

URBAN HISTORY IN SOUTH AFRICA

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In this paper, I wish to do two fairly straightforward tasks: first, to acknowledge the development of urban history in South Africa thus far and, particularly, pay tribute to its efflorescence in the final quarter of the twentieth century and second, in developing a critical take towards its limitations, to make a few suggestions on where to take urban history in a post-apartheid dispensation. I suppose a straightforward if simplistic definition of urban history would focus on the definition of urban by size of population, the history of places with more than a certain density of population or a paradigmatic divorce from agricultural activity in the surrounds. This would in particular define urban juxtaposed to rural history well enough perhaps as a locale but it does not explain why urban history is interesting, why it is a category that attracts scholars and raises questions that interest historians.

Personally I have a particular interest in economic phenomena or, better put, in political economy. Cities are to be associated with economic change, with the Industrial Revolution and its further manifestations and later reconstructions. The specificity of place is very significant in my work, by contrast with economic historians who believe simply in the application of universalising macro and micro- economic propositions to the data of the past. I would argue that the urban factor has been a very important phenomenon in the history of economic development in particular and that economic history and economic geography are two subjects that should be in constant communication with each other in this amongst other connections.

The real development of urban history in South Africa mostly has taken place since 1970, more or less consonant with my own professional career. If we examine the work of the classic historians of South Africa working before that time, whether English language historians such as Macmillan and de Kiewiet or Afrikaners writing in English such as J. S. Marais or Afrikaans historians such as P.J. van der Merwe, while we can certainly find

insights into urban life and a comprehension of the revolutionary impact of urbanisation, the urban per se was not the main concern of any of these scholars in their more specialised or monographic work. All of them grew up at a time when the population was still very largely rural, of course. In Christopher Saunders' *The Making of the South African Past*, for instance, neither "urban" nor "cities" nor any of our principal cities appears in the index.¹ P.J. van der Merwe's work is in some parts a deep investigation of social and cultural themes in the localised history of Namaqualand, a very rural area indeed; there is surely no urban equivalent amongst his contemporaries.² I imagine for this generation (or perhaps we could speak of two generations) of scholars writing through the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, the city was not the Past but the Future, the South Africa in the making juxtaposed with deeper and older historical forces.

If we try to pick the defining work in urban history for South Africa, it is not difficult to choose to turn to two writers who were in fact friends: David Welsh and Maynard Swanson. Welsh's chapter in the second volume of the *Oxford History of South Africa* was a real turning point when it appeared in 1971.³ Having previously pinpointed the Shepstone system and its articulated and partially invented tribalism devised in Natal as a touchstone for the development of racial segregation in South Africa, he now focussed on the city as the principal modern stage setting for twentieth century segregation. The context was the emergence of modern mass politics and concomitant white racism on the one hand and the economic forces drawing Africans and other people of colour to the urban milieu and Welch's conclusion about the impact of the city is essentially contradictory as a result. Swanson's Harvard Ph.D on Durban focussed on Indians to a large extent as well as aspects of white politics and had perhaps unfortunately less influence. However, his article on the "sanitation syndrome" has had very wide currency. It was chosen by Saul Dubow and William Beinart as one of only two articles by

¹ Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past; Major Historians on Race and Class*, David Philip, Cape Town, 1988. Ken Smith's *The Changing Past; Trends in South African Historical Writing*, Southern Book Publishers, 1988, starts to consider urban themes about half way through his narrative; it does not constitute a major interest for him.

² P.J. van der Merwe, *Die Noordwartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek 1770-1842*, Van Stockum, The Hague, 1937.

³ David Welch, "The Growth of Towns" in Monica Wilson & Leonard Thompson, *Oxford History of South Africa II*, London & New York, 1971.

foreigners to be included among classic studies of segregation and apartheid and it has had a particularly attentive audience among historians of other parts of Africa where obvious parallels can very readily be found and have been written about repeatedly.⁴

If one had to give a third pioneer's name, it would of course be Charles van Onselen. Whereas van Onselen's first book looked at the not very urban mine camps of early colonial Southern Rhodesia and took a close look at the conditions of labour as lying at the heart of an emerging racial system, he followed this up with a series of very fertile essays on Johannesburg before World War I.⁵ In his collection, there is little grand theory beyond the sense of a very cruel and crude mining capital evoking anguished social forces. For approximately a generation or somewhat more, the forces of order struggle to push these movements from below into line.. Van Onselen gives us memorable portraits of men and women, generally not especially politically articulate, caught up in the early phases of this process—Africans, Jews, Afrikaners and others. He explores migration, criminality, rape and crime scares, sections of the economy such as domestic labour and transport in these classic essays and reveals many mundane and economic structural features of life in the early City of Gold, usually more or less as background. Some of his themes are about the forging of racial values and perspectives--but not all.

With Welsh, Swanson and van Onselen in hand, I would like to suggest that an emerging generation of historians were in consequence influenced to see the urban setting in South Africa as the classic site in which to investigate both the emergence and refinement of a racial order and equally, as the site to explore resistance on the part of the victims, the oppressed. In recent years, we have been powerfully influenced by Mahmood Mamdani's *Citizen and Subject*, which sees the Shepstone system (following Welsh in this regard) and the idea of a bifurcated sovereignty as essential to the manufacture of later South African society and indeed colonial societies more generally. But in fact the expanding South African cities were very difficult to fit into this kind of structure, however

⁴ Maynard W. Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Native Urban Policy in the Cape Colony 1900-09" in Beinart & Dubow, eds., *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa*, Routledge, London, 1995.

⁵ Charles van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh; Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, Longmans, London, 1982.

desirable to authorities. Again and again, their regulation imposed problems both to the believers in trusteeship like Smuts or those who thought like Creswell or Hertzog or Stallard that a truly racially separate society could be structured in the city as it was increasingly on the land. Urban racial policies were distinctive and pivotal in policy and in practice, as Ivan Evans demonstrates.⁶ Nor were their contradictions resolved after World War I with regard to the growing African population. Clearly there was a substantial urban crisis in the World War II with a certain resolution for a time under apartheid and with the Group Areas Act. However, for a variety of reasons, this is only an order than holds for another generation at best.

The history that flourished in South Africa from the 1970s through the 1990s did not only stem from the availability of particular intellectually fertile texts such as those of Welsh, Swanson and van Onselen.. It was deeply engaged with a growing resistance to apartheid and this was undoubtedly the key element in the urban history that was spun throughout the period. Moreover, it benefited from the work of South Africans who had emigrated or gone into exile, foreigners who came to live in South Africa and others who operated entirely from other institutional structures. Let me try to bring out some of the highlights in covering this dimension. A notable feature is the extent to which urban history drew in academics in other disciplines, geographers especially but also anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists and scholars on the cultural side of the humanities. The depth and richness of this history is really quite impressive and reminding ourselves even cursorily of its strengths would take some pages.

The Eastern Cape and Natal have been an important subject for urban history writers. From the point of view of chronology, two black American women, Keletso Atkins and Joyce Kirk stand out with their studies of early black life and the emerging racial systems in nineteenth century Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth respectively.⁷ Port Elizabeth benefits as well from the studies of several writers including two full-length books by

⁶ Ivan Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race; Native Administration in South Africa*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997.

⁷ Keletso Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give Us our Money*, James Currey & Heinemann, Oxford & Portsmouth NH, 1995; Joyce Kirk, *Making a Voice; African Resistance to Segregation in South Africa*, Westview, Boulder, 2000.

Gary Baines, a historian and Jennifer Robinson, a geographer.⁸ It is the Port Elizabeth geographer A.J. Christopher who has provided the largest number of standard spatial studies we can all use to map out the racial order in various chronological, demographic and institutional contexts. Even East London, in fact, has been a significant source of historical study. There is an excellent Ph.D on this small city by Gary Minkley, essays by Beinart & Bundy and more or less historically informed work by other social scientists⁹ that open up an understanding of its development. Focussing on a slightly later period than Atkins but more or less contemporary with Kirk, Vivian Bickford-Smith has produced a very sharply etched study of the gradual emergence of a racial dividing line in nineteenth century Cape Town with race itself integrated into a general picture of class and economy in this period.¹⁰

In Durban, my own work can rest on a good range of social history, much of it inspired by Paul Maylam when he was a lecturer in the University of Natal, Durban History Department. Maylam, together with Iain Edwards, edited *The People's City*, an excellent guide to social history and African life in Durban. Edwards wrote an impressive and very original thesis on Mkhumbane, Cato Manor, the famous out of control zone on the Durban periphery where several major political confrontations took place between the 1940s and 1960s including the famous "race riots" of 1949.¹¹ A number of other, less ambitious works at Masters level carried further these themes, such as Louise Torr's study of Lamontville, an early family township or Joe Kelly's Masters thesis on the debate between those who believed in tied housing for black workers and laissez faire

⁸ Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid; State Power and Space in South African Cities*, Butterworth Heinemann, London, 1996. For Baines' more available, see for instance, "The Origins of Urban Segregation:", *South African Historical Journal*, XXI, 1990, which in fact considers some smaller eastern Cape towns.

⁹ See Gary Minkley, "Border Dialogues; Race, Class and Space in the Industrialization of East London, c.1902-63", Ph.D, University of Cape Town, 1994; and [hidden?] in William Beinart & Colin Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

¹⁰ Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.

¹¹ Bill Freund, "City Hall and the Direction of Development" in Freund & Vishnu Padayachee, eds., *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal Press, 2002; Paul Maylam & Iain Edwards, *The People's City; African Life in Twentieth Century Durban*, University of Natal Press, 1995; Iain Edwards, "Mkhumbane, African Shantytown Society in Cato Manor Farm 1946-60", Ph.D, University of Natal, Durban, 1989.

ideologues.¹² Another historically minded geographer, Brij Maharaj has written numerous articles on the fate of Durban Indians in the context of the Group Areas Act and other segregatory legislation.¹³

Cape Town has hardly been neglected. Cape Town labour history and urban history relevant to its political struggles were a notable feature of the work of the History and Economic History Departments of the University of Cape Town during this era. The periodic English visitor Robin Hallett and Christopher Saunders carried on from the relatively limited work of Swanson—the sanitation syndrome being in fact a study of Cape Town rather than Durban, with a particular interest in African community formation in Cape Town. A convenient way of surveying the range of urban history focussed on the oldest of South African cities lies in a look at the new and splendid two volume history of the city edited by Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden.¹⁴ In my view, the first volume succeeds in integrating a large and catholic range of themes brilliantly where the second, based on the twentieth century, is largely centred on race, segregation and apartheid with other aspects taking on a more fragmented kind of life.

The core metropolitan area of Johannesburg, far from being neglected, has undoubtedly attracted the richest range of scholarship of all. Apart from van Onselen, perhaps the most important figure to be mentioned in this regard is Phil Bonner, whose numerous shorter contributions over many years, as well as his efforts in museum and film work, cover in particular a wide range of aspects of African life in Johannesburg. Students of Bonner, such as Clive Glaser and Hilary Sapire, extended this work further. Bonner's interests have included gender, ethnicity, migration, deviant behaviour and cultural expression generally. They have shown great sensitivity to particular sections of Johannesburg, a city where, until the creation of Soweto, the black population lived scattered between

¹² See Torr amongst others in Maylam & Edwards; Joseph Kelly, "Durban's Industrialization and the Life and Labour of Black Workers 1920-50", M.A. University of Natal, Durban, 1989. Maylam also wrote a number of interesting articles on urban life and race culminating in "Explaining the Apartheid City; Twenty Years of South African Historiography", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXI, 1995.

¹³ See Maharaj in Freund & Padayachee or in David Smith, ed., *The Apartheid City and Beyond*, Routledge, London, 1992.

¹⁴ *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, David Philip, 1999, is the second volume.

physically different localities. The Johannesburg centred work of the History Workshop has been captured in the popularising accounts of Luli Callinicos and historically informed scholarship has been central to a sociologist such as Belinda Bozzoli in her writing on Alexandra and a geographer such as Sue Parnell writing on Soweto as well on slums removal and other urban themes. Wits former Politics professor Alf Stadler's two studies based on the plight of poor blacks in Johannesburg in the 1940s, on squatters—"Birds in the Cornfield"--and on the bus boycotts, are frequently reproduced; they show how a political scientist was drawn like a magnet to urban history in order to understand the making of apartheid and the urban conflicts relevant to it. The great and intensely politicised interest in labour history, given the locale of most secondary industry and most strong trade unionism, spilt over into a resistance-based urban history.¹⁵ At the same time, important contributions were made by many post-graduate students who have not survived, or chosen to survive, as historians. Much of this work came together as a result of the collective efforts of the History Workshop. The Workshop was based at the University of the Witwatersrand and profited intellectually in some respects from the depth of interest in Johannesburg in particular and the Witwatersrand more generally; the richness of the weave coming out of investigating some themes in this essentially urban region is really as a result unequalled in the literature on urban South Africa generally.

Among those not associated with professional history writing but part of the Workshop scene as a student, I note the journalist Eddie Koch, because his interest in the cultural production of the black townships of the Rand, was so striking.¹⁶ Koch described marabi music and marabi culture juxtaposed with the slumyards of inter-war Johannesburg. This was a touchstone for a whole range of writing that assumes the cultural fertility of the township, the slumyard, even perhaps the squatter camp, in the sphere of music,

¹⁵ Luli Callinicos, *A Place in the City; The Rand On the Eve of Apartheid*, Ravan, Longmans, Maskew Miller, Johannesburg, London & Cape Town, 1993; Belinda Bozzoli, ed., *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983; Philip Bonner et al, *Apartheid's Genesis 1935-62*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1993; Philip Bonner (inter alia) "The Transvaal Native Congress 1917-20: The Radicalisation of the African Petty Bourgeoisie on the Rand" in Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido, eds., *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa*, Longhams, London, 1982 or "African Urbanisation on the Rand in the 1950s and 1960s: Its Social Character and Political Consequences" in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, XXI, 1, 1995;

¹⁶ Eddie Koch, "Without Visible Means of Subsistence: Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg" in Belinda Bozzoli, ed., *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal*, op.cit.

extendable to literature (the *Drum* school) and even art at least if we consider the work of Gerard Sekoto, (probably a more “urban” painter than any this country had produced previous to his appearance on the scene).

It may be remembered that William Beinart, Tim Keegan and Colin Bundy, amongst others, were concerned at the same time as urban history was at its most popular to etch out what they were calling in the 1980s agrarian history.¹⁷ I suppose this is a trend that culminated in van Onselen’s wonderful study *The Seed is Mine*. But surely this was almost a reaction against the overwhelmingly urban character of so much of the “social” history of the 1970s and after, the need to take rural conflict, rural struggles and rural segregation seriously.

If History Workshop represents the apex of late twentieth century urban history writing in South Africa, it is probably fair to state, however, that there are some obvious lacunae as well. Those cities that were in the purview of the main centres of liberal thought—which harboured radical intellectual activity in consequence—the University of Cape Town, Wits, Natal and Rhodes—were much the best served by this literature. Pretoria and Bloemfontein have been relatively neglected and there are relatively few compelling studies—as opposed to dutifully laid out institutional narratives—of small urban communities. Geoffrey Butler’s studies of his hometown of Cradock are relatively unusual and still do not exist so far as I know in book form. Lance van Sittert’s remarkable Ph.D on St. Helena Bay takes on a community that is probably best described as only semi-urban—and also remains unpublished.¹⁸

I would like to suggest, however, that the real limitation of this material lies not in its lack of completeness but in the extent to which it was determined by and perhaps sat too

¹⁷ See *Putting a Plough to the Ground*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1986.

¹⁸ For Butler, see “Housing in a Karoo Dorp”, *South African Historical Journal*, XVII, 1985 as an example. Van Sittert: “Labour, Capital and the State in the St. Helena Bay Fisheries c.1856-c.1956”, University of Cape Town, Ph.D, 1992.

closely in harmony with the politics of the day. This is the main reason why the apotheosis of this literature could be said to fall during the period 1985-90 and why it has rather rapidly given way to growing historical neglect. We understand a lot about the way the state ordered the city as best it could in terms of black urbanisation and the need to deal with racial “mixing”. We also know a lot, although no doubt we could learn a lot more, about the politics and culture of resistance on the part of black urbanites. But can we really wrap up everything black urbanities did in the cloth of “resistance”? Is this true to the times and the consciousness of the subjects of the historians concerned? To understand the city, do we not need to know about other aspects of society and other kinds of meanings than the ones created by racial identity and racial conflict? What shall we make, for instance, of the observed studies of Mia Brandel-Syrier which focus on elite formation and social stratification within the township.¹⁹ How does this in fact jibe with the changing political consciousness of township dwellers?

Fifteen years ago this was perhaps a question that would have been ignored or dismissed in terms of the pressing needs of the day, History was legitimately in many eyes the handmaiden of the Struggle. But what happens as we move towards 1994 and beyond, into the start of another millennium? It is not really viable to carry on with a history that focusses on policies that are now dead and buried, and which culminates in a struggle that, at least politically, is now over, as though it was still directly and immediately relevant. Nor, simply to go over this exact same ground but with a cultural comb rather than an economic or political one, is going to take us very far. In the remainder of this paper, I would like to suggest where urban history might potentially go in our new era. It is an aspect of what I would call the need for a new configuration that can take the study of South African history forward.

Probably the obvious point to start is to take up the present problems of the South African city and the discourses relating to those problems in policy circles. The decline of the city centre, the relationship of the private sector to the public sector, the arguments in favour of urban densification (with planner David Dewar of the University of Cape Town really

¹⁹ *Reeftown Elite*; RKP, London, 1971.

being the key intellectual figure in this story), the city and the changing nature of global capitalism, urban environmental issues, these are all important touchstones which could cause us to go back to the drawing boards and rediscover historical problems and themes. Obviously race would not disappear nor would apartheid but they would be differently configured.

Policy issues might also point us in the direction of situating South African urban history within a comparative context. I am trying at the moment to create an urban history of Africa in which South Africa represents only one particular and by no means unique experience. Teresa Caldeira's *City of Walls*, looks at the changing forms of urban life in São Paulo in a way that brings shocks of recognition to a South African reader and shows that changes going on now in urban structure respond to trends in international capitalism as much as to particular local histories.²⁰

Apartheid and urban politics were intertwined issues. However, there is much South African urban politics, which cannot be reduced to racial segregation issues. In Durban we have the example of UCLA political science Ph.D written in the 1960s by John Purcell who looked systematically at the historical politics of Durban, considering for instance the relationship between City Hall and the Council.²¹ Purcell certainly has influenced my attempt to establish a structured chronology of Durban history. "White politics" becomes not just interesting but very salient when examined with regard to the needs of various kinds of interest groups, our current politicians are not inhabiting a different universe. Purcell's book ends with the victory of the bureaucracy but the ascendancy of the ANC has meant, at least for Durban, a kind of re-politicisation and return of interest group politics in recent years. If British urban history is largely influenced by social history broadly seen²², US urban history has a strong political element to it and there are excellent monographs on all the larger American cities with many outstanding monographs on New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. In trying to

²⁰ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001.

²¹ J.H.F. Purcell, "Durban, South Africa; Local Politics in a Plural Society", Ph.D, University of California at Los Angeles, 1974.

²² For instance, see the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* in three volumes.

understand the significance of urban elites and urban growth coalitions, I have tapped into this very rich literature.²³ Of course, many American universities offer multi-disciplinary and intellectually committed programmes in Urban Studies, something entirely lacking in South Africa;

In the setting of Stellenbosch University, it may be interesting to consider what one might accomplish with urban history focussing on Afrikaners, a subject which did engage Charles van Onselen for one. A work which impressed me at one time in trying to understand Johannesburg was E.L.P. Stals' *Afrikaners in die Goudstad*.²⁴ Apart from being informative, this is a study which effectively emphasized ethnicity as opposed to racial structuration and conflict. How did Afrikaners establish themselves in the city? How did they inter-relate with others? What was the essence of their key institutions and what was the nature of conflicts and tensions that appeared over time? These are also salient questions (and ones that could be applied to other groupings).

I have been struck recently by reading Elsa Joubert's important and very original novel, *Die reise van Isobelle*, written in 1995 but translated into English in 2002.²⁵ This epic novel is not without weaknesses but it has been unjustly neglected by English language readers although available in translation and despite it being clearly one of the better recent South African works of fiction. In this novel, Joubert tells Afrikaner history in the form of a long family-based epic from the point of view of its omnipresent hidden element: the women. It is really like looking at the world turned inside out. The strident and potent men who make the decisions are put on the backstage; the women, largely frustrated and unable to develop their talent, are made the centre of attention. Yet all of the women in fact achieve some element of control over space, although hardly a real emancipation, through residence in urban South Africa. The novel begins in Pretoria, uses mid-century Johannesburg as an important venue and constantly brings us back to Cape Town. What did the city mean for Afrikaner women? I am not thinking here only of

²³ Shannon Moffett & Bill Freund, "Elite Formation and Elite Bonding: Social Structure and Development in Durban", *Urban Forum*, forthcoming.

²⁴ Two volumes, Cape Town, 1978.

²⁵ Elsa Joubert, *Isobelle's Journey*, Jonathan Ball & Tafelberg, Johannesburg & Cape Town, 2002.

the well-known story of the garment workers *pace* the work of Joubert's daughter, Elsabe Brink, amongst others, but the need to examine different kinds of neighbourhoods, different classes, different experiences. A prosaic question: what proportion of Afrikaners married non-Afrikaners in cities? Are even these factual matters known to historians?

Cities can be harshly divisive settings. I don't wish to quarrel with Welsh and others who have stressed the urban context in looking at the origins of segregation and apartheid.²⁶ This is undoubtedly a major theme whose exploration has reaped rich rewards. But cities were also places where people came together. Welsh himself tells us that cities drew South Africans closer in "values, ideas and customs".²⁷ I would posit that there is some common South Africanness that emerged as a result. In the cities, men became excited about sport and gambled on horses. The city is indissoluble from the diffusion of modern media. The whole population was transfixed by the cinema, even if shown in segregated contexts and only available to Africans to a limited extent. Newspapers are quintessentially urban creations. Isn't it in the city that black people created *flytaal* with all its Afrikaans and English borrowings? South African argot which straddles different languages must be in good part an urban creation. Isn't jazz an urban art form which holds quite deep meaning to many South Africans of different cultural origins? It is no doubt in certain kinds of urban spaces, despite segregation, that common experiences (inclusive of conflict), helped to shape consciousnesses.²⁸ And of course cities inevitably demanded new forms of organisation, new ways that people shaped communities. I think we could perhaps put more emphasis on thinking about a kind of citizen-consciousness shaped by urbanness, even in its twisted and fragmented form which was all the system allowed, that transgressed the racial and cultural boundaries posited by authority. This is a way of informing historical research that transcends the apartheid era.

²⁶ Perhaps we should start here at the chronological beginning: Alan Mabin, "Labour, Capital, Class Struggle and the Origins of Residential Segregation at Kimberley 1880-1920", *Journal of Historical Geography*, XII, 1986. For the emphasis on urban segregation as a causative factor more generally see Swanson, "The Urban Origins of Segregation", *Race*, X, 1968 or T.R.H. Davenport, "The Triumph of Colonel Stallard", *South African Historical Journal*, II, 1970.

²⁷ Welsh, 242.

²⁸ I have argued for this with regard to Indian South Africans in *Insiders and Outsiders*. Of course, it would be wrong not to look for important if different sources of interaction in the countryside.

In conclusion, urban history should not be allowed to die with the end of apartheid. But it needs reconfiguration to bear fresh meaning into new times. Economic history, cultural history and other areas for investigation can continue to find renewal through looking at this country through an urban prism.