

WESTERN NATIVE TOWNSHIP: 3 stages

1917 – 1935	colonial	camp	mud and dung
1935 – 1950	tolerated	town	tin and wood
1950 – 1965	repressed	city	plaster and paint



STAGE ONE 1918-1930	STAGE TWO 1930-1940	STAGE THREE	STAGE FOUR 1950-1962
HOUSING: Township established but little demand for houses About 2,000 houses built in five stages: first single rooms, huts and two-roomed houses, and after 1930 three-roomed houses. Houses have no plaster, ceilings, floors or internal doors. Houses built at costs ranging from \$156 to \$226 per unit; house rents from \$3.50 per month upward.	Population pressure builds up (popula- tion about 12,000 in 1933) and township crowded. Municipality allows residents to house sub-tenants on application but demo- lishes outbuildings and shacks built by tenants in backyards. Municipality recognizes pressures on space and at end of this stage adds an additional room for tenants who request more space and are willing to pay increased rental.	Municipality considers temporary porch enclosures health hazards and orders them removed after fires. Building of additional rooms by Munici- pality suspended until after war: tenants may still do so at own expense. Illegal outbuildings still being removed by Municipality. Municipality first adopts resolution to remove WNT.	Rents increased: now range from \$2.50 to \$9.00 per month. Municipality acts against permanent porch enclosures but after test court case and <i>in loco</i> inspection allows such construction on approval of plans by superintendent. No more municipally built room addi- tions after 1957. Municipality begins negotiations with tenants about removal but refuses to compensate tenants for any improve- ments.
Tenants use cowdung on floors, mud on walls, hessian for ceilings and curtains as interior doors. First decorations by people of Bakwena tribe consisting of patterns and animals scratched in mud and dung.	Tenants build shacks in yards and enclose front porches with wood or metal ceiling panels (Mr. Duda the first of these builders) to make more enclosed space. Tenants try painting decoration on brickwork (Ben Ngqaza the first). Tenants complain and rents reduced.	Tenants build porch enclosures (Mr. Stahlo the first builder) generally for living space but sometimes for shops. First decorations (family Sithole) on per- manent porches and front walls. A few tenants make major alterations to houses at own expense.	Demonstrations against rent increases. Decorations on plaster walls become very popular with many variations on limited number of themes. Agitation about removal and especially lack of compensation begins but by 1962 township almost completely removed and 'Coloured' people move in.
SERVICES: People walk, cycle or use horse-drawn public transport. Municipal tram service extended to WNT; fare 3c to town. Houses have no individual water supply; only two communal taps per street and bucket sewerage. Municipality erects fences and plants some trees around township and in three streets.	Street-lighting installed and later electri- city also available to tenants at own expense (20 years later only 5% of households had installation). Municipality erects fences around indi- vidual house plots. 1937: African newspaper calls WNT 'dingy, dirty, and ill-kept but is impressed by what some of our people are doing to improve their conditions that are any- thing but conducive to noble living'.	Tram fares increased to 4c and after tram boycott, service is withdrawn. Railway extended to Newclare (within walking distance of WNT). Individual water supply and waterborne sewerage installed. Roads improved and stormwater drains installed.	Public Utility Company Bus Service introduced with terminus in centre of WNT: fares now 4c to town.
Women form organization to prevent people from throwing dirty water into streets.	Tenants plant trees and hedges in front of houses.	Strikes, riots and boycott of trams after fare increase. Space in front of house developed as outdoor living space with decorated gateposts and letter-boxes.	Residents boycott buses because of fares. A few cars appear in township, often derelict, and taxi and car repair service in vacant lots adjoining certain houses.
COMMUNAL FACILITIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:	Communal Hall built by Municipality	First African library built	New creche opened by Native Council of

Municipality builds administrative and police station. First schools (American Board Mission Communal Hall built by Municipality. Two more schools (one high school) and six churches erected.

First African library built. Two more schools (second high school) opened.

New creche opened by Native Council of African Women from money raised from residents.



First residents arrive either from areas nearer city centre or from country: wide variety of tribes take up residence.

Occupation of residents almost all unskilled or domestic workers: average annual household income about \$170.

Nitch-doctors provide some medical and nagical services.

Sefore 1923, control of village in hands of 4 men, 'Iso Lomzi' (Eye of the Village) eplaced by Advisory Board and Vigilance Committee, with chairman considered as mayor, to work with Municipality: annual elections with parties choosing colour, e.g. the blue party, to distinguish themselves. Economic level of residents remains static: average annual household income about \$180.

First African co-operative society founded with 166 members and four shops (tearoom, grocer, butcher and baker).

Wide variety of social, sporting and entertainment organizations formed: WNT Ladies' Civic Society, Unemployed Young Men's Club, Hungry Lions Benefit Society, Philharmonic Society of WNT, WNT Pioneers' Club, Children's Picnic Committee, etc.

Sporting clubs: Transvaal Jumpers Football Club, baseball, tennis, cricket, etc.

Jazz and dance bands: Merry Black Birds, Harmony Kings, Jazz Maniacs, Japanese Express Band, etc. 1937: first report of crime at WNT to

appear in Bantu World newspaper.

War stimulates growth of new industries and average annual income rises to about \$340.

'Rising tide of lawlessness' and hooliganism (tsotsis) reported in African newspapers.

Civic guards and later Civic Protection Society (CPS) formed to combat thugs and gangs.

Gangs: 'Corporatives' and 'Young Americans from New Orleans' said to have been formed and stove pipe trousers worn after showing of film 'Orchestra Wives' in local cinema.

Shebeens: 'Green House' and 'Shepherds' offer illegal liquor and 'Stokfels' system instituted (rotating parties with host supplying liquor).

Saloons in houses offer illegal gambling particularly 'fah-fee': lady decorates her house with lucky horse symbol.

Political parties active: mayor of WNT decorates his house with African National Congress symbol. Population still almost entirely working class with small percentage of professional and clerical workers: average annual household income now about \$560 but still far below Poverty Datum line (about \$700).

Fairly static population with high proportion of widows as female heads of families and pattern of interchange with rural areas less frequent than before. Riots at Municipal Beer Hall because of police raid.

Boycott of schools organized by African National Congress and residents open their own school, Mohlomo Community School: Mayor expelled from ANC after having been accused of sabotaging boycott.

Gang warfare between WNT 'Corporatives' and Sophiatown 'Berliners'; also clashes between 'Russians' and Civic Guard.

Jazz singer Dolly Rathebe stabbed and famous reporter Henry Nxumalo killed by thugs.

Witch-doctors ('nyangas') still operating and consternation caused by appearance of 'tokolosh' (magic animal) in WNT.

After failure of continued representations to Municipality, people accept being moved out: Mayor addresses residents: 'This is the saddest day of this township...this is the oldest township of Johannseburg and people of this area in Johannesburg have made the greatest contribution in building Johannesburg.' true of most ancient Greek temples and most buildings, for example, by Alberti or Palladio. In these buildings partitioning, ornament, and rhythm, in the sense we have been using here, form a conceptual structure for implementing a major part of the program of classical architecture: to create representations of reality; to explore through the formal relations of the building the architecture of reality; to identify in reality independence, equivalence, subalternation, contrarity, symmetry, transitivity, correlation, identity, whole, continuity; to study how space works, how we can work in space, how our mind works, and how we can work together as a society.

But the formal patterns of a classical building can also relate to reality in a diametrically different, nonmimetic way. We call this relation foregrounding and strangemaking. The world of the building in this case is not only about what is but also about what must be done, not only about truth and epistemology but also about goodness and morality.

Foregrounding in architecture comes from the theories of the literary poetics formulated by the Prague School of linguistics of the 1930s and in particular by Jan Mukařovský, and by the Russian Formalists of the 1920s, especially Victor Shklovsky. According to this theory, the essential feature of a literary text is the transformation of ordinary language into poetic language. "Foregrounding" as translated by Garvin (1964, p. 9) (in the original Czech aktualisace), or what Shklovsky called "roughened form," brings about certain characteristics of a text that make its linguistic organization-phonetic, grammatical, syntactic, semantic-deviate from ordinary use. Thus the poetic identity of a building depends not on its stability, on its function, or on the efficiency of the means of its production but on the way in which all the above have been limited, bent, and subordinated by purely formal requirements. What distinguishes a classical building as a poetic object from ordinary buildings is there, on the surface, in its formal organization. But beyond this formal veil lies the act of foregrounding through which selected aspects from the reality of a building are recast into formal patterns. The resulting quality of architecturalness is not a portrait of reality. It is its critical reconstruction.

The relation between the formal and the social needs of a work of art are often taken in a mechanistic way. As an example of this, Shklovsky refers to Herbert Spencer's (1882) comments on rhythm in poetry.

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