The Wilds and the Township

Articulating Modernity, Capital, and Socio-nature in the Cityscape of Pre-apartheid Johannesburg

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Non-western modernisms were dialogically connected to Western modernism, but fundamentally different from it. [They] rose from different notions of modernity, nationhood and nationalism, and in many cases were closely linked to the history of colonialism and imperialism. . . . The periodization of modernism also differs in each situation, disrupting Western chronologies and registering different histories, each 'belatedness' becoming a distinct mark of the local.

—Shu-mei Shih[1]

In 1937, shortly after the Johannesburg Empire Exhibition closed, the plants from the exhibition's rockery in Milner Park were transferred by the city council to a nearby tract of land situated between the downtown area and its burgeoning northern suburbs.[2] This 43-acre defile between two rocky ridges had been donated to the city twelve years earlier by Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company Ltd (JCI), one of the city's largest mining finance houses, on the condition it be kept as a natural open space for public recreation and be called The Wilds.[3] The land had remained untouched until Julius Wertheim, chairman of the local ratepayers' association, visited a regional wildflower garden near Cape Town in 1934 and campaigned for the tract's

development along similar lines. The city council obtained JCI's permission to develop the defile as a garden incorporating indigenous plants displaced by urban growth and brought in from other parts of South Africa. Winding paths were laid out to follow the tract's rugged topography and exploit views from rock outcrops, while the complex underlying geology and varied aspect created opportunities to grow many native South African species otherwise incompatible with the dry, high-altitude climate of Johannesburg.[4] In 1938 JCI donated a further 3 acres to help accommodate several private plant collections that further diversified the garden, and the city constructed a wide, smoothly graded parkway lined with handmade stone walls to facilitate vehicular traffic through the reserve. After World War II the maturing landscape of The Wilds was further elaborated by various water features and ultra-modern pavilions, and became an iconic scenic sight for visitors to Johannesburg, or popularly, Joburg.

Meanwhile, some 10 miles to the west, the Witwatersrand's first formally planned African township was taking shape. Responding to the state's recently passed Native (Urban Areas) Act,[5] the Johannesburg city council was exploring alternatives to its hitherto laissez-faire policies for housing Africans, which had created quasi-informal settlements outside the city, such as Pimville and Alexandra.[6] This "new municipal location," comprising some 4 square miles and accommodating 80,000 people, was the product of a 1931 architectural competition.[7] Laid out southwest of the city, in Klipspruit Extension 8, near the New Canada

mainline railway junction, it was named after the first chairman of the Native Affairs Committee, the entity responsible for its construction and management.[8] Although the township's strongly geometric layout provided for numerous communal facilities, in the 1930s these were still unbuilt, and apart from roads and scattered clumps of trees dating from the original white-owned farms, the open spaces between the houses mostly consisted of native grasses.[9] Orlando's first houses were completed in October 1931 and occupied on a rental basis.[10] Plain and primitive, they did not have electricity, running water, or finished floors, and their two- and three-room plans did not take into account the size of African families. They were, however, sturdily built, sat on individual lots, had rudimentary sanitation, and in general, offered better quality accommodation than that available to Africans in other South African centers at the time.[11] Initial development was slow, but over the course of the 1940s Orlando grew into the "biggest location in Africa," the nucleus of the area now known as Soweto.[12]

These two contemporaneous interventions in the Joburg cityscape—one at its heart, one on its perimeter—can be seen as alternative expressions of the stark but complicated form of modern capitalism that has characterized the city since its establishment (Figure 1). Unlike other South African cities, Joburg did not originate as an agricultural center or colonial entrepôt, but as a mining camp. Founded by émigré speculators, entrepreneurs, and engineers without comprehensive, long-term urban visions, its growth was

episodic and ad hoc, characterized by expedient solutions, usually framed by a limited set of economic and social goals. It evolved into a city where ahistorical thinking and acting was physically encoded in the urban landscape, and an appetite for new—and preferably imported—ideas and trends defined urban life. These qualities came to the fore in the 1930s, when South Africa was transforming from a British Dominion into a sovereign nation. By this time, Joburg had become the nexus of industrialization in the subcontinent and was vying with older coastal cities as South Africa's cultural center. When Britain and South Africa abandoned the gold standard in 1932, and the world price of gold doubled, the Witwatersrand's mining-driven economy took off.[13] Increasing interdependence between the state and the mining industry, combined with the effects of the drought and the Depression, brought rapid economic, demographic, and physical growth to Joburg, and mine dumps and skyscrapers competed for dominance of the city's skyline (Figure 2).

This growth also brought an influx of overseas capital, strengthened cultural connections with Europe and North America, and enhanced Joburgers' awareness of their city's character and history. Increasingly, a well-traveled elite with social and economic links to the mining industry controlled the city's affairs. Aware of the latest technologies and practices and anxious to participate in international discourse, this cosmopolitan elite embraced urban and industrial modernity. Unlike emerging Afrikaner nationalists,
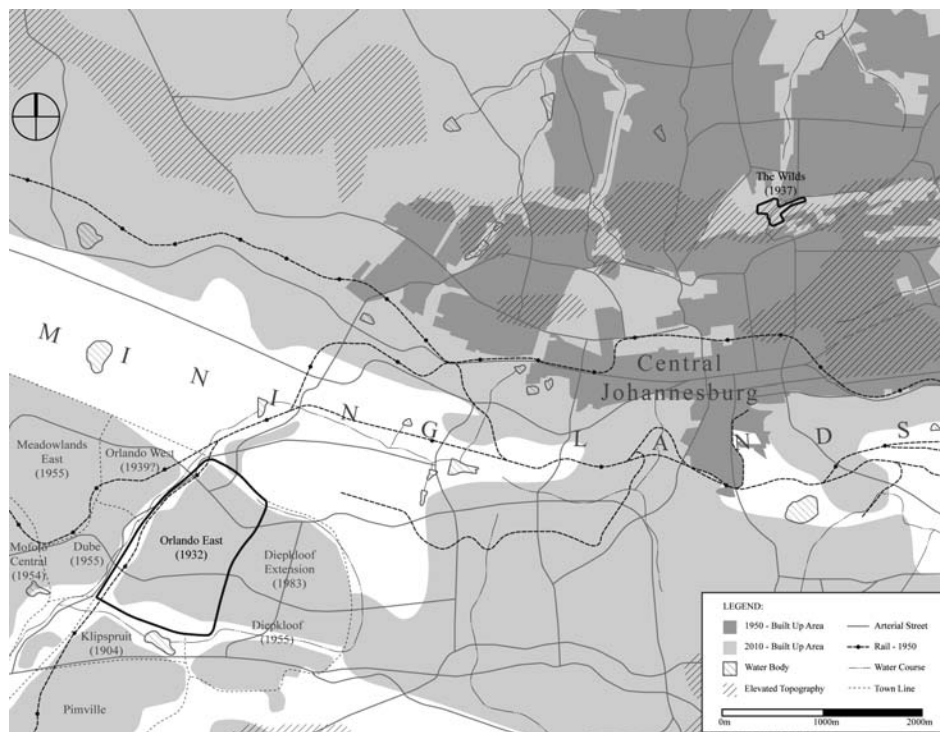
Figure 1 Map of central Johannesburg and environs, ca. 1950 (Jeff Bittenbender)

Figure 2 Bird's-eye view of downtown Johannesburg in the late 1930s with mine dumps in the foreground (MuseumAfrica PH2006-8921A)

members of this urban intelligentsia justified their existence as Europeans in Africa not through atavistic appeals to centuries of white settlement but through the belief that modern, Western knowledge would help solve the subcontinent's problems.[14] This emergent cosmopolitan reflexivity was exemplified by the 1936 Empire Exhibition, which took place on the city's golden jubilee.[15] It was also manifest in the strong links to Joburg's small but influential architectural community developed with European modernists such as Le Corbusier during the 1930s; these led to the city acquiring many buildings that were startlingly modernist, only a few years after their prototypes had been completed in Europe.[16]

Most histories of Joburg's expansion focus on the mechanisms of political control and economic exploitation that led to the racialized ordering of urban space and pay relatively little attention to how the city's topography functioned as an agent of this ordering.[17] Until recently, this focus on "the city as an object of administrative, control-based planning" has overlooked how the city's material and morphological constitution might have helped mediate the modernization of urban consciousness and naturalized the notion of the city as something made to be looked at.[18] The 1930s were crucial years in this process. Apartheid had not yet been introduced (although segregationist practices shaped daily life),[19] and Joburg did not yet have any formal town planning.[20] During this transition from colonial to national center, the strategic, objective rationale of modern planning, focused on the possibility of comprehensively influencing different aspects of development, had not yet displaced more tactical ways of thinking about the city-as-landscape.

Urban interventions occurred within an interregnum during which older, topographical ways of relating to the city became entangled with self-consciously modern, technocratic ways of projecting the city that would subsequently become spatially inscribed under apartheid. The Wilds and the first African township—the former largely forgotten today, the latter the focus of much current debate—can be used to construct a spatial archaeology of this urban process of transition.

City as Landscape: Imaging the Articulation of Nature and Modernity

There is a complex relationship between the city as a topography of daily existence and as something made to be looked at and arranged. As David Leatherbarrow reminds us, from an anthropological perspective (that is, one attuned to the world as it is lived in), the overriding quality of urban space is its differentiated interconnectedness.[21] Urban places are never experienced as separate entities; instead, they transcend themselves into wider topographical frames of reference, defining themselves in relation to, and within, other settings through degrees of difference and similarity. These larger frames of reference reveal and construct contrasting and complementary relationships among situations and sites, often known through modes of spatial understanding other than lived experience. In modernity, this topographical excess is increasingly permeated by culturally constructed geographical images, narratives, and discourses that shape the disposition of urbanites toward the spaces they inhabit.

This is no surprise; one of the signature constructs of European modernity—the idea of landscape—has always been as much a metaphorical image as a physical space. As a way of thinking that maps cultural values onto a shifting terrain and lends ideological and theoretical weight to practical actions, the landscape idea is latent in most Western inhabitation and use of extensive territories, including cities.[22] This means that the social and political processes involved in city-making can never be separated from the representational processes that (re)construct urban subjectivity; it also means that the cityscape is a space of representation in which broad, collective imaginaries are projected. Thus, urban change is underwritten by an array of representational practices, not only those that define the city as object of analysis and (re)construction, but also those that influence how it is perceived and understood by citizens. This functioning of the city as representational object, implicit in planning's objectification of relations between things and people,[23] situates the modern city as part of what Timothy Mitchell calls the "exhibitionary complex," and that characteristic product of bourgeois capitalism, spectacle.[24] It involves the creation of vocabularies of looking and representing that bring the city into visibility, and that conceptualize its social life as a "separate something" to be controlled and managed.

This intertwining of representation, capital, and city-making means that the imaging of cities, whether aesthetic and celebratory or projective and instrumental, occurs as part of the ongoing—and often contested—social construction of imaginary geographies that mediate ideas of identity and citizenship. Like images of landscape, those of the city are often fractured by ambivalence and resistance: incompatible interests may assert claims; past and present may compete for attention; the local may be at odds with the national; and values may be affirmed simply because they are being called into question somewhere else.[25] At the same time, to the degree that urban images intersect and coalesce into a shared *eidos* of the city, they construct a world that appears to be made up of individuals and their activities on one hand and a pre-existing inner structure on the other.[26] This dynamic has been especially true in Joburg. As Jonathan Crush has argued, ever since the city's expedient establishment, visitors have sought narrative order and meaning in its cityscape, whose visual appearance has been interrogated for signs of the moral essences of the larger society in which it is set.[27] This objectification of the cityscape reached a new level during the Empire Exhibition, which not only drew unprecedented international attention to the city, it also significantly increased the ways in which its landscape became visible as such.[28] Among the least obvious "inner

structures" mediated by visual images of any cityscape is the constellation of phenomena conventionally described as "natural."

Notwithstanding the common perception that nature is antithetical to urbanity, Western ideas of nature first emerged in cities, frequently as part of attempts to construct a productive relationship between urban capital and the world outside the city.[29] In fact, city-making has always drawn social power from ways of reworking the biophysical world. Western cities are hybrids of nature and human agency, human environments that belie culturally-constructed assumptions about the relationship between society and nature, sometimes called "socio-natures."[30] Indeed, it could be argued that it is precisely in cities—where the distinction between nature as a biophysical fabric and nature as a cultural construction is hardest to distinguish because both conditions occur in the same formation—that nature becomes most saturated with political and ideological power.[31]

Integral to early modern articulations of urban and rural landscape was the construct of the three natures—the "first nature" of wilderness, the "second nature" of cultivation, and the symbolic, artificial "third nature" of the garden.[32] Often mediated by new ways of revisioning material environments—including those through which capital reproduces itself—this symbolic and situational schema encoded two intertwined assumptions: that the differentiation of nature was not just spatial but temporal, and incorporated history, and that a peoples' nature was linked to their environments. This updated the Greek topos of the *polis*, which used the notion of the *chora*, a marginal space just outside, yet claimed by the city through a variety of social and economical practices, to dialectically convey the relationship between the material city and the way of life that unfolded in it.[33] This hinterland situated and sustained the city's identity by offering a practico-symbolic articulation of citiness and nature.[34] A schematization of nature and culture that was simultaneously material and imaginary, spatial and temporal, this space encoded moralistic notions that people living outside the city—that is "in nature"—were culturally-undeveloped, or not (yet) modern, and therefore, often not (yet) deserving full political rights.[35]

Historic socio-spatial projections of the city's more natural margins as a place of waiting, becoming, and acculturation became complicated after the Enlightenment, when compensating for the social effects of capitalism increasingly involved appeals to the universality of nature.[36] As Manfredo Tafuri wrote, in the ideal bourgeois capitalist city Nature and Reason were seamlessly reconciled, with no disparity between the value accredited to nature and to the city as mechanisms for economic accumulation.[37] Such illusionary

thinking was implicit in many experiments with urban form since the late eighteenth century: as Tafuri argued, most post-Enlightenment responses to the modern, industrial city encoded anti-urbanist (and often anti-capitalist) imaginaries, an unacknowledged nostalgia for an organic community of subjects untouched by the effects of metropolitan and capitalist alienation.[38]

Modernist Planning and the Articulation of Difference

This utopianism was exposed by the industrialized European and North American city, whose emergence during the nineteenth century coincided with and helped to reverse the idea that culture belonged in the city. By the early twentieth century, it was often geographically marginal spaces in and beyond the nation-states' borders, rather than metropolitan centers that were seen as loci of cultural authenticity.[39] This created powerful contradictions in the emerging colonial centers such as Joburg, where both the town and its hinterland environs were already, from a global perspective, in the country, somewhere one escaped to from the ills of civilization. Colonial settlements were seen as places that were either in peril of degenerating into wilderness, or awaiting the human hand in order to bloom.[40]

These perceptions were strengthened by closer socio-economic links between core and periphery during the first part of the twentieth century, when modern planning became codified. On the one hand, with increasing powers of modern technology and governance, progress often became synonymous with the imposition of civilization on nature; on the other hand, the increasing difficulty of remaking long-established European cities made colonial cities better places to explore new ways of living "close to nature." It is no accident that before World War II, when architectural discourse placed an over-determined faith in the agency of form per se, but was still uncertain how the tenets of modernism would translate into urban form, cities outside Europe became loci for metropolitan experiments in new ways of (re)forming the city.[41] This was encouraged by the appeal of modernism to the elites in post-colonies and developing nations, who believed that their societies might jump directly to a new social order without suffering the problems of Western metropoles.[42] This was especially true during the Depression, when settler colonies on their way to nationhood prospered but industrial nations did not.[43]

This heightened articulation of core and periphery as part of an evolving urban discourse gave rise to what Paul Rabinow has called two overlapping moments of modernism.[44] The first, "techno-cosmopolitanism," attempted to regulate and modernize society by working over existing institutions and cultural, social, and aesthetic spaces that embodied the sedimentation of historical practices. Crucially, its operations varied according to specific customs, cultures, and countries. The second, "middling modernism," also placed its faith in the capacity of industrialization and technological processes to regulate social practices. However, its concern was no longer with the sedimented values of a particular culture, but a supposedly universal human subject, whose needs and potentialities could be discovered, analyzed, and formalized by science. These two strands of modernism coexisted in urban planning during the 1930s, when there was a growing sense that the rationalism of early modernism needed to be tempered by greater attunement to regional difference—a vaguely defined amalgam of local cultural traditions and the natural environment.

During the 1930s the techno-cosmopolitan approach was represented by a group of North American architect-planners who were inspired by Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement, influenced by Lewis Mumford, and mostly belonged to the American Regional Planning Association.[45] Their models and mechanisms included the social (Perry and Stein's neighborhood unit), the natural (Mackaye's regional network of "elemental environments"—an updated version of the three natures construct), and the technological (Robert Moses's use of modern infrastructure to link New York City and its hinterlands).[46] The middling modernism position was adopted by a loose, mostly European association of architect-planners influenced by Le Corbusier who came together in 1928 to form the Congrès Internationale d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). Inspired by technological processes and the belief that new forms of sociality would produce a universal new mankind, CIAM adopted the comprehensive techno-hygienist approaches used by public health and public works programs. Self-consciously international in its membership as well as in the purview of problems it sought to address, CIAM aimed to use planning to solve the worldwide crisis of capitalism exposed by the Depression.

CIAM modernists' conception of how to reconfigure the city was considerably more abstract and theoretically ambitious than that of the techno-cosmopolitanists. CIAM believed architects needed to become spatial coordinators and organizers of production as much as designers of aesthetic objects, and were interested in how urban form itself might remake the relationship between the individual and a larger political and existential order. Le Corbusier, in particular, saw urban form assuming the task of rendering authentic and natural the unnatural universe of technological precision; since urban development tended to subjugate

nature as part of its continual process of transformation, the anthropo-geographic landscape needed to become the armature for urban organization.[47] For Le Corbusier, as for other progressive modernists, one of the biggest challenges was reconciling regional topography with the increasing social and economic differentiation that had become the norm in colonial cities, and increasingly, in capitalist metropoles.[48] These preoccupations were politically charged by his interest at this time in syndicalism, a socio-political model that placed alliances of rural and industrial labor at the center of societal reorganization.[49]

A City in the Veld? Johannesburg and its Hinterland

This overview of emerging ideas about the relationship between cities and nature is necessary to understand the ambiguous resonances that comprehensive, modernist projections of the city would have had in 1930s Joburg.[50] Historically, the configuration of this city, in which progress was synonymous with the industrial-scale exploitation of natural resources, had completely ignored its anthropo-geographic landscape. The cityscape beyond the gridded commercial center and core mining lands betrayed its expedient commercial beginnings: originally occupied by Boer farms, this territory had been bought by speculators, but when it was found to have no mineral value, it had been turned over to plantations producing mine pit-props, before finally being developed as residential areas when the latter became more profitable.[51] Thus, largely developed by large mining interests, Joburg's white suburbs grew in an unplanned fashion that left a patchwork of developed and undeveloped landscape. Once the city grew beyond the inner residential areas after World War I, the free-standing bungalow (rather than the space-efficient row house, tenement, or apartment block) became the residential template.[52]

Although Africans were also a crucial part of the Witwatersrand's population, their presence was barely recognized in this rapidly growing cityscape.[53] Initially, they had lived in a location in central Joburg, but after an outbreak of bubonic plague in 1904, this was demolished and a substitute township was created just outside the city. As in other British colonial cities, medical discoveries that reduced risks to European populations encouraged the perception that the living conditions of native populations were beyond the influence of enlightened sanitary control.[54] In Joburg, such a straightforward differentiation of urban space had been complicated by the pragmatic need to ensure a reliable source of labor for the city, and by the requirement that large mining companies accommodate workers' housing on

their properties. This had restricted the growth of slums, and allowed the municipality to confuse a collection of residential spaces—inner-city areas abandoned by whites, grudgingly created locations like the Western Native Townships, and freehold areas like Alexandria—with a coherent workers' housing policy.

Integral to the early growth of Johannesburg's residential areas were the European population's attempts to isolate itself from a regional environment they perceived as hostile. Property developers quickly recognized that in this essentially treeless region, most white settlers saw the park or forest as a metonymic fragment of an imaginary "home," a triumph of civilization over nature.[55] Soon Joburg's expanding white residential areas were marked by a vegetal infrastructure comprising thousands of non-native trees and gardens that exploited the cheap labor and water available on the Witwatersrand and the huge palette of plants that flourished in its benign climate.[56] By the 1930s the city's older northern suburbs had become a phantasmic landscape in which human intervention was hidden and naturalized; a quasi-European *rus in urbe* in Africa with a unique fauna, ecology, and microclimate.[57] Increasingly, as they matured, these residential areas conformed to the model of the garden-suburb, in which nature is associated with profit and social mobility, rather than that of the garden city, in which it is associated with collective ownership.[58] The private house and garden evolved into self-contained environments for private leisure and recreation.[59] Although developers initially created public parks in Joburg's white suburbs, these were seldom used for recreation despite their distance from African residential areas, and residents preferred semiprivate green spaces such as golf courses.[60] Even as it spread and matured, this network of green spaces spoke of the racially charged nature of Joburg's public realm, and a cognitive environment in which communing with nature was individual and domestic (Figure 3).

The measurement of Joburg's modernity by the mutation of its cityscape into a European urban forest was haunted by a counter-imaginary, however.[61] This is hinted at in early photographs showing houses barely making an impression on the surrounding rolling grasslands (Figure 4). Countering the received image of the city as an island of modern progress, these photographs suggest a city fused with its hinterland—in other words, a city "in nature." This implies that the most powerful socio-nature permeating 1930s Joburg, in fact, may have been that of the regional landscape, "the veld."

Probably no other term captures the complexities of white South African landscape attitudes better. Although the dictionary defines the *veld* as open, uncultivated country, in popular usage the word also connotes remoteness and

Figure 3 Johannesburg's northern suburbs in 1930s (MuseumAfrica PH2005—9028)

Figure 4 Early settlement of Johannesburg, 1890s (MuseumAfrica PH2005 – 17A)

emptiness, and is mostly associated with the high, open region where Joburg is located.[62] The city's metamorphosis from a mining camp in the "hinterland of the metropole" into a modern industrial city coincided with the emergence of this term in white discourse to describe a landscape that was everywhere and nowhere.[63] Like many discursive landscapes, the timeless, unspoiled veld remained invisible until it began to help make sense of ideological contradictions in the dominant culture, a role reinforced by its seeming lack of obvious historical traces.[64] For some whites, this emptiness made the veld a landscape of improvement, or of contemplation; for others, the veld was a place of fear, where human inhabitation was thwarted and conflicting land claims lurked. Until the 1930s, aesthetic appreciation of this implicitly regional landscape was confined to a cosmopolitan white elite who eulogized its austere monotony as a counter to Joburg's perceived materialism and philistinism.[65]

The idea of the unspoiled veld began to develop a more popular appeal during the Depression, which in South Africa coincided with a multiyear drought and led to the influx into cities of a new white underclass who remembered the rural areas they came from as a lost homeland of unchanging verities. As urban development accelerated in Joburg after 1933, the last remaining fragments of undeveloped veld, other than stream corridors, were displaced by the man-made forest, and reminders of the city's origins were pushed beyond everyday experience.[66] This remaking of white Joburger's day-to-day relationship to the regional landscape coincided with the ongoing restructuring of white South Africans' imagined relationship to their national territory. The state's increasing support for white agriculture during the Depression brought "technological pastoralization"—fences, windbreaks, windmills, dams, irrigation

schemes, dairies, grain elevators, and tree plantations—to many previously undeveloped parts of South Africa's interior, even as white anxiety grew about the environmental degradation caused by primitive farming methods of Africans forced into reserves by this capitalization of agriculture. This coincided with the state-run railways' ever-expanding use of images of unspoiled landscape to promote tourism and immigration.[67] This imagery had already helped create South Africa's first national park as a supposedly pristine, premodern wilderness that was made possible by evicting the African population, and which in the 1930s inspired a growing appreciation of the nation's flora and fauna.[68]

All these factors reinforced the idea that authentic white national identity was tied to, even determined by, an intimate relationship with fast-disappearing indigenous nature. This naturalization of the white nation was frequently invoked by colonial national activists, to encourage a collective vision of nationhood and to keep South Africa a white man's country within the British Empire.[69] The idea of a shared destiny between English and Afrikaner constructed around a quasi-mystical sense of communion with an unspoiled veld elided the Europeans' questionable right to be in the subcontinent. But it also made it harder to imagine the African population as candidates for citizenship, creating a complex imaginary geography in which urban and rural areas became locked together by the unacknowledged erasure of African labor that the image of an unspoiled landscape required.[70]

Material Constructions, Imaginary Geographical Elaborations

Tensions between this ostensibly *arrière-garde*, but actually quite new, imaginary geography of white identity and the

increasingly cosmopolitan modernity in 1930s Joburg are critical to understanding the simultaneous creation of The Wilds and Orlando. The reification of the unspoiled landscape permeated The Wilds. As we have seen, the early development of the city had paid scant regard to the pre-existing environment. Its layout had largely ignored topography, and only a handful of private gardens owned by the mining elite had attempted to engage contemporary progressive gardening ideas that promoted the use of native plants to create a less alienated relationship with the landscape.[71] Admittedly, as early as the 1910s, Joburg's first superintendent of parks had begun condemning the use of nonnative trees in streets and parks and experimenting with indigenous plants and boulders taken from local koppies.[72] But this had had little significant impact. Thus, the creation of a 50-acre public garden containing indigenous plants from every region of South Africa, as a way of salvaging a degraded environment in the heart of a city, was a potent spatial representation of the new equation of (white) nationhood with nature (Figure 5).

To a degree, this curatorial fusion of the "third nature" of the garden with the "first nature" of wilderness resembled South Africa's first national botanical garden, which had been created during the first flush of nation-building in Cape Town two decades before. In this case, however, the urban garden as a metonymy for a larger imagined geography was situated in the heart of South Africa's most progressive, ahistorical city, one that had hitherto prided itself on looking like somewhere else.[73] Furthermore, it was created at a time when the founding act of white settlement—the creation of the VOC Garden at the Cape in the seventeenth-century—was being invoked by colonial nationalist historians eager to emphasize a common white European heritage.[74] Crucially, too, The Wilds was created in a unique topographical situation that encouraged the imaginative transcendence of a local setting into a larger milieu: a "hidden valley" where threatened values could lie low and fears of racial swamping and the degradation of the formerly unspoiled hinterland by African farmers might be temporarily forgotten.[75] The Wilds' complex shape and the diverse veld flora not only hid the ever-expanding surrounding city, it created an illusionary sense of an unmediated relationship with the entire national landscape, in all its variety.

This complicated imaginary return to nature mediated by The Wilds was subsequently confirmed by plaques erected there to honor two of the most celebrated white communers with indigenous nature: the philosopher-statesman General Jan Smuts and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, author of the seminal veld-narrative *Jock of the Bushveld*, whose own nearby garden was partly incorporated into The Wilds.[76] In other respects, though, this apparently-nostalgic return to nature was quite modern. Compared to the older turn-of-the-century suburbs,[77] Houghton, which surrounded The Wilds, held greater appeal for the cosmopolitan white nouveau-riche. Some of the first modernist houses in Joburg (and the world) were built here in the 1930s.[78] And Houghton Drive, which bisected The Wilds after 1938, became an important route into the city from its northern suburbs, resembling the modern parkways Moses was then using to link Manhattan and the leafy outer boroughs.[79] Although The Wilds was intended to be primarily a place of unsupervised leisure, until the 1980s it also served as an experiential-symbolic

Figure 5 The Wilds under construction, 1930s (MuseumAfrica PH2006 – 6243)

space that the city's wealthier white residents drove through on their way to city offices from their garden suburbs (Figure 6).

Needless to say, the imaginary geography linking white national identity to the "unspoiled veld" had little place for Africans, other than as denizens of remote, traditional communities—a distantiated, romanticized peasantry linked to the land by unalienated labor who needed paternalistic guidance and protection from the corrosive forces of modernization.[80] Most whites believed that the African was ill equipped to cope with city life, because it would result in his or her physical, moral, cultural and psychological decline and degeneration.[81] Such paternalistic projections were underwritten by a tendency to mistake currently visible urban conditions for unchanging truths; it also mediated a rhetoric of contamination and social disorder, which juxtaposed the "good native" living in decentralized settlements surrounded by kin and family, with the "bad native" leading a transient life in congested, decaying urban neighborhoods, subject to all kinds of corruptions and ills (Figure 7).

This thinking, which reinforced the notion that the African's urbanity was incomplete and impermanent, was only really sustainable as long as the native population remained in reserves, missions and farms.[82] It became increasingly irreconcilable with growing presence of Africans in urban areas during the 1930s, due to various political and economic factors that undermined their rural existence[83] and forced them to seek employment in cities.[84]

The huge influx that the mining-driven economic growth brought to the city in the early 1930s resulted in

desperately overcrowded conditions; some areas were without formal water supply, waste removal or sewerage, and tuberculosis became common.[85] These conditions were used to justify simultaneous clearance of what were deemed to be Joburg's most egregious slums and creation of the first township, though these removal projects were also a response to the increasing visibility of whites among Joburg's urban poor.[86] The fact that the southern margins of the established city were off limits to development, meant that the first purpose-built township for Africans had to be located further south and west, on cheap land, beyond the unsightly mine dumps.[87] It was also in the open veld, alongside a seasonal marshland frequented by francolins and guineafowl.

As the first purposeful attempt to imagine the African as a denizen—if not permanent inhabitant—of the modern, industrial city, the creation of Orlando required negotiating discourses associating "good Africans" with unspoiled rural environments and "bad Africans" with decaying urban fabrics, as well as discourses that identified whites with the timeless and unspoiled veld. Placing the orderly, low-density township on the periphery addressed both these imaginaries (Figure 8). Without challenging the idea that the natural home of Africans was in non-urban areas, it allowed planners to justify the destruction of older residential areas, and imagine they were modernizing the African (Figure 9). The solid free-standing brick-faced houses extended the decency of garden suburb to Africans and promised the self-sufficient community life that was impossible as long as workers lived without their families in slums scattered throughout the city.[88] The model township that conjoined the economies of industrial-scale building production with rational architectural design would encourage civilized, orderly lives, and produce new citizens, families, and communities. Unlike the upgraded inner city neighborhoods, such townships would prevent Africans' social and moral relapse and provide for what was considered to be their natural development in proper conditions. In this rhetoric, a rather different return to nature from that occurring at The Wilds comingled with a vision of new spaces that would generate new forms of sociality.

Both Orlando's expansive layout and its bungalow-type structures demonstrate that its planners based their designs

Figure 9 Orlando "street" (MuseumAfrica PH2004–206)

on the model of urbanism most familiar to them: the garden-suburb. However, in the original plan, the modest, standardized houses were also laid out according to the quasi-cultural logic of the neighborhood unit, with all the units facing inwards toward communal facilities at the center, to stimulate social cohesion (Figure 10). Although its houses brought improved living conditions and were cheap to rent, Orlando's distance from places of employment meant that, at first, those for whom it was designed only moved there reluctantly.[89] This perhaps well-meaning but naive attempt to extend the benefits of modernism to Johannesburg's African
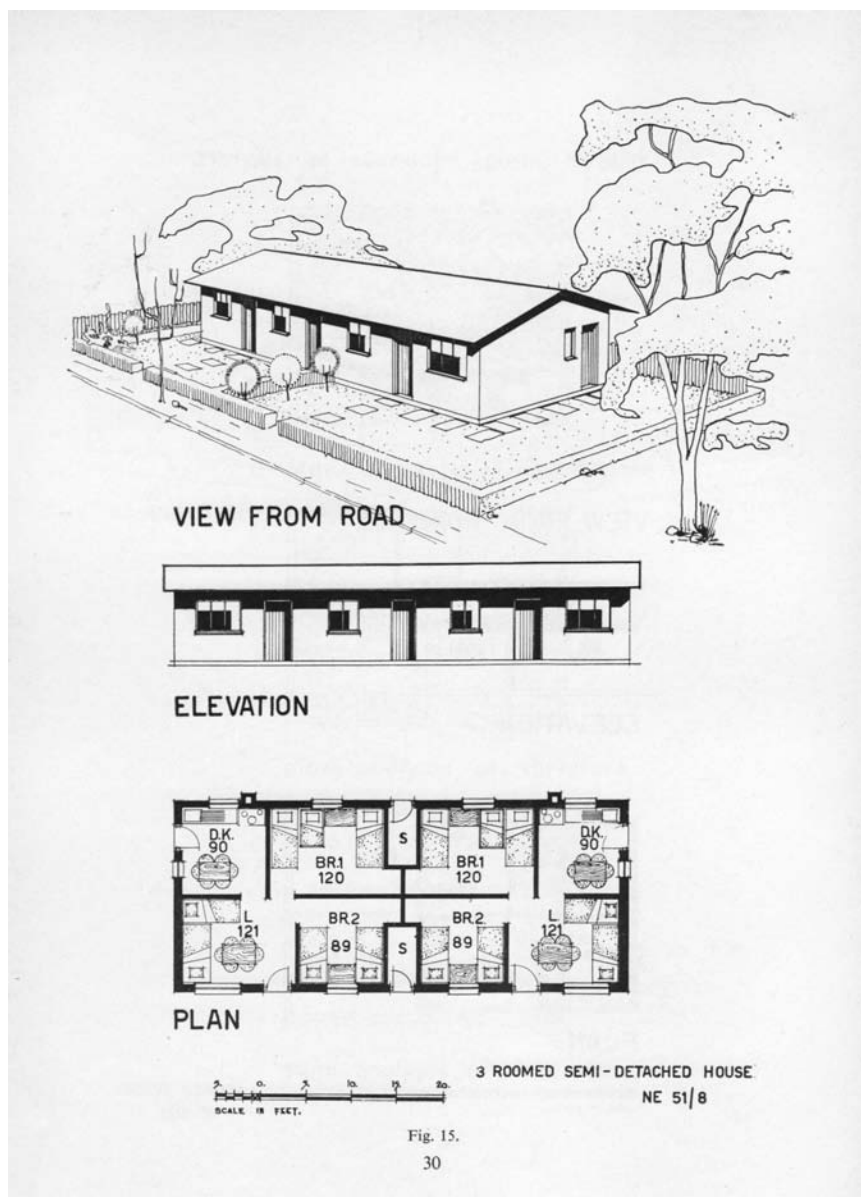
Figure 10 Perspective view, elevation, and plan of standard National Housing Commission Type 51/8 house (Douglas MacGavin Calderwood, *Native Housing in South Africa* [Cape Town: Cape Times, 1955], 30)

population also overlooked that population's practical and social relationships with each other and the city.

This was not the only possible model for incorporating Africans into the white mining city in the 1930s, however. Although there was an awareness of CIAM ideas about urbanism in Joburg, it took time for these to affect the way architects and planners thought about the actual shaping of the growing mining city.[90] In 1937 a group of young University of Witwatersrand architecture graduates started taking an interest in social and political dimensions of the new architecture.[91] After completing a joint thesis on "Native Housing,"[92] they helped organize a town planning congress on the topic in 1938.[93] They argued that low-cost housing

should reflect its inhabitants' practical needs rather than compelling plan images. Enumerating the trials Africans "displaced from a feudal, uncivilized existence" faced, they argued that the Orlando housing not only failed to meet modern standards, but that urban African housing in general needed to "stimulate a revival of that community spirit existing in the kraal, but destroyed or lost in the city."[94] Instead of bucolic bungalows surrounded by gardens, they proposed medium-rise barre buildings arranged in asymmetrical superblocks that saved land, minimized travel time, and retained large interstitial pieces of veld to accommodate the community-consciousness that was deemed to characterize the life of most Africans before they came to the city. They

failed, however, to say what determined the size of these landscape spaces, who would control them, or how they would be used (Figure 11).[95]

There were many reasons why this quasi-Corbusian urban development was never adopted.[96] World War II led to the exponential growth of Joburg's slums,[97] and in the late 1940s, when local authorities felt a sense of urban crisis similar to that facing other capitalist countries, the state launched a nation-wide housing program unparalleled in scale in South Africa (or any comparable country). Although there were some attempts to take into account the cultural and social needs of the Africans,[98] these were soon overtaken by administrative, control-based planning driven by hygienist-technocratic discourses.[99] CIAM-type proposals offered as alternatives by the Wits modernists were dismissed as Fascist, anti-democratic, and less locally relevant (i.e., regional), and the garden-suburb model first proposed at Orlando prevailed.[100] This favored a form of housing that was not only inexpensive to produce, but that spatially discouraged forms of political solidarity (like the syndicalism envisaged by Le Corbusier) from developing among residents whom the government preferred to see in terms of ethnic origins. However, it is also tempting to add that, if the African township was projected as a space that encoded developmental ideas about culture and nature, then the model adopted for the township also mediated a socionature that somehow "improved" life through private, individual communing rather than through collective, productive use.[101]

Ultimately, proponents of both the garden suburb and the Corbusian barre knew little about the socio-spatial values and practices of that shadowy, unknown subject, the "urban African"; this lack, in turn, lent agency to projections of urban territory as a utopian space of improvement.[102] As a result, the moral geography that trusted the developmental power of nature remained in play as long as new townships continued to be constructed in open veld outside the city.[103] The image of the Owenite village, standing unencumbered in untouched nature on the edge of the city, compensated for an absence of knowledge about the nature of its actual inhabitants.[104] Photographs taken when these townships were first built (probably the only way most white Joburgers knew them) suggest how these apparently modern, acultural extensions of the cityscape paradoxically also recuperated older landscape-based imaginaries about culture and nature (Figure 12). In South Africa, then, modernism quickly became regional (or techno-cosmopolitan) rather than internationalist (or middling) due to the socially-constructed articulations of culture and nature involved in white nation-building. Thus, as Derek Japha has cogently observed, the integration of Africans into the modern urban-industrial economy required their spatial and political segregation from the rest of the city.[105]

Conclusions: Naturalizing a Contrapuntal Urban Modernity

The decline of Orlando and Joburg's other townships into monotonous, overcrowded, polluted residential outposts of the city with few amenities, services, and utilities, and characterized by insecurity of tenure and distance from places of work, whose main function was warehousing labor for the

Figure 12 Township construction in the veld (MuseumAfrica PH2005–5689)

mining economy, is well documented. However, to equate these problems simply with the townships' physical design would confuse the ideals of urban planning with the effects of the draconian laws and restrictions imposed by the apartheid state after 1948. It would also obscure the fact that that these townships were also partly underwritten by an attempt to topographically re-imagine the city's relationship to its hinterland that meant little to township residents,[106] but effectively naturalized the city as a space of racialized representation.[107]

Despite their differences of scale and intention (and the unlikelihood that they would have appeared on the same map in the 1930s), The Wilds and Orlando would have embodied, for a city administration beholden to mining interests, an imaginary orchestration of a disorderly cityscape. In a rapidly growing city without a comprehensive town plan, these interventions mediated a territorial re-articulation of this cityscape by mapping the emerging imaginary geography of white nationhood onto it. Incorporating the margins into the center and vice versa, The Wilds and Orlando functioned as antinomies of regional nature and urban culture, preserving past nature and advancing a cosmopolitan future modernity. For although morphologically different, both landscapes materialized a relationship between citizenship and modernity that drew on the elided "other" of a projected nature that was, implicitly, both regional and timeless. As contrapuntal articulations of modernity, race, and timeless nature in the cityscape, these two different kinds of landscape projects metonymically

encoded the racialized geography of modern white nationhood, as well as Western historicism's central paradox: that the civilizing mission of modernity needs spaces and cultures it can represent as backward to justify its existence.[108] This contrapuntal incorporation of the hinterland newly reified by whites as a response to industrial modernity recuperated the historic-colonial idea of the "city *in* nature" while bringing (selected) phenomena and people into the historicist time-space of bourgeois-capitalist modernity.[109] Resolving the threat of the Westernized, urban African, this antinomic incorporation of "nature" in the city suggested that Europeans might be Africanized and Africans Europeanized within the same cityscape, thus facilitating the ongoing expansion of the mining-based economy.

The contemporaneous creation of The Wilds and Orlando reminds us of the eidetic power of representation that remains at the heart of the modernist project, and therefore, an important basis for its alliance with capital. It also demonstrates the hidden agency of nature in facilitating economic accumulation. However, this triangulation of capitalism, modernity, and nature in 1930s Joburg was supported by topographically unfolding relations within the material cityscape.[110] The persuasiveness of this interpellative socio-nature was not traceable to any single site or setting, only to effects arising from their overall structure, and from the manner in which this structure in turn was transcended, and made meaningful, by the larger socio-spatial milieu. Within the increasingly "visible" cityscape of Joburg, The Wilds and Orlando were expressions of an

"improving," modernist-nativist socio-nature mediated through different moments of closure/disclosure; of mnemonic recuperation and symbolic elaboration on one hand, of waiting and acculturation on the other. The landscape that "saved" made it possible to envisage the landscape that "changed." As such, these spaces were only two of the more obvious manifestations of an imaginary geography that increasingly naturalized itself in Joburg through its ability to seemingly "adapt" to, and become visible in, the entire cityscape, including leftover fragments of "unimproved veld" that evoked a sense of living in the hinterland of the metropole.

Notes

1. I would like to thank two anonymous readers, whose thoughtful and engaged reading of an earlier draft helped to develop this article's arguments, as well as Saul Dubow, at University of Sussex, who organized the 2009 conference on Third World Modernisms, where this material was first presented. My sincere thanks too to Jeff Bittenbender at Cornell and Linda Chernis at MuseumAfrica for their assistance with illustrations.

   Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 3–4.

2. The Empire Exhibition's gardens, which involved "transplantation on a scale never before attempted in South Africa," were a signature feature of the exhibition. The 3 acres included displays of indigenous plants from all over South Africa, African grasses and "comprehensive selections of plants representing other parts of the Empire." See Eric Rosenthal, *The Times Weekly Edition* 16 (Jan. 1936), 24.

3. One of the best-known icons of South Africa's mining history, JCI was founded in 1889, and is therefore almost as old as Johannesburg itself. The company not only established gold and platinum mines, but was responsible for much of Johannesburg's early development, supplying capital to create the city's first waterworks and residential suburbs. Having owned the land that became known as Houghton Estate (of which The Wilds was part) since the late nineteenth century, JCI improved access to it in 1904, sharing with the municipality the cost of constructing the scenic road between the hills. The company further improved access after it sold the surrounding land for upper-class development in 1916. The tract was donated to the city probably because its rugged topography made it difficult to develop into suburban lots; it had become badly eroded by the 1920s, probably as a result of runoff from the Berea.

4. It was found that because The Wilds is underlain by a combination of shale, quartzite, and igneous rock, species from the Mediterranean-climate Western Cape as well as sub-tropical Pretoria would grow there.

5. The act permitted town councils to undertake development projects for housing and to accommodate nonwhites in urban areas.

6. For an overview of the growth of Joburg's African areas, see Keith Beavon, *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City* (Leiden: Brill/UNISA Press, 2004), 120–45. See also Clive Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style: Architecture and Society, 1880s to 1960s* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1993), 194–220, and *Johannesburg Transition: Architecture and Society from 1950* (Johannesburg: STE Publishing, 2008), 217–33.

7. Designed by Kallenbach, Kennedy & Furner and published in *South African Architectural Record*, Sept. 1931, 86–89. See Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style*, 206.

8. His name was Edwin Orlando Leake.

9. These facilities included administrative offices, public assembly halls, a hospital and clinic, police station, shopping centers and trading areas. See Chipkin *Johannesburg Transition*, 219–220.

10. The intention was to offer housing at rents below those charged by inner city slumlords.

11. The earliest purpose-built accommodation for Africans in a South African city was at Langa, near Cape Town, begun in 1927.

12. In 1936 the township's population numbered 18,000, but by 1940 had grown to 35,000. See Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 122. The township is today known as Orlando East, reflecting its spatial relationship to the railway line.

13. The burgeoning economy was the result of reopening of previously marginal mines and the discovery of new reserves on the West Rand in 1935.

14. Here I use the term *cosmopolitanism* to describe a cultivated knowledge of the world beyond one's immediate horizons and a skepticism about local and inherited practices and values.

15. This event had been planned since Joburg had achieved formal city status in 1928. For a comprehensive account, see Jennifer Robinson, "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation and Modernity in a South African City," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 3 (Sept. 2003), 759–89.

16. Le Corbusier's friendship with Rex Martienssen, a dynamic young Joburg practitioner-academic, meant his ideas had a significant impact on the work of local modernists, whom Le Corbusier dubbed *le Groupe Transvaal*. On this interaction, see Gilbert Herbert, *Martienssen and the International Style: The Modern Movement in South African Architecture* (Cape Town/Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1975), 99–103 and 189–98 and "Le Corbusier and the South African Modern Movement," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (Jan./March 1972), 16–29.

17. See, for instance, A. J. Christopher, *The Atlas of Apartheid* (London: Routledge, 1994).

18. Lindsay Bremner, "Border/Skin," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Against the Wall: Israel's Barrier to Peace* (New York and London: New Press, 2005), 123. For an alternative interpretation of the city's landscape, see Jennifer Beningfield, *The Frightened Land: Land, Landscape and Politics in South Africa in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2007), 173–228.

19. Robinson, "Empire Exhibition." 762.

20. Although a town planning ordinance was passed in 1931, the city engineer's department only established a town-planning branch in 1938, and due to World War II, the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme was not promulgated until 1946. See John Shorten, *The Johannesburg Saga* (Johannesburg: John R. Shorten, 1970), 575.

21. David Leatherbarrow, *Architecture Oriented Otherwise* (New York: Princeton Architectural University Press, 2008), 243.

22. "The landscape idea represents a way of seeing . . . in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world around them and their relationship with it, and through which they have commented on social relations. [This] way of seeing has its own history . . . that can be understood only as part of a wider history of economy and society." See Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), xiv.

23. That is, modern urban planning is founded on a need to establish some kind of detente between the need to secure political legitimacy in the service of an ostensible public interest, and co-ordinating and rationalizing material space to facilitate economic activity. See *Concrete and Clay: Reworking Nature in New York City* (New York: MIT Press, 2002), 1–19.

24. See Timothy Mitchell, "The Philosophy of the Thing," *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 161–79.

25. See John Barrell "Topography *vs.* Landscape," *London Review of Books* 32, no. 9 (13 May 2010), 12.

26. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, x–xii.

27. Jonathan Crush, "Gazing on Apartheid: Post-Colonial Travel Narratives of the Golden City," in *Writing the City: Eden, Babylon, and the New Jerusalem*, ed. Peter Preston and Paul Simpson-Housley (London: Routledge, 1994), 257.

28. Elevated viewing platforms were constructed at key locations around the city during the exhibition (a historical insight I owe to Melinda Silverman), which meant that numerous panoramic photographs of the city entered circulation during the 1930s. Most archives show an increase in the volume of photographs taken of the city in the mid-1930s, and numerous panoramas of the city were published at this time, made possible perhaps by elevated viewing platforms constructed at key locations around the city during the exhibition (a historical insight I owe to Melinda Silverman). This increasing visualization of Joburg's cityscape also expressed itself in the first modern artistic representations of the mine dumps, for instance in the work of local painters such as Gwelo Goodman and Emil Rizek.

29. Cosgrove, *Social Formation*, 69–101.

30. See, for instance, Simon Gunn and Alistair Owen, "Nature, Technology and the Modern City: An Introduction," *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 4 (2006), 491–96.

31. It is precisely the idea that something, by seeming natural, requires no explanation—what Henri Lefebvre called a "realistic illusion"—which allows landscape to mask undesirable histories. See Linda Pollak, "Constructed Ground: Questions of Scale," in C. Waldheim, ed., *The Landscape Urbanism Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 128.

32. On this, see John Dixon Hunt, "The Idea of a Garden and the Three Natures," in *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 32–75.

33. Marc Glaudemans, "The Rediscovery of the Hinterland," *Chora 4*, ed. Alberto Perez-Gomez and Stephen Parcell (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2004), 83–102.

34. This extraurban territory gave appearance to something that had no appearance of its own: the law, religion, and the city itself. It was a manifestation of Heidegger's *her-vorbringen*, the "letting appear" that the making of anything generates, a space that in Husserl's terms was connected to (and revelatory of) the *Lebenswelt*. See Glaudemans, "Rediscovery," 91.

35. This had multiscalar geographical implications when applied in colonial settings, where a system of discrimination emerged that differentiated people according to race in cities, and by tribe in rural areas.

36. Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara la Penta (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976), 7. See also Cosgrove, *Social Formation*, 171–83 and 215–21.

37. Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 8.

38. Ibid., 120.

39. See Denis Cosgrove, "The Picturesque City: Natures, Nations and the Urban since the 18th Century," in *City and Nature: Changing Relations in Time and Space*, ed. Thomas Møller Kristensen et al. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1993), 51–53.

40. In other words, they oscillated between two different versions of the pastoral, that is, the withdrawal from the world to begin life anew in an unspoiled landscape.

41. See, for instance, Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 125–36 and John R. Gold, *The Experience of Modernism: Modern Architects and the Future City, 1928–1953* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1997), 21. For a discussion of the French version of this displaced experimentalism, see Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

42. The literature on this dynamic, which continued after World War II, is extensive. See, for instance, Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, eds., *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (Chichester/Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley–Academy 2003); Anthony D. King, "Incorporating the Periphery (2): Urban Planning in the Colonies," in *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London/New York: Routledge, 1990), 44–67; Jean-François Lejeune, John Beusterien, and Narciso G. Menocal, "The City as Landscape: Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier and the Great Urban Works of Havana, 1925–1930," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 22 (1996), 150–85; David K. Underwood, "Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil," *JSAH* 50, no. 2 (June 1991), 130–66; Michele Lamprakos, "Le Corbusier and Algiers: The Plan Obus as Colonial Urbanism," in *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992).

43. See James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

44. See Paul Rabinow, "France in Morocco: Technocosmopolitanism and Middling Modernism," *Assemblage* 17 (1992), 53–54.

45. Mumford's book *The Culture of Cities* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co.,1938) was especially influential.

46. On Clarence Stein, see Daniel Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); on Benton Mackaye, see Tony Hiss, "Thinking Regionally," *The Experience of Place* (Knopf: New York, 1990), 186–220; on Robert Moses, see Christian Zapatka, "In Progress's Own Image: the New York that Robert Moses Built," *Lotus International* 89 (1996), 103–31.

47. Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 126. In various overseas projects he proposed a new kind of urbanism that abandoned the traditional concatenation of architecture-quarter-city, and conceived a comprehensive structuring logic for the city that derived from its topographical setting. On this, see M. Christine Boyer, "Aviation and the Aerial View: Le Corbusier's Spatial Transformation in the 1930s and 1940s," *Diacritics* 33, nos. 3–4 (Fall 2003), 93–118; and Adnan Morshed, "The Cultural Politics of Aerial Vision: Le Corbusier in Brazil (1929)," *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 4 (2002), 201–10. This new logic, which patterned the city's form according to its biophysical underpinnings, was eventually realized in 1950s Chandigarh and Brasilia.

48. See, for instance, Robert Ross and Gerard Telkamp, eds., *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context* (Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1985), and Robert Rotenberg, "Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropoles," *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (March 2001), 7–15.

49. Like other French intellectuals during the 1930s, Le Corbusier was disturbed by the apparently related failure of capitalism and the rise of fascism and communism. See Mary McLeod, "Le Corbusier and Algiers," *Oppositions* 19–20 (1980), 81.

50. Robinson has observed that the tensions between the colonial project of civilization and the need to represent colonized cultures as backward and timeless to justify the civilizing mission of the colonial project were an integral part of colonial exhibitions during this period. Juxtapositions of native traditions and European progress were common in the Empire Exhibition.

51. Until 1902 Johannesburg had been in the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, one of the independent, so-called Boer Republic. The largest of these earlier farms was the Sachsenwald, which functioned as a recreational forest until it was cut down in the 1920s. See John Wentzel, *A View from the Ridge: Johannesburg Retrospect* (Johannesburg: David Phillip, 1975), 12.

52. Most suburban developments were defined by pre-existing farm boundaries, irregularly joined together without scenographic or circulatory

considerations. See André Czegedly, "Villas of the Highveld: Cultural Perspectives on Johannesburg and its Northern Suburbs," in *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, ed. Richard Tomlinson et al. (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 21–42, ref. 31, and Lawrence Neame, *City Built on Gold* (Johannesburg: Central News Agency, 1960), 153. Visiting Joburg in 1953, Nikolaus Pevsner was struck by middle-class whites' overwhelming preference for the freestanding bungalow over other possible forms of affordable housing: "As far as they are immigrants from the countryside into the town, they still in their hearts hanker after a farmstead, and as far as they are immigrants from Europe, the bungalow is their idea of the new, larger and opener life." See Nikolaus Pevsner, "Johannesburg," *Architectural Review* 114, no. 1 (July 1953), 364. On the origins and global spread of the bungalow housing type, see Anthony King, "Residential Spaces: The Bungalow-Compound Complex as a Study in the Cultural Use of Space," *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1976), 97–154.

53. The mining economy was completely dependent on their labor.

54. A key text was Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London, F. Cass, 1965). First published in 1922, this became the semiofficial framework for British colonial planning and racial segregation during the interwar years. French colonial governments, by contrast, used a more assimilationist approach. On approaches to spatial differentiation in colonial cities, see, for instance, John Archer, "Colonial Suburbs in South Asia, 1700–1850, and the spaces of modernity," in Roger Silverstone, ed., *Visions of Suburbia* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 26–54; Brian Brace Taylor, "Planned Discontinuity: Modern Colonial Cities in Morocco," *Lotus International* 26 (1980), 53–67; and Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002).

55. The urban garden has long been a privileged domain where ideas threatened by marginalization in the overall economy of knowledge found refuge and possibility for renewal. Often this reciprocally semanticized the broader imaginary landscape through associative memory. See Sébastien Marot, "*Ars toparia*," in *Sub-Urbanism and the Art of Memory* (London: Architectural Association, 1999), 18–21.

56. Most of this greenscape consisted of trees from other summer-rainfall regions of the world that were acclimatized to the Highveld conditions. See Jeremy Foster, "From Socio-Nature to Spectral Presence: Re-Imagining the Once and Future Landscape of Johannesburg," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 10, no. 2 (April 2009), 175–213.

57. Thus, Pevsner in 1953: "All through the wealthy white suburbs . . . the main roads follow the lines of old tracks or lanes, and to the left and right innumerable spacious gardens stretch out, with lush vegetation, jacarandas, plane trees, syringas, pine trees, poplars, all planted within the last fifty years . . . all tended with great care during the winter months of unbroken dryness." "Johannesburg," 362.

58. As many of their names attest, these modern residential developments strove for the image of the suburb within a park. Some examples are Parkview, Parkwood, Parkhurst, Auckland Park, Orange Grove, Greenside, Gardens, Orchards, and Oaklands.

59. The private garden also became the focus of social interaction with established circle of existing acquaintances. See Czegedly, "Villas of the Highveld," 35.

60. Like The Wilds, Hermann Eckstein Park in the new suburb of Emmarentia was donated to the city by the eponymous financier who lived across the road. See Anna H. Smith; *Johannesburg Street Names: A Dictionary of Street, Suburb and Other Place-Names Compiled to the End of 1968* (Cape Town: Juta, 1971), 143.

61. Beningfield, *Frightened Land*, 214–15.

62. *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), s.v. "veld," gives the meaning of veld as "open country, neither cultivated nor true forest."

63. Loren Kruger, "The Drama of Country and City: Tribalization, Urbanization and Theatre under Apartheid," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23, no. 4 (Dec. 1997), 565.

64. When used for pastoral farming, as it mostly was at this time, it is hard to distinguish between unimproved and improved veld.

65. Some of them used capital acquired in mining, industry, finance, or law to buy remote, uneconomical farms in the surrounding region, which they maintained as landscapes "outside time." See Jeremy Foster, *Washed with Sun: Landscape and the Making of White South Africa* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 2008), 119–77. See also Timothy Keegan, "The Making of the Rural Economy: From 1850 to the Present," in *Studies in the Economic History of Southern Africa*, ed. Zbigniew Konczacki, Jane Parpart, and Timothy Shaw (London: F. Cass, 1991), 2: 36–63.

66. When the suburb of Emmarentia was laid out in the mid-1930s, the ridge to the south of the farm—today part of Melville Koppies reserve—was left undeveloped because it was felt that such spaces were disappearing in the growing city. See Smith, *Street Names*, 143. Such later open spaces of commission differed from earlier open spaces of omission: namely, rocky ridges such as The Wilds, which had been left in their natural state because they were too expensive to develop, or stream corridors that had been kept clear to deal with the severe demands seasonal thunderstorms placed on the city's stormwater systems. Shorten, *Johannesburg Saga*, 580.

67. This campaign was achieved especially through thousands of black-and-white photographs, originally taken for the railway's own use, but which were subsequently widely disseminated by their publicity department. This became a comprehensive visual archive used by publishers and editors throughout the world. See Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 211–32.

68. See, for instance, Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), and David Bunn, "The Museum Outdoors: Heritage, Cattle, and Permeable Borders in the Southwestern Kruger National Park," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 357–91.

69. On the "naturalization of the nation" concept, see Eric Kaufmann, "Naturalizing the Nation: The Rise of Naturalistic Nationalism in the United States and Canada," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 4 (1998), 666–95. Until the 1940s, relatively few Afrikaners displayed interest in the theories and politics of hard-line nationalism. See Robinson, "Empire Exhibition," 767.

70. Beningfield, *Frightened Land*, 209.

71. See Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 166–72, and Esme Moseley Wiesmeyer, *Joane Pim: South Africa's Landscape Pioneer* (Pinegowrie, South Africa: The Horticultural Society, 2007), 4–5.

72. After World War 1, the city's tree-planting efforts increasingly went into replacing acacia, pepper, and eucalyptus trees that had been planted so freely in the early days because they grew so quickly. Shorten, *Johannesburg Saga*, 650, 652.

73. See note 55. On the creation of the now world-famous garden Kirstenbosch, see Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 61–63.

74. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) garden established at the Cape in the 1660s was the nucleus around which permanent white settlement grew. As the influential author Dorothea Fairbridge wrote in one of the first popular histories of South Africa, "from that little plantation in the heart of Cape Town … has sprung the Union of South Africa." See *History of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918), 61.

75. On the iconography of the hidden valley in 1930s South Africa, see Foster, *Washed with Sun*, pp. 189–90.

76. *Jock of the Bushveld* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907) was an account of turn-of-the-century back country life that became a South African classic, and helped establish the Kruger National Park, whose terrain it describes. The Wilds' status in the white historical imagination was confirmed when it was proclaimed a national monument in 1981.

77. Two of the more important earlier suburbs were Westcliffe and Parktown.

78. See Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style*, 164–65.

79. Examples of these new suburban throughways were the Sawmill and Merritt Parkways.

80. See, for instance, David Bunn, "Comparative Barbarism: Game Reserves, Sugar Plantations, and the Modernization of the South African Landscape," in *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner, and Sarah Nuttall (London: Routledge, 1996), 38–42.

81. See Steve Robins, "Bodies Out of Place: Crossroads and the Landscapes of Exclusion," in *Blank___: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, ed. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (Rotterdam and Cape Town: NAi/David Phillip, 2000), 48–63.

82. Beningfield, *Frightened Land*, 209.

83. Key pieces of legislation were the 1913 Land Act (sometimes equated with the Enclosures Act in eighteenth-century England), the Native Urban Areas Act (1923), which extended segregation to towns, the Labour Reservation Act (1926), and the Native Administration Act (1927). The process of African disenfranchisement is covered in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness, 1870–1930*, ed. Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone (Harlow: Longmans, 1982); Timothy Keegan, *Rural Transformations in Industrializing South Africa: The Southern Highveld to 1914* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1986); Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–1936* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).

84. Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style*, 196. Rural land in reserves set aside for Africans was insufficient and subjected to ever tighter legislative control. This accelerated environmental degradation made it harder for Africans to make a living off the land, and encouraged them to migrate to the cities. See Isobel Hofmeyr, *We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told: Oral Historic Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* (Portsmouth, N.H. and Johannesburg: Heinemann, 1993), 59–77.

85. The Native Urban Areas Act failed to limit Africans migration to urban areas. Informal settlements continued to grow, promoted by government taxation of the reserves that drove their inhabitants to look for temporary work in cities, where they could not afford rents or urban services. See Shorten, *Johannesburg Saga*, 390, 391.

86. Removing African populations from the city was also driven by the perceived need to provide affordable housing for poor whites in areas close to the inner city, which was impossible without the clearance of even socially-viable mixed race areas. See Susan Parnell, "Land Acquisition and the Changing Residential Face of Johannesburg, 1930–1955," *Area* 20, no. 4 (1998), 308–9.

87. Johannesburg's historic core was bounded on the south by a wide belt of land that sat over the gold reefs and which was controlled by the large mining companies. In 1930, immediately south of this belt were the white working-class suburbs of Turffontein, Rosettenville, and Booysens. The municipality had annexed a large amount of surrounding rural land in the early twentieth century, so had ample space, in all directions, on which to lay out mass housing. See Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 71–119. On the selection of this particular area for African housing, see Chipkin, *Transition*, esp. 230–33.

88. Gerhard Leyds, *History of Johannesburg; The Early Years* (Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1964).

89. The houses were initially offered to residents evicted from New Doornfontein and Prospect Township. See Beavon, *Johannesburg*, 117.

90. Martienssen and Le Corbusier's correspondence during the 1930s focused on the private villas from which they earned their livings. However, one of the purposes of Le Corbusier's planned trip to Joburg in 1939 (cancelled because of the war) was to draw up a new plan for the city.

91. Some of these young architects had participated in an earlier design competition for Orlando.

92. Published as P. H. Connell, C. Irvine-Smith, K. Jonas, R. Kantorowich and F. J. Wepener, *Native Housing: A Collective Thesis* (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand Press, 1939).

93. Material exhibited at this conference included Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse* and Algiers *Obus* plan. See Herbert, "Le Corbusier," 27.

94. This is delineated in Catherine Bauer Wurster's seminal *Modern Housing* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934). Connell et al., *Native Housing*, 101–5. For a summary of the thesis' arguments about the social space appropriate for housing in a segregated society, see Fassil Demissie, "Controlling and 'Civilising' Natives through Architecture and Town Planning in South Africa," *Social Identities* 10, no. 4 (2004), 490–91. As Connell et al. argued, "It is in this thrusting of the Native from a highly organized life into the turmoil of self-sufficiency and independence (which is the keynote to modern urban life) that we find one of the greatest psychological menaces. The housing scheme may well provide a means of overcoming this difficulty." *Native Housing*, 97.

95. In fact, the spacing between these superblocks, each of which housed 20,000 inhabitants, seems to have been determined by the distance between stations along the railway line that connected them to the center city.

96. Including the scarcity of skilled labor and materials such as concrete and steel required to construct multistory buildings (especially during the war), and the political nature of municipal financing.

97. During the war, the pass laws were relaxed to alleviate labor shortages in Joburg.

98. Notably in Douglas MacGavin Calderwood, *Native Housing in South Africa*, PhD thesis, Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand, 1953 (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1955).

99. On this program see Demissie, "Controlling and 'Civilising,'" and Derek Japha, "The Social Programme of the South African Modern Movement," in *Blank___: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, 422–37.

100. See Herbert, "Le Corbusier," 28.

101. However, Hannah Leroux notes that the ideal of self-sufficiency was realized, in principle at least, at Kwa-thema township, built near Springs after World War II, where houses were provided with gardens plots calculated to support a family. Personal communication with author, July 2010.

102. Thus Chipkin, *Transformations*, 216: "The planners and bureaucrats spoke authoritatively about a community of which they possessed a rudimentary knowledge, and about tribal and ethnic divisions of which their understanding was even less."

103. See Bremner, "Border/Skin," 123.

104. Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style*, 16.

105. Derek Japha has argued that regionalist modernism developed a lasting appeal in South Africa, not so much because the naive liberal program of the 1930s was co-opted by a ruthless later regime, but because of convergences between the modernism of apartheid social engineering and the modernism of the creation of urban subjects. See "The Social Programme," 429–30.

106. For instance, in a reversal of the expected effect, the township's interstitial buffer strips and natural corridors became places of fear that negatively

affected adjacent residential areas. See Pauline Morris and S. P. Cilliers, *Soweto: A Review of Existing Conditions and Some Guidelines for Change* (Johannesburg: Urban Foundation, 1980), 249.

107. As the famous antiapartheid activist Steve Biko wrote of the townships in the 1970s: "The homes were different, the streets were different, the lighting was different; you began to feel that there was something incomplete in your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness." See Beningfield, *Frightened Land*, 215.

108. Here I borrow a music-based term Edward Said used to describe a subjectivity or condition he associated especially with colonialism, in which different themes play in counterpoint and generate a sense of order that derives from the "organized interplay" rather than any "formal principle outside the work." See *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 51.

109. For a nuanced discussion of the intertwining of capitalism and Western historicism, see David Eng's interpretation of Dipesh Chakrabarty's writing in "The Ends of Race," *Publication of the Modern Language Association* 123, no. 5 (2009), 1479–93.

110. As the famous South African author Herman Charles Bosman wrote in his 1977 novel, *Willemsdorp:* "Maybe there was no veld that you could take long walks across, in the city. But the veld was still there. Or course, at least the earth that the veld was made of was. Was and is and will be, evermore, meaning, existence. Only, in a city, the topsoil and subsoil and rock formation part of the veld were present in a more stylized form . . . . compressed into bricks and tiles. A whole stretch of what had been virgin Highveld was telescoped into concrete." Quoted in Beningfield *Frightened Land*, 191.