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The white labour forest settlement programme in South Africa, 1917-1938

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unemployed and this was where the greatest efforts should be made. An integrated programme was suggested. With the assistance of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Lands, irrigated farms were to be made available. Rural unemployed classified as type "B(a)" were to be assigned to farms where they would work as tenant farmers under minimum supervision. Men classified as types "B(b)" and "B(c)," were to be assigned directly to white labour settlements. Here, under supervision, they would be trained as labourers and their home life and activities supervised by welfare officers. When their supervisors and the welfare officer at the settlement judged they had learnt all they could and had shown suitable changes in their home life, the men would be transferred to a farm training scheme and, hopefully, eventually to a tenant farm of their own.[56]

This proposal is important because it was accepted by the Advisory Council and therefore became government policy. The major points which separated it from the approach to the problem made by the Smuts government was that it was a national scheme co-ordinating the efforts of several government departments. Most significantly, it tackled the problem at its roots. That is, the situation of the rural poor before migration to the city had taken place. Smuts policy, it will be recalled, was to return the poor whites to rural areas from the cities. Further, the policy of the Pact government was integrated in that there was a minimum of duplication of effort between the different parts of the programme, each part having its own role. The scheme also introduced a new official into the programme, namely the welfare

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56. Ibid.

officer. It is true that officers with a similar title had been present before but now they had a definite role to play in the programme and, furthermore, now received special training to carry out their tasks. It was their duty to ensure that the settler and his family conformed to certain standards of social behaviour. The welfare officer was seen as being an important person in the success or failure of the proposed scheme.[57]

Thus the Labour Party's attempt at solving the poor white problem got under way. During the latter half of the 1920s, poor whites, mostly from rural areas, were sent in a continuous stream to the forestry settlements which formed the first link in the programme. From the settlements, numbers of settlers were continually transferred from the forestry establishments to a farm training complex located immediately downstream from the Hartebeespoort Dam. Here three farms, Kareepoort, Losperfontein and Wolvekraal (total area, 5 142 hectares) had been set aside by the Department of Lands for the scheme. At the farms, Losperfontein was designated as a training farm, Wolvekraal as a tenant labour farm and Kareepoort for small freehold irrigated lots.[58] The farms were also used as training places for welfare officers who were later assigned to the forestry settlement

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57. Ibid; "Rehabilitation of the Rural Unemployed," Official Labour Gazette 1, 2(May, 1925): 38-40.

58. Ibid; "Notes of the Month," Official Labour Gazette 1, 1(April, 1925): 4.

camps. The officer in charge of this was the Reverend E.J.J. van der Horst.[59]

Once the scheme was inaugurated, it should have operated akin to a school with pupils being accepted, trained and graduated. Of course, reality was not like this. Many things went wrong or did not turn out as anticipated. For instance, in the first sitting of the subsequent fifth Parliament, the Minister of Agriculture, J.C.G. Kemp, stated that it was the government's policy to support the settlement afforestation scheme and even expand it.[60] This policy was reviewed in the following year when a new Minister of Labour, Thomas Boydell, took over from Creswell. For about two months, the government considered closing down the afforestation settlements and transferring all the settlers to the agricultural resettlement schemes. Nothing came of the idea, however, and Forestry's settlements and afforestation programme were allowed to continue their expansion.[61]

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59. "Notes of the Month," (April, 1925): 4. Van der Horst was born at Lady Grey, Cape Colony in 1875 and educated at the Normal, Victoria and Theological Colleges in Stellenbosch. From 1915 to 1920, he was a Member of the House of Assembly representing Wolmaransstad for the National Party. See, Ken Donaldson (ed), South African Who's Who, 1921-1922 (Cape Town: Ken Donaldson, 1922), 205.

60. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa, 196-97; South Africa, House of Assembly, Debates of the House of Assembly (Cape Town: Government Printer, 1924) vol 2, 888, 1232.

61. CAD FOR 186 A310/279/4, Chief Conservator to all Conservators, 11 November, 1925; 2 December, 1925; List of Settlers Interested in Being Placed on Land Settlement, 8 December, 1925; Chief Clerk to Secretary for Finance, 14 December, 1925; Chief Clerk to all Conservators, 7 January, 1926. Boydell is described as being a man whose "trade unionism knew no colour bar" which was not popular with many Nationalists with a "boer" background. Many of his actions were considered likely to introduce a "British Trades Union atmosphere" into the government which "filled the average Nationalist back-bencher with suspicion." Oswald Pirow, James Barry Munnik Hertzog (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1957), 129.

Conclusions

The task of this chapter was to uncover the origins of the White Labour Forest Settlement Programme. It was revealed that three factors coalesced and interacted with the desire of the foresters to increase their afforested area. These were, the prospect of unskilled discharged soldiers entering the job market and worsening the already existing unemployment situation immediately after the First World War, a combination of increasing white unemployment, poverty and civil strife on the Rand resulting from the depression that followed the War, and lastly, the fact that the poor white problem became a political issue.

The chapter has reviewed the unemployment programme initiated by the South African Party under Smuts. It utilized the existing system of Employment Exchanges which were originally intended to provide white labour for the mines. The settlement programme was proposed in order to provide employment for displaced woodcutters from the Knysna area but, after the Rand Strike of 1922, numbers of unemployed and poor whites from the cities were drafted to new settlements. This expansion resulted directly from the Prime Minister's concerns. It is apparent from correspondence that Smuts was aware that the way in which he had ordered the strike to be suppressed had alienated many people. He clearly hoped that providing them with work outside of the cities would prevent the political situation from deteriorating further.

It is hypothesized that Smuts and other members of the

political elite and upper classes feared the possibility that the poor white class would become more revolutionary in outlook and would use their political power to upset the existing political and social structure of South Africa. Because poor whites were viewed in a romantic fashion when they were living in rural areas as subsistence farmers, the idea of returning them "back to the land" had considerable emotional appeal to men such as Smuts. As a result, the settlement programme, which already had strong links to the "agrarian myth" and the "back to the land movement" in Europe and North America, was a logical choice as a solution to the political problems caused by the Rand strike and the way in which it was suppressed.

Even though the forestry settlements succeeded in absorbing several hundred unemployed whites from the Johannesburg-Pretoria area, the programme did not alter the political situation in favour of the South African Party. As a result of the 1924 General Election, James Barry Hertzog's National Party in coalition with Creswell's Labour Party formed the new government. Under the Pact government, a Department of Labour was created and the settlement programme absorbed into its policy objectives. The objective assigned to the programme was to solve the poor white problem by training the rural poor white first as an employable labourer and then as a farmer of irrigated land. Thus there would be limited need for poor whites to go to the city to seek a livelihood and the movement of whites from rural to urban areas would be slowed.

In summary, this chapter has demonstrated that the White Labour Forest Settlement Programme was highly influenced by a number of factors. These included attitudes towards poor whites

held by the ruling classes, political events within the country, and myths and movements imported from Europe and North America.

Chapter Five

The First Phase of Settlement Construction, 1917-1925

Introduction

The task of this chapter is to review the evolution of the settlement programme during the years 1917 to 1925. This period is the first phase of settlement construction and covers the communities established as a result of the policy of the Smuts government plus the first settlement created as a result of efforts of the Pact government. Between 1915 and 1929, there was a period in which no new settlements were constructed. As areas were planted up, however, it became clear that new settlements would be required to keep pace with the demand for places in the settlements and the forester's desires to afforest more land. As a result, more settlements were founded during the years 1929 to 1934. This, the second phase of settlement creation, is covered in the next chapter.

Besides covering the first phase of settlement establishment, this chapter provides a picture of the settlers, their housing and the facilities provided for them during the whole of the period, 1917 to 1934. It begins with a review of the occupancy rates of the settlements and this is followed by data on the settler and his family. Then, the information available about each of the nine settlements constructed in the years 1917 to

1925, in the order in which they were founded, is presented. Information is also provided about the circumstances that led to the expansion of the programme. In other words, this chapter provides a statistical picture of the settlers, the housing and facilities provided in them and the first phase of settlement construction.

Rate of Occupancy and Length of Stay.

Between 1917 and 1934, the White Labour Forest Settlement Programme resulted in the construction of twenty-two settlements located in the heaviest rainfall areas of South Africa (see figure 5-1). Settlement construction has been divided into two periods, 1917 to 1925 and 1929 to 1934. The basic information about the settlements established during the first phase is given in table 5-1.

The earliest statistical material available from the programme is a monthly report on the number of settlers and their dependents at the settlement of French Hoek.[1] This material covers the period from July 1920 to July 1924 with some months missing. It indicates that, from 1920 to 1922, French Hoek accommodated mostly married men with families although there were a number of single men, widowers with families and at least one widow with a family. The data also shows that the settlement did not reach its

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1. CAD FOR 325 A1032/2 Progress Reports - Poor White Relief Settlement, French Hoek, report, "Numbers in Camp," July 1920 to July 1924.

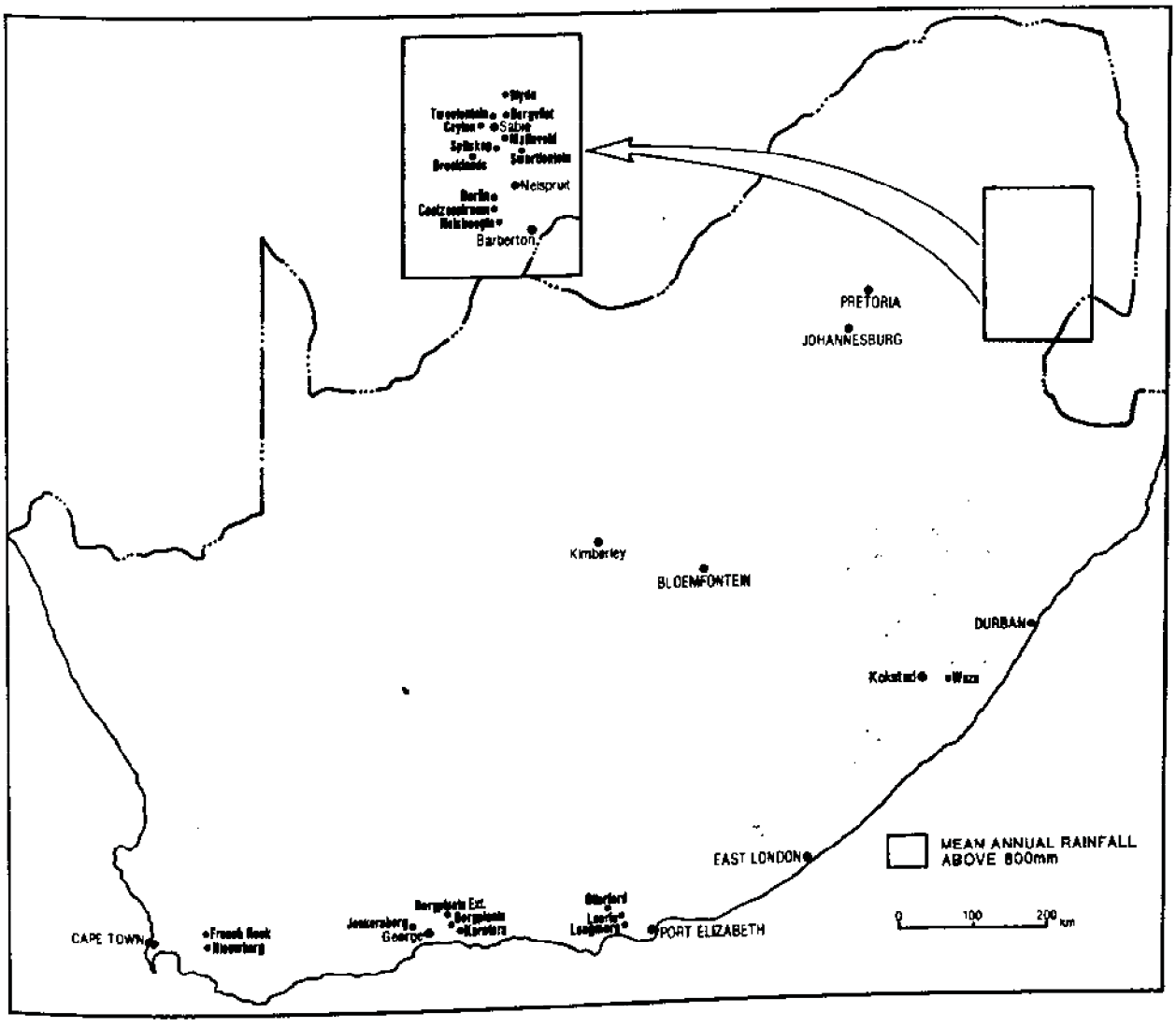


Fig. 5-1: Map Showing the Location of the Settlements in Relation to Annual Rainfall over 800mm

full size until after what is now the community of Robertsvlei was completed in November, 1922, some five years after the settlement was originally founded.

Table: 5-1

Settlements Constructed in the First Phase of the Programme

Settlement	Date	Capacity	Location
French Hoek	1917	120 families	Franschhoek, Cape
Jonkersberg	1917	160 families	West of George, Cape
Loerie	1919	100 men only	North of Loerie, Cape
Bergplaats	1922	99 families	East of George, Cape
Karatara	1922	150 families	East of George, Cape
Otterford	1922	194 families	North-west of Loerie
Berlin	1922	105 families	South of Elandshoek, Tvl.
Weza	1923	120 families	East of Kokstad, Natal
Nieuwberg	1925	50 families	North of Grabouw, Cape

Also available from this early period are monthly returns of the number of employees in the temporary relief camps at Emtabeni, Magoeba Kloof, Xumeni and Cedara (summarized in table: 5-2). This return was made to the Departmental Unemployment Committee (precursor to the Department of Labour) from April 1921 to September, 1922. It is important because it shows that despite the isolated locations of these temporary relief projects, they were an average of eighty percent full.

Table: 5-2

Temporary Unemployment Relief Camps

Percentage Occupancy[2]

Month	Percentage
April 1921	75
May 1921	64
June 1921	78
July 1921	81
August 1921	86
September 1921	82
October 1921	85
November 1921	83
December 1921	72
January 1922	74
February 1922	75
March 1922	64
April 1922	89
May 1922	98
June 1922	93
July 1922	78
August 1922	88
September 1922	67
Average	79,6

During the period June, 1922 to June 1924, nine "Statements" on the occupancy of the eight settlements open at the time, were made to the Departmental Committee on Unemployment. This block of data reveals that the settlements took some time to fill up after opening, as already noted with French Hoek. For instance, Otterford and Berlin, two settlements hurriedly opened in early 1922 to take unemployed from the Rand, were not nearly

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2. Source: CAD FOR A310/279/2 Unemployment Relief, monthly report, "Temporary Unemployment Relief Settlements: Return of Labour Employed," April, 1921 to September, 1922.

full until June 1923. On the other hand, Bergplaats and Weza, both of which were not opened until all their facilities had been constructed, took only a couple of months to fill after being opened in mid 1923. This shows that the Department of Forestry had no clear cut policy on when to open a settlement. Political pressures, perhaps most obviously, dictated whether or not a settlement was opened to receive settlers before it was completed.[3]

The presentation of occupancy data was standardized once the Department of Labour founded its monthly review of the labour, employment and unemployment situation in South Africa. Publication commenced in March, 1925 and the journal was first entitled Official Labour Gazette but was soon changed to The Social and Industrial Review, a title retained until just before its demise in 1931. The journal carried monthly returns on the number of settlers in the settlements, the number of their dependents and piecework earnings. The data on occupancy rates is summarized in table: 5-3.

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3. CAD FOR 185 A310/279/3 Unemployment Relief, monthly reports, "White Labour Forestry Settlements, Statement as of:" 1 July, 1922; 31 March, 1923; 31 June, 1923; 31 July, 1923; 30, September, 1923; 30 November, 1923; 30 June, 1924.

Table: 5-3

Summary of Rates of Occupancy in Six Settlements for the Period, March, 1926 to July, 1929[4]

Settlement	Percentages min	mode	mean	max
French Hoek	84	95	94	96
Jonkersberg	71	84	91	102
Bergplaats	87	100	98	102
Karatara	68	89	91	99
Berlin	68	93	91	101
Weza	79	92	91	97
Averages	76	92	93	99

Not included in the above table is the data from two settlements, Loerie and Otterford. The information from the unmarried discharged soldiers settlement at Loerie is excluded because it was closed in June, 1927 and had been at less than half strength for some months previously. The neighbouring settlement, Otterford, is excluded because it was reduced in size to less than half its planned two hundred families in early 1927 and a further reduction was made later in the same year. The exact number of cottages available following these reductions is not known, nor is it known to where the settlers were transferred. The reduction occurred because the available area for planting was smaller than anticipated when the settlement opened and, as a result, there was not sufficient work for nearly two hundred men after 1927. The

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4. Sources: "Conditions in Afforestation Settlements," Social and Industrial Review monthly table published from 2 (June, 1926): 515 to 9 (February, 1930): 75. See Appendix 3 for data.

settlements listed above, on the other hand, all had large areas available to them and therefore represent the truest picture of the rate of occupancy of the settlements during the years 1926 to 1929.

This data covers a period of high prosperity for South Africa and hence, of low unemployment. It might be expected then that the Department of Forestry would have had difficulty in maintaining the settlements at near full capacity. In fact, the reverse is true. As can be seen from table 5-3, the average mode and the overall mean correspond closely at ninety-two and ninety-three percent respectively. When the data from individual settlements is examined for months when the transfer of large numbers of settlers from the afforestation programme to the farm training programme took place, numbers were made up by a larger than normal intake of newcomers in the following months.[5] This means that the minimum rate of occupancy listed in the above table tended to occur at times when settlers transferred to farms or when more than usual were repatriated as unfit. The most obvious reason, then, for the ability of the Departments of Forestry and Labour to keep the settlements nearly full was that the programme filled a need. Clearly, it was also a popular success and this further encouraged applicants.

There were, however, other factors which contributed to the relatively high and steady rate of occupancy. The data published in the Social and Industrial Review, includes a summary of arrivals and departures for the whole programme. The

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5. For example, see "Conditions in Afforestation Settlements," 1 (November, 1925): 227; 2 (October, 1926): 226; 3 (June, 1927): 569; 5 (January, 1928): 26.

information is broken down between the following typical headings: "Transferred to other employment (including the farm training scheme), repatriated medically unfit, left of their own accord, found other employment, absconded or dismissed."[6] Two headings are of interest as they cover the situation where the settler left voluntarily because he felt he could improve his circumstances elsewhere. These headings are labelled "resigned" or "left of their own accord," and "found other employment," or "found better job." An analysis of the data from the same period used above shows that, in 1926, from ten to twenty-five people left each month for these reasons. By the end of the period, only four to twelve families departed for these same reasons.[7] This implies that there was a process of "self-selection," amongst the settlers. Self-selection means that those settlers who disliked the programme left after short stays and this meant that the number of voluntarily created spaces in any given month slowly decreased as a greater and greater proportion of the inhabitants of a settlement were happy with the environment. At the same time, as the programme became better known throughout South Africa there would be more information available for a potential settler to use in making a decision whether or not to join the programme. Support for this hypothesis is provided by data from the oldest settlement, French Hoek. In 1938, the age by frequency

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6. "Conditions on Afforestation Settlements," 3 (May, 1927): 452.

7. Sources: "Conditions in Afforestation Settlements," Social and Industrial Review monthly table published from 2 (June, 1926): 515 to 9 (February, 1930): 75. An analysis of regression and correlation was carried out on this data. The best fit line corresponded to an F test of error of less than 1%.

distribution of the settlers was as shown in table 5-4.[8]

Table: 5-4

Age by Frequency Distribution of Settlers at French Hoek as of 27 May, 1938

Age	Number	Percent of Total
30 to 39 years	14	23
40 to 49 years	31	52
Over 50 years	15	25
Totals:	60	100

It should be noted that seventy-seven percent of the settlers were over forty years of age at this date, and that the stated maximum age of admission to the programme was supposed to be forty-five years.

This hypothesis means that either the settler population was becoming older as the years past, as a result of increasing number of settlers staying on, or that more older than younger settlers were being admitted to the programme. The evidence, however, suggests the latter as there is no correlation between age of settler on entry and length of stay. Thus, the following picture emerges. Unemployed men with families were recruited for the programme. Over time, it appears that recruits to the

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8. CAD FOR 373 E230/A1/2 French Hoek White Labour Forestry Settlement, memo, Conservator, Western Conservancy to Director of Forestry, re "Settler Strength: French Hoek Plantation," 27 May, 1938.

programme became older but even so they did not necessarily stay any longer than younger men.

Information about the length of time settlers stayed in the settlements is available from the "Register of Settlers" found at Weza, Natal. The Weza register shows that the average length of stay for the sixty-seven settlers with records showing they arrived and departed within the period covered by this study, was three years and thirty-one days.[9] The shortest stay was twenty-three days while the longest was seventeen years and thirty-two days. The rate of turn-over was such that, at Weza, there were no settlers in residence in 1938 who had arrived within the first two years of the community's founding in 1923. Furthermore, during this period, only two families returned to the settlement after leaving for other work. This data shows that there was considerable mobility within the workforce and supports the hypothesis that the settlements were not considered to be permanent homes and places of employment by the settlers. Considering this mobility, and other factors, it is estimated that approximately twenty thousand families and single men went through the programme between 1917 and 1938.[10] It must also be borne in mind, however, that many settlers stayed for a considerable period of time. Some sixteen settlers arrived before the end of 1938 and

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9. Weza State Forest, Forestry Office Archives, "Register of Settlers, 1939-1946". See Appendix 2.

10. This a best guess based on settler's registration numbers. The highest numbers noted in the archival material were in the range 15 000 to 16 000. These numbers were assigned to settlers after the founding of the Department of Labour in 1924. As the programme existed for some seven years before 1924, the figure of 20 000 settlers appears to be reasonable. For examples see CAD Records of the Department of Social Welfare (VWN) 1352 A5/9 Distribution of Milk and Butter to Settlers: Weza, statement, "Weza Forestry Settlement," 31 December, 1938; and in Appendix 2.

have records indicating they departed after that year. Their average length of stay was thirteen years and one hundred and sixteen days while the longest stay on record was for nearly twenty-seven years.[11]

Family Profile

Using the same sources as above, information can be gleaned about settler ages and family composition. From the Weza register, the data from one hundred and fifty-three entries indicates that the average age of a settler on arrival was thirty-one years. The two youngest settlers were aged seventeen while the oldest was forty-nine. All settlers were married and accompanied by wives, though no information was entered apart from the woman's name. Of these one hundred and fifty-three settlers, one hundred and twenty arrived with children. The average number of children per household was 2,6 and the maximum was eight.[12]

Data on the size of each settler's household while the family was living in the settlement was obtained from the tables published in the Social and Industrial Review for the period 1926 to 1930. The average size was five members, man, wife and three children, with one in seventy-five families having an additional adult dependent. As would be expected, just over half the

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11. Ibid. The last mentioned settler, Willem Mueder, arrived early in 1930 and left in late 1956.

12. Weza, "Register of Settlers." Two families arrived with six children and one with seven.

children were male. The children tended to be young, fifty-eight percent of them under the age of seven, forty percent aged seven to seventeen years and two percent eighteen and over. This reflects the policy of the Department of Labour that the older children had to leave home once they had completed a certain level of schooling.[13] There is some evidence that suggests that earlier than this period, the families were somewhat older although still the same size. At French Hoek during the years 1920 to 1924, some forty-nine percent of the children were under seven years of age, forty six percent were aged seven to fifteen years and five percent were sixteen and older.[14] Again, there were slightly more male than female children and some families also accommodated an older relative.

A Review of the Nine First Phase Settlements

As noted, the first settlements were French Hoek and Jonkersberg. Details about these settlements are given in table 5-5 and table 5-6 respectively. These settlements were established following the Government's acceptance of the Chief Conservator's proposal originally made in 1914, just before the start of the First World War.

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13. Sources: "Conditions in Afforestation Settlements," Social and Industrial Review monthly table published from 2 (June, 1926): 515 to 9 (February, 1930): 75.

14. CAD FOR A1032/2 monthly report, "Numbers in Camp, July 1920 to July, 1924.

Table: 5-5

FRENCH HOEK[15]

(Also known as La Motte, now known as Robertsvlei)

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1916
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3319CC, 37565/00070. Approximately five kilometres southeast of the village of Franschhoek. Originally, the land formed part of the farm of La Motte, owned by Piet Pepler.
Settlers:	One hundred and twenty settlers who were originally displaced woodcutters from the Knysna region and, later, poor whites from the Cape.
Layout:	Divided into 2 adjacent communities. The site of the founding community is now planted over.
Housing:	Plastered, wattle and daub walls with wood beams supporting a galvanized steel roof. Replaced by Nissan huts.
Medical:	District Surgeon, Paarl visited at regular intervals and was on call.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets and pails.
Water supply:	By pipe from a spring.
School:	School with teachers' quarters.
Telephone:	Installed.

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15. Sources, CAD FOR 185 A310/279/3 Unemployment Relief, table, "White Labour Forestry Settlements," no date; FOR 372 E230/A1/1; FOR 373 E230/A1/2.

Table: 5-6

JONKERSBERG[16]

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1916
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3322CC, 37563/00713. Twenty-four kilometres West of George.
Settlers:	One hundred and sixty settlers who were originally displaced woodcutters from the Knysna region, later, poor whites from the same area.
Layout:	Strung-out village approximately four and a half kilometres long.
Housing:	Original cottages had sod walls with thatched roofs, most were three roomed. These were replaced by standard wood framed, galvanized steel clad cottages lined with sun-dried brick.
Medical:	District Surgeon, George visited at regular intervals and was on call.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets and cess pits.
Water supply:	A stream ran through settlement from which water was obtained.
School:	School with teachers' quarters was located in the settlement.
Telephone:	Installed.

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16. Sources, CAD FOR 375 E230/A3; FOR 378 E230/B2/1.

As noted in Chapter Four, at the end of the War, the Department of Forestry was requested to assist in providing jobs for discharged soldiers and for the unemployed. It did this by creating a number of temporary relief camps where road construction into potential afforestation areas was emphasized. The information about these camps is summarized in table 5-7, below.

Table 5-7

Temporary Relief Camps[17]

Camp	capacity	accommodation
Entabeni	50	mixture of tents, "steel tents" and cottages
Magoeba Kloof	150	ditto
Xumeni	50	only canvas tents
Cedara	50	ditto

The Department also created one new permanent settlement, at Loerie (table 5-8) which was restricted to single, discharged soldiers. The settlement was not a success. The fact that it was a collection of barracks meant that only single men could be accommodated and the men found the place very bleak. Trouble developed soon after the Camp was opened when the

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17. Sources, CAD FOR 184 A310/279/2 Unemployment Relief, table, "Temporary White Labour Relief Settlements: Position in Regard to Accommodation and Number of Labourers and Families," 30 June, 1922.

Table 5-8

LOERIE[18]

(Also known as Hankey)

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1919-1920
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3325CC, 37425/-00082. Thirteen kilometres north of the village of Loerie, west of the city of Port Elizabeth. The area to be afforested was originally the farm Blue Berg.
Settlers:	One hundred settlers who were unmarried, discharged soldiers.
Layout:	Barracks grouped in a compound.
Housing:	Wood framed, galvanized steel clad barracks.
Medical:	District Surgeon, Humansdorp visited at regular intervals and was on call. A male medical attendant lived in camp and doubled as camp clerk.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets.
Water supply:	Eight, "1,000 gallon" tanks.
School:	None.
Telephone:	None.

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18. Sources, CAD FOR 374 E230/A2/A; FOR 382 E230/C2, Loerie White Labour Forestry Settlement.

occupants went on strike and travelled into Port Elizabeth where they rioted. Their grievances were that they were not paid enough, that food prices in Port Elizabeth were too high and that their living and working conditions were not as represented to them when they had signed up.[19] By 1930, Loerie had ceased to be a settlement. The people living in the barracks were employed by the Department as day-labourers. If they were married, then they had to provide accommodation elsewhere for the families.[20]

In the early 1920s, the world's economic situation rapidly deteriorated into a full scale depression. In South Africa, the numbers of unemployed in the cities expanded rapidly as farmers left the land and industry cut back on the number of its relatively expensive white employees. Urban civil unrest peaked with the Rand strike and rebellion of early 1922. The government, led by General Smuts, adopted a series of stop-gap measures intended to remove large numbers of unemployed whites away from the Rand and return them to rural areas. Two government Departments were charged with implementing this policy. The Department of Irrigation was to expand the number of people it employed at its dam and irrigation scheme at Hartebeespoort. This was in the nature of a temporary measure. The Department of Forestry was to construct enough permanent communities to house a thousand families. In these settlements, forestry work would be allied with income each family would garner from individual smallholdings. This was proposed to be a replica of the European

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19. CAD FOR 236 A379/13B Employment of Returned Soldiers at Hankey Loan Plantation, clipping, "Trouble at Hankey Camp,"Eastern Province Herald (18 October, 1919).

20. FOR 382 E230/C2, memo Conservator of Forests, Eastern Conservancy, to Chief Conservator, 22 January, 1930.

pattern of mixing farming and forestry and creating a stable, permanent population in areas suitable for afforestation but not intensive agriculture. Accordingly, the settlements created during 1922 and 1923 all had gardens though the terrain in which the settlements were located precluded the establishment of the proposed, family sized smallholdings. These settlements were, Bergplaats (table 5-9), Karatara (table 5-10), Otterford (table 5-11), Berlin (table 5-12) and Weza (table 5-13).

With the establishment of Weza in 1923, no more large settlements were founded during the next six years. Only one small community was built, in 1925. This was at the Elgin Railway Sleeper Plantation, north of the village of Grabouw. Named Nieuwberg, it was created as a result of political pressure applied to Legat by his new, and now Nationalist, Minister of Agriculture, General J.C.G. Kemp. The Minister wanted the Chief Conservator to get rid of the gang of Coloured labourers permanently employed in the Elgin Plantation and replace them with white settlers. Perhaps because Legat was not happy with this order, Nieuwberg never got the attention that was lavished upon the other settlements.[21] Unlike all the other settlements, which were founded on unforested areas, Nieuwberg was located adjacent to a well established plantation. As a result, the settlers spent much of their time working there. It appears that only a portion of the two farms, on which the settlement was located, were afforested by the settlers.

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21. CAD FOR 374 E230/A2/2 Nieuwberg White Labour Forestry Settlement, map, cut out section of contemporary Provincial land ownership map, no date; memo, Chief Conservator to Private Secretary, Minister of Agriculture, unsigned and undated, circa 1925, stored in file map pocket.

Table: 5-9

BERGPLAATS[22]

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1922
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3322DC. Twenty-seven kilometres east of the village of George. Know known as Bergplaas.
Settlers:	Ninety-nine settlers. The first settlers came directly from the Rand following the strike and rebellion. Later settlers were from rural areas in the Free State and Transvaal.
Layout:	Open village with houses scattered over a considerable area.
Housing:	Standard wood framed, galvanized steel clad cottage. The original site is still occupied although the cottages have been replaced with modern, concrete and brick structures.
Medical:	District Surgeon, Kynsna visited at regular intervals and was on call. There was also a resident registered nurse with a dispensary.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets.
Water supply:	Piped water supply.
School:	School with teachers' quarters. Note, the school is still extant and is used by the local community.
Telephone:	None.

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22. Sources, CAD FOR 377 E230/B1, Bergplaats White Labour Forestry Settlement.

Table: 5-10

KARATARA[23]

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1922
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3322DD, 37527/00105. Fifty kilometres east of the village of George, forty-five kilometres west of Kynsna, near the site of the present village.
Settlers:	One hundred and fifty settlers. The first settlers came from the Rand following the strike and rebellion. Later settlers appear to have been predominately local poor whites.
Layout:	Divided into two adjacent villages. The original sites have probably been planted over and local sources are not able to identify them. The present village is dedicated to local retirees.
Housing:	A mixture of standard wood framed, galvanized steel clad cottages, lined with brick, and sod walled cottages roofed with galvanized steel or thatch.
Medical:	District Surgeon, Kynsna visited at regular intervals and was on call. A registered nurse was also housed in the settlement with a dispensary.
Sanitation:	Cess pits.
Water supply:	By pipe from a spring.
School:	School with teachers' quarters.
Telephone:	None.

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23. Sources, CAD FOR 379 E230/B3, Karatara White Labour Forestry Settlement, drawing, "Plan of Buildings for Forest Village of Karatara," 6 April, 1922.

Table: 5-11

OTTERFORD[24]

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1922.
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3325CC 37313/-00013. Seventeen kilometres north, northwest of the village of Loerie, east of the city of Port Elizabeth. The area planted was originally a farm taken over by the Crown.
Settlers:	One hundred and ninety-four settlers, reduced in April, 1927 and again in October. Final capacity, about fifty.
Layout:	The nature of the terrain meant that the settlement was divided between two sites with administration and other buildings scattered about on suitable, adjacent, sites.
Housing:	Round Nissan huts, approximately 4,5 metres in diameter. Each family was assigned two or three huts which were clustered together with the intention they could be linked. Huts were built on piled stone foundations. These huts were eventually replaced with the standard wood framed, galvanized steel clad three and four roomed cottages.
Medical:	District Surgeon, Humansdorp visited at regular intervals and was on call. Registered nurse with a hospital resident in camp.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets.
Water supply:	Laid on by pipe from spring to central reservoir, thence to stand pipes.
School:	School and teachers' quarters located near cottages. Note, the school and Post Office are still extant.
Telephone:	Installed.

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24. Sources, CAD FOR 382 E230/C3/4, Otterford White Labour Forestry Settlement.

Table: 5-12

BERLIN[25]

(Also known as Barrat's Berlin)

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1922-1923.
Location:	Map reference, sheet 2530DA, 9321/-00090. Six kilometres south, southeast of Elandshoek, west of Nelspruit. The farm, Berlin, was bought by the Crown just before the settlement was established.
Settlers:	One hundred and five settlers who were unemployed from the Rand, and later rural poor whites.
Layout:	Compact village arranged in five streets in a grid pattern. Planned by the Department of Forestry
Housing:	First cottages were round Nissan huts followed by wattle and daube walled cottages. Eventually, all were replaced by standard wood framed, galvanized steel clad cottages.
Medical:	District Surgeon, Waterval-Boven visited at regular intervals and was on call. Registered nurse with a hospital resident in camp.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets.
Water supply:	Laid on by pipe from spring on the farm, Scylla, three kilometres distant to a central reservoir, thence to stand pipes.
School:	School and teachers' quarters were located near the cottages.
Telephone:	Installed.

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25. CAD FOR 385 E230/E2, Berlin White Labour Forestry Settlement. Sabie Historical Cultural Forestry Museum, Archives, letter,J.P. Kliynhaus, P.O. Box 78, Barberton to W. Knoesen, P.O. Box 61, Graskop, n.d.

Table: 5-13

WEZA[26]

(Also known as Xumeni)

Summary of Facilities

Founded:	1923 The Temporary Relief Camp, Xumeni, probably was located in the area though it may have been located nearer Donnybrook.
Location:	Map reference, sheet 3029DA, 33875/00670. About half way between Harding and Kokstad, Natal (current town is approximately three kilometres to the East of the original location). The area to be afforested was made up of the farms, Mistlands, owner C.R. Rennie, Npatoane, Kokstad; Belfast, with the same owner; Elands Drift, owned by Mackenzie and Meyerowitz who also owned Egypt and Scylla; Lot A Thomasville, owned by W.H. MacMahon, Messina; The Border, owned by R. Faun, P.O. Box 8, Platrand, Tvl. who also owned, Blackwater, Chorley Vale and The Finish; Lots A3, B and C, Settle, owned by Scott Riddell, Braeside, Howick, Natal.
Settlers:	One hundred and twenty settlers who were unemployed from Johannesburg and Pretoria as well as destitute farmers from the Orange Free State.
Layout:	Cottages strung out along three kilometres of ridges lying parallel to the Amanzamyama River.
Housing:	Standard wood framed, galvanized steel cottages lined with sun-dried bricks for the settlers. Staff used existing farm houses.
Medical:	District Surgeon Harding visited at regular intervals and was on call. Registered nurse with a hospital resident in camp.
Sanitation:	Pit toilets.
Water supply:	Water was piped from a spring and distributed to standpipes dotted about the settlement.
School:	School and teachers' quarters were located near the cottages.
Telephone:	None.

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26. CAD FOR 399 E230/F1/1; FOR 400 E230/F1/2, Weza White Labour Forestry Settlement; FOR 187 A310/286, memo, Chief Conservator of Forests to Private Secretary, Minister of Lands, 2 February, 1922.