

**A HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE  
SABI BRIDGE POST OF STEINAECKER'S HORSE,  
SKUKUZA DISTRICT, KRUGER NATIONAL PARK (REPORT NO. I)**

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## OPSOMMING

Die terrein by Sabiebrug is een van verskeie wat tydens 'n opname van terreine wat met die Steinaecker's Horse militêre eenheid verband hou, geïdentifiseer is. Historiese inligting dui daarop dat dit een van die belangrike buiteposte van die eenheid was. Steinaecker's Horse was 'n vrywilligerseenheid wat tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) aan die kant van die Britte geveg het.

Bouwerk aan die spoorlyn en treinbrug voor en na die Anglo-Boereoorlog het ook oorblyfsels op die terrein nagelaat. Die terrein is opgegrawe met die doel om meer oor Steinaecker's Horse vas te stel, maar ook om te probeer om die reste wat deur Steinaecker's Horse nagelaat is te onderskei van dit wat met die spoorlyn verband hou. Die navorsing het voorts ten doel om die kulturele materiaal wat opgegrawe is met die materiaal, wat by die Noordelike buitepos te Letaba gevind is, te vergelyk.

Ses opgrawings is gedoen. Twee hiervan is op ashope gedoen en twee op kleipuin (moontlik oorblyfsels van hutte). Een opgrawing is gedoen op 'n area, wat aanvanklik na 'n ashoop gelyk het, maar wat geblyk het die oorblyfsels van een of ander struktuur te wees. Die laaste opgrawing is gedoen by 'n hoop klippe wat duidelik nie natuurlik van aard is nie.

'n Totaal van 16 562 artefakte is blootgelê. Hieruit is afgelei dat die terrein gewis 'n militêre teenwoordigheid gehad het en dus waarskynlik met Steinaecker's Horse verbind kan word. Die voorwerpe stem grootliks ooreen met dit wat op die terrein van die eenheid se Noordelike buitepos naby Letaba opgegrawe is. 'n Volledige analise van artefakte sal egter eers gedoen word na afloop van verdere opgrawings op die terrein. Gevolglik sal 'n volledige interpretasie ook eers dan gedoen kan word.

## **SUMMARY**

The Sabi Bridge site is one of a number of sites found during a survey of sites linked to the Steinaecker's Horse military unit. Historical information indicates that the site was one of the prominent outposts of the unit. Steinaecker's Horse was a voluntary unit who fought on the side of the British during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).

Work done on the railway line and train bridge before and after the War, also left remains on the site. The site was excavated in order to learn more about Steinaecker's Horse, but also to distinguish between remains from this unit and that left as a result of work on the railway line. The research aimed at comparing cultural material from the site with that excavated at the Northern outpost of the unit at Letaba.

Six excavations were conducted. Two were on refuse middens and two on clay rubble (possible remains of huts). One was done on an area that at first was believed to be a refuse midden, but later on seemed to be some kind of structure. The last excavation was done on a pile of stones which clearly was not a natural occurrence.

In total 16 562 artefacts were uncovered. From these it is concluded that the site definitely had a military presence and that it can therefore probably be associated with Steinaecker's Horse. The objects are mostly similar to those excavated at the northernmost outpost of the unit close to Letaba. A complete analysis of artefacts will however only be done after completion of more excavations on the site. Accordingly a full interpretation will only then be made.

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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 Sabi Bridge post at Skukuza was one of several outposts manned by them in order to safeguard the area from the Boers. The post was one of the largest outposts and is one of five outposts that physically have been located. Due to its size it is believed that it may contain unique information about the daily lifestyle and routine of the inhabitants of such a military site (see for instance Pelsler & Van Vollenhoven 1998). Continued historical research is also being conducted, and it is believed that more of these sites might be located in future, providing more research opportunities.

The site was located during a field survey in 2003 (Van Vollenhoven et. al. 2003a: 21-23). During 1997, 2000 and 2002 the Letaba outpost manned by Steinaecker's Horse was excavated. The research resulted in interesting information of the unit, 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; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 46-54; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003b: 47-55).

A comparison of material from this site with that at Sabi bridge will probably result in learning more in this regard. Therefore it was decided to excavate the Sabi Bridge site.

The site was also used during the construction of the Selati railway line during the 1890s. A steel bridge was also constructed here to carry the train across the river. For this reason it is important to consider that the site contains artefacts resulting from different activities and that one has to distinguish between these. The site was also used more recently by the former South African Defence Force. Artefacts from this period can also be seen on the site, but since it is not that old it can easily be distinguished from the older ones.

The research project was undertaken by **Archaegnos** cc. Permission to do 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 is still continuing in order to obtain more information. Excavation on the site commenced in August 2005.

## 2. Problem formulation

### 2.1 Discussion of the problem

Colonel Ludwig von Steinaecker was an important historical figure in the Lowveld, who had an enriching influence on the environment and its people. The history of his unit, Steinaecker's Horse, is full of legends and controversy.

The historical and archaeological research of the Northern outpost was enlightening. It showed that there were social differentiation between the different units at the outpost and for the first time gave an indication of the role of black soldiers and local inhabitants during the Anglo-Boer War. Since this is the only site associated with Steinaecker's Horse that was researched up to now and confirmed as being a Steinaecker's Horse site, this information needs to be contextualised by

comparing the similarities and differences other such sites show in this regard. Also, too little is still known about the everyday life and circumstances of the unit.

Historical and archival research has indicated the location of more of the sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse. 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.

## 2.2 Motivation

- a. The research on Steinaecker's Horse is the first, and up to now only project of its kind where archaeology is combined with historical sources in writing the history of an aspect of the Anglo Boer War. This groundbreaking method has already lead to vital new information about the participation of those groups who's role has been neglected in writing the history of this War. Continued research will undoubtedly add to rectifying some of the imbalances of the past.
- b. Research on this unit, which served during the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902), has concentrated up to now on the Northern outpost at Letaba. However the point has been reached where nothing more could be learned from this site. In order to fully understand the contribution of this unit in the history of the Lowveld and the Kruger National Park, it has become necessary to broaden the research to other sites linked to Steinaecker's Horse.
- c. Aspects that need to be researched in more detail as it proved to be some of the important issues at the Northern outpost, are the following:
  - The involvement of local (black) people in this unit, but also their involvement in the Anglo Boer War. This aspect of the War has received little attention from researchers up to now and it is believed that it would increase our knowledge on this neglected part of South Africa's history.
  - The way of life, social circumstances and contribution of the Steinaecker's Horse unit to this era in South African history. This will also shed light on the human side (cultural history) of a part of our heritage.
- d. 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.
- e. Previous research on the Northern outpost of the Steinaecker's Horse unit can only be seen as a first important step in documenting this information. It is therefore necessary that research now focus on similar sites in order to compare these. In this way more information on the War in this area will be gathered.
- f. A display of the research done on the mentioned site was installed at the Mopani rest camp in November 2001 and was moved to the new Makhadzi picnic spot in October 2003. By doing this the artifacts was returned as close as possible to its place of origin, which is in line with legislation and international trends in the curating and displaying of cultural material. Since members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit played an important role in the establishment of the Kruger National Park, this is also 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.
- g. Natural factors, such as erosion and the burrowing of certain animals, proved a major threat

to the site that has been excavated as well as on most of the sites that have since been identified. It has been proved that up to 24 cm of soil has been washed away from the site of the Northern outpost over a period of 5 years. The information contained within this soil, e.g. cultural material that are washed away, may be vital to the conservation and preservation of the sites as well as for research and management purposes.

- h. Soldiers of Steinaecker's Horse, black volunteers and local inhabitants occupied the Northern outpost. A comparison of excavated material coming from different refuse middens showed social differences between the groups. Subsequently the research on other sites can help with the reconstruction of the social circumstances during the Anglo Boer War. Comparative material from the other Steinaecker's Horse sites is thus needed to further enhance this aspect.
- i. The research will emphasise the involvement of the SA National Parks and particularly the Kruger National Park in the involvement of cultural heritage conservation and tourism.
- j. The Steinaecker's Horse unit played a vital role in the establishment of the Kruger National Park. Stevenson-Hamilton used a document, concerning the conservation of the wild life that was drafted by the second in command of the unit, Major A Greenhill-Gardyne, when he started working in the park. The commander of the unit, Colonel Ludwig von Steinaecker, was an important historical figure in this area. His famous military strategy and corps formed an important part of the history of the Lowveld, especially that of the Kruger National Park. Harry Wolhuter, famous game warden in the Park, as well as some other rangers, was members of Steinaecker's Horse.

### **3. Hypothesis**

The research was undertaken to show a connection between historical information and the archaeological evidence with regards to Steinaecker's Horse on the Sabi Bridge post.

#### **3.1 Aims**

- 3.1.1 The collection of historical information relating to the Steinaecker's Horse unit and specifically the Sabi Bridge post.
- 3.1.2 The collection of archaeological data from the site.
- 3.1.3 The comparison of excavated material from the different sites, to determine whether there was social differentiation between the different units at the a site and to obtain information on the participation and role of black people on the site especially in connection with their lifestyle and their position regarding the Anglo-Boer War as a whole.
- 3.1.4 To distinguish between cultural material associated with Steinaecker's Horse and material from other cultural activities on the site, such as the construction of the railway line and bridge.
- 3.1.5 The archaeological investigation of possible activity areas on the site.
- 3.1.6 To determine the extent of the Sabi Bridge site.
- 3.1.7 To monitor potential erosion 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.

The archaeological research on the Letaba outpost was up to now the only archaeological investigations on an Anglo-Boer War site in order to specifically investigate the role black people played. The research on the Sabi Bridge post is an extension of that research. 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 previous reports (Van Vollenhoven et. al. 1998a: 3; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2001: 2, 8, 54; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003a: 5, 7; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003b: 2-3, 55), which deals with the excavations on the Letaba site in 1997, 2000 and 2002 as well as the survey of Steinaecker's Horse sites done in 2003. 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 all the mentioned reports the washing away of the cultural material was indicated as being a major concern. At the Letaba outpost it was determined that between 10,5 and 24cm of topsoil was washed away between 1997 and 2002 and the signs of similar occurrences could be seen at the sites located during the survey in 2003. In the process numerous artefacts probably also were lost resulting in much less from which history can be learned.
- 4.3 The uniqueness of the site, being a major outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, 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 Sabi Bridge site falls within all three these categories.

## 5. Location

The Sabi Bridge post of Steinaecker's Horse, is situated more or less 1 kilometre northeast of the Skukuza rest camp in the Kruger National Park (figure 1-2). It lies off the tourist route, but from the site the camp is visible. The site lies to the east of the train bridge over the Sabie River on the northern bank of the river. However it is believed that it might extend to the western side of the bridge and the southern embankment of the river. The GPS coordinates of the site is 24°59'17"S



and 31°35'53"E on the map 2431CD, Newington, of the South African 1:50 000 topographic series.

## **6. Site description**

The site was not much overgrown, indicating that it might have been flooded within the last number of years. Some areas were almost clear from vegetation, but others were more dense. Large trees are also visible, especially close to the river bank. Smaller trees and bushes on the site indicate some disturbance on the site at a certain stage in the past.

With the area cleared of dense vegetation it was possible to more or less determine the perimeters of the site, which stretches up to 95 m in diameter. However time did not permit to determine whether the site extends to the western side of the railway bridge. Historical information indicate that a block house was built on the southern side of the bridge and although cultural remains were found on the southern side of the bridge, it is clear that the development of the Skukuza rest camp resulted in most of the remains being demolished. On the northern side of the Sabie River, the site goes right up to the bank of the river (figure 3).

Due to the openness of the area it was easy to determine areas containing cultural deposits, making it easy to determine areas on the site to be excavated. However the excavations of particularly clay debris later on proved only to be the perimeters of huts and that the centre of these huts probably are where small bushes are located. Therefore these will have to be removed during the next excavation season in order to properly excavate the clay debris.

The site is basically flat with a gentle slope towards the Sabie River. On the western side a steep unnatural bank of soil was constructed for the railway tracks and the railway bridge are also found here.

Cultural material was scattered over a large area. Apart from different areas with indications of hut clay, a number of possible refuse middens were also located on the site. The two most promising areas were 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.

## **7. Historical background**

### **7.1 The Anglo Boer War in the Lowveld**

This aspect was extensively dealt with in previous reports (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2000; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003b). However, new information has since been recovered from historical sources and will therefore be included in this report.

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). After the British forces captured Pretoria on 5 June 1900 fortified posts were established at strategic positions all over South Africa. The purpose thereof was to protect routes such as railway lines and roads (Van Vollenhoven 1999: 80). The importance of the railway line is emphasized by the fact that the Boers also implemented protective measures at the time they were still in control thereof (NAD, SS0, R 8496/00).

The system of blockhouses was erected since the railway links was to a large extent being left defenceless. As this was an important communication system, the British decided to have it protected. The first of these fortified posts were erected in July 1900. Most of these blockhouses were double storied and took about three months to build (Van Vollenhoven 1999: 80-81).

By January 1901 the large scale erection of blockhouses along railway lines was at the order of the day. These were corrugated iron structures and much smaller than those built from stone and could therefore be built much quicker. From March 1901 these blockhouses were also erected at other strategic positions such as roads. It was used to prevent the Boers from moving around freely. By January 1902 the blockhouse lines were completed. Blockhouses were placed more or less three quarters to one and a half mile apart (1,20 - 2,40km). As much as 8 000 blockhouses were eventually built over a distance of 6 000 kilometres (Van Vollenhoven 1999: 81).

Since there was little military confrontation in the Lowveld between the British forces and the Boers, the task of the British forces in the area was mainly to guard communication routes, especially the Eastern Railway Line between the Transvaal and Mozambique (Bornman 2004: 1). For this purpose the British erected several blockhouses along the railway line at Nelspruit, Kaapmuiden, Malelane, Komatipoort and at Barberton (Bornman 2004: 1; Van Vollenhoven & Van den Bos 1997: 50-52).

At the Malelane station a double-storey blockhouse was built to gain sufficient height to keep watch over the drift in the Crocodile River. At Kaapmuiden a garrison was placed and a heliograph post was established on the mountain south of the town. Their main task was to guard the bridge across the Kaap River against possible destruction by the Boer forces (Bornman 2004: 1).

On a hill to the south of the present national road (N4), opposite the Krokodilpoort station, two stone forts were erected (Bornman 2004: 1, Van Vollenhoven & Van den Bos 1997: 56-58). The purpose of these was to guard the old Mara transport route through the drift in the Crocodile River as well as the railway line through the Gorge (Bornman 2004: 1).

During the war a garrison occupied Nelspruit and erected a lookout post and heliograph on a hill west of the town. Although there were sporadic attacks on the town and environs, no large scale fighting took place (Bornman 2004: 1).

At Barberton a burgher camp was established at the beginning of the war. The British Commander-in-Chief, Lord FS Roberts commanded on 19 July 1900 that all women and children found on farms were to be sent to the Boers fighting in the war. The Boers then sent them to this camp in Barberton. After General JDP French occupied Barberton on the 15 September 1900, the camp was under British command (Bornman 2004: 1-2).

On 14 September 1900 a special edition of the ZAR Government Gazette was printed at Komatipoort. It printed permission to State President SJP Kruger to leave the country for Europe in order to plead the case of the Boers. The gazette also included regulations for the organisation of the Boer forces (NAD, AMPT PUBS 83C). The Boers evacuated Komatipoort on 18 September 1900 (Tempelhoff 1982: 9).

General R Pole-Carew reached Komatipoort on 24 September 1900 resulting in the evacuation of all Boer positions near the Portuguese frontier (Richards 1999: 129). The British now stationed a

garrison at Komatipoort to patrol the eastern border where several forts were erected by the Steinaecker's Horse unit (Bornman 2004: 2; Tempelhoff 1982: 9).

From the position of the fortifications and other military structures on this site, it is clear that the railway and bridge also had to be protected by them. The British even tried to blow up the bridge before they occupied the town of Komatipoort, but they were prevented from doing so (NAD, SS0, R 7251/00).

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.

The Sabi Bridge post of Steinaecker's Horse, which is the one that was excavated during 2005, is one of a number of outposts established by the unit. The unit was formed by Francis Christiaan Ludwig von Steinaecker (Van Vollenhoven et.al.1998a: 6).

## 7.2 Steinaecker's Horse

### *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 Schribley of the Boer forces enquired about Von Steinaecker's whereabouts at the homestead of Chief Mbhudula Mahlalela, but were ambushed by Von Steinaecker. Schribley 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/ 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.

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 (NAD, LD 931, AG 6498/04). Only four 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, it shows something about his sentiments regarding the war.

After the War he became a farmer, but did not have much success (Cattrick 1959: 182). 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). Here he also tried tobacco farming, but it was a failure (Bornman 2004: 5).

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 (NAD, TPD 8/44, 952/1911).

It is interesting that the agent he used was Adolf von Steinaecker from Johannesburg, but it is not clear what the relationship between them was. 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 intact.

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 stated that his cotton farming was not very successful and that the company were 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 stated that although the land was leased to him with apparent good agricultural properties, mealies refused to grow there.

He also stated that he did not have any means to travel to court and that he did not have the money to oppose their request for his removal. One of the reasons given for his poor financial position was that the company sold his cotton and did not pay him for this. He also alleged to have been appointed as Consulting Agriculturist to the company's cotton estate at Maboke, but that he never received his salary. According to him he got this appointment as he was a "...col ledge (sic) man from the Agriculture Colledge of Poplau – Germany." (NAD, TPD 8/44, 952/1911).

From the company's records however it seems that he had already been 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, was taken into consideration in determining the amount he owed 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).

After leaving the farm he stayed for a while with the Native Commissioner for Graskop, John Griffiths at Bushbuckridge. After a while Griffiths' wife however gave him an ultimatum to choose between her and Von Steinaecker resulting in the latter having to leave (Bornman 2004: 5). John Travers, a former member of Steinaecker's Horse, then took pity on him and allowed him to live on his farm Champagne<sup>1</sup> 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 ceased 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 2004: 45). The stone enclosures, where the horses were stabled at

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<sup>1</sup> Some sources indicate the name of the farm as being Castle.

night, to protect them from marauding lions, and the canon positions, pointing inland, are also still in evidence (Bornman 2004: 3). The unit were 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 were 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.

Members of the unit were initially paid 8 shillings a day, which were raised to 9 shillings after six months and 10 after a year. This was much more than the 7 shillings per week paid to British infantry soldiers (<http://www.elite-collections.com/1899-1908.htm>). Non-commissioned officers were paid an additional shilling per day (Woolmore 2006: 45). It is therefore understandable that Von Steinaecker easily got enough members for his 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 as 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, but that pro-Boer people might not have kept this agreement and therefore such a border guard was a necessity.

Diespecker (2000: 1) also indicate that many Portuguese people were definitely not neutral and that they tended to favour the ZAR. He and other scholars also gives information on smuggling activities from Portuguese territory aimed at arming and supplying the Boers (Diespecker 2000: 1-9; Jones 1996: 1-2). From the information it however is clear that the secret treaty were actually not aimed at keeping the Portuguese neutral, but to actively end support to the Boers (Diespecker 2000: 8). This treaty was in direct contravention with the 1875 treaty of Friendship and Commerce between the ZAR and Portugal (Diespecker 2000: 8). Jones (1996: 2-3) gives account of more serious military actions being planned by the British against the Boers, focussing on

activities in Portuguese territory and in Swaziland. This included the blowing up of the Komatipoort train bridge mentioned earlier, for which £ 10 000 was authorised.

To equip his unit, Von Steinaecker ordered a large amount of weapons. This included 100 000 rounds of carbine ammunition, 10 000 Maxim cartridges with belts and 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 1994: 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).

### ***Members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit***

The following people are known to have been members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit<sup>2</sup>:

Officers and non-commissioned officers:

Lieutenant-Colonel FC Ludwig von Steinaecker – Commanding Officer  
Major AW Greenhill-Gardyne – Adjutant and in command at Sabi Bridge and previously from the Gordon Highlanders (Pienaar 1990: 343, 347, 349; Cattrick 1959: 179)  
Major R Robertson – for a time in command at Sabi Bridge and previously from the Fourth Hussars and Royal Dragoons (Pienaar 1990: 343, 347, 349; Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 19)  
Captain EG (Gaza) Gray - in command at Gomondwane (Sardelli's shop) (Pienaar 1990: 619)  
Captain JB Holgate – stationed at Sabi Bridge (NAD, PMO28, PM 1973/01; Jones 1996:7) – Stirling (1907: 262) mentions that he was a British settler.  
Captain E Holgate (Bornman 2004: 3) – this probably is Edward Holgate who was a citizen of the ZAR, and who resided in Komatipoort before the War (NAD, KG 309, CR 4703/98)  
Captain David Forbes – stationed in Swaziland (Matsebula 1972:90)  
Captain M'Queen (Stirling 1907: 262)  
Captain HO (or D) Webbstock  
Lieutenant GF Arran Gore – in command at Signal Hill on the Kalishan Mountains (NAD, PMO 28, PM 1973/01)  
Lieutenant HC (Harry) Wolhuter (Skukuza Archives 1902 – 1903; Bornman 2004: 3)  
Lieutenant Charles Major – taken prisoner at Bremersdorp (Matsebula 1972: 89)  
Surgery Lieutenant N Grieve – medical officer (NAD, LD 176, AG 6167/02)  
Lieutenant WP Robertson – stationed in the Pietersburg area (Stirling 1907: 275)  
Lieutenant pay master J Hartley (Stirling 1907: 275)  
Lieutenant JM Dallamore  
Lieutenant (?) D Buchanan  
Lieutenant JA Baillie – killed two despatch riders on 4 July 1901 when they tried to cross the border (Stirling 1907: 276)

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<sup>2</sup> Numbers indicated in front of the names refer to the Regimental numbers of the soldiers.



Sergeant-Major AR Colborne – one of the original first 6 men recruited (Conway 1978: 3; Bornman 2004: 3; Jones 1996: 6)  
 Sergeant-Major Colborne (Military Medal Society Newsletter 1979: 3)  
 Sergeant-Major Robinson – from the Steinaecker’s Horse Scouts  
 Sergeant WF Walters (NAD, PMO 28, PM 1973/01)  
 Sergeant J Munro – the Quartermaster (Jones 1996: 9; Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-37)  
 1159 – Sergeant HE Barnes – died on 23 February 1902 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4832/4)  
 Sergeant Meissner – a scout and one of the first 6 men recruited  
 Sergeant JA Lawson – a scout and one of the first 6 men recruited; he was promoted to the rank of captain before the end of the War  
 Sergeant CS Carmichael – a scout and one of the first 6 men recruited (Jones 1996: 6, 9; Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-37; Bornman 2004: 3)  
 Lance Corporal (later Sergeant) WS Hains – accompanied Lieutenant Baillie during the incident on 4 July 1901 (Stirling 1907: 276)  
 Corporal AE Gray – a scout and one of the first 6 men recruited (Stirling 1907: 271-272; Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-37; Bornman 2004: 3; Jones 1996:6)  
 1314 – Corporal Arthur Walker – died on 28 August 1902  
 Corporal A Baagoe – died on 16 May 1902 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4)  
 Treadwell – Acting Quartermaster (Military Medal Society Newsletter: 1979: 3)

#### Troopers:

B Duncan – a scout and one of the first 6 men recruited (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-37; Bornman 2004: 3; Jones 1996: 6)  
 1043 - Samuel Smart – killed by a lion at Sabi Bridge on 4 October 1900 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4832/4; Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 17; Jones 1996: 10)  
 1381 - RR Chambers – broke his neck when he fell off a horse at Nomahasha Camp on 24 October 1900 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4)  
 O Engerstrom – committed suicide at Josanes in Swaziland on 13 June 1901  
 G Gaines – caught by a crocodile in the Usutu River in Swaziland on 30 November 1901 (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-37)  
 SH (Harold) Trollope (Pienaar 1990: 347; Skukuza Archives unnumbered photograph)  
 1586 - W Halpin – died having an epileptic fit in Komatipoort on 21 February 1902 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4)  
 William (Bill) Sanderson (Bornman 2004: 4-5)  
 Percy ‘Pump’ Willis – Stationed at Sabi Bridge  
 Betram Churchill ‘Clinkers’ Willis – brother of ‘Pump’ and also stationed at Sabi Bridge (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-32; Bornman 2004: 3; Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 17; Woolmore 2006: 18)  
 Tom Paulin  
 Charlie Woodlands  
 Ben Harper (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 31-32)  
 J Springfield – died on 4 January 1903 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4)  
 1055 – R Griffin – from Nomahasha Camp - died on 29 April 1901 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4). Jones (1996: 9) indicated that he died on 11 August 1900 of disease and that he was the first casualty of the unit  
 CG Hill – from Nomahasha Camp - died on 29 April 1901  
 1140 – RF Paton – from Nomahasha Camp - died on 23 April 1901 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4)  
 1123 – Thomas – died on 23 December 1900

1056 – WH Percy – from the Sabi River post - died on 24 January 1902  
 1232 – Thomas Bogg – died on 1 July 1902  
 1327 – GG Garside – died on 4 May 1901  
 1348 – David Blackall – died on 9 August 1901 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/4823/4)  
 Percy Wood  
 Neville Edwardes (Bornman 2004: 3)  
 C Archibald – died at Waterval-Onder on 14 December 1901 from injuries sustained after being kicked by a horse (personal communication: WJ Verwoerd)  
 Arthur Fraser – previously served with the 14<sup>th</sup> Hussars and Kitchener's Horse (<http://www.elite-collections.com/1899-1908.htm>)  
 Jack Sandy – a farmer from the area who was recruited by Harry Wolhuter (Wolhuter 1948: 57)  
 Sam (Wolhuter 1948: 59)  
 Perry (Wolhuter 1948: 45)  
 DE Wilson – rescued the body of a comrade which had been carried off by a crocodile at the Usutu River on 30 November 1901  
 F Hennessy - rescued the body of a comrade which had been carried off by a crocodile at the Usutu River on 30 November 1901 (Stirling 1907: 275)  
 WW Griffin – killed whilst taking a wounded comrade to cover (Stirling 1907: 275)  
 Jules Diespecker – secretary to Von Steinaecker (Diespecker 2000: 4; Cattrick 1959: 180)  
 A Hook – an illiterate farmer related to JB Holgate  
 JTG Maber – son of a Swaziland trader  
 TB Rathbone – a well known trader and storekeeper in Swaziland, age 60 when recruited  
 JE Reilly – became manager of the tin mines in Swaziland after the War  
 J Marston – erstwhile barman of the Bremersdorp hotel  
 Joseph Pentland – became hotel keeper at Ressano Garcia after the War (Jones 1996: 8-9)  
 Tom Boyd – the driver of the train between Komatipoort, Sabi Bridge and Kilo 104 until he died of drink on 2 July 1902 (Woolmore 2006: 18)

Stationed at Fort Mpisane:

Captain H Farmer Francis – killed in action on 7 August 1901  
 1002 - Sergeant-Major Francis Barrett- taken Prisoner-of-War (POW) on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1031 - Sergeant Buchanan Dale – taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1011 - Corporal John Barber - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1042 - Corporal Henry Savage - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released

Troopers:

1016 - William E Archer - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1213 – Evan L Banger - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1364 – William A Bennett (an American) - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1012 - Samuel Bowden - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1372 – William D Cooper - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1296 - William Frost – slightly wounded, taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1274 – Percy A Hills (Wills) - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1305 – Arthur R Jeffreys - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1267 – William T Jones - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
 1117 - Robert Longstaff(e) – slightly wounded on 7 August 1901  
 1377 - William Muller - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released

1289 – Michael L Nolan - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
1370 – Walter J Oak (Oates) - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
1110 - James Renaluna (Penaluna) – a miner from Barberton and taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released (Jones 1996: 8; Personal comment: B Woolmore)  
1061 – David P Roberts – went missing on 7 August 1901, rejoined Steinaecker's horse  
1180 - Demetrius Sardelli (a Greek) – went missing on 7 August 1901, rejoined Steinaecker's horse  
1295 - John Soundy - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released  
1368 – Joseph W Waits - taken POW on 7 August 1901, later released (Personal comment: B Woolmore)  
1341 - R Luxford – died of disease on 11 June 1901 (NAD, TPS 37, TA 84/ 4823/4)  
1214 – John Edmund Delacoer Travers – severely wounded on 7 August 1901 (Personal comment: B Woolmore; Bornman 2004: 3)

### ***Role of Steinaecker's Horse during the War***

As indicated Von Steinaecker was only 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 1994: 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 recruited 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 send 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). He eventually was forced to become a member of Steinaecker's Horse.

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 later Sabi 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 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 were 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.

### *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, Muntshe 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 Ngotsomouth 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. This brings the total of Steinaecker's Horse sites to eighteen 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 artefacts found at the site represent the period of the Late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> 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).

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).

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.

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, after which he joined the unit. The site was an old shop made of corrugated iron and was also owned by Sardelli.

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,<sup>3</sup> 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).

Pienaar (1990: 353) also talks of an outpost close to the Olifants River. This might be a site at Ngotsomouth 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).

Lastly, Steinaecker's Horse 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 Sabi Bridge post*

Captain (later Major) AW Greenhill-Gardyne, the adjutant of Colonel Von Steinaecker, was placed in command of the garrison at Sabi Bridge. Major R Robertson also was in command of this garrison for a short time (Pienaar 1990: 343-349; Personal communication: U de V Pienaar). This is the site that is currently being investigated by archaeological excavations.

They occupied the site since 1900 and between 1901 and 1902 operated the train between Komatipoort and Kilo 104, approximately 21 miles north of the Sabie River. The railway bridge was not yet completed, but a temporary wooden bridge on a diversion line was used. This bridge was swept away during a flood in 1901. Trooper Tom Boyd was the driver until his death on 2 July 1902. The job was then taken over by Trooper Clinkers Willis (Woolmore 2006: 18).

After September 1902 the blockhouse at the site (south of the temporary bridge) was used by Major J Stevenson-Hamilton as his office, when he started working as the first warden of the Park (Skukuza Archives, Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7; Skukuza Archives, photo album nos. 1, 4 & 5; Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 55-56). It had a veranda which was pleasant and cool, with a direct river frontage. The most important reason for having a blockhouse here would be that the Sabi train bridge had to be protected against attacks from the Boers. This was one of a number of reasons why blockhouses were erected (Van Vollenhoven 1995: 87). Guarding the Sabi railway bridge and probably also the railway line therefore must have been part of their duties.

Stevenson-Hamilton (1952: 16) also describes that there were several old huts made of boiler plates and rondavels or improved native huts at the site. He also indicates that the camp was encircled by a dense thorn scherm. Stevenson-Hamilton (1952: 55) further indicates that Von Steinaecker ordered that the store-room, stable and several other buildings be demolished and that

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<sup>3</sup> The names of only 25 of these are known, as indicated earlier.

all the corrugated iron and other removables be taken away. Apparently the blockhouse also was to be pulled down, but fortunately for him time did not avail.

### ***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 Kruger National 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 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 practises 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.

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.

### 7.3 The railway line

#### *The Eastern line*

The first proposal for a railway link between the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and Delagoa Bay were made in 1866 by Alexander McCorkindale. Although this was approved by the ZAR Government nothing came of the plan as McCorkindale died in May 1871 (Bornman 2004: 1).

After this GP Moodie tried to establish a rail link from Delagoa Bay to the ZAR and obtained a concession in 1873. This however expired the following year without any progress being made (Bornman 2004: 1).

The Government appointed President TF Burgers in October 1874 to enter into discussions with the Portuguese Government regarding the construction of a railway from Lourenco Marques (Maputo) to the border of the ZAR and to raise a loan of £300 000 in Europe (Bornman 2004: 1).

He obtained the services of RT Hall to survey a railway from Delagoa Bay to the foot of the Drakensberg. Hall made the survey in May 1875, but deviated from the route. It came through the Lebombo Range at the Mbuluzi Gorge, across the Swaziland Lowveld, terminating at a meeting point with the Holnek Road which entered the Swazi country at Oshoek. He recommended that a

route should also be surveyed from the last point to Klipstapel (Breyten), to bring the proposed line onto the upper Highveld (Bornman 2004: 1).

Burgers obtained the necessary financial support in the Netherlands for the project, resulting in the establishment of the Lebombo Railway Company in 1876 (Woolmore 2006: 14; Bornman 2004: 1). The contract for building the railway line was assigned to a Belgian firm, 'Société Cockerill', but when the rails arrived at the Delagoa Bay harbour in 1877, the ZAR was annexed by Britain and the Lebombo Railway Company was dissolved (Bornman 2004: 1).

After the ZAR became independent again in 1881, President Paul Kruger continued with the arrangements for the building of the railway line. The Administrator for Mozambique, General Joachim José Machado, who also was a surveyor, arrived at Pretoria with a survey for the railway between Lourenco Marques (Maputo) and the border of the ZAR near Komatipoort. This resulted in the survey for the Transvaal portion of the projected railway also being entrusted to him (Bornman 2004: 1).

The plan was to build the railway line in two stages, the first from the Portuguese border via Pretoriuskop to the foot of the Drakensberg from where goods could be transported safely further by ox-wagon, without fear of tsetse fly. The second section was to be built to Pretoria as soon as finances allowed (Bornman 2004: 1).

The concession to build the railway line from Delagoa Bay to the Portuguese Border was granted to an American, Eduard McMurdo on 14 December 1883. Consequently the Delagoa Bay and East African Railway Company was established (Woolmore 2006: 14; Bornman 2004: 1). The railway engineers commenced surveying the route on the ZAR side as proposed by General Machado during April and May 1884. On 12 and 13 August 1884 the government drafted an agreement with the 'Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg-Maatskappij' (NZASM or ZASM) (Bornman 2004: 1-2).

McMurdo however experienced financial difficulties and was only able to commence construction of the line from Delagoa Bay on 5 March 1887. The chief construction engineer was Sir Thomas Tancred and some 200 Europeans and 3 000 Africans were recruited to build the 90 km long Portuguese section of the line which was completed on 14 December 1887. One of the groups of people employed were deserters from the British Army known as the Irish Brigade. They were notorious in the Barberton area and for wrecking Eureka City in 1886 (Bornman 2004: 2).

The ZASM was established on 21 June 1887 with the construction of the line on the Portuguese side. A concession was granted to the company Groll and Maarschalk of Leyden. RAI Snethlage, the chief engineer, was sent to South Africa to investigate the route of the proposed line and thereafter JL Cluysenaar made the necessary arrangements with the government for the building of the line (Bornman 2004: 2).

On 5 December 1888 the Delagoa Bay and East African Railway Co. completed the building of the line on the Portuguese side, up to what was believed to be the border of the ZAR, but it was found to be 9 km short. The contractors refused to extend the line which led to a court case resulting in the delaying of the construction of the junction with the Transvaal. The Portuguese appropriated the line and completed it (Bornman 2004: 3).

After the settlement in the court case between the Portuguese government and McMurdo in 1891, the line reached the ZAR. The railway bridge across the Komati River was completed at the end

of May 1891 and the railhead reached Komatipoort station on 1 July 1891, Hectorspruit on 1 October, Malalane (now Malelane) on 28 December and Kaapmuiden on 10 March 1892 (Bornman 2004: 3).

George Paulding was awarded the revised concession for the portion of the line along the Crocodile River to Crocodile Gorge. The line was completed to Crocodile Gorge in twelve months, but 127 people had died of fever and 500 transport donkeys were lost to the tsetse fly or eaten by lions (Bornman 2004: 3).

The first locomotive entered Nelspruit station on 20 June 1892. According to the contract, the ZASM was allowed 5 years in order to raise the necessary capital to continue with the railway line (Bornman 2004: 3). Work recommenced on the line from Pretoria to the east and from Nelspruit to the west simultaneously by 1893 (Woolmore 2006: 14; Bornman 2004: 3). Construction reached Waterval-Onder on 20 January 1894 (Bornman 2004: 3).

Construction engineers were faced with exceptionally difficult terrain between Waterval-Onder and Waterval-Boven due to the gradient of the slopes along the mountain. In order not to have an extensive detour of the line, it was decided to provide a gradient of one in twenty over a distance of 3,4 km, with a tunnel 71,6 metres in length. Although this gradient is not insurmountable for light trains with normal locomotives, the question of safety and economy had to be considered. Therefore this section was provided with a rack which consisted of two channel section beams with steel rack teeth fitted between them and spaced 100 mm apart and arranged to engage the gear wheel of the rack engine (Bornman 2004: 3).

The rail reached Machadodorp on 10 July 1894 and Belfast in the same year. The first train from Pretoria travelled to Eerste Fabrieken on 13 May 1894 and on 15 October went as far as Bronkhorstspuit. By this time the line from the east had passed Balmoral. On 20 October 1894 the first test train from the east reached Pretoria and on 2 November 1894 President Paul Kruger ceremoniously tightened the last bolt in the line at Wilgerivier, 11 km east of Bronkhorstspuit (Bornman 2004: 3). The railway line was therefore completed in 1894 (Kruger National Park n.d.: 4).

The line was commissioned for the first full service on 1 January 1895 and on 8 July 1895 it was officially declared open by President Paul Kruger (Jones 1996: 1; Bornman 2004: 3). The Delagoa Bay - Pretoria Railway could have been opened earlier, had it not been for the many delays including fever and the shortage of capital (Bornman 2004: 3).

### *The Selati line*

During 1887 the prospector French Bob moved from the Barberton area to the Northern Transvaal to prospect for gold. He discovered gold in the Murchison Mountains, near Gravelotte. This became the Selati Goldfields. News reached the outside world very soon and resulted in many fortune hunters and swindlers converging on the area. A camp was established here in 1890 and named Leydsdorp, after Dr W J Leyds, State Secretary of the ZAR (Bornman 2004: 4).

As the Eastern Line was being constructed from Komatipoort to Pretoria in 1891, it was evident that the Soutpansberg also needed fast transport to both Lourenco Marques (Maputo) harbour and the central markets of the country (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 4). The discovery of gold and the needs of the gold mines of the Selati Goldfields in the districts of Gravelotte, Leydsdorp and Rubbervale, prompted the Volksraad to approve a railway line to the

north (Woolmore 2006: 17; Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 4). It was decided that the Soutpansberg was to be linked with the Eastern Line via the Selati Goldfields. The name Selati is derived from Chief Shalati, who lived near this river in the region of Ofcolaco. The proposed route, from Komatipoort in the south to Zoekmekaar in the north, passed through untamed bushveld with almost no habitation (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 4).

In 1890 the concession for this line was given to a member of the First Volksraad of the ZAR, Barend J Vorster jnr. who apparently bribed other members into awarding it to him. He then formed the Selati Railway Company. He was paid £ 9 600 per mile and immediately subletted the contract for an amount of £ 7 002 per mile without having done any work (Woolmore 2006: 18).

The subcontractor was a Frenchman, Eugene Oppenheim, who received the concession to construct the railway line on 6 June 1891. Komatipoort was still only a station with very few inhabitants, mainly due to malaria and tsetse fly. However it now came to life when a miscellaneous crowd of sub-contractors and employees, traders etc. came to the area. Oppenheim allocated the actual construction contract to the engineering company Westwood and Winby and construction began in 1893. The first 40 km was completed by July of that year (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 4).

The project unfortunately got off to a bad start. Oppenheim managed to swindle an amount of one million pounds from the Government's coffers by means of faulty entries and other irregularities (Woolmore 2006: 17; Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 4). The Railway Commissioner, JS Smit, became aware of these irregularities and uncovered Oppenheim's 'big swindle', which immediately placed the Government in a very bad light (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 4-5).

After 120 km of track had been laid, the 'Big Railway Scandal', as it was headlined in 1894, brought all work on the Selati line to an abrupt stop at the Sabie River (Woolmore 2006: 18; Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 5). The then uncompleted Sabi Bridge later became known as 'Reserve', named after the Sabi Game Reserve, today known as Skukuza (Figure 48-49). Oppenheim eventually fled the country and the concession was withdrawn (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 5). The incomplete line ran from Komatipoort to a point known as Kilo 104, about 21 miles north of the Sabi River (Woolmore 2006: 18).

The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) was responsible for another delay, although the completed section briefly attained military importance in 1900. The ZAR Government used the completed section to the Sabi Bridge to organise and store its rolling stock, as it was ideally situated away from the advancing British forces. Towards the end of the war the British managed to get control of the line, but after the end of the war the Selati line still remained uncompleted for a few more years (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 5).

Only after the Union of South Africa came into being in 1910 and the three railway administrations (Cape, Natal and Central Railways) amalgamated to form the South African Railways, work on the Selati line started again. The contract was awarded to Pauling & Company and by 1912 the line reached Tzaneen (Woolmore 2006: 18; Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 5). In 1915 it was completed to Zoekmekaar. The inaugural ceremony was held on 25 October 1912, starting at Komatipoort with festivities at all major stops (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 5).

The Selati Goldfields came to an end, placing a burden on the economic viability of the line. This led to a promotional drive which included the very popular roundabout through Eastern and Northern Transvaal, called "Round in 9 days". In 1925 the first of these tourist train journeys took place, starting at Johannesburg station with stops at all the bigger towns and Lourenco Marques (Maputo) and ending again in Johannesburg 9 days later. The highlight of the tour was the section through the Kruger National Park with a camp fire concert at Huhla station, near Reserve (Skukuza). Vehicles were specially brought in from Nelspruit to take passengers on game drives (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 5).

The Kruger National Park was officially proclaimed in 1926. The line was now also used to bring provisions and material to the Park (Kruger National Park n.d.: 6).

As a result of agricultural and industrial development traffic gradually increased (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 6). Apart from the costs involved in maintaining the line, more and more wild animals were killed as a result thereof. It was therefore decided to divert the line to outside the Park (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 6). It remained in service until it was diverted along the western boundary of the Park to Kaapmuiden, where it now joins the Eastern Line (Bornman 2004: 4). In 1972 the last train travelled through the Park. It was drawn by steam engine No 3638. This locomotive was donated to the Park in October 1978 by the SAR Administration and stands at Skukuza as a monument to the rail builders of yesteryear (Bornman 2004: 4; Kruger National Park n.d.: 6).

This railway line between Komatipoort and Sabi Bridge was however also used by Steinaecker's Horse on a weekly basis during the War (Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 28).

## **8. The excavations**

No grid was laid out over the site as specific features were to be excavated. Six datum points were however established in order to serve as reference for mapping the site. The GPS measurements of these points were taken for future reference. The last of the six datum points, F, is a permanent marker on site that was probably placed there along with others by the SA National Parks. This marker will serve as permanent reference for future mapping of the site.

The GPS measurements are as follows:

A – 24°59'17"S; 31°35'53"E; 259m

B – 24°59'16"S; 31°35'53"E; 254m

C – 24°59'19"S; 31°35'52"E; 248m

D – 24°59'18"S; 31°35'53"E; 256m

E – 24°59'19"S; 31°35'53"E; 248m

F – 24°59'19"S; 31°35'54"E; 257m

Six excavations were conducted. Three of these were on areas believed to be refuse middens, two on areas with clay debris and one at an area with a pile of stones.

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 some of the artefacts that were washed open during the rain season. These were however limited to unique pieces or those with makers' marks, decoration or any other feature that may be useful in providing additional information on the site.

## 8.1 Possible refuse middens

### 8.1.1 Excavation 1

This was a square excavation of 3 x 3 m, measured out on an area with a large amount of cultural material visible on the surface at the northern edge of the site. It seems as if this is on the south-western perimeter of the midden, but further investigation in this regard is necessary. The main aim of the excavation was to obtain a larger sample of cultural material from the site to be used for interpretive purposes.

Signs of the midden being eroded by water were clearly visible on the surface (figure 4). At first the cultural material on the surface was cleared with the loose soil and vegetation. These artefacts were marked surface collection. It included a few large artefact such as a pick and metal bar (figure 5).

Three layers were excavated, but these were arbitrary layers as no natural stratigraphy existed. Layer 1 mainly existed of a light brown sandy soil, but it was ashy in the centre and on the south-western side. Loose clay was found inside of the excavation, but it is unclear whether this has any significance. The layer was used to level the excavation. Therefore the depth of the layer varied between 1 cm in the southwest to 5 cm in the northwest (fig 6-7).

The second layer was used to further level the excavation. The excavation was between 12 and 18 cm deep on the eastern side and between 2 and 8 cm on the western side. The texture of the soil was mostly soft and sandy and was dark brown in colour. In the central and eastern part of the excavation it was grey and ashy and much harder (fig 8-10).

As it seemed as if the bottom of the deposit was reached only a part of the excavation was taken to a third level. This actually were two areas, namely the first meter on the southern side of the excavation right across the full extent of 3 m thereof and a 1 x1 m square in the northwestern corner. At first the soil was soft, but after a few millimetres it became extremely hard. It had a grey colour and was very ashy, but went over into a brown turf, which clearly indicated the sterile natural level. Therefore the excavation now was complete. In the northwestern section layer 3 was 19 cm deep on the southern side, and 27 cm in the northeast. In the southern section it was 10 cm deep in the west and 16 cm in the northwest (fig 11).

The cultural material found here included ceramics, glass, metal, hut clay, plastic (buttons and beads), bone artefacts such as needles and buttons, glass beads and faunal remains.

### 8.1.2 Excavation 5

This was an excavation of 5 x 1 m, measured out in a north-south direction at a refuse midden close to the southern edge of the site. It later on proved to be on the southern edge of a very large midden. The aim of the excavation was to investigate a scatter of cultural material visible on the surface and to increase the amount of cultural material to be used for interpretive purposes, but from another part of the site as that from excavation 1 (fig 12-13).

At first the surface was cleared from loose soil and vegetation and the artefacts was collected as surface material. Only one layer was excavated, although the southern 3 m thereof was deepened more that the first two metres as the latter became sterile after the first few centimetres (fig 14).



The soil was dark brown at first, but it became more grey lower down. The texture thereof was hard and it was a combination of sandy and clayish soil. The excavation was also used to level the area. The northern part of the excavation was 18 cm deep and it was 11 cm deep where the string, dividing the excavation in two parts, was strung. The southern part was 15 cm deep at the string and 8 cm at the southern edge (fig 15).

Cultural material found here included ceramics, glass, metal and faunal remains.

### 8.1.3 Excavation 6

This excavation was done close to excavation 5 as it was at first not realised that it was on the same midden. As indicated, it is now believed that this midden is a very large one. The excavation is situated just north of excavation 5 and had the aim to investigate the scatter of cultural material visible here in order to obtain this material for interpretative purposes.

It was measured out in a northwest-southeast direction with sides of 3 x 2 m. Again the surface was cleared from loose soil and vegetation and loose artefacts collected were labelled surface collection (fig 16).

The excavation had only one layer after which sterile soil was reached. To be sure a 1 x 1 m part on the southern side of the excavation was dug further, but it remained layer 1. It was between 10 and 11 cm deep on the northern side and between 8 and 10 cm deep on the southern side as the excavation was also used to level the surface. The depth of the 1 x 1 m part was 6 cm bringing the total depth of the excavation to 16 cm (fig 17-19).

The texture of the soil was sandy, but it became harder the lower the excavation went down. Termite activity was visible in the central and northern part of the excavation. The colour of the soil was grey.

Cultural material found here consisted of ceramics, glass, metal, faunal remains and plastic and glass buttons.

## 8.2 Pile of stones

### Excavation 2

The excavation was measured out in an east-west direction on an area where a pile of stones could be seen. As this clearly was not a natural feature the aim was to investigate the origin and function thereof. The excavation is situated more or less southeast of excavation 1 (fig 20-26).

The size of the excavation was 3 x 2 m. Loose soil and vegetation were removed at first and the artefacts lying on the surface was labelled as surface collection. Only one layer was excavated and it was only 1-2 cm deep (fig 27-29).

After clearing the area it was hoped that the stones would have a pattern that can be interpreted, but that was not the case. Photographs were however taken. Layer 1 mainly strived to level the area and the stones were also removed from the top in order to see if a pattern was visible lower down. The stones had an oval shape, but the shape does not seem to have any significance.

The soil was hard and had a brown colour. After removing all the stones it was decided to only investigate the area underneath the stones. As time did not permit conventional archaeological methods this was only applied for the first few cm after which pick and shovel were introduced. As this proved to be sterile it was also called layer 1.

This part of the excavation was in an east-west direction with sides of 0,87 m wide and 2,04 m long. At a depth of 1,07 m the soil suddenly was much softer although this also does not seem to have any significance. It was decided to end the excavation when some stones were reached at a depth of 1,84 m as it clearly was sterile and this is more or less the depth that one would expect an indication that it might have been a grave, which was one possible explanation for this feature. However, as it was sterile lower down it proved not to be a grave (fig 30-31).

Cultural material found here was limited to ceramics, glass, metal and faunal remains.

### 8.3 Clay debris

#### 8.3.1 Excavation 3

This excavation, 5 x 4 m in size, was measured in a more or less north-south direction in an area covered with daga (clay) remains almost on the southern edge of the site, close to the river bank. The aim was to investigate the feature in order to determine what it was (fig 32-35).

The excavation was brushed clean at first and cultural material collected was labelled as surface collection. Two layers were excavated.

Layer 1 was used to level the area. The colour of the soil was dark brown on the eastern side of the excavation, which also proved to be sterile. Signs of an ant nest were also visible here. The north-eastern side of the excavation also was sterile. The soil on the western side of the excavation was reddish-brown as a result of the clay debris. The clay was visible in the central and western part of the excavation. A large concentration of glass shards was unearthed in the northwestern corner of the excavation. Here plaster could also be seen on some of the clay indicating that it might be the remains of a hut (fig 36).

Post holes and the charcoaled remains of poles were also found. The soil was extremely hard. The depth of the excavation varied from 1 cm on the southern side to 7 cm in the northwestern corner and 12 cm in the north-eastern corner.

It was decided to only lower the most promising part of the excavation to a second layer in order to see whether a hut floor could be located. For this purpose an area of 2 x 2 m on the south-western side was measured out. The colour of the soil was dark brown as it seemed that the clay was mostly found in the upper part of the excavation. More indications of poles were found, but no floor existed (fig 37-38).

It is believed that this either was a hut without a floor or that only the outside part of a hut was found, whilst the inside is still covered by soil and some bushes that needs to be removed. However time did not permit further excavation and this will be dealt with in the next excavation season.

Cultural remains found here consisted of ceramics, glass, metal, faunal remains, shell and charcoal.

### 8.3.2 Excavation 4

Excavation 4 was also measured out in an area with clay debris and was aimed at investigating this feature. It was done in an east-west direction with sides of 4 x 3 m. The excavation was almost on the river bank and situated to the southeast of excavation 3.

Again the surface of the excavation was brushed clean and the loose artefacts labelled as surface collection (fig 39-41). Although only one layer was excavated, the eastern part of the excavation was deepened as this seemed to be the most promising area. Later a small part of the excavation was deepened further in order to see whether a hut floor existed. This was a section of 1 x 1 m on the south-eastern side of the excavation (fig 42-43).

The texture of the soil was extremely hard with large clayish lumps of soil. It had a reddish brown colour as a result of the clay debris. Patches of burnt soil with a black colour was also visible. The excavation was 1 cm deep on the eastern and western side. Where the excavation was divided it was 8 cm deep on the northern side and 16 cm on the southern side. This clearly is an indication that some structure existed here.

The 1 x 1 m area was lowered for another 1 cm on the north and 7 cm on the south and ended in a sterile layer (fig 44-47). The wall of this section indicated the following from top to bottom:

- a 3 cm layer of light brown soil believed to be natural topsoil
- a 3,5 cm layer of reddish brown clay believed to be the remains of the walls of a hut
- a 3 cm burnt black layer believed to be ant nest mixed with clay debris (this might have demolished a possible floor)
- a 4,5 cm layer of reddish brown soil and a bit of clay believed to be an indication of nearing the end of the cultural layers
- a 9 cm layer of light brown soil believed to be the sterile soil below the cultural layers.

This profile however indicated that a hut floor might be present in the western part of the excavation that was left after the first clearance. As time did not permit taking the total further down, another section of 0,5 x 0,5 m was measured out here right against the 1 x 1 m area. This was lowered for 10 cm and ended on top of the sterile layer indicated above. The aim of these two sections was to study the stratigraphy in order to see whether a floor could be identified.

Post holes and charcoaled remains of poles were found in the excavation, but no floor was located. Again it is believed that either the hut did not have a floor or that only the outside part thereof was found and that the actual hut lies underneath some bushes right next to the excavation. During the next excavation season these will have to be removed in order to be properly investigated.

Cultural remains unearthed in excavation 4 included ceramics, glass, metal, hut clay, charcoal and a glass bead.

## 9. Discussion and Conclusion

To fully understand the meaning of the excavated material from the site, the information of all the excavation seasons should be combined. Since at least two more excavation seasons are planned, this will therefore only be a preliminary discussion. Another important reason for continuous archaeological research is that the site is being eroded due to its close proximity to the river. In the process the historical objects are washed away. This is indicated by the large scatters on the site

which clearly are not middens but only loose objects lying around. Through the research at least some of these artefacts will be salvaged.

Most of the dateable artefacts found, represent the period of the Late 19<sup>th</sup> to the Early 20<sup>th</sup> century. 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. The presence of military artefacts indicates the presence of a military unit (see Appendix A). Historical information obtained, indicate that the site was one of the outposts of the voluntary British military unit, Steinaecker's Horse (see section 7).

However, it should be noted that the area was also used prior to the Anglo-Boer War during the construction of the railway line and of the bridge just after the War. In 1898 Paul Bester, the ZAR appointed warden of the then Sabi Game Reserve, also had a hut here (Pienaar 1990: 397). In both cases it is uncertain whether this was on the northern or southern side of the river.

No stratigraphy could be detected in any of the excavations, meaning that artefacts from all these activities are probably mixed on the site. In order to indicate that the site was indeed occupied by Steinaecker's Horse, it is necessary to prove the existence of specific military related artefacts on site.

From the information indicated in the analysis of the cultural material (see Appendix A), this is evident and one can therefore conclude that the site was indeed occupied by Steinaecker's Horse and perhaps also other military units associated with them, such as the Black Watch and Native Police.

From Appendix A it is clear that certain artefacts, such as ceramic potsherds (read Iron Age type), glass beads and bone needles have been found. These are either the result of an Iron Age group residing at the site before the Anglo Boer War or it indicates the presence of indigenous people at the site during the War. Since it has been documented that Steinaecker's Horse did make use of local people, either as servants or as members of the indicated units (see Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2002: 47), it is possible that the artefacts are a result thereof.

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.

It is however interesting that no clear indication of social differentiation on the site could be found. At the Letaba outpost this could be distinguished very clearly from the different middens on the site. The sample of ceramics with a European origin dominates the ceramic sample, but it is known that the British military units were well stocked and these was probably also used by other people present on the site. The presence of non-European artefacts, indicate that the servants of the white soldiers probably still used Iron Age type pottery too cook for their masters and probably discarded broken vessels where they used it.

There can be two possibilities in explaining the apparent lack of social differentiation. Firstly it is possible that at the Sabi bridge post there were not really such a distinction made and everyone

present on the site lived together without having separate huts, middens etc. However, this seems highly unlikely as the Sabi bridge post was probably second in importance to the headquarters of the unit at Komatipoort. One would expect that the conventions of the time would be much stronger at this post than at the remote ones such as the one at Letaba.

Since it is known that Steinaecker's Horse were also present on the southern side of the river, where the blockhouse was erected, it is possible that the river may have formed a natural barrier between the different groups and that the part of their camp on the northern side were mostly in use by the black troops. However, much more research is needed before such a conclusion can be regarded as final.

This might also explain the relative low indication of tinned rations on the site as it was evident from the Letaba outpost that the white soldiers ate these rations more than what was the case with the black troops. The latter were more inclined to supplementing their diet with fresh meat by hunting and fishing, although no fish hooks were found at Sabi Bridge. 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 also 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.

Although very little faunal material was found, the hunting of wildlife must have also occurred at Sabi Bridge. Major Greenhill-Gardyne was stationed here and his document stating rules for the preservation of wildlife must have partially emanated from his experience at this post. Stevenson-Hamilton also indicated that the wildlife was very scarce in this area when he moved in after the War. According to his 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 Sabi 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).

The report written by Greenhill-Gardyne was used as a guide by Stevenson-Hamilton when he started working in the Park. The experience gained during the War was also handy and some of the members of the unit were therefore recruited as game wardens after the War. In this way they contributed to the establishment of the Park as it is known today.

Spent cartridges and shot gun cartridges were also found, confirming that hunting and fighting might have taken place. The presence of a number of percussion caps may also indicate that the black units were present on the northern side of the river as they might have been provided with these inferior front loader rifles whereas the regular units received more modern rifles. It might also indicate the presence of local people at the site and that these people were not armed by the British, but had their own rifles (front loaders) as protection. The latter seem most likely as historical information does state that the black people, employed by Steinaecker's Horse, were armed with Martini Henry rifles, the same rifles as those used by the British soldiers (Skukuza archives: Report of the Government Game Reserve, 29.11.1903).

The garrison definitely consumed large amounts of alcohol, as well as other non-alcoholic beverages. Glass from liquor bottles as well as the lead seals of these bottles was excavated. Fragments of Rose's Lime Juice bottles and wine glasses were also uncovered.

Unfortunately one will never be able to fully explore this issue and to determine the size of the site. Although a few artefacts, e.g. parts of tins and glass shard were noted on the southern side of the bridge, it is too little to make any other conclusion apart from the fact that these artefacts belong to the same time period. This is the result of the development of the Skukuza rest camp on the southern side of the river, which probably demolished what might have been left on that side of the river.

A few artefacts were also identified on the western side of the train bridge (the northern side of the river) indicating that the site might have expanded to that area. However the larger concentration of artefacts seems to be in an area of roughly 95 m in diameter on the northern bank of the river, but to the eastern side of the bridge.

It has been mentioned that Steinaecker's Horse erected a block house on the southern side of the river. The purpose of the blockhouse must have been to guard the temporary bridge over the river. One might be tempted to think that this is an indication of the outpost only being on the southern side. However, it should be realised that the British (Steinaecker's Horse) were in control of the area between Komatipoort and Sabi bridge and frequently used the railway line between these two sites (Stirling 1907: 273; Bornman 2004: 3).

The railway to the northern side of the Sabi River therefore was mainly not protected and with only a military presence on the southern side, it would be possible for the Boers to damage the railway and bridge on the other side at night, without the British noticing. Therefore it seems logical that Steinaecker's Horse would also have part of their camp on the northern side. It is even possible that this might have been larger than the part of the camp on the southern side. The British usually erected blockhouses on both sides of bridges and it is not known why this didn't occur here. Having a large contingent of people on the northern side however, would have solved this problem.

For such a large number of people, it was necessary to have enough shelter and provision also had to be made for storing food and other materials. After the temporary bridge had been washed away by the 1901 flood, this probably became more important as it could not have been an easy task to cross the river and one would think that this activity would not have taken place frequently. Therefore they probably took rations to the northern side every once in a while and had to store it to protect it from environmental influences.

The area where excavation 1 was measured out at first looked like a midden. It is now believed that this might have been a store room, something similar to that of a quarter master store. This is derived from the large variation in artefacts found here as well as the larger number of certain artefacts such as the metal part of purses and uniform buttons. Clay debris was also found, but these did not indicate any specific form and a floor could not be detected. It is therefore believed that the structure did not have a formal floor. As it is known that Von Steinaecker demolished and burnt down some of the structures when he realised after the War that his unit was not to be given the permanent duty as a border guard, it explains the lack of establishing a specific form (Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 55). Having no floor might also indicate that the structure had to be build quickly after the 1901 flood.

The purses might have been used to pay the soldiers their weekly allowance, but it is possible that it could have been used for the purpose of paying workers during the construction of the railway line as well. This however seems unlikely as it was clearly associated with military artefacts such as the mentioned uniform buttons.

Excavation 2 probably was the most interesting of the 2005 excavation season. The pile of stones visible on the surface is clearly not a natural feature. One possible explanation was that it could be a grave, but that was clearly not the case. It is interesting that a large number of bottle tops were found here and these had been cut off very finely. Most of these were champagne bottles and it is therefore suggested that it had to do with a military ritual of opening champagne by slicing off the head of the bottle with a single blow of a sword. The pile of stones was probably placed here as a platform for the bottles to stand on in performing the ritual.

It is believed that excavation 3 and 4 was done on two separate structures. Unfortunately not enough indication of clay was found to determine the forms of these structures, but it definitely seems to have had plastered clay walls and wooden posts. These excavations will be extended during the next excavation season in order to determine more as it seems as if only parts of these structures were opened up. From the extraordinary amount of glass found at excavation 3 it is believed that this might have been a store room for alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.

No clear indication of floors was found, but a burnt layer in excavation 4 could be the remains of a floor. It therefore is not possible to say whether these structures had floors. Of course these might have been destroyed when Von Steinaecker burnt down the place. The artefacts from excavation 4 do not give an indication of the function thereof and this question will therefore remain until further research has been conducted.

The area where excavation 5 and 6 were done is definitely a midden, but it seem to be not as large and deep as those found at the Letaba site. This might be a result of having more middens which have not been detected yet, the presence of other middens on the southern side of the river or that refuse were thrown into the river, which is only a few meters south of this particular midden. This may also provide an explanation for the lack of certain artefacts in comparison with the Letaba site.

The block house that was erected at on the southern side of the bridge was used by Stevenson-Hamilton as his office after September 1902 (Stevenson-Hamilton 1930:7; Skukuza archives: photo album nos. 1, 4 & 5). Proof was also found that the Letaba site was reused after the War (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003: 51). It therefore seems logical that the camp on the northern side might also have been reused.

Historical information shows that some members of the unit became game rangers in the Park and that they played an important role in the establishment of what is today known as the Kruger National Park. This serves as explanation that they knew these sites and utilised it later. The following persons are known to have been stationed (at least for a period of time) at the Sabi bridge post during the War:

Officers:

Major AW Greenhill-Gardyne

Major R Robertson

Captain JB Holgate

Lieutenant HC Wolhuter (the famous game ranger Harry Wolhuter)

Troopers:

Samuel Smart who was killed by a lion at this post

Percy Willis

BC Willis

Stevenson-Hamilton (1952: 17) indicates that a number of horses and men were killed by lions at Sabi Bridge. Wolhuter (1948: 46) also described that eight people from Steinaecker's Horse died in one season from blackwater. This indicates the harsh conditions under which they had to operate. Many horses also died of horse sickness (Wolhuter 1948: 59).

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.

## 10. Recommendations

1. Because of the location of the site, on the bank of the Sabie River, flooding poses a great danger to the material remains. As indicated, signs of erosion are visible on the site and if this trend continues very little would remain of the site in the next few years. It is therefore important that research on the site will continue in order to obtain as much information from it as possible. ***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 continues. In this way more information on the War in this area will be gathered.***
2. The site is well situated for the purpose of tourism. It is in close proximity to the Skukuza rest camp and is accessible via road (although tourists are at the moment not allowed to travel on this road). This will however depend on the Kruger National Park's different policies regarding cultural resources. In such a case it would be necessary to clean up the remains left on the site by the SANDF as it is very untidy at present. ***In the event of such plans being investigated, a proper management plan should be written. Archaeologists could be contacted in order to serve as a consultant in this regard.***
3. A display of the site can be installed at Skukuza or on the site, but this should only be done after completion of the archaeological research on the site. At the site this can be done by restoring the brick building left by the SANDF and using it for this purpose. 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. Such a display will also provide the visitor to the park with an additional heritage experience.
4. Although the historical information on the site and Steinaecker's Horse unit now is more than what was gathered during the excavations at Letaba, it still seems to lack certain information. ***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.
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.*

6. The large number of artifacts excavated made the transport and storage thereof difficult. This is especially true with regards to the large number of glass shards. It has therefore been decided not to collect everything excavated in future, but to only keep those that will assist in making conclusions, such as those with maker's marks, bottle necks etc. Other shards will be counted and placed back in the excavation it came from. This is in accordance with the no-collection strategy in archaeology as described by Butler (1979: 795-799).

## **11. Acknowledgements**

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## **Appendix A**

### **The analysis of cultural material from the 2005 excavations: Steinaecker's Horse – Sabi Bridge outpost**

#### **A. Pelser**

During August 2005 Archaeos CC., and a team of volunteers, conducted a fourth field season of archaeological excavations at a site linked to the Steinaecker's Horse military unit. This mainly volunteer unit fought on the side of the British during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The site chosen for excavations in 2005 was the Sabi Bridge Camp, occupied by the unit between early 1901 and to early 1903, when the unit was disbanded.

In the analysis and interpretation of the material we had to consider the following facts as well. Between 1892 and 1895? Construction on the Delagoabay railway line was underway. The Selati Line section of this railway line came up to the Sabi river (where Skukuza is today) and ended on the southern side of the river before corruption etc... stopped further construction. Only after the war did work on the line and bridge continue, culminating in 1912 in the opening of the line. In 1898, just after the proclamation of the Sabi Game Reserve, Paul Bester (the first, pre-war Game Ranger) had a campsite here (a rondavel/rondavels?), with a number of local black people as "staff". Then, during the war Steinaecker's Horse had one of the main outposts at Sabi Bridge. After the war, Stevenson-Hamilton occupied the site, and the blockhouse erected by the unit, for a period of time, while the Native Police and Harry Wolhuter would also have used the site as a post. Furthermore, in later years, the South African National Defence Force also used the site as an ammunition stockpile.

The chances of "contamination" on the site is therefore possible, and in dating the site, features and objects found during the research this has to be taken into consideration. Secondly, it is known that the "main" camp was on the southern side of the Bridge (the Skukuza Rest Camp side). So, why would the unit have camped on the opposite side?, with only a temporary wooden bridge available during the war. This bridge was also destroyed by floodwaters during 1901 and no trains could move here after that. However, it is clear from the artefacts recovered during 2005 that a British military presence at the site can be detected, but that activities regarding the Selati Line, Paul Bester and Stevenson-Hamilton cannot be disregarded. In the final report (after the 2006 field season) this will hopefully be sorted out.

#### SUMMARY OF CULTURAL MATERIAL FOUND

A total of **16 562** objects were recovered from the six excavations and from the general surface of the site. This is broken up into the excavations as follows:

Surface = 2

Excav.1 = 6724

Excav.2 = 3357

Excav.3 = 3829

Excav.4 = 1340

Excav.5 = 463

Excav.6 = 847

The cultural material found was split into the following categories, with the total amount of objects and percentages represented by each category also given.

Glass = 9845 objects, or 59.44% of the sample

Ceramics = 1539 objects, or 9.29%

Metal = 3891 objects, or 23.49%

Bone, shell and teeth = 885 objects, or 5.34%

Miscellaneous = 402 objects, or 2.43%

The following should be noted: The glass sample from Excavations 2 & 3 seems to have been mixed up during packing and transportation from the site to the lab. It was clear after discussions with individuals who excavated on the two trenches (Frank and JP) that less glass was found in Excav.2 (Frank's "grave") than in Excav.3. Most of the cut of champagne/liquor bottle tops were however recovered from Excavation 2. Also, with Excavations 4 – 6 not all the glass was taken for analysis, as the glass sample was already so big. Therefore, only the diagnostic pieces of glass (lips, necks/tops, bases and pieces with legible maker's marks, name and numbers were taken from these 3 trenches. The glass sample is therefore considerably smaller than what it would have been.

What does the material say about the site in terms of date of occupation, function, other occupations, the daily activities and the domestic economy? It is clear from the objects that it definitely had a military function at one time. Many of the objects has a military origin, such as the British uniform buttons, the percussion caps (for front loader guns) and the few spent cartridges and shot gun pellets recovered. Also, similar material as that found at the unit's northernmost outpost at the Makhadzi spruit near Letaba was found here as well. This included ceramics, glass bottles and other objects associated with the unit at Makhadzi. A large amount of these objects are also shown/identified in the Army & Navy Stores Catalogues of the time, and was therefore definitely available to the military fraternity. However, these goods were available between 1898 and 1913, as seen in the same catalogues dating to this 15 year stretch of time. A later occupation can therefore not be ruled out, although the similarities between the material from the two sites (outposts) seem to point to a Steinaecker's Horse (and an Anglo-Boer War) connection. Some of these objects might have a railway link as well, while occupation by the Native Police, Harry Wolhuter and Stevenson-Hamilton after the war must be considered.

A number of Iron Age (or local, non-European) type material was also recovered, including pottery, glass trade beads and pieces of worked bone (needles). A much earlier, Late Iron Age, occupation on the site can thus not be ruled out, although similar artefacts were also recovered from the Makhadzi site. We know that the unit also had black members (cleaners, cooks, hunters, guides, guards), so this material is not that strange. Secondly, before the war (1898) Paul Bester was stationed here with local black staff (servant), and it is quite possible that he occupied an already existing "kraal" here. Some evidence of other huts is also visible on the site (areas not yet excavated) in the form of hut rubble and upper and lower grinding stones and low stonewalls.

The daily activities of the occupants of the site must have been similar to those at the Makhadzi outpost, even though the Sabi Bridge campsite was much bigger and more structured in some ways. A lot have been written regarding the unit, and we will not attempt at this stage to reconstruct the daily activities at the Sabi Bridge site. This will only be finally possible at the end of the 2006/7 field season with all material analysed and interpreted and all written sources consulted. From the wide range of material found it is clear that the garrison was well rationed and that they had a variety of products to choose from. Not only were the expected amounts of liquor (rum gin and whiskey), wine and non-alcoholic beverages available, but things such as champagne and absinthe (a liqueur/spirit that was banned during Victorian times) was also consumed. Although very little evidence of tinned foods (such as at the northernmost outpost) has been found so far, one has to assume that this made up a large part of their diet/rations, while the faunal remains point to hunting/herding (a historically documented occurrence for the unit) also being practised to supplement the diet. Further analysis of material and more excavations are needed to confirm.



Can site layout/organization and different activity areas be identified through the cultural material found? And what about social or status differentiation (as at the Makhadzi site?). At this stage it is not very clear, but it does seem as if certain areas can be identified through the excavated material. This is done by looking at the individual excavations and the types and numerical quantity of material recovered from each. A final interpretation will be done once the 2006/7 field season has been completed and all analysis work has been undertaken. A quick discussion per excavation will however be given here.

Excavation 1 (what we believed to have been a large refuse midden based on the abundance of material on the surface) produced a large amount of objects that seems to point to this area possibly being used as a storage “facility”, probably once being a structure of some sorts. These objects include the following:

- (1) a huge number of nails and screws of various sizes (**1297** in total)
- (2) hut clay (building rubble?)
- (3) uniform and other buttons – **140**
- (4) copper/brass shoe nails and lace eyelettes/latches - **73**
- (5) percussion caps (for front loader guns) - **202**
- (6) ink bottles, at least **5** and ink residue pieces
- (7) belt buckles - **54**
- (8) cuff links and copper tie pins - **127**
- (9) pieces of silver chain or steel chain purses **10** purses represented
- (10) brass/copper crosses **35**
- (11) a pick-axe head
- (12) 1 wagon axle
- (13) brass tobacco pipe-lids - **17**
- (14) medicine bottles, as well as ceramic medicinal/household vessels (more than other excavations)

It could therefore have been a store of some sorts, taking the huge amount of ceramics and bottle glass recovered also into consideration.

Excavation 2 is much more difficult to explain. The initial thought was that it could have been a grave (packed with stones – grave/burial size and shape), but this idea is now difficult to substantiate. No human skeletal remains were found, while the fairly huge number of glass and ceramics seems to point to something different. The interesting finds here was the number of bottle tops that seems to have been clean cut by a sharp object such as a sword. A military function/ritual space for this structure cannot be ruled out at this stage, but more in depth research needs to be done first.

Excavations 3 & 4, which are fairly closely situated to each other, might again have been some form of structures, or perhaps even one large structure. Burnt hut clay (building material?) was found at both, while a large number of various sizes nails and screws were also recovered in both these excavations. Charcoal, and possible burnt hut poles, could be further evidence of structural remains. A large amount of bottle glass was also found at both, with Excavation 3 yielding the most. Excavation 3 (and possibly 4 as well) might therefore have been a liquor storage area? Of further interest here is that **531** of the **885** pieces of bone, teeth and shell were recovered from Excavation 3. None was found in Excavation 4.

The area encompassed by Excavation 5 & 6 might have been more of a refuse midden (one large “communal” midden?), although it is too early to say whether or not this is so, or whether or not the main midden still needs to be located. A wider range of “common”, “used”, “throw-away” material was found in both, pointing us in this direction. The only difference between the two excavations is that in Excavation 5 glass dominates and in Excavation 6 it is metal objects.

Another interesting fact to consider is that it is known that Ludwig von Steinaecker, after learning that his unit was not going to be kept as a permanent border guard after the war, and because of ill-feeling between him and Stevenson-Hamilton, he destroyed (deconstructed and burnt down the structures) most of his outposts, including the one at Sabi Bridge. At Sabi Bridge he left only the Blockhouse on the southern side of the bridge for the Warden to stay in, as well as a ganger’s hut. It is interesting to note that a large proportion of the glass, ceramics and other objects found during 2005 either have been badly burnt, or have evidence of being exposed to fire. This includes the hut clay pieces. A much later veldfire, or several veldfires, can however not be discounted.

It is also worth taking note of the following statistics and interesting objects that were recovered during 2005. A minimum number of **74** individual ceramic (porcelain/ironstone) plates, saucers and cups are represented by the ceramic sample, while a further **15 – 20 (MNI)** other ceramic containers, such as salve/ointment, medicines and other household are represented. A Minimum of **300** liquor (rum, gin, whisky/whiskey, liqueur [absinthe], wine, port and champagne bottles are represented by the glass sample, with a further **120 (MNI)** medicine, sauce, soda/mineral water and other household glass vessels represented. For the bottles things such as bottle tops, necks, bases, glass and lead/zinc seals, cork wire (for champagne and other bottles), bottle and bottle stoppers were taken into account.

Interesting finds include the fairly large number of brass/copper lids and other objects representing sovereign (money) holders, which together with the pieces of at least 10 silver chain purses from Excavation 1, could be evidence of the allowances paid to the garrison (could they have received their pay in these artefacts?). Harry Wolhuter does make mention of the fact that he regularly went to the various outposts to take the men stationed there their pay. The large number of brass/copper percussion caps, normally associated with old front loader rifles, found here is also suggestive of another aspect of not only the war, but also the “social” situation prevalent at the time. Could these have belonged to the guns of the black troops that formed part of the unit, as they might have been issued with “inferior” rifles to those of the European soldiers (there was a strict ‘rule’ during the war against the arming of local black communities, with both the Boers and British accusing one another of doing so – the British was very much against the idea of involving the blacks in a so-called “white mans war”, for a number of reasons that can be expanded on at a later stage.

To conclude, a final interpretation will be made regarding the daily activities, “domestic economy”, possible activity areas and social differentiation that might have prevailed at the site during its occupation and use by Steinaecker’s Horse during the years 1901 –1902 and early 1903 once the analysis and interpretation of the 2006/7 material are completed. Only then will it be possible to reconstruct the complete picture of what really happened from an archaeological perspective at the Sabi Bridge site.

## **Appendix B**

### **Captions of figures**

1. Location of the site, marked with a red circle north of the Skukuza rest camp.
2. Location of the site in relation to the Skukuza rest camp.
3. Site plan of Steinaecker's Horse Sabi Bridge post.
4. The surface of Excavation 1.
5. Artefacts on surface of Excavation 1.
6. Excavation 1 layer 1.
7. Detail in Excavation 1 layer 1.
8. Excavation 1 layer 2.
9. Part of undercarriage of wagon found in Excavation 1 layer 2.
10. Close up of figure 9.
11. Excavation 1 layer 3.
12. The surface of Excavation 5.
13. Detail of southern part of surface of Excavation 5.
14. Excavation 5 Layer 1.
15. Extending the southern part of Excavation 5 to sterile level.
16. The surface of Excavation 6.
17. Excavation 6 layer 1.
18. Detail of Excavation 6 layer 1.
19. Further detail of Excavation 6 layer 1.
20. The surface of Excavation 2.
21. Detail of surface of Excavation 2.
22. Detail of glass in Excavation 2.
23. Glass bottle in Excavation 2.
24. Ceramic and glass shards in Excavation 2.
25. Glass shards in Excavation 2.

26. Glass shards in Excavation 2.
27. Excavation 2 layer 1.
28. Detail of Excavation 2 layer 1.
29. Glass bottle tops in Excavation 2.
30. Excavation 2 completed.
31. Excavation 2 completed.
32. The surface of Excavation 3.
33. Detail of clay debris in Excavation 3.
34. Faunal remains in Excavation 3.
35. Excavation 3 layer 1.
36. Detail of Excavation 3 layer 1.
37. Excavation 3 layer 2.
38. Detail of Excavation 3 layer 2.
39. The surface of Excavation 4.
40. Detail of burnt hut pole in Excavation 4.
41. Chisel and other artefacts in Excavation 4.
42. Extending Excavation 4 layer 1 to floor level.
43. Close up of Excavation 4 layer 1.
44. Detail of burnt level in Excavation 4.
45. Detail of sterile level in Excavation 4.
46. Stratigraphy in Excavation 4.
47. Stratigraphy in Excavation 4.
48. Selati railway bridge over the Sabi River.
49. Close up of Selati railway bridge.
50. Base of soda water bottle found in Excavation 1.

51. Bone needle, bone button and bone tooth brush handles from Excavation 1.
52. Medicine bottle top from Excavation 1.
53. Brass lid from Excavation 1.
54. Part of cast iron pot from Excavation 1.
55. Cogs of a watch from Excavation 1.
56. Detail of makers mark from Croft mineral water bottle from Excavation 1.
57. Porcelain egg cup from Excavation 1.
58. Bases of medicine bottles from Excavation 1.
59. Molten medicine bottle tops from Excavation 1.
60. Brass tobacco pipe lids from Excavation 1.
61. 'Poor Mans Friend' ointment container fragments from Excavation 1.
62. Fragment of porcelain bowl with Chinese motifs from Excavation 1.
63. Iron stone vessel fragments with engraved number 3 from Excavation 1.
64. Fragment of porcelain vessel from Excavation 1.
65. Metal purse clasps from Excavation 1.
66. Petrus Regout Maastricht porcelain fragments from Excavation 1.
67. Glass bottle fragment with painted scarab motif from Excavation 1.
68. Sovereign case clasps from Excavation 1.
69. Ceramics from Excavation 1 layer 3.
70. Chain from Excavation 1 layer 3.
71. Metal peg from Excavation 1 layer 3.
72. Burnt 'Poor Mans Friend' ointment container from Excavation 1 layer 3.
73. Other ceramics from Excavation 1 layer 3.
74. Metal from Excavation 1 layer 3.
75. Metal purse clasp and other brass artefacts from Excavation 1 layer 3.

76. Bone buttons from the surface of Excavation 1.
77. Buckles from the surface Excavation 1.
78. Metal button with anchor motif from the surface of Excavation 1.
79. Uniform button from the surface of Excavation 1.
80. Cast iron cooking pot fragments from the surface of Excavation 1.
81. Metal cross from the surface of Excavation 1.
82. Brass cuff links and studs from the surface of Excavation 1.
83. Base of decorated ceramic plate from the surface of Excavation 1.
84. Earthen ware from the surface of Excavation 1.
85. Ink residue from the surface of Excavation 1.
86. Pieces of lead from surface of Excavation 1.
87. Metal tail from decorative lion from the surface of Excavation 1.
88. Wire from the surface of Excavation 1.
89. Miscellaneous metal artefacts from the surface of Excavation 1.
90. Nails, screws and washers from the surface of Excavation 1.
91. Plastic buttons and beads from the surface of Excavation 1.
92. Pickaxe head from the surface of Excavation 1.
93. Brass tobacco pipe lids from the surface of Excavation 1.
94. Metal parts of purses from the surface of Excavation 1.
95. Decorated ceramics from the surface of Excavation 1: red and blue bands.
96. Metal rod from the surface of Excavation 1.
97. Sovereign holder lid and pocket watch cog from the surface of Excavation 1.
98. Tip of tooth paste tubes from the surface of Excavation 1.
99. Ceramics from the surface of Excavation 2.
100. Decorated ceramics from the surface of Excavation 2.

101. Glass bottle seals, SA Maas Schiedam, from the surface of Excavation 2.
102. Faunal remains from Excavation 2 layer 1.
103. Champagne bottle top with wire still attached from layer 1 of Excavation 2.
104. Whisky bottle from Excavation 2 layer 1 – Westoft.
105. Nails and screws from Excavation 2 layer 1.
106. Roses Lime Juice bottle fragment from Excavation 2 layer 1.
107. Glass bottle stoppers from Excavation 2 layer 1.
108. Spent cartridges from the surface of Excavation 2.
109. Iron Age type ceramics from the surface of Excavation 2.
110. Decorated porcelain from Excavation 3 layer 1.
111. Copper used to wire down cork bottle stoppers from Excavation 3 layer 1.
112. Miscellaneous metal from Excavation 3 layer 1.
113. Burnt wood Excavation 3 layer 1.
114. Uniform button from the surface of Excavation 3.
115. Ceramics from the surface of Excavation 3.
116. Nails and screws from the surface of Excavation 3.
117. Part of clay pipe from layer 1 of Excavation 4.
118. Glass bead from layer 1 of Excavation 4.
119. Hut clay with pole impressions from layer 1 Excavation 4.
120. Metal chain from the surface of Excavation 1.
121. Metal chisel from the surface of Excavation 4.
122. Metal door hinge from the surface of Excavation 4.
123. Split nail from the surface of Excavation 4.
124. Identifiable faunal remains from Excavation 5 layer 1.
125. Base of Codd soda/ mineral water bottle from Excavation 5 layer 1.



126. Decorated Willow pattern porcelain cup from layer 1 of Excavation 5.
127. Decorated porcelain cup fragments from layer 1 of Excavation 5.
128. Champagne goblet and decanter fragments from layer 1 of Excavation 5.
129. Glass bottle stopper from layer 1 of Excavation 5.
130. Metal peg from Excavation 5 layer 1.
131. Bottle tops and necks from alcohol bottles from layer 1 of Excavation 5.
132. Porcelain plate from Excavation 5 layer 1.
133. Roses Lime Juice bottle fragments from Excavation 5 layer 1.
134. Sauce bottle top from Excavation 5 layer 1.
135. Willow pattern saucer from Excavation 5 layer 1.
136. Glass beads and plastic buttons from Excavation 6 layer 1.
137. Mineral water bottle: Culverhouse, London from Excavation 6 layer 1.
138. Champagne goblets from Excavation 6 layer 1.
139. Miscellaneous copper objects from Excavation 6 layer 1.
140. Pieces of lead and shot gun pellets from Excavation 6 layer 1.
141. Uniform buttons from Excavation 6 layer 1.
142. Metal objects from Excavation 6 layer 1.
143. Natal Breweries beer bottle fragments from Excavation 6 layer 1.
144. Metal buttons and studs from Excavation 6 layer 1.
145. Pendant with gemstone from Excavation 6 layer 1.
146. Brass tobacco pipe lids from layer 1 of Excavation 6.
147. Decorated porcelain plate rim from Excavation 6 layer 1.
148. Metal scale weight from Excavation 6 layer 1.
149. Lead bottle seals with makers marks from Excavation 6 layer 1.
150. Kaolin smoking pipe fragments from Excavation 6 layer 1.

151. Stone ware fragments from Excavation 6 layer 1.
152. Detail of makers mark on ceramics in figure 151.
153. Glass bottle stoppers from Excavation 6 layer 1.
154. Glass bottle tops and necks from Excavation 6 layer 1.
155. Metal washers from Excavation 6 layer 1.
156. Fragments of wine glasses from Excavation 6 layer 1.
157. Miscellaneous artefacts from the surface of Excavation 6.
158. Kaolin pipe stem fragment and metal spoon head found on the surface of the site.