Drawing I)
Marjorie M. Matthews (Miss) (Arch. Drawing III)

1921:

1922:
Juanita Pye (Arch. Drawing II)

1923:
Lilian Mullius (Arch. Drawing I)
Juanita Pye (Arch. Drawing IV)

1924:
Loreli Innes (Arch. Drawing I)
Joan Service (Arch. Drawing I)

1925:
Joan Service (Arch. Drawing II)

1926:
Enid Hunt (Arch. Drawing I)
Olive J. Lamrock (Arch. Drawing I)
Nellie McArthur (Miss) (Arch. Drawing I)

1927:
Enid Hunt (Arch. Drawing II)

1928:
Enid Hunt (Arch. Drawing III)
Marjorie M. Matthews (Miss) (Non-Diploma V)
Olive D. Osborne (Non-Diploma I)

1929:
Nancy Antill (Preparation Non-Diploma I)
Enid Hunt (Diploma III)
Clarisse Hutson (Non-Diploma I)
Jessie N. Stevenson (Preparation Diploma II)
Isabel Summerhayes (Non-Diploma I)

1930:
Nancy Antill (Non-Diploma I)
Enid Hunt (Diploma IV)
Margaret Collins (Miss) (Non-Diploma I)
Clarisse Hutson (Non-Diploma I)
Jean Lewis (Miss) (Non-Diploma I)
Jessie N. Stevenson (Diploma I)
Isabel Summerhayes (Non-Diploma I)

1931:
Nancy Antill (Non-Diploma II)
Margaret Collins (Non-Diploma II)
Enid Hunt (Diploma V)
Clarise Hutson (Non-Diploma II)
Isabel Summerhayes (Non-Diploma II)

1932:
Nancy Antill (Non-Diploma II)
Miss Margaret Collins (Non-Diploma II and III)
Jean Isherwood (Non-Diploma I)
Violet D. Warren (Non-Diploma II)

1933:
Catherine Farraher (Preparation I)
Violet D. Warren (Non-Diploma I and II)

1934:
Adrienne Fusselle (Non-Diploma I)
Jean C. Mackellar (Non-Diploma I)
Violet D. Warren (Non-Diploma I and III)

1935:
Zoe Bennett (Non-Diploma IV)
Adrienne Fusselle (Non-Diploma I)
Joan Mackey (Preparation)
Jean C. Mackellar (Non-Diploma II)
Violet D. Warren (Non-Diploma IV)

1936:
Sadie Foster (Miss) (Diploma I)
Joan Mackey (Non-Diploma II)
Jean C. Mackellar (Diploma II)
Enid J. Porter (Non-Diploma I)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma I)
Iris Small (Non-Diploma I)

1937:
Sadie Foster (Diploma II)
Jean C. Mackellar (Diploma III and IV)
Enid J. Porter (Non-Diploma II)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma I)
Iris Small (Non-Diploma II)
June Winsbury (Preparation)

1938:

Sadie Foster (Miss) (Diploma III)
Jean C. Mackellar (Diploma IV)
Enid J. Porter (Non-Diploma III)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma III)
Berna Willoughby (Preparation)
Barbara Kathleen Wilson (Miss) (Non-Diploma I)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma I)

1939:
Jean C. Mackellar (Diploma V)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma III)
Vivienne E. Whittel (Non-Diploma I)
Barbara Kathleen Wilson, (Miss) (Non-Diploma II)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma II)

1940:
Beryl Alberde (Non-Diploma I)
Yvonne Bohringer (Non-Diploma I)
Zara Campbell (Non-Diploma I)
Leonona Griffiths-Bowen (Non-Diploma VI)
Jean C. Mackellar (Diploma VI)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma IV)
Dinah Stiassny (Non-Diploma I)
Vivienne E. Whittel (Non-Diploma II)
Barbara Kathleen Wilson (Miss) (Non-Diploma II)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma III)

Margaret K. Findlay (Hobart) (Non-Diploma)

1941:
Patricia F. Carter (Non-Diploma I)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma IV)
Marjorie C. White (Non-Diploma I)
Vivienne E. Whittel (Non-Diploma III)
Barbara Kathleen Wilson (Miss) (Non-Diploma III)
Betty T. Wilson (Non-Diploma I)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma IV)

1942:
Patricia F. Carter (Non-Diploma I and II)
Kathleen Mary Herbert (Diploma I)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma IV and V)
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma II)
White, Marjorie C. (Non-Diploma I and II)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma IV)

Margaret K. Findlay (Hobart) (Non-Diploma V)

1943:
Madeline Brown (Non-Diploma I)
Patricia F. Carter (Non-Diploma III)
Patricia Mary Coleman (Non-Diploma I)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma V)
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith (Non-Diploma I)
Margaret Walsh (Non-Diploma I)
Marjorie C. White (Non-Diploma II)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma V)

1944:
Madeline Brown (Non-Diploma III)
Thelma I. Christie (Non-Diploma I)
Patricia Mary Coleman (Non-Diploma II)
Margaret Hope Gibson (Non-Diploma I)
Irene Green (Non-Diploma I)
Norma Paterson Ladd (Non-Diploma I)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Non-Diploma VI)
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith (Non-Diploma II)
Margaret Walsh (Non-Diploma II)
Marjorie C. White (Non-Diploma III)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma VI)

1945:
Madeline Brown (Non-Diploma IV)
Thelma I. Christie (Non-Diploma II)
Jane C. Davison (Diploma I)
Constance M. Finlay (Non-Diploma I)
Margaret Hope Gibson (Non-Diploma II)
Lorna London (Non-Diploma I)
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith (non-Diploma III)
Judith Lois Stephen (Diploma I)
Marjorie C. White (Non-Diploma IV)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma VI)

1946:
Madeline Brown (Non-Diploma V)
Thelma I. Christie (Non-Diploma III)
Beryl Peace Powditch (Diploma V)
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith (Non-Diploma IV)
Judith Lois Stephen (Diploma II)
Marjorie C. White (Non-Diploma V)
June Winsbury (Non-Diploma VI)

1947:
Madeline Brown (Non-Diploma VI)
Ann Montagne Sandy (Non-Diploma I)
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith (Non-Diploma VI)

D. M. Madigan (Miss) (Newcastle) (Diploma)

1948:
Madeline Brown (Non Diploma VI)
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma I)
Ann Montagne Sandy (Non-Diploma I)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma I)
June G. Wren (Diploma I)

1949:
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma II)
Ann Montagne Sandy (Non-Diploma II)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma II)
June G. Wren (Diploma I)

1950:
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma III)
Sandy, Ann Montagne (Non-Diploma II)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma III)

June G. Wren (Diploma III)

1951:
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma III)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma IV)

1952:
Fay Grear (Diploma I)
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma V)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma V)

1953:
Marian Albrecht (Diploma I)
Marion Sissons (Diploma II)
Lynne B. Rolin (Non-Diploma V and VI)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma VI)

1954:
Marion Sissons (Diploma II)
Narelle R. Townsend (Diploma VI)
Monica Anne Tyler (Diploma V)

Appendix 5
Sydney Technical College architecture school, names of 13 women (out of 65) who sat for final year exams, either in the Diploma or Non-Diploma courses, in chronological. Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

Dorothy Williams (third year of three years 1918)
Marjorie M. Matthews (third year of three years 1920, then Stage V of five years 1928)
Juanita Pye (1923, third year of three years)
Ethleen Palmer (1927, third year of three years)
Enid Hunt (1931, Stage V of five years)
Jean C. Mackellar (1940, Diploma Stage VI of six years, the only listed woman graduate and fellow prior to 1947)
Leonona Griffiths-Bowen (1940, Non-Diploma VI)
June Winsbury (1946, Non-Diploma Stage VI of six years)
Beryl Peace Powditch (1944, Non-Diploma Stage VI of six years then 1946, Diploma Stage V of six years)
Madeline Brown (1947 and 1948, Non-Diploma Stage VI of six years)
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith (1947, Non-Diploma Stage VI of six years)
Narelle R. Townsend (1953 and 1954, Diploma Stage VI of six years)
Marjorie Constance White (Non Diploma V of six years 1946)

Appendix 6

Sydney Technical College architecture school, numbers of men and women students sitting for examinations at any level each year 1923-1954, both Diploma and non-Diploma streams. Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

Date	Number males in Diploma course	Number females in Diploma course	% of females in Diploma course	Number males in Non Diploma course	Number females in Non Diploma course	% of females in Non Diploma course	Total number males enrolled	Total number females enrolled	% of females in total enrol-ment
1918	19	4	21.1				10	4	17.4
1919	27	2	7.4				22	2	8.3
1920	47	2	4.1				47	2	4.1
1921	76	0	0				76	0	0
1922	59	1	1.7				59	1	1.7
1923	68	2	2.9				68	2	2.9
1924	44	2	4.3				44	2	4.3
1925	46	1	2.1				46	1	2.1
1926	94	3	3.1				94	3	3.1
1927	76	1	1.3				76	1	1.3
1928	88	1	1.1	5	2	28.6	93	3	3.1
1929	111	2	1.8	33	2	5.7	144	4	2.7
1930	103	2	1.9	24	5	17.2	127	7	5.2
1931	100	1	1	25	4	13.8	125	5	3.8
1932	97	0	0	59	4	6.3	156	4	2.5
1933	87	0	0	26	2	7.1	113	2	1.7
1934	109	0	0	38	3	7.3	147	3	2
1935	96	0	0	52	5	8.8	148	5	3.3
1936	79	2	2.5	33	3	8.3	112	5	4.3
1937	80	2	2.4	53	4	7	133	6	4.3
1938	78	2	2.5	56	5	8.2	134	7	5
1939	84	1	1.2	74	4	5.1	158	5	3.1
1940	99	1	1	73	9	11	172	10	9.9
1941	94	0	0	55	7	11.3	149	7	4.5
1942	65	1	1.5	23	5	17.9	88	6	6.3
1943	34	0	0	14	8	36.4	48	8	14.3
1944	45	0	0	16	11	40.7	61	11	15.3
1945	73	2	2.7	22	8	26.7	95	10	9.5
1946	149	2	1.3	59	5	7.8	208	7	3.3
1947	178	0	0	65	3	4.4	243	3	1.2
1948	197	2	1	54	3	4.4	251	5	2
1949	205	2	1	51	2	3.8	256	4	1.5
1950	163	2	1.2	34	2	5.5	197	4	2
1951	206	1	0.5	29	1	3.3	235	2	0.8
1952	189	2	1.6	23	1	4.2	212	3	1.4
1953	166	3	1.8	14	1	6.6	180	4	2.2
1954	126	3	2.3	14	0	0	140	3	2.1

Appendix 7.
Sydney Technical College architecture school, numbers of men and women students sitting for final year examinations each year 1923-1954. Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

Date	No. of final year male students	No. of final year female students	Total no. of final year students	Females as % of final year students
1918	8	1	9	11.1
1919	6	0	6	0
1920	4	1	5	20
1921	14	0	14	0
1922	14	1	15	6.7
1923	26	0	26	0
1924	7	0	7	0
1925	10	0	10	0
1926	14	0	14	0
1927	19	1	20	5
1928	15	1	16	6.3
1929	17	0	17	0
1931	26	1	27	3.7
1932	24	0	24	0
1933	27	0	27	0
1934	15	0	15	0
1935	16	0	16	0
1936	19	0	19	0
1937	20	0	20	0
1938	11	0	11	0
1939	10	0	10	0
1940	16	2	18	11.1
1941	10	0	10	0
1942	12	0	12	0
1943	3	0	3	0
1944	4	2	6	33.3
1945	6	1	7	14.3
1946	7	3	10	30
1947	10	2	12	16.7
1948	7	1	8	12.5
1949	19	0	19	0
1950	31	0	31	0
1951	26	0	26	0
1952	19	0	19	0
1953	36	2	38	5.3
1954	34	1	35	2.9
Total	562	20	582	3.4

Appendix 8
Sydney Technical College architecture school, number of men and women students sitting for examinations (at any level) per annum 1920-1954, averaged over each five-year period. Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

Years	Average number of males sitting for exams p.a.	Average number of females siting for exams p.a.
1920-24	58.8	1.4
1925-29	90.6	2.4
1930-34	133.6	4.2
1935-39	137	5.6
1940-44	103.6	8.4
1945-49	210.6	5.8
1950-54	192.8	3.2

Appendix 9
University of Sydney architecture school, names of 104 women graduates between 1922 and 1960 in chronological order. Source: 1922-1942, University of Sydney *Calendar*; 1943-1960, "graduation leaflets" in University of Sydney archives; 1961-1996, courtesy Sue Clarke, Faculty of Architecture research assistant, University of Sydney.

1922:
Leonore Rennick Lukin
Beryl Mary McLaughlin
Ellice Maud Nosworthy

1923:
Nellie McCredie
Dorothy May Weatherstone

1924:
Rosette Mary Edmunds
Eugenie Camille Robert Morton Kirkpatrick
Edna Jean Pritchard
Jessie Forrester Ross

1925:
Jean Alison Cunningham
Delitia Eleanor Harrington
Lorna Smith

1926:
Olive Hodgson Cannan
Marjorie Stansfield Dunelm Hudson
Heather McDonald Sutherland

1928:
Winsome A. Hall

1929:
Elsa Annette Isabel Hazelton
Kathleen Joyce North
Jessie Phyllis Northcott

1930:
Barbara Constance Wyburn Peden
Helen Alma Newton Turner

1931:
Hilary Elliott Lawrence
Mary Laurel McManus

1932:
Ethel Mary Richmond

1933:
Nancy Elizabeth Price

1934:
Catherine Helen Dalrymple Wood

1935:
Edith Lilian Moore
Viwa Minnie Piper
Kathleen Isabel Rutherford

1936:
Mary Storey Walton

1938:
Margaret Ainslie Morris
Eleanor Beresford Grant

1939:
Nancye Clare Scott Charlton

1940:
Gwendolyn Howard Robertson
Margaret Rowan Browne

1941:
Myrna Atkinson
Joan Muriel Manning

1942:
Joan Dorothy Mackey

1943:
Jean Josephine Lopes
Moya Catherine Merrick

1944:
Judith Moreau
Ethel Valmai Spencer
Mary Helen Wishart

1945:
Elizabeth Mary Pilcher
Gene Marsali Turner

1946:
Freda Pearl Teasdale

1947:
Clare Matilda Humphries
Valerie Anne Lhuede
Elizabeth Mary Wilkinson
Urmila Eulie Saksena

1948:
Maxine Allen
Adele Burnstein
Sylvia West Marriott

1949:
Uliana Nenette Minasi
Pamela McLennan Cridland

Valerie Luker
Ethel Margaret Hyland
Moira Kennedy

1950:
Winsome Barclay Shand
Elizabeth Johnston Miller
Jean Mary Anderson
Shirley Rose Brown
Jean Mackay Gordon
Pamela Ellison Macartney
Mary Mitta Newnan
Helen Mary Pulling
Helen Calder Shearer

1951:
Mary Ruth Harvey
Margaret Ann Ball
Judith Margery Haworth Hill
Constance Enid Ashford Hook
Margaret McDonald
Catherine Anne Murray-Jones

1952:
Janet Elisabeth Halliday
Mary Horsley
Constance Forrest Hughes
Pamela Purves Lyttle
Margaret Murch
Margaret Harvey-Sutton
Alice Christine Zacharewicz

1953:
Nina Isabel Orton Anderson
Helen Henty Bennett
Shirley Irene Hilyard
Margaret Gibson Husband
Joan Machin Lees

1954:
Shirley Mabel Andrew
Patricia Horsley
Margaret Mary O'Donohue

1955:
Deirdre Hall Best
Beresford Florence Millar
Winsome Margot Nelson
Helen Catherine Walker

1956:
Jocelyn Bede Dalley

1957:
Toni Elizabeth Bates
Elizabeth Ann Howard
Joan Huckell
Virginia Lee Wilkins
Theresa Mun Sim Wong

1958:
Barbara Dorothy Hansen

1959:
Diana Kathleen Hill
Marie Christina Nicholls

1960:
Alison Margaret Main
Roseanne Mould
Royalene Rebecca Scott

Appendix 10
University of NSW, list of two women graduates between 1955 and 1960 in chronological order. Source: University of NSW "Conferring of degrees" pamphlets and UNSW Alumni Association records.

1955:
Anita Barbara Greenslade

1960:
Diane Jacynthe Parrot

Appendix 11
Names of all 128 men and women architecture graduates from the University of Sydney 1922-1938, in chronological order and by gender. Source: 1922-1942, University of Sydney *Calendar*; 1943-1960, "graduation leaflets" in University of Sydney archives; 1961-1996, courtesy Sue Clarke, Faculty of Architecture research assistant, University of Sydney.

Women graduates	*Men graduates*
1922	
Nosworthy, Ellice Maud	John Hastings Fairlie Cunninghame
Lukin, Lenore Rennick	Charles Neville Hollinshed
McLaughlin, Beryl Mary	William Rae Laurie
	Frederick Bruce Lucas
1923	
McCredie, Nellie	James Aubrey Cosh
Weatherstone, Dorothy May	Norman Welland McPherson
	Kenneth Anselm M. Olding
	Gregory Roarty
1924	
Edmunds, Rosette Mary	John Stanley Gordon Collier
Pritchard, Edna Jean	Harold Morton Cook
Kirkpatrick, Eugenie C. R. M.	Vincent Laidley Dowling
Ross, Jessie Forrester	Kenneth H. McConnel
	Malcolm Johnson Moir
1925	
Cunningham, Jean Alison	Eric Garthside
Smith, Lorna	Clive Patterson Heath
Harrington, Delitia Eleanor	William White King
	Finlay Elgin Munro
1926	
Cannan, Olive Hodgson	Burcham Clamp Jnr
Hudson, Marjorie S. D.	James Andrew Gardiner
Sutherland, Heather McDonald	Raymond McGrath
	Frederick Kenneth Manderson
	Frederick Kenneth Thompson
1927: No graduates	
1928	
Hall, Winsome Alice	C. C. Brewster
	Eric Andrew
	R. S. Hawdon
	James M. King
	E. B. Scobie
1929	
Hazelton, Elsa A.I	A. W. Cozens
North, Kathleen Joyce	Ian B. Fell
Northcott, Jessie Phyllis	H. T. Forbes
	F. C. Hargrave
	J. L. Mansfield
	J. A. V. Nisbet
	C .C. Phillips
	D. Trevor-Jones
	D. R. Ward

Women graduates	*Men graduates*
1930	
Peden, Barbara C.W.	L. P. Burns
Turner, Helen Alma Newton	F. O. Crago
	Morton E. Herman
	D. W. King
	E. Lindsay-Thompson
	C. A. Madden
	D. B. Sheperdson
1931	
Lawrence, Hilary Elliott	K. M. Branch
McManus, Mary Laurel	M. le G. Brereton
	T. D. Esplin
	S. G. Hirst
	H. J. E. Oliver
	R. O. Phillips
1932	
Richmond, Ethel Mary	J. S. Egan
	Gillespie
	McDonnell
	E. M. Osborn
	van Breda
1933	
Price, Nancy Elizabeth	Graham
	Levick
	Mack
	Reed
	Werry
1934	
Wood, Catherine H. D.	Leary
	Stewart
	Tompson
	Trude
1935	
Moore, Edith Lilian	Britten
Piper, Viwa Minnie	Hamilton Croaker
Rutherford, Kathleen Isabel	Meyer
	Mylne
	D. Trevor-Jones
	Turner
1936	
Walton, Mary Storey	Conrad
	Lockwood
	Melville
	Rogers
	Saunders
	Spooner
1937	
	Cranna
	Grandison Cullis-Hill
	Murray
	Priestley

Women graduates	*Men graduates*
1938	
Morris, Margaret Ainslie	Divola
Grant, Eleanor Beresford	Hanson
	Mowbray
1939	
Charlton, Nancye Clare Scott	Bowen
	Grozier
	Hall
1940	
Robertson, Gwendolyn Howard	Allen
Browne, Margaret Rowan	Peter Bridges
	McCloy
1941	
Atkinson, Myrna	Fox
Manning, Joan Muriel	
1942	
Mackey, Joan	Anderson

Total graduates 1922-1942:	**128 men and women**
Total women:	**38 (30.0%)**
Total men:	**90 (70.0%)**

Appendix 12

University of Sydney architecture school, numbers of men and women graduates each year 1922-1997. Source: 1922-1942, University of Sydney *Calendar*; 1943-1960, "graduation leaflets" in University of Sydney archives; 1961-1996, courtesy Sue Clarke, Faculty of Architecture research assistant, University of Sydney.

Date	Males	Females	% females of total	Total No. of grad-uates p.a.
1922	4	3	42.9	7
1923	4	2	33.3	6
1924	5	4	44.4	9
1925	4	3	42.9	7
1926	5	3	37.5	8
1927	0	0	0	0
1928	5	1	16.7	6
1929	9	3	25	12
1930	7	2	22.2	9
1931	6	2	25	8
1932	5	1	16.7	6
1933	5	1	16.7	6
1934	4	1	20	5
1935	6	3	33.3	9
1936	6	1	14.3	7
1937	4	0	0	4
1938	3	2	40	5
1939	3	1	25	4
1940	3	2	40	5
1941	3	2	40	5
1942	2	1	33.3	3
1943	1	2	66.7	3
1944	1	3	75	4
1945	3	2	40	5
1946	1	1	50	2
1947	9	4	30.8	13
1948	7	3	30	10
1949	12	5	29.4	17
1950	11	9	45	20
1951	49	6	10.9	55
1952	58	7	10.8	65
1953	36	5	12.2	41
1954	16	3	15.8	19
1955	17	5	22.7	22
1956	9	1	10	10
1957	13	5	27.7	18
1958	17	1	5.6	18
1959	14	3	17.6	17

Date	Males	Females	% females of total	Total No. of grad-uates p.a.
1960	15	3	16.7	18
1961	13	5	27.8	18
1962	17	3	15	20
1963	33	1	2.9	34
1964	18	3	14.3	21
1965	26	5	16.1	31
1966	32	4	11.1	36
1967	33	6	15.4	39
1968	27	5	15.6	32
1969	20	5	20	25
1970	29	5	14.7	34
1971	26	2	7.1	28
1972	21	4	16	25
1973	20	6	23.1	26
1974	8	2	20	10
1975	16	2	11.1	18
1976	26	7	21.2	33
1977	29	9	23.7	38
1978	27	5	15.6	32
1979	21	9	30	30
1980	22	11	33.3	33
1981	18	6	26	24
1982	25	15	37.5	40
1983	21	14	40	35
1984	25	19	43.2	44
1985	28	11	28.2	39
1986	30	12	28.6	42
1987	28	13	31.7	41
1988	29	15	34.1	44
1989	21	19	47.5	40
1990	22	17	43.6	39
1991	32	21	39.6	53
1992	24	26	52	50
1993	29	21	42	50
1994	25	21	45.7	46
1995	22	29	56.9	51
1996	21	21	50.0	42

Appendix 13

University of Sydney architecture school, numbers of men and women graduates each decade 1922-1997. Source: 1922-1942, University of Sydney *Calendar*; 1943-1960, "graduation leaflets" in University of Sydney archives; 1961-1996, courtesy Sue Clarke, Faculty of Architecture research assistant, University of Sydney.

Date	No. of male graduates	No. of female graduates	% of females of all graduates
1920s	36	19	34.5
1930s	49	14	22.2
1940s	42	24	37.3
1950s	240	45	15.8
1960s	234	40	14.6
1970s	234	51	18.6
1980s	274	135	35.3
1990s extrapolated	250	223	47.1

Appendix 14
RAIA, list of 52 women members in NSW, Newcastle and Canberra chapters 1923-1960, as they joined in chronological order. Source: RAIA journal Architecture, and after 1934 various editions of the RAIA *Yearbook*, a mixture of available and selected years.

Joined before 1937:
Rosette Edmunds (Joined 1932)
Winsome Hall (Joined 1932)
Edith Constance Horrocks (Joined by 1926)
Hilary Lawrence
Marjorie Matthews
Ellice Nosworthy (Joined by 1927)
Florence Parsons (Joined 1920)

1943:
Enid Hunt
Margaret Keitha Findlay
Gwendolyn Howard Robertson

1946:
Eleanor Beresford Grant
Judith Moreau: Macintosh)
Myrna Atkinson

1948:
Camille Elizabeth Epps
Jean Lopes

1949:
Phyllis Beecham
Valerie Havyatt Clare Matilda Humphries
Eugenie Camille Robert Morton Kirkpatrick
Valerie Lhuede
Marjorie Constance White
June Winsbury
Sylvia West Woffenden

1950:
Madeline Brown
Shirley Brown
Jean Mackey Gordon
Pamela McLennon Cridland
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith
Ethel Hyland

1952:
Mary Horsley
Margaret McDonald
Ruth Mary Harvey
Helen Calder Shearer
Janet Elizabeth Halliday
Alice Christine Zacharewicz

1953:
Judith M. M. Hill
Margaret Harvey-Sutton
Lynne Bately Rolin
Nina Isabel Orton Anderson

1954:
Constance Hughes
Margaret Gibson Hamilton
Patricia Horsley

1955:
Anita Barbara Greenslade

1956:
Joan Machin Lees
Gene Marsali Turner
Delitia Harrington

1957:
Toni Elizabeth Bates
Kathleen Joyce North
Margaret Helen Tippett

1958:
Virginia Lee Wilkins

1959:
Margot Anita Taylor

1960:
Jean Mary Anderson

Appendix 15
Board of Architects of NSW, list of 98 registered women architects, in chronological order. Source: Board of Architects of NSW annual list of registered architects 1923-1997 and archives on membership records.

1923:
Edith Constance Horrocks
Beatrice May Hutton
Nellie McCredie
Beryl Mary McLaughlin
Ellice Maud Nosworthy
Florence Mary Parsons

1924:
Dorothy May Weatherstone

1926:
Jean Alison Cunningham

1927:
Rosette Mary Edmunds
Lorna Smith

1928:
Marjorie Stansfield Dunelm Hudson Jessie
Forrester Ross

1929:
Marjory Mary Matthews

1930:
Winsome Alice Hall
Heather McDonald Sutherland

1932:
Hilary Elliot Lawrence

1933:
Enid Eleanor Hunt

1934:
Kathleen Joyce North
Barbara Constance Wyburn Peden

1935:
Edith Moore
Jessie Phyllis Northcott
Kathleen Isabel Rutherford

1938:
Viwa Minnie Piper

1939:
Nancye Clare Scott Charlton

1940:
Ethel Mary Richmond

1941:
Margaret Rowan Browne
Gwendolyn Howard Robertson

1942:
Myrna Atkinson
Margaret Ainslie Morris

1943:
Joan Dorothy Mackey
Joan Muriel Manning

1944:
Elsa Annette Isabel Hazelton

1945:
Eleanor Beresford Grant
Judith Moreau

1946:
Jean Josephine Lopes
June Winsbury
Moya Merrick

1947:
Camille Elisabeth Epps
Beryl Peace Powditch

1948:
Phyllis Beauchamp
Eugenie Camille Wickham Kirkpatrick
Sylvia West Marriott

1949:
Maxine Allen
Madeline Brown
Valerie Luker
Clare Matilda Humphries
Ethel Margaret Hyland
Moira Kennedy
Valerie Lhuede
Uliana Nenette Minasi
Marie Pauline Peter
Mary Ellen Gordon Smith
Marjorie Constance White

1950:
Pamela McLennon Cridland
Shirley Rose Brown
Jean Mackay Gordon
Mary Laurel McManus
Helen Mary Pulling
Winsome Barclay Shand
Helen Calder Shearer
Freda Pearl Teasdale

1951:
Margaret Anne Ball
Mary Ruth Harvey
Margaret McDonald
Catherine Anne Murray-Jones

1952:
Mary Horsley
Janet Elizabeth Halliday
Marie Mitta Newnan
Alice Christine Zacharewicz

1953:
Margaret Harvey-Sutton
Judith Margery Haworth Hill
Shirley Irene Hilyard
Constance Margaret Patricia Forrest Hughes
Margaret Gibson Husband
Edythe Ellison Harvie
Joan Machin Lees
Elizabeth Johnston Miller
Lynne Bately Rolin
Nina Isabel Orton Anderson

1954:
Shirley Mabel Andrew
Pamela Purves Lyttle

1955:
Anita Barbara Greenslade

1956:
Patricia Horsley
Margaret Murch
Helen Catherine Walker
Gene Marsali Turner

1957:
Jean Mary Anderson
Toni Elizabeth Bates
Virginia Lee Wilkins

1958:
Elizabeth Anne Howard
Joan Huckell
Margot Anita Darnley Taylor

1959:
Constance Enid Ashford Hook
Marie Christina Nicholls

1960:
Royalene Rebecca Scott
Maria Liebesman Alison Margaret Main
Diana Kathleen Packham

Appendix 16
Board of Architects of NSW, numbers of male and female registered architects each year 1923-1997. Source: Board of Architects of NSW annual list of registered architects 1923-1997 and archives on membership records.

Year	No. of regist'd males	No. of regist'd females	No. of regist'd people with non-gender specific names	No. of females plus no. of people with non-gender specific names	% females of total	% females plus those with non-gender specific names of total	Total number of registered architects
1924	628	6			0.9		634
1925	653	7			1.1		660
1926	651	7			1.1		658
1927	663	8			1.2		671
1928	662	9			1.3		671
1929	660	11			1.6		671
1930	664	12			1.8		676
1931	636	13			2		649
1932	604	13			2.1		617
1933	579	12			2		591
1934	606	14			2.3		620
1935	642	16			2.4		658
1936	663	19			2.8		682
1937	697	19			2.7		716
1938	708	19			2.6		727
1939	725	20			2.7		745
1940	701	20			2.8		721
1941	712	21			2.9		733
1942	717	21			2.8		738
1943	723	23			3.1		746
1944	732	26			3.4		758
1945	748	24			3.1		772
1946	774	29			3.6		803
1947	810	30			3.6		840
1948	802	32			3.8		834
1949	829	33			3.7		862
1950	847	44			4.9		891
1951	898	49			5.2		947
1952	964	56			5.5		1020
1953	1016	58			5.4		1074
1954	1077	65			5.7		1142
1955	1124	65			5.5		1189
1956	1160	66			5.4		1226
1957	1189	69			5.5		1258
1958	1241	69			5.3		1310
1959	1280	72			5.3		1352
1960	1286	73			5.4		1359

Appendix 16 continued

Year	No. of regist'd males	No. of regist'd females	No. of regist'd people with non-gender specific names	No. of females plus no. of people with non-gender specific names	% females of total	% females plus those with non-gender specific names of total	Total number of registered architects
1961	1325	77			5.5		1402
1962	1357	82			5.7		1439
1963	1426	84			5.6		1510
1964	1487	80			5.1		1567
1965	1524	92			5.7		1616
1966	1600	99			5.8		1699
1967	1726	106			5.8		1832
1968	1821	107			5.6		1928
1969	1887	122			6.1		2009
1970	1972	127			6.1		2099
1971	2097	135			6		2232
1972	2251	142			5.9		2393
1973	2251	141			5.9		2392
1974	2272	141			5.8		2413
1975	2316	143			5.8		2459
1976	2336	143			5.8		2479
1977	2342	148			5.9		2490
1978	2349	150			6		2499
1979	2378	156			6.1		2534
1980	2451	157			6		2608
1981	2481	168			6.3		2649
1982	2573	176			6.4		2749
1983	2606	182			6.5		2788
1984	2471	179	48	227	6.8	8.6	2650
1985	2492	185	48	233	6.9	8.7	2677
1986	2539	176	51	227	6.5	8.4	2715
1987	2592	200	52	252	7.1	9.2	2792
1988	2556	196	47	243	7.1	8.8	2752
1989	2581	197	65	262	7.1	9.4	2778
1990	2664	208	54	262	7.2	9.1	2872
1991	2644	226	52	278	7.9	9.7	2870
1992	2699	239	67	306	8.1	10.4	2938
1993	2732	244	93	337	8.2	11.3	2976
1994	2774	250	112	362	8.3	12	3024
1995	2713	263	119	382	8.8	12.8	2976
1996	2748	270	107	377	8.9	12.5	3018
1997	2739	297	105	402	9.8	13.2	3036

Appendix 17
Census: numbers of men and women in the architectural services industry in 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1993.

Date	Men	Women	Total
1921	1777	130	1907
1933	1875	1520	3395
1947	1123	263	1386
1954	2070	553	2623
1961	3375	1043	4418
1993	12531	6050	18,581

Appendix 18
Registered women architects throughout Australia: Number and percentage of registered women architects in each state and territory and total number and national percentage of registered women architects 1923-1997. Source: Willis, 1997b.

Appendix 19
A chronological table of events in Florence Taylor's life, also list of awards named after her and George Taylor.

1879. 12 December, born Florence Mary Parsons in England.
1883. Taylor's family migrated to Australia, arriving in Rockhampton on the Ravenscrag.
1884. Taylor's family moved to Sydney, settling in Parramatta where her father obtained work with the local council.
1896. Taylor's mother died.
1899. Taylor's father died. Taylor commenced working for architect/engineer Frederick Stowe in Parramatta.
1900. Taylor articled to Edward Skelton Garton in Pitt St Sydney. Commenced studies at STC.
1902. Articles completed May 1902.
1904. Completed third year exams at STC but didn't take out Diploma.
1902- Taylor worked for John Burcham Clamp's 1907 architectural office in Sydney, also studied
1907. part-time at Sydney Marine Engineers College where she gained qualifications as an engineer.
1907. Taylor won medals for designs submitted to the Australian Exhibition of Women's Work, Melbourne.
1907. March/April. Taylor applied to join the Institute of Architects of NSW but was "blackballed".
1907. 3 April, Married George Augustine Taylor, moved to Cremorne.
1907. Together they launched "Building Publishing Company" with *Building* magazine (1907-1968). They later also published *Construction* (also called *Construction and Engineering* dates?), *The Australasian Engineer* (also called *The Engineer*, 1915-1973) and numerous other journals including *Young Australia*, *The Commonwealth Home* (also called *The Australian Home*, 1925-1929?), *The Soldier*, *Harmony*, *The Property Owner*, *Wireless Weekly*, and *Town Planning*. Building Publishing Co. also published many books written or edited by the Taylors. Florence Taylor wrote *A Pot-pourri of Eastern Asia* (1935) and contributed to J. M. Giles *Fifty Years of Town Planning with Florence Taylor* (1959); she edited *101 Australian `Homes* (1935), *1945 Book of 150 Low Cost Homes* (1945) and *1945 Book of 36 Distinguished Homes* (1945).
1909. 20 October, Building Publishing Co organised the first "Building exhibit" in NSW, at Prince Alfred Park.
1909. 5 December, George's flying experiments at Narrabeen resulted in George and Taylor being the first Australian man and woman to fly in a heavier-than-air glider.
1913 George and Florence Taylor buy house at 6 Bannerman St Neutral Bay (designed by Henry Wilshire), with flat roof for George's model plane flying experiments (Murray 1976, 103). Apparently Marion Mahony Griffin and Walter Burley Griffin stayed with them here when they first arrived in Australia in 1913, however, the two couples developed antipathy towards each other fairly quickly.
1913. The Taylors with a group of others including John Sulman founded the Town Planning Association of NSW.
1914. 1914 Travelled overseas to the USA and Europe with George, Frederick Stowe et al, described in fictional terms by George in *There! A Pilgrimage of Pleasure* (1916).
1916. Florence Taylor and Marion Mahony Griffin involved in public debacle over "women's section" of the TPA (see Mahony Griffin, n.d., unpublished memoirs).
1918. Frederick Stowe bought 20 Loftus Street and moved his Marine Engineering College there as well as the Taylor's Building Publishing Company. Also both Stowe and the Taylors soon moved into apartments on the top floor.
1919 Taylor accepted as member of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
1920. Taylor invited by the NSW Institute of Architects to become their first woman member (accepts).
1922. Taylor elected Vice President of Town Planning Association.
1922. Taylor and George travelled to England, Switzerland and east coast USA. Taylor presented to King George and Queen Mary.
1923. Taylor registered as an architect with the Board of Architects of NSW.
1924. Taylor travelled overseas with George, again met King George and Queen Mary. Taylor chosen as one of three representatives of Australia to the British architects Conference at

Oxford University with John Sulman and Alfred Spain; with George she also represented Australia at the British Empire Exhibition. Also visited France and Germany, Spain (where they met Lionel Lindsay and Picasso, according to Maegraith, 1968:chapter6, 3). George wrote memoirs of this trip as *The Ways of the World* (1924).

1928. 20 January, Taylor widowed when George drowned during an epileptic fit in his bath. George left his estate worth £10,147 to his wife (Ludlow, 1990).

1929-mid 1930s. Great Depression. Taylor managed to keep the publishing company afloat, partly by iron-fist tactics with staff (Maegraith, 1968: chapter 4:1-2).

1934. Travelled overseas alone(?) to the Philippines, Japan and China, wrote memoirs of trip in book entitled *A Pot Pourri of Eastern Asia* (1935). Annis held fort together at Building Publishing Company.

1936. Frederick Stowe died.

1939. 3 July?, Taylor awarded OBE. Was given reception in her honour by Arts Club with 300 guests, 3/7/1939 Australia Hotel.

1939-1945. WWII, Building Publishing Company run by women. Florence forms Women's Auxiliary to the New Guard (short-lived) and designs and builds air raid shelter at 20 Loftus Street.

c.1946 Donated Florence Taylor Medal to be awarded by the Australian Institute of Medals.

1950. Travelled to USA, also Central and South America with Annis for 4 months.

1955. 16 November, "Citizen's Appreciation Luncheon" for Taylor with 1,000 guests.

1959. J. M. Giles *50 Years of Town Planning with Florence Taylor,* published by Building Publishing Company.

c.1960. Sold 20 Loftus street and moved Building Publishing Company to Walker Street North Sydney.

1961. 1 June, Taylor retired. Taylor accepted "Commander of Most Excellent Order of the British Empire" (CEO). Her sister and companion Annis died 28/6/1961, and Taylor began the long series of illnesses that marked the end of her life. Her younger sister Jane was living with her as housekeeper from late 1950s until her death.

c.1960s. Blaxland Galleries held exhibition on Taylor's work.

1969. 13 February, Taylor died, leaving an estate of $226 281 to five nephews and one niece—however, according to nephew Frank March, the family received only a tiny fraction of the proceeds (interviews with March, 1998-1999) *(SMH 9/10/69)*.

List of awards and memorials established by Florence Taylor

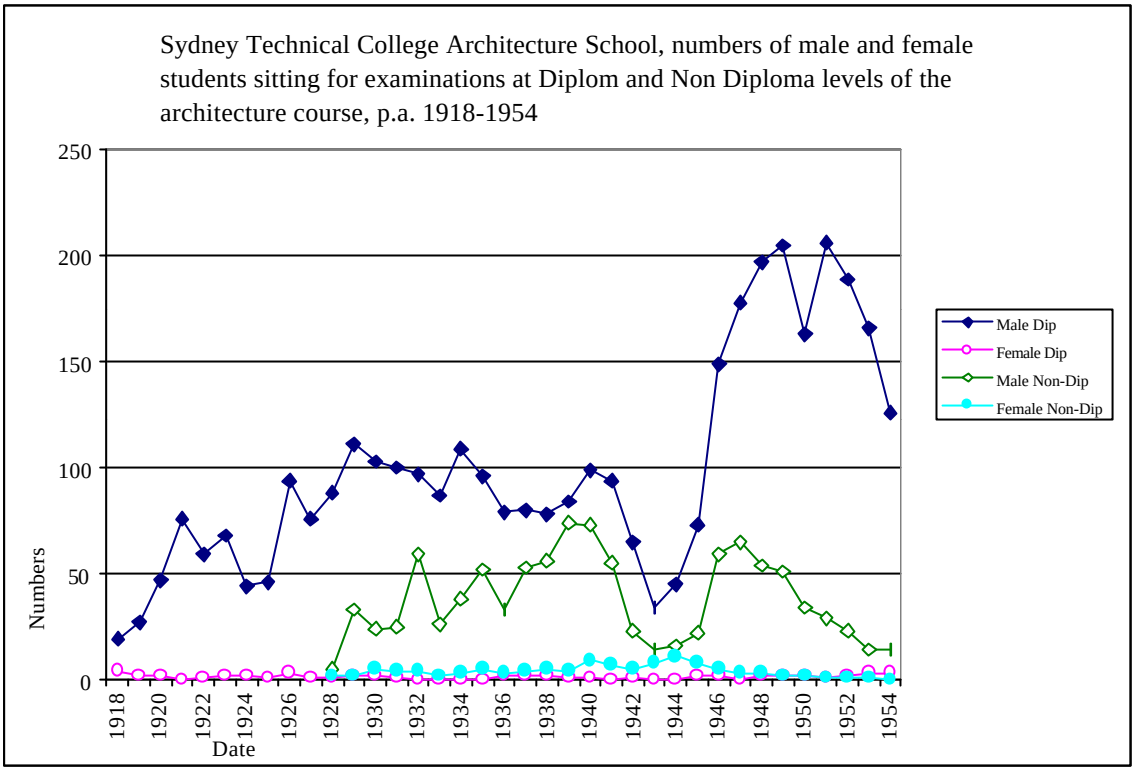
George Taylor Gold Medal, Royal Aeronautical Society (based on £1,000 donated by FMT in 1963).

George a. Taylor Memorial Medal, Local Government Engineers Association. (Letter to FMT thanking her for presenting medal, from O. Peters, Secretary, 30/4/1946, Murray, 1976, appendix).

George Taylor Memorial Lecture, University of Sydney (based on £1,100 contributed by citizens of Sydney in 1929 for approximately 7 lectures (FMT letter in 1965 to UoS asked if lectureship still going, and offered to donate a further £2000 to 3000 in her will for its continuance, although Murray says this didn't eventuate) (Murray, 1976, appendix).

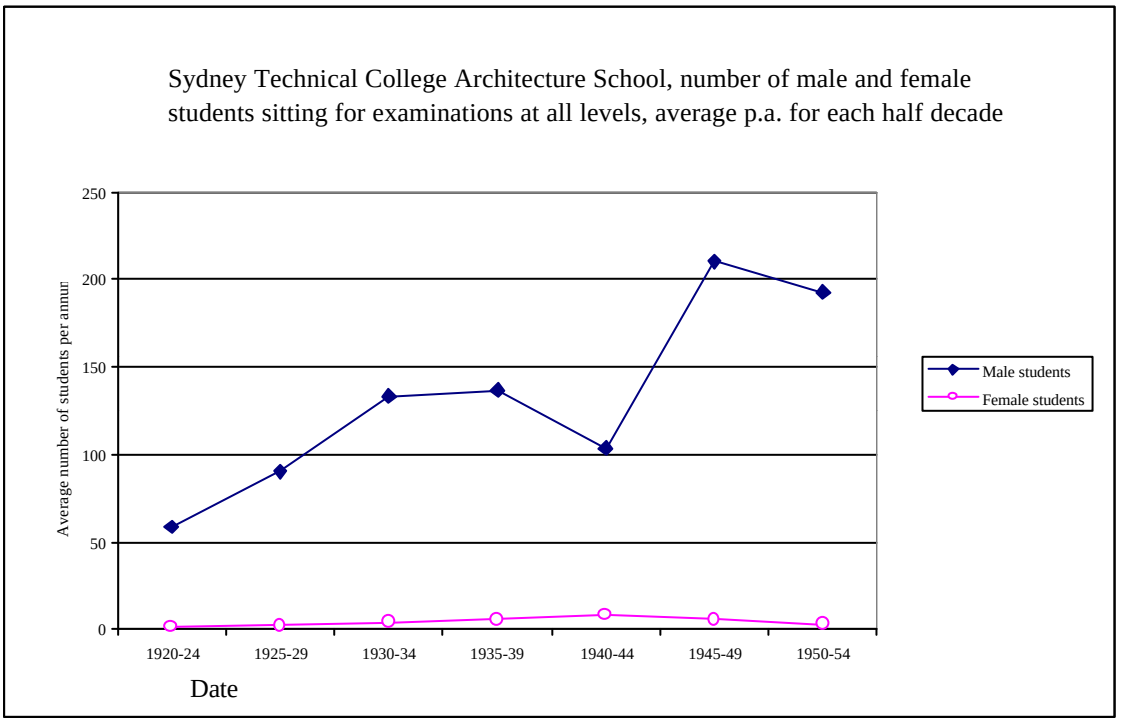
George Taylor memorial for work in wireless, Heathcote, opened 20/3/1968 (organised and designed by Maegraith, who taped ceremony for FMT to hear).

Graph 1



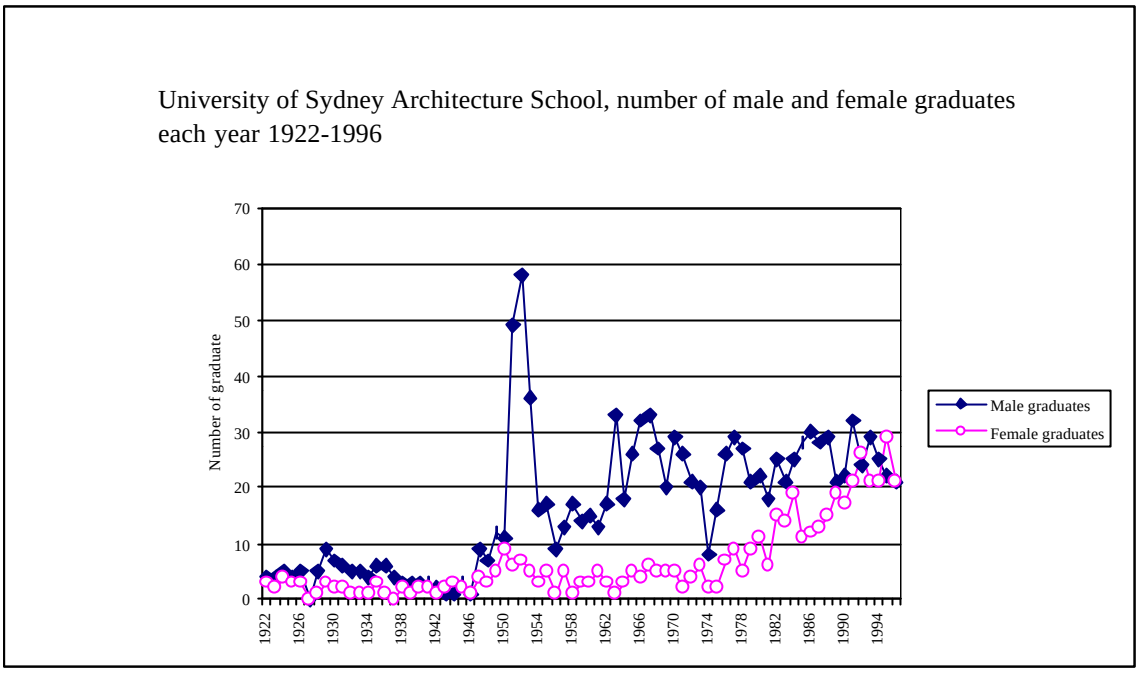
Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

Graph 2



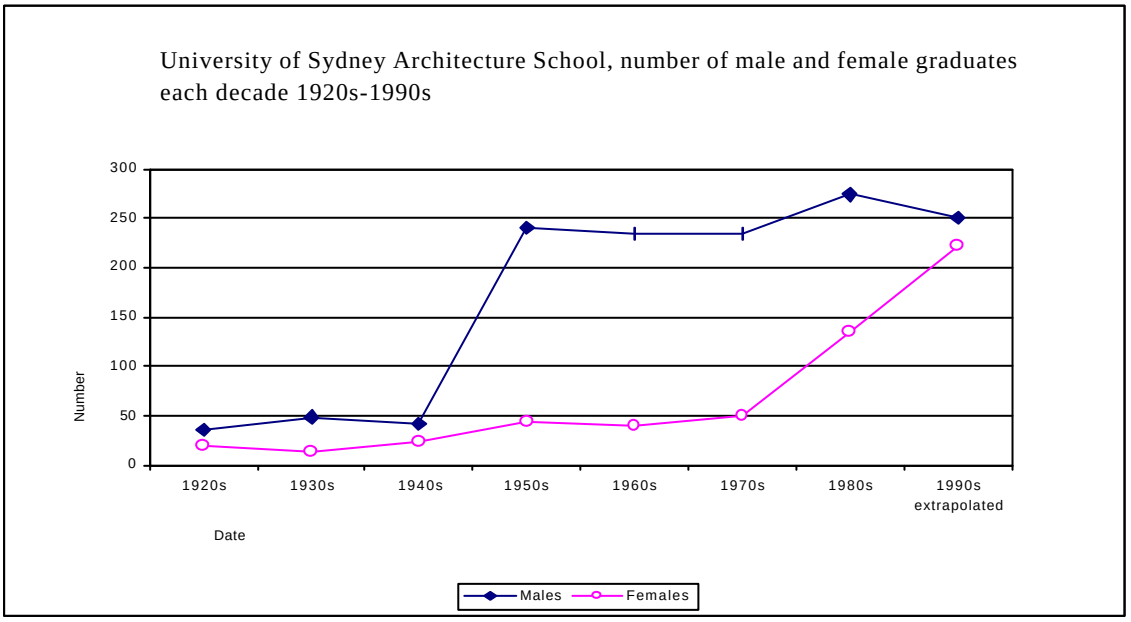
Source: NSW Archives, STC Examination Register.

Graph 3



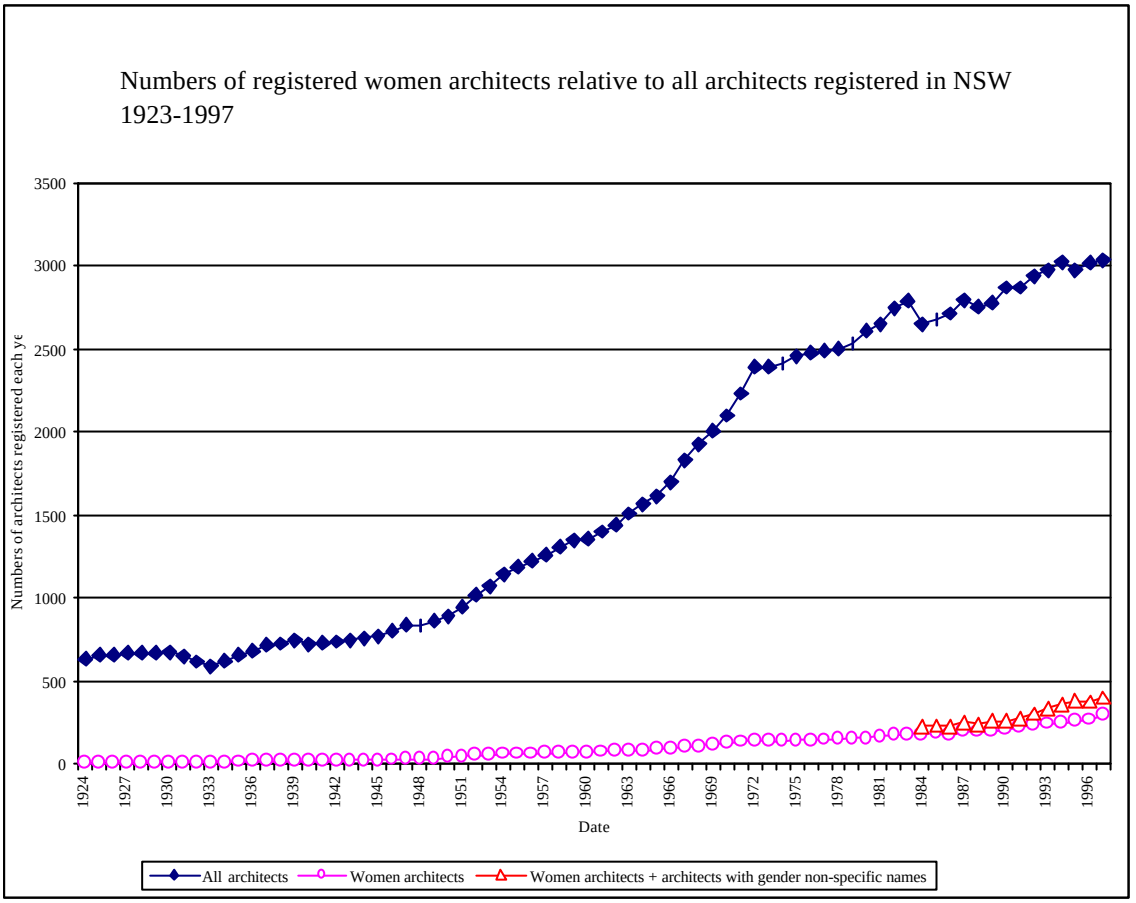
Source: for 1922-1944, University of Sydney Calendars, for 1945-1960, University of Sydney graduation leaflets, for 1961-1996 courtesy Sue Clarke, Faculty of Architecture research assistant, University of Sydney.

Graph 4



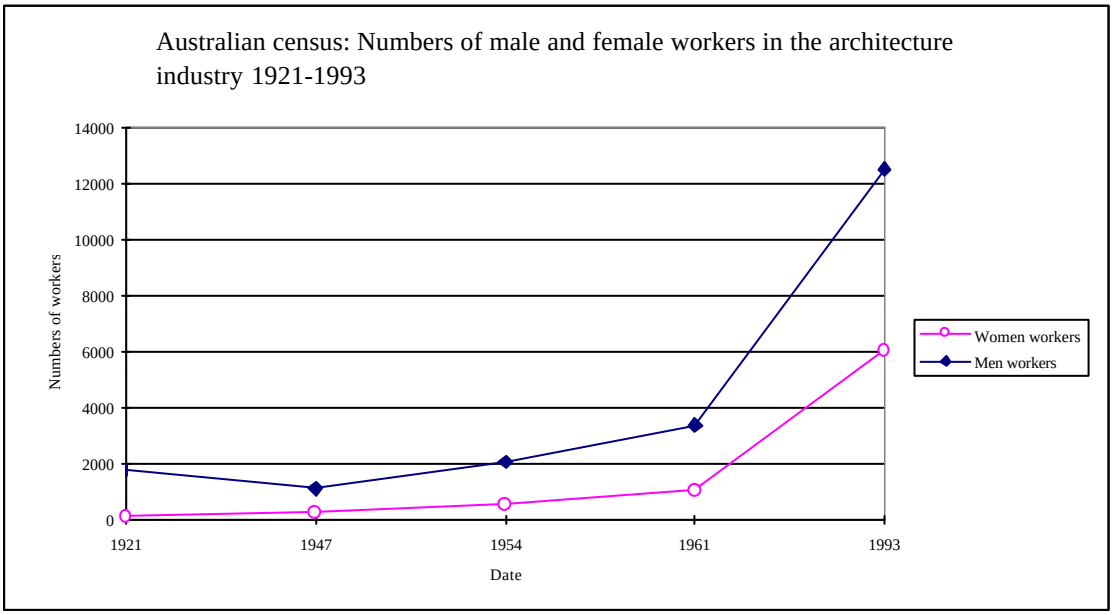
Source: for 1922-1944, University of Sydney Calendars, for 1945-1960, University of Sydney graduation leaflets, for 1961-1996 courtesy Sue Clarke, Faculty of Architecture research assistant, University of Sydney.

Graph 5



Source: Board of Architects of NSW annual list of registered architects 1923-1997.

Graph 6



Source: ABS.

Table 1

Cohort study of sample of 53 early women architects who graduated from the University of Sydney or UNSW before 1960 out of total of 106 women graduates (see appendices 9, 10, 12, 13). Arranged in chronological order of year of qualification.

	Biographical details				Career length				Predominant career type: Architectural design					Other
Name	**Secondary school**	**Year of qual.**	**Married (When) {Husband's job} [Number of children]**	**Primary place of residence**	**F/T, full length**	**F/T, early retire**	**Mix of F/T and P/T**	**Little paid work**	**Em-ploy-ee**	**Part'ship with hus-band**	**Sole prac-ition-er**	**Other paid work**	**Little paid work**	**Focus of work**
Ms P	PLC East Melbourne	1922 UoS	Yes (1920s) {Barrister} [2]	Melbourne			X				X			Architectural design—domestic, CBD refurbishment, public housing, public lecturer.
Ms Mc	Private school	1922 UoS	No	Country NSW (Blue Mountains)			X		X					Architectural design—commercial, later domestic design work for family.
Ms N	SCEGGS Redlands	1922 UoS	No	Sydney (north shore)	X						X			Architectural design—domestic, community, institutional.
Ms McC	Parramatta Girls	1923 UoS	No	Sydney (north-west suburbs/Southern Highlands)	X							X		Ceramics.
Ms E	Domenican Convent Strathfield	1924 UoS	No	Sydney (inner west)		X			X					Architectural design—churches, domestic. Also town planning. Also academic writing.
Ms M	Meridan Strathfield	1925 UoS	Yes (1950s) {Architect} [0]	Sydney/Canberra				X					X	Languages—Pushkin Society.
Ms S	Shirley College Edgecliff	1926 UoS	Yes (1936) {Architect} [1]	Canberra		X				X				Architectural design—domestic, institutional.
Ms H	SCEGGS Darlinghurst	1926 UoS	Yes (1930) {Accountant} [2]	Country NSW (various western towns)			X		X					Architectural design—domestic, community, volunteer for National Trust.
Ms W	SCEGGS Darlinghurst	1926 UoS	Yes (1928) {?} [2]	Brisbane				X					X	Housekeeping.
Ms A	Sydney Girls High	1928 UoS	Yes (1942) {Architect} [1]	Sydney (eastern suburbs and north shore)		X				X				Architectural design—domestic, institutional, commercial, urban design, public housing. Also Moral Rearmament.
Ms G	Ravenswood, SCEGGS	1929 UoS	Yes (?) {Engineer} [2]	Sydney (north shore)			X				X			Architectural design—domestic.

Ms D	Sydney Girls High	1929 UoS	Yes (1936) {Engineer} [6]	Sydney (north shore)	X						X				Architectural design—domestic, church, schools. Also wrote poetry.
Ms M	Abbotsleigh	1930 UoS	Yes (?) {Engineer} [2]	Sydney (north shore)		X			X						Architectural design—domestic with Ellice Nosworthy, public works.
Ms T	Bowral High, Parramatta High	1930 UoS	No		X							X			Science—sheep genetics with CSIRO. Honorary PhD.
Ms F		1931 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [0]	Sydney (north shore)			X		X						Architectural design—domestic and lighting design. Also administration.

Table 1 continued

Name	High school	Year of qual.	Married (When) {Husband's job} [Number of children]	Primary place of residence	F/T, full length	F/T, early retire	Mix of F/T and P/T	Little paid work	Em-ploy-ee	Part'ship with husb.	Sole prac-ition-er	Other paid work	Little paid work	Focus of work
Ms A	Merton Hall, VIC	1931 UoS	Yes (1937) {Farmer} [1]	Country NSW (Wagga Wagga)			X				X			Architectural design—domestic.
Ms M		1935 UoS	Yes (1937) {Farmer} [4]	Country NSW (near Wagga Wagga)				X					X	Farming. Some honorary design for local community.
Ms C	Abbotsleigh	1935 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [2]	Sydney (north shore)			X			X				Architectural design—domestic, commercial. Also art.
Ms C	Frensham	1938 UoS	Yes (1938) {Architect} [4]	Sydney (north shore)			X				X			Architectural design—domestic, community.
Ms B	Abbotsleigh	1940 UoS	No	Melbourne/London	X				X					Architectural design.
Ms W	Abbotsleigh	1940 UoS	Yes (1951) {Architect} [1]	Sydney (north shore)		X			X					Architectural design—public works.
Ms T	Mudgee High	1941	Yes (1946) {Architect} [0]	USA	X					X				Architectural design—commercial.
Ms M	Loreto Convent North Sydney	1943 UoS	No	Sydney (north shore)		X			X					Architectural design—domestic, church, institutional. Also Catholic women's organisation (the Grail).
Ms D	Frensham	1944 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [?]	Adelaide				X					X	Housekeeping.
Ms M	Winona High North Sydney	1944 UoS	Yes (1943)- {Architect} [1]	Sydney (north shore)			X					X		Academic research and teaching. Architectural design—domestic. Also industrial design. Also writer and editor.
Ms C	Frensham	1945 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [0]	Sydney (eastern suburbs)	X							X		Town planning in Northern America and Jamaica.
Ms L	Loreto Convent Normanhurst	1945 UoS	No	Sydney (north shore)	X							X		Real estate. Developing historic village of Yerranderie, including design of renovations and landscape.
Ms W		1945 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [1]	Canberra			X		X					Architectural design.
Ms H	Kambala,	194	Yes (?)	England				X					X	House mother at husband's boarding

	Frensham	7 UoS	{Teacher } [4?]											school in Rugby, UK.
Ms H	Kambala, Frensham	1947 UoS	Yes (1940s) {Engineer} [2]	Sydney (north shore)			X					X		Architectural science in industry and academia. PhD.
Ms W		1948 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [3]	Sydney (north shore/southern highlands)			X					X		Horticulture.
Ms F		1949 UoS	Yes (1952) {?} [5]	Sydney (north west suburbs)		X					X			Architectural design—domestic, schools, community.
Ms L	Frensham	1950 UoS	Yes (1951) {Farmer} [4]	Country NSW (Walgett)				X					X	Farming. Art. Local politics. Some architectural design for local community.
Ms K		1950 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [3]	Sydney (north shore)		X			X					Architectural design.
Ms W		1950 UoS	Yes (1953) {Scientist} [2]	Brisbane /South-East-Asia/Country NSW (north west)			X					X		Town planning in South-East Asia. Farming.

Table 1 Continued

Name	High school	Year of qual.	Mar'd (When) {Husband's job} [Number of children]	Primary place of residence	F/T, full length	F/T, early retire	Mix of F/T and P/T	Little paid work	Em-ploy-ee	Part'ship with husb.	Sole prac-ition-er	Other paid work	Little paid work	Focus of work
Ms A		1950 UoS	No	Sydney (eastern suburbs)	X				X					Architectural design
Ms S		1950 UoS	No	Sydney (north shore)	X				X					Architectural design—commercial, church, school, institutional.
Ms W		1950 UoS	Yes (1953) {?} [2]				X				X			Architectural design—domestic, institutional.
Ms J		1951 UoS	Yes (?) ?} [2]	Canberra		X						X		Trained as town planner and worked for federal government in Canberra.
Ms M	Frensham	1951 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [6]	Sydney (north shore)/ Country NSW (Blue Mountains)			X			X				Architectural design—domestic.
Ms S	Frensham	1951 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [3]	Sydney (eastern suburbs)			X			X				Architectural design—domestic, commercial, administration.
Ms A	North Sydney Girls	1951 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [2]	Sydney (north shore)			X				X			Architectural design—domestic.
Ms H		1952 UoS	No	Sydney (eastern suburbs)	X							X		Town planning.
Ms J		1952 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [3]	Sydney (north shore)			X				X			Architectural design—domestic. Also academic teaching.
Ms C	Kincoppel	1952 UoS	Yes (1959)- {Engineer} [2]	Sydney (north shore)		X						X		Administration for husband's engineering business.
Ms B		1952 UoS	Yes (1955) {?} [5]	Sydney (eastern suburbs)				X					X	Housekeeping.
Ms H	Abbotsleigh	1953 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [3]	Sydney (north shore)				X					X	Horticulture.
Ms W		1953 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [3]	Country NSW			X				X			Architectural design—domestic, ecological, heritage.
Ms H		1954 UoS	No	Sydney (eastern suburbs)/Country NSW (near Wagga)		X						X		Interior design and teaching.
Ms L	Private girls school, UK	1955 UNSW	Yes (1958) {Builder} [0]	Sydney (north shore)	X							X		Academic—UNSW, built environment acoustics.
Ms N		1959 UoS	Yes (?) {Architect} [4]	Sydney (north shore)		X				X				Architectural design.

Ms E		1960 UoS	Yes (?) {?} [3]	Country NSW (Portland)			X				X			Architectural design—domestic, community. Also religious publishing and graphic design.
Ms K	Ravenswood, Abbotsleigh	1960 UNSW	Yes (?) {Architect} [2]	Sydney (north shore)		X						X		Architectural design—commercial. Also editing architectural journal.
Total	**35 schools nominated, 6 public.**		**41 married, 16 to architects, 5 to engineers, 36 had child'n.**	**23 lived predominantly in Sydney's north shore.**	**12**	**13**	**20**	**8**	**12**	**7**	**12**	**14**	**8**	**Architectural design—main career for 31, of which at least 24 did domestic design (often amongst other design).**
53					**53**				**53**					

Table 2
Cohort study of sample of 74 qualified women architects working in NSW before 1960 out of total of 145 qualified early women architects (see appendix 1, parts 1 and 2). Minimal details of career and family composition, arranged in chronological and "generational" order.

FIRST GENERATION qualified 1900-1919: 4 women architects

Name	Date and place of qualification	Married	Work after marriage	Children	Work after children	Main type of work
Marion Mahony Griffin	1894 Chicago	Yes	Yes	No	0	Architectural design
Florence Taylor	1904 Sydney Technical College	Yes	Yes	No	0	Publishing
Ms A	1912 Melbourne	No	N/A	No	0	Architectural design/ home care
Beatrice Hutton	1916 Brisbane	N	N/A	N	0	Architectural design/ home care/craftshop

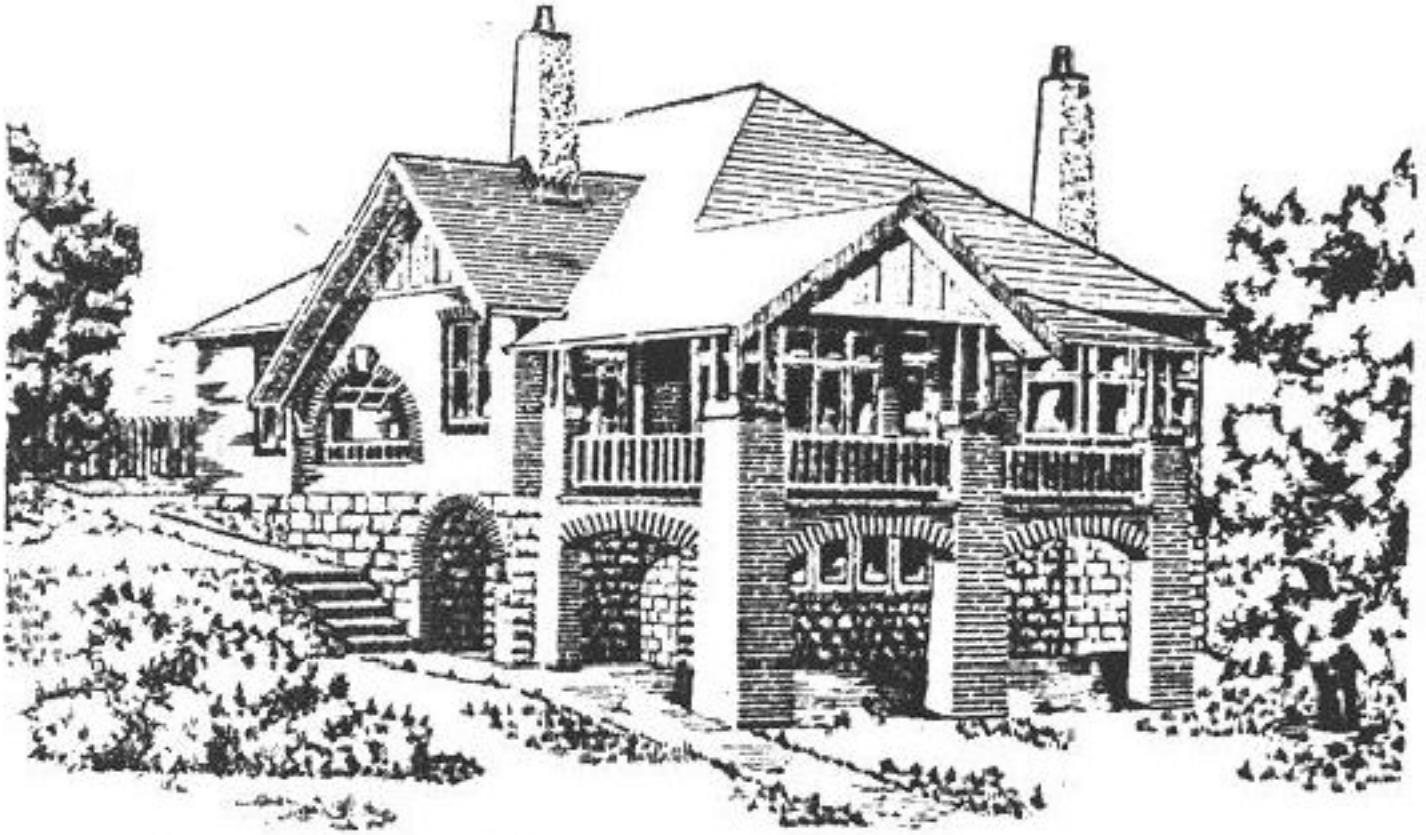
SECOND GENERATION qualified 1920-1939: 25 women architects

Name	Date of qualification	Married	Work after marriage	Children	Work after children	Main type of work
Ms M	1920 Sydney Technical College	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms P	1922 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms M	1922 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms N	1922 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms M	1923 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Ceramics
Ms E	1924 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design and town planning
Ms M	1925 University of Sydney	Yes	No	0	No	Languages
Ms H	1926 Melbourne	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms S	1926 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms H	1926 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms W	1926 University of Sydney	Yes	No	2	No	Housewife
Ms A	1928 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms T	1928 Melbourne	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms G	1929 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms D	1929 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	6	Yes	Architectural design
Helen Newton Turner	1930 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Science—sheep genetics
Ms F	1931 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms A	1931 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms B	1931 Sydney Technical College	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms R	1932 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms B	1934 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms M	1935 University of Sydney	Yes	No	4	No	Farming
Ms C	1935 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	No	Architectural design
Ms B	1937 Zurich	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural writing
Ms C	1938 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	4	Yes	Architectural design

THIRD GENERATION qualified 1940-1959: 45 women architects

Name	Date of qualification	Married	Work after marriage	Children	Work after children	Main type of work
Ms B	1940 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms W	1940 University of Sydney	Yes	No	1	No	Housewife
Ms W	1940 Sydney Technical College	Yes	No	2	No	Housewife
Ms N	1940 Melbourne	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms B	1941 London	Yes	Yes	2	No	Architectural design
Ms T	1941 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms F	1942 Hobart	No	N/A	0	N/A	Academia
Ms M	1943 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design and church activism
Ms M	1944 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design and academia
Ms C	1945 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Architectural design and town planning
Ms L	1945 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Real estate
Ms W	1945 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms S	1946 Sydney Technical College	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms F	1946 Sydney Technical College	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms H	1947 University of Sydney	Yes	No	4	No	Housewife
Ms H	1947 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural science
Ms H	1947 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms W	1948 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	3	Yes	Horticulture
Ms F	1949 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	5	Yes	Architectural design
Ms K	1949 Budapest	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms L	1950 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	4	Yes	Farming
Ms K	1950 University of Sydney	Yes	No	3	No	Housewife
Ms W	1950 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Town planning
Ms A	1950 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms S	1950 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Architectural design
Ms W	1950 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms J	1951 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Town planning
Ms M	1951 University of Sydney	Yes	No	6	No	Housewife
Ms S	1951 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	3	Yes	Architectural design
MS A	1951 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms H	1952 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Town planner
Ms J	1952 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	3	Yes	Architectural design
Ms C	1952 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms B	1952 University of Sydney	Yes	No	5	No	Housewife
Ms H	1953 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	3	No	Housewife
Ms W	1953 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	3	Yes	Architectural design
Ms H	1954 University of Sydney	No	N/A	0	N/A	Interior design
Ms R	1954 Melbourne	Yes	Yes	3	Yes	Architectural design
Ms T	1954 Melbourne	Yes	Yes	3	Yes	Academia
Eve Laron	c.1954 Israel	Yes	Yes	1	Yes	Architectural design
Ms B	1955 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Interior design
Ms L	1955 UNSW	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Academia
Ms N	1955 Melbourne	Yes	Yes	0	N/A	Academia
Ms S	1957 Warsaw	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms A	1958 University of Sydney	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Architectural design
Ms N	1959 University of Sydney	Yes	No	4	No	Housewife

RESULTS	Date of qualification	Married	Work after marriage	Children	Work after children
FIRST GENERATION: 4	**1900-1919**	**2 50% of generation**	**2 100% of married**	**0 0% of generation**	**N/A**
SECOND GENERATION: 25	**1920-1939**	**16 64% of generation**	**13 81% of married**	**13 52% of generation**	**10 40% of generation 77% of mothers**
THIRD GENERATION: 45	**1940-1959**	**37 82% of generation**	**30 81% of married**	**30 67% of generation**	**21 47% of generation 70% of mothers**



A Cottage Drawn by Florence M. Taylor

I like that little sketch because it was done by my life mate. It is a sketch of a building which she not only devised in her mind, but she made the drawing from the idea she had of it and she had it put into shape, or what you may say, built. It is at Neutral Bay, Sydney, Australia.

You, therefore, note the value of the art of drawing.