

FEMINIST DESIGN METHODOLOGY: CONSIDERING THE CASE OF MARIA KIPP

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This thesis uses the work and career of the textile designer Maria Kipp to stage a prolegomena concerning how to write about a female designer active during the middle of the twentieth century. How can design historians incorporate new methodologies in the writing of design history? This thesis explores the current literature of feminist design history for solutions to the potential problems of the traditional biography and applies these to the work and career of Kipp. It generates questions concerning the application of methodologies, specifically looking at a biographical methodology and new methodologies proposed by feminist design historians. Feminist writers encourage scholarship on unknown designers, while also they call for a different kind of writing and methodology. The goal of this thesis is to examine how these new histories are written and in what ways they might inspire the writing of Kipp into design history.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PROPOSAL

Introduction

“The monograph, the primary method used by historians to focus on the designer, is an inadequate vehicle for exploring the complexity of design production and consumption.” So begins feminist design historian Cheryl Buckley in “Made in Patriarchy: Towards a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design,” a much-quoted argument against predicating design history on biography.¹ Indeed, design historians have recently supported methodologies that supplant the authoritative role the biography has enjoyed in their field traditionally.

Buckley argues for methodologies capable of accounting for diversity in design history, including social, cultural, political, and gender difference. Prompted by activity in feminist design scholarship such as Buckley’s, the following question becomes central to current design history debates; principally, how do methodologies determine or influence content? How might a methodology impact an author’s chosen point of view, such as feminism, in a way that might be limiting, especially concerning a biography? Ellen Mazur Thomson raises this question as she explains why Martha Scotford’s biography of graphic designer Cipe Pineles is so problematic:

To concentrate on the life of individual designers would appear to distort graphic design history, yet graphic design critics and historians continue to insist on

¹ Cheryl Buckley, “Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design,” *Design Issues* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 3-14; reprint in *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, ed. Victor Margolin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 259 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

writing design history in a series of biographies of individuals, as if biography were the best approach to understanding design history.²

According to Thomson, Scotford isolates Pineles' participation in group work, thus removing her working context. More seriously, Thomson observed that Scotford conflates Pineles' personal and professional accomplishments; for example, Scotford references Pineles' marriages to top designers as design accomplishments, credits her for being an accomplished hostess at dinner parties, and does not treat her designs in a serious and scholarly manner. Proceeding this way, Scotford limits her own possible contributions to the budding field of graphic design history and leaves Pineles' story incomplete. Like Buckley, Thomson asks fundamental questions about how to approach the writing of design history by putting into question the effects of a biographical approach.

This thesis uses the arguments of Buckley and her colleagues as a point of departure from which to examine the methodological treatment of the work and career of Maria Kipp (1900-1977), a handweaving designer active in the United States during the twentieth century. It poses a number of important questions concerning design history. How might a design historian reconstitute the life and work of a Western twentieth-century woman designer such as Kipp, in whom curators, dealers, and design scholars have become interested during the past five years? Should design historians proceed cautiously before addressing Kipp biographically, being wary of the ways biography might distort design history, as Thomson suggests? What alternatives have been suggested of late by feminist design historians on which this thesis might draw?

² Ellen Mazur Thomson, "Review of *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, by Martha Scotford," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 8:1 (Fall/Winter 2000-2001): 180.

Before investigating feminist methodologies and their significance for design history, it is necessary to review briefly what a biography is.

As a type of writing, biography has multiple functions, including as a vehicle for art and design history, as will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Biography, as a genre, possesses a set of characteristics that serve as a structure or framework supporting a tendency for a narrative arc. This function is most pronounced in literature, although it persists in the use of biography in history, too, thus potentially affecting or impairing the historicity of its subjects by virtue of its prescribed format. Feminist design theorists have noted the predominance of certain features within biography and questioned its suitability for in-depth historical analysis.

In design history, biography is used as it is in art history, to organize historical and aesthetic information around the life of an individual. In fact, in art history biography is one of the oldest methods of writing about art and artists. In her analysis of biographies of early artists by the sixteenth-century Italian artist and historian Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), Catherine Soussloff identifies a biographical template structuring the narratives in Vasari's biographical accounts. Prominent features include Prebirth, Birth, Youth, Maturity, Old Age, Death, Fate of Body, and Fate of Works.³ Thus constituted, Vasari's approach to the biography influenced the study and valuation of the art by subsequent generations of art historians. In addition to the contributions biography made in shaping texts considered as constitutive of art history itself, biography has long continued to inform the historiography and pedagogy of modern and contemporary art.

³ Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis, MN; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 2.

In the history of twentieth-century modern art, a cult of personality organizes the progression of styles within movements. For instance, within Abstract Expressionism art historians trace a line of artistic development and progress from Arshile Gorky (1904-1948) to Jackson Pollock (1912-1956) to Mark Rothko (1903-1970). Making the name of an artist interchangeable with the style of her or his art in addition to the art movement that it exemplifies characterizes contemporary art history surveys. Ultimately, as a way of understanding or as an organizational mechanism for the transmission of art or design history, biography perpetuates a filtered and compartmentalized view of history, often avoiding accounting for larger social, cultural, and political issues and interrelations.

Nevertheless, biography purports a basis in history and, thus, is in concept if not practice, bound to fact. However, if we consider biography as literature it becomes apparent that biography expands and bends by the will of the author to further the telling of the story, as explained by literary theorist Ira Nadel:

The employment of facts, their representation as certain forms of plot structures in a biography, transforms them from chronicle to “story” and involves theories of language and narrative form. Together, language, narration and myth establish configurations in biography recognized if not experienced by the readers. Language constitutes the subject as it describes it, becoming both the content and the form. Narration gives it a voice, while myth orders the details into identifiable units...This does not falsify fact but enhances it. Fact expands from a record to the revelation of a human being.⁴

In this case, fact is not absolute, but malleable, biographies of artists are vulnerable to what ends up being a blurring of fact. For example, Vasari’s primary interest was in presenting artists and the myths surrounding their lives, work, and legacy (thus establishing a place or ranking for their art), not strictly adhering to the truth. Indeed,

⁴ Ira Bruce Nadel, *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984), 205.

given its traditional narrative structure and potential to reshape facts, biography may not prove suitable as an accurate model for organizing histories. Proponents of methodological alternatives to biography, finding the biographical approach especially problematic, have developed strategies that allow for different ways of telling a history of design.

As mentioned at the beginning, feminist design historians believe the biography ill equipped and structurally incompatible both with relating the history of their subjects and with locating them in history. Often in biography, the object is bypassed in favor of emphasizing the designer as maker of the object and its meaning. Thus, it is possible that the role of social context in determining the object's origins and significance could be minimized or avoided altogether in favor of an emphasis on the designer. In addition, a strictly biographical approach eliminates from its purview objects not directly attributed to a designer.⁵ Buckley explores the privileging of the individual over context as she compares design to art history and explains the mechanics and effects of "processing" a designer through biography:

Design history mirrors art history in its role as attributor and authenticator...it attaches meaning to a name, thereby simplifying the historical process (by de-emphasizing production and consumption) and at the same time making the role of the individual all-important (by aiding and simplifying attribution)...as a direct consequence...historians have analyzed the design in terms of the designers' ideas and intentions and in terms of the formal arrangement of elements...rather than as a social product. ...The history of design is reduced to a history of the designer, and the design is seen to mean and represent what the designer identifies.⁶

What Buckley is arguing against is the general assumption in design history that the maker exclusively produces not just the object but also its meaning. What if, as

⁵ Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design," 258-259.

⁶ Ibid., 258.

Buckley's text might suggest, meaning develops "outside" the making, material, and formal properties of the object? Then, what role or authority does the maker have in establishing and controlling the meaning of the object, and how can a historian expect to determine this meaning intact? Theorists such as France's Roland Barthes (1915-1980) have "questioned the centrality of the author as a fixed point of meaning."⁷ In his essay concerning meaning and authorship Barthes writes, "A text's unity lies not in its origins but in its destination...the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the author."⁸ When this idea is applied to design history, it suggests that it is the consumer who assigns meaning rather than the designer. Barthes' idea circumvents the authority of the biography of the designer and any subsequent claim to exclusive knowledge of the object on her or his part. In design history, the recognition and elevation of the productive status of the consumer severs the object from the maker and devalues her or his intentions, mimicking the actual process of consumption from the designer to the consumer.⁹

Granting authority to any meanings the designer attributes to her or his work depends on identifying the designer. In design history, this can be particularly difficult, especially since often design is a collective process involving numerous groups of people. From concept to production to retail, each participant gains "authorship" by way of creating and altering the design and in presenting and using the finished object. Moreover, while it may be reasonable to assume no designer would deny the authorship of her or his work, most mass-produced designs lack direct attributions to any one

⁷ Ibid., 259.

⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 148.

individual. Without adequate research or archives, lost names perpetuate the myth of the “anonymous” designer. Pursuing design history solely through biography would exclude these unnamed or non-designer objects and create a false impression of the styles and types of objects designed. Alternatively, in the case of collective, group, or workshop endeavors, a single name or label masks the labors of the entire group. Feminists have felt particularly sensitive to this point because of the small number of named women designers and their often subordinate positions in design situations (though this applies to men as well). In sum, feminist critiques of biography as a tool for design history identify significant weaknesses, each leading to a narrowed definition and interpretation of design, including correlating the design with the life of the designer (as known to or portrayed by historians), ignoring social meaning for the design, and excluding collective and anonymous work.

To counter the liabilities of biography, this thesis examines the writings of feminist design historians. Based on writings by feminist art historians, feminist Marxist art historians, and feminist Marxists, feminist design critics have challenged and changed design history methodologies.

Feminism is the most powerful critique of design history thus far...feminists have had to break down the distinctions between history, theory, and criticism in order to establish a different vantage point from which to view design and design history.¹⁰

In general, foremost among the objectives for feminist design historians, is the re-discovery of women designers and the critical exploration and documentation of their

⁹ This argument is based on the idea that once an object is purchased and put into use it assumes a unique meaning for its owner not originally intended by the designer whose original intentions remain unknown to the consumer.

¹⁰ Victor Margolin, “Design History or Design Studies: Subject Matter and Methods,” *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 12.

lives, careers, and designs. Problems with traditional approaches to biography do not or should not preclude us from studying the life and work of individuals and, in fact, might inspire new ways or methods of exploration to supplement the biography or create a new kind of biography. Correspondingly, this thesis offers a methodological approach culled from feminist design scholarship to studying the life and work of Maria Kipp.

Kipp's life and career are well suited for this study. She had a reputation as one of the most sought-after handweaving designers and producers for textiles in the United States as well as internationally at mid-twentieth century. In addition to the significance of the recognition she received from her peers and her industry, Kipp is historically relevant. She was part of the intersection of important mid-twentieth century Modernist design "events," including the German Bauhaus, California regional architectural Modernism, and the establishment and professionalization of the modern system of interior design. Recently, Kipp has been included in several design exhibitions and publications, indicating a renewed interest in her life and work.¹¹ However, beyond these factors, Kipp is a viable choice because of the wealth of primary research materials available through archives.¹²

As a business owner and designer, Kipp managed her own shop, Maria Kipp, Inc., in Los Angeles from the 1930s until the 1970s. During the 1950s and 1960s, the shop achieved national success. Her modernist handcrafted designs were popular among Southern Californian architects, including the Austrian natives Richard Neutra (1892-1970) and R.M. Schindler (1887-1953). Her use of strict geometry and interesting

¹¹ "A Woman's Hand: Designing Textiles in America, 1945-1969," Museum at F.I.T., 2000; "Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000: Diversity and Difference," Bard Graduate Center, 2000; "Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000," Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2000.

textures proved particularly suited to the modernist look. Kipp trained in her native Germany at both an art school, Kunstgewerbschule in Munich, and a technical weaving institution, Staatliche Höhere Fachschule für Textilindustrie in Münchberg, Bavaria; she was the first woman ever admitted to the latter.

While the best-known handweavers of the time, such as Anni Albers and Dorothy Liebes, advocated handweave designing for large-scale industrial machine looms as a way of improving design standards and democratizing taste, Kipp maintained her handweaving factory and thrived on custom orders. She believed there was more freedom of creativity in handweaving, and that she produced superior quality.¹³ Kipp dedicated herself to her factory and business, Maria Kipp, Inc., that she managed single handedly.

Despite that Kipp studied in Germany during the time the Bauhaus was active in Weimar, her student notebooks reflect the established *Kunstschule* model of learning and traditional designs.¹⁴ It is worth noting that during her student years in Germany she was introduced to and active in the eccentric religious movement called Mazdaznan, the same practice followed by Johannes Itten, who developed the Bauhaus' basic design course known as the *Vorkurs*.¹⁵ Kipp participated in a community of German and Austrian émigrés in Los Angeles, and perhaps through it learned of contemporary

¹² Maria Kipp, Inc. archives are located at the Western Textile Center, San Bernardino County Museum, and the Dorothy Stein Archives, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

¹³ "American Handweaving 1960: Ten Years Past the Mid-Century Mark," *Handweaver and Craftsman* (Spring 1960): 5-17, 46-51. Kipp was not against technology, rather she viewed the machine's imitation as an impetus to strive for greater "authenticity," difficulty, and originality in handweaving.

¹⁴ I examined three student notebooks from the technical weaving school she attended. Kipp pasted lesson instructions in gothic script into the notebook with small color pencil grid exercises that illustrated weave patterns, such as diagonals. She pasted in scraps of thread and weaves as well.

¹⁵ The styles of traditional exercises as practiced by Kipp are in sharp contrast to Johannes Itten's innovative *Vorkurs* classes at the Bauhaus as described in Johannes Itten's *Design and Form: The Basic Course at the Bauhaus* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963).

design in Europe.¹⁶ Certainly, her modernist sensibilities and style show some knowledge of the Bauhaus weaving studio (figure 1).

Her company, Maria Kipp, Inc., filled a niche in the design market by producing high-quality reasonably priced custom-woven textiles for drapery and upholstery.¹⁷ Interior designers, decorators, and architects constituted her primary market through a network of sales representatives and catalogues of samples distributed across the country. Clients selected patterns from the samples and submitted their own color preferences. Since all yarns were dyed for each specific project based on the clients' submission, the clients to a great degree determined the final look of the textile. Kipp's inventory of samples cut from finished jobs, kept for her own reference and records, reveals a design style and sensibility unique to Maria Kipp despite of client input.

Late in life, Kipp wrote an informal collection of memories that she illustrated with family pictures and pasted-in lithographs. Themes include her childhood in Germany, difficulties that led to her life in the U.S., the establishment and success of her shop, her family, and a history of her spiritual questioning.¹⁸ Regarding her career, other than a few comments about clients, Kipp wrote very little. In particular, she did not address any theories of design or thoughts on other designers. Instead, she focused on the

¹⁶ Kipp was close friends with Paul Frankl, a furniture designer and author of many popular design books in the 1920s to 1950s, including *Space for Living: Creative Interior Decoration and Design* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1938); *American Textiles* (Brighton, England: F. Lewis Publishers, 1954); *Form and Re-Form: A Practical Handbook of Modern Interiors* (New York: Brewer and Warren Incorporated, 1928); *Machine-Made Leisure* (New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1932); *New Dimensions: The Decorative Arts of Today in Words and Pictures* (New York: Brewer and Warren Incorporated, 1928).

¹⁷ "Modern Fabrics," *California Arts and Architecture* 59 (July 1942): 28. "Since 1924 she has worked in Southern California, operating her own looms and developing new and modern approaches to the problems of her craft. While there is a definite 'custom' feel in her textures, they are nevertheless produced for commercial competition. She works in linen, wool, silk, rayon, and in any material that can serve the purpose of her highly original designs that are created for individual demands."

¹⁸ Maria Kipp, Life story written for family, 1977-1979. Dorothy Stein Archive, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, CA.

satisfaction of the daily practice of sustaining her workshop and her “family” of employees.

Statement of the Problem

This thesis uses the work and career of Maria Kipp to stage a prolegomena concerning how to write about a female designer active during the middle of the twentieth century.

Methodology

This thesis explores the current literature of feminist design history for solutions to the potential problems of the traditional biography and applies these to the work and career of Maria Kipp. It generates questions concerning the application of methodologies. For example, what is it about their arguments that are relevant or not concerning the particularity of Kipp’s life and art? How can design historians incorporate new methodologies in the writing of design history? The proposed treatment of Kipp is useful since she is nearly unknown today; therefore, her work and career await continued rediscovery and analysis. Feminist writers encourage scholarship on unknown designers, while also they call for a different kind of writing and methodology. The goal of this thesis is to examine how these new histories are written and in what ways they might inspire the writing of Maria Kipp into design history.

In order to accomplish this, the chapters analyze biography and explore methodological alternatives. Chapter 2 critiques biography as an approach to writing art history by examining effects on content. The next chapter examines biography in design history scholarship and discusses the feasibility of the biographical approach to writing

about the life and work of Kipp. For comparison, it examines a biographical treatment of another twentieth-century woman designer and ensuing criticism, thus, showing contemporary design scholarship on a related subject facing the same perceived problem of addressing women designers. Further, it reviews a recent short biography of Kipp and expands it by theoretically applying parts of a biographical methodology, raising questions about possible conflicts and problems. Specific methodological alternatives to biography dominate the last two chapters. Chapter 4 dissects the components of feminist design methodology while suggesting viable future treatments of Kipp as a twentieth-century woman designer. The final chapter demonstrates the potential differences in scholarship produced through methodology by presenting aspects of Kipp's life and career previously ignored or overlooked in a biographical approach. It concludes by debating questions raised throughout the process, including the relative merits of various methods of study and conflicts.

In preparation for writing this thesis, I surveyed archives and conducted interviews in California. In October 2001, I visited Los Angeles as part of the fact-finding stage of my research. At the Western Textile Collection at the San Bernardino County Museum in Redlands, California, I studied custom-ordered samples, records, and other archived items from Maria Kipp, Inc. I visited the Dorothy Stein Archives at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which houses more archives from Maria Kipp, Inc., including the customer information for orders, extensive press clippings collected by the company, a copy of the family journal written by Maria Kipp, and other archived items. While in Los Angeles, I interviewed Hedwig Simon, Maria Kipp's head weaver from the 1960s until the close of the company, and George and Denny Lynn Engelke, Maria

Kipp's son and daughter-in-law. In addition to these resources in Los Angeles, the Dallas Museum of Art owns one of the largest collections of drapery samples by Maria Kipp in a museum.¹⁹ As the McDermott Curatorial Assistant at the Dallas Museum of Art, working in the Decorative Arts department from January 2001 to June 2002, I viewed the samples and discussed Kipp's work with curators, Dr. Charles Venable and Stephen Harrison.

Review of the Literature

To address the question of how to write about women in the Western tradition active as designers during the middle of the twentieth century, this thesis engages several disciplines of study. This is because the question implies at least two areas of practice. The first involves the construction of history, given a specific field of study and time; the second, gender, including gender and feminist studies. Therefore, a review of relevant literature encompasses connections between the construction of histories of objects and visual representations, including fields under which they are studied traditionally—art and design history, methodology, and historiography, and exploration of the subject as addressed in studies of gender.

From Women-in-Design to Patriarchy

Since design first became an independent field of study in Britain during the early 1970s, feminist design historians and critics confronted design history and gender in a variety of ways.²⁰ Judy Attfield and Cheryl Buckley, two of the most influential

¹⁹ All of the Maria Kipp, Inc. textiles in archives and museums are samples directly from the company, as opposed to finished products, which, if still in existence, are held by private clients.

²⁰ As the beginning of contemporary design history scholarship and practice, many design historians in Britain cite *The Coldstream/Summerson Report on "The Structure of Art and Design Education in the*

proponents of a feminist critique of design in Britain, challenged existing scholarship and posed provocative questions that resulted in reconfiguring the field of design history and practice.

Attfield identified as the “women-in-design” approach the non-committal way most historians acknowledge the participation of women in the history of design. In “Defining the Object and the Subject...The Perception of Women in Design History,” she argued for a more dedicated critique:

The main objection I have to the women-in-design slant is that it appears to take on feminism but it in fact colludes with the traditional functional account of design history which cannot deal with the concept of a changing role for women or the developing consciousness of a new type of woman.²¹

Attfield continued this argument against design history as an inventory of ornamentation and style changes in favor of a new examination of the role of women in design in her important article, “FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design,” 1989.

Buckley echoes many of Attfield’s arguments in her 1986 review of Isabelle Anscombe’s *A Woman’s Touch: Women in Design from 1860 to the Present Day*, 1984, a book intended to celebrate women designers and define their place in general design history. Buckley condemned Anscombe’s book, stating that it reestablished and reaffirmed stereotypes and myths about the female gender and creativity. She argued that Anscombe presented history as though woman is a timeless, classless, and racially

Further Education Sector”, published by the British Ministry of Education in 1970, that introduced academic studies to practical courses in art and design as a means of upgrading them to university equivalent status. See *Design History: Fad or Function?* (London: Design Council, 1978), an early conference paper report that refers to the Coldstream Report in detail.

²¹ Judy Attfield, “Defining the Object and the Subject...The Perception of Women in Design History,” *Times Higher Education Supplement* (1 February 1985): 26.

homogeneous entity endowed with feminine traits of decorativeness and beauty, for example, that a woman's touch makes a home.

In her best-known article, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design," 1986, later rewritten as "Made in Patriarchy: Theories of Women and Design—A Reworking," 1999, Buckley identifies patriarchy as the dominant force in determining the participation and value of the creative endeavors of women, including in design history. She traces the history of feminist writing about women designers, including Patricia Mainardi's radical "Quilts: The Great American Art," 1973, and she outlines steps for future feminist design historians and criticizes the monograph as an insufficient means for addressing women's role in design history.

Both Attfield and Buckley authored critical texts that this thesis builds upon directly. However, it is important to realize that neither author directly addressed the shortcomings of the biographical methodology through the study of an individual. In addition to exploring an area only tentatively outlined by Attfield and Buckley, this thesis compares and contrasts their arguments and methods by applying them to a specific designer.

Recent Contributions

Significant anthologies of feminist design history published subsequent to the groundbreaking early work of Buckley and Attfield include: *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*, 1989, edited by Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham; *Design and Feminism: Re-visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things*, 1999, edited by Joan Rothschild; *Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000: Diversity and Difference*, 2000, edited by Pat Kirkham. Radical at the time of its publication, *A View from the*

Interior considered women as design consumers and included specifically gendered areas of design previously ignored by general design historians, such as fashion, as well as groundbreaking scholarship on more traditional women designers.²² Rothschild's book provides an excellent introduction to feminist design studies, however, it was criticized for over-emphasizing architecture and therefore reinforcing the gendered hierarchy in design relegating craft, design, and fashion to the bottom.

Women Designers in the USA is part of an ambitious project by Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts to celebrate the "multifaceted and largely underrecognized contributions of women designers to American culture in the twentieth century."²³ The book accompanied a large exhibition of the same name held at Bard from November 15, 2000, until February 25, 2001. An issue of Bard's decorative arts scholarly journal, *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, was dedicated to the same theme and provided more in-depth and critical essays, along with a review of feminist literature, case studies, and reviews of related books.²⁴ As a whole, the project is impressive for its scope. Nevertheless, with the kind of inclusiveness of ethnicity, culture, tradition, and craft that it attempts, terms like "design" and "designer" almost cease to have any meaning or boundaries.²⁵ The project received overwhelmingly positive reviews and was heralded as the definitive publication on the state of current research on American

²² See, for example, Angela Partington, "The Designer Housewife in the 1950s," 206-214; Lee Wright, "Objectifying Gender: The Stiletto Heel," 7-19; and Anthea Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement," 151-164, all in *A View From the Interior: Women and Design*, eds. Judy Attfield and Pat Kirkham, (London: The Women's Press, 1989).

²³ Susan Weber Soros, "Director's Foreword," *Women Designers in the USA* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 10.

²⁴ "Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000," Special Issue, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* VIII, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2000-2001).

²⁵ The exhibition and catalogue include traditional Native American craftpersons, early American quilters, women industrial designers, African American designers, and women active in many other areas of design, such as textiles and ceramics. See Carma R. Gorman's attempt to find Kirkham's definition of

women designers, despite its sometimes problematic sublimation of craft, native traditions, and genres that have been fighting for recognition as “art” not design.²⁶

One of the most recent and insightful commentaries on the state of feminist design studies tackles Rothschild’s *Design and Feminism* and the Bard project including the exhibition, catalogue, and scholarly journal, all published in 1999-2000. In “Reshaping and Rethinking: Recent Feminist Scholarship on Design and Designers,” 2001, Carma R. Gorman described the fragmented state of feminist interventions in design history. She called for a “reshaping and rethinking” of epistemologies and methodologies—citing inconsistent definitions of design, craft, and art, and techniques that reinforce ideas of “feminine” stereotypes and difference.²⁷ Gorman’s essay is useful because it provokes and challenges texts by authors now firmly established as “authorities” on feminist design scholarship, such as Buckley and Pat Kirkham, thus it does not permit past scholarship to dominate or the dialogue to sit still.

Art History and Feminism

The work of feminist design historians has benefited from scholarship linking art history and feminism; one thinks especially of essays by Griselda Pollock, Rozsika

design and designer, Carma R. Gorman, “Reshaping and Rethinking: Recent Feminist Scholarship on Design and Designers,” *Design Issues* 17, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 72-88, see 77-80.

²⁶ See the bibliography for reviews of the Bard exhibition and catalogue. Patricia Mainardi, “Quilts: The Great American Art,” *The Feminist Art Journal* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1973): 1, 18-23; reprint in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 331-46 (page citations are to the reprint edition). In Mainardi’s article, she states quite clearly that quilts should be considered fine art, equal to the paintings of the period produced by men, see page 344. In the introduction for the anthology that includes Mainardi’s article, *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, Norma Broude and Mary Garrard reiterate this point as central to Mainardi’s text. However, in *Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000*, Kirkham and Walker claim the same essay as a source verifying quilts as part of design history, see page 78.

²⁷ Gorman, “Reshaping and Rethinking: Recent Feminist Scholarship on Design and Designers,” 76-77. Gorman challenged the author’s accountability for interview questions with built-in gender biases and whether the questions would have been asked, or even appropriate to be asked, of men designers. For

Parker, Linda Nochlin, and others. Important texts include *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, 1981, by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” by Linda Nochlin, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art* by Griselda Pollock, and *Women Artists and Modernism*, 1998, by Katy Deepwell. In *Old Mistresses*, Parker and Pollock lay out the fundamental arguments for a feminist approach to art history, rejecting the notion of simply “adding” women to the existing art historical canon, instead calling for a questioning of the way art history has been written and why the scholarship has ignored women. Most feminist design historians and writers attribute this part of their respective arguments to this source.²⁸ Nochlin’s seminal article both questions the anthropocentric litany of art history and becomes the subject of questioning itself by subsequent feminists for the phrasing of her famous question. Pollock’s *Vision and Difference* continues the progression of arguments begun in *Old Mistresses*, including more scholarship on individual artists. Deepwell’s *Women Artists and Modernism* follows the intersection of feminist art history and the specific set of conditions that defines Modernism. Feminist art historians owe a great debt to early feminist publications not especially concerned with creative endeavors, such as *Sexual Politics*, 1970, by Kate Millet, “Woman as Sign,” 1978, by Elizabeth Cowie, and “The Trouble with Patriarchy,” 1979, by Sheila Rowbotham.

example, “Do you think your experience of household work has helped you as a designer of products for the home?” Kirkham, *Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000*, 135.

²⁸ Pat Kirkham and Lynne Walker, “Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000: Diversity and Difference,” in *Women Designers in the USA: 1900-2000*, ed. Pat Kirkham and Lynne Walker, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 79. Buckley, “Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design,” 251-252.

In addition to gender and feminist studies, design and art histories are crucial to the questions raised in this thesis. Design history, methodology, and historiography have matured academically over the last thirty years. As the field continues to grow, critical debates are still taking place as in the journals *Design Issues*, *Journal of Design History*, and *Block*. Authors such as Victor Margolin, Clive Dilnot, Adrian Forty, and Penny Sparke have sought to guide the shape of design history, its teaching, and the interaction of design history with the practice of design.²⁹

The Literature of Maria Kipp

In addition to asking “how” one might approach a topic, the thesis considers the life and work of a particular woman. Therefore, a review of the literature must mention texts and documents relevant to the life, career, and design practice of Maria Kipp. Articles and essays published during her lifetime and more recently are important, including Dorothy Bryan’s “Maria Kipp—Her Career as a Weaver” in *Handweaver and Craftsman*, 1951, Betje Howell’s “Maria Kipp—Master Weaver, Inventor and Craftsman” in *Creative Crafts*, 1961, and Mary Shoesser’s “Textiles, Surface, Structure, and Serial Production” in *Craft in the Machine Age: The History of Twentieth-Century American Craft 1920-1945*, 1995. The subject’s voice emerges through her own written words—Kipp penned her life story in a family journal and wrote a handful of smaller published and unpublished pieces. To date, the most significant and inclusive work published on Kipp is included in *Studies in Decorative Arts*. “Maria Kipp: Autobiography of a Hand Weaver,” 2000, by Marlyn Musicant considers Kipp’s entire life and career from the vantage of her unpublished “autobiography.” Musicant, a graduate student at Bard, is

²⁹ See the bibliography for specific articles by these authors.

currently finishing a thesis on Kipp for which the journal article serves as a brief summary of her research.³⁰ Musicant's work is important as the first and most comprehensive academic treatment of Kipp's entire life story and career. The fundamental differences between Musicant's work and this thesis are methodological. Musicant approaches Kipp within a design biographical-monograph structure. This thesis considers theory and design history practices and methodology first, using Kipp as the subject to which they are applied.

In the process of researching and writing about Kipp, I investigated several topics related to Kipp, but tangential to the goals of this thesis, including: German design education, the Bauhaus, California Modernism, handweaving techniques, the life and work of other important twentieth-century weavers such as Anni Albers, Dorothy Liebes, Gunta Stölzl and Marianne Strengell. In addition, I reviewed monographs and articles written on other twentieth-century female designers, such as "Women and Modernism: A Case Study of Grete Marks," by Cheryl Buckley, *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design* by Martha Scotford, and "Women Textile Designers in the 1920s and 1930s: Marion Dorn, A Case Study," by Christine Boyde.

³⁰ I corresponded and met with Marlyn Musicant regarding her work on Kipp.

CHAPTER 2

CRITIQUE OF BIOGRAPHY: SCHOLARSHIP AND LIMITATIONS

Introduction to Biography

There is properly no history; only biography.³¹

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays in History*

Biography personalizes history in a way no other methodology can, making for insightful literature and sometimes-questionable history. This chapter reviews the biographical form in art history in two parts: an introduction to the art biography and a summary of criticisms.

In art history the biography is an established and accepted methodology. Laurie Schneider Adams, in *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction*, explains:

The biographical method of art history approaches works of art in relation to the artist's life and personality. It assumes a direct connection between artists and their art, and it takes seriously the notion of authorship.

Adams then describes that the biographical method encompasses multiple methodological approaches:

The meaning of a work, its conception and execution, is seen as ultimately determined by the artist, with social and economic factors playing a secondary role. Nor are the formal elements of style thought to exist independently of iconography, which, however conventional, reflects the artist's individual choices in some way.³²

Thus, Adams outlines some of the major uses of biography in art history.

³¹ Wolfgang M Freitag, ed., *Art Books: A Basic Bibliography of Monographs on Artists*, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), vii.

³² Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), 110. Other sources for biography in art history include: Steve Edwards, ed., "Section Two: The Changing Status of the Artist," *Art and Its Histories: A Reader* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 91-136; David Carrier, "Artist's Intentions and Art Historian's Interpretation of the Artwork," *Leonardo* 19, no. 4 (1980): 337-342.

Correspondingly, most art historians would agree with Mark Roskill, that the most common art historical publication is the monograph, which essentially is an expanded form of the biography. Usually a monograph consists of an interpretive essay about the life of the artist, including or especially the development of her or his oeuvre, followed by a cataloguing of all of the works accompanied by illustrations.³³ According to Wolfgang M. Freitag's *Art Books: A Basic Bibliography of Monographs on Artists*, there are three kinds of monographs—the analytical and critical, the biographical, and the enumerative—and the number of published works increases each year.³⁴ Thus, the quantity of material alone lends validity to Freitag's assertion that monographs are among if not the most used and valued art historical materials, and they continue to influence profoundly the ways that art historians study and write art history.³⁵

However, not all scholars agree that the biographical approach necessarily is the best method with which to write history, particularly the relatively new discipline of design history. Certainly, it is important for an art or design historian to consider a methodology's influence on content and anticipate possible problems. For example, when reviewing the historiography of biography in the field of art history, patterns and

³³ Mark Roskill, *What is Art History?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 14.

³⁴ Wolfgang M Freitag, ed., *Art Books: A Basic Bibliography of Monographs on Artists*. 2nd ed. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), ix. The second edition, 1997, has 278 more artists than the first edition, published in 1985. p. xii This volume includes 1,870 artists, 10,543 titles: painting and drawing (64%), sculpture (11%), architecture (11%), graphic arts (8%), photography (5%), and decorative and applied arts (1%).

³⁵ Ibid., xi. "As every librarian knows, artists' monographs form the core and account for the bulk of every art book collection, constituting well over fifty percent of the holdings; they have always been and remain ... the principal vessels in which research results are packaged and transmitted, a fact which is corroborated by several empirical studies of the research habits of art historians." He cites the following sources: Diane Nelson, "Methods of Citation Analysis in the Fine Arts," *Special Libraries* 68, no. 11 (Nov. 1977), 390-95. Wesley C. Simonton, *Characteristics of the Research Literature of the Fine Arts during the Period 1948-1957*, Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois (Urbana), 1960. Deirdre C. Stam, *The Information-Seeking Practices of Art Historians in Museums and Colleges in the United States, 1982-83*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University., School of Library Service, 1984. Note that the most recent study cited is 14 years older than the publication of the edition.

narrative conventions emerge that might become problematic when it comes to writing design history.

Narrative Patterns in Biographical Approaches to Art History

When thinking about patterns in art history writing, it might be argued that, “The broad history of art is made up of specific stories that are variations of each other.”³⁶ As mentioned in Chapter 1, Catherine Soussloff perceived a pattern established by Vasari that included organizing the life of each artist according to the following topics presented in a particular order: Prebirth, Birth, Youth, Maturity, Old Age, Death, Fate of Body, and Fate of Works.³⁷ In fact, the early Roman biographer Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) anticipated patterns that would show up in biographical writing of the sixteenth century and henceforth continue to inform biographies:

Pliny is also a rich source for many of the basic conventions that characterize the genre of artists’ biography. His discussion of the fifth-century B.C. Greek painter Zeuxis reflects several such conventions, notably that the artist surpassed his predecessors in skill, wealth, and fame.³⁸

Biographers accepted and repeated the same stories, such as the Roman poet Ovid’s (43 B.C.–17/18 A.D.) story of Narcissus turned into the tale of Pygmalion, in turn metamorphosed by Pliny, changed again repeatedly by Vasari, and made anew by contemporary writers.³⁹ As Western civilization changed, conventions associated with the biography adapted—claims to divine heritage by Greek artists became parallelisms

³⁶ Paul Barolsky, “A Very Brief History of Art from Narcissus to Picasso,” *The Classical Journal* 90, no. 3 (1995): 258.

³⁷ Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis, MN; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 2.

³⁸ Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), 104. Pliny the Elder is important for his role in the preservation of early Greek history through his book *Natural History*, which included volumes on almost every aspect of life from science to nature to art.

³⁹ Paul Barolsky, “A Very Brief History of Art from Narcissus to Picasso,” *The Classical Journal* 90, no. 3 (1995), 258.

to the life of Christ.⁴⁰ With the Renaissance, biographies reappeared to celebrate individual achievement and personal fame. “Humanist authors writing on the dignity of man and the revival of Classical texts further contributed to the artist’s emergence from the relative anonymity of the Middle Ages.”⁴¹

However, Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) is the true hero of the biographical conventions from antiquity. He sought to defend artists from a “second death”—being forgotten—and “to preserve them as long as may be possible in the memory of the living.”⁴² His reliance on literary devices from antiquity included valuing convention and storytelling above actual truth, as in his presentation of the story of the Florentine painter Giotto di Bondone (1266/7-1337).⁴³ Vasari used other narrative conventions including intolerance for pretension, relating artists to gods and to each other in a line of succession and kinship, renouncing art in the face of greater talent or defeat, resorting to trickery and its relationship to the skill of the artist, art as a tool against danger, woman as muse, and reflecting the artist’s personality in their style thus identifying the

⁴⁰ Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), 106. “He [Parrhasius] also claimed descent from Apollo, the Greek sun god, thereby conforming to the biographical convention of divine lineage.” On page 108 Adams discusses the shift from biography to hagiography (the lives and miracles of the saints) during the middle ages and points out their similarities, such as when Christ as a child sculpts birds and commands them to fly. “This instance is consistent with the biographical—and autobiographical—convention attributing signs of early promise to artists. It also incorporates conventions in which artists are seen as masters of illusion, and hence magicians, as well as alluding to their divine origins.”

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴² Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere (New York, 1979), 11.

⁴³ Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction*, 111. Giotto’s drawing of sheep in the fields as a child is kept in the story because it relates him to Christ and shepherds even though it is probably not true. *Ibid.*, 111. “It would seem that Vasari uses the sheep to satisfy the requirements of biographical convention, specifically the convention associating artists with gods.” Vasari continues with convention as Adam’s describes it, “Having been ‘recognized’ by the reigning artist of the older generation, Giotto, in Vasari’s biography, proceeds according to convention.”

artist with their art.⁴⁴ More than any other art historian since, Vasari repeatedly proved the power of a strong narrative to perpetuate and mythologize artists' careers and art.

Contemporary art historians, such as Griselda Pollock, criticize the biographical monograph for unduly shaping the study of an area of art history, such as the Pre-Raphaelite Movement in England (1848-1853). Pollock argues that the monograph *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* is in reality an illustrated biography and that:

Both fabricate and celebrate individuality in the focus on a single main character. Both share the narrative drive to chart a linear progress from birth to death, which produces a coherent subject, an author for an oeuvre. The predominantly biographical impulse of art history has structured the ways in which Pre-Raphaelitism is constituted and studied...⁴⁵

Pollock identifies biography's narrative tendencies as an influence on the subsequent treatment of the larger subject, the Pre-Raphaelite movement. She does this to demonstrate how biography oversteps its role as a mediator or vehicle for history and too obviously shapes the history of art in accordance with its own pre-existing conventions. Surely, this should concern and warn any historian newly investigating an area of history or an individual's life.

As seen, a biographical methodology determines and/or affects the content. How, specifically, might it affect the story of a designer, such as Maria Kipp?

⁴⁴ Ibid., 112-115.

⁴⁵ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art* (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), 94.

CHAPTER 3

BIOGRAPHY: MARIA KIPP IN THE CONTEXT OF BIOGRAPHY AND DESIGN HISTORY

Introduction

This chapter addresses Maria Kipp within the context of the biography in design history: in general, in practice, and in theory. While the previous chapter outlined narrative patterns and criticisms of the biography in art history, the field upon which design history is founded, Chapter 3 begins with a general discussion about the role of biography in writing design history, followed by a critique. The second section focuses on biographies, as written so far, of two twentieth-century women designers: graphic designer Cipe Pineles and Maria Kipp. The last part of the chapter synthesizes biographical conventions and applies them, in theory, to the life and career of Kipp, as a simulation of the methodology.

Biographical Approach to Design History

Overview

Modern academic design history has its beginnings in biography; indeed, as design historian Clive Dilnot explains, it was born of a collection of biographies:

If design history has an academic antecedent, it is surely Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of Modern Design*, despite all later criticisms. First published in 1936, it is animated by two powerfully linked ideas. First, design is of great importance and significance in the modern world. Second, precisely because of this, the *form* that design takes in this emerging world is of social and ontological importance; so, too, is its history. History establishes a tradition and, therefore, a coherence to an activity.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Clive Dilnot, "The State of Design History. Part 1: Mapping the Field," *Design Issues* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 3-23; reprint, in *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*, ed. Victor Margolin (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 217 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

As Pevsner's subtitle reveals, *From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, he conceived of the history of design as a progression of great Western designers. As Dilnot indicates, not all design historians agree with Pevsner's approach or work, but his book remains one of the primary texts for design history. In her review of *Women Designers in the U.S.A.: 1900-2000*, Carma R. Gorman comments on this phenomenon:

I find it curious that Kirkham and her coauthor, Lynne Walker, readily acknowledge in the first chapter of the catalogue that Nikolaus Pevsner's 1936 book..., "set the tone for histories of male modernist heroes, and for the proto-modernist ones, too," but that they nonetheless seem undisturbed by the extent to which Pevsner's master narrative of male modernist heroes also has shaped the tone and terms of many of their co-contributors' essays.⁴⁷

Herwin Schaefer, Adrian Forty, and other scholars critical of Pevsner offered alternatives to biography as the privileged mode of creating a history of design.

Schaefer, who worked on the 1949 edition of *Pioneers* with Pevsner, focused on the machine and anonymous design and was critical of "Pevsner's undue emphasis on 'the artistic creativity of individuals,'" according to Johnathan Woodham.⁴⁸ However, design historian Jeffrey Meikle mentions Adrian Forty's 1986 book *Objects of Desire: Design and Society 1750-1980* as one of the first pieces of non-Pevsnerian work in the field, an incredible statement given its relatively recent date. Nevertheless, Meikle is correct in his assessment of Forty's objections to Pevsner—in the final paragraph of the book, Forty dismisses Pevsner's "great-man" art historical approach outright.⁴⁹ In truth, Pevsner's great contribution to design history was his adaptation from art history of a

⁴⁷ Gorman, "Reshaping and Rethinking: Recent Feminist Scholarship on Design and Designers," 74.

⁴⁸ Johnathan Woodham, "Resisting Colonization: Design History Has Its Own Identity," *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 29; Herwin Schaefer, *The Roots of Modern Design: the Functional Tradition in the 19th Century* (London: Studio Vista, 1970). Woodham also cites Sigfried Giedion's emphasis on anonymous design. Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).

model of how to tell history; he established a lineage and the criteria for “good” design through the stories of unique individuals. Design historians have been in the position of responding to his list of great designers and his criteria ever since.⁵⁰

Feminist design historians wrestle with Pevsner’s legacy and related questions as well. While some seek to create more biographies of women in order to fill the perceived gaps in design history—others advocate broader methodological approaches while still focusing on individuals. Studies such as Cheryl Buckley’s work on Susie Cooper and Grete Marks and Pat Kirkham’s research on Ray Eames (and contextualization with the life of her partner and husband Charles Eames) attempt something beyond the traditional by introducing new dimensions to biography.⁵¹

Critique of the Biographical Approach to Design History

Design history scholars have questioned the usefulness of the biographical approach to design history. Chapter 1 refers to Cheryl Buckley’s case that design history simplifies the historical process by emphasizing individuals and analyzing their designs relative to the designer, as opposed to considering the roles of production and

⁴⁹ Jeffrey L. Meikle, “Design History for What?: Reflections on an Elusive Goal,” *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 71-75; Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society 1750-1980* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 6, 245.

⁵⁰ Recent publications and exhibitions on important designers indicate that a biographical emphasis is still alive in design history, such as the biographical monographs that accompanied exhibitions on industrial designers Henry Dreyfuss and Raymond Loewy. Russell Flinchum, *Henry Dreyfuss, Industrial Designer: The Man in the Brown Suit* (New York: Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution and Rizzoli, 1997); Angela Schönberger, ed., *Raymond Loewy: Pioneer of American Industrial Design* (Munich: Prestel, 1990).

⁵¹ Cheryl Buckley, “Design, Femininity, and Modernism: Interpreting the Work of Susie Cooper,” *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994): 277-293; Cheryl Buckley, “Pottery Women: A Comparative Study of Susan Vera Cooper and Millicent Jane Taplin,” in eds. J. Attfield and P. Kirkham, *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design* (London: The Women’s Press, 1989), 71-89; Cheryl Buckley, “Women and Modernism: A Case Study of Grete Marks,” in eds. Seddon and Worden, *Women Designing: Redefining Design Between the Wars* (Brighton: University of Brighton, 1994), 104-110; Pat Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1995).

consumption and the design as a social product.⁵² In addition, scholars argue that the organizational narrative of a biography often slights the larger cultural context and outside influences.⁵³ Certainly, when presenting the history of design as a series of biographies of individuals, as did Pevsner, the very nature of the production of the design work seems undermined. It is usually created by teams and handled by multiple people with complex social, economic, and technological factors involved. A myriad of individual biographies could not recreate or communicate as well the complex state of cooperation involved in design as effectively as changing the methodology. Attfield reiterates this point, "Design is even less of an autonomous activity than art and needs to be examined in close relationship with the social, cultural, economic and technological conditions that have nurtured its development and practice."⁵⁴ Therefore, reducing all the complexities of design history to select individuals' biographies at the very least complicates, or possibly even prevents, the drive towards an expanded understanding of the history of design.

Usually, a biography presents the artist or designer in terms of her or his relationship to the created object and emphasizes her or his authority as integral to the meaning of the object. In fact, the tendency in art and design history biographies is to collapse difference between the designer and the object so that they become the same. Thus, a biographer would name the designer as the sole determiner or author of the meaning of an object, again focusing exclusively on an individual agent and possibly

⁵² Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design," 258.

⁵³ Ellen Mazur Thomson, "Review of *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, by Martha Scotford," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 8, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2000-2001): 180. "The designer's life history provides an organizational narrative, but the biographers concentrate on the design work, with only the most general attempt to show how life experiences and the larger culture influenced career choices, individual style, or individual works."

ignoring, among other things, other contributors and any social or cultural influence.⁵⁵

Most significantly, however, a biographical methodology assumes that the designers (even a team of producers) are the primary and therefore privileged designators of meaning. Beyond the borders of design and art history, critics and scholars suggest another approach.

Using Roland Barthes' ideas about authorship, it is possible to argue that a biographical approach that focused on the designer as the exclusive author of meaning for an object would possibly ignore or negate the consumer's role in assigning meaning for the object.⁵⁶ Mainly, though, a biographical approach does not allow the development of these kinds of important questions about authorship and meaning that explore the full range of possibilities of material culture. While more useful in combination with other methodologies, a biography can serve a specific purpose and typically generates more new research on individuals than other approaches.

Some design history critics have complained that it seems as though, lately, the biography is the only way to write design history.⁵⁷ In fact, Ellen Mazur Thomson specifically cites an increase in the publication of biographical monographs in graphic design studies:

Beginning in 1989, with the publication of *Nine Pioneers in American Graphic Design* by R. Roger Remington and Barbara Hodik, monographs of graphic designers have crowded out other forms of graphic design history. Frederic

⁵⁴ Judy Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design", in ed. John Albert Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London and Concord, MA: Pluto, 1989), 204.

⁵⁵ Margolin, "Design History or Design Studies: Subject Matter and Methods," 14. "... Miller was particularly critical of the kind of design history that is 'intended to be a pseudo art history, in which the task is to locate great individuals such as Raymond Loewy or Norman Bel Geddes and portray them as the creators of modern mass culture.'"

⁵⁶ Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 148.

⁵⁷ Thomson, "Review of *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, by Martha Scotford," 180.

Goudy, Lester Beall, Alexey Brodovitch, and, most recently, Paul Rand, have all figured as subjects of monographs.⁵⁸

This increase in graphic design biographies may imply a larger trend, as indicated by Freitag's publication, related to the maturing of the field of graphic design studies as more scholars enter this area. Thomson and others ask why the field continues to favor biography as its preferred mode of writing design history. Conceivably, it is the availability of a formula, the biography, which makes it an appealing choice.

Unquestionably, the most formidable challenge to the status of the biography in art history has come from feminists, both art and design historians. Like feminists in art history, feminist design historians have argued against the idea of a canon of "greats," substituting designers for artists and objects for artworks. Judy Attfield explained that writing a biography of a woman designer entails "the restrictions of method in the conventional biography [that] place them in a preset, hierarchical framework in which 'great', usually male, designers appear." More than that a canon of designers exists, Attfield continues, the "historiography which has produced some of the seminal works of design history has established a tradition of pioneers of modern design and an avant garde aesthetic in which few women figure."⁵⁹ Therefore, Attfield concludes, the canon and the standards will never accurately represent the presence and range of activities in which women contributed to creating design as the field tends to define the practice. Really, Attfield, like many other feminist design scholars, is arguing for an approach to writing design history alternative to a series of biographies on women designers.

⁵⁸ Ibid. R. Roger Remington and Barbara J. Hodik, *Nine Pioneers in American Graphic Design* (Cambridge, Mass, 1989); Andy Grundberg, *Brodovitch* (New York, 1989); D.J.R. Bruckner, *Frederic Goudy* (New York, 1990); R. Roger Remington, *Lester Beall* (New York, 1996); Steven Heller, *Paul Rand* (London, 1999).

Design History Biographies in Practice

The Biography of Cipe Pineles

While the principal figure in this thesis is Maria Kipp, the underlying issues of design history, biography, and methodology are applicable as well to the scholarly treatment of other twentieth-century women designers. Therefore, this thesis examines Martha Scotford's biography of graphic designer Cipe Pineles as an example of a recent feminist biography. Unlike Kipp, Pineles has received more scholarly treatment, thus there is more to survey for evidence of change in how historians are approaching designers, and specifically, women designers.

As noted in Chapter 1, Ellen Mazur Thomson criticized Martha Scotford's interpretation of feminist design scholarship and her use of a "reformed" biographical model in her biography of Pineles.⁶⁰ However, before Scotford's text even begins, in the introduction Scotford vehemently defends her choice of methodology and her intentions for the book.

First, she recognizes the problem of biographies in design history and defends her own biography of Pineles:

Traditional history and art history have been criticized for focusing on the individual agent, and in most cases the male agent. Many now agree that the traditional perspective of history through the lens of male hero and male creative genius had created a skewed view of events, circumstances, experiences, values, and products. This view has also been distorted by biases surrounding class, race, and national and religious origin. Though the subject presented here is female, I chose a traditional format that focuses on the individual agent. A

⁵⁹ Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design," 204. She may be referring to Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex : Penguin Books, 1970, 1960, first published in 1936).

⁶⁰ Martha Scotford, *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1999), 9. "A range of ideas coming from feminist history, feminist art history, and current feminist critiques of design history has informed this discussion of Cipe Pineles and her work."

monograph has been committed, when such forms are present. ... we will not fully understand the structure of American graphic design history until we have more female “bricks.” This book is a start.⁶¹

The tone of Scotford’s phrasing that a “monograph has been committed,” indicates that she is aware of criticisms against feminist biographies as well; nevertheless, she prepares to present and stand by her argument. In her review of Scotford’s book, Thomson dismisses the view that monographs or biographies are necessary before history can be written properly—stating that this logic is not in keeping with the practices of professional historians.⁶² While Thomson disagrees with Scotford’s approach, other critics are more accepting, as Rick Poynter is in his review for the American Institute of Graphic Arts (AIGA). Poynter summarizes Scotford’s argument and explains her specific reasoning for using a biography for a woman designer:

Scotford argues that existing, largely masculine, accounts of graphic design practice have not been sensitive to the ways in which women have participated in design, balancing the demands of private life, family, and work, or the varieties of roles they occupy. Biography potentially offers a way of showing how family and friends, as alternative kinds of mentors, could have a shaping effect on the lives and careers of women designers.⁶³

Poynter’s comments cut to the heart of Scotford’s argument, that is, why she thinks a biography of a woman designer is necessary—that women have different lived experiences than men and therefore their biographies are inherently different and need to be accounted for in the larger scheme of design history. In fact, Teal Triggs, who similarly recognizes Scotford’s attempt to reform the traditional biographical monograph,

⁶¹ Ibid., 9.

⁶² Thomson, “Review of *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, by Martha Scotford,” 180. “This argument would come as a great surprise to professional historians. Biographies of the great and not-so-great are a particular way of understanding the past, but neither art history nor any other history—military, economic, or legal—has claimed to need a sufficient mass of documented individual lives before such histories could be written.”

⁶³ Rick Poynter, “Review of *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*,” *AIGA Journal of Graphic Design* 17, no. 1 (1999): 40.

writes that the book's "importance is not only as a document of an American designer who had real impact on the profession, but also an example of a methodological approach for advancing the profile of women in graphic design history."⁶⁴ Triggs' comments come directly from Scotford's own remarks on her methodology in the introduction:

My approach was to create a case study that would allow me to delve into the work and life of a historically important individual who was both a woman in design and a designer for women and with women. I wanted Cipe Pineles's case to serve as a model for studying women designers and to help advance graphic design history.⁶⁵

Here, Scotford's goals are unquestionably apparent. She chose the biography as the most suitable way to tell Pineles' story as a woman designer, and she considers it a model for future study of women designers and the advancement of design history.

However, as Thomson pointed out (as quoted above, Chapter 1), a biography is not always the most effective methodology for transmitting new parts of design history. In fact, despite their enthusiasm for Scotford's project, both Poynter and Triggs make identical criticisms of the book. Both comment that as Pineles' biographer, Scotford loses sight of her subject and presents Pineles as a "friend" rather than a designer. In fact, they both give the same example: citing that the reader is told intimate details of gifts, parties, and friends, but difficult areas of her life are only briefly mentioned, such as a suicide attempt and her strained relationship with her adopted son. Thus, the reader almost feels that the author, Scotford, considered those areas as inappropriate or impolite to discuss. Most importantly, they both mention the lack of critical analysis of Pineles' designs or any attempt to contextualize them. Lastly, despite the fact that

⁶⁴ Teal Triggs, "Book Review: *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*. Martha Scotford," *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 4 (1999): 384.

Pineles worked in an industry that required constant interaction, teamwork, and sharing of ideas, Scotford credits Pineles alone for all the work. Only a footnote explains that even Scotford does not know exactly what parts Pineles designed herself or what others did.⁶⁶ In an industry such as graphic design or art direction, these things are important for an historian in creating an accurate representation of design history. Scotford's mixed attempt at a new feminist biography has not spurred any other texts on Pineles yet, but it has successfully started conversations on the nature of the biography and how a feminist design historian might or might not use it.

The Biography of Maria Kipp

Criticisms of Scotford's biography of Pineles are of interest when considering Marlyn Musicant's short biography of Maria Kipp. In *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, Musicant published "Maria Kipp: Autobiography of a Hand Weaver," a biography of Kipp drawn from multiple sources, including Kipp's autobiography, interviews, archives, and period publications. It appears that the goal of the article is to create a complete picture of Kipp as a designer and locate or identify her place in design history. Despite the reference in the title of the article to Kipp's autobiography, Musicant does not engage the bulk of the content of that particular document. Instead, she creates a complete biography by extracting essential information from the autobiography and combining it

⁶⁵ Scotford, *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, 9-10.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 171. "As these are mostly uncredited, I have depended on Pineles's portfolios and collections of tearsheets to sort out what is to her credit. It is not always clear whether she was the designer or the art director or both. Some works have been previously published in articles about her and on which she collaborated; these I solidly consider hers." Thomson, "Review of *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, by Martha Scotford," 182. "The truth is that by the 1950s graphic design was part of the highly competitive advertising and publishing industry and that most work was produced by design teams serving complex, high-pressured demands, few of which were artistic."

with other sources, rather than exploring or reviewing the material found in the autobiography alone.

In fact, a critical difference of intent between a biography and an autobiography is apparent in Musicant's selective use of Kipp's autobiography. While Musicant attempted to re-create Kipp's life and career for historical record and provide a presence for her in feminist design history, Kipp herself sought to record her memories and preserve her complete life and thoughts to be passed down through her family. Recent scholarship on autobiographies argues in favor of personal recollections and stories as a part of the wider fabric of humanity and culture as opposed to considering only more traditionally "important" autobiographies. Musicant's use of the autobiography serves to introduce Kipp to wider discussions in design history, but it is not the only way to treat Kipp's autobiography or her importance to design history. In fact, feminist design scholars might argue that content omitted from Musicant's biography from Kipp's autobiography is just as important as what Musicant extracted, if not more so.

Biography in Theory

Biographical Conventions and Maria Kipp

New endeavors in biography in art and design history are tinted by the history of the biography and the narrative patterns which define it. A biography of Kipp would present new and relevant information to the history of design and contribute to current knowledge about women designers in the twentieth century. However, a biography alone might be insufficient in several ways. First, a biography isolates or privileges the subject's life above other factors, including consumer influence. Second, the

biographical method retains the potential to impose an implied narrative pattern to her life and career, thus affecting the way the story is told and perhaps even what is told.

The very act of carving a single life out of the larger structure of society requires a difficult and selective process of editing material and sources. Moreover, a traditional biography's greatest weakness is its inability to provide a coherent comprehensive context. In particular, scholars such as Buckley and Thomson argue that social and economic aspects related to design receive little to no attention in biographical approaches, thus, minimizing their importance. Repeatedly, Buckley and others raise the issues of production and consumption and the role of the consumer in design.⁶⁷ Design scholarship now includes a growing body of work devoted to the consumer, sub-cultures, and their influence on design practices, such as the work of cultural anthropologist Daniel Miller.⁶⁸ In fact, Attfield extends Miller's ideas on the consumer as a creative agent when she states that "If cultural transformations are possible through the material world of mass consumption, design could play a positive role in the lives of women."⁶⁹ While Attfield alludes to the potential power of the female consumer to initiate change and serve a role in the meaning and history of objects, some designers already require the participation of the consumer.

In the case of Maria Kipp Inc., the consumer was active in the design process and authorized the final product, no matter whether a housewife, a celebrity, or a

⁶⁷ Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design," 259.

⁶⁸ Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

⁶⁹ Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design," 220. "Daniel Miller's theory of consumption suggests that: '...in certain circumstances segments of the population are able to appropriate industrial objects and utilise them in the creation of their own image. In other cases, people are forced to live in and through objects which are created through the images held of them by a different and dominant section of the population.'" Attfield acknowledged that scholars must consider "the impact that women have had historically, and can continue to exert on design by means of individual and joint consumption."

famous architect, such as R.M. Schindler. It is conceivable that a biographer could overlook the collaborative nature of Kipp's design process and the influential role of the client, focusing instead on Kipp as the sole author—the individual character in the biography. While Kipp is the exclusive designer of all of the samples used to solicit jobs, almost all of the textile products that bear her name came about through a collaborative process involving the consumer.⁷⁰ In fact, Kipp's business relied exclusively on custom orders to trade, meaning she sold only to interior designers serving clients, or directly to architects. The business's strength was its flexibility and quality due to handweaving with 100% customization.⁷¹ In other words, all colors, textures, and styles were specific for each job.

The process began with a book of weave samples displayed at a showroom or shown by representatives across the nation. After the selection of a pattern and texture, a sample of the desired color was included in the order sent to the factory. Next, a small batch of yarns was custom dyed, woven to the desired effect, and returned to the client, usually an interior decorator, to show the end customer, their client. Pending approval of the sample, the textile was completed and shipped or delivered. Maria Kipp, Inc. only made two kinds of textiles: upholstery and drapery. If for furniture, the next step was the local upholstery shop where the fabric was cut and sewn or tacked to a padded frame. A window treatment shop bound the drapery for installation. Then the completed

⁷⁰ The weavers in Kipp's shop worked from patterns and directions given by Kipp, including adjustments made by consumers, and did not have license to alter any part of the design. It is true, however, that the labor in the factory is subsumed in Kipp's name.

⁷¹ "New and Notable...Hand Woven Fabrics," *Milwaukee Sentinel* (3 August 1949). "New in Milwaukee are the fabulously lovely hand woven fabrics by Maria Kipp...the threads are dyed to coincide with your decorating scheme...These fabrics are exquisite...Please call for appointment...A hearty welcome awaits—at Marguerite Petit, Interior Decorator..."

product was presented to its final destination—a home, business, yacht, retail, or hospitality site.

With this process, Kipp contributed to the completed decors of R.M. Schindler's famous Lovell House, Airforce One, S.S. United States, four branches of Bullock's department stores, residences of Frank Sinatra, Judy Garland, and Louis B. Mayer, and an endless variety of more ordinary projects. It is worth noting that the process did not distinguish one's gender or identity, though pricing was prohibitive for lower economic strata. In addition, introducing the consumer into the design process in no way diminishes the skill or value of the designer, in particular Maria Kipp. She seemed to thrive on the challenge of creating innovative samples and working custom colors, once chosen, into refined or lush patterns. In sum, the consumers as well as the system and role of the interior designer are major components in the design process and their collaboration with the designer is an unstudied area of design history. There are entire stories for every finished object that a biography of the designer, because of its emphasis on the individual, would not be capable of reflecting and that this thesis can only suggest as future topics for study.

A biographical methodology can affect or alter the subject in a predictable way. While Chapter 2 aimed to prove that such patterns existed and to trace them through art history, this next section hones in on the biographical narrative conventions of progress and progressions.

Biographical Progressions

In artists' biographies the notion of progressions has played a fundamental role. Vasari created an extensive lineage of artists building successively in talent and

accomplishments until culminating in the consummate artist, in Vasari's eyes, the Florentine artist Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564). It is true, then, that in art and design history progressions imply predecessors, usually as stylistically influential teachers, and students or followers to carry on the work of the artist or their particular style or influence.

It is difficult to apply the idea of progressions to Kipp's life and career. Although educated in Germany, Kipp's mature work does not correspond to her teachers, her student work, or the styles taught at the schools she attended. While in Germany at the time of the Bauhaus, there is no evidence of her referring to it directly.⁷² There is a connection between her geometrical modern designs, particularly of the late 1920s until 1940s, and the activity at the Bauhaus, but it is not a direct teacher to student relationship. In fact, Kipp preferred not to look at the work of other weavers for fear of its influence on her own work, and instead through isolation challenged her creativity.⁷³ Perhaps it was this kind of independence and serious dedication to her business that kept her from ever personally taking on students or training another designer.⁷⁴ After Kipp retired in 1977, Maria Kipp, Inc. relied on the existing archive of patterns and never hired a replacement designer, finally closing in 1996. When trying to establish an artistic progression for Kipp, it is probable that historians would connect her to people with whom she never worked, for example: Gunta Stölzl from the Bauhaus; Dorothy Liebes, a contemporary; or Jack Lenor Larson, part of the generation of weavers after Kipp.

⁷² A more thorough survey of personal papers, beyond her autobiography, or more interviews might reveal meaningful connections.

⁷³ Dorothy Bryan, "Maria Kipp—Her Career as a Weaver," *Handweaver and Craftsman* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1951-52): 16. "She refuses to look at the work of other weavers so as to avoid even subconscious influence. (Her one exception was to act on the jury at the 1951 Los Angeles County Fair Arts and Crafts Show, after which she deliberately rejected all thoughts of the technical aspects of the work seen.)"

Stylistic analysis and formal comparisons such as of technique, materials, texture, colors, and more, are appropriate, but, so far, evidence of narrative implications and connections—as found in most biographies—are scant and, thus, might be questionable or completely fabricated.

Following the convention of progressions beyond the scope of artistic lineage and into design history itself, arguably, the story of the last 70 years of design history condenses to a series of technological adaptations and progressions. Not unlike art histories, histories of design privilege instances of technological change as together constituting a development generating change in form and style. As her life and work departed from other features of a biographical approach to the writing of design history, so, too, in this respect it does not conform with the leaders of the field's treatment of emerging technology. While Dorothy Liebes, a handweaver, signed a contract with Sears, Roebuck and Co. to machine mass-produce her window casements and worked closely with DuPont to test and develop new synthetic fibers (figures 2 and 3), Kipp preferred the handloom exclusively.⁷⁵ Credited with bringing “almost single-handedly” the craft of handweaving from “obscurity to popularity,” Liebes differentiated herself by adapting her hand designs to industrial scale and production.⁷⁶ Though their training and careers differ significantly, Liebes is an interesting comparison to Kipp because of stylistic similarities. Both created vibrant textiles with exotic textures embellished by weaving in foreign objects.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Kipp's contemporaries Dorothy Liebes, Anni Albers, and Marianne Strengell all had successful careers and taught at universities.

⁷⁵ Dorothy Liebes, *Dorothy Liebes: Retrospective Exhibition* (New York: Museum of Contemporary Crafts, 1970), 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 34-35. Liebes was born the year before Kipp, 1899, and maintained a studio from 1930-1958.

Throughout her life, Kipp defended her exclusive relationship with handweaving. She felt there were more opportunities for creativity in handweaving and, in fact, curators now credit her with multiple innovations later copied throughout the country. For example, she formed rows of large loops in the middle of a fabric that she called “tassels”, wove in ostrich feathers, used metallic threads, and made pleats and other three-dimensional aspects (figures 4-6). While certainly these designs are unique and innovative, and even duplicated, the fact remains that Kipp ignored or neglected the greatest progresses in weaving history—the power loom and the mass retail system.

These two ideas, artistic and technological progress, are essential to the careers of many twentieth-century designers, particularly those written about biographically. In fact, it is the case that if designers do not pursue progressive ideas or technologies they risk “maintaining status quo” traditions or irrelevancy in the history of design.⁷⁸ When considering that the narrative convention of biographies requires progress, whether through a teacher to student relationship maturing a design legacy or using and being involved with improving and evolving technology, it is apparent this concept cannot easily be applied to Kipp without falsely presenting or distorting her life and career history. Moreover, some weakness or failure on Kipp’s part is implied by the methodology because she does not fit this pattern—perhaps she was anti-technology, ignorant of the business application of technology, or not well socialized? In fact, none of this is true, but how does one study and understand Kipp through a biography, if she does not fit the basic patterns and conventions of the narrative structure?

⁷⁸ Buckley, “Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design,” 261. These are circumstances that Buckley laments in her comment that “design that is not innovative and experimental has rarely been analyzed by design historians.”

Would a historian even consider her as a probable biographical subject in the first place, or would her story be manipulated into a more predictable format? As Kipp is still relatively unknown to the wider public and even design scholars today, these questions are important in determining how she will be written about and the eventual shape of her story.

Kipp was actually very well acquainted with highly sophisticated weaving technologies including loom mechanics, having attended a technical weaving school that qualified her to supervise entire factories, a fact that Musicant includes in her biography of Kipp.⁷⁹ However, Musicant does not provide an explanation for Kipp's business and design decisions regarding technology, artistic practices, or the running of the factory. These are areas better explored through a methodology other than a biography.

⁷⁹ Bryan, "Maria Kipp—Her Career as a Weaver," 15. "Her technical training was obtained at a textile school in Bavaria, where she was the first girl ever to be enrolled, and so complete was the training that upon graduation, she was qualified to be superintendent in a textile mill. This training included a three fold program in which she learned the basic weaving techniques, all the processes involved in weaving from spinning yarn to finishing cloth, and a thorough understanding of both the hand and power loom. The latter included not only the possibilities and limitations of the loom but its mechanical structure, since she was required to dismantle and re-assemble it."

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGIES: MARIA KIPP AND FEMINIST

DESIGN METHODOLOGIES

Alternative Approaches to the Work of Maria Kipp

What is meant, ask Forty and his friends, by the history of design? It cannot be merely the changing sequence of admired or characteristic shapes, profiles, and materials over the decades and centuries, as museums and exhibitions of the applied arts tend to suggest. Nor can it be just an account of the talents and methods of the Raymond Loewys, Gordon Russells and Ettore Sottsass of this world. Investigating the genesis of almost any object of industrial manufacture, striking or banal, one finds a maze of processes, influences, and ideas which often leave the designer (if indeed such a person can be identified) subordinate and peripheral, if not downright irrelevant, to an understanding of the object's value and significance.⁸⁰

Adrian Saint, *Design Book Review*

This chapter investigates alternative methodologies including feminist design methodologies. Through the application of this methodology, this chapter reveals what might be learned about the life and career of Maria Kipp and begins the conversation of how this differs from the written biographical record.

A methodology, or way to approach and investigate a subject, can have a profound impact on a historian's perception of a subject and the subsequent written history. Admittedly, no methodology can balance all aspects of a topic; consequently, the desired result is important when deciding what methodology to use. Before discussing feminist design methodologies in detail, this chapter surveys briefly the methodologies used in art and design history.

Art historians have identified the following methodologies as a way to discuss the numerous and diverse approaches to art history. Traditional methodologies emphasize

formal analysis, iconography and iconology, biography and autobiography, and social history. Newer methodologies give more emphasis to context and new theories, such as Marxism and Feminism; semiotics including structuralism, post-structuralism, and deconstruction; psychoanalysis involving the writings of Sigmund Freud, D.W. Winnicott, and Jacques Lacan; and aesthetics and psychoanalysis as practiced by Roger Fry and Roland Barthes.⁸¹ This abbreviated list cannot delineate all of the approaches used in art history, but instead represents the diversity of methodologies employed in the study of art history.

Design history emerged as a distinct discipline in England in the 1970s.⁸² Methodologies used by design historians are generally the same as those described above for art historians. However, design historians and scholars created special approaches to handle the unique aspects of design history. In "Messy History vs. Neat History: Toward an Expanded View of Women in Graphic Design," Martha Scotford defined the prevailing approaches to design history as concentrated on "individuals and individual effort, institutions and business, the active client/reactive designer relationship, the synchronic analysis establishing stylistic 'periods,' and the diachronic presentation of innovation and influence."⁸³ Scotford argued that these approaches exclude certain areas of design and designers and seem, in fact, rather arbitrary to her as ways of investigating and writing design history. As a feminist design scholar, Scotford took exception to the exclusion of women that she found in design history

⁸⁰ Adrian Saint, "Objects of Desire by Adrian Forty," *Design Book Review* (Fall 1987): 59.

⁸¹ Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996). Madan Sarup, *An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), 2nd ed.

⁸² As cited in Chapter 1.

⁸³ Martha Scotford, "Messy History vs. Neat History: Toward an Expanded View of Women in Graphic Design," *Visible Language* 28, no. 4 (Autumn 1994): 369.

writing; her essay is part of a larger body of scholarship advocating new approaches to writing design history.

Feminist Design Methodology

In the last thirty years, feminist design historians have produced a substantial dialogue through essays, books, reviews, and conferences, effectively creating the body of scholarship to which I refer as a “feminist design methodology.” It is not a cohesive methodology, but rather a collective set of ideas and attitudes addressing the problematic treatment of women in design history and potential remedies and strategies culled from the writings of feminist design historians.

When taken together, this body of scholarship forms a set of directives, guidelines, and suggestions for how to do the business of writing about women and design—sometimes even contradicting itself. This pluralism of ideas provides a fertile area for the historian to explore and encourages the expression of opinion. Some of the terms that appear throughout the literature are identified in the appendix (figure 7). This list serves as a beginning index of subjects in feminist design methodologies. Based on this list, what can be learned about Maria Kipp through the application of concepts from feminist design methodologies previously not mentioned in a biographical methodology?

In order to accomplish this, this chapter presents brief summaries of the subjects or areas most important to feminist design methodologies as listed (figure 7). Additionally, each section identifies potential areas for future study in Kipp’s life and career. Finally, in the next chapter, in-depth applications of a few questions reveals new information on Kipp not previously found with other methodologies.

Concept I: PATRIARCHY

The most important overarching idea that has spurred many feminist design historians is the recognition of patriarchy in design activity and scholarship.⁸⁴ Perhaps one of the most influential essays in feminist design history is Cheryl Buckley's "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design." Her stated aim was "to analyze the patriarchal context within which women interact with design and to examine the methods used by design historians to record that interaction."⁸⁵ Buckley outlined ways in which "Patriarchy has circumscribed women's opportunities to participate fully in all areas of society and, more specifically, in all sectors of design, through a variety of means—institutional, social, economic, psychological, and historical."⁸⁶

While Buckley and others outline ways patriarchy defines women socially and culturally, other critics such as Attfield suggest that patriarchy may not be the most useful model for understanding history:

Nevertheless, because patriarchy depends on stereotypical definitions of male/female and is basically a-historical [*sic*], it presents many difficulties as an operative concept, not the least of which is the contradictory task of reconciling rather crude male/female stereotypes with a history of changing gender relations.⁸⁷

Attfield's acute awareness of history's relationship to the present requires that the historian have full knowledge of the subject's time period and environs, replacing ahistorical assumptions about gender.

⁸⁴ For a well-accepted working definition of patriarchy, see Griselda Pollock, "Vision, Voice and Power: Feminist Art History and Marxism," *Block* 6 (1982): 10. "...patriarchy does not refer to the static, oppressive domination of one sex over another, but a web of psycho-social relationships which institute a socially significant difference on the axis of sex, which is so deeply located in our very sense of lived, sexual identity that it appears to us as natural and unalterable."

⁸⁵ Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design," 251.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 252.

⁸⁷ Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design", 206.

The two positions described above, by Buckley and Attfield, define the current state of the literature on patriarchy. Most feminist scholars agree that patriarchy is an important concept to recognize when studying women. In addition, like Attfield, most argue for historical sensitivity to gender roles. For example, with Kipp, a feminist design historian would first argue for the acknowledgement of the patriarchal system in her life and the society and design community within which she worked from 1930-1970, thus demarcating her life's social boundaries. These borders would serve as markers of the dominant culture and allow the historian to identify the areas where she might have deviated from accepted expectations.

A thorough grounding in the debates and literature of the Weimar period in Germany reveals a rethinking of women's education and a movement towards arts education, advocating the concept of the "Neue Frau."⁸⁸ Kipp's choice to pursue an art education brought those debates to her personally, as her guardians were concerned for her future and very hesitant to support her decision. However, Kipp was to go even further and become the first woman admitted to a technical weaving school, after deciding that she would rather study textile design than be an artist. Patriarchy defined many of the choices available for young Kipp and shaped her experiences through society's expectations.

⁸⁸See Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West, ed., *Visions of the "Neue Frau": Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany* (London: Scholar Press, 1995); Katharina Von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 1997); Marsha Meskimmon, *We Weren't Modern Enough: Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

Concept II: HIERARCHIES

Feminist design historians have recognized hierarchies in design history scholarship, meaning certain areas of design have received more critical attention from design historians and, thus, are perceived as more historically or culturally important than others. Feminist design critics have noted that often the ignored areas of design are traditionally associated with feminine designs and the female gender. In fact, hierarchies related to gender within entire design industries determine what jobs are appropriate for women—referred to as a “gendered division of labor.” The idea that women are suited to certain “female” areas of activity in design, or even certain jobs within a design area, shaped design activity and scholarship at the beginning of the twentieth century. Much design history scholarship has focused on the alliance of design with modernism, a union that ignores most of the areas of design designated feminine.

With this awareness of gender-specific areas of design and hierarchies, feminist design historians have contributed much new literature. However, even feminist design critics have criticized each other for continuing perceived biases, as did Juliet Kinchin when she reviewed Joan Rothschild’s *Design and Feminism: Re-Visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things*:

Although the book is interdisciplinary in approach and scope, the majority of the essays view the “design” of its title very much from the paradigm of architecture. In view of the contributor’s backgrounds, it should come as no surprise that the crafts, the decorative arts, and fashion are given the usual short shrift. This is, in itself, problematic since it limits the potential range of the book and skirts one of the central issues in all feminist scholarship—that there is a gendered hierarchy in design as in all other spheres of professional and intellectual life.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Juliet Kinchin, “Book Review of Joan Rothschild, ed.’s *Design and Feminism: Re-Visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things*,” *Studies in Decorative Arts* (Fall/Winter 2000-2001), 173.

The demotion of certain areas of design has been pervasive in design history scholarship, as Kinchin indicates, and a motivating factor for many feminist design historians to pursue these “lesser” areas.

A hierarchy of design is present in the historical interpretation of Kipp’s design community as well. Many of the modernist architects with whom Kipp worked closely in her California area have been the subjects of books and attention since the 1970s.⁹⁰ Future scholars might research Kipp and her architectural contemporaries, comparing their treatment in contemporary publications and their respective roles in the finished environments they jointly created.

Women designers’ activities were stifled by gendered divisions of labor within industries even in areas of design commonly designated as feminine, such as weaving or pottery.⁹¹ Like others, feminist design historian Pat Kirkham cites Anthea Callen’s book *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914* as the groundbreaking text on gender hierarchies in labor.⁹² Other scholars, such as Buckley, have pursued this idea and applied it to other types of design, such as pottery

⁹⁰ Dione Neutra, trans. and ed., *Richard Neutra, Promise and Fulfillment 1919-1932: Selections from the Letters and Diaries of Richard and Dione Neutra* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); Arthur Drexler and Thomas S. Hines, *The Architecture of Richard Neutra: From International Style to California Modern* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1982); August Sarnitz, *R.M. Schindler, Architect, 1887-1953* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1988); Michael Darling, et. al., *The Architecture of R.M. Schindler* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2001). This is the catalogue for the exhibition *The Architecture of R.M. Schindler* at the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art. David Gebhard, *Schindler* (New York: Viking Press, 1971).

⁹¹ Sigrid Wortmann Weltge, *Women’s Work: Textile Art from the Bauhaus* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993). Even at the Bauhaus where women students were encouraged to attend they were directed into only two areas of study, weaving and pottery.

⁹² Pat Kirkham ed., *Women Designers in the U.S.A.: 1900-2000* (published for Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, NY, by Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2000), 80; Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914*, (New York: Pantheon Press, 1979). “The sexual division of labor was first explored in design history by Anthea Callen. ... Her study of the gendered nature of work within the Arts and Crafts movement remains the point of reference for all subsequent studies of women in the movement.”

manufacture.⁹³ Both Callen and Buckley carefully studied their respective areas and mapped out the perceived appropriate roles for women. In the Arts and Crafts movement (late 19th-early 20th century), for example, women could be weavers or potters, but not furniture designers. Buckley studied how even within the early twentieth-century British pottery industry women were decorators, but not shape designers. There were certain expectations of what a woman could do and ways in place to control those jobs, such as restrictions in education, hiring, or staffing.

In a significant way, Kipp defied gendered divisions of labor by becoming the first woman to enter a school for technical training in textile manufacturing and training as a factory manager, a job previously held only by men. In contrast, women were frequently weavers or designers in textile factories. However, it is interesting that Kipp never pursued a job as a supervisor at a large factory, but instead opened her own weaving business despite not serving a journeyship, usually considered a union violation. As part of the first group of women trained for that job, is it possible there were difficulties in attaining employment because of gender? Future study might investigate this as a motivation for Kipp to own and run her own shop, in addition to examining her own practices concerning the hiring and management of labor within her shop. How might Kipp's creation of an alternative career path parallel choices made by other women to circumvent gender biases in traditional career paths? How could her participation "outside" the system have influenced accepted conceptions of women in business?

⁹³ Cheryl Buckley "The Noblesse of the Banks': Craft Hierarchies, Gender Divisions, and the Roles of Women Paintresses and Designers in the British Pottery Industry 1890-1939," *Journal of Design History* 2, no. 4 (1989): 257-273; Cheryl Buckley, *Potters and Paintresses: Women Designers in the Pottery Industry, 1870-1955* (London: The Women's Press, 1991).

A second issue related to hierarchy in design aligns design with modernism. Design created without the tenets of modernism in mind often is not included in design history. Women's design frequently falls into this omitted category for a variety of reasons. Attfield makes this important point in her essay, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design." Starting with the differences between art and design, Attfield addresses design history methodology and women in design:

Part of the debate about what makes design different from art has been the distinction between the functional object and the merely beautiful. This value system, entirely based on the ideology of modernism, cannot be applied to non-functional or handmade objects, nor to those which do not conform to the rules of good design. ... Omitted are fashion, ephemera and many other areas of design in which women have been most prominent; this omission therefore accounts for their lack of visibility. Contemporary cultural studies, social history and anthropology have provided a way in to a less hierarchical, non-aesthetic analysis of designed objects which allows inquiry in the kind of areas which put women back into the picture and make it possible to examine popular taste. So it is not just a case of looking only at women's concerns, but of using feminism as a starting point, as a means of transcending the limitations of conventional design history.⁹⁴

In "Made in Patriarchy," Buckley makes a similar point about modernism and women in design, stating:

The theory of modernism has had significant implications for historical evaluations of both mass-produced design, which is traditional in style, form, material, or production techniques, and for craft. These evaluations are largely non-existent because design that is not innovative and experimental has rarely been analyzed by design historians. Women's design, which often falls under the label of traditional, has been especially ignored.⁹⁵

In the course of her career, Kipp's relationship to modernism changed. Described by contemporaries as a "modernist" textile designer, in the 1920s to 50s, Kipp was consistent in style and texture with modernism. In that time, her designs were considered innovative, original, and appropriate for the modernist aesthetic as practiced

⁹⁴ Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design", 206-207.

by fellow émigrés R.M. Schindler, a former student of Frank Lloyd Wright, and Richard Neutra, whose Lovell Beach House was included in the Museum of Modern Art's seminal exhibition on modern architecture curated by Philip Johnson. Kipp's loose leno weaves were particularly appropriate for the large glass walls favored by modernist architects. Her application of the handloom fits with early modernism, as evidenced by its use at the Bauhaus, the birthplace of European modernism in design. However, even at the Bauhaus, the handloom became a tool for designers to work out the aesthetics and patterns of pieces, rather than the actual method to produce the final product. Weavers such as Anni Albers, formerly of the Bauhaus, and Dorothy Liebes used the handloom only for designing—modern industrial methods actually produced the textiles in large volumes. In context, Kipp's aesthetic was modern, and her techniques were period appropriate for early modernist design but were soon superseded by modern design's drive towards industrialization. Certainly, a methodology that moves beyond the paradigm of equating good design exclusively with modernism could track the changes that occurred throughout her almost 50-year career.

Concept III: DEFINITION OF DESIGN

Perhaps one of the most critical components of the dialogue on feminist design methodologies is the definition of design itself. Feminist design scholars have made the expansion and redefinition of design an integral part of their methodology, as shown in Buckley's statement, "Central to a feminist critique of design history is a redefinition of what constitutes design." Buckley argues that, "Feminists have challenged this definition as prejudging the nature of design by emphasizing only one mode of production and

⁹⁵ Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design," 261.

thereby excluding craft production. ... To exclude craft from design history is, in effect, to exclude from design history much of what women designed.”⁹⁶ The year before, Attfield presented this debate in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, “The problematic part of the argument has been in deciding whether the object of study should be the product of mass production or if the handmade (craft/applied art) useful object could also be included.” Attfield questioned the gender politics behind influencing what qualifies as design, but ultimately seemed to favor ceding craft to design:

Those who favour the women-in-design view, by which I don’t necessarily mean a committed feminist position, are reluctant to relegate the crafts to the minor role of applied art they are forced to take up if rejected by design, because by so doing, it removes an area from design history in which women can be shown to have been very active. This is only one facet of an ongoing debate about what should be the appropriate object of study of design history generally... It is quite understandable in view of the bid only to call design those products and processes which are the result of the division of labour, the industrial factory system. This is seen by some as a male attempt to appropriate design history by excluding traditional female areas of practice such as homemade textiles.⁹⁷

This debate has come up again recently in response to the catalogue for the exhibition *Women Designers in the U.S.A.: 1900-2000*, at Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts. Bard’s catalogue and exhibition employ a very broad definition of design; included in the exhibition were objects such as Native American pottery and handmade quilts. Carma R. Gorman felt that Kirkham’s uncritical use of the term designer emptied the word of any meaning. Gorman concluded that for Kirkham a designer must be “anyone who makes—or creates plans to make—tangible things other than paintings, photographs, buildings, or traditionally defined sculptures.”⁹⁸ Instead, Gorman offers this working definition, “...a designer is simply a certain type of

⁹⁶ Ibid., 255.

⁹⁷ Attfield, “Defining the Object and the Subject...the Perception of Women in Design History,” 26.

⁹⁸ Gorman, “Reshaping and Rethinking: Recent Feminist Scholarship on Design and Designers,” 81, 78.

participant in a mode of production characterized by a division of labor between planner(s) and maker(s).⁹⁹ Her definition does not privilege modernism or mass production over hand production or imply a sexual bias, but it does exclude artisans and individual craftspeople. Martha Scotford, an American, sheds some light on this difference by explaining that “Buckley is writing from the context of British design history which is more fully developed than in this country, and that uses a broader definition of design, which includes the decorative arts and crafts.”¹⁰⁰ Attfield and Kirkham both received their training in Britain as well.

Most design scholars on either side of the Atlantic would agree that Kipp’s production qualifies as design at the least because of the division of labor as specified by current debates between design and craft, although she did not employ machine mass-production. A future study might investigate the changing definitions of design and craft and their relationship to Kipp’s work, particularly from 1930 to 1970. A study of how Kipp fits or contradicts Gorman’s definition of a designer would be useful: Kipp produced through handcraft, sold commercially, divided labor among employees, and shared design decisions with clients. Another interesting question might focus on publications featuring Kipp, paying particular attention to words used to describe Kipp and what types of periodicals included her work. For example, often because of her hand production she was a “craftsperson,” as in the article called, “Maria Kipp—Master Weaver, Inventor and Craftsman,” featured in *Creative Crafts*.¹⁰¹ However, she was

⁹⁹ Ibid., 81.

¹⁰⁰ Martha Scotford, “Messy History vs. Neat History: Toward an Expanded View of Women in Graphic Design,” *Visible Language* 28, no. 4 (Autumn 1994), 368.

¹⁰¹ Betje Howell, “Maria Kipp—Master Weaver, Inventor and Craftsman,” *Creative Crafts* 2, no. 4 (November-December 1961): 5-10; “Handwoven Fabrics in the S.S. United States: An Old Art is at Home in a Modern Setting,” *Handweaver and Craftsman* 4 no. 1 (Winter 1952-53), 15-17, 63; Bryan, “Maria

included also in professional interior design trade periodicals such as *Western Fabrics, Curtains and Draperies* and architectural design magazines such as *Architectural Digest* and *California Arts and Architecture*.¹⁰² Her inclusion in these magazines speaks to her status as a professional in the industry, but without further study, there is no definitive answer.

Concept IV: USE-VALUE AND ECONOMIC VALUE OF DESIGN

A feminist design methodology must consider the importance of assigning value to designed objects. Many design historians, particularly feminist design scholars, have advocated a design methodology premised on use-value, whereby an object derives its value from its use, over exchange-value, in which the value of an object is determined by its sale. Marxist theories advocate non-capitalist value systems and helped introduce the idea of use-value, thereby stripping objects of their capital or exchange-value and substituting a system based on how an object is used. Not only does this shift radically change how to study design, but also it provides a more inclusive view of women in design. As Elizabeth Bird has pointed out, “the objects women produce have been consumed by being used, rather than preserved as a store of exchange-value. Pots get broken and textiles wear out.”¹⁰³ For feminists such as Attfield, a shift in assigning value from exchange to use not only opens new doors for women designers, but enriches the field of design history as a whole:

Kipp—Her Career as a Weaver,” 15-17, 59; Naomi Baker, “Allied Craftsmen to Exhibit Work. Display to Open Sunday; New Art Group Plans Fair,” *San Diego Evening Tribune* (1 April 1960): b-8.

¹⁰² Harriet Puffer, “The Hand and the Loom: The Story Behind the Success of Maria Kipp,” *Western Fabrics, Curtains and Draperies* 3, no. 5 (May 1949): 8-9, 25; “Modern Fabrics,” *California Arts and Architecture* no. 59 (July 1942): 28.

¹⁰³ Elizabeth Bird, “Threading the Beads: Women Designers and the Glasgow Style 1890-1920,” unpublished conference paper, 1983.

A feminist perspective can be quite specific in its focus on use-value. By providing historical explanations for women's lack of visibility at the production stage, it is possible to understand better why dominant masculine values are constantly reproduced in the material world. Thus a feminist critique of design history can become part of a more general movement of reform.¹⁰⁴

Attfield sees design history as part of a larger struggle for reform and surely would be interested in its application to a woman designer such as Kipp.

Kipp's objects were produced for sale (exchange-value) and once purchased they were used (use-value) and, like the pots and textiles Bird mentions above, they wore out through use and in the process were stripped of their economic value. It is interesting also, to consider how Kipp used materials, processes, and people in her factory for their use-value towards the final product. One might even argue that she used consumers for their use-value in the design process.

Also, feminist design historians have emphasized the role of economics and business realities in design, as opposed to merely aesthetic or theoretical approaches to design. Thomson explains:

...if art directors and their teams fail to generate profits, they are fired; their work cannot exist without an institutional base. Unpublished, they disappear. No one really denies this hard fact, but design biographers have yet to deal with its consequences. Implicit...is the assumption that it parallels art history...¹⁰⁵

As Thomson points out, this conflation of art and design history or treating them as interchangeable ignores design's role as a commodity either in an economic or use-value system.

In regards to business, Kipp took the company's economic success very seriously. She was acutely aware of the financial realities of her business and considered her employees' stability as her personal responsibility. This self-awareness

¹⁰⁴ Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design", 205-206.

of her role as the leader of her business determined almost every aspect of her business and personal life. The next chapter suggests that this relates closely to her most intimate philosophies and beliefs about life as revealed in her autobiography.

Concept V: WOMEN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

A great deal of this paper has been devoted to scholars' questioning of the biography, particularly feminist design historians. In addition to rallying against the "great men" version of history, feminist design scholars have advocated incorporating recent scholarship by feminist literary critics on women's autobiographies and personal narratives into writing about women designers. In the introduction of a biography she wrote, Scotford explains that:

I have also taken into account the claim Carolyn Heilbrun makes in *Writing a Woman's Life* that the so-called natural plot posited for women's lives is one they seldom fit. Questioning the assumptions commonly brought to women's biographies (and even to autobiographies), Heilbrun explains that significant events in women's lives often occur at times other than those predicted by theories based on masculine examples. She encourages historians of women to break from convention, examine the important relationships in the subject's life, and notice what has been ignored or hidden from public record.¹⁰⁶

In addition to recognizing women's life patterns as distinct from men's, feminist literary scholarship changed the types of writings that are considered "autobiography" now to include other "lesser" types of documentation such as journals, diaries, or correspondence by non-famous individuals.

A reevaluation of Kipp's autobiography in light of recent literary theory on women's autobiography would take her writing and the study of her life and career

¹⁰⁵ Thomson, "Book Review: Martha Scotford, *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*," 182.

¹⁰⁶ Scotford, *Cipe Pineles: A Life of Design*, 10-11; Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Norton, 1988). I do not disagree with Heilbrun or Scotford's use of Heilbrun's argument, or even

beyond merely being a source document for a biography and treat it as an independent literary source valuable on its own. This would include not just the pages she wrote in her autobiography of her life and work, but also the images she chose to include such as family snapshots and nostalgic lithographs. Combined, the text and images make a unique record of Kipp's thoughts, her reflections on her life, and what she wished to communicate to the future.

Concept VI: AUTHORSHIP, COLLABORATION, AND CONSUMERS

This paper has already mentioned important concerns with authorship as it relates to feminist design methodologies in Chapter 1 and again in Chapter 3. Feminist design scholars have criticized the emphasis on the designer's role in determining the meaning of objects in favor of alternative approaches such as considering the consumer's role in authorship.¹⁰⁷

As the designer, granting Kipp full authorial credit denies the importance of the unique production/consumption relationship and other collaborative efforts, aspects omitted in Musicant's biography. However, it is not my desire to wipe away Kipp's authority as "designer," but to draw attention to the reality of this situation in design. Kipp's name and, therefore, her reputation and her credibility were attached to each piece. A closer study of Kipp's writing and records might reveal how she felt about sharing the title of "designer" both with the collective design process with her clients and the actual manufacture of the pieces by her employees.

many of the other things Scotford advocates, but like Thomson, I do not think Scotford's biography of Pineles is successful.

¹⁰⁷ Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design," 258.

Feminist design historians have emphasized the collective design process—as opposed to the individual designer as featured in biography. In particular, Buckley stated that, “design is a collective process involving groups of people beside the designer,” for example, the technicians, managers, consultants, and manufacturers required to produce most types of design.¹⁰⁸ In addition, feminist design scholars have brought attention to design partnerships that include spousal or other personal relationships.¹⁰⁹

As has been previously mentioned, Kipp’s design process involved individuals outside her factory, such as interior designers or decorators. However, the exact role of the interior designer or decorator in Kipp’s business, much less in the history of design, is almost completely uncharted.¹¹⁰ As seen in Kipp’s mode of working, the designer or decorator played an integral role in the final look of the piece and the coherence of the finished room. Questions that arise include: how is a collective different from collaboration, and how did Kipp’s employees’ execution of the designs contribute to the final look of the design?

Another aspect interesting in Kipp’s life might be to examine the roles Kipp’s first and second husbands played in her businesses. We know that Ernst Haeckel, her first husband, was active as a business manager and solicited possible clients for work, but exactly what did that entail? In addition, in her autobiography, after her second marriage, Kipp mentions the new financial security in her business due to her husband’s

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 255.

¹⁰⁹ Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron, *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996, c1993).

¹¹⁰ Peter McNeil, “Designing Women: Gender, Sexuality and the Interior Decorator, c. 1890-1940,” *Art History* 17, no. 4 (December 1994): 631-657. Although many texts cover the history of interior design, few trace the evolution of the career field or delve into the history of the occupation.

income. What was the real impact on her business and, like Haeckel, did George Engelke, her second husband, have a role on the business side of the factory? Aside from financial and business involvement, was either significantly involved in the design process?

Feminist design scholars have presented changing views of women's roles as consumers of designed products. In Penny Sparke's *As Long as It's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste* she argued against previous dismissals of the potential power of consumerism:

Sparke documented the importance of 'ornaments' in the formation of gender identity, arguing against crude Marxist and feminist critiques of consumerism that dismissed its capacity for liberation. In the process of exercising their tastes... women learned their own desires and experimented with various design styles and the personalities each connoted.¹¹¹

Other feminist design historians have considered design from the perspective of women consumers or encouraged others to do so through their writings.¹¹² An excellent example is Kirkham's book, *The Gendered Object*, in which she examined women's relationships to designed objects.¹¹³

Kipp engaged women as consumers through her client interactions and network of interior designers. A question for further research is how women and consumers interacted with the finished products created with Kipp's textiles.

¹¹¹ Ella Howard, "Feminist Writings on Twentieth-Century Design History, 1970–1995: Furniture, Interiors, Fashion," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* VIII, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2000–2001): 11. Penny Sparke, *As Long as It's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste* (London: Pandora, 1995).

¹¹² Suzette Worden, "A Voice for Whose Choice? Advice for Consumers in the Late 1930s," in *Design History: Fad or Function?* (London: Design Council, 1978), 41–48; Attfield, "FORM/female FOLLOWS FUNCTION/male: Feminist Critiques of Design", 203. "It is also vital to consider the impact that women have had historically, and can continue to exert on design by means of individual and joint consumption."

¹¹³ Pat Kirkham, *The Gendered Object* (UK: Manchester University Press, 1996).

Concept VII: ADVERTISING

Feminist design historians have identified advertising as an area of research particularly important for the study of the representation of women in relation to designed objects. Design is most powerfully communicated through advertising as explained by Buckley, “Advertising serves to enforce the meaning of design as defined by the designer or manufacturer.”¹¹⁴ However, the messaging often reveals an agenda less than favorable for women. Buckley continues:

It stereotypes women as mothers, cleaners, cooks, and nurses in order to define and direct the market. Woman is either considered the subject of patriarchal assumptions about women’s role and needs as consumers, or the object in sexist advertising.¹¹⁵

Feminist Jane Root makes the observation, “Women are often made absurdly ecstatic by very simple products, as though a new brand of floor cleaner or deodorant really could make all the difference to a lifetime.”¹¹⁶ Other scholars, including feminists and psychologists, have commented on the practice of using the female image in advertising to sell everything from cars to alcohol.

Despite Kipp’s usual reticence to be in the public eye, she posed for several publicity shots throughout her career and advertised her business in publications such as *Architectural Digest*. One of the most striking images is a 1940s photograph of a smiling Kipp wearing an elegant necklace and dark dress working at the loom (figure 8).¹¹⁷ Contradiction is inherent in the image. Kipp appears as a weaver; a job far below her actual positions of designer and owner, but closely associated with women’s roles in

¹¹⁴ Buckley, “Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Critique of Design,” 257.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Jane Root, *Pictures of Women: Sexuality* (London: Pandora Press, 1984), 55.

the textile industry. If a man was the owner of the shop, would he have posed as a weaver, or was the pose to show that she was adhering to gender norms? How does this photograph portray Kipp interacting with the design process and product? Of course, as a designer Kipp would have spent time on the loom, but the photograph disguises or undermines through Kipp's formal dress and smile that weaving is physically strenuous labor. How did Kipp use advertising to promote her business and sell the image of her work as handmade?¹¹⁸

Review

In sum, as an approach to design history feminist design methodologies offer opportunities and questions not previously considered through biography. How might one apply this methodology to Kipp's life and career? What are the broader implications for design history in general?

¹¹⁷ Reproduced in Mary Shoesser, "Textiles, Surface, Structure, and Serial Production," in *Craft in the Machine Age: The History of Twentieth-Century American Craft 1920-1945*, ed. Janet Kardon, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, in association with the American Craft Museum, 1995), 117.

¹¹⁸ Alternatively, perhaps Kipp was behind the loom in the photograph to emphasize the uniqueness of her work. It was always designed by her and made by hand, even if that was through her factory employees.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Methodology and Kipp's Autobiography

In finding alternative ways to represent the lives of women designers, many feminist design historians have turned to recent feminist literary scholarship emphasizing the autobiography and personal narratives. Literary scholars and critics have traced the new legitimacy of the autobiography to James Olney's *Autobiography*:

Essays Theoretical and Critical:

James Olney himself understands why some literary critics have little regard for autobiographical writing. He explains that "autobiography is the least 'literary' kind of writing, practised by people who would neither imagine nor admit that they were 'writers'."¹¹⁹

Olney's text contributed to making autobiography a genre considered worthy of study, as opposed to a sub-literary genre. Looking back in history, he questioned which texts were essays, letters, theory, or autobiography and how these seemingly arbitrary boundaries were established.¹²⁰ Also, he cited the rising popularity and renewal of the autobiography at this moment in time (1980) and attributed it to, "something more deeply embedded in the times and in the contemporary psyche, something more pervasive in the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere that caused and continues to cause a great number of investigators, thinkers, and critics to turn their attention to the

¹¹⁹ Martine Watson Brownley and Allison B. Kimmich, eds, *Women and Autobiography* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1999), xi. "That collection is generally credited with revitalizing and legitimizing the study of autobiography as a field."

¹²⁰ James Olney, *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 4-6. Olney playfully questions the last four books of Augustine's *Confessions*, Michel de Montaigne's *Essais*, Pascal's *Pensées*, W.E.B. DuBois's *Dusk of Dawn*, subtitled "The Autobiography of a

subject of autobiography.”¹²¹ Olney also mentioned the role of autobiography in contemporary studies and how it “offers a privileged access to an experience (the American experience, the black experience, the female experience, the African experience) that no other variety of writing can offer.” Olney continues:

I would suggest that this special quality of autobiography—that is, that autobiography renders in a peculiarly direct and faithful way the experience and vision of a people, which is the same experience and the same vision lying behind and informing all the literature of that people—is one of the reasons why autobiography has lately become such a popular, even fashionable, study in the academic world where traditional ways of organizing literature by period or school have tended to give way to a different sort of organization.¹²²

For feminist scholars active during the 1980s and 1990s, Olney’s book sparked a renewed interest in autobiography.¹²³ Feminists redefined the autobiography to include forms of very subjective material, such as diaries and unknown or anonymous authors, thus expanding the genre from formal autobiographies of “important” people—mostly

Race Concept”, Paul Valéry’s *La Jeune Parque*, T.S. Eliot’s *Four Quarters*, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Confessions*.

¹²¹ Ibid., 11.

¹²² Ibid., 13. He later refers to this time frame as the last 20 years—1960-1980.

¹²³ Sara Alpern, et al., *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Mary Catherine Bateson, *Composing a Life* (New York: Plume, 1990); Shari Benstock, *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women’s Autobiographical Writings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Leslie Rebecca Bloom, *Under the Sign of Hope: Feminist Methodology and Narrative Interpretation* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, c. 1998); Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck, ed., *Life Lines: Theorizing Women’s Autobiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Martine Watson Brownley and Allison B. Kimmich, eds., *Women and Autobiography* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1999); Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis and Michèle Foster, ed., *Unrelated Kin: Race and Gender in Women’s Personal Narratives* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman’s Life* (New York: Norton, 1988); Teresa Iles, *All Sides of the Subject: Women and Biography* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992); Mary Ellen Morbeck, Alison Galloway, and Adrienne L. Zihlman, ed., *The Evolving Female: A Life-History Perspective* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, c. 1997); Pauline Polkey, ed., *Women’s Lives into Print: The Theory, Practice and Writing of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Houndmills [England]: MacMillan Press; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999); Kristi Siegel, *Women’s Autobiographies, Culture, Feminism* (New York: Peter Lang, c. 1999); Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women’s Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Sidonie Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body: Women’s Autobiographical Practices in the 20th Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c. 1993); The Personal Narratives Group, ed., *Interpreting Women’s Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Linda Wagner-Martin, *Telling Women’s Lives: The New Biography* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994). Plus many articles, essays, and other books.

white men—to include the type of writing performed by most women. This expansion of what an autobiography is or what it could be also calls into question the treatment of autobiographies by lesser known persons such as Maria Kipp.

While it is possible to use Kipp's autobiography as support text for a biography, that does not preclude delving into the writing for its own sake. By considering Kipp's autobiography as an independent piece of writing, a scholar might find out more about Kipp as a person and her own peculiarities that might then explain behaviors previously considered unfounded or random, rather than just using the autobiography to order a sequence of events for a biography. Recent feminist interests in personal narratives and autobiography indicate that Kipp's "autobiography" is more akin to a life-journal or personal narrative. They also argue that the author does not have to be famous or important, much less have produced a formalized autobiography, in order to be worth investigating. This shift in thinking about self-writing and what scholars study calls for a re-evaluation of Kipp's autobiography.

In Chapter 2, I mentioned Kipp's biography by Marlyn Musicant. Here, I would like to revisit Kipp's autobiography by considering what may have been omitted or overlooked, paying attention to areas that received no attention in Musicant's Kipp biography. This "new" material serves as evidence of the differences in attributes and results of the two methodologies. Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of Kipp's autobiography is how much Kipp reveals of her inner life. Musicant noted the lack of writing on business details, such as clients or design philosophy, but she did not delve into what was actually there. Kipp wrote her story at the urging of her daughter-in-law Denny Lynn, the wife of her only son, as a record of her experience for the next

generation of her family. A year or two later, Kipp copied out a 12-page section that related most directly to her life with her business and distributed it to past and present employees. After Kipp's death, her son and daughter-in-law gave a typed copy of the autobiography to the Dorothy Stein Archives at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; it numbered over 90 pages. In addition to the text, there are close to 20 pages of images—some family pictures, such as Kipp as a child, her son as a child, his wedding, and many pasted-in lithographs of traditional life in Germany. The lithographs coincide with Kipp's prosaic descriptions of her early life in rural Germany.¹²⁴

While Kipp's autobiography does provide information on her family and her business, it is most consistently a record of her lifelong spiritual quest. As the daughter of a Protestant minister in Germany, she was familiar with organized religion from an early age and later wrote how profoundly Protestant values affected her.¹²⁵ She reiterates her most closely held beliefs—that responsibility and love are the most important things in life, but that responsibility is above love and grief. Immediately after this, she describes vividly her visions of her dead parents and her belief that they came from the spiritual realm to visit her and reinforce this message.

As a teenager, she met her future husband Ernst Haeckel. It is unclear which one of them discovered the rather eccentric Mazdaznan movement first but Haeckel was active in radical politics as well. The Mazdaznan movement was popular in Germany for a time, most visibly promoted by Johannes Itten at the Weimar Bauhaus.¹²⁶ Their

¹²⁴ I am not clear on the source of the lithographs. They appeared very generic.

¹²⁵ Maria Kipp, *Life story written for family*, l. p. 30-31, "Although I chose not to follow the doctrine of the protestant church in later years, the knowledge of the Christian principles which I received through the training my parents gave me combined with inherent tendencies and inclinations..."

¹²⁶ Frank Whitford, *Bauhaus* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1984), 53-54. "The faith that Itten followed was as strange as any. Called Mazdaznan, it was derived from ancient Zoroastrianism, was distantly related to the beliefs of the Indian Parsees and was the creation of a German-American

involvement with this religion prompted their move from Germany to Los Angeles, the world capital of the Mazdaznan movement. In the “1917-1931” section of her autobiography she dedicated several pages to Mazdaznan and her belief in freedom of religion and choice.¹²⁷ In the end, she expressed her disappointment with L.A.’s Mazdaznan group, writing that they were “dirty.” Surely she must have been dissatisfied with what they found; she was coming from an elite artistic and intellectual circle in Germany to an unkempt and unorganized group of American Mazdaznan enthusiasts in L.A. However, there were other émigrés like Kipp and her husband with similar backgrounds or beliefs with whom they formed connections and friendships.

Here, I propose a connection between Kipp’s experience as described in her writings and Haeckel’s letter to R.M. Schindler soliciting handweaving work. It seems more than a coincidence that Haeckel wrote to Schindler to offer handweaving services for the house being designed for Dr. Lovell, an unconventional health specialist who wrote a regular local newspaper column. Dr. Lovell advocated outdoor activities, special diets, and an unconventional lifestyle incredibly similar to the practices of followers of the Mazdaznan movement in Germany and the U.S. In this context, I estimate that Haeckel’s solicitation was not a random letter, but directed by a like-minded interest either with Dr. Lovell or by a mutual émigré friend with Viennese-born Schindler. Either

typographer who had given himself the name Dr. O.Z. (for Zarathustra) A. Ha’nish. Mazdaznan saw the world as a battlefield on which evil continuously challenges good for supremacy. (Good is represented by the spirit Ahura Mazda of whom Zarathustra spake.) Mazdaznan also held that what is commonly contrued as reality is no more than a veil obscuring a higher and more authentic existence. In order to make the mind and body receptive to the true reality, Mazdaznan prescribed a programme of physical and mental exceries, a rigorous vegetarian diet and regular purification of the system by means of fasting and enemas. Itten followed the prescription to the letter and, as the outward signs of his inner convictions, shaved his head and wore a long, loose-fitting robe. Everything Itten did was informed by Mazdaznan. As a teacher he believed that everyone was innately creative and that Mazdaznan could provide the key to unlock their natural artistic talent. With Itten Mazdaznan virtually took over the Bauhaus for a time, for the Swiss was far and away the most important teacher there for more than two years.”

way, Kipp's modernist designs fit perfectly with Schindler's concept for the house, earning her much recognition for the project and a loyal client in Schindler.¹²⁸ I mention this because the possible connection between Mazdaznan interests and Dr. Lovell seems so obvious once Kipp's convictions are discovered in her autobiography. However, without that missing piece of information, the possibility of like interests seems vaguer, even improbable. How has changing the methodology revealed new information? Indeed, how might further investigation change the story of Kipp's career?

In the third section of her autobiography, Kipp wrote more about her "personal search to understand life's meaning."¹²⁹ She mentioned that she attended the Arcane School for three and a half years starting in 1947 to learn about occult science. She wrote about reincarnation, karma, the oracle of Delphi, her history of seeing ghosts, having visions, and hearing voices. She explained that life is a mystery best experienced through the study and application of philosophies. Her interests led to a perceived heightened sense of spirituality and the occult and sensitivity to science and math. In conclusion, she stated that she shunned what other people think of her.

The Maria Kipp that emerges from her own text has an internal resolve to know life through spirituality and to fulfill all responsibilities, even above love and grief. Conversations with her son, George Engelke Jr., and her head weaver from the 1960s, Hedwig Simon, confirm that Kipp held to these beliefs. Engelke described specific examples of Kipp's priorities—such as when she confiscated his bedroom after she determined it fit the weaving loom better than other rooms. He related that vacations, when taken, consisted of camping close by enough that his mother could drive back to

¹²⁷ Maria Kipp, *Life story written for family*, II. p. 4-6, 16-17.

¹²⁸ Schindler later designed her factory and was a client for over 20 years.

the factory that night or in the morning to check on current projects. Simon described how difficult it was for “Miss Kipp” when her husband George Engelke was dying to balance her duties to him and her responsibility to the business.¹³⁰ Anecdotes from those who knew Kipp well demonstrate a consistency between her life and her writing, thus verifying that what she wrote was true. Musicant overlooks these attributes and characteristics in her biography of Kipp. While it is an accurate description of Kipp’s life and career, a more thorough exploration of Kipp’s own thoughts and character might further enrich it.

In light of this new look at her autobiography, Kipp’s business practices take on new meanings. The narrative patterns as described in Chapter 3 are designed to emphasize maximum success: the best painter, the most successful architect, or the most well-known designer. Kipp certainly had a successful business, but she was not the most well-known designer. In fact, Dorothy Liebes received the credit for revitalizing handweaving, despite that she designed for machine-mass production. Perhaps, that kind of success was never Kipp’s goal and did not fit with her personality or personal life philosophy. To try to make Kipp fit into this mold or definition of success is to distort her history. I propose that rather than an outwardly ambitious designer Kipp strove to produce excellence in design and manufacture for her own satisfaction. Every aspect of her business and her decisions reflects her deepest personal beliefs. Rather than discard Kipp in favor of Liebes, I advocate an acceptance of both. Kipp’s contributions to her field were valid and are worthy of study. Archives of her orders and samples, both small for upholstery and large for drapery, are well preserved and provide a snapshot of

¹²⁹ Maria Kipp, *Life story written for family*, III. p. 17.

woven textile design from 1930 to 1970. In addition, these differences between Liebes and Kipp show that an author applying a biographical approach might have found Liebes more interesting (certainly more visible; Liebes enjoyed celebrity), but might have neglected or minimized Kipp's story.

Maria Kipp, Inc.'s business plan aimed to provide high quality custom goods at a reasonable price. Kipp's custom business relied on unerring calculations and timeliness. Rather than establish her place at the highest end of the custom business, Kipp positioned her business as reasonable in price by taking on financial risks herself. She bulk ordered white yarns and hand dyed them on site to custom colors for each order—a move that was both technically and financially risky. Only the most expert of dyers used a spooned dye for the yarns. Because a mistake could cost the entire batch of yarn, Kipp trained the person in this position, or she performed the task herself. In addition, calculations for the amount of yarn needed had to be exact. Again, an overage of yarn was a waste of resources, while a shortage was a disaster. There was always a risk of squandering a job's entire margin of profit before the weaving even began.

Kipp's deep sense of responsibility to her business and employees, as made explicit in her own writing, along with her innovative designs, made her business a success. As feminist design historians have mentioned, a designer's career and success depends on economics. Having mastered her marketplace and sustained her presence for over 40 years, Kipp certainly proved the economic merit and feasibility of her designs and management. How did her personal philosophies inform her economic decisions, and in what ways do her writings exclusively prove this? How has changing

¹³⁰ Conversations with the author, October 2001. All references to Kipp on orders or directions within the business refer to her as "Miss Kipp."

the scholarly methodology affected what we know about Kipp and her contributions to design history? Combining knowledge of Kipp's personal philosophies and details of her business practices, as both are described in her autobiography, a slightly different picture of Kipp as a designer emerges than in Musicant's biography. Here, I expanded on the autobiography, but other ideas using feminist design methodologies, in addition to the ones mentioned in Chapter 4, include: examining Kipp through the perspective of one of her clients; following a single design sample and its various customizations; considering Kipp in the context of broader social and commercial trends in California; and more.

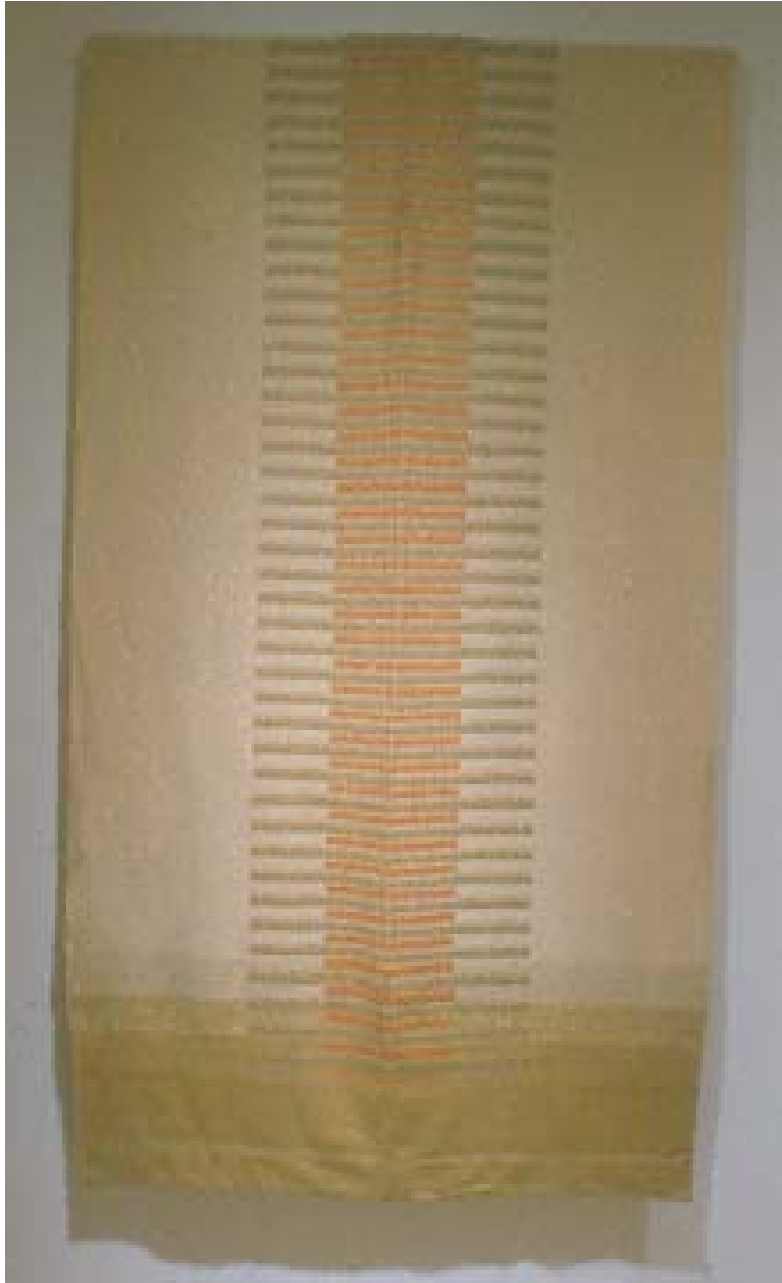
This chapter explored feminist design methodologies and what might be learned about Kipp through their application. In following with feminist design historians, it reexamined Kipp's autobiography as a text on its own, as opposed to a source document for a biography. In addition, it focused on Kipp's business practices as a fulfillment of her life philosophy as explained in her autobiography. In this process, it revealed aspects about Kipp that previously were not evident and that serve as an example of how methodologies can determine content.

Review

The question underlying this thesis is whether biography would allow Kipp simply to exist as a designer and business woman or whether the process of creating her biography would alter her story by fitting or tailoring the details into a biographical pattern. How is it that the day-to-day record that comprises the lives of designers can be preserved and considered important when writing history? In other words, how does one write about a subject without destroying it? Could the study of designer

autobiographies provide a new model for feminist design scholars in the recovery of twentieth-century women designers? What other approaches advocated by feminist design historians are relevant to cases like Kipp's? While a biographical methodology can contribute significantly to the body of scholarship in design, design history as a whole benefits from considering alternative methodologies in tandem and incorporating them into the practice of writing the history of design, thus making the findings more complex, more varied, and more reflective of real life.

APPENDIX



**Fig. 1. Maria Kipp, Inc., drapery sample, 1958-1959, cotton, rayon, metallic fiber.
Dallas Museum of Art, the Jane R. Van Hooser Collection, the Jane R. Van Hooser Memorial Fund
1998.18**

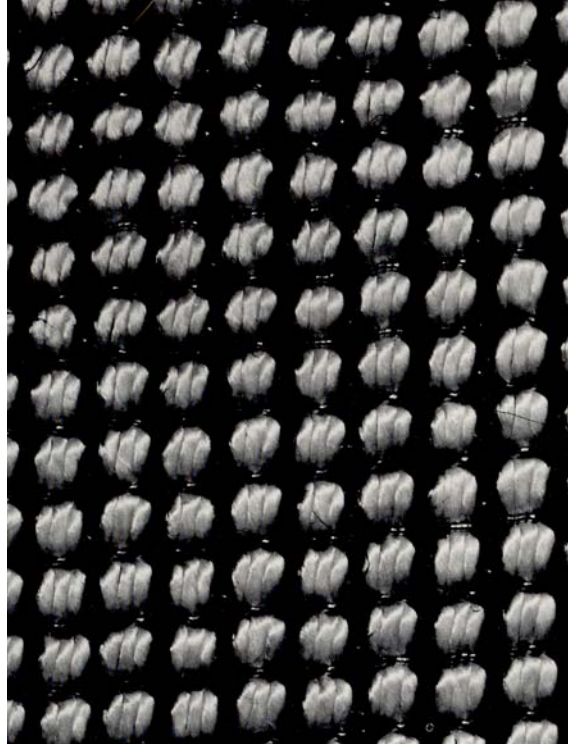


Fig. 2. Dorothy Liebes, automotive upholstery fabric detail, 1957, power loomed, cotton, DuPont nylon, metallic. Designed for Chrysler Corporation, Plymouth Fury 1957.

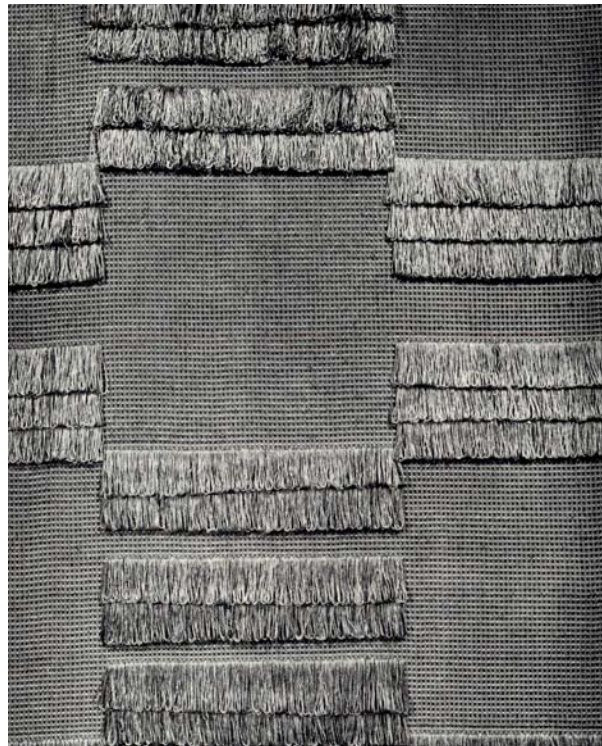
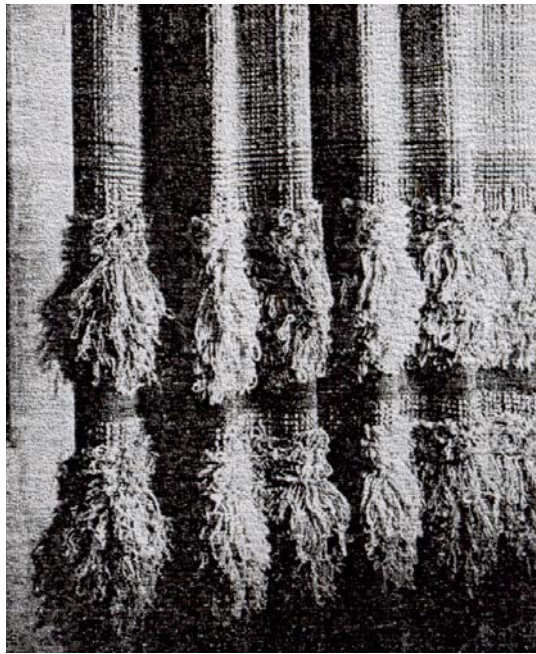


Fig. 3. Dorothy Liebes, drapery fabric detail, 1947, hand woven, loop fringe technique, cotton, rayon, metallic. Designed for Doris Duke's Honolulu house.



**Fig. 4. Maria Kipp, Inc., drapery fabric detail, 1952, rayon, cotton, and metallic yarns.
Designed for the S.S. United States.**



Fig. 5. Maria Kipp, Inc., drapery fabric detail, 1951, leno-weave white sheer weft of mohair-loop and silver metallic with short sections cut from the central portion of ostrich plumes laid-in and the ends of the feathers free-flowing.



**Fig. 6. Maria Kipp, Inc., detail of upholstery “pleat” sample, unknown date.
Collection of the author.**

Fig. 7

FEMINIST DESIGN METHODOLOGY CONCEPTS

I. PATRIARCHY

II. HIERARCHIES

III. DEFINITION OF DESIGN

IV. USE-VALUE AND ECONOMIC VALUE OF DESIGN

V. WOMEN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

VI. AUTHORSHIP, COLLABORATION, AND CONSUMERS

VII. ADVERTISING

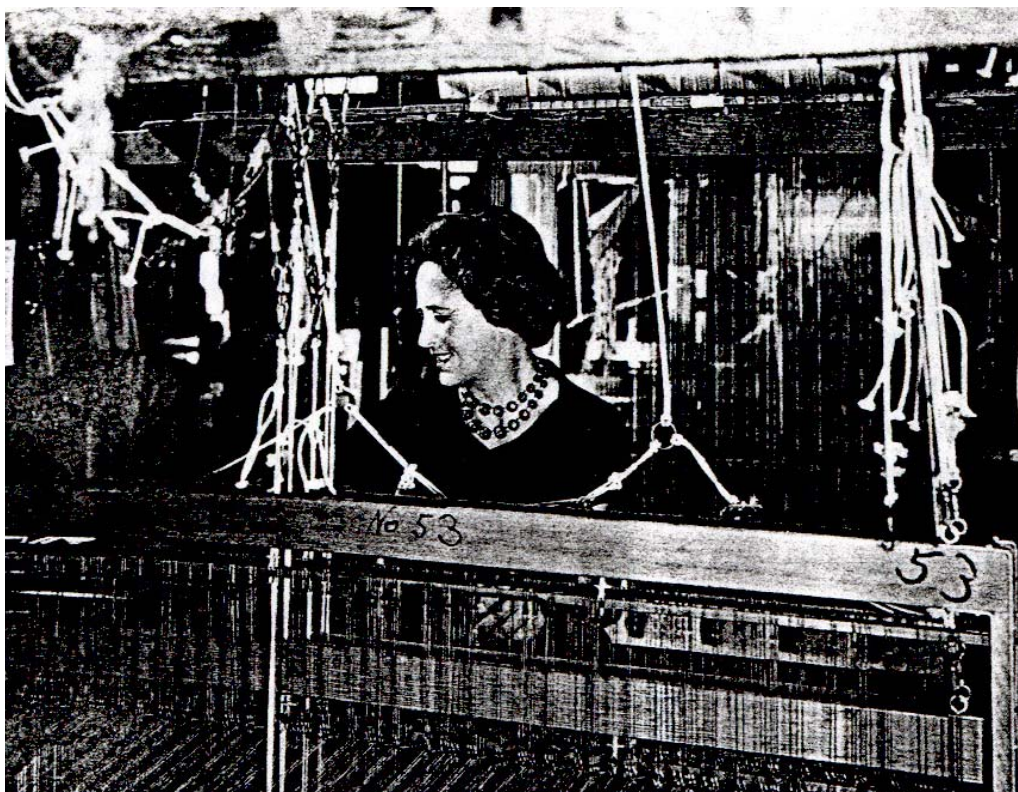


Fig. 8. Maria Kipp at her loom, c. 1940s, advertising image.

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