

**A HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE
NORTHERNMOST OUTPOST OF STEINAECKER'S HORSE,
LETABA DISTRICT, KRUGER NATIONAL PARK (REPORT NO. III)**

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August 2003

Report no.: AE 302

OPSOMMING

Die mees noordelike buitepos van die Steinaecker's Horse militêre eenheid, is vir 'n derde keer opgegrawe. Die doel daarvan was tweeledig. Eerstens was dit om sekere onbeantwoorde vrae, wat na die vorige twee opgrawingsseisoene ontstaan het, op te klaar. Tweedens het dit ten doel gehad om bevestiging te verkry van sekere afleidings wat uit die vorige opgrawings gemaak is.

Vyf addisionele opgrawings is gedoen. Drie hiervan is op bekende verskynsels gedoen, terwyl twee nuwe verskynsels ook ondersoek is.

'n Groot hoeveelheid artefakte is blootgelê. Hieruit is afgelei dat die bevindinge van die vorige seisoene korrek was, naamlik dat daar duidelike tekens van sosiale differensiasie tussen blanke en swart inwoners op die terrein gevind kan word. Dit gee ook 'n beeld van hulle dieet, daaglikse aktiwiteite en lewenswyse. Bevestiging is ook gekry vir die voorkoms van sekere aktiwiteitsareas op die terrein, soos onder andere kookareas, 'n hut en vullishope.

SUMMARY

The northernmost outpost of the Steinaecker's Horse military unit was excavated for a third field season. The project had two main aims. Firstly it was to find answers to questions that arose after the previous seasons. Secondly it aimed at corroborating information for some deductions made during previous excavations.

Five additional excavations were conducted. Three were on known site features, while the other two were on new features.

A large amount of artifacts were uncovered. From this it is concluded that the findings from the previous seasons, namely that there was a social division between white and black inhabitants on the site, were correct. It also gave an indication of their diet, daily activities and way of life. Confirmation for certain activity areas on the site, such as cooking areas, a hut and refuse middens, were also found.

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1. Background to the project

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 northernmost, or Letaba outpost, was one of several outposts manned by them in order to safeguard the area from the Boers. It is currently the only one of these outposts that physically has been located and therefore contains unique information about the daily lifestyle and routine of the inhabitants of such a military site (see for instance Pelsers & Van Vollenhoven 1998). Continued historical research are however being conducted, and it is believed that more of these sites might be located in future, providing more research opportunities.

The site of the Letaba outpost was located during a field survey in 1996 (Van Vollenhoven et. al. 1996: 2-5). During 1997 and 2000 parts of the site were excavated. The first field season resulted in more questions than answers, specifically concerning the role local black people played at the outpost (see Van Vollenhoven et.al.1998a: 58-61; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998b: 119-120).

Although the second field season provided more answers, some deductions still needed to be verified. It was therefore decided to conduct a third season of excavations in order to illuminate these aspects.

The research project was again undertaken by **Archaeon** cc. Permission to continue the research was obtained from the South African National Parks. An archival survey was done in the National Archives in Pretoria during 2002 and 2003 and excavation on the site commenced in August 2002.

2. Problem formulation

The excavation of the site in 1997 and 2000 showed a clear difference between the artifacts that came from the two large middens on the site. Although the types of artifacts were more or less similar, there was a clear distinction in the frequency of the different artifacts. As the sample from the central midden was much larger than that of the south-western midden after the 1997 season, the 2000 excavations concentrated on increasing the sample from the south-western midden. This enabled the researchers to make more informed conclusions.

The sizes of the two middens enabled the researchers to excavate other sections on them, helping to increase the sample and therefore provided more information for interpretation. This will be used as comparison with the information from the previous excavation seasons in order to determine if it leads to the same results.

During the previous field seasons excavations were also conducted on those parts of the site where hut debris were identified. This led to the discovery of a hut floor and two areas interpreted as being used for cooking purposes. By looking at these areas again it was hoped to recover corroborative information. If more areas containing hut debris were exposed by rain, these were also to be investigated.

Two other areas with a substantial concentration of potsherds were also investigated. This was done to determine whether these were specific activity areas on the site and to obtain a large enough sample for the purpose of dating it and identifying the cultural group it belonged to. This information could prove that the site was either inhabited by a larger amount of people than previously thought, or that it was used for a long time before being occupied by Steinaecker's Horse.

3. Hypothesis

The research was undertaken to look at different locations on the site in order to find more indications of social differentiation between the white and black soldiers at the outpost.

3.1 Aims

3.1.1 The collection of historical information relating to the Steinaecker's Horse unit and specifically the Letaba outpost.

3.1.2 The collection of archaeological data from the site.

3.1.3 The comparison of excavated material from the central midden with that from the southwestern midden.

3.1.4 The archaeological investigation of the remains of daga structures on the site.

3.1.5 The archaeological investigation of possible activity areas on the site.

3.2. Research strategy

The research has universal interest as it falls within the Anglo-Boer War, which is seen as one of the most important events in the history of South Africa. With the participation of black people in the war one of the most important aspects being investigated currently, (this was neglected for a long time) the research is seen as also being extremely relevant.

Archaeological investigations have never before been done on an Anglo-Boer War site in order to specifically investigate the role black people played. As the commemoration of the war was declared one of the legacy projects of the National Government, it also is of national importance.

4. Motivation for the research

- 4.1 The importance of Steinaecker's Horse in the history of the Lowveld was clearly stated in the first two reports (Van Vollenhoven et. al. 1998a: 3; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 2, 8, 54), which deals with the excavations on the site in 1997 and 2000. Emphasis should however be placed on the important role, although indirectly, that the unit played in the establishment of the Kruger National Park. 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.
- 4.2 In the first report mention was made of the washing away of the middens, which was a major concern ever since the rediscovery of the site in 1996. During the 2000 excavation season it was clear that the threat continued. After the heavy rainfall in the area during 1999/2000, it was calculated that the site lost between 7,5 and 16cm of topsoil. During the last excavation season it was calculated that between another 3 and 8cm of soil was washed away and with it probably numerous artifacts.
- 4.3 The uniqueness of the site, being the only known site of this unit that had been physically identified, makes it an important site to be investigated.
- 4.4 The marketing of the site as part of the Kruger National Park and that the Park is concerned about not only the natural environment, but also the cultural environment, is of great importance. It shows a holistic approach to conservation. It also forms part of the South African nation's legacy, in accordance with the National Heritage Act (no 25 of 1999). The site is protected by this law, which clearly states that archaeological sites older than 100 years, military sites older than 75 years and historical sites older than 60 years should be conserved. The Letaba site falls within all three these categories.

5. Location

The northernmost or Letaba outpost of Steinaecker's Horse is situated more or less 15 kilometres northeast of the Letaba rest camp in the Kruger National Park (figure 1). It lies off the tourist route as it is in an ecologically sensitive area. To reach the site via road a detour has to be taken, making the distance from Letaba to the site approximately 35 kilometres. The GPS coordinates of the site is 23°43' 08"S and 31°36' 59"E on the map 2331 DA, Shilowa, of the South African 1:50 000 topographic series.

6. Site description

After the previous excavation season (2000) the area definitely had less rain than during the interval between 1997 and 2000. The area was almost as clear from vegetation as it was during 1997. The area had also been burnt, giving a much clearer view of the site. It was therefore re-located much easier than at the start of the second field season in 2000, when the heavy rains of

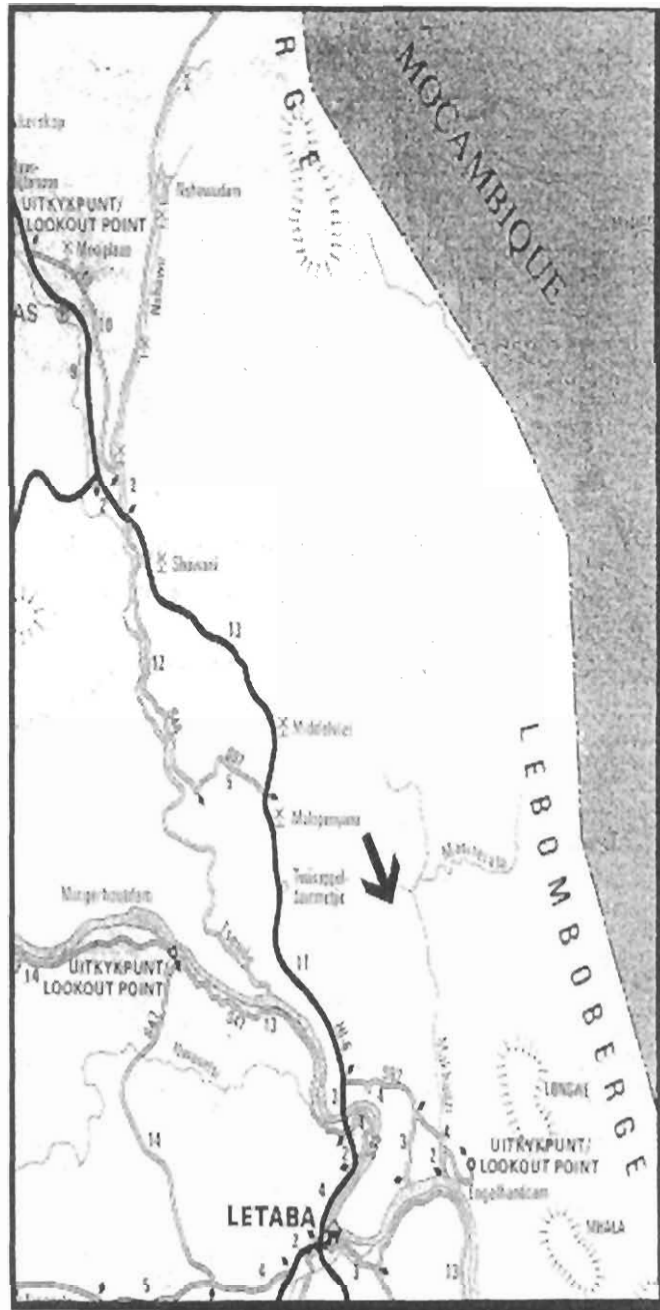


Figure 1 Location of the site.

1999/2000 resulted in the site being completely overgrown with vegetation, especially long grass. The researchers also had the opportunity to fly over the site in a helicopter and took some aerial photographs thereof (figure 2).

Most trees on the site are small, indicating some disturbance on the site at a certain stage. These are mostly mopani and sickle bush. Large trees, specifically fever trees, are found alongside the Makhadzi spruit which flows more or less 500 metres to the south and east of the site.

With the area cleared of dense vegetation it was possible to more or less determine the perimeters of the site, which stretches up to 135m in diameter. The Makhadzi spruit, which was dry during 1997 and in full flow during 2000, was now a small stream, but it was still necessary to erect a temporary bridge of branches, in order to move from the research vehicles to the site.

The locations of the previous excavations were determined easily as it was not overgrown, but it was still necessary to use a dumpy level to determine the exact corners of each, before the excavations could commence. In some areas it was necessary to clear vegetation before this season's excavations could be measured out. Rainfall between 2000 and 2002 washed open more areas containing cultural deposits, making it much easier to determine new areas on the site to be excavated.

On the north-eastern side of the site a rocky outcrop, the highest point in the vicinity, is located (figure 3). Very little cultural material was found here (only a few glass shards). The site is basically flat with a gentle slope towards the Makhadzi spruit. Approximately 8 kilometres to the east of the site the Lebombo mountain range is clearly visible.

Cultural material was scattered over a large area of 135m in diameter. Smaller refuse middens were located on the site and one of these was excavated in order to determine its size and contents. Most scatters however proved to be nothing more than larger concentrations of cultural material, without any clear meaning. This probably is the result of artifacts being washed open and therefore being scattered all over the site.

The two large middens on the site therefore remained the most important features. The central refuse midden has a diameter of approximately 10 metres, whilst the south-western midden is about 20 metres in diameter. They evidently seemed to contain information on the different groups that occupied the site and were to be excavated again in order to confirm this evidence. They are approximately 30 metres apart and more or less in the centre of the site.

The remains of daga structures were identified in three areas. The first was 5 metres to the south-west of the central midden and was excavated in 1997. The second was 11 metres to the east of



Figure 2

Aerial photograph of the site.

2A Note Excavation 14 at the bottom of the photograph, Excavation 15 to its right and Excavation 12 on the right hand side.

2B Note Excavation 14 at the bottom to the right, Excavation 15 just below it and Excavation 13 in the centre. Excavation 11 was already finished and filled up with soil when the photograph was taken



Figure 3 Site plan of Steinaecker's Horse Northern Outpost.

the first. Both these areas were only 1 meter in diameter. The last one was 14 metres to the south-west of the central midden and was much larger than the other two, being 2,25-4 metres in diameter. These were excavated during previous field seasons, but since rain washed away some topsoil, more daga were opened up in the one area, and it was therefore decided to investigate this feature again.

7. Historical background

This aspect was extensively dealt with in the previous two reports (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2000). Therefore only a brief account of the history will be given. New information since recovered from historical sources will be included in this report.

The Northernmost Outpost of Steinaecker's Horse is one of a number of outposts established by the unit. The unit was formed by Francis Christiaan Ludwig von Steinaecker, a former Prussian-German soldier with vast military experience (Van Vollenhoven et.al.1998a: 6; S.A. National Museum of Military History: 920, D.R. Forsyth: 20-23). He came to Southern Africa in 1886, working as a cartographer in German South West Africa, after which he settled in Natal in 1890 (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 6-8). He became a British subject and when the Anglo-Boer War broke out in 1899, he joined the Colonial Scouts.

After impressing General Buller and participating in a series of successes against the Boers, he was permitted to raise his own cavalry unit, called Steinaecker's Horse. He was promoted to the rank of major and his 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, D.R. Forsyth: 20-23; Paynter 1986: 48).

The most important of these was the Battle of Fort Mpisane, the last of the conventional military actions between Boer and British forces in the Lowveld (Figure 4). The battle took place on 7 August 1901 when Boer forces attacked the fort occupied by members of Steinaecker's Horse (Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 3), as well as some local pro-British black people. The British eventually surrendered to the Boers. Although the battle obviously had no effect on the outcome of the Anglo-Boer War, it did seriously damage the operation of Steinaecker's Horse in the region (Pelser 1999:54-57).

The battle did however have an influence on the outcome of the history of the park. Captain H.F. (Farmer) Francis was killed in the battle (Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7). Only five days before the battle he wrote a letter in which he stated that he is 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 from H.F. Francis to Lieutenant Pasement, 02.08.1901).

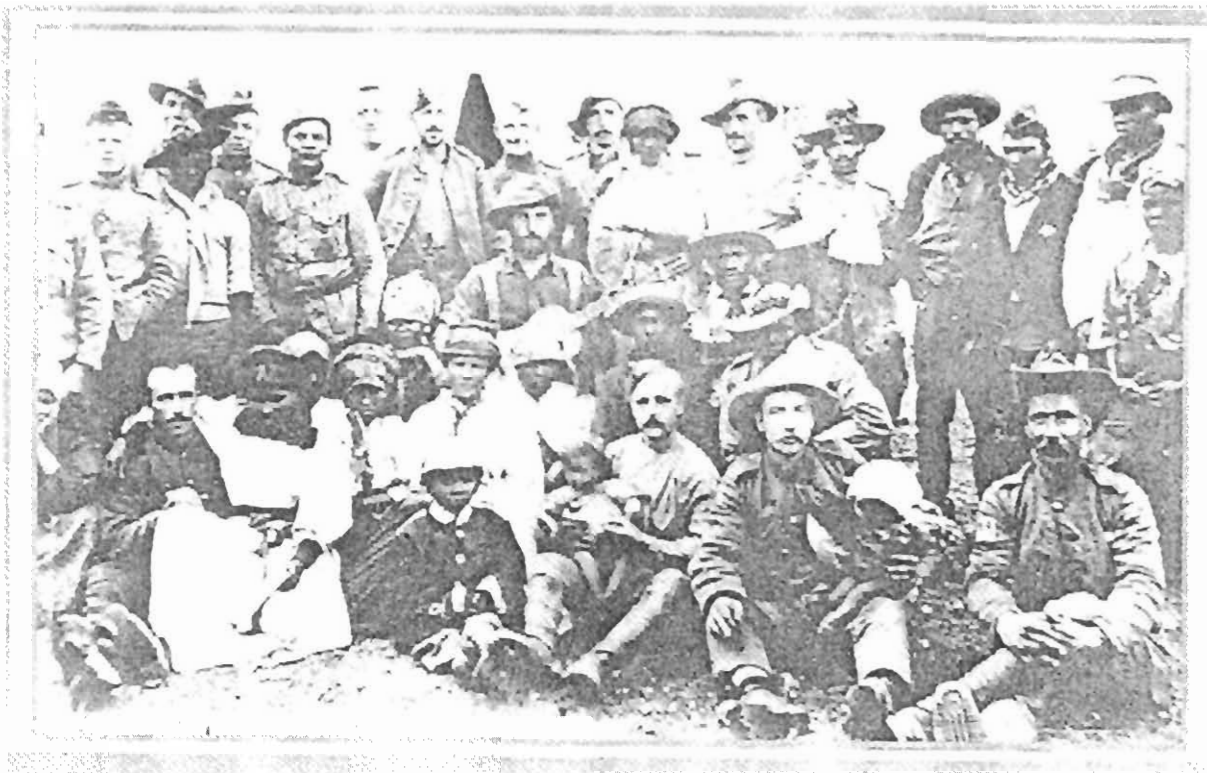


Figure 4 This photograph shows members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit at Fort Mpisane. It proves the close relationship between the soldiers and the local people. (Source: A. Malan 1999, *Oorwinning sonder roem. 'n Foto-album van die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902* JP van der Walt Publishers, Pretoria.)

Their main function, however, 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, of which the one under discussion was the northernmost (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 8-10). Unfortunately no specific information on this outpost seemingly exists in the historical records.

According to some historians Steinaecker's Horse was reputedly engaged in some controversial activities. Information in this regard was 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: CS29, 3864/01, Letter From G. Schwab to the Resident Commissioner for Swaziland, 03.08.1901).

Another incident was that of goods taken from Ringler's store 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 is a German subject. This clearly was a lie. They found weapons, ammunition and 3 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 J.A. 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 however also gives an insight into consumer goods of the time. Unfortunately artefacts found on the site were mostly too fragmented to be identified, but some of it might well have been parts of objects similar to those mentioned above. Other information also shows that Steinaecker's Horse made use of livestock from local people for their own purposes. Chances are quite good that the fowls and ducks were used to supplement the diet of the soldiers.

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 researchers 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 G.F. 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 later Sabie Bridge, mentioned in archival records.

Captain H.O. or D. (he signs his name differently in the same document) 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. or D. Webbstock to Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse, 13.09.1901).

Captain J.B. Holgate was apparently stationed at Sabie 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 W.F. 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 A.D.G. 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 apparently got their clearance from the Boers and were all on their way home to their respective countries of origin.

Some old piquet's are indicated on a map drawn by Stevenson-Hamilton in 1903, but the only one close to the area of investigation seems to be on the banks of the Letaba River (Skukuza archives: J. Stevenson-Hamilton, Game preservation document, 13.10.1903). It is however possible that this map is not very accurate. In this case it could provide (inaccurate) information on the location of other of Steinaecker's Horse's outposts. This map will be studied further in conjunction with other historical information in order to determine the localities of other outposts. This will be dealt with in a separate report.

It is known that on 1 August 1902, a few months after the war ended (31 May 1902) some of the members of Steinaecker's Horse still manned four posts. These consisted of roughly forty white men and 150 natives (Skukuza archives: Report of Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903). 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.

He eventually accepted that this was not to happen and became a farmer on a farm at Bushbuck Ridge. Documents found in the National Archives Depot in Pretoria give some insight into his life after the War. In these documents it can be seen that Colonel Von Steinaecker signed his

name without the prefix, which in Germany was an indication of his status as a nobleman. He signed his name Colonel F. Steinaecker. Only four other documents referring to him were found in the National Archives Depot.

In the first of these he asked permission to keep two relics from the War. These were two rifles which did not work any more. He eventually got permission from the Law Department to keep these without a permit (NAD: LD 931, AG 6498/04). Coupled with his attempts to have his unit retained as a border guard, this shows something about his sentiments regarding the war.

It is already known that he became a farmer after the War. In a letter he complains about the seed that was sent to him. The letter was written on the farm London, where he resided, close to the town of Bushbuck Ridge (NAD: CS 636, 6274, Letter from Colonel F. Steinaecker, 24.11.1905). The third document is also a letter written by him in which he complains about the wild animals destroying his fields (NAD: NAD 321, NA 1321/06, Letter from F. Steinaecker to the Secretary of Native Affairs).

The last document once again provides insight regarding his controversial life and personality. It is a file from the Supreme Court of South Africa and contains information on the court case between Baron Francis Steinaecker and the Transvaal Estates Company from which he leased the land on which he resided. On 23 February 1903 he entered into a twenty year lease with them, to stay and farm on the southern portion of the farm London 361 in the Lydenburg district.

It is interesting that the agent he used was Adolf von Steinaecker from Johannesburg, but it is not clear what the relationship between them were. In one of the documents F. Steinaecker is addressed as esquire, indicating that he was not married. He farmed with tobacco and cotton, was given permission to remove natives from the farm and was obliged to keep the water furrows and fences in tact.

After not paying his lease for certain periods during 1910-1912, he was told to leave the farm on 19 October 1911 and to be in court on 9 December 1911. On 7 December 1911 he wrote a sworn affidavit in which he stated his case. From this the following information is interesting. He states that his cotton farming was not very successful and that the company is trying to get rid of him without proper reason. According to him they also got rid of other tenants after these people made considerable changes (for the better) to the property, as did he in building a road which he was not compensated for. He further states that although the land was leased to him with apparent good agricultural properties, mealies refused to grow there.

He also states that he does not have any means to travel to court and that he does not have the money to oppose their request for his removal. One of the reasons given for his poor state was that the company sold his cotton and did not pay him for this. He also alleges to have been appointed as Consulting Agriculturist to the company's cotton estate at Maboke, but that he never received his salary in this regard. According to him he got this appointment as he was a "...col ledge man from the Agriculture Colledge of Poplau – Germany."

According to records from the company it however seems that he was already asked to leave the farm on 9 September 1911 as he did not gather the crops. Accounts included in the document indicate that payment for the cotton which the company sold on his behalf, were taken into consideration in determining the amount he owned them. It therefore seems as if most of his allegations were unfounded and on 14 December 1911 the court ordered him to leave the farm before 24 January 1912 (NAD: TPD 8/44, 952/1911).

It is not certain when he left, but eventually he lived on the farm Castle in the Lydenburg district. After having a difference in opinion with his employer and being asked to leave the farm, he eventually poisoned himself with strychnine on 30 April 1917. He is buried near Acomhoek (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 9).

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. Steinaecker's Horse first had their headquarters at Komatipoort, but later moved it to Sabie Bridge where 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, A.P. Cartwright: 1). 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.

Some members of Steinaecker's Horse were later employed as game rangers in the park as they knew the area and the local inhabitants 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. These included E.G. (Gaza) Grey - appointed 12 August 1902 (Skukuza archives: Annual report 1902; List of Rangers, 1902-1903), H.C. (Harry) Wolhuter - appointed 15 August 1902 (Skukuza archives: List of Rangers, 1902-1903; Staff of the Government Game Reserve, 1904) and S.H. (Harold) Trollope - Ranger of Malelane between 1925 and 1928 (Skukuza archives: Unnumbered photograph; Pienaar 1990: 347).

The second-in-command of Steinaecker's Horse, Major A.D. Greenhill-Gardyne, also 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.

8. The excavations

Like the previous field seasons, no grid was laid out as specific features on the site were to be excavated. Datum points established in 1997 and 2000 were easily re-located by GPS as these were indicated on the site map. These were adapted due to the correction made by the USA to their satellites after 1997. They were used as fixed points from where excavations were measured out and measurements taken.

Five excavations were conducted. A new excavation was laid out at the central midden and one at the south-western midden. A further excavation was carried out at one of the areas containing daga remains, a feature also excavated in 1997. The two other excavations were measured out at different areas containing cultural material. These excavations were numbered from 11 to 15, with the first ten done during 1997 and 2000 respectively.

Cultural material was also collected from the surface. These include material from the surface of the excavations as well as a general surface collection. The surface collection was carried out to recover the large number of artefacts that were washed open during the rain season. A number of these objects were unique (not found during the previous seasons) and in a relatively good condition of preservation. It was therefore important to collect them.

8.1 The central refuse midden

8.1.1 Excavation 14

This was a trench of 3 x 3 m, measured out on the south-eastern side of the midden (figure 5). It covers a part of the midden not yet investigated previously. A single layer was opened up, ending in sterile soil. This layer was divided in two, the first sub-layer to level the excavation and the second one to find the end of the cultural strata.

The main aim of the excavation was to obtain a larger sample of cultural material from the site to be used for interpretive purposes. The soil was light brown and distinctively greyish and ashier to the south of the excavation. The soil from the southern part was also much softer than that at the northern end of the excavation. Sterile soil underneath the excavation was easily identified as it was dark brown and much harder than the rest.

The soil had a soft ashy texture right through the excavation. Signs of burrowing by insects was visible, but not by small mammals. The depth of the excavation varied between 6 and 20cm (figure 6) from the northeast to the southwest, the latter close to the core and the first at the side.

The deepest point was right next to excavation 2 and could therefore be used as a comparison in order to determine the amount of topsoil lost to rain since the site was last excavated in 2000. It was calculated that another 3 cm of soil got washed away. In the interval between 1997 and 2000 approximately 7,5 cm of soil was lost, bringing to around 10,5 cm the total amount lost between 1997 and 2002. A large number of artefacts were probably lost as a result thereof, and it could also be the reason for the larger amount of artefacts seen scattered around the surface of the site this time around.

Charcoal was removed from the lower part of the midden in order to obtain a radiocarbon date. The C14 analysis provided a radiocarbon age of 100 ± 50 years BP (Pta-8836). This is calibrated to a most probable calendar date of AD 1900. This means that the midden was started and used around the time of the occupation of the site by members of Steinaecker's Horse.

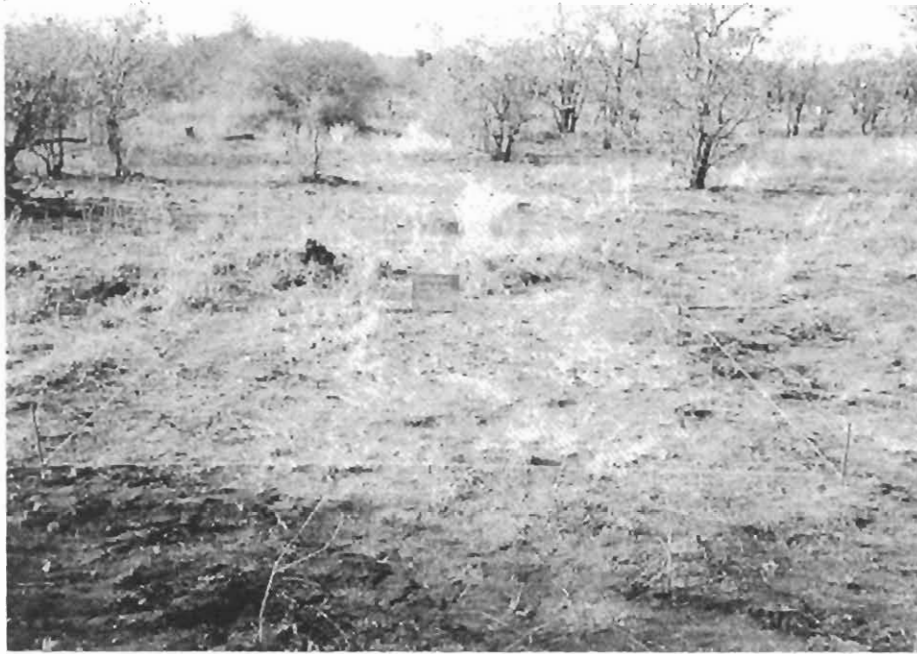


Figure 5 Excavation 14, from north to south before excavation commenced.



Figure 6 Excavation 14, layer 1 from south to north.

The cultural material found here included glass fragments of various artefacts, Iron Age-type pottery, porcelain, a large number of metal artefacts, faunal remains, shell and glass beads. Two well preserved artefacts were unearthed in excavation 14. The first was a complete enamel metal plate (figure 7) and the second a sardine tin (figure 8-9), complete with legible label (see section 9).

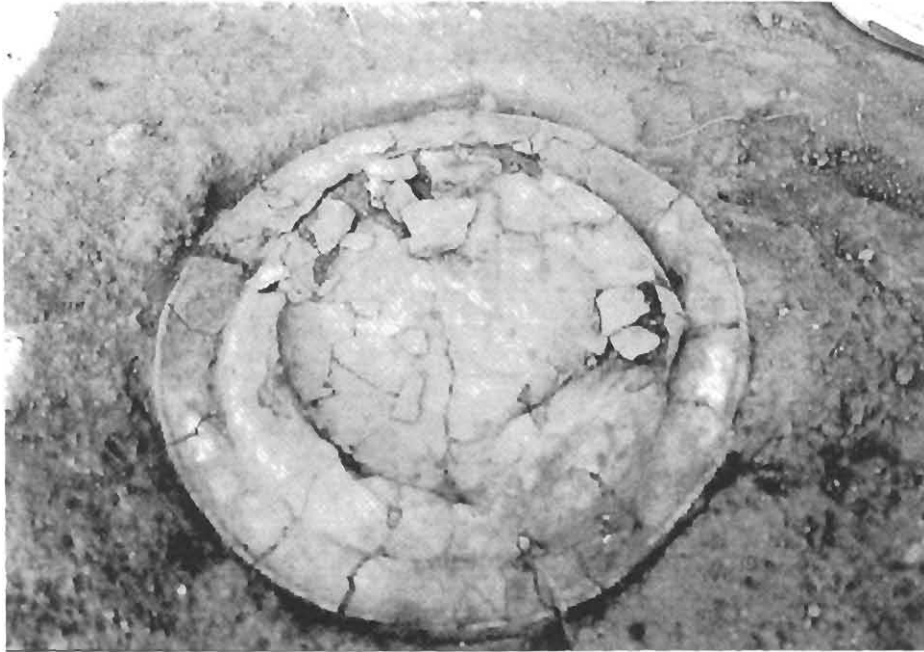


Figure 7 In situ enamel metal plate found in excavation 14.

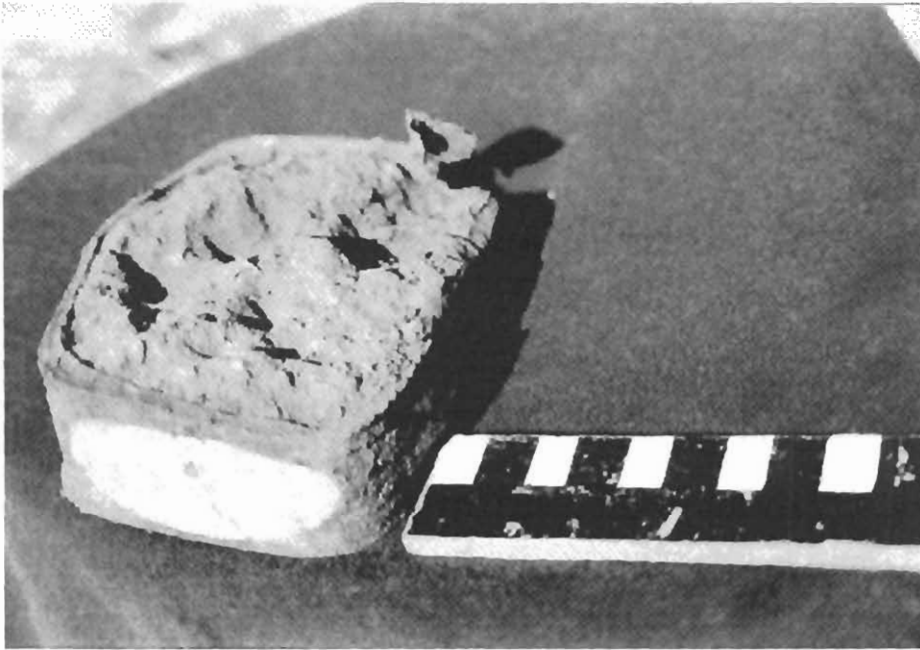


Figure 8 Sardine tin found in excavation 14.



CHAT R. PHILIPPE A BENOIZ
7(?)

The irregularity at the top is where the edge of the label has curled over, and is shading part of the label. The dark patch in the middle is a hole in the label, with curled and irregular edges. The irregular edge on the right is due to rust and dirt partially covering it. In the centre of the label is what seems to be a coat of arms, partly covered on the right by dirt. The pictures in the circles appear to be, from left: head of Marianne, scales, Roman head, unclear. The first visible line of writing appears to read: [7(?)] CHAT R. PHILIPPE A BENOIZ. It is unclear whether the markings above this line are writing or not. The rest of the writing, from the top down, appears to read

NANTES
SARDINES D'HUILE
SOLE AGENTS FOR [GREAT]? BRITAIN
CROSSE & BLACKWELL (LONDON)

Note: square brackets indicate my conjectures.

Figure 9 Drawing of the label of the sardine tin (drawing by L. Barker).

8.2 The south-western refuse midden

8.2.1 Excavation 12

This was a large excavation of 7 x 2 m, measured out in an east-west direction (figure 10). It covered more or less part of the midden not yet excavated. The aim of the excavation was to increase the amount of cultural material to be used for interpretive purposes.

The first section of layer 1 was between 8 and 12cm deep. The shallowest part was on the eastern edge of the midden, ending in darkish brown sterile soil (figure 11). The colour of the soil in the rest of the excavation was light brown as it was mixed with ash. The middle and western part of the excavation had a distinctive grey ashy colour. The soil was extremely hard in the top few centimetres of the excavation, but much softer further down.

Because the western part of the excavation was relatively sterile, it was decided to only take an area of 4 x 2 m on the eastern side further down (figure 11). With no natural stratigraphy existing, it was decided that this extension of layer 1 will be labelled excavation 12.1. This part of layer 1 was 4 cm deep, making the total depth of the excavation 16 cm. Excavation 7, excavated in 2000 and next to (north of) excavation 12, had a depth of 24 cm. Another 8 cm of soil was therefore lost here. Between 1997 and 2000, 16 cm was lost, bringing the total to 24 cm. The decision to excavate the site in order to preserve the information it contained therefore proved a correct one.

The upper part of this extended layer was light brown with some distinctive grey patches. The lower part was dark brown and sterile right at the bottom. The texture of the soil was soft, ashy at the top and fairly fine.

A charcoal sample was also taken from the lower part of this midden in order to obtain a radiocarbon date. This was done to see whether or not the midden dates back to the Anglo-Boer War or an earlier time period. Last mentioned alternative would mean that the associated Iron Age type pottery and the midden is much older than the time Steinaecker's Horse occupied the site.

The analysis provided a radiocarbon age of 60 ± 60 years BP (Pta-8837). This is calibrated to a most probable calendar date of AD 1900, meaning that the midden was started and used during the time of Steinaecker's Horses' occupation of the site. The pottery could therefore date to approximately the same age. Cultural material found here included Iron Age type potsherds, faunal material, pieces of bottle glass, glass beads, shell, a bone needle and Middle and Late Stone Age lithic tools. Metal artefacts consisted of a large number of nails, two rings made of wire, a belt buckle and other pieces that formed part of clothing, food tins, a bangle, CO₂ canisters, an earring and the lead of a spent bullet (see section 9).



Figure 10 Excavation 12 from east to west, before excavation



Figure 11 Layer 1 of excavation 12 and 12.1 (on the far side) as seen from the eastern side.

8.3 Areas with cultural material

8.3.1 Excavation 11

This excavation was on an area at first believed to be a small refuse midden, but proved not to be (figure 12). It is situated to the north-west of the central midden. The aim was to investigate this feature and to obtain as much cultural material in order to correctly interpret it.

It was measured out in a north-south direction with sides of 3 x 1 m. The excavation had only one layer of 7 cm deep, ending in dark brown sterile soil (figure 13). The soil from the excavation was finely textured and was light brown, as a result of being mixed with ash.

The excavation did not contain much cultural material. Seven pieces of light-green coloured bottle glass, possibly part of soda or mineral water bottles were recovered, as well as a metal ring (see section 9). This ring is quite interesting, and is woven with strands of wire in a cross-hatching pattern. Two similar rings came from Excavation 12.

8.3.2 Excavation 13

The excavation was measured out in a north-south direction on an area where a large amount of Iron Age type potsherds were located (figure 14). This lies to the northwest of the central midden. The excavation measured 3 x 2 m. The purpose of the excavation was to investigate the find in order to see if it was an activity area specifically connected to the time Steinaecker's Horse inhabited the site or if it perhaps was of an earlier Iron Age origin.

The soil was extremely hard and clearly not a refuse midden. Layer 1 was 6 cm deep. The colour of the soil was dark brown (figure 15-16).

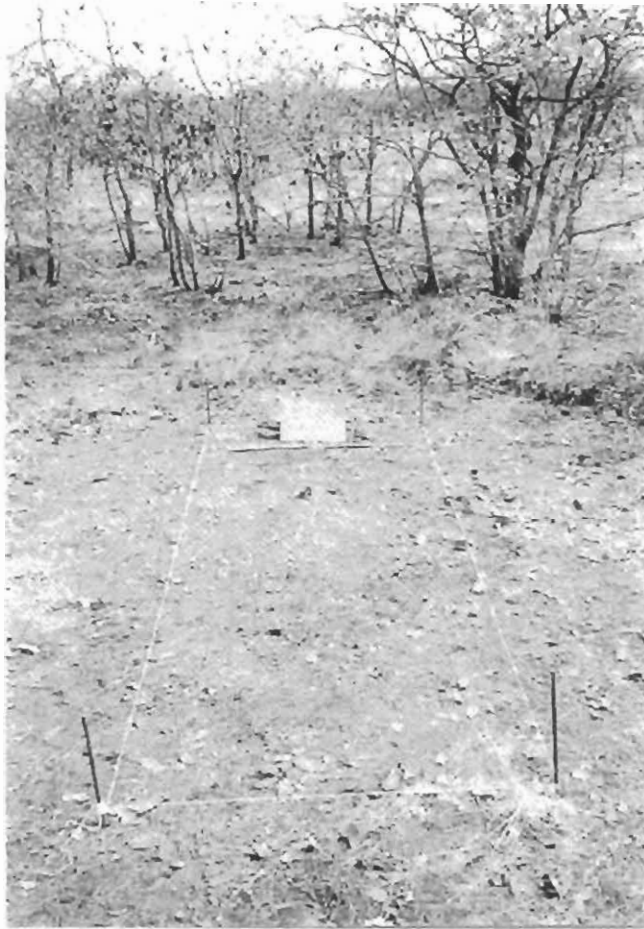


Figure 12 Excavation 11 from south to north, before excavation.



Figure 13 Excavation 11, layer 1, from south to north.



Figure 14 Excavation 14, from south to north, before excavation.



Figure 15 Excavation 13, layer 1, from south to north.



Figure 16 Detail of potsherds in excavation 13, layer 1.

After the potsherds on top were removed, only the north-eastern side of the excavation still contained artifacts. This section, an area of 2 x 1,5 m, labelled excavation 13.1, was taken down to sterile soil. The soil was also hard with a rough texture. Layer 2 was 7 cm deep, bringing the total depth of the excavation to 13 cm (figure 17-18).

The only cultural material recovered from excavation 13 was Iron Age type ceramics. These had a different type of decoration than those found previously on the site (see section 9). No charcoal was found and therefore it is not possible to get an absolute date from this excavation. It is therefore not possible to state whether it is of the same age as Steinaecker's Horse's occupation of the site. Relative dating however suggests that it is much older (see section 9).



Figure 17 Excavation 13.1, layer 2, from south to north.



Figure 18 Detail of small ceramic pot found in excavation 13, layer 2.

8.4 Clay debris

8.4.1 Excavation 15

This excavation, 5 x 3 m in size, was measured in a more or less north-south direction in an area covered with daga (clay) remains (figure 19). This area was excavated during 1997 as well, but more hut remains were visible after being washed open by rain. At that time it was interpreted as being a cooking shelter, but as it seemed to be much larger, it was investigated to see if it might be a hut floor or some other structure.

The excavation was brushed clean at first (figure 20). Hut clay was exposed, some pieces with clear pole impressions (figure 21). The outline of the previous excavation (from the 1997 season), excavation 3, was also clearly visible, more or less in the centre of the new excavation.

The excavation had only one layer, which was 4 cm deep (figure 22). The remains of at least one wall was visible. The soil had a sandy, gritty texture because of the daga remains it contained. It was dark brown on the northern side of the excavation, but light brown to the south. In the central part of the excavation it had a reddish colour as a result of the daga. With the daga removed only sterile soil remained (figure 23).

It is clear that this was not the remains of a hut, but only a single wall lying in a semi-circular arc. Together with other artefacts found here, including a metal grid for placing cooking pots on, it is concluded that it was probably a cooking area, with the wall serving as a wind break. This confirmed the interpretations of the 1997 excavations.

Cultural material found here included the mentioned metal grid, eight stone flake tools, small pieces of glass, Iron Age type pottery and glazed earthenware (see section 9).



Figure 19 Excavation 15 from south to north before excavation.



Figure 20 Surface of excavation 15 after being brushed, taken from south to north.



Figure 21 Detail of clay debris in excavation 15.

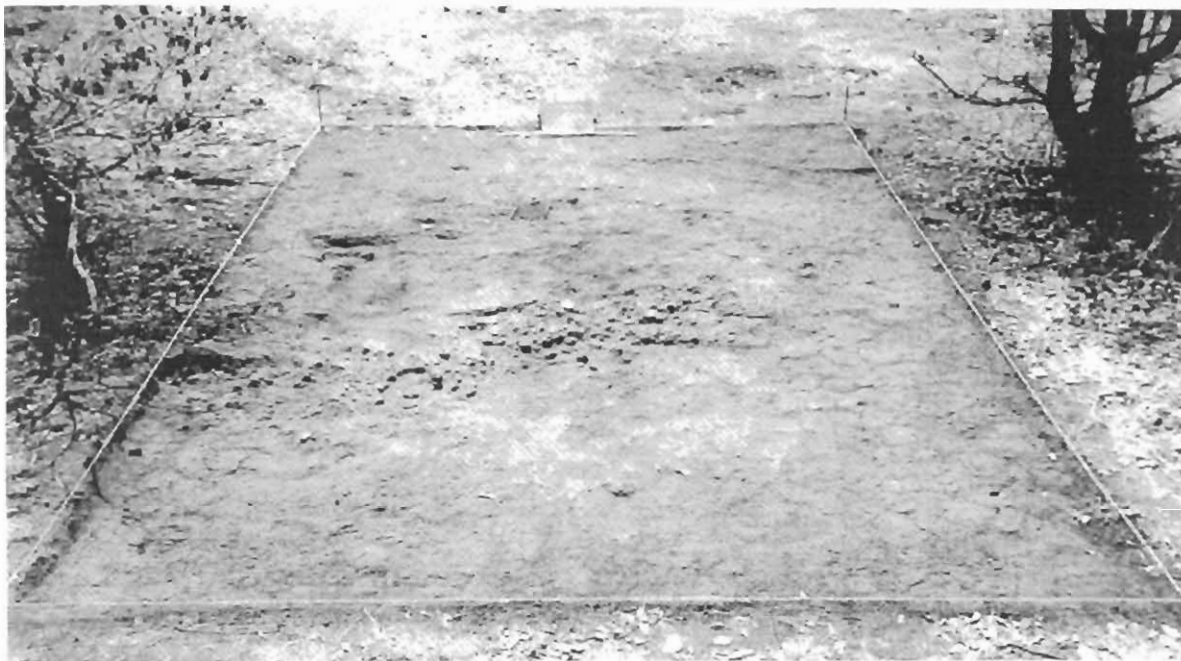


Figure 22 Excavation 15, layer 1 from south to north. Note the clay debris in the centre of the excavation, the outline of excavation 3 just to the north thereof and the metal grid even further to the north.

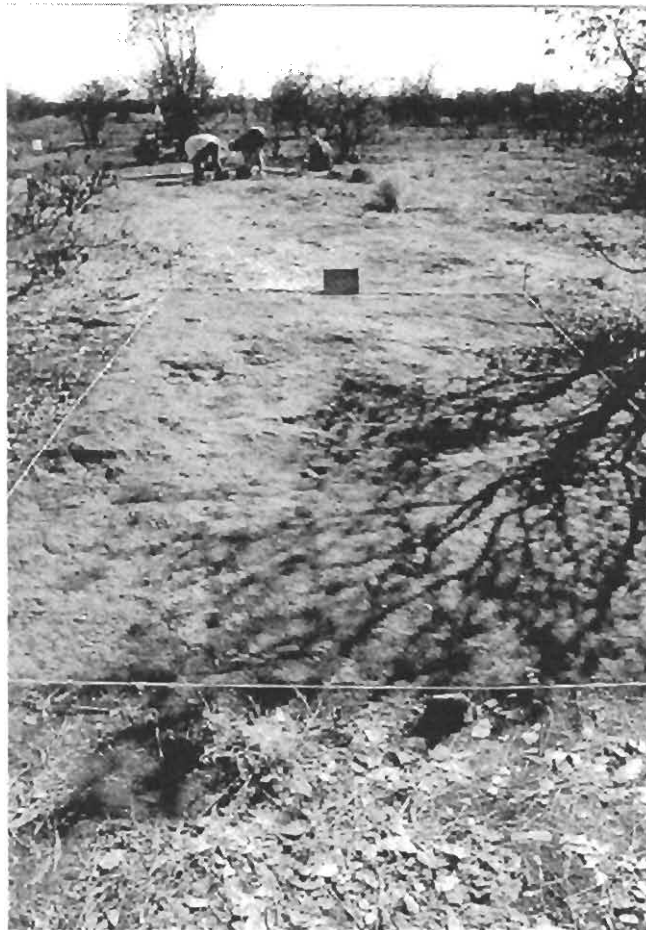


Figure 23 The completed excavation 15 taken from south to north after the clay debris was removed.

9. Cultural material

A total of 4240 artefacts were recovered during the 2002 excavations. Of these, 37 were collected on the general surface of the site, 8 were recovered from Excavation 11 and 1759 from Excavation 12. Excavation 13 delivered 746 artifacts, with 1656 from Excavation 14 and 34 from Excavation 15. The sample consists of ceramics, glass, metal, bone, shell and other artefacts such as hut clay and stone tools.

9.1 Ceramics

A total number of 1242 pieces of ceramics were found, comprising pieces of porcelain, stoneware and Iron Age-type potsherds (Table 1). Ceramics make up 29, 29% of the archaeological sample (Figure 24).



Figure 24 Ceramics excavated at the site. The first shard is that of a gin bottle, the second that of an ink pot at the third of a dinner plate.

9.1.1 Porcelain

Porcelain pieces numbered 12, and were all hard baked porcelain, also known as ironstone. None are decorated, but some are identifiable as parts of specific functional types. The porcelain is similar to that recovered during the 1997 and 2000 excavations, dated to the Late 19th - Early 20th century (Van Vollenhoven et. al 1998a: 26-28; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 26).

Four pieces of ironstone, representing at least one plate, were collected on the surface of the site. Undecorated fragments (8 pieces) of ironstone vessels were also found in Excavation 14, some identifiable to functional type. At least three dinner plates and a possible saucer are represented by these fragments.

9.1.2 Stoneware

Seventeen pieces of stoneware were recovered from the site surface and the excavations. The surface sample produced 13 fragments of which 12 were part of stoneware ginger beer, gin and other alcoholic beverages containers. One piece has part of the bottler's name, Hulstkamp & Zn. Amsterdam, visible on it. Similar pieces were also found during 1997 and date to the Late 19th - Early 20th century (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 29). The other stoneware fragment from the surface is part of a black ink vessel, also dated to this time (see Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 56).

The other pieces of stoneware comes from Excavation 14 (1 piece) and Excavation 15 (3 pieces) respectively. All four are dark-brown/black glazed and dates to the 1920's/1930's (C. Meyer: personal communication). This is further evidence of the site being used for some time after Steinaecker's Horse's occupation of the outpost, probably by former members of the unit, such as Harry Wolhuter, who became game rangers in the Park after the War.

9.1.3 Iron Age-type ceramics

Iron Age-type pottery make up the largest portion of the ceramics, with a total of 1213 pieces recovered. All the excavations, except Excavation 11, and the general surface of the site produced Iron Age pottery. Excavation 13 produced 746 pieces.

Undecorated pieces numbered 1181, with 32 decorated. Most of the decorations are deep stylus impressions below the lip of the vessel (all from Excavation 13), while there is one lip piece with cross-hatched incisions below the lip, on the body and shoulder of the vessel (Figure 25). Approximately 30 individual vessels are represented by the pottery fragments, with about 10 coming from Excavation 13. Four worked shards were also found, and were possibly used as spindle-whorls or pot burnishers.

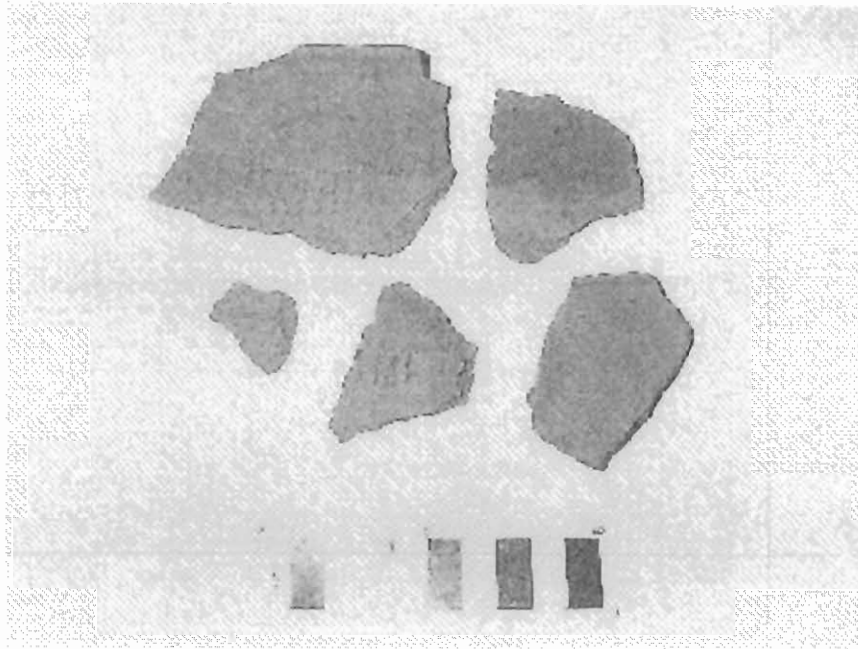


Figure 25 Iron Age type ceramics from the site. The pottery from the site most probably date to the Late 19th century, and is further evidence of local black people's presence on the site during the occupation by Steinaecker's Horse. It could also be evidence of earlier Iron Age settlement at the site.

In order to investigate the latter, the decoration of the pottery was compared with samples from the Kruger National Park as described by Meyer (1986). It seems to have similarities with ceramics from the Pretoriuskop area (Site Pr 1), which is dated to the Lydenburg industry of the Early Iron Age (Meyer 1986: 225). This however seems very unlikely due to the distance between the two sites.

It also resembles ceramics from the much closer by site Le 6, a site next to the Letaba River. This site is dated to the Tsende industry of the Late Iron Age, with a date of 790 A.D.

9.2 Glass

With the exception of Excavation 13, all the excavations and the surface sample produced glass, representing bottles and various other containers and window glass. Glass pieces from the 2002 season, total 363, or 8, 56% of the material sample. No complete bottles and other glass artefacts were recovered. A variety of categories are represented by the glass sample (Figure 26). The

glass date mainly to the Late 19th century, and are similar to those found during the 1997 and 2000 excavations (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1997: 32-34; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 31-35).

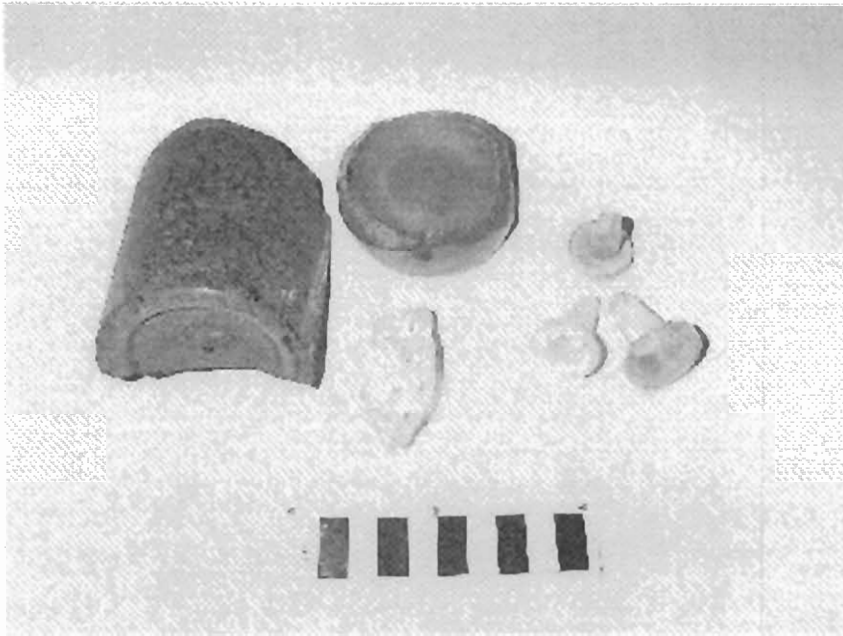


Figure 26 Glass shards from the site. The first is that of a rum bottle and the one at the bottom from a soda water bottle. The three bottle stoppers are from worcestershire sauce bottles.

9.2.1 Alcoholic beverages

Rum, gin, wine and other alcohol are represented. The surface sample and Excavations 12, 14 and 15 produced glass fragments from alcohol bottles, and included parts of necks, tops and bases.

9.2.2 Non-alcoholic beverages

Non-alcoholic drinks include soda and mineral water, as well as Roses Lime Juice. Part of an embossed maker's mark is visible on one glass shard from Excavation 14. It reads 'SH...M...'. It possibly relates to 'SHILLINGS' MINERAL WATER, a Pretoria based mineral water company belonging to G.W. Shilling. The company operated more or less between 1889 and 1910 (Lastovica & Lastovica 1982: 95).

9.2.3 Medicinal

Only a few small pieces, from Excavation 14, that were possibly part of medicine bottles, were found. These seem to be similar to those found during the previous excavation seasons (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 34; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 32). The types of medicine can not be identified.

9.2.4 Household

This category is represented by bottled foodstuffs and condiments such as Bovril, Worcestershire sauce and others. Parts of Bovril bottles, with sections of the embossed name of the company on some pieces, came from Excavations 12 & 14. Three complete glass bottle stoppers from Excavation 14 fitted on 'Holbrook & Co.' Worcestershire sauce bottles. They all date to the Late 19th century.

9.2.5 Table ware

Table ware from the site are all fragments of wine glasses, found in Excavations 12 and 14. Pieces from Excavation 14 are decorated with 'Woodstock-type' decoration, dating to the Late 19th and Early 20th century (see Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 34; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 33).

9.2.6 Personal items

The only personal items are pieces of milk glass of an Odol peppermint flavoured mouthwash bottle from Excavation 14. Similar pieces were found in 1997 and 2000 (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 35; Van Vollenhoven et.al 2001: 33).

9.2.7 Architectural elements

This category is represented by flat pieces of glass, and is probably the remnants of window panes, evidence of more permanent structures at the site.

9.3 Metal

This is one of the largest categories, with 1106 pieces, or 26, 08% of the archaeological sample. Of these, only 166 are complete artefacts. The types of artefacts found include nails and screws, spent cartridges, bangles, earrings and rings, adzes and hoes, tins, CO2 canisters, pieces of shoes and other clothing and lead bottle seals. Metal was recovered from the surface of the site and all excavations except Excavation 13. The following categories are represented by the metal sample.

9.3.1 Personal Items

This category includes objects such as bangles, rings, earrings and others used mainly for personal adornment (Figure 27). Two iron bangles, one each from the surface of the site and

Excavation 14, were found. They could have an Iron Age origin and is possibly linked to the local black inhabitants of the site.

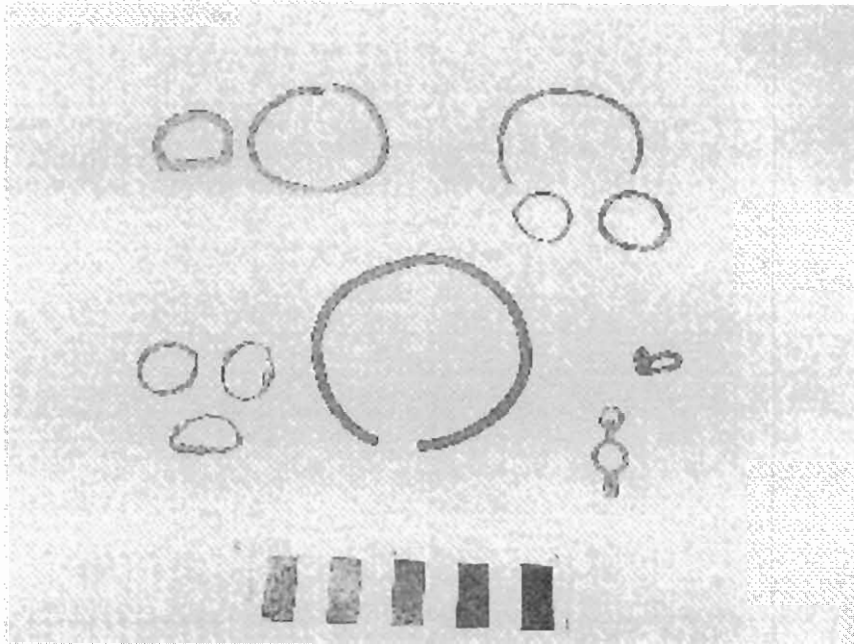


Figure 27 Bangles, a buckle, ear rings and other metal artefact used for personal adornment. On the left hand are three rings made from wire and on the bottom right part of the chain of a pocket watch.

Three rings, also with a possible Iron Age origin, were also recovered. They came from Excavation 11, layer 1 and 12, layer 2 respectively, and were all woven from strands of metal. Two are of copper and one iron.

Excavation 12 produced two iron earrings as well, while a copper bead (Figure 34), one belt buckle and a button came from Excavation 14. Various shoe lace eyes and a copper shoe lace tip cover came from Excavations 12 and 14. An iron link chain and a pocket-watch winder from Excavation 12 conclude this category.

9.3.2 Food service

This category includes objects such as plates, food tins and cast-iron cooking pots. The following were recovered:

- 4 pieces of cast-iron cooking pots from Excavation 14.

- A fairly large number of remains of food tins, mostly fragments but also some lids, bottoms and nearly complete tins were also found. These were found on the surface and in all the excavations, excluding no. 13. The types of food represented are bully beef, ham, sardines and probably other canned fruits and vegetables (Figure 28).
- 7 metal keys with which, for instance bully beef tins were opened, were also recovered. Two of these are quite large, and were probably for sardine tins.
- A complete enamel plate came from Excavation 14. It was probably a dinner or soup plate (Figure 29).
- One of the most interesting objects found during the 2002 excavations was a nearly complete tin, also from Excavation 14. It had most of its label still attached. Legible on it was 'Crosse & Blackwell Sardines in Oil' as well as 'Sardines de Huil'. Also visible was the UK (London) and French (Paris) addresses of this company, as well as the corporate logo on the label.

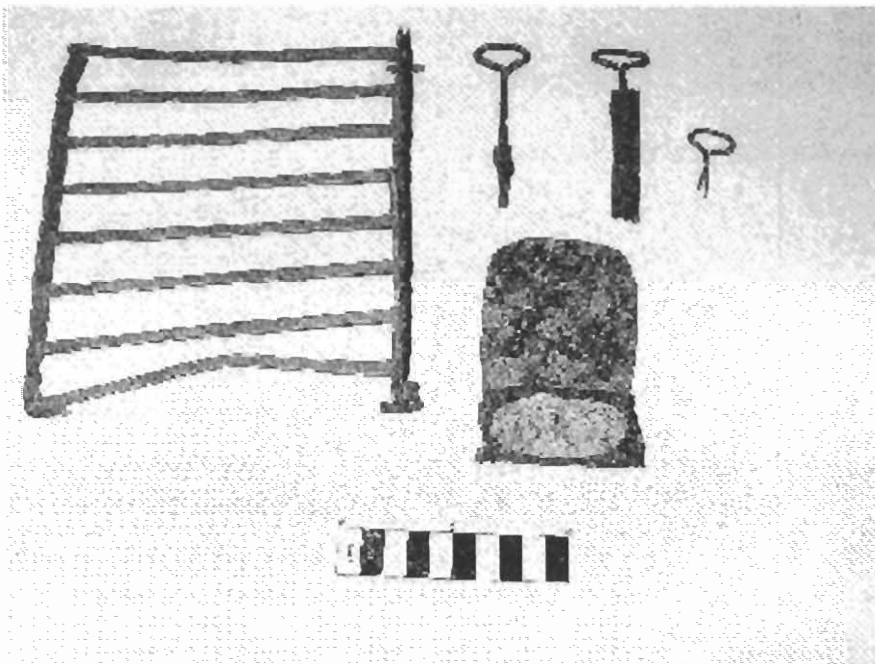


Figure 28 A grid used for putting cooking pots on over the fire, a fish tin and keys to open canned foods.

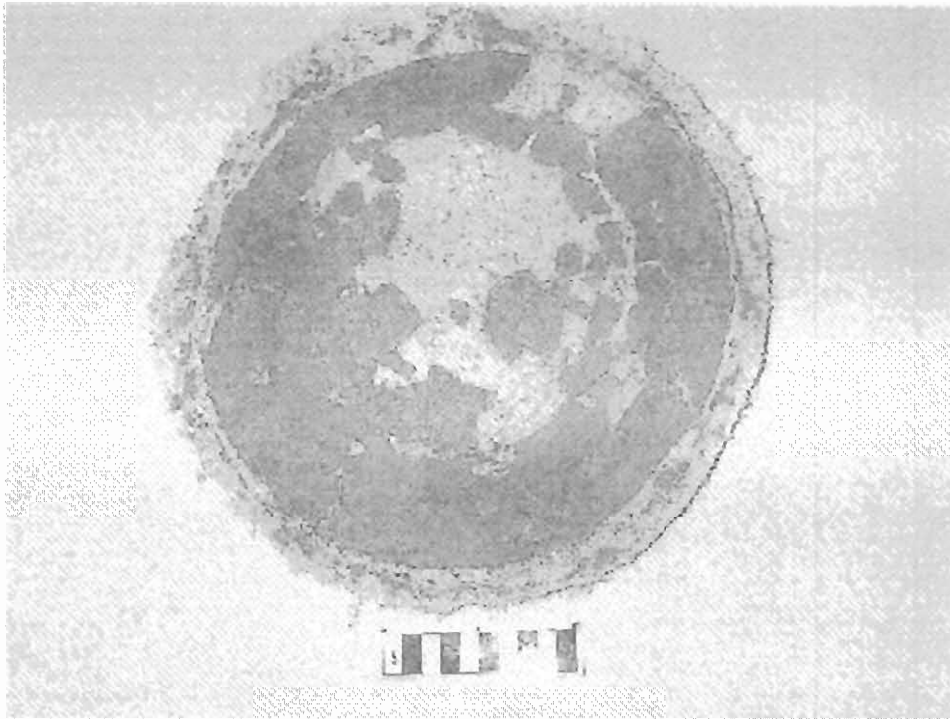


Figure 29 Enamel plate excavated at the site.

9.3.3 Household articles

Household articles included the following:

- 1 syringe-like metal object that was possibly a toothpaste container from the surface of the site (Figure 30).
- 1 press stud from Excavation 12. It could have fitted on a couch or chair cushion.
- 1 brass safety pin from Excavation 14.

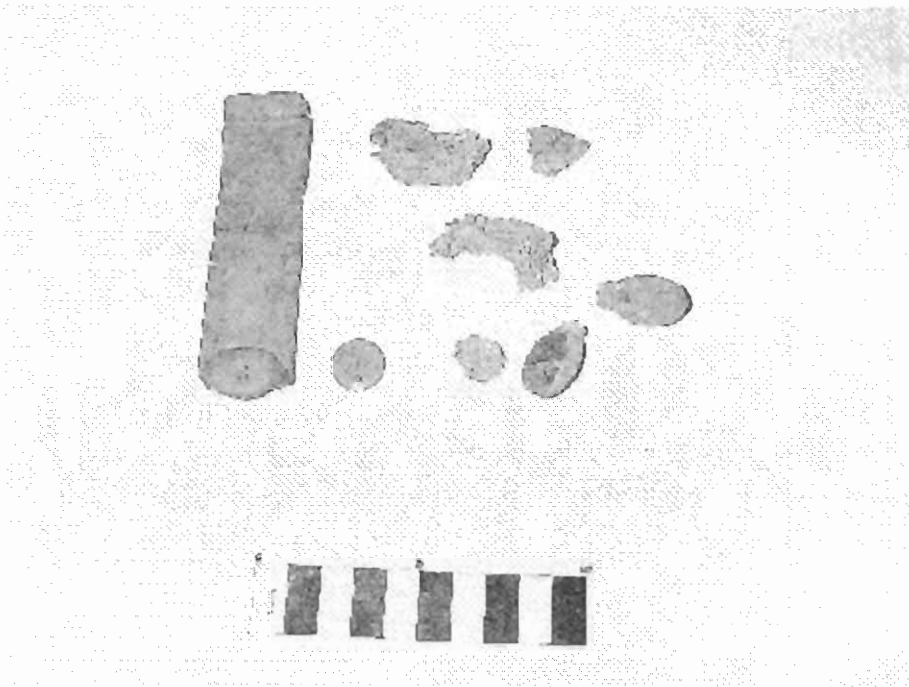


Figure 30 On the left is a toothpaste container and part of a syringe that was found at the site. On the right are lead seals, some from liquor bottles and some from containers. On the bottom right is CO2 canisters that were excavated.

9.3.4 Tools & Equipment

This category includes the following artifacts:

- A large number of nails, and pieces of nails, as well as screws, 237 in total, of various sizes. These were found in Excavations 12, 14 and 15. Some of the nails seem to have been handmade, possibly on site (Figure 31).
- Pieces of copper and other wire from Excavations 12 & 14.
- 9 gas (CO₂) canisters used for making soda water from Excavations 12 and 14 (Figure 30). Similar artefacts were found and identified as such in 1997 and 2000 (Van Vollenhoven et.al.1998a: 43; Van Vollenhoven 2001: 38).
- 1 large iron buckle for tying straps etc. from Excavation 12.
- 1 piece of an iron rod from Excavation 14.
- 2 large iron staples from Excavation 12 and 14 respectively.
- 2 Iron Age-type hoes or adzes from Excavation 12.
- A metal grid used for placing cooking pots on the fire from excavation 15 (Figure28). This is similar to a grid found in a display from the kitchen at Fort Klapperkop, Pretoria.

which dates to the same period and which is also associated with the Anglo-Boer War.

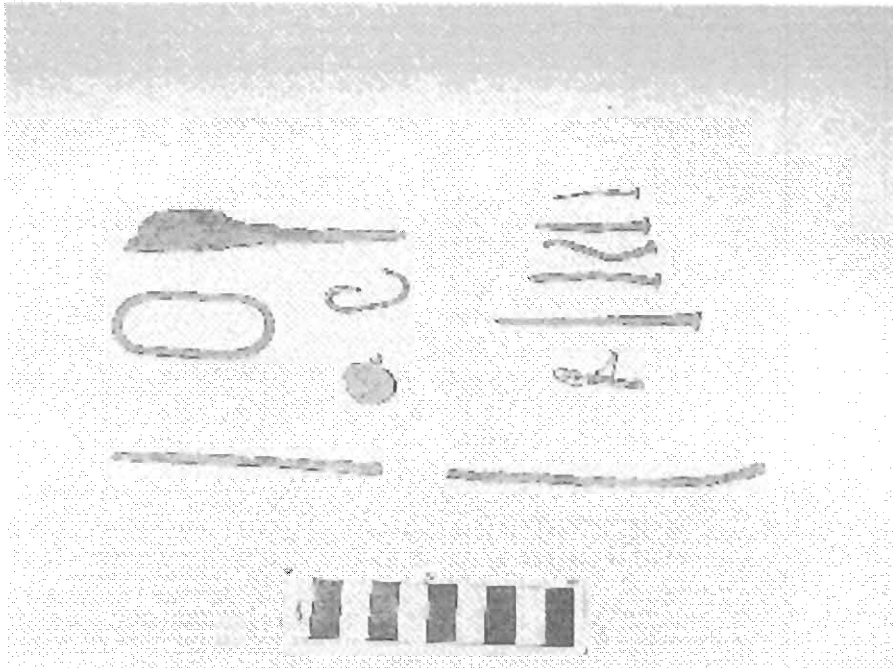


Figure 31 Various metal artifacts from the site.

9.3.5 Ammunition

The following artefacts (Figure 32) relating to this category were found during the excavations:

- 6 shotgun pellets from Excavations 12 and 14.
- 5 pieces of spent lead from Excavations 12 and 14.
- All the spent cartridges found are similar to examples recovered during the 1997 and 2000 excavations, and discussed by J. Loock in Appendix A of the 2001 report on the cartridges from the site. Five of the cartridges found during 2002 are .577/.450 Martini-Henry rifle cartridges, used by both sides during the Anglo-Boer War (Loock 2001: 12). They came from the surface of the site as well as Excavations 12 and 14. These two excavations also produced two .450 Webley revolver cartridges. Revolvers were mainly carried by officers of the British Army. One 12 bore shotgun cartridge from the site surface carries the head stamp ELB No 12 ELEY LONDON, while there is also a single .303 Mark V rifle cartridge from Excavation 14. This was the so-called hollow-pointed bullet, or “dum-dum” introduced in 1899 and withdrawn in the same year (Loock 2001: 11). Both sides used this bullet, although in limited quantities.

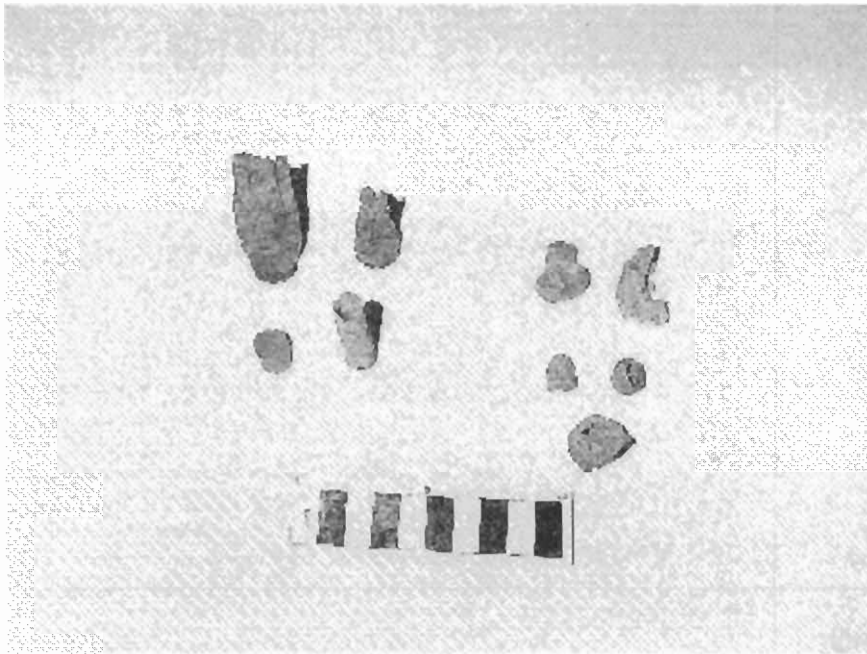


Figure 32 Different cartridges and bullet points found at the site.

9.3.6 Building components

The only artefact under this category is part of a brass window latch from Excavation 12 (Figure 33).

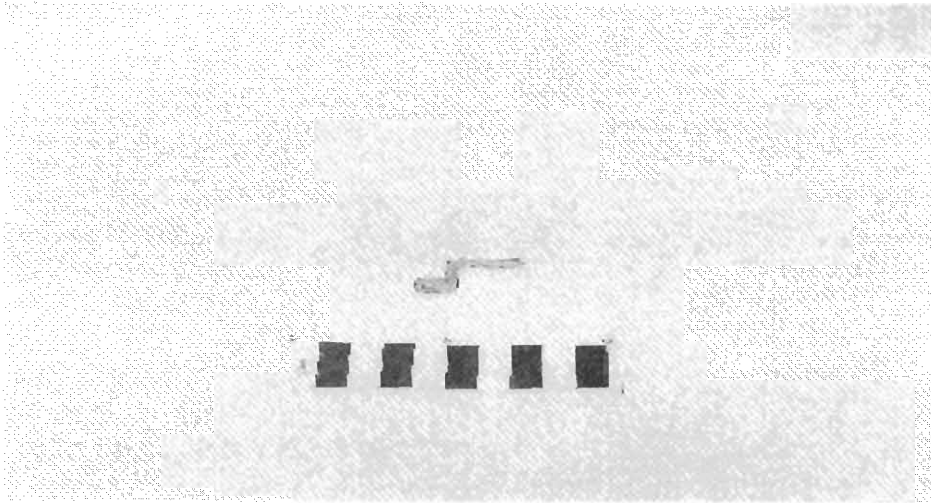


Figure 33 Brass window latch found in excavation 12.

9.3.7 Recreational

Artefacts connected with this category are mainly pieces of and complete lead seals of liquor and other non-alcoholic beverage bottles recovered from Excavations 12 and 14. M.B.Foster & Son's Ltd. are visible on some of the seals. Similarly marked seals were found during the previous two excavation seasons (Figure 30). This company were bottlers of beer and other liquor, contracted to the British Army (see Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 51; Van Vollenhoven 2001: 40; Army & Navy Stores Catalogue, 1907).

One metal bottle stopper, complete with lead seal, also came from Excavation 14.

9.3.8 Unidentifiable & Miscellaneous metal artifacts

There were a number of these, namely:

- 2 lead seals with the initials H & S & V on it. They were possibly used as seals on ammunition or ration cases. These two came from Excavation 12 and the surface of the site respectively. Similar objects were found during 1997 and 2000 (Figure 30).
- The possible tip of a syringe made of brass. The word "Patent" is inscribed on the object. It comes from the surface of the site (Figure 30).
- Fragments of various unidentifiable metal artefacts from Excavations 12, 14 and 15.
- 1 unidentifiable copper lid-like artefact from Excavation 12 and 1 from Excavation 14.
- 1 piece of brass plate from Excavation 14.

9.4 Organic material

Organic material is represented by faunal skeletal remains, as well as worked bone objects such as needles and pieces of shell. Organic remains number 1401, or 33% of the total material sample.

9.4.1 Faunal skeletal material

Faunal skeletal material includes unidentifiable as well as identifiable pieces of bone and teeth. Excavations 12, 14 and 15 produced skeletal material. Of the 1289 bone and teeth, only 87 or 6,7% were identifiable to either skeletal part, species, age or sex (see Table 4). Seven worked bone objects were also recovered.

9.4.1.1 **Unidentifiable remains**

Unidentifiable skeletal material includes fragments of bone and teeth. In total 1202 pieces were recovered. Of these 23 are enamel fragments, 28 skull fragments, 8 vertebrae fragments, 105 rib fragments, 49 miscellaneous bones and 962 bone flakes. Most pieces show signs of natural weathering, while a high proportion are burnt. No cut marks are visible on any of the pieces and only a few bones has carnivore or rodent gnaw marks.

9.4.1.2 **Identifiable**

Identifiable means that the skeletal material is identifiable to a specific skeletal part or to the species, age and/or sex of the animals the bone or teeth originates from. A total number of 87 identifiable skeletal parts were found during the excavations. Both domesticated and non-domesticated animals are represented, with a relative big number of bird, fish and rodent bones recovered. The results of the analysis of the identifiable skeletal material are discussed in Table 1.

TABLE 1 FAUNAL ANALYSIS OF IDENTIFIABLE SKELETAL MATERIAL FROM THE SITE

SPECIES	EXCAVATION				
	11	12	13	14	15
<i>Equus burchelli</i> Burchell's zebra		X			
<i>Equus</i> sp.		X			
<i>Ovis/Capra</i> sheep/goat		X			
<i>Sylvicapra grimmia</i> common duiker		X			
Bovidae I		X		X	
Bovidae II		X		X	
Bovidae III				X	
<i>Thryonomus swinderianus</i> greater cane rat		X		X	
Rodent		X		X	
Hare sp.		X			
Small bird (francolin?)				X	
Small to medium bird		X			
Medium bird (chicken or guinea fowl)				X	
Tortoise		X			
<i>Varanus</i> sp. Monitor		X		X	
<i>Pyxicephalus adspersus</i> bullfrog		X			
<i>Clarias</i> sp. Barbel		X			
<i>Clarias/Synodontis</i> barbell		X			

9.4.2 Worked bone

Four worked and polished bones and needles came from Excavation 12, while two worked bone fragments from Excavation 14 could be arrow link shafts. All these objects are probably of an Iron Age origin. A small piece of a button made of bone also came from Excavation 14.

9.4.3 Shell

One hundred and twelve pieces of shell were recovered from Excavations 12, 14 and 15. This includes pieces of freshwater mussel and land snail shell (30 pieces of *achatina* and/or *unio* sp.), four pieces of ostrich egg-shell, and 78 shell fragments of various bird or fowl eggs, such as chicken and guinea fowl.

9.5 Anorganic material

This category includes hut debris, stone tools and other miscellaneous artefacts such as Iron Age-type glass beads. (Figure 34). Anorganic material recovered from the site numbered 128, or approximately 3% of the total archaeological sample.

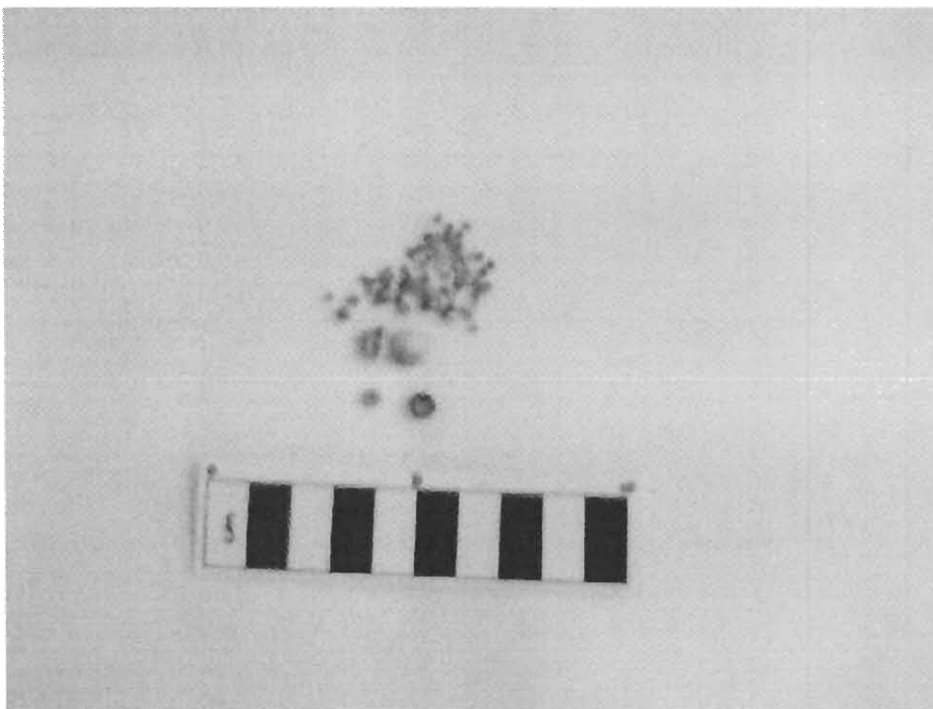


Figure 34 Beads found at the site. On the top are typical Iron Age glass beads. The bead on the bottom left is made from crystal and the one on the bottom right made from copper.

9.5.1 Hut debris

One small piece of possible hut clay, or daga, came from Excavation 12, while a further two fragments were recovered from Excavation 14. Excavation 15, which was done on an area of hut

clay, exposed numerous pieces. This is further indication of more permanent structures being present at the site during its occupation.

9.5.2 Stone tools

During the 2002 excavations 26 stone tools were recovered. The 1997 and 2000 seasons were no exception. Of these 22 are typical of the Middle (MSA) and Late Stone Age (LSA), and includes cores, waste-flakes and flake-tools such as scrapers. They could also have a LIA origin. Fourteen of the stone tools came from Excavation 12, with eight recovered from Excavation 15.

Other stone tools include two rubbing stones from Excavation 12, used for smearing hut floors, and one hammer stone and one upper grinding stone from Excavation 14. These are typical Iron Age artefacts.

9.5.3 Miscellaneous

This category includes the following:

- 2 pieces of bakelite battery rods from Excavation 14. Similar ones were found during 1997 and 2000 as well (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 45).
- 1 stone (crystal) bead from Excavation 12 (Figure 34).
- 1 small fragment of blue coloured plastic from Excavation 14.
- 1 white coloured, plastic button from Excavation 12.
- A large number of Iron Age-type glass beads were recovered from Excavations 12 and 14. Similar beads were found during 1997 and 2000 as well (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 33). Various colours and sizes of bead are represented. Seventy three beads came from Excavation 12, with 20 from Excavation 14 (Figure 34).

10. Discussion and Conclusion

To fully understand the meaning of the excavated material from the site, the information of all three season's excavations should be combined. This will provide a full report on the excavated artifacts from the site.

It is important not to complicate the issue by listing the artifacts according to the excavations, but according to site features. For a holistic picture, the excavations are only mentioned (Table 2-4).

Most of the dateable artefacts found, represent the period of the Late 19th to the Early 20th century. The radiocarbon dates from the site coincides with this period, namely 1900. The Anglo-Boer War was fought between 1899 and 1902. Therefore the site provides more than enough evidence that it was occupied during this period. Historical information obtained, indicate that the site was one of the outposts of the voluntary British military unit, Steinaecker's Horse (see section 7).

Information on the unit also shows that it frequently made use of the local black community as servants. It is therefore not far fetched to assume that that these people stayed with the members of Steinaecker's Horse at the site. 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 site. Members of the Native Police were indeed employed by the park as game watchers after the war (Skukuza archives: List of Native Police or watchers 1902-1903), perhaps due to their excellent knowledge of the area.

The artifacts that were found corroborate these assumptions. A large amount of so-called European ceramics were unearthed. This includes porcelain, stone and earthen ware. Glass artifacts such as fragments of bottles are further prove of this. The metal artifacts from the site clearly indicate a military presence at the site. Parts of spoons with a shell pattern, typical of those issued to the British army, were found during the previous excavation seasons. The tinned foods issued to members of the army, were represented by a large amount of tins. A large amount of the ammunition found in the excavations were clearly of a military origin.

However, a large amount of artifacts without any military or European origin were also found, confirming the presence of local black people at the site. The most important of these were Iron Age type ceramics and glass beads, as well as some metal tools associated with Iron Age people.

Artifacts from the 1997 excavation season suggested a difference in the composition of the material remains in the two large refuse middens on the site. This was allegedly formed by a social (racial) differentiation at the site during the time of its occupation. The 2000 and 2002 excavation seasons focused on removing an almost equal amount of deposit from the two middens, therefore providing a more equal sample for comparative purposes.

From tables 2-4 it is clear that the central midden produced a larger amount of artifacts for comparative purposes than the south-western midden. It also had a much larger sample of European artifacts than the latter.

Table 2 deals with the ceramic sample from the site. Porcelain from the central midden amount to 84,4% of the total sample, whereas the south-western midden produced a mere 4,1%. A percentage of 54,3% of all the stone and European earthen ware were found at the central midden, with the south-western midden only producing 1,7%. It is interesting that the small midden excavated in 1997, produced 22% (Excavation 4) of this sample, confirming that the area may have been used as a cooking area as was suggested after the 1997 excavations (Excavation 11 only produced glass artifacts).

TABLE 2 CERAMICS FROM THE STEINAECKER'S HORSE NORTHERN OUTPOST

PLACE

TYPE		Surface	Central midden	South-western midden	Small middens	Concentration of potsherds	Clay debris	Hut floor	Total	% of total ceramic sample
			Exc. 1, 2, 6, 8, 14	Exc. 5, 7, 12	Exc. 4, 11	Exc. 13	Exc. 3, 10, 15	Exc. 9		
Porcelain & Ironstone	No. of artifacts	8	84	4	2	0	1	0	99	5,5
	% of porcelain	8,1	84,8	4,1	2	-	1	-		
Stone & Earthenware	No. of artifacts	22	32	1	13	0	0	0	59	3,3
	% of stoneware	22	54,3	1,7	22	-	-	-		
Iron Age Pottery	No. of artifacts	1	156	620	79	746	6	34	1642	91,2
	% of Iron Age pottery	0,06	9,51	37,75	4,81	45,4	0,35	2,07		
Total	No. of artifacts	22	272	625	94	746	7	34	1800	100
	% of total ceramic sample	1,2	15,1	34,7	5,2	41,5	0,4	1,9		

The south-western midden however had the second largest total of the total ceramic sample, namely 34,7%. The central midden only produced 15,1% of the total. This is due to the fact that Iron Age type ceramics dominate the ceramic sample from the south-western midden. It contained 37,75% of the sample of Iron Age ceramics, whilst the central midden contained 9,51% of the sample.

Again, in comparison, the above mentioned small midden produced a relatively large amount of the sample (Iron Age type ceramics), namely 5,2%, again confirming its function as a cooking area. Excavation 13 produced the largest sample of Iron Age type ceramics, being 45,4%. This

figure is so much, that this excavation also produced the largest ceramic sample in total, being 41,5%. Since this was not a midden and it lacks any other artifacts, it is believed that this could be an activity area and that it is not very important in explaining the occupation of the site during the Anglo Boer War.

The dominance of non-European ceramics at the south-western midden confirms that it was mostly used by the black inhabitants of the site. In contrast with this the sample of ceramics with a European origin dominates the central midden. This indicates that the white soldiers had a preference for the use of ceramics of a European origin. However, the non-European artifacts outnumber the first mentioned, indicating that the servants of the white soldiers probably still used Iron Age type pottery to cook for their masters and probably discarded broken vessels where they used it, in this case the central midden. It probably also means that the non-European soldiers did not have the luxury of using porcelain plates and other crockery. The above mentioned deductions could also explain the dominance of Iron Age type ceramics at the south-western midden.

From an old map it was found that the Ba-Hlengwe was the tribe who used to live close to the site. Although the map is not dated, it was probably drawn before 1903 as most of the tribes moved out of the park area between August 1902 and August 1903 (Skukuza archives: Unnumbered map, Approximate distribution of Lowveld tribes). It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that these people were present at the site during the Anglo-Boer War.

Table 3 confirms the evidence from the ceramic sample. The central midden is dominated by glass bottles (76,5% of the sample) and other types of glass with a European origin (53,2%). The south-western midden in comparison produced 18,2% and 21,7% respectively of these samples. In this case the bottles are by far the largest collection of glass from the site, resulting in the central midden having 60,8% of the total glass sample. The only category, in which the south-western midden provided the bulk of artifacts, is Iron Age glass beads. It produced 73,8% of the sample with the central midden producing only 16,5%. This clearly corroborates with the information from the ceramic sample.

It is interesting to note that the hut floor produced 24,6% of the sample from the category of other glass and 7,4% of the glass beads. This is quite a large sample in comparison with the rest as the amount of deposit removed from this excavation was much less than at the two middens. This can probably be explained due to a hut being a living area where lots of activities took place. The hut floor also produced 1,9% of the Iron Age type ceramics excavated at the site. This means that it had a good mixture of artifacts of an European and non-European origin. The hut floor was discussed in more detail in the previous report.

TABLE 3 GLASS FROM STEINAECKER'S HORSE NORTHERN OUTPOST

TYPE		PLACE						Total	% of total glass sample
		Surface	Central midden	South-western midden	Small middens	Clay debris	Hut floor		
			Exc. 1, 2, 6, 8, 14	Exc. 5, 7, 12	Exc. 4, 11	Exc. 3, 10, 15	Exc. 9		
Bottles/ fragments of bottles & other	No. of artifacts	14	893	212	45	3	0	1167	66,4
	% of bottles	1,2	76,5	18,2	3,8	0,3	-		
Other - including bottle stoppers & wine glass	No. of artifacts	0	108	44	1	0	50	203	11,7
	% of other	-	53,2	21,7	0,5	-	24,6		
Iron Age glass beads	No. of artifacts	0	63	281	9	0	28	381	21,9
	% of Iron Age glass beads	-	16,5	73,8	2,3	-	7,4		
Total	No. of artifacts	14	1064	537	55	3	78	1751	100
	% of total glass sample	0,8	60,8	30,7	3,1	0,2	4,4		

The metal artefacts from the various excavations also give the same indication as the above mentioned (Table 4). Food tins make up of 96,41% of the total metal sample. Of this 74,6% comes from the central midden with only 15,9% from the south-western midden. Again the hut floor produced a relatively large sample, with 8,2% of the total. As food tins dominate the metal sample and as the bulk of it were found at the central midden, it is not surprising that this midden produced 73,3% of the total metal sample.

The exception to the rule is the sample of spent cartridges. At the central midden only 41% of the sample was found, while the south-western midden produced 49,4%. It however needs to be mentioned that this figure only represents 34 and 41 artifacts respectively, and clearly the difference is not that much. Historical information does state that the black people, employed by Steinaecker's Horse, were armed with Martini Henry rifles (Skukuza archives: Report of the Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903).

Most of the cartridges date to the period of the Anglo-Boer War, confirming that the site was occupied during the war. Both middens produced some .450 Webley revolver cartridges, a revolver normally only issued to officers, seemingly contradicting the information obtained from the other artifacts. Shot gun cartridges are also found at both, confirming the evidence from the faunal material, as remains of small animals and birds were found at both. All other types of military cartridges from the period of the war were found at the central midden. A .380 cartridge found at the south-western midden also dates from this period, but was not used by the military and probably belonged to a private individual.

A small amount of the cartridges found clearly post-dated the Anglo-Boer War. These were mostly found at the central midden confirming the re-use of the site at a later stage. These cartridges were manufactured up to 1920, but may have been used for a long time after this date. It is known that a certain chief Makuba's followers hunted lots of wild on the Tsende flats where they lived close to the Tsende and Makhadzi rivers. They however left the park on 3 November 1923 (Skukuza archives: Rangers diary of section Shingwedzi south, 03.11.1923 & 18.03.1924). Although this does not mean that they stayed at this site, it does prove that the area was still used by humans after the Anglo-Boer War.

The ranger for Shingwedzi south, C.R. Crous, wrote in his diary that he camped alongside the Makhadzi on 16 February 1930 and that they were pestered by lions the whole night (Skukuza archives: Rangers diary for Shingwedzi south, 16.02.1930). This is perhaps the best indication found in historical sources that the site might have been re-used at a later stage. He also stated that he camped on the upper Makhadzi on 10 March 1930, on the (Tsende) flats between Silowe's and Makuba's old kraals on 18 March 1930 and that they followed the course of the Makhadzi up to Makuba's old kraal on 14 August 1931 (Skukuza archives: Rangers diary for Shingwedzi south, 10.03.1930, 18.03.1930 & 14.08.1931). These inscriptions prove that Makuba's kraal was on the banks of the Makhadzi river and that there is a good chance that the site was re-used after the Anglo-Boer War.

TABLE 4 MOST FREQUENT METAL FROM STEINAECKER'S HORSE NORTHERN OUTPOST

TYPE		PLACE							T o- t a l	% of total metal sam- ple
		Surface	Central midden	South- western midden	Small middens	Clay debris	Hut floor			
			Exc. 1, 2, 6, 8, 14	Exc. 5, 7, 12	Exc. 4, 11	Exc. 3,10, 15	Exc. 9			
Food tins & parts of tins	No. of artifacts	3	1781	380	21	7	197	2389	96,41	
	% of food tins	<i>0,1</i>	<i>74,6</i>	<i>15,9</i>	<i>0,9</i>	<i>0,3</i>	<i>8,2</i>			
Spent cart- ridges & other ammunition	No. of artifacts	3	34	41	2	1	2	83	3,35	
	% of ammunition	<i>3,6</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>49,4</i>	<i>2,4</i>	<i>1,2</i>	<i>2,4</i>			
Fish hooks	No. of artifacts	0	1	5	0	0	0	6	0,24	
	% of fish hooks	-	<i>16,7</i>	<i>83,3</i>	-	-	-			
Total	No. of artifacts	6	1816	426	23	8	199	2478	100	
	% of total metal sample	0,2	73,3	17,2	0,9	0,3	8,1			

A total number of 6 fish hooks were excavated of which 5 (83,3%) were from the south-western midden. Although the amount is quite small it does indicate that the black people at the site (associated with the south-western midden) were more likely to supplement their diet of tinned.

rations with that of fresh fish. The amount of fauna from this midden were also much higher than that from the central midden, again indicating a greater tendency towards the supplementing of their diet.

The faunal material from the site reveals something of the diet supplementing of its inhabitants and of their daily activities. Mostly the diet of the people consisted of the tinned rations issued by the British Army. The remains of bully beef, ham and sardine tins were unearthed. Historical sources show that tinned fruit and vegetables were also issued to them (Wolhuter 1973: 50). This was supplemented by eating the meat of domesticated and non-domesticated animals.

From historical sources it is known that the members of Steinaecker's Horse herded the stock from the local people in order to use it as food (Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 14-15). This included sheep, goat and cattle for meat as well as for milk. Faunal remains of these species were found at both middens. The only other domesticated species that was identified is donkey, but this was not necessarily used as a source of food. It is known that donkeys were used as pack animals during the Anglo-Boer War.

A large variety of non-domesticated species were identified. At the central midden this included Burchell's zebra and impala. 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." The members of the unit however did stop the local black people from shooting in their vicinity and in the neighbourhood of Sabie Bridge. Species such as (blue)wildebeest, impala, zebra and warthog are mentioned and he states that in some areas some of the antelopes were almost completely exterminated. These practices only ended during the first half of 1903 when most of the natives left the park (Skukuza archives: Report of the Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903).

At the south-western midden, species like leopard, serval and other unidentified carnivore, zebra and duiker were found in the past. It is documented that local black people sometimes ate serval, but it is unknown if they also would have eaten other carnivorous species. Stevenson-Hamilton states 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. He also states that very few carnivores were shot (Skukuza archives: Report of the Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903).

Species like cane rat, scrub hare and other rodents may have ended up in the deposit after the site was abandoned, but could also have been used to supplement the diet of its inhabitants. Some species of bird that were identified included francolin and guinea fowl which, even today are seen as a delicacy.

Unidentifiable parts of reptiles were also found at both middens. Different species of tortoise, a well known food source, and frogs were identified at the south-western midden. The latter was probably used as bait for catching fish. Remains of fish were identified at both middens, with barbel specifically found at the south-western midden.

Land snail and freshwater mussel remains were found at both middens, as were egg shell. However in all these cases much more material were identified from the south-western midden than from the central midden, indicating that the black inhabitants of the site more frequently supplemented their diet than did the white soldiers. The presence of this material at excavation 15 also indicates the area as being a cooking shelter.

Faunal material was also used to make implements that were used as tools for activities such as the mending of clothes. Bone needles and awls came from both middens.

Other artifacts, indicating that the central midden is associated with the white soldiers, were also found. These include the remains of wine glasses, pieces of porcelain Odol Mouth wash bottles, window glass, a cuff link, metal buttons, cutlery, a shoe polish tin, part of an oil lamp, and the lead seals of alcohol bottles. Of course some of these artefacts may have ended up in the archaeological record at a later stage, as clear indications were found that the site was used again after the war. The most important of these are porcelain dating to the 1920/30's, and bakelite and a battery from a later period. A map from 1909 on which Ranger stations and Native Police posts are marked, shows one of the latter close to the Makhadzi. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine if this indeed is the same post as the one investigated (Skukuza archives: Hamilton 1909: 65).

Artifacts found at the south-western midden, indicating its association with non-European people are earring, Iron Age hoes and a pick-axe. It is however not a clear cut case as numerous artefacts such as medicinal bottles, wire, bracelets and pieces of clothing were found on both middens. There are also artifacts that would normally be associated with one group, that were found at the other's midden, such as an Iron Age type hoe/adze at the central midden and parts of locks and the tip of a fountain pen at the south-western midden. It also needs to be mentioned that tent pegs and the metal eyes from tent sails were only found at the south-western midden. A complete metal plate that was found at the central midden, might also seem to be out of place, as one would suspect the white soldiers to rather have used porcelain.

The garrison had a diet that included a high alcohol consumption rate, as well as other non-alcoholic beverages. Glass from liquor bottles as well as the lead seals of these bottles were excavated. CO2 canisters, used for making soda water were also found. Fragment of Rose's Lime Juice bottles and wine glasses were also uncovered. The only other indication of what they ate, came from parts of Bovril bottles that were excavated.

The hut floor that was excavated during the previous season (excavation 9) produced artifacts of both an European and a non-European origin. Coupled with the C14 date from the hut, it is clear that it was used during the occupation of the site by Steinaecker's Horse. Unfortunately the 2002 excavation season could not shed further light on this feature.

It is interesting that a block house was erected at the headquarters of Steinaecker's Horse at Sabie Bridge. After September 1902 it was used by Stevenson-Hamilton as his office (Stevenson-Hamilton 1930:7; Skukuza archives: photo album nos. 1, 4 & 5). No signs of the remains of a block house were identified at the Northern outpost. The most important reason for this would be

that the Sabie train bridge had to be protected against attacks from the Boers. This was one of a number of reasons why block houses were erected (Van Vollenhoven 1995: 87). As there was no strategic installation to be protected at the outpost that was investigated, a block house was probably not regarded as an asset.

Excavation 15 revealed hut clay and burnt patches of soil, as was the case with excavation 3 on the same spot and excavation 10 in 1997 and 2000. Again, this is interpreted as being a cooking shelter where food was prepared.

Excavation 11 proved to be no more than a small midden, which was already identified during 1997. It did not produce a large amount of artifacts.

Excavation 13 proved to be a concentration of Iron Age type potshards. As no charcoal was found here, it was not possible to date the find. Historical information however suggests that it might be older than the time when Steinaecker's Horse occupied the site. It therefore seems not to have any significance as to the meaning of the site during the Anglo-Boer War.

Finally it can be concluded that there is no doubt that the site was occupied by members of the Steinaecker's Horse military unit during the Anglo-Boer War. People from the local black community lived with the soldiers at the site and may even have been there before it was occupied by the military. Members of black military units also may have been present at the site.

The site was re-used at a later stage, probably by a game warden who was a former member of Steinaecker's Horse. Historical information shows that some members of the unit became wardens in the park and that they played an important role in the establishment of what is today known as the Kruger National Park.

11. Recommendations

1. Because of the location of the site, between two rivers, flooding still poses a great danger to the material remains. As indicated, lots of soil was washed away between 1997 and 2002. If this trend continues very little would remain of the site in the next few years. However, this should be seen as the natural process of the degradation of archaeological sites. It is believed that further research on the site will not at this stage provide any different information. ***The Kruger National Park did the right thing in having the site researched, in order to document the information. It is therefore recommended that research at this stage rather focus on similar sites in order to compare these. In this way more information on the War in this area will be gathered.***
2. If necessary the site can be utilized as a tourist attraction. This will however depend on the Kruger National Park's different policies regarding cultural resources. ***In the event of such plans being investigated, a proper management plan should be written. Archaetnos could be contacted in order to serve as a consultant in this regard.***

3. More historical information on the site was gathered since 1997. The information however still seems to lack specific information on this outpost. ***Any information in this regard that comes to the attention of someone should be directed to the researchers*** in order to include it into the total history of the site and Steinaecker's Horse.
4. A display of the site was installed at the Mopani rest camp in November 2001. As members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit played an important role in the establishment of the Kruger National Park, this is an appropriate way to remember these pioneers. It also shows the park's involvement in the conservation of its cultural heritage, but also the cultural heritage of the area. The display also provides the visitor to the park with an additional heritage experience. Displays however need to be upgraded from time to time as it might become damaged and new information might be available from the latest research. ***It is recommended that the latest research be incorporated into the display some time in the future, when it is in any case necessary to do an upgrade because of natural wear and tear.***
5. The map drawn by Major J. Stevenson-Hamilton on 13.10.1903 is currently being studied and compared with other historical information in order to try to locate the other sites where Steinaecker's Horse had outposts. ***This should however be followed up by a field survey in order to physically locate and assess these sites with regard to research potential and degradation. If successful, this would enable the researchers to do comparative studies in order to write the full story of this unit. Because of the environmental factors working against the preservation of these sites this project should commence as soon as possible.***

12. Acknowledgements

The members of Archaeos and other members of the research team would like to thank the following people and organisations:

Miss. H. Hansen of the South African National Parks for her assistance in the planning and organisation of the project and the interest she showed in the excavations.

Mr. L.Olivier, District Game Ranger of Letaba for his support during the field work, for organising the flight over the site in order to take aerial photographs and for his special interest in our work.

Miss K. Redman, Interpretive Officer at Letaba for her hospitality and support.

Assistant game rangers, students and other personnel of the Kruger National Park, who kept us safe, showed us hospitality and helped with the excavation of the site.

Mr. S. Badenhorst, of the Archaeozoology Department at the Transvaal Museum for rendering assistance in the analysis of excavated material.

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Appendix A

Procedure for removal of fragmented and damaged artifacts

By Archaetnos cc

Plaster of Paris was used to ensure that the plate is secure.

1. Excavate a square around the plate to a level much deeper than the artefact, so that it is on its own island.
2. After making sure that it would not damage the plate, the square was made smaller into a circle.
3. The circle was deepened to a level of 8cm lower than the plate to further ensure that it would not damage.
4. The island is swept clean in order to clear it from any loose debris that might get stuck to the Plaster of Paris.
5. Apply plaster of Paris (figure 35).
6. Now the island is cut from the rest of the soil in order to lift it as a unit. This was done with a wire, saw, trowel, etc. (figure 36-37). Anything that does not damage the artefact can be used.
7. Lift the island as a unit.
8. Now work it off from the bottom part, until only the artefact in the plaster of Paris mould remains (figure 38). The closer one gets to the artefact the more one needs to take care not to damage it.



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38

