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Empathy" and "The Architect's World between Culture and Style," Payne juxtaposes the arguments of Wölfflin, Riegl, Schmarsow, and Warburg to demonstrate their shared attention to the small scale, *Kleinarchitektur*, as a categorical site of inquiry. From Semper's theory of *Formgefühl* (feeling for form) to Riegl's concept of *Kunstwollen* (will of art), Payne's nuanced analysis culminates with Warburg, highlighting his epistemological claims about the body and its physical contact with the object. Regarding architectural discourse, Payne focuses on Ernst Kapp's formulation of the *Organprojektion* (organ projection), which proposed that human-made objects were extensions of the body, while other theorists related the specific functions of the body to architectural design. Although these architects and architectural historians emphasized its physical qualities over its putative mental ones, the body remained at the center of their theories.

In the fifth chapter, "The Fork in the Road: Muthesius and Loos," Payne recovers a counterdiscourse contemporaneous to the art nouveau that pivoted on the decorative arts. Comparing Peter Behrens's house with Victor Horta's, the former is conceived as a collection of well-curated objects. The mobility and autonomy of the objects and inhabitants are emphasized and imagined in distinction to the static quality of Horta's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which exemplified a linear continuity from object to architecture, from teacup to armchair to house. The idea of *Sachkultur* was not to design a singular total work of art but to create an assemblage that defined modern culture through mass production. Accordingly, Muthesius coined the term *Typisierung*, first proposed by Schmarsow, whereby "serial repetition is raised to the level of art" (213). Loos pushed the idea further and negated the particularities of objects altogether, locating their modernity in their capacity to blend into their surroundings. Loos's valuation of an object's invisibility—its ability to blend into the background of everyday life—was, however, tied to an emergent design aesthetic based not on methods of production but on a recognizable "modern" appearance. At this point in Payne's narrative, the ornament becomes a detached object and then invisible in its mass reproducibility.

The final chapter, "The Aftermath: Bauhaus Endgame and Le Corbusier's Poetics of Portability," highlights the activities and the curriculum of the Bauhaus founded on the older model of the *Kunstgewerbeschule*. The contradiction of this lineage was that the Bauhaus program did not emerge from the ground up, "organically," but was designed from the top down; Walter Gropius's objective to train designers "to build a society of consumers in step with modernity" (231) assumed that institutions were the vehicles of cultural transformation. Le Corbusier might be an unexpected concluding figure in a book devoted to German discourse, but Payne makes the case for Le Corbusier as both a reader of German art history and its disseminator to French audiences. Focusing on his 1925 Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau and subsequent publications, she returns to the spatial context of the Fernand Léger painting featured in her introduction, *Le Balustre*. Le Corbusier's exhibition room was shaped around a painting, his design conceived as the context for an object. At the chapter's end, the reader finds an architectural ornament objectified through art.

In conclusion, Payne writes that the object acted as a mediator of architecture, that it ultimately became essential in and through modern industry and mass production. The object was afforded this mediating power "once the past 'could be aroused by the unmediated perception of objects' and gained an 'experimental reality' through them, that is, as history moved from metonymy to synecdoche" (111).² Provocatively posed, her assertion is that the object's mediating function for modern architecture was enabled by the denial of that same function to the past. If this was the "stylistic" role of the object for modernism, Payne's critical project is to recover that history.

Her genealogical study attests to renewed disciplinary interest in objects (for art history) and in ornamentation (for architectural history), and this book is precisely situated between the two, showing how the disciplines' major theorists and historians integrated methods and theories from anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and museum studies. Contemporary architecture is at a moment when ornament is being revisited, and

several new books on the subject posit the question of subjectivity and agency, with its language of the skin, its surface, and its limits. Payne's critical contribution is to argue for the historical continuities that constitute the practice of architecture through the material object of text.

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Notes

1. Andreas Nierhaus, ed., *Der Ring: Pionierjahre einer Prachtstrasse* (St. Pölten, Austria: Residenz, 2015).
2. Payne quotes Stephen Bann, "Historical Text and Historical Object: The Poetics of the Musée Cluny," *History and Theory* 17, no. 3 (1978), 253.

Joanne Vajda

Paris Ville Lumière: Une transformation urbaine et sociale, 1855–1937

Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015, 422 pp., 133 b/w illus. €40 (cloth), ISBN 9782343055633

Behind an imprecise title and lackluster cover lies a book that lovers of the French capital will enjoy. Joanne Vajda discusses the urban and social transformation of the City of Light that was mediated by high-class tourism in the period 1855–1937. We learn how the members of the "traveling elite" helped transform the neighborhoods they patronized, originally near the Grands Boulevards, then moving westward, always on the Right Bank; the scholastic Latin Quarter and artistic Montparnasse are not featured, and Montmartre makes only a cameo appearance. The beginning and end dates in the book's title relate to the first and last international expositions Paris hosted, and the bulk of the research concerns the Second Empire and the Belle Époque.

In this study, which originated in her doctoral research at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Vajda taps into a multitude of print and archival sources, taking the painstaking path necessary to comprehend the sociocultural, financial, and environmental dynamic between, on one hand, Paris's business and high-end districts as well as residential *beaux quartiers* and, on the other, the rich men and women attracted to the city from all over the world. Her sources include

guidebooks (including multilingual pamphlets published by hotels), essays by fashionable French writers, hotel guest books, building permits, citizenship applications, bankruptcy files, auction catalogues, and police reports.

The first section sets the cultural stage for the “the city of the guidebooks,” the “Paris désœuvré, sensuel et cosmopolite” (389) shaped by, and for, foreigners. Indeed, attracting upscale tourism was one of Baron Haussmann’s objectives, and such tourism remains a key economic engine for the Parisian economy. Among other intriguing facts, we learn that by 1855 foreigners were allowed entry on a daily basis into many monuments and museums that the French could patronize only on Sundays; we also learn that in the 1920s some Americans shipped their own automobiles to the city to use during their visits.

The second section discusses Parisian caravansaries, their urban setting and design as well as the evolving rituals they hosted. In 1860, the city boasted 4,853 hotels of all classes and furnished apartment houses; this figure rose to 13,221 in 1913, and then to 20,896 in 1931. The Second Empire saw the construction of the Grand Hôtel du Louvre (with its companion department store) and Grand Hôtel, encompassing a full block across from the new opera house. Around 1900, hotel construction shifted toward the Champs-Élysées. Among the hotels built there was the Astoria, the object of a major height regulation dispute; this hotel, according to Léon-Paul Fargue’s *Piéton de Paris* (1939), “specializ[ed] in maharajahs.” The 1920s was another golden age for luxury hotels, which transformed major thoroughfares such as the avenue renamed for King Georges V.

In the third section, Vajda analyzes spatial changes in Paris in terms of selective beautification and the concurrent evolution of travelers’ behaviors, asserting that the boundaries between affluent and deprived districts became more obvious over time. In contrast to many American cities, Paris was not a place for long-term hotel living. Along the Avenue Montaigne and Parc Monceau, near the Trocadéro and on the Place des États-Unis, foreigners nurtured an active rental and construction market for luxury apartments and

town houses. Vajda also addresses how foreign art collectors helped to increase the presence of art dealerships in the city and contributed to the creation of several museums.

The fourth section focuses on the places of entertainment in Paris patronized by the traveling elite. The *cercles* (a response to the British gentlemen’s clubs), for example, hosted many activities, including fencing. Vajda describes one type of entertainment venue imported from the United States, the immense skating rinks—speedily erected in metal and glass, lavishly decorated, and featuring orchestras and bars—where young American women on roller skates or ice skates dazzled patrons. The most enduring of these establishments was the Palais de Glace (now the Théâtre du Rond-Point); another occupied the Fine Arts Palace erected for the 1889 World’s Fair, and the popular American Skating Rink infused life into the staid Place Victor-Hugo in the sixteenth arrondissement.

The book entails a fascinating cast of characters: travelers of varied backgrounds and repute, including deposed rulers; large-scale entrepreneurs such as the Pereire Brothers and Thomas Cook; and hotel managers, often self-made men, who ruled over armies of in-house doctors, dentists, barbers, photographers (such as Nadar at the Grand Hôtel), stenographers, and florists. The architects whose buildings Vajda explores were all Frenchmen, some holders of the Rome Prize, but we learn little about them aside from their names and repeat commissions. Travelers trying to emulate the local haute bourgeoisie and aristocracy, and entrepreneurs concerned with safeguarding massive investments, overwhelmingly favored the “Louis styles”; accordingly, architect Charles Mewès, an Alsatian Jew who specialized in designing hotels and ocean liners, went as far as taking Charles Ritz on educational visits to museums displaying late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century French furniture and decorative arts. One might expect that, as in New York and London, hotel construction would have generated a specific typology in Paris, but as strict city codes prevented the outside differentiation of hotels from apartment buildings, this did not happen.

Initially confused with the English, U.S. travelers soon formed a conspicuous cohort, especially on the Rues de la Paix and Scribe, where their tongue was heard more often than French. Beginning with Hector Horeau’s unrealized “Hôtel Américain” of 1853, Americanism was rampant. U.S. hotels offered the gold standard for amenities: American-style roof gardens were introduced at the Hôtel Continental in 1878, and many hotel rooms were given English names. Vajda notes (with no further comment) that architects Armand Sibien and Georges Chedanne took study trips to the United States before building the Majestic and Mercedes Hotels, respectively.

Vajda ably demonstrates that cultural *métissage* is more than 150 years old in Paris. Hers is an earnest book on topics generally yielding vanity publications. It complements existing architectural histories of nineteenth-century Paris as well as Harvey Levenstein’s delightful and informative *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (1998). The prose is clear, and although redundancies exist, they are not particularly bothersome. The book’s recourse to microhistory and quantitative analysis (such as citing employment figures) is relevant, and the multidisciplinary methodology successfully encompasses what the author, scrutinizing self-representations, calls *histoire des subjectivités*. Two foreign marks on Paris may have deserved greater attention: the construction of specific places of worship and the sponsorship of philanthropic institutions (such as the Fondation Singer-Polignac housing project) in poorer districts. The assembled material raises a key quandary: In which ways did foreigners help make Paris even more Gallic and at the same time more cosmopolitan? One could pursue such a line of inquiry by examining how rich travelers enamored with the City of Light “Parisianized” other cities—for example, by building houses such as the palatial home in Washington, D.C., that Perry Belmont, a fixture at the horse races in Auteuil and Longchamp, commissioned from Ernest Sanson, a favorite among Parisians involved in international high finance.

Despite being relatively expensive, the book has not relinquished its original

dissertation format as far as the typography and iconography are concerned. Numerous and alluring, the illustrations—mostly postcards and receipts—are drawn almost exclusively from the private Debuissou collection.¹ Clustered after each section, the images are not referenced in the main text, and their captions are minimal. Floor plans are shown for only two designs—a little-known hotel and a lavish Turkish bath—leading readers to wonder why the intricate, often flexible, layouts, which the author expertly discusses on the strength of articles she found in the journal *La Construction Moderne*, are not reproduced. Additionally, maps of the discussed districts indicating the locations of described hotels and leisure amenities would have been wonderful visual aids. Floor plans would have helped to clarify the deployment, within the hotels themselves, of planning and decorative techniques (such as enfilades and mirrors) inherited from French tradition and Beaux-Arts pedagogy, and, at an urban scale, maps would have shown the extent to which large amenities were embedded into the existing fabric of the city and therefore rather inconspicuous from the street. The absence of an index of establishment names and locations is also frustrating.

Plus ça change ... Walking on the stately Rue Pergolèse next to Avenue Foch, we might not realize that Spanish-style bullfighting was performed there in 1889, and we might find it hard to believe that Buffalo Bill camped near the Porte Maillot in 1889 and Champ de Mars in 1905, his Wild West extravaganza a travel substitute for Parisian audiences. Pleasures are volatile: the Hippodrome on Boulevard de Clichy was replaced by the Gaumont-Palace movie theater, the Skating-Rink at Chaussée d'Antin by the Casino de Paris. Georges Chedanne's Élysées Palace remained a hotel for only two decades. Although favorite Second Empire haunts such as the Rues du Helder and Vivienne have lost their glamour, affluent tourists continue to patronize and affect the same districts as in 1900. Internal modernization is a constant necessity for luxury hotels (the Plaza Athénée just reopened, and the Ritz and Crillon are closed, as of this writing). Ably fleshed out by Vajda, Paris's cosmopolitan gentrification is a never-ending story. Writer Edmond About's fear that

Paris would be "colonized by the rich" (89) rings as true today as it did in 1863.

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Note

1. Évelyne Cohen and Julie Verlaine, "Paris documenté: Parcours dans la collection Debuissou," *Sociétés & Représentations*, no. 33 (1/2012), http://www.cairn.info/zen.php?ID_ARTICLE=SR_033_0183 (accessed 29 Sept. 2015).

Marta Gutman

A City for Children: Women, Architecture, and the Charitable Landscapes of Oakland, 1850–1950

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014, 454 pp., 130 b/w illus. \$45 (cloth), ISBN 9780226311289

Apart from its origins during the California Gold Rush, Oakland was similar to other small American cities during the mid-nineteenth century. In step with the rest of the nation, California was becoming industrialized and urbanized. The state's progress relied heavily on immigrant labor, but white Protestants resented the presence of the Chinese, Irish Catholics, and African Americans who built the infrastructure needed for growth. Immigrants and blacks lived in the worst parts of the cities they helped create, and their children suffered the consequences. Municipal governments had neither the inclination nor the budgets to fund the necessary services, so women volunteers filled the void.

In *A City for Children*, Marta Gutman explores how charitable institutions housed in repurposed buildings attempted to replace "damaged" childhoods with "good" ones. She documents in meticulous detail the buildings and spaces that the women of Oakland created in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to take care of kids. Children of working mothers needed places to learn and play, and children who had lost one or both parents needed shelter. Working through voluntary associations, middle-class Protestant and Catholic women transformed existing buildings into nurseries and kindergartens, orphan asylums, schools, playgrounds, and a settlement

house. These institutions constituted the "charitable landscapes" (note the plural) mentioned in the subtitle. A map on page 26 locating sixteen such places in Oakland around 1910 is one of 130 illustrations of children, buildings, and floor plans that enrich the book. Gutman relies on archived oral histories, fieldwork, and personal interviews to reveal how repurposed buildings established a public presence for women and children in the city.

A group of Oakland women formed the Ladies' Relief Society in 1871 after hearing that the Great Chicago Fire had left survivors freezing in the harsh winter. Women set up their sewing machines in downtown Brayton Hall to sew for the Chicago victims, and they soon decided to form a permanent association. Moving their activities from their homes to a public space gave women of differing social classes and religions the opportunity to meet on common ground. Most important, the Relief Society provided them with a new identity and a sense of political potential.

In 1878 that potential came to fruition when the Relief Society renovated a farmhouse in the Temescal district to serve as the Children's Home. The two-story neo-Georgian house, surrounded by a garden, was symbolic of middle-class white Protestant family life. It soon became home to sixty children, the majority of whose parents were foreign-born. In 1882 the Relief Society recognized that those at the other end of the age spectrum—elderly women—also needed shelter. The organization hired architects to design the Home for Aged Women on the same block as the Children's Home. The repurposed building for indigent orphans and the purpose-built institution for women who could afford to pay their own way were located side by side.

The Children's Home and the Home for Aged Women were just the beginning for Oakland women's groups. Soon they had converted a saloon into the West Oakland Free Kindergarten, transformed a two-story working-class house into the West Oakland Settlement (influenced by the settlement house movement begun by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr), and turned an empty lot into a playground. They continued to build orphanages, schools, and playgrounds into the 1940s.