



JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS  
Founded as American Society of Architectural Historians, 1940  
Incorporated as Society of Architectural Historians, 1947  
Published quarterly in March, June, September, and December  
Volume 69, Number 2 / June 2010



*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (ISSN 0037-9808, e-ISSN 2150-5926) is published four times a year (March, June, September, December) for the Society of Architectural Historians by University of California Press, Journals and Digital Publishing, 2000 Center Street, Suite 303, Berkeley, Calif. 94704-1123. Periodicals postage paid at Berkeley, Calif., and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *JSAH*, University of California Press, Journals and Digital Publishing, 2000 Center Street, Suite 303, Berkeley, Calif. 94704-1223. E-mail: [customerservice@ucpressjournals.com](mailto:customerservice@ucpressjournals.com).

*JSAH* online. Beginning in March 2010, *JSAH* also appears in an online, multimedia edition. *JSAH* online presents the same text content, but with an expanded illustration program that includes video, sound, 3-D models, panoramic photos, and zoomable images. Until 2011, *JSAH* online is available only to individual members of the Society of Architectural Historians. For access, visit [www.sah.org](http://www.sah.org) and follow the link to *JSAH* online.

To propose a manuscript for publication, or to submit a book, multimedia work, or exhibition for review, consult the instructions at [www.sah.org](http://www.sah.org).

#### Membership Information

Individual membership to the Society of Architectural Historians is \$120 per calendar year, \$50 per year for students. Go to [www.sah.org](http://www.sah.org) for more information.

See [www.ucpressjournals.com](http://www.ucpressjournals.com) for single issue and institutional subscription orders, back issues from volume 65 forward, and claims information. Domestic claims for nonreceipt of issues should be made within 90 days of the mail date; overseas claims within 180 days. Mail dates can be checked at: <http://www.ucpressjournals.com/ucpress.asp?page=ReleaseSchedule>. UC Press does not begin accepting claims for an issue until thirty (30) days after the mail date. To order issues prior to volume 65, contact [membership@sah.org](mailto:membership@sah.org).

Inquiries about advertising can be sent to [adsales@ucpressjournals.com](mailto:adsales@ucpressjournals.com). For complete abstracting and indexing coverage for the journal, please visit <http://www.ucpressjournals.com>. All other inquiries can be directed to [customerservice@ucpressjournals.com](mailto:customerservice@ucpressjournals.com).

**Copying and permissions notice:** Authorization to copy article content beyond fair use (as specified in Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law) for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by The Regents of the University of California on behalf of the Society of Architectural Historians for libraries and other users, provided that they are registered with and pay the specified fee through the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC), [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com). To reach the CCC's Customer Service Department, phone 978-750-8400 or write to [info@copyright.com](mailto:info@copyright.com). For permission to distribute electronically, republish, resell, or repurpose material, and to purchase article offprints, use the CCC's Rightslink service, available on Caliber at <http://caliber.ucpress.net>. Submit all other permissions and licensing inquiries through University of California Press's Rights and Permissions website, [www.ucpressjournals.com/reprintInfo.asp](http://www.ucpressjournals.com/reprintInfo.asp), or via e-mail: [journalspermissions@ucpress.edu](mailto:journalspermissions@ucpress.edu).

SAH gratefully acknowledges the home institutions of the editors for their support of *JSAH*. The SAH Scott Opler Endowment for New Scholars provides funds to support publication by emerging scholars in *JSAH* and a *JSAH* editorial assistant's position.

Front cover: D. H. Burnham and Co., Reliance Building, digital reconstruction showing relationship between self-braced steel structure and skin (see p. 254)

Printed by Allen Press on Forest Stewardship Council-certified paper.

© 2010 Society of Architectural Historians. All rights reserved.



#### Editor

David B. Brownlee  
Department of the History of Art  
University of Pennsylvania  
3405 Woodland Walk, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104-6208  
[dbrownle@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:dbrownle@sas.upenn.edu)

#### Founding Editor JSAH Online

Hilary Ballon  
NYU Abu Dhabi  
New York University  
14 East 4th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10012  
[hilary.ballon@nyu.edu](mailto:hilary.ballon@nyu.edu)

#### Book Review Editors

*North and South America*  
Keith Eggener  
Department of Art History and Archaeology  
109 Pickard Hall  
University of Missouri-Columbia  
Columbia, Mo. 65211  
[eggenerk@missouri.edu](mailto:eggenerk@missouri.edu)

#### *Europe, Africa, and Asia to 1750*

Sarah McPhee  
Art History Department  
Emory University  
581 S. Kilgo Circle, Atlanta, Ga. 30332-1120  
[smcphee@emory.edu](mailto:smcphee@emory.edu)

#### *Europe, Africa, and Asia from 1750*

John Maciuka  
Department of Fine and Performing Arts  
Baruch College, City University of New York  
55 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010-5585  
[john\\_maciuka@baruch.cuny.edu](mailto:john_maciuka@baruch.cuny.edu)

#### Exhibition Review Editor

David G. De Long  
School of Design  
115 Meyerson Hall  
University of Pennsylvania  
210 South 34th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104-6311  
[ddelong@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:ddelong@pobox.upenn.edu)

#### Multimedia Review Editor

Beatriz Colomina  
School of Architecture  
Princeton University  
Princeton, N.J. 08544-5264  
[colomina@princeton.edu](mailto:colomina@princeton.edu)

#### Managing Editor

Mary Christian  
101 West 5th Street, 12L, New York, N.Y. 10019  
[marychristian@nyc.rr.com](mailto:marychristian@nyc.rr.com)

#### Opler Editorial Assistant

Malcolm Clendenin