

“Imported intact from Britain and reflecting elements of Empire”: Joubert Park, Johannesburg as a leisure space, c. 1890s-1930s

This article contextualises the earliest development of a planned open space in Johannesburg – the erstwhile premier municipal public park, Joubert Park. It explores the function, features and design of the park and how these displayed middle and upper class social, moral and cultural values, enshrined in practices of respectability. The premise is that the layout and features reflected British views on the usage and exclusivity of urban open spaces.

Key words: British, respectability, design, features, culture, control.

“Imported intact from Britain and reflecting elements of Empire”: Joubert Park, Johannesburg as ‘n ontspanningsruimte, c. 1890s-1930s

Hierdie artikel plaas die vroeë ontwikkeling van ‘n beplande oop ruimte in Johannesburg – die voormalige, mees vooraanstaande munisipale openbare park, Joubert Park, in konteks. Die funksies, kenmerke en ontwerp van die park word verken. Daar word aangetoon hoe dit die sosiale, morele en kulturele waardes van die middel en hoër klasse vergestalt het asook hoe hierdie waardes bewaar word in fatsoenlike gedrag. Die uitgangspunt is dat die ontwerp en kenmerke ‘n weerspieëling was van Britse sienings oor die gebruik van oop ruimtes in stede.

Sleutelwoorde: Brits, fatsoenlikheid, ontwerp, kenmerke, kultuur, kontrole.

The Industrial Revolution was the key contributor to the rapid development of cities in the Western World with concomitant social changes of which public health and overcrowding of the inner city were some of the major concerns. The development and use of the public parks in the 19th century were driven by an attempt to address these concerns. It was mostly as a result of these new factors that a much broader perception of parks, as part of the everyday landscape, prevailed at the turn of the century.¹

These perceptions were influenced by the Victorians’ great faith in the idea of progress and specifically of science as a route to understand nature. This created the context for the landscape garden to emerge.² As a consequence, most forms of public parks were initially the botanic garden and arboretum where opportunities could be found for self-education in botany and horticulture.³ In the Anglo-American world, “the park became a symbol of ‘paradise’, an idealisation of nature, and a place for the display of civic virtues and for the upliftment of the morale of city dwellers.”⁴

Civic leadership indeed realized that parks served an important social role in the community. In the minds of their promoters parks were regarded as something essential for the well-being of the community. Thus parks could become places of betterment for the lower levels of society and symbols of civic pride providing open spaces for the city’s residents in which to enjoy their leisure time.

Whilst municipalities and town councils supported this function of the park, the financial backing for the development of parks during the height of the parks movement coincided with a fashion for munificent philanthropic gestures. The gift of a park from a wealthy citizen became a common occurrence.⁵

Johannesburg did not escape this vortex of rapid development. Hence the critical period of the early growth of Johannesburg presents the context and the opportunity to explore the nature,

purpose, function, characteristics, meaning and design of Johannesburg's erstwhile premier municipal public park, Joubert Park.⁶

The article argues that Joubert Park became an important spatial marker of the political, economic and cultural transition of a fast-growing Johannesburg from a rustic milieu to a post Anglo-Boer War world, now imbedded in a powerful political, economic and socially British environment. In addition, the article is based on the premise that the layout, design and features such as areas for promenading, a bandstand, conservatory and art gallery combined to create and give material form to Victorian and Edwardian concepts of identity, and class⁷ and respectability, as interpreted and reflected by Johannesburg's town fathers. Furthermore, the article addresses the question how the park become an integral part of the civic and cultural life of a class and racially divided city.

Although the history of 19th and early 20th century parks have been the subject of considerable research in Britain and the United States⁸, the history of Johannesburg's public parks of this period and specifically of Joubert Park have not received serious academic attention.⁹ The article aims to fill this void.

Finally, this article attempts to achieve what Cremin described so aptly:

“... by looking at some events in detail, it is possible to examine some of the larger trends in urban and cultural history. After all, by looking at anyone's front yard you can tell a great deal about those who live in the house.”¹⁰

Town planning

Initially, there was no proper town planning in Johannesburg after the discovery of gold in 1886. The site had originally been laid out in what was by design and intention based on the assumption that Johannesburg would never be anything more populous and permanent than a temporary but organised mining camp.¹¹ Carman neatly contrasted Johannesburg with Pretoria. The latter had “good basic planning” while the former's planning was “less sober.”¹² Consequently, the expansion was rather haphazard¹³ and the product of predominantly secular forces. Thus it is very significant that a trading square – and not a church - was the centre of town.¹⁴

The distinctive physical feature of the town - the central grid-line plan – was likewise driven by financial considerations. The layout made it possible to make more money from stand leases.¹⁵ In addition, it was “relatively easy to lay-out, survey and administer”.¹⁶ As a consequence and true to its character as a profit-driven economy, the first four years of Johannesburg's existence was characterised by a spate of surveying, laying out and selling of land.¹⁷ Open spaces were generally viewed by the government as potential building sites rather than as communal leisure areas. The necessary insight and inspiration to provide open spaces and acquire land for parks was lacking. Within this context, it might have been seen as a luxury or not even thought about.¹⁸

The intention of the surveyor, Josias E de Villiers, to plan large property blocks and generous open spaces, was thus thwarted by this policy. He was only allowed to make provision for a fairly large market square.¹⁹ Later, however, he managed to fit in two more squares and also provide for a cemetery.²⁰ So by May 1887 there were only a number of modest public spaces scattered throughout the town.²¹ The three main squares were: Market Square (which

became the functional centre of Johannesburg even though it was not at the geographical centre of the settlement), Von Brandis Square and Government Square.²²

However, when the rest of the farm Randjieslaagte was surveyed, an open area remained - far from the centre of the town. In 1888, the Diggers' Committee was successful in persuading the ZAR government to set aside two portions of this land to be developed as parks - Kruger Park²³ and Joubert Park. Prior to the development of Joubert Park the site was well frequented for picnics along the spruit which bisected the park.

The far-sighted and enthusiastic Mining Commissioner, Jan Eloff, was a fine example of where the gift of philanthropic entrepreneurs blended with an eye for profits from rising land values. This was in line with the general trend that it was usually the prosperous and the powerful that were instrumental in the creation of public parks.²⁴

Shortly after the proclamation of the diggings, being the driving force of the Diggers' Committee²⁵, he almost immediately decided that the inhabitants of the fast growing mine camp should enjoy a "public park or garden to be planted with trees."²⁶ For this purpose, and while frankly admitting ulterior motives, namely that he intended to build his house on adjoining ground, he recommended to the ZAR government a site for a park to the north of the present railway lines. Joubert Park was thus laid out as an upmarket recreation area.²⁷

The Minister of Mines, CJ Joubert, supported the proposal. On 15 November 1887, the ZAR government granted Johannesburg sixteen acres (6,5 hectare) of marshy ground.²⁸ However, not much happened with the grounds for the next four years.

By the mid-1890s Johannesburg had grown beyond its mining camp origins. It was a new and developing town ruled by the then Transvaal government that was reluctant to give it a sense of permanence. Consequently, it did not invest in its institutional culture while the educational and cultural needs of Johannesburg inhabitants were also not adequately addressed. There were no state-funded museums, theatres, concert halls or libraries. The only library was a private subscription library, funded by private enterprise starting in 1889. In addition, the Transvaal government did not invest in an image of authority. There was no imposing town hall, the prerequisite of other early settlements. All of this sent out a clear statement that the centre of Transvaal authority and culture was centred in Pretoria. As a result, "While one noticed the presence of authorities here and there, one was never aware of a central overriding government role in the community."²⁹ The void left by the apparently indifferent Transvaal government was filled by wealthy private citizens, i.e. those who controlled the mines who would invest in and shape the white culture of Johannesburg society.³⁰

The lack of cultural investment can partly be explained by the nature of the local authority, which, for the first ten years of its life, was termed a Sanitary Board³¹. Carman states that "Its functions were 'preventive rather than creative in character' it was concerned with the health rather than 'the wealth or happiness of the inhabitants.'"³² However, this is not entirely true.

The Sanitary Board was actually determined to be seen as responsive to community needs. An opportunity to put the Board's intentions into practice occurred in July 1891 when the Pirates Sporting Club requested the use of this "derelict piece of land that was virtually the only swampy ground within the town boundaries". At the same time the Horticultural Society, formed on 26 September 1891, pressed for a botanical garden "in the land known as Joubert

Park.” The Society notified the Board that it was prepared to co-operate with the Pirates Sporting Club with a view to “exploiting the Joubert Park area.”³³

Consequently, in 1892, faced with this growing demand to improve the grounds and turn it into a park in more than name, the Sanitary Board upgraded the Parks Sub-Committee to the status of a full committee within the Town Engineers’ Department³⁴ and appointed a full time gardener.³⁵

After the Anglo-Boer War, Lord Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for the Transvaal and Free State, decided to make his headquarters in Johannesburg instead of Pretoria. This changed the political, cultural and intellectual fabric of local government in Johannesburg. He understood that the stability of civil society and the prosperity of the mines were fundamental for the future. This had important repercussions for Johannesburg’s local government and specifically for the further development of Joubert Park.

Contrary to the suspicion and lack of sympathy of the Pretoria authorities, Johannesburg had a sympathetic and powerful administration, based in the town itself and investing in its prosperity. At the heart of Milner’s reconstruction was the wish to change the negative image of a lack of culture and education so that British families could be lured to settle in Johannesburg. This would make it possible ~~for~~ “for imperial political allegiances to be secured in a ‘British Transvaal’ that would ‘go a long way to consolidate the British Empire.’”³⁶ The further development of Joubert Park, in the interim between the Anglo-Boer War and the establishment of Union, was thus an important kingpin in Milner’s Imperial project.

A member of Milner’s “Kindergarden”³⁷, Lionel Curtis, was appointed acting town clerk, and tasked to draw up a plan for the new Johannesburg municipality. In April 1901 the first town Council of Johannesburg replaced the Sanitary Board **and** started planning the town’s development, providing an infrastructure, inter alia making provision for open spaces. By 1904 the geographical foundations of modern Johannesburg were complete. “The urban anatomy, of Johannesburg in respect of its overall and sectorial patterns would henceforth differ in degree rather than in kind from what existed in 1904.”³⁸ The Council chose to favour low density suburban development.³⁹ Consequently, most parks were laid out in the more well-to-do upmarket areas north and east of the city centre.

From early on then, Joubert Park, by the very nature of its position, formed an essential part of this pattern⁴⁰ and a central pillar of the “Imperial project”. The Park henceforth reflected the values and culture of middle and upper class Johannesburgers. It thus provided a context for a particular kind of identity construction.⁴¹

Health

The sanitary reform rhetoric with its heavy reliance on middle-class fears of contagion from working-class pollution persisted throughout 19th century Britain. Open recreational spaces to experience “purifying sunlight and air, dissipating the airborne contagion”⁴² would solve many societal ills: “by providing the working classes with clean air, recreational facilities and the uplifting example of their betters, they might be rendered healthy, industrious, thrifty and docile.”⁴³ Parks were seen to be “as much of a necessity in town development as a proper drainage scheme.”⁴⁴ It was indeed because of health consideration that the body that replaced the Diggers Committee was called the Sanitary Board. Health was important and parks - as healthy open spaces - provided the ideal environment to achieve it.

Social and moral control

Hoskins point out the manifold roles of parks:

“They contributed to the ‘moral enlightenment’ of the population. Like museums and expositions, which indeed they often accommodated, parks were public spaces that operated as ‘exhibitionary complexes’⁴⁵ communicating social codes and gaining popular acquiescence to these codes.”⁴⁶

On the surface they were seen as areas for relaxation and calm but, underneath they were places of potential disorder and an ever-present risk of danger, or at least affront.⁴⁷ By their very definition as public places and being surrounded by the reality of the sights, sounds and smells of the city streets and environment, they facilitated the mingling of people.

So, in addition to providing a space for exercise and improve hygiene and health, parks had another important function. They were emblematic of the Victorian project of providing an alternative space for leisure time activities. Rather than visiting drinking and gambling houses⁴⁸ — viewed as the seed-bed of moral degradation⁴⁹ - visiting a park was the more virtuous thing to do.

The process of urbanization in Johannesburg was rapid, its population diverse and life fast, everyone trying to make a quick buck. Alcoholism, violence and prostitution as well as the breakdown of conservative values was common. Charles van Onselen provided vivid accounts of life in Johannesburg reflecting this lifestyle.⁵⁰ Overcrowding, immorality and disease were seen as intrinsically linked.

Given the demography of Johannesburg, racial issues – and consequent efforts of control - were unavoidable. This specifically played out in the occupancy of spaces, defined by whites as “their” spaces. In particular, occupancy of seats was a thorny issue. In 1907, one “Visitor” complained about a matter, calling it “not only wrong, but a great shame”. He and a few ladies visited Joubert Park on a Sunday afternoon and strolled through the park. After a while they tried to find a seat but all were occupied. Eventually they found a spot

“but about six benches at the spot were occupied by Kaffir girls, who in spite of the entreaties of the ladies in a most impudent manner flatly refused to move and make room for them, stating they had as much a right to the benches as white people. Incidents of this nature were never allowed... and I think something ought to be done to put a stop to this state of affairs which I consider an injustice to them who go to the park for an afternoon’s pleasure...”⁵¹

Johannesburg’s demography had the potential to enable the mingling of different classes, races and genders. However, for the respectable white middle class Johannesburger – who wanted to get away from the hustle and bustle of town – being inevitably exposed to the very people they wanted to avoid, was intolerable. Physically, as envisioned since its establishment, Joubert Park had to be kept as an exclusive beauty spot. Hence, any person or behaviour threatening the middle class and their values should be controlled.

Soon after the City Council was put in charge of running the city, there was already a determined effort to control access to and behaviour in Joubert Park. The following ironic article aptly indicates and summarises what was **not** permissible in the park, appeared in the *Leader* entitled: “Joubert Park. Rules for visitors”:

“Nurses⁵² are informed that attendants will be in waiting at every gate to relieve them of their charges, thus allowing them to do nothing more agreeably. Coloured nurses, in being more intelligent, are especially welcome.
Children are requested to climb trees and break all the branches they find. Footballs will be provided for them free of charge.
Every Sunday a dog show is held. All are welcome. No entrance fee
Visitors are requested to pick all the flowers in bloom..., bring a drink, smash bottles, throw paper around, make dirty calls at the ladies and generally make themselves at home.
Cycling is also allowed when the walks are crowded with children. The youth at both sides are requested to yell and run about as much as possible.”⁵³

It is telling that there seems to have been a lull of about 25 years before a racial matter was again raised – this time specifically focused on the presence of Black and Coloured nurses. This can perhaps be ascribed to the fact that racial urban policies became tougher, limiting the mobility and access to parks/open spaces. There were complaints that control in Joubert Park was being neglected and that white visitors to the park had to give up their specific seats which they claimed they used for years.⁵⁴

“Hancock Street Daily Visitor”⁵⁵’s disapproval was even more blatant, unashamedly claiming that Joubert Park – and its seats - were reserved for white people only.

“We do not use the same seats in private houses, public halls or churches, then why are we expected to use them in... our parks? Is it not plainly stated at the entrance that it is the ‘Citizens Park’. And is there not a special notice inside saying “this space is reserved for coloured nurses.”⁵⁵

In addition, there were objections to nurses who “amuse themselves on the various attractions such as the swings. If, however, any white nurse ventured to do this they would be stopped without delay.”⁵⁶ L Rogers pointed out similar behaviour amongst “kaffir nurses, though a special notice forbids their use by nurses”.⁵⁷

It is noteworthy that the editor vehemently responded to this obviously racial remark:

“Does our correspondent suggest that coloured nurses in charge on any of European children and consequently in close association with them both at home and in the park, should be prohibited from sitting on any public benches. If so - why?”⁵⁸

Similar complaints were raised at the beginning of 1938 when a growing unease about “natives in the parks” was raised. “Flat dweller” was upset that the “native and coloured community encroached on the Europeans’ preserves in our one and only central park...” and had the “free access to this beauty spot by non-Europeans”. Their numbers, “combined with their raucous laughter and ceaseless chatter, contributes in no small measure to turn this refuge from the hustle of city life, into anything but a haven of rest and peacefulness.”⁵⁹

In addition, their respectability was challenged when he and his wife walked though Joubert Park one evening and discovered “coloured girls in shorts together with their respective beaux, doing their courting in their own particular way... and their attitude to passers-by anything but respectful.” On another evening “a drunken buck⁶⁰ native, staggering from side to side, wended his way through the central portion of the park... It is high time something was done to safeguard the interests of the large white population in this vicinity, otherwise... the place will become a native recreation ground.”⁶¹

It is clear that it was not only a racial unease but also a cultural one. Complaints of “natives” being a “nuisance” continued. Captain D Smith reported that each year more and more

“natives” were making use of the park. Hence numerous complaints were being received from the “white” public about “the noise, impertinence and annoying behaviour of these natives.” Consequently, a proposal “to prohibit natives – other than nurses accompanied by Europeans - from entering Joubert Park” was discussed at a meeting of the Non-European and Native Affairs Committee.⁶²

The proposal met with considerable criticism. Any further action was postponed pending a report by Mr Graham Ballenden.⁶³ He had to appoint an inspector on a daily basis in the park to observe “whether natives using the park are the nuisance they have been alleged to be by officials of the Parks and Estates Department and by members of the public. If it is found that natives are quite orderly, it is unlikely that a suggestion to close the park to all natives except nurse girls will be adopted.”⁶⁴

An article in *The Star* considered this a backward step and an unfair way of “solving the problem.” It was conceded that there were “gangs of natives who have been using the park as a thoroughfare, and their behaviour is such that it had been found necessary to have two extra attendants on duty to control them.” However, “it would be unjust to punish all law-abiding natives who have made use of the park for many years because of the unruly conduct of a few whose excesses are recent”. It continued pointing out that there was likewise also “a certain type of European... who is an equal incongruity in what Captain D Smith calls a ‘restful beauty spot’... a case can be made out that this type should be excluded...”⁶⁵

The layout of and features in the park was a deliberate attempt to control the movement and behaviour of visitors: the creation of paths, terraces and steps, as well as the placement of features to which visitors might be drawn or had to circumvent, such as the bandstand, fountains or rockeries.

Thus parks became spaces for social control where upper and middle class values could be instilled, for example, the appreciation of nature, music and the arts in the park environment as appropriate.⁶⁶ Thus Johannesburg’s early parks, and specifically Joubert Park, were likewise a response to particular social and political conditions.

Design and layout

The designs of 19th century English parks were strongly influenced by either scientific or educational needs or for stimulating land values.⁶⁷ Parks of this period often focused on especially monumental architectural and eye-catching features, usually a bandstand, pavilion, shelter and fountains. There would be some form of horticultural display, be it a patch of bedding, a rose garden, or an ‘old English garden’ planted with hardy herbaceous perennials and flowering shrubs.⁶⁸ In terms of layout, the aim was to design a place of relaxation, contemplation and varied a landscape, whilst also accommodating the often-competing demands of providing sufficient amenities for large numbers of visitors.

In this way, public parks generated an idealised, chaste, simple, nostalgic, and conservative vision of the natural world – a moral counterpoint to the perceived dangers, dirt and disorder of city life. Rosenzweig and Blackmar aptly wrote:

“These landscapes conformed to middle and upper class notions of what was visually pleasing: the contemplation of beauty and tranquillity harmoniously expressed by the hand of God in nature would, it was hoped, inspire spiritual and moral improvement.”⁶⁹

The creation of such overtly designed landscapes acted as a form of civic display,⁷⁰ demonstrating the ability of the political establishment to make the world an ordered and predictable place both in spatial and social terms.⁷¹

The most striking feature of British parks designed during the second half of the 19th century, was that they were conceived and handled as being something rather precious. Hence, they were separated from their environment by fences, hedges or avenues of trees. Access [to Johannesburg's parks](#) was gained by only a few gates. "In the midst of the untended streets, small houses, the dirt from the mines and a town strictly laid out according to a grid plan, the parks were conceived as units with a specific form, which differed markedly from that of the town lay-out. Circles, crucifers and meanders abounded in the walk-ways of the parks...."⁷²

Features

In October 1892 Joubert Park was ploughed and the next year shelter beds for trees were put in and lawns were laid out. The basic design and layout of Joubert Park mirrored the philosophy of British garden design in accordance with the most basic 'natural' geometric patterns. In a letter to the editor of the *Leader*, "Parkite" described it thus:

"The circular promenade running midway round the park divided it into an inner circle and an outer belt of trees (for shade) extending to the park's boundaries. Flower-beds and large evergreens were planted in the inner circle."⁷³

More specifically, the layout of Joubert Park contained "a mixture of grand scale and intimate elements, related to major, minor and converging axes."⁷⁴ Most formal were the broad forecourt in the north, treated as a *cour d'honneur*, consisting of a geometrically curved wrought-iron screen, with a central gateway that opened into a deep-lined park with formal lawns, edged with strongly profiled stone curbs. At the southern end a semi-circular long curved outdoor benches were placed, framed and lined with trees. The *cour d'honneur* terminated in a wrought-iron screen and gateways, with two small square gate lodges fronting Noord Street.⁷⁵

Figure 1
Plan of Joubert Park

(Source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 142nd)

The British garden design was confirmed by the predominant role played by water. In 1895, a large centrally-placed cast iron ornamental fountain (a MacFarlane product)⁷⁶ with a pond was erected whilst a rockery was given its final shape.⁷⁷ The water feature was redesigned in 1906. "One from afar", was clearly very dismayed, as he/she had high hopes that the manager of Sheba Mines would supply quartz and the manager of the Railways would freely convey the quartz to Johannesburg. "Then we should have an attractive fountain for all time."⁷⁸

Figure 2
Post card of the fountain in Joubert Park

(Source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 2006-5082nd)

This did not transpire but it was remodelled with natural boulders from the local kopjes. The council approved £160 for repairs.⁷⁹ In addition, six islets (with goldfish) were planted with bamboo, the centre island with native caladiums, and the miniature lake a selection of water lilies whilst the outside was planted with forget-me-nots.⁸⁰ The natural and soothing elements of plants (earth) and water (fountain) could therefore be enjoyed.

Due to the richness of the soil shrubs and flowers were well settled within two years. By mid-decade the park looked, to quote Clark, “as if it had been imported intact from Britain with its features reflecting elements of Empire.”⁸¹

After the Anglo-Boer War, the park was in a terrible state. The water was silted up and the borders and walks were overgrown. “... the arts of peace had suffered with others under the devastating influence of war.”⁸² However, restoration to its former splendour started shortly afterwards.

There was no shortage of seeds and plants as many donations were received from all over the country. This included hundreds of roses from Natal and even from the Royal Botanical Gardens in Kew.⁸³ Mostly, however, indigenous plants, giving it a natural flavour,⁸⁴ thousands of shrubs and even fruit trees⁸⁵, all with labels, were planted.

Restored to its original splendour, “Parkite” expressed what must have been the general satisfaction of the Johannesburgers with the design of the park:

“Now, as originally designed, we have precisely what the hot and dusty Johannesburg needs, viz., the beauty of a flower garden on the one hand and the freedom of a shady park on the other, a combination which... shows the sound judgement and perfect climate knowledge of the original designers...”⁸⁶

The Council’s role and investment to renovate and restore Joubert Park, especially between 1904 and 1906 was appreciated. The editor of the *Leader* wrote: “... we are... pleased to express our admiration of the manner in which it [the City] is treating the open spaces under its charge... the popular resort has been very greatly improved...”⁸⁷ The swift restoration is a clear signifier of how important Joubert Park was considered for the city.

The Park became a pleasure to many of Johannesburg’s white citizens. “A friend of a Garden” was convinced that “in time it will be equal to any other park in South Africa... giving the impression of a proper country park”⁸⁸, albeit in the city. In an article in *The Leader* the author praised Joubert Park as it “holds the palm” of all the parks in the city and for having “a stillness which appeals to those glad to get away for a short spell from the bustle of the town.”⁸⁹ The park was even described as a “pleasure resort”.⁹⁰

Even the more “functional” park furniture such as drinking fountains, lamp standards and benches were highly decorative and visually striking objects that created an almost theatrical setting in which particular performances of sociability could be enacted.⁹¹ In Joubert Park the Health Committee placed ‘rustic seats’ at strategic points.⁹² These features symbolised upper-class values.⁹³ Nurse Adelaide, with obvious pride, wrote:

“The park really looks a marvel of beauty now, the flowers and shrubs are smelling so sweetly and the chairs are in plenty. Nothing more is needed... Johannesburg is very blessed with wealth and the good things of life, so we feel we are not asking too much of it – only a place to sit and rest in of an evening after a day’s hard work in offices, workrooms and shops... where we could breathe the fresh pure air of heaven.”⁹⁴

Rosenzweig and Blackmar remarked that ...”the creation of such overtly designed landscapes acted as a form of civic display”⁹⁵ and Bruck added that it “... demonstrated the ability of the political and business establishment to make the world an ordered and predictable place both in spatial and social terms.”⁹⁶ Joubert Park’s layout echoed these observations.

Noteworthy in the layout was the promenade that carried an important social significance. Parks functioned as social arenas where models of good behaviour and citizenship could be observed and imitated. The foremost activity for which parks were designed was, of course, for leisurely walking, an eminently respectable activity, “to construct a personal mythos.”⁹⁷ The promenade became a theatre where decorum could be displayed in dress, behaviour and knowledge of proper etiquette which signified wealth, taste, and refinement⁹⁸ - in short, middle class respectability.

Figure 3
Picture of the main promenade in Joubert Park leading to the kiosk)
(Source: Museum Africa photo collection PH 2002-227)

They were places in which to see and be seen. This manifested in three ways. First there were the rituals of recognition to distinguish those considered to be social equals. Once this had taken place, the elite could exercise a further crucial need: “the ability to distinguish themselves from the nouveaux rich and indeed from the demi-monde.”⁹⁹ Lastly it enabled the middle classes to ape the genteel life style of the elite.¹⁰⁰

It was the City Council that drove this civilising project, providing an escape from the crowded city life and reinforcing class differences. That “escape” was Joubert Park which provided a perfect setting for all the signifiers of respectability: a promenade, well-lit park, with a conservatory, art gallery, organised entertainment, clean seats and flowerbeds. This well-ordered space encouraged the presence of neat, well-behaved men, women and children and contrasted sharply with the urban environment of the lower classes not too far removed. One can imagine an elite evening in Joubert Park when reading Sidney S Graumann’s letter to the editor of *The Star* in 1930: “Of the many thousand people attending each evening concert large numbers enjoy promenading during the performance.”¹⁰¹

Cultural structures

Middle class refinement at the turn of the century included admiration for music, nature, art, a library, a museum, facilities for horticultural displays and “civilised” sporting activities. Citizenship was, after all, intimately entwined associated-with cultural presumptions. So was respectability.¹⁰²

In many ways Joubert Park reflected these requirements. It was meant to be more than a ‘beautiful garden’¹⁰³, catering for the various lifestyles of the Johannesburg middle classes. The Park shared – in an integrated way - its landscape with a bandstand, conservatory, the art gallery and even included plans for a memorial site and amphitheatre – all to become a showcase for the city.

Thus Joubert Park was not only a visual delight but also performed an important cultural and recreational function.¹⁰⁴ Within an area of 700x400 m all their needs were met. It could boast a park (with all the middle class accoutrements), sporting grounds in Kruger Park, a

library, a hospital, a railway station and, ~~but~~ not least, the official residence of the mining commissioner, Jan Eloff on the corner of Bok and Wanderers Streets.¹⁰⁵ This space thus fitted in perfectly with a middle class city plan, accommodating their needs within this up-marked space.

The architectural style of parks was another element of the way parks were drawn into narratives of imperialism.¹⁰⁶ Layering Joubert Park with Imperial markers started in 1906 when the City Council put out a contract for a band stand¹⁰⁷, conservatory, new palm house and wrought iron entrance gates.¹⁰⁸ All these features not only provided a powerful visual impact but also asserted British presence, ~~in a powerful way.~~

Despite the fact that there was no proper band stand at first, Joubert Park nevertheless became a popular site for weekly band performances since 1898.¹⁰⁹ However, by 1905, the City Council budgeted to erect a band stand, which almost inevitably followed similar British designs,¹¹⁰ ~~and accommodat~~inged 50 players.¹¹¹ This made it possible to have regular band performances by, inter alia, the Town Police Band,¹¹² the Volunteer Band¹¹³ and British Regimental Bands.¹¹⁴

Figure 4
Post card of band stand in Joubert Park
(~~S~~source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 2006-5090)

It became practice to have band performances on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons.¹¹⁵ Although concerts also took place in Hermann-Eckstein Park, Joubert Park was still recognised as the “in-town” resort on Sunday afternoons.¹¹⁶ These park concerts were extremely popular with up to 4000 people attending per Sunday by 1923.¹¹⁷

Figure 5
Post card of the kiosk in Joubert Park
(~~S~~source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 1957-372-36)

In 1910 the City Council authorised the building of a kiosk at £ 1850.¹¹⁸ This was a welcome addition for the hungry and thirsty, especially in the summer months.¹¹⁹ ~~Electric lights were installed in 1914~~ making ~~which expanded the popularity of the~~ the Sunday evening concerts, in addition to the afternoon band performances, ~~were now~~ possible.¹²⁰ As a city space, Joubert Park thus turned out to be a visual and aural delight.

Figure 6
Post card of benches lined up next to the band stand
(~~S~~source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 1960-236-24)

These concerts performed an important educational and recreational function.¹²¹ In this way, Joubert Park was in line with Conway’s pertinent observation that “music was perceived to have an important moral influence but it also leant another element to the cultural education of the people and complemented art galleries and museums”³⁷.¹²²

The building of a conservatory in the Park was another important symbol of middle class respectability. Already in 1898 the City Council had purchased the south-west region of the Park from the nearby Wanderers sports club. However, it was only at the end of 1905 that the City Council asked for tenders for a conservatory.¹²³ ~~that~~ It was built during 1906¹²⁴ and opened on 30 January 1907.¹²⁵

Figure 7
Post card of the conservatory in Joubert Park
(Source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 1960-236-25)

Inside the large glass hot house were particularly fine collections of indigenous plants and flowers.¹²⁶ The following description tells the story of a splendid place:

“Former dry bare patches are now respondent with green and variegated flowers, and the tall white pampas grass crown the view with a halo... There can be no pleasanter spot in which to stroll after the heat of the day, and a few lights set up might convert it into a second Devonshire Park¹²⁷... The new greenhouse is the largest in the country...it is fringed all around by rockery....”¹²⁸

The aim of the new conservatory was to be instructive and educational, apropos current philanthropic thinking. Hence enamel labels were attached to all the diverse varieties of plants, bearing their botanical and common names and detailing the various countries to which the varieties belong.¹²⁹

In line with the trimmings of Empire and respectability, Joubert Park provided the setting for another essential requirement to achieve British notions of “respectability” – that being an art gallery. This impulse was linked to the wider ambition, prompted by the Milner government, to generate the reconstruction of Johannesburg, thereby asserting the superiority of British culture. The idea of the gallery was part of the wider scheme that sought to encourage a particular type of settler to Johannesburg and to consolidate the cultural infrastructure of an emerging civil society.

The thinking behind this can be linked to the typically British tradition of philanthropy. A project like the Johannesburg Art Gallery was another example where a British prototype was applied to the South African context as “part of a grand social-engineering plan.”¹³⁰ A cultural institution like an art gallery fitted in with the view that “the ‘haves’, the mining elite, must be seen to be offering something to the ‘have-nots’.”¹³¹

The driving force behind this project was Florence Phillips, wife of the mining magnate Sir Lionel Phillips. Both were leading cultural figures in Johannesburg’s upper circles and were determined “to create an urban environment in which their social and cultural comforts could be accommodated, to provide ‘the amenities of life in Europe, which are almost entirely missing here.’”¹³²

Lady Florence persuaded the mining magnates to financially support the proposed establishment of an art gallery.¹³³ On 11 October 1911 the Mayor of Johannesburg, H.J. Hofmeyer, laid the foundation stone. Four years later the classically styled, stone-built gallery, designed by the distinguished British architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens, despite being incomplete, opened its doors to the public.¹³⁴

~~However,~~ ~~the~~ selected site – the southern border of the park - was an unfortunate choice; ~~however,~~ as the Gallery faced onto the railway line. Not only were the soot and noise generated by the trains extremely unpleasant but the Gallery also faced away from the Park disassociating itself, as it were, from visitors to the Park.¹³⁵

Another trapping of Empire and respectability was a memorial, honouring ~~only~~ British soldiers ~~only~~ who fell during the Anglo-Boer War.¹³⁶ This suggestion was made by members of the English-speaking community and was in line with similar actions in Britain.¹³⁷ Subsequently the Parks and Estates Committee submitted a report to the City Council on 31 January 1906 suggesting a site for the proposed “Rand Regiment Memorial” at the north-west corner of Joubert Park. However, it was turned down.¹³⁸ ~~The~~¹³⁹ editor of *The Leader* to a certain extent threw some light on the decision. Keeping in mind that ~~the~~ Afrikaans and English relationship were for the most still tenuous, erecting such a memorial excluding the Afrikaans people who died in the Anglo-Boer War might have made matters worse.¹⁴⁰ The upshot was that the memorial was not built in Joubert Park.¹⁴¹ Chipkin aptly described it as “a typically deadpan Johannesburg response to attempts to achieve civic grandeur.”¹⁴²

A further attempt to add to Joubert Park’s list of essential buildings proceeded afoot late in 1927 and 1928 with an elaborate proposal to build an amphitheatre in Joubert Park as there were “only a few facilities for the music loving public.”¹⁴³ Once this was in place, it was ~~was~~ imagined that “open-air opera performances and concerts, amid surroundings similar to those in the great cities of Europe and America”¹⁴⁴ would become possible. Clearly it was assumed that an amphitheatre in Joubert Park could place Johannesburg on a par with world cities. The suggestion was, however, stillborn and this project was eventually turned down.¹⁴⁵

Nevertheless, a similar suggestion was again raised in March 1930 as it had become “almost essential if good music is to be presented successfully at the Sunday night concerts.”¹⁴⁶ Some condemned the scheme, mainly because the sinking of a basin for the amphitheatre would spoil the park. Sidney S Graumann rather chose “to enjoy the fresh air and picturesque surroundings in preference to being dumped down below the surface.”¹⁴⁷ Enjoying a pristine local park was apparently valued more than competing with the trappings of parks in major international cities.

Although these two attempts did not come to fruition, they are an indication of the City’s drive to further add to Joubert Park’s status as Johannesburg’s premier park and, given the upbeat prosperity of the time, ~~and even,~~ as the new kid on the block, comparing itself with world-renowned cities.

Other striking features of Joubert Park were its ~~the~~ expensive, highly decorative, eye-catching and elaborate railings, iron fences, and ornamental cast-iron gate – the latter being the Park’s only point of entrance which ensured that the Park was ~~thus~~ insulated from its environment.¹⁴⁸ Physically and mentally they enforced the transition from the busy streets to a space of calm and order.

Figure 8
Post card of the entrance to Joubert Park
(~~S~~source: Museum Africa photo collection MA 2006-5081)

The use of iron was significant as it represented the very heart of Western ideals of progress.¹⁴⁹ Iron symbolised Britain’s industrial might and its use in municipal parks was another way of legitimating an industrialised empire and the class structure that underpinned it.¹⁵⁰

Moreover, the entranceways marked socially significant spaces and functioned as symbols of civic authority and control. They provided ample restrictions, making the park inaccessible at particular times, ensured the exclusion of all “improper characters” and reminded those who entered that they should behave appropriately and respectably. A resident advised thus: “In order that the rough element might be kept out, it might be advisable to charge threepence for admission... and this would go towards defraying any small incidental expenses.”¹⁵¹ The *quid pro quo* for admission to enter the park was thus the expectation to behave in a proper manner. Concerns over access and the regulation of behaviour of especially “lower classes” and other races were given material form in the enclosures of Joubert Park.¹⁵² Consequently, the original purpose of the founders of Joubert Park, that the park should be for the entire community, was effectively negated.¹⁵³

Over the years their effectiveness and control in Joubert Park generally diminished as the city’s demography rapidly changed. “Ratepayer” wrote in 1932:

“There are many who would willingly pay one shilling for admission and enjoy the evening’s music in an atmosphere of appreciation and silence, which is now impossible on account of a bad mannered class, who, because admission is free, make it a meeting place... converse and laugh at the top of their voices with the slightest regard for what is being played or sung, or that there are others who would like to listen undisturbed.”¹⁵⁴

Popularity

Until the 1930’s Joubert Park continued to be the main park of the town¹⁵⁵ and a very popular venue for the white inhabitants of the mining town¹⁵⁶ and later of the city. By 1907 the conservatory together with the band performances, regularly attracted thousands of visitors.¹⁵⁷ On hot evenings it was often difficult to find an unoccupied bench.¹⁵⁸ The popularity of the Park was confirmed by the requests to open the Park in the summer evenings.¹⁵⁹

One citizen, praising the advantages of Johannesburg’s weather, called for the opening of Joubert Park at night. On Sunday nights they could go to the Wanderer’s Club but “on ordinary evenings there is nothing but the theatres and music halls, and an occasional concert or lecture, neither of which are properly appreciated.” The writer stated that he does not want to go to the theatre every night and that entertainment “is expensive in these days when one counts every sovereign.”¹⁶⁰ His suggestion was supported with enthusiasm by various other white correspondents.

For “A Woman Worker” opening the park in the evenings “would not only be a source of great pleasure but a good restorative to have a place in which we could enjoy the fresh air and the music of a good band for an hour or two during the long summer evenings.”¹⁶¹ “Long felt want” reminiscing about and comparing to Britain wrote: “In the great cities at Home the parks are not closed at dusk, and why should they be here?” The correspondent pointed out that in a large town in the “Old Country” a band, paid for by the municipality, played during the summer months from 7:30 pm to 10pm and “thousands avail themselves of the privilege.”¹⁶²

The closing times of Joubert Park remained a contentious issues. In 1920 “A lover of nature” complained that the Park closed at 6 pm Sunday evenings after the band’s performance: “It seems wicked to close such a beautiful park at 6 pm even in the winter, when so many people enjoy the beautiful fresh air and solitude.”¹⁶³ “PAX” requested to keep the park open until

10:30 pm throughout the year. South Africa never actually experiences winter. This explains why it is known as “sunny South Africa.”¹⁶⁴

It was not only the summer weather that enticed people to visit the park in the evenings. In 1938 there was a request to extend the closing hours of “the paradise” during the winter months to 8 pm as it was “a rendezvous continually patronised by large numbers after the evening meal, where one can roam without fear... after the toll of the day.”¹⁶⁵ The beauty of the park, layout, facilities, and entertainment and Johannesburg’s summer weather attracted people. In its first 30 years Joubert Park succeeded in providing white citizens with ample opportunities for outdoor recreation.¹⁶⁶

Conclusion

The story that emerges is one of a city that had a meteoric rise with a park creating a distinctive civic and cultural space and significantly changing the city landscape. Joubert Park was a physical symbol of the confidence and political and financial power of the city’s white elite, keen to display their cultural power. This was strongly influenced by the social and cultural values and tastes of the British middle class as reflected in the reasons for the park, its features, design and amenities. Moreover, the history of Joubert Park provides insight into how the city viewed itself and how it wanted to represent itself to outsiders. In this way the Park provides an effective cultural mirror of some of the city’s citizens of that time.

Furthermore, it is no co-incidence that much of these developments happened in the first decade of the 20th century, i.e. before Union and exactly when Milner and well-to-do anglophile Randlords were keen to impress South Africans with British power. Ultimately the park – with all its ‘trimmings’ – became another symbol of British power, civilisation and prestige. It demonstrated clearly – in a powerful visual way – that Johannesburg was part of the British Empire.

¹ Conway (1991:34-38).

² Van der Waal (1987: 82).

³ Clark (2006:35).

⁴ Van der Waal (1987:196).

⁵ Jordan (1994:85). See further discussion below on the role of Jan Eloff as a benefactor for Joubert Park.

⁶ The park, marked Joubert's Plein on a stand map of Johannesburg dated January 1889, was named after General Piet J. Joubert, Commander-in-Chief of the Transvaal military forces at the time of the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War. (Bruwer (2006:105).

⁷ Brück (2013:197) and Cremin (1999:295).

⁸ See for example, Conway (1991); Cranz (1982); Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992); Jordan (1994); Taylor (1995) and O'Reilly (2009).

⁹ The most recent academic work on Joubert Park is an anthropological study by Ingrid Marais..

¹⁰ Cremin (1999:363).

¹¹ Beavon (2004:43).

¹² Carman (2006:34).

¹³ Neame (undated:102).

¹⁴ Chipkin (1993:15).

¹⁵ Chipkin (1993:14) and Shorten (1970:645-646).

¹⁶ Van der Waal (1987:7).

¹⁷ Leyds (1964:150).

¹⁸ Shorten (1970:645). This was in sharp contrast to the needs of a city like Chicago as Cremin explains: "Even before the turn of the century, the city called for more 'parks, both large and small, and providing for a systematic study of the present and future needs of the city in the matter of parks and recreation grounds.'" (Cremin 1999:282).

¹⁹ Neame (undated:102).

²⁰ Shorten (1970:645-646).

²¹ Whilst space was set aside for squares in the town centre, land was made available for parks in the suburbs after 1890. Squares, it was decided, belonged in the business district and parks in the suburbs, where they would be used for recreation. Van der Waal (1987:82) The Transvaal government in 1903 made some amends for the omission by presenting as a free gift - the large open space which was subsequently named Milner Park.

²² Market Square extended from Rissik Street to Sauer Street, flanked by President and Market Streets and Von Brandis Square was bounded by Von Brandis, Pritchard, Jeppe and Small Streets. Government Square was bounded by Eloff Street, Rissik, Fox and Marshall Streets. It was, however, never laid out as a square. Leyds (1974:143-144). Also see Beavon (2004:43) and Maud (1938: 148).

²³ The former was a piece of vacant land specifically donated by the government as a public park to the residents of Johannesburg in 1888. Van der Waal (1987:31) and Leyds (1974:146). However, it never really materialised due to the railway station that was established and developed on a part of the site. The remaining extent of Kruger Park, however, was developed as a sports ground and became the first site for the Wanderers Club. Buff (undated:2) and Beavon (2004:50),

²⁴ Clark (2006:31). There are similar examples in the United Kingdom and United States of America Brück (2006:210).

²⁵ Johannesburg's earliest local government.

²⁶ Bruwer (2006:102).

²⁷ A similar example was the Union Ground, granted to the Town Council by the Chief Government Land Surveyor, Johan Rissik on condition that it: "should remain dedicated for the purpose of... the recreation and amusement of the inhabitants of the municipality of Johannesburg and shall at all times be held available for the use of any volunteer corps for drill, parade or any such other military uses or purposes as the Commandant of Volunteers for the time being may sanction." Neame, (undated:103). Leyds added that it was also to be used as a playground for children. Leyds (1974:146). Other areas that were set aside for recreation were End Park and Union Grounds. Soccer and cricket games were played on these grounds. Bruwer (2006:106).

²⁸ Shorten (1970:647) and Van Rensburg (c1987:177). In 1906, Joubert Park expanded with 8 morgen, 253 sq rods, 18 sq ft when the Government donated Joubert Park to the Johannesburg Municipality in terms of Crown Grant No. 268/1906. Municipal Offices, (hereafter MO), Johannesburg, Law Library (hereafter JLL), Minutes of Town Council (hereafter Minutes), 22 February 1904, 192 and MO, JLL, Minutes of a Special Meeting, 9 July, 1906, 785). Also see Bruwer (2006:107). From a site plan showing the proposed original layout and extent of the Park, the synergetic relationship between the historic development of both the Wanderers' Club and Joubert Park on the one hand, and the railway authorities' ever-increasing demand for additional land on the other hand, is obvious. The park was not extended to the south bordering the railway line. Bruwer (2006:102). This is another example of how Johannesburg had to forfeit an open space for commercial activities.

²⁹ Van der Waal (1987:14,29,55).

³⁰ Carman (2006:35-38).

³¹ The Sanitary Board replaced the Diggers' Committee in 1887.

³² Carman (2006:38).

³³ Shorten (1970:647).

³⁴ Shorten (1970:647).

³⁵ The full staff is mentioned for the first time in 1909. Joubert Park had 1 Head Gardener, 1 Botanical Assistant, 1 Assistant Gardener, 1 Improver Gardener and 13 Labourers. Buff (undated:11). Carman quotes Maud who claimed that Milner Park and the Hermann Eckstein Park were the "first significant open communal spaces" which necessitated the formation of a separate parks department and that this only happened under British rule after the war. Carman (2006:39).

³⁶ Carman (2006:50).

³⁷ They represented a specific British upper class culture. J Lambert wrote extensively on English identity in South Africa at that time. Lambert (2006:37-54) and Lambert (2009:55-76).

³⁸ Beavon (2004:79).

³⁹ Beavon (2004:118).

⁴⁰ Beavon (2004:79).

⁴¹ See similar examples in Orum and Neal (2009:179).

⁴² Malchow (1985:98-99).

⁴³ Conway (1991:34). Also see (Cranz (1982:208); Gaskell (1980:479-501); Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992:23-26 and Clark 2006:34).

⁴⁴ Jordan (1994:86).

⁴⁵ Cremin, for example, pointed out that the central focus of the design for Grant Park's future, was finding a way to unify the existing Art Institute of Chicago with the proposed Field Museum of Natural History and Crerar Library within the landscape. (Cremin (1999:244-245).

⁴⁶ Hoskins (2004:16) and Cremin (1999:256-257).

⁴⁷ Hoskins (2004:10).

⁴⁸ Clark (2006:34).

⁴⁹ Conway (1996:6-7).

⁵⁰ Van Onselen (1982)

⁵¹ University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter Wits), William Cullen Library (hereafter WCL), Historical Papers (hereafter HP), AF 1913 Johannesburg Public Library Press Cuttings (hereafter AF 1913, JPLPC), File 502, "Visitor" to Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 July 1907.

⁵² 'Nurses' in this context relates to the current term of 'carers' and not to medical nurses.

⁵³ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Article, *Leader*, 25 August 1902.

⁵⁴ In March 1932 O le Roux complained that the control in Joubert Park was being neglected, one being that the "coloured nurses are allowed to occupy seats intended for Europeans" and "if this is not checked they will only, in the course of time, take further liberties". Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, "O le Roux" to Editor, *The Star*, 23 March 1932. See also Complaint that coloured servants were using "our park" seats. "I think this difficulty could be overcome by setting a few seats aside, and labelling them as is done on the railways." (Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, CF Whichelo to Editor, *The Star*, 30 March 1932; Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, 23 March 1932. and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, Editor comments on letter by "L Rogers" *The Star*, 25 March 1932.

⁵⁵ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, "Hancock Street Daily Visitor" to Editor, *The Star*, 25 March 1932.

⁵⁶ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, "O le Roux" to Editor, *The Star*, 23 March 1932.

⁵⁷ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, "L Rogers" to Editor, *The Star*, 25 March 1932. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, "BAW" to Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1934.

⁵⁸ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, Editor comment on letter by "L Rogers" *The Star*, 25 March 1932.

⁵⁹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 452, "Flat Dweller to Editor, *The Star*, 14 January 1983.

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⁶⁰ In this context it means “lowly”.

⁶¹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 452, “Flat Dweller to the Editor, *The Star*, 4 January 1938. “South African born” had similar experiences. (See Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 452, “South African born” to the editor, *The Star*, 13 January 1938).

⁶² Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 498, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 March 1939.

⁶³ Manager of the Native Affairs Department.

⁶⁴ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 498, Article, *The Star*, 10 March 1939.

⁶⁵ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 498, Article, *The Star*, 17 February 1939. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 498, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 February 1939 and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 498, Article, *The Star*, 14 February 1939.

⁶⁶ See discussion on the facilities for these activities below.

⁶⁷ Clark (2006:38).

⁶⁸ Jordan (1994:90-91).

⁶⁹ Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992:107–108). Also see Schuyler (1986:65–66); Taylor (1995:201–221); Tarlow (2000:224); Brück (2013:201–202) and Sennett (1977). See discussion below on the plants and the fountain.

⁷⁰ Bluestone (1987:534) and Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992:144).

⁷¹ Brück (2013:203).

⁷² Van der Waal, (1987:83).

⁷³ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “Parkite” to Editor, *Leader*, 21 December 1904.

⁷⁴ Bruwer (2006:108).

⁷⁵ Bruwer (2006:108).

⁷⁶ Van der Waal (1987:83).

⁷⁷ Shorten (1970:647); Buff (undated:4) and Bruwer (2006:105). When one takes into account that it is only in the last few years that the major part of that fountain had to be abandoned it does seem that these extensive repairs were effective and the original fountain was indeed well constructed. MO, Minutes, 9 May 1906, 473.

⁷⁸ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “One from afar” to Editor, *Leader*, 20 June 1906.

⁷⁹ MO, JLL, Minutes, 9 May 1906, 473.

⁸⁰ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Report, *Leader*, 21 August 1906. The City Council even issued tender applications for the erection of a windmill and water storage tanks in 1903. Buff (undated:2)..

⁸¹ Clark (1981:19).

⁸² Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Report, *Leader*, 22 November 1902.

⁸³ Van Rensburg (c1986:177).

⁸⁴ Buff (undated:4)

⁸⁵ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, article *Leader*, 17 July 1902.

⁸⁶ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “Parkite” to Editor, *Leader*, 21 December 1904.

⁸⁷ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Editor, *Leader*, 28 May 1906.

⁸⁸ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “A friend of a Garden” to Editor, *Leader*, 5 November 1903. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “Horticulturist” to Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 August 1906.

⁸⁹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Report, *Leader*, 21/8/1906. SET 12. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “Arboriculturalist” to the Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 August 1906 and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Report, *Leader*, 21/8/1906.

⁹⁰ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, No name to the Editor, *Leader*, 10/10/1906.

⁹¹ Brück (2013:196–197).

⁹² and MO, JLL, Minutes 11 February 1903, 1352; and MO, JLL, Minutes 27 May 1903, 1713; 12 July 1905, 794 and 18 March 1908, 1003. Also see Van der Waal (1987:83).

⁹³ Malchow (1985:122–123).

⁹⁴ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “Nurse Adelaide” to Editor, *The Star*, 31 December 1906.

Joubert Park was still a splendid place fulfilling its function in the 1930’s. An article in the *Rand Daily Mail* described it thus: “Trim lawns, carpet beds, choice taste in flower colour schemes, tall and shade offering trees, tropical growths and wide, clean paths make the Park a haven in a city of money-makers.” (Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 452, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 January 1930. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, “Rand Pioneer” to Editor, *The Star*, 23 January 1932; Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, “RG” to Editor, *The Star*, 22 April 1933 and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, “Flower Lover” to Editor, *The Star*, 25 September 1934.

⁹⁵ Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992:144).

⁹⁶ Brück (2013:203).

⁹⁷ Brill (2001:6).

⁹⁸ Scobey (1992:203–227) and Brück (2013:209).

⁹⁹ Brück (2013:209). Also see Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992:214–218).

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- ¹⁰⁰ Malchow (1982:100).
- ¹⁰¹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 404, Sidney S Graumann to the editor, *The Star*, 6 March 1930. Also see Hoskins (2003:17).
- ¹⁰² Hoskins (2003:8).
- ¹⁰³ Cremin described the multiple use of Grant Park. (Cremin (1999:332).
- ¹⁰⁴ Van der Waal (1987:83).
- ¹⁰⁵ Van der Waal (1987:29).
- ¹⁰⁶ Brück (2013:216) and Conway (1991:127).
- ¹⁰⁷ It was also called a “music pavilion”.
- ¹⁰⁸ Buff (undated:4)..
- ¹⁰⁹ Shorten (1970:648). Sunday afternoon promenade concerts were also given at the Wanderers Club.
- ¹¹⁰ Buff (undated:3) and MO, JLL, Minutes, 9 May 1906: 474.
- ¹¹¹ Buff (undated:3).
- ¹¹² MO, JLL, Minutes, 8 September 1909, 564 and MO, JLL, Minutes, 1 December 1910, 160.
- ¹¹³ MO, JLL, Minutes, 9 May, 1906, 474; MO, JLL, Minutes, 3 October 1906, 1047 and MO, JLL, Minutes, 7 July 1907, 375.
- ¹¹⁴ Norwich (1986:76)
- ¹¹⁵ Band performances were by 1909 also given in Joubert Park, Jeppe park, Rotunda Park, Market Square, Fordsburg Market Square, Milner park, Belgravia Park, Vrededorp Government Ground and the swimming baths. (Buff (undated:12,14).
- ¹¹⁶ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, article *Leader*, 8 January 1907.
- ¹¹⁷ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 429, C.H. Brooks to the Editor, *The Star*, 9 October, 1923. In 1922 the City Council spent £500 on performances in Joubert Park. This was only a loan from the Finance Committee as these concerts always paid for themselves. (Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 429, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 September, 1922.
- ¹¹⁸ MO, JLL, Minutes 31 March 1910, 1087.
- ¹¹⁹ Norwich (c1986:76).
- ¹²⁰ MO, JLL, Minutes 9 May, 1906, 474; MO, JLL, Minutes 10 March 1914; MO, JLL, Minutes 24 September 1914, 515; MO, JLL, Minutes 24 November 1914, 590 and MO, JLL, Minutes 30 March 1915, 150 and 151. The average revenue for each concert was £40 while the average expenditure £45 . A charge of 3 pence per seat being made for visitors to the Park. (Buff (undated:16,20) and MO, JLL, Minutes 20 September 1921, 619..
- ¹²¹ Bruwer (2006:105). In 1921 the bands of the South African Industrial Federation and the Comrades of the Great War performed on Sunday evenings at 30 pounds per concert. (Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 429, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 March, 1921.
- ¹²² Conway as quoted in O’Reilly (undated:11).
- ¹²³ MO, JLL, Minutes 22/11/1905 p. 1298.
- ¹²⁴ MO, JLL, Minutes 28 February, 1906, 228; MO, JLL, Minutes 2 August 1906, 868 and MO, JLL, Minutes 24 October 1906, 1099.
- ¹²⁵ MO, JLL, Minutes 30 January 1907, 15.
- ¹²⁶ Van der Waal (1987:83), Norwich (1986:75).
- ¹²⁷ The Devonshire Park was a central feature in the original plans for Eastbourne and opened its gates to the public on July 1, 1874. The construction of the Winter Garden started the following year and progressed with the creation of the Devonshire Park Theatre in 1884. A guide dated 1893 describes a music garden with facilities for cricket, tennis, racquets and roller skating. The first major tennis championships were held here in 1881.
- ¹²⁸ Bruwer (2006:106).
- ¹²⁹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 447, “Ratepayer” to Editor, *The Star*, 26 November 1918.
- ¹³⁰ Carman (2006:55).
- ¹³¹ Carman (2006:56).
- ¹³² Carman (2006:55).
- ¹³³ MO, JLL, Minutes, 3 August, 1910, 1376.
- ¹³⁴ The gallery was not expanded until 1986. Clarke (1981:52).
- ¹³⁵ Van Der Waal (1987:115). Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp, however, have shown that Lutyens intended to cover the railway line to link up the 20 acre Joubert Park with Union Ground so that a formal garden could be laid out around the Gallery. Bruwer (2006:107).
- ¹³⁶ Research on the history and meaning of monuments and memorials in the British Empire is vast. See for example, Moriaty, (1997:125-142, Sokołowska-Paryz (2012) and Lambert (2014: 677-698). In 2002, the Rand Regiments Memorial was rededicated, recognising the men, women and children of all races and nations that lost their lives in the South African War.
- ¹³⁷MO, JLL, Minutes, 17 January 1906, 62-63, 75-76.

¹³⁸ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Report, *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February 1906 and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Report, *Leader*, 13 January 1906.

¹³⁹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, Editor, *Leader*, 1 February 1906.

¹⁴¹ The memorial, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, was eventually erected in the Hermann Eckstein Park. A commemorative stone was laid by the Duke of Connaught on 30 November 1910

¹⁴² Chipkin (1993:41).

¹⁴³ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 320, Article, *The Star*, 18 November 1927 and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 320, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 November 1927. This was, of course, not true. By that time, there were numerous concert venues.

¹⁴⁴ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 320, Article, *The Star*, 18 November 1927.

¹⁴⁵ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 320, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 May 1928 and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 320, Article, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October 1928. £ 50 was earlier voted for the preparation of working drawings and estimates of the total cost drawn up. These amounted to £7500 .

¹⁴⁶ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 404, Article, *Rand Daily Mail* .14 March 1930. The proposal was again raised in 1933 at a preliminary sum of £10 000 . (Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, Article, *The Star*, 30 June 1933.

¹⁴⁷ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 404, Sidney S. Graumann to the editor, *The Star*, 6 March 1930.

¹⁴⁸ Bruwer (2006:107) and MO, JLL, Minutes 17 January 1906, 20-22.

¹⁴⁹ Cossons and Trinder (1979).

¹⁵⁰ Brück (2013:206).

¹⁵¹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, No name to the Editor, *Leader*, 10 October 1906. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, "EXE WYE" to Editor, *Leader*, 15 October 1906.

¹⁵² Brück (2013:200).

¹⁵³ This was not something strange to Joubert Park. The same happened in many British parks. See Brück (2013: 200).

¹⁵⁴ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 404, "Ratepayer" to Editor, *The Star*, 16 December 1932.

¹⁵⁵ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, "Observer" to the Editor, *Leader*, 27 December 1904.

¹⁵⁶ Bruwer (2006:105).

¹⁵⁷ Buff (undated:6,10).

¹⁵⁸ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 302, P.A. Bankes to Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October 1928.

¹⁵⁹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, "EXE WYE" to Editor, *Leader*, 15 October 1906.

¹⁶⁰ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, No name to the Editor, *Leader*, 10 October 1906. "EXE WYE" concurred: "Johannesburg is badly in need of places of entertainment and recreation other than the theatres in the evenings... and there is the matter of expense, which, except in the case of those favourably circumstanced, effectually debar frequent visits... the theatre as a means of entertainment enters into the lives of but few of our townspeople, the majority either do not care for it or cannot spare the money..." Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, "EXE WYE" to Editor, *Leader*, 15 October 1906.

¹⁶¹ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, "A WOMAN WORKER" to Editor, *Leader*, 13 October 1906.

¹⁶² Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 502, "LONG FELT WANT" to Editor, *Leader*, 11 October 1906.

¹⁶³ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 320, "A LOVER OF NATURE" to Editor, *The Star*, 26 April 1920.

Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 302, F.S. Overton to Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October 1928. and Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 302, P.A. Bankes to Editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October 1928.

¹⁶⁴ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 294, "PAX" to Editor, *The Star*, 23 June 1932. Also see Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 404, "Out-of-work" to the Editor, *The Star*, 20 January 1932.

¹⁶⁵ Wits, WCL, HP, AF 1913, JPLPC, File 452, "Op maak AUB" to the Editor, *The Star*, 29 April 1938.

¹⁶⁶ Maud (1938:150).

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