

**“LES GIRLS EN VOYAGE”:
GENDER, ARCHITECTURE, AND MOBILITY IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY**

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My love is of the middle half of the twentieth century. Technicolor on the wide screen is more
in my line, compared with it television looks absolutely square.
I love moving.

Alison Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, 1966

I long to travel—to travel widely. Oh I wish, I wish I was a man! I want to go alone—to poke
about in all sorts of odd quarters of the Globe.

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, 1924, memorandum, quoted in Shoshkes

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the role of travel and mobility in the lives of women in architecture. How did women, by traveling, writing, and designing, give voice and vision to their life stories? In contrast to linear biographies depicting universal and unique subjects, this study asserts partial, collective, spatial, feminist, and mobile life stories. It studies a group of women architects and planners who lived and worked in Canada, the United States, and England in the mid-twentieth century: Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Jean Wallbridge, and Mary Imrie from Canada; Denise Scott Brown from South Africa and the United States; and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Alison Smithson from England. My focus on mobility provides a fresh understanding of these pioneering women and shows a completely overlooked dimension of their lives and work. Revisiting individual and collective stories through the notion of mobility helps to situate women as protagonists who shaped professional settings according to their needs. This approach encourages the recognition of the wide range of contributions by women to architectural knowledge, design, education, and networking in the mid-twentieth century. Moreover, zooming in on the mobile parts of their lives shifts the focus of feminist architectural history on the constraints that women architects faced, and rather offers a more positive, constructive, and inclusive history.

By assessing alternative forms of evidence, such as diaries, home movies, novels, newspaper clippings, photographs, and letters, in addition to more traditional interviews and architectural sources, this study challenges institutional production as the singular means of professional status. The analysis of women's movement reveals the extent of networks, mentorships, and friendships they formed in different geographies, institutions, vehicles, and landscapes. Mobility allowed women to blur gendered boundaries embedded in the architectural profession and the traditional genre of biography. Through the design, use, and representation of spaces and vehicles of mobility, women did not only transgress borders, but also claimed spatial and professional agency. Being mobile created new roles for women in architecture.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse examine le rôle du voyage et de la mobilité dans la vie et la carrière des femmes en architecture. Comment les femmes, en voyageant, en écrivant et en concevant, ont-elles raconté leur histoire? Quelles voix et quelles visions ont-elles mises de l'avant? Contrairement aux biographies linéaires qui représentent des sujets universels et uniques, cette recherche crée des récits partiels, collectifs, spatiaux, féministes et mobiles. Pour y arriver, j'étudie des femmes architectes et urbanistes qui ont habité et travaillé au Canada, aux États-Unis et en Angleterre au milieu du vingtième siècle : Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Jean Wallbridge et Mary Imrie du Canada, Denise Scott Brown d'Afrique du Sud et des États-Unis, et Jaqueline Tyrwhitt et Alison Smithson d'Angleterre. En me concentrant sur la mobilité de ces femmes pionnières, je montre une nouvelle dimension de leurs vies et travaux négligée jusqu'à présent. Revisiter les histoires individuelles et collectives à travers la notion de mobilité permet de situer ces femmes comme des protagonistes qui ont façonné les cadres professionnels en fonction de leurs besoins. Cette approche encourage la reconnaissance du large éventail de leurs contributions au savoir et au réseautage architecturaux ainsi qu'à l'enseignement et à la pratique de l'architecture au milieu du vingtième siècle. De plus, mon travail sur leur mobilité subvertit la focalisation de l'histoire de l'architecture féministe sur les contraintes auxquelles les femmes sont confrontées et propose une histoire plus positive, constructive et inclusive.

En lisant des documents dont les genres ont été peu étudiés jusqu'à maintenant (journaux intimes, romans, extraits de journaux, photographies et lettres, en plus de sources architecturales et d'entretiens), je remets en question les institutions professionnelles et leurs méthodes de production comme seul moyen de développement professionnel. En effet, l'analyse de mobilités des femmes révèle l'étendue des réseaux, des mentorats et des amitiés qu'elles ont formées dans différentes géographies, institutions, véhicules et paysages. La mobilité a permis aux femmes de brouiller les frontières sexistes ancrées dans la profession d'architecte et le genre traditionnel de la biographie. À travers la conception, l'utilisation et la représentation des espaces et des véhicules de mobilité, les femmes n'ont pas seulement transgressé ces frontières, mais elles ont aussi revendiqué leur agentivité spatiale et professionnelle. En d'autres mots, être mobile a créé de nouveaux rôles pour les femmes en architecture.

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INTRODUCTION

DEPARTURE

When I returned to Ankara from an exchange year in Paris in 2011, I felt compelled to buy a car. The two cities are different: Paris, a dense metropolis whose broad sidewalks invite walking, and Ankara, a more spatially dispersed capital that calls for vehicular movement. Having thoroughly enjoyed walking everywhere alone in Paris, I thought a small car might bring me similar independence in Ankara. I settled on a 1973 Volkswagen Beetle, which became one of the three Beetles in my architecture school's parking lot, the only red one, and the only one owned by a female student. Strangers would approach me on the street, expressing surprise "to see a young woman behind the steering wheel of this old machine." An Albanian friend named it Mendafsh. This means silk in Albanian, just like my name Ipek in Turkish. Was it a subconscious autobiographical link?

In Ankara, Mendafsh carried me in and around the university campus under stormy and sunny skies (and once with a broken handbrake and a ruptured brake line). Friends, professors, and family members were occasional visitors, and it was at the centre of many stories, including the story of how I met my future husband, who owned one of the other Beetles at the architecture school parking lot (the 1974 orange car he named Newton after an incident with an apple). Travel ended my relationship with my beloved car, when I departed to study in Canada at the end of our three happy years together. Looking back now, I can see that what attracted me to the red Beetle was its nostalgic charm, red colour, and plump tortoise shape, as well as the open road it had given me access to (even when saying goodbye).

This notion of departure is a focus of this dissertation, as I venture to develop life stories to explore women in architecture who departed—from homes as well as from expected roles—to break through long-established barriers and roam open roads in diverse, unconventional ways. These roads, by default, have not always been as open to women; they, however, have persevered. Women's stories of departure have inspired me personally and professionally during the course of my doctoral studies, not to mention that in order to trace the stories of women in architecture, my own journey has taken me to parts of the world that I had not anticipated visiting.

My dissertation examines the role of travel and mobility in the lives and practices of women in architecture. I produce mobile and feminist biographies using women's literal and metaphorical movements. I study a group of pioneering women architects and planners who lived and worked in the United States, Canada, and England in the mid-twentieth century, roughly from the 1940s to the 1980s. Specifically, I produce six life stories: of American architect and planner Denise Scott Brown (born 1931), Canadian architects and planners Blanche Lemco van Ginkel (born 1923), Jean Wallbridge (1912–1979), and Mary Imrie (1918–1988), and British architects and planners Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–1983) and Alison Smithson (1928–1993).

I argue that mobility allowed women to negotiate gender norms that were embedded in the architectural profession (access, visibility, exclusivity, specialization), architectural history, and the traditional genre of biography. As travelers, these protagonists confronted male-dominated roads, technologies, and spaces of travel and modernity. As writers, they inhabited marginalized, fictional, in-between, or queer spaces with their mobile stories. As designers,

they envisaged modern architectures of mobility. As critics, they brought discussions of architecture and mobility to broad audiences. I trace how, by traveling, writing, and designing, women gave voice and vision to their life stories. Through mobility, “les girls”—a nickname given to Imrie and Wallbridge—not only transgressed borders, but also claimed spatial and professional agency.

I address the following questions: How did mobility foster women’s careers as designers, educators, and writers? What did it mean for women to travel, record, or build in different landscapes? How did women negotiate new personal and professional identities in exploratory, educational, professional or leisure trips? How did they use mobility (as travel and discourse) to create alternative paths for themselves within the architectural profession? What position did they take amid the postwar global frenzy for machines and technologies of mobility? How did mobility affect their perceptions of space and alter their relationship to the built environment? How did women negotiate new spatial realms through the design, use, representation, and appropriation of spaces and vehicles of mobility? How can a woman traveler, at times privileged and at times estranged, change our ways of seeing architecture and its experiences?

In answering these questions, I counter the emerging literature on travel and architectural history, which establishes a masculine connection between modernity and travel and mostly disregards women’s experiences. I argue that mobility shaped women’s personal and professional identities, perceptions, and practices. Women used mobility to transgress boundaries set by social and professional hierarchies. Being mobile created new roles for women in architecture.

In the mid-twentieth century, architectural education and practice in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom were male-dominated. In the 1940s, only 34 of 301 architectural school graduates in Canada were women; in the 1950s, the number rose to only 37 among 1,011, with 43 women registrants among 1,740 in provincial architectural associations.¹ The situation for women was not very different in the United States: in 1948, there were 1,119 women architecture students, and in 1958, there were 320 registered women architects—only 1 per cent of all registered architects in the country.² In the United Kingdom, percentages were slightly better, though not revolutionary. British women made up 4 per cent of registered architects in the 1960s.³ Moreover, throughout the twentieth century, many women occupied professional niches that were deemed “feminine,” and they were excluded from senior positions.⁴ Both in the United Kingdom and North America, women were expected to specialize in domestic architecture, furniture design, or interior decoration or take up so-called adjunct roles in heritage conservation or planning.⁵ In the United Kingdom, many women architects moved into town planning during the Second World War. The planning profession continued to be male-dominated, however: in the 1960s, fewer than 5 per cent of students and only 3 per cent of qualified members in the profession were women.⁶ Jennifer R. Joynes’s 1959 comment

¹ Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, *Designing Women: Gender and the Architectural Profession* (Toronto:

² Susana Torre, ed., *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney, 1977), 90–91.

³ Elaine Harwood, “Why Are There So Few Women Architects?,” in *AA Women in Architecture 1917–2017*, ed. Elizabeth Darling and Lynne Walker (London: AA Publications, 2017), 86.

⁴ Despina Stratigakos, *Where Are the Women Architects?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 13. For many women, this was due to limitations within the profession and clients, and not personal choice.

⁵ Gwendolyn Wright, “On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 281–84; Lynne Walker, “History: British Women in Architecture (1671–1951),” in *Women Architects: Their Work*, ed. Lynne Walker (London: Sorella, 1984), 19; Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 38.

⁶ Clara H. Greed, “Is More Better? Mark II – with Reference to Women Town Planners in Britain,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 16, no. 3 (1993): 264.

in the Canadian *RAIC Journal* is revelatory: “the architectural profession is not an easy road to travel for a woman.”⁷ Here, the metaphorical mobility of travel was a synonym for struggle for women. However small in numbers, though, women architects and planners opened new paths and traveled between gendered associations in alternative ways.

The traditional assumption that women were more suitable for designing houses or serving in secondary roles was no coincidence. Various practices and representations of mobility—the leaving of home—evoked progress and advancement, and were tied to masculinity and colonialism. Within the profession of architecture, travel has been historically tied to creation, imagination, and development: from the travels of the aspiring architect to modern architectures that elicit technology, movement, and transience.⁸ Especially with the ease and prevalence of different modes of travel in the twentieth century, architects, ideas, and various forms of architecture moved at an unprecedented speed. Travel allowed architects to shift points of view, transform their selves, and mediate between different identities. Nonetheless, the assumed relationship between modernity and the departure from home entailed the “modern man,” who was to break free from domestic ties in order to venture out into modern life and explore a foreign land.⁹ Indeed, opportunities for exchange and travel were unequal in terms of race, class, and gender, and women’s movements have often been ignored in traditional architectural history. As Jos Boys from the Matrix Feminist Design Co-operative

⁷ Jennifer R. Joynes, “Women in the Architectural Profession,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 36, no. 9 (1959): 321.

⁸ Jilly Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” in *Travel, Space, Architecture*, ed. Jilly Traganou and Miodrag Mitrašinić (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 4–7.

⁹ Hilde Heynen, “Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions,” in *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (London: Routledge, 2005), 2.

states, women have been “made to appear less mobile—or less than women if they [were] mobile.”¹⁰

For me, mobility is a tool that should be used to discuss gender and architecture in order to reveal hesitations, pluralities, exchanges, conflicts, fluidities, and negotiations. The white femininities and class privileges of these women meant that they could attend schools of architecture, acquire professional licences, or travel for leisure or work in the face of discrimination based on legal status, race, class, and disability. Yet, their experiences differed from those of male architects. Their experiences denoted gendered positions within the profession and when on the move, and their stories reveal an interesting exercise of power, wealth, and ability to travel. Moreover, in motion, the boundaries of the above-mentioned identity categories were constantly blurred and redefined. Women’s stories reflect the ways in which women negotiated their gendered identities in this constant flux. By looking at their experiences through the concept of mobility, I dismantle binary definitions embedded in architectural history, such as public and private, feminine and masculine, colonizer and colonial, East and West, North and South, heterosexual and queer, high-style and vernacular, home and away, individual and collective, and gaze and object.

The protagonists of this study offer a diverse set of examples of professional–personal life intersections. This diversity presents a rich platform for reconsidering essentially masculinist binaries of work–leisure and work–family as well as the issues of authorship and partnership within the scope of mobility. Three cases are women designers in husband-and-wife

¹⁰ Jos Boys, “Women and Public Space,” in *Matrix, Making Space: Women and the Man-Made Environment* (London: Pluto Press, 1984): 41.

partnerships. These women engaged in both solo and collaborative travel, teaching, and theoretical work. One of the women worked and traveled as an individual, and the other two were life partners.¹¹ Collaboration with a life companion blurred the social and spatial distinction between private and professional life. The home was a space to continue work discussions, and family was never far from the office.¹²

A similar slippage occurred during travel. Mobility dissolved the rigidity of the professional enclave, drawing work close to fun. While on the move, it was okay to have companions, children, and family matters on board. I argue that this *blurring* helped women. On the one hand, they used travel as a tool to access alternative professional venues—they opened the door further. On the other hand, they negotiated gendered social expectations and restrictions imposed on them by using the professional image of travel as a disguise to accommodate private matters, be it taking care of children or living with a same-sex partner on the move. Studying multiple lives allows me to compare women's distinct experiences in terms of partnership, collaboration, agency, and networking within larger social structures.

¹¹ Unsurprisingly for the period, Imrie and Wallbridge never made a public statement about their sexuality. The three articles on their lives and work, written in the 1990s by Annmarie Adams, Erna Dominey, and Monica Contreras, Luigi Ferrara, and Daniel Karpinski, as well as their biography on the "Women Building Alberta" website, subtly imply the architects' "unusual" living conditions and note their rejection of marriage; however, they do not use the words "queer" or "lesbian." It is my interpretation in this thesis, made after analyses of their lives, their travels, and especially their house, Six Acres (which included one master bedroom with two twin beds), as well as discussions with Annmarie Adams, that the two architects were life partners.

¹² Such couple collaborations existed in other professions too, such as science, art, medicine, or engineering. See for example Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina G. Abir-Am, eds., *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Suzanne Le-May Sheffield, "Gendered Collaborations: Marrying Art and Science," in *Figuring It Out: Science, Gender, and Visual Culture*, ed. Ann B. Shteir and Bernard Lightman (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2006): 240–64; Annette Lykknes, Donald L. Opitz, and Brigitte van Tiggelen, eds., *For Better or for Worse: Collaborative Couples in the Sciences* (London: Birkhäuser, 2012).

Scholars argue that for women in heterosexual relationships, spousal collaboration worked to surpass professional sexism, as it helped women to reach larger commissions and better opportunities.¹³ But despite the intricate nature of office work, which can complicate authorship, gendered assumptions ascribed leading roles to men and marginal (if not non-existent) ones to women in such collaborations.¹⁴ Scott Brown notes that her husband Robert Venturi's and her "ideas have grown together and there is no clear cleavage between our professional roles; we each are 'both/and', and we make a 'difficult whole' – too difficult for the critics, who have abandoned the task of accurate attribution."¹⁵ All too often, critics were preoccupied with disentangling husband-and-wife partnerships with a determination that male collaborations were spared.¹⁶ Queer partnerships were excluded from the discussion, too.

This preoccupation with authorship has been a patriarchal manoeuvre, assigning hierarchical positions to group members and often putting one individual under the spotlight. It suggests a culture of competition and inhibition. Recovering women's contributions in collaborations has been a valuable endeavour in feminist architectural research; nonetheless, it has extended the discussion on authorship. In this study, I propose changing the subject: I trace women's work

¹³ Piotr Marciniak, "Spousal Collaboration as a Professional Strategy for Women Architects in the Polish People's Republic," in *Ideological Equals: Women Architects in Socialist Europe 1945–1989*, ed. Mary Pepchinski and Mariann Simon (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 74. See also Beatriz Colomina, "Couplings," *OASE* 51 (1999): 20–33; Colomina, "Collaborations: The Private Life of Modern Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 462–71; Pat Kirkham, "The Personal, the Professional and the Partner(ship): The Husband/Wife Collaboration of Charles and Ray Eames," in *Feminist Cultural Theory: Process and Production*, ed. Beverley Skeggs (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995): 207–26.

¹⁴ Hilde Heynen, "Genius, Gender and Architecture: The Star System as Exemplified in the Pritzker Prize," *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 338; Marciniak, "Spousal Collaboration as a Professional Strategy," 73.

¹⁵ Denise Scott Brown, "Paralipomena in Urban Design," *Architectural Design* 60, no. 1–2 (1990): 7.

¹⁶ Heynen, "Genius, Gender and Architecture," 341.

through their personal histories interwoven with mobility in order to create a sharper picture of the ties between their biographies and practices on the move.

Methodology and Original Contribution

The main motivation of this research has been to see how the tools, forms, spaces, and experiences of mobility and travel made a difference for women in architecture. I trace women's mobile experiences to cast women in the foreground in innovative and unexpected roles. I see leisure travel as transformative movement and mobility as network and as blurring of (gendered) boundaries. With this particular approach to gender, architecture, and mobility, my study makes six main contributions to the existing literature.

First, this research engages methods of feminist theory, auto/biographical studies, and travel studies, and proposes a new methodology for adding female stories to architectural history. It looks at architecture and material culture through the lives of women (who were designers, users, or passersby) and with a focus on their mobile encounters and spatial appropriations. Consequently, it addresses the existing gender gap within the intersection of architecture and travel studies. By building on feminist critiques of auto/biographical studies, this study creates fragmented, temporal, and spatial narratives and dismantles the idea of unique, autonomous, and coherent selves. As feminist literary scholars Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson argue, life stories are divided temporally, and we can have only partial perspectives on the "moving target" of pasts.¹⁷ As a methodological approach, I propose to assess this partiality,

¹⁷ Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 61.

inconsistency, temporality, and collectivity by emphasizing movement. By zooming in on particular instances in women's lives, I propose an alternative to masculinist linear biographies of supposedly "unique" subjects. In doing so, I join feminist architectural historians in reintegrating biography into women's histories in architecture and "revealing personal meanings and strategies in space."¹⁸ While doing so, though, I depart from the conventional way of writing women's lives, either as a reflection of men's lives or following traditional, masculinist biographical methods. I introduce mobility to this task and use women's experiences to arrive at partial, collective, and mobile narratives.¹⁹ I treat these stories as case studies of larger social structures rather than as ideal, heroic, or "eccentric lives."²⁰ Inspired by feminist collective biographical writing, I depart from fragmentary and temporal stories to arrive at a more interconnected and complex narrative.²¹ I do not claim to create a definitive set of cases. Rather, I suggest that women from different contexts and with different motivations engaged in new conversations through personal or architectural mobility. In this respect, my study is also informed by the notion of female friendship and intimacy as a professional and emotional support system (as mentorship, solidarity, or sisterhood).²² Women

¹⁸ Dana Arnold and Joanna Sofaer, "Introduction: Biographies and Space," in *Biographies and Space: Placing the Subject in Art and Architecture*, ed. Dana Arnold and Joanna Sofaer (London: Routledge, 2007), 1.

¹⁹ Sidonie Smith's work is inspirational: Sidonie Smith, *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women's Travel Writing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

²⁰ Kristen Frederickson, "Introduction: Histories, Silences, and Stories," in *Singular Women: Writing the Artist*, ed. Kristen Frederickson and Sarah E. Webb (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 8.

²¹ Alison Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman: Collective Biography History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 9. Also see Krista Cowman, "Collective Biography," in *Research Methods for History*, ed. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 83–100. In architecture, see Abigail Van Slyck, "Women in Architecture and the Problems of Biography," *Design Book Review* 25 (Summer 1992): 19–22.

²² See for instance, Liz Stanley, "Feminism and Friendship," in *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 214–37; Lauren Berlant, "Intimacy: A Special Issue," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (Winter 1998): 281–88; Catherine Clay, *British Women Writers 1914–1945: Professional Work and Friendship* (London: Routledge 2006); Barbara Caine, ed. *Friendship: A History* (London:

used friendships to resist oppressive gendered systems,²³ and mobility enabled new friendships, new dialogues, new networks.

Second, by analyzing the breadth of women's contributions to architectural knowledge, design, education, and networking made possible by mobility in the postwar period, this dissertation contests that institutional production methods (such as drawing or building) are singular means of architectural status. Using experiences of mobility, it offers new definitions of architecture and professional practice and challenges traditional and masculinist models. Mobility is particularly important in this task, since the blurred distinction between the professional and the personal when on the move helped women invent new methods for and approaches to architectural knowledge, theory, and design. The search for women's alternative approaches and mobile experiences ("interior life of the subject"²⁴) necessitates reading alternative forms of evidence, such as the personal diary (a "useful female space"²⁵ and a "lesser form of autobiography,"²⁶ according to literary scholar Elizabeth Podnieks). I extend the idea of "lesser forms" of evidence in architecture (in parallel to architectural historian Cheryl Buckley's term, "negative spaces," occupied by women²⁷): travel writing versus literature,²⁸ amateur home

Equinox Publishing, 2009); Mark Peel, Liz Reed, and James Walter, "The Importance of Friends: The Most Recent Past," in *Friendship: A History*, ed. Barbara Caine, 317–55; Marilyn Yalom and Theresa D. Brown, *The Social Sex: A History of Female Friendship* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2015).

²³ Peel, Reed, and Walter, "The Importance of Friends: The Most Recent Past," 333.

²⁴ Paula R. Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 138.

²⁵ Elizabeth Podnieks, "Introduction: Private Lives/Public Texts: Women's Diary Literature," *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 17, no. 1 (2001): 3.

²⁶ Podnieks, 1.

²⁷ Cheryl Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design," *Design Issues* 3, no. 2 (1986): 6.

²⁸ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1993), 2.

movies versus documentary film,²⁹ writing versus architectural design. These marginalized forms, tools, and spaces provided women with new platforms on which to reconstruct their experiences. Tracing women's footsteps (who not only designed, but also traveled and wrote on architecture) using these overlooked forms contests gendered hierarchies within the profession. This approach allows me to explore new meanings of the postwar built environment and modern architecture, as they were seen through women's eyes. Women constructed, influenced, and studied architecture and also turned to texts and images to share architectural knowledge. Their innovative roles surpassed traditional and professional limits on the way to professional development.

Third, through an examination of their (life) journeys, this study inspires a fresh understanding of these pioneering women's lives and work. The women architects and planners studied in this dissertation have been partially included in other narratives in architectural history.³⁰ Only a

²⁹ See Patricia R. Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), x.

³⁰ There is one biographical book, a journal issue in memoriam, and a number of scholarly articles on Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's work and life: Diana F. Ladas and Catharine Huws Nagashima, eds., *Ekistics: Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt in Memoriam* 52, no. 314–315 (1985); Ellen Shoshkes, "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Founding Mother of Modern Urban Design," *Planning Perspectives* 21, no. 2 (2006): 179–97; Michael Darroch, "Bridging Urban and Media Studies: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and the Explorations Group, 1951–1957," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 33, no. 2 (2008): 147–69; Farhan S. Karim, "Negotiating a New Vernacular Subjecthood for India, 1914–54: Patrick Geddes, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, and the Anti-Utopian Turn," *South Asia Journal for Culture* 5–6 (2011/2012): 51–72; Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Transnational Life in Urban Planning and Design* (London: Routledge, 2013); Shoshkes, "Visualizing the Core of an Ideal Democratic Community: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Post-War Planning Exhibitions," in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. Robert Freestone and Marco Amati (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 193–208. There is a recent auto/biographical, interactive, story-like account exclusively on Denise Scott Brown's work and life by Jeremy E. Tenenbaum, *Your Guide to Downtown Denise Scott Brown* (Zurich: Park Books, 2019). On Venturi and Scott Brown, see for example Stanislaus von Moos, *Venturi, Rauch and Scott Brown* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987); von Moos, *Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates: Buildings and Projects, 1986–1998* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1999); Hilar Stadler, Martino Stierli, and Peter Fischli, eds., *Las Vegas Studio: Images from the Archives of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown* (Zurich: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2008); von Moos and Stierli, eds., *Eyes that Saw: Architecture After Las Vegas* (Zurich: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2020). There is a master's thesis and a doctoral dissertation on Blanche Lemco van Ginkel: Margaret E. Hodges, "Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel and H. P. Daniel Van Ginkel: Urban Planning" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2004); Adrienne Richter, "Blanche

selected number of these works offer feminist interpretations, and the implications of mobility for these women's careers and lives have been completely overlooked. Works on Alison Smithson have focused on her contributions to postwar architectural discourse (i.e., New Brutalism), her involvement in the Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM) and Team 10, her friendship with heroic figures of the postwar architectural milieu, and her architectural collaboration with her husband Peter Smithson, as well as the couple's architectural writing in books and journals.³¹ We know Denise Scott Brown as a postmodern

Lemco Van Ginkel, *Montreal Modernist*," (MA thesis, Carleton University, 2002). Lemco van Ginkel's short biography is included in the Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation's online Pioneering Women of American Architecture list: Annmarie Adams and Tanya Southcott, "Blanche Lemco van Ginkel," *Pioneering Women of American Architecture*, ed. Mary McLeod and Victoria Rosner, the Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation, <https://pioneeringwomen.bwaf.org/blanche-lemco-van-ginkel>. Accessed January 21, 2020. See also Margaret E. Hodges, "Expressway Aesthetics: Montreal in the 1960s," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 37, no. 1 (2012): 45–55. On Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, see "Jean Louise Wallbridge and Mary Louise Imrie," *Women Building Alberta: The Early Female Architects of Alberta*, ed. Cheryl Mahaffy, <https://womenbuildingalberta.wordpress.com/jean-louise-emberly-wallbridge-mary-louise-imrie>. Accessed August 22, 2018; Erna Dominey, "Wallbridge and Imrie: The Architectural Practice of Two Edmonton Women, 1950–1979," *SSAC Bulletin SEAC* 17, no. 1 (March 1992): 12–18. Imrie's, Wallbridge's, and Lemco van Ginkel's works are included in a number of articles on Canadian women architects: Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, "Slowly and Surely (and Somewhat Painfully): More or Less the History of Women in Architecture in Canada," *SSAC Bulletin SEAC* 17, no. 1 (March 1992): 5–11; Monica Contreras, Luigi Ferrara, and Daniel Karpinski, "Breaking In: Four Early Female Architects," *The Canadian Architect* 38, no. 11 (1993): 18–23; Annmarie Adams, "Building Barriers: Images of Women in Canada's Architectural Press, 1924–73," *Resources for Feminist Research* 23, no. 3 (1994): 11–23; Adams, "'Archi-Ettes' in Training: The Admission of Women to McGill's School of Architecture," *SSAC Bulletin SEAC* 21, no. 3 (September 1996): 70–73; Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*. On Alison and Peter Smithson's work, see Dirk van den Heuvel, ed., *Rearrangements, A Smithson's Celebration OASE* 51 (June 1999); Pamela Johnston, Rosa Ainley, and Clare Barrett, eds., *Architecture Is Not Made with the Brain: The Labour of Alison and Peter Smithson* (London: Architectural Association, 2005); Max Risselada, ed., *Alison and Peter Smithson: A Critical Anthology* (Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 2011); Dirk van den Heuvel, "Alison and Peter Smithson: A Brutalist Story, Involving the House, the City and the Everyday (Plus a Couple of Other Things)" (PhD diss., TU Delft, 2013); M. Christine Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture: Writing around Alison and Peter Smithson* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017); Mark Crinson, *Alison and Peter Smithson* (Swindon: Historic England, 2018). In 2018, film director Joseph Hillel made a documentary on four women architects, among them Scott Brown and Lemco van Ginkel: *Rêveuses de villes/City Dreamers*, directed by Joseph Hillel (Canada: Maison 4:3, 2018).

³¹ The Smithsons wrote extensively on their work in numerous journals, for example, *Architectural Design*, and books, for example *Urban Structuring: Studies of Alison and Peter Smithson* (London: Studio Vista, 1967); *Ordinariness and Light* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970); *Without Rhetoric: An Architectural Aesthetic, 1955–1972* (1973; repr., Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974); *Alison and Peter Smithson: The Shift*, ed. David Dunster (London: Academy Editions, 1982); *The Charged Void: Architecture* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2001); *The Charged Void: Urbanism* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2005).

theorist³² and a feminist—especially through the struggle that was initiated to include her name in the 1991 Pritzker Architecture Prize awarded to Robert Venturi alone, a decision that ignored their decades-long partnership. Tyrwhitt has been mostly analyzed through her relationship with prominent male figures in architecture, such as Sigfried Giedion, Patrick Geddes, or Marshall McLuhan. Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, who has received significant public attention in recent years, is mostly known for her work at Le Corbusier’s office, her rooftop design for Unité d’Habitation in Marseille. Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, among the first women architects of Canada, are less well known. Analyses of their careers have mainly focused on the couple’s domestic designs. In this study, I use mobility to reveal an unknown and overlooked side of these women’s life stories: I link the multifaceted connections among their real and metaphorical journeys in different vehicles, texts, projects, and designs. This new aspect of their lives is important, because it reveals the numerous strategies that they employed while moving, writing, and designing for movement—to find a crack, to take up space, to blur limitations, to establish themselves.

Fourth, this research analyzes a context that is broader and transnational than what studies on women in architecture have examined before. By looking at women who worked and lived in three different countries (and traveled to even more), this study collages the experiences of women together. It shows that women from dispersed geographical locations connected and conversed with each other in numerous ways. These protagonists did not form a particular

³² Like the Smithsons, Scott Brown and Venturi were very vocal about their architectural work, for example: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Associates, *Out of the Ordinary* (Philadelphia: Yale University Press, 2001); Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi, *Architecture as Signs and Systems: For a Mannerist Time* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004); Denise Scott Brown, *Urban Concepts*, ed. Andreas C. Papadakis (London: Architectural Design, 1990).

group, but they were occasionally parts of different groups. Their paths crossed because of their movements, and their stories reveal female networks, mentorships, and friendships in different geographies, institutions, vehicles, landscapes. By analyzing a transnational group of women, constantly on the move, this study also opposes the period's general stereotype of the woman architect as static, unmarried, divorced, or childless. Even though this research focuses on a handful of women, it shows an astounding diversity of female identities: married, heterosexual, queer, with children, unmarried, single, friend, young, or old. This diversity is echoed in the protagonists' professional roles: educator, professional, student, mentor, traveler, organizer, critic, writer, photographer, amateur moviemaker, editor, or designer. Thus, by focusing on the concept of mobility, we can assess how the borders between life and work were blurred and see how women with diverse identities strategically positioned themselves in the profession with alternative roles.

Fifth, this thesis sees travel and mobility as network and blurring. It changes the marginalized status of "leisure" or "fun" travel within the existing literature by recognizing it as transformative, meaningful travel. This novel perspective becomes possible when we acknowledge the ways in which normative, static boundaries blur while on the move. This blurriness, as discussed above, enabled alternative forms of networking among women architects. Using this framework, I also dispute the perception that the existing literature of architectural history has of the system of networking: as a traditionally male-dominated "club" of social connections with clients, friends, and family members with power, money, or authority—a club that has often excluded women. This study shows that women created alternative connections, consisting of friendships and mentorships (beyond traditional

understandings), through mobility. Significantly, this type of physical networking of the globe was unbound to fixed geographical locations, family connections, or permanent institutional affiliations.³³

Finally, I subvert the focus of feminist architectural history on the sexist constraints that women architects had to overcome in schools, offices, or media. My focus on the concept of mobility *blurs* limitations, boundaries, categories, roles. It offers a more positive, constructive, and inclusive history. Women's stories that were shaped around mobility are valuable to us, because they affirm women's creativity, imagination, and agency in different types of architectural production and reveal that self-making was a collective and mobile process. Revisiting individual and collective stories through the notion of mobility helps to situate women architects and planners as protagonists in the history of the postwar built environment. My approach encourages the recognition of the wide range of women's architectural and pedagogical contributions and networking amid the postwar enthusiasm for spaces, machines, and technologies of travel.

For the aforementioned reasons, I started this study by systematically examining online databases on women in architecture, such as the Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation (BWAF) Dynamic National Archive, the International Archive of Women in Architecture at Virginia Tech (IAWA), and the Canadian Women Artists History Initiative (CWAHI).³⁴ I threaded

³³ In this sense, this networking model converged with discussions on globalization: for example, Saskia Sassen's "spatial dispersal and global integration." Saskia Sassen, *Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 3.

³⁴ "Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation Dynamic National Archive," <http://dna.bwaf.org>; "International Archive of Women in Architecture at Virginia Tech," <https://vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/handle/10919/5479>; "Canadian Women Artists History Initiative," <https://cwahi.concordia.ca>. Accessed October 3, 2020.

my way through women's stories, finding traces that they left in each other's lives and travels. They were pioneers, and mobility constituted a major theme in their professional lives and personal stories. Their paths occasionally crossed in different places, institutions, and organizations. Their travels and engagement of mobility in architectural education, theory, and design helped them cultivate broader (and at times similar) networks.³⁵

Scott Brown's solo and collaborative work with her professional partner and husband Robert Venturi, with its focus on symbolism and consumerism, characterized a break from modern movement and preceded and contributed to the postmodernist discourse. After studying architecture in her native Johannesburg, South Africa, Scott Brown graduated from the Architectural Association in London, England, in 1955. Peter Smithson suggested that she study in the United States, and in 1958, she attended the graduate program of the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of Pennsylvania (Lemco van Ginkel taught at the Department of Architecture of the same university from 1951 to 1957, as one of the first two women to teach there; after her departure, Scott Brown covered some of the material³⁶). Lemco van Ginkel was among the first women students to graduate from McGill University School of Architecture, in 1945. She worked in England and France after her graduation, famously at Atelier Le Corbusier in Paris in 1948. She obtained her master's degree from the Department of Urban Planning and Design at Harvard University in 1950, and in 1958, she taught at the same school. Tyrwhitt, who supported her for various jobs and commissions, also

³⁵ These women were not alone, as other women in architecture traveled, designed in different contexts, and participated in architectural discourses of mobility. For practical reasons, such as availability of archival sources, and due to personal pertinence, I limit my study to these six women.

³⁶ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

taught there.³⁷ Lemco van Ginkel established an architectural partnership with her husband, H. P. Daniel (Sandy) van Ginkel, in 1957. She served as Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Toronto in 1977, the first woman to do so at an architecture school in North America. Imrie and Wallbridge were among the first women to graduate from schools of architecture in Canada: Wallbridge from the University of Alberta in 1939 and Imrie from the University of Toronto in 1944.³⁸ In 1951, they established the first architectural partnership of women in the country. As professional and life partners, they traveled extensively, starting with a study tour to Europe organized by Columbia University. Tyrwhitt made an appearance as a guide during this trip. The duo published their reflections in articles, one of which was called “Les Girls en voyage.”³⁹ Tyrwhitt was born in Pretoria, South Africa, and grew up in London, England. She was educated as a horticulturalist and attended the Architectural Association in 1924. She studied town planning in Berlin and London from 1936 to 1939. She moved to Canada in 1951 and worked to establish the graduate program in city planning at the University of Toronto, before moving to Harvard University in 1955. Alison Smithson graduated from the University of Durham in 1949. In 1950, she established a partnership with her husband, Peter Smithson, with whom she spearheaded New Brutalism. Smithson, Lemco van Ginkel, and Tyrwhitt were involved in CIAM. They attended the Bridgewater, Aix-en-Provence, and Dubrovnik meetings (Tyrwhitt invited Lemco van Ginkel to Bridgewater and introduced her to

³⁷ Tyrwhitt was one of Lemco van Ginkel’s references in a letter to the University of British Columbia. Blanche Lemco van Ginkel to Edward Teghtsoonian, September 27, 1973. Centre canadien d’architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture Archives (hereafter CCA Archives), File 27-E2-02. Tyrwhitt also recommended her as a consultant for a film by the National Film Board of Canada. Richter, “Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel, Montreal Modernist,” 67.

³⁸ The two met while working at Rule, Wynn and Rule in Edmonton. See “Jean Louise Wallbridge and Mary Louise Imrie,” *Women Building Alberta: The Early Female Architects of Alberta*.

³⁹ Mary Imrie, “Les Girls en voyage,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 35, no. 2 (February 1958): 44–46.

her future husband, Sandy van Ginkel, at Aix-en-Provence⁴⁰). Also, Lemco van Ginkel and Smithson attended the Otterlo meeting, whereas Scott Brown attended CIAM's Venice summer school.⁴¹ Already with this quick glance, we see how the intersections of their paths make for a complex network of friendships and movements.

The cases attract me for personal reasons, too. I found autobiographical ties to these protagonists' stories: Imrie and Wallbridge visited Turkey, my country, several times from the 1950s to the 1980s and made extensive notes (I smiled at their cultural confusion as to why during a bus trip their caretaker Salih "passe[d] lemon cologne all the time"⁴²). Smithson wrote about Beetles and marriage ("love in a box"), and cars were a shared passion in the family, just as in mine. Reading about Scott Brown's study-travels in Europe reminded me of the year I spent there, and I found a reflection of my own naive amazement with North America in her "discoveries" in the United States. I started my PhD at McGill University in 2014—the year Lemco van Ginkel was awarded an honorary doctorate by my Faculty of Engineering. Since she had also studied at the School of Architecture, we too had passed and were now passing through the same place. This delighted me. And I found it a pleasant coincidence that after years of traveling, Tyrwhitt retired to the Aegean coast to build a house and a garden, across the sea from where my parents now live. The fragments of "moving pasts" bring their

⁴⁰ Tyrwhitt was a mentor to and close friend of Lemco van Ginkel. The van Ginkel family visited Tyrwhitt in Greece in the early 1970s. E-mail correspondence with Brenda van Ginkel, November 10, 2020.

⁴¹ Tyrwhitt was the general secretary of the CIAM council from 1951 onward, and co-initiated many of its summer schools. Smithson was a key figure of Team 10, in which Lemco van Ginkel was briefly involved. Lemco van Ginkel wrote of Alison Smithson: "She was not only the amanuensis but a veritable mother hen of Team X in its later years." Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, "Alison Margaret Gill Smithson June 22, 1928 – August 14, 1993," *International Archive of Women in Architecture Newsletter* 9 (Fall 1997): 6.

⁴² Lemon cologne is a traditional Turkish hand sanitizer with alcohol and is usually offered to guests. From Jean Wallbridge's 1978 travel diary, on trip to Turkey. Provincial Archives of Alberta PR1988.0290.0848.

biographies and my autobiography closer. As I venture to unravel the “interior lives” of my subjects, I take pleasure in knowing that this endeavour is never far removed from my own life, including the writing of this dissertation.

Sources

The primary sources for this dissertation consist of archival collections of the architects and interviews with them and/or their relatives. Newspaper clippings, personal journals, diaries, manuscripts, published and unpublished articles, photographs, letters, home movies, architectural drawings, published and unpublished books, exhibition catalogues, oral histories, syllabi, and proceedings in these women’s archives gave me rich sources to scrutinize their mobile stories and critical perspectives on mobility. I examine these materials by looking at their content and formal characteristics, the choice of places, objects, or forms that are represented, and the audiences they targeted. To this end, I pursued extensive research at collections in Canada, the United States, and England: at the Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge Fonds at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton, the Van Ginkel Associates Fonds and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel Fonds at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, the Blanche Lemco van Ginkel Collection at Concordia University’s CWAHI in Montreal, the Blanche Lemco van Ginkel Architectural Collection at the IAWA at Virginia Tech, the Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Collection at the Archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, England, the Alison and Peter Smithson Archive at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Venturi, Scott Brown Collection at the Architectural Archives of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Shortly before the

Covid-19 outbreak, I interviewed Denise Scott Brown in Philadelphia and heard her stories about her car, Morgan. Underlining the importance of family to these women architects, Brenda van Ginkel (Blanche Lemco van Ginkel's daughter) and Simon and Soraya Smithson (Alison Smithson's son and daughter), through precious e-mail correspondence, provided valuable information about their mothers that was unavailable in the archives.

Dissertation Outline

The dissertation is structured thematically. Inspired by feminist scholarship on biography, it traces overlaps, correlations, and disparities among the cases rather than presenting them individually in each chapter. To this end, different agents (women, machines, projects, books, and images) arrive, depart, and reappear throughout the text.

Chapter 1 examines how women engaged with the period's enthusiasm for the car. I argue that women negotiated new understandings of auto/mobility and its place in architecture through their critical and personal encounters and appropriations. These negotiations dismantled masculinities attached to technology and machinery. Through auto/mobility, the protagonists embarked on alternative paths within the profession. Specifically, I analyze four cases: (1) Lemco van Ginkel and the alternative transportation system that Van Ginkel Associates proposed for Manhattan, through her journal articles; (2) Smithson's family trips in a Citroën DS 19, through her books *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road* and *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*; (3) Imrie and Wallbridge's 1949–50 trip to South America with their car "Hector," through their diaries, journal articles, and home movies; and (4) Scott Brown's European road trip in her Morgan and her American travels, through her texts, interviews, and photographs.

This chapter ends with a discussion on a female version of the auto/biography and auto/mobility link. The protagonists' work on auto/mobility testifies to their agency in various types of architectural creation. The car acted as a vehicle of empowerment in their personal and professional life stories.

Chapter 2 revolves around three narratives that women crafted while traveling. The examination unfolds in two parallel directions. First, these narratives demonstrate women's gendered and/or queer experiences as they encountered architectures, objects, vehicles, and equipment. Second, they point to how women explored and theorized their ways of seeing through a female moving eye and through the female self/I. I look at Imrie and Wallbridge's time in India and Turkey through their diaries, journal articles, and home movies; Smithson's semi-autobiographical book depicting the daily life of an English girl in India; and Tyrwhitt's observations in India through her journal articles. This inquiry creates a mobile dialogue between the three stories in India, written by women. I argue that women, as spectators and actors, challenged gendered hierarchies of seeing and creating through traveling, writing, or filming in marginalized, in-between, lesser, or queer spaces and forms.

Chapter 3 questions the ways in which knowledge traveled through women's contributions in study tours, studios, exhibitions, seminars, and journals. As in the previous chapter, I argue that women formed new understandings of the postwar architectural milieu through their travels. I suggest looking beyond buildings to unravel women's mobile production of architectural knowledge as graduates, educators, and professionals. I look at three events: (1) through photographs, maps, articles, and diaries, I examine Imrie and Wallbridge's study tour to Europe

as graduates; (2) through articles, interviews, letters, and syllabi, I investigate Scott Brown's trips, collaborative studio projects, and the *Signs of Life* exhibition she produced with Robert Venturi and Steven Izenour; (3) and through letters, journals, papers, proceedings, and articles, I analyze Tyrwhitt's role in the United Nations Seminar in India and in the *Ekistics* journal, which she co-edited with Constantinos Doxiadis after meeting him at the seminar in India. Women were central mediators in collaborations. They inscribed the narratives that they created with their stories, paths, and—through familial bonds—(female) networks and friendships. I argue that women used mobility to enhance their participation in transnational dialogues, professional networks, and knowledge exchange.

Chapter 4 moves away from women as travelers to women as designers and enablers of mobility. It discusses how women positioned themselves through design work, inspired by their previous critical engagements and personal experiences with mobility. First, I present Scott Brown and Lemco van Ginkel's urban circulation studies and discuss their alignment with feminists, social activists, and heritage conservationists. Second, I trace projects of tourism and travel (such as hotels, gas stations, airports, drive-ins) by Imrie and Wallbridge and Scott Brown and Lemco van Ginkel with their partners. Their design interpretations in these large-scale and commercial projects alter gendered meanings of urban mobilities. Looking at these projects through a biographical perspective allows me to assess links between women's individual stories and larger urban stories.

Literature Review

This study draws from three scholarly fields and their intersections with architectural history: auto/biographical studies, travel studies, and gender studies.

Auto/Biography

Conventional biography has long been an integral part of architectural history,⁴³ with its focus on “genius” architects and their “unique” architectural objects. The genre, however, has received extensive criticism from feminist literary scholars and art historians for its emphasis on “great” individuals, heroism, singularity, autonomy, truth, neutrality, subjectivity, chronology, and coherence.⁴⁴ These scholars have denounced the “spotlight approach”⁴⁵ that portrays the individual as independent from everyone else (“supporting cast”⁴⁶) or any event (“scenic background”⁴⁷) of the time. They have also pointed to auto/biography’s bias in terms of perceiving the self as a universal subject (free of social, cultural, and economic identifications,

⁴³ A long list of architects’ biographies exist: Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Christopher Wren, 1632–1723* (New York: Universe Books, 1960); Herbert Austin Jacobs, *Frank Lloyd Wright: America’s Greatest Artist* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965); Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998). The list includes women: Sara Holmes Boutelle, *Julia Morgan: Architect* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995); Arnold Berke, *Mary Colter: Architect of the Southwest* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002); Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: Her Life and Work* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009). Also see Hilde Heynen’s fresh feminist undertaking in *Sibyl Moholy-Nagy: Architecture, Modernism and its Discontents* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

⁴⁴ Linda Nochlin, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?,” in *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 145–78; Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman’s Life* (New York: Norton, 1988); Liz Stanley, “Moments of Writing: Is There a Feminist Auto/Biography?,” *Gender and History* 2, no. 1 (1990): 58–67; Sidonie Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity and the Body: Women’s Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, eds., *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Backsheider, *Reflections on Biography*; Frederickson and Webb, *Singular Women: Writing the Artist*.

⁴⁵ Stanley, “Moments of Writing,” 61–62.

⁴⁶ Backsheider, *Reflections on Biography*, 156.

⁴⁷ Backsheider, 156.

commitments, roles⁴⁸) rather than a complex personality that might prove incoherent.⁴⁹ This “self” is, surely, a man, as literary scholar Sidonie Smith explains, and “the architecture of the universal subject” sets its borders so as to exclude anything that might be framed as the “other”: the “exotic,” “irrational,” “colorful”—a list that includes women.⁵⁰ Feminist scholars have argued that, in writing women’s lives, writers have historically turned to subjects that were in the “safety of womanliness”: royal women or women seen as important in famous men’s lives.⁵¹ Moreover, a woman’s work has often been reduced to smaller details of her life story or to the influence of a male artist.⁵² In architectural history, if a woman was not disregarded as a famous architect’s wife, then “minor” and “feminine” roles, such as decoration, were attributed to her.⁵³

Feminist scholars have rejected these patriarchal interpretations of biography and have explored new ways of reintroducing it into art history and literary writing. As discussed in the previous section, feminist theory has offered a substantial challenge to sources traditionally used in biography by examining alternative (domestic, private, intimate, everyday, trivial)

⁴⁸ Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity and the Body*, 6.

⁴⁹ Smith ties the emergence of the “universal human subject” with a fixed identity to the Renaissance. Smith, 5.

⁵⁰ Smith, 9, 11. Smith notes that women, missing the “unified” and “Adamic core,” had nothing to represent or disclose: “no masks to uncover because paradoxically there are only masks, only roles and communal expectations.” Smith, 15.

⁵¹ Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman’s Life*, 22. Backscheider also comments on this situation where biographers portrayed the female subjects’ “exceptionality as accidental” or “cause for apology or rationalization.” Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography*, 150.

⁵² Frederickson notes the extensive focus on Auguste Rodin and Diego Rivera in the biographies of Camille Claudel and Frida Kahlo. Frederickson, “Introduction: Histories, Silences, and Stories,” 2.

⁵³ See Denise Scott Brown, “Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture,” in *Architecture: A Place for Women*, ed. Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 237–46. On the association of interior design with fashion and femininity and its further implications of sexuality, see Joel Sanders, “Curtain Wars: Architects, Decorators, and the Twentieth-Century Domestic Interior,” *Harvard Design Magazine* 16 (2002): 14–20. Also see Bobbye Tigerman, “‘I Am Not a Decorator’: Florence Knoll, the Knoll Planning Unit and the Making of the Modern Office,” *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 1 (2007): 61–74; Peter McNeil, “Designing Women: Gender, Sexuality and the Interior Decorator, 1890–1940,” *Art History* 17, no. 4 (1994): 631–57.

spaces and forms of evidence. Another strategy to negate the hegemony of the “solitary self” has been to emphasize the collective nature of lives through networks.⁵⁴ Historian Krista Cowman suggests collective biography as a method to juxtapose the experiences of a group of individuals (who are not necessarily identifiable members of a certain group) and the social, economic, or political contexts to which these experiences belong.⁵⁵ This approach shares with architectural history its exploration of the self through images and fragments and within geography-/time-/space-bound dynamics.⁵⁶ Travel writing similarly works within fragmentary geographical boundaries: what Vesna Goldworthy calls a “self-legitimizing” space for women to inscribe their stories on historical and political moments in the form of “social autobiographies.”⁵⁷

In exemplary works, feminist architectural historians Gwendolyn Wright, Alice Friedman, Cheryl Buckley, Annmarie Adams, Beatriz Colomina, Abigail A. Van Slyck, and Julie Willis have emphasized the collective nature of design, the importance of social factors, the production and consumption processes, and the role of partners, clients, builders, employees, users, and critics in architecture.⁵⁸ In “Made in Patriarchy,” Buckley points that women have been

⁵⁴ Smith and Watson, “Situating Subjectivity in Women’s Autobiographical Practices,” in *Women, Autobiography, Theory*, 5.

⁵⁵ Cowman, “Collective Biography,” 96. Also see Sandra Stanley Holton, *Suffrage Days: Stories from the Women’s Suffrage Movement* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁵⁶ See for example Francesca Wade, *Square Haunting: Five Lives in London Between the Wars* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2020).

⁵⁷ Vesna Goldworthy, “Travel Writing as Autobiography: Rebecca West’s Journal of Self-Discovery,” in *Representing Lives: Women and Auto/Biography*, ed. Alison Donnell and Pauline Polkey (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 87, 91.

⁵⁸ Buckley, “Made in Patriarchy,” 9; Gwendolyn Wright, “A Partnership: Catherine Bauer and William Wurster,” in *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster*, ed. Marc Treib (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 184–203; Colomina, “Collaborations,” 462–71; Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House: A Social and Architectural History* (New York: Abrams, 1998); Julie Willis, “Invisible Contributions: The Problem of History and Women Architects,” *Architectural Theory Review* 3, no. 2 (1998): 57–68; Cynthia

excluded from the literature of design by the categorization, marginalization, and prioritization of certain types of design, designers, movements, or modes of production.⁵⁹ Van Slyck offers a critique of four women architects' biographies that followed the 1970s trend of "recovering" women.⁶⁰ She relates the shortcomings of these texts to the fact that they projected the genre's masculinist definition of individual success. To her, two different methods have been adopted in writing the lives of women architects: the first ignores their gendered experiences, and the second writes them into conventional "feminine" patterns by overlooking the so-called unfeminine aspects of their lives. Imposing patriarchal and institutional structures on the lives of women architects enforces the inequalities that they have faced in their professional and personal lives. Instead, Van Slyck proposes to differentiate personal preferences from social restrictions by writing about women in light of other contemporary women.⁶¹ Likewise, Buckley argues that we can acquire more accurate perspectives through women's interactions within capitalist and patriarchal structures.⁶² It is necessary, then, to analyze the socio-cultural factors that forced men and women to pursue different paths within the profession and eventually influenced what and how they represented, created, or designed.

This feminist approach paralleled the work of scholars, such as Jane Rendell, Diana Fuss, Dana Arnold, Joanna Sofaer, Penny Sparke, Anne Massey, and Alison Booth, who have searched for

Hammond, "The Interior of Modernism: Catherine Bauer and the American Housing Movement," in *Craft, Space and Interior Design 1855–2005*, ed. Janice Helland and Sandra Alföldy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 169–88.

⁵⁹ Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy," 3.

⁶⁰ Van Slyck, "Women in Architecture and the Problems of Biography," 19.

⁶¹ Van Slyck, 22.

⁶² Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy," 14.

one's connection (through inhabiting, collecting, writing, moving) to space through biography.⁶³ For example, Rendell suggests reading architecture and the city through "rambling" so as to see spaces defined by social relations as opposed to autonomous and fixed nodes.⁶⁴ Similarly, Fuss asks how a body moves within space and how movement shapes identity.⁶⁵ Arnold and Sofaer argue that using biography as a method for architectural history can reveal personal meanings and strategies at the intersection of one's textual and physical spaces.⁶⁶ Sparke and Massey likewise suggest that meanings are "imprinted on to, and remembered by, the material culture and spatial frames that surround and envelope them."⁶⁷ Booth makes use of "literary geography," that is, reading and visiting locations that were significant in a writer's life.⁶⁸ This approach integrates the writer's life, text, and memories of travel.

To situate women's experiences in this discussion, Arnold, in "(Auto)biographies and Space," encourages us to ask whether knowing that a woman has occupied a certain place changes the

⁶³ Jane Rendell, "From Architectural History to Spatial Writing," in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London: Routledge, 2006): 135–50; Diana Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms That Shaped Them* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Arnold and Sofaer, *Biographies and Space*; Alison Booth, "Houses and Things: Literary House Museums as Collective Biography," in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. Kate Hill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 231–46; Penny Sparke and Anne Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior* (London: Ashgate, 2013).

⁶⁴ Rendell, "From Architectural History to Spatial Writing," 140. Also see Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ Fuss, 6. For a discussion on interiors, individuals and bodies, also see Pat Kirkham, ed., *The Gendered Object* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Pat Kirkham and Judy Attfield, eds., *A View from the Interior: Women and Design* (London: Women's Press, 1995); Penny Sparke, *Designing Modern Interior: From the Victorians to Today* (Oxford: Berg, 2009). For feminist interpretations of body-space, see Gillian Rose, "Women and Everyday Spaces," in *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader*, ed. Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), 359–70; Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in *Feminist Theory and the Body*, 381–87.

⁶⁶ Arnold and Sofaer, *Biographies and Space*, 1.

⁶⁷ Sparke and Massey, *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, 4.

⁶⁸ Booth, "Houses and Things," 237–38. Another link between biography and space comes from the nomenclature of spaces through "great" personas: street names after political figures or monuments after saints. In such a way, the name becomes a landmark and landmark a new sort of biography. Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman*, 15.

meaning of the place.⁶⁹ She uses the term “trace”: “the material remains of occupation and existence.”⁷⁰ She suggests reconstructing spaces by including women’s voices in their histories: “feminine biography be signified by space” and “space be signified by feminine biography.”⁷¹ Similar to her approach, Annmarie Adams in “Encountering Maude Abbott” examines the life spaces of Abbott in three medical museums.⁷² Adams makes use of what she calls “spatial biography” and turns to architectural and material history (“traces”) when writing Abbott’s life. As these examples show, biography has the potential to position women in male-dominated territories and develop nonlinear, feminist histories of architecture. To obtain a sharper picture of the female life story, though, we must turn to exchanges, networks, and movements.

Travel and Mobility

Another important facet of research for this dissertation is to find ways to situate women in the study of mobility and architecture. While substantially blind to gender, the study of mobility has recently emerged as a fruitful subfield in architectural history. One of the most prevalent ways in which this subfield has been explored is through the study of the traveling architect as well as architectural ideas formed in or carried to another land. In “The Myth of the Local,” Mark Wigley asserts that:

the architect is always a tourist, not simply through traveling so constantly, but because the basic role of the architect is to make the built environment visible, to make the local appear, and the trick is that you can only make the environment

⁶⁹ Arnold, “(Auto)Biographies and Space,” in *Biographies and Space*, 9.

⁷⁰ Arnold, 7.

⁷¹ Arnold, 9.

⁷² Annmarie Adams, “Encountering Maude Abbott,” *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics* 2, no. 2 (2018): 21.

visible by changing it.⁷³

To him, the architect creates “the effect of travel.” Seeing the architect as a “tourist” in a universal manner is arguable (and as an agent who makes the local “appear” is problematic); nonetheless, the allegorical relationship between “building” and “encountering” what is foreign is still an interesting one. This link appears especially meaningful when regarded within the context of Michel de Certeau’s words: “every story is a travel story – a spatial practice.”⁷⁴ Movement is embedded in stories and *histories* that necessitate spatiality in order to be unravelled.

Other scholars have explored the historical role of individual and collective mobility in architectural production and reception in less metaphorical ways.⁷⁵ *Travel, Space, Architecture*, edited by architectural scholars Jilly Traganou and Miodrag Mitrašinić, offers insight into professional practice, architectural representation, and physical and imaginary travel (exploratory, educational, colonization, tourism, exile, immigration, and refuge-seeking travel).⁷⁶ In particular, Traganou asks how visions acquired through new travel modes create larger spatial imaginations and practices, how ideas travel with architects, and how identities

⁷³ Mark Wigley, “The Myth of the Local,” in *Architects’ Journeys: Building, Traveling, Thinking*, ed. Planning and Preservation Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture (New York: GSAPP Books, 2011), 211–12.

⁷⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (1984; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 115.

⁷⁵ Robert Clocker and Lia Kiladis, eds. *Thresholds* 13 (Fall 1996); Jilly Traganou and Miodrag Mitrašinić, eds. *Travel, Space, Architecture* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009); Planning and Preservation Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, *Architects’ Journeys: Building, Traveling, Thinking* (New York: GSAPP Books, 2011); Davide Deriu, Piccoli and Belgin Turan Özkaya, eds. *Architectural Histories* 4, no. 1 (2016).

⁷⁶ Traganou and Mitrašinić, *Travel, Space, Architecture*.

and approaches to places change on the move.⁷⁷

For centuries, travel has been deemed essential in the professional development of aspiring architects.⁷⁸ Kay Bea Jones in “Unpacking the Suitcase” argues that the education of several pioneering male modern architects started with their first-hand encounters with architectures that were “other” to them.⁷⁹ As a result, travel formed the foundation for the evolution of modern architecture. Traganou notes that “the belief in the capacity of travel to provide insight, facilitating an epistemological journey from habit to knowledge, can be found in systems of thought that are fundamentally different from one another,”⁸⁰ including Islam and the Enlightenment, among others. Accordingly, the popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Grand Tour, where British men and women explored Italy to unearth ideas of antiquity,⁸¹ was soon usurped by the Tour d’Orient. By the nineteenth century, traveling was a well-established industry in the form of mass tourism with the help of Thomas Cook and the publication of travel guidebooks, such as the Baedeker or Marshall guides.⁸² Architects have partaken in these cultural currents. Indeed, various grants and fellowships have allowed architectural students and graduates to travel and study in different parts of the world for both

⁷⁷ Traganou, “Preface,” in *Travel, Space, Architecture*, 3. For a larger discussion on the politics of location and types of displacement, see Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

⁷⁸ Deriu, Piccoli, and Turan Özkaya, “Travels in Architectural History,” *Architectural Histories* 4, no. 1 (2016): 2.

⁷⁹ Kay Bea Jones, “Unpacking the Suitcase: Travel as Process and Paradigm in Constructing Architectural Knowledge,” in *Discipline of Architecture*, ed. Andrzej Piotrowski and Julia Williams Robinson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 130.

⁸⁰ Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” 5.

⁸¹ See Edward Kaufman, “Architecture and Travel in the Age of British Eclecticism,” in *Architecture and its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*, ed. Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 58–85; Anne Hultzsich, *Architecture, Travellers and Writers: Constructing Histories of Perception, 1640–1950* (London: LEGENDA, Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2014), 2–4, 58–60; Gillian Darley, “Wonderful Things: The Experience of the Grand Tour,” *Perspecta* 41 (2008): 17–25, 28–29.

⁸² Winfried Löschburg, *A History of Travel* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1982), 59–64.

professional and political purposes.⁸³ The travel accounts of pioneering male architects—such as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Jørn Utzon, Louis Kahn, and Richard Neutra, among others—have been analyzed extensively in order to discern the role of mobility in their ideas and identities.⁸⁴ Architectural historian Esra Akcan, for example, analyzes the travel diaries of Le Corbusier and Sedad Eldem from their respective Istanbul and Paris trips.⁸⁵ Akcan discusses the notions of the nomad and immigrant. She argues that a traveler becomes a “hybrid,” as traveling allows one to mediate between different selves, “to take time off from the sedentary and try out other selves.”⁸⁶ What this mediation tells us about blurring gendered dualities and traveling between architectural and gender-based norms remains a valid question.

With modernity, technological developments made numerous transportation means available to a broad range of people and reinforced the recognition of mobility as a mark of advancement.⁸⁷ These new modes of travel allowed for novel experiences of modern

⁸³ Caroline Maniaque studies the fellowships that allowed European students to travel to the United States. These grants promoted American culture and led the European groups to merge leftist ideals with American popular culture and the counterculture movement. Maniaque, “The American Travels of European Architects, 1958–1973,” in *Travel, Space, Architecture*, 196. Also see Caroline Maniaque-Benton, *French Encounters with the American Counterculture, 1960–1980* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

⁸⁴ Le Corbusier, *Journey to the East* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987); Eugene J. Johnson and Michael J. Lewis, *Drawn from the Source: The Travel Sketches of Louis I. Kahn* (Williamstown, MA: Williams College Museum of Art, 1996); Mardges Bacon, *Le Corbusier in America: Travels in the Land of the Timid* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001); Rubén A. Alcolea and Jorge Tárrago, “Spectra: Architecture in Transit,” in *Architects’ Journeys: Building, Traveling, Thinking*, 6–19; Wigley, “The Myth of the Local,” 208–54; Chen-Yu Chiu, “China Receives Utzon: The Role of Jørn Utzon’s 1958 Study Trip to China in His Architectural Maturity,” *Architectural Histories* 4, no. 1 (2016); Jacob Brillhart, *Voyage Le Corbusier: Drawing on the Road* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2016); Gwyn Lloyd Jones, *Travels with Frank Lloyd Wright* (London: Lund Humphries, 2017); Philippe Potié, *Le voyage de l’architecte* (Marseille: Parenthèses, 2018).

⁸⁵ Esra Akcan, “Nomads and Migrants: A Comparative Reading of Le Corbusier’s and Sedad Eldem’s Travel Diaries,” in *Travel, Space, Architecture*, 85–102.

⁸⁶ Akcan, 97.

⁸⁷ For Traganou, this was not only because displacement was seen “as a condition paramount to liberal ideas that encouraged processes of social mobility, escape, and exchange with distant others,” but also because it harboured in itself the hegemonic expansion of the colonizer towards the “other.” Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” 6–7.

landscapes. It is no coincidence that displacement, motion, and migration have been part of discussions on the modern subjectivities of the *blasé*, *flâneur*, and stranger.⁸⁸ Sociologist John Urry argues that the symbols of modernity have been as much the “train-passenger, car driver, and jet plane passenger” as the *flâneur* and their movement, not within but “between” urban places.⁸⁹ These novel experiences evoked new ways of seeing.⁹⁰ They also generated new architectures of mobility (hotels, motels, train stations, airports, holiday camps, infrastructures, roads, nodes),⁹¹ heritage sites as touristic destinations,⁹² mobile architectures (buses, airplanes, houses, exhibitions),⁹³ and discourses on immobility.⁹⁴

Visual and verbal narratives of travel have formed another subject of study. As Jones argues, the travelogue “is not an end in itself but furnishes material for the cognitive voyage between idle wanderings and the recognition of discovery. Writing in situ, and rewriting from recorded

⁸⁸ Georg Simmel, “The Stranger,” in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: The Free Press, 1950), 402.

⁸⁹ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995), 141.

⁹⁰ See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002).

⁹¹ Urry, *Consuming Places*, 143–44. See for example Tim Edensor and Uma Kothan, “Sweetening Colonialism: A Mauritian Themed Resort,” in *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place*, ed. D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 189–205; Barbara Penner, “Doing It Right: Postwar Honeymoon Resorts in the Pocono Mountains,” in *Architecture and Tourism*, 207–23.

⁹² As tourism became an activity of the masses, cities were restructured to become travel destinations. Travel narratives facilitated the construction of heritage values in historic sites, often detaching them from the locality. Deriu, Piccoli and Özkaya, “Travels in Architectural History,” 1–2; Jones, “Unpacking the Suitcase,” 132. Also see John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985) and Shelley Hornstein, *Architectural Tourism: Site-Seeing, Itineraries and Cultural Heritage* (London: Lund Humphries, 2020). On the colonial legacy of tourism, see Kaplan, *Questions of Travel*, 63.

⁹³ See Jessica Harris, “On the Buses: Mobile Architecture in Australia and the UK, 1973–75,” *Architectural Histories* 4, no. 1 (2016); Beatriz Colomina, “Toward a Global Architect,” in *Architects’ Journeys: Building, Traveling, Thinking*, 20–49; Alcolea and Tárrago, “Spectra: Architecture in Transit”; Dora Epstein Jones, “Architecture on the Move: Modernism and Mobility in the Postwar” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2004).

⁹⁴ Jilly Traganou writes on “imaginary travel,” Deriu, Piccoli, and Özkaya on “pre-posterous travel,” José M. Pozo and José Á. Medina on “paper travel,” and Carlos Labarta on memories from travels. Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” 13; Deriu, Piccoli and Özkaya, “Travels in Architectural History,” 3; Pozo and Medina, “Paper Taken on Trips, Trips Taken on Paper,” in *Architects’ Journeys: Building, Traveling, Thinking*, 189; Labarta, “The Inner Journey of Luis Barragán,” in *Architects’ Journeys: Building, Traveling, Thinking*, 132.

experience, is a phased activity of constructing topographical views.”⁹⁵ Anne Hultzsch in *Architecture, Travellers and Writers* discusses the relationship between moving, seeing, writing, describing, and reading architecture.⁹⁶ To her, the first encounter with an object or landscape through traveling allows for a more responsive perception and description. Rubén A. Alcolea and Jorge Tárrago extend the importance of the materials produced in journeys by noting that they transform the perception of architecture and, in doing so, create a reality “as real as the original.”⁹⁷ The reconstruction of architectural knowledge in a photograph, painting, sketch, or text offers a valuable window onto one’s personal gaze and story on the move.

Gender and Mobility

Architectural historians have explored only in a limited way how gender and sexuality fit into the discussions on mobility and architecture. In contradistinction, scholars in travel studies, literature, and art history have developed critical approaches to gender, race, and class in their analyses of the textual accounts of traveling subjects and spaces of travel.⁹⁸ Though less prevalently, they have also focused on alternative representations of travel by women artists,

⁹⁵ Jones, “Unpacking the Suitcase,” 137.

⁹⁶ Hultzsch, *Architecture, Travellers and Writers*, 2.

⁹⁷ Alcolea and Tárrago, “Spectra: Architecture in Transit,” 18.

⁹⁸ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*; Bonnie Frederick and Susan H. McLeod, eds., *Women and the Journey: The Female Travel Experience* (Washington: Washington State University Press, 1993); Karen Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Smith, *Moving Lives*; Shirley Foster and Sara Mills, eds., *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writings* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Kristi Siegel, ed., *Gender, Genre and Identity in Women’s Travel Writing* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004); Wendy Roy, *Maps of Difference: Canada, Women, and Travel* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005); Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870–1914* (Madison NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992; repr., London: Routledge, 2008); Roxanne Leslie Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

photographers, filmmakers, collectors, scientists, and geographers.⁹⁹ These frameworks elucidate how we may adopt feminist perspectives in examining encounters of women architects in the predominantly male-dominated territories of the profession or open road.

Within historically gendered social relations, mobility has worked to represent masculine agency and freedom.¹⁰⁰ As literary scholar Sidonie Smith puts it, it is the man who “supplicates, survives, conquers, claims, penetrates, surveys, colonizes, studies, catalogues, organizes, civilizes, critiques, celebrates, absorbs, goes ‘native’.”¹⁰¹ Architectural historian Hilde Heynen argues that the modern man’s abandonment of home was bound up with conquering the “other.”¹⁰² In this sense, mobility has been identified with “imagination and knowledge” and immobility with “narrowness and complacency.”¹⁰³ This outlook implies that those who did not travel—women, minorities, locals—were “incurious, unphilosophical, and unreflective.”¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ See Shelagh J. Squire, “In the Steps of ‘Genteel Ladies’: Women Tourists in the Canadian Rockies, 1885–1939,” *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien* 39, no. 1 (1995): 2–15; Jordana Pomeroy, ed., *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artist Travel* (London: Routledge, 2005); Mary Frech McVicker, *Adela Breton: A Victorian Artist Amid Mexico’s Ruins* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Melinda Reinhart, “Lady Falkland’s Travel Album: Negotiating Colonial and Feminine Discourses” (MA thesis, Concordia University, 2005); Samantha Burton, “Canadian Girls in London: Negotiating Home and Away in the British World at the Turn of the Twentieth Century” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2011); Nancy Micklewright, *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Smith, *Moving Lives*, ix.

¹⁰¹ Smith, 10–11. Scholars have written, for example, on how white male artist and architect travelers have feminized the post/colonial cities as their “mistresses.” Zeynep Çelik, “Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism,” *Assemblage* no. 17 (1992): 72. Also see Beatriz Colomina, “Battle Lines: E.1027,” in *The Sex of Architecture*, ed. Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Kanes Weisman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 171.

¹⁰² Heynen, “Modernity and Domesticity,” 2. Similarly, Traganou infers that the “architects’ travels are not immune to broader imperialist frameworks: the wish to dominate is often implicit in the will to travel as well as to build.” Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” 13. Colomina discusses Le Corbusier’s travels to Algiers and his “conquer” and appropriation of Algerian women through his drawing. Colomina, “Battle Lines: E.1027,” 171.

¹⁰³ Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore*, 121–26. Similarly, Monica Anderson draws attention to gendering of mobility through the implied assumption of traveler-masculine and tourist-feminine binary embedded in travel literature. Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Euben, 16. Pratt examines colonial “contact zones” where “cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.” Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

This historical presumption has ignored women's mobility and has put those who traveled under suspicion. However, the great number of anthologies on women travelers, spanning from the 1700s to the 1950s proves this presumption wrong. These collections focus primarily on relatively privileged women who could move (and publish their experiences) with fewer economic and social restrictions. Feminist scholars, such as Kristi Siegel, Mary Louise Pratt, Wendy Roy, Sara Mills, and Shirley Foster, though, similar to feminist biographers, rightfully warn us against a celebration of female "heroism" that disregards the larger political determinants of race, class, age, education, or ideology.¹⁰⁵

Feminists also observe the gendering of spaces and modes of travel. Foster and Mills note a feeling of restriction connected to women's movement in public spaces.¹⁰⁶ Alternatively, historians and transportation studies scholars have challenged the historical idea that machines of mobility were primarily masculine structures and have explored women's engagement with various vehicles of movement.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 33; Foster and Mills, "Women Writing About Women: Introduction," in *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*, 14; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 10; Roy, *Maps of Difference*, 6. To them, the status of women travelers has been inferior to their male contemporaries, thus their voices not as authoritative. Analyses of women's travels based on individualism implies movement as the only way for women's freedom, ignoring those who could not, or did not choose to move. Siegel points out to "the vast number of women's journeys that have never been written—journeys of flight, exile, expatriation, homelessness; journeys by women without the means to document their travel; and journeys whose records have been lost or ignored." Siegel, "Intersections: Women's Travel and Theory," in *Gender, Genre and Identity*, 2. Also see the feminist discussion on women and Orientalism: Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 33–59; Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 3; Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore*, 1–2.

¹⁰⁶ Foster and Mills, "Women and Space: Introduction," *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*, 172. For a discussion on women's negotiations of bodily and clothing restrictions while traveling, (i.e., cross-dressing), see Squire, "In the Steps of 'Genteel Ladies,'" 7–8.

¹⁰⁷ Smith explores the relationship between modes (walking, airplane, train, and automobiles) and narratives of mobility on the gendered body. Amy G. Richter conceives a shared history of women and the railroad. Smith, *Moving Lives*; Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Also see Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the*

In architectural research, analyses of travel and gender have slowly emerged in the recent years. Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi and Rachel Lee's 2019 *ABE Journal* special issue is an exceptional example, with contributions by Sophie Hochhäusl, Mary Pepchinski, and Monika Motylińska and Phuong Phan on the gendered experiences of women architects, planners, and writers.¹⁰⁸ Hochhäusl's piece in particular is a case in point, as she analyzes "foreignness" through Donna Haraway's "situated knowledges" and sees Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's exile and travel in China as feminist practices of seeing. These feminist examples provide useful tools and methods to analyze women's movements and derive new understandings of women's places.

Gender and Architecture

From the 1970s onward, feminist architectural and urban scholars have examined women's creation, occupation, and appropriation of the built environment, as well as the gendered nature of the architectural profession, with an increased momentum.¹⁰⁹ Over several decades,

Coming of the Motor Age (New York: Free Press, 1991); Julie Wosk, *Women and the Machine: Representations from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Tanu Priya Uteng and Tim Cresswell, eds., *Gendered Mobilities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Emma Robinson-Tomsett, *Women, Travel and Identity: Journeys by Rail and Sea, 1870–1940* (Baltimore: Manchester University Press, 2016).

¹⁰⁸ Sophie Hochhäusl, "'Dear Comrade,' or Exile in a Communist World: Resistance, Feminism, and Urbanism in Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's Work in China, 1934/1956," *ABE Journal* (online) On Margins: Feminist Architectural Histories of Migration, ed. Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi and Rachel Lee, no. 16 (2019); Mary Pepchinski, "The Gendered User and the Generic City: Simone de Beauvoir's America Day by Day," *ABE Journal* (online) On Margins; Monika Motylińska and Phuong Phan, "'Not the Usual Way?' on the Involvement of an East German Couple with the Planning of the Ethiopian Capital," *ABE Journal* (online) On Margins. Also see Rachel Lee, "Erica Mann and an Intimate Source," *ABE Journal* (online) Global Experts "Off Radar", no. 4 (2013). Benjamin Tiven writes on architect Erica Mann's travel to Nairobi too; however, he fails to provide a gender analysis and talks of her only within a larger discussion of architect Ernst May. Benjamin Tiven, "The Delight of the Yearner: Ernst May and Erica Mann in Nairobi 1933–1953," *Journal of Contemporary African Art* 32 (2013): 80–89.

¹⁰⁹ On gender and architecture, see Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid, eds., *Architecture: A Place for Women* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1989); Leslie Kanes Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992); Angel Kwolek-Folland, "Gender as a Category of Analysis in Vernacular Architecture Studies," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5, Gender, Class and Shelter (1995): 3–10; Diana

these studies have ranged from the “recovery” of women architects to a broader examination of the role of gender in the built environment and architectural historiography. Groundbreaking studies on pioneering women architects by Doris Cole, Gwendolyn Wright, Susana Torre, and Lynne Walker have been followed by the work of another generation of feminist architectural historians.¹¹⁰ This new generation of scholars has continued the discussion on the restrictions that the male-dominated profession imposed on aspiring women architects and have explored women’s presence, contributions, and resistance in different geographical contexts.¹¹¹ Others have critically examined women’s experiences in the architectural workplace.¹¹² In this context, and commencing with Denise Scott Brown’s account of her experiences in “Room at the Top?” originally written in 1975, a critique of the profession’s obsession with the “star system” and idealization of the individual male accomplishment has been articulated.¹¹³ Media and institutions have systemically denied the collaborative nature of design work and have

Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Kanes Weisman, eds., *The Sex of Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1996); Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds., *Architecture and Feminism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996); Alice Friedman, “The Way You Do the Things You Do: Writing the History of Houses and Housing,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58 no. 3 (1999): 406–13; Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, eds., *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000); Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley, eds., *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester: Wiley, 2000); Sherry Ahrentzen, “Space between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture,” *Signs* 29, no. 1 (Autumn 2003): 179–206.

¹¹⁰ Doris Cole, *From Tipi to Skyscraper: A History of Women in Architecture* (Boston: MIT Press, 1973); Wright, “On the Fringe of the Profession”; Torre, ed., *Women in American Architecture*; Walker, ed., *Women Architects*.

¹¹¹ Willis, “Invisible Contributions”; Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*; Julie Willis and Hanna Bronwyn, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (Red Hill: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2001); Mary Pepchinski and Mariann Simon, eds., *Ideological Equals: Women Architects in Socialist Europe 1945–1989* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2016); Christina Budde et al., *Frau Architekt: Seit Mehr Als 100 Jahren: Frauen Im Architektenberuf/over 100 Years of Women as Professional Architects* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2017); Darling and Walker, eds., *AA Women in Architecture 1917–2017*.

¹¹² Lori A. Brown, ed., *Feminist Practices: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Women in Architecture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Stratigakos, *Where Are the Women Architects?*; James Benedict Brown, Harriet Harriss, Ruth Morrow, and James Soane, eds., *A Gendered Profession* (London: RIBA Publishing, 2019).

¹¹³ Scott Brown, “Room at the Top?”; Cynthia Hammond, “Past the Parapets of Patriarchy? Women, the Star System, and the Built Environment,” *Atlantis: A Women’s Studies Journal* 34, no. 1 (2009): 5–15; Heynen, “Genius, Gender and Architecture”; Despina Stratigakos, “Unforgetting Women Architects: From the Pritzker to Wikipedia,” *Places Journal*, 2016. <https://placesjournal.org/article/unforgetting-women-architects-from-the-pritzker-to-wikipedia/>.

overlooked the biases and expectations of the competitive workplace (for example, long office hours that conflict with women's expected domestic duties), therefore aiding the erasure of women's names from history. More recent approaches to the study of women architects include intersectional frameworks of gender, sexuality, race, and class and relations between architects, social movements, and activism.¹¹⁴

In parallel to these discussions, the investigation of domesticity and an early feminist preoccupation with the separate spheres ideology (which assigns a binary position to men and women—public and private, respectively—in urban life) have influenced studies on women and architecture.¹¹⁵ Feminist art historians have worked around this binary understanding and have challenged it by showing women's navigations, transgressions, and mobilities within the so-called spheres.¹¹⁶ Feminist architectural historians, starting with Dolores Hayden's *The Grand*

¹¹⁴ Kathryn H. Anthony, *Designing for Diversity: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Architectural Profession* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Elizabeth Cahn, "Project Space(s) in the Design Professions: An Intersectional Feminist Study of the Women's School of Planning and Architecture (1974–1981)" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2014); Ipek Türeli, "Housing for Spatial Justice: Building Alliances Between Women Architects and Users," in *The Routledge Companion to Architecture and Social Engagement*, ed. Farhan Karim (New York: Routledge, 2018), 169–85; Lori A. Brown, et al., "Now What?! Advocacy, Activism, and Alliances in American Architecture Since 1968," Traveling Exhibition (2018–2021); Lori Brown et al., "Call to Action: Architexx, Now What?!, and Creating New Futures," *Journal of Architectural Education* 74, no. 2 (2020): 166–69.

¹¹⁵ In the 1960s and the early 1970s, feminist scholars were preoccupied with the so-called separate spheres ideology, which placed men in the public and women in the private home. Domestic life and home were blamed for women's absence in the public sphere; and departure from domesticity was deemed imperative to women's emancipation. Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 14. Also see Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963). Kerber also refers to Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Spring 1966): 151–74; Aileen S. Kraditor, ed., *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago, 1968), and Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* 10 (Spring 1969): 5–15.

¹¹⁶ Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (1985): 37–46; Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), 70–127; Janet Wolff, *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Elizabeth Wilson, "The Invisible Flâneur," *New Left Review* 0, no. 191 (January 1992): 90–110.

Domestic Revolution and Wright's *Building The Dream*, have explored the empowering possibilities of domesticity for women users, patrons, and clients of the built environment.¹¹⁷

Scholars have also tackled the positioning of women within spaces of modernity. Janet Wolff and Griselda Pollock note that modern subjectivity was traditionally associated with the life of the street and thus ignored women's experiences.¹¹⁸ Wolff argues that the literature of modernity is predominantly masculine in its focus on the public world and its politics. She points that "the fleeting, ephemeral, impersonal nature of encounters in the urban environment" of modernity were men's experiences, as identified by the *flâneur*: a "modern hero," observer, wanderer, and stranger.¹¹⁹ Wolff insists on seeking the experiences of modernity in its "private manifestations" as well as in women's appearance in public. She advocates searching for a female connection to movement: "a poem written by 'la femme passante' about her encounter with Baudelaire, perhaps."¹²⁰

Heynen discusses another perspective on gender, im/mobility, and modernity in

¹¹⁷ They argue that control over physical space was an essential power in accessing grander social rights: to the city, to vote, and to public life. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981); Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981). Also see Annmarie Adams, "The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5, Gender, Class, and Shelter (1995): 164–78; Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870–1900*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Colomina, "Battle Lines: E.1027"; Alice Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House*; Rebecca Ginsburg, "'Come in the Dark': Domestic Workers and Their Rooms in Apartheid-Era Johannesburg, South Africa," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8, People, Power, Places (2000): 83–100; Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar, *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2005).

¹¹⁸ Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse," 44; Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," 93–94.

¹¹⁹ Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse," 38.

¹²⁰ Wolff, 45.

architecture.¹²¹ To her, the modern ideal that appeared with nineteenth-century industrial capitalism and imperialism nurtured masculine authority at home and colonial authority in foreign lands. Heynen affirms that modernity's primal concern to break with the past meant that it had to cut ties with the familiar (the home) in order to achieve progress.¹²² She calls this departure a "metaphorical homelessness," in which women, as mothers/wives/caretakers (roles associated with the home), were to stay behind. Heynen agrees that the gendering of modern architecture and away (versus home) as masculine proves inaccurate, since many women transgressed domestic boundaries (and ideologies of separation) to access public life.¹²³

Concurrent with literature on domesticity, feminist social, urban, and architectural historians have contested the absence of women in the public arena¹²⁴ and, by complicating the boundaries between public and private, have examined (semi-)exclusive female public institutions as sites of women's active agency.¹²⁵ They have reclaimed nineteenth- and

¹²¹ Heynen, "Modernity and Domesticity," 1–29. Heynen refers to sociologist Karen Hansen for her argument on the etymological relation between the words "domesticity" and "to domesticate," and their implications of colonial encounters, 9. See Karen Tranberg Hansen, "Introduction: Domesticity in Africa," in *African Encounters with Domesticity*, ed. Karen Tranberg Hansen (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

¹²² Heynen, "Modernity and Domesticity," 2.

¹²³ Heynen, 13.

¹²⁴ Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986); Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space and Power in Boston, 1870–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jessica Ellen Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890–1915* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

¹²⁵ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginning to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984); Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material History Review / Revue d'histoire de la culture matérielle* 40 (Fall 1994): 29–41; Abigail Van Slyck, "The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31 (Winter 1996): 221–42; Tania Martin, "Housing the Grey Nuns: Power, Religion, and Women in Fin-De-Siècle Montréal," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 7, Exploring Everyday Landscapes (1997): 212–29; Tania Martin, "The Architecture of Charity: Power, Religion, and Gender in North America, 1840–1960" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002); Elizabeth Darling, "The Star in the

twentieth-century urban spaces as female realms in which gender relations were performed, negotiated, and recreated. Focusing on women's movements and occupations in cities, they have also insisted that history has ignored women's everyday urban mobilities. As Sarah Deutsch claims, "women revealed their reconceptions of the city in the ways they wrote about moving through it, in the practices of their organizations, and in their daily lives."¹²⁶ Women from different classes have been on the move. Working-class women have occupied factories, prostitutes streets, and middle-class consumers shopping malls; women also used streetcars, dined in hotels and restaurants, entertained at theatres, engaged in politics and public festivities, and shaped the public spaces of settlement houses, colleges, residences, nurseries, women's clubs.¹²⁷ Access to public life and mobility was not directly linked to public power, and women did not solely achieve agency outside of the home, as such a view disregards the experiences of those who could not or did not leave the home. Nonetheless, women's urban movements reveal alternative histories of their spatial agency and imagination.

Finally, new definitions of architectural history have urged scholars to look more closely at marginal spaces. Influenced by queer and feminist theories, literature on the performativity of gender and sexuality has redefined the boundaries and binaries embedded within the

Profession She Invented for Herself: A Brief Biography of Elizabeth Denby, Housing Consultant," *Planning Perspectives* 20, no. 3 (2005): 271–300; Despina Stratigakos, *A Women's Berlin: Building the Modern City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Cynthia Hammond, *Architects, Angels, Activists and the City of Bath, 1765–1965: Engaging with Women's Spatial Interventions in Buildings and Landscape* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012).

¹²⁶ Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 4.

¹²⁷ Wilson, "The Invisible Flaneur," 104–5; Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, xiii; Ryan, *Women in Public*, 4; Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 4. Wilson argues that the male *flâneur* found its gender counterpart in prostitutes, shoppers, writers, and journalists who used cross-dressing as disguise.

traditional understanding of architecture.¹²⁸ Fluidity, mobility, and transparency, with an emphasis on non-normative spaces and queer domesticities, altered the language of feminist architectural scholarship. Friedman's study of Philip Johnson's glass house, Henry Urbach's research on the closet as a threshold space in queer identity, Adams's work on Weston Havens House, Katarina Bonnevier's analysis of Eileen Gray's house E.1027, and Olivier Vallerand's examination of the representation of domesticity in contemporary art and architecture using queer theory are inspiring insights into queer domesticities.¹²⁹ These studies play with the ambiguity of lines, surfaces, masks, motion, and performativity and decipher new meanings within architectural history. Together, these examples of feminist and queer architectural history provide methods, frameworks, and tools for my examination of women architects' experiences on the move.

¹²⁸ See Joel Sanders, ed., *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996); Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (New York: William Morrow, 1997); Katarina Bonnevier, *Behind Straight Curtains: Towards a Queer Feminist Theory of Architecture* (Stockholm: Axl Books, 2007); Lucas Cassidy Crawford, "Breaking Ground on a Theory of Transgender Architecture," *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 8 no. 2, (Spring/Summer 2010): 515–39.

¹²⁹ Alice Friedman, "People Who Live in Glass Houses: Edith Farnsworth, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Philip Johnson," in *Women and the Making of the Modern House*, 126–59; Henry Urbach, "Closets, Clothes, disClosure," *Assemblage*, no. 30 (August 1996): 63–73; Adams, "Sex and the Single Building: The Weston Havens House, 1941–2001," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 82–97; Katarina Bonnevier, "A Queer Analysis of Eileen Gray's E.1027," in *Negotiating Domesticity*; Bonnevier, *Behind Straight Curtains*; Olivier Vallerand, *Unplanned Visitors: Queering the Ethics and Aesthetics of Domestic Space* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2020).

CHAPTER 1

DRIVERS AND DESIGNERS: WOMEN, AUTO/MOBILITY, AND AUTO/BIOGRAPHY

This chapter focuses on the alternative relationships between women architects and car culture from the early 1950s to late 1970s. Specifically, I assess women's social, physical, and architectural encounters enabled by the automobile in different contexts. I look at Blanche Lemco van Ginkel's architectural views on auto/mobility and the Ginkelvan, a public transportation system that Van Ginkel Associates designed and built as part of their Midtown Manhattan Study about 1970; Alison Smithson's road trips with her family from their London house to their cottage in Fonthill with a Citroën DS 19 in the 1960s and the early 1970s; Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge's 1949–50 road trip from Edmonton to Buenos Aires and back with their car "Hector," a 1949 brown Plymouth Suburban; and, lastly, Denise Scott Brown's road trip in Europe with a three-wheeler Morgan in 1956 with Robert Scott Brown and her later trips to Los Angeles and Las Vegas in the 1960s.

In the first section, "Architect and Automobile," I discuss the relationship between the female architect and the automobile. I use women's auto-based experiences and stories with vehicles, which acted both as stage and facilitator, to produce partial, collective, and mobile narratives. I analyze a number of published and unpublished archival writings by women architects: Lemco van Ginkel's articles published in the *Canadian Art* and *The Canadian Architect* and Van Ginkel Associates' published brochures; Smithson's two books, *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road*, and her novel, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, as well as her three articles published in *Architectural Design*; Imrie and Wallbridge's articles in the *RAIC Journal* and *Peruvian Times*,

along with their diaries and unpublished texts held at the Provincial Archives of Alberta; and Scott Brown's books and articles in the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* and *Zimbabwean Review*. Moreover, I use newspaper and magazine articles, photographs, home movies, unpublished interviews, and oral history projects in addition to my own interviews with Denise Scott Brown, Simon and Soraya Smithson, and Brenda van Ginkel.

My approach challenges the understanding of auto/mobility and automobile related architecture as male-dominated arenas. I focus on how women architects appropriated and played with the meaning of this specific type of motion and its role within the architectural milieu. Women were at times designers, venturing into the masculine domain of auto-age architecture; at times drivers, countering the masculinity of car-ownership; in others, they were passengers, occupying the relatively passive and so-called "feminine" space of the passenger seat; and critics, explaining the structures of auto-metropolitan urbanism.

In the final section of this chapter, "Auto/biography of the Auto/mobile," I elaborate on the relationship of the female life-story (auto/biography) and car culture (auto/mobility). Women's narratives in various media are simultaneously their auto/biographies and the auto/biographies of their automobiles. On the one hand, I investigate automobile's identification as an extension of the self and its usage in the construction of identity: auto/mobile as auto/biography. On the other hand, I question how women engaged this identification by writing about the mobility of the car: auto/biography of the automobile and auto/biography of the female self through the automobile.

Architect and Auto/mobile

We were all delighted, we all realized we were leaving confusion and nonsense behind and performing our one and noble function of the time: move.

Jack Kerouac, *On the Road*, 1957¹³⁰

The impact of the automobile on popular culture and the daily lives of urban and rural dwellers in the post-Second World War period is well known.¹³¹ The three decades following 1950 saw an increase from 50 million to 350 million in the number of cars in the world.¹³² In the United States, in particular, the automobile and the motorway used up four times the space of the bus and twenty times that of the train.¹³³ Moreover, the unique experiences related to the car enabled new spaces, visions, conflicts, and entertainments: new tourism and recreation, the sense of unprecedented speed and danger related violence and crime, the oil market and political conflicts, environmental and social problems, advertising, change of urban patterns, suburbia, motorway,¹³⁴ and countless new typologies: gas stations, motels, open-air cinemas, shopping malls. Human relations and the image of the city had to be accordingly reconciled.

A symbol of modernity, a “magical object,”¹³⁵ and a gadget of a new consumer culture and capitalist machinery, the car and its spatiality soon attracted the critical attention of

¹³⁰ Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957), 52.

¹³¹ On automobiles, culture, and the built environment, see James J. Flink, *The Car Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975); Jonathan Bell, ed., *Carchitecture: When the Car and the City Collide* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2001); Peter Wollen and Joe Kerr, eds., *Autopia: Cars and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002); Mike Featherstone, Nigel Thrift, and John Urry, eds., *Automobilities* (London: Sage, 2005); Kathryn A. Morrison and John Minnis, *Carscapes: The Motor Car, Architecture and Landscape in England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

¹³² Bell, *Carchitecture*, 11.

¹³³ Jane Holtz Kay, “The Asphalt Exodus,” in *Autopia*, 267. Excerpt from Jane Holtz Kay, *Asphalt Nation: How the Automobile Took over America, and How We Can Take It Back* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

¹³⁴ Peter Wollen, “Introduction: Cars and Culture,” in *Autopia*, 11.

¹³⁵ Roland Barthes, “The New Citroën,” in *Mythologies* (1957; repr., New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 169.

intellectuals.¹³⁶ To Henri Lefebvre, driving allowed only an abstract, controlled, and mechanized perception of the world;¹³⁷ whereas Jean Baudrillard saw that the interior of the automobile—“the magnetized sphere”—developed “an entire universe of tunnels, expressways, overpasses, on and off ramps by treating its mobile cockpit as a universal prototype.”¹³⁸ In *America*, insinuating the country’s unending identification with freeways and automobility, he further contends that with a thorough study of the experience of this “closed sphere,” everything one must know about American society could be learnt.¹³⁹

It is no surprise, then, that travelers from the 1950s onward dedicated significant rhetoric and narratives to automobility. A fascinating example is feminist philosopher and writer Simone de Beauvoir’s *America Day by Day*.¹⁴⁰ In this journal-turned-book, written upon her return to France, she recounts her four-month trip, traveling from coast to coast by car, bus, and train in the United States in 1947. She starts her narrative with the flight from Paris to New York; her first encounter with the Big Apple is by car:

But off I go, borne away beside a young woman I’ve never seen, through a city my eyes don’t yet know how to see. . . . Then all at once, I see. I see broad brightly lit streets where hundreds and hundreds of cars are driving, stopping, and starting again with such discipline you would think they were guided from above by some magnetic providence.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ David Inglis, “Auto Couture: Thinking the Car in Post-War France,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 21, no. 4–5 (October 2004): 198.

¹³⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (1974; repr., Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 313. Cited in David Inglis, *Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), 52.

¹³⁸ Jean Baudrillard, “Ballard’s ‘Crash’,” *Science Fiction Studies* 18, no. 3, *Science Fiction and Postmodernism* (November 1991): 315.

¹³⁹ Baudrillard, *America*, trans. Chris Turner (1986; repr., London, New York: Verso, 1988), 54.

¹⁴⁰ Simone de Beauvoir, *America Day by Day*, trans. Carol Cosman (1948; repr., New York: Grove Press, 1999).

¹⁴¹ Ellipsis in the original. de Beauvoir, *America Day by Day*, 6.

Driving, stopping, and starting again, automobility's effects on the lives of travelers, urbanites, and on the modern city culture, as well as the enthusiasm with its machinery were immediately reflected in the profession of urban planning and architecture. From early on, Le Corbusier, obsessed with efficiency and industrial technology, not only proclaimed the house to be like a "machine for living-in," but also depicted his designs with cars. Moreover, he designed a house in 1920 (built in Stuttgart in 1927), with an allegory to a car, the Maison Citrohan—a deliberate pun on the name of Citroën automobile company;¹⁴² and in 1934, he even designed a car, *Voiture Minimum*.¹⁴³ Indeed, architects designing cars were not uncommon at this time: in 1933, Buckminster Fuller also went further with his keen interest in machinery and the automobile and designed and built the three-wheeler Dymaxion Car, intended as an "Auto-Airplane."¹⁴⁴

This excitement shaped the work of architectural and urban theorists, who tackled automobility's impact on cities. Several books were published: from 1961 *Motopia* by the British architect and urban planner Geoffrey Jellicoe to 1962 *View from the Road* by Donald Appleyard, Kevin Lynch, and John R. Myer.¹⁴⁵ Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American*

¹⁴² Murray Fraser and Joe Kerr, "Motopia: Cities, Car and Architecture," in *Autopia*, 316–17.

¹⁴³ See Antonio Amado, *Voiture Minimum: Le Corbusier and the Automobile* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁴ Martin Pawley, "The Downfall of the Dymaxion Car," in *Autopia*, 373.

¹⁴⁵ Geoffrey Jellicoe, *Motopia: A Study in the Evolution of Urban Landscape* (London: Studio Books, 1961). Donald Appleyard, Kevin Lynch, and John R. Myer, *The View from the Road* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965). Jellicoe envisaged a radical British town designated to separate the machine (the automobile, zoned to the elevated motorways) from the biological (the pedestrian, allotted to the terraces below). Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer wrote on the aesthetics of the highway and its impact on the driver/passenger in motion.

Cities had a section devoted to the struggle between the urban character of American cities and the automobile.¹⁴⁶

Excitement over the potential of automobility was further explored by architectural critics J. B. Jackson and Reyner Banham.¹⁴⁷ J. B. Jackson, an avid motorcyclist himself, was attracted to the roadside, the highway, the automobile, and the garage.¹⁴⁸ Banham, in 1972, shot a film, *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles*, in which he drives his car through the city, proclaiming the importance of mobility—the motorway and the automobile—in the experiencing of the metropolis.¹⁴⁹ Banham was a lover of cars,¹⁵⁰ which he called “the ever-present symbolic objects that typify the present epoch of technological culture”¹⁵¹ and “expendable, replaceable vehicle[s] of the popular desires.”¹⁵² He wrote and lectured extensively on them—at times, in reference to the New Brutalists (i.e., the Smithsons).¹⁵³ His major architectural critique was that architects could learn from the automobile: from its culture, production, aesthetics, or design.¹⁵⁴ The main contrast he drew between the First Machine Age (late nineteenth and early twentieth century) and the postwar period was that mass production brought technology

¹⁴⁶ It is the “war” between cars and cities, or pedestrians, on which Jacobs focused. She negotiated the common and nostalgic view on cars’ destructive impact on the life of the city, on the one hand; and the search for potential solutions the automobiles could bring to the cities, on the other. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961; repr., New York: Random House, 2002), 338–71.

¹⁴⁷ Neither Jackson nor Banham was interested in gender.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, essays in J. B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics* (1976; repr., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

¹⁴⁹ Reyner Banham, “Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles,” BBC Films, 1972, YouTube video, 1:41:26. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xkMcgrjGkWA>. Also see Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

¹⁵⁰ Richard J. Williams, *Reyner Banham Revisited* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2021), 99–100.

¹⁵¹ Reyner Banham, “Stocktaking,” *Architectural Review* 127 (February 1960): 95.

¹⁵² Reyner Banham, “Vehicles of Desire, (1955)” in *A Critic Writes: Essays by Reyner Banham*, ed. Mary Banham, Paul Barker, Sutherland Lyall, and Cedric Price (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 5.

¹⁵³ Banham, “Vehicles of Desire, (1955),” 3.

¹⁵⁴ To him, architects of the First Machine Age, with their strive for an optimum, stabilized type of design, failed to understand the continuous development of technology and the obsolescence of aesthetics in car design. Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960; repr., New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967), 329.

(domestic appliances), communication (television, telephone), and machines (automobile) from the elite to the masses, and this shift necessitated, or enabled, to personally control machines: a blurred barrier between “thinking men” and their machines.¹⁵⁵ Unmentioned by him, though, was a different relationship: between the architect and *his/her* automobile.

This section explores the relationship between the automobile and architecture not necessarily through car culture’s impact on cities, but through a female relationship between the architect and this “object of magic.” Taking the masculine aura of auto/mobility and its industrial machinery into account, I question what happens when a woman architect engages the car: as driver, passenger, designer, or critic.

Woman and Auto/mobility

A Persian cat is all very well, I said; but a Persian cat is not enough. I must have a motor car. And it was thus that I became a novelist—for it is a very strange thing that people will give you a motor car if you will tell them a story. It is a still stranger thing that there is nothing so delightful in the world as telling stories.

Virginia Woolf, “Professions for Women,” 1942¹⁵⁶

The automobile was everywhere: it was both in the American Dream¹⁵⁷ and part of Americanization; it allowed distances to be consumed. As James J. Flink put it in *Car Culture*, “to the average person the automobile remained an important symbol of individualism, personal

¹⁵⁵ Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, 10–11.

¹⁵⁶ Virginia Woolf, “Professions for Women,” in *The Death of the Moth* (London: Hogarth Press, 1942), 151–52.

¹⁵⁷ Karal Ann Marling writes “after the privations of the Great Depression, after the hardships and shortages of the war, victorious Americans deserved nothing but the best. Within a year of the surrender of Japan, twelve million GIs had been sent home, every last one of them in search of a girl, a car, a new house, and—although they didn’t know it just then—a television set: the American Dream.” Marling, “America’s Love Affair with the Automobile in the Television Age,” in *Autopia*, 354.

freedom, and mobility.”¹⁵⁸ Kristin Ross confers that it allowed “the activity most embedded in ideologies of the free market: displacement. It became a key element in the creation of the new and complex image of ‘l’homme disponible’—Available Man, relatively indifferent to the distances where he’ll be sent.”¹⁵⁹

The affectionate relationship between society and the automobile, nonetheless, has commonly been gendered. The car—“chariot of fiery desire”¹⁶⁰—as well as the power and freedom related to it were associated with modern masculinity. The love was between “man and machine,” the car was his mistress and his wife.¹⁶¹ As Janet Wolff notes in “On the Road Again,” auto/mobility was central to “constructed masculine identity.”¹⁶² Alison Smithson, in her semi-autobiographical book *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* questions the masculinity around car culture:

I thought men thought about women. The songs say so. The ads say they look. It happens in every film. Just I have never met one that did not think about cars that way, and just talked to about magazine pictures of women; some of them even look surprised if one of them spots a girl crossing the platz in any one of the European capitals.¹⁶³

Roads as well as cars were gendered; and for women, auto/mobility was at best synonymous with homemaking. In *Taking the Wheel*, Virginia Scharff argues that “If men dispassionately regarded cars and houses as tools, women, long believed, expected both the auto and the

¹⁵⁸ Flink, *The Car Culture*, 210.

¹⁵⁹ Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 22.

¹⁶⁰ Marling, “America’s Love Affair with the Automobile in the Television Age,” 355.

¹⁶¹ Marling, 355.

¹⁶² Janet Wolff, “On the Road Again: Metaphors of Travel in Cultural Criticism,” *Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (1993): 230.

¹⁶³ Alison Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966), 233–34.

home to serve as vehicles for domestic cultural missions.”¹⁶⁴ In *Moving Lives*, Sidonie Smith similarly notes that car has served both as a vehicle of middle-class consumer culture (for women) and escape (for men).¹⁶⁵ A deeper look unsettles this simple gender-division of auto/mobility and, consequently, of public and private notions around it.

The “closed sphere” of the car entailed a sort of a private sphere in which passengers and drivers were cocooned. As Mimi Sheller and John Urry describe, the car was “a rolling private-in-public space,” “a private room, a moving private capsule.”¹⁶⁶ Its inhabitants were alienated from “the sights, sounds, tastes, temperatures and smells” of the outside world.¹⁶⁷ This alienation, however, also brought protection and safety for women traveling alone, as this protective bubble worked both ways. Locking the world outside the doors of their cars, women could travel freely, without potential disturbances from unwelcome strangers.

Deborah Clarke, in *Driving Women*, suggests, “women’s mobility and women’s agency are shaped by the vehicle that moves the female body.”¹⁶⁸ In women’s narratives, the car is often treated as a family member, and its interior as a space between domesticity and mobility: “neither fully contained nor fully mobile, women in cars call into question both domesticity and movement as empowering female tropes and, more particularly, as mutually exclusive

¹⁶⁴ Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel*, 125. Deborah Clarke notes that “despite the sophistication of marketing cars to women, then, cultural assumptions about women and cars still linked women’s cars to domesticity, as an extension of the home.” Deborah Clarke, *Driving Women: Fiction and Automobile Culture in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 115. See J. B. Jackson, “The Domestication of the Garage,” in *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics*, 103–11. Jackson talks how the garage becomes an integrated part of the house in the postwar period, simultaneously as the house appears as a place for recreation. It is notable that this integration coincides with an increase in women’s access to cars.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Moving Lives*, 175.

¹⁶⁶ Mimi Sheller and John Urry, “Mobile Transformations of ‘Public’ and ‘Private’ Life,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 20, no. 3 (2003): 115–16.

¹⁶⁷ Sheller and Urry, 116.

¹⁶⁸ Clarke, *Driving Women*, 112.

spheres.”¹⁶⁹ Auto/mobility did not isolate or confine women; rather, it altered their domestic subjectivity without necessarily erasing and brought them into closer contact with a larger community.¹⁷⁰ To Scharff, “these motoring women, employing the multiple possibilities of the automobile, gave new meanings to the notion of ‘woman’s place.’”¹⁷¹

Similarly, women resisted the gendering of mechanical aesthetics and technology of the automobile. Smith argues that “vehicles of motion are vehicles of perception and meaning, precisely because they affect the temporal, spatial, and interrational dynamics of travel.”¹⁷² Just as driving or riding, the machinery, speed, and aesthetics related to mobility were attributed to the domain of masculinity: as objects of mobility, their industries and spaces were intertwined with “technologies of gender,” which separate “sedentary femininity from a mobile masculinity.”¹⁷³

In reality, many women in architecture employed vehicles and technologies of mobility both from a planning and design perspective as well as objects on their own: American Mary Hommann’s project entitled “Caravan Plan” for Midtown Manhattan in the late 1960s is one case. Similar to the van Ginkels, Hommann suggested an electric public transport, a “caravan,” that would share the streets with pedestrians.¹⁷⁴ Women architects used cars for professional purposes, too: Jane Drew, Maxwell Fry, and Pierre Jeanneret drove a Willys in India; Canadian

¹⁶⁹ Clarke, 113.

¹⁷⁰ Clarke, 138. For example, as Scharff notes, the suffragists in the United States used the female automobility for their feminist political agenda. Scharff, *Taking the Wheel*, 79.

¹⁷¹ Scharff, *Taking the Wheel*, 164.

¹⁷² Smith, *Moving Lives*, 22.

¹⁷³ Smith, 24.

¹⁷⁴ Peter Wolf, *The Future of the City: New Directions in Urban Planning* (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1974), 40.

architect Freda O'Connor's (the first woman to be elected president of the Alberta Association of Architects in 1974) work in Cape Coast, Ghana, about 90 miles away from Accra (where she stayed with her husband), was made possible thanks to her access to a car.¹⁷⁵ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt also drove a car while in India to do her researches in nearby villages.

This chapter ventures to collect four motor-car stories (*à la* Woolf) by Lemco van Ginkel, Smithson, Imrie and Wallbridge, and Scott Brown. These stories include leisure activities as well as profession-related driving and engagement. Regardless of their initial motivation, these women ultimately made use of auto/mobility in their professional lives. They used it strategically to open up space for themselves in the male-dominated architectural profession. Their alternative views and focus on the spaces, problems, potentials, experiences, and visibility of cars in transit and their inclusion of it in their narratives allow us to question the masculinization of mobility, machinery, and technology of car culture and architecture. Women architects both learnt from the automobile and were critical of it. They used it as a machine of empowerment in their life journeys.

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Architects, and Designing (with) the Auto/mobile

Ten years before Banham's film, in 1962, *Canadian Art* journal devoted an issue to art, architecture, and the car.¹⁷⁶ Who was a better choice for an editor than Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, who, with her husband and professional partner, Sandy van Ginkel, had saved Old Montreal from demolition by an express highway?

¹⁷⁵ "Freda M. O'Connor," *Women Building Alberta: The Early Female Architects of Alberta*, ed. Cheryl Mahaffy, <https://womenbuildingalberta.wordpress.com/freda-m-oconnor/>. Accessed March 10, 2021.

¹⁷⁶ *Canadian Art* 19, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1962).

Lemco van Ginkel opens the issue of “manifestations of the automobile” by acknowledging its impact on the arts. The automobile, she claims, adapts “the way we see and what we see,” conditions our “response via the eye.”¹⁷⁷ She continues:

The automobile permits us to fulfill some of the primeval aspirations of man—the physical aspiration to move at high speed; and the intellectual and spiritual desire to fathom the mysteries of space and time. . . . This immediate sense of locomotion is quite different to travelling in a larger vehicle, such as a train, which almost creates its own enclosed world past which the landscape rushes.¹⁷⁸

The journal issue is divided into four sections, each offering alternative looks at the design of, by, with, and for the automobile. In her article in “Design with the Automobile” section, she analyzes the interaction between design and the car through landscape.¹⁷⁹ This interaction, she says, transforms “seeing” by the very presence of/in the automobile (I will return to this issue in the next chapter). The second implication is the physical existence of the car (and I would add, of its driver/passenger) within the landscape. She writes, “the freedom of travel fosters new developments in hitherto rural areas, which completely transform the face of the land.”¹⁸⁰ She searches for the possibilities this can offer to the creation of new forms and relationships, such as the elevated expressway.¹⁸¹ She offers a positive outlook onto the automobile experience, its speed, and liberty and stresses the potential influence on “the art of landscape *with* automobile.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, “The Automobile: Editorial,” *Canadian Art* 19, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1962): 19.

¹⁷⁸ Lemco van Ginkel, 19.

¹⁷⁹ Lemco van Ginkel, “The Landscape,” *Canadian Art* 19, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1962): 53–54.

¹⁸⁰ Lemco van Ginkel, 54.

¹⁸¹ Hodges, “Expressway Aesthetics: Montreal in the 1960s,” 48.

¹⁸² Italics in the original. Lemco van Ginkel, “The Landscape,” 57.

Lemco van Ginkel's celebration of the automobile's influence on "the art of landscape" is echoed in how she was received by a Canadian audience at the turn of the decade. She is quoted in the 1962 *The Montreal Star* article "Architect Defends Auto Age—Car Can Stimulate Beauty": "I'm tired of people screaming about the automobile and what it has done to the community."¹⁸³ Lemco van Ginkel blames people who "spawned ribbon development, billboards and the endless monotony of sprawling suburbia," more than the automobile for the so-called urban "ugliness" the car-culture triggered. As an example of her celebration, the article emphasizes Lemco van Ginkel's approval of the car as a vehicle of "family recreation":

In fact, she says, the North American landscape is often at its best in a series of 'fast-moving images' seen from a car window. . . . There is no better way to sense the vastness of this continent, its range of hills and valleys, than in a car. But, she added, the roads should be sympathetic to the landscape and the car should be small, and better yet, open.¹⁸⁴

Her view with regards to North American landscape's vastness and openness, which, she contends, should be reflected on the interior of the car as "small" and "open," leaving the passengers with not much to do other than engage with nature more directly, is reduced by the journalist to an amicable emphasis on "family recreation." Moreover, the same journalist introduces Lemco van Ginkel as "business partner in her husband's town planning and architecture business, a visiting lecturer at the University of Montreal, and as a mother to her three-year-old daughter, Brenda."¹⁸⁵ As the sole introduction to Lemco van Ginkel in the one-page article, it posits her motherhood as important in regard to her position towards

¹⁸³ "People Cause Billboards, Monotonous Suburbia: Architect Defends Auto Age—Car Can Stimulate Beauty," *The Montreal Star*, February 7, 1962. CCA Archives, File 27-E02-12.

¹⁸⁴ "People Cause Billboards, Monotonous Suburbia: Architect Defends Auto Age—Car Can Stimulate Beauty," *The Montreal Star*, February 7, 1962. CCA Archives, File 27-E02-12.

¹⁸⁵ "People Cause Billboards, Monotonous Suburbia: Architect Defends Auto Age—Car Can Stimulate Beauty," *The Montreal Star*, February 7, 1962. CCA Archives, File 27-E02-12.

auto/mobility. Was her motherhood brought to the forefront in order to soften her embrace of the auto-age, or was it to convince public that even a mother-architect was now in favour of well-designed automobile cities? Perhaps, both.

Lemco van Ginkel's position towards auto/mobility's impacts on rural and urban spaces is ambivalent, however, despite her aforementioned celebration of the automobile. For example, in "The Landscape," she is ostensibly critical as she argues that the rural areas or the wilderness is brought into close contact with the urban because of the "unfortunate aspect" of auto/mobility: "This is the black mark of the automobile—where freedom has become license—urbs is reduced to suburbs and the countryside to shambles."¹⁸⁶ In another article, "Transportation: Ins and Outs" published in *The Canadian Architect* in 1973, she further emphasizes the necessity of the separation between the pedestrian and the automobile (as we will see, she worked with this notion in her design practice as well).¹⁸⁷ Searching for how "the city went wrong," she boldly contends, "*Basically, we must overthrow the tyranny of the automobile. Use it in its proper place at the proper time as a useful vehicle—even use it for fun, once again.*"¹⁸⁸

In her writing and interviews, Lemco van Ginkel was both celebratory and critical towards the car. She herself never learned to drive;¹⁸⁹ yet she loved the car. Nonetheless, her criticism of its "tyranny" in the city foreshadowed the environmental movement by decades. Her position is unsurprising given the urban transportation and automobility projects in which she was

¹⁸⁶ Lemco van Ginkel, "The Landscape," 55.

¹⁸⁷ Lemco van Ginkel, "Transportation: Ins and Outs," *The Canadian Architect* 18, no. 6 (June 1973): 32–39.

¹⁸⁸ Italics in the original. Lemco van Ginkel, 38.

¹⁸⁹ E-mail correspondence with Brenda van Ginkel, September 2, 2019.

involved over the years: the CIAM 10 project presented in Dubrovnik in 1956 with Robert Geddes, Romaldo Giurgola, and George Qualls, in which they tackled the relationship between the automobile and suburban houses;¹⁹⁰ Old City/Port of Montreal Project in 1960, the conservation project for the neighbourhood that constituted the elimination of the new highway project and the subsequent Montreal Central Area Circulation Study for alternative transit routes in the city centre; and the Midtown Manhattan Study, a proposal to solve congestion in the area by a reworking of the existing street system and separating high-density traffic from slower circulation—the latter three with the Van Ginkel Associates, which the van Ginkel couple had founded in 1957.

Even more so, as in September 1969, the firm designed a small, electric minibus for the public transportation system of the Midtown Manhattan Study, called the Ginkelman: “a unique and wickedly handsome little vehicle designed as a partial solution to the congestion, pollution and ugliness of inner-city life” (Fig. 1).¹⁹¹ The proposal was to create a network of pedestrian streets closed to vehicular traffic with the exception of the small-scale public transportation of the Ginkelman that would “carry passengers in comfort and style.”¹⁹² It had 15 seats and could take 5 more standing passengers; the seats were positioned looking towards each other and the large windows surrounding the whole body of the minibus.

¹⁹⁰ “Project for CIAM X Dubrovnik 1956.” International Archive of Women in Architecture (IAWA) Box-folder 1:7. Margaret E. Hodges notes: “Due to [Jaqueline] Tyrwhitt’s suggestion, Lemco formed one of the few American CIAM groups to present at the congresses. By June of 1956, prior to the Dubrovnik congress, Tyrwhitt would describe Lemco’s group as ‘the one active official CIAM group in being in the USA.’” Hodges, “Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel and H. P. Daniel Van Ginkel: Urban Planning,” 142, 180. Alison and Peter Smithson also presented at the congress.

¹⁹¹ Ginkelman brochure. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-36.

¹⁹² Ginkelman brochure. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-36.

The new vehicular system was not implemented mostly due high costs; but the firm constructed a prototype in September 1971. Making its debut at Transpo expo in Washington DC on May 27, 1972, the minibus was “no bigger than a Cadillac,” and almost half-size of a city bus (Fig. 2).¹⁹³ It was then presented in Montreal, circulating on Sherbrooke Street, a main artery, along the route of Bus 24 (Fig. 3) and was eventually bought by the city of Vail, Colorado. *The Vail Newspaper*, in February 23, 1973, announced the purchase, likening it to Volkswagen Beetle, the “bug,” in that they both looked “odd”:

In 1949 a very odd looking automobile hit the consumer market and took it by storm. The ‘bug,’ as it was jokingly called, caught the imagination of the American public and by the late 1950’s the little German import known as the Volkswagen became common on U.S. highways and streets.

In March of 1973 another vehicular first will occur, this time in Vail, Colorado. The vehicle in question is, once again, odd looking as compared with other well-established vehicles of its kind. . . .

This mysterious vehicle soon to be making its debut in Vail is a Ginkelvan!¹⁹⁴

Bold colours in cars were common in this era, as with the Beetles; and Ginkelvan was no exception—it was bright orange.¹⁹⁵ However, its design seemed somehow less affected by the period’s van and bus design trends that followed more curvilinear outlines as the Canadian Fargo A100, the French Renault Estafette, or the German Volkswagen Type 2 represented.¹⁹⁶

The body of the Ginkelvan was made of an advanced material—Fiberglass reinforced plastic—

¹⁹³ Ginkelvan brochure. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-36.

¹⁹⁴ “What’s that Funny Looking Vehicle? It’s a ‘Ginkelvan,’” *Vail Newspaper*, February 23, 1973, 8–9. IAWA Box-folder 1:2.

¹⁹⁵ “Micro-Bus Urbain, New York,” *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* 169 (October 1973): 83. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-15. Adams and Southcott, “Blanche Lemco van Ginkel.”

¹⁹⁶ The trend for curvilinear lines in car designs continued until the mid-1970s, when they took a turn towards more boxy shapes. In that sense, Ginkelvan was slightly ahead of its time. Penny Sparke, *A Century of Car Design* (New York: B.E.S., 2002), 12, 180.

which, from the 1950s on, was mainly used to attain more radical curves.¹⁹⁷ The rectilinear lines of the van, then, can be attributed to a more architectonic design choice, perhaps. Its oddness, in other words, comes from its resemblance to architecture. In fact, Lemco van Ginkel gives a nod to this link. An article in *The Citizen* from December 1973 quotes her: “The unique shape of the vehicle is because ‘We are architects and we went back to the first principles of automotive design—only an architect would do that. Most automobile designers have forgotten first principles.’”¹⁹⁸

Evidence shows that Lemco van Ginkel herself was not on the design team of the Ginkelvan.¹⁹⁹ However, we know she was a registered share-holder of the Ginkelvan Limited company²⁰⁰ (Fig. 4); her personal correspondence shows that she was involved in its public promotion and administrative paperwork;²⁰¹ and photographs reveal that she attended the minibus’ inauguration in various cities (Fig. 5, 6). Moreover, the above-mentioned article in *The Citizen* quotes Blanche Lemco van Ginkel: “Mrs. Van Ginkel said it might have been easier to start production in the United States last year but we held off because we wanted it to be an all-Canadian vehicle,”²⁰² implying her involvement in decisions around its production. Lastly, on

¹⁹⁷ Ginkelvan brochure. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-36.

¹⁹⁸ “Step from a Car into a Ginkelvan,” *The Citizen*, December 4, 1973, 9. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-14.

¹⁹⁹ Even though some newspaper articles from the 1970s credit her as one of the designers of the minibus, Lemco van Ginkel’s daughter, Brenda van Ginkel notes that she was not involved in the design. E-mail correspondence with Brenda van Ginkel, September 2, 2019.

²⁰⁰ CCA Archives, File 27-A58-32.

²⁰¹ Blanche Lemco van Ginkel wrote a memo to Peter Strobach, “Ginkelvan Certification”: “Mr. Marcel Baril telephoned (Quebec Department of Transport) said we should have Federal Certification first, because it is more stringent. . . . Then Quebec will check for ‘minor special requirements.’ Otherwise vehicle can only be used in Quebec.” Blanche Lemco van Ginkel to Peter Strobach, May 19, 1972. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-13. The Ginkelvan Inauguration Invitation list was also prepared by her. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt was on the list of invitees.

²⁰² “Step from a Car into a Ginkelvan,” 9. CCA Archives, File 27-A58-14.

the design of the minibus, her quotation mentioned earlier, where she explains its unique shape in relation to their position as architects, shows her inclusion in design decisions too.

Lemco van Ginkel's criticism, appraisal, and involvement in the design of and with auto/mobility, or to recall Scharff's quotation, her employment in "the multiple possibilities of the automobile," produce alternative takes on women's place within the profession. This alternative position defied traditional and gendered assumptions, as *The Montreal Star* journalist's difficulty in situating Lemco van Ginkel indicates. Lemco van Ginkel's engagement in ideas and designs about cars and car culture brought new meanings of architectural auto/mobility of the new auto-age. Her unique approach exemplifies the diversity of women's architectural negotiations with auto/mobility.

Alison Smithson, Passengers and Writing in the Auto/mobile

British architect and writer Alison Smithson wrote two non-architectural books around cars: the first, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, a semi-autobiographical book that she started writing in the 1950s²⁰³ and published in 1966, and, the second, a journal-turned-book, *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road*, written in 1972–73 and published later in 1983.²⁰⁴ In *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, Smithson scrutinizes domesticity and mobility, as well as the gender connotations that the car suggests through a semi-fictionalized, younger self. A Cadillac is on the original white cover of the book, and the text illustrates her keen interest in auto/mobility and cars (Fig. 7): firstly, through the continuous references she gives to several

²⁰³ Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture*, 363.

²⁰⁴ Alison Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*; Alison Smithson, *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1983). Hereafter, *AS in DS*.

brands of cars, oil companies, and ads seen from the road (“I am in the Volkswagen, E type Jag., DS19 and whatever polemical car follows these”²⁰⁵ or “Pirelli. Pirelli. Pirelli. Supercortemaggiore economica”²⁰⁶) and, secondly, through its story, toggling between first and third person, around a female teenager, her daydreams, and her desire to have a racing car in order to be as free as men. To the young protagonist, marriage, as a pretext, provides access to auto/mobility and thus to freedom. A car and its movement could only be justified by a marriage to a racing driver. Her contradictory feelings towards the two routes of her desire for freedom—marriage and car ownership (or mobility, in general)—are reflected in various places in the narrative: an admission to marriage (““Marry you. ‘Big ring.’ ‘Have a baby.’”²⁰⁷) is followed by a denunciation (““It was probably very silly,’ she thought. ‘Almost suicidal, seeing as how one way to get away was to get married. But I must find a better selection than they have round here”²⁰⁸).

This train of thought is tested in the mid-section of the book, in which an imaginary self of the female protagonist, who is in Morocco for an archaeological excavation, meets and marries a French Colonel (*and* his Cadillac—““it’s you, as much as the car””²⁰⁹). She seeks freedom in her fascination with the officer’s car and uniform. The story finishes with her revelation of the homosexuality of the officer—resulting in an arguably failed attempt at marriage (and a successful one at freedom?) on her part. Smithson further questions this marriage-mobility-freedom link in the last section, wherein she explores the protagonist’s daydreams with cars and boys, as she describes (and likes) men based on their driving skills. The most explicit

²⁰⁵ Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, 228.

²⁰⁶ Smithson, 276.

²⁰⁷ Smithson, 9.

²⁰⁸ Smithson, 25.

²⁰⁹ Smithson, 145.

instance of her imaginary search for an access to outside—for an escape—is perhaps when she asks a boy to marry her and suggests they go to Japan on a honeymoon, to which, he replies: “But how can you think such things. I don’t know whether I would want to go and I would not get married in order to do that thing. If I want to go I can go. I just take a plane I think, I don’t need to take a wife.”²¹⁰ Because of her womanhood, she needs a man to be mobile, to have access to a car or plane, to be able to travel freely. Smithson wittily questions and plays with the gendered assumptions around adolescence, marriage, freedom, and auto/mobility. She inquires what it means to be a woman in a car, in want of a car: “Splashing through water in a V.W., rrr, it goes, all of a sudden on the bottom and how snug and safe you feel underneath; its [sic] such a nice car for a woman to be sitting in. . . . in this lovely little sealed can”²¹¹—a car feels snug, safe, and nice for a woman in the imaginary world she describes.

Smithson’s second book, *AS in DS*, records the family trips of Alison and Peter Smithson, their children, and cat from London to their cottage in Fonthill, on Route A 303, in a Citroën DS 19.²¹² In Alison Smithson’s words, the book is “a diary of car-movement recording the evolving sensibility of a passenger in a car to the post-industrial landscape.”²¹³ Sketches, maps, and photographs taken from the passenger seat and framed by the windshield, as well as those of

²¹⁰ Smithson, 240.

²¹¹ Smithson, 234.

²¹² According to the editor’s note, some entries were from trips to Oxford and Cambridge on Routes M40 and M11. Christian Sumi, “The Architect Alison Smithson,” in *AS in DS*, 166.

²¹³ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 1. Lemco van Ginkel described the book: “It may not be the most important document, but it is an indicator of the breadth of knowledge and interests that Alison applied to her craft, of her keen eye, and her tenacity and flare. (Who else would have persuaded Citroën [sic] to cut the book in the shape of the Citroën [sic] DA [sic] automobile?)” Lemco van Ginkel, “Alison Margaret Gill Smithson June 22, 1928 – August 14, 1993,” 6.

the car(s) enrich the narrative.²¹⁴ The text itself resembles Surrealist automatism: products of uncontrolled, spontaneous encounters and momentary passings—enabled by the speed of the automobile, if not by the workings of the subconscious mind. The narrative depicts the English landscape, animals, buildings, and other cars as seen from the vehicle; they form “a Passenger’s View of Movement in a Car”:

. . . . The passenger enjoys being driven along: Grandmother liked to be ‘taken for a drive’	Kensington Mews
. . . . ‘They have painted the underneath The girders red, looks terrific. . . .’ ‘there’s a tricycle. . . .’	Lambeth
Usually it is the passenger who comments ²¹⁵	

The actual material book is in the form of DS 19 in plan, with a playful name: “As in Citroën DS 19” the car as well as Alison Smithson in it. “An Eye on the Road” is alternately the “I” on the road, the female self *inside* the moving body (Fig. 8).

In the introduction, Smithson notes the isolated yet controlled and protected freedom the car gives its drivers and passengers. Her approach echoes Sheller and Urry’s understanding of auto/mobility as a quasi-private sphere:

For the majority of people, the most interesting, carefree companionable times are spent in their car; ‘Sealed in a glass box on wheels’, we—again used in the collective sense—do not sense the air outside, smell something only after it has passed through the ventilation system, we read the weather through the glass of the windscreen or the side windows, feel the sun through this glass, are wonderfully protected from the most violent of storms in the wildest of landscapes. This is a normality.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Photographs of the family’s other cars (most notably, the Jeep) in various places (including Tunisia) are included in the book. For example, see Smithson, *AS in DS*, 37, 56, 130, 147.

²¹⁵ Line breaks and ellipsis in the original. Smithson, 15.

²¹⁶ Smithson, 17.

The Smithsons were passionately interested in cars, or what they called “metal animals.”²¹⁷

They owned one Willys Jeep that they drove to various places (Tunisia and the 1956 CIAM 10 meeting in Dubrovnik, Croatia, as seen in some of the photographs in the book) (Fig. 9),²¹⁸ a dark green Volkswagen Beetle, six Citroëns (three DS 19s, a DS Safari, a CX, a CM)²¹⁹ and borrowed a Citroën 2CV (when one of their Citroën DS 19s was stolen).²²⁰ The family history was thus intertwined with cars. Alison Smithson’s engagement was even deeper, as three articles show: “Mobility: Road Systems” (co-written with Peter Smithson), “Caravan-Embryo: Appliance House,” and “Love in a Beetle.”

The first of the three articles, “Mobility: Road Systems” shows the couple’s keen interest in auto/mobility first-hand.²²¹ It dwells on the relationship between the urban motorway and the built-up areas (“Roads are also places”), the pedestrians and commuters (“Where many routes are available even a recluse benefits, for it is easier for the others to go away”), and cars and people (“to fly; ride a horse; sail a boat; are all distinct sensations. We must have this directness and sensation of freedom for the car”).²²² The Smithsons were vigilant about the novelty brought about by the automobile-motion: the car was a “spectacle” (represented in the article with a photograph of “Los Angeles Freeway intersection”) and its movement was “flow

²¹⁷ Alison and Peter Smithson, “Density, Interval and Measure,” *Ekistics* 25, no. 147 (February 1968): 70. Also see Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture*, 366.

²¹⁸ Smithson mentions the Jeep several times: *AS in DS*, 12; I. Chippendale, “Love in a Beetle,” *Architectural Design* 35, no. 10 (October 1965): 478.

²¹⁹ Citroën DS 19, or “Déésese,” (Goddess) was a cutting edge avant-garde car both for its stylized design and innovative aerodynamic performance. Considering the Smithsons love for cars, it is no surprise that they were attracted to it.

²²⁰ E-mail correspondence with Simon and Soraya Smithson, November 7, 2020.

²²¹ Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, “Mobility: Road Systems,” *Architectural Design* 28, no. 10 (October 1958): 385–88.

²²² Smithson and Smithson, “Mobility: Road Systems,” 388.

movement, not the irregular: stopping and starting; changing direction; turning around, of the walker.”²²³ The automobile, here, signified a new mobility and a potential architectural change.

However, there was more to the article than a fixation on the city-motorway duality and the automobile’s role in it. A number of photographs, plans, perspective drawings, and an ad for a Plymouth 1958 Belvedere accompany the text. The only two images that include humans have women in the foreground: the Plymouth ad shows three women in three distinct categories (“Giving your kids,” “Developing your talents,” and “Taking the part”), asking (Fig. 10):

Are you this woman?
You can be the woman you yearn to be with
*a Plymouth all your own.*²²⁴

The caption of the ad, written by the Smithsons, follows: “Social mobility and physical mobility are related; and a car of your own is a symbol for them both.”²²⁵ The second image is a photograph shot in an indoor parking lot, with a woman in luxurious clothing walking head up high, followed by (or running from?) a man in tuxedo behind (Fig. 11). The caption reads: ““our cities—an extension of ourselves as we now wish to be.””²²⁶ The self was imposed on the mode of mobility, and the new mode of auto/mobility defined the social identity, including that of gender.²²⁷

In “Caravan-Embryo”, a one-page article, Alison Smithson writes about the mobile-home with remarkable sympathy: “A real feeling of open air and freedom from a too pressing, and

²²³ Smithson and Smithson, 388.

²²⁴ Italics in the original. Smithson and Smithson, 385.

²²⁵ Smithson and Smithson, 385.

²²⁶ Smithson and Smithson, 388.

²²⁷ On advertisements, cars, and women, see Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

depressing, built world. A certain, probably only temporary, freedom from needless economic responsibility to achieve a doubtful respectability.”²²⁸ She dwells on its architectural role, too, noting its new way of life offering more potential “than anything else in this country built since the war.”²²⁹ Her appreciation is significant, since mobile homes represent, both escapism and an extension of the domestic realm. Similar to the car, the caravan denoted the new freedom, achieved with technology, mobility, and the ability to *live* anywhere at any time. It had everything the car had—safety, power, transportability, transience—and even more, its inhabitants represented “the new leisure, the results of education, independence of women, the new prosperity—expressing these forces in their aims and aspirations.”²³⁰

Under the pseudonym I. Chippendale, the third article, “Love in a Beetle,” was published in *Architectural Design* in October 1965 (Fig. 10).²³¹ An article about love and the car in an architectural journal: it was quite unusual. And to cap it all, what did the so-called odd-looking bug have to do with love or architecture? “The beetle that hundreds of quiet men had a love affair with before they or anyone ever knew you could be sane and bonkers about the Beatles”?²³²

For one thing, after a brief description of the car’s design through its oval shape, windows, and vistas, the reader gets a more intimate image: “with organization and know-how you could

²²⁸ Alison Smithson, “Caravan-Embryo: Appliance House,” *Architectural Design* 29, no. 9 (September 1959): 348.

²²⁹ Smithson, “Caravan-Embryo,” 348.

²³⁰ Smithson, 348.

²³¹ Chippendale, “Love in a Beetle,” 478. Beatriz Colomina wrongly attributes this article to Peter Smithson. Colomina, “Unbreathed Air 1956,” *Grey Room* 15 (Spring 2004): 36.

²³² Chippendale, “Love in a Beetle,” 478.

pack to whole contrary lives of luggage under cover and a baby to boot.”²³³ In *Carchitecture*, Jonathan Bell claims that the car is a “sociable space”: “Cars have always been about display, a codified signifier of social, financial or even sexual status,” he contends.²³⁴ We can even associate the intimate picture that Smithson portrays of the car with clothing or fashion: “As for the Beatle generation—the mini got them. But for the middle-aged there is no forgetting your Volkswagen. It was not only love of animals or machines or sounds (it was like a speed boat). You wore the Volks.”²³⁵ Not just a bug, nor a machine—the Volkswagen was what you put on yourself: you created your identity with it.

But there was also room for love in Smithson’s car. The vehicle that is over and again attributed to the robust masculinity of machinery and to the freedom of masculine spirit was here turned upside down. Smithson describes their transition from Volkswagen to the DS, likening the physical space of the interior of the car to the married relationship of a couple, reminding one of her analyses of marriage versus cars in *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*:

I remember thinking you were so close together in the Volks and so far apart in the DS
your relationship as a married couple was bound to subtly change.
Now you could stand off the situation of each other.
Then it was love in a box.
After it a big car was a kind of physical divorce.²³⁶

However, the book of the “big car,” *AS in DS*, itself tells otherwise, as the big car did not necessarily imply a “physical divorce.” In the book, next to Alison Smithson’s narrative, maps,

²³³ Chippendale, 478.

²³⁴ Bell, *Carchitecture*, 19.

²³⁵ Chippendale, 478.

²³⁶ Line breaks in the original. Chippendale, “Love in a Beetle,” 478. This spatial transition was echoed in the design of the two cars: the sturdy Beetle represented a pragmatic, technological innovation, whereas the 1955 design Citroën DS 19 was an avant-garde object of mobility, belonging to high culture and art.

photographs, and sketches, are photographs taken by Peter Smithson; and the sketches in the section “Aspect 5: The Private Room on Wheels” are drawn by their children (Fig. 13).²³⁷ The book recreates the family trip collectively under the creative guidance of Alison Smithson (and the DS 19).²³⁸ As Smithson notes in the introduction of the book, referring to the Beetle article and to the car trip they had made to their first job with their Jeep, “The car changed our relationship with one another and how we observed our world and twenty years later we can work with this idea.”²³⁹ This new relationship, nevertheless, was still a collective, familial one,²⁴⁰ justifying Clarke’s argument: “Cars do not liberate women from home or domesticity. But by eliding the boundaries between car and home, they do open up the possibility of reconfiguring women’s place as both situated and mobile, both domestic and independent.”²⁴¹ Smithson’s narrative reveals the blurred line between domestic mobility/mobile domesticity of the trip: “the car is stopped, becomes a house on wheels The passenger looks out from the stationary car between two trees”²⁴² However, at the same time, she notes the distance between home and away (the car), as she writes: “now at this birthday-time, the last weekend in the house behind was spent without realizing Onwards and away from the old home the

²³⁷ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 111-130. The family similarly prepared a children’s book called *The Story of the Tram Rats*. On their familial creation Peter Smithson noted “And that leads you to the end where you can see that from the kind of family that Alison and I have, it’s got its own rules, separate to society, where the bond is so strong that it makes outside things unreal.” Kester Rattenbury, “Think of It as Farm! Exhibitions, Books, Buildings: An Interview with Peter Smithson,” in *This Is Not Architecture: Media Constructions*, ed. Kester Rattenbury (London: Routledge, 2002), 98.

²³⁸ Smithson refers to the children in the narrative too: “the smallest passenger beginning to notice the scenery: the others never really aware—no amount of hopefully-connective-patter made the others conscious of much beyond selected cars, brands of services to car and obtrusive passengers.” Smithson, *AS in DS*, 55.

²³⁹ Smithson, 13.

²⁴⁰ Boyer, too, notes the Smithsons’ profound attachment to the family: “Just as important was to structure their life as a family story, and not only metaphorically: architecture and children fitting together, traveling, telling stories, looking at architecture, remembering and doing in a continuous present.” Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture*, 394.

²⁴¹ Clarke, *Driving Women*, 116.

²⁴² Ellipsis in the original. Smithson, *AS in DS*, 52.

car rushes”²⁴³ The in-betweenness of mobility/domesticity was further enhanced at times, when, for example, Alison Smithson took the Safari off the road and parked it in the car-port to use it as a writing hut in the summer while Peter Smithson was teaching in the United States in 1957–58.²⁴⁴ She reconstructed the mobile car as situated, shifting its boundaries between mobile, domestic, and professional.

In “Unbreathed Air 1956,” Beatriz Colomina offers an alternative look at the relationship between home and car in the Smithsons’ lives. She argues that the Smithsons were actually influenced by the design of Volkswagen (which they owned at the time) more than the Citroën DS 19 (only introduced that same year) in designing their House of the Future for the Ideal Home Exhibition in July 1956.²⁴⁵ Colomina writes, “In the 1950s the house wanted to be more like a car and the car more like a house.”²⁴⁶ Indeed, Alison Smithson, through her narrative, portrayed the car as a house too, as a “private room on wheels,” as she called it, like a mobile home, as an extension of the private realm on flight. She revisited notions of mobility and space: “Our idea of quality of place, our will to bring through quality in all things, these should also be affected by our possession of a cell of perfected technology.”²⁴⁷

This non-traditional domesticity was enhanced by Smithson’s embrace of the passenger seat.²⁴⁸ Her position in the front passenger seat—a space, more often than not, reserved for

²⁴³ Ellipsis in the original. Smithson, 45.

²⁴⁴ E-mail correspondence with Simon and Soraya Smithson, November 7, 2020.

²⁴⁵ Colomina, “Unbreathed Air 1956,” 37.

²⁴⁶ Colomina, 37.

²⁴⁷ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 111.

²⁴⁸ Boyer notes that Alison Smithson had a driver’s license; however, “after some criticism of her driving technique from Peter Smithson, she never again took the wheel in her hands.” Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture*, 224.

women²⁴⁹—allowed her to engage in writing, sketching, and photographing, as she was freed from the responsibility of keeping her “eyes on the road.” She writes: “the passenger should have remembered, having nothing else to do when the car is moving. . . .”²⁵⁰ Remembering and noting, she made use of both the liberation from auto/mobile related duties (yet still engaged in them) and the familial responsibilities related to motherhood, as she recreated the road trip incorporating the two:

To be within ones [sic] own surfaces, with ones [sic] things, perhaps enjoying a picnic seated in armchair comfort, looking at a view we chose, when we choose. . . . This is the freedom given by technology, satisfying the delicate balance between togetherness/apartness.²⁵¹

Together and apart, this liberation allowed her to look at what she wanted. Her creative production in the passenger seat challenged the historical passivity attached to a feminine space and femininity within the male-dominated structures of auto/mobility.

Mary Imrie, Jean Wallbridge, Drivers, and Sleeping in the Auto/mobile

Imrie and Wallbridge’s round trip from their hometown Edmonton, Canada to Buenos Aires, Argentina is significant in terms of (gendered) strategies, networks, encounters, and technologies of travel. In 1949, the couple resigned from jobs in the City’s Architects Department in Edmonton, and on September 28, they embarked on a nine-month, twenty-thousand-mile trip to Buenos Aires in their car “Hector,” a 1949 model brown Plymouth Suburban (Fig. 14). Their personal correspondence from this period reveals that the purposes of

²⁴⁹ In terms of mobility, the passenger’s role is at best auxiliary, s/he can help the driver as a navigator; however, s/he is replaceable, in contrast to the driver. S/he is not vital to mobility. Bayla Singer, “Automobiles and Femininity,” *Research in Philosophy and Technology* 13, Technology and Feminism (1993): 32.

²⁵⁰ Ellipses in the original. Smithson, *AS in DS*, 57.

²⁵¹ Ellipses in the original. Smithson, 111.

the road trip were architectural and educational. They wanted to meet South American architects, visit their offices, and see their built projects, as well as attend conferences or courses in order to “broaden their knowledge of international trends in architecture.”²⁵² The news column of the *RAIC Journal*’s December 1949 issue remarked on their trip as “temporary private researches [sic] in South America.”²⁵³ What is more significant is that they filmed the whole trip.

They traveled south through the United States and Mexico in an automobile at a time when writers Jack Kerouac and Neal Cassady were carrying out their famous motorized trip across the States to Mexico: two iconic and masculine figures that defined the American “road trip.” The automobile trip and the book that came after, *On the Road*, have since been viewed as characterizing a postwar American mobility to escape tradition and society in a completely masculine idiom (and the story’s male homosexual disposition often ignored).²⁵⁴

Cars and roads have long been gendered. For example, in the early twentieth century, automotive manufacturers addressed women with electric cars as opposed to masculine gasoline cars.²⁵⁵ In the postwar period, the advertising industry targeted women through a

²⁵² Introduction letter from Pietro Belluschi to Romeu and Leonido Mendlin, July 28, 1949. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0814.

²⁵³ Cecil S. Burgess, “News from the Institute,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 26, no. 12 (December 1949): 448. Dominey, “Wallbridge and Imrie,” 15.

²⁵⁴ Kerouac, *On the Road*. Tim Cresswell, “Mobility as Resistance: A Geographical Reading of Kerouac’s ‘On the Road’,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18, no. 2 (1993): 149–62.

²⁵⁵ Scharff, *Taking the Wheel*, 125. On the division between gasoline and electric cars, see Singer, “Automobiles and Femininity,” 32–33.

gendered form of mobility, emphasizing the car as an essential vehicle of homemaking and even encouraging middle-class suburban families to purchase a second car for housewives.²⁵⁶

Women, nonetheless, have adopted and written about auto/mobility in alternative ways too: a good example is Simone de Beauvoir and Nathalie Sorokine Moffatt's road trip with the Moffatts' family car from California to Nevada in 1947, described in detail in *America Day by Day*.²⁵⁷ Another compelling example is the 1991 film *Thelma and Louise* with its surprisingly pessimistic ending, where the two women drive to their deaths—offering a critique to gender norms—implying there is no “escape” for women or, perhaps, only in afterlife.

The escapist freedom attached to auto/mobility was marked as masculine, and women's engagement was deemed “out of place.”²⁵⁸ This means that the meanings embedded in Imrie and Wallbridge's road trip differed from those of Kerouac and Cassady. Clarke asserts that when women drive, they do not run free of attachments, responsibility, or domesticity: “They do, however, significantly revise the old associations of women as home, women as place,”²⁵⁹ by being out of place. Women's car stories, then, challenge masculinist and escapist automobilities and offer new alternatives.

²⁵⁶ Clarke writes: “despite the sophistication of marketing cars to women, then, cultural assumptions about women and cars still linked women's cars to domesticity, as an extension of the home.” Clarke, *Driving Women*, 115. On the advertisement industry of automobiles and gender, see Margaret Walsh, “Gender and Automobility: Selling Cars to American Women after the Second World War,” *Journal of Macromarketing* 31, no. 1 (2011): 57–72.

²⁵⁷ de Beauvoir, *America Day by Day*, 129–67.

²⁵⁸ Wolff, “On the Road Again,” 234.

²⁵⁹ Clarke, *Driving Women*, 117.

Imrie and Wallbridge note in a five-page, unpublished article—written through the eyes of their car, Hector—that when they could not find accommodation, they slept in the car, putting up curtains for privacy:

They [“the girls”] admired the way my back seat came and went at will, leaving a space long enough for them to sleep. . . . It was just like women to put curtains on my windows. They said it would give privacy when sleeping in me, but I have always felt it rather infradigue [sic] for me to be trapesing through countries with these skirts flopping at my windows.²⁶⁰

Here, the car is treated as a family member or as a companion (rather than as a lover, as in men’s narratives) and its interior acts as an in-between space: domestic and mobile, allowing the couple privacy to sleep and freedom to move.²⁶¹ Imrie and Wallbridge also used the connections and detachments the car and the trip allowed for their own personal, financial, and professional reasons. What the professional image of the trip provided them was a mask—a camouflage to hide the fact that two women were traveling alone (i.e., without spouses) across borders. This agency and resistance differed substantially from that of Kerouac and Cassady, who were breaking free, even “running away,” simply because they could do it, as the epigraph above shows.²⁶²

Imrie and Wallbridge’s masking of the domestic partnership—of the “personal” through the propulsion of the “professional”—is also legible in the modernist house, Six Acres, that they designed and built as their home office in Edmonton, between 1954 and 1957. The house plan suggests that they used the ground floor as their living quarters (with an open living room-

²⁶⁰ Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0815.

²⁶¹ Marling notes women drivers’ appropriation of cars as family members, “America’s Love Affair with the Automobile in the Television Age,” 355.

²⁶² Tim Cresswell also notes the “disillusion with places and fascination with ‘just going,’” in *On the Road*. Cresswell, “Mobility as Resistance,” 254.

kitchen area and one bedroom) and the basement as their architectural office. Today, upon entering the house, one is faced first and directly with a sign, “Imrie-Wallbridge Office,” obscuring any other functional attribution to the space (Fig. 15). As Annmarie Adams notes with reference to Henry Urbach’s article, “Peeking at Gay Interiors,” this disguise or “double-sidedness” was a common feature in “purpose-built, queer, domestic architecture, designed by famous architects,” as was the case in the home-office Julia Morgan designed for physicians Clara Willams and Elsie Mitchell in California in 1915.²⁶³ Six Acres functioned in a similar way: as a professional screen or mask, it acted as a “double-sided” space hiding the gay relationship from the eyes of the public, this time deliberately arranged and constructed as such by the architect-owners. Like Hector, Six Acres was both domestic and professional in nature. The house and the car did not confine these women; rather, they offered Imrie and Wallbridge new subjectivities and helped them to access larger architectural circles.

Alongside a travel diary, the couple wrote one article for the *RAIC Journal* and five articles for the *Peruvian Times* journal during this trip.²⁶⁴ They also sent articles to *American Motorist Magazine of Travel, Recreation and Adventure*, published by the American Automobile Association, and to *Travel Magazine*; but these were rejected for reasons of unsuitability or

²⁶³ Annmarie Adams, “Sex and the Single Building,” 90. Henry Urbach, “Peeking at Gay Interiors,” *Design Book Review* 25 (1992): 39.

²⁶⁴ We know that four were published in the *Peruvian Times*. Imrie and Wallbridge, “South American Architects,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 29, no. 2 (February 1952): 29–31; “Motoring in S.A.: Red Tape and Tourist Motor Cars,” *Peruvian Times* (March 3, 1950): n.p.; “Travel: Motoring from Lima to Arequipa,” *Peruvian Times* (March 17, 1950): 7–8; “Travel: Arequipa – La Paz – Cuzco via the Southern Railways of Peru,” *Peruvian Times* (March 24, 1950): 5; “Arequipa to Santiago by Car,” *Peruvian Times* (April 21, 1950): 15, 17; “Motoring From Santiago to Buenos Aires via the Lake District,” unpublished article. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR.1988.290.0815.

limited space.²⁶⁵ The diverse choice of magazines and consistent efforts to publish were mostly due to financial need, since journal publications, hotel references that they included in their articles as advertisements, and journal subscriptions by hotel managers constituted a source of income for them during their travels²⁶⁶ (“Talk manager into free lodging for Peruvian Times publicity (we hope).”²⁶⁷ However, apart from financial motivations, these performative attempts suggest that they wanted to justify their trip by “writing” about it, reminding us of the Virginia Woolf epigraph above. It is through writing that one can have access to a car and one can substantiate the movement to which it relates; nonetheless it is “delightful” to tell stories (“We feel quite famous”²⁶⁸). Their leisure travel was deliberately portrayed (especially by writing on architecture) as a discovery for professional reasons. The two women claimed their professional agency by traveling. So much so that, they were interviewed a couple of times while traveling, and the publisher of the *Peruvian Times* C. N. Griffis wrote to the couple: “If you ever give up architecture, you might turn to journalism, and I am certain you could do a very good book on your South America trip.”²⁶⁹ Fortunately for architecture and regrettably for the literary world, this did not happen. Griffis’ comment testifies to the architects’ creative power in writing, simultaneously as they were performing another inventive pursuit, creating architectural knowledge. By writing professionally, they constructed public images of

²⁶⁵ *American Motorist* magazine’s editor thanked them “for sending along [their] little story,” in a demeaning way. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0815.

²⁶⁶ In Managua, Nicaragua, they also offer architectural services to a hotel: they prepare color schemes and receive a reduction. Mary Imrie’s diary entry, December 26-29, 1949. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813.

²⁶⁷ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, February 26, 1950. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813. According to their diary and letters, most of their attempts were successful. For example, in a letter dated April 4, 1950, they note that they sold an advertisement to the Compania Hotelera Andes in Santiago. In another, they note that received a 50 percent discount from Hotel Sucre in La Paz for including a reference to it in their article. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0815.

²⁶⁸ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, March 15, 1950. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813.

²⁶⁹ C. N. Griffis to Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, April 1, 1950. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0815.

themselves as architects from Canada, traveling for a purpose—to learn and to share—and not as a lesbian couple in an automobile, moving haphazardly. Having a purpose, a direction justified the movement, made it worthy, “real,” as Jos Boys notes in reference to assumptions about women’s walking: “journeys that are not fast or in straight lines are not really going anywhere.”²⁷⁰ Imrie and Wallbridge’s journey was portrayed to look *straight*.

Apart from their love for the car, the architects’ enthusiasm with different technologies of travel is evident when viewing their travel films from South America as well as from Asia and the Middle East in the following years (Fig. 16). Avid modern-day travelers, they filmed and photographed planes, trains, and boats. They also embraced different modes of traveling, such as horses, mules, and camels (Fig. 17). In various countries and throughout the years, ships, airplanes, cars, highways, and railways continuously formed part of their visual representations and verbal narratives of their travels, as evident in all five articles they wrote for *Peruvian Times*. For instance, in “Arequipa to Santiago by Car”, they wrote: “Our trip varied from the above schedule as would that of any normal motorist, but we will try to give the distances and traveling times between points as a guide to anyone desiring to make the trip.”²⁷¹ Alternatively, in their diaries from both the trips, they kept thorough accounts of road conditions (from pavement to slope to width). Their focus on the visibility of various vehicles in transit in the home movies and skill in chronicling them in written form challenges the masculinization of machine technology. In footage, we watch how the two women, with the help of local men, load and unload their car to a raft to pass a lake in Chile; in another, we see how they rescue

²⁷⁰ Jos Boys, “Women and Public Space,” 47.

²⁷¹ Imrie and Wallbridge, “Arequipa to Santiago by Car,” 15. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR.1988.290.0815.

the car from a puddle with the help of a young boy, two cows, and an elderly man (Fig. 18). The narrative generated by the moving images and texts create alternative female identities that aim to “guide anyone” that wishes to follow *their* paths.

Significantly, the articles and diary entries reveal that the two women were aware of gender assumptions about roads, machines, and automobility. In one instance, they explain how they had met two Ecuadoreans in Chala, Peru, also motoring to Buenos Aires via Santiago. In a humble and even naïve tone, Imrie and Wallbridge write: “They seemed surprised that two girls would dare to travel the highway alone, called us “muy valiente,” [very brave] a compliment ill-deserved in a country where we have found everyone willing and eager to help the motorist in trouble.”²⁷² Similarly, in an unpublished draft, they write: “We have gained a great deal of information not accessible to the ordinary tourist. We have had a minimum of difficulty and found no cause for two girls alone to be armed with guns as so often suggested to us.”²⁷³ In yet another one, they describe how they had to stop because of a flat tire and a truck driver pulled and took over to help them: “We wondered if he stopped because of the two females in distress of [sic] if Peruvian truck-drivers are always helpful to motorists in trouble.”²⁷⁴

The physical movement of the couple echoed their social encounters and networking during their road trip. Their correspondence from this period shows that they had written to numerous architects and professors working in Canada and the United States before they left

²⁷² Imrie and Wallbridge, “Travel: Motoring from Lima to Arequipa,” 8. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR.1988.290.0815.

²⁷³ Imrie and Wallbridge, “Motoring From Santiago to Buenos Aires via the Lake District,” unpublished article. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR.1988.290.0815.

²⁷⁴ Imrie and Wallbridge, “Travel: Motoring from Lima to Arequipa,” 8. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR.1988.290.0815.

Edmonton, hoping to get reference letters as well as names of prominent South American architects to meet while traveling. These documents attest to another aspect of their mobility: planning the journeys (that commence) prior to departure—what José Pozo and José Ángel Medina call “paper travels.”²⁷⁵ Jilly Traganou for her part says that the anticipation for travel creates an architecture that is “conceived, produced, reproduced, consumed or imagined.”²⁷⁶ Imrie and Wallbridge’s “paper travels,” along with the actual trip itself, show the couple strategizing and inventing their way in architecture in ways that other (men) would find meaningful through writing and research.

Imrie and Wallbridge’s paper travels—their letters—reveal the network that they had created within one month, from the end of July to September, just before leaving. They are also material evidence showing the limitations they faced as women architects from Canada when communicating with renowned architects, such as Richard Neutra and Pietro Belluschi, whom they had met on their trips to the United States in the summer of 1946; or John Bland, the Director of School of Architecture at McGill University at the time.²⁷⁷ They had provided introduction letters for the couple along with some brief suggestions on what to see and whom to meet in South America. Yet, it is notable that it was Dione Neutra, Richard Neutra’s wife, who wrote back to Imrie and Wallbridge in both instances of their correspondence—apologizing for a late reply due to the busy schedule of her husband, delivering his “cordial

²⁷⁵ Pozo and Medina, “Paper Taken on Trips, Trips Taken on Paper,” 189.

²⁷⁶ Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” 25.

²⁷⁷ Mary L. Imrie to Pietro Belluschi, July 22, 1949, to John Bland, July 20, 1949, to Richard Neutra, July 20, 1949. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0814.

good wishes.”²⁷⁸ Similarly, as they mention in the very first paragraph in their article “South American Architects,” in the first architectural office that they visited in Peru, it was the architect’s wife, fluent in English, who had helped her husband explain his projects to the two young women architects.²⁷⁹ This interesting pattern of couples raises the question of what would have been the nature of the reply of Dione Neutra, for instance, if the visiting architects had been men. One wonders if she replied in empathy with “the two females in distress,” or if famous architects and their partners “are always helpful” to fellow architects in need—whether men or women.

The clues and references from the North American male architects did the job, since Imrie and Wallbridge spent most of their time meeting several South American architects, planners, and professors, and driving with them to visit buildings and construction sites (Fig. 19). In their article they noted: “[the South American architects] went to no end of trouble getting literature for us. These were busy men: we were unknown North American visitors.”²⁸⁰ Apart from this assistance, they also created new lists of people to meet and buildings to see through the relationships they forged themselves on the road.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Dione Neutra to Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, August 21, 1950. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0814.

²⁷⁹ Imrie and Wallbridge, “South American Architects,” 29.

²⁸⁰ Imrie and Wallbridge, 29.

²⁸¹ In Chile and Argentina, they visited architects’ associations and architecture schools for names of people and buildings. Mary Imrie’s diary entry, March 30, 1950 and April 26, 1950. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813. In Peru, they knew nobody and had no introduction letters. They looked in telephone books and called unknown architects hoping they would answer. Imrie and Wallbridge, “South American Architects,” 29.

In Chile, they were guests at Emilio Duhart's house; in Argentina, via a friend of Belluschi, they met Amancio Williams and inspected his projects; and in Brazil, they visited Henrique Ephim Mindlin as well as Oscar Niemeyer, who, they explained, "appeared shy" and

was diffident about showing us anything, almost as if it might bore us. . . . Again, as with Amancio Williams, we knew we were with a man who was far beyond our comprehension. . . . He walked with us to the elevator. We felt we were leaving a lonely man, who is undoubtedly one of the great architects of the world.²⁸²

There are different tensions at play in these accounts. Two women with limited contacts: they were unknown to local architects. Yet they were from the North, there to discover, and also to report what they learned from men, to men (Fig. 20). They were experiencing and documenting modern architecture as travelers, as women, and as outsiders. By their journalistic approach, the two mobile women acted as a conduit of networks, bridging people and architectures across continents. They engaged the car, their letters, and their articles about the trip to carve out a queer woman's place in the profession.

Denise Scott Brown, Critics, and Photographing from the Auto/mobile

American architect Denise Scott Brown's road trips started early on in Johannesburg, South Africa. As a teenager, with her mother and sister, they drove around the city, sightseeing houses.²⁸³ Later in architecture school from 1948 to 1952, she and her first husband Robert Scott Brown belonged to student societies. In their third year, they planned an exhibition called "Man-made Johannesburg."²⁸⁴ The exhibition included photographs collected from architects

²⁸² Imrie and Wallbridge, 31. Again, the "wife of the architect" appears in the text: they continue, "His wife is also an architect, but is now busy raising their young family."

²⁸³ "Learning from Africa: Denise Scott Brown Talks About Her Early Experiences to Evelina Francia," *The Zimbabwean Review* 4 (July 1995): 26.

²⁸⁴ Denise Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, October 25, 1990 - November 9, 1991. Smithsonian Archives of American Art, 14.

around the city. As Denise Scott Brown recounts in a 1991 oral history, the two rode Robert Scott Brown's motorbike to collect these photographs; as she says, the motorbike "was [their] exhibition vehicle."²⁸⁵

After her 1955 graduation from the Architectural Association and their marriage in London the same year, the Scott Browns took their honeymoon vacation in Yugoslavia, hitchhiking and camping for five weeks. They went to Ljubljana, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Pristina. They visited monasteries, churches, examples of early Christian, Byzantine, Ottoman, and early modern architecture and photographed popular culture.²⁸⁶ In a 2006 interview, she explains that they took "boats and mule or donkey wagons. And the cars of communists and the cars of French tourists. And getting in a large loop through places that I have since seen on the television, bombed and destroyed in the saddest of ways."²⁸⁷

It was after their return to London that another, bigger trip started: they bought a three-wheeler Morgan with one wheel at the back (Fig. 21).²⁸⁸ As she recalls, she saw and "adored" the car, which she viewed as "constructivist": "As Brutalists, we loved these Constructivist cars. Everything was separated. The engine was there, the leg room was here, the gas tank was here, and the space between was left open—because there was nothing else to put there."²⁸⁹ They

²⁸⁵ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 14.

²⁸⁶ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

²⁸⁷ Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, interview by Thomas Hughes, "From South Africa through Europe to America," September 22–23, 2006.

<https://www.webofstories.com/play/robert.venturi.and.denise.scott.brown/30>.

²⁸⁸ The Scott Browns owned two Morgans: an old red Morgan and a green Morgan that they traded in with the first one and that they used on their road trip. The one they drove in Europe was one of the seven Morgans with parts made just before the Second World War and put together at the end of the war in 1945. According to Scott Brown, theirs went to Singapore before they bought it. E-mail correspondence with Emma Brown, February 28, 2020; personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

²⁸⁹ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 40.

were looking to buy one; and one day, they saw someone with one on the street parked near their house.²⁹⁰ Scott Brown asked and found out about the Morgan Club, a “sportsman’s club” that met once a month. They eventually bought one and joined the club as the only architects (“I was thinking how can these other architects not be doing something like that”²⁹¹).

The couple left England in July 1956 with their Morgan three-wheeler, with the V-twin engine on the front and an exposed spare wheel at the back. With money they had received as a wedding gift, they embarked on a one-year trip, driving and camping through France to Italy, visiting examples of early modern architecture (Fig. 22).²⁹² In Italy, they attended the one-month International Summer School of CIAM in Venice between September 6 and October 6, at Istituto Universitario di Architettura.²⁹³ This was part of a combined study-travel lifestyle that they adopted at this time, as she explains, “I was both studying and traveling and melding the two, looking at architecture.”²⁹⁴ They then continued to Rome and worked at Giuseppe Vaccaro’s architectural office for six weeks.²⁹⁵ Scott Brown’s memories of the trip in the car, which she drove too, are astonishing, telling us of the expertise she gained in the machinery of the automobile (Fig. 23):

We would have amazing questions asked us, like “Where did you get this car? Is it

²⁹⁰ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

²⁹¹ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

²⁹² She notes how her friends in London were surprised to hear that she had never been to Italy before this trip: “Italy had better be good, I thought, because it had been such fun telling people that I’ve never been there.” Denise Scott Brown, “From Soane to the Strip,” *Soane Medal Lecture 2018*, video, 1:12:32, October 17, 2018. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.

²⁹³ Many prominent and mostly Italian architects and scholars directed and gave lectures at the summer school, including Franco Albini and Ludovico Quaroni. Herman van Bergeijk, “CIAM Summer School 1956,” *OverHolland 9* (2017): 115.

²⁹⁴ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

²⁹⁵ After their time in Rome, they went south until Paestum, and made their way back. Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 61.

amphibious? Did you convert it from a four-wheeler? Would you like to buy an Austin Seven?”, which was the final insult, because this car was much faster. It rattled to pieces on the Italian roads. Even the headlights pointed inwards in the end. It had a wooden frame. But people used to challenge us to race them on motorbikes, and of course we could beat them, because we had no differential on the back. We were very light, and we had a one thousand CC engine in the front. The earlier Morgans had this V-twin engine.²⁹⁶

They spent six months on the road before arriving in Italy, during which they had to fix the car several times. They drove with a box of spare parts and acquired good mechanical knowledge (Robert Scott Brown said they “could have gotten a beetle with the money [they] spent” fixing it²⁹⁷). They also met mechanics throughout the trip, revealing the gendered nature of their encounters (“Robert and the mechanic could not get the top off the gearbox, I said ‘but you haven’t noticed two screws over here,’ and the French mechanic said something like ‘I always knew that would happen when we have women’”²⁹⁸). The car was a mediator, as it led to exposures to different forms of information (“It was a wonderful insight into another way of life”²⁹⁹). Another was French and Italian language, as they had to communicate with the mechanics (“I knew the names of the parts of the car in Italian and French, before English”³⁰⁰).

She was aware of the “oddness” of the car, and proud of it too. Perhaps the most architecturally significant outcome of this trip, though, was Denise Scott Brown’s burgeoning interest in photography, as they were continuously photographing storefronts, neon lights, signs, objects, and images of popular culture in Europe and South Africa—an interest that

²⁹⁶ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 40.

²⁹⁷ Phone call with Denise Scott Brown, January 23, 2020.

²⁹⁸ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

²⁹⁹ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 46.

³⁰⁰ Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

famously continued in the coming years.³⁰¹

Some of the photographs that she took from 1956 to 1968 were exhibited in London and New York in 2018, and later published in a catalogue, *Denise Scott Brown, Wayward Eye*, with her captions.³⁰² The book includes two photographs from Venice, one at Piazza San Marco, capturing pigeons flying with the famous Basilica di San Marco as the backdrop (Fig. 24, 25) and the second, taken on a boat, with the CIAM summer school students moving on a lagoon (Fig. 26). The two photographs are significant for showing two iconic interests of Scott Brown: first, her attentive eye to the ordinary moments of everyday life—animals, landscapes, rather than architectures that stage them—and second, I argue, her keen interest in the moving object and mobility—the flight of the birds and the foaming water with a trace created by the motors of three boats full of students.

In September 1958, the couple arrived in the United States on the SS Flandre to attend graduate school at the University of Pennsylvania School of Design. Scott Brown describes the United States as the setting in which they sought answers to the urban and architectural questions that they formed during their “voyage of study and discovery” in Europe and South Africa.³⁰³ She also points to their own alienation and unfamiliarity with this new setting:

³⁰¹ Venturi and Scott Brown, interview by Thomas Hughes, “Shared Interests and Stories,” September 22–23, 2006. <https://www.webofstories.com/play/robert.venturi.and.denise.scott.brown/18>.

³⁰² Scott Brown’s photography and professional life has finally been taken up by artistic and architectural circles. A number of exhibitions have been organized in the past months to celebrate her work. To name a few, *Denise Scott Brown: Wayward Eye*, at Betts Project Gallery in London, England; *Downtown Denise Scott Brown* at Architekturzentrum Wien in Vienna, Austria; *Denise Scott Brown Photographs, 1956–1966* at Carriage Trade in New York, US. *Wayward Eye* is the exhibition catalogue of the former: Denise Scott Brown, *Denise Scott Brown, Wayward Eye*, ed. Andrés F. Ramirez (Berlin: PLANE-SITE, 2018).

³⁰³ Scott Brown and Venturi, *Architecture as Signs and Systems*, 112; Scott Brown, “Between Three Stools: A Personal View of Urban Design Pedagogy,” in *Urban Concepts*, 10.

“America was the most foreign country we had been in.”³⁰⁴ Two incidents around auto/mobility in the United States foreshadowed her future in the architectural field: the first was her husband Robert Scott Brown’s tragic death in a car accident soon after their move in 1959. She stopped driving after this incident.³⁰⁵ The second was her cross-country trip in 1965 to teach at UC Berkeley and a follow-up trip to Las Vegas the same year, which reignited her approach to urban everyday landscapes, roads, automobiles, and signs:

[At Penn] As young architects were expected to see Europe for the completion of their education, so young planners were not considered fully prepared until they had experienced West Coast urbanism. Therefore, when I was invited to visit the University of California at Berkeley for a semester, I accepted with alacrity, especially as I had not been re-appointed after my fourth year at Penn.³⁰⁶

As she wrote in a letter to “friends” on January 31, 1965, she took a cross-country trip, and saw Birmingham, New Orleans, Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Phoenix, and Los Angeles, on her way to Berkeley.³⁰⁷ Upon another trip to Phoenix in April of the same year, she visited Las Vegas for the first time. She wrote in a letter, “Delightful discovery. . . . Could Las Vegas be educational? I took a bus at 10 pm down the ‘strip’, photographing neon signs. Found one which said ‘Wedding chapel – credit cards accepted,’”³⁰⁸ signalling her research that was to come in the next decades with this exact purpose. It was this first venture and, perhaps more so, the past travels and road trips in South Africa and Europe that formed her professional “wayward eye.” She is mindful of these geographical displacements and networks that prompted and bolstered

³⁰⁴ Scott Brown, “Between Three Stools,” 11.

³⁰⁵ “No one has ever said you should. I managed to exist in America without driving.” Personal interview with Denise Scott Brown, February 9, 2020.

³⁰⁶ Scott Brown, “Between Three Stools,” 16.

³⁰⁷ Denise Scott Brown to “friends”, January 31, 1965, 1. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, File 225.II.F.1558.

³⁰⁸ Denise Scott Brown to “friends”, April 26, 1965, 2. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, File 225.II.F.1558.

her interests: “Mine is an African view of Las Vegas,” she would say.³⁰⁹ She also notes how she identified Las Vegas with the ideas she had formed in London and what she had learnt from the Smithsons, the strip being an “as-found object,” in their terms.³¹⁰

Scott Brown’s interest in commercial iconography was imbued with an attention to auto/mobility—as both Los Angeles and the Las Vegas strip with their signage supposedly necessitated: they were consumed by the car passenger or the motorcycle driver.³¹¹ She emphasizes the importance of the relationship between the perception of a city and car movement in her writing and her photography.³¹² Her photographs from the period illustrate this: almost all include cars and roads. In one from 1966, for instance, a red Ford Mustang drives along the Santa Monica Freeway, she notes, “I love to have a small red car in my photographs” (Fig. 27);³¹³ in another from 1968, we see the Mojave desert, cut in two by the road, seen through the windshield of a van (Fig. 28). The most compelling ones are perhaps the photographs that depict the urban auto/mobilities and automobile cities she encountered. For example, *Pico Boulevard, Santa Monica* from 1966, is a collage of words on a “shake-pastrami-chilli dog” corner building, disrupted by a car and a Honda Superhawk motorcycle in the front,

³⁰⁹ Scott Brown and Venturi, *Architecture as Signs and Systems*, 106.

³¹⁰ Soane to the Strip,” *Soane Medal Lecture 2018*, video, 1:12:32, October 17, 2018. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.

³¹¹ “Immediate proximity of related uses, as on Main Street, where you walk from one store to another, is not required along the Strip because interaction is by car and highway.” Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), 20, 34. Scott Brown describes, “At the edge of town, I found another pop urban environment scorned and hated by architects, the commercial strip. I set out to discover how to take good photographs of it.” Scott Brown, “Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 32.

³¹² “The crux of the problem of city form today seems to lie in the automobile and in our need to understand more fully than we do what should be its place in modern life, and in the city and what should be the relation between movement, especially automobile movement, and perception in the meaningful city.” “The Meaningful City,” *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 43, no. 1 (January 1965): 31.

³¹³ Scott Brown, *Denise Scott Brown, Wayward Eye*, 5.

stopped in transit, passengers and drivers still in/on them, adding a temporal layer to the static collage behind (Fig. 29). The vitality and reality of the collage created by the endless billboards are present through the auto/mobility in the front—belonging to there and now—captured through the eye of the female architect.

Scott Brown's attention to auto/mobility took its most influential form in the two-week Las Vegas studio trip made in October 1968 and the book that followed, *Learning from Las Vegas*, a landmark publication of postmodernism.³¹⁴ After a first trip together in 1966 (Scott Brown's fifth, Venturi's first visit), Scott Brown and Venturi, now professors at Yale University, together with studio assistant Steven Izenour and thirteen students (only one woman) traveled to Las Vegas.³¹⁵ The group made an extensive analysis of the strip to see "commercial architecture at the scale of the highway" and "the methods of commercial persuasion and the skyline of signs"³¹⁶ (to which I will return in Chapter 3).

Among the most iconic photographs from this trip shows Scott Brown and Venturi sitting in a car (Fig. 30). The road, billboards, cars, light posts, all are visible from the windshield. Taken from the back seat, the frame captures the couple from the back (we—the camera—see them and what they see): Venturi, in the driver's seat, and Scott Brown, with her camera at hand, in the passenger seat. Her position is almost identical to Alison Smithson's, as both were engaged

³¹⁴ Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*.

³¹⁵ Martino Stierli, "Las Vegas Studio," in *Las Vegas Studio: Images from the Archives of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown*, 15.

³¹⁶ Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 6. They negotiated the relationship between auto/mobility and signage, as they wrote: "A driver 30 years ago could maintain a sense of orientation in space. At the simple crossroad a little sign with an arrow confirmed what was obvious. One knew where one was. When the crossroads becomes a cloverleaf, one must turn right to turn left, . . . But the driver has no time to ponder paradoxical subtleties within a dangerous, sinuous maze. He or she relies on signs for guidance—enormous signs in vast spaces at high speeds." Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, 9.

in a similar creative pursuit; only, this time, it is set in a professional rather than a familial setting. In the same way, she is empowered by this positioning, which allows her to enrich her urban analysis through “wayward” photographs depicting motion. Scott Brown’s love for the Morgan allowed for various explorations, and her attentive photographic interest in the imagery of automobile cities—the spaces, objects, and signs of the roadside from gas stations to motels, automobile rentals, the asphalt, billboards, streetlights—shaped her subsequent fate as a world-famous, though not Pritzker-prize winning, architect.

Feminist Auto/biography of/with the Auto/mobile

A car! No, not a car, a realized dream of the motor transport of the future.

Citroën DS 19 ad

Postscript, Volkswagen in their American ads ask ‘Will we ever kill the bug?’

Answer ‘Never’ ‘The bug forever’ echoes *Time Magazine*.

Alison Smithson, as I. Chippendale³¹⁷

“The greatest invention since the car,”³¹⁸ as it was advertised, the Citroën D Special 19 made its debut in front of an extensive crowd on October 5, 1955 at the *Salon de l’Automobile*, along with Cadillacs, Maseratis, Ferraris, and BMWs—a year before Scott Brown embarked on her European trip with the Morgan.³¹⁹ Consequently, the Citroën DS—Déesse, or Goddess—with

³¹⁷ Chippendale, “Love in a Beetle,” 478.

³¹⁸ Heon Stevenson, *British Car Advertising of the 1960s* (London: MacFarland and Company, Inc., 2005), 293.

³¹⁹ Nick Barley, “Citroën DS,” in *Carchitecture*, 50; “From the Camera of Alex Tremulis: The 1955 Paris Motor Show,” <http://www.gyronautx1.com/live-updates/from-the-camera-of-alex-tremulis-the-1955-paris-motor-show>. Accessed January 8, 2019. In *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, Ross notes the impact of the Salon on popular culture and French society at large: “unlike high-culture exposition or events, the Salon attracted a decidedly ‘mixed’ audience; it became something of a yearly national festival where rich industrialists from Levallois, farmers from the Ardennes, mechanics from Toulon, Parisian movie stars, and salesmen from Rennes all rubbed shoulders.” Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 27.

the air-oil suspension system, inspired 12,000 sales on the first day of its appearance.³²⁰ A great international success, the new Citroën marked a new era for French cars. Indeed, Roland Barthes in his seminal text, “The New Citroën,” compared the automobile to a Gothic cathedral: “a great creation of the period” that may be the mark of “a change in automobile mythology.”³²¹

The Volkswagen Beetle, the “People’s Car,” commissioned by Adolf Hitler and designed by Ferdinand Porsche, first appeared as a prototype at the Berlin Auto Show in 1938. Finally in the market in 1945, after the fall of National Socialism in Germany—two years before Imrie and Wallbridge stepped on European soil to visit war-torn cities—the Beetle has since become one of the most recognizable cars in the world. More than 21 million were produced; it outsold the famous Ford Model T.³²²

The first Morgan V-Twin three-Wheeler with two seats, produced by British manufacturer Henry Frederick Stanley Morgan, was introduced at the Olympia Exhibition in London in 1910.³²³ Like the Ginkelman, it differed in its structure and shape from ordinary cars, and its production continued until 1953. The car’s exclusivity was marked by the special “Morgan

³²⁰ Barley, “Citroën DS,” 50.

³²¹ Barthes, “The New Citroën,” 169–70.

³²² Bernhard Rieger, *The People's Car: A Global History of the Volkswagen Beetle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 1–2.

³²³ Morgan V-Twin three-Wheelers were used famously as race cars. In 1931, Gwenda Stewart Hawkes broke an all-time three-wheeler record with a 118 mph at Arpajon, France. William Boddy, *Montlhéry: The Story of the Paris Autodrome* (Dorchester: Veloce Publishing, 2006), 212.

Sports Car Club” that was founded on May 18, 1951, after an announcement in the British automobile magazine *Autocar*.³²⁴

Plymouth Suburban, the six-passenger, two-door station wagon with the revolutionary all-steel body and an automatic “turn-the-key” ignition, was introduced in 1949 and stayed in production until 1978.³²⁵ “Looks like a station wagon, rides like a sedan, converts to a roomy cargo carrier,” the Suburban was the “ideal all-purpose car for taking the children to school, for shopping, gardening, sports, vacations, and hundreds of other uses”³²⁶—all activities that were included in the Plymouth ad that featured in the Smithsons’ article.

But these cars were not only cold machines with aesthetic or ontological appeal to designers and intellectuals. They were appropriated and familiarized with their meanings enhanced beyond their makers’ imaginations. The first step was simple—you have to name it. Clarke notes:

Naming cars, of course, is one of the most common forms of domesticating them. . . . This positions the auto mechanic as potential kin, creating a kind of automotive family. . . . By turning the car into family (men may name cars but rarely figure them as family), women blur the boundaries between human and machine.³²⁷

All four women discussed above had, in one way or other, a personal relationship with cars, with which their life stories were intertwined; and in some cases, those stories were told with or *through* the cars. Hector told “the girls’” story; the DS was a member of the Smithson family (in a way that the “young girl” in *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* would have

³²⁴ Brian Downing, “A Club Is Born: A History of the Morgan Sports Car Club,” <https://www.morgansportscarclub.com/club-history>. Accessed February 2, 2019.

³²⁵ Chrysler Corporation, *A Pictorial History of Chrysler Corporation Cars* (Detroit: Chrysler Corporation, 1968), n.p.

³²⁶ “Display Ad 9, No Title,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1949, 6.

³²⁷ Clarke, *Driving Women*, 131.

doubtlessly appreciated); whereas Scott Brown's fixed gaze on automobiles and their cities allows us to see her way of seeing, not to mention Morgan's speedy entry to the European world of camps and CIAM urbanism; and, of course, the Ginkelman was even given the family name.

The term auto/mobility has its roots in "autonomy" and "mobility" (also true for auto/biography).³²⁸ Cars ("self-movers" as John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle call³²⁹) have allowed individuals a sense of autonomy, isolation, and separation from the outside world, even if temporally. It was a moving sphere between private and public—and for women, this mobile privacy from the outside meant safety and protection, while simultaneously allowing them to reach wider audiences and communities through professional encounters.

Urry similarly notes that auto/mobility has compelled individuals to create temporal and complex "self-created narratives of the reflexive self."³³⁰ Carrying people away from domestic ties, routines, schedules (linked to other modes of travel, such as the train) or constraints of home, the interior of the automobile allowed drivers and passengers generate detached identities, in other words, it granted them agency.³³¹ As Sidonie Smith's asserts: "To get an auto is to get an (auto)biography. To have an auto is to have an identity."³³²

³²⁸ Mike Featherstone, "Automobilities: An Introduction," in *Automobilities*, 1.

³²⁹ John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past as Landscape and Place* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 10.

³³⁰ Urry, "The 'System' of Automobility," in *Automobilities*, 29.

³³¹ Smith, *Moving Lives*, 169–70.

³³² Smith, 185. In this light, de Beauvoir's journal, *America Day by Day*, is significant for another aspect here: her emphasis on the autobiographical nature of the travel writing. De Beauvoir attributes her choice of the journal format to the fact that it was her own consciousness onto which the country exposed itself; for it was only in the "unique personal circumstances in which each discovery was made" that this narrative could be possible. Echoing Smith's correlation between auto-biography/mobility, de Beauvoir writes of her travel narrative, "Because

Feminist biographers and critics, however, have targeted the concept of “autonomy” for its emphasis on singularity.³³³ Biographical narratives, they argue, cannot be completely coherent or consistent; they are fragmented. It is fruitful, then, to tweak the concept of autonomy of the car with feminist methods, as it gives us partial, inconsistent, temporal, and collective stories. This approach helps to scrutinize and dismantle the gendered realms of traditional biography, auto/mobility, technology, and the architectural profession.

Lemco van Ginkel’s professional identity was intertwined with her engagement in auto/mobility and its relationship to urban form, as illustrated in the Ginkelvan. Smithson’s auto/mobility did not detach her from her domestic setting; rather, this private sphere on wheels enabled her imaginative collaborations and creations. Imrie and Wallbridge were metaphorically and literally protected in their car Hector, while being introduced to a new world, during their intercontinental architectural tourism. Scott Brown appropriated the car to create a new way of seeing architecture.

Smithson inspires us by asking: “Why all of us perservered [sic] in using the car, tasteing [sic] the pleasure-of-use [. . .] is in itself well-worth documenting”³³⁴ Scott Brown offers a potential answer, recalling her road trip: “That’s the other thing. The other part of our lives.”³³⁵ This other part of women architects’ lives illustrates their resourcefulness in binding architecture and auto/mobility. Using feminist methods and mobility in writing the

concrete experience involves both subject and object, I have not tried to eliminate myself from this narrative. . . . No selection has been excised in telling the story: it is the story of what happened to me, neither more nor less. This is what I saw and how I saw it. I have not tried to say more.” de Beauvoir, *America Day by Day*, xvii–xviii.

³³³ See Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman’s Life*; Stanley, “Moments of Writing”; Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity and the Body*; Smith and Watson, *Women, Autobiography, Theory*; Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography*.

³³⁴ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 152.

³³⁵ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 40.

auto/biographies of women architects and their cars, I unravel alternative ways of female self-making and question dominant notions around technology. Women challenged the gendered meanings around “carchitecture.”³³⁶ The “wayward” eyes “on the road” from these life stories denote both the trained gaze of women architects and their actual selves—the “I”. Their female/queer identities and stories were interwoven with those of their cars. Cars empowered them in their life journeys and produced mobile biographies.

³³⁶ Bell, *Carchitecture*, 11.

CHAPTER 2

DISCERNMENT: THE MOVING EYE/I/IMAGE

I do not move; I look. I'm here and New York will be mine.

Simone de Beauvoir, 1999 (1948)³³⁷

But the rest of the world sees things quite differently.

Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, "The Moving Eye," 1955³³⁸

It becomes necessary to try to describe this moving view.

Alison Smithson, *AS in DS*, 1983 (1972–73)³³⁹

How is he to be freed, I wonder, to discover for himself the new reactions to nature, the new nature that awaits him? . . . he still has to be on the move one way or another, and he has to be made to feel that he is part of the world, not merely a spectator.

J. B. Jackson, "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder," 1997 (1958–59)³⁴⁰

This chapter focuses on the relationship between women's seeing and being on the move. I analyze what women recorded while traveling and how they deciphered what they saw through a female moving eye/"I." "Eye," as a metaphor of "I," is embedded in their work, sometimes even appearing in the titles of their travel records, such as Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's "The Moving Eye," Alison Smithson's *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road*, or the exhibition *Denise Scott Brown, Wayward Eye*.³⁴¹ I aim at a biographical tracing of the eye by exploring women's own accounts,

³³⁷ de Beauvoir, *America Day by Day*, 8.

³³⁸ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, "The Moving Eye," *Explorations* 4, no. 2 (February 1955): 117.

³³⁹ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 16.

³⁴⁰ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder," in *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 208. Originally published in *Landscape* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1958–59): 22–27.

³⁴¹ This is the title of the exhibition and its catalogue.

or in Smithson's words, their "recording[s] of the seeing as being."³⁴² With J. B. Jackson's opening quotation in mind, I ask: what happened when a woman moved to be "part of the world, not merely a spectator"?

When many women travelled, they did not become a "part of the world," because it was often not very simple for women to become a part of a gendered world. They used in-between, queer, and marginalized spaces, forms, and tools to reconstruct and share their personal experiences. Moreover, they reversed the historical male gaze by becoming onlookers. Aware of their own seeing—as active and critical viewers—they used travel memories and their moving eye to imagine new stories. As outsiders, they recorded their visions perpetually and extensively. They recreated architectures in their visual and textual narratives. Engaging in what is seen as "lesser" forms—travel writing, home movies, and architectural writing—they modestly challenged and expanded the accepted (and expected) gendered and hierarchical meanings within different professional fields. Their records are valuable for they offer new, gendered, and queer experiences of the modern world in which women participated as users of modern spaces, equipment, and vehicles. As Smithson writes in *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* about the young girl's daily bus rides (with "a most comforting sound of her 'time'"): "there, behind the window she was untouchable, she could think."³⁴³ Untouchable and empowered, by using the tools of the modern world, women became both spectators and actors. They blurred the distinction between leisure and professional travel: they creatively used their writing skills and their unconventional personal and critical perspectives in

³⁴² Smithson, *AS in DS*, 16.

³⁴³ Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, 98.

movement to make space for themselves in that modern world and within the traditional boundaries of professionalism.

In published works and unpublished diaries, women architects wrote about sites and scenes, intermingled with ideas on ways of seeing while moving. To these sources, I would add visual materials, such as Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge's home movies, Smithson's collages, sketches, and photographs, and Tyrwhitt's photographs. I analyze such primary sources to understand women's conditioned foci. This material shows that women were not simply recording, but rather dismantling their own ways of seeing as they moved. Anne Hultzsch writes that "travelling detaches the observer from the observed object and consciousness of the active self-evident, everyday background into an accumulation of intentionally perceived things."³⁴⁴ These travel records open windows onto women's intentional reconstruction of architectural knowledge. In engaging this material, I remain inspired by Dana Arnold's approach to revisit places by including women's voices (or "traces," in the form of travel records in my case) in their histories to reveal new spatial meanings as well as strategies of self-construction.

The analysis in this section, then, is twofold. First, I begin with an investigation of what women architects saw and recorded in the built environments through which they traveled. I then examine how they questioned ways of seeing based on their own mobile selves. Specifically, I look at Imrie and Wallbridge's footage from Chandigarh and Istanbul, their diary entries, and three articles published in the *RAIC Journal* in 1958, Smithson's books *AS in DS* and *Imprint of India*—a semi-autobiographical book written in the 1960s and 1970s and published in 1994—

³⁴⁴ Hultzsch, *Architecture, Travellers and Writers*, 2.

and Tyrwhitt's four articles on her experiences in India, published in the *RAIC Journal*, *Explorations*, *The Architectural Review*, and *Connection* in the 1950s and 1960s. These observations of India also allow me to create a conversation among three female perspectives, three gazes looking at the (almost) same scene.³⁴⁵ In doing so, I offer an alternative to geographer Donald W. Meinig's method in "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*.³⁴⁶ Here, he explores various "'meaning[s]' of what can be seen" by looking at the same landscape that is in fact shaped by "not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads."³⁴⁷ This analysis of women's recordings, then, can show us two things: first, how women perceived or challenged what they saw and, second, how, by shifting the lens "within our heads" through which we look at the history of travel, we too can explore a new meaning—one through which women's architectural encounters and mobile visions come to the surface.

Moving View

The gaze wants to speak. It is willing to give up the faculty of immediate perception in exchange for the gift of fixing more permanently whatever flees its grasp.

Jean Starobinski, *Living Eye*, 1989 (1961)³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Here, I refer to Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge's travel observations from this period as one, since it is difficult to differentiate their voices in the diaries that read as collectively written and their gazes in the home movies that change constantly. The three articles published in the *RAIC Journal*, "Khyber Pass to Canada," "Les Girls en voyage," and "Hong Kong to Chandigarh," are authored by Imrie. However, the diary entries reveal that Wallbridge contributed to the articles too. The diaries also belonged to Imrie. But similarly, they were written in a collective voice (there is almost no use of "I"). Jean wrote occasionally in them too and when they were traveling separately, she added her notes to the end of the diary.

³⁴⁶ Donald W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 33–48.

³⁴⁷ Meinig, 33–34.

³⁴⁸ Jean Starobinski, *Living Eye*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (1961; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 3.

The tongue gave way to the eye.

Giuliano Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 2002³⁴⁹

In our age of airplanes, architecture is viewed not only frontally and from the sides, but also from above—vision in motion. The bird's-eye-view, and its opposites, the worm's and fish-eye-views, have become a daily experience. Architecture appears no longer static but, if we think of it in terms of airplanes and motor cars, architecture is linked with movement.

László Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion*, 1947³⁵⁰

Reminiscent of László Moholy-Nagy's words, J. B. Jackson in "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder" writes, the "traditional perspective" of static seeing and experiencing no longer applied to the postwar landscape viewed at a speed in a personal world "composed of rushing air, shifting lights, clouds, waves, a constantly moving, changing horizon, a constantly changing surface beneath the ski, the wheel, the rudder, the wing."³⁵¹ He asserts that the new vision required the viewers to be:

active participants, the shifting focus of a moving, abstract world; our nerves and muscles are all of them brought into play. To the perceptive individual, there can be an almost mystical quality to the experience; his identity seems for the moment to be transmuted.³⁵²

Much as I agree that the moving view rendered viewers active participants, I believe taking into account women or any marginalized group, whose identities are deemed as "fixed," complicates the "transmuting of identity." Ways of perceiving through movement are linked to gendered identities—of the observer and the observed. When women moved, their foreignness in new places was often augmented by the otherness of their gender and sexuality. Rather than

³⁴⁹ Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (London: Verso, 2002), 191.

³⁵⁰ László Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: P. Theobald, 1947), 144–45. Also quoted in Darroch, "Bridging Urban and Media Studies," 162.

³⁵¹ Jackson, "The Abstract World of the Hot-Rodder," 205.

³⁵² Jackson, 205.

assuming that this transmuting applies to any and all, analyzing in what ways gendered individuals worked around unfixing their identities is fruitful.

Many scholars have analyzed the relationships between moving and seeing. In *Zoomscape: Architecture in Motion and Media*, architectural historian Mitchell Schwarzer discusses how visiting and viewing through various technologies (i.e., camera) and while in motion (i.e., in a moving vehicle) create new visions and experiences of architecture.³⁵³ He says that ways of seeing are integral to what we see, and that “the experience of the built environment emerges on the go or in distant places, and, in either case, more and more through visual observation.”³⁵⁴

Mimi Sheller suggests that senses constitute a significant part of the relationship between people, spaces, and cultures of mobility, between “motion and emotion, movement and feeling, autos and motives.”³⁵⁵ This perspective brings the self closer to the analysis of seeing. Giuliana Bruno, in “Site-seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image” and in *Atlas of Emotion*, expands this understanding of “motion and emotion”, through *voyageur* and *voyeur*.³⁵⁶ She cites Le Corbusier: “architecture ‘is appreciated *while on the move*, with one’s feet . . . ; while walking, moving from one place to another.”³⁵⁷ Lemco van Ginkel agrees, as she writes in the journal *Architecture Canada* in 1966:

³⁵³ Mitchell Schwarzer, *Zoomscape: Architecture in Motion and Media* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 20.

³⁵⁴ Schwarzer, 20.

³⁵⁵ Mimi Sheller, “Automotive Emotions: Feeling the Car,” in *Automobilities*, 221.

³⁵⁶ Giuliana Bruno, “Site-Seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image,” *Wide Angle* 19, no. 4 (1997): 10; also see Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 16.

³⁵⁷ Italics in the original. Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 58.

The visual image is a product of motion. This is the essential difference between the human eye and the camera eye. Even the movie camera and three-dimensional projection do not reproduce the effect of actuality. The eye itself is in constant motion, looking from side to side, up and down—so that the image actually has greater breadth than the 60° cone of vision. Added to this is the effect of peripheral vision—that which the eye is not focussed upon, but vaguely aware of. Even with the eye static, changes the focus—from close to distant—produce different images. Superimposed in the brain, all these images produce the total image of one view.³⁵⁸

In the same article, Lemco van Ginkel departs from Le Corbusier's vision, as she argues that it is the motion related to the automobile, not walking, that changed ways of seeing the world.

Indeed, many scholars discuss perception based on travel modes. For example, Kristin Ross contends that train travel changes the conventional perception to a panoramic one, where one sees the world through the moving vehicle, separating the perceived and the observer.³⁵⁹

Wolfgang Sachs explains that the automobile further breaks down this train perception, moving at a driver's own discretion.³⁶⁰ Landscape, seen from multiple perspectives constantly changing, transforms the "tourist's gaze" into an active pursuit.³⁶¹

Bruno extends the relationship between the traveling eye/I, the camera, and space as she writes on the "embodiment" that film and architecture require—a "haptical" experience that provides space "for living and lodging sites of biography":³⁶²

for it is based on the inscription of an observer in the field—a body making journeys in space. Such an observer is not a static contemplator, a fixed gaze, a disembodied eye/I.

³⁵⁸ Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, "The City Centre Pedestrian," *Architecture Canada* 43, no. 8 (August 1966): 36.

³⁵⁹ Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 38.

³⁶⁰ Wolfgang Sachs, *For Love of the Automobile: Looking Back into the History of Our Desires* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 155.

³⁶¹ Sachs, 155.

³⁶² Bruno, "Site-Seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image," 19, 21.

She is a physical entity, a moving spectator—a “skin job” drawing the map of haptical space.³⁶³

In *Atlas of Emotion*, she writes how travel became a “way” of knowing in time; since it requires a “personal presence,” it shifts “discourse” to “eyewitness observation,” sightseeing to site-seeing.³⁶⁴ Seeing, traveling, being, and knowing are intertwined.

On the relationship between the self, seeing, and recording, scholars have also turned to home movies recently.³⁶⁵ Patricia Zimmermann explains that the amateur film is “a visual practice emerging out of dispersed, localized, and often minoritized cultures,” “a materialization of the abstractions of race, class, gender, and nation as they are lived and as a part of everyday life, much valorized by cultural studies as a site for agency, fissure, and resistance to dominant modalities.”³⁶⁶ More specifically, in a recent publication, Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes and Heather Norris Nicholson explore the role of gender in cine-narratives by British amateur women filmmakers in the twentieth century: “women’s films testify to their own creativity and agency, to what they valued in their surroundings and how they sought to share their beliefs with others,” they write.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Bruno, 18.

³⁶⁴ Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 191.

³⁶⁵ Patricia R. Zimmermann, *Reel Families*; Alan Kattelle, *Home Movies: A History of the American Industry, 1897–1979* (Nashua: Transition Publishing, 2000); Karen L. Ishizuka and Patricia R. Zimmermann, ed., *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Heather Norris Nicholson, *Amateur Film: Meaning and Practice, 1927–1977* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Laura Rascaroli, Gwenda Young, and Barry Monahan, eds., *Amateur Filmmaking: The Home Movie, the Archive, the Web* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

³⁶⁶ Patricia R. Zimmermann, “Introduction: The Home Movie Movement: Excavations, Artifacts, Minings,” In *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*, 1, 4.

³⁶⁷ Annamaria Motrescu-Mayes and Heather Norris Nicholson, *British Women Amateur Filmmakers: National Memories and Global Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 3.

These two statements are not limited to women filmmakers, but are true for women who were out there, looking, collecting, capturing, writing, sharing their experiences on the move. Denise Scott Brown explains that, as an architect, her perspective is that of a “worm’s eye”: “close to the source one perhaps sees and hears more,” she says.³⁶⁸ Presence and proximity were key to acquiring a personalized image. A quick reading of the captions accompanying her photographs (examined in the previous chapter) in *Wayward Eye* illustrates,

Waywardness lay in more than my eye.
Do I hate it or love it?
‘Don’t ask,’ said my inner voice. ‘Just shoot.’³⁶⁹

As she explored ways of seeing, she photographed what she “loved,” and this was in relation to how she “saw.” She explains this describing her *Pico Boulevard, Santa Monica* photograph,

This photograph is about viewing the everyday landscape. We had later, in Learning from Las Vegas, many different ideas about how you map what you see. At this point, I was building up my data by photographing what I loved. I’d read *The Image of the City* and *The View From the Road* and all of those things about seeing, and I’d already written my article called ‘Meaningful City.’ What they all discuss is how you actually see. What I’m interested in—and I was made this way partly by Dave Crane—is what you perceive and understand from what you see.³⁷⁰

It is important to remember, nonetheless, that the “physical entity” of identities, feelings, and haptics—the moving and seeing individual—observes through a gaze that is, in John Urry’s words, “socially organised and systematised.”³⁷¹ Starobinski, in *Living Eye*, seeking the etymological roots of *regard* (gaze), writes that it did not originally point to:

³⁶⁸ Denise Scott Brown, “A Worm’s Eye View (1984),” in *Having Words* (London: Architectural Association Publications, 2009), 98.

³⁶⁹ Scott Brown, *Denise Scott Brown, Wayward Eye*, 12.

³⁷⁰ Scott Brown, 4.

³⁷¹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 1.

the act of seeing but to expectation, concern, watchfulness, consideration, and safeguard, made emphatic by the addition of a prefix expressing a redoubling or return. *Regarder* [to look at, to gaze upon] is a movement that aims to recapture, *reprendre sous garde* [to place in safekeeping once again].³⁷²

Tyrwhitt agrees:

A man's perception of his environment is conditioned by his prior conception of it. He sees what he knows to be there. If something does not fit into this preconception, it seems to be ignored entirely (i.e., just not seen) or else considered irrelevant (i.e., dismissed from mind—and eye).³⁷³

This chapter is a venture to understand this “socially organized” preconception and “recapturing” by women. It deciphers the intimacy of the gaze and its relation to the female/queer self through narratives that act as sites of agency and resistance—to let women's gazes speak and let words become visible.

Moving Images: Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge's Home Movies

Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge's moving images illustrate how the traveling eye—the voyeuristic gaze—is socially conditioned as much as it discovers. Through amateur home movies or “visual representation[s] of a mobile world,”³⁷⁴ the moving eyes of the two architects become visible to us.³⁷⁵ We can trace what they decided was worth seeing, what was not, how they chose to portray it, and how their camera figuratively blurred simple identity categories.

³⁷² Brackets in the original. Starobinski, *Living Eye*, 2.

³⁷³ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, “Across the Street,” *Mosaic* (1957): 10.

³⁷⁴ Heather Norris Nicholson, “Through the Balkan States: Home Movies as Travel Texts and Tourism Histories in the Mediterranean, C. 1923–39,” *Tourist Studies* 6, no. 1 (2006): 30.

³⁷⁵ Alan Kattelle provides the evolution of the home movies and the camera in the postwar period: “In the two decades following World War II, the number of users increased dramatically, as did the number of suppliers. . . . Vying for the mass market, manufacturers introduced one improvement after another, making the movie camera steadily more versatile, more portable, and easier to use successfully.” In that sense, we can confer that Imrie and Wallbridge were early followers of the period's technological trends. Kattelle, *Home Movies*, 190. Also see Zimmermann, *Reel Families*.

Framed and fixed through the eye of the camera for a future audience—for a potential armchair journey at home—they record important visual aspects of their trip, particularly when presented alongside their diary entries and articles.

Heather Norris Nicholson, writing on amateur home movies as travel texts, mentions how the filmmaker collected images in the same way his/her predecessors collected souvenirs.³⁷⁶ Yet, as an outsider, the filmmaker's one-way, objectifying gaze, shaped by prior knowledge, implies certain ways of seeing and being seen.³⁷⁷ Free and able to move at will (among "fixed" others) and controlling what to film, Nicholson notes that the traveler takes on "the voice—and the vision—of authority."³⁷⁸ The movies produced through this "touristic voyeurism," in turn, generate "new geographies of spectacle and spectator."³⁷⁹ Nicholson's treatment of home movies/travel texts as visual histories is useful in understanding the underlying implications of Imrie and Wallbridge's touristic gaze, visible to us through their camera. Yet their female and queer subjectivities complicate the issue by disrupting the heteropatriarchal duality (or authority) of "seeing" versus "being seen."

The couple's forty-three home movies are held at the Provincial Archives of Alberta. Most are Kodachrome colour: all are 8mm, silent, and range from 1 to 20 minutes in length. Apart from the movies with footage of the construction of their house Six Acres, friend gatherings, animals and pets in the garden of their house, there are twenty-two movies taken during their trips

³⁷⁶ Norris Nicholson, "Through the Balkan States," 15.

³⁷⁷ Norris Nicholson, 14, 23, 27. Urry talks about travel photography in a similar way, in *The Tourist Gaze*, 127–29.

³⁷⁸ Heather Norris Nicholson, "Telling Travelers' Tales: The World through Home Movies," in *Engaging Film: Geographies of Mobility and Identity*, ed. Tim Cresswell and Deborah Dickson (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), 50.

³⁷⁹ Norris Nicholson, 50.

around the world. The collection includes at least one ready-to-watch film of Rio de Janeiro, a “Screen Traveler Picture” produced by Nu-Art Fireside Films, revealing that Imrie and Wallbridge were armchair travelers (viewers) prior to their own trips. Moreover, throughout the movies, the couple alternated roles of the seer and the seen: when Imrie was the spectator (viewer/camera/eye), Wallbridge was the subject of gaze (traveler/I), and vice versa. The collection of their movies, then, reveals the shifts of the architects’ identities: armchair traveler versus traveler, or spectator versus actor.

At first glance, some common features can be spotted in these travel movies: they capture local people, local transportation means, scenery, historic or touristic sites, and, perhaps most boldly, modern architecture. An example is their South American road-trip, which we can reconstruct through seven movies. The narrative typically starts with the image of a map with the name of the city or the country on it, the name of a ship that signals the location, or a road sign that shows where they are crossing. This is occasionally repeated if a roll included more than one country. Moreover, methods of travel—ships, planes, cars, trains, and buses—and hotels play an important part in these narratives, as they usually denote the start or transition from one scene to the other.

In this section, I turn to their third grand trip on which they embarked on October 24, 1957 to Asia and the Middle East, accompanied by a friend, Margaret Dinning, by examining the seven movies that they took during this trip. Starting from Japan and traveling westward, the trio visited twenty countries in six months: China, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan (Imrie went with Dinning), Egypt

(Wallbridge went alone), Israel, Palestine, Turkey, Greece (including Crete), and Italy before leaving from Genoa for New York, and later, to Canada. Their travel diary reveals that they met numerous architects (for example, architects from Leigh and Orange's office in Hong Kong, Yakoov Rechter in Tel Aviv, Enrico Peresutti and Ernesto Nathan Rogers in Milan), inspected master plans in architectural offices (in Jaipur and Chandigarh, they visited Tyrwhitt's town planner friends, "Mr. Gupta" and Narinder Singh Lamba), attended lectures, and saw historic sites (Fatehpur Sikri and Mahatma Gandhi's tomb in India, among them) as well as modern projects (buildings by Kenzo Tange in Japan, public housing developments in Hong Kong, an airport in Singapore, the construction of the New York Guggenheim Museum, construction sites in the new capital Chandigarh ("not favourably impressed"³⁸⁰), among others).³⁸¹ From this trip, they produced three articles for the *RAIC Journal*, which they wrote in transit (mainly, on board the China Mail boat).³⁸²

Such an itinerary was rare for Canadians or Americans at this time, and even more so for women.³⁸³ Eric Arthur, editor of the *RAIC Journal*, introducing Imrie and Wallbridge in the first of their articles from this trip, "Les Girls en voyage," wrote:

Readers of the journal will remember how a few years ago, two lady architects in Edmonton circumnavigated the coast of South America by jeep. The same pair, Mary

³⁸⁰ Mary Imrie's diary entry, February 9, 1958. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0817.

³⁸¹ Mary Imrie's diary entry, April 22, 1958. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0817.

³⁸² Imrie, "Les Girls en voyage," 44–46; Imrie, "Hong Kong to Chandigarh," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 35, no. 5 (May 1958): 160–63; Imrie, "Khyber Pass to Canada," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 35, no. 7 (July 1958): 278–79.

³⁸³ In 1950, 99.5 percent of all journeys made by Canadian tourists were to the United States. In 1949, Canada was the primary destination for American tourists, constituting 73 percent of all trips outside the United States, followed by Mexico by 9 percent and Cuba by 5 percent, and western European countries totalling 6 percent. There is no mention of Middle East or Asia in most of the tourist accounts from this period, let alone those belonging to women travelers. Statistics Canada, International Travel Statistics Section, *Travel Between Canada and Other Countries*, (1971): 108; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 188.

Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, along with a friend, Margaret Dinning, have gone off again. This time, on a slow boat to China, Les Girls are not following in the very footsteps of Marco Polo but at times it seems certain that they will not be far off. The route includes Hong Kong, Tokyo, Bangkok, New Delhi and camel train routes in Afghanistan where once a mere man dared not raise his head above the boulders on the trail.³⁸⁴

Arthur compared the couple to Marco Polo in their venture to Asia; yet, he also implied that this geography was now safe even for women architects. This comparison was not very pertinent, though; since, most of the time, “les girls” were not alone while traveling. According to the diaries, they met fellow travelers at almost every stop, and usually spent their time with them, sightseeing or drinking and eating in hotels. The movies also reveal that, at times, a group of female travelers and, usually, a male guide accompanied the architects (Fig. 31).

Moreover, in their articles and diary entries, the architects’ focus was mainly on progress and modernity, rather than safety. This focus is legible in their choice of language, especially in the article “Khyber Pass to Canada” that outlines their trip from Afghanistan to Italy.³⁸⁵ Words like “primitive,” “hectic,” “modern,” “more modern,” “most modern” are dispersed throughout the text. Similarly, in the diaries, they reveal their own biases with harsh criticisms of the cleanliness and orderliness of cities, trains, and people. Furthermore, their touristic amazement with vernacular and historical sites on the one hand was combined with an attention to modern architecture on the other. We can trace their efforts to identify themselves with modernity in their focus on issues, such as irrigation of land, urban planning, or architecture.

However, theirs was a shifting gaze; the moving images shot while traveling are revelatory.

Similar to their hand-drawn maps from earlier trips and their texts, these movies act as tools to

³⁸⁴ Imrie, “Les Girls en voyage,” 44.

³⁸⁵ Imrie, “Khyber Pass to Canada,” 278.

make the foreign familiar and to uncover spaces and architectures in motion. They are also important primary sources because they allow us to see the contradictions and tensions of modern architecture in the local environments in this period as viewed by two white women. Nicholson notes that travel movies allow us to enter the producer's memories of themselves as travelers and show how they connect to other people in different sites: "they offer a moving window on people's private geographies and how they give significance to the worlds they inhabit and traverse."³⁸⁶ It was through modern architecture that Imrie and Wallbridge tried to define the "worlds they traverse." Their ruptured, malfunctioning focus on modernity converged their way of seeing to an imperial, masculinist, "all-seeing gaze" that "transforms subjects into objects for consumption elsewhere;"³⁸⁷ nonetheless, the architects' queer seeing impeded such a clear, heteronormative focus on modern architecture on their part.

A fruitful example of this shifting gaze is from Imrie and Wallbridge's time at Chandigarh and the movie showing the construction of the Secretariat Building. They film workers, with the modern blocks in the background. In another scene, we see the Secretariat Building, standing gigantic and alone in the yet-untouched landscape, and two workers walking in the foreground (Fig. 32). As the two men realize they are being filmed, one of them turns, while continuing to walk, and gazes back at the camera, whilst the other turns away. The camera follows them—it no longer fixes its focus on the building. The primary focus of the camera—the building—is disrupted by people. This perspective repeats in different moments in the same movie. The housing units in Chandigarh, for instance, are filmed in a panoramic way, from left to right, until

³⁸⁶ Norris Nicholson, "Telling Travelers' Tales," 60.

³⁸⁷ Norris Nicholson, 51.

the camera catches a human being. The filmmaker stands still. The camera acts as their eye—it moves, like a moving eye—capturing the panoramic image of the modern stage, until it is ruptured by a human. Similarly, in more traditional environments, the architects' focus on animals, children, women, and men who are working or engaged in daily activities.

Different layers of meaning are embedded in these images. Firstly, they offer a cinematic, architectural, and queer autobiography of the traveling couple. Home movies, as a genre, do not encompass a clear definition or a rigid boundary on their own: they are personal takes on recording; they can be about anything—family, friends, home, travel, animals. They offer plurality and fluidity (adjectives associated with queerness and women), because there is usually a less intentional narrative, without a beginning and end, compared to, for example, a documentary. Since images interchange, they often do not follow a discernible order, and the footage is cut abruptly here and there. Imrie and Wallbridge's use of the "lesser" or "low-brow" form of home movie (pursued by amateurs, as opposed to genres such as architectural photography) breaks a straightforward binary depiction of the "other" geography. The duality between "us" (travelers) and "them" (the locals) (a supposedly straight formulation) deviates as the queerness of the form and of the two producers permeates the lens. Design studies scholars Caroline Evans and Lorraine Gamman dismantle gaze theory: "because identity itself is not fixed, it is inappropriate to posit any single identification with images. If we deconstruct the subject we must by implication also deconstruct the subject's reading/viewing position."³⁸⁸

Imrie and Wallbridge's camera—viewing position—changes hands between the two women (it

³⁸⁸ Caroline Evans and Lorraine Gamman, "The Gaze Revisited, or Reviewing Queer Viewing," in *A Queer Romance: Lesbians, Gay Men and Popular Culture*, ed. Paul Burston and Colin Richardson (London: Routledge, 1995), 41.

moves in-between). The viewer is never sure who is behind the camera and who is in front of it: the *identities* of the viewers and objects are not fixed—they are combined, versatile. The camera operating for the view of an armchair traveler inscribes the two women (interchangeably) onto this new landscape not as agents giving order (the architects with a design authority), but as observers or researches.

Secondly, the couple's focus on modern architecture displays their contradictory tendency to align themselves with one end of the heteropatriarchal spectrum through their sympathy for masculinist and imperialist notions, such as modernization, progress, and growth. As professionals, they used their travel narratives on modern architecture to address architectural audiences at home and to shape the perception on issues of global modernism, as well as to claim their own professional/personal imagery and to position themselves as women architects within the field. In doing so, they followed a typical structure of the architectural discourse at the time.³⁸⁹ Their published articles in a national journal reiterated the paternalistic binary (hierarchy) between "local" and "home"—a binary that they simultaneously deconstructed through their home movies. Modern architecture constitutes the main focus of the home movies as well as the articles. Nonetheless, as the camera cannot resist a move from the canonical object to everyday life and cultural experience (as well as between travel companion and filmmaker), this focus appears non-rigid. Whereas the journal articles fit easily within the heteropatriarchal, institutional context, the multiplicity in the home movies escapes the

³⁸⁹ Perhaps an exception is their evident criticism of Chandigarh. They report their encounter with a local architect who showed them the master plan and yet failed to answer their (critical) questions: he was a supporter of Le Corbusier (and not so much of Drew and Fry). Mary Imrie's diary entry, February 10, 1958. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0817.

universality of the modern architecture narrative.

Another significant example of their blurred focus is from their visit to Istanbul. They arrived in the city on March 27, 1958 and stayed five days before continuing on to Athens. The footage starts with a short caption of a busy street with pedestrians and cars. Then, we see two women (Imrie and Dinning, perhaps) talking, looking over, and pointing towards the Bosphorus (Fig. 33). This image is followed by the Hilton Hotel, a ferry trip (a Thomas Cook Tour across the Bosphorus towards the Anatolian side, we learn from the diary) with the sight of the Hilton and Dolmabahçe Palace from the sea. Then we move to a street scene, a short look at the bottles of milk on a horse cart preceding a longer shot of the modern block of the Metropolitan Municipality Building behind, designed by Turkish architect Nevzat Erol in 1953 (Fig. 34). This leads to views of more touristic and historic sites, namely the old city walls, the domes of the Grand Bazaar, Hagia Sophia, and a final look at street vendors. Again, everyday life mixes with monumental/historic/modern architecture. The footage ends with another ferry trip on the Bosphorus, following the route from Ortaköy Mosque towards the fortress of Rumelihisari. As written in their diaries, they spent time in different modern hotels, like the Divan Hotel and the Hilton Hotel. Significantly, the only buildings mentioned in their article are Hagia Sophia and Blue Mosque—two culturally significant historical buildings, interesting to visitors regardless of their points of origins³⁹⁰—and the Hilton Hotel, “an American spectacle abroad,” as it was

³⁹⁰ Alison and Peter Smithson, for example, mentioned these sites in their short entry for the 1974 *Feedback* travel guide: “Stay at Pera Palas for turn of century décor and viewing-from screen gallery first floor – local posh cocktail parties and incredible cocktail artifacts. Hippies Notice Board: the Pudding Shop, north side Divanyolu, area of Sultanahmet and St. Sophia: drink fruit juice, many bottled varieties, excellent, presumably Swiss process. Transport experience: local ferries from many landing stages for local colour, or Galata Bridge, return from Turkey, Asia Minor, as lights come on in Istanbul.” Alison and Peter Smithson, “Istanbul,” in *Feedback*, ed. Alan Fletcher

promoted.³⁹¹

The first to be built outside of the United States, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel is famous for its owner Conrad Hilton's urge to create each hotel "as a little America."³⁹² Opened in 1955, the hotel was designed by the renowned architectural office SOM in collaboration with Turkish architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem, and its senior designer was, remarkably, another woman, Natalie de Blois.³⁹³ It is unlikely that Imrie and Wallbridge knew this, considering de Blois' unrecognized position in the firm and within the field until recently.³⁹⁴ Twenty-one second footage of the city was allocated to the hotel. The sequence starts with a shot of the gates; the spectator sees the name of the hotel slowly, before the camera moves a step closer to the white block surrounded by cars and pedestrians (Fig. 35). Again we follow two men, walking on the grounds of the property with the hotel in the background (Fig. 36). The footage is then cut and continues with another boat tour; now, we are shown the other side of the building, this time, from the sea (Fig. 37). The hotel, it seems, stands as a reference point for the architects. In their article, expressing their appreciation for the building ("The Istanbul Hilton commands a marvelous view

and Edward Booth-Clibborn (London: Internos, 1974), n.p. Harvard University Graduate School of Design Frances Loeb Library, The Alison and Peter Smithson Archive, J009.

³⁹¹ Annabel Jane Wharton, *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001), 9.

³⁹² Conrad N. Hilton, *Be My Guest* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1957), 265, quoted in Wharton, 1.

³⁹³ In a 2002 interview with Betty J. Blum, de Blois explained that she worked from the firm's New York office and attended all the client meetings; however, the firm never sent her to Istanbul: "So I never saw the site until quite a few years later when I went to Istanbul on one of my vacations and took my children." Natalie Griffin de Blois, interview by Betty J. Blum, March 12–15, 2002. Chicago Architects Oral History Project, The Ernest R. Graham Study Center for Architectural Drawings, Department of Architecture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 51–52.

³⁹⁴ See Judith Paine, *Women in American Architecture*, 112–14; Gabrielle Esperdy, "Natalie Griffin de Blois," *Pioneering Women of American Architecture*, ed. Mary McLeod and Victoria Rosner, the Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation, <https://pioneeringwomen.bwaf.org/natalie-griffin-de-blois>. Accessed March 4, 2021. De Blois also received some media coverage in the 2000s: David Dunlap, "An Architect Whose Work Stood Out, Even If She Did Not," *New York Times*, July 31, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/01/nyregion/an-architect-whose-work-stood-out-even-if-she-didnt.html?smid=pl-share>; Blair Kamin, "Natalie de Blois, Pioneering Architect at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill," *Chicago Tribune*, July 30, 2013, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2013-07-30/news/ct-met-deblois-obituary-0731-20130731_1_nathaniel-owings-new-york-city-architect.

over the Bosphorus, as well as the attention of every tourist in Turkey. If it is typically foreign Hilton, more power to them”³⁹⁵), they approved and praised its “typical foreignness” as a local interpretation of modernism.

Their approach aligns with the socio-political situation in the country in this period. Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the country faced a rapid “westernization” and modernization process. This was doubled by the opening of the economy to American influence after the Second World War, particularly through the Marshall Plan, Turkey’s membership in NATO and the United Nations, and its involvement in the Korean War. It was further reinforced in the 1950 election that brought the Democrat Party to power (also known for its close ties to the United States), with its liberal economy and urbanization models.³⁹⁶ In architectural terms, buildings that would symbolize America and its democratic capitalist system were applauded by the Turkish state in the 1950s. Art historian Annabel Jane Wharton notes that the hotel was a “viewing platform” with its panoramic view towards Bosphorus, and that “both the gaze that the Hilton framed for the guest and the image that the Hilton itself represented to the outsider were deeply political.”³⁹⁷

This “modern spectacle abroad” was thus both a site of observation, encounter, temporality and a symbol of what the architects called a “foreign” modernism. Imrie and Wallbridge’s emphasis on it signals the importance they gave to modern architecture within a “less” modern city (as they would see it). It also implies their association of characteristics of modern

³⁹⁵ Imrie, “Khyber Pass to Canada,” 279.

³⁹⁶ Meltem Ö. Gürel, “Introduction,” in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. Meltem Ö. Gürel (London: Routledge, 2016), 2.

³⁹⁷ Annabel Jane Wharton, “The Istanbul Hilton, 1915–2014: Modernity and Its Demise,” in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey*, 147, 150.

architecture with progress and development, however political it may have been.

In their attention to hotels, though, there may be something more than a biased concentration on modern architecture, something that is peculiar to their gender. Their focus accentuates spatial transience: hotels, in general, were the urban typology in which they spent the most time. Meaghan Morris' analysis of the motel is relevant here, as some of her arguments apply to Imrie and Wallbridge's experiences at hotels: the motel offers "a fixed address for temporary lodgement [sic]."³⁹⁸ Both the motel and hotel, as transit zones, imply "transcendental homelessness," "home-away-from-home."³⁹⁹ Similarly, to scholars David B. Clarke, Valerie Crawford Pfannhauser, and Marcus A. Doel, they are temporal spaces "simultaneously disrupting and securing mobility."⁴⁰⁰ For women, this transitory potential has conveyed them as liberating, safe spaces. Deborah Clarke extends this observation by claiming that the hotel, as a "transit-place," allows women a domesticity that is encountered along the road, "entered into and exited from at will," instead of anchoring one to a specific place.⁴⁰¹ For Imrie and Wallbridge (and differently than for a male architect), the architectural modernity of the hotel was intertwined with the containment, safety, or luxury it offered, with its transient nature. It is, then, no surprise that their diaries and articles from trips to both South America and Asia are full of comments on hotels. They described those in which they stayed as well as others that they visited for their architectural qualities or where they simply dined and drank ("'best' hotel – turned out to be lovely Japanese Inn—Wakko Hotel—we had breakfast there in Jap

³⁹⁸ Meaghan Morris, "At Henry Parkes Motel," *Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (1988): 6.

³⁹⁹ Morris, "At Henry Parkes Motel," 2.

⁴⁰⁰ David B. Clarke, Valerie Crawford Pfannhauser, and Marcus A. Doel, "Checking In," in *Moving Pictures/Stopping Places: Hotels and Motels on Film*, ed. David B. Clarke, Valerie Crawford Pfannhauser, and Marcus A. Doel (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 3.

⁴⁰¹ Deborah Clarke, *Driving Women*, 129–30.

fashion,”⁴⁰² “then to new Baghdad hotel to see it,”⁴⁰³ “Had a look at Excelsior Hotel—liked St George’s [Hotel] better,”⁴⁰⁴ “We visited Viña’s famous Hotel O’Higgins, and the newer seaside hotel Mira-Mar,”⁴⁰⁵ “Temuco is a large town with several very good hotels. We lunched at the modern Hotel de la Frontera which had been designed by an architect we had met in Santiago”⁴⁰⁶). These notes suggest the architects’ interest in the hotel as an architectural object as well as their consistent dedication to the leisurely and contained experience of its atmosphere. Moreover, these remarks hint at the fleeting, transient nature of this union. The architects had a moving, unfixed gaze at the fixed address of the hotel. They perceived the Hilton passingly, in motion and filmed it in their moving images, when entering through the gates of the hotel or spotting it while sailing over the Bosphorus. The two women used transitory spaces and marginalized forms of recording to create an alternative narrative around modern architecture intermingled with the plurality of everyday life.

Moving I: Alison Smithson and *Imprint of India*

Alison Smithson combined images, verbal narratives, and collages in her representations of movement. On the one hand, her analysis of ways of seeing, moving views, or architectures seen on the move reveals her critical approach to the eye on the road. On the other hand, her so-called less-architectural narratives bring forth another side of her mobility: a unique and more personal way of representing travel—through novels. What architect writes a novel about

⁴⁰² Mary Imrie’s diary entry, November 17, 1957. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0817.

⁴⁰³ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, March 3, 1958. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0817.

⁴⁰⁴ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, March 7, 1958. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0817.

⁴⁰⁵ Imrie and Wallbridge, “Arequipa to Santiago by Car,” 17. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0815.

⁴⁰⁶ Imrie and Wallbridge, “Motoring From Santiago to Buenos Aires via the Lake District,” 2, unpublished article. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.290.0815.

a woman's (spatial) experiences in another land, when she could have easily pleased (even comforted) architectural audiences by more traditional architectural narratives—say, watercolour sketches?

In her narrative on car experiences in *AS in DS*, discussed earlier, Smithson also hints at her understanding of mobile vision and architectural seeing. Echoing Sheller's above-mentioned claim on senses and motion, Smithson argues for a new sensibility that was generated through the "car-moved-seeing," whose viewers differed from earlier architects.⁴⁰⁷ She explains how the idea of filming layers of images perceived through the family Jeep's window in the 1950s inspired a new "form-language" in the Smithsons' professional practice:

The field boundary lines of Scot's Pines, layer crossing behind layer when viewed from an open-tray on wheels—a jeep at speed—on the old straight Roman Road at Six Mile Bottom near Cambridge on the way to Hunstanton in the early 'fifties. . . . to our first job. The talked-of film to record it never got made; but the notion of layers, of the mysterious occlusions [sic] that occur in layers passed, entered the form-language of our architecture in the late 'sixties.⁴⁰⁸

In fact, this understanding and excitement on the part of Smithson echoes Lemco van Ginkel's insights on the vision created by high-speed mobility. Her remarks in the editorial article in *Canadian Art* in 1962 (around the same time Smithson was enthusiastically writing, drawing, and photographing the layers of moving views seen from the car) relate to this discussion on mobile visuality:

Moving at high speed in the automobile has created new visual images of place in time. The larger landscape which is explored tediously on foot, unfolds rapidly at higher speeds, so that one can better understand the form of the whole region. We see in a different

⁴⁰⁷ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 16.

⁴⁰⁸ Ellipses in the original. Smithson, 12.

way when we move rapidly-many images are received at high frequency and superimposed in the mind's eye to form a composite image.⁴⁰⁹

Lemco van Ginkel similarly favoured this rapid image creation in the "mind's eye" for its potential in inspiring new aesthetics and form creations. The pace, she argues, increased human's visual capacity,⁴¹⁰ and this visual capacity was the same as used by Smithson.

The photographs and sketches in *AS in DS* depict an almost filmic narrative of the scenery, positioned frame by frame to look like a film reel. Just as the moving images of Imrie and Wallbridge, Smithson's sequences of filmic and panoramic images take the form of travel texts. The road photographs, taken through the windshield with deliberately visible wipers, are put together in two distinct ways. In some, they are overlaid on each other, each depicting a different landscape, with roads, bridges, trees, signs, fences, and cars and without any buildings in sight (similar to those in Donald Appleyard, Kevin Lynch, and John R. Myer's *View from the Road*⁴¹¹) (Fig. 38). In others, they are set side-by-side, creating panoramic images of barren fields (similar to those in Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas*⁴¹²) (Fig. 39). In looking at them, the viewer gets a sense of almost watching the car/camera move. This visual effect is intensified by Smithson's sketches. Following a similar order, the sketches are made from the passenger seat, looking at the road, all toward alternatively twisting vantage points. Some are filled with cars, trucks, even planes, some are left completely blank apart from the road, and others include bridges, trees, or hills (Fig. 40).

⁴⁰⁹ Lemco van Ginkel, "The Automobile: Editorial," 19.

⁴¹⁰ Lemco van Ginkel, 19.

⁴¹¹ Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer, *The View from the Road*.

⁴¹² Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*.

Like the photographs, they are placed on top of each other on pages without text so as to recreate the filmic vision and feeling of the road with hand-drawn scripts.

The visual and verbal narratives of Smithson's "travel texts," like those of Imrie and Wallbridge, create "new geographies of spectacle and spectator."⁴¹³ Imrie and Wallbridge create this "new" geography through their "touristic voyeurism," whereas Smithson reconstructs it through a novel perception directed at the existing landscape by way of movement. Smithson explains: "There has been a change of perception, possibly bringing with it the beginning of an ability to distinguish between the inherited way of seeing and a fresh recognition of the nature of what we see."⁴¹⁴

Modern technology—the camera as well as the movement of the eye and body inside a machine—facilitates this "fresh recognition," the reconstructed image, or the "moving view." Both the eye and the body are no longer static, as Smithson speculates:

How do we come by this moving view? the passenger, driven along at speed in comfort, through a landscape, sees that landscape from a forward directed seat; the passenger most of the time probably moves the head less than twenty five degrees right, slightly more perhaps left; more often the eyes will simply follow a feature through these degrees.⁴¹⁵

The eye as a bodily part moves, looks, closes, rests. It is also a metaphor of the mind: the I.

Douglas E. Harding's "On Having No Head" in *The Mind's I* seems relevant here: the mind gazes at the so-called outside through the hole (that is the void of the head, a frame)—sees not

⁴¹³ Norris Nicholson, "Telling Travelers' Tales," 50.

⁴¹⁴ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 16.

⁴¹⁵ Ellipses in the original. Smithson, 16.

through the actual “eyes.”⁴¹⁶ This play between eye, I, and mind or seeing, feeling, and knowing prevails in Smithson’s various narratives. Take, for instance, “Mobility: Road Systems” where Alison and Peter Smithson give it an architectural meaning in their critical analysis of residential architecture:

Housing in the mass presents an essentially hostile face. There are few eye rests. The eye wants to see what the man can eat, can do, make, take, wear, buy. The mind wants to receive suggestions for action—or relaxation—as a relief from tension if it has no wish or need to think about work. The clerk, the mechanic, seeks release from work when going home. A few gardens can be interesting, but forty tiny plots are a bore and the man hurries past head down.⁴¹⁷

In another sentence, they refer to senses—feelings: “A road must: feel as if it’s going somewhere: North or South; towards or away from; orientate you, even if it’s pitch dark or on a grey day.”⁴¹⁸

It is necessary, however, to think about the meanings of the moving *female* eye, the moving *female* body and mind. Alison Smithson’s novel *Imprint of India* is a good example here, since the play between mind and body, I and eye, feeling and knowing is especially clear in this work.⁴¹⁹ The book was published posthumously in 1994, in parallel with the publication and exhibition *Climate Register* at the Architectural Association in London from October 4 to November 5.⁴²⁰ The exhibition focused on the environmental aspects of the Smithsons’ four projects: The Economist Building, Second Arts Building, Kuwait Mat Building, and Alexandrina

⁴¹⁶ Douglas E. Harding, “On Having No Head,” in *The Mind’s I: Fantasies and Reflections on Self and Soul*, ed. Daniel C. Dennett and Douglas R. Hofstadter (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), 26–27.

⁴¹⁷ Smithson and Smithson, “Mobility: Road Systems,” 388.

⁴¹⁸ Smithson and Smithson, 388.

⁴¹⁹ Alison Smithson, *Imprint of India* (London: Architectural Association, 1994).

⁴²⁰ The works in the exhibition and publication were selected by Lorenzo Wong and Peter Salter, presented with texts by Salter—two architects who have formerly worked with the Smithsons.

Library. They were presented to contemplate “wear and weathering, ageing and aspects of time, and a sense of grounding—of settling the building in its circumstances,” in a manner to “generate and prompt ways of seeing and understanding the context”⁴²¹—to make time and space visible.

Imprint of India focuses on seeing too, but in a different fashion. It is based on Alison Smithson’s travels in India in the early 1960s and was written from 1962 to 1978. As a “climate primer,” she writes, it is “the re-invention of the traveller’s guide that tunes the sensibilities, after the manner of Augustus Hare’s *Rome and London* and Cobbett’s *Rural Rides*.”⁴²² It was a personal, fictive account, as opposed to *Climate Register*. It turned its gaze onto ways of living, and environmental, political, and cultural conditions in India. She explains it as an “evocation fiction about the British in India” with an analogy of a firework spectacle of “quickly passing sightings”:⁴²³

In the 1960s, the simple act of turning a street corner in Bombay might find you facing your own childhood. . . . a Kodak Lady, in a blue-and-white-striped dress is holding a Box Brownie, a full-size figure, preserved since the 1930s in the stove enamel on the metal placard: such advertisements once stood outside every English seaside chemist and postcard shop of any pretension. Or, again 1960, rounding a corner in Bombay, you face a building so like the Mechanics Institute Bradford that, there on the hot pavement, you are impacted by two very different evocative senses of one’s own history.⁴²⁴

Peter Smithson introduces the book as “a primer of the impact of place on person” and confirms its personal and spatial character: “A young girl, jolted out of the familiarities of home; her awareness of place, substance, smells, noises, time, light and circumstance is heightened,

⁴²¹ Lorenzo Wong and Peter Salter, eds., *Climate Register: Four Works by Alison & Peter Smithson* (London: Architectural Association, 1994), 7–8.

⁴²² Wong and Salter, *Climate Register*, 7.

⁴²³ Smithson, “Prologue,” in *Imprint of India*, n.p.

⁴²⁴ Ellipses in the original. Smithson, “Prologue,” n.p.

the narratives of her life expanded.”⁴²⁵ The book comprises ten chapters with noteworthy titles, such as “Train Moving,” “Breath of India,” “Layers of Occupation,” or “Built Place.” Descriptions of landscapes, environments, and climate are tied to the narrative of the female protagonist and men around her. It is accompanied by images in collages—photographs, drawings, and (old and contemporary) paintings of local objects, animals, landscapes, people, buildings, signs, and letters. The reader starts by following the lead of a young woman—Miss Urquhart—in a train, who travels in India for a “tour of duty”:

The traveller experiences a twinge of lost at the thought of paths which ran by walls at home. . . . homeland, thrice marked, by wall, wear, and greener verge; in traces that ran up folds by easy inclines to brave the tops. Memories of paths once walked glaze her eyes.⁴²⁶

The very act of the journey, Esra Akcan asserts, allows one to “hesitate” between identities, shift points of view, or transform.⁴²⁷ It is a similar mediation between different female selves, spatial experiences, and memories, as well as forms (between fiction and auto/biography) that makes Smithson’s narrative so compelling.

We can trace this mediation through three themes: firstly, through heat and light, which recur as preoccupations throughout the chapters. These environmental accounts are how the reader learns about, for instance, the clothes the female protagonist wears (“Although a traveller might be wearing only an embroidered cotton wrap, confident of privacy given by such isolation”),⁴²⁸ the reshaping of her self/movement (“The girl feels very much the same person she has always been; yet, when the air’s breath is hot, she contrives to walk more airily. To

⁴²⁵ Peter Smithson, “Foreword,” in *Imprint of India*, n.p.

⁴²⁶ Ellipses in the original. Alison Smithson, 7.

⁴²⁷ Akcan, “Nomads and Migrants,” 97.

⁴²⁸ Smithson, *Imprint of India*, 6.

proceed so far as across a compound, to reach the gharri, she has to do so in quite a new way”),⁴²⁹ or how she makes sense of the places seen (“the breath of exhaled heat is rising quite swiftly from the earth, as if trying to imprint its passing strength on the observer’s face. . . . is the place begging not to be forgotten amidst so extensive an area of similarity?”).⁴³⁰

This conflict/compromise with the foreign climate informs her seeing too, as Smithson writes:

“During the day a great hill fort is sighted by the passenger, alone in her compartment. The chatris [sic] on the fort’s roof are outlined against a sky too hot to be described as blue,”⁴³¹ and, as she continues on architecture:

Today’s villages are composed of mud, yet seem imposed unnaturally on the ground; as if grey slabs of peaty texture have been set down without reason; as if their siting on the grey earth, further off, ten or twenty yards in any direction, would have been of no consequence. The other passengers would have seen all this before. . . . must think her mad to talk about what she sees from the train.⁴³²

The sense (the “I”) becomes blurred with the vision (the eye) as the body now senses and sees through the heat.

Secondly, and similar to her environmental engagement, Smithson questions the political circumstances in the country, particularly, the (remnants of) British presence in India through the female protagonist’s movement. She traces one (national) identity layered onto another (“a three-and-a-half-storey building is plastered. . . . And painted with pink flowers. . . . Like the free use of flowers, languages scatter the land”⁴³³). Sara Mills rightly argues that women’s

⁴²⁹ Smithson, 14.

⁴³⁰ Ellipses in the original. Smithson, 8.

⁴³¹ Smithson, 11.

⁴³² Ellipses in the original. Smithson, 11.

⁴³³ Smithson, 34.

travel writing should be seen as “textual artefacts” of their times and constraints and not only as autobiographies.⁴³⁴ Smithson’s way of reading postcolonial politics in her fictive and autobiographical travel narrative is very much tied to material culture and landscapes. Though it was an isolated account based on personal observations and without a direct participation.

On the introductory page, describing the chapter “Morning Tea, Afternoon Tea,” she lists obvious signs of “home”—statues, street names, buildings. However, she notes, “the placing, routing, dividing, in the town and the landscape, a trained eye could also read as a British presence, and by the indications maybe directly moved.”⁴³⁵ Elsewhere she describes in detail “a hot afternoon travel: Indian curtained bus bowling along the Trunk Road engineered by the Moguls, refurbished by the British in India.”⁴³⁶ Smithson’s gaze on buses, statues, routes, as well as Box Brownies and striped dresses destabilizes the self, memory, national identity, place, and movement. Another good example is, again, the inclusion of hotels, such as Leckie’s Hotel or the Station Hotel. Smithson provocatively writes:

Buildings are now being put up like gifts brought from towns at home. Instead of the gift of crested Gosse china, emblazoned Isle of Man, or Scarborough, might be a semblance of the Mechanics Institute from Bradford, or the Art Gallery from Saltaire; wonderfully adhered to, mutated only so far by local sandstone, or trapstone.⁴³⁷

Even though different political dynamics were at play, the semblance of Indian hotels to buildings from home—what Smithson cynically calls “gifts” from England to a postcolonial India—reminds one of Hilton’s capitalist international “gifts” to the world.

⁴³⁴ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 4.

⁴³⁵ Smithson, *Imprint of India*, 4.

⁴³⁶ Smithson, 4–5.

⁴³⁷ Smithson, 50–51.

Thirdly, the novel unravels Smithson's notions on cultures and technologies of travel, a theme that she returns to in her other works. In *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, for example, a novel that focuses very much on auto/mobility, she writes about the train and the movement and senses it awakens:

"I am twentieth century—mind you—I was brought up to smell the acid of steamed train windows, without Kleenex to sop up the dirty wet on sills. . . . Yes, my childhood motion was the railway train. I was then nose height to the dirt in window corners and the smell out of that oddfluted heavy metal ash tray that held worse than nothing and was fitted to all trains."⁴³⁸

This closed space (with its own senses and motion) also entails privacy and silence. As Michel de Certeau writes, the train interior's isolation and disconnection from the outside is required for the creation "of unknown landscapes and the strange fables of our private stories."⁴³⁹ This was more true for a woman: historian Amy Richter claims this interior as a mobile, intimate, fluid, and gendered space—a hybrid sphere of "public domesticity."⁴⁴⁰ In Smithson's *Imprint of India*, the train is at the centre of the narrative, as the protagonist starts her journey and records the details seen from the window. Situated in the isolated and protected space of the train, the female body is freed to create private stories: the landscape seen becomes intermingled with the story of the self.

The intimate, imaginative approach to modes of travel continues in *Imprint of India*. In another instance, upon seeing men bicycling alongside her bus, Smithson questions the ease that mid-century travelers experience with the car, as opposed to physical effort, "a mode of travel can

⁴³⁸ Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, 276–77.

⁴³⁹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 112.

⁴⁴⁰ Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails*, 60.

suddenly call to mind again a whole patch of a journey gone by: or imagined journeys,”⁴⁴¹ she contends. This self-consciousness extends, and is always related, to movement and everyday life created/dismantled around it. The female traveler is “suspended free of routine time, without responsibility. . . . despite heat, glare, dust,”⁴⁴² yet this freedom creates a tension that she cannot handle: “Staring across the tinder-dry grass to the traffic passing on the Mall, she thinks, so many people on the move makes a person feel left out. As if, instead of my standing here regretting the morning, I too should be travelling purposefully.”⁴⁴³ This purposelessness is deceptive, since we understand that the protagonist is working at a dispensary. It is perhaps a sense of floating, of foreignness, rather than purposelessness, that she describes, then: “travel commits the body to movement; the spirit to departure and loss; often gaily, expectantly, entered into, is it all worth the farewells?”⁴⁴⁴

Just as Imrie and Wallbridge were collecting moving images from the foreign sites to which they traveled, Smithson collected and collaged (fictitious) memories as images. These images—mostly scraps from magazines—are presented in each chapter along the narrative that is dominated by descriptions of sounds (birds, music, frogs, wheels), smells (horses, dust, lamps), or spaces (bazaars, gardens, rooms, parks). These images are layered on top of each other on the brown-coloured paper of the book. The outcome is a collage of a less orderly fashion than the photographs and sketches in *AS in DS*. The starting chapter on the train trip is juxtaposed with photographs of plain, dry landscapes devoid of any vegetation or buildings (Fig. 41), and,

⁴⁴¹ Smithson, *Imprint of India*, 5.

⁴⁴² Smithson, 5.

⁴⁴³ Smithson, 26.

⁴⁴⁴ Smithson, 5.

as we move forward in the story, the pictorial narrative also becomes more complex with images smaller in size, full of variety, and larger in quantity—as if narrating a thousand other stories. In the first two pages of the “Horsedrawn” chapter (Fig. 42), for example, there are about twenty different images of animals (cows, birds, horses pulling carts) resting or walking, as well as people (women working and men sitting or walking either on or next to animals), a statue of a god, wheels (of carts and carriages moving, of pottery, and of those being produced in a workshop), and hands (tending the pottery on the wheel, next to the hands of the god statue). These collages show another creative method of Smithson in presenting the everyday life in a foreign place. Their complexity and changeability contrast the visual perspective of *AS in DS* captured mainly through the passenger seat.

Smithson’s sensibility toward climatic, cultural, and technological realities materializes in her fictive detailing and visual composition of the everyday life around a woman’s travel to India. By using the female eye strikingly, Smithson casts *Imprint of India* between a travel memoir and fiction, between bodily experience of being on the move and observatory experience, between mind and eye, and between personal story and history.

Moving Eye: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt’s Gaze on India

In my analysis of the woman architect as an outsider with a view in motion, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt’s fresh insights on seeing, movement, and exchange are relevant. In 1953, while teaching at the University of Toronto, Tyrwhitt became the director of the United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East. She went to New Delhi in June of the same year and, as the seminar only started in early 1954, traveled to neighbouring cities and

sites. An examination of her role in the seminar and her travels at this time follows in the next chapter. Here, I focus on her articles on her visits to two architecturally significant cities: Fatehpur Sikri and Chandigarh. “Chandigarh” was published in the *RAIC Journal* in January 1955.⁴⁴⁵ “The Moving Eye” in *Explorations* followed in February 1955 and, in 1958, was reworked and published under the title “Fatehpur Sikri” in *The Architectural Review* with photographs and drawings.⁴⁴⁶ Finally, “The Eye, the Node, the Path” was published in the short-lived journal *Connection* in 1964.⁴⁴⁷ In these texts, she dealt with issues of visibility, movement, urban planning, and new domestic architecture.

Tyrwhitt’s tone in “The Moving Eye” is critical in the way she questions the ways of seeing.⁴⁴⁸ She says the “western eye” is conditioned to see in a fixed state—a critique she made upon encountering the city of Fatehpur Sikri. The article opens with her personal impressions of arriving in the city. She describes how “one” enters the city, and then, through Tyrwhitt’s subjective prose, the reader actually follows her lead in what to see and feel. Similar to Imrie and Wallbridge’s capture of modern architecture or Smithson’s detailed gaze onto Indian culture and environment, Tyrwhitt’s reflection is based on her own movement: upon entering the city centre, Mahal-i Khas, she experiences a “sensation of freedom and repose,” where her “heart is uplifted” and her “eye is entranced.”⁴⁴⁹ Differently than them, though, Tyrwhitt ties this feeling to the planning of the town and the way it is seen, as she writes: “Wherever the eye turns the view is held, but at every step it changes. . . . nowhere is there a fixed centre:

⁴⁴⁵ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, “Chandigarh,” *Royal Architectural Institute in Canada Journal* 32, no. 1 (1955): 11–20.

⁴⁴⁶ Tyrwhitt, “The Moving Eye,” 115–19; Tyrwhitt, “Fatehpur Sikri,” *The Architectural Review* 123 (1958): 124–28.

⁴⁴⁷ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, “The Eye, the Node, and the Path,” *Connection* 5, no. 29 (1964): 1–17.

⁴⁴⁸ Michael Darroch ties some of Tyrwhitt’s discussions in “Moving Eye” to works by Sigfried Giedion, Marshall McLuhan, and László Moholy-Nagy. Darroch, “Bridging Urban and Media Studies,” 161–63.

⁴⁴⁹ Tyrwhitt, “The Moving Eye,” 115.

nowhere a point from which the observer can dominate the whole.”⁴⁵⁰ Defying fixity, domination, and singularity, the onlooker becomes engaged with the site, becomes “a spectator in the wings.”⁴⁵¹ Through her personal encounter with the architecture of the historical city, Tyrwhitt un-fixes her own anticipated look: with every changing view, her position and identity in this particular built environment alters and multiplies.

In Tyrwhitt’s disguise, the “spectator in wings” searches for the “key” to the order of this foreign environment. The eye does not flee the (constructed) white female body—that is, *her* own (learned) manners of looking, but her moving encounter engenders subversion too. This subversion results in hesitation and ambiguity, and in turn, demands negotiation. In the text, she explicitly continues the so-called east-west binary (“Despite un-Western details of architectural ornament,” there is a similarity between “the spatial composition of these solids and voids in the Mahal-i Khas with our modern Western thinking”⁴⁵²). Yet, Tyrwhitt *hesitates*: “It is very difficult for us to get away from the rules of the accepted vision of our Western culture and to realise, even intellectually, that this is not the only way of looking at things.”⁴⁵³ Her bodily and visual encounter leads to a somewhat critical dismantling, if not dissolving, of the binary.

This hesitation is followed by a negotiation, a new self-positioning. She comes to terms with this conflict through a discussion of optical science (“single viewpoint”) and the politics of vision:

⁴⁵⁰ Tyrwhitt, 115.

⁴⁵¹ Tyrwhitt, 115.

⁴⁵² Tyrwhitt, 115.

⁴⁵³ Tyrwhitt, 115.

The study of the eye as an inanimate piece of mechanism pinned down upon the board of the scientist. The optical result was the development of the linear perspective: the single 'vanishing point' and the penetration of landscape by a single piercing eye—my eye, my dominating eye.⁴⁵⁴

Similar to Smithson's prescient postcolonial perspective, Tyrwhitt offers a self-reflexive critique of cultural and political domination on ways of looking—at landscape, art, architecture, and people.⁴⁵⁵ Her original self-positioning—as "western" eye/I/identity—assumes an authoritative, colonialist, masculinist domination; but the architectural object that she observes/experiences/writes about/inscribes herself upon (in movement) resists compliance. Instead, it asks for new (plural) positionalities.

Appropriately, she questions the conditioned single perspective (also valid for the camera, she notes) as "limited and partial": "The 'view' came into being. . . . With this came the 'vista'. . . . that could only be rightly beheld from a central point at some distance from it. All other views were, consciously and unconsciously, accepted as wrong: 'This is the place to see it from.'"⁴⁵⁶ In order to break this tradition, she brings forth the modernist "rediscovery" of seeing in motion, rather than through fixed viewpoints and universes,⁴⁵⁷ a discovery she made upon her encounter with "the rest of the world," as noted in the epigraph in the opening of this chapter. Her moving body/eye experiences and studies objects in unanticipated perspectives in a foreign landscape. Consequently, she re-examines her own positionality.

In "The Eye, the Node, the Path," Tyrwhitt further scrutinizes some of the themes she explored in "The Moving Eye." She discusses how the "untrained eye" sees while moving in the city and

⁴⁵⁴ Tyrwhitt, 116.

⁴⁵⁵ About twenty years before John Berger. See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (1972; repr., London: Penguin, 2008).

⁴⁵⁶ Tyrwhitt, "The Moving Eye," 116.

⁴⁵⁷ Tyrwhitt, 119.

questions this moving vision's connotations for urban planning (the Node: a destination spot, the Path: a line of movement⁴⁵⁸). The "untrained eye," she contends, sees differently than the camera or the artist, it behaves in response to alerts, catches signs. For nodes, she quotes Marshall McLuhan: an art that "does not freeze any unique moment in time" is needed—one that refuses the "fragmentation of experience" that is entailed by aerial perspective, axial symmetry, and single viewpoint.⁴⁵⁹ She seeks the solution in the behaviour of the eye in the Acropolis in Athens, Piazza San Marco in Venice, and Fatehpur Sikri. All three are to be contemplated "in movement; each major view presents an invitation to proceed":⁴⁶⁰ welcoming, even demanding, unfixed, fluid, moving gazes.

Again, her moving encounter does not directly dismantle rigid boundaries. Rather, it allows ambiguity and negotiation. Here, I am reminded of Alison Smithson's "European sensibility" in her chapter "Aspect 2: The Inherited Sensibility: The Way We Have Been Brought Up to See" in *AS in DS*. Imbued with a stereotyping and self-centred language, Smithson questions what she calls the European "shared memory" or "static veil" through which she was taught to see the landscape.⁴⁶¹ Both Smithson and Tyrwhitt were simultaneously essentializing and questioning ways of seeing through their own mobilities: one, through her encounters enabled by the car and train window, the other, through beholding a foreign landscape by foot.

Tyrwhitt further challenges notions around vision and motion by introducing visual material in the extended publication of "The Moving Eye" as "Fatehpur Sikri." Here, she includes seven

⁴⁵⁸ Tyrwhitt, "The Eye, the Node, and the Path," 14.

⁴⁵⁹ Tyrwhitt, 15.

⁴⁶⁰ Tyrwhitt, 15.

⁴⁶¹ Smithson, *AS in DS*, 35.

black and white photographs and three drawings (a plan and two sections), made by Edmund W. Smith of the Archaeological Survey Department of India, first published in 1894. The choice of Smith is unsurprising, since until the 1970s, almost all scholarly works and travel guides on Fatehpur Sikri depended on his survey.⁴⁶² She adds a much more detailed history and spatial description of the sites, not only of parts of Mahal-i Khas, but also of other buildings and open spaces around the core. Cultural references take up more space in this text than “The Moving Eye.” Tyrwhitt writes about the traditional conception of Indian houses vis-à-vis climatic conditions, interior furniture, and, significantly, everyday practices, such as cooking.⁴⁶³ Apart from the concluding discussion, which is directly copied from “The Moving Eye,” the article reads like a travel narrative, similar to those of Imrie and Wallbridge published in the *RAIC Journal*, perhaps slightly less personal, yet still visually captivating and detailed in description. It was a strategy to impose the personal experience, an inclination that was likewise embraced by Smithson and Imrie and Wallbridge.

More so, in Tyrwhitt’s 1955 *RAIC Journal* article “Chandigarh,” in which she focuses on an example of modern architecture rather than a historical one.⁴⁶⁴ Tyrwhitt gives a thorough account of the design of Chandigarh, which she visited at least four times when she was organizing the UN seminar, in field trips with seminar attendees and in more leisurely trips with family members. The article is a good example depicting her biases through binary comparisons, for example, between traditional Indian architecture and what she calls “westernized” ideas. Another example is her circular letter to her friends on February 12, 1954,

⁴⁶² Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, *Fatehpur Sikri Revisited* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6.

⁴⁶³ Tyrwhitt, “Fatehpur Sikri,” 128.

⁴⁶⁴ Tyrwhitt, “Chandigarh,” 11–20.

in which she gives a poetic account of her experience and sensation in Chandigarh (reminiscent of her moving eye and “uplifted heart” in Fatehpur Sikri). She ends the letter with a clear emphasis on what is expected: “It is a unique experience to go to a vast open plain studded with huge mango trees, that look (from a distance only) rather like sweet chestnuts in their form. There against the inspiring backcloth of the Himalayas a complete city is springing to life.”⁴⁶⁵

In “The Eye, the Node, the Path,” Tyrwhitt actually problematizes the conditioned view: “Our mind is living in its own world quite removed from the scene around us, and our vision has been set for our destination. . . . in effect we see it before it actually appears—we anticipate it.”⁴⁶⁶ On closer inspection, however, her record in “Chandigarh” too includes the discrepancies and negotiations of her earlier papers. The result is a rich account with multiple (visionary, optimistic, celebratory, sensible, profound) meanings and with a discerning insight to detail, to the so-called trivial, captured through a moving eye.

Writing at a time before the architectural complex of Chandigarh came into life (the main buildings like the Secretariat, the Parliament, or the High Court were still unopened), she deployed a visionary, future-seeing, and tangibly less personal tone—especially when compared to Imrie’s “Hong Kong to Chandigarh,” published in the same journal only three years after Tyrwhitt’s “Chandigarh.” Tyrwhitt takes a positive stance on the collaboration among Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew, the Indian government (Punjab Department of Public Works), and local architects and engineers in her praise of the

⁴⁶⁵ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to friends, February 12, 1954, 10. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

⁴⁶⁶ Tyrwhitt, “The Eye, the Node, and the Path,” 16.

monumentality of the project. She is optimistic and paternalistic in identifying the complex as a response to “the Indian need for a powerful symbol of the new might and contemporary spirit of their great country.”⁴⁶⁷ In a somewhat promotional tone, she explains her idealized expectations:

The over-riding impression one gets of Chandigarh is its urban nature; that this is a real city that is rising so rapidly beneath one’s feet—not just a half-temporary garden suburb. . . [The houses] are not copies of anything in Europe or in India. They are honest attempts to find a way of interpreting the contemporary Indian way of life—a cross between traditional habits and westernized ideas—in terms of brick construction—the most economical and efficient building material readily available—and the requirements of the Punjabi climate.⁴⁶⁸

She continues explaining how the operation of the city’s design in large sectors allows it to be “complete” in different stages of its construction—with a goal of achieving a population of five hundred thousand inhabitants.⁴⁶⁹ This is an opinion not shared by Imrie and Wallbridge, as Imrie writes from personal experience that they were confused upon entering the city at night, that this development method rather informed “a complete lack of unity”:

Next morning we understood why. The main streets and services for the whole city have been completed, and some buildings have been erected in every sector, but so little is completed as yet that there is a complete lack of unity, and far too much open space. . . . it will take years of development before there is any feeling of a city in Chandigarh.⁴⁷⁰

Their intimate look is evidently not in line with Tyrwhitt’s generally buoyant gaze. Yet, Tyrwhitt’s conditioned positive look disrupts briefly in the final section of her article. She writes about the architectural experiments in domestic units (presumably the low-cost housing units designed for the underprivileged by Pierre Jeanneret, namely the sectors 22 and 23, as they

⁴⁶⁷ Tyrwhitt, “Chandigarh,” 14.

⁴⁶⁸ Tyrwhitt, 16.

⁴⁶⁹ Tyrwhitt, 13.

⁴⁷⁰ Mary Imrie, “Hong Kong to Chandigarh,” 161–62.

were the first to be constructed in Chandigarh⁴⁷¹). Here, Tyrwhitt mentions the rebirth of *jalli*—the latticed brick walls, a ventilation membrane in response to climatic conditions of the monsoons. She notes how this has given housewives “cleaning problems.”⁴⁷² An attention to users and to their experiences, rarely felt throughout the rest of the text, surfaces. Some (if not all) images that accompany the text continue this sensitive, more intimate look at the everyday life of inhabitants—women and children. The images that follow and precede this last paragraph are photographs and drawings of the housing units with *jallis*. The largest image shows a woman holding a baby photographed in front of her house door, next to the perforated walls (Fig. 43). This is one of two photographs, among ten, that seem to focus on humans rather than buildings. The buildings in these images appear more as backdrops than primary objects, similar to Imrie and Wallbridge’s cinematic footage from Chandigarh. The other photograph, presented earlier in the article, is of a young boy standing between three cows, in front of a mud-brick traditional house; there is a woman, walking away, seen from behind, and another boy at the edge of the frame, half cut (Fig. 44). The caption reads: “The north Indian villager lives with his animals in a mud-walled courtyard.”⁴⁷³ The photographs and the text it accompanies together reveal the female critic’s unanticipated focus on vernacular culture—not as an “antidote” to modern architecture but as a real, everyday, living truth that is visible to the sensible, unfixed, moving female eye. In this sense, this “way of looking” differs from her preceding optimistic, paternalistic, authoritative position. In Fatehpur Sikri, the gaze became unfixed through the new architectural experience; in Chandigarh, the same happened

⁴⁷¹ Maristella Casciato, “Introducing Pierre Jeanneret—Architect, Designer, Educator—in Chandigarh,” November 18, 2010. <https://www.cca.qc.ca/cca.media/files/5715/5200/Mellon20-MC.pdf>. Transcription of lecture.

⁴⁷² Tyrwhitt, “Chandigarh,” 16.

⁴⁷³ Tyrwhitt, 11.

through an encounter with everyday life. The ambiguity created by subversion (through architecture and the everyday life) negotiates plural identities of both the image and the observer.

The Female Eye and Identity

Perhaps the most comprehensive criticism is that which aims at neither totality (the panoramic view) nor intimacy (intuitive identification). It is the product of a gaze that can be panoramic or intimate by turns, knowing that truth lies in neither one nor the other but in the ceaseless movement between the two.

Jean Starobinski, *Living Eye*⁴⁷⁴

The fluidity between intimacy and panoramic gaze reminds me of women architects' mobility, moving eye, and ways of recording. Scott Brown photographed what she loved as a way of mapping and understanding what she saw. Imrie and Wallbridge combined the panoramic, critical, and intimate gazes in their travels to Istanbul and Chandigarh. Their home movies allow us to trace their routes on a more personal level—the people to whom they talked, food they ate, streets they walked and animals they pet—than do their articles in architectural journals. Seen together, the movies, diaries, and articles are evidence of the multiplicity of the couple's gaze as well as architectural and personal identities. The same is true for Smithson, as she gave new meanings to architectural travel and narrative by writing a semi-autobiographical book detailing a woman's travel in India. Tyrwhitt's sensibility to everyday details went hand in hand with a shifting perspective as she analyzed two historically and architecturally significant Indian cities.

Women's travels saw little the distinction between leisure travel and professional field trip. This

⁴⁷⁴ Starobinski, *Living Eye*, 13.

slippage allowed them to forge their stories and moving experiences as they deemed useful in different contexts. It opened spaces to them within male-dominated domains. Moreover, women reversed the male gaze—they unfixed their mobile female eye, identities, and positions as architects. Positioning themselves in the periphery, in in-between spaces and using queer or “lesser” techniques, they reconstructed their experiences in inventive ways. In so doing, they inscribed themselves into the landscapes they encountered.

While entering the heteropatriarchal and paternalistic spaces of travel and the architectural profession, these women at times complied with self-centred, essentializing narratives. The primary sources act as mirrors on their identification with stereotypical hierarchies and binaries of modernism in addressing audiences and shaping narratives at home. This foreignizing identification was occasionally accompanied with criticism, hesitation, or ambiguity on women’s part, and led to negotiation: Imrie and Wallbridge presented a queer autobiography, Smithson questioned postcolonial politics, and Tyrwhitt dismantled her own ways of seeing.

Through an emphasis on local environments, they tied ways of seeing to their personal stories and female eyes. Their records were not simply an outsider’s narrative or observations and objectifications of “others” mainly to be consumed at home (in the way, for instance, an eighteenth-century British male traveler might have attempted). Their attention to everyday life and the so-called trivial details of living were presented along with records shaped by larger narratives around modern architecture. This movement between the two differentiated them from a male architect. Thus, they challenged hierarchical relationships (binaries) within the profession by making room for the trivial, the detail, the unseen, the plural, and the fluid.

Seeing is tied to expectations, recapturing; it is organized, conditioned. At the same time, the eye's exploration, its urge to understand tells us something about the (unfixed) identity of the viewer, the intimate, social character of seeing, looking, and writing, in relation to the female self. More specifically, the three versions of Indian landscapes, one, through moving images, with a blurry, dual, queer emphasis on growth, progress, and modernity; second, through a fictional expedition into daily life, environment, politics, and cultures of travel in India; and the last, through an interchanging view between criticism and optimism towards historical and modern architectures and their visual perception, lead us to be sceptical about the "actual" meaning of "what lies before [one's] eyes." These women architects, by writing and recording, questioned what they saw and the ways in which they were accustomed to see. Their unfixed gazes created unfixed identities and negotiated simultaneous positions for them: as women, architects, writers, and travelers.

CHAPTER 3

DISPLAY: PEDAGOGIES OF MOBILE KNOWLEDGE

This chapter analyzes the contributions of women to architectural expeditions, exhibitions, and experiments. I argue that these studies enabled, envisioned, and captured new knowledge that was itself mobile: created on the move and shared with different audiences through various media (letters, articles, photographs, displays, books, or presentations). I ask how the ephemeral exchanges and ideas of women, through their own mobility, created new meanings in postwar architecture. I look at three local and international events through women's eyes: Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge and their study trip to Europe, Denise Scott Brown and the *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City* exhibition, and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and the United Nations Seminar in India. By thinking about architecture beyond buildings and by using the concept of mobility, I uncover an overlooked aspect of women's contributions to architectural knowledge and networking in this period.

Initially, I present the trip of Imrie and Wallbridge to Europe in 1947. As young graduates, they traveled with the World Study Tours Program offered by Columbia University. The study tour followed a cold-war trend that cultivated an exchange between European and North American architects. It allowed the sharing of knowledge based on the mobilities of participants. Imrie and Wallbridge recast their trip in their first published article in the *RAIC Journal* "Planning in Europe," their photographs, a hand-drawn map, and diary entries. They inscribed themselves and those they met onto the route and in their architectural story through the material they produced and disseminated.

I then turn to the role of Scott Brown in the *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City* exhibition produced together with Robert Venturi and Steven Izenour at the Smithsonian Institution in 1976. I trace the development of the exhibition through Scott Brown's personal trips and the two design studio projects, namely "Learning from Las Vegas" and "Learning from Levittown," that the trio taught at Yale University. Scott Brown wrote numerous articles describing her experiences at this time. To these articles, I add oral interviews and archival materials, such as letters, studio syllabi, and exhibition documents. Scott Brown collected information focused on mobility and architecture during leisure and pedagogical travel. Through various collaborations, this information was carried from the city/highway/street to the interiors of influential educational institutions.

Finally, I analyze the work of Tyrwhitt on the United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East in 1954, which includes the accompanying exhibition and creation of the experimental village in New Delhi, India. I also explore Tyrwhitt's roles as co-editor of the influential *Ekistics* journal (with Constantinos Doxiadis, whom she met at the UN seminar) and as secretary of the Delos Symposion,⁴⁷⁵ which took place on Doxiadis' boat sailing across the Aegean Sea between 1963 and 1972. I trace Tyrwhitt's position through numerous archival letters, personal journals, presentations, seminar proceedings, and articles. The seminar, exhibition, journal, and Symposion addressed ecological and social issues in architecture. These were research projects carried out in different geographies, products of

⁴⁷⁵ Doxiadis explained the choice of the word "symposion": "It was decided that it should take the form of an ancient Greek symposion. Note that the word is 'symposion'. We have avoided using the Latin 'symposium' since this word has now come to mean a formal or official meeting. . . . Sometimes informal gatherings yield more and better fruit than formal conferences." Constantinos A. Doxiadis, "Comment on the Delos Symposion," *Ekistics* 16, no. 95 (October 1963): 204.

transnational dialogues, for which Tyrwhitt was a central facilitator, bridging professionals from around the world.

When examined collectively, these projects reveal how women, as learners, educators, and professionals, used travel as a pedagogical tool in architecture. Kay Bea Jones argues that “how, why and where architects travel” and how different places are “seen, felt, and analyzed” can provide an understanding of the ways in which architectural knowledge is transmitted.⁴⁷⁶ Many women architects expanded the understanding of travel as education in the twentieth century. For instance, Early American architect Lilian Rice formed significant understandings of urban form, function, and architecture during her trips to Spain and South America.⁴⁷⁷ Travel grants awarded by educational institutions were also influential in these exchanges, for both male and female architects.⁴⁷⁸ This institutional and professional support was potentially more significant for women, though, as their mobility was traditionally deemed limited. Historically, these grants forged connections between North America and Europe (particularly reinforcing a Parisian Beaux-Arts link). Early American architect Ida Ryan was an example. She traveled to Europe with the Perkins Traveling Fellowship awarded by Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1907.⁴⁷⁹ In time, the outlook of such trips diversified to include different directions and geographies. In 1944, American Chloethiel Woodard Smith traveled with the help of an educational grant, the Guggenheim Fellowship, to study planning in South America. She

⁴⁷⁶ Jones, “Unpacking the Suitcase,” 131.

⁴⁷⁷ Diane Y. Welch, “Lillian J. Rice,” *Pioneering Women of American Architecture*, ed. Mary McLeod and Victoria Rosner, the Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation, <https://pioneeringwomen.bwaf.org/lilian-j-rice>. Accessed February 21, 2020.

⁴⁷⁸ Many male architects also traveled with the help of scholarships throughout the century, among them, American architect and partner of SOM, Gordon Bunshaft and Canadian architect Arthur Erickson.

⁴⁷⁹ “Reports of Departments,” *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Report of the President and Treasurer* 43, no. 2 (January 1908): 82.

published three articles based on her travels and she also designed the master plan of Quito, Ecuador as an outcome of this trip. Alternatively, British architect Doris Adeney Lewis finished her studies at the Architectural Association in London and traveled to the United States to study architecture and town planning with the RIBA Traveling Studentship in 1925.⁴⁸⁰ In 1951-52, American architect Natalie de Blois, senior designer in Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM), received a Fulbright Scholarship and traveled to France to study at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.⁴⁸¹ She spent another year in Germany working in the SOM office there. Interestingly, in 1974, she took a year off and traveled around Europe on a bicycle. In 1960, Canadian architect Sarina Altman Katz received the Pilkington Traveling Scholarship for her thesis at McGill University, which gave her media coverage in the *RAIC Journal*,⁴⁸² and although without a grant, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, upon her graduation, traveled to London and Paris, and worked in Le Corbusier's office for a year. Earlier, American architect Julia Morgan shared a similar experience as she traveled to Paris in 1886 and attended Marcel de Monclos' atelier there, before being accepted to École des Beaux-Arts (as the first woman ever to do so).⁴⁸³

As these numerous examples show, women traveled alone as well as with family, friends, and mentors. On the road, they engaged in various networks and encountered and developed new

⁴⁸⁰ Julie Willis and Karen Burns, "The Antipodean Diaspora, 1920–2000," in *AA Women in Architecture, 1917–2017*, 133; Elizabeth Darling, "Robertson [*née* Lewis], Doris Adeney, Lady Robertson," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, July 11, 2019, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-369119?rskey=SZnErn&result=1>.

⁴⁸¹ Natalie Griffin de Blois, interview by Betty J. Blum, 37–38.

⁴⁸² "1960 Pilkington Travelling Scholarships and Awards," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 37, no. 8 (August 1960): 338.

⁴⁸³ Sara Boutelle, "Julia Morgan," in *Women in American Architecture*, 79–80.

understandings of architecture. They created mobile knowledge, transferred from one place to another through various exchanges.

This chapter attempts to understand this exchange of knowledge by the contributions of women architects at various stages of their careers as new graduates, teachers, or professionals. Women's engagement in (mobile) research studies—study tours, design studios, exhibitions, seminars, and journals—signifies four things. First, these projects testify to women's compelling presence in margins of the profession. Second, their travels (with or without others) to undertake these projects opened new venues, networks, and paths to them. Mobility enhanced and facilitated the engagement of women in such professional tasks. In more than one case, it was through projects that first started as trips that women gained wider recognition. Third, travel created a slippage between leisure and work. On the one hand, as work seemed like “fun” on the road, it was less radical for women to partake in these projects. This ambiguity further opened the doors to professional recognition. On the other hand, for women, the boundaries that set work apart from home, family, or “fun” were not as definite as they were for men. Women often had to take care of family while working or traveling. Thus, a masculinist boundary between work and fun did not pertain to women. Women used mobility as a tool for professional development and recognition, to make space for themselves within the profession, and not just for fun. Fourth, research related to mobility often times entailed group work and collaborations, rather than individualistic achievements in the spotlight. Friendships and alliances were implicitly formed while traveling outside the confines of institutions. Collaborative work created more feminist and egalitarian settings in which women

could participate (yet traditional history tended to forget women's roles within these collaborations).

Seen in this light, an analysis of women's mobilities reveals the breadth of their professional networks, the ease with which they embarked on professional duties and opportunities, and their resourcefulness in searching for answers elsewhere—solutions that they shared with different audiences in various forms. Women created movement and used their own mobility to carve out recognition within the field.

Expeditions and Traces: Mary Imrie, Jean Wallbridge, and the World Study Tour

In 1947, while working in Edmonton City's Architects Department as young graduates, Imrie and Wallbridge applied for and were awarded the World Study Tours Grant by Columbia University.⁴⁸⁴ With this grant, the architects (who were, incidentally, the only two Canadian recipients) visited England, France, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Sweden to investigate postwar town planning and wartime reconstruction from August 2 to September 13, 1947.⁴⁸⁵

The grant offered twenty-four programs with different subjects, such as art, archaeology, and planning. As described in the student newspaper *Columbia Daily Spectator*, the tours were “for the purposes of increasing individual friendships between students of this country and abroad,

⁴⁸⁴ Dominey notes that Dewar asked the City Commissioners for the couple to be given the time off for this trip, implying Dewar's support of them. Dominey, “Wallbridge and Imrie,” 15.

⁴⁸⁵ Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853. The tour's itinerary, based on Jean Wallbridge's diary, is also published in Maria Sottys and Krzysztof Jaszczynski, eds., *1947 / The Colors of Ruin: the Reconstruction of Warsaw and Poland in the Photographs of Henry N. Cobb* (Warsaw: Dom Spotkań z Historią, 2013), 20–23.

and to contribute to a fuller understanding between the peoples of the world.”⁴⁸⁶ Imrie and Wallbridge attended tour number 18 “European Reconstruction and Community Planning.”⁴⁸⁷

The duo’s departure had an apparent impact on their social and professional circle in their hometown, as it was written in the *Edmonton Journal* on July 26, 1947, with a clear hope that the architects would venture abroad and return, “bringing back” ideas from their travels:

Later, when they return, [the architects] want to make use of all they have seen and done, using it in their work in developing a greater understanding of problems that are being met all over the world, and putting into play the ever-new and progressive ideas which are being formed in the re-building of countries in the wake of the Nazi terror.⁴⁸⁸

These study trips were part of a cold-war tradition of European and American exchange.

Around the same time, students from Germany or France, for example, traveled to the United States to study American architecture and cultural values.⁴⁸⁹ In a reciprocal fashion, American and Canadian students/architects were sent to Europe in order to analyze reconstruction policies first-hand and witness war-torn countries in both socialist and capitalist countries.

Imrie and Wallbridge responded modestly to their acceptance to the tour, as they noted how they saw “a small announcement of a tour through Europe” in the newsletter of the American Society of Planning Officials: “Curiosity prompted us to make inquiries from the instigator and

⁴⁸⁶ “USNSA, Barnard, TC Offer Foreign Study Opportunities,” *Columbia Daily Spectator* 71, no. 83, February 17, 1949, 1. Imrie and Wallbridge were graduates and not students at the time.

⁴⁸⁷ The tour leader was Hermann H. Field and the other two attendants were engineer Frank W. Howard and new architecture graduate Henry N. Cobb.

⁴⁸⁸ “Women Architects Leave Friday for Tour of European Countries,” *Edmonton Journal*, July 26, 1947, 13. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

⁴⁸⁹ See Greg Castillo, “Design Pedagogy Enters the Cold War,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 57, no. 4 (2004): 10–18; Caroline Maniaque, “The American Travels of European Architects, 1958–1973,” in *Travel, Space, Architecture*, 189–209; Caroline Maniaque-Benton, *French Encounters with the American Counterculture, 1960–1980*, 1–4.

leader, Mr. Hermann Field, New York Architect. We became more intrigued, applied, and were very surprised to find ourselves registered for the tour.”⁴⁹⁰

Unfortunately, we do not have access to any home movies from this period. However, through a hand-drawn map, photographs, the tour’s itinerary, Wallbridge’s diary, and the first article that they published in the *RAIC Journal* in October 1948, “Planning in Europe,”⁴⁹¹ we can learn certain aspects of their experiences abroad and trace their understanding of a place through movement.

Map

Starting with this trip to Europe, Imrie and Wallbridge drew maps documenting their travels. The map from this trip traces their exact route, pinpoints the cities and towns at which they stopped, and describes their modes of travel (Fig. 45).⁴⁹² Looking at the map together with the itinerary and the diary, we get a better picture of their journey: They flew on a plane from New York to London (not visible on the map) (“Crew of 9—3 pilots—2 radio operators Navigator—flight engineer—stewardess—steward. 34 seats—32 passengers. 9-30 Altitude 5000’—temperature 45—speed 213 m.p.h. . . . Wings seem so long that you feel they must bend”⁴⁹³) and they rode on a chartered bus to visit different cities and towns in England (a photograph caption reads: “Mary and I hitch-hiked to Cambridge”⁴⁹⁴). They then flew to Paris and Zurich,

⁴⁹⁰ Mary L. Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, “Planning in Europe,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 25, no. 10 (October 1948): 388.

⁴⁹¹ Imrie and Wallbridge, “Planning in Europe,” 388–90.

⁴⁹² They did the same for other trips, see Imrie and Wallbridge, “South American Architects,” 29, and “Travel: Motoring from Lima to Arequipa,” 7. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0815.

⁴⁹³ Wallbridge’s album/diary entry. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

⁴⁹⁴ Wallbridge’s album/diary entry. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

where their schedule was less rushed. They traveled by train through southern Germany to Prague and saw the bombed areas in Stuttgart and Nuremberg from the train window. They toured Czechoslovakia for nine days, and then flew to Warsaw. After extensive ground travel in Poland in a sleeping car that acted both as a means of transportation and accommodation and an army truck (Fig. 46), they finally flew to Stockholm, and back to New York via London.

On the maps from this and other trips, the lines that signify the architects' path originate from the departure point (whether it is visible or not depends on the size of the maps), implying both the distance travelled and the (will to) return. Anne Hultzsch argues that an architectural recording is accomplished through moving across space, through a mobile perception that is frozen in time, to reveal "fleeting experience in front of the reader's eyes and intellect."⁴⁹⁵ Giuliano Bruno, in *Atlas of Emotion*, notes that "maps, records of learning, after all, follow experience. They come into existence after the path has been traveled."⁴⁹⁶ In addition to textual descriptions, Imrie and Wallbridge drew their route on paper, as an architectural "record of learning." They inscribed their personal history on the two-dimensional surface of the recreated geography. In fact, they drew their itineraries on numerous maps throughout the years. The maps included in Imrie's journal from their South American road trip bear the marks; and in one of the home movies from this trip, we see two large maps of South and North America attached to a vertical wooden panel (Fig. 47). Wallbridge draws a line from Edmonton to Rio de Janeiro, tracing their route, including minor detours.⁴⁹⁷ She outlines the return trip on

⁴⁹⁵ Hultzsch, *Architecture, Travellers and Writers*, 47.

⁴⁹⁶ Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 5.

⁴⁹⁷ This clip was most probably taken after the trip and edited so as to precede the (fictional) footage of their departure with Imrie waving goodbye from Hector. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0936.

an atlas. The map accompanying their *RAIC Journal* article is a revised, redrawn version of this trace and is formally similar to the map of the European trip. The description and inscription—through the repetitive act of tracing, moving, drawing, with the use of arrows, lines, dashes and dots—represent their perception of places through movement.

Photograph/Diary

The self-inscription/positioning on paper applies to the numerous photographs that the couple took and in which they were portrayed (they “had pictures taken on every possible occasion”⁴⁹⁸). Wallbridge’s diary from the first part of the trip in England is in the form of a photographic record, where images (mostly photographs and some brochures and postcards) were accompanied by captions. In that sense, this document is both like a photograph album and a diary with personal notes. Surpassing photographic souvenirs, the album/diary creates a visual story to be read—its subjectivity doubled.

The album/diary does not include all the photographs and notes that the architects took, since there are also several unbound photographs in the archival folder. A number of these photographs show how Imrie and Wallbridge, as two young women, positioned themselves on the move as opposed to how they (were expected to) behave in professional environments. Their itinerary shows they had a busy touring schedule. A reminder is from Wallbridge’s diary entry from Poland:

Have never been so dirty. What with exhaust from engine in our lungs—dust from road in air, clothes and faces and general grime of dirty smoky industrial city permeated

⁴⁹⁸ Jean Wallbridge’s diary entry, August 7, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0809.

throughout. Washed outside with soap and cold water, cleaned hair with enervous brushing and rinsed inside with Vodka.⁴⁹⁹

Wallbridge's description show how they adapted to traveling in weary conditions with dirt, exhaust, and dust, which continued in the coming decades, during their months-long trips around the world. A visual example is from a photograph: in the setting of a train station, the two women wait for the train in a relaxed but seemingly fatigued manner, sitting on their luggage, all of which is scattered on the floor (Fig. 48).⁵⁰⁰ In another one, the two women are sleeping in a train car—Jean sitting next to the window and Mary leaning on her—both wrapped in blankets (Fig. 49). These photographs suggest their ability to find comfort in tiresome and weary conditions that were the result of their tight-scheduled mobility.

The itinerary of the trip noted that when it “becomes unavoidable due to conditions in the area being visited,” participants were expected to show “a willingness to ‘rough it’ on occasion in the way of accommodation, travel, and food standards.”⁵⁰¹ Imrie and Wallbridge signed up for this busy schedule: their acceptance and ability to adapt to changing and uncomfortable settings (a prerequisite of this trip) enabled them to be part of the traveling group in the first place. A contrasting photograph shows the two young women examining a model of a project for Elephant and Castle among an all-male group in an office in England (Fig. 50). These photographs show Imrie and Wallbridge in two male-dominated settings where (single) women

⁴⁹⁹ The World Study Tour group, on a truck toward the village Giszowiec in Poland. Jean Wallbridge's diary entry, September 3, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0810.

⁵⁰⁰ The location is unidentified; however, a similar instance is found in Wallbridge's diary entry on September 6, 1947: “Wakened at 4.15. Walked to station, errie [sic] feeling in street lights. Found station full of sleeping bodies. Train 2 hours late. Sat on suitcases—went for walks etc., finally went up to trains.” Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0810.

⁵⁰¹ “European Reconstruction and Community Planning Study Tour no. 18.” Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

were traditionally taught to feel “out of place”: the train station and the office. Another entry in the diary echoes this initial feeling of non-acceptance: “Off to District Planning Office of Katowice. Man not impressed with four skirt wind-blown dirty Americans but warmed up to it, finally had ery [sic] interesting time examining maps.”⁵⁰² Through the ease with which they moved from one setting to the other, they subverted gendered connotations of these spaces. They made themselves comfortable in both settings. In “roughing it,” it seems, they were adept. Indeed, Wallbridge’s diary entry testifies to their pride in their recognition within the tour group: “Our positions are now more elevated than ever—Mary and I are Chief Architects of Edmonton.”⁵⁰³

Article

The intention of the trip was to generate new experiences and perspectives for the two women. It was also a significant first attempt for them to broaden their professional networks. Every year, guides, who were highly experienced in the selected fields of study, accompanied the recipients of the grant. A number of prominent planners and professors guided the tour that Imrie and Wallbridge attended. One of these guides, and the only woman, was Jaqueline Tyrwhitt.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² Jean Wallbridge’s diary entry, September 4, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0809.

⁵⁰³ Jean Wallbridge’s diary entry, August 11, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0809.

⁵⁰⁴ Tyrwhitt was the only woman guide of the tour; however, other women joined the group at different times. For example, Monica Felton, feminist British town planner, joined the group briefly in Stevenage for one day and later in Prague. Wallbridge’s album/diary entry. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

Tyrwhitt's influence on Imrie and Wallbridge is very much present in their article "Planning in Europe."⁵⁰⁵ This article focuses on the first part of their trip in England, Paris, and Zurich. They inform their readers about various town planning offices and sites they visited and key figures they met, with a significant focus on Tyrwhitt.⁵⁰⁶ In their album/diary, they list the people they met in lectures and tours daily. We learn that their guides included different scholars and planners, such as architect and town planner Gordon Stephenson and Frederic James Osborn, a leading figure of the Garden City movement in the United Kingdom. Moreover, in the itinerary, the tour leader is noted as architect Hermann H. Field.⁵⁰⁷ However, compared to other lecturers and guides, it is Tyrwhitt whom Imrie and Wallbridge refer to the most in the article:

Under the guidance of Miss Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, an English town planning authority known to many Canadians, we conferred with prominent English architects to discuss town planning problems. Our days in Stevenage consisted of lectures, discussions, long leisurely meals at which the discussions continued, afternoon teas in the garden, and walks around this beautiful small English town.⁵⁰⁸

The overall emphasis throughout the text gives the impression that Tyrwhitt was their only guide. It implies that when compared to the other tour guides, Tyrwhitt left a greater mark on the two young women architects at the outset of their careers. Tyrwhitt also appears in many photographs from the trip. One instance is from a group gathering in England: Imrie, Wallbridge, and Tyrwhitt—the only three women—are seated among a circle of men in a garden in Stevenage. Everyone is looking at the camera except Tyrwhitt, who is caught speaking

⁵⁰⁵ As Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred suggest, the publication of their articles in the journal was probably related to Mary Imrie's position on the journal's editorial board. Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, *Designing Women*, 55.

⁵⁰⁶ Imrie and Wallbridge, "Planning in Europe," 388.

⁵⁰⁷ "European Reconstruction and Community Planning Study Tour no. 18." Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

⁵⁰⁸ Imrie and Wallbridge, "Planning in Europe," 388.

to Wallbridge. In another photograph, Tyrwhitt stands on a staircase in front of a large, multi-level window, looking outside (Fig. 51). Behind her, a man is partially visible, yet she is the focal point. As the photograph is taken from a lower angle and she is facing away from the camera, her figure is magnified and mystified. Another one (accompanying the train station photograph mentioned earlier (Fig. 48)) shows Tyrwhitt—also sitting on her luggage—at the centre, flanked by students (Fig. 52). They all sit facing Imrie and Wallbridge (who are out of the picture but whose luggage is in the frame). Tyrwhitt is part of the relaxed, casual environment with the students. Their collective presence suggests a non-hierarchical relationship. These visual materials reveal the three women's close interaction, sharing knowledge and building friendship in various formal and informal (and mobile) settings. This relationship was the first of many where a female network enhanced the professional experiences of Imrie and Wallbridge, as discussed in the earlier chapters in reference to architects' wives. The tour was similarly important for Tyrwhitt's career, since in 1949 she was invited to organize another Housing and Planning Tour of Europe by Columbia University.⁵⁰⁹

The couple's *RAIC Journal* article is also significant since it demonstrates how they sought to inform the Canadian architectural public about the ongoing urban struggles and interventions carried out in Europe, mainly, in England. The meaning and importance of the English case for them is legible in their comparisons, for instance: "Miss Tyrwhitt drew our attention to the similar exploitation of the Northern Ontario mines. England cannot afford the waste that goes on unremedied in Canada."⁵¹⁰ Through their own mobility, Imrie and Wallbridge contributed to

⁵⁰⁹ Tyrwhitt to Sydnor H. Walker, December 1, 1949. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ/47/7.

⁵¹⁰ Imrie and Wallbridge, "Planning in Europe," 389.

the knowledge on European postwar architecture in the Canadian context by publishing an article in the professional journal.

The architects left their imprints on the material they created and circulated: they drew their route on maps, described their journey in articles, and posed in photographs (in the coming years, they also published a photograph of themselves having breakfast in Japan during their trip to Asia and the Middle East in the *RAIC Journal*). Alternatively, they documented their experiences with those who left a mark on *them*; Tyrwhitt was one such person.

The simultaneous self-inscription and sharing of knowledge was made possible by the overseas research excursion, by the presence of the couple in the tour. By being on the move, they allowed for the production and the dissemination of new knowledge. The two women used their mobility and agency to see, learn, and share architectural knowledge through maps, photographs, and articles. They wrote themselves into the architectural story.

Symbols and Leisure: Denise Scott Brown and *The Signs of Life* Exhibition

Working hard at sightseeing one sunny afternoon in Southern California, Bob and I decided ‘this is no vacation, this is our research.’

Denise Scott Brown, “On Formal Analysis as Design Research”⁵¹¹

The Signs of Life Exhibition opened at the Renwick Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., from February 26 to September 30, 1976. Denise Scott Brown and Steven

⁵¹¹ Denise Scott Brown, “On Formal Analysis as Design Research,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 32, no. 4 (1979): 8.

Izenour were the principals-in-charge of the exhibition design, research, and construction.⁵¹²

Critics deemed the exhibition radical for its content at the time. It documented the suburbs and the city through the symbolic messages they communicated in order “to survey the pluralist aesthetic of the American city and its suburbs, and to understand what the urban environment means to people, through an analysis of its symbols, their sources and their antecedents.”⁵¹³

The research upon which the exhibition built (the two design studios at Yale University and the book *Learning From Las Vegas*) has been recognized as central to Scott Brown and Venturi’s theories on urban American symbolism.⁵¹⁴

The exhibition also marked an instance of ephemeral public and pedagogical exchange that created new architectural understandings of postwar automobile cities through their inseparable mobilities. The exhibition was formulated around three themes: signs and symbols (1) in the home, (2) in the commercial strip, and (3) on the street. It argued that the billboard (or graphic signage system) is the architecture of the American landscape, that the billboard had become more important than the building itself, and that the relationship between the sign

⁵¹² In the exhibition catalogue, Scott Brown’s and Izenour’s name are added as principal-in-charge, following “Venturi & Rauch, Architects and Planners.” *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, ed. Smithsonian Institution (Washington, DC: Aperture, Inc., 1976). Scott Brown says in an interview with Beatriz Colomina that “Steve Izenour had a major role in the conception and implementation of the show. And he, more than the Smithsonian, was its organizational arm. He got all the stuff, supervised its production and erection, and did extra fund-raising. All of us did the research, designed the layouts, and wrote the texts.” Beatriz Colomina, “Learning from Levittown: A Conversation with Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown,” in *Worlds Away: New Suburban Landscapes*, ed. Andrew Blauvelt (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2007), 65.

⁵¹³ *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, 2.

⁵¹⁴ See Mary McLeod, “Everyday and ‘Other’ Spaces,” in *Architecture and Feminism*, 1–37; Deborah Fausch, “Ugly and Ordinary: The Representation of the Everyday,” in *Architecture of the Everyday*, ed. Deborah Berke and Steven Harris (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 75–106; Stadler, Stierli, and Fischli, *Las Vegas Studio*; Aron Vinegar, *I Am a Monument: On Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008); Aron Vinegar and Michael J. Golec, eds., *Relearning from Las Vegas* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Martino Stierli, *Las Vegas in the Rearview Mirror: The City in Theory, Photography, and Film*, trans. Elizabeth Tucker (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013); von Moos and Stierli, eds., *Eyes that Saw: Architecture After Las Vegas* (Zurich: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2020).

and the building, in its chaos and uncertainty, were unifying.⁵¹⁵ Embedded in this argument was that this relationship was perceptible from the moving car, as Scott Brown repeatedly mentioned:

The signs and symbols we see as we drive down Route 1 or Route 66 are mostly commercial advertisements. Their words and symbols attempt to inform and persuade the potential customer in the automobile. To be seen across vast distances and at high speeds, the big sign at the side of the road must leap out at the driver, to direct him or her to the store at the rear of the parking lot.⁵¹⁶

The urban theories of the architects were related to mobilities: this relation anchored their ideas to the locations from which they emerged. The modes, paces, and forms of traveling defined the origins of the study, the studios, and the subsequent exhibition.

I assert that Scott Brown's own travels in the American landscape were fundamental for this research. Reciprocally, the exchanges, which were publicly illustrated in the exhibition, offered Scott Brown a collaborative, exploratory, and experimental ground to test her pedagogical theories on formal analyses and research/design methods. Together, they represent an important turning point in her career. Thus, in order to better comprehend the (private and institutional) research that eventually culminated in the public exhibition, we should turn to Scott Brown's travels (by herself, with her mother, and with Venturi), the on-the-move studio projects that she co-directed, and to her general approach to teaching.

The exhibition followed upon the travel and research that Scott Brown, later with Venturi and Izenour, executed for more than a decade, starting in 1965 with Scott Brown's bus trip to

⁵¹⁵ *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, 4, 12, 14, 17.

⁵¹⁶ *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, 4.

California to teach at University of California, Berkeley and University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Its primary content was based on the two design studios and their field trips, “Learning from Las Vegas, or Formal Analysis as Design Research” and “Remedial Housing for Architects, or Learning from Levittown,” that the trio directed in 1968 and 1970 at Yale University. The exhibition was similarly pedagogical, as its catalogue reveals: it was a call for urban planners and designers, who “have to understand how the strip works if they are to make sensible prescriptions for suburbia.”⁵¹⁷ Moreover, it was a public call. In that sense, the exhibition carried: (1) the less formal field trips (solo, duo, and in group) and (2) the more private architectural/planning studio discussions to greater audiences in the context of a public museum. The “ordinary” was taken (*moved*): from street, to school, to book, to museum; from individual, to partnership, to instructor-student group, to public; from leisure, to pedagogy, to display.

Leisure: (Field) Trip

Kay Bea Jones in “Unpacking the Suitcase” argues that travel changes the perception of architecture by the observer/architect, “not as a fixed tally of facts and tombs,” but as living spaces.⁵¹⁸ In Scott Brown and Venturi’s endeavour to transform the traditional architectural perspective on ordinary landscapes (and its “ugliness”), a change from “facts and tombs” to living spaces was imminent—and so was travel.

⁵¹⁷ *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, 16.

⁵¹⁸ Jones, “Unpacking the Suitcase,” 134.

Scott Brown recalls how “after stopping in Las Vegas en route to California [she] resolved to teach a studio on the desert city and its famous Strip.”⁵¹⁹ As mentioned in the first chapter, she traveled to Berkeley as a visiting professor, and three letters that she wrote to her friends at this time reveal her first encounters with and impressions of various American cities, houses, urban structures, and touristic sites.

In the first letter, Scott Brown describes her cross-country trip from Pennsylvania to California.⁵²⁰ She talks about her impressions of houses in Houston and New Orleans. She compares their formal characteristics in an approach that sets a precedent for the 1970 Levittown studio. Her second letter describes another trip: a bus tour from Berkeley to give a lecture in Phoenix in April 1965. As she passed the Grand Canyon, she saw small towns of Arizona:

All you notice is a series of bright billboards, neon signs + TV antennae + then you’re through it + into the aged desert again . . . The towns appear, then, as nothing other than communication, a brief, syncopated pixie land, soon gone. They are, I’m sure, like no other towns anywhere, + would be fascinating to study. How did they survive in the desert summer before airconditioning?⁵²¹

These remarks signal her new understanding of the urban symbolisms in the geography she ventures into. A third letter was about a trip “to see something of the West,” on which she embarked with her mother, Phyllis Hepker Lakofski. They visited New Mexico, Colorado, and Oregon, and went on a boat trip up the Rogue River toward Agness. Her mother remarked: “I

⁵¹⁹ Denise Scott Brown, “Towards and Active Socioplastics (2007),” in *Having Words* (London: AA Publications, 2009), 43.

⁵²⁰ Denise Scott Brown to “friends”, January 31, 1965, 1. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.1558.

⁵²¹ Denise Scott Brown to “friends”, April 26, 1965, 2. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.1558.

never dreamed parts of America were like this.”⁵²² Scott Brown’s tone in her three letters shows that the same effect was true for her.

Scott Brown’s time in Berkeley was equally influential in developing new approaches to sprawl cities, as she explains:

I enjoyed teaching their rebellious students, but a major reason for my going there was the social planners’ admonition to architects to stop being arrogant about the sprawl cities of the American Southwest and to learn why people chose them as places to live.⁵²³

Following this approach, she was intrigued by the pedagogical potential of the American vernacular from the start.⁵²⁴ Thereafter, she turned this personal journey to a preliminary excursion: in 1966, she invited Venturi (a colleague she already knew from the University of Pennsylvania, where they both had taught recently) to give a lecture in her class at UCLA. Before his return, she suggested that they visit Las Vegas together; she introduced the city to him.⁵²⁵ She notes in an interview that she “had already decided to do [her] next studio on Las Vegas, but [she] thought it would be at UCLA.”⁵²⁶ Instead of happening in UCLA, Scott Brown’s solo discovery turned into a studio project at Yale University in 1968 with Venturi and Izenour. Her role in its development was more than she has often been given credit for.

The Las Vegas studio field trip started off with a four-day visit to Los Angeles, where they toured Disneyland and attended a party at Edward Ruscha’s studio (where some of the

⁵²² Denise Scott Brown to “friends”, August 21, 1965, 2. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.1558.

⁵²³ Scott Brown, “Towards an Active Socioplastics (2007),” 43.

⁵²⁴ On some other factors that drew her attention towards the West coast, see Mary McLeod, “Wrestling with Meaning in Architecture: Learning from Las Vegas,” in *Eyes that Saw*, 81–84.

⁵²⁵ Scott Brown, “Towards an Active Socioplastics (2007),” 43.

⁵²⁶ Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi, interview by Adam Marcus, 2010, <http://www.museomagazine.com/SCOTT-BROWN-VENTURI>.

representation techniques the Yale group later utilized were observed first-hand). Venturi was absent in the first half of the trip as he had the flu; Scott Brown was the sole instructor during this time.⁵²⁷ This was followed by a ten-day field trip in Las Vegas, where Venturi joined the team. In a letter to Philip Johnson, Venturi asked for financial support for the studio, describing the trip as “similar to the grand tours made by their grandfathers to analyze and draw up the antiquities of Rome.”⁵²⁸

The trip was similar to Grand Tour for the immediate contact it provided. Nonetheless, the architectural approaches and tools utilized in this trip were very unique. Working individually and also in groups, the students made films and took photographs; conducted interviews with inhabitants, planning officials, employees at Young Electric Sign Company; observed car usage and parking around signs and casinos; collected maps, aerial photographs, early photographs, postcards (Fig. 53), tourism brochures, publicity material about Las Vegas, its casinos and hotels (Fig. 54); followed people, driving, in buses, in a one-hour helicopter ride; and even hitchhiked.⁵²⁹

We tried to carefully define the components of strip and sprawl and to consider the factors that caused them to be as they were—primarily the automobile, the geometry induced by its motion and the ability of the human brain to react to communication from the environment while the body is travelling at approximately 35 miles per hour.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁷ Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi, interview by Adam Marcus.

⁵²⁸ Robert Venturi to Philip Johnson, April 11, 1968, 2. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.565.

⁵²⁹ Scott Brown, “On Formal Analysis as Design Research,” 10. On the films made by the students, see Stierli, *Las Vegas in the Rearview Mirror*.

⁵³⁰ Scott Brown, “Invention and Tradition in the Making of American Place (1986),” in *Having Words*, 15.

The research was as much about symbols as it was about urban auto/mobility. The instructors were “primarily interested in movement-related behaviour and decision-making behaviour and its relation to signs.”⁵³¹ And this demanded an interactive sightseeing and mobile research.

The studio field trip to Levittown took place in 1970 and followed upon the Las Vegas studio tradition.⁵³² It was organized to take up the whole semester as it combined all credits students were supposed to take during the term, in compliance with Scott Brown’s motive to combine collaborative research and design.⁵³³ The study included trips to Columbia, Reston, and Williamsburg, and addressed urban and architectural problems of residential environments by experimenting with the long-scorned suburbs.⁵³⁴ After an “intensive reading and research phase,” students went on to “[document] attitudes, architects’ included, and [analyze] the urb, particularly residential ‘sprawl’ of different eras and areas.”⁵³⁵ To find traces of the auto-age suburbia of Levittown, they interviewed home owners; analyzed the physical appearances of houses and their decoration; and examined mass media, television series, ads, novels, real estate sections of newspapers, magazines, professional journals, and brochures.⁵³⁶ Scott Brown and Venturi turned what Scott Brown calls their “brand of sightseeing research—which is

⁵³¹ Las Vegas studio syllabus, “Studio LLV: Research Topics. Phase 3,” n.p. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.565.

⁵³² A decade earlier, in 1953, Lemco van Ginkel, with Robert Geddes, Stanislaw Nowicki and George W. Qualls had presented their project “Levittown, Pennsylvania” grid at the CIAM 9 meeting. Noted by Mary McLeod at *For Her Record: Notes on the Work of Blanche Lemco van Ginkel*, organized by the Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape, and Design, University of Toronto and the Peter Guo-hua Fu School of Architecture, McGill University, with Building Equality in Architecture Canada (BEA/Canada), November 12, 2020.

⁵³³ Beatriz Colomina, “Mourning the Suburbs: Learning from Levittown,” *Public: Art, Culture, Ideas* 43 (2011): 95.

⁵³⁴ Levittown studio syllabus, “Studio RHA: Phase 3. Synthesizing,” April 30, 1970, 1. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.565.

⁵³⁵ Levittown studio syllabus, “Studio RHA: Phase 2. Adding,” March 5, 1970, 2. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.565.

⁵³⁶ Scott Brown, “On Formal Analysis as Design Research,” 10.

entertaining, enjoyable, and enormously instructive” into an experimental and collaborative studio experience.⁵³⁷

Pedagogy: Studio

The field trips were essential parts of Scott Brown’s research-based pedagogical approach, offering means to test her urban hypotheses: on symbolism, on user-based analysis, and on the emerging urban reality of auto/mobilities:

although our ‘Learning from Las Vegas’ study was seen by architects as a paean to signs and sprawl, it was more an empirical taking apart of a scorned urban phenomenon to see how it worked and why people liked it. It was also an analysis of an emerging urban form—the auto city of the Southwest—of which Las Vegas, with its brief history and desert location, was an archetypal example.⁵³⁸

In “Studio,” she explains her views on authoritarian versus collaborative studio structures.⁵³⁹

She criticizes the former traditional (architectural) model for its emphasis on individuality and competition as opposed to the latter (planning) that she learned and tested as a student and professor at the planning studios of the University of Pennsylvania.⁵⁴⁰ The Yale studios combined her previous experiences at Penn and UC Berkeley and were “based on [her] kind of studio method,” she said in an interview in 1990–91.⁵⁴¹ Against what she calls a “guru” model, she advocated an interdisciplinary “player-coach” approach seeking for “camaraderie”: “you’re

⁵³⁷ Scott Brown, “On Formal Analysis as Design Research,” 8.

⁵³⁸ Scott Brown, “Towards an Active Socioplastics (2007),” 44.

⁵³⁹ Denise Scott Brown, “Studio: Architecture’s Offering to Academe,” *A.R.P.A. Journal*, no. 4, Instruments of Service (May 2, 2016), n.p. Essay edited from a lecture presented at PARAtesis conference at Columbia University, February 4, 2006, <http://www.arpajournal.net/studio/?cmd=redirect&arubalp=12345>.

⁵⁴⁰ Scott Brown, “Studio,” n.p.

⁵⁴¹ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 131.

all in it together.”⁵⁴² Her search for collaboration versus individual practice in the studio corresponds to her interests in community development, and it complies with a feminist model in its emphasis of collective making, friendship, and alliance in response to masculinist notions of competition, individual success, and authorship especially in the architectural studio culture. Mobility enhanced this collective existence. To be on the road meant a rupture in everyday life. The students had to spend even more time together than they did in the studio. Traveling to the same destination, sleeping in shared accommodations, and pursuing research tasks in the same vehicles necessitated friendships among students and instructors, women and men. Enabling mutuality and collaboration, mobility opened the way up for a more egalitarian, feminist living outside the doors of conventional institutions. Being on the move (in the bus, on the road, in the car) necessitated being “in it all together,” even if the travelers responded to what they perceived in different ways:

Put a group of architects, urban designers and planners in a sightseeing bus and their actions will define the limits of their concerns. The architects will take photographs of buildings or highways or bridges. The urban designers will wait for that moment when the three are juxtaposed. The planners will be too busy talking to look out of the window.⁵⁴³

In “Choosing What to Learn From,” Suzanne Ewing notes that travel culture impacted the design studio by “shifting the idea of studying valued cultural artefacts to studying more ‘common’ sites of everyday life, and [through] preoccupations with new mobilities as generators as well as sites of architectural possibility.”⁵⁴⁴ The analysis of Jessica Harris of three bus tours by architecture students in the United Kingdom and Australia in the 1970s exemplifies

⁵⁴² Scott Brown, “Studio,” n.p.

⁵⁴³ Scott Brown, “Towards an Active Socioplastics (2007),” 51.

⁵⁴⁴ Suzanne Ewing, “Choosing (What) to Learn from – Las Vegas, Los Angeles, London, Rome, Lagos...?,” in *Curating Architecture and the City*, ed. Sarah Chaplin and Alexandra Stara (London: Routledge, 2009), 31.

Ewing's argument.⁵⁴⁵ Harris argues that mobility enabled new experimentation methods in design studios and facilitated alternative exchanges between students and communities at large. The imaginary sightseeing bus mentioned by Scott Brown as well as the actual Yale studio trips led to experiments that were similar to those of the architecture students explored by Harris. In the Yale studio trips, students and instructors visited sites of movements related to American sub/urban fabric; and their mobility similarly allowed for the discovery of new methodologies, perspectives (on everyday architecture), egalitarian collaborations, as well as exchanges with the communities.

The Las Vegas studio defined an era for Scott Brown in both professional and personal terms. It was during their preliminary trip to Las Vegas that Scott Brown and Venturi became professional and lifetime partners. They married in July 1967 and Scott Brown entered the architectural office of Venturi and Rauch the same year. She became partner in 1969. Personal leisure travel had turned to professional research, yet at the same time, research was always leisure.⁵⁴⁶

Moreover, Yale University first remunerated her for her teaching after the Las Vegas studio. She explains in an interview that she had co-taught ("helped") the "Piranesi is Too Easy" studio the previous semester with Venturi and Brewster Adams, and although she had developed most of the topics, she was not paid at all.⁵⁴⁷ Las Vegas (which she proposed, named, and for which she

⁵⁴⁵ Harris, "On the Buses: Mobile Architecture in Australia and the UK, 1973–75," 1.

⁵⁴⁶ She was actually pregnant while teaching (and traveling) for one of the two studios. She had a miscarriage, the couple adopted their son Jim, and soon, they left teaching to return their primary focus to practice. Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 131, 141.

⁵⁴⁷ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 141.

prepared the work papers⁵⁴⁸) changed this, she says, as the university found sources and paid her “a little bit of money.”⁵⁴⁹ As the studio was a big success and a radical initiative, it reformed things: “then [for] the Learning from Levittown, I named my price.”⁵⁵⁰ The pay, however, was less than what Venturi was making for the same studio. It is also important to mention that her financial recognition by the Yale University in 1969 coincides with her becoming a partner in the office. This big financial shift testifies to her agency as a woman architectural educator—indeed, from the university’s perspective. Within a few years, due to her own mobility and through her engagement and creativity, she transformed from a supporting actor to a protagonist in the eyes of the institution.

Display: Exhibition

The *Signs of Life* exhibition was part of the Smithsonian Institution’s bicentennial celebration in 1976. Among the three themes, *street* was built specifically for the exhibition, whereas the other two themes, *strip* and *house*, were based on the Yale studio projects. The exhibition comprised panels of seven thousand photographs and illustrations, similar to the ones collected in the studio from various literature. Three-dimensional commercial gadgets and signs (such as McDonald’s, Holiday Inn, and Mobilgas), street fronts, palm trees, three model house interiors, large murals, and slides accompanied these panels (Fig. 55). The panels were treated as “newspapers” with “strong headlines, subtitles and text” so as to present “far too much”

⁵⁴⁸ Soane to the Strip,” *Soane Medal Lecture 2018*, video, 1:12:32, October 17, 2018. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.

⁵⁴⁹ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 141–42.

⁵⁵⁰ Scott Brown, interview by Peter Reed, 142.

information.⁵⁵¹ This multiplicity of images and forms of the everyday and pop culture in the exhibition was the reason why architectural critics (especially those in the United States) raised some criticism toward it.⁵⁵²

The exhibition itself required numerous trips on the part of the office staff, from Philadelphia to New Jersey, Washington D.C., Chicago, Houston, and Los Angeles, by car and train.⁵⁵³

Moreover, visitors, some of whom were architecture students, came from all over the world.

Unlike architectural critics, who gave negative reviews, they expressed their interest and praise through letters to the organizers and the gallery. These letters enable us to see how the show triggered and inspired international contacts: one British student missed the exhibit, and asked for information and pictures be sent to his relatives living in the United States.⁵⁵⁴ To another student, who missed it and requested material for her research, Scott Brown replied cordially and sent articles.⁵⁵⁵ Another visitor, whose son wanted to go to architecture school, asked for the exhibition to be shown in an institution in the Chicago area.⁵⁵⁶ An interesting letter is from a German architecture student, Siegfried Riedel: he was impressed by the show and asked for its travel to Germany. He was curious about a comparison between the American and European cases:

⁵⁵¹ Colomina, "Learning from Levittown," 62, 65.

⁵⁵² Deborah Fausch notes that the architectural audience expected some judgment in the documentary exhibition. Fausch, "Ugly and Ordinary," 85.

⁵⁵³ Revised budget "Signs of Life: Symbols in the City," June 1, 1975. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.G.88.

⁵⁵⁴ E. Pardo to Steven Izenour, January 17, 1977. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.G.88.

⁵⁵⁵ Denise Scott Brown to Barbara Kelly, November 7, 1984. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.F.549.

⁵⁵⁶ Ruth Davis to Steven Izenour, November 3, 1976. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.G.88.

This summer, I was travelling 3 months across the USA to study the American architecture. Just one day before I had to leave, I happened come [sic] to the Renwick Gallery and see the Bicentennial exhibition “Signs of Life: Symbols in the City”. It is the best summary about the american [sic] every-day-architecture I’ve ever seen.

Now I wanna [sic] ask you, if you could send me the text of the last chapter, called “Architectural Lessons”, in full words, because I want to check if those thesis are valid for the German and European architecture.

Besides that I wanna [sic] ask you about some informations [sic], if and under which conditions it is possible to get the whole exhibition for a few months to Germany. It could be displayed at a private gallery as well as at the Arts Center of my University.⁵⁵⁷

The office went on to transform the show into a traveling exhibition (a device of international knowledge exchange), as eighteen American institutions showed preliminary interest in displaying it. However, I was unable to unearth any archival records that confirmed that it traveled.

Deborah Fausch says that *Signs of Life* used the documentation of the existing condition (display) as argument.⁵⁵⁸ Similarly, Ewing argues that choosing a site for design work, research, or education “engage[s] with knowledges and ideas embedded in or embodied by the city” and with travel.⁵⁵⁹ Telling the story of a place in an architectural studio is a curatorial act, and the book *Learning from Las Vegas* was similar.⁵⁶⁰ Ewing focuses on the book, but the *Signs of Life* exhibition, which is unmentioned by her, clearly testifies to her argument too. The architectural studios and field trips were curatorial acts; they planted the seeds of the upcoming research, book, and exhibition. Just as the studio was curatorial, the exhibition was the curation of (international) mobility—of leisure, practice, and pedagogy combined.

⁵⁵⁷ Siegfried Riedel to Lloyd E. Hermann, October 3, 1976. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, 225.II.G.88.

⁵⁵⁸ Fausch, “Ugly and Ordinary,” 97.

⁵⁵⁹ Ewing, “Choosing (What) to Learn from - Las Vegas, Los Angeles, London, Rome, Lagos . . .?,” 23.

⁵⁶⁰ Ewing, 36.

The initial mobile encounters of Scott Brown with the Southwestern American landscape first took the form of a leisure trip for the couple and then a studio field trip. It entered and mobilized an educational institution, and finally made its way to a museum for a public audience. As a matter of fact, its travel continues in this century: “The Yale Las Vegas Studio,” a traveling exhibition, opened its doors in 2008 at the Museum im Bellpark in Switzerland, with original photographs, slides, and documents from the archives. It traveled to Frankfurt, Germany, and was later displayed at Yale University in 2009.⁵⁶¹ Scott Brown’s leisure travel continues to be on the move.

Networks and Experiments: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, the Ideal Village, and the Ekistics

Exhibition

In 1953, the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA) appointed Jaqueline Tyrwhitt as the UN Technical Assistance Advisor to the Indian Government to organize the “International Exhibition and Seminar on Low-Cost Housing” that took place from January 21 to February 17, 1954, in New Delhi (Fig. 56).⁵⁶² This endeavour followed a contemporary tradition in promoting “assistance to developing countries” with housing and urban planning

⁵⁶¹ At Yale, it was paired with another exhibition, “What We Learned: The Yale Las Vegas Studio and the Work of Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates.”

⁵⁶² UNTAA’s interest in having Jaqueline Tyrwhitt as the director of a seminar and exhibition to be organized in India in 1954 on low-cost tropical housing, modern construction techniques, and community improvement was announced in a letter to Andrew Gordon, the dean of the Department of Graduate Studies at University of Toronto: “For this important post we are most interested in obtaining the services of Miss Jacqueline [sic] Tyrwhitt, presently Visiting Professor in Town and Regional Planning at the University of Toronto. As she has had wide experience in housing and regional planning, in demonstrations and exhibitions, and in the directing group activities such as seminars, we feel she could make an outstanding contribution towards the success of both the exhibition and the seminar.” Donald B. Kennedy to Andrew Gordon, April 16, 1953, 2. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 18/2.

improvement programs that built on the United Nations' earlier symposia and seminars.⁵⁶³ The three-week seminar was accompanied by a housing exhibition: an experimental village was created along the Mathura Road, linking New Delhi and Old Delhi. The exhibition opened on January 20, a day before the seminar, by the President of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. The whole area consisted of eighty model houses and a Village Centre with a school, a health clinic, a stage for community festivities, a centre *panchayat*, a workshop for various crafts, a seed store, a village shop, two wells, and a plant that collected manure, as well as a seminar hall and an exhibition hall displaying plans, photographs, models, and commercial stands.

Tyrwhitt was a suitable choice for the UN, because she had recently been involved in a number of research projects on human settlements.⁵⁶⁴ For example, she was the secretary of the CIAM 8 meeting in Hoddesdon in 1951 and the co-editor of the subsequent book *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*.⁵⁶⁵ She also took part in the town planning exhibition in the Festival of Britain in 1951.⁵⁶⁶

Under Tyrwhitt's direction, the displays of the seminar and the exhibition took on many forms: people met over lectures, talks, and presentations (conceptual); exhibitions of models, posters,

⁵⁶³ Especially through World Health Organization, or Food and Agriculture Organization. United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, The United Nations Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East (New Delhi, India: December 1, 1954), 2. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ/28/4. For a discussion on global politics in the UN's exhibition, see Farhan S. Karim, "Negotiating a New Vernacular Subjecthood for India, 1914–54."

⁵⁶⁴ Ernest Weissmann, who was the Assistant Director of the UN Bureau of Social Affairs, and whom Tyrwhitt met upon her arrival in the United States in 1950, nominated Tyrwhitt for the job. Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt*, 133–34, 154.

⁵⁶⁵ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto N. Rogers, eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* (London: Humphries, 1952).

⁵⁶⁶ For a detailed reading of Tyrwhitt's contribution to these two exhibitions, see Shoshkes, "Visualizing the Core of an Ideal Democratic Community." The article, however, falls short on granting agency to Tyrwhitt, with an emphasis on Patrick Geddes' influence on her.

and a whole model village were set up (tactile/visual); and proceedings were published and letters were exchanged (textual).⁵⁶⁷ At its centre was Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. Her work allows us to see her role as a conduit, bridging professionals and facilitating alternative networks. At the same time, she avidly used travel to make space for herself in the professional world.

In *Curating Architecture and the City*, scholars Sarah Chaplin and Alexandra Stara note that “far from being self-fulfilling activities, such curatorial acts [of architectural exhibitions] translate as poetic interpretations—that is, creative interventions through interpreting and, conversely, invitations to critical engagement through making.”⁵⁶⁸ Certainly, the Village Centre was a “poetic interpretation”: it was a temporal and performative space, because it was a “model.” It aimed to illustrate that “improvement” could be achieved through a transformation of the daily life in the village. The Village Centre was not a mere transformation of the built environment, even though this was the discourse of the whole seminar. Tyrwhitt advocated a change in the ways of living or in functions.⁵⁶⁹ This was combined with an emphasis on the need for the “Indian approach” to housing (a major concern of the Indian Government) and a criticism on the so-called western character of certain house designs (as expressed in a local newspaper).⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁷ Tyrwhitt presented “Village Centre,” later published as Jacqueline Tyrwhitt [sic], “Many Problems in the Evolution of the Ideal Village,” *Statesman Engineering Feature* (1954). RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ/39/2.

⁵⁶⁸ Sarah Chaplin and Alexandra Stara, “Introduction,” in *Curating Architecture and the City*, 2.

⁵⁶⁹ For Tyrwhitt, the emphasis was really not on the architecture of the buildings, as she notes, for example: “the school is a very simple building, but many things can happen there.” Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, “Village Centre,” *Proceedings of the South East Asia Regional Conference* (New Delhi: International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, 1954), 221. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ/29/2.

⁵⁷⁰ “The International Exhibition of Low Cost Housing, New Delhi, India,” *Housing, Building and Planning* 9 (1955): 23.

Tyrwhitt did not design the Village Centre;⁵⁷¹ as director, her contribution was mostly managerial: she was a decision-maker, and her work was based on numerous collaborations, networks, and exchanges. She saw herself as an advisor to the exhibition that “entailed long hot afternoons in Committee meetings two or three times a week” and the organizer of the seminar that required “writing to people for papers, reminding them to send them in, arranging for their duplication and circulation, finalising the Seminar programme, accommodations for delegates, weekend expeditions and so on,” as well as “chas[ing] round India and South East Asia to seek out the most well-informed people on housing and community improvement.”⁵⁷²

Her position makes a search of authorship in architectural terms irrelevant. It is critical to recognize her role in creating alternative interactions. In different settings and media and through numerous dialogues and architectural productions, she made knowledge (created in and through movement) accessible. The seminar marked a period of interaction, networking, and travel for Tyrwhitt and for the numerous participants from all around the world. She was central to this transnational exchange that traversed through various geographies.

Letters

The archival traces of what Tyrwhitt calls her “Indian experience” (in the form of photographs, correspondences, notes, and articles) show us three things: firstly, her extensive networking differed from ordinary professional outreach because of her inclusion of non-professional women, relatives, or artisans. Secondly, the nature of her trips prior to and after the seminar

⁵⁷¹ Local architect Shridhar Krishna Joglekar was the designer.

⁵⁷² Talk given by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt at UN New York Headquarters, May 3, 1954, 3-4. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

reveals that she used her professional position at the UN to divert or create alternative destinations, as she desired. Lastly, her ability and eagerness to move freely opened up new spaces for her in the course of her professional life.

Burma, Ceylon, Fiji Islands, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Laos, Pakistan, Puerto Rico, Singapore, and Vietnam all sent representatives to the seminar. They were asked to send exhibits. In addition, observers from Afghanistan, Iraq, Thailand and “experts” from the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Greece, Puerto Rico, Israel, Indonesia, France, and Yugoslavia attended. CIAM was also represented by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, who had been recently working on Chandigarh. Due to its highly international scope, the seminar generated an extraordinary dialogue among its participants. Tyrwhitt’s role in expanding this interaction is legible to us through her correspondence from the period preceding the event.

This interaction necessitated vast networking, which demanded Tyrwhitt to embark on numerous trips. After working for a month at the UN Headquarters in New York, she left on June 3, 1953. Stopping in London, Amsterdam, The Hague, Paris, Geneva, Rome, and Beirut, she arrived in New Delhi on June 17. This long route allowed for preliminary research.⁵⁷³ In July, she took another research trip to Tel Aviv. In a letter to the UN, she mentioned that she had met George Frederick Middleton (who eventually participated in the seminar and constructed some

⁵⁷³ The idea to have a seed storage space in the Village Centre, for example, came as a suggestion by an expert Tyrwhitt met at the Food and Agriculture Organization’s headquarters in Rome. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to Eleanor Hinder, June 16, 1953. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 31/9.

of the houses in the exhibition) and was impressed with his construction technique, “from the Indian point of view,”⁵⁷⁴ in an essentializing tone.

Her trips continued after she settled in India, as she wrote to Marshall McLuhan in August, four months prior to the seminar:⁵⁷⁵

This Indian experience is intensely interesting, though as my job is mainly an organisational one I see more of the official mind at work than the country at large. However on Sep.13th I set off for a lightning tour of S.E.Asia (2 days Rangoon, 2 days Bangkok [sic], etc. à la [sic] US politician) to meet the people who have been appointed to attend the Seminar and to discuss their papers with them.⁵⁷⁶

As she planned, she visited numerous Southeast Asian countries “à la US politician”: Calcutta, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Bangalore, and Chennai (Madras) in India, Djakarta and Bandung in Indonesia, Singapore, and Yangon (Rangoon) in Myanmar (Fig. 57). Tyrwhitt had proposed to the UN the idea of visiting these cities in order to interest governments in sending representatives. She systematically reported all these trips along with contacts to Eleanor Hinder, the chief of operations of the division known at the time as UNTAA for Asia and the Far East. These were, in the end, field trips for the purpose of the seminar.

Like Imrie and Wallbridge, Tyrwhitt also produced her letters in transit. She wrote them on the plane, while flying from city to city. Since she was travelling, she was spatially and temporally

⁵⁷⁴ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to United Nations New York office, July 14, 1953. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 31/9.

⁵⁷⁵ Tyrwhitt and McLuhan, with others, co-founded the Explorations Group at the University of Toronto while Tyrwhitt was a visiting professor at the university. They also worked together on the Ford Foundation Seminar on Culture and Communication in the same university. Later, McLuhan was a fellow Delian at the “Delos Symposium” that Tyrwhitt and Doxiadis organized in the 1960s. According to Darroch, McLuhan and Tyrwhitt’s collaboration in the Explorations project began in 1952 upon Giedion’s suggestion. For their collaborative work on the Explorations Group, see Darroch, “Bridging Urban and Media Studies.”

⁵⁷⁶ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to Marshall McLuhan, August 30, 1953. p.4. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 18/2.

away from everyday or professional duties. Yet travel was not an escape or a period of repose for her. She used her time on the move as an opportunity to report on her meetings and to carry out her professional responsibilities. It was her use of this mediation between leisure and work that enabled her several professional paths in her career as a woman.

During these travels, Tyrwhitt met and wrote to numerous ministers, officials from public institutions, research laboratories, and construction material firms, engineers, town planners, architects, and even potters, painters, dancers, and puppeteers. She visited local housing projects and gave talks at architecture schools. Through correspondences (“paper travels”) she requested and discussed contributions to the seminar, while also arranging that material be sent from the UN’s New York office to the officials she met during these trips. A slide list from her presentation before the UN in New York after the seminar, in May 1954, shows that photographs from all of these trips were projected along with those from the exhibition.⁵⁷⁷ They were part of the project. Her journals full of sketches, budget tables, timetables, names of people, and detailed descriptions of nearly every corner she visited reveal her constant research on the move (Fig. 58).⁵⁷⁸

Almost all of the officials, representatives, professors, architects, and researchers Tyrwhitt met on these trips, as well as the presenters in the seminar, were male professionals. There are, however, remarkable exceptions in these networks. Tyrwhitt sought the contribution of an alternative network—of women from the Associated Country Women of the World. This non-political international organization was formed in 1933 in Sweden with the aim of addressing

⁵⁷⁷ RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

⁵⁷⁸ RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 43/10.

the concerns about the living and educational standards of women in rural areas around the world. During her visits, Tyrwhitt reached out to a number of women from this association for their suggestions in the construction of the Village Centre at the exhibition grounds. This female network is significant and unique in this context: firstly, it shows us that Tyrwhitt valued the agenda developed by a women's organization; she trusted the potential contribution the members (who were not necessarily trained as architects or planners) could offer to an architectural scene. Secondly, it reveals that she was conscious of the distinct concerns of the women of the village, which could have passed unnoticed by theorists, planners, or builders of the village houses—traditionally, a group of men. Tyrwhitt's sensibility to women's collective insights of the rural everyday life was reflected in her own presentation at the seminar, as she explained the life envisioned in the communal areas of the Village Centre. She gave numerous references to the relationship between architecture and a woman's daily tasks: for example, design decisions to allow for the cleaning of cloths or cooking in more efficient and safer environments in communal areas: "The surplus water falling here [blocks on which to place pots] will not splash up at her, nor will she have to stand on a wet surface . . . also the raised height of the block makes it easy for her to raise her filled vessel to the head."⁵⁷⁹

The impact of a women's network on Tyrwhitt's life and work was reinforced by the three-month visit of her sister-in-law, Delia Tyrwhitt, in November 8, 1953. In a circular letter from February 12, 1954, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt explained to her friends how Delia's presence altered her life in India—first, in terms of food, since due to Delia's sociability and know-how, she "no longer had to poison [her]self on badly cooked Government Hostel food"; and second, in terms

⁵⁷⁹ Tyrwhitt, "The Village Centre," 223.

of housekeeping (and repairing the car).⁵⁸⁰ In addition to this, Tyrwhitt, Delia, and Raju, Tyrwhitt's domestic worker, took trips to nearby villages on Sundays. These were research trips as well as leisurely excursions: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt collected background information for the Village Centre, as the two-page long description of the architecture and everyday life of the villages in her ten-page letter (otherwise focusing on more personal issues) reveal. More interestingly, during these trips, Delia, who was a photographer, created a photographic record of the life and work in Indian villages with Raju's assistance (who helped Delia to pick subjects and ensured people's cooperation).⁵⁸¹ Delia's involvement in these excursions eventually led to a professional set up during this time: she was appointed the photographer for the UNTAA's film on the construction work at the exhibition, Gandhi's *ashram* in Sevagram, and a project village near Panipat.⁵⁸² Some of these photographs were published in the journal *Housing, Building and Planning* (with credits to Delia Tyrwhitt), accompanying the article "The International Exhibition of Low Cost Housing, New Delhi, India" in 1955 (with no mention of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's name as the director)⁵⁸³: another instance in which Tyrwhitt included women in the project.

Tyrwhitt operated in an all-male environment; she linked men to men using her powerful position as the director. Yet, her outreach to women outside the field denoted an alternative and what might be seen as a more feminist take on her otherwise rigid and authoritative attempt to redefine the everyday life in a so-called ideal Indian village. Her trips and letters

⁵⁸⁰ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to friends, February 12, 1954, 2. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

⁵⁸¹ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to friends, February 12, 1954, 3. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

⁵⁸² Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to Eleanor Hinder, March 4, 1954, 2. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 31/9.

⁵⁸³ "The International Exhibition of Low Cost Housing, New Delhi, India," 21, 22, 24.

from this period echo Imrie and Wallbridge's South American trip. The letters, on the one hand, demonstrate an extremely detailed and broad network. On the other hand, they illustrate the (constructed or idealized) architecture of the seminar and the exhibition "conceived, produced, reproduced, consumed or imagined" even before they were realized.⁵⁸⁴ But most importantly, in the case of Tyrwhitt, as well as Imrie and Wallbridge, we see women—who connected male professionals by creating webs of networks—break these male-dominated clusters by alternatively mobilizing "other" women: wives, sisters, or non-professionals.

Travel

Tyrwhitt's "paper travels" and field trips, however, differed from those of Imrie and Wallbridge, because they were facilitated by the UN. She traveled to fulfill her tasks as the director of the seminar. She notes in the circular letter to friends, written while traveling in a charabanc from Bhakra Dam with delegates from the seminar: "it was not as grim as it seems I am trying to make out, as 'work' included a hurried trip round India, Christmas in Gandhi's 'Ashram' or place of retreat, and several Sundays in the villages around Delhi,"⁵⁸⁵ the latter two with Delia Tyrwhitt. She was fully absorbed in traveling, and this continued after the opening of the exhibition, since the seminar included weekend trips to villages, refugee settlements, Chandigarh, Bakra Dam, Taj Mahal, and Fatehpur Sikri.

She persevered in spite of the hardship because she enjoyed traveling. In the talk she gave before the UN, she noted: "I was only regretful that I could not spend more time on these

⁵⁸⁴ Traganou, "For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies," 25.

⁵⁸⁵ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to friends, February 12, 1954, 1. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

fascinating travels, but always when I was out of Delhi, the Village Centre project was in a period of crisis and I had to hurry back.”⁵⁸⁶ Moreover, her letters uncover occasions when she used her position in the organization as a means to open up new travel (and research) paths for herself. A letter from December 4, 1953 exemplifies this: she wrote to the UN office of her desire to visit archaeological sites in Iraq in March 1954, upon the completion of the seminar.⁵⁸⁷ Anticipating that she might encounter difficulties in obtaining a visa, she requests the UN to arrange her a “small job” for the UNTAA, so as to legitimize her presence in the country. She concludes her letter: “I am sorry to be a nuisance, but we certainly don’t want me to get held up in Iraq and thus delay the preliminary work on the Report of the Seminar!”⁵⁸⁸ She was aware of her power in the organization and was not hesitant to use it.

This was not the first time Tyrwhitt used this strategy to visit places and broaden her networks. In 1947, she had had a two-week Easter trip to Netherlands with Delia Tyrwhitt, Margaret Elsie Davies (a friend), and Jane Nicholson (Tyrwhitt’s goddaughter). In the hopes of simplifying the group’s visa application, she wrote to numerous people, which included professors, officials from housing institutions, and planning journal editors in Amsterdam, in order to arrange meetings and paid professional duties:

I understand that, in order to obtain a visa it is necessary to have a good reason for visiting the most civilized country in the world! I wonder if it would be possible for me to be useful to you at all in speaking to any small meetings? If so, do you think you would be

⁵⁸⁶ Talk given by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt at UN New York Headquarters, May 3, 1954, 3-4. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 32/1.

⁵⁸⁷ Tyrwhitt to Eleanor Hinder and Ernest Weissmann, December 4, 1953. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 31/9.

⁵⁸⁸ Tyrwhitt to Eleanor Hinder and Ernest Weissmann, December 4, 1953. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 31/9.

able to let me have a note that would enable me and my companions [sic] to obtain the necessary visas.⁵⁸⁹

She created her own opportunities when it came to travel. The exhibition and seminar in New Delhi and the networks she created did open new travel paths for her: in 1959, she assisted in setting up the planning school in the Bandung Institute of Technology, Indonesia, in collaboration with the government of Indonesia, the UN, and Harvard University; in 1963, she visited the Gambia as a UN Technical Consultant; in 1967, she was appointed advisor to the Singapore Polytechnic School of Architecture and Building in setting up a new planning department—this trip also allowed her to revisit India, Indonesia, and Japan where she visited her niece and her family and prepared a research in Tokyo University; in 1970, she traveled to Singapore again and visited Thailand, Hawaii, Hong Kong, and Japan. Last but not least, her acquaintance with Greek architect and planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis at the seminar in New Delhi led to an alternative, lifetime collaboration in the shape of *ekistics*.⁵⁹⁰

Journal

A year after the seminar, in 1955, Doxiadis and Tyrwhitt created the monthly journal *Ekistics*. Tyrwhitt was its editor for eighteen years and continued as a consultant, subsequently.⁵⁹¹ In the first few years, she actually edited and typed the texts at Harvard University and sent them to Athens for publication: another mobile knowledge transfer.

⁵⁸⁹ Tyrwhitt to W. F. Geyl, January 31, 1947. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 47/2.

⁵⁹⁰ The cover of the journal from May 1959 on referred to *ekistics* as “the problems and science of human settlements.” *Ekistics* 7, no. 43 (June 1959), front cover.

⁵⁹¹ Tyrwhitt’s friend architect John Papaioannou (director of the Athens Center of *Ekistics* until 1972) notes in Tyrwhitt’s memoriam: “[t]his highly successful journal was Jacky’s main “baby”: she was associated with it from the very beginning, and remained close to it until her death.” He ascribes a motherly, protective character to her relation to her work. John G. Papaioannou, “A Short History of *Ekistics*,” *Ekistics* 52, no. 314/315 (1985): 455.

The ekistics collaboration marked a new era for Tyrwhitt, as, from 1956 on, she started to spend summers in Greece, traveling back and forth from Harvard. In 1963, Tyrwhitt became an instructor at the Athens Center of Ekistics. With Doxiadis, they started the renowned Delos Symposium, informal meetings that took place onboard Doxiadis' boat "New Hellas," while cruising the Aegean Sea for one week and ending at the ancient open-air theatre on Delos Island every summer for ten years.⁵⁹² Mark Wigley, in "Network Fever," asserts that "the boat was a collaborative design studio," with *Ekistics* as its "vehicle."⁵⁹³ I would argue that Tyrwhitt was the conduit of *networks*: she was the secretary general of the Delos meetings. She organized details and communications, kept records to be published in the journal (duties reminiscent of her time in India) "with her team of assistant editors, production editors, and the ACE Secretariat,"⁵⁹⁴ and was a regular attendee of the meetings along with Doxiadis, his wife Emma C. Doxiadis, and Buckminster Fuller. Furthermore, as architect and planner Panayis Psomopoulos mentions, she "must also have been able to introduce to Doxiadis, for consideration, key people from her London, CIAM, Toronto, Harvard and UN years."⁵⁹⁵ This means that she created and expanded the networks of the Athens Center of Ekistics, its journal, and symposia. A "Delian" Spenser W. Havlick writes years after the meetings:

⁵⁹² As Tyrwhitt notes, Doxiadis had attended the 1933 CIAM 4 meeting, which took place on a boat sailing from Marseilles to Athens, as a student and dreamed of re-creating something similar. The Delos symposia may be seen as a follow-up on CIAM congress; though the 1950s and 1960s marked a period of "intellectual" cruises on the Aegean Sea. Around the same time, Turkish writers, artists, scholars, and poets similarly embarked on two-week boat trips and visited ancient archaeological sites across the sea. See Azra Erhat, *Mavi Yolculuk [Blue Voyage]* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1962). Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (from an interview with Miloš Perović), "CIAM and Delos," *Ekistics* 52, no. 314/315 (1985): 470–71.

⁵⁹³ Mark Wigley, "Network Fever," *Grey Room* 4 (Summer 2001): 92.

⁵⁹⁴ Panayis Psomopoulos, "Jacky and the Delos Symposia," *Ekistics* 52, no. 314/315 (1985): 494. Psomopoulos was the director of the Graduate School of Ekistics and the president of Athens Center of Ekistics from 1975 onward.

⁵⁹⁵ Psomopoulos, "Jacky and the Delos Symposia," 493.

The remarkable aspect of being an observer of Jacky in action was, for me, that learning never took place in a classroom, studio or laboratory. This kind of learning happened as I leaned forward on the seat of our field trip tour bus to overhear her discussion with another participant as the bus climbed the narrow roads as they curved up through the pine covered mountains of northern Greece. Another time, that learning took place late at night as we crowded around a table at her favorite local taverna, or on the deck of the ship as we steamed from Crete (after a seminar at Knossos) to Rhodes before eventually coming to the island of Delos . . . She made the cities of antiquity come to life.⁵⁹⁶

Havlick's words point to the similarities between Tyrwhitt's and Scott Brown's collaborative and mobile pedagogical models and remind us of Imrie and Wallbridge's experiences in the World Study Tour. All four protagonists shared knowledge through friendships and alliances, where mobility reinforced collective, non-hierarchical, and egalitarian existences outside of formal institutions: in boats, buses, train stations, gardens, ancient theatres and while chatting, eating, working, or sightseeing.

In 1969, Tyrwhitt retired from Harvard and moved permanently to Greece to live in the house and garden that she had built in Sparoza. Teaching, researching, and writing on the move were how Tyrwhitt structured her professional and personal life until the end. She created numerous dialogues and interactions, and through her own movement, she devised networks of mobile knowledge on community planning and the built environment. She mobilized architects, planners, students, and non-professional women and created networks of information around the world. Her travels testify to her professional agency and contribution to postwar architectural exchanges.

⁵⁹⁶ Spenser W. Havlick, "She Gave Us Roots, She Gave Us Wings," *Ekistics* 52, no. 314/315 (1985): 497.

Learning from Mobility

Imrie and Wallbridge's study-travel to Europe, Scott Brown's personal and studio trips to Las Vegas and Levittown, and Tyrwhitt's travels in South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe were generated by different motivations, realized through various means, and supported by different institutions. Young graduates Imrie and Wallbridge gave up positions to embark on a study trip. Scott Brown was a young educator when she first encountered American cities alone with a sense of discovery and, with fresh eyes, introduced it to a university. Tyrwhitt, through her role in an international organization, carried out her personal aspirations and professional duties around the world. When examined together, these expeditions show us that women, as new graduates, professors, scholars, or practitioners, traveled with the support of professional and academic institutions and organizations, as well as with that of their colleagues. For women, traveling alone or through personal means was not impossible; nonetheless, financial and professional support justified their time away from other (professional or domestic) duties and commitments. Moreover, these trips were in-between work and leisure (public and private); this bluriness softened the rigidity of professional norms traditionally embedded in conventional work environments, thus easing women's access to these professional excursions. Women, likewise, used the information and networks they created in these travels to contribute to architectural discourses, studies, and practices in various forms: articles, books, journals, studios, exhibitions, and symposia. They consolidated their roles and positions within the profession through these creative, pedagogical outputs. They transgressed physical and social limits by traveling, creating, and sharing. They were both circulating within professional, institutional, and male-dominated webs of networks and breaking the boundaries of these

clusters by creating alternative, non-professional ones. Their non-hierarchical (and what we might retrospectively call feminist) collaborations and alliances, enhanced by mobility, helped women to participate in alternative projects and discussions.

By working on the move, women architects and planners mobilized architectural knowledge. Their studies created, captured, and conceived migrant information about the postwar built environment. They used (recreational) travel as a pedagogical tool: simultaneously learning and conveying expertise. The experiences and information gathered were carried from planes, trucks, cars, buses, boats, streets, houses, villages onto interiors of schools and studios, museums, exhibitions, professional publications, and scholarly meetings. In the stories of these protagonists, travel was both a recreational and an educational activity, and women used it to affirm their own agency in the profession—to share and to write themselves into alternative architectural stories. Using their travels strategically, they carved out spaces within the field. On the move, their personal stories became intertwined with the professional ones: for traveling women, it was both leisure and research.

CHAPTER 4

DISPLACEMENT: WOMEN DESIGNING MOBILITY

Great discoveries were made because someone who knew his subject very well developed a theory and tested it. . . . What is needed is a very well-educated imagination.

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, "Transportation: Ins and Outs," 1973⁵⁹⁷

Mobility is the key both socially and organizationally to town planning, for mobility is not only concerned with roads, but with the whole concept of a mobile, fragmented, community.

Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Structuring*, 1967⁵⁹⁸

This chapter explores architectural and urban design projects related to mobility developed by women architects. It builds on preceding discussions about how women (1) theorized various modes of mobility, (2) utilized the skills they acquired during their travels, and (3) facilitated mobility through knowledge exchange in order to carve out more space for themselves within the profession. The focus of this chapter is how women enabled mobility through *design*. This chapter moves the discussion from women as mobile agents to women as agents producing mobility. It analyzes women's design contributions to spaces of mobility through two lenses: women's personal experiences on the move as well as their critical engagement. As we have seen, through an eagerness and availability to travel freely, women engaged in subjective mobile experiences and architectural observations in various contexts. Similarly, their theoretical and critical work on mobility throughout the decades had positioned them within diverse architectural discourses. They were well equipped to undertake design projects on

⁵⁹⁷ Lemco van Ginkel, "Transportation: Ins and Outs," 38.

⁵⁹⁸ Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Structuring: Studies of Alison and Peter Smithson* (London: Studio Vista, 1967), 50.

movement by using the expertise and knowledge they had attained through fervent personal and professional engagements with mobility.

In the postwar period, the prevalence of mass transportation (of products, materials, information, and people) produced new typologies and new discourses of mobility that addressed the ephemerality and temporality of users.⁵⁹⁹ Architects and urban designers, alongside engineers, were active agents of these rapid changes. On the one hand, as travelers and users of new mobile technologies, they generated novel architectural imaginations. Their own travels influenced their future architectural productions: “architect-tourists have both reflected the worldview of their time and literally constructed it,” Joan Ockman notes.⁶⁰⁰ On the other hand, as travel became an activity of the masses, architects and urban designers engaged in the restructuring of cities as travel destinations.⁶⁰¹ New modes of travel and tourism generated new forms of modern landscapes, such as hotels, train stations, airports, holiday camps, resorts, as well as infrastructures, roads, gas stations, and drive-ins.⁶⁰² These urban developments had different implications for women or minority groups, as they were usually planned with the needs of white, middle-class male commuters or nuclear families in mind.⁶⁰³ The involvement of women designers in these projects (as individuals or partners), then, presents alternatives to traditionally gendered meanings of urban mobility.

⁵⁹⁹ Traganou notes that the “epistemological apparatus of modern travel, and the new modes of visibility and subjectivity that it evoked” were significant in the development of modern architectural discourses and experiences.” Jilly Traganou, “For a Theory of Travel in Architectural Studies,” 8.

⁶⁰⁰ Joan Ockman, “Bestride the World Like a Colossus: The Architect as Tourist,” in *Architourism: Authentic, Escapist, Exotic, Spectacular*, ed. Joan Ockman and Salomon Frausto (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2005), 161.

⁶⁰¹ Deriu, Piccoli, and Özkaya, “Travels in Architectural History,” 4.

⁶⁰² Urry, *Consuming Places*, 143–44.

⁶⁰³ Jos Boys, “Women and Public Space,” 41.

Through a critical understanding of mobility, personal (mobile) observations, and first-hand encounters, women architects equipped themselves to participate in the flux of ideas, information, and forms at this time. One also wonders whether their familiarity with forms and experiences of travel gave them access to designing typologies of mobility. In some instances, these projects also created opportunities for women to test their ideas about mass mobilities, which they developed over the years as travelers, educators, editors, and writers. In this sense, the following analysis shows that women's experiences of mobility allowed them to connect architectural theories to professional practice.

In the first section of this chapter, I look at urban circulation projects produced by architect couples, such as street designs and transportation systems, and read women architects' articles and interviews to illuminate women's negotiations around urban mobilities. I analyze Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi's 1978 Miami Beach Study and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel and Sandy van Ginkel's circulation studies for New York and Montreal in the 1970s. In the second section, I trace women's contributions to architectures of travel and tourism through built and unbuilt projects of hotels, gas stations, drive-ins, visitor centres, terminals, Expo, and airports. Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge designed hotels in Edmonton, Banff, and Jasper, Alberta as well as a number of service stations and drive-in restaurants in Edmonton in the 1950s. Scott Brown and Venturi designed a visitor centre for Lake Hartwell in South Carolina, a ferry terminal in New York, and, notably, a gas station, a travel centre, and hotels for the Disney Company. The van Ginkels were involved in projects such as the Montreal International Airport Study and the initial master plan for Expo 67. By looking at these projects, I aim to bridge women's individual stories with urban stories of mobility.

Women undertook various design commissions focused on urban and architectural mobility despite the profession's traditional gender hierarchies in this period. As explored in the Introduction, feminist architectural historians have written about the traditional assumptions that ascribed marginal specialties, such as residential architecture and interior design, to women architects.⁶⁰⁴ Reaching positions of authority and power or attracting clients for large-scale structures was more difficult for women at this time.⁶⁰⁵ However, in the face of gendered assumptions, there were negotiations, exceptions, tolerance, and resistance.⁶⁰⁶ While unraveling the constraints that women endured within the profession, feminist scholars have tended to focus on, and thus contribute to, a "fictionalized" image of the woman architect.⁶⁰⁷ In documenting women's works, they have concentrated on built projects and omitted, to a large extent, women's unbuilt commissions, proposals, researches, and competition entries (easily bypassed if our chief sources are professional journals or firm records).

In fact, there were many women architects in the early- to mid-twentieth century who developed their careers around projects of tourism and mobility, merging technological developments with the needs of communities in large-scale commissions. The most famous in the context of American architecture is perhaps Mary Colter, who designed numerous hotels

⁶⁰⁴ See, for example, Wright, "On the Fringe of the Profession," 280–83; Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 37–40; Willis, "Invisible Contributions," 59, 66.

⁶⁰⁵ Willis, "Invisible Contributions," 63, 66. Adams and Tancred point to the exceptional situation in Quebec, *Designing Women*, 111–124.

⁶⁰⁶ There are some more recent works that focus on women's collective resistance, such as the traveling exhibition by Lori A. Brown, et al., "Now What?! Advocacy, Activism, and Alliances in American Architecture Since 1968."

⁶⁰⁷ Adams and Tancred argue that women's actual contributions to architecture differed significantly from the way they were represented in the Canadian professional press. *Designing Women*, 59–60.

and roadside rest areas in the American Southwest.⁶⁰⁸ She also published a book aimed at motorists in 1933, titled *Manual for Drivers and Guides: Descriptive of the Indian Watchtower at Desert View and its Relation, Architecturally, to the Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest*, an architectural tourist guide of the Desert View Watchtower.⁶⁰⁹ Even earlier, in 1904, American architect Louise Blanchard Bethune designed the Hotel Lafayette in New York, which is on the National Register of Historic Places as of 2010. This engagement with travel-oriented architecture continued into the 1960s and 1970s. For example, Norma Merrick Sklarek, the first African American woman to co-found an architectural office (which was also the largest female-only architectural office in the United States), designed Terminal One at Los Angeles Airport while working at Welton Becket Associates as a vice-president. Although it is not the focus of this chapter, I believe it is relevant here to mention that, as designers, women built and worked in different geographies, too. American architect Marion Mahoney Griffin's career spanned three continents as she worked in the United States, Australia, and India; British architect and planner Jane Drew worked in Chandigarh, Ghana, Nigeria, Iran, and Sri Lanka; American architect and planner Chloethiel Woodard Smith worked in Ecuador, Bolivia, Burma, and Canada; Canadian architect Freda O'Connor worked in Accra, Ghana (where she became friends with Drew and Fry); and Canadian architect Eva Vecsei worked as a consultant to architect Yasmeen Lari for a project in Pakistan.

⁶⁰⁸ Meredith Gaglio, "Mary Elizabeth Jane Colter," in *Pioneering Women of American Architecture*, ed. Mary McLeod and Victoria Rosner, the Beverly Willis Architecture Foundation, <https://pioneeringwomen.bwaf.org/mary-elizabeth-jane-colter>. Accessed March 2, 2021.

⁶⁰⁹ Mary Colter, *Manual for Drivers and Guides: Descriptive of the Indian Watchtower at Desert View and its Relation, Architecturally, to the Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest* (1933; repr., Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association, 2015).

These diverse examples point to the fact that women's personal mobility and architectural engagement with its structures and technologies blurred easy categorizations within the profession. They produced alternative development patterns. My analysis shows that women's subsequent design commissions reflect their recognized competence as well as the importance of mobility in their networking and blurring of professional boundaries, even though history often failed to acknowledge this mobile aspect of their careers. This chapter addresses this gap and argues that mobility brings a new dimension to our understanding of women architects and allows us to recognize the wide range of their contributions to the built environment.

As discussed earlier, travel blurred the line between work and leisure, which sometimes meant a substantial absence from the workplace. Nonetheless, women used this blurriness between personal (family, marriage, relationship) and professional experiences on the move to better their careers. They wrote critically on and designed for movement, cities, and architecture. They offered solutions, challenged assumptions, defied the gendered constraints that they faced, and made a living out of their ideas and design work. They paved their way to alternative venues in design that were traditionally assumed inaccessible to women. This is visible in their design commissions for commercial projects related to auto/aero-mobility, machinery, or technology—specialties that were traditionally accepted as masculine.

Professional partnership with a life companion further blurred the line between work (professional duties) and private life (family obligations) in design offices. Piotr Marciniak, focusing on husband-and-wife partnerships, discusses how in a male-dominated profession, such as architecture, this blurring of boundaries helped women to overcome the gender

discrimination they experienced in workplaces and to secure larger commissions.⁶¹⁰

Nonetheless, as Hilde Heynen notes, since success in architecture has traditionally been associated with individual authorship attributed to a *male* genius, architect couples often led to the public disregard of women's contributions.⁶¹¹ One strategy that partners employed to overcome the female partner's erasure was to indicate the architect-in-charge for each project (Scott Brown and Venturi followed this approach). However, roles were not clear for every team, and disentangling design work based on individual responsibilities was often impossible. In any case, this disentanglement was a task to which critics dedicated themselves when the subjects in question were husband and wife—the same analytical frame was not applied to male partnerships.⁶¹² In interviews, women partners tended to emphasize teamwork as a crucial aspect of their practice, which Heynen interprets as a sign of women's general uneasiness with authorship (and thus, of their self-erasure).⁶¹³ I propose a fairer analysis by tracing women's critical and creative inputs in design projects through their personal histories and, in this case, by looking at how their stories intertwined with mobility as a key component of identity creation. In doing so, we can move beyond a simple questioning of women's so-called actual design contributions towards an understanding of the ways in which their biographies were reflected in their intellectual and design practice.

When analyzed together, the following architectural and urban projects reveal that, as designers, women partook in all parts of architectural production, including large-scale,

⁶¹⁰ Marciniak, "Spousal Collaboration as a Professional Strategy," 72.

⁶¹¹ Heynen, "Genius, Gender and Architecture," 338.

⁶¹² Heynen, 341.

⁶¹³ Heynen, 339.

commercial, and urban projects related to mobility. In designing spaces for new technologies, their efforts paralleled those of engineers. Moreover, their liminal positions within the profession, as women, helped them to strategically divert discussions on urban forms, technologies, architectures, and mobilities and to arrive at more community-oriented, environmentally sustainable, and socially inclusive alternatives. In this way, their work blurred boundaries between different disciplines too—architecture, conservation, planning, or engineering—and, at times, aligned with social activism. As architects, they enriched their design interpretations through their own knowledge of and experience in the very activity that these buildings and urban structures aimed to house—mobility.

Urban Imaginaries

In transportation planning there is the ‘macho’ approach, which rams expressways through the city, and the ‘feminist’ approach, which employs many small-scale ameliorations to make maximum use of existing roads and avoid, as far as possible, the destruction caused by freeways. We usually recommend the latter. (The terminology is personal.)

Denise Scott Brown, “The Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 1990⁶¹⁴

Daniel Burnham’s frequently quoted dictum to, “make no small plans”, may be interpreted in more than one way. . . . There is also the possibility that resisting a trend or stopping a proposed project can be an instrument of planning if prompted by a comprehensive, larger planning objective. Events in the development of Montreal in the late ‘50’s and early 60’s are a case in point.

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, “Planning Action by Indirection,” 1990⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ Scott Brown, “Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 39

⁶¹⁵ Lemco van Ginkel, “Planning Action by Indirection,” *Environments* 20, no. 3 (1990): 53.

Little more than a teenager, she says it was “slightly terrifying” at the time to be telling people much older than herself how they should plan their city.

“‘Things Kept Happening’ to McGill-schooled Architecture Dean,” 1982, on Lemco van Ginkel⁶¹⁶

As architects and planners, women critically and creatively engaged in the design of new urban mobilities. They were active and *activist* agents, at times leading design teams and, at others, fighting against large-scale interventions affecting communities at large. Their political engagement drew them closer to questions of architectural heritage and conservation, as their individual fights paralleled urban conservation battles led by women activists and heritage professionals.⁶¹⁷

Women conducted research, designed projects, and wrote about their personal and professional encounters on general issues of urban mobility. Occasionally, they were travelers themselves, working with alternative mobile perspectives at the sites for which they designed. Their perspectives, in turn, triggered new professional interests in these places, practices, and ideas. In the following sections, I analyze Scott Brown’s and Lemco van Ginkel’s urban studies

⁶¹⁶ “‘Things Kept Happening’ to McGill-Schooled Architecture Dean,” *The Gazette*, September 28, 1982.

⁶¹⁷ Such as Phyllis Lambert or Jane Jacobs, see *Citizen Lambert: Joan of Architecture*, directed by Teri Wehn-Damisch (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 2007); *Rêveuses de villes/City Dreamers*, directed by Joseph Hillel (Canada: Maison 4:3, 2018); Peter L. Laurence, *Becoming Jane Jacobs* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). On women and heritage conservation, see Barbara J. Howe, “Women in Historic Preservation: The Legacy of Ann Pamela Cunningham,” *The Public Historian* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 31–61; Barbara J. Howe, “Women in the Nineteenth-Century Preservation Movement,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 17–36; Shaun Eyring, “Special Places Saved: The Role of Women in Preserving the American Landscape,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, 37–57. On gender and heritage, see Laurajane Smith, “Heritage, Gender and Identity,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 159–78; Gail Lee Dubrow, “Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation: Recent Developments in Scholarship and Public Historical Practice,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, 1–14; Ross J. Wilson, “The Tyranny of the Normal and the Importance of Being Liminal,” in *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics*, ed. Wera Grahn and Ross J. Wilson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 3–14; Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006).

from the 1960s through the 1980s. In this period, they were young women working in a male-dominated profession that associated experience and expertise with advanced age.⁶¹⁸ While acknowledging the ways in which a direct comparison between “feminist” and “macho” could lead to problematic binaries,⁶¹⁹ I continue Scott Brown’s use of the term “feminist” from the epigraph in my analysis of these two women’s involvement in grass-roots/bottom-up urban projects, their “small plans” with large impacts.⁶²⁰ Indeed, their position aligns with feminism insofar as they fought for a more inclusive and pluralistic approach to planning, one that took into consideration the voices of diverse and invisible agents, including racially and socially marginalized minority groups. Their position was against a traditional understanding of urban culture and mobility, which held onto a single “truth” allegedly arrived at through an authoritarian professionalism (meaning one group’s or individual’s interests—for example, neighborhoods demolished to open up space for roads that mainly served white, middle-class, commuter men).⁶²¹ Instead, as young women professionals, they were sensitive to and conscious of the social realities of where they “looked” and for which they designed. They

⁶¹⁸ In *Designing for Diversity*, Kathryn H. Anthony talks about ageism within the profession in relation to her interviews and surveys: “several architects have told me that excelling in this field before age fifty was next to impossible, and that they were not taken seriously until they had some gray hair to show for their efforts.” Anthony, *Designing for Diversity*, 5.

⁶¹⁹ Here, machismo (“a strong sense of masculine pride: an exaggerated masculinity” in *Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary*) is understood as a position that appoints power to men through gendered and stereotyped behavior, which is usually discriminatory against women. Feminism is not its direct opposite, as it searches for social, economic, and political equality between the sexes. Nonetheless, the two positions’ understandings of urban forms may follow opposite patterns, as Scott Brown argues. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/machismo>. Accessed September 2, 2020.

⁶²⁰ Also see McLeod, “Everyday and ‘Other’ Spaces,” 20–21.

⁶²¹ As Laurajane Smith argues, gender segregation reflects the ways in which places are seen as valuable or worthy of protection. Smith, “Heritage, Gender and Identity,” 163. For a compelling example subverting a masculinist understanding of urban landscape conservation, see Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Hayden, “The Power of Place Project: Claiming Women’s History in the Urban Landscape,” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, 199–213.

created dialogues, “finding something in the plan for everyone,”⁶²² without assuming universal knowledge attained through age, gender, or professional expertise.

Scott Brown’s and Lemco van Ginkel’s engagements in community planning and urban design were bound to a re/working of people’s mobilities. They claimed their professional agency through academic and critical engagement (despite prevalent gender and age discrimination) and designed alternative mobilities for various communities and cities. The following examination of women’s design work and conservation efforts in light of their travels, critical perspectives, and first-hand experiences (accessible to us in written form) unravels how women constructed new roles for themselves by engaging mobility.

Denise Scott Brown

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Scott Brown led a number of street planning, urban renewal, and mobility projects. Many of these projects tackled movement in cities and were nourished by Scott Brown’s theoretical and pedagogical stances from earlier decades, when she taught and did research at Pennsylvania University, Yale University, UC Berkeley, and UCLA. As she notes on several occasions, these projects were also based on her personal encounters on the move.

Scott Brown was a prolific researcher and writer on urban mobilities. Inspired by her former professor and mentor David Crane, she defines the street in three ways: as “a city builder through the access it gives;” as a “communicator through the messages it sends through

⁶²² Scott Brown, “Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 39.

physiographic and semiotic means to people who move along it at different rates;” and as “a room, offering non-movement uses of many kinds, from sleeping to meeting to selling, along movement ways in different cultures.”⁶²³

The street as “communicator” was the main premise underlying Scott Brown, Venturi, and Izenour’s 1968 Las Vegas study and has been a major focus of their work since then. Street as “access” and “movement” has been an equally significant topic in Scott Brown’s theoretical understanding, as her research, writing, and design reveal. For example, a folder in her archives, labelled “Transportation,” includes reviews, reports, articles, and photographs of various transit studies spanning the 1960s and 1970s (from “Bay Area Rapid Transit Design Car” to “Evaluation of Freeway Types” to *Cambridge Highway Study* by Harvard Urban Design). Her writing similarly testifies to her interest in movement. In the 1961 article “Meaningful City,” for instance, she grasps movement as a definer of cities and architectures in the postwar era. She writes about American gridiron streets in comparison to medieval European town streets, conveying that the most significant difference between them could be “sensed” through one’s “movement” upon them.⁶²⁴

Scott Brown’s interest in urban mobility shaped the design work of Venturi and Rauch, Architects and Planners (as the firm was called at the time). One example is the “internal street”⁶²⁵ that we see in many of the firm’s designs throughout the decades, such as the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery in London (1991), the University of Delaware in the

⁶²³ E-mail correspondence with Denise Scott Brown, February 17, 2020. On Crane’s influence, see Scott Brown and Venturi, *Architecture as Signs and Systems*, 116.

⁶²⁴ Scott Brown, “The Meaningful City,” 30.

⁶²⁵ On the “internal street” and “directional space,” see Karin Theunissen, “Billboarding and Directional Spaces,” in *Eyes that Saw*, 291–323.

United States (1996), Mielparque Nikko Kirfuri Resort in Japan (1997), or the Provincial Capitol Building in France (1999). Scott Brown explains the internal street as:

Taking the street through the building; allowing for movement, flows and eddies, crossroads, and places for stopping; doing land use and transportation planning *inside* buildings—these became themes of our architecture. They owe to Crane, Kahn, and transportation planning.⁶²⁶

Her understanding of the street as a space of “non-movement,” as a cultural space for inhabitation and commerce, led her to take a position echoing the era’s heritage conservation movements. This was exemplified in her involvement in four community-planning projects between the late 1960s and early 1980s: South Street, Philadelphia (1968–73); Beale Street, Memphis (1984–87); Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis (1980–81); and Washington Avenue, Miami (1975–78).⁶²⁷

South Street was Scott Brown and Venturi’s first “Main Street” project as practitioners.⁶²⁸ In 1968, activists and social planners mobilized to fight against a proposal for an expressway that was to pass through a racially diverse, working-class neighbourhood and advocated for a grass-roots plan instead. Following their lead, Scott Brown and Venturi became advocate urban designers for the community, with Scott Brown as lead architect. With Izenour, she conducted a

⁶²⁶ Scott Brown and Venturi, *Architecture as Signs and Systems*, 117. Scott Brown’s approach aligns with the era’s common use of the atrium as an architectural element in larger public buildings, including hospitals, hotels, and shopping malls.

⁶²⁷ Scott Brown was the principal-in-charge of these four projects.

⁶²⁸ Scott Brown, “Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 35. Also see Sebastian Haumann, “Vernacular Architecture as Self-Determination: Venturi, Scott Brown and the Controversy over Philadelphia’s Crosstown Expressway, 1967–1973,” *Footprint* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 35–48. The first commercial-strip project of Denise Scott Brown was her “Form, Force, Functions” studio at Penn, Mary McLeod, “Venturi’s Acknowledgments: The Complexities of Influence,” in *Complexity and Contradiction at Fifty: On Robert Venturi’s “Gentle Manifesto,”* ed. Martino Stierli and David B. Brownlee (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2019), 64.

photographic study of the area and examined various street activities.⁶²⁹ They asserted that an expressway would never be implemented in the richer neighbourhoods of Philadelphia and argued for a checkerboard of one-way streets in the neighbourhood. To Scott Brown, the aspects of successful community architecture and planning for old inner-city communities included “regional economics, local economics, architecture, historic preservation, knowledge of transportation and construction, understanding of urban community structure, dynamics and familiarity with methods for achieving democratic consensus.”⁶³⁰ The resistance plan succeeded; the area was saved and their rehabilitation plan was put into effect.

A similar task was at hand for Beale Street, an area in Memphis likewise threatened by an expressway. As opposed to the expressway, the architects proposed a transportation plan coordinated with a conservation plan, upgrading existing facilities and separating the conservation areas from the development areas.⁶³¹ Around this time, they also proposed a similar plan in Manhattan, which included a riverfront park to improve the public’s access to the waterfront.⁶³²

The Hennepin Avenue in Minneapolis project encompassed a “Transit-Entertainment Centre” to solve transportation problems and traffic congestion while enhancing the cultural, economic, and social environments through streetscaping improvements, such as transit stations and

⁶²⁹ Some of these photographs can be found in Jeremy Eric Tenenbaum, “Saving South Street Through the Lens of Denise Scott Brown,” *Hidden City Philadelphia*, February 4, 2020, <https://hiddencityphila.org/2020/02/saving-south-street-through-the-lens-of-denise-scott-brown/>.

⁶³⁰ Scott Brown, “Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 35.

⁶³¹ Scott Brown, 43.

⁶³² The Westway Highway Project (1985) was unrealized.

reflector trees.⁶³³ Scott Brown's approach to this large-scale planning was, nevertheless, modest. It assumed the roles of "orchestration" and "guidance" for the future, rather than implementing an entire design⁶³⁴—an approach, again, reminiscent of her epigraph.

Orchestration and organization were tasks women were not reluctant to undertake and credit to themselves.

In this context, the conservation and community planning of Miami's Deco District, which the office undertook in the 1970s, is of further interest. The architects worked on the replanning of Washington Avenue in South Beach and the revitalization of the art deco neighbourhood. The task was to uplift the area for touristic purposes while ensuring the wellbeing of current users and local storekeepers. Although the project was unrealized, it is a compelling example of how Scott Brown's mobility blurred the traditional and masculinist differentiation between personal and professional. She used this blurriness to situate herself, as a young woman designer, within the profession in an alternative role. We can trace her encounters at this time through an unorthodox text that stands out among the architectural and textual material of the project in the archives. The 1986 article "My Miami Beach"—an autobiographical account of her time designing, discussing, and traveling, as the title *appropriates*—demonstrates how her personal story intertwined with her professional experience in the city.⁶³⁵

Scott Brown went to Miami for the first time in 1966 during a trip between the West and East coasts. The second trip was with Venturi in 1972, after which they made an unsuccessful plea to

⁶³³ Scott Brown, "Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis," in *Urban Concepts*, 63, 65, 67.

⁶³⁴ Scott Brown, "Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis," 65.

⁶³⁵ It was published in *Interview* magazine, founded by Andy Warhol and John Wilcock. The fact that Wilcock founded The Traveler's Directory and is known for his travel guides may explain Scott Brown's personal description of professional and urban experiences. Scott Brown, "My Miami Beach," *Interview* (September 1986): 156–58.

American Institute of Architects, calling for the care of the art deco architecture in South Beach.⁶³⁶ The city's interest in replanning South Beach in 1975 mobilized Scott Brown and Venturi and turned their gaze towards the city again. As Scott Brown explains:

Checking the air service, we discovered it would be possible to fly into Miami in the morning and leave about 10:00 the same night. This meant that a brief vacation could start within hours of leaving Philadelphia. It also made working in Miami Beach practical; therefore, we submitted a proposal.⁶³⁷

In their suggestion, they advocated for conservation and slow change to avoid the relocation of older and low-income communities. They also named the area the "Deco District." Their proposal was, again, unrealized; but soon after, the revitalization program for Washington Avenue was announced.

It was also around this time that Scott Brown read about Barbara Capitman from the Miami Design Preservation League in the newspaper. A newspaper clipping in the archives entitled "Deco! Taking a Walk through the Past" reads: "Capitman began her efforts with her two sons and designer Leonard Horowitz, and in a year and a half she has put together an organization of hundreds of professionals."⁶³⁸ After surveying several landmark buildings, the article continues: "[the Design Preservation League] need[s] volunteers to work with them in researching the history."⁶³⁹ Capitman's activist image and call for volunteers must have convinced Scott Brown. The two women, who shared an interest in the elderly Jewish community of the district and in a slow evolution for tourism in the area, quickly became friends when Scott Brown made another

⁶³⁶ The architects wrote to the head of the Miami chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Scott Brown presumed this was the first plea to have ever been made. Scott Brown, "My Miami Beach," 156.

⁶³⁷ Scott Brown, 156.

⁶³⁸ Ellen Edwards, "Deco! Taking a Walk through the Past," *The Miami Herald This Weekend*, January 6, 1978, 1D.

⁶³⁹ Edwards, "Deco! Taking a Walk through the Past," 12D.

trip to Miami to learn about Washington Avenue.⁶⁴⁰ Scott Brown and her team were eventually commissioned for the Washington Avenue Project.⁶⁴¹ They made a social and economic study of the ethnically diverse area, offered policy recommendations about circulation, land use, and historic buildings, and prepared design guidelines for the avenue.

Scott Brown later explained in an ambiguously auto/biographical tone (she might have been talking about herself):

As I watched my friend Barbara Capitman struggling to preserve the deco district of Miami beach, I saw her rely on her parental heritage in the arts, her childhood experiences of great European hotels, her training as a journalist, her professional work in social and economic research, her study of trademarks, her interest in gerontology, her knowledge of Jewish culture, her understanding of the 1930s and 1940s—all these she threw into trying to save the deco district. The city needs all you have and are.⁶⁴²

She projected herself into Barbara Capitman's image and role. Through the similarities between the two women, Scott Brown inscribed herself in the narrative—as an architect, planner, and a traveler, the city needed her too. Her article “My Miami Beach” conveys a similar spirit. As we read about Scott Brown's research and presentation during her trips for the project, work mixes with daily experiences. She writes about the hotels in which she stayed with her husband and their six-year-old son (the two joined her after her presentation “for a few extra days vacation on the Beach;” “our child was the youngest person at the hotel. But I was the second

⁶⁴⁰ She was accompanied by Venturi and David Jay Feinberg, who was later the associate architect of the Washington Avenue revitalization project. Scott Brown, “My Miami Beach,” 156–57. Barbara Capitman later published Barbara Baer Capitman, *Deco Delights: Preserving the Beauty and Joy of Miami Beach Architecture* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988).

⁶⁴¹ She notes that they worked on the proposal in Philadelphia during a blizzard, producing “prose filled with sunny image of Miami Beach.” Scott Brown, 157.

⁶⁴² Scott Brown, “Rise and Fall of Community Architecture,” 51.

youngest”⁶⁴³), the restaurants at which they ate, and the people they met. She writes of the “Cuban restaurants and delicatessens”⁶⁴⁴ and how they collected statistics, visuals, and surveys in the same sentence. “Chance encounters added fascinating dimensions to our picture of the Beach,” she writes—and it is hard to differentiate whether she is referring to the personal or the professional picture.⁶⁴⁵ An example of on-the-ground experience influencing Scott Brown and Venturi’s work follows: when Scott Brown presented their initial proposal at Miami City Hall, older people in the audience could not see the drawings, so the team later adopted an alternative rendering style referring to old postcards of the place, with more visible lines and brighter colours (Fig. 59).⁶⁴⁶ The picture, indeed, changed according to their actual encounters.

After these presentations, though, the project stalled. Scott Brown continued to visit Miami Beach as a tourist in the coming years, observing the changes on Washington Avenue to the hotels, inhabitants, and visitors—that is to say, comparing the current situation (they were slightly acquainted with the changes thanks to the TV show *Miami Vice*) with what they had envisioned a decade before. She visited Barbara Capitman, who was now living in an art deco building, and talked to fellow tourists about Florida development prospects:

Last spring in Miami Beach, I found much of the beachfront was being bought by out-of-town commercial preservationists for nightclub and resort development. Today, the residential apartments of the Deco District are changing hands rapidly and being faithfully restored. . . . So the preservation we pled for in 1973 has happened. . . . We revived ourselves from the winter in one of the remaining Jacuzzis, got up the energy to go into the ocean, under a palm tree, did a little office work, and departed.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴³ Scott Brown, “My Miami Beach,” 158.

⁶⁴⁴ Scott Brown, 157.

⁶⁴⁵ Scott Brown, 157.

⁶⁴⁶ Scott Brown, 157–58.

⁶⁴⁷ Scott Brown, 158.

On vacation, almost a decade later, she was still connected to the project of the Avenue and to the city.

Feminist architectural historian Mary Pepchinski conceptualizes the combination of family life and ambition of professional fulfillment (a blurred existence, as opposed to “parallel” lives) as an ideal feminist model for an architectural career.⁶⁴⁸ This model provides an alternative in a profession that infamously requires the “parallel” lives through long hours, overstaying at the office, competition, and “work devotion.”⁶⁴⁹ Scott Brown’s prose demonstrates a similar combination: she effectively blurred the traditional, masculinist line between professional and personal life (including family commitments). As a young woman architect, Scott Brown was not afraid to expose this union: writing about her work as a travel record in a pop magazine, talking about her child along with her research, and working under the palm trees and declaring it. She described *her* version of the city and work, all the while redefining the limits of the profession.

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel

Detailed traffic handling could be considered as part of the active building which . . . we can still consider the only way to produce a truly habitable city.

Alison Smithson, lecture at the Architectural Association, 1976⁶⁵⁰

The 1972 exhibition “Making New York Understandable” invited artists, architects, and designers to present their proposals for the problem of transportation in the city. “An ant can

⁶⁴⁸ Mary Pepchinski, “And Then We Were the 99%: Reflections on Gender and the Changing Contours of German Architectural Practice,” in *A Gendered Profession*, 245.

⁶⁴⁹ See Karen Burns, “The Hero’s Journey: Architecture’s ‘Long Hours’ Culture,” in *A Gendered Profession*, 63–71.

⁶⁵⁰ Alison and Peter Smithson, “The Charged Void: Urban-Form Projects,” lecture, Architectural Association, April 4, 1976, YouTube video, 1:00:14.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=4&v=acTxj98TCvU&feature=emb_logo.

get from 55th Street to Washington Square ‘faster than it will take most of us to find the right bus and get there ourselves,’” it affirmed.⁶⁵¹ The van Ginkels’ solution to this problem was presented as: “Wide walkways . . . relaxed strolling . . . Heaven!”⁶⁵²

The “heaven” referred to the couple’s Midtown Manhattan Study, commissioned by the New York Office of Midtown Planning and Development in 1970 (Fig. 60). They suggested a variety of measures to diminish noise, congestion, cost, inefficiency, and stress in the area. Their proposal to improve traffic circulation encompassed one-way street patterns, an expressway in the eastern part of the study area, and amelioration of public transportation. New pedestrian spaces and streets included wide walkways and vegetation. They proposed a new minibuss system on 48th Street—“one that is simple to get on and off, capable of frequent stops, scaled physically to pedestrian movement, with low fares, and easily manoeuvrable”⁶⁵³—which eventually led to the Ginkelman. Alternative emergency, delivery, and supply networks (a new modular vehicle system in place of small vans and pick-up trucks), and new parking measures were suggested: all to make New York more “habitable and humane,”⁶⁵⁴ in ways that Alison Smithson would have approved.

⁶⁵¹ George Goodman Jr., “Art Show Aims to Make City ‘Understandable’: Maps, Posters, Visuals and Other Materials are Used to Unsnarl Problems,” *The New York Times*, September 4, 1972, 18.

⁶⁵² Ellipses in the original. Richard Saul Wurman, “Why Hasn’t It Occured to Us to Use Our Collective Abilities to Make the Events and Statistics That Make up and Affect Our Lives Visually and Verbally Understandable and Why We’d Better All Start to Do That Right Now,” *Print* 26, no. 4, Making New York Understandable (July/August 1972): 35.

⁶⁵³ Van Ginkel Associates, *Movement in Midtown Manhattan* (Office of Midtown Planning and Development, City of New York, June 1970), n.p. CCA Archives, ARCH253425.

⁶⁵⁴ Van Ginkel Associates, *Movement in Midtown Manhattan* (Office of Midtown Planning and Development, City of New York, June 1970), n.p. CCA Archives, ARCH253425. Versions of the report were published in van Ginkel Associates, “Movement in Midtown: New York City,” *Ekistics* 33, no. 194 (January 1972): 52–58; Sandy and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, “New Patterns for a Metropolis,” *The Architectural Forum* 135, no. 3 (October 1971): 28–33. Also see Adrienne Richter, “Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel, Montreal Modernist,” 87–96.

The van Ginkels' involvement in urban mobility projects to make cities more "understandable" and liveable continued in the coming years, with transportation studies for municipalities, such as Vail, Colorado, in 1973. But their interest in mobility had its roots in a chain of projects from the previous decade—starting with the 1960 Port of Montreal Study and the couple's fight against an expressway passing through the historic neighbourhood. Their involvement in this project was significant for two reasons: first, it engaged a new understanding of urban heritage in the city (not to mention that they saved the historic neighbourhood); second, it led to the acknowledgment of urban planning as a separate discipline in the province of Quebec (an "unplanned indirection"⁶⁵⁵ of the project, Lemco van Ginkel says). I believe that her argument for architectural and urban "action by indirection"—that is, designing circulation by resistance and diversion for the good of society and architectural heritage—was equally important. Lemco van Ginkel identified urban freedom with movement.⁶⁵⁶ With her desire to make cities more livable by shaping mobility, she broke new ground in urban planning. When we compare her progressive sensitivity towards the environment, community living, and architectural heritage with Scott Brown's "feminist approach," an interesting picture emerges. While the two women used their critical expertise on issues of mobility, they sought more inclusive plans for communities in the face of the period's culture of demolition for urban renewal.⁶⁵⁷ As they

⁶⁵⁵ L'Ordre des urbanistes du Québec was founded in 1963. As the engineers of the elevated expressway project, Lalonde and Valois, threatened to sue the van Ginkels for "practicing engineering without a licence," Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Jean-Claude LaHaye, and David Linden started a petition for a governmental bill to found the planning profession, which would endow them with the right to plan urban infrastructure and the highway network. Lemco van Ginkel, "Planning Action by Indirection," 55.

⁶⁵⁶ Lemco van Ginkel, "Transportation: Ins and Outs," 37.

⁶⁵⁷ See Francesca Russello Ammon, *Bulldozer: Demolition and Clearance of the Postwar Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

created new roles for themselves within design practice, they also embraced activism and shifted masculinist, authoritative, and capitalist narratives about urban forms and mobilities.

Lemco van Ginkel describes the van Ginkels' engagement in the fight against the elevated expressway through a memoir published in *Environments* in 1990, "Planning Action by Indirection." She defines the piece as:

An abbreviated account of how my partner, Sandy van Ginkel and I had an idea about the form of the city and the relevance of its historic sector and furthered them, sometimes by finding opportunities which, superficially, might appear unrelated to the primary goal, i.e. action by indirection as a planning/political strategy.⁶⁵⁸

In 1960, as a response to increased automobile traffic, the Montreal City Planning Department introduced an elevated, East-West riverside expressway project to pass through the historic neighbourhood of the Old City. The van Ginkels conveyed their concerns to the Port Council and proposed a study of the Port of Montreal. They refuted the expressway, arguing that it would create "calamitous results for Montreal."⁶⁵⁹ It would block access to the port, create a barrier between the waterfront and the city, and not help the traffic problem.⁶⁶⁰ Thanks to their efforts, the downtown expressway plan was not implemented; however, the authorities argued that the need for a solution remained. Thus, in 1961, the van Ginkels produced the Central Area Circulation Study, commissioned by the Montreal Citizens' Committee and funded by downtown corporations. Where the expressway crossed the downtown, the couple proposed moving it underground next to the railroad tracks (Fig. 61). This solution is reminiscent of Alison

⁶⁵⁸ Lemco van Ginkel, "Planning Action by Indirection," 52.

⁶⁵⁹ Letter draft, Van Ginkels to City Executive Committee, n.d., 1. CCA Archives, File 27-A13-03.

⁶⁶⁰ The van Ginkels organized an exhibition, "Le Vieux Montreal," in February–March 1963 to attract public interest to the issue.

Smithson and Peter Smithson's 1957 Berlin Hauptstadt competition entry with Peter Sigmond: the team had divided the pedestrian and vehicular networks through a superimposed platform—cars below and people above—in order to rehabilitate the war-torn city and give “the motorist and the pedestrian equal rights to freedom of movement and freedom of access.”⁶⁶¹ In that scheme, the upper-level pedestrian net served what they called “pleasure functions” (shops, markets, roof gardens, restaurants) and was connected to the ground level at different intersection points by public escalators.

The relevance of the Smithsons' approach to the van Ginkels' reconfiguration in Montreal is hardly surprising since, like Lemco van Ginkel and Scott Brown, the Smithsons saw urban forms as directly supported by means of movement (pedestrian, road, motorway). In 1961, Lemco van Ginkel wrote that the city's form was revealed by moving through it.⁶⁶² The Smithsons' treatment of the concept was similar: “the road system [w]as the basis of the community structure.”⁶⁶³ Consequently, they completed the London Roads Study (1959) and Hauptstadt Berlin based on patterns of movement.⁶⁶⁴ The Smithsons' road studies were inspired by Louis Kahn's Philadelphia Plan (1953); however, like the van Ginkels and Scott Brown and Venturi, they radically differed from Kahn in their embrace of the car. The Smithsons saw the motorway (with a “unifying function”⁶⁶⁵) in the same way Lemco van Ginkel viewed the car: “the individual

⁶⁶¹ Alison and Peter Smithson, *The Charged Void: Urbanism*, 45.

⁶⁶² Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, “The Form of the Core,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 27, no. 1 (1961): 60.

⁶⁶³ Alison Smithson, ed., “Team 10 Primer,” *Architectural Design* 32 (December 1962): 576.

⁶⁶⁴ The London Roads Study, though, was a controversial project for its significant vehicular intervention across the city centre.

⁶⁶⁵ Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Restructuring*, 51.

can experience a new freedom. . . . *when the machine is sweetly used, it allows, and so engenders, consideration for others.*"⁶⁶⁶

In Montreal, the van Ginkels urged using the machine "sweetly," with a consideration for others, through a multi-level pedestrian system ("scales of movement are differentiated but not isolated"⁶⁶⁷) as well as a subway system and the rehabilitation of the Old City. Lemco van Ginkel successfully acquired official historic status for the neighbourhood.⁶⁶⁸ "Although the social climate and political status quo created obstacles," she wrote, "success in achieving the goals depended on a few good friends, chance political events"—Jean Drapeau was elected as mayor in 1960—"and good luck."⁶⁶⁹ She left common sense, foresight, and social sensitivity unmentioned.

In reality, the van Ginkels' nuanced understanding of movement's place in a functioning city as well as their sensitivity towards urban culture and heritage were vital. Lemco van Ginkel describes the Central Area Circulation Study as a planning action achieved by "indirect means."⁶⁷⁰ She notes that the interdependent, multi-functional image of the city depends on a "sensitive, kinetic equilibrium."⁶⁷¹ In another article, "The City Centre Pedestrian," published in the *RAIC Journal* in 1966, she says that the pedestrian-automobile relationship is more than a binary and requires complex tackling. "Circulation is the very life of a city. Without movement

⁶⁶⁶ Ellipsis and italics in the original. Alison and Peter Smithson, *The Charged Void: Urbanism*, 46.

⁶⁶⁷ Lemco van Ginkel, "The City Centre Pedestrian," 38.

⁶⁶⁸ This project was followed by another conservation study, "Save the Mountain," to protect Mount Royal Park from urban development. For a detailed account of the Port of Montreal Study and the Central Area Circulation Study, see Hodges, "Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel and H. P. Daniel Van Ginkel: Urban Planning." Also see Hodges, "Expressway Aesthetics: Montreal in the 1960s," 45–55.

⁶⁶⁹ Lemco van Ginkel, "Planning Action by Indirection," 52.

⁶⁷⁰ Lemco van Ginkel, 55.

⁶⁷¹ Lemco van Ginkel, 56.

the city cannot exist,” she writes, and continues: “Above all they should be knit into the larger system of the city, rather than being a separate entity gratuitously embedded in it.”⁶⁷²

In this sense, the planning studies for the Old City and the metropolitan circulation appear in a different light, exemplifying what Scott Brown calls a “feminist approach” to the city. Lemco van Ginkel fought for a more pluralistic and inclusive plan that made use of the social, cultural, and architectural realities of its context against massive interventions that followed the patriarchal search for a so-called single truth granted by professional authority. Her approach also reminds us of Alison Smithson’s call for citizen participation in design: “in a world of professionals the one thing the citizen should be expert at is remembering the particular local flavour of his town, what he liked about it as a child, what he then wished for more of, or something the town lacked and children wished it had.”⁶⁷³

Lemco van Ginkel’s argument for resistance in order to create a larger impact by reversed actions was not an interpretation of “making no small plans”—it was the opposite. These young women—two identities that were controversial in city halls, as their narratives reveal—were fighting those with “no small plans” and defending the wellbeing of communities and architectural heritage. Their activist stances challenged the traditional masculinist commitment to urban mobility and, instead, sought for alternative—feminist—dialogues between professionals, inhabitants, and authorities.

⁶⁷² Lemco van Ginkel, “The City Centre Pedestrian,” 36, 38.

⁶⁷³ Alison Smithson, “Local Character,” *Architectural Design* 38 (September 1968): 416.

Architectures of Mobility

The TOTAL population, a FINA sight was never seen by those who make it their business. Everyone is wanting to SHELL out to satisfy themselves. Give them the POWER and they'll use it to be over the CLEVELAND hills and far away. Shouting I'm ARAL right Jack. ESSO to bed. Only to be up earlier and earlier to try and beat the holiday traffic, get in the JET jam, in among the motley crew—a fine NATIONAL BENZOL MIXTURE we've got ourselves, first the refugees pouring in, then the Commonwealth piling into transport coming here to pile into cars and get on the road: get MOBIL. Once in AGIP of that wheel and its every B.P. for himself. Every man a king of the road and his front seat passenger a prince REGENT.

Alison Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, 1966⁶⁷⁴

Will the form-givers for our cities be the parts of the movement system, and should they be? If so, what is the gateway to the modern city? Is it the highway interchange, the airport or the subway station?

Denise Scott Brown, "The Meaningful City," 1965⁶⁷⁵

The following discussion presents women's architectural responses to the advancement of different forms and technologies of mobility in the postwar era. From the early twentieth century on, rapid developments in auto/mobility, highway systems, and air tourism introduced new types of services and architectures.⁶⁷⁶ In Scott Brown's words, architectures of movement became "form-givers" to the urban fabric of postwar cities.

Writing in 1965, Reyner Banham thought the American roadside architecture (a "huge unexplored territory"⁶⁷⁷) was extremely important—the urban parking garage, the highway intersection, the airport terminal, the motel, and the drive-in were typologies that "the United

⁶⁷⁴ Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl*, 286.

⁶⁷⁵ Scott Brown, "The Meaningful City," 32.

⁶⁷⁶ Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, xx.

⁶⁷⁷ Reyner Banham, "The Missing Motel: Unrecognized American Architecture," *Landscape* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1965–66): 6.

States has contributed to world architecture since 1900.”⁶⁷⁸ Indeed, designed to house transitional users, these typologies represented flux, transfer, motion, and ephemerality encapsulated in modern images. In *Remembering Roadside America*, John Jakle and Keith Sculle note that the roadside landscape was designed lightly and with almost no intention for permanence, as “a place of transiency and ephemerality.”⁶⁷⁹ The metaphorical fluidity of the open road—as a social and democratic liberator in a general sense, despite the power relations at play in accessing roads, planes, or possessing cars—was concretized in architectures of mobility as materially fluid, ephemeral, in transition, and thus modern.⁶⁸⁰ Despite their modernity in typology and design, though, these structures traditionally held gendered connotations as places of mobility as well as machines. Gas stations, “place[s] of greases and lubricants and, of course, of gasoline,” for instance, were “intimidating places for many women,” according to Jakle and Sculle,⁶⁸¹ while being a point of pause and socialization for men. With its operations that necessitated “technical intelligence” as well as strength, it was a “masculine” space.⁶⁸²

In this section, I propose to move beyond looking at the literary wit of the women protagonists, who wrote about these structures and machines, and ask: what about the women who *designed* these places of mobility and machinery?

The profession of architecture was historically structured to exclude women from designing

⁶⁷⁸ Banham, “The Missing Motel,” 5–6.

⁶⁷⁹ Jakle and Sculle, *Remembering Roadside America*, 4, 22.

⁶⁸⁰ Jakle and Sculle, 27.

⁶⁸¹ John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, *The Gas Station in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 229.

⁶⁸² According to Jakle and Sculle, this masculine connotation faded with the introduction of the convenience store in the gas station. Jakle and Sculle, *The Gas Station in America*, 229.

such spaces through the gendering of certain typologies and scales. In reality, women architects—through their personal and professional engagement in movement as travelers, educators, or writers—were well equipped to partake in these design efforts. They addressed architectural audiences in various venues as outspoken representatives of mobility through their travels and theoretical contributions in design studios, books, journal articles, or exhibitions. With skilful expertise in movement, they paved their own way to designing architectures of mass mobility, from hotels to airports to gas stations. These projects also offered them platforms to test their theories on movement and transportation. Using their strong theoretical backgrounds and first-hand experience, they were able to experiment with ideas of mobility and accessibility and to combine design with the everyday. These experiences must have been important for women's self-making and self-confidence as designers, since, in contrast to men, they were traditionally assumed to be experts in rather specific and narrow fields of design that excluded mobility. Women were not afraid to undertake projects that did not fit within the well-defined boundaries of the architectural profession, to work in-between: design, (social) planning, organization, and even engineering. They devised their professional identities by working from the margins, employing personal experience, strategizing transformative exposure, and blurring the limits.

Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge

As discussed earlier, women architects and draftspersons have been associated with peripheral roles that were dependent on larger projects carried out by men. In Canada, specifically, architectural journals and women's popular press consistently focused on the relationship

between women and the home.⁶⁸³ According to Adams and Tancred, Quebec was exceptionally progressive—despite a late entry into the profession in the 1970s, women architects soon became involved in the design of “mega” structures.⁶⁸⁴ The situation in the rest of the country, though, complied with the traditional assumption—that women specialized in domestic architecture, interior design, or heritage conservation.⁶⁸⁵

In their five articles in the *RAIC Journal*, Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge described their international travels to a Canadian architectural audience. It is noteworthy that, apart from these significant pieces, only three of their projects, and all residential—Six Acres, Russell House, and the Queen Mary Apartments—were published in Canadian architectural journals in the 1950s.⁶⁸⁶ Scholarly work on the couple also focuses on their contributions to residential architecture in Alberta, overlooking their designs for other building types.⁶⁸⁷ Imrie’s reproach against clients for failing to commission the architects for bigger, commercial projects after

⁶⁸³ See Adams, “Building Barriers,” 11–23; Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 36–58.

⁶⁸⁴ Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 64. This exception was partly due to the province’s reception of a large number of immigrants and refugees, including women architects who had already been involved in large commissions in their home countries. They formed a generation of pioneer women architects identified by their engagement in “mega” commercial projects. An example is Hungarian-Canadian architect Eva Hollo Vecsei. She and her husband, architect André Vecsei, arrived as refugees in Newfoundland on a transatlantic boat from the Netherlands in 1957, and later settled in Montreal. Éva Vecsei, *Éva’s Chronicle 1930–2009: The Life and Times of an Architect*. Unpublished. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University.

⁶⁸⁵ This was exemplified by the designs of Canada’s first women architects, such as Marjorie Hill or Alexandra Biriukova. Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 16–19; Contreras, Ferrara, and Karpinski, “Breaking In,” 18–21. Since the publication of these texts, a new “first” Canadian woman architect has emerged, Alice Charlotte Malhiot. Robert G. Hill, “Malhiot, Alice Charlotte,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800–1950*, <http://www.dictionarhofarchitectsincanada.org/node/2364>. Accessed: August 19, 2020.

⁶⁸⁶ “House of Mr. J. A. Russell, Edmonton, Alberta,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 30, no. 2 (February 1953): 42–43; “Architects’ Own Houses,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 36, no. 2 (February 1959): 41; “Row Housing,” *The Canadian Architect* 2, no. 2 (February 1957): 31–32. Articles cited in Adams, “Building Barriers,” footnote 60.

⁶⁸⁷ Dominey, “Wallbridge and Imrie,” 15–18; Contreras, Ferrara, and Karpinski, “Breaking In,” 22–23; Adams, “Building Barriers,” 11–23.

hiring them to design their houses has often been quoted as a portrayal of the constraints the couple—and women architects, in general—endured during this period.⁶⁸⁸

I argue that the secondary sources on Imrie and Wallbridge unconsciously sustain the “fictionalized” image⁶⁸⁹ of women architects by focusing on their (mainly single-family) house projects. For example, in “Breaking In: Four Early Female Architects,” Monica Contreras, Luigi Ferrara, and Daniel Karpinski report on the couple’s travels; however, when it comes to their projects, the authors describe only three house projects in detail.⁶⁹⁰ Erna Dominey criticizes the association between women and domestic architecture, yet when she notes that among 224 built projects, twenty-three were commercial, she concludes that the couple “focused” on domestic architecture due to professional limitations.⁶⁹¹ In her list, the architects’ 1952 competition entry for the National Gallery of Canada, for instance, passes unnoticed. A closer look at Imrie and Wallbridge’s portfolio challenges such professional miscategorization.

To begin with, Imrie worked on a variety of school, office, and industrial building projects as a draftsman in Rule, Wynn and Rule (even though she was already a registered architect). Similarly, Wallbridge specialized in town planning: her head at the City’s Architects Department, Max Dewar, suggested that she be promoted to “Technical Assistant in Town Planning” upon the couple’s return from their tour of Europe. It is true, as Lemco Van Ginkel notes in “Slowly and Surely,” that women were usually excluded from projects that necessitated a knowledge of construction or engineering, “which is where a great deal is to be learned,” as well as from

⁶⁸⁸ “People will get us to do their houses, be thrilled with them and go to larger male firms for their warehouses or office buildings.” Mary Imrie to Eric Arthur, June 3, 1954, quoted in Dominey, “Wallbridge and Imrie,” 14.

⁶⁸⁹ Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 60.

⁶⁹⁰ Contreras, Ferrara, and Karpinski, “Breaking In,” 22–23.

⁶⁹¹ Dominey, “Wallbridge and Imrie,” 15–16.

consultations with clients and contractors.⁶⁹² However, Imrie and Wallbridge found ways to work around these restrictions, especially as they actually constructed their home, Six Acres, almost entirely on their own. As seen in some of their home movies, they worked closely alongside other workers.

Imrie and Wallbridge lived and worked in Edmonton, which meant two things in the postwar era. First, they were commuting in a city that was planned for the automobile: a new city plan was adopted in 1949 and the city's streetcar stopped in 1951.⁶⁹³ This focus on the car as a mode of transportation implies a requirement for urban automobile spaces, such as gas stations, motels, and drive-ins. Second, the architects were in close proximity to some of the primary tourist destinations in the country, such as Banff and Jasper in the Rocky Mountains. In this context, it is hardly surprising to find that Imrie and Wallbridge designed a number of commercial projects related to auto/mobility and tourism—to be precise, at least four motels/hotels in the area and four drive-ins and service stations, some of which included accommodations. Their built and unbuilt contributions to these roadside typologies are completely unknown in the historiography.

In *The Gas Station in America*, Jakle and Sculle write that independent proprietors of gas stations—“self-made men with pride in business and commitment to civic duty”⁶⁹⁴—were not unlike owners of large corporations: profit-oriented, they cared about their reputation and the

⁶⁹² Lemco van Ginkel, “Slowly and Surely,” 9.

⁶⁹³ Shirley Lowe, *Edmonton's Urban Neighbourhood Evolution* (Edmonton: City of Edmonton, 2018), 39.

⁶⁹⁴ Jakle and Sculle, *The Gas Station in America*, 184.

images that they reflected.⁶⁹⁵ Architecture was the strongest element in this image. The same was true for other roadside typologies: one motel owner, whom the Canadian architect Raymond Moriyama met during his extensive trip visiting motels in Canada, the United States, and Mexico, shared this view: “There are two things that sell a motel: One is service, or the lack of it; the other is design.”⁶⁹⁶ Moriyama agrees that a “motel is a big competitive, ‘scientific’ business” and that “the architect must realize his responsibility in the motel field.”⁶⁹⁷ The two women in Edmonton took charge of the design of quite a number of gas stations, drive-ins, and motels in the city, contributing to the design of this commercial and “big competitive, ‘scientific’” business.

Imrie and Wallbridge did not go on a motel excursion in order to write about the specificities of the typology *per se*.⁶⁹⁸ However, their personal trips, especially the one to South America that preceded these designs, likely contributed to their understanding of roadside architecture. We can trace their exposure to these typologies through the archival material. As discussed in Chapter 2, hotels and motels were an important theme in the couple’s home movies, diaries, and articles from their travels. They spent most of their time in these transitional and temporal safe spaces, dining and drinking. They also made architectural visits to hotels designed by well-known architects, such as Hotel la Frontera by Emilio Duhart and Sergio Larraín García-Moreno in Temuco, Chile (1945), as well as art deco examples, such as Hotel del Prado and Hotel Reforma by Carlos Obregón Santacilia and Mario Pani in Mexico City, Mexico (1933 and

⁶⁹⁵ Jakle and Sculle, *The Gas Station in America*, 163.

⁶⁹⁶ Raymond Moriyama, “Trends in Motel Design,” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 37, no. 9 (September 1960): 374.

⁶⁹⁷ Moriyama, “Trends in Motel Design,” 373.

⁶⁹⁸ Moriyama’s trip in North America, for example, was specifically for this purpose and resulted in an extensive analytical article in the *RAIC Journal*.

1936).⁶⁹⁹ In their diaries, they note each and every hotel/motel/auto court/cabin that they dined, lunched at, and stayed in, with prices and general commentary on their architectural qualities (“explored modern, beautiful Hotel del Prada [sic]”⁷⁰⁰ or “Drive back to Hotel Majestic. Diriamba. Luxury after Rivas”⁷⁰¹).⁷⁰² They also avidly filmed these spaces. Significantly, while in the United States on their return to Canada, they drew small plans of the travelers’ cabins at which they stayed (Fig. 62).

Other urban typologies to which Imrie and Wallbridge were well accustomed were gas stations and garages, as they drove almost every day, and their car, Hector, regularly (sometimes weekly) needed repairs or cleaning. In Mexico, on their way to the ruins at Monte Albán, for example, Hector stalled near the top, so they had to make their way to a Jeep garage: “Early start – 8 AM. But watched over Hector’s insides till 1. All fitted up.”⁷⁰³ At other times, they were successful in finding Plymouth garages for overhauling, greasing, alignments, oil changes, or check ups. These impressions did not culminate in an analytical journal article as they did for Moriyama; however, they reveal that Imrie and Wallbridge personally experienced and recorded a good collection of research material for their upcoming designs.

⁶⁹⁹ Scott Brown also visited and photographed hotels during her travels, for example, in Miami. Scott Brown, “My Miami Beach,” 156.

⁷⁰⁰ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, October 19, 1949. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813.

⁷⁰¹ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, December 10, 1949. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813.

⁷⁰² This was a continuing habit. In the articles from their trip to Asia and the Middle East, Imrie and Wallbridge critiqued various hotels. They found Hotel Mountview by Maxwell Fry in Chandigarh (1950) attractive in itself, “but poorly oriented for the sunny climate of the Indian plains”; Hilton in Cairo was, to them, “more up-to-date looking than some of the rather prosaic, enormous new government buildings that have just been finished.” Imrie, “Hong Kong to Chandigarh,” 163; Imrie, “Khyber Pass to Canada,” 279.

⁷⁰³ Mary Imrie’s diary entry, October 30–31, 1949. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813.

The service stations and drive-ins that the duo designed in the 1950s in and around Edmonton were mostly family-owned businesses: Elmer's Drive-in for a Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Harder, at 112th Avenue and 108 Street in 1953; Sunset Service Station on 118th Avenue in 1953; Kerbside Cleaners Drive-in, a drive-in laundry proposed for F. C. Dunford in 1956; and a Texaco gas station on Highway 43 near Whitecourt for Park & Allan Millar in 1956.

At Elmer's Drive-in, for instance, the glass façade, the sharp, distorted pentagonal plan, and the overhanging flat roof, with the inverted triangular column on the southeast façade facing the thirty-eight-car parking area, meticulously follow modernist principles (Fig. 63). Inside, booths are placed next to the windows and the central bar area surrounds the kitchen, typical of the era's diner restaurants. A tall, vertical element on the façade with the sign ELMER'S DRIVE-IN (like Scott Brown and Venturi's "decorated shed"⁷⁰⁴), contrasts with the low, single-storey form of the building. This was a common architectural element used to make the building visible from the road.⁷⁰⁵ Today, where Elmer's used to stand is the parking lot of a mall. The Texaco Gas Station followed a corporate template with simple lines, flat roof, plastered exterior finish and compact, box-like form (as was common in 1950s Texaco stations in the United States). Imrie and Wallbridge's small-scale road structures, in terms of organizational and formal characteristics, were up-to-date and modern.

⁷⁰⁴ Scott Brown, Venturi, and Izenour define the "decorated shed" as a big sign—little building, "architecture as shelter with symbols on it": "where systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them." Scott Brown, Venturi, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, 87, 90. This form applies to Imrie and Wallbridge's Elmer's Drive-In.

⁷⁰⁵ Like an attached "high-reader." Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos designed a Drive-in Restaurant in Montreal (featured in the *RAIC Journal* in 1958, the issue in which Imrie and Wallbridge published "Hong Kong to Chandigarh") and treated a similar vertical element as a freestanding structure next to the road. "Drive-in Restaurant, Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakopoulos," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 35, no. 5 (May 1958): 183.

Three of the motels/hotels that Imrie and Wallbridge designed in Alberta were larger projects, and my research indicates that two of them were built.⁷⁰⁶ Lac La Biche Hotel was commissioned by Ross Stefanik, who also developed the Belvedere Golf and Country Club outside Edmonton, in 1952–53. The hotel was a two-storey building reflecting modernist aesthetics with its flat roof, mass articulation, entrance canopy, horizontal bands of large windows, and unembellished façade.

The Jasper House Motel (today Jasper House Bungalows) was designed in 1956 for contractor John Woldrich on the Banff-Jasper Highway Mile 2-4 (Fig. 64). The plan includes wooden twin bungalows placed around a central garden and an office/restaurant building. Its site plan does not reflect those of modern motels built in the era, which were commonly built as single structures with aligned rooms accessed individually through open-air corridors.⁷⁰⁷ However, there are similarities between Imrie and Wallbridge's design for Jasper House and the sketches the architects made of the cabins they stayed at in the United States on their way back from South America—the grouping of twin lodges, for instance (Fig. 65). The traditional character perhaps had to do with the local landscape of the national park in which it was situated, to attain a more “natural” image by dividing the structure into smaller units.⁷⁰⁸ The traditional forms of the units, with pitched roofs, exposed timber logs on the façade, and symmetrical organization of the plan similarly adhere to conventional camp structures. Perhaps practicing

⁷⁰⁶ The situation of the Lac La Biche Hotel is currently unknown, but in my ongoing research on this project, I have gathered some evidence that it might have been built and still be standing. A fourth hotel was designed for downtown Edmonton.

⁷⁰⁷ This is exemplified in Moriyama's article with Greenspoon, Freedlander, and Dunne's Parkway Motel in Montreal or Keith L. Graham Associates' Silver Dart Motel in Baddeck, NS. Moriyama, “Trends in Motel Design,” 380–81, 388–90.

⁷⁰⁸ The design followed an early-twentieth-century American stylistic tradition of the National Park Service's rustic imagery that aimed to harmonize with the natural landscape.

within the gendered constraints of the profession at times required the architects to be more *flexible* when it came to aesthetic design choices.⁷⁰⁹ Remember house clients were happy to work with Imrie and Wallbridge because they “listened.”⁷¹⁰

The Peace River Lodge Motel in Edmonton, with a drug store and a coffee shop, was commissioned by the couple Jessie and Arthur Smith. It had fifteen apartment-like units with three rooms each, including bathrooms and kitchen facilities. The motel made its way into the *Sunny Alberta Accommodation Guide* aimed at motorists, published by the Alberta Travel Bureau in 1959. The motel was classified as a four-star facility in the guide and, accordingly, had to comply with the following regulations: “be fully modern in every respect and . . . present a good appearance, be provided with attractive surroundings, good driveways and be properly maintained.”⁷¹¹

Imrie and Wallbridge built modern everyday mobile landscapes—motels, gas stations, and signs—a sphere into which Scott Brown was drawn a decade later. The architects defended “high-style” modernism, which they documented during their trips and explored in their designs. We can see their contribution to the architectural profession anew through the perspective of mobility. First, mobility allows us to see more of their work, namely, a number of

⁷⁰⁹ Gwendolyn Wright describes this attitude, adopted by many other women architects: “While they have frequently been criticized for the traditional nature of their built forms, those who proposed alternative domestic settings have usually had to confine their work to paper. It has been inappropriate for them, being women, to be as flamboyant as the eccentric artists, as competitive as the businessmen, as bold as the daring engineers who are the master architects.” Wright, “On the Fringe of the Profession,” 306.

⁷¹⁰ Moreover, as Annmarie Adams argues, male clients (as well as architectural historians) were not hesitant to take credit for women architects’ design ideas, thus diminishing women’s professional agency. Annmarie Adams, “‘Marjorie’s Web’: Canada’s First Woman Architect and Her Clients,” in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), 386–87, 389.

⁷¹¹ *Sunny Alberta Accommodation Guide* (Edmonton: Alberta Travel Bureau, 1959), 7.

their projects that have been overlooked until now. The architects responded to a postwar urban need in a city located near major touristic centres. Second, an examination of their own travels shows us their exposure and sensibility towards various modern, mobile architectural forms. They contributed to the postwar roadside landscape in their hometown with their interpretations of mobility.

Denise Scott Brown

As discussed in the first chapter, Denise Scott Brown's study-travels, starting with her first move from South Africa to Europe, formed the basis of her architectural theories on everyday landscapes, signs and symbols (billboards), and electronic and architectural communications (neons and LED lights), among others. The urban understanding she developed on the move and her love for the American roadside took root in Scott Brown and Venturi's design commissions and architectural competition entries (even though the Pritzker Prize committee credited her as "complementing" Venturi's "understanding of urban context"⁷¹²). These projects were venues to test and publicize their collaborative architectural mindsets. The couple left academia in 1971, even though they continued to lecture, teach studio, and act as advisors in different institutions in the coming decades. Many of their roadside and tourism projects dated from a slightly later period, the 1980s onward, peaking in the 1990s. This might be due to a reworking, through architectural design, of some of the analytical and theoretical concepts that they had developed in the 1960s and 1970s.

⁷¹² "Jury Citation," Pritzker Prize, <https://www.pritzkerprize.com/laureates/1991>. Accessed September 14, 2020.

Scott Brown's love of vernacular highway architecture defined the architects' design practice as they created new imageries. For Smithson, the car was a spectacle; for Scott Brown, the spectacles were the highway and the roadside, which were to be recreated through symbols. Their portfolio contains a variety of projects, from visitor centres to gas stations to terminals, through which we can trace Scott Brown's ideas on symbols, movement, and communication. One of the earliest examples is Scott Brown and Venturi's unrealized competition entry for the Hartwell Lake Regional Visitors Center in South Carolina from 1977–78 (Fig. 66). They deemed the "high visibility of the Visitors Center from the highway. . . . the most critical factor,"⁷¹³ so they topped the roof of the building with a 60-by-45-foot red cut-out of the logo of the client, the Army Corps of Engineers (and thus created a "decorated shed"). The same castle symbol was proposed as a tourist information sign to be placed four miles from the interchange. In the project report, Scott Brown and Venturi explain, "the function of the castle high-reader is similar to that of the gas station high-reader which is a welcome and looked for symbol at most interstate interchanges."⁷¹⁴ This element was necessary to catch the motorists' attention at highway speeds.

Architectural references to postwar American auto/mobility, with which Scott Brown and Venturi worked in studios, books, articles, and exhibitions in the preceding decades, permeated

⁷¹³ Venturi and Rauch, Architects and Planners, "Hartwell Lake Regional Visitors Center" (August 7, 1978): 9. Project report. The Architectural Archives of University of Pennsylvania, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, File 225.II.B.7811.02. This use of symbols overtop buildings—decorated sheds—was something with which the architects played around in this period, in some other projects too. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Associates, *Out of the Ordinary*, 80.

⁷¹⁴ Venturi and Rauch, Architects and Planners, "Hartwell Lake Regional Visitors Center," 14. They define "high-reader" as signs communicating "eye-catching and evocative images," inviting the motorist to slow down, whereas the "low-reader" as signs giving more specific information or direction. *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, 4.

their scenographic design language. For example, in the *Signs of Life* exhibition, they compare roadside typologies, such as the gas station and motel, to McDonald's (its arches as "national symbols") for their familiarity.⁷¹⁵ Their design solution for the visitor centre was an extension of this idea: the architects aligned the gas station with McDonald's and, eventually, matched elements of the visitor centre with those of the gas station. They focused on an Americanized version of auto/mobility in defining the period's architectural experiences and needs.

The architects' winning competition entry for the Whitehall Ferry Terminal (1995, unbuilt) in New York is significant as it transferred the highway symbol to LED lighting imagery. A first proposal, with a giant clock on its façade, was refused by the city. The office went on to propose an LED signboard with moving images in its place. Scott Brown said in an interview that "to change a message inscribed in stone is difficult, if not impossible. But to change an electronic image is easy."⁷¹⁶ Accordingly, the terminal, a commuter space continually in flux, was treated as a roadside billboard with a technological touch, now with a constantly changing message, too.

The office's designs for the Walt Disney Company were perhaps the largest of their tourism commissions.⁷¹⁷ In 1988, they participated in the design of Euro Disney in France. Each hotel was to be designed by an architectural office with reference to an American city. It is not difficult to predict Scott Brown and Venturi's project: their design had explicit references to Las Vegas. Their first study suggested a façade with a giant neon sign reading "Disney Las Vegas" in

⁷¹⁵ *Signs of Life: Symbols in the American City*, 4.

⁷¹⁶ Francesco Proto, "That Old Thing Called Flexibility: An Interview with Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown," *Architectural Design* 79, no. 1 (January/February 2009): 71.

⁷¹⁷ Among them, the Travel Center, an Exxon gas station (built), and the twenty-nine-storey BoardWalk Hotel tower in Florida. Scott Brown was not involved in these projects.

a style reminiscent of the Strip and, in particular, the typeface of the Stardust Hotel (in an initial study, it was even named “Disney Stardust”). The project also comprised huge neon Disney characters placed along the route to the main hotel, like the billboards and signs on the Strip. In the final version, the Las Vegas references became more subdued and the name of the hotel was changed to “Fantasia,” but the giant exploding billboard effect remained. As designers, Scott Brown and Venturi translated an architectural reflection of American auto/mobility into a foreign landscape using touristic symbolism, which the Disney park itself signified.

Scott Brown’s way of seeing the moving world was reflected in her design philosophy and practice. As an architect, planner, writer, and educator, she meticulously directed her focus towards the architectural image of the American roadside. She developed an academic understanding of urban mobility through observation in personal and professional travels in the earlier years of her career. This expertise made her well qualified when it came to designing the very structures intended to facilitate mass mobility. Moreover, these design commissions served as experimental platforms on which she and her colleagues could expand new interpretations of mobility, symbols and signs, electronic imagery, or highway functionalism. Her experiences on the move prompted new professional interests and theoretical contributions; her academic involvement, in turn, allowed her to generate new design interpretations.

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel

Communication

Civilization depends on communication
and at one time all roads led to Rome.
A culture develops from the interaction of ideas
from the communion of men
gleaning information
sharpening wits one against the other

The roots of our culture lie in the Agora of Athens
the meeting place at the heart of the city,
the focus of a seafaring people.

Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, PQAA speech, 1963⁷¹⁸

Sandy and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel produced a number of interesting projects in the context of urban mobilities and tourism in the 1960s and 1970s.⁷¹⁹ The husband and wife did not overtly undertake different roles within each project, such as principal or advisor. Their daughter, Brenda van Ginkel, hints at their blurring of roles as she explains that even though the duo were typically collaborative, for the Midtown Manhattan Study, for instance, her father could be found in the studio and her mother tended to do the writing: “Work talk continued to the dinner table and entertaining at home so it wasn’t a separate world for us as kids, growing up with them.”⁷²⁰ By this period, Lemco van Ginkel had established her expertise in urban mobility through her writing in addition to the urban design projects discussed above. In the context of another project, the Canadian World Exhibition of 1967, or Expo 67, she used a

⁷¹⁸ Line breaks in the original. Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, “International Universal Exhibition 1967: A Concept,” speech before Province of Quebec Association of Architects Convention, January 1963, 1. CCA Archives, File 27-A21-04.

⁷¹⁹ Some other projects involving tourism include a proposal for a tourist village in Newfoundland in 1965–67 and an urban improvement project along Lake Superior on the Trans-Canada Highway to boost tourism in 1967.

⁷²⁰ E-mail correspondence with Brenda van Ginkel, September 2, 2019.

metaphorical mobility (“paper travels,” or letters) to create new positions for herself and her team.

The van Ginkels made the preliminary master plan and theme study for Expo 67, which entailed global tourism and the exhibition of innovative mobility systems—not to mention a new urban image for Montreal. The project has been widely studied elsewhere and thus I do not aim to go into its full details here.⁷²¹ However, I believe it is worthwhile to scrutinize Lemco van Ginkel’s role in creating an international network of communications, both literally and figuratively. This close look allows us to better understand how women’s personal histories, initiatives, and outreach shaped their intellectual and creative outputs.

The van Ginkels served as planning consultants to the Exhibition Corporation for the Expo’s master plan, with Sandy van Ginkel as chief planner, until their resignation in 1963 due to conflicts. Lemco van Ginkel explained their rationale in suggesting Montreal as the site of Expo: “We wanted to have it in Montreal so that whatever you put, of the enormous amount of money that was going to be poured into it, at least a little bit of it might benefit the city.”⁷²² Her

⁷²¹ See for example, Inderbir Singh Riar, “Expo 67, or the Architecture of Late Modernity” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014); Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, eds., *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Jasmin Yves, *La Petite Histoire D'expo 67: L'expo 67 Comme Vous Ne L'avez Jamais Vue* (Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1997); André Lortie, *The 60s: Montreal Thinks Big* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2004); John Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be: Expo 67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Penguin, 2012).

⁷²² Quoted in Hodges, “Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel and H. P. Daniel Van Ginkel: Urban Planning,” 322. They suggested the waterfront of the Montreal Island as the site of the Exhibition, with a focus on the Pointe-Sainte-Charles area. This did not happen in the final plan. Interestingly, Scott Brown was severely critical of the final plan of Expo, mostly based on its inaccessibility. After her visit within the first three weeks of its opening, she wrote: “Expo could have learned much from Disneyland about organization at all levels, from garbage up.” It is perhaps no surprise, considering her love for LED lights, electronics, and neons, that she favoured pavilions that used electronic and celluloid communication, movies and slides, projections, and reflections, such as the Czech pavilion or the Kaleidoscope. Denise Scott Brown, “Planning the Expo,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 33, no. 4 (1967): 270.

speech at the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (PQAA) Convention reveals her fight to attain “universality” in Expo’s structure and image, as she urged a division based on themes, rather than nations.⁷²³ In the speech, Lemco van Ginkel favoured world exhibitions (sites of “communication and exchange”) over world fairs (media of trade, consumerism, national image, or prestige, as she defines them).⁷²⁴ She perceived exhibitions as venues to display architectural and engineering developments (beyond national borders) and advocated for the inclusion of international “leader” architects in overall designs. In fact, to attain the architectural involvement that her firm’s concept suggests, she rallied local and international support: she sent a copy of her speech to fellow architects from numerous countries, asking for their collaboration. To Peter Harnden, she explained their “anxiety” about changing the “outmoded” format of the International Exhibition, and continued:

Even if we manage to convince Canadian authorities [sic], the idea will need the support of participating nations. It is unlikely that the official bodies concerned would be receptive without priming from groups of interested parties, probably professional—as we are doing here. Consequently, we have broached the subject with architects and others whom we know abroad, who may have the ear of officialdom.⁷²⁵

In another letter, she demanded Kenzo Tange’s formal support more explicitly:

We have spoken to fellow architects abroad—among them, Wogensky, Erskine, van Eyck, Soltan—who seem to think that they may be able to press for acceptance of the concept in their own country. . . .

⁷²³ She notes, “consequently the exhibits must be grouped by theme. THE NATIONAL PAVILION AS SUCH HAS NO PLACE IN A TRUE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION. (Indeed it was only in the World’s Fairs of the 20th century that the national pavilion became prominent).” Lemco van Ginkel, “International Universal Exhibition 1967: A Concept,” 17. CCA Archives, File 27-A21-04.

⁷²⁴ Lemco van Ginkel, “International Universal Exhibition 1967: A Concept,” 2, 7. CCA Archives, File 27-A21-04. The speech ended with:

“THIS IS NOT A PAROCHIAL PICNIC

WE WANT AN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.” Lemco van Ginkel, 19.

⁷²⁵ Blanche Lemco van Ginkel to Peter Harnden, March 15, 1963. CCA Archives, File 27-A21-02.

We hope that this idea meets with your sympathy and that you may be willing to exercise your influence in Japan. Time is extremely short, and if it is to be successful we must act immediately. We look forward to receiving your comments.⁷²⁶

Similarly to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's correspondence from the United Nations Seminar, Lemco van Ginkel's letters show her at the crossroads of architectural and organizational communication and networking. Lemco van Ginkel acted as a mediator (the "tie," as Sandy van Ginkel called her) between the design office, professionals, and the community. She, in turn, explained that Sandy van Ginkel "pushed [her] into them."⁷²⁷ Her engagement in what might be seen as hidden "paperwork" demonstrates her extensive professional network (in this case, mainly of male architects) attained over the years, just like Imrie and Wallbridge, Tyrwhitt, or Scott Brown. Like them, Lemco van Ginkel mobilized professionals through these networks. She was a skilful organizer, not just a competent designer, and she was not afraid to reach out for help when it came to her architectural claims. She treated the planning and design of mobility as global issues. Her papers were her "agora" of communication.

Transportation

The van Ginkels were engaged in a number of architectural projects of mass mobility from the 1960s onward. The Montreal International Airport Study (1966–68) is influential for its representations of and conclusions about the aviation industry, urban mobility, and tourism. Perhaps more significantly, it demonstrates how the architects strategized a liminal position—in-between planning, architecture, and engineering disciplines—for professional development and networking.

⁷²⁶ Blanche Lemco van Ginkel to Kenzo Tange, May 14, 1963. CCA Archives, File 27-A21-02.

⁷²⁷ Quoted in Richter, "Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel, Montreal Modernist," 99.

The low-cost “jet” era of the 1960s brought masses into Douglas DC-8 and Boeing 707 jetliners.⁷²⁸ With the technological advancements in and requirements of aviation, the airport complex now appeared as a complicated area of infrastructure design that was more suited to engineers than to architects.⁷²⁹ Aviation became a “competitive” business.⁷³⁰ Consequently, the small-scale, individual terminal emerged as the venue for architects, such as Eero Saarinen or I.M. Pei, to create novel, radical, symbolic *forms*.⁷³¹ The van Ginkels participated in this “competitive business” but, significantly, from a more technical and social rather than formal perspective. Their approach was something in-between that of an engineer and a planner.

The Montreal airport project entailed a preliminary study of Dorval Airport, which had been in operation since the 1940s, its current building opening in 1960. The van Ginkels prepared an examination of the existing aviation system and its potential development at the request of the Department of Transport, Government of Canada. The study report comprises a comprehensive text accompanied by appealing colour graphic maps, charts, sections, illustrations, and photographs (Fig. 67). The architects analyzed diverse subjects—the place of Montreal in the global air transportation system, the airport’s impact on industry, employment, and environment, air traffic and ground transportation between origin and airport, or aviation technology in general (aircraft types, capacities, speeds, ranges, engines, and costs). Further revealing their environmental and social sensitivity, the van Ginkels suggested public transportation for access from the city to the airport, as opposed to the popular link forged

⁷²⁸ Alastair Gordon, *Naked Airport: A Cultural History of the World’s Most Revolutionary Structure* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004), 174.

⁷²⁹ Gordon, *Naked Airport*, 167; Susanna Santala, “Laboratory for a New Architecture: The Airport Terminal, Eero Saarinen and the Historiography of Modern Architecture” (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2015), 108.

⁷³⁰ Gordon, *Naked Airport*, 201.

⁷³¹ Santala “Laboratory for a New Architecture,” 108.

between air and car travel at the time.⁷³² They gave insights on the increasing popularity of air traffic, connecting it to growing leisure pursuits and personal income.⁷³³ They localized these concerns by responding to the particularities of Canada (“with its widely spaced cities and the great distances between them and other international centres”⁷³⁴) and Montreal (“gateway to North America”⁷³⁵). The archival material showcases the extensive research they carried out on land use, noise, and alternative systems of baggage claim. Based on anticipated growth, combined with concerns over land use, noise, and air traffic, they suggested moving the main airport to a new location and using Dorval as a secondary airport. This was eventually realized as Mirabel Airport, built off Montreal Island in 1970–75.⁷³⁶ Following this airport study, the firm went on to design a prototype airport terminal unit to standardize passenger terminals for a new generation of airplanes.

The Montreal airport study and the prototype unit illustrate the couple’s vision of the social and environmental influence of urban and international mobility. They saw transportation as closely linked to “a vigorous economic and social life,” and an important determinant in “world trade, commerce, tourism, and social and cultural interchange of global community.”⁷³⁷ For Lemco van Ginkel, it was also closely linked to energy efficiency:

The airplane has approximately one quarter of the propulsion efficiency of a long-distance bus, although the new generation of aircraft—the B-747 and DC-10—are more efficient than the smaller planes. It is to be hoped that energy efficiency will become a more

⁷³² Gordon, *Naked Airport*, 189.

⁷³³ Van Ginkel Associates, *L’aéroport International De Montréal, Montreal International Airport* (Montreal: Department of Transport, Government of Canada, September 1968), 4. CCA Archives, File 27-A34-37.

⁷³⁴ Van Ginkel Associates, 3.

⁷³⁵ Van Ginkel Associates, 10.

⁷³⁶ Mirabel was designed by architects Papineau, Gerin-Lajoie, Le Blanc and Edwards.

⁷³⁷ Van Ginkel Associates, *L’aéroport International De Montréal, Montreal International Airport*, 3–4.

important design criterion.⁷³⁸

The architects' prediction of airline traffic in the city doubling every decade—"The resulting traffic volume at Montreal will be equivalent to that of the busiest airports in the world today"⁷³⁹—was never realized. Their conception was an overstatement; consequently, Mirabel Airport was closed for public operations, and passenger air traffic transferred back to Dorval in 2004. Nevertheless, their study testifies to the couple's great interest in aero/mobility and the importance they placed on it in terms of social and environmental infrastructure. It also shows their capacity for meticulous technical analysis, which had been deemed an unsuitable area of work for architects in a traditional sense. By working in the margins (or in-between zones) of the architectural profession, by employing skills and qualifications that lay beyond institutional definitions, and by blurring boundaries, they created a professional identity that did not quite "fit." Yet this blurriness paved the way to their success and an influential, international network, made visible in the commissions they undertook in the coming decades: airport studies in Maiquetía, Venezuela; Salvador, Brazil; and Jamaica, as well as a study of tourism and aviation in Sri Lanka.

The van Ginkels' keen interest in transportation planning and its potential for social and economic growth—remember Lemco van Ginkel's insistence on Montreal as the venue of Expo for the benefit of the city—parallels the era's enthrallment with novel technological developments. But their work points to something more than simple enthusiasm. They were well ahead of their time with their visionary outlook on mobility and commitment to new

⁷³⁸ Lemco van Ginkel, "Transportation: Ins and Outs," 34.

⁷³⁹ Van Ginkel Associates, *L'aéroport International De Montréal, Montreal International Airport*, 10.

technology and public transportation. Perhaps more significantly, the van Ginkels set a precedent in urban planning and architecture through their sensitivity to environmental and social values as well as community living, and through their work in the in-between areas of the profession, they achieved an innovative professional expertise.

Designing Movement

In her PQAA speech, Lemco van Ginkel said that physical freedom and mobility were aspects of humankind's "aspirations in space."⁷⁴⁰ Women as designers and planners helped mould this aspiration. Their distinct motivations, concerns, efforts, and fights—be it small, hidden, or overt—vigorously reshaped the urban environment around the movement of people.

Adding to the feminist scholarship on women architects, I have shown that examining mobility unravels alternative career paths for women designers. These women protagonists participated in the postwar frenzy of mass tourism, auto/mobility, and air travel in various ways. Their personal experiences of travel and knowledge of issues related to mobility rendered them well suited to "competitive" positions assumed difficult to achieve for women architects. By being mobile (in person and on paper), they established new identities, shifted the gendered division within the architectural profession, and altered meanings of urban mobility. These projects offered them platforms to tie their personal observations of everyday life (as tourists) and critical ideas (as educators and writers) to their design practice. Finally, their liminal positions helped them to strategically blur the edges to create and access alternative networks and expertise.

⁷⁴⁰ Lemco van Ginkel, "International Universal Exhibition 1967: A Concept," 15. CCA Archives, File 27-A21-04.

Scott Brown and Lemco van Ginkel's care for the well-being of communities and individuals as well as their interest in urban mobilities and architectural heritage aligned them with social activists. They argued for inclusive and pluralistic voices against masculinist, top-down approaches to urban culture and mobility. Their "small plans" followed the struggles pursued by women heritage professionals and conservationists, as well as grass-roots projects. In taking this approach, the two women also challenged traditional assumptions linking expertise with advanced age.

In the case of Imrie and Wallbridge, the couple's trips show us that they were attuned to architectures of mobility. In turn, their design contributions to the roadside landscape of Alberta, which have been overlooked in previous scholarly work, reveal that the architects interpreted the period's enthusiasm about tourism and mass movement using modernist principles. In another vein, Scott Brown's design work for travel demonstrates how she articulated her intellectual dedication to urban mobility, roadside imagery, symbolism, and technology. Lemco van Ginkel's position at the centre of communications between professionals and the community is exemplified in the Expo 67 and Old City/Port of Montreal projects. This position discloses her tackling of mobility from a social perspective, in-between office walls as well as textual and physical spaces of public outreach. In contrast, the airport studies that she completed with her husband Sandy van Ginkel reveal the blurry aspect of the couple's work in technical analysis, social planning, and architecture.

A larger tracing of women's creative and intellectual contributions, rather than searching for authorship in partnered design works, leads us to a less biased understanding of architecture as

collaborative and links personal and architectural stories of mobility. As urban designers and architects, women took on various roles within their careers, from writer to educator to designer to mediator. It is through an examination of their personal histories and the link to mobility that we can reveal some of the hidden aspects of women's professional lives. By acknowledging how women architects and planners have shaped roadside landscapes, architectures of mobility, and urban movements, we may challenge gendered connotations of these spaces and change the way we see paths and distances: less fixed, blurred yet open and diverse.

CONCLUSION

In March 2020, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada announced Blanche Lemco van Ginkel as the 2020 recipient of its highest honour, the Gold Medal. The jury commented: “Blanche epitomizes a deep commitment to intellectual rigour and cross-disciplinary dialogue and continues to be a role model for the Canadian architectural community.”⁷⁴¹ This distinction was one of the rare instances of women architects’ recognition for their ideals, leadership, intellect, and practice.⁷⁴² A few months later, in November 2020, the schools of architecture at McGill University and the University of Toronto as well as the organization Building Equality in Architecture (BEA Canada) co-organized an event to celebrate Lemco van Ginkel. Many scholars, friends, and students gathered virtually to pay their tributes to the pioneering architect.

Listening to the presenters at this event, I was amazed to see once again the multiple facets of Lemco van Ginkel’s career and to see that she has touched the lives of so many people as a colleague, an educator, and a friend. Perhaps due to my focus on mobility in my dissertation (this was the focus of my presentation at this event too), I also could not help but notice that her legacy was bound to her own mobility and network. Moreover, in my mind, the photographs and drawings by the van Ginkels that attendees showed in their presentations as well as the short clip of Joseph Hillel’s extraordinary documentary, *City Dreamers*,⁷⁴³ carried explicit traces of Lemco van Ginkel’s progressive work on and understanding of the

⁷⁴¹ Quoted in RAIC/IRAC, “Gold Medal 2020 Recipient,” <https://raic.org/awards/gold-medal-2020-recipient>. Accessed December 21, 2020.

⁷⁴² The year 2020 also saw two women architects, Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara, as the Pritzker Prize Laureates.

⁷⁴³ *Rêveuses de villes/City Dreamers*, directed by Joseph Hillel (Canada: Maison 4:3, 2018).

ephemerality of people's movements. Her effort, of course, was not detached from the social and technological realities of the period (indeed our relationship to spaces and movements is reshaped based on the conditions of the time, as the Covid-19 pandemic has shown us). In fact, her professional dedication demonstrates that Lemco van Ginkel, like many other women architects of her generation, was a pioneer in the architectural transformations taking place in the mobile world of the mid-twentieth century.

As mentioned in the introduction, I had the chance to listen to Denise Scott Brown's stories in a more personal setting, before virtual reality entered our lives so sharply in March 2020. After a couple of telephone exchanges, I was invited to her house in Philadelphia while I was in the city for my archival research. After a thirty-minute taxi ride, I met her in her living room, surrounded by numerous souvenirs from her architectural journeys around the world. We strolled around the garden while talking about her visits to Turkey, Yugoslavia, Mexico, and her old friends in England. Descriptions of her car, Morgan, were followed by stories about the travels of her friends, colleagues, and family. Listening to these stories, I realized that her personal experiences were combined with professional ones. This discussion confirmed for me the usefulness of women's travel accounts in revealing the effect that many multilayered networks, friendships, and exchanges had on their personal lives and their work.

These two relatively personal encounters with Lemco van Ginkel and Scott Brown clarified three things to me: how the landscape of the architectural profession is bound to change and to belatedly recognize the works of women architects; how, in women's lives, personal ties are never independent from professional experiences; and how mobility has been useful for

women, in their work as architects and planners as well as in their personal stories. In the end, these are the primary arguments of this thesis.

The particular focus on movement in writing life stories provides fruitful ground for advancing feminist architectural discussions. My analysis of the scholarly work on architectural mobility that emerged in the late 1990s and early 2000s has shown that historians and theorists have approached the topic from a number of viewpoints. These discussions range from the formal links drawn between the buildings that the white, male architect visits during his leisure travels and his consequent designs (i.e., cultural appropriations), to travel's role in men's education, to the obsession of male architects and architectural critics with vehicles, to architectural typologies of tourism. Other, more nuanced analyses have focused on the numerous actors involved in transnational design interactions as well as the political implications of these exchanges in the postwar period. These studies have offered some understanding of identity and displacement, although they almost all ignored women's experiences as both traveling and local architects and planners. Alternatively, some historians have examined visual and verbal narratives of travel to draw relationships between moving and seeing. Feminist interpretations of the relationship between gender and mobility have entered the discussion only recently and in a very limited way, and sexuality and gender identity remains a subject to be explored in the literature on architectural mobility. I believe bridging mobility and feminism is particularly needed, and not only to show how women contributed to architectural discourses and structures of mobility, which in itself still constitutes a gap in the literature. To me, a focus on mobility is crucial for feminism and a feminist focus is crucial for mobility, because mobility *blurs*: it is a feminist tool through which static and gendered (spatial, social, or professional)

clusters and categories shatter. It was my attempt in this dissertation to show the ways in which this happened in the lives of six women in architecture.

Auto/biographical methods are relevant in this feminist endeavour, since the blurriness of the line between travel writing and auto/biography draws the personal record closer to a historical moment,⁷⁴⁴ and since personal stories are not independent from professional ones in women's lives, as we have seen. The exploration of the historical moments, motives, and moves in women's lives and careers and the search for the different layers of women's identities, however, is only possible through a feminist dismantling of biographical methods. Feminist literary scholars have skilfully criticized the so-called neutrality of the genre, while pointing to the fact that such criticism occurred just as scholarly literature started to acknowledge women's existence in history. Yet, I would argue that there is still work to be done, especially in scholarship on architecture. We should invent new tactics and tools that can thoroughly address the intricate relationship between professional and spatial experience and gender and sexual identity. Mobility is one such tactic.

Primary sources show that women used mobility to shape professional settings according to their needs, instead of being restricted by traditional, often gendered boundaries. This study uncovers the four ways in which mobility helped women to create alternative paths and foster their careers as writers, researchers, educators, and designers during the postwar enthusiasm for spaces and technologies of movement.

⁷⁴⁴ Goldworthy, "Travel Writing as Autobiography," 91.

First, the protagonists of this study drove, analyzed, celebrated, and criticized the car; they created alternative understandings of urban culture, town planning, architecture, and everyday life through auto/mobility. They shared these architectural and personal interpretations in various venues, including articles, books, photographs, designs, and educational institutions—platforms that provided women professionals with alternative public exposure. These accomplishments have often been ignored in the existing architectural literature, which focuses on traditional definitions of architecture as buildings. However, I recognize these alternative modes of production as *valuable*. My exploration of women's stories involving the car differs from the feminist literature on the "recovery" of women architects: by embracing partiality, collectivity, and mobility, I define "success" beyond a masculine, coherent individuality.

Moreover, the protagonists' engagement with the car in personal stories (while driving, writing in/about, or photographing it) proposes new histories of auto/mobility and architecture. These new histories challenge the gendered assumptions that exist around machines and technologies. By engaging the car for professional means, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel, Alison Smithson, Mary Imrie and Jean Wallbridge, and Denise Scott Brown altered the gendered landscape of the profession; similarly, they altered the gendered spatial landscape of auto/mobility. Their personal stories—shared in books, articles, letters, diaries, and home movies—serve as reminders that cars and homes have interchangeably been inhabited, appropriated, domesticated, and used as shell/mask/bridge by women. I add to the literature on women and (domestic) space by thinking of the car as a spatial entity as well as an image and by focusing on its empowering possibilities of transgression and dissolving boundaries (between family and work, domestic and mobile, private and public). Women's encounters with

the automobility show us that a feminist gaze turned toward the architectural profession through the windshield of a car redefines institutional roles, women's places, and means of architectural work.

Second, their travels endowed these protagonists with multiple identities, while altering their ways of seeing and shaping their architectural understanding of the world. Imrie and Wallbridge's, Smithson's, and Tyrwhitt's critical as well as semi-autobiographical travel narratives were public outlets through which the women shared their views and established their professional image. They used these textual and visual media to inscribe their female selves onto their observations of the material culture, everyday lives, and built environment present in foreign landscapes.

My feminist analysis of these narratives offers an innovative look into a mobile, architectural, female terrain, which has remained a large gap in travel studies and has only recently attracted some attention in the feminist architectural history literature. The biographical tracing of the female eye enables us to see the blurry, queer, and marginalized tools and spaces that women appropriated in reconstructing the modern built environment on paper or film. The female gaze was not completely autonomous from the heteropatriarchal, colonial, or racist structures within which it operated; though it did not entirely follow the norms of these frameworks. Women's dismantling of the ways of seeing through movement differed from traditional ways of perception and motion. Their shifting identities on the move offer a fluid, plural alternative to normative binaries. My examination of women's sensibilities, negotiations, and, at times,

incoherence brings nuances to our understanding of women's place: they were both actors and spectators in transnational interactions and architectural productions.

Third, as these protagonists established new professional venues for themselves through their trips, they also enabled mobility for others and fostered knowledge exchanges. This aspect of their contributions requires us to see architecture beyond buildings, to see the so-called lesser or marginal forms of architectural production. These travel stories also open a window onto the role that male and female friendships and mentorships played in women's lives. As young graduates, educators, and professionals, Imrie and Wallbridge, Scott Brown, and Tyrwhitt used journalism, teaching, organizational skills, leadership, and creativity. They traveled alone or with family, partners, or friends and shaped mobility in classrooms, public halls, and museums. They generated new discussions on postwar architecture. These exchanges afforded them far-reaching recognition through publications as well as educational or professional employment. They brought professional and non-professional actors in contact with each other. Significantly, they created female networks through which women helped one another. This mobile networking also led to more feminist, egalitarian, and inclusive collaborative works contrasting with traditional and gendered architectural productions (with one male "author"). By taking these collaborations and networking into account, I agree with the recent scholarship on travel and architecture in challenging the view that architects or their ideas were independent entities, isolated from social structures. In doing this, however, I argue that gender mattered: these mobile interactions had different implications for women. Women's engagement in professional tasks and networks during these trips blurred the distinction between leisure or "fun" travel and work. This blurriness aided women, as it allowed them to partake in

opportunities that would not have been present in gendered institutional settings. The travel narratives of the protagonists point to how this slippage worked. Their behaviour, self-identification, and self-positioning transgressed expected gendered norms and allowed them to access male-dominated spaces of mobility as well as offices, schools, and organizations.

Fourth, women also produced mobility through architectural design. In doing this, they used their previous theoretical work on mobility and the skills they acquired and observations they made during their travels. These experiences offered them new perspectives on designing typologies related to mobility. They bridged personal experience and professional knowledge while designing commercial, large-scale, modern buildings of tourism, auto/mobility, and aero/mobility. Using mobility has allowed me to explore this overlooked side of Scott Brown's, Lemco van Ginkel's and Imrie and Wallbridge's design work. My focus on movement has also revealed the diverse range of the contributions these women made from the margins. They saw mobility as a social, environmental, and global issue and shifted liminal positions within the discipline to sites of resistance: they engaged in community-oriented activism, heritage conservation, environmental projects, and even engineering studies. Looking at the protagonists' design projects through personal stories, previous travel accounts, and critical texts has revealed that they deployed mobility as a tool when establishing professional agency in design. Recognizing women's pioneering work to accommodate what sociologist John Urry calls "the symbols of modernity" (train passengers, air travelers, and motorists)⁷⁴⁵ places women architects and planners on a map that has ignored women's movements, let alone their contributions to the forms of movement. Seeing them as active participants in the discourse

⁷⁴⁵ Urry, *Consuming Places*, 141.

and design of urban mobility disputes the view of women as victims who operated within gendered professional limits and were forced to follow certain paths. My perspective blurs easy categorizations within the discipline and challenges pure victimhood. Instead, it shows that women altered the built landscape, architectural discourse, and profession with movement.

This study invites further research on women's global networks, exchanges, and mobilities. Studies on women architects' travel narratives, personal and professional engagement with different modes of transportation, participation in global women's networks, experiences in design and construction work in foreign landscapes, and dialogues with local agents outside of their home countries will bring fresh feminist perspectives to the writing of architectural history. Moreover, the link between women's lives and mobility that I forged in this dissertation invites comparative work on other professional women, such as artists, engineers, doctors, teachers, or journalists.

The feminist examination of mobility between leisure and work presented in this dissertation captures how women blurred the gendered boundaries of spaces and forms of mobility and of the architectural profession. I have presented the patterns, distinctions, and divergences that I have seen among the strategies of the six protagonists of this research. The postwar period saw the prevalence of different modes and technologies of travel, and the built environment was constantly reshaped accordingly. Women in architecture, active and mobile, were vital modern agents in this change.

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FIGURES



Figure 1 Ginkelvan stood out with its bold colors and rectilinear shape, 1971. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A58-D.

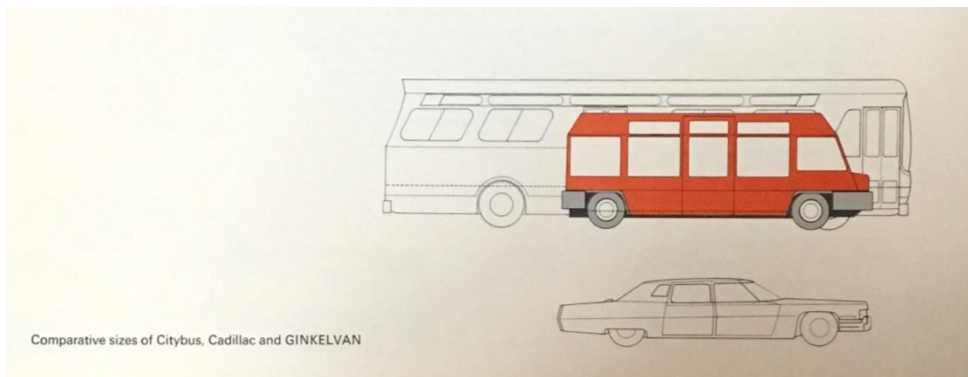


Figure 2 The Ginkelvan is compared to the city bus and Cadillac in size in the original brochures designed by the office, 1971. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A58-47.



Figure 3 Ginkelvan is seen next to bus 24 on Sherbrooke Street in Montreal, 1971–74. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A58-40.

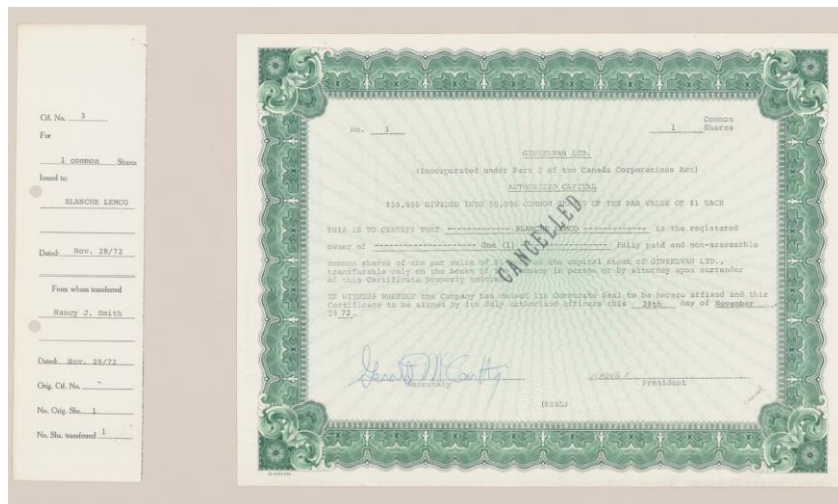


Figure 4 Certificate showing Blanche Lemco van Ginkel as a shareholder of the Ginkelvan Ltd., November 29, 1972. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A58-31.



Figure 5 Blanche Lemco van Ginkel attended the inauguration of Ginkelman in various places, including Vail, Colorado. *The Vail Trail*, March 30, 1973. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A58-14.



Figure 6 Blanche Lemco van Ginkel sits across her husband Sandy van Ginkel in the Ginkelvan prototype 2, to the far right is the Mayor of New York. Photograph by Jonahtan Rawle. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A58-29 (1/2).

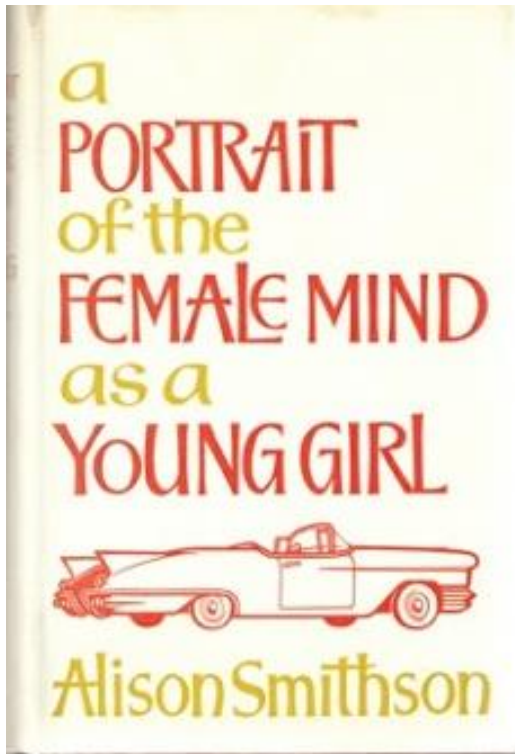


Figure 7 The book cover of *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* has a Cadillac on its cover. Alison Smithson, *A Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966). [http://www.oris.hr/en/oris-magazine/overview-of-articles/\[245\]a-letter-to-young-women,3955.html](http://www.oris.hr/en/oris-magazine/overview-of-articles/[245]a-letter-to-young-women,3955.html). Accessed January 22, 2021.

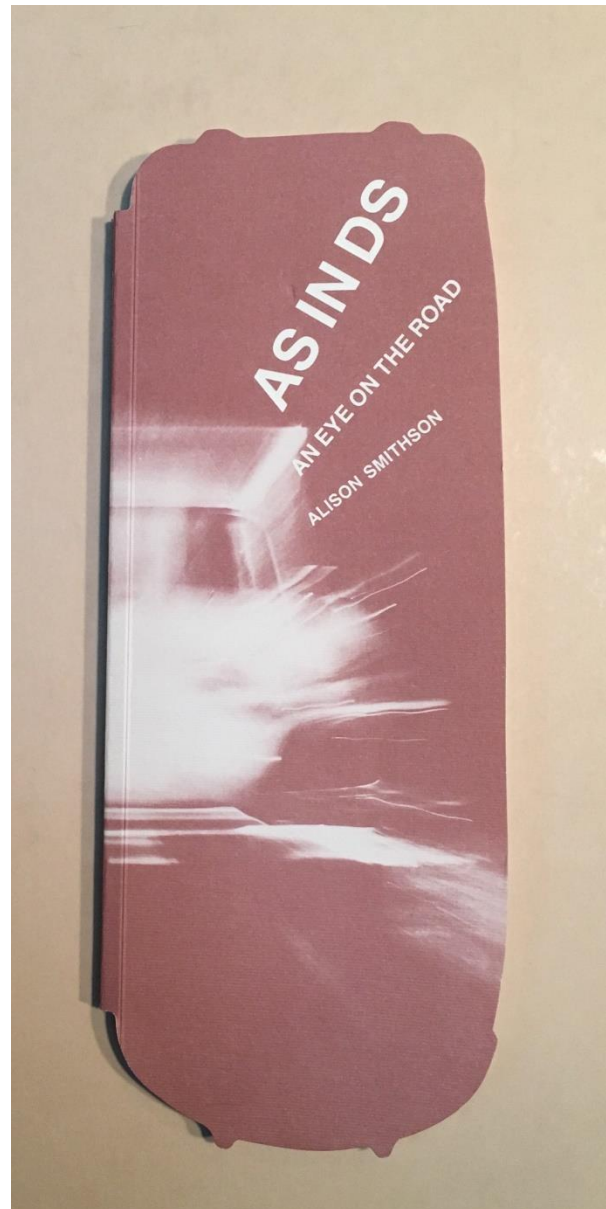


Figure 8 The book cover of *AS in DS*, in the shape of Citroën DS 19. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1983).



Figure 9 The Smithsons owned a Willys Jeep in the 1950s. They drove it to Tunisia for summer holidays and to the 1956 CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik, Croatia. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS*, 37.



Figure 10 The Plymouth advertisement in "Mobility: Road Systems." The caption reads: "Social mobility and physical mobility are related; and a car of your own is a symbol for them both." Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Mobility: Road Systems," *Architectural Design* 28, no.10 (October 1958): 385.



Figure 11 Image in "Mobility: Road Systems." The caption reads: "'our cities—an extension of ourselves as we now wish to be.'" Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "Mobility: Road Systems," *Architectural Design* 28, no.10 (October 1958): 388.

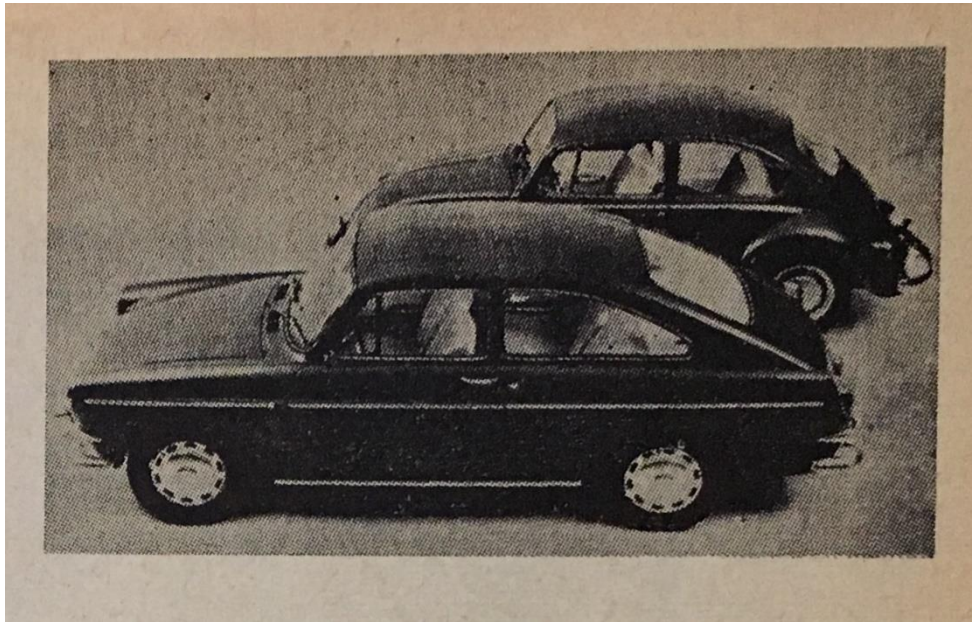


Figure 12 In “Love in a Beetle,” Alison Smithson compares the interiors of cars in relation to marriages. I. Chippendale, “Love in a Beetle,” *Architectural Design* 35, no.10 (October 1965): 478.

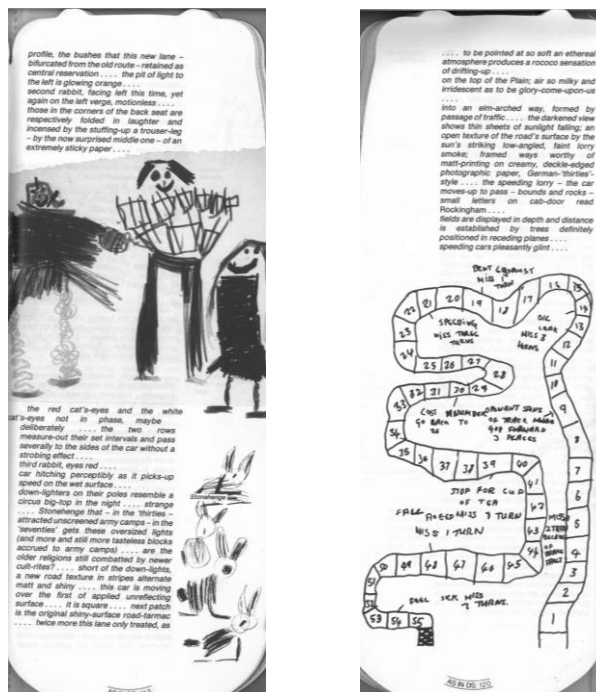


Figure 13 Pages from *AS in DS*, chapter “The Private Room on Wheels,” with Smithsons’ children’s drawings. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS*, 112–13, 120–21.



Figure 14 Jean Wallbridge next to Hector in Chile, 1950. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0935.



Figure 15 The plate indicates the office downstairs. The photograph is taken from the entrance door, to the left is the living room. Photograph by author.

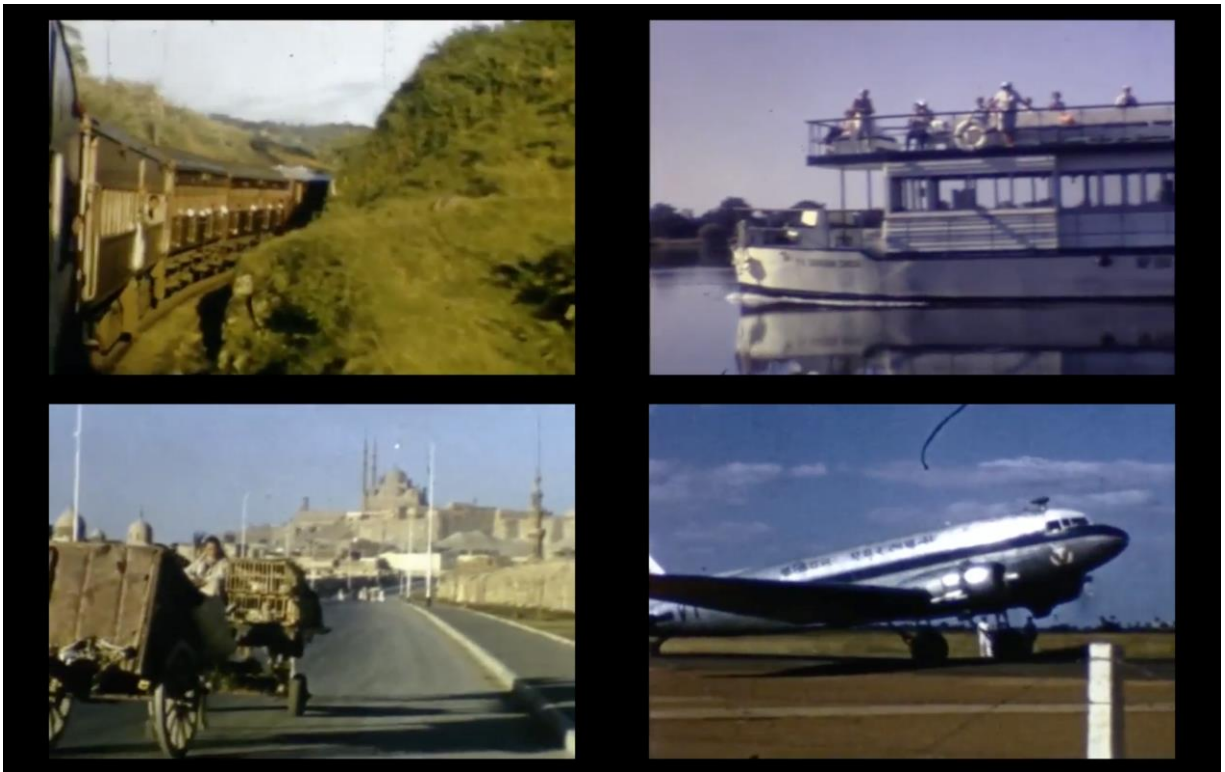


Figure 16 Imrie and Wallbridge filmed the various modes of transportation that they used throughout their travels in the late 1940s and the 1950s—both from the vehicles looking outside and from the outside looking at them. Still from home movies. Provincial Archives of Alberta, top-left, bottom-right, PR1988.0290.0929; top-right, PR1988.0290.0924; bottom-left, PR1988.0290.0926.



Figure 17 Jean Wallbridge on camel Pepsicola in Egypt, March 13, 1958. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0926.



Figure 18 Hector being pulled out of a puddle in Chile, 1950. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0935.



Figure 19 Hand-drawn map of Imrie and Wallbridge's trip from Canada to South America, 1949-50. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0815.



Figure 20 Jean Wallbridge talking to local architects in Lima, Peru, February 1950. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0934.



Figure 21 Denise Scott Brown with the Morgan during their European trip, 1956. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania by the gift of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 22 Denise Scott Brown with the Morgan in Florence, Italy, 1956. Photograph by Robert Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 23 Denise Scott Brown in the driver's seat, 1956. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania by the gift of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 24 San Marco, Venice, Italy, 1956. Photograph planned and composed by Denise Scott Brown and Robert Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 25 Denise Scott Brown with pigeons, 1956. Photograph by Robert Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 26 "Vast space at the Lagoon," Venice, Italy, 1956. Photograph by Denise Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 27 "Urban juxtapositions," Los Angeles, 1966. Photograph by Denise Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 28 Mojave Desert, California, 1968. Photograph by Denise Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.

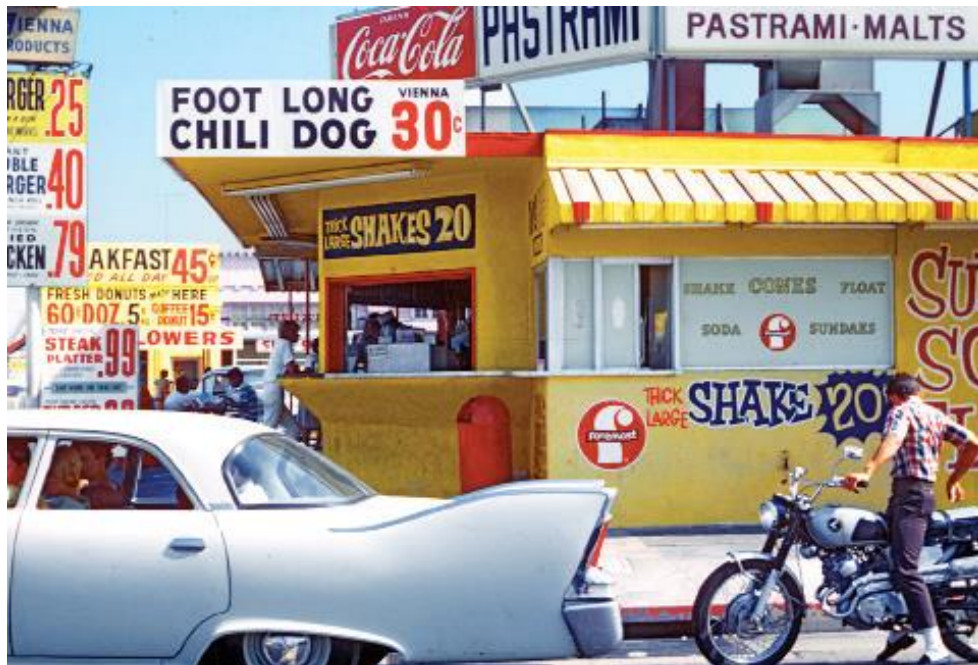


Figure 29 Pico Boulevard, Santa Monica, California, 1966. Photograph by Denise Scott Brown. Courtesy of Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 30 Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi driving down the strip in Las Vegas, 1968. Scott Brown, sitting at the front passenger seat, holds her camera, both Venturi and she looks towards the billboards and cars through the windshield. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania by the gift of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown.



Figure 31 During their 1957–58 trip to Asia and Middle East, Imrie and Wallbridge were usually accompanied by a male guide. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0925.



Figure 32 Secretariat building at the back, February 9, 1958. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0.928.



Figure 33 Mary Imrie looking over the Bosphorus with a friend, March 1958. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0925.



Figure 34 Istanbul Municipality Building, designed by Nevzat Erol in 1953. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0925.



Figure 35 The gate of Istanbul Hilton Hotel, March 1958. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0925.



Figure 36 Istanbul Hilton Hotel, designed by the American architectural firm SOM, 1952–55. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0925.



Figure 37 Hilton Hotel seen from the boat, March 1958. Still from home movie. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0925.



Figure 38 Road photographs taken from the windshield, positioned on top of each other. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS*, 34.



Figure 39 Panoramic road photographs from the road. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS*, 46.

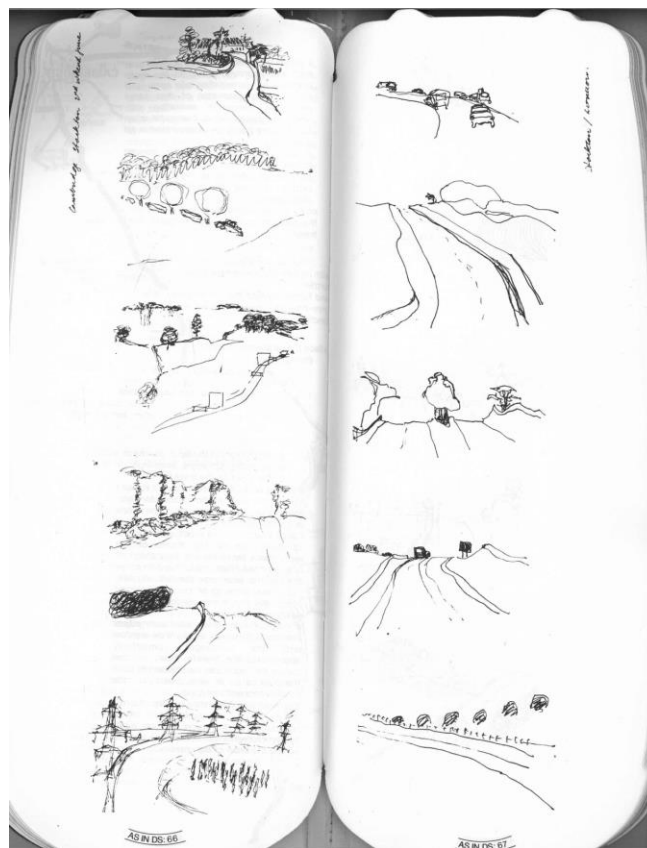


Figure 40 Road sketches resemble the perspectives of the photographs taken from the windshield. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS*, 66–67.



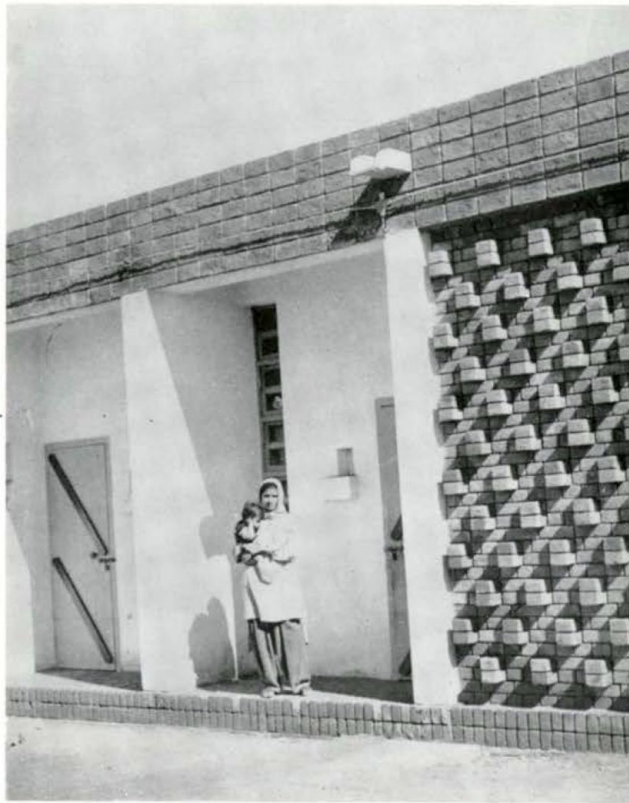


Figure 43 Photograph accompanying Tyrwhitt's article "Chandigarh." It is the only image showing the everyday lives of people around the modern structures. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, "Chandigarh" *Journal of Royal Architectural Institute in Canada* 32, no. 1 (1955): 17.



Figure 44 Photograph accompanying Tyrwhitt's article "Chandigarh," showing local living environments. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, "Chandigarh," 11.

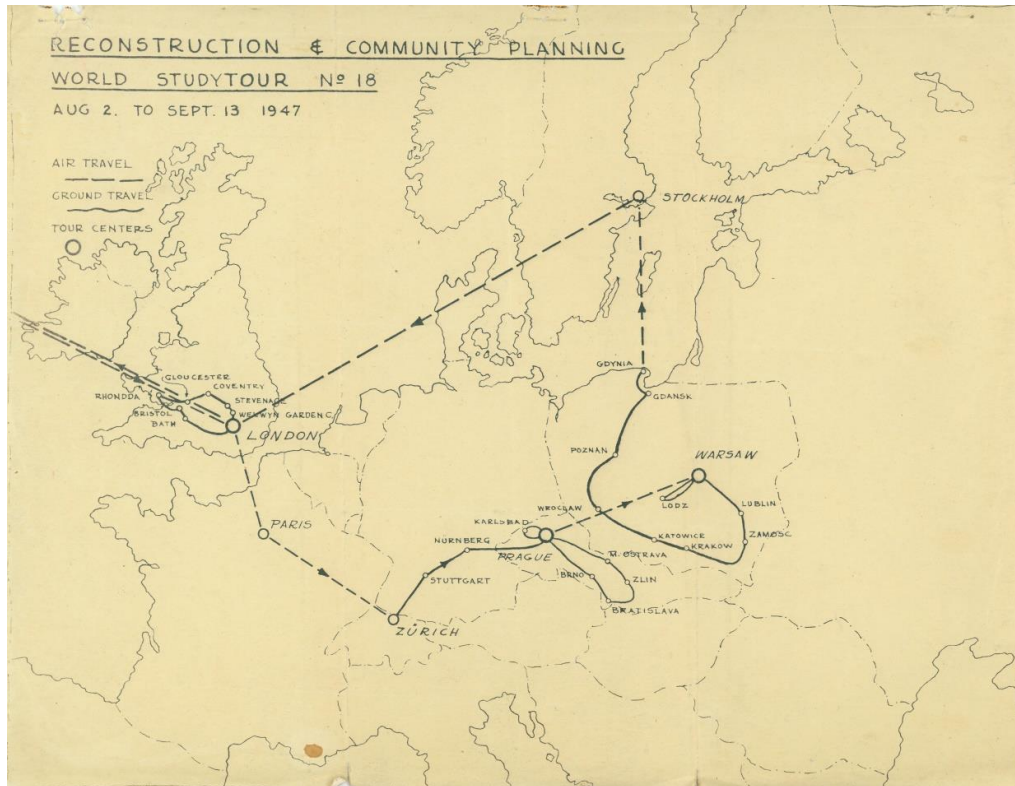


Figure 45 Map of Imrie and Wallbridge's trip in Europe from August 2 to September 13, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.



Figure 46 The group traveled in various vehicles, including an army truck in Poland, 1947. Courtesy of Emma Cobb.



Figure 47 In the opening of their first home movie from the 1949–50 South American road trip, Wallbridge traces their route on a map. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0936.



Figure 48 Imrie and Wallbridge at a train station in Europe, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.



Figure 49 Imrie and Wallbride sleeping in a train car, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.



Figure 50 Imrie and Wallbride attended several lectures during their trip. A Group photograph in England, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

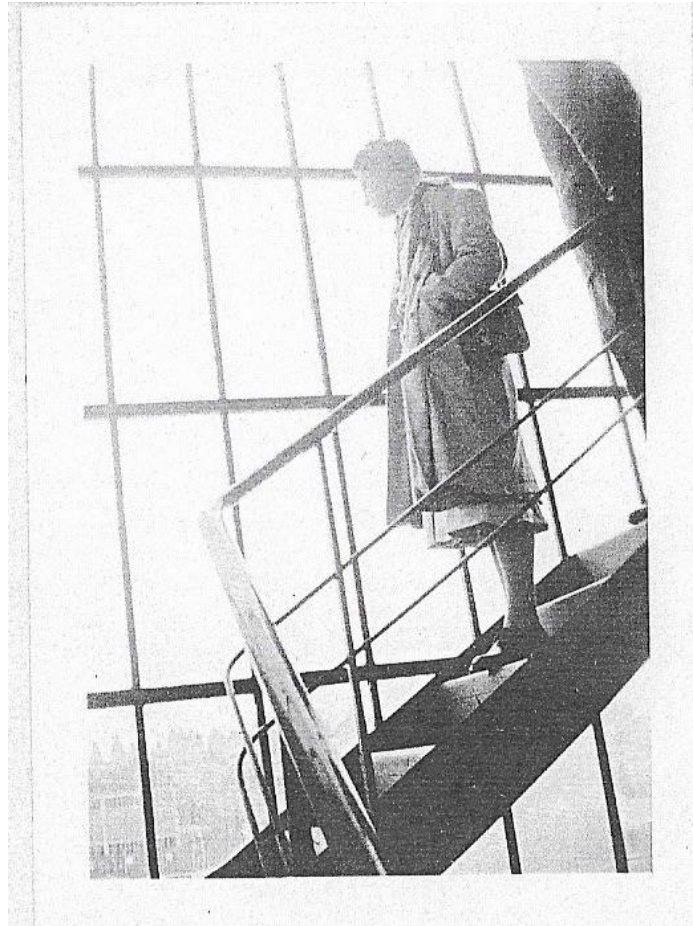


Figure 51 Tyrwhitt's figure is magnified in this photograph from Imrie and Wallbridge's album, 1947. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.



Figure 52 Opposite Imrie and Wallbridge are sitting the attendants of the tour, 1947. At the centre is Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, to her right, Henry Cobb. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0853.

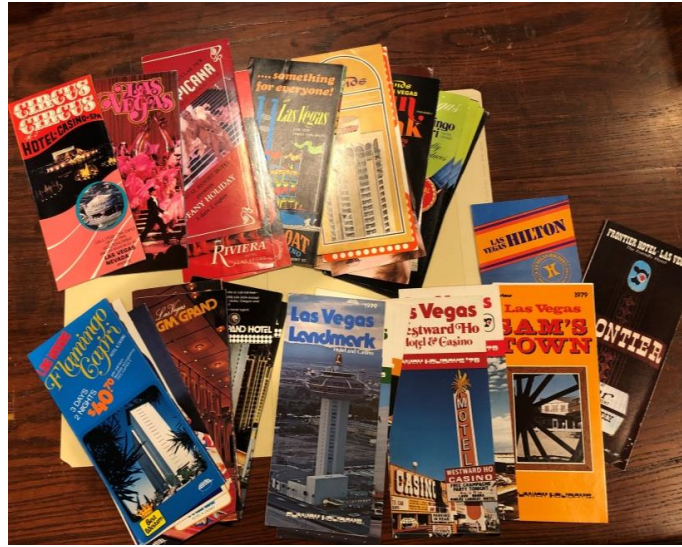


Figure 53, 54 During the Las Vegas trip, the studio group collected postcards, maps, aerial photographs, ads, and brochures. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania by the gift of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown. Photographs by the author.

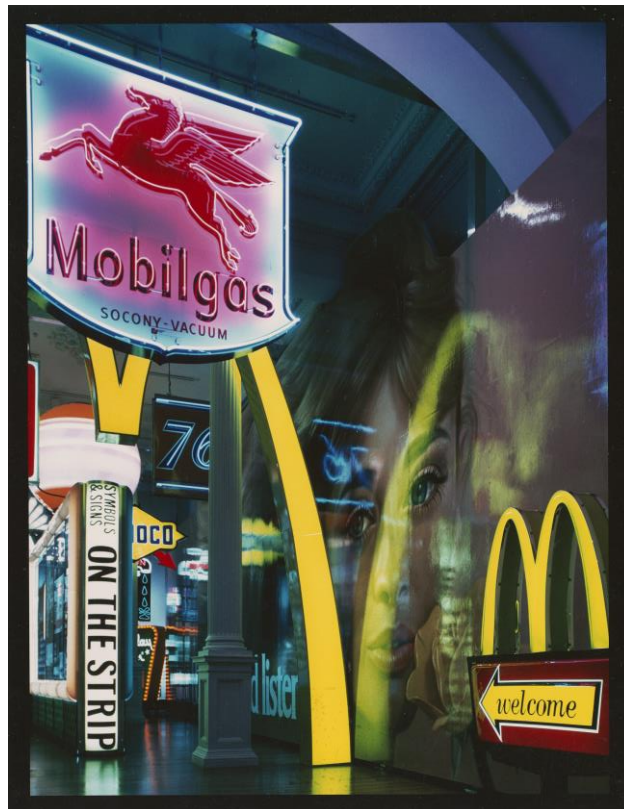



Figure 55 The *Signs of Life* exhibition incorporated various roadside symbols to its narrative, 1976. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania by the gift of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown.

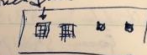


8th	7.45	Leave Delhi	INA
Wed	12.15	Karachi	
9th	1.40	Leave Karachi	PA2
10th	8.05	Tel Aviv	501
11th		TWA ma hotel	3 nights
12th	9.20	Tel Aviv	PA2
Sun	14.35	Rome	503
13th		TWA hotel	2 nights
14th	11.55	Rome	AX
Tues	9.30	Rome	BR 23
	13.15	Geneva	TWA
	15.35		907
8th	7.15	Delhi	INA
Wed	11.45	Calcutta	
	19.35	Calcutta	PA2
9th	8.05	Tel Aviv	501
10th	12.15	Tel Aviv	
11th	17.20	Rome	TWA 29

Another type in brick - arches sometimes



brick grill



back wall as seen from inside

9

Figure 58 Tyrwhitt's 1953 diary demonstrates her busy life during the Seminar with timetables, trip schedules, notes, and research on construction techniques. RIBA Library, The Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, TyJ 43/10.



Figure 60 The van Ginkels' 1970 Midtown Manhattan Study adopted one-way street patterns and introduced new pedestrian spaces and streets with wide walkways and vegetation as well as a new minibus system on the 48th street. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A52-18.

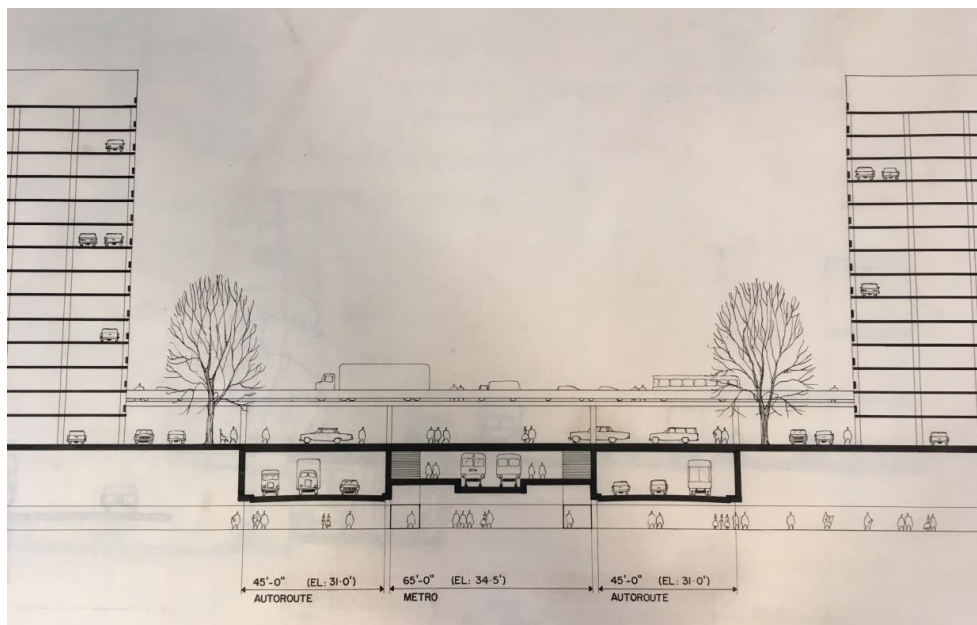


Figure 61 In their 1961 Montreal Central Area Circulation Study, the van Ginkels proposed a multi-level pedestrian system dividing pedestrian and vehicular networks on levels, reminiscent of Alison and Peter Smithson's 1957 Berlin Hauptstadt competition entry. Van Ginkel Associates Fonds, Canadian Centre for Architecture, gift of H.P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco van Ginkel. Folder: 27-A13-D.

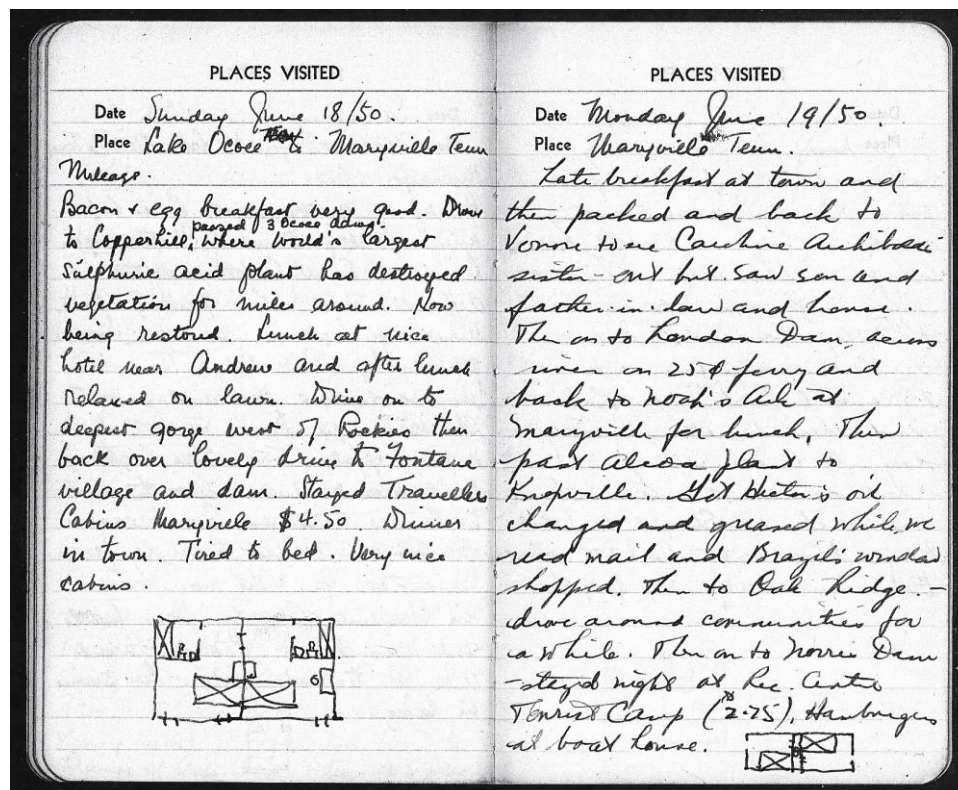


Figure 62 Mary Imrie's diary entries from June 18, 1950 and June 19, 1960 include two sketches of the travelers' cabins at which they stayed in the United States on their way back to Canada. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0813.

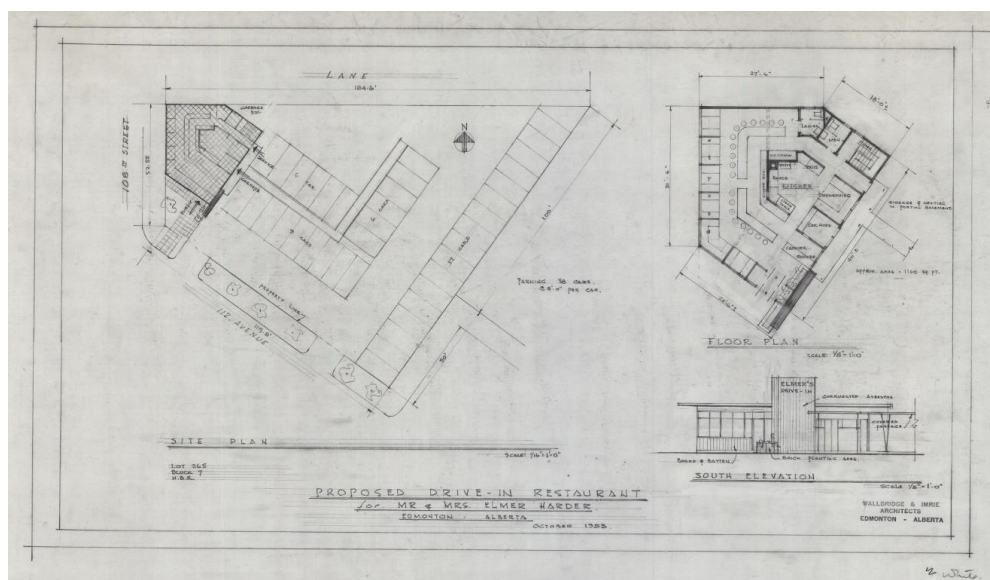


Figure 63 Imrie and Wallbridge's Drive-ins and service stations followed modernist trends. Elmer's Drive-in, 1953. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0642.0001.



Figure 64 With their pitched roofs, exposed timber logs, and symmetrical plan organization, the Jasper Bungalows adhere to traditional camp lodgings, 1956. Author's collection.

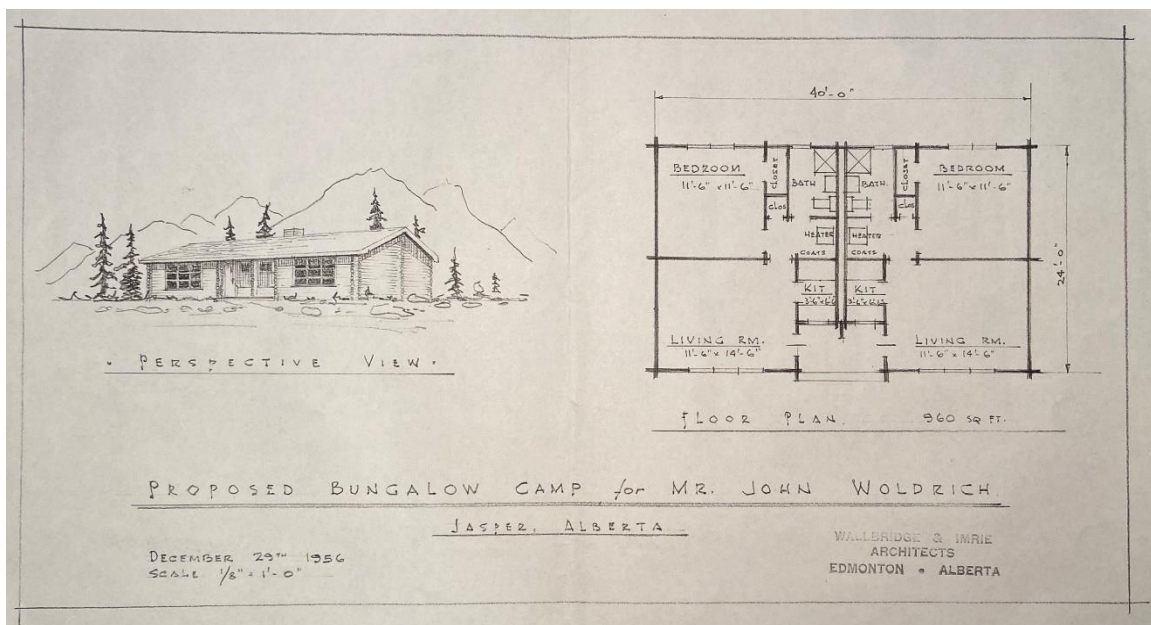


Figure 65 Imrie and Wallbridge's design for Jasper Bungalows, 1956. Provincial Archives of Alberta, PR1988.0290.0496.

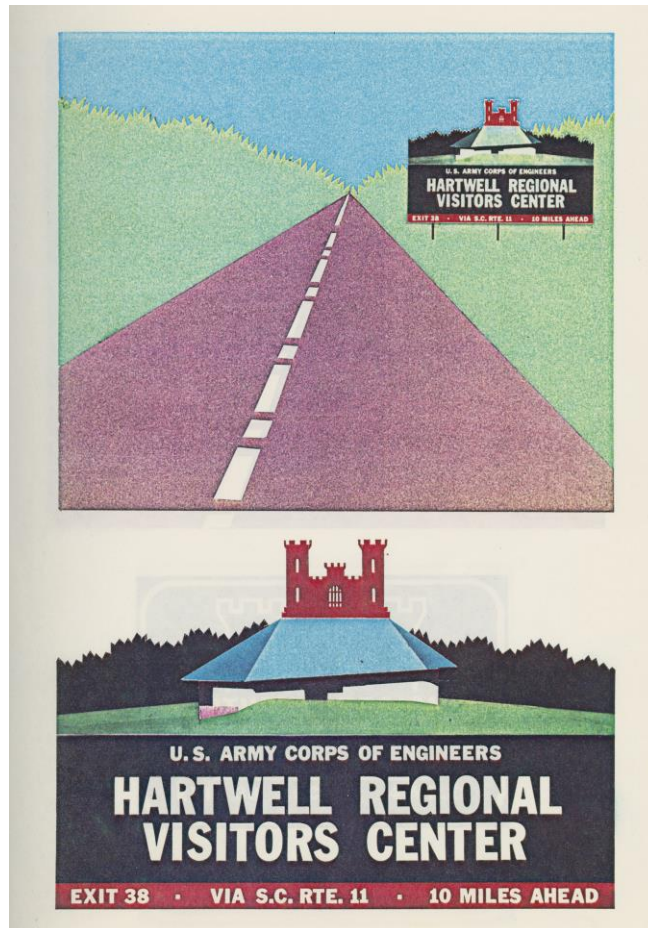


Figure 66 Scott Brown and Venturi turned their “decorated shed” into a sign to be seen from the highway. Hartwell Lake Regional Visitors Center, 1977–78. The Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania by the gift of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown.

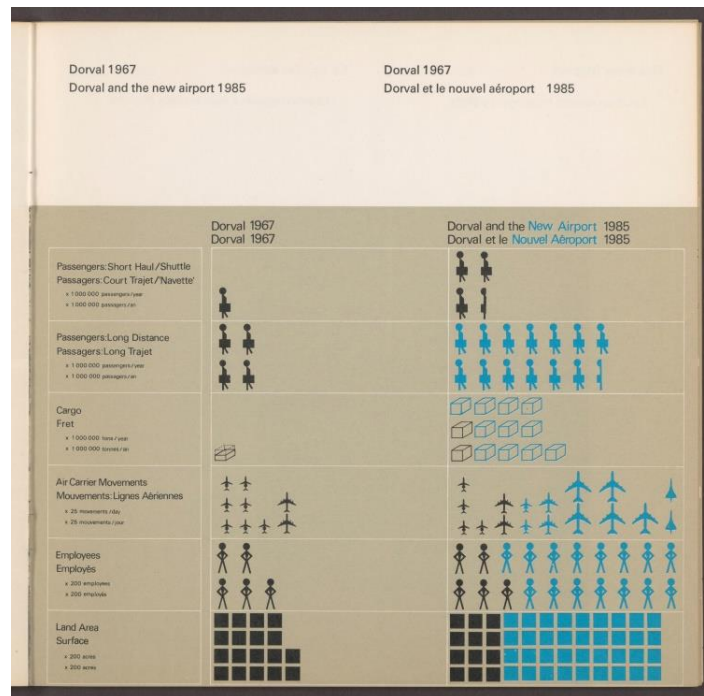
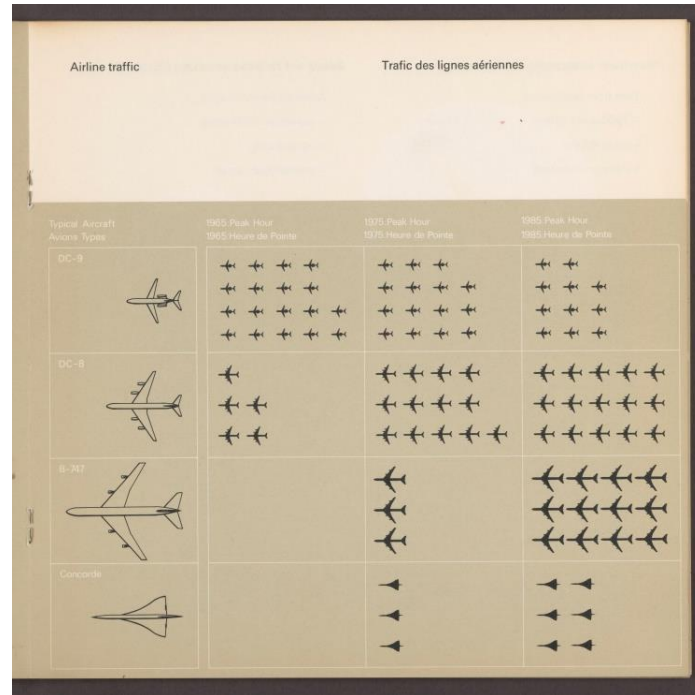


Figure 67 The van Ginkels' 1966-1968 Montreal Airport Study included exhaustive analyses of aircraft types, capacities, speeds, ranges, engines, and costs as well as potential growth of the airport over time—it was very optimistic in its estimates. Blanche Lemco van Ginkel Architectural Collection, Ms1988-122, Special Collections and University Archives, University Libraries, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.