

Housing in late 19th and early 20th century Port Elizabeth

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In all urbanising and industrialising societies housing, next to job opportunities, health facilities and education, has always been one of the most pressing socio-economic issues. Port Elizabeth, like all the other South African urban centres, has been no exception to this.

In spite of the by now established shift in South African historiography towards socio-economic perspectives one doesn't very readily find satisfactory discussions of the housing problem. This is also conspicuous in the historiography of Port Elizabeth. In spite of quite substantial research on the history of segregation by A J Christopher, M W Swanson and Gary Baines,¹ municipal development until the 1860s by Philip Swart,² general urban conditions during the Anglo-Boer War by Annette Joubert³ and the early 20th century urbanisation of the Afrikaners by Otto Terblanche,⁴ the housing issue remains very much a historiographical Cinderella, at least until the First World War.

The aim of this article is a modest attempt to fill a part of this gap. Housing was only a part of a more comprehensive and exploratory project on some themes in the social history of Port Elizabeth during 1870-1914.⁵ My noted evidence is rather fragmentary, and thus the argument does not pretend to be exhaustive and conclusive. We still need on the history of Port Elizabeth an equivalent of H J Dyos's Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell (Leicester Univ. Press, 1966) and of part II of Gareth Stedman Jones's

Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society (Penguin Books, 1984). In both these the process of the provision of housing is discussed and analysed in detail.

The geographical area of study has been conceptualised as the magisterial district during 1870-1914, which includes not only the steadily expanding urban area but also such peri-urban working-class settlements as Bethelsdorp (including Kleinskool, Veeplaas and Missionvale), Korsten, Dassiékraal and New Brighton. With regard to the problem of periodisation, which I have discussed elsewhere,⁶ suffice it to say that the period 1870-1914 was initially regarded as an early industrial phase in the history of Port Elizabeth. I do think, however, that the argument about the periodisation of the history of this area is still wide open.

For the purposes of this article the housing issue was conceptualised rather narrowly. Obviously a reasonably complete and conclusive discussion would include the following related issues: demographic trends; urban planning; health, sanitation and water facilities; poverty; labour; and contemporary European perceptions of the problem. Furthermore, the history of housing could also illustrate the process of social transformation generated by the intrusion of European concepts and techniques into traditional societies. But all this would need a fully-fledged dissertation. Accordingly, this article will address the following

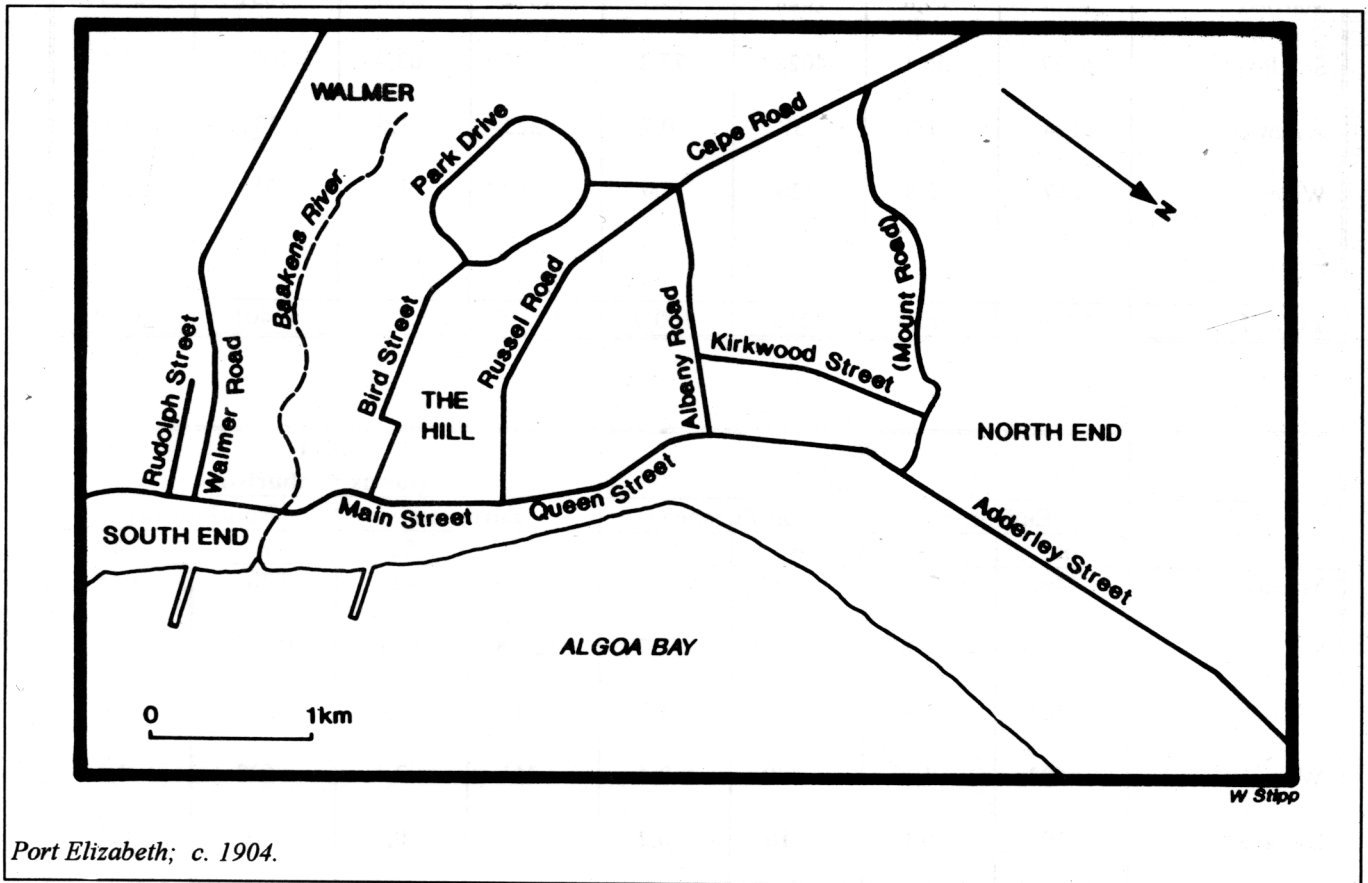
Table 1

POPULATION OF PORT ELIZABETH, 1875-1911

	European	African	Coloured	Malay	Total
1875	8921	1915	2217	638	13691
1891	13538	4131	5565	892	24126
1904	23239	10064	10496	1086	44885
1911	20185	8490	14134	-	42809

issues quite briefly : some demographic trends, a statistical review of housing conditions, the transformation of African housing, a few examples of specific conditions, and the response of the town council. Until more detailed demographic research findings become available, it can be assumed that the increasing population of our study area between 1875 and 1904 (table 1)⁷ had two sources : the general multiplier effect of the beginning of mining in the interior, and natural

extent they were migrant labourers or permanent residents. But it is also important to note that marriages became increasingly popular. These statistics are not exceptional : on the Witwatersrand only 12% of white mine workers were married in 1897, 20% in 1902 and 42% in 1912.¹⁰ It is thus clear that while the demand for housing for single people must have been very high throughout this period, there must also have been an increasing demand for suitable family housing. Another



Port Elizabeth; c. 1904.

increase. It is, however, not known what the relative contribution of these two factors was. Understandably migrants to the area would have put pressure on the available land to erect new housing structures, while growing families would have tried to cope with their existing living space. One way would be to divide the available space into smaller and smaller units, a well-known response in, e.g., 19th century industrialising England.⁸

Obviously there were also other variables influencing this changing demographic environment. One was the marital status of the inhabitants (table 2).⁹

The dominant feature was the relatively large proportion of the population that was single. It is not known to what

demographic fact throws further light on family living conditions. By the mid 1870s children under 15 constituted 38% and 36% of the white and coloured population respectively. By 1911 these percentages had not changed significantly, i.e. 34 and 33 respectively.¹¹ Providing for the needs of this relatively large proportion of children, including inter alia accommodation, food and clothing, surely put much pressure on the economically active population, most of whom were skilled or unskilled labourers.¹²

To the extent that statistics are available and reliable, some general trends concerning housing conditions can be made from table 3.¹³ The increasing pressure as a result of urbanisation is clear : both the number of occupied dwellings and the number of dwellings per

Table 2
MARITAL STATUS, 1875 - 1911

	1875 (division)				1891 (district)			
	European		Non-European		European		Non-European	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Married	2771	29,8	1028	19,7	4392	31,5	3031	26,6
Single	6157	66,1	4028	77,2	8840	63,4	7927	69,5
Widowers	124	1,3	37	0,7	223	1,6	131	1,1
Widows	257	2,8	126	2,4	480	3,4	312	2,7
Divorced	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	9309	100,0	5219	100,0	13935	100,0	11401	100,0

	1904 (town)				1911 (towns + suburbs)			
	European		Non-European		European		Non-European	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Married	7449	33,9	3669	33,5	6861	34,3	5206	30,5
Single	13566	61,8	6769	61,7	12118	60,6	10918	64,0
Widowers	248	1,1	130	1,2	289	1,4	267	1,6
Widows	693	3,1	380	3,4	711	3,6	632	3,7
Divorced	19	0,1	16	0,2	27	0,1	29	0,2
TOTAL	21975	100,0	10964	100,0	19997	100,0	17052	100,0

square mile doubled. Furthermore, the changing urbanising environment had become conspicuous : the number of people in wood and corrugated iron dwellings increased by 246%; the number of these structures increased by 120%; the proportion of people living in either wood/corrugated iron dwellings or wattle and daub huts increased from 32,7% in 1891 to 45,6% in 1904 and decreased slightly to 41,6% by 1911; the number of one-roomed huts, associated pre-eminently with urbanisation, increased by 329%; while the last-mentioned structures by 1891 constituted only 13% of all dwellings and by 1904 this proportion had increased to 28%. An indication of the qualitative changes in housing that had taken place can also be seen : in 1891 wood/corrugated iron and wattle and daub huts constituted 35% of the total number of dwellings whereas by 1904 these were as much as 52%.

These general trends are confirmed, e.g., by housing conditions in the peri-urban area of Bethelsdorp (including the historical village as well as Kleinskool, Veeplaas and Missionvale). In the valuation roll of 1907 of the Port Elizabeth Divisional Council almost 66% of all dwellings were described as either shanties or corrugated iron dwellings. In the valuation of 1917 as many as 52% of all dwelling structures were indicated as wood/ corrugated iron dwellings, apart from 18% described as wood/corrugated iron rooms and 4% as just corrugated iron rooms.¹⁴ It must be added, however, that the lack of consistency in the use of concepts by the valuers in these rolls is a methodological problem.

Moving towards a micro-perspective, table 4 suggests the diversity of housing.¹⁵

The elite character of Park Drive and Bird Street is here as obvious as ever. But The Hill, already referred to as the residence of the "upper classes" by the 1860s,¹⁶ was not altogether homogeneous in social character. The average valuation for Cuyler Street, only one street block to the south of Bird Street, was not much higher than those for Walmer Road, Webber Street and Kirkwood Street, which have always been associated with working class suburbs. These general trends are confirmed by statistics from the 1908 divisional council valuation.¹⁷

As is well-known, the historical processes of colonisation, christianisation and urbanisation individually and collectively problematized, among other things, the housing issue. A brief remark on this topic must suffice here. One aspect was the extent to which traditional African housing was transformed by the dominant colonizing European culture. Undoubtedly, missionaries and administrators, on all levels, were pressurizing African communities to build "decent cottages", as, for example, in the Bethelsdorp missionary settlement and on mission stations in former Caffraria.¹⁸ Available evidence indicates that this transformation of African housing in Port Elizabeth was evident by the

1870s, and probably earlier. Emil Holub, the explorer and medical practitioner, published a sketch of a Fingo Village, on the Hill, in the 1870s.¹⁹ This shows very distinctly a few square dwellings (also called "upright houses" in some contemporary documents) among a majority of traditional round huts.

In the municipal controlled Native Strangers' Location (north of Russell Road) this transformation was understandably more evident. In the annual report of the Superintendent of Locations for 1884 as many as 83,5% (n=212) of all structures were described as "cottages" and the rest (n=35) as "round Kafir huts".²⁰ A similar tendency could be seen in the Bethelsdorp settlement. In 1881 the divisional council valuator described only 3 of the 79 dwellings there as "huts", and in 1899 only 16 out of 96.²¹ According to table 3, by 1911 only 1,5% of the enumerated residents in Port Elizabeth lived in wattle and daub huts. The reason for this is not clear at all. Most probably it was a result of municipal regulations forbidding the construction of such structures, as in Johannesburg.²² The only known Port Elizabeth municipal regulation explicitly disallowing "any house, shed, or hut made of straw, reeds, or mats, in which description are included in the huts of natives, except on such places as shall be appointed by the council ..." already dates from June 1865.²³

Against this background we can look at some specific cases. In spite of the fragmentary evidence, we can get some glimpses of the conditions under which some people chose, or were forced, to live. Since 1891 it had become compulsory to submit building plans to the town council's Board of Works.²⁴ Table 5 provides a few examples from their minutes for 1904-5,²⁵ of the first five structures situated in North End.

The striking differences in housing standards within North End, a presumably homogeneous working class area, should be noted. Thus, e.g., the value of Mahomad Noore's house was only a quarter of that of Templer's, although both were of the same description. Most probably this reflects mainly a difference in size. In the Eastern Province Herald of April 1905 two houses were put up for rent. The one, "Tecoma Cottage" in Cuyler Street, had seven rooms, a kitchen, pantry, bathroom, store-room, servant's room, a large yard with a garden and a "poultry run". There were gas and running water facilities. This, by the way, is a good example of the confusing use of the word "cottage" in those times. The other house was a new double storey in Kirkwood Street (North End) with three bedrooms, a large "front room with bay window", kitchen, bathroom, scullery with sink and water inside, "pantries" (?), and "all modern conveniences", which could be rented for £5 a month.

But not all residents were lucky enough to live in such relatively easy middle-class circumstances. Especially

Table 3

HOUSING, 1891-1911

	1891		1904		1911
Occupied dwellings per square mile	24,8		49,6		-
Persons per occupied dwelling	5,8		5,4		-
Occupied dwellings	4 349		8 759		8 433
	n	%	n	%	Increase % 1891-1904
Occupied dwellings of:					
Brick/Stone	2 815	64,0	4 142	47,3	47,1
Wood/Corrugated Iron	959	21,8	2 111	24,1	120,1
Wattle and daub huts	584	13,3	2 474	28,2	323,6
Other	42	0,9	32	0,4	
TOTAL	4 400	100,0	8 759	100,0	

PERSONS IN STRUCTURES OF DIFFERENT BUILDING MATERIALS						
	1891		1904		1911	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Brick/Stone	16 342	64,3	24 854	54,1	767	1,7
Wood/corrugated iron	5 087	20,0	11 279	24,5	17 607	40,1
Wattle and daub huts	3 226	12,7	9 702	21,1	633	1,5
Tents/Canvas	27	0,1	146	0,3	50	0,1
Brick	-	-	-	-	22 963	52,3
Stone	-	-	-	-	1 033	2,4
Other	726	2,9	-	-	818	1,9
TOTAL	25 408	100,0	45 981	100,0	43 871	100,0
SIZE OF DWELLING						
Number of rooms	1891		1904			
	n	%	n	%		
1	139	3,2	347	4,0		
2-3	1 118	25,4	1 415	16,2		
4-5	1 449	32,9	2 721	31,0		
6-7	632	14,3	1 148	13,1		
8-10	307	7,0	467	5,3		
11+	123	2,8	187	2,2		
1 Room huts	576	13,1	2 472	28,2		
Unspecified	56	1,3	2	0,02		
TOTAL	4 400	100,0	8 759	100,0		

the semi-skilled and unskilled working-classes sometimes had to occupy apartments or structures which were critically scrutinized by city council officials and very often stigmatised by those well-known bureaucratic labels : "a nuisance" and "unfit for human habitation".²⁶ One of the most notorious quarters was a group of

there. Responding to this, the chief sanitary inspector reported that 30 structures were inhabited by 162 people, meaning an average of 7,3 persons per "dwelling".²⁸ In 1904 another deputation of residents approached the city council about this locality, and even the idea of expropriation was raised.³⁰ The subsequent history of



Fingo Village at Port Elizabeth. Source: Emil Holub: Seven Years in South Africa, Vol. 2. Boston, 1881; reprint New York and London, 1971, p. 469.

structures at the entrance of Military Road (immediately north of the Baakens River), known as Hope Stoep. It obviously provided cheap accommodation for a variety of workers, being near the harbour, the station and the town centre. Over many years it had elicited very negative responses from both municipal officials and the neighbouring Hill residents on account of alleged overcrowding and insanitary conditions. Acting on a case of smallpox there in December 1894, the sanitary inspector found 16 people occupying 5 different rooms, in one of which no less than 7 people, including the man who had smallpox were sleeping.²⁷ This property was declared unfit for human habitation in March 1899, but afterwards allowed to be reopened owing to the influx of refugees from the Rand during the Anglo-Boer War.²⁸ Early in 1903 some Hill residents again complained about the "insanitary and uninhabitable" conditions

Hope Stoep is not known; neither is the extent of the vested interests of slum landlords. But by April 1908 the chief sanitary inspector reported that the sanitary condition of this disputed place was then more satisfactory than it had previously been.³¹

Another disreputable working-class housing establishment was Mackey's Barracks, where by the mid 1890s, in the words of sanitary inspector Beetham, "Natives freed from proper Location supervision, herd together in rows of shanties."³² It is interesting to note in this statement the well-established bureaucratic assumption that municipal controlled housing guaranteed decent living conditions, as well as the resentment expressed metaphorically here. Available evidence shows this place as three rows of corrugated iron buildings partitioned by wood into 33 "double

Table 4

MUNICIPAL VALUATIONS (£) IN SELECTED STREETS, 1914

	n	TOTAL	HIGHEST	LOWEST	
Walmer Road	59	30 000	1 100	100	508,5
Webber Street	19	8 175	600	200	430,3
Park Drive	24	79 400	8 000	650	3 308,3
Bird Street	32	54 525	4 750	400	1 703,9
Cuyler Street	18	11 075	1 850	200	615,3
Kirkwood Street	46	18 550	650	250	403,3

Table 5

EXAMPLES OF BUILDING PLANS APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF WORKS, 1904-5

NAME	ADRESS	STRUCTURE	VALUE (£)
Mahomad Noore	Sydenham	Brick, iron roof	180
N. Kinnersley	Olive Street	Brick, iron roof	300
W.B. Whyte	Kirkwood Street	Brick, iron roof	425
A.E. Templer	Perkin Street	Brick, iron roof	725
W.B. Whyte	Ambrose Street	Wood and iron on hardwood stumps	200
P. Masterton	Cape Road	Brick, iron roof	1 090

roomed tenements", some 2,7m x 4,2m, others 3m x 3m. In July 1899 it was occupied by 59 men, 43 women and 37 children (total 139), giving an average of 4,2 per "tenement", which was 2 per room. These buildings stood on a site of 36m x 27m (= 972m²). There were seven tubs in privies and five urinal tubs. Seemingly this was the main problem, for the sub-committee who inspected the premises "found the pails running over, deposits on the floor, and a most horrible effluvia pervading the atmosphere ..." But still they did not find the buildings "unfit for human habitation", although the sanitary inspector did so in mid July. Their recommendations concerned the improvement of the ventilation between the buildings and the sanitation.³³

Perry's Buildings, on a site in North End between Main and Robert Streets (near the present day Law Courts), provides another example of living conditions which, by early 1899, in the words of the sanitary inspector "simply beggars description." Although his description of the site is not very detailed, the following seems quite clear.³⁴ Facing Robert Street (i.e. towards the sea) were a wooden "erection" and 4 "tenements" of brick. Having formerly been let to "low class Kafirs & Hottentots", they were unoccupied and "an eyesore". At the back of these was a block of three brick rooms, which had previously been occupied by Perry and his family, but was afterwards rented by three natives and occupied by Perry himself when he came from Grahamstown to collect the rent. The ruins of a stable and other outbuildings were somewhere on the site. Further, there were four brick walls "roofed over with iron (without the consent of the Council)", and occupied by Everson (a coloured man), his wife, a boy of 12 and an occasional lodger. Facing Main Street was an old cow shed, of "old plank and old iron", "patched up" and rented to Thomas Cape ("a Kafir without legs"), three women, another man and four children. A lean-to was occupied by a man and a

woman. The sanitary inspector was very explicit in his condemnation of "this most wretched and unsightly hovel".

Another most disreputable working-class area in North End was known as Vleipos (east of Adderley Street - presently Main Road - and more or less between the present Darling Street and Edgar Street).³⁵ Especially since the late 19th century housing and general social conditions there were almost invariably described in strongly negative terms, e.g. : "unsuitable and unfit for the erection of dwellings for human beings" (1897); "Vlei Post was an extraordinary collection of habitations, more like rabbit hutches, some being places in which one could only crawl into" (1903); "insanitary, dilapidated, and ill-ventilated" (1904).³⁶

For some individuals it was most probably the case that any place was better than no place at all. By January 1895 Henry Evans (a European) had for nine months been living in the yard of premises in Main Street (between Russel Road and Albany Road) in a room 3,9m x 2,1m and 2,4m high, adjoining two latrines and a urinal. The sanitary inspector's argument for declaring this place "unfit for human habitation" was explicitly not the 19,7m³ living space which Evans enjoyed, but the fact that there was "only a wooden partition between the room and the privies ..." But he did not mention whether this partition stretched from floor to ceiling. We do not even know if Evans was allowed to use the privies. In any case, he died on 16 January of typhoid fever.³⁷

Although the establishment and administration of the municipal "locations" since the 1850s have been well researched, not much is known about housing conditions there. It is not quite right to assume that these were more or less of the same standard, given the bureaucratic

Table 6

MUNICIPAL VALUATION OF STRUCTURES ON SELECTED SITES IN RESERVOIR LOCATION, 1903

VALUE (£)	NUMBER OF SITES	%
1 - 9	10	12,5
10 - 19	22	27,5
20 - 29	15	18,7
30 - 39	9	11,2
40 - 49	6	7,5
50 - 59	5	6,3
60 - 69	4	5,0
70 - 79	4	5,0
80 - 89	0	0
90 - 99	1	1,3
100+	4	5,0
TOTAL	80	100,0

control of the locations and the complacency of officials about living conditions there. Table 6, based on a sample from the 1903 valuation roll for the Reservoir Location³⁸ (near the present Mount Road), suggests that even in this municipal controlled township housing structures varied widely.

On almost 60% of the randomly selected sites the structures were valued at less than £30, i.e. in the three lowest categories. But there were exceptions. Approximately 6% of the sites were occupied by structures valued at more than £90. A closer look at some of the structure descriptions gives a glimpse of either the relative misery or the relative luxury prevailing there:

"a tin building"
"an old tin building"
"a wooden building"
"two small rooms of mixed metal"
"a wood and iron cottage"
a wood and iron building, with brick fire place"
"a wood and iron building, with lean to's at back"
"a galvanised iron shop and dwelling, with brick fire place"
"a galvanised iron building, with verandah"
"a galvanised iron building with stable, forage room, bakehouse and oven of brick"

But obviously these details should be seen in the context of the overall social conditions in this township, and others, before really meaningful deductions could be made.

A few individual cases may add sharpness to the sketch. Late in 1871 the city council rebuked George Parkin for allowing the lower storey of his house on the quay to be "flooded with stagnant water". He drained it with the assistance of the council, but instead of having the basement filled up to the adjacent level (as seemingly he had agreed to initially), he rather rented the house for £1 a month.³⁹ But even the council itself occasionally infringed its own regulations. By January 1895 they were renting out a few houses in Evatt Street (in the present CBD) which they had initially bought with the intention of demolishing them. But it was only when the superintendent of works insisted that repair costs of these dilapidated structures would be too high that they were eventually demolished by September.⁴⁰ In June 1899 the council summonsed A Coopoosamy Padiatchy, the proprietor of 11 wooden "erections" with corrugated iron roofs in the yards of several premises in Lower Walmer Road (South End). One complaint was a lack of proper windows and flooring. Six of them were described as "boarded sheds."⁴¹ In May 1901 the MOH (Dr J Galloway) regarded a structure on the property of the well-known Dr Galpin in Brickmakerskloof as unfit for habitation. It was described as a dilapidated iron shanty, of which the front portion was partly broken

down, which had been used as a shed. The back portion was divided into two rooms with "solid rock" floors and a very small window. This place was occupied by Alexander, his wife, five children and another adult.⁴²

Although rather fragmentary, these and other examples were obviously symptoms of the increasing slum problem, one of the ramifications of all urbanising societies. As in Victorian England, e.g., the slum issue was a complex social problem with no clear-cut conceptualisations and approaches.⁴³ A part of this problem was the role played by slum landlords, another neglected issue in the history of Port Elizabeth. There are indications, however, that also in this town, as elsewhere, several prominent personalities had been exploiting the increasing demand for housing. In May 1899 the agents for H W Pearson, the well-known mayor, were summonsed to explain before the council why seven "tenements" in Peach Street should not be declared as unfit for human habitation. A similar summons was issued the next month against Daniel Maclaren Brown, a local attorney, concerning two of his properties in Russel Road.⁴⁴ In March 1900 William Rishworth was given notice "to cease using cow sheds for housing natives".⁴⁵ Most probably Checkland's statement, in the context of "the rise of industrial society in England", is also relevant to Port Elizabeth:

"Slum landlords were essentially men and women of petty, pre-industrial mind, who knew how to make gains where an intense demand for a facility in short supply had arisen, but they were incapable of the initiative necessary to place the matter on a new basis. Slum landlords have never been slum clearers."⁴⁶

The response of the town council to these social conditions is another neglected theme. But some evidence shows the council adamantly enforcing existing regulations or introducing new regulations, demanding the submission of building plans,⁴⁷ summonsing owners and/or occupiers for overcrowding and/or using sheds for human habitation, and demolishing any structures they regarded as "nuisances" and uninhabitable. Occasionally, however, one does find understanding of the magnitude of the problem and compassion for the captives. In March 1898, reporting on the "slums and shanties", the sanitary inspector told the Health Committee that these were caused by the "inadequate" accommodation for the "poorer classes". The quite surprisingly humanitarian response of the Committee was to instruct him just to give special attention to the general clean and healthy conditions of these structures.⁴⁸ Early in 1901, at a time when there was mounting pressure on accommodation resulting from the influx of refugees from the Transvaal during the Anglo-Boer War, sanitary inspector Beetham was reporting on premises in the present Main Street occupied by Indian

residents. His response again reflected official strictness combined with a degree of pity:

"Unless however that accommodation can be found for the overplus I do not see that any material good can be effected by shifting them about.

Meanwhile I will endeavour to give the Indian quarters as much attention as possible but the present period is hardly the time to institute a crusade against overcrowding for there are not really decent habitations sufficient for the number of people residing within the municipality."⁴⁹

In spite of the sketchiness of this discussion, it is clear that the housing issue had already become one of the social problems of Port Elizabeth during the early phase of urbanisation and industrialisation. As in most, if not all, other contemporary societies the housing problem was a combination of such different variables as demographic changes, the unequal distribution of wealth, the availability of affordable accommodation, health and sanitation regulations, and the role of slum landlords. These, and other, variables have only been exacerbating the problem ever since. While the particulars of the urban environment have certainly changed, the essence of the problem has a very strong continuity with the past. Thus, in 1920 the Housing Committee reported:

"The housing of the poorer classes in Port Elizabeth is extremely bad, and though in all towns visited by us we personally inspected the most insanitary and overcrowded areas, in no town did we find such neglect and insanitary conditions as in this town."⁵⁰

On 2 September 1994 the Eastern Province Herald reported:

"'Vagrants' have been found in strange places in the city this week - five shacks clustered in the dense bush of the upper Baakens River valley, and a 'room with a view' for five jobless men underneath the Mount Road interchange bridge ... 'I have been here since 1982,' one man said, 'looking for a job and a decent place to stay, but I have given up.'"

ENDNOTES

All archival sources referred to are in the Cape Archives depot, unless otherwise indicated.

1. A.J. Christopher, "Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth", South African Geographical Journal, 69, 1, 1987, pp. 3-13 and also "Formal

Segregation and Population Distribution in Port Elizabeth," Contree, 24, September 1988, pp. 5-12;

M.W. Swanson, "The Sanitation Syndrome : Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909", Journal of African History, 18, 3, 1977, pp. 387-410; Gary Baines, "The Origins of Urban Segregation : Local Government and the Residence of Africans in Port Elizabeth, c. 1835-1865", South African Historical Journal, 22, November 1990, pp. 61-81;

2. Philip Swart, "Die Munisipale Ontwikkeling van Port Elizabeth 1845 tot 1860", M.A., UPE, 1986.

3. Annette Joubert, "Port Elizabeth tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog, 1899-1902", M.A., UPE, 1985.

Hendrik Otto Terblanche, "Die Afrikaner in Port Elizabeth, 1902-1937 : 'n Kultuurhistoriese Ondersoek", D.Phil., UPE, 1993.

5. Financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development of the HSRC is hereby acknowledged. Opinions and conclusions are, however, my own.

6. André Appel, "Demografiese en Sosiale Tendense in Vroeg Industriële Port Elizabeth, ca. 1870-1914", Suid-Afrikaanse Historiese Joernaal, 23, Desember 1990, pp. 74-99 and also "Exploring Some Aspects of Labour and Labourers in Port Elizabeth, 1870-1914", The South African Journal of Economic History, 6, 2, September 1991, pp. 1-17.

The following census reports : G. 42-1876, part I, table 1; G. 6-1892, table XXII; G. 19-1905, table XXVIII; U.G. 32-1912, table XVII. No statistics for 1911 for the Bethelsdorp settlement are available. The population was estimated at 1100 in the light of the census statistics for 1904 and 1921.

The total for 1911 is thus not official statistics. According to the Eastern Province Herald of 9 March 1875 the census of that year did not count all the inhabitants. The category "Coloured" in this table comprises those in the census reports under "Hottentot" and "Mixed and Other".

S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885 (London, 1971), pp. 239-240.

Census reports : G. 42-1876, part II, table IX-XII; G. 6-1892, table XXXVII; G. 19-1905, table XXXV; U.G. 32c-1912, table XXXIII. The concept Non-European is used here to indicate the population group that was described in all these reports as "other than European".

10. Charles van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914, vol. 1 (Johannesburg, 1982), p. 31.

11. Appel, "Demografiese en Sosiale Tendense", pp. 85-90.

12. Appel, "Exploring Some Aspects of Labour", pp. 4-8.

13. Census reports : G. 6-1892, table XXV-XXVIII; G. 19-1905, table XXXII-XXXV; U.G. 32-1912, part I, table XVI.

14. 4/PEZ Divisional Council Port Elizabeth, Valuation Rolls, 7/1/1/14, 7/1/1/16. For a full discussion of housing and other social conditions in this area see André Appel, Bethelsdorp, 1828-1945 : Van Sendingstasie tot Stadspesiferie (UPE Navorsingspublikasie C 27, 1994), chapter 9.
15. 3/PEZ Town Clerk Port Elizabeth, Valuation Rolls, 6/1/1/1/359, 361, 367.
16. Cape Monthly Magazine, 1861, p. 162.
17. 4/PEZ 7/1/1/14.
18. Appel, Bethelsdorp, chapter 9; D. Williams, "Social and Economic Aspects of Christian Mission Stations in Caffraria, 1816-1854", part I, Historia, September 1985, pp. 33-48. Emil Holub, Seven Years in South Africa, vol. 2 (Boston, 1881; reprint New York and London, 1971), p. 469.
20. Eastern Province Herald, 26 January 1885, p. 5.
21. 4/PEZ 7/1/1/4, 11.
22. Luli Callinicos, Working Life, 1886-1940 (Johannesburg, 1987), p. 64.
23. Government Gazette, 16 June 1865, "Municipal Regulations," section 2, clause 21.
24. Government Gazette, 3 March 1891, procl. 73.
25. 3/PEZ 1/3/1/1/17018, 14 March 1904, 16 January and 10 April 1905.
26. For problems surrounding the latter see H.J. Dyos and D.A. Reeder, "Slums and Suburbs" in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds., The Victorian City, vol. 1 (London/Boston, 1973), p. 363.
27. 3/PEZ 5/3/1 Sanitary Inspector's Reports, 11 December 1894.
28. 3/PEZ 5/1/1 Sanitary Inspector to Town Clerk, 29 March 1899; 3/PEZ 5/1/5 T. Beetham to Town Clerk, 14 February 1901.
29. 3/PEZ 1/1/1/20 Council Minutes, 25 March 1903, p. 229; 3/PEZ 1/3/1/2/1 Health and Location Committee Minutes, 26 March 1903, pp. 33-4. This calculated average is obviously wrong, because it should be 5,4, except if statistics had been used which were not noted, or noted incorrectly, in that document.
30. 3/PEZ 1/1/1/20, 29 June 1904, pp. 564, 567.
31. 3/PEZ 1/3/1/2/2, 23 April 1908, p. 74.
32. 3/PEZ 5/3/2, Report by Beetham, 12 June 1895.
33. 3/PEZ 5/1/2, Sanitary Inspector to Town Council, 12 July 1899; 3/PEZ 1/2/1/8 Minutes of Standing and Special Committees, 3 October 1899, pp. 148-9.
34. 3/PEZ 5/1/1, Sanitary Inspector to Town Council, 22 February 1899.
35. PE City Library, Africana section: "Plan of Port Elizabeth showing railway property and Harbour Board property", drawn after 1905.
36. 3/PEZ 1/3/1/1/13, 27 July 1897, p. 151; dr Gregory, MOH for the Cape Colony, as quoted in the Port Elizabeth Telegraph, 7 March 1903, cutting in NA607, B1677 Papers relating to Locations, Port Elizabeth, 1903-5; 3/PEZ 1/1/1/20, 22 June 1904, p. 560.
37. 3/PEZ 5/3/1, 23 January 1895.
38. 3/PEZ 6/1/1/1/269 Valuation of buildings in Reservoir Location, 1903.
39. 3/PEZ 1/3/1/1/3, 2 and 31 October 1871, pp. 212, 219.
40. 3/PEZ 1/3/1/1/12, 10 January and 9 September 1895.
41. 3/PEZ 5/1/1, 28 June 1899.
42. 3/PEZ 5/1/4, certificate dated 29 May 1901.
43. See, e.g., Dyos and Reeder, "Slums and Suburbs", p. 363; Dyos, Victorian Suburb, pp. 109-13.
44. Both these examples in 3/PEZ 5/1/1, 31 May and 14 June 1899.
45. 3/PEZ 5/1/3, 21 March 1900.
46. Checkland, Rise of Industrial Society, p. 240.
47. See, eg., the following editions of the Government Gazette: 13 Nov. 1877, 17 Dec. 1878, 3 March 1891, 22 March 1901.
48. 3/PEZ 1/2/1/7 Health Committee, 4 March 1898, p. 242.
49. 3/PEZ 5/1/5, Beetham to Town Clerk, 14 February 1901.
50. UG 4-1920, p. 15.