



COMUNICAR LA ARQUITECTURA

DEL ORIGEN DE LA MODERNIDAD A LA ERA DIGITAL

eug

The background of the cover is an abstract composition of broad, expressive brushstrokes in various shades of teal and dark blue. A prominent, dark, textured square, resembling a piece of fabric or a different material, is positioned in the center-right area, overlapping the brushstrokes.

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TOMO I

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a la era digital

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del origen de la modernidad a la era digital

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From Domestic Interiors to National Platforms. Modern Architecture and Indian Womanhood in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*

De los interiores domésticos a las plataformas nacionales. La arquitectura moderna y la feminidad india en *Indian Ladies' Magazine*

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Abstract

Indian Ladies' Magazine fue una revista para mujeres en la India editada por las Satthianadhans, desarrollada en un momento crucial en la lucha de la India por la independencia del dominio colonial británico. La revista destacó por sus artículos sobre lo último en diseño de vanguardia europeo, que los editores fusionaron con ideas modernas de individualidad, ciudadanía y educación para prescribir un nuevo tipo de feminidad india a sus lectores. Los lectores del *Indian Ladies' Magazine* no estuvieron expuestos acríticamente a las imágenes de la arquitectura moderna internacional, sino que las recibieron dentro de una red de influencias: el impacto de la economía británica de entreguerras, la inminente partición del subcontinente según líneas religiosas, la ubicación de las Satthianadhans en la costa sureste de India, y su muy particular voz editorial inspirada en las feministas indias y los reformadores sociales que les precedieron.

The *Indian Ladies' Magazine* was a women's magazine in India edited by the Satthianadhans, a mother-daughter team writing at a pivotal moment in India's struggle for independence from British colonial rule. The magazine is compelling for its reporting on the very latest in European avant-garde design, which the editors fused with modern ideas of individuality, citizenship, and education to prescribe a new type of Indian womanhood to their readers. The readers of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine* were not exposed uncritically to images of international modern architecture but received them within a web of influences: the impact of Britain's interwar economy, the impending partition of the subcontinent along religious lines, the Satthianadhans' location on India's southeastern coast, and their very particular editorial voice inspired by the Indian feminists and social reformers who came before them.

Keywords

Arquitectura moderna, movimiento independentista en India, revistas de mujeres, feminidad india

Modern Architecture, Indian independence movement, women's magazine, Indian womanhood

Introduction – the *Indian Ladies’ Magazine*

The *Indian Ladies’ Magazine* was a monthly (later bimonthly) women’s magazine edited by a team of two Indian women, Kamala Saththianadhan and her daughter Padmini Saththianadhan Sengupta. The magazine was published in two runs from 1901-1917 and 1927-1938, the latter run of which was at a pivotal moment in the history of the subcontinent because India’s struggle for Independence from British colonial rule transformed from isolated protests to a mass nationalist movement in this decade. The Saththianadhans were based in Vizianagaram in the British-ruled Madras Presidency on the southeastern coast of India’s peninsula, a location which was key to their activism since it was a centre for nationalist organising. The magazine is characterised by what Deborah Anna Logan – a literary critic of women’s writing from the former colonies of the British Empire – calls a “dual patriotism” in which they were loyal to the British Raj even as they advocated for the Indian nationalist goals of *swaraj*, *swadeshi*, and *satyāgraha*¹.

The *Indian Ladies’ Magazine* in its 1929-1938 run featured a short column called “Household Hints” which advised women on practical matters relating to the house. It was peculiarly shaped by the Saththianadhans’ own position as educated, upper caste Indian Christian women writing amidst the growing nationalist movement. The Saththianadhans relied on both text and image to sell modern design and architecture to their female readers while suggesting ways to adapt them into existing spatial arrangements in Indian homes. Since they were educated in English and multilingual, the editors read widely and borrowed from contemporaneous Indian publications in Hindi, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, and Bengali, as well as magazines in Britain and the United States to blend together nostalgic narratives of traditional Indian homes with modern ideas of individuality, citizenship, and education for women to prescribe a new ideal Indian womanhood to their readers.

The *Indian Ladies’ Magazine*’s readership consisted of upper-class women in British India, whom – other than British and Anglo-Indian women – constituted a very small part of the population at the time of the magazine’s founding². Since these women would have had to have access to English education and are likely to have been the daughters and wives of landowners, industrialists, traders, businessmen, or political figures such as the rulers of princely states, all of whom were Christians, Jains, Parsis, Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims who intermingled socially with the British and Anglo-Indians³. By the 1930s, however, the magazine’s female readership began to include not just wealthy society women but also

¹ The British Raj refers to the colonial government; “raj” is an anglicisation of *rajya* or “kingdom.” *Swaraj- Swadeshi-Satyāgraha* was a popular slogan in the Indian nationalist movement. *Swaraj* means “self-rule” as opposed to colonial rule, *swadeshi* means “of one’s own land” and referred to the boycotting of imports imposed by the British government and the support of Indian-manufactured goods, and *satyāgraha* or “adherence to truth” was used to refer to civil resistance to colonial rule. Deborah Anna Logan, *The Indian Ladies’ Magazine, 1901–1938: From Raj to Swaraj* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2017), 14.

² Anglo-Indians were people of mixed British and Indian ancestry. They were considered distinct from both the British in India and from Indians.

³ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial histories* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 36.

relatively poorer upper caste women and a new generation of girls with access to education and professions⁴. Each of these groups of women –British, Anglo-Indian, wealthy and upper caste Indian women of all faiths, and a new generation of educated women– were in a position to raise funds for girls’ schools, childcare facilities, and craft-making co-operatives, as well as to consume new forms of modern design and architecture.

In promoting modern materials like glass and steel side-by-side with hand-spun textiles and Indian crafts, the Satthianadhans showed a unique discernment in amalgamating international modern architecture and aesthetics with a new Indian womanhood⁵. The rest of the paper briefly outlines the political backdrop of 1930s British India, the significance of the Satthianadhans’ location on India’s southeastern coast, and the intellectual and social climate which influenced their ideas in the following sections of the paper. The last section situates the “Household Hints” articles within this larger aforementioned framework and reflect on what this may have meant for their women readers in this time period.

British India in the 1930s

The time in which the Satthianadhans were writing was a crucial moment in the Indian independence movement. The years spanning the beginning of the First World War, in which Indian raw material and manufacturing was essential to Britain’s war industry, to 1939 when Britain entered the Second World War was a period of intensifying Indian nationalism. The British government in these decades was attempting to strengthen ties with India owing to its dependence on India’s contribution to its economy even as Indian nationalists sought Dominion Status within (and eventually, complete independence from) the British Empire⁶. The independence movement accelerated in this period as a result of the following sets of events: one, the financial crisis caused by the unequal exchange of products between Britain and India in the interwar years and two, legislation that sought to suppress nationalist writing and the press. The *Indian Ladies’ Magazine* and its influence on their readers was actively shaped by these events.

The colonies were seen as crucial to rescuing the British economy from its slump after the First World War and the recession that followed. In order to keep Britain’s economy afloat, the government restricted exported items from the colonies to the British market and increased taxation on producers in India, adopting preferential import rates. This caused acute economic distress in India, to which farmers and industrial workers responded by organising mass protests⁷. The largest of these protests was the Salt Satyagraha, a civil resistance movement to break British salt import monopoly laws, which followed the declaration of

⁴ The caste system is a pre-colonial form of rigid social stratification in Hinduism in which those of the so-called “lower” castes are denied access to resources and forced to work in degrading conditions by those of the “upper” castes; Logan, *The Indian Ladies’ Magazine...*, 91.

⁵ Victoria Rosner, *Machines for Living: Modernism and Domestic Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 98.

⁶ B. R. Tomlinson, *The Political Economy of the Raj, 1914–1947: the Economics of Decolonization in India* (London: Macmillan (Cambridge Commonwealth Series), 1979), 33.

⁷ Tomlinson, *The Political Economy of the Raj...*, 34.

Purna Swaraj ("Complete Independence"), wherein the Indian National Congress announced the intention to secede from Britain. In the attempt to negotiate this to avoid further crisis, the British government passed the Government of India Act in 1935 affording greater autonomy to the princely states and provinces, while promising eventual Dominion Status⁸. In their editorial features in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, the Saththianadhans reported each of these events and discussed the possibilities they held for India's future.

Ironically, a larger space for the women's press in both English and Indian languages became possible in the early 20th century with successive legislations that sought to restrict the freedom of the nationalist press. The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908 which sought to curb the spread of nationalist writing, and the Defence of India Act 1915 which suppressed public criticism of the government sparked incidents of civil disobedience met with beatings and arrests. The Rowlatt (or Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes) Act 1919 associating the press with terrorist activities led to the gruesome Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, which served the purpose of galvanising localised protests into a larger nationalist movement⁹. The Salt Satyagraha in 1930, countered with the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act 1931 to suppress civil disobedience propaganda, saw larger and larger numbers of men who previously wrote for women's magazines to shift focus to other aspects of the nationalist movement. This created a new opportunity for women to organise on their own behalf, including by publishing magazines¹⁰.

The fact that the Saththianadhans were based on the southeastern coast of India in Vizianagaram, then part of the British-ruled Madras Presidency, was also significant. Madras had been an important port since the days of the British East India Company and the region had a "certain cultural coherence rooted both in language and political tradition from pre-colonial times"¹¹. Christian missionary activity, education, and the English and local language print industry were all well-established in the Madras Presidency by the mid-19th century. The multiplicity of languages in South India meant that English rather than Hindustani was the language of elite Indians there.

Organisations such as Annie Besant's Home Rule League (modelled on the Home Rule Party in Ireland, as well as a second organisation of that name in India) and publications such as the newspaper *The Hindu*, which was critical of British policies, were founded in Madras, establishing the city as a centre for nationalist activity¹². The *Indian Ladies' Magazine* was shaped by these very particular socio-political forces.

⁸ Dominion Status referred to a self-governing territory under the British Empire which was able to elect its own government but had no authority over lawmaking or justice. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa were Dominions of the British Empire at this time; Matthew Stubbings, "Free Trade Empire to Commonwealth of Nations: India, Britain and Imperial Preference, 1903–1932", *The International History Review* 41, n.º 2 (2019): 323–344.

⁹ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India* (Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan, 2009), 257–262.

¹⁰ Logan, *The Indian Ladies' Magazine...*, 10–14.

¹¹ Mytheli Sreenivas, "Emotion, Identity, and the Female Subject: Tamil Women's Magazines in Colonial India, 1890–1940", *Journal of Women's History* 14, n.º 4 (Winter 2003): 59–82.

¹² Logan, *The Indian Ladies' Magazine...*, 17.

An example of the Satthianadhans' response to political events is their earnest attempt to build bridges across community divides. Part of the colonial government's strategy for countering Indian nationalism was to sow discord on religious grounds. The 1905 partition of Bengal, although undone in 1911, involved the creation of a Hindu-majority West Bengal and a Muslim-majority East Bengal, complicating efforts by Indians to rally together against British rules by weakening interreligious bonds¹³. Conscious of these rifts, the Satthianadhans sought to mend these differences by attempting to foster better relations between women of all religions in India. In their articles, they envisioned a womanhood in a new India that would not be shaped as much by religious orthodoxy as by modern ideas of citizenship and nation-building¹⁴. This vision of a new Indian woman is evident in their both their overall editorial voice as well as in their reporting on modern architecture and design.

The Satthianadhans' editorial voice

Founding editor Kamala Satthianadhan (whose daughter Padmini took over as editor in the second run of the magazine from 1927-1938) conceptualised the *Indian Ladies' Magazine* as a welcoming resource for women to practise their reading and writing skills and to express their own viewpoints. The Satthianadhans corresponded with and published work by prominent women writers and contemporary feminists. For instance, 'Sultana's Dream' by social reformer Rokeya Hussain Sakhawat, a feminist science fiction short story in which women run society and men are confined to the home, was first published in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*. In drawing upon the influence of their contemporaries and the women social reformers who came before them, their editorials combined a repudiation of oppressive customs such as dowry, polygamy, and child marriage with the endorsement of modern ideals such as education for women, childcare, and sanitary reform. The adoption of multiple and hybrid identities –as Hindu and Christian, as housewives and working women, as women in step with western fashions while looking after an Indian home– was essential to their project, particularly since Kamala was herself a widow¹⁵.

The Satthianadhans were staunch supporters of the nationalist movement and self-rule for India. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's vision for an independent India included self-sufficient village economies so that rural workers would not migrate to cities; this idea was taken up in earnest by the Satthianadhans. This view was informed by Gandhi's upper caste privilege and ignorance of the realities of caste-based violence in villages, a view which the Satthianadhans appear to share, suggesting that they were unfamiliar with the work of the

¹³ A. K. Biswas, "Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905)", *Social Scientist* 23, n.º 4/6 (April/June 1995): 38-57.

¹⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 135.

¹⁵ Although this was increasingly less strictly enforced in this period, an upper caste widow in India was considered cursed, prevented from attending social gatherings for fear of "pollution", expected to be in perpetual mourning and to live a life of frugal subsistence while confined to domestic labour in the home of her deceased husband's family.

anti-caste activists and writers who were their contemporaries¹⁶. They wrote, "when our village homes are bright and happy, we shall hear far less of the drain of the village lads into the towns and there will be far less quarrels, litigation, and unrest"¹⁷. The themes of rural construction and home industries in the villages recur frequently in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*; for instance, in reporting on the successful setting up of a depot for women's home industries in rural Maharashtra, they recommend that such depots be set up across the country to support women's crafts, adding that this can help produce a self-supporting generation of women.

In the magazine's columns, the Satthianadhans expressed their support for equal status for women in the constitution, featuring prominent women professionals and public figures. At the same time, they remind their readers that well-to-do women need not compete on an equal footing with men, instead advising that "women may be taught home crafts and domestic science, laws of health, principles of sex education, maternity, and child welfare", which has echoes of the call for cooperative crafts and separate women's spheres in 19th-century America by Melusina Fay Peirce and Catharine Beecher, whom Dolores Hayden has called the material feminists¹⁸. *The Indian Ladies' Magazine's* representations of modern design and architecture are extensions of the above messaging, balanced between multiple and sometimes opposing ideas. Just as the Satthianadhans reported on a wide range of events and borrowed from an extensive list of sources to synthesise their viewpoint, they modified images of modernist design to be suitable for the new Indian woman they envisioned, and the household she would keep.

Modern architecture and style in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*

The *Indian Ladies' Magazine* in its 1929-1938 run featured a short column called "Household Hints" which offered guidance on selecting furniture, appliances, interior colours, and fabrics, how to arrange rooms, and the upkeep of furniture made of different materials. The column also included tips for throwing a successful party, dyeing sarees, instructing domestic workers, growing a garden, and keeping out flies and cockroaches. The columns were written by "Paddy" (presumably editor Padmini Satthianadhan Sengupta herself) for most of the run until 1937, when a contributor called "Annette" began to write them. Both authors offered their own opinions and narrated anecdotes to illustrate their ideas for modern architecture and design in India, often referring to novels they read or homes they personally visited.

In several of the "Household Hints" columns in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, the writers make specific references to modern architecture and design. In the July and August 1936 issue, Paddy quotes from a "bright little Calcutta journal called *Property*" to suggest that

¹⁶ Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste: An Undelivered Speech, with annotations by S. Anand* (New Delhi: Navayana Publishing, 2014), 22.

¹⁷ Padmini Satthianadhan (quoting Frank Lugard Brayne), "From the Editor's Table", *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, (January and February 1936).

¹⁸ Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA; London: The MIT Press, 1982), 79.

low-cost, hard-wearing aluminium furniture might be suitable for India. She notes that modern furniture appears to incorporate bright metal, especially white metals “such as aluminium, stainless steel or some form of plated surface”; she recommends aluminium in particular in India on account of its low cost and decreased susceptibility to deterioration compared to some types of plated metal¹⁹. For the May and June 1937 issue, Annette writes in her first ‘Household Hints’ column that there are two style options available to Indian women who may wish to decorate their homes with modern design: the first is the “typical modern Eastern which is a mixture of the best of European and Indian styles of to-day” and the second is “completely modern European”, which she says can be “so easily got with chromium and glass-topped investments.”²⁰

In the September and October 1937 issue, Annette advises that flat roofs are more suitable for Indian homes than the pitched roofs that were ubiquitous in coastal South India, since “dust and cobwebs gather so easily in India” and “the nooks and corners” of interiors of homes with pitched and tiled roofs require frequent cleaning. She advises flat ceilings instead, made “of some smooth material that can easily be cleaned.”²¹ This is significant because flat roofs are a hallmark of modern architecture in Europe but not yet in India²². Although vernacular flat-roofed houses with terraces were standard in arid inland parts of the northwestern and western subcontinent, vernacular pitched roofs were better suited to the frequent rain and occasional cyclones on India’s southeastern coast, where the *Indian Ladies’ Magazine* was based (fig. 1).

The “Household Hints” columns for most of the *Indian Ladies’ Magazine*’s run consist of only text, but the last few columns of ‘Household Hints’ written by Annette quotes from *The Parents’ Magazine*, an American magazine, also reproducing photographs from this source. This is significant because the photographs are of the very latest in modern design, not yet available in most of the western world, let alone India²³. One of these photographs is of a set of sofas in a living room overlooking a *fenêtre longue*, a type of iconic window now widely associated with avant-garde architecture in the west, which was still relatively uncommon anywhere in the world in 1937 (fig. 2). The original photograph from *The Parents’ Magazine* was taken by freelance Swedish photographer Emilie Danielson for R. H. Macy and Sons. From the shape of the *fenêtre longue* and the exterior of the building, it has been possible to identify it as the Richard H. Mandel House designed by Edward Durell Stone, with interior design by Donald Deskey and Richard H. Mandel himself²⁴.

¹⁹ Paddy, “Household Hints”, *Indian Ladies’ Magazine* (July and August 1936): 161.

²⁰ Annette, “Household Hints”, *Indian Ladies’ Magazine* (May and June 1937): 130.

²¹ Annette, “Household Hints...”.

²² Finn Jensen, *Modernist Semis and Terraces in England* (London: Routledge, 2012), 2.

²³ It is perhaps of interest that household decor articles in *The Parents’ Magazine* were written by Helen Sprackling, who also wrote for the influential American interior decoration magazine *House Beautiful*.

²⁴ Marilyn F. Friedman, *Making America Modern: Interior Design in the 1930s* (New York: Bauer and Dean Publishers, 2018), 105-107. Unrelatedly, Edward Durell Stone later visited the subcontinent to design the building of the United States Embassy to India in New Delhi in 1954 and the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) House in Lahore, Pakistan in 1967.

Not all photographic elements in the magazine as a whole were drawn from other publications: in a column in the September and October 1937 issue of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, writer Michael Lorant featured the home and life of Anna Lee, a popular movie star of the time. A photograph of Lee in her living room in London is included, showing steel tube cantilever chairs that was expensive and uncommon (fig. 3). The steel tube chairs in the image show characteristics of Mart Stam's S34 cantilever chair as well as of Anton Lorenz's Tube SS33 chair, but it has not been possible to identify the designer.



Figure 1. Photograph of editor Padmini Sattthianadhan standing in front of a building with a pitched roof from the April 1930 issue of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*. Source: *Indian Ladies' Magazine* (January and February 1938), British Library, London.

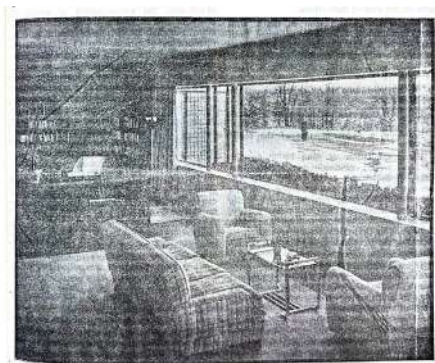


Figure 2. Photograph from the Household Hints feature from the January and February 1938 issue of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*. Source: *Indian Ladies' Magazine* (January and February 1938), British Library, London. Original photograph from *The Parents Magazine* taken by photographer Emilie Danielson for R. H. Macy and Sons.



Figure 3. Photograph from a feature on Anna Lee from the September and October 1937 issue of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*. Source: *Indian Ladies' Magazine* (September and October 1937), British Library, London.

These two photographs are compelling because they were not merely an uncritical act of displaying images of domestic interiors in western settings for female readers in India who may have had no context for understanding these images. Since the anadhans' own editorials consisted of reporting on international events, we can be certain that the readers of the *Indian Ladies' Magazine* knew of current political developments in Europe. We may also assume that in India, they were familiar with the Lutyens-Baker's neoclassical style of imperial New Delhi and the new low-rise, medium density Art Deco housing in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras which Peter Scriver and Amit Srivastava refer to as "an Indian suburbanism" for the urban affluent²⁵. However, these photographs of a *fenêtre longue* and cantilever chairs are examples of the very latest in European avant-garde design, and likely unfamiliar to Indian readers²⁶. Although European avant-garde design in the interwar years carried specific embedded political meanings in their original context, the Satthianadhans were using these images as part of an unrelated project that was located in and responding to a specific period in India's history.

²⁵ Peter Scriver and Amit Srivastava, *India. Modern Architectures in History Series* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 95.

²⁶ Yashwant Holkar II, the Maharaja of the princely state Indore (1200 kilometres from the Satthianadhans) had a taste for modern architecture and design. He befriended Eckart Muthesius and brought him to India to design his new palace Manik Bagh in the modern style in 1933, and commissioned modern furniture for it by Muthesius, Eileen Gray, Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann, Charlotte Perriand, and others. It is not impossible that some readers of the *Indian Ladies Magazine* were aware of the Maharaja's collection.

Conclusion: modern architecture and Indian womanhood in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*

The "Household Hints" column and its use of images of modern architecture was vital to the Satthianadhans' ongoing endeavour of forging a new Indian womanhood in an India on the cusp of Independence. Like other English and local-language publications in India, the I did not simply reproduce ideas from the west but constructed new identities for their readers by "critiquing, ridiculing, modifying, and upending" them. The editors' dual patriotism manifested in their attempt to build bridges across religious and racial divides even as partition of the subcontinent on religious lines became unavoidable. The magazine's female readers are likely to have received its juxtaposing of images of modern architecture from the west with new ideas of Indian womanhood as not empowering nor extraneous but both and neither, at a time when ideas of "modern Indian womanhood" and "Independent India" were being fashioned and refashioned.

The editors' chief aim was to bring together women from diverse backgrounds to facilitate exchange across cultural differences and caste taboos. To this end, the Satthianadhans were extremely responsive to current political events, evident in their support of *swadeshi* crafts made in India, conflation of *swaraj* with self-sufficiency and autonomy, and advice to women to devote themselves to upliftment of the less fortunate as part of *satyagraha*. At the same time, they instructed women on British social courtesies and suggest activities such as dancing and games with participants of both genders, which would have been unusual for a gathering of Indians. This was part of their attempt to normalise British social conventions among Indians since fluency in these was a signifier of social status. The use of images from outside India was part of this attempt to familiarise their readers in India with novel ideas for domestic spaces which readers could then modify for their own needs. Over the course of the 1930s, the *Indian Ladies' Magazine* did not invoke modern design either to further the cause of the empire sympathisers or the Indian nationalists, but to fashion identities which are both Raj and Swaraj and neither. They avoided political partisanship, a strategy they saw as essential to their larger project of building bridges between readers from different communities in the period when fault lines between the colonial administration and Indians were widening. Their multiple and composite representations of avant-garde design from the west, progressive social reform for India, British customs, and support of village industries responded to the general anticipation of a new nation that had until recently been a set of contiguous but disparate territories. The *Indian Ladies' Magazine* eventually ceased publication in 1938 amidst impending war and increasing cultural separatism, as the accelerating nationalist movement shifted focus away from the sort of cross-cultural collaboration for which the magazine had advocated²⁷.

²⁷ Acknowledgement: This paper has been prepared as part of the five-year research project *Expanding Agency: Women, Race and the Dissemination of Modern Architecture* which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 101019419).



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