

RESEARCH PROJECT APPLICATION FORMAT

1 Title of the project

Steinaecker's Horse historical archaeological research project.

2 Contact details

2.1 *Senior researcher contact details

Dr AC van Vollenhoven, Director, Archaetnos Research.

Postal address: PO Box 55, Groenkloof, 0027

Tel: 012 343-0509

Fax: 086 520 4173

Mobile: 083 291 6104

e-mail: antonv@archaetnos.co.za

ID: 6601205088080

Physical address: 288 Walton Jameson Avenue, Clydesdale, Pretoria, 0002

3 Park(s) in which the study will be conducted

Kruger National Park

4 Keywords

Anglo-Boer War, outposts, Gaza Gray, Ngotso Mouth, Sanderson's internment camp, Gomondwane, Survey, border patrol

5 Rationale/Background/Introduction

The Anglo-Boer War took place between 1899 and 1902 in South Africa, and was fought between Great Britain and the two Boer republics, Transvaal (Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek) and the Orange Free State (Pretorius 1999: 247). Steinaecker's Horse was a volunteer military unit that fought on the side of the British. They operated mainly in the Lowveld and Swaziland (Pienaar 1990: 343).

The Anglo-Boer War is deemed one of the most important events in the history of South Africa and is studied by scholars from many countries. The proposed research is therefore of universal importance.

However, research on the war has mainly been done by historians. Another aspect of the Anglo Boer War that has not received much attention, is the role played by black people. A few historians e.g. Warwick (1983) made such a study, but this was never before done by archaeologists.

The current archaeological research for instance indicated that many black soldiers and local people joined Steinaecker's Horse at their different outposts. In some cases a clear social differentiation is evident, but at others this is not the case (see Van Vollenhoven et.al.1998a; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998b; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2006; Van Vollenhoven et.al 2007; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2008; Van Vollenhoven 2010). The explanation of these aspects together with others such as the organisation and site layout is important in understanding the way of life and circumstances of this unit. It will also serve as model for similar studies on other sites from this period. The proposed archaeological research is a continuation of a current research project and aimed at elucidating this part of history.

Up to now not much research has been done on Steinaecker's Horse. The only published information that could be obtained was from popular publications such as Diespecker (1996) who focussed on one specific aspect such as the origin of the name of the unit. The only sources that gave more detail on the unit are those of Pienaar (1990), Stevenson-Hamilton (1952), Woolmore (2006) and Wolhuter (1971), but as these are popular sources the information is not always scientifically sound. Although useful it is clear that a more scientific approach is needed and that archaeological research will bring new perspectives as was already shown by the current project on Steinaecker's Horse.

Archaeological research is the only way to determine the way of life and circumstances of Steinaecker's Horse. In this way it will be possible to write a comprehensive and representative history of the unit. The research done up to now by Archaeos only focussed on four sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse, being the outposts at Letaba, Sabi Bridge (Skukuza), Gaza Gray and Ngotso Mouth (Balule). This research was supplemented by studying archival material in the South African National Archives, the SanParks Archives and the British National Archives.

Although much was learned from the mentioned excavations, a comprehensive history can only be possible if more of the Steinaecker's Horse sites are investigated. The research has indicated the location of more of the sites associated with the unit. Some of these were physically located, but need to be confirmed as Steinaecker's Horse sites by means of archaeological excavations. This will also contribute to the contextualisation of existing information.

The above mentioned is studied from the material remains (cultural artefacts) excavated on these sites. The location of these sites, all against slopes close to rivers, however means that the cultural material is being washed away. At the Letaba site it was calculated that as much as 24 cm of topsoil was washed away within a 5 year period. With this numerous artefacts were lost. It is therefore of utmost importance that archaeological work continues in order to salvage as much as possible of these heritage objects and use it to write the history.

Furthermore the correct identification and interpretation of more sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse will be a valuable contribution to the heritage of the Kruger National Park and will increase research and tourism opportunities, especially in the field of cultural heritage management. This is in line with international trends as the management of cultural heritage resources and remains is of world importance (Renfrew & Bahn 1991: 471-473). Since 1992 this also became practice in South Africa (Deacon 1996: 841).

The Steinaecker's Horse research project will therefore also place the Kruger National Park at the forefront of international heritage management. The National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) also places emphasis on the preservation and management of heritage sites such as these. The proposed research will give recommendations for the sustainable management and protection of the mentioned sites and will be in line with widely accepted principles for cultural heritage management as explained by Van Vollenhoven (2000).

Lastly, the importance of Steinaecker's Horse in the history of the Lowveld should not be underestimated. The important role they played, although indirectly, in the establishment of the Kruger National Park is perhaps not well known. Some former members of the unit later on became rangers in the park and used their knowledge of the area, gained during the War to their, and ultimately, the Park's advantage. The second in command of the unit, Major A Greenhill-Gardyne, drafted a document concerning the conservation of the wild life in the area, which was used by Major Stevenson-Hamilton as a guide when he started working in the park. It is also indicated that many of the local people who associated with them, later on became game watchers due to the knowledge they gained whilst working with Steinaecker's Horse.

6 Objectives & Key Questions

6.1 Main aim:

To make use of archaeological methods, supplemented by other historical sources, to write a comprehensive and representative history of the Steinaecker's Horse unit in the Lowveld in order to preserve and conserve this part of history.

6.2 Objectives:

- To corroborate the legitimacy of different sites currently documented in the historical literature as being associated with Steinaecker's Horse
- To obtain additional background information on the Steinaecker's Horse unit by using archival and other historical sources
- To determine the geographical extent and influence of the activities of Steinaecker's Horse in the Kruger National Park
- To obtain information on the participation and role of black people on the sites especially in connection with their lifestyle and their position regarding the Anglo-Boer War as a whole, including the social differentiation between the different units and people at Steinaecker's Horse sites
- To recommend preservation and management measures for the different sites
- To identify research questions, gaps and opportunities relating to the different sites
- To make recommendations for cultural tourism opportunities and the management of the different sites

6.3 Key questions:

- Does the archaeological data from different sites (Ka-Nwamuriwane, Gaza Gray, Ngotso Mouth, Gomondwane and Sanderson's' internment camp) support the historical information that these are associated with Steinaecker's Horse?
- Does the collection of archival and other historical information relating to the Steinaecker's Horse unit add to the comprehensive and representative writing of the history of Steinaecker's Horse?
- Is it possible to identify additional sites used by Steinaecker's Horse by using archaeological and historical sources and thereby assist in determining the geographical extent and influence of the activities of the unit in the Kruger National Park?
- Does the comparison of excavated material from each particular site as well as from the different sites with each other, assist in obtaining information on the participation and role of black people on these sites, especially in relation to their lifestyle and their position regarding the

Anglo-Boer War as a whole, including the social differentiation between the different units and people at Steinaecker's Horse sites?

- Can the study of each site add to the monitoring of erosion and site degradation in order to be able to recommend preservation and heritage management measures?
- Will the research assist in identifying further research questions, gaps and opportunities relating to the different sites?
- To what extent can the assessment of the sites, regarding location, accessibility and extent of cultural material and features be used to recommend opportunities for cultural tourism and the management of thereof?

7 Work Procedure

Research material and methods:

- Archival research

Archival research into relevant data in the South African National archives and British National archives will be conducted and will continue in order to obtain more background information on the Steinaecker's Horse military unit. This is used to determine the number and locations (more or less) of the different sites as well as to obtain background information on the Steinaecker's Horse unit.

- Historical (literature and oral) research

A vast variety of sources will be consulted with the aim of obtaining information on the Steinaecker's Horse unit. This includes historical literature relating to the different artefacts excavated in order to make an accurate identification thereof. This would place it within a chronological context that can be utilised to link it to Steinaecker's Horse.

- Archaeological survey

A field survey will be done in order to physically locate the sites not yet found and to add them to the list of confirmed sites. These sites were identified during the archival and literature research. These will be documented with the aim of determining future research potential, the degradation thereof and for heritage management purposes.

This will be done after more research have been done on these sites, in order to obtain more information with regard to their location. After finding the sites it will

be incorporated in the project design for archaeological research and prioritized with the rest of the sites.

- Archaeological excavation

Excavations will be done at the sites with the aim of retrieving archaeological material. The amount that will be removed shall be determined by the depth of the archaeological deposit. The aim is to conduct about 4-6 excavations per year, depending on the time available due to natural factors such as rain and also from what can be determined from the first few excavations. Smaller sites will probably not be excavated to the same extent as larger ones.

A permit for excavating will be obtained from the South African Heritage Resources Agency. In accordance with the permit, the appropriate archaeological methods of data gathering and recording will be used. This includes surveying the sites, drawing maps and plans, taking photographs and documenting.

Based on the assessment of the sites, which is in accordance with the historical importance thereof, as stated under article 3 of the National Heritage Resources Act (No 25 of 1999), it is proposed that archaeological research continue on the following sites mentioned above.

The aim of such archaeological research will be to obtain information to be used as a comparison with the sites that have been investigated by archaeological means during the current project. This will enable the researchers to write a comprehensive history of Steinaecker's Horse.

Through excavation it will be possible to identify artefacts of the time period (roughly 1885-1910) and specifically to identify military objects, such as uniform buttons, ammunition and household objects known to have been used by the British army. Artefacts used by indigenous people will also be identified and will therefore assist in determining the influence these people had. As such it will be used to determine the role the different people played on each site and as a whole within the Steinaecker's Horse unit and Anglo-Boer War.

- Collection and preservation

Collection of material remains will be done during the process of excavating the sites. Due to the indications of the sites being washed away at a rapid pace this is necessary in order to prevent the permanent loss of cultural material. The objects will be packed with care and handled as fragile. Archaeologists will handle the issuing of the necessary permits in this regard in collaboration with the South African Heritage Resources Agency.

The material will, according to the standard of archaeological curation which is controlled by the South African Heritage Resources Agency, be kept preserved and curated by an approved cultural institution (the Ditsong Museum of Culture). This is in accordance with the National Heritage Resources act (25 of 1999), as the material must be curated by an institution accredited for this purpose because of its professionally trained staff and suitable storage facilities.

The material will however be made available to the South African National Parks once they comply with these standards. It could in the meantime also be made available to them for display and study purposes, if requested.

It should be mentioned that a display on the history and archaeology of Steinaecker's Horse, which includes material excavated at the Northern outpost, was put up at the Makhadzi picnic spot by Archaeos, therefore already giving something of the heritage back to its origin. Other such displays or the development of some of the sites with the regards to cultural tourism will also be informed by the research.

- Documentation

Documentation of these sites will be done according to standardised archaeological methodology. This will include location on 1:50 000 maps, taking GPS co-ordinates and photographing and describing the sites, features associated therewith and excavations. This will assist in plotting the sites in order to determine the geographical extent of the unit. As well as assist in the management thereof.

- Analysis and interpretation

The excavated material from each individual site will be analysed and interpreted with the help of specialists. Thereafter it will be compared with the material from other sites in order to highlight differences and similarities. The sites will also be compared with each other and interpreted with the help of specialists. This will help in answering the indicated research questions and therefore to write a comprehensive and representative history of Steinaecker's Horse and its role during the Anglo-Boer War, including the role played by black participants in the War, will be written.

The writing of a different report after the completion of each year's research will be the starting point for explanation and interpretation of the individual sites. However, a final explanation and interpretation will be given once the comprehensive history of this unit is written after completion of the project.

8 Strategic, Support and Logistics

The project is undertaken by Archaetnos Research as part of our social responsibility programme. The current project ends in 2013, but it has always been the plan to extend it in order to do a more complete study.

The duration of the proposed project is for three years, starting in 2017 up to 2019.

Time scales:

During each year of the duration of the project one visit of two weeks is needed for the archaeological research, which will include excavation of known sites and field surveys in order to locate sites not yet found. This should preferably be undertaken during the winter months, since rainfall during summer months will undoubtedly decrease the amount of time available. Additional visits for planning purposes may be needed, but these will be limited to a few days and the project leaders.

After each visit to the park the excavated material will be analysed and interpreted. This would take 3 months. Another 3 months are needed to complete the scientific report for each year. A final comprehensive report will be done after completion of the 3 year period. This would also include the results of the current project, ending in 2013.

The proposed program for the excavation of the sites is:

2017 – General survey
2018 – Gomondwane site
2019 – Ka-Nwamuriwane (Metsi-Metsi) site

The proposed plan may however be changed, depending on the excavation of sites showing them to have more or less potential than at present. This would result on it having to be excavated for a longer or shorter period of time. This will however be communicated with the Kruger National Park as soon as such a change is foreseen in order to adapt the programme in time without causing any inconvenience.

Beneficiaries:

- Kruger National Park (SanParks) – research reports and management information to be utilised in future
- Archaetnos – research benefits and information available for publication and conferences
- Students and volunteers – in the past we have made use of students and volunteers from the Universities of South Africa, Pretoria, Stellenbosch

and the Witwatersrand and will continue doing so. These people receive training in archaeological methodology and pick up valuable field experience.

What qualification if any will be obtained from the study?

Some of students from the current project have indicated that they would like to make use of certain aspects thereof, and of the proposed research, as part of their honours studies in Archaeology.

Who is the funding provider and what is the estimated cost of the project?

Archaetnos Research will fund the project from our research budget.

How will the study benefit the National Park's management objectives?

The excavation will be done in accordance with the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) which also serves as supporting legislation for the SANParks Policy on the conservation, management and promotion of Cultural Heritage. Amongst other issues, this legislation places the accountability for the protection and preservation of cultural resources on the land owner. The principles of conservation and preservation are imbedded in this application with regards to the sites mentioned.

The research follows a multi-disciplinary approach, including archaeology, history, zoology and architecture. The knowledge of people from the area, for instance descendants of some of the Steinaecker's Horse soldiers and the followers of Chief Mpisane Khumalo from Thulamahashe, is also included. The project specifically includes the indigenous people as this is the part of the history of the Anglo-Boer War that was neglected for a long time. Due to a lack of historical sources in this regards, the archaeological evidence is the main source of studying the contribution of these groups.

In line with the principles of the SANParks policy, this project acknowledges the following:

- The rich and diverse cultural heritage of South Africa
- Giving management guidelines to SANParks for the sustainable preservation and utilization of those cultural resources applicable to this project
- Taking into account the cultural assets and integrating it into the physical and development planning and park management
- Enabling SANParks to make informed decisions relating to these cultural heritage sites
- Ensuring the mitigation of possible negative impacts on the cultural heritage sites included in this project

- Determining resource significance, reconstructing history and image building to benefit SANParks
- Promoting a multi-disciplinary approach and adding to sensitivity and respect relating to cultural resources

This will undoubtedly assist SANParks in the effective management of these resources as well as the possible utilization thereof for educational purposes, capacity building and the tourism benefit of visitors. This will be reached by fully researching, documenting and recording the applicable sites.

The project will also add to the inventory of cultural resources in all parks and will include status reports to be utilized for management purposes. The project entails the constant monitoring of the sites with relation to possible degradation thereof and the potential solving of these matters.

Lastly the project makes a contribution to skills development and capacity building. Many students do not get the chance (even through their universities) to frequently participate in archaeological excavations. The project has made use of students in the past and will do this in future. Through this students are presented to opportunity to obtain the necessary field work experience which is of cardinal importance in the field of archaeology.

Archaetnos Research has in the past given public lectures in some of the rest camps where we stayed during our research visits (co-ordinated by SANParks officials) and are prepared to do that again in order to enhance the scope of this project and SANParks' contribution to the preservation of our cultural heritage.

What assistance is expected from SANParks?

- Approval of the project proposal in principle as soon as possible. This will support the research team in planning.
- Entrance permits for vehicles on each research visit.
- Assistance with acquiring accommodation at the nearest rest camp to the site where research will be done for a particular year (to be paid by Archaetnos).
- A game guard to accompany the researchers to the relevant site every day for the yearly research period of two weeks during the winter months (to be paid for by Archaetnos).
- Ad-hoc administrative assistance for liaison with officials from the Kruger National Park.

9 Monitoring and Risks

Major Milestones:

As already stated a report will be tabled to the Kruger National Park each year after the research visit to the Park. This will mean the following:

2015 – Report on the excavation of the site at Gaza Gray
2016 – Report on the excavation of the site Gaza Gray
2017 – Report on the excavation of the site at Gaza Gray: Sanderson's
internment camp

This will be followed by a comprehensive report on the research at these and previous sites excavated.

Past benefits to the South African National Parks:

- a. Articles regarding the research have already been published in KOEDOE, the Research Journal of the National Cultural History Museum, the Annals of the Transvaal Museum and the South African Journal of Cultural History.
- b. Public lectures were given to tourists during previous research excursions to the Kruger National Park.
- c. Lectures were given on various occasions at National and International conferences on the Anglo-Boer War, archaeology and cultural history.
- d. The Kruger National Park received 10 research reports on the research already completed, including a full documentation of the sites and artefacts excavated.
- e. A display regarding the research at the Northern outpost was installed at the Mopani rest camp and later moved to the Makhadzi picnic spot. It emphasises the role that the Park plays in the management and preservation of its cultural heritage.

Future benefits to the South African National Parks:

- a. Further historical and archaeological research for heritage management purposes.
- b. New research and information about black participation in the Anglo-Boer War.
- c. The possibility of erecting more displays at suitable venues in the Kruger National Park or developing more cultural sites as tourist attractions.
- d. Lectures can be presented to tourists in different camps during the project.
- e. The contribution to the scientific community e.g. the writing of articles and giving lectures at conferences.
- f. The research will emphasize the involvement of the SA National Parks and particularly the Kruger National Park in the involvement of cultural heritage conservation and tourism.
- g. Any other appropriate use by SA National Parks.

Project Risks:

No real risk is foreseen. However one possibility may be mentioned:

- The staffing component is seen as low risk.

Environmental Impact:

The environmental impact of the project is very low. Archaeological excavations are done by hand with trowels and brushes. Only in extreme cases picks and shovels are used. Therefore no heavy machinery is involved.

It is standard practice in archaeology to fill excavations with the same soil coming from them. The excavation rehabilitate reasonably quick so that in one or two years time one can not detect where it was done.

10 Literature Review

Steinaecker's Horse was a volunteer military unit that fought on the side of the British. It operated mainly in the Lowveld and Swaziland (Pienaar 1990: 343). They are one of the lesser-known units and were not reported on regularly, possibly because the unit was not regarded as having a significant role during the War.

From what is to follow, it however will become clear that the unit did play an important role during the War, but that it had more importance in creating a suitable environment for the establishment of the Kruger National Park. The historical information given here focus on background information on the Commanding Officer of the unit, Ludwig von Steinaecker, the Steinaecker's Horse unit and the different outposts they established during the War.

Francis Christiaan Ludwig von Steinaecker

The Steinaecker's Horse unit was formed by Francis Christiaan Ludwig von Steinaecker, a former Prussian-German soldier with vast military experience (SA National Museum of Military History 920; Forsyth 1972: 20-23). His life story is that of an adventurer, somewhat controversial and eventually ending under tragic circumstances.

He was born on 28 September 1854 in Berlin, Germany (NAD, MHG 32062). His father was Colonel Baron Von Steinaecker of the Prussian Guard and his mother Baroness Von Thumen of Liegnitz. His military career started in 1871 when he entered the Prussian Army (Leinz Grenadiers). He resigned eight years later to join the ruling prince of Battenburg (Bulgaria), Prince Alexander, in his military voyages (Conway 1978: 30; Jones 1996: 6).

The next thing known about him is that he came to Southern Africa in 1886, working as a cartographer in German South West Africa (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 6-8). After having a disagreement with the colonial government he went

to the Cape Colony in 1889 in connection with a German filibustering expedition to Pondoland (Bornman 2004: 2; Jones 1996: 6).

During 1890 he settled in the Port Shepstone district in Natal, where he managed a farm for one Charles Reed (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998: 6-8; Bornman 2004: 2). He became chairman of the Port Shepstone Political Association and therefore corresponded with the government on a variety of issues regarding the development of the town. He stayed in 52 Aitken Street (Jones 1996: 6). He became a British subject on 29 June 1897. Von Steinaecker later went into partnership with CF Kniesel as a contractor, but the business failed and he was declared bankrupt on 13 September 1899 (Jones 1996: 6). After the Anglo-Boer War broke out he enlisted as a private in the Colonial Scouts in November 1899 (Forsyth 1972: 21; Stirling 1907: 271; Jones 1996: 6). The Colonial Scouts unit was raised by the Natal Government (Bornman 2004: 2).

Von Steinaecker rose rapidly to squadron quartermaster-sergeant. He was transferred to the intelligence department on promotion to the rank of lieutenant (Jones 1996: 6; Bornman 2004: 2; Diespecker 1996: 98; Stirling 1907: 271; Cattrick 1959: 178). In December of that year, and early in 1900 he approached General Sir R Henry Buller, the commander in Natal, with a proposal to blow up the railway bridge at Komatipoort behind the Boer lines in order to hamper their retreat. This was allowed and Von Steinaecker recruited six men, from the Colonial Scouts, at £1 per day, with rations. They travelled through Eshowe, Zululand and eventually reached the homestead of Mbudula Mahlalela, on the Lebombo Range, who lived at Lomahasha (sic) on the border between Swaziland and Mozambique (Bornman 2004: 2; Diespecker 1996: 98; Stirling 1907: 271; Cattrick 1959: 178; Jones 1996: 6-7). Nomahasha became his first headquarters.

Diespecker gives indications that this plan might not have originated with Von Steinaecker, but with the British Intelligence Command. From the version by Jones (1996: 1-6) it is clear that the plan originated with the British Intelligence in Lourenco Marques, but that it seemed as if the plan leaked out and therefore it was disposed of. According to Matsebula (1972: 87) Steinaecker recruited seven men for this task. On his way through Swaziland, the number of his followers grew to 40 and they were nicknamed the 'Forty thieves'.

They intended to blow up the Great Komati Bridge, but it was too heavily guarded (Jones 1996: 6-7; Diespecker 1996: 98; Stirling 1907: 272; Cattrick 1959: 178). Von Steinaecker returned to Lourenco Marques, where it was decided to blow up a smaller bridge close to Malelane as this was unguarded. The unit was equipped again and they obtained the assistance of JB Holgate as a guide (Diespecker 1996: 98; Stirling 1907: 272; Cattrick 1959: 178; Jones 1996: 6-7). For this purpose they packed 100 pounds of explosives around the 80 feet high bridge and nearby pump house. On 17 June 1900 this task was completed. As a result of the damages a goods train was wrecked. The driver and stoker, CA

Samuelson, was killed and the guard badly injured. The blowing up of the bridge halted traffic for fourteen days (Jones 1996: 7; Bornman 2004: 3).

They then moved back to Lubombo in Swaziland followed by a small party of Boers under command of Commandant GMJ van Dam of the State Artillery, which were sent to investigate the matter of the blowing up of the railway (Jones 1996: 8). Colonel Van Dam and Lieutenant Schripley of the Boer forces enquired about Von Steinaecker's whereabouts at the homestead of Chief Mbhudula Mahlalela, but were ambushed by Von Steinaecker. Schripley was killed and Van Dam captured (Matsebula 1972: 87). Some sources indicate that several Boers were killed (Diespecker 1996: 98; Jones 1996: 8; Stirling 1907: 272).

These incidents impressed General Buller and on his return to Natal Von Steinaecker persuaded the military authorities to fund an irregular corps led by him to patrol the Portuguese border. He was thus permitted to raise his own cavalry unit, called Steinaecker's Horse. Von Steinaecker was now promoted to the rank of major and started recruiting refugees from the Transvaal and Swaziland to his force (Stirling 1907: 271; Bornman 2004: 3; Cattrick 1959: 178; Forsyth 1972: 21).

More successes against the Boers followed and there were indications that the Boers believed the corps to have a strength of up to 200 men. The British realised it could therefore be useful to them to increase the actual number of the unit (Jones 1996: 8). Von Steinaecker was therefore allowed to increase the numbers of his unit. This mounted force was initially restricted to a total of 300 men, who were paid ten shillings per day, together with an allowance of pickles, fresh milk and rum or whisky, to 'ward off fever' (Bornman 2004: 3; Cattrick 1959: 178). Later on the unit had a strength of 450 men, mostly consisting of local inhabitants of the Lowveld region. They operated in the Lowveld and Swaziland and although they did not experience much action, they were involved in a few skirmishes against the Boers (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 8; S.A. National Museum of Military History: 920; Forsyth 1972: 20-23; Paynter 1986: 48).

Von Steinaecker was promoted to lieutenant colonel towards the end of the War and he received the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) on 8 April 1902 (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31). During 1907 he tried to raise a permanent commission with the British Army, but was unsuccessful (NAD, SNA 321, NA 1321/06).

After the War he tried to establish his unit as a permanent border guard. However after going to London and trying to take part in the coronation procession of King Edward VII with his own contingent, he was removed from his command. On his return to Komatipoort, he seized his command again and proceeded with his duties (Cattrick 1959: 180-181). Only after almost two more years had passed, he was finally relieved of his command.

After the War he became a farmer, but was not very successful. John Travers, a former member of Steinaecker's Horse, took pity on him and allowed him to live on his farm Champagne in the Lydenburg district (Bornman 2004: 5; Cattrick 1959: 182). It is not certain when he left, but after having a difference in opinion with his employer he was asked to leave the farm. He eventually poisoned himself with strychnine on 30 April 1917 (Bornman 2004: 5). He is buried near Acornhoek (NAD, MHG 32062; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 9).

Founding of Steinaecker's Horse

It has been mentioned that Von Steinaecker was permitted to raise his own cavalry unit in 1900 (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998: 8; Bornman 2004: 3), which became known as Steinaecker's Horse from early 1901 (Bornman 2004: 3). This came into being under Army Order 214 of 7 November 1900, meaning that the unit was raised as a unit of the British Army and it seized to be a guerrilla unit funded by the intelligence. Its headquarters were now established at Komatipoort and it had a depot in Pietermaritzburg (Jones 1996: 10).

Their barracks were on the border with Mozambique and the remains of cement platforms, forts and other buildings linked to them are still to be seen on the Lebombo Mountain close to Komatipoort (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2004: 45). The stone enclosures, where the horses were stabled at night, to protect them from marauding lions, and the canon positions, pointing inland, are also still in evidence (Bornman 2004: 3). The unit was under the command of the South African Mounted Irregular Forces (Diespecker 1996: 101).

The Steinaecker's Horse unit eventually comprised about 450 white soldiers and 300 black troops, consisting of Swazi, Pedi and Shangane. Although most of the members of the unit were local inhabitants of the Lowveld, some officers and men were seconded to the unit from the British Army and Cape Mounted Rifles (Cattrick 1959: 179). It was however not only the British who made use of black troops. Prove was also found that the Boers used black spies at Komatipoort (NAD, SS0, R 8433X/00).

After the capture of Komatipoort by the British in September 1900, the unit was sent to Sabi Bridge along the Selati railway line to pursue a Boer convoy, but was unsuccessful. They were accompanied by Captain ADG Greenhill-Gardyne of the Gordon Highlanders. During this trip trooper Smart was attacked by a lion and he died later of his injuries (Jones 1996: 9-10). Greenhill-Gardyne later on became the Second-in-command of the unit.

The unit was essentially self-contained and ran its own workshops, transport and intelligence system and made use of a haphazard train service between Komatipoort and Sabi Bridge (now Skukuza) in the Kruger National Park (Stirling 1907: 273; Bornman 2004: 3).

It is also known that the British Intelligence frequently liaised with Von Steinaecker during the War (Diespecker 1996: 2). It is for instance indicated that the unit received their supplies from Lourenco Marques (Diespecker 1996: 3). A letter written by a certain A Campbell from the British Consulate in Lourenco Marques to Colonel Sandbach on 14 August 1900, makes reference to Steinaecker's Horse and the role they fulfilled during that time (Diespecker 2000: 2-3). In the letter it is mentioned that the work done by Steinaecker's Horse is pleasing and that their well-arranged patrols led the Boers to believe they are far more in number than what they really were.

It is interesting to note that there existed a secret agreement between the British and Portuguese Government that the last mentioned would stay neutral during the war (Diespecker 1996: 1; Diespecker 2000: 1-9). This was called the Anglo-Portuguese Agreement of 14 October 1900. One can however reason that the good relations between Mozambique and the ZAR may have necessitated such an agreement. Pro-Boer people probably did not keep this agreement and therefore such a border guard was a necessity.

To equip his unit, Von Steinaecker ordered a large amount of weapons. This included no less than 100 000 rounds of carbine ammunition, 10 000 Maxim cartridges with belts as well as 1 000 revolver cartridges, fifty carbines with buckets and bandoliers, fifty revolvers, a Maxim tripod, a mountain gun and six mule loads of ammunition as well as clothing and sundry equipment for the horses (Diespecker 1996: 99; Jones 1996: 108). He was also given full support in assisting him to raise his unit. On his request he also now assumed the rank of major (Diespecker 1996: 99). The unit even had its own badge.

Von Steinaecker designed his own uniform. It consisted of a long double-breasted khaki frock coat with large silver buttons and epaulettes. He wore a flat Guardsman's cap with silver lace decorations. On his feet he wore riding breeches and boots with enormous spurs. A large sabre buckled to his waist and adorned with silver aiguillettes rounded off the uniform (Cattrick 1959: 180).

Role of Steinaecker's Horse during the War

Von Steinaecker was given permission to raise his own cavalry unit after blowing up the Malelane train bridge. He now made his base at Nomahasha and raided Bremersdorp in March 1901 (Matsebula 1972: 87). This incident shows that Von Steinaecker himself engaged in some controversial actions. During the capture of Bremersdorp they raided the town and captured eight Boers and some wagons and supplies (Bornman 2004: 3; Matsebula 1972: 87). A detachment of the corps stayed there until the town was besieged by the Boer commando of General Tobias Smuts and Hans Grobler on 24 July 1901.

Von Steinaecker, being warned of the coming attack, fled the town on the previous night, leaving his men to defend the village as best they could. He

however failed to nominate a detachment commander. Captain HO Webstock, who was in charge of the town detachment, claimed the honour, but was overruled by Captain AD Greenhill-Gardyne who was the only officer with regular military experience.

Under conflicting instructions Steinaecker's Horse retreated during the night of 22/23 July, and the Boers then infiltrated and surrounded the town. The Boers burned the small town, released Prince Mancibane and presented him with one of the wagons abandoned by Steinaecker's Horse (Bornman 2004: 4). During the attack four members of Steinaecker's Horse were killed, four wounded and seventeen taken prisoner. Captain Greenhill-Gardyne, second-in-command of the unit, managed to escape with the rest of the men (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31; Stirling 1907: 274; Matsebula 1972: 88-89). According to Matsebula (1972: 90) Von Steinaecker was now promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and his unit increased to 600 men.

When the unit established its headquarters at Komatipoort, Von Steinaecker commandeered Selati House, the house of Jules Diespecker, the General Manager of the railway, and even made Mr Diespecker his private secretary (Cattrick 1959: 180).

According to some historians, Steinaecker's Horse was reputedly engaged in some controversial activities, such as looting (Jones 1996: 103). Information in this regard was also found in the National Archives in Pretoria. For instance, a certain Gustav Schwab, who owned a store in Swaziland, wrote a letter to the Commissioner for Swaziland, in which he put in a claim for money which members of Steinaecker's Horse stole when they were in Bremersdorp and Oshoek (NAD, CS 29, 3864/01; Letter from G. Schwab to the Resident Commissioner for Swaziland, 03.08.1901).

Steinaecker's Horse also raided various settlements, including Hhohho. They burgled the store of George Hutchinson and burned important historical documents regarding the history of Swaziland in the process. The store of BB Stewart at the foot of the Ngwenya range was also raided by them and a large amount of money stolen from him (Matsebula 1972: 87).

Another incident was that of goods taken from Ringler's store (presumably close to Komatipoort) in 1900. Apparently, around 13 October 1900, members of Steinaecker's Horse paid Mr Ringler a visit. Colonel Von Steinaecker himself told Ringler that he was neutral during the war as he was a German subject. This clearly was a lie. They found weapons, ammunition and three horses, which Ringler admitted belonged to Boers, as well as two full ZAR State Artillery uniforms. As Ringler was an outspoken pro-Boer he was captured and later deported.

In a report to the Compensations Board, the Commandant of Komatipoort, Lieutenant-Colonel JA Ansby, writes that troops from Steinaecker's Horse took the following from the store: on 16 October - 3 oxen, 7 cows and 3 calves; on 18 October - 1 iron bed and spring mattress, 1 coir mattress and spring mattress, 1 small iron bedstead, 1 meat safe, 3 scales, 1 mealie stamper, 1 mealie mill, 5 saws, 1 stove, 1 anvil, 4 scales, 9 coils iron wire, 2 small billy pots, 6 fire irons, 1 DB shot gun, 4 bread pans, 1 table, 1 bread trough, 2 boxes books, 1 set tools, 18 fowls and ducks since dead and 2 horses since dead. Apart from the animals, which are clearly stated not to be alive any more, all the other goods were kept at the quartermaster of Steinaecker's Horse at Komatipoort (NAD: PMO 42, PM 2835/01, Letter from the Commandant at Komatipoort to the Provost Marshall at Army Headquarters in Pretoria, 16.12.1901).

Although this document gives information on the activities of the Steinaecker's Horse unit, it also gives an insight into consumer goods of the time. Other information also shows that Steinaecker's Horse made use of livestock from local people for their own purposes (Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 14-15). Chances therefore are quite good that the fowls and ducks were used to supplement the diet of the soldiers.

Wolhuter (1948: 57-59) for instance also indicates how they took possession of a herd of cattle belonging to Abel Erasmus and took it to Sabi Bridge. These were eventually handed over to the officer commanding the outpost at Gomondwane.

The unit also did not have good relationships with some of the local people. Although they were sometimes assisted by the Swazi, some Swazi people were opposed to Steinaecker's Horse because they captured Mancibane, son of Sobhuza I, whom they suspected of pro-Boer sympathies (Matsebula 1972: 87; Bornman 2004:3). In another incident Captain E Holgate had a Swazi executed for allegedly spying (Bornman 2004: 3).

The way in which Bill Sanderson was dealt with also indicate that Steinaecker's Horse did not adhere to the strict rules of the British Army. Sanderson decided to stay neutral during the War since he had a large amount of friends and acquaintances among the Boer population and was also a burgher of the Republic. After a short spell on Commando, he was allowed to return to his farm in the Lowveld. However, soon after Steinaecker's Horse had settled in Komatipoort, the Intelligence Department heard that an Englishman (Bill Sanderson) was stranded amongst the Boers near Legogote and was unable to get away. It was also reported that he possessed cattle and several good horses, which the Boers were likely to make use of. A message was sent to him that a force would be sent to rescue him, to which he replied that it was unnecessary.

This led Steinaecker's Horse to believe that he was a traitor and in contact with the enemy. After establishing that he has been on commando with the Boers, it was decided to remove him by force. Therefore Steinaecker's Horse marched to

Legogote where they forced the unwilling Sanderson to pack as much of his household goods as he could onto two wagons, collect his horses, cattle, and other livestock, and take to the road.

The unit was eager to be off, as no one knew at what moment the enemy might appear in force. Their anxiety seemed justified for as they were leaving, shots were fired from the hill above. In the hurry some cattle were left behind and pounced upon by the Boers, who looked on them as spoils of war. The Boers, who were all neighbours, came to the conclusion that Bill Sanderson, whom they looked upon as one of them, had gone over to the British. They therefore cleared up everything that had been left behind, occupied his house and used the corn mill.

Sanderson in the meantime was having a difficult time. He was interrogated regarding his activities in the War, was interned, allotted a camping site in a hot and malaria-stricken spot close to the Lebombo near the Sabie Gorge, and kept there under observation. His best horses and rifles were commandeered, under promise of compensation, which he never received. After the members of Steinaecker's Horse learned that the Boers were using his mill for grinding their corn, they blew up the latter (Bornman 2004: 4-5). According to Bornman he eventually was forced to become a member of Steinaecker's Horse, but he is not listed in Woolmore's book and it is therefore assumed that he never took up arms against the Boers.

Another incident occurred towards the end of the War. Captain Forbes from Steinaecker's Horse attacked a small commando of Boers under command of Commandant Vermaak in Swaziland. Vermaak was killed and the women and children that were with him captured (Matsebula 1972: 90).

At least once members of Steinaecker's Horse also captured foreigners under suspicious circumstances. This led to an investigation by the British Military. The report on this incident includes letters from different members of Steinaecker's Horse. Not only does this give the researcher's insight into the apparent controversial nature of the unit, but also provides the names of some unit members.

In his letter of the incident, the Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse, then Major Von Steinaecker, states that 16 foreigners fighting on the side of the Boers, were captured at Nomahash (sic) after they tried to cross the border (NAD: PMO 28, PM 2835/01, Letter from Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse to the Commandant of Komatipoort, 01.08.1901). The Officer Commanding the piquet at Signal Hill on the Kalishan Mountain, Lieutenant GF Arran Gore, who captured the enemy, names the following members of the unit: Sergeant-Major Robinson from the Steinaecker's Horse scouts, Captain Webbstock and a certain Holgate. He also states that one person was killed in the process of capturing the enemy (NAD: PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Letter from

Officer Commanding piquet at Signal Hill to the Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse, 13.09.1901). Apart from these names, this is the only outpost other than the headquarters of Steinaecker's Horse at Komatipoort and the post at Sabi Bridge, mentioned in archival records.

Captain HO (he signs his name differently in the same document HO and HD) Webbstock gives the following information in his account of the event. Apparently Captain Gardyne visited the Swazi queen and was told of the seventeen persons trying to cross the border by her. He also mentions Holgate, but includes his rank, being captain (NAD: PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Letter from Captain H.O. Webbstock to Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse, 13.09.1901).

Captain JB Holgate was apparently stationed at Sabi Bridge. He writes about the incident from there, but does not include any new information (NAD: PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Letter from Captain J.B. Holgate to Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse, 14.09.1901).

From another letter written by Von Steinaecker, it is learned that Sergeant WF Walters also was a member of the unit (NAD: PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Letter from the Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse to the Brigade Major at Barberton, 15.10.1901). On the same date the Adjutant of Steinaecker's Horse, Captain ADG Gardyne also wrote a statement regarding the incident, but without providing any new information (NAD: PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Statement by Captain A.D.G. Gardyne, 15.10.1901).

From these documents it is clear that the foreigners were not armed, but that they did not stop when asked to do so. After their capture letters were also written by their consuls to the British as they had apparently got their clearance from the Boers and were all on their way home to their respective countries of origin (NAD, PMO 28, PM 1973/01).

The most important of Steinaecker's Horse's military encounters with the enemy was the Battle of Fort Mpisane, the last of the conventional military actions between Boer and British forces in the Lowveld. It was one of the various forts Von Steinaecker had erected in the Lowveld (Bornman 2004: 2). The battle took place on 7 August 1901 when Boer forces from the Lydenburg Commando under Commandant Piet Moll attacked the fort that was occupied by members of Steinaecker's Horse as well as some local pro-British black people (Skukuza Archives, J Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 3; Stirling 1907: 274; Bornman 2004: 5).

The British eventually surrendered to the Boers. Although the battle had obviously no effect on the outcome of the Anglo-Boer War, it did seriously damage the operations of Steinaecker's Horse in the region (Pelser 1999: 54-57). During this confrontation the officer in charge of the fort, Captain HF Francis, and many of the Shangane troops, were killed (Bornman 2004: 5).

Lord Roberts also made mention of one of the successes of Steinaecker's Horse. He mentions them capturing 16 Boers trying to cross the border with ammunition from Portuguese territory to Nomahasha on 8 November 1900 (Stirling 1907: 273). This might refer to the above mentioned incident.

At the end of August 1901, a small party of Steinaecker's Horse, under command of Captain Greenhill-Gardyne, captured 11 Boers, some wagons and much stock 150 miles north of Komatipoort. In February 1902, Captain Holgate and 16 men captured 18 Boers on the Swaziland border (Stirling 1907: 275).

After this an extra squadron of Steinaecker's Horse was raised for service in the Pietersburg Lowveld under Colonel Colenbrander. This squadron had one serious engagement with the enemy on 16 April 1902. Five men were killed and 12 men, including Lieutenant Robertson, were wounded (Stirling 1907: 275).

It has been indicated that Von Steinaecker tried to establish his unit as a permanent border guard after the War. In doing so they posed quite a problem to Stevenson-Hamilton when he started working in what is today known as the Kruger National Park. On 1 August 1902, a few months after the War ended (31 May 1902) the members of Steinaecker's Horse still manned four posts. These consisted of roughly forty white men and 150 natives (Skukuza Archives, Report of the Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903).

The Steinaecker's Horse unit was only dispersed at the end of 1902. The Customs Department took over their frontier posts as far as the Olifants River (Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 51; 102). In a letter to the Native Commissioner on 6 February 1903, Stevenson-Hamilton again states that Lieutenant-Colonel Steinaecker's corps was still not disbanded (Skukuza archives: Letter from Major J. Stevenson-Hamilton to the Native Commissioner of Lydenburg, 06.02.1903). This was because Steinaecker (unsuccessfully) tried to establish his unit as a permanent border guard.

The corps was however eventually disbanded on 17 February 1903 and replaced by a detachment of the South African Constabulary (Pienaar 1990: 353; Bornman 2004: 5). Diespecker (1996: 101) indicates this date as being 7 February 1903. Since he uses primary sources, it seems likely that this date is the correct one.

Contribution of Steinaecker's Horse to the establishment of the Kruger National Park

It is necessary to end this section on the history of the unit with the emphasis on the important role the unit played in the establishment of the Kruger National Park. The Steinaecker's Horse unit and some of its members greatly influenced the history of the Park. It can indeed be stated that the unit's most enduring

legacy is the important role that some of its members played in the establishment of the Park.

At the Sabi Bridge post they erected a block house at the southern end of the temporary bridge (Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7; S.A. National Museum of Military History: 920; Cartwright n.d.: 1). This post seems to have been their largest outpost, with only their Komatipoort headquarters being bigger. It is therefore this unit who started using this site which later on became the headquarters of the Kruger National Park, today known as Skukuza. The first warden of the park, Major J Stevenson-Hamilton, used the blockhouse as an office after September 1902 (Skukuza Archives, Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7). Unfortunately nothing seems to be left of this blockhouse and the camp associated with it.

Although the battle at Fort Mpisane had no influence on the War, it did have an influence on the outcome of the history of the park. Captain Francis, the commanding officer at the fort was killed in the battle (Skukuza Archives, Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7). Only five days before the battle he wrote a letter in which he stated that he was interested in the position of ranger for the park, for which he was recommended. He also wrote that he had much success in stopping the black people from hunting, especially close to Steinaecker's Horse's outposts (Skukuza Archives, letter 02.08.1901).

The last mentioned remark refers to the indiscriminate hunting activities some of the members of the unit were involved in. Subsequently the second-in-command of Steinaecker's Horse, Major A Greenhill-Gardyne, wrote a report about the preservation of the wildlife in the area. Not only did this report put an end to these practices since it clearly stated rules to the members of Steinaecker's Horse to stop them from the indiscriminate hunting of wildlife, but it was also used as a guide when the Park was started after the Anglo Boer War (Skukuza Archives, report 03.06.1902). In fact, Stevenson-Hamilton relied heavily on this document in establishing principles for the preservation of wildlife in the area.

When the unit started operating in this area, they had a negative effect on the wildlife, because of the mentioned indiscriminate hunting. According to Major Stevenson-Hamilton's report for 1903 the members of Steinaecker's Horse "...got their meat almost entirely from the game which they shot." (Skukuza Archives, report 29.11.1903). He also stated that all the natives that were employed by Steinaecker's Horse were armed with Martini Henry rifles and that they were killing animals more irresponsibly than the white men.

The members of the unit however did stop the local black people from hunting in their vicinity and in the neighbourhood of Sabi Bridge. Species such as (blue) wildebeest, impala, zebra and warthog are mentioned and he stated that in some areas some of the antelopes were almost completely exterminated. These practices ended only during the first half of 1903 when most of the people concerned had left the park (Skukuza Archives, report 29.11.1903).

Some of the members of Steinaecker's Horse were later employed as game rangers in the park as they knew the area and the local people well. Major James Stevenson-Hamilton, first warden of the park, indeed stated this in his annual report for 1902 as a pre-requisite for becoming a ranger (Skukuza Archives, Annual report, 1902). These included EG (Gaza) Gray - appointed 12 August 1902 (Skukuza Archives, List of Rangers, 1902-1903; Cattrick 1959: 183), HC (Harry) Wolhuter - appointed 15 August 1902 (Skukuza Archives, Staff of the Government Game Reserve, 1904; Cattrick 1959: 183) and SH (Harold) Trollope - Ranger of Malelane between 1925 and 1928 (Skukuza Archives, unnumbered photograph; Pienaar 1990: 347) .

The information on this unit also shows that it frequently made use of members of the local black community as servants. The excavations at the outpost close to Letaba suggest that these people stayed with the members of Steinaecker's Horse at the sites. It also is not impossible that members of some of the black military units, such as the Native Police and Black Watch, were present at the different outposts manned by Steinaecker's Horse.

Members of the Native Police were also employed by the Park as game watchers after the War (Skukuza Archives, list of Native Police or watchers, 1902-1903). This probably was a result of their knowledge of the area, which they obtained while working with the Steinaecker's Horse unit. Some of the local indigenous people were also employed as game watchers as a result of the knowledge they obtained whilst working with the unit.

The second-in-command of Steinaecker's Horse, Major A.D. Greenhill-Gardyne, only became a member of Steinaecker's Horse after joining them on a patrol between Komatipoort and Sabi Bridge which offered him the opportunity for hunting. He originally was a member of the Gordon Highlanders (Greenhill-Gardyne 1972: 246). He wrote a report about the preservation of the wild life in the area, which was used as a guide when the park was started. He also stated that clear rules were set out to the members of Steinaecker's Horse to stop them from indiscriminate hunting of wild life (Skukuza archives: Report by Major A. Greenhill-Gardyne, 03.06.1902). This document and the experience former members of the unit brought to the park in the early years, is witness to the important role it played in the history of the Lowveld and the establishment of the Kruger National Park.

Sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse

It has already been mentioned that the main function of the Steinaecker's Horse unit was to act as a border guard, in order to prevent the Boers from making contact with pro-Boer people in the Portuguese territory (Mozambique). For this purpose a number of outposts were established (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998: 8-

10). Stirling (1907: 273) indicated that they had more than a dozen permanent posts.

Unfortunately very little is known about the location of these outposts. Twelve of these are shown on a map (Personal communication: B Woolmore), but the scale of the map is too large to give any assistance in physically locating them. Seven of these lie to the south of the Kruger National Park in Swaziland of which two are known to be Nomahasha and Signal Hill on the Kalishan Mountain. Another camp is said to have been 96 km south of Komatipoort (Diespecker 1996: 99). Four of these are located within the boundaries of the Park and one is at Komatipoort, which was their headquarters after moving it from Nomahasha (Cattrick 1959: 180; Diespecker 2000: 4).

The four sites in the Park probably are (from south to north) the site of Sardelli's shop at Gomondwane, the Gaza Gray outpost or the site where Bill Sanderson was interned, Muntshu at the northern bank of Mlondozi Spruit west of Metsi-Metsi mouth and the site at Sabi Bridge (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003a: 15-18, 20-23).

From other sources some other sites in the Kruger National Park were also identified. These are KaNwamuriwane, Bottelkop at the northern bank of the Crocodile River close to the confluence with the Komati River, Outspan, a temporary outpost close to Nwanedzi called Ngotso Mouth and the Northernmost (Letaba or Makhadzi) outpost (Pienaar 1990: 345; Personal comment: U de V Pienaar). Another known site is that of Fort Mpisane at Bushbuckridge just west of the Park (Pienaar 1990: 345). Woolmore (2006: 74) also mentions a post named Kilo 104. This brings the total of Steinaecker's Horse sites to nineteen of which ten are located within the boundaries of the Kruger National Park.

Some old piquets are indicated on a map drawn by Stevenson-Hamilton in 1903 (Skukuza archives: J. Stevenson-Hamilton, Game preservation document, 13.10.1903). It is possible that this map is not very accurate. In this case it could provide (inaccurate) information on the location of some of Steinaecker's Horse's outposts.

By using this and two other historical maps and other information, eleven of the sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse could be identified. The site mentioned above close to the Makhadzi Spruit, was the first one to be physically located and since no specific information regarding it was found in historical records, it was decided to do archaeological excavations on the site (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998, 2001, 2003b). From this it was found that most of the dateable artifacts found at the site represent the period of the Late 19th to the early 20th century. The radiocarbon dates from the site coincide with this period, namely 1900, proving that the site was occupied during the Anglo-Boer War (Personal communication: S Woodborne).

The second site is that of the unit's headquarters at Komatipoort. It became the headquarters of Steinaecker's Horse after the British occupied the Lowveld. A corrugated iron blockhouse was built here (Pienaar 1990: 343). However there also were other British military units stationed at Komatipoort, such as the Royal Scots Fusiliers who had established their camp on the Lebombo (Greenhill-Gardyne 1972: 2450).

Muntshe is described as an outpost of Steinaecker's Horse during 1900-1902. The site is probably to the north or northwest of Muntshelokop, north of Lower Sabie (Pienaar 1990: 346-347, 617; Personal communication U de V Pienaar).

KaNwamuriwane is a site consisting of trenches and is situated against the eastern slope of the KaNwamuriwane Mountain close to Tshokwane. Steinaecker's Horse used the site during 1901 (Pienaar 1990: 617). Apparently the black members of the unit manned the site in order to guard the Nwaswitsontso Poort (Personal communication: U de V Pienaar).

The battle at Fort Mpisane has already been mentioned. The site is situated at Bushbuckridge, east of the farm New Forest. It was placed under command of Captain HF (Farmer) Francis. The garrison consisted of 30 men, but the local followers of chief Mpisane were also armed (Pienaar 1990: 348). During the battle Captain Francis was killed and he was buried next to the fort. Some of the black troops that were killed were buried in a trench to the southeast of the fort (Pelser 1999: 57).

Bottelkop is an observation post on the south-western slope of a hill at Komatipoort, inside the border of the Kruger National Park. The site consists of fortification walls.

Outspan is a campsite used by Steinaecker's Horse during 1901. It is situated to the east of Pretoriuskop and south of Shitlhave (Pienaar 1990: 345, 618, 620).

It seems as if the Kilo 104 post is situated outside of boundaries of the Kruger National Park. It may be within the Sabi Sand Game Reserve. The post was only manned by 6 soldiers. They made use of two railway carriages as shelter and store (Woolmore 2006: 74).

Steinaecker's Horse also had a large post at Sabi Bridge where they had a camp and erected a blockhouse at the eastern side of the southern end of the temporary bridge (Cartwright n.d.: 1).

The site known as Sardelli's shop is close to Gomondwane and north of Malelane. Sardelli the Greek, who also was a member of Steinaecker's Horse, used the site between 1892 and 1899. The shop was made of corrugated iron. It was used by Steinaecker's Horse during the War as a base with Captain EG (Gaza) Gray as the officer in command of this large outpost also called

Gomondwane (Pienaar 1990: 398, 460, 619; Personal comment: U de V Pienaar; Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 28).

Wolhuter was placed in charge of a picket at Ngomandwane with twenty men attached to him (Wolhuter 1948: 62). It is not certain whether this is the same outpost as the mentioned one at Gomondwane. He describes how they went to bathe and swim in the nearby pool (three or four miles from the Crocodile River) and that they did not have much more to do than this and drinking rum. At this site remains of a structure was found which will give valuable information on the type and function of buildings used by Steinaecker's Horse.

Captain Gray used the Gaza Gray outpost between 1899 and 1902. He used it mainly to keep his cattle in a kraal (Pienaar 1990: 618). The site is situated to the south of the Lower Sabie rest camp. With him on the site stayed some natives who kept dogs, poultry, goats, sheep and donkeys. Stevenson-Hamilton (1952: 29) described this camp as existing of half a dozen round huts or rondavels enclosed with a neatly made fence. At this site more than 10 refuse middens and kraals were identified. This will obtain numerous artifacts which one will be able to use to determine the way of life and circumstances of the unit.

Wolhuter was placed in charge of a picket at Ngomandwane with twenty men attached to him (Wolhuter 1948: 62). It is not certain whether this is the same outpost as the mentioned one at Gomondwane. He describes how they went to bathe and swim in the nearby pool (three or four miles from the Crocodile River) and that they did not have much more to do than this and drinking rum.

The place where Bill Sanderson was interned is a site near Matjozeni, north of the Gaza Gray outpost, but south of Lower Sabie. Bill Sanderson was an English-speaking farmer who decided to stay neutral during the War. Because of this he was interned by Steinaecker's Horse at this site in 1901. The site was an old shop made of corrugated iron and was also owned by Sardelli. The site could not be positively identified yet, but the description by Pienaar indicates that it contains remains of buildings from the time.

Lastly Pienaar (1990: 353) also talks of an outpost close to the Olifants River. This might be the site at Ngotso Mouth that was located recently. Incidentally, the name of the Ngotso River was given by Harry Wolhuter and was named after his black guide, Ingotso, on one of his trips through this area (Wolhuter 1948: 45). The site contains a number of refuse middens. These have been excavated once and produced valuable results, but more research is needed to get a better representative sample.

References:

Bornman, H. 2004 (2nd impression). **Pioneers of the Lowveld** (Unpublished manuscript).

- Cartwright, A.P. n.d. **Steinaecker's Horse, What they were really like** (Lowvelder).
- Conway, O.P.M. 1978. Baron von Steinaecker, D.S.O. Steinaecker's Horse. **Journal of the Medal Society**, (2)1, March.
- Cattrick, A. 1959. **Spoor of blood** (Cape Town: The Standard Press Ltd).
- Diespecker, D. 1996. The naming of Steinaecker's Horse. **Military History Journal** 10 (3), pp.1-7, <http://rapidhttp.com/milhist/vol103di.html>.
- Diespecker, D.D. 2000. British intelligence operations in Mozambique in August 1900. **Military History Journal** 9 (6), pp. 1-10.
- Forsyth, D.R. 1972. Steinaker's Horse. **Journal of the Orders and Medals Research Society**, December.
- Greenhill-Gardyne, A.D. 1972 (2nd impression). **The life of a regiment. The history of the Gordon Highlanders III** (London: Leo Cooper Ltd).
- Jones, H.M. 1996. The Delagoa Railway and the origin of Steinaecker's Horse. **Military History Journal** 10(3), pp. 1-10.
- Matsebula, J.S.M. 1972. **A History of Swaziland** (Cape Town: Longman Southern Africa Pty Ltd).
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Correspondence files CS 29, 3864/01, Letter from G. Schwab to the Resident Commissioner for Swaziland, 03.08.1901.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Correspondence files CS 636, 6274, Letter from F. Steinaecker, 24.11.1905.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Law Department LD 931, AG 6498/04, Application for exemption of permit for relics by Colonel F. Steinaecker.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Department of Defence War record files PMO 42, PM 2835/01, Letter from the Commandant of Komatipoort to the Provost Marshall at Army Head Quarters in Pretoria, 16.12.1901.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Department of Defence War record files PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Report on foreigners captured by Steinaecker's Horse, 1901.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Kommandant-Generaal, KG 309, CR 4703/98, Letter from E Holgate to Commander General PJ Joubert, 26.09.1898.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Law Department, LD 176, AG 6167/02, Letter from Medical Officer Steinaecker's Horse to District Surgeon, Komatipoort, 27.11.1902.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Native Affairs Department SNA 321, NA 1321/06, Letter from F. Steinaecker to the Secretary of Native Affairs, 04.04.1906.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Staatssekretaris Oorlogstukke, SS 0, R 8433X/00, Letter from the State Secretary to the Komatipoort Wachtmeester, 05.05.1900.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Staatssekretaris Oorlogstukke, SS 0, R 8433X/00, Letter from Komatipoort Wachtmeester to the State Secretary, 19.05.1900.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Staatssekretaris Oorlogstukke, SS 0, R 8433X/00, Letter from the State Secretary, FW Reitz to Commissioner Coetzer, 24.05.1900.

- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Staatssekretaris Oorlogstukke, SS 0, R 8496/00.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Staatssekretaris Oorlogstukke, SS 0, R 7251/00, Letter from Section Commandant Winterbach to the State Secretary, 24.04.1900.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Meester van die Hooggeregshof, MHG 32062: Death notice and Estate of the late F.L. Steinacker, 1918.
- National Archives Depot, Pretoria: Staatscourant system 1 part 1, AMPT PUBS 83C, Government Gazette, 14.09.1900. XX (1148). (Komatiepoort: Staatsdrukkerij te velde).
- Paynter, D. 1986. Bismarck van die Bosveld. Die Krugerwildtuin in woord en beeld (Pretoria: Macmillan).
- Pelser, A. 1999. The Boer attack on Fort Mpisane, 7 August 1901. **Research by the National Cultural History Museum** 8, pp.50-59.
- Pelser, A. & Van Vollenhoven, A. 1998. The daily activities at the northernmost outpost of Steinaecker's Horse as reconstructed through archaeology. **Research by the National Cultural History Museum** 7, pp. 27-46.
- Pienaar, U.de V. (ed.). 1990. **Neem uit die verlede** (Pretoria: Sigma Pers).
- Pienaar, U. de V. Former Head of the Kruger National Park, Personal communication, 10.08.2002, 12.09.2002 and 17.01.2003.
- Pretorius, F. 1999. Die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902. Bergh, J.S. (ed.). **Geskiedenisatlas van Suid-Afrika. Die vier noordelike provinsies** (Pretoria: J.L van Schaik).
- Republic of South Africa, 1999. **National Heritage Resources Act** (Act no 25 of 1999). (Cape Town: The Government Printer).
- Skukuza archives: Annual report of the Sabie Game Reserve, 1902.
- Skukuza archives: J. Stevenson-Hamilton, Game preservation document, 13.10.1903.
- Skukuza archives: Hamilton, J. 1909. The Transvaal Government Game reserve. **The society for the preservation of the wild fauna of the empire** V, pp.61-68.
- Skukuza archives: J. Stevenson-Hamilton, 1930. **Kruger National Park handbook and guide** (Pretoria: The Government Printer).
- Skukuza archives: Letter from Captain H.F. Francis to Lieutenant Pasement, 02.08.1901.
- Skukuza archives: Letter from Major J. Stevenson-Hamilton to the Native Commissioner of Lydenburg, 06.02.1903.
- Skukuza archives: Report by Major A. Greenhill-Gardyne, 03.06.1902.
- Skukuza archives: Report of the Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903.
- South African National Museum of Military History: 920, A.P. Cartwright, **What they were really like**.
- South African National Museum of Military History: 920, D.R. Forsyth, Lt. Col. Francis Christian Ludwig Steinaecker D.S.O. **War Medal Society of South Africa Newsletter** 4, pp. 20-23.
- Stevenson-Hamilton, J. 1952. **South African Eden. From Sabi Game Reserve to Kruger National Park** (London: Cassell & Company).

- Stirling, J. 1907. **The colonials in South Africa** (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C. 1995. **Die militêre fortifikasies van Pretoria 1880-1902. 'n Studie in die historiese argeologie** (Pretoria: Heinekor).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C. 1999. **The military fortifications of Pretoria 1880-1902. A study in historical archaeology.** (Technikon Pretoria: Pretoria).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C. 2000. **'n Voorgestelde paradigm vir navorsing op histories-argeologiese erfenishulpbronterreine in Suid-Afrika aan die hand van gevallestudies in Noordelike Gauteng**, (Unpublished DPhil-thesis, University of Pretoria).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., 2004. **Report on a survey of a historical border site at Komatipoort, Mpumalanga Province**, (Unpublished Report, A.C. van Vollenhoven).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C. 2010. **Die Britse vrywilligerseenheis Steinaecker's Horse in die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902): 'n Kultuurhistoriese studie**, (Unpublished DPhil – thesis, University of Stellenbosch).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C. & Van den Bos, J.W. 1997. **'n Kultuurhulpbronstudie van die Britse blokhuisstelsel van die Tweede Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) in die voormalige Transvaal (Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek)** (Ongepubliseerde verslag, Nasionale Kultuurhistoriese Museum).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Van den Bos, J.W. & Pelser, A.J. 1996. **'n Eerste fase Kultuurhulpbronondersoek na enkele militêr-historiese terreine in die Nasionale Krugerwildtuin** (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum, Pretoria).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelser, A.J. & Van den Bos, J.W. 1998a. **Historical archaeological investigation of the Northernmost outpost of Steinaecker's Horse Letaba district, Kruger National Park** (Unpublished report, National Cultural History Museum, Sunnyside).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelser, A.J. & Van Den Bos, J.W. 1998b. A historical-archaeological investigation of an Anglo-Boer War British outpost in the Kruger National Park. **Koedoe** 41(2), pp. 113-120.
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelser, A.J. & Teichert, F.E. 2001. **A historical archaeological investigation of the Northernmost outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, Letaba district, Kruger National Park II** (Unpublished report, Archaetnos, Wonderboompoort).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelser, A.J. & Teichert, F.E. 2003a. **Report on a survey done in the Kruger National Park on sites associated with the Steinaecker's Horse military unit** (Unpublished report, Archaetnos, Wonderboompoort).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelser, A.J. & Teichert, F.E. 2003b. **A historical-archaeological investigation of the Northernmost outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, Letaba district, Kruger National Park (Report no. III)** (Unpublished report, Archaetnos, Wonderboompoort).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelser, A.J. & Teichert, F.E. 2006. **A historical-archaeological investigation of the Sabi Bridge post of Steinaecker's**

- Horse, Skukuza district, Kruger National Park (Report no. I)**
(Unpublished report, Archaetnos, Wonderboompoort).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelsner, A.J. & Teichert, F.E. 2007. **A historical–archaeological investigation of the Sabi Bridge post of Steinaecker’s Horse, Skukuza district, Kruger National Park (Report no. II)**
(Unpublished report, Archaetnos, Wonderboompoort).
- Van Vollenhoven, A.C., Pelsner, A.J. & Teichert, F.E. 2008. **A historical–archaeological investigation of the Sabi Bridge post of Steinaecker’s Horse, Skukuza district, Kruger National Park (Report no. III)**
(Unpublished report, Archaetnos, Wonderboompoort).
- Wolhuter, H. 1948. **Memories of a game ranger** (London: The Wildlife Protection and Conservation Society of South Africa).
- Wolhuter, H. 1973. **Memories of a game ranger** (London: Collins/Fontana books).
- Woodborne, S. 2001.01.23. Report on groundwater analysis (Unpublished report, CSIR, Pretoria).
- Woodborne, S. 2003.02.03. Report on groundwater analysis (Unpublished report, CSIR, Pretoria).
- Woolmore, W. 2006. **Steinaecker’s Horsemen South Africa 1899-1903.**
(Barberton: South African Country Life).