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**A HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE
GAZA GRAY OUTPOST OF STEINAECKER'S HORSE, LOWER SABIE
DISTRICT, KRUGER NATIONAL PARK (REPORT NO. IV)**

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OPSOMMING

Steinaecker's Horse was 'n vrywilligerseenheid wat tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) aan die kant van die Britte geveg het. Die Gaza Gray terrein, sowat 15 km suidoos van die Onder-Sabie ruskamp in die Nasionale Krugerwildtuin, 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 hoofsaaklik as veepos gedien het, waar beeste wat van die Boere afgeneem is, aangehou is.

Die terrein is vernoem na Edward George Gray wat 'n kaptein in die Steinaecker's Horse eenheid was. Sy bynaam was 'Gaza' omdat hy voor die oorlog in Portugees-Oos-Afrika, in die Gaza distrik, werksaam was. Hy het bevel gevoer oor drie van buiteposte van die eenheid, naamlik hierdie een, die nabygeleë een by Gomondwane en die een by Krokodilbrug. Na afloop van die oorlog het hy 'n veldwagter in die Sabie Wildreservaat (later Krugerwildtuin) geword.

Die Gaza Gray terrein is relatief groot en bestaan uit vier gedeeltes. Die noord-oostelike deel bevat twee beeskrale en ander kulturele materiaal. Die noordelike deel het dertien beeskrale en ander kulturele reste. Die suidelike deel bevat oorblyfsels van minstens een struktuur, vullishope en ander kulturele oorblyfsels. Die suid-oostelike deel bestaan uit een beeskraal asook kulturele voorwerpe. Gray en ander plaaslike inwoners het reeds voor die oorlog hier beeste aangehou, waarskynlik op die noord-oostelike, noordelike en suid-oostelike gedeeltes. Gevolglik beskik die terrein oor verskeie ashope waarin kulturele materiaal en beesmis gemeng is. Dit wil voorkom asof die suidelike gedeelte merendeels deur die soldate van die Steinaecker's Horse eenheid benut is.

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 ouer kultuurprodukte. Die navorsing het voorts ten doel om die kulturele materiaal wat opgegrawe is met die materiaal, wat by drie ander Steinaecker's Horse terreine gevind is, te vergelyk.

Tydens die vierde opgrawingseisoen is ses opgrawings gedoen. Saam met die negentien, wat tydens die eerste drie seisoene gedoen is, beteken dit dat daar altesaam vyf-en-twintig opgrawings gedoen is. Daar is op die suid-oostelike deel van die terrein gekonsentreer en die area is ook verken om die grootte van die terrein te probeer bepaal. Drie van die opgrawings is op areas gedoen wat uiteindelik geblyk het die beeskraal/ vullishoop of afspoel daarvan te wees. Die ander drie is by areas met kulturele materiaal gedoen.

Menslike skeletmateriaal is tydens die eerste twee opgrawingseisoene blootgelê, maar dié is almal op die noordelike gedeelte van die terrein gevind. Dit blyk dat die inheemse mense aan wanvoeding en skeerbuik gely het. Dit kan die gevolg wees van hulle afhanklikheid van mielies as voedsel, maar in tye van spanning (soos oorlog) word sodanige omstandighede ook in die hand gewerk.

Een menslike skelet is nou ook gevind. Dit blyk dat hierdie persoon aan die een of ander infeksie van die asemhalingstelsel gely het, maar klaarblyklik nie aan

wanwoeding en skeerbuik soos die ander individue nie. Dit kan moontlik daaraan toegeskryf word dat hierdie gedeelte van die terrein van die res afgesonder is.

Tydens die vierde opgrawingseisoen is 1 762 artefakte blootgelê. Dit is heelwat minder as in vorige jare en kan daaraan toegeskryf word dat die beeskraal/ ashoop nie ryk aan voorwerpe is nie.

Geen voorwerpe met 'n militêre oorsprong is op hierdie gedeelte van die terrein opgegrawe nie, hoewel verskeie daarvan op die groter terrein gevind is. Hierdie voorwerpe dui daarop dat die soldate van Steinaecker's Horse hoofsaaklik op die suidelike gedeelte van die terrein teenwoordig was. Europese keramiek- en glasvoorwerpe wat gevind is, dateer uit die laat negentiende en vroeë twintigste eeu en stem ooreen met voorwerpe wat op ander terreine, wat met Steinaecker's Horse verbind word, gevind is.

Net soos die noordelike gedeelte van die terrein, waar hoofsaaklik meer tradisionele potwerk gevind is, word die suidoostelike gedeelte met plaaslike bewoners verbind, hoewel soortgelyke potwerk ook op die suidelike gedeelte van die terrein gevind is. Die nie-Europese voorwerpe dui daarop dat 'n Nguni/ Tsonga groep die terrein bewoon het. Hierdie mense was waarskynlik voor die oorlog reeds daar teenwoordig en het moontlik as arbeiders vir Gaza Gray gedien en het sy beeste opgepas. Tydens die oorlog het hulle waarskynlik hierdie taak voortgesit, maar is dit ook uitgebrei om beeste, wat van die Boere gekonfiskeer is, op te pas.

Europese keramiekskerwe wat ná 1905 dateer, is ook op die suidelike gedeelte gevind. Dit dui daarop dat, net soos wat die geval met die Noordelike buitepos naby Letaba was, ook hierdie terrein na die oorlog hergebruik is.

SUMMARY

Steinaecker's Horse was a voluntary unit who fought on the side of the British during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The Gaza Gray site, situated more or less 15 km to the south-east of the Lower Sabie rest camp in the Kruger National Park, 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 mainly used as a cattle outpost, where cattle, confiscated from the Boers, were kept.

The site is named after Edward George Gray who was a captain in the Steinaecker's Horse unit. He was nicknamed 'Gaza' as he used to work in the Gaza district of Portuguese East Africa before the War. He was in command of three outposts of Steinaecker's Horse namely this one, the nearby one at Gomondwane and the one at Crocodile Bridge. After the War he became a game ranger in the Sabie Game Reserve (later Kruger Park).

It is a large site consisting of four sections. The north-eastern section contains two cattle kraals/ middens and other cultural material. The northern section consists of thirteen cattle kraals/ middens and cultural remains. The southern section contains at least one structure, some refuse middens and more cultural remains. The south-eastern section has one cattle kraal/ midden as well as cultural material. Before the War the north-eastern, northern and south-eastern section was most likely used to host the cattle of Gray and some local people. As a result the site has many refuse middens in which cultural material is mixed with remains of cattle kraals. It seems as if the southern section was mostly used by the soldiers of the Steinaecker's Horse unit. The size of the site was also determined during the field work.

The site was excavated in order to learn more about Steinaecker's Horse, but also to distinguish between remains from this unit and cultural remains from the period before the War. The research also aimed at comparing cultural material from the site with that of other excavated Steinaecker's Horse sites.

During the fourth excavation season, six excavations were conducted. Together with the nineteen from the previous seasons, it means that twenty five were done in total. These concentrated on the south-eastern section of the site and the area was also scanned in order to determine the size of the site. Three of the excavations were done on cattle kraal remains/ refuse midden or the washed down remains thereof. The other three were done on areas containing cultural material.

Human skeletal remains excavated during the first two seasons were all found in the northern section. It seems as if the indigenous people suffered from malnutrition and scurvy. This probably was a result of their dependence on maize in their diet, but in times of stress (such as war) this phenomenon is increased.

One human skeleton was now unearthed. From the forensic analysis it seems that this individual had some kind of respiratory disease, but did not suffer from malnutrition and scurvy as the others did. This may be contributed to this section of the site being separated from the rest.

During the third excavation season 1 762 artefacts were unearthed. This is much less than during the previous seasons and is a result of the cattle kraal/ midden not containing much artefacts.

No artefacts with a specific military origin were excavated at the south-eastern section of the site, but many such material were found on the larger site, specifically the southern section. This indicate that the soldiers of Steinaecker's Horse were mainly present here. European ceramics and glass found does however date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and are similar to those found on other sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse.

Just as at the northern section, the south-eastern contained mostly traditional pottery and is therefore associated with local inhabitants. It has to be said however that similar pottery was also found at the southern section of the site. The non-European objects indicate that the site was inhabited by a Nguni/ Tsonga group. These people probably already stayed here before the war and it is likely that they worked for Gaza Gray and attended to his cattle. During the war they most likely continued with this task but also had to attend to cattle which were confiscated from the Boers.

European ceramic shards dating to after 1905, was also found on the southern section. It indicates that, just like at the Northernmost outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, close to Letaba, this site was also reused after the war.

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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 Gaza Gray outpost, close to Lower Sabie was one of several outposts manned by them in order to safeguard the area from the Boers. The site was mainly used as a cattle outpost, where livestock, confiscated from the Boers, were kept (Pienaar 1990: 618). From the remains on site it looks as if the outpost was one of the larger ones, although many of the remains do not necessarily have a direct link to the War. It is one of ten outposts that physically have been located.

Due to its size and unique characteristics 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 Pelsers & 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.

During the field work the size of the Gaza Gray site was determined. The site consists of four clearly defined sections, called the north-eastern, northern, southern and south-eastern sections respectively. The nearby site, where Bill Sanderson was interned by Steinaecker's Horse during the Anglo-Boer War, was also identified during 2010. It is planned that this site will be excavated in the near future.

The Gaza Gray site was located during a field survey in 2003 (Van Vollenhoven et. al. 2003a: 21-23). During 1997, 2000 and 2002 the Letaba outpost, during 2008 and 2013 the Ngotso Mouth camp and during 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2009 the Sabi Bridge post manned by Steinaecker's Horse were excavated. The research resulted in interesting information of the unit, specifically concerning the role local black people played at these outposts (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; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2006: 36-37; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2007: 38-39; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2008: 42-43; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsers 2009: 43-44; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsers 2010: 80-82; Van Vollenhoven 2014: 71-75).

A comparison of material from these sites with that at Gaza Gray will probably result in learning more in this regard. Therefore it was decided to excavate the Gaza Gray outpost. The first excavation season occurred in August 2010 (see Van Vollenhoven & Pelsers 2011), the second in August 2011 (see Van Vollenhoven & Pelsers 2012) and the third in August 2012 (see Van Vollenhoven 2013). The fourth excavation season was conducted in August 2014. This report deals with the findings of the last mentioned.

The research project was undertaken by **Archaeon** 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 since 2002 and is still continuing in order to obtain

more information. Historical documents obtained from the British National Archives were also studied and the information it contained used.

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 was social differentiation between the different units at the outpost and for the first time archaeological excavations gave an indication of the role of black soldiers and local inhabitants during the Anglo-Boer War. The sites at Sabi Bridge and Ngotso Mouth seem not to indicate such a differentiation although the Sabie River might have been a divider at the Sabi Bridge site. As Ngotso Mouth was only used as temporary camp at a place where local people already stayed, it explains the lack of differentiation.

After completion of the excavations at Letaba, which then was the only site associated with Steinaecker's Horse researched and confirmed as being a Steinaecker's Horse site, it was deemed important to contextualise this information by comparing the similarities and differences other such sites show in this regard. Also, too little was known about the everyday life and circumstances of the unit, especially relating to comparative samples.

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 was done with the Sabi Bridge and Ngotso Mouth sites. The research will also contribute to the contextualisation of existing information.

2.2 Motivation

- a. The research on Steinaecker's Horse is the first, and was for a long time the 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 ground-breaking method has already led to vital new information about the participation of those groups whose 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 at first only concentrated on the Northern outpost at Letaba. Research was later also done at the Sabi Bridge and Ngotso Mouth sites. However the point has been reached where not much more could be learned from these sites. 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. 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.
- c. 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.
- d. 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. Research on the Sabi Bridge and Ngotso Mouth sites were the following steps, but the story was still incomplete. 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.
- e. A display of the research done at the northernmost outpost 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 will undoubtedly become available from the latest research.
- f. Natural factors, such as erosion and the burrowing of certain animals, proved a major threat to the sites that have 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 history of these sites as well as for research and management purposes.
- g. Soldiers of Steinaecker's Horse, black volunteers and local inhabitants occupied the Northern outpost and the Sabi Bridge site, whereas the Ngotso Mouth site seems to have been occupied by local people and were only used as a camp site by Steinaecker's Horse. A comparison of excavated material coming from

different refuse middens at the Northern outpost showed social differences between the groups. This could not be determined from the other two sites. Subsequently the research on more 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.

- h. 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.
- i. 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 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. Objectives & key questions of the Steinaecker's Horse research project

3.1 Main aim

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

3.2 Objectives

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

- To make recommendations for cultural tourism opportunities and the management of the different sites

3.3 Key questions

- Does the archaeological data from different sites (Gaza Gray, Ngotso Mouth, Gomondwane and Sanderson's' internment camp) support the historical information that these are associated with Steinaecker's Horse?
- Does the collection of archival and other historical information relating to the Steinaecker's Horse unit add to the comprehensive and representative writing of the history of Steinaecker's Horse?
- Is it possible to identify additional sites used by Steinaecker's Horse by using archaeological and historical sources and thereby assist in determining the geographical extent and influence of the activities of the unit in the Kruger National Park?
- Does the comparison of excavated material from each particular site as well as from the different sites with each other, assist in obtaining information on the participation and role of black people on these sites, especially in relation to their lifestyle and their position regarding the Anglo-Boer War as a whole, including the social differentiation between the different units and people at Steinaecker's Horse sites?
- Can the study of each site add to the monitoring of erosion and site degradation in order to be able to recommend preservation and heritage management measures?
- Will the research assist in identifying further research questions, gaps and opportunities relating to the different sites?
- To what extent can the assessment of the sites, regarding location, accessibility and extent of cultural material and features be used to recommend opportunities for cultural tourism and the management of thereof?

4. **Hypothesis: the Gaza Gray site**

It is believed that the Gaza Gray site is one of the outposts that was utilised by Steinaecker's Horse during the Anglo-Boer War. The research was therefore undertaken to show a connection between historical information and the archaeological evidence with regards to Steinaecker's Horse at the Gaza Gray outpost.

4.1 Aims

- The collection of historical information relating to the Steinaecker's Horse unit and specifically the Gaza Gray outpost.
- The collection of archaeological data from the site.

- 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.
- To determine whether it is possible to distinguish between cultural material associated with Steinaecker's Horse and material from earlier cultural activities on the site.
- The archaeological investigation of possible activity areas on the site.
- To determine the extent of the Gaza Gray site.
- To monitor potential erosion on the site.

4.2. 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 for a long time 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 and Ngotso Mouth camp as well as the Gaza Gray outpost 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.

5. Motivation for the research

5.1 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; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2006: 5, 26-27; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2007: 5, 27-28; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2008: 5, 27-28; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2009: 5, 25-26; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2010: 5, 27-28, 85; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2011: 11, 36-37; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2012: 27-31; Van Vollenhoven 2013: 12-13' 33-37; Van Vollenhoven 2014: 11-12, 27-31), which deals with the excavations on the Letaba site in 1997, 2000 and 2002, the survey of Steinaecker's Horse sites done in 2003, the excavations on the Sabi Bridge site in 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2009, the excavations on the Ngotso Mouth site in 2008 and 2013 as well as the excavations at the Gaza Gray site in 2010, 2011 and 2012. 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.

- 5.2 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 24 cm 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.
- 5.3 The uniqueness of the site, being a major outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, makes it an important site to be investigated.
- 5.4 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 Gaza Gray site falls within all three these categories.
- 5.5 The Steinaecker's Horse project remains the only one of this extent researching an aspect of the Anglo-Boer War by archaeological means. Other archaeological projects on this time period concentrated on single sites or only a few related ones.

6. Location

The Gaza Gray outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, is situated more or less 10 km south-east of the Lower Sabie rest camp in the Kruger National Park (Figure 1-2). It lies off the tourist route, but is accessible through a ranger's path. The site lays approximately 2,5 km to the south of the Sabie River and 0,5 km to the west of the Nhlowa Spruit.

The site consists of four separate sections, named a north-eastern, northern, southern and south-eastern section. The respective distances between these are approximately 360 m, 280 m and 210 m. The total size of the site is approximately 1 220 m from north to south and 430 m from east to west giving the site a size of 524,6 Ha (Figure 3-4).

The site is located on map number 2531BB and 2532AA, Onder-Sabie, of the South African 1:50 000 topographic series. GPS coordinates for the site are as follows:

North-eastern section - 25°11.070'S and 31°58.475'E

Northern section - 25°11.268'S and 31°58.308'E

Southern section - 25°11.494'S and 31°58.303'E

South-eastern section - 25°11.632'S and 31°58.408'E.

Some glass shards were also found on the eastern side of a small hill to the east of the southern section. This is close to the western bank of the Nhlowa Spruit. A GPS coordinate was also taken here: 25°11.517'S and 31°58.482'E.

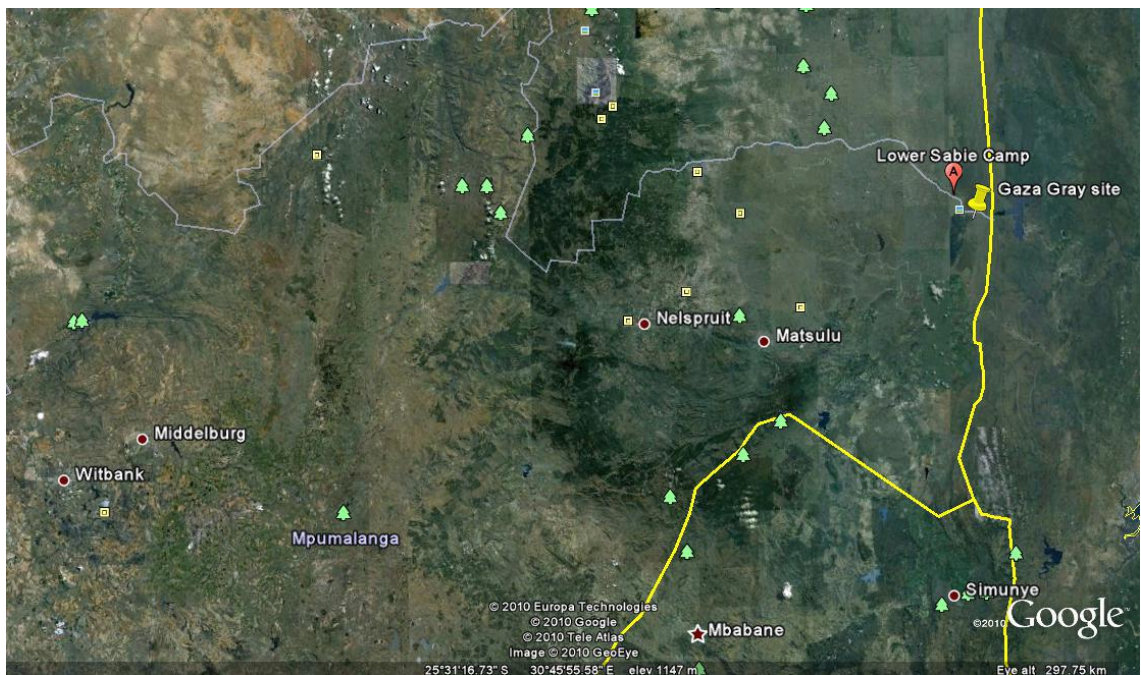


Figure 1 Location of the Gaza Gray site in the Kruger National Park, Mpumalanga.

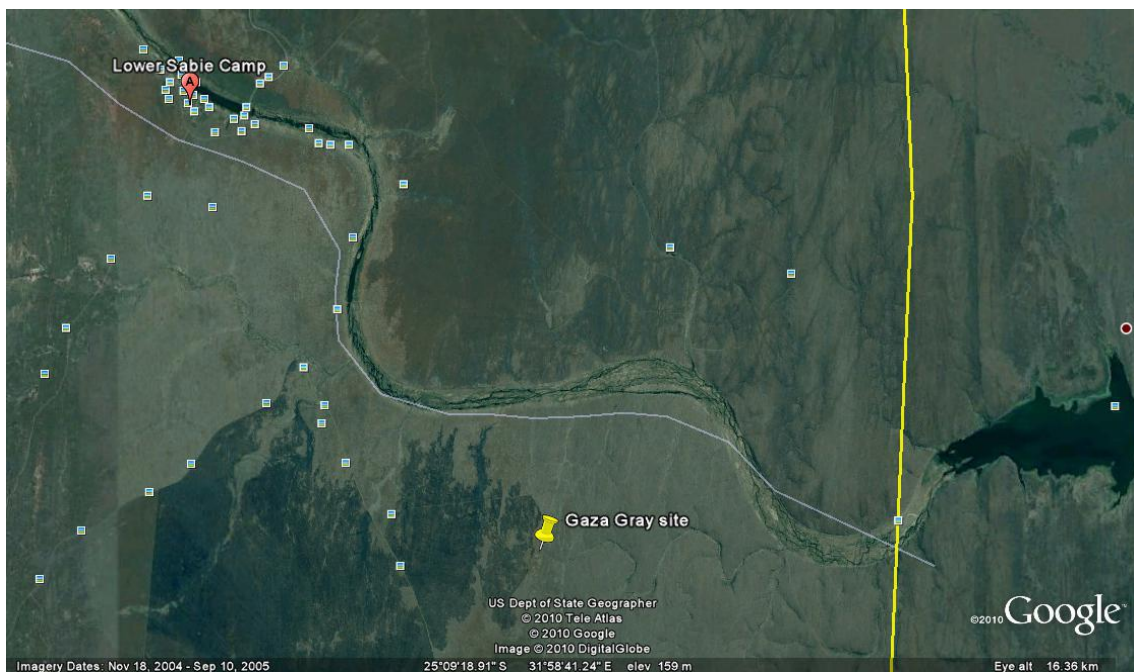


Figure 2 Location of the Gaza Gray site, close to Lower Sabie in the Kruger National Park.

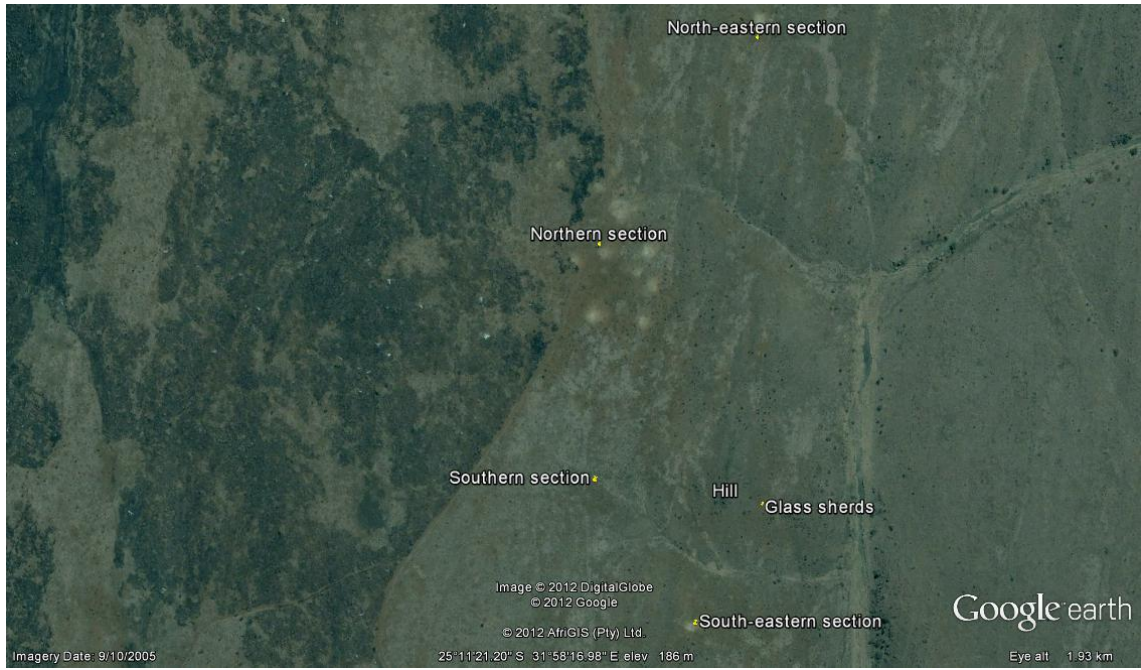


Figure 3 View of the site indicating the four sections as well as the hill where glass sherds were identified.

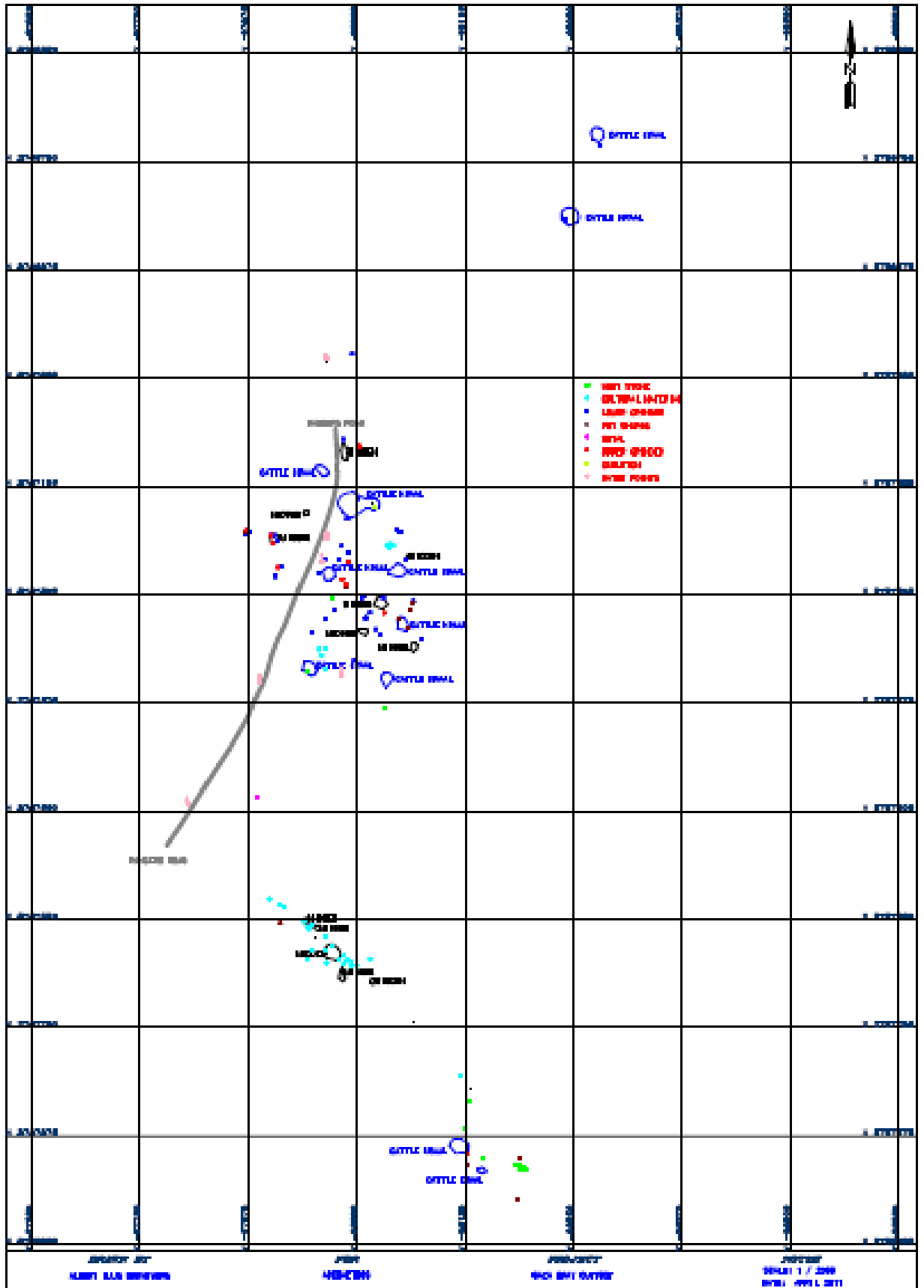


Figure 4 Map of the Gaza Gray outpost of Steinaecker's Horse (A. Luus).

7. Site description

The site was not much overgrown, showing large dry patches almost completely without any vegetation. Certain spots have however been overgrown with medium tall grass. A few large trees and an abundance of low bushes and shrubs are found all over the site. Smaller trees and bushes on the site indicate some disturbance on the site at a certain stage in the past. In the north-eastern, northern and south-eastern sections greyish patches, the archaeological middens, could easily be identified. In the southern section middens are indicated by areas containing cultural material and perhaps a slight greyish soil colour.

A gravel road runs through the site from north to south, but only a small portion of the site (at the northern section) lies to the west of this road. The north-eastern section of the site is basically flat, overlooking a drop in the topography to the east thereof. At the southern side of the northern section the contours drop gradually towards the south-east and this section therefore has a natural division in an upper or north-western portion and a lower or southern portion. The northern section also is basically flat with a gentle slope towards the Nhlowa Spruit (east), apart from the sudden drop just mentioned. The southern section also is very flat, but then has a more rapid slope running down from west to east towards the Nhlowa Spruit. The south-eastern section is found within this rapid fall or gulley created by the natural slope.

The Nhlowa Spruit is a non-perennial tributary of the Sabie River further to the east of the site. The first mentioned runs parallel (from south to north) with the southern part of the site and then turns east to join the Sabie River. It is more or less 0,5 km from the site.

At the north-eastern section two large middens cultural material were identified over an area of 120 x 20 m (Figure 5). At the northern section thirteen middens were identified and artefacts are scattered over a large area of more or less 420 x 220 m (Figure 6). At the southern section (Figure 7) five middens and cultural material are spread out over an area of 120 x 100 m and at the south-eastern section one midden was identified with cultural material spread over an area of 70 x 24 m (Figure 8). European and indigenous artefacts are intermingled, but it does seem as if the first mentioned are concentrated at the southern section, with the latter being concentrated at the north-eastern, northern and south-eastern sections.

There is no natural divide between the sections. The scatter of cultural material gives the impression that during the rainfall season these are washed from the middens. As the Nhlowa Spruit is nearby, the material is washed away in an easterly direction. This is especially true of the southern section where one can almost follow the scatter of artefacts down a natural gulley towards the spruit. As a result some of the middens are deflated. The site therefore is under the same threat that other Steinaecker's Horse sites.



Figure 5 View of the north-eastern section of the site. The two circular grey patches represents cattle kraals/ middens.



Figure 6 View of the northern section of the Gaza Gray site. Note the Nhlowa Spruit in the east. A1, B1, C1 and D1 are datum points indicating the extent of the site and E is the main base point. The yellow marks indicate middens/ cattle kraals and the blue ones scatters of cultural material.

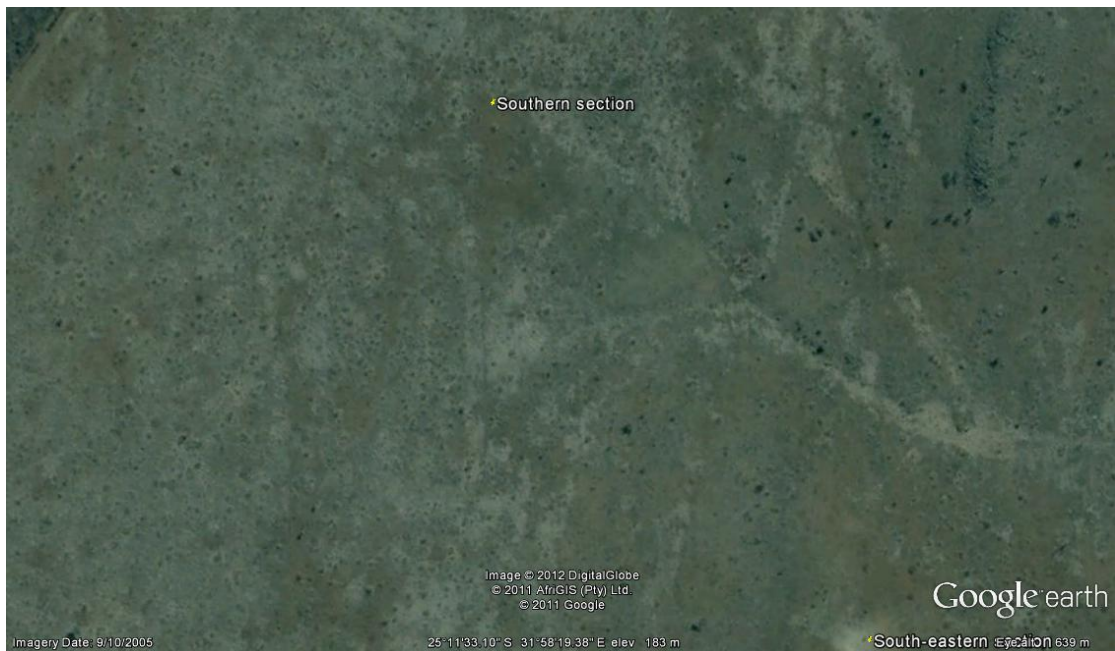


Figure 7 View of the southern section of the site. No specific features are visible.



Figure 8 View of the south-eastern section of the Gaza Gray site again with one circular patch indicating a midden/ cattle kraal.

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. The excavation of the site during the fourth season was however concentrated on the south-eastern section, since the northern and southern sections were excavated during the first three field seasons (although much are still left to be excavated).

A small hill to the east of the site and west of the Nhlowa Spruit was also surveyed in order to determine whether it was utilised by Steinaecker's Horse. Only a few pieces of glass were found low down on the eastern slope thereof. It therefore was most likely only used occasionally. As the eastern bank of the Spruit runs much higher, it may have been a more likely lookout point. This was however not investigated.

8. Historical context

8.1 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. 2001; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003b; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2006; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2007; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2008; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2009; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2010; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2011; Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2012; Van Vollenhoven 2013; Van Vollenhoven 2104). 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, TAD, SS0, R 8496/00).

A total number of 39 block house lines were erected across South Africa (Van Vollenhoven 1992: 178). 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).

Since 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 build 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 build over a distance of 6 000 kilometres (Hattingh & Wessels 1999: 41; 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 (NAD, KAD, CO 2/1/1/46, C 14/29/8, 1902). 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 (NAD, KAD, CO 2/1/1/46, C 14/29/8, 1902).

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 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, TAD, 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, TAD, 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 Gaza Gray outpost of Steinaecker's Horse, which is the one that was excavated between 2010 and 2012, and again in 2014, 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).

8.2 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: 20-23; 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, SAD, MHG 32062). His father was Colonel Baron Von Steinaecker of the Prussian Guard and his mother Baroness Von Thumen of Liegnitz. He received his military training at the Royal Cadet Corps in Wanklstatt and Berlin. His military career started in 1871 when he entered the Leib Grenadiers of the Prussian Army. He resigned eight years later to join the ruling prince of Battenberg (Bulgaria), Prince Alexander, in his military voyages. During the 1880 revolution he was promoted to a commander (Uys 1992: 227; Conway 1978: 30; Jones 1996: 6). In 1881 he married the daughter of Rath Kaegler of Berlin and the countess Olhefska (SA National Museum of Military History, newsletter).

The next thing known about him is that he came to Southern Africa in 1886, working as a cartographer in German South West Africa (Uys 1992:227). 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. 1998a: 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 (NAD, KNAD, CSO 1554, 1898/1896, 1898; NAD, KNAD, SNA I/1/269, 2930/1897, 1897-1898; NAD, KNAD, MJPW 31, LW 1628/1897, 1897; NAD, KNAD, MJPW 31, LW 1629/1897, 1897; NAD, KNAD, MJPW 31, LW 1630/1897, 1897; NAD, KNAD, MJPW 32, LW 1802//1898, 1898). He stayed in 52 Aitken Street (NAD, KNAD, SGO, III/1/140, SG 1060/1900, 1900; Jones 1996: 6). He became a British subject on 29 June 1897 (NAD, KNAD, CSO 1517, 1897/3852, 29.07.1897).

One of the things he did during this time was to speculate with real estate as a number of properties were transferred in his name (NAD, KNAD, SGO III/1/125, SG 1454/1898, 1898; NAD, KNAD, SGO III/1/197, SG 1749/1909, 1904; NAD, KNAD, MJPW 32, LW 1802/1898, 1898, NAD, KNAD, SG 1454/1898, 1898; NAD, KNAD, SGO III/1/156, SG 3231/1/1902, 1902). 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 (NAD, KNAD, MSC 1/254, 187, 1898-1899; 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)¹ 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. If this is true, Von Steinaecker probably seized the opportunity to impress the British. According to Matsebula (1972: 87) Steinaecker recruited seven men for this task (but he most likely counted Von Steinaecker as one of the seven). 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 (culvert) 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 and was more of a problem to the British than to the Boers (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).

¹ Should be Nomahasha.

Some sources indicate that several Boers were killed (Diespecker 1996: 98; Jones 1996: 8; Stirling 1907: 272).

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

More successes against the Boers followed and there were indications that the Boers believed the corps to have a strength of up to 200 men. The British realised it could therefore be useful to them to increase the actual number of the unit (Jones 1996: 8). Von Steinaecker was therefore allowed to increase the numbers of his unit. This mounted force was initially restricted to a total of 300 men, who were paid ten shillings per day, together with an allowance of pickles, fresh milk and rum or whisky, to 'ward off fever' (Bornman 2004: 3; Cattrick 1959: 178).

Later on the unit had a strength of 450 men, mostly consisting of local inhabitants of the Lowveld region. They operated in the Lowveld and Swaziland and although they did not experience much action, they were involved in a few skirmishes against the Boers (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 8; S.A. National Museum of Military History: 920; Forsyth 1972: 20-23; Paynter 1986: 48).

Von Steinaecker was promoted to lieutenant colonel towards the end of the War and he received the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) on 23 June 1902 (<http://londongazette.co.uk>: 2336). During 1907 he tried to raise a permanent commission with the British Army, but was unsuccessful (NAD, TAD, SNA 321, NA 1321/06).

After the War he tried to establish his unit as a permanent border guard. According to Wolhuter (2010: 82) this indeed happened. 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. During 1907 he attempted for a last time to obtain a permanent commission from the British Army, but was unsuccessful (NAD, TAD, SNA 321, NA 1321/06, 04.04.1906).

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, TAD, 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 anymore. He eventually got permission from the Law Department to keep these without a permit (NAD, TAD, 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, TAD, 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, TAD, 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, SAD, 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, SAD, 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, SAD, 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 Champagne² in the Lydenburg district (Bornman 2004: 5; Cattrick 1959: 182).

On 24 April 1917 he requested the Governor-General that a letter he wrote to his sister in Germany, could be delivered to her. It probably was necessary to request this as Germany was at war with Britain during this time (World War I). The letter was addressed to Baroness Adeleide von Steinaecker and the request was granted on 31 May 1917 (NAD, SAD, GG 536, 9/11/49, 1917). It is uncertain whether she ever received the letter as Von Steinaecker died before the request was granted.

After having a difference in opinion with his employer (Travers) he was asked to leave the farm. He refused and the assistance of the police was called in. Before they arrived Von Steinaecker poisoned himself with strychnine on 30 April 1917 (Bornman 2004: 5). He is buried near Acornhoek (NAD, SAD, MHG 32062; Van Vollenhoven et.al. 1998a: 9), but it is uncertain exactly where his grave is situated.

Founding of Steinaecker's Horse

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

Their barracks were on the border with Mozambique and the remains of cement platforms, forts and other buildings linked to them are still to be seen on the Lebombo Mountain close to Komatipoort (Van Vollenhoven 2004: 45). The stone enclosures, where the horses were stabled at night, to protect them from marauding lions, and the canon positions, pointing inland, are also still in evidence (Bornman 2004: 3). The unit 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, TAD, SS0, R 8433X/00).

² Some sources indicate the name of the farm as being Castle, but information from the Deeds Indicate that no farm with such a name are to be found in this area.

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 than what they really were.

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

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).

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

Von Steinaecker designed his own uniform. It consisted of a long double-breasted khaki frock coat with large silver buttons and epaulettes. This was drawn down by straps. He wore a flat Guardsman's cap with silver lace decorations. On his feet he wore riding breeches and Wellington boots with enormous silver box spurs. A large sabre buckled to his waist and adorned with silver aiguillettes rounded off the uniform (Cattrick 1959: 180; Wolhuter 2010: 51).

Despite this apparent flamboyance, his men did not always speak highly of him. He was nicknamed 'Old Stinky' (Wolhuter 2010: 52). Wolhuter (2010: 50-51) describes him as follows: " He was a pompous little cock-sparrow of a man; standing some five foot three inches in his boots; spare and wiry-looking in figure and of possibly 120 lbs. of fighting weight. The most striking feature of his lean cadaverous face, from which, under bushy brows, gleamed two truculent black eyes, was a vast and remarkable moustache, which, well waxed and turned up at its ends, extended to some nine inches on either side of an aggressive jowl, but failed to conceal a mouth from which the front teeth, all but a few yellow and broken fangs, had vanished."

A complete list of the members of Steinaecker's Horse is available in the British National Archives (BNA, WO 126/141). It is also published in Woolmore (2006: 138-322).

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 1996: 103). A safe full of jewels was for instance looted from Bremersdorp (Wolhuter 2010: 71). 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, TAD, 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, TAD, 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 sent to rescue him, to which he replied that it was unnecessary.

This led Steinaecker's Horse to believe that he was a traitor and in contact with the enemy. After establishing that he has been on commando with the Boers, it was decided to remove him by force. Therefore Steinaecker's Horse marched to Legogote where they forced the unwilling Sanderson to pack as much of his household goods as he could onto two wagons, collect his horses, cattle, and other livestock, and take to the road.

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

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

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, TAD, 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, TAD, PMO 28, PM 1973/01, Letter from Officer Commanding piquet at Signal Hill to the Officer Commanding Steinaecker's Horse, 13.09.1901). Apart from these names, this is the only outpost other than the headquarters of Steinaecker's Horse at Komatipoort and the post at Sabi Bridge, mentioned in archival records.

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

Captain JB Holgate was apparently stationed at Sabi Bridge. He writes about the incident from there, but does not include any new information (NAD, TAD, 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, TAD, 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 AD Greenhill-Gardyne also wrote a statement regarding the incident, but without providing any new information (NAD, TAD, 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, TAD, 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. Fort Mpisane 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). Many Shangane troops captured here were also executed by the Boers as it were agreed between the Boers and British that no black people would be allowed to partake in the War. This was only done after lengthy correspondence between the Boer commander, Assistant-Commandant B Viljoen, and Lord H Kitchener (NAD, TAD, FK 1821, 1901; Viljoen 1902: 260-261; Meijer 2000: 223).

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). The Special Squadron however operated as a separate unit, although it used the name Steinaecker's Horse.

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

British archival records indicate that 337 members of Steinaecker's Horse received special mention after the war. Of these 327 qualified for the King's South African medal (BNA, WO 100/365). Eight members of the unit were specifically mentioned by Lord Kitchener (NAD, TAD, FK 1911, 1902). These are troopers DE Wilson and F Hennessey on 8 March 1902, Lieutenant WP Robertson and trooper WW Griffin on 1 June 1902 and captains HF Francis, AD Greenhill-Gardyne and lieutenants JM Dallamore and D Buchanan on 23 June 1902 (Woolmore 2006: 336).

Von Steinaecker himself also received mention in the London Gazette of 8 April 1902 (<http://www.londongazette.co.uk>: 3975). Apart from Von Steinaecker, Lieutenant JA Bailie was the only other member of Steinaecker's Horse who received the DSO, namely on 31 October 1902. Sergeant WS Haines received the Distinguished Conduct Medal. Captains JB Holgate and HO Webstock was recommended for orders by Von Steinaecker, but it seems as if they did not receive it (Woolmore 2006: 336).

The members of the unit who attended the coronation of king Edward VII was Von Steinaecker, lieutenant JA Bailie, sergeant-major R McGregor, corporals C Syers and AH Carter, and troopers H Seaton, AW Sinclair, B McKevitt, H Vickreys, R Payne, AWF Kegel and RV James (BNA, WO 127/23).

During the war 39 members of Steinaecker's Horse died, of which only 11 died during skirmishes with the enemy. Other causes of death include malaria, lions, crocodiles, and suicide (Woolmore 2006: 337). Some of the deceases were buried at Komatipoort (NAD, TAD, TPS 37, TA 4823/4) and one is buried in the military cemetery at Waterval-Onder (Personal communication: WJ Verwoerd).

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. 1998a: 8-10).

Stirling (1907: 273) indicated that they had more than a dozen permanent posts. According to Wolhuter (2010: 174) they had pickets along the Lebombo Mountains and wrote that it was his task to patrol the country up to the Olifants River and decide on suitable places where pickets could be established (2010: 55-56).

Unfortunately very little is known about the location of these outposts. Twelve of these are shown on a map (Woolmore 2006: 79), 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 Ngotso Mouth and the Northernmost (Letaba or Makhadzi) outpost (Pienaar 1990: 345; Personal comment: U de V Pienaar).

Another known site is that of Fort Mpisane at Bushbuckridge just west of the Park (Pienaar 1990: 345). Woolmore (2006: 74) also mentions a post named Kilo 104. This one is also mentioned by Wolhuter as is a picket at Nwanedzi (Wolhuter 2010: 58, 78). This brings the total of Steinaecker's Horse sites to twenty of which eleven are located within the boundaries of the Kruger National Park.

Some old piquet's 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. 1996, 1998a, 2001, 2003b). From this it was found that most of the dateable artefacts found at the site represent the period of the Late 19th to the Early 20th century. The radiocarbon dates from the site coincide with this period, namely 1900, proving that the site was occupied during the Anglo-Boer War (Personal communication: S Woodborne). Wolhuter (2010: 64) indicates that his patrols took him as far north as Letaba.

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; Van Vollenhoven 2004). 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).

From Komatipoort supplies were sent to the other outposts (Wolhuter 2010: 77). Wolhuter (2010: 53) indicates that his first job as member of Steinaecker's Horse was to make a road between the bridge over the Komati River and Mateveskom.

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). Remains of Eucalyptus trees, planted by Sardelli, is the only thing that remained on site. It also has been commemorated by a plaque (Figure 9-11). This site was visited in 2014 in order to find remains and take a co-ordinate: GPS - 25°15'31.3"S; 31°50'36.4"E.



Figure 9 Stump of one of the Eucalyptus trees at the site of Sardelli's shop.



Figure 10 Another stump of one of the Eucalyptus trees at the site of Sardelli's shop.



Figure 11 Plaque at the site of Sardelli's shop.

Wolhuter was placed in charge of a picket at Ngomandwane with twenty men attached to him (2010: 72; 1948: 62). It is not certain whether this is the same one as the mentioned one at Gomondwane. He described 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 next site is the one called the Gaza Gray outpost. Captain Gray used this outpost between 1899 and 1902 (Woolmore 2006: 198; also see below).

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, according to some sources, he joined the unit. The site was an old shop made of corrugated iron and was also owned by Sardelli. This site was physically located during 2010.

Muntshe is described as an outpost of Steinaecker's Horse during 1900-1902. The site is probably to the north or northwest of Muntshokop, 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).

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 and the remains of glass bottles, hence the name (Figure 12). This site was visited in 2014 in order to find remains and take a co-ordinate: GPS - 25°25'36.8"S; 31°58'29.6"E.



Figure 12 Glass bottle shards, dating the late 19th/early 20th century found at Bottelkop.

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,³ 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).

Outspan is a known camp site used by travellers along the East Coast trade route. It was used by Steinaecker's Horse during 1901. It is situated to the east of Pretoriusskop and south of Shitlhave (Pienaar 1990: 345, 618, 620).

Pienaar (1990: 353) also makes mention of an outpost close to the Olifants River. It is believed that this is a temporary camp used by members of the unit on their way to take supplies to the Northern outpost. This is believed to be the Ngotso Mouth camp. Very little evidence regarding this site is found in historical sources.

The famous game ranger and member of Steinaecker's Horse, Harry Wolhuter, mentions that he camped alongside a river on his way to some of the outposts of Steinaecker's Horse in the north. He named the river Ngotso after one of the indigenous people who guided them to the Olifants River (Wolhuter 1948: 45). Today the camp at the confluence of the Ngotso and Olifants Rivers is called Balule, which is the Shangane name for elephant (Van Warmelo 1961: 38). Before the current Olifants camp was built, the Balule camp was called Olifants camp (Joubert 2012: 589). Pienaar (2012: 549) indicates that Wolhuter also established an outpost here when he was working as a ranger in the park, but he most likely just continued using the one he used during the War

Wolhuter indicates that there was a military pontoon across the Olifants River (Wolhuter 2010: 91). Unfortunately it is not known whether this was at this specific site, but if that was the case it might well have been one of the tasks of Steinaecker's Horse to guard the pontoon. In 1929 a pontoon was put into work at Balule (Joubert 2012: 602). It seems very likely that this could be the original military pontoon referred to by Wolhuter, which was repaired. It therefore seems very possible this is at the site that was excavated during 2008 and 2013.

It seems as if the Kilo 104⁴ post is situated outside of boundaries of the Kruger National Park. It may be within the Sabi Sand Game Reserve. The post was only manned by 6 soldiers. They made use of two railway carriages as shelter and store (Woolmore 2006: 74; Wolhuter 2010: 74). The site used to be the railhead, but after the bridge at the Sabi River was swept away, Sabi Bridge became the railhead (Wolhuter 2010: 55). This is one of the sites that could up to now not be physically located.

There also was a picket close to Nwanedzi. This was the first outpost established by Wolhuter and where he also got sick of malaria and black water (Wolhuter 2010: 58). No more information is available on this site.

³ The names of only 25 of these are known, as indicated earlier.

⁴ The name certainly does not make sense as measurements during the War was done in miles and not kilometres.

The Salitje outpost is also indicated on a loose map in Pienaar (2007). The site is situated west of the tourist road and east of the Hlekana River (Pienaar 1990:439). He also calls this the old Salitje outpost at Gabeni (Pienaar 1990:617).

It however is uncertain whether the site can be linked to Steinaecker's Horse. Pienaar does list it with the other Steinaecker's Horse sites, but also indicates that this is the place where people from Mozambique (Mafourteens) were recruited in the years before 1958 (Pienaar 1990:439). The site was found during 2014, but only a few glass shards were identified (Figure 13).



Figure 13 A glass bottle top dating to the late 19th/ early 20th century identified at Salitje.

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). This site had also been excavated. Wolhuter (2010: 54) described how he assisted in erecting the blockhouse. At first this was the furthest point along the railway line where Steinaecker's Horse operated (Wolhuter 2010: 54). 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 period of time (Pienaar 1990: 343-349; Personal communication: U de V Pienaar).

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 the bridge was swept away Sabi Bridge served as the railhead (Wolhuter 2010: 74).

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. By 1906 he had another office (Skukuza Archives, photo M1-75), but it is not sure what happened to the blockhouse.

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 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. Wolhuter (2010: 75) wrote that he stayed in a hut at Sabi Bridge. He also described that they used the stable as mess to have a Christmas dinner once.

The Gaza Gray outpost

The site is situated to the south of the Lower Sabie rest camp and which was now excavated. The site is named after Edward George Gray who was a captain in the Steinaecker's Horse unit. He was nicknamed Gaza as he used to work in the Gaza district in Portuguese East Africa before the War (Woolmore 2006:198). He was in command of three outposts of Steinaecker's Horse namely this one, the nearby one at Gomondwane and the one at Crocodile Bridge. He joined the Steinaecker's Horse unit on 20 August 1900 (Pienaar 2012: 475; Woolmore 2006: 198).

He used it mainly to keep his cattle in a kraal (Pienaar 1990: 618). Gray was fluent in Tsonga (Pienaar 2012: 475) a fact that most likely served him well in this area. The local people believed he had supernatural powers and called him Mastutele – the quiet one (Pienaar 2012: 476). With him on site stayed some local people 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.

Pienaar (2012: 476, 547) however indicates that this was not the military outpost, but one located at the current Lower Sabie rest camp and erected only after he had been appointed as ranger. He does however identify the 'Gaza Gray' site as one 5 km north of the Nhlanganswani Dam, where Gray kept his cattle. It therefore seems that Gray may not have stayed on this site, but he would have had people working for him there as well as soldiers to guard the cattle confiscated during the War.

Wolhuter (1948: 57-59) 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 (Gray) and it is believed that they eventually ended up at the Gaza Gray outpost.

After the War he became a game ranger in the Sabie Game Reserve (later Kruger Park). He was appointed on 12 August 1902 (Skukuza Archives, List of Rangers, 1902-1903). Gray was interested in the position as Warden in the Park after the death of Captain Francis. However, there were fears that this would rather encourage the hunting of game than the preservation thereof and he was therefore only appointed as ordinary ranger (Pienaar 2012: 447, 684; Woolmore 2006: 198). He was the first ranger to be appointed by Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton, namely on 29 July 1902⁵ (Pienaar 2012: 456, 475). He resigned on 26 May 1903 to return to his former position (before the War) as recruitment officer for the mines (Pienaar 2012: 476).

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

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

At the Sabi Bridge post they erected a block house at the southern end of the temporary bridge (Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7; S.A. National Museum of Military History: 920; Cartwright n.d.: 1). This post seems to have been their largest outpost, with only their Komatipoort headquarters being bigger. It is therefore this unit who started using this site which later on became the headquarters of the Kruger National Park, today known as Skukuza.

The first warden of the park, Major J Stevenson-Hamilton, used the blockhouse as an office after September 1902 (Skukuza Archives, Stevenson-Hamilton 1930: 7). Unfortunately nothing seems to be left of this blockhouse and the camp associated with it on the southern side of the river. Remains are however found on the northern side.

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

⁵ The date of 12 August 1902 is accepted as this was found in a primary source. It is however possible that the appointment was made on 29 July and only became official on 12 August.

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 (Hamilton 1909: 61-68).

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) and 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. Members of some of the black military units, such as the Native Police (and perhaps even the Black Watch) were present at the different outposts manned by Steinaecker's Horse (Wolhuter 2010: 62, 85).

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). Wolhuter (2010: 85) writes that he appointed some of the members of the Native Police, who worked with him during the war, as game watchers. 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 (called the Adjutant), Major AD Greenhill-Gardyne (Wolhuter 2010: 11), 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.

9. The excavations

Although a grid was laid out over the site (see Figure 4) this was only done for mapping purposes. As specific features were to be excavated, four datum points were established at the northern section in order to have a grid in place, if needed. Additional datum points were established in order to facilitate the drawing of maps (Figure 14-16).

The GPS measurements of these points were taken for future reference. Datum point A1, B1, C1 and D1 are the corners of the grid and were established as permanent markers on site. At the southern section two more permanent datum points were established for this purpose. These markers serve as permanent reference for future mapping of the site.

The GPS measurements are as follows:

Northern section –

A1 – 25°11.187'S; 31°58.248'E – North-western corner
B1 – 25°11.175'S; 31°58.363'E – North-eastern corner
C1 – 25°11.345'S; 31°58.267'E – South-western corner
D1 – 25°11.340'S; 31°58.323'E – South-eastern corner
E – 25°11.513'S; 31°58.315'E – arbitrary marker to facilitate mapping

No co-ordinates were taken at datum point F and G as these were only established as temporary points to facilitate mapping. GPS co-ordinates were also taken at the furthest middens to the south, south-west and north respectively. These were however not marked with permanent pegs. The measurements are:

South - 25°11.513'S; 31°58.315'E
South-west - 25°11.493'S; 31°58.302'E
North - 25°10.943'S; 31°58.498'E

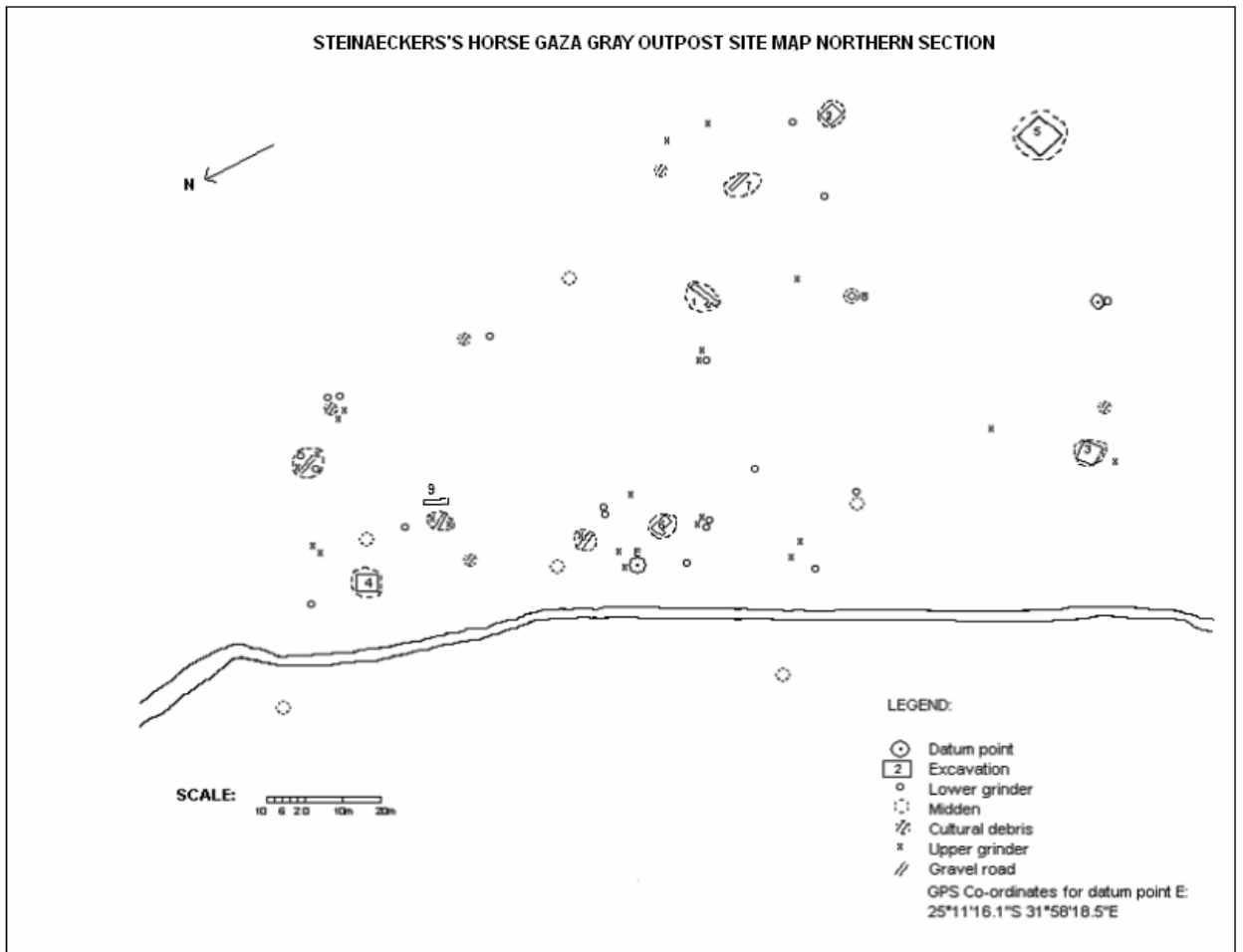


Figure 14 Site map of the northern section of the Gaza Gray outpost of Steinaecker's Horse.

Southern section –

Two permanent datum points were placed here for future mapping purposes. These are:

H - 25°11.494'S; 31°58.303'E

I - 25°11.510'S; 31°58.303'E

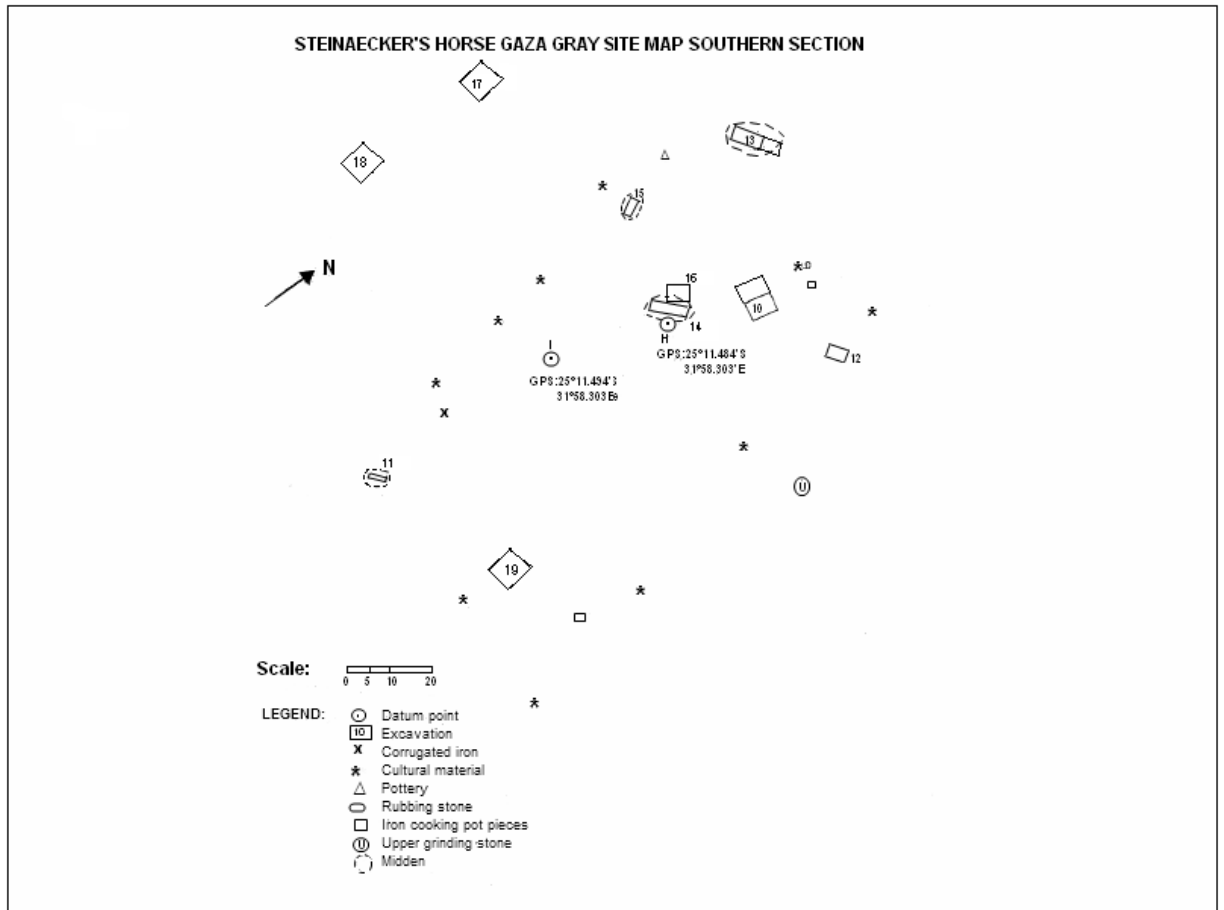


Figure 15 Site map of the southern section of the Gaza Gray outpost of Steinaecker's Horse.

South-eastern section –

Two permanent datum points were placed here for future mapping purposes. These are:

J – 25°11.611'S; 31°58.401'E

M - 25°11.629'S; 31°58.411'E

STEINAECKERS HORSE GAZA GRAY SOUTH-EASTERN SECTION SITE MAP

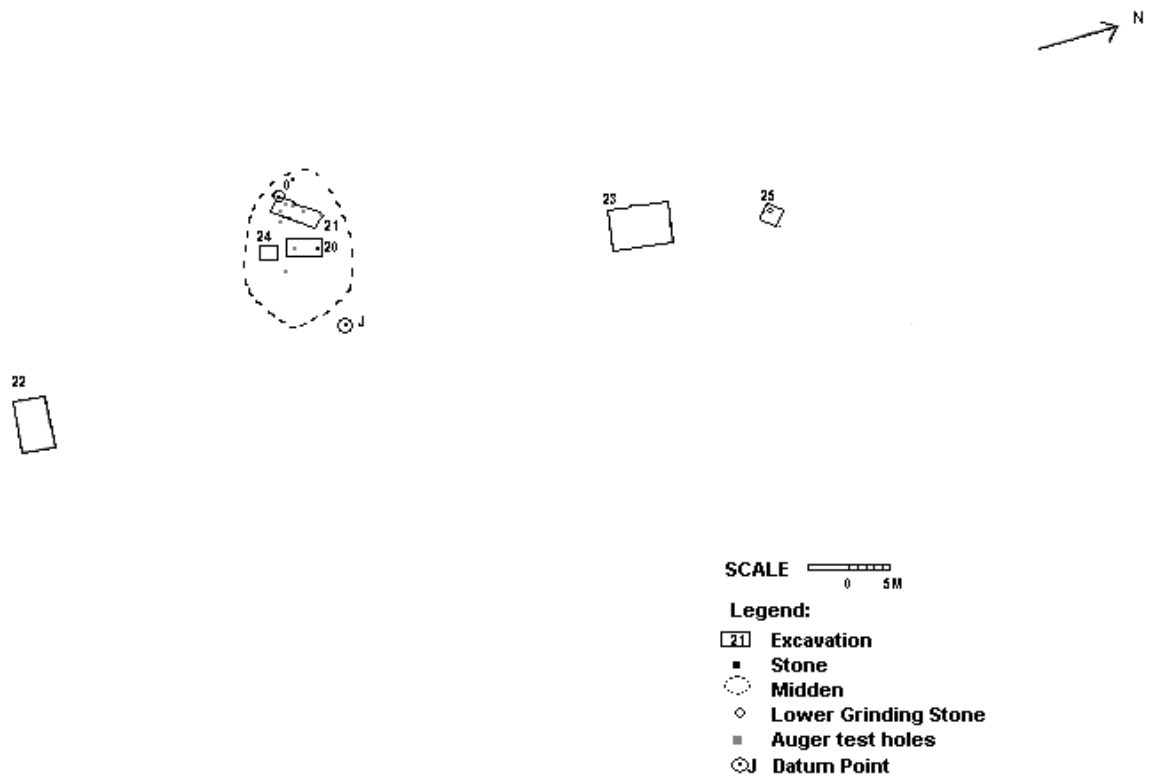


Figure 16 Site map of the south-eastern section of the Gaza Gray outpost of Steinaecker's Horse.

Eight excavations were conducted during 2010. These can be summarised as follows:

- Excavation 1 – midden on the eastern side of the northern section of the site
- Excavation 2 – midden on the south-eastern side of the northern section of the site
- Excavation 3 – midden on the south-western part of the northern section of the site and close to the road running through the site
- Excavation 4 – midden in the central northern part of the northern section of the site
- Excavation 5 – midden on the south-eastern side of the northern section of the site
- Excavation 6 – midden in the central western part of the northern section of the site
- Excavation 7 – midden on the eastern side of the northern section of the site
- Excavation 8 – area with cultural material in the central southern part of the northern section of the site

Seven excavations (two partially) were done during 2011. These are:

- Excavation 9 – exposed skeleton south of excavation 4 at the northern section of the site
- Excavation 10 (partially) – at a heap of stones in the centre of the southern section of the site
- Excavation 11 – midden on the southern edge of the southern section of the site
- Excavation 12 – area with cultural material in the north-east of the southern section of the site

Excavation 13 (partially) – midden on the northern edge of the southern section of the site

Excavation 14 – midden in the centre of the southern section of the site

Excavation 15 – area with cultural material in the central- west of the southern section of the site

Six excavations (two partially) were done in 2012. These are:

Excavation 10 - was completed after being extended to the west.

Excavation 13 - was completed after being extended to the east.

Excavation 16 – midden in the centre of the southern section of the site

Excavation 17 – midden on the north-western edge of the southern section of the site

Excavation 18 – midden on the western edge of the site

Excavation 19 – midden on the southern edge of the southern section of the site

Six excavations were done in 2014 at the south-eastern section. This section consist of a cattle kraal/ midden which may have had huts around it, currently indicated by a number of lower grinding stones on site. These are:

Excavation 20 – on the only midden at this section

Excavation 21 – also on this midden

Excavation 22 – possible hut area further to the south

Excavation 23 – area with pottery north of the midden

Excavation 24 – also on the midden

Excavation 25 – area with pottery north of excavation 23

9.1 Excavation 20

Excavation 20 was measured out more or less in the centre of the only midden at the south-eastern section of the site. It is in a north-south direction with sides of 4 x 2 m wide (Figure 17). The aim of the excavation was to investigate the midden to determine whether it was only a midden or also a cattle kraal and to expose cultural material as well as to determine the depth thereof.

Loose soil and vegetation were removed at first and the artefacts lying on the surface was labelled as part of layer 1. Hereafter time was spent on levelling the excavation. On completion of this layer the depth of the excavation was between 2 and 15 cm (south-north) as a result of the natural slope. The soil colour was brown in the south and grey in the north, the latter indicating it being in the midden with the southern section being very hard and containing granules, due to the original soil level being reached.

Therefore only the soft sandy northern section thereof was excavated further and numbered Excavation 20.1. This measured 2 x 2 m. As it was clear that one worked with only one cultural layer, this was included in layer 1 (Figure 18).



Figure 17 Excavation 20 before excavation commenced.



Figure 18 The completed Excavation 20, showing the division in order to create Excavation 20.1.

On completion of the next arbitrary layer (Figure 19) the depth of the excavation varied between 13 and 18 cm (south-north). Again it was realised that only the most northern

section of the excavation went deeper into the midden as the soil colour changed from grey to dark brown.



Figure 19 The completed Excavation 20.1.

Therefore only the most northern section of 1 x 2 m was excavated further (Figure 20). It was called layer 2, although it clearly was only an arbitrary division. On completion of this layer (and the excavation) the excavation was between 20 and 24 cm deep (south-north) with clear indications of greyish dung and ash in between the brown soil.

In the eastern profile of the excavation some layering was visible. It consisted of 3 cm of brown soil mixed with grey ash, followed by 8 cm of pinkish-grey dung mixed with ash, then followed by a 6 cm mixture of brown and grey ashy soil, ending in 3 cm of brown soil (Figure 21-22).

The excavation did not contain much cultural material. Only two animal bones and one potshard was unearthed in the entire excavation (see Appendix A). It indicates that the midden was created by cattle and that it therefore is a cattle kraal. However, the ashy soil indicates that ash was also thrown away here, but that it was not really used as dumping place for other cultural material.



Figure 20 The completed Excavation 20.1, layer 2.



Figure 21 Profile in the eastern side of Excavation 20.1.



Figure 22 Northern profile of Excavation 20.1.

9.2 Excavation 21

Excavation 21 was measured out at the western side on the midden. It is in a north-south direction with sides of 6 x 2 m wide (Figure 23). The aim of the excavation was to investigate the midden to determine whether it was only a midden or also a cattle kraal and to expose cultural material as well as to determine the depth and extent thereof.

Loose soil and vegetation were removed at first and the artefacts lying on the surface was labelled as part of layer 1. Hereafter time was spent on levelling the excavation. On completion of this layer the depth of the excavation varied between 11 and 18 cm (south-north) as a result of the natural slope. The soil colour was grey throughout the excavation, but the soil was hard and gritty in the south and soft and sandy in the north (Figure 24-25). Intrusions of pinkish-grey dung was also identified.

Six auger test holes were now done in order to determine the depth of the midden. The auger went in between 10 and 22 cm further, resulting in a depth measurement for ash of between 5 and 10 cm. Two others were done outside of the excavation resulting in a depth measurement for ash between 12 and 20 cm, with the auger test holes being between 19 and 34 cm deep. It therefore seems as if the midden is between 12 and 28 cm deep.



Figure 23 Excavation 21 before excavation commenced.



Figure 24 The completed layer 1 of Excavation 21.



Figure 25 Detail of dung in Excavation 21.

Therefore the deeper are towards the south of the excavation was excavated further and numbered Excavation 21.1. This measured 2 x 2 m. This was labelled layer 2, although it clearly was only an arbitrary division. The depth here, on completion of the

excavation was 20 cm and the soil was soft and grey, at the point where hard brown soil was reached (Figure 26-27).



Figure 26 The completed Excavation 21.1.



Figure 27 Detail of the completed Excavation 21.1 showing two of the auger test holes.

This excavation also did not contain much cultural material. Only seven potshards were unearthed in the entire excavation (see Appendix A). It confirmed that the midden was created by cattle dung and that it therefore is a cattle kraal. However, the ashy soil indicates that ash was also thrown away here, but that it was not really used as dumping place for other cultural material.

9.3 Excavation 22

Excavation 22 was measured out towards the south-east of the midden at an area with visible cultural material. It was investigated to determine whether this may have been a possible hut area. It had sides of 6 x 4 m wide in an east-west direction (Figure 28). Loose soil and vegetation were removed at first and the artefacts lying on the surface was labelled as part of layer 1. Hereafter time was spent on levelling the excavation.

Arbitrary layers were used. Layer 1 did not reveal much and had a depth of 0-4 cm (east-west) due to the natural level (Figure 29). The soil colour was dark brown gradually becoming grey towards the north-east. The texture of the soil was extremely hard and gritty with the grey being soft and sandy.



Figure 28 Excavation 22 before excavation commenced.



Figure 29 The completed layer 1 of Excavation 22.

The excavation was no decreased to only an area looking like it could reveal more. This was excavated up to layer 2, and labelled Excavation 22.1. It was an L-shaped section along the northern side and the centre of the excavation (Figure 30). The excavation was decreased further after it was realised that certain sections thereof was sterile. At this stage the depth of the excavation varied (east-west) between 1 and 6 cm (Figure 31-32).

Only the north-south stretching leg of the L-shape (2 x 1 m) was excavated further, still labelled layer 2. The soil colour was dark brown and the texture thereof extremely hard and gritty. Here and there a few ashy spots were seen. The excavation ended on a rocky surface (Figure 33). The depth of layer 2 was another 5 cm, making the excavation in total 11 cm deep.

This excavation also did not contain much cultural material. It consisted of ceramics, faunal remains and stone tools (see Appendix A). It is concluded that this was not a feature, but most likely material that were washed from higher up, perhaps from the midden as the latter lies higher than the area where the excavation was done.

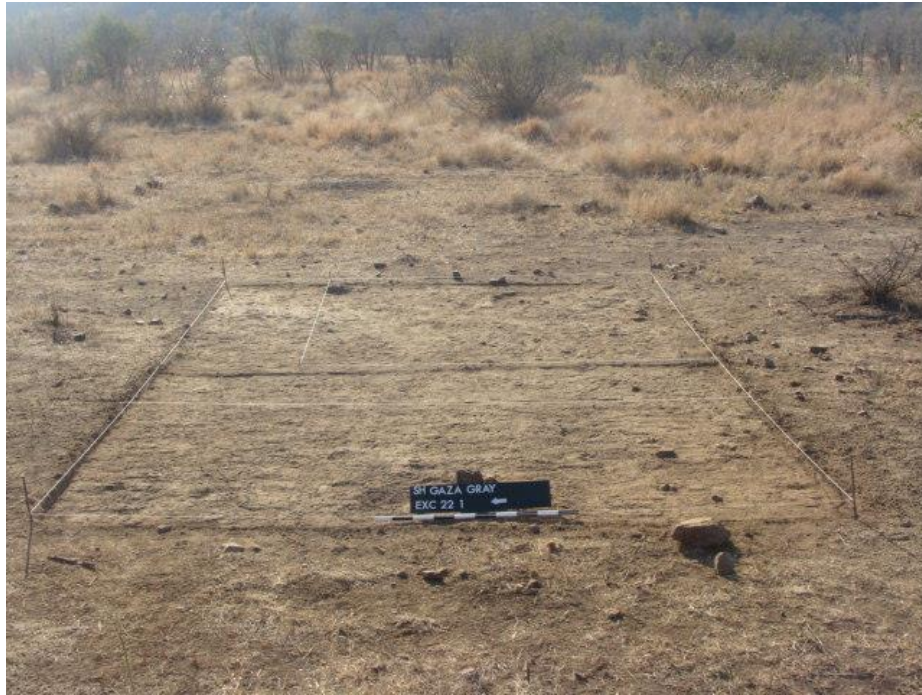


Figure 30 Excavation 22.1.



Figure 31 The completed Excavation 22.1, layer 2.



Figure 32 Detailed view of Excavation 22.1, layer 2.



Figure 33 The completed Excavation 22.1.

9.4 Excavation 23

Excavation 23 was measured out on an area where a large number of pottery were seen together with a heap of stones and soil. The aim was to investigate this area and to collect cultural material. The excavation was located to the north of the midden and was 7 x 5 m in extent in a north-south direction (Figure 34).

Loose soil and vegetation were removed at first and the artefacts lying on the surface was included in layer 1. Much work was also done to accentuate the rocks (Figure 35).

The soil from layer 1 was dark brown in the north and light brown in colour in the rest. It was very hard and full of granules. Some ashy patches were found, but these were shallow and swept away easily. The stones seemed to form a semi-circular wall (Figure 36-37). Most of the pottery was located on the wall, then inside of the semi-circular wall and some on the outside thereof. Bone material was also mostly found on the inside and against the wall as well as a bit of charcoal on top thereof. Different beads were found close to the tree at the western end of the wall.

The depth of layer 1 was between 0 and 1 cm (north-south) due to the natural slope, but 8 cm deep at the rocks. The northern side of the excavation was sterile and therefore it was now decreased to 5 x 5 m by taking away 2 m at the north.



Figure 34 Excavation 23, before excavation commenced.



Figure 35 Excavation 23, during excavation. Note the rocks more or less in the centre.



Figure 36 The completed layer 1 of Excavation 23.



Figure 37: Detail of the stone wall in Excavation 23.

Layer 2 also was light brown in colour, gritty and hard. There were a few soft patches, but these were not ashy. On completion of the excavation it was between 4 and 10 cm deep (east-west) and it seemed as if the deposit still extended a bit deeper.

Two small trenches were dug to determine the depth of the deposit. The one was done at the outside of the curved stone wall and measured 75 cm x 30 cm (east-west). After 15 cm it ended in a natural rock layer. The other was done at the western end, was 50 x 30 cm (east-west) and ended after 16 cm on the natural layers. The deposit therefore was at least 26 cm deep.

The stone wall consist of loosely packed stones consisting of a base made out of one or two larger stones and a second layer of smaller ones. The length thereof is 1,50 m from its western side to the curve, the curve measuring approximately 0,6 m and 0,90 m from the curve to the southern end, making it approximately 3 m in length. The thickness of the wall is between 0,4 m at the southern end, 0,44 m at the curve and 0,45 m at the western end. The height of the wall is between 8 and 26 cm depending on the size of the individual stones (Figure 38-40).

Pottery and bone material was found in abundance close to the wall and up to 1,06 m inside of the semicircle. Cultural material unearthed here consisted of pottery, faunal material, glass and Ostrich Eggs Shell beads and charcoal (see Appendix A). Most of the artefacts from the 2014 field season came from this excavation. One upper and three broken lower grinding stones were also found *in situ* (Figure 41-44). It seems as if this was an area where the women sat making pots and preparing food (perhaps not cooking it here) and socialised.



Figure 38 The completed Excavation 23, layer 2.

STEINAECKER'S HORSE GAZA GRAY EXCAVATION 23, LAYER 2 (1)

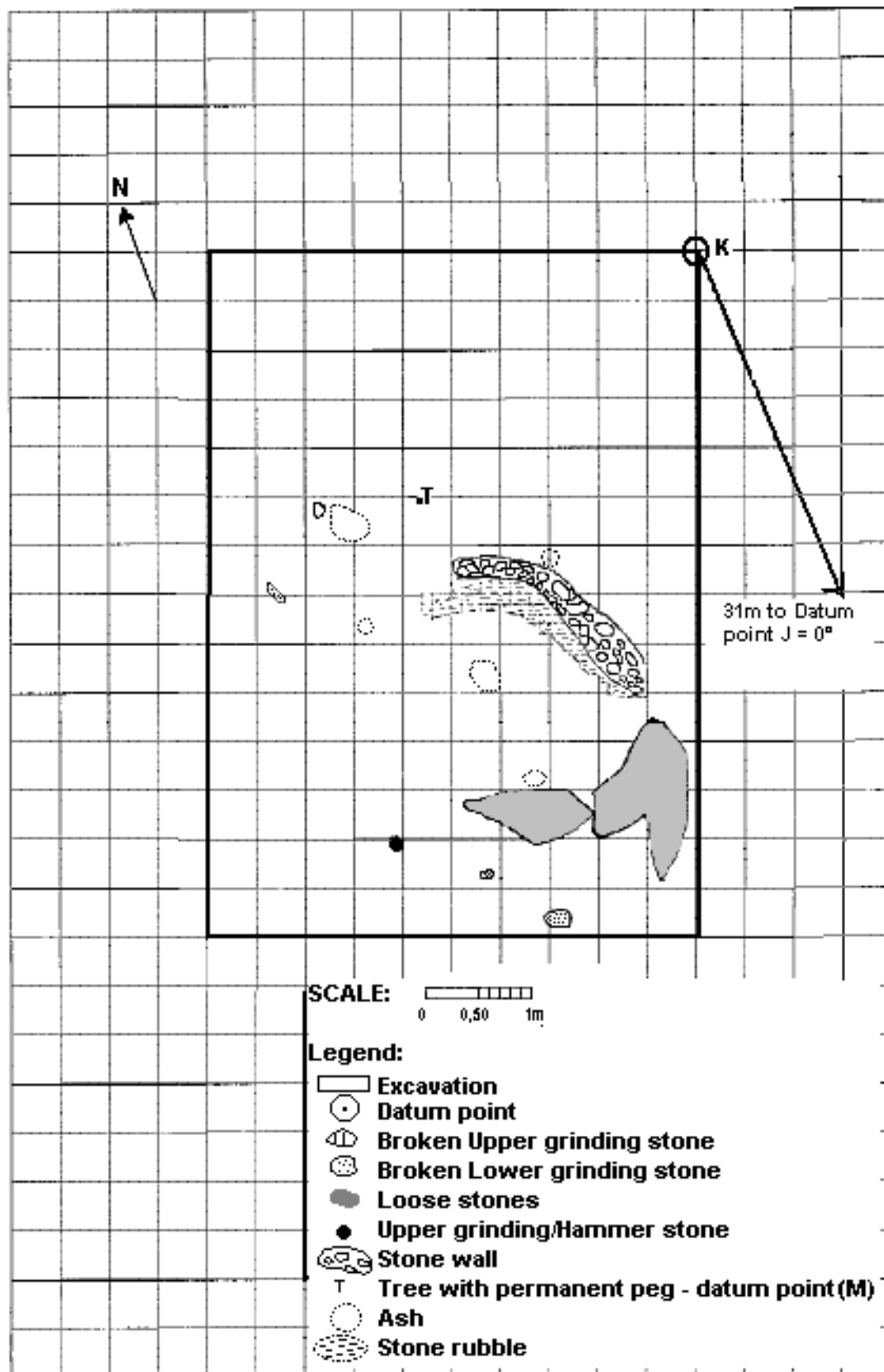


Figure 39 Plan of Excavation 23.



Figure 40 The semi-circular stone wall in Excavation 23.



Figure 41 Upper grinding stone from Excavation 23.



Figure 42 Lower grinding stone from Excavation 23.



Figure 43 Second lower grinding stone from Excavation 23.



Figure 44 Third lower grinding stone from Excavation 23.

9.5 Excavation 24

This excavation was measured out to the south of excavation 20, also on the midden. It was done to test the depth of the midden and to collect cultural material. It was a rectangular excavation measured out in a north-south direction, with sides measuring 2 x 1 m (Figure 45).

Loose soil and vegetation were removed at first and the artefacts lying on the surface was included in layer 1. At a depth of 2 cm a human skull became visible in the northern wall of the excavation (Figure 46) and therefore it was extended with 1 m in a northerly direction. The extent of the excavation now was 2 x 2 m.

Only one layer was excavated. On completion of the excavation an almost complete human skeleton was unearthed (Figure 47-48). The soil was soft and very fine and mixed with ash. The colour thereof was light grey and it was mixed with pinkish coloured dung. The latter was harder and the excavation ended in a hard pink dung layer (Figure 49-51). The depth of the excavation varied between 14 and 18 cm (north-south) due to the natural slope.

The skeletal remains are discussed in Appendix B. Cultural material excavated here included ceramics and faunal material (see Appendix A).



Figure 45 Excavation 24 before excavation commenced.



Figure 46 The continuation of Excavation 24 showing a human skull on the northern side.



Figure 47 The skeletal remains completely exposed in Excavation 24.



Figure 48 Detail of the skeletal remains.

STEINAECKER'S HORSE GAZA GRAY EXCAVATION 24

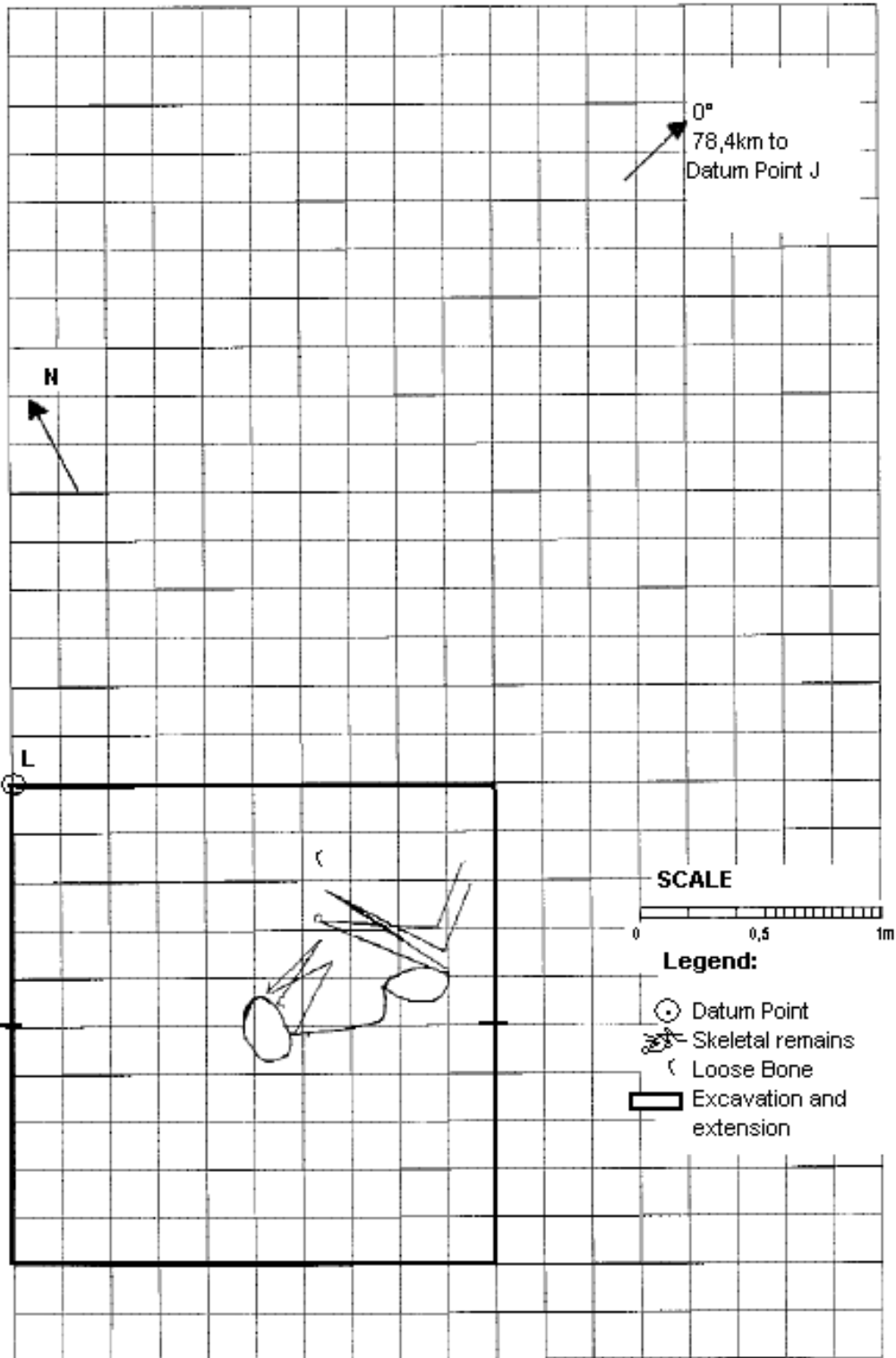


Figure 49 Plan of Excavation 24.

Stammacker's Horse Gaza Gray
Exc. 24 Layer 1



L. Deysel 2014

Figure 50 Drawing of the skeletal remains in Excavation 24 (L. Deysel).



Figure 51 The completed Excavation 24.

9.6 Excavation 25

This was a square excavation of 2 x 2 m measured out towards the north of excavation 23. It was done at an area that seemed to contain cultural material, including a lower grinding stone (Figure 52). It was done to investigate this.

The excavation was almost completely sterile, meaning that the few artefacts found were found in the top arbitrary layer, only swept clean. One layer was excavated and varied between 1 and 2 cm due to the natural slope (Figure 53). The soil colour was reddish brown and the excavation ended in brown soil. The texture thereof was soft and sandy until the hard brown layer.

Cultural material unearthed in excavation 25 included a lower grinding stone (Figure 54) and glass beads (see Appendix A).



Figure 52 Excavation 25 before excavation commenced.



Figure 53 The completed Excavation 25.



Figure 54 Lower grinding stone in Excavation 25.

10. Discussion and Conclusion

To fully understand the meaning of the site more research is needed. Although the northern, southern and south-eastern sections have now been excavated sufficiently, the north-eastern section still remain. It also is necessary to combine the conclusions from all four excavation seasons in order to obtain a full picture.

The northern and south-eastern sections seem to be associated with an indigenous group of people which were most likely Tsonga. They probably inhabited the area since the Mid-19th century and were still present during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The soldiers of the Steinaecker's Horse unit also utilised the site during this time and it is suggested that they made use of the local people as workers for different tasks, but mainly for cattle herding. The soldiers however concentrated on the southern section and therefore this section is the most applicable to the study of this unit.

Excavating the one remaining section will lead to a better understanding of this site and Steinaecker's Horse in a whole. This will contribute to a more comprehensive history of the unit. The discussion and conclusions with regards to the Gaza Gray site therefore are preliminary at this point in time. It will however be placed within context with the other sites as well as the historical information known about Steinaecker's Horse.

Another important reason for future continuous archaeological research is that the site is being eroded by the rain. The topsoil together with archaeological artefacts is washed away due to its close proximity to the Nhlowa Spruit (which is a tributary of the Sabie River). It can be mentioned that due to the rain the middens on site are well deflated, meaning that much of the topsoil and ash have been washed away (together with some artefacts) leaving the heavier objects in situ. This is indicated by the scatters of cultural

material on the site which clearly are not middens but only loose objects lying around. This is especially true of the southern section. Apart from other research goals, the excavations will at least salvage some of these artefacts.

After each of the four excavation seasons, the excavations were covered with the soil coming from each one respectively as is standard practice in archaeology. Some of these may be opened up again in future as these may not have revealed all that is to know on the areas where they were dug.

Apart from the artefacts excavated, a surface sample was also collected in order to obtain a more representative sample. The dateable European artefacts found, represent the period of the Late 19th to the Early 20th century. The Anglo-Boer War was fought between 1899 and 1902. Therefore the site provides evidence that it was occupied during this period. As these also are similar to ceramics excavated at other sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse it does seem to indicate the presence of this unit here.

However, it would be necessary to find specific military artefacts such as ammunition and uniform buttons in order to be sure of the presence of a military unit here. This was indeed found at the other three Steinaecker's Horse sites excavated thus far. On the other hand the historical information obtained, do indicate that the site was one of the outposts of the voluntary British military unit, Steinaecker's Horse (see section 8).

Although few, such military objects were indeed found at the Gaza Gray site. This included cartridges similar to those found on other sites associated with the Anglo-Boer War, namely shotgun, Martini-Henry and .303 cartridges, last mentioned used in Lee-Metford and Lee-Enfield rifles. A possible .450/ .455 calibre bullet was also found. This was used in Webley revolvers of the time. Some metal and ceramic artefacts that were excavated are indicated in the 'Army and Navy Stores Catalogue' of the time and therefore also points to the military association of the site (see Appendix A). As indicated, they seem to have mainly concentrated on the southern section.

The fact that only a few military objects were found indicates that the site was not a major outpost of the unit. This is corroborated by the historical information, indicating that it was used to herd livestock confiscated from the Boers. Only a few soldiers may therefore have been present to watch the local people doing the work.

It is known that Gaza Gray already used the site before the war and from the artefactual evidence (see Appendix A) it seems as if he probably decided on this location since some people were already staying there. Apart from the grave pit in excavation 3, no stratigraphy could be detected in any of the excavations, meaning that artefacts from all the mentioned activities are probably mixed on the site and that the period of occupation of the site may not have been very long. This will however be further investigated in future.

Apart from the indigenous people and members of Steinaecker's Horse on the site, members of other military units who associated with them, such as the Black Watch and Native Police, were probably also present. Wolhuter (2010: 62, 85) indicated that the Native Police were stationed at Steinaecker's Horse pickets. 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), probably due to their excellent knowledge of the area.

European ceramics dating after 1905 were also identified. This indicates the possible reuse of the site, most likely by someone knowing of its existence. This may be some of these game wardens. Gaza Gray himself was later appointed as one of the game rangers in the Park. Research at the northernmost outpost, close to Letaba, showed that this site was also reused (Van Vollenhoven et.al. 2003b: 47).

A large number of artefacts found are typical Iron Age type ceramic potsherds. Some grinding stones and glass beads was also found. These are the result of an Iron Age group residing at the site before the Anglo Boer War, but they most probably remained here during the War. The artefacts from excavation 15 (indigenous pottery) definitely suggests that these people very closely associated with the members of Steinaecker's Horse as this is situated on the southern section of the site where it seems the white soldiers stayed. The ceramic sequence from the site indicates that it was a Tsonga group who stayed here. They probably already settled here during the Mid-19th century, but were still here when Captain Gray decided to utilise this site. In fact, he might have decided to use the site because of the presence of local people there.

Information on Steinaecker's Horse show that the unit frequently made use of the local black community as servants. It is therefore not far-fetched to assume that these people stayed with the members of Steinaecker's Horse at the site. At the Sabi Bridge and Ngotso Mouth site no clear indication of social differentiation could be found whereas at the Letaba outpost this could be distinguished very clearly from the different middens on the site. It is suggested that a similar differentiation is present at the Gaza Gray site.

This certainly would serve as explanation why very little European artefacts were excavated at the northern and south-eastern sections of the site where the cultural material was dominated by non-European artefacts. The opposite is true of the southern section, where European artefacts were found over a larger area than non-European artefacts. It therefore seems that the local inhabitants concentrated on the northern and south-eastern sections of the site with the European soldiers of Steinaecker's Horse as well as soldiers from the Black Watch and Native Police in the south. Of course there definitely was overlapping areas.

An earlier complimentary explanation was that there probably were not that many white soldiers present on the site as it was a subsidiary of the outpost at Gomondwane. It served as outpost where cattle confiscated from the Boers were kept and it most likely was not necessary to have a large number of soldiers present here as the main purpose was different from the other outposts, namely to serve as border pickets. This explanation is still valid although there is too much European type artefacts on the southern section to indicate a small European presence.

It is however believed that the members from the so-called black military units mentioned above, would certainly have rather made use of the European type objects they were issued with. They would then also have resided on the southern section. One rather gets the impression that there may have been a racial and social divide between

members of these units and those from Steinaecker's Horse as well as between ordinary soldiers and officers. Again this is in line with what was found at the Letaba site.

There is an indication that the ceramics and glass artefacts found at excavation 13, 14 and 16 seem to be more sophisticated than at other parts of the site. It is therefore suggested that these could have been where either the white soldiers or the officers resided. Looking at the site layout, it does make sense. These areas are more or less centralised and close to the structure found at excavation 10. The other middens (excavation 11, 12, 17, 18 and 19) form a protective circle around these and most likely is where the black troops or ordinary soldiers were concentrated. Excavation 15, where only indigenous pottery was found, is reasonably close to this central area, suggesting that servants utilised this area to cook for their masters.

It has been suggested earlier that the absence of the remains of tins from tinned rations and glass from different bottles on the northern section of the site may indicate having mostly black troops and indigenous people here. The same goes for the south-eastern section. This may still be the case, but it is now known that such artefacts were uncovered in the southern section which also point to the presence of the white soldiers on this section of the site. Historical sources show that tinned fruit and vegetables were issued to Steinaecker's Horse (Wolhuter 1971: 50).

This diet was supplemented by eating the meat of domesticated and non-domesticated animals. It is known that the members of Steinaecker's Horse herded the livestock 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. As indicated they also confiscated cattle of the Boers, for instance the herd of Abel Erasmus (Wolhuter 2010: 68-70). Faunal material from cattle was indeed excavated at the Gaza Gray site. At the Letaba site it was clear that the black people were more inclined to supplementing their diet with fresh meat than the white soldiers. Too little faunal material was however found at the Gaza Gray site to make the same deduction.

The people also kept dogs during the war (Wolhuter 2010: 140) and it has been indicated earlier that apart from dogs they also kept poultry and other livestock at this particular site. According to Junod (cited by Ferreira 2002: 100) chickens are the most common livestock kept by the Tsongas. It is expected that the mentioned domesticated species may be present at the Gaza Gray site. A mule shoe was excavated and it is known that the British made use of mules as pack animals during the War. A complete analyses of faunal material excavated at the site would certainly assist in determining whether this was the case.

Apart from the above mentioned, faunal material from non-domesticated animals would probably also be present on site. The member of Steinaecker's Horse did quite a bit of shooting of wildlife (Wolhuter 2010: 91). Stevenson-Hamilton also indicated that the wildlife was scarce 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." It is for this reason why Major Greenhill-Gardyne, the adjutant of the unit wrote a document in which he stated rules for the preservation of wildlife.

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). 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). They even ate species not known to be edible, such as civet (Wolhuter 2010: 114) whereas the remains of a serval were excavated at the Letaba site (Van Vollenhoven 2010: 163). Remains of tortoise shell were found in excavation 13 at the Gaza Gray site, suggesting the use of this animal in the diet and perhaps keeping the shell as decorative piece.

Presumably the hunting practices were also extended to the other Steinaecker's Horse sites, including this one (Gaza Gray). The faunal analyses will therefore also indicate which species of game were hunted and utilised at the Gaza Gray site. The amount of faunal material however, suggests that this practice was not common at this site. Remains of egg, ostrich egg, muscle and land snail shells also indicates that this may have formed part of the diet.

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.

Another aspect relating to diet is that of liquid beverages. On the northern section of the Gaza Gray site only a few shards of alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverage bottles were found. On the southern section however, much more glass artefacts were excavated. Again this suggests the social differentiation at the Gaza Gray with the soldiers being mainly present at the southern section and the local inhabitants concentrating at the northern section. This social differentiation is similar to what was found at the Letaba site.

The total number of glass artefacts at the Gaza Gray site is still much less than at Sabi Bridge or the Letaba outpost. This indicates that the first mentioned site was not as important as the other two and that it probably had much fewer soldiers present here. In relation to the other archaeological material on the site, the glass artefacts are quite well represented. This corroborates the known facts that the members of the unit did drink a lot. At least once, the commanding officer had to lecture his troops about the dangers of drunkenness (Wolhuter 2010: 52). Gin and geneva⁶ was especially popular and it is even indicated that it helped to ward off fever (malaria) (Van Vollenhoven 2010: 247).

The glass artefacts found indicate a preference for alcoholic beverages. This includes gin, geneva, rum, wine and beer. Remains of wine glasses and tumblers also indicate the usage of these drinks. Non-alcoholic beverages were also present, namely soda and mineral water, ginger beer and Rose's Lime Juice. Remains of sauce bottles (e.g. Worcestershire sauce) and other household bottles were also excavated.

⁶ Gin and Geneva are similar beverages, but the first mentioned mostly of a British origin and the latter of Dutch origin.

Maize was also eaten on site, at least by the indigenous people. Many upper and lower grinding stones were found at the site (northern and south-eastern sections – also see Appendix C) of the site are maize grinders (used for grinding the maize) which differs from those used for sorghum (Huffman 2007: 454). A few was also found at the stone structure on the southern section of the site. Maize only came to Africa reasonably late (approximately AD 1550) during the Late Iron Age (Huffman 2007: 41) and together with the ceramic sequence indicate that the site was probably only inhabited after 1840.

European ceramics show that this might even have been closer to the 1890's. No evidence of agricultural fields was identified yet, but it is also possible that the maize was imported via trade routes. At excavation 10 however, a plough share was excavated which indeed points to agriculture being practised, but then during the latter half of the 19th century.

The Tsonga were well known as middlemen on the early trade routes (Changuion 1999: 104; Ferreira 2002: 34). Maps in Bergh (1999: 9) and Pienaar (2007) do indicate that one of the early trade routes and an old wagon route passed not far to the north of the site. Another possible indication of trade at the Gaza Gray site is the numerous glass beads that were found. However these could also only have been worn for personal adornment. The coin that was excavated at the southern section (a 1 ZAR shilling, dated 1894) may also indicate trade although it could have been lost by one of the soldiers. It needs to be indicated that the date of the coin is not really important as money may have been used for a very long time after it was issued.

The physical anthropological analyses indicated that the indigenous people on site were suffering from malnutrition. This especially is true of those excavated at the northern section. This probably is a result of drought or instability before the outbreak of the War. Biemond (2012) indicates that these people may have fled from Soshangane during the early 19th century as he attacked and conquered the Tsonga (Ferreira 2002: 27). After his death in 1858 his empire, called the Gaza Empire, crumbled (Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 60).

These writers (Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 58) also indicates that Stevenson-Hamilton described the Sabi Reserve (southern part of the Kruger National Park), from an interview with an old informant, as a desolate country by 1860 (and presumably on his arrival there in 1902) due to raids by the Swazi in the area. The southern part of the Lowveld was under control of the Swazi during this time although Sotho and Tsonga groups kept their autonomy (Bergh 1999: 115; Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 58).

During the 1870's and 1880's various tribal wars were fought around the Sabie River Valley and in Mozambique resulting in many Tsonga groups fleeing to the area today known as the southern part of the Kruger Park (Ferreira 2002: 13; Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 60). These included the Nwalungu, Nkuna, and Loyi family groups (Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 60).

During the 1890's various Tsonga groups were also at war with the Portuguese in Mozambique. During this time small groups of Tsonga also moved to the former Transvaal (Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 60-61). A map drawn by Stevenson-Hamilton in 1903 indicated that the Ba-Hlangane inhabited the area where the Gaza Gray site is

situated (Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 63). Tsonga people mostly still inhabited the Kruger Park in the years just after the Anglo-Boer War. These mostly consisted of the Ngomane tribe and their Tsonga-Changana kinsmen. In the south of the area the people were mostly Tsonga speaking (Eloff & De Vaal 2007: 64). This information therefore seems to indicate that the site may have been only occupied by the late 19th century.

The one individual excavated at the south-eastern section (Excavation 24) seems to be an exception. No signs of malnutrition was found with this individual. It was a male person, traditionally buried in a cattle kraal. He was of African ancestry and about 50 years of age at his death. He seems to have suffered from a pulmonary fungal infection leading to degenerative changes in the major joints and lower back (see Appendix B).

It needs to be re-iterated that the south-eastern section of the site is isolated from the rest. It therefore seems that the people who stayed at this one cattle kraal were separated from the rest, perhaps because of status. Higher status would indeed explain that this person had a more balanced diet.

As far as settlement layout is concerned Biemond (in Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2011) gives valuable information. More research is however needed, but it does seem as if the settlement pattern at the northern and south-eastern sections of the site is a typical Nguni settlement layout (in accordance with the Central Cattle Pattern or CCP). The CCP refers to a settlement pattern with a clear distinction between male and female areas. The central male dominated area consist of inter alia a cattle kraal, grain pits and raised grain platforms, burials of males and high status people and an assembly area. The outer residential zone is regarded as being the female area and consist of inter alia households, burials and grain storage areas (Huffman 2007: 25).

At the northern section of the Gaza Gray site it seems as if the homesteads are placed around a central cattle kraal with refuse middens to the outside thereof. A good example of this is Mgungundlovu, kraal of Zulu king Dingane (Parkington & Cronin 1979: 133-148). It indeed seems as if the layout is similar at the south-eastern section which consist of a central cattle kraal, which may also have been used as midden to discard ash. The lack of vast amounts of cultural material found in excavations 20, 21 and 24 points to the fact that much else were discarded here. Household areas, e.g. huts and places where women did their daily functions (such as preparing food), have been placed around this. The latter was certainly emphasized in excavation 23, but excavation 22 and 25 also suggests this.

It has been indicated that 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). 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. Pienaar (2007: 476) indicates that this camp was at the site of the present day Lower Sabie Rest Camp. He does however indicate that Gray had a cattle outpost approximately 5 km north of the Nhlanguanzwani Dam, which corroborates with the position of the site being investigated.

It is known that Steinaecker's Horse did make use of huts (Wolhuter 2010: 106), but it is not clear whether they built it themselves or took it over from the local people. One hut and cooking shelters were for instance excavated at the Letaba site (Van

Vollenhoven 2010: 137). Usually they placed a fence made of the thorny branches of the Wag-‘n-bietjie tree around their camps (Wolhuter 2010: 117).

A few pieces of hut rubble were found in excavation 8 (in the northern section) which was done on what is believed to be the remains of a hut. As the site was inhabited by Tsonga people they would mostly have built with grass and therefore very little would remain in the archaeological record. Excavation 22 and 25 at the south-eastern section may be similar, but in fact too little artefacts were produced to confirm this. The large amount of ceramics and other artefacts here also is an indication that excavation 8 probably was done on the remains of a hut. No indication of huts was found at the southern section.

Excavation 10 unearthed a neatly packed square shaped heap of stones. Small pieces of brick and limestone indicate a more formal building style. However this was so few that it may only have been part of a foundation or the stone platform itself. Even after a second excavation season here, it is difficult to determine the function of the structure. It however had no deep foundation which suggests that it did not carry a heavy load.

The plough share found in association therewith may indicate that it was some kind of a store room. Nails, screws and a door hinge excavated here seem to corroborate that it may have been a formal structure. However, this was not found in large numbers. It therefore seems to rather have been a wooden construction placed on the stone platform. The hinge certainly point to it having at least a wooden framework with a formal door. It could either have had wooden or corrugated iron walls (a few pieces of the latter were found on site) and this seems most likely. It could of course then have been used for storage of almost any kind of material and supplies.

Another suggestion is that the wooden structure may only have been a support for something like a water tank. Similar structures are known from this time (Personal communication: A. Carelsen). In many instances the area below such a water tank is used as a cooler for meat and other perishable food. Although this indeed is possible, the shed seems a more likely explanation. It is suggested that food, perhaps including grain, was stored here. This would certainly account for the grinding stones and ploughshare found. The shed would then be an European adaption of the grain storage platforms found at the northern section of the site.

Other indications of structures being erected at the site are nails and screws (specifically roof screws used on corrugated iron roofs), washers, pieces of corrugated iron and hinges. Metal artefacts with no specific meaning, but indicating some activities on the site, includes brass latches (most likely from a suitcase), metal supports for wooden boxes and pieces of wire. Nails that have been bent to form hooks also indicate the use thereof for the hanging of various things.

Excavation 1, 5 and 7 were done on refuse middens which formerly were used as cattle kraals. The only true refuse midden excavated at the northern section was excavation 2 which is also the only one associated with the white soldiers of Steinaecker’s Horse due to the European ceramics found here, but it may also been that the local people obtained this from the soldiers. Eight middens were however also excavated at the southern section including ones at excavation 11, 13 and 15 (the latter being associated

with local people) and with excavation 14 and 16 on the same midden. Those at excavation 12, 17, 18 and 19 were deflated middens.

At the northern section excavations number 3, 4, 6 and 9 were done on cattle kraals. Two of these, excavation 3 and 4, also had raised grain bin platforms made from loose stones. These probably had grain baskets or perhaps large ceramic pots on top where grain was stored. It most likely was baskets as the number of ceramic pieces from the site are not enough to have come from huge clay pots. At the south-eastern section one cattle kraal was identified and excavated by excavations 20, 21 and 24.

At the northern section burials were found in excavation 3 (two burials), 5, 6 and 9. At the south-eastern section a burial was found in excavation 24. It is customary to bury males in cattle kraals and females in refuse middens or close to homesteads. This is another confirmation that these were cattle kraals. The bad state of preservation of the burial in excavation 5 may corroborate that it was first a cattle kraal and later on became a refuse midden.

Attention however needs to be drawn to the fact that burial 1 from excavation 3 was that of a female person. As she has been buried very shallow, it is presumed that due to the need for a quick burial she was not buried according to convention. This may be as a result of an epidemic of some sort or because of the war. The male individual in this excavation was buried with a proper and very deep burial pit which may indicate status.

The physical anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains does indicate that these individuals were of African origin. As indicated earlier, with the exception of the individual found in excavation 24, they were suffering from malnutrition which has most likely led to osteoarthritis and scurvy. Lipping of vertebrae indicates that they worked hard during their life, possibly by lifting or carrying heavy loads (see Meyer in Van Vollenhoven & Pelsler 2011 and 2012). In short, they lived in times of severe stress which in this case may have been drought or the war.

A number of causes of death for the white members of Steinaecker's Horse are known. Some horses and men were killed by lions at Sabi Bridge (Stevenson-Hamilton 1952: 17). Wolhuter (1948: 46) described that eight people from Steinaecker's Horse died in one season from black water. He also mentions fever (malaria) and dysentery as some of the health problems they had to cope with (Wolhuter 2010: 54, 70, 72). The local people may have died of some of these illnesses. This also indicates the harsh conditions under which the unit had to operate. Many horses also died of horse sickness (Wolhuter 1948: 59).

Indications that the members of the unit have suffered from illness were indeed found in the artefactual evidence. Glass from castor oil bottles were found on the site as well as fragments from medicinal bottles in various excavations. The ceramic fragment of an ointment jar was also excavated. An interesting artefact was a broken eye wash bath found in excavation 12. This artefact was in use during the late 19th and early 20th century.

Remains of poison bottles from the same time were also excavated. This may indicate that they encountered pests such as rat and mice and had to take action to preserve their food. This may have been needed in the grain storage areas and may again point to the

stone platform as being just that. Wooden boxes and vats were also used to store objects (perhaps including food) as the remains of locks, keys and metal strengthening/hoops were found.

From the cultural objects excavated at the Gaza Gray site a few activities the people on site were involved in, can be deduced. Herding cattle and other livestock as well as hunting has already been mentioned. They may have planted maize. They also could have traded the latter. Glass beads found on site certainly indicate that they were engaged in trading activities. The bright yellow beads were manufactured from the 1860's and therefore corroborates that the site was utilised during the latter part of the 19th century. A bead picked up on the south-eastern part of the site was typically used in the slave trade (Personal comment: W Biemond). Ferreira (2002: 29) indeed indicates that the Tsonga were actively involved in the slave trade and that they traded the people they conquered as slaves. One also needs to realise that beads may only have been worn for personal adornment.

Most of the ceramics found were from cooking vessels. Preparing food for themselves and perhaps also for the white soldiers was therefore also part of their daily activities. Fragments of cast iron cooking pots excavated, also indicates this activity. Excavation 15 may indeed have been done on an area where the servants prepared food for the soldiers, as may excavation 23, but the latter could also have just been used by the local people. Spindle-whorls indicate that they have woven cotton and may have even used this in their trade activities.

Many of the tasks indicated above may not have been performed by the soldiers. They of course would have kept watch and went on routine patrols. From the glass artefacts and also the excavation on the other sites it is known that they had much spare time and consequently did a lot of drinking. Apart from drinking they did participate in military activities, such as drilling (Wolhuter 2010: 52). Pieces of mouth organs found indicate their leisure time, most likely sitting around the camp fire engaged in making music, singing and storytelling. Parts of a kaolin pipe excavated indicated that some members did some smoking and a part of a pocket knife could indicate that someone did some handwork or just the ordinary everyday use thereof. The remains of ink bottles found indicate that they did some writing. This could have been for official military documents or just to write home to their loved ones. Most of these activities are linked to the southern section of the Gaza Gray site. A full account of the daily life and activities the members of Steinaecker's Horse were engaged in are given by Van Vollenhoven (2010: 244-257).

A possible and indeed interesting indication of handwork activities is the possibility of someone trying to imitate the indigenous pottery. An artefact that may be the result of this, was found at excavation 13.

The European type ceramics found at the site clearly indicate that the site has been occupied during the 1890's and early 1900's. This coincides with the date of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and it is known that Steinaecker's Horse was only disbanded in 1903. The ceramics are also similar to what was found on other sites of the unit. It represents plates, saucers, cups and parts of dinner services. Some of the metal artefacts also had a domestic function. This includes a spoon and the handle of either a knife or a spoon. The latter had a shell pattern known as the King's Pattern and

these could be ordered from the Army and Navy Store's Catalogue of the time. Similar artefacts were excavated at other Steinaecker's Horse sites. The reuse of the site, or at least the southern section thereof, after the War is suggested as ceramics dating to after 1905 was also identified.

Different buttons found on the site gives an indication of clothing. It includes a ceramic button and one made of mother-of-pearl. Other indications of clothing are belt and shoe buckles, other parts of shoes, different metal studs and a heel iron from a soldiers boot. The small medallion found in excavation 13 was worn as a pendant and therefore point to personal adornment or superstition. Apart from decorative purposes, pocket watches (parts of these have been excavated) also indicates the importance of telling the time of day (and perhaps not being late to do ones duties). A safety pin found may also have been linked to a clothing item.

The final conclusion is that the site was occupied before the Anglo-Boer War, during the latter part of the 19th century by Tsonga speaking people. This is especially true of the northern and south-eastern sections thereof. These people suffered from malnutrition perhaps due to a drought during that time and due to constant warfare. The exception is the individual who lived away from the others on the south-eastern section and who may have been a person with status.

Gaza Gray then decided to keep his cattle here and one of the reasons probably was because there was a work force at hand. The physical anthropological evidence of the skeletal material did indicate that the people used to work very hard during their lifetime.

As Gray had his cattle here the site became an outpost of Steinaecker's Horse and was especially used for keeping the cattle which they confiscated from the Boers and probably also other local people in the area. From the above it even seems as if they might have also confiscated grain and kept and utilised it here. This would have been at the southern section.

It is not yet known where exactly on site Captain Gray himself stayed or whether it would indeed be possible to determine this. It may be the north-eastern section of the site, which was not excavated yet. This will be dealt with during future research. He may of course not have stayed here himself, but only visited it occasionally.

The site was also reused after the War. This was most likely by one of the game wardens who knew the site from an earlier engagement therewith or from learning of its existence from a former member of Steinaecker's Horse. Gray himself for instance later on became a game ranger. According to Pienaar (2012: 415) it was common that sites were reused by different people during the ages and he gives a number of examples from the Lowveld. It has also been proofed that this also happened at the Letaba outpost of Steinaecker's Horse.

There can therefore be no doubt that the site was occupied during the Anglo-Boer War. This is at least true of the southern section. The historical information then gives proof that it was the members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit who utilised the site.

11. Recommendations

1. The Gaza Gray site is well situated for the purpose of tourism. An existing ranger's road runs through the site and therefore it 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. It is not necessary to open the site for all visitors to the park, but perhaps only to those on guided tours. Of course this should only be dealt with after completion of the research on site. *In the event of such plans being investigated, a proper management plan should be written. Archaetnos could assist in this regard.*
2. A display of the site can be installed at the nearest rest camp, being Lower Sabie or even at the site itself. As members of the Steinaecker's Horse unit, including Gaza Gray, 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. *Archaetnos can also assist with this.*
3. Because of the location of the site, close to the Nhlowa Spruit, 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 and the contribution thereto by local people in this area will be gathered.*
4. Although the historical information on the site and Steinaecker's Horse unit now is more than what was gathered during the excavations at other sites, 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. Ongoing historical research should continue in order to obtain more information regarding Steinaecker's Horse. This will also assist in writing a full history of the unit.
6. The skeletal remains are curated by the Ditsong National Museum of Culture in Pretoria, with all other material excavated at the sites. This is in accordance with the excavation permit issued by SAHRA as this institutions has the capacity to properly curate this. The spirit of the law however is that excavated material should be returned to its place of origin. *It would therefore be best to rebury these individuals on site. Cultural material can also be used for display purposes and in such a way be brought back to the Park, as was done by the display on the Northernmost outpost at Makhadzi. Archaetnos can assist in this regard, should it be the Parks wish.*
7. The map drawn by Major J. Stevenson-Hamilton and dated 13.10.1903, was studied

and compared with other historical information in order to try to locate the other sites where Steinaecker's Horse had outposts. *This was followed up by a field survey in order to physically locate and assess these sites with regard to research potential and degradation. However some of these sites could not be identified physically. The search for those not found, should continue. 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.*

8. The site where Bill Sanderson was interned was identified during 2010. *This site should be included in future archaeological research on Steinaecker's Horse.*
9. The sites at Gomondwane (Sardelli's shop), Bottelkop and Salitje was visited during 2014 and photographs taken. Too few cultural remains were identified on these sites to be able to excavate them in future.
10. The large number of artifacts excavated during 2005 at the Sabi Bridge post made the transport and storage thereof difficult. This was 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 material 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). *Due to the limited number of artifacts collected between 2006 and 2012 it was not necessary to implement this policy, but this will be used on all other Steinaecker's Horse sites in future, if necessary.*
11. The site, together with other historical and archaeological sites in the Park, should be managed in accordance with the principles of cultural heritage resources management. These principles are based on heritage legislation, mostly the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999).
12. The most important aspect relating to the preservation and conservation of sites such as these are to compile heritage management plans (Van Vollenhoven 2000: 95-113). These should conform to requirements and basic principles which are the convention in cultural conservation circles. An outline of the latter is given by Van Vollenhoven (1998: 25-49, 54-55).

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13. Project team

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APPENDIX A

A REPORT ON THE ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL MATERIAL RECOVERED FROM THE 2014 EXCAVATIONS AT THE GAZA GRAY OUTPOST OF STEINAECKER'S HORSE

REPORT NO.: AE01556V

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INTRODUCTION

This report will discuss the cultural material recovered during the August 2014 excavations at the Gaza Gray outpost site of Steinaecker's Horse. Six excavations (Excavations 20-25) were conducted, while a few artefacts were also collected from the surface of the site. The material from the surface sampling and of each excavation will be discussed separately, while an interpretation of the finds will be given at the end.

It should be mentioned that the material is very similar in terms of type and age than those found during previous excavation seasons at the other Steinaecker's Horse sites and of course during previous excavation seasons at this site. Although very few pieces of European origin were found, these in general belong to the late 19th/early 20th centuries and therefore fall in the period of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) when the unit was operational in the area today known as the Kruger National Park. Indigenous ceramics were found in abundance and are mainly similar to those found on the site previously, dating broadly to 1850-1900 A.D..

Detail on the history of Steinaecker's Horse and their role in the War and the Park is discussed in various reports and articles completed over the years since 1997. It will therefore not be repeated here.

The skeletal remains of 1 individual were recovered during the 2014 excavations (Excavation 24). The analysis of the remains was conducted by Anja Meyer, a forensic specialist at the Anatomy Department of the University of Pretoria, and a report has been provided. This report will not be discussed here.

It needs to be indicated that this section of the Gaza Gray site, called the south-eastern section, lies about 210 m from the main site (see main report). At this section one midden/cattle kraal was identified with cultural material spread over an area of approximately 70 x 24 m. Although both European and indigenous artefacts are found, the latter are dominating this section.

This points to it rather being occupied by indigenous people than the soldiers of Steinaecker's Horse. There also must be a reason why these people stayed away from the main site (northern section) where 13 middens/ cattle kraals were identified.

Five excavations were done at the south-eastern section in 2014. These are:

- Excavation 20 – on large midden
- Excavation 21 – also on large midden
- Excavation 22 – possible hut area further to the south
- Excavation 23 – area with pottery north of large midden
- Excavation 24 – also on large midden
- Excavation 25 – area with pottery north of excavation 23

The cultural material recovered during the 2014 excavations included the following categories:

Ceramics: both European and non-European (local) – 1264 (of which 1 is European)

Glass (including glass beads) – 10 (9 beads)

Stone - 4

Faunal remains - 415
Charcoal - 69

SURFACE COLLECTION

The surface collection consist of the following 3 artefacts:

Ceramics – 2 (1 x European; 1 x indigenous pottery)

Glass – 1

Ceramics

European ceramics -

One undecorated piece of European ceramics was found on the surface of the site. It is a stoneware shard with a pink underglazed colour (Figure 1). The shard is too small to make any other deductions on its origin or function. It however is similar to some found on other sites from this time period and most likely date to the late 19th/ early 20th century.

Indigenous pottery –

One shard with decoration similar to what was found on site previously (Figure 2). Analysis of the pottery from the site (found during both the 2010 and 2011 excavations) by Wim Biemond indicate that the pottery has an Nguni/Tsonga origin and possibly date to the late 18th/early 19th century (Biemond 2011: 2; 9). This is of course indication that the site was also occupied prior to the Anglo-Boer War and Steinaecker's Horse presence, but the possibility that the site was still settled at the time should not be excluded.

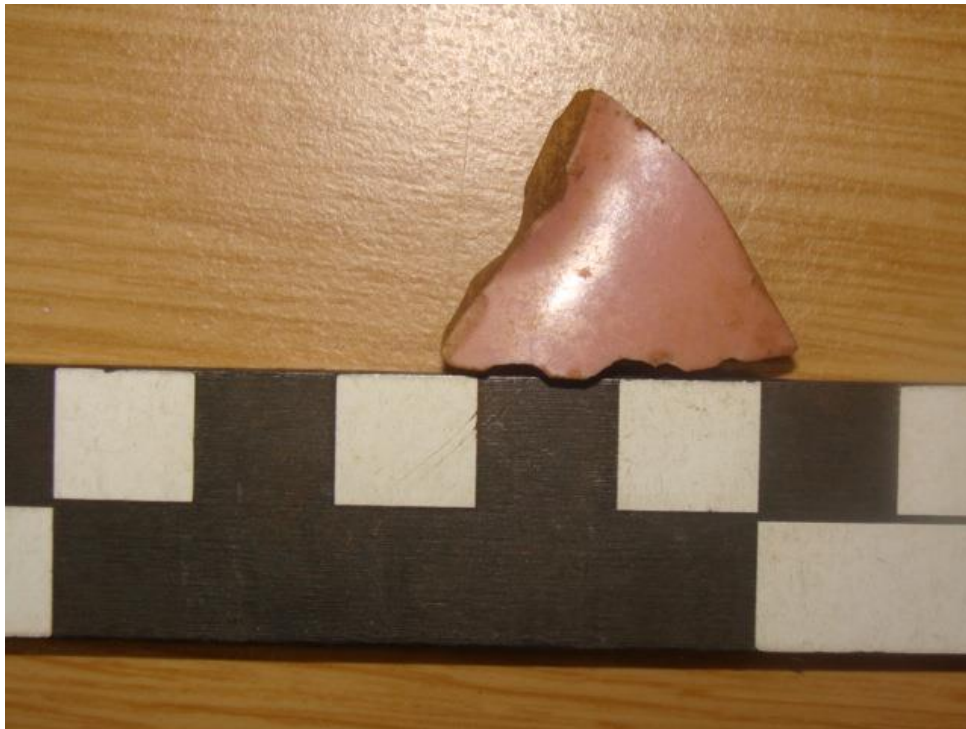


Figure 1: Stoneware ceramic shard form the surface collection.



Figure 2: Indigenous pottery from the surface collection.

Glass

1 x glass marble (Figure 3). These were used as bottle stoppers in soda or mineral water bottles during the late 19th/ early 20th century. These bottles were called Codd bottles (Lastovica & Lastovica 1990: 26).



Figure 3: Glass marble used as bottle stopper in soda or mineral water bottles.

EXCAVATION 20

At Excavation 20, the following 3 artefacts were unearthed:

Ceramics – 1 (1 x indigenous pottery)

Faunal material - 2

The excavation was done more or less in the centre of a midden and focused on determining the depth of the midden and to determine whether it was only a cattle kraal or also used as refuse midden, as was the case with most of the middens on the main site. The little material uncovered certainly indicate this as being the remains of a cattle kraal.

Ceramics

Indigenous pottery –

1 x undecorated shard

Faunal Remains

2 x pieces of bone, too fragmented to identify

EXCAVATION 21

At Excavation 21, only 7 artefacts were unearthed:

Ceramics – 7 (7 x indigenous pottery)

The excavation was done on the side of the midden (west of excavation 20) and focused on determining the depth of the midden and to determine whether it was only a cattle kraal or also used as refuse midden, as was the case with most of the middens on the main site. The little material uncovered certainly indicate this as being the remains of a cattle kraal.

Ceramics

Indigenous pottery –

5 x undecorated shards of which one was burnt

2 x shards with red burnish

EXCAVATION 22

At Excavation 22, a number of 24 artefacts were unearthed:

Ceramics – 10 (10 x indigenous pottery)

Faunal material – 11

Stone - 3

The excavation was done to the south-east of the midden at an area containing cultural material and which therefore may have been a possible hut area. The aim was to determine whether this was the case and to obtain cultural material. Too few artefacts were uncovered to confirm this.

Ceramics

Indigenous pottery –

7 x undecorated shards of which one was burnt

2 x shards with red burnish

1 x shard with decoration. Analysis of the pottery from the site (found during both the 2010 and 2011 excavations) by Wim Biemond indicate that the pottery has an Nguni/Tsonga origin and possibly date to the late 18th/early 19th century (Biemond 2011: 7). This is of course indication that the site was also occupied prior to the Anglo-Boer War and Steinaecker's Horse presence, but the possibility that the site was still settled at the time should not be excluded.

Faunal remains

Only 11 small fragments of unidentifiable bones were recovered from the two layers.

Stone tools

Three Middle Stone Age tools were also recovered from the excavation, but these are more than likely out of context and are just evidence of earlier occupation and use of the area during Stone Age time periods.

EXCAVATION 23

Excavation 23 by far produced the most artefacts of the 2014 season. A total of 1682 artefacts were unearthed:

Ceramics – 1215 (1215 x indigenous pottery)

Glass – 2 (1 bead)

Faunal material – 379

Ostrich Egg Shell (OES) beads – 16

Charcoal – 69

Stone - 1

The excavation was done to the north of the midden at an area containing cultural material in association with some stones. The aim was to determine whether this was a hut or working area and to obtain cultural material. It seems to have been a manufacturing area, either for pottery or where women worked with food (most likely not preparation).

Ceramics

Indigenous pottery –

Layer 1:

500 x undecorated shards of which 26 was burnt

16 x shards with red burnish

7 x undecorated lip shards of which one had red burnish

60 x shards with decoration (Figure 4-5). Analysis of the pottery from the site (found during both the 2010 and 2011 excavations) by Wim Biemond indicate that the pottery has an Nguni/Tsonga origin and possibly date to the late 18th/early 19th century (Biemond 2011: 2; 5-6, 9). This is of course indication that the site was also occupied prior to the Anglo-Boer War and Steinaecker's Horse presence, but the possibility that the site was still settled at the time should not be excluded.

32 x shards from a single pot, of which 2 were decorated



Figure 4: Decorated pottery from layer 1 of Excavation 23.



Figure 24: More decorated pottery from layer 1 of Excavation 23.

Layer 2:
523 x undecorated shards of which 4 was burnt

4 x undecorated shards from a single pot
7 x undecorated shards from another pot
3 x shards from another pot of which one was decorated (Figure 6)
63 x shards with decoration of which two are lip shards (Figure 7-9). Analysis of the pottery from the site (found during both the 2010 and 2011 excavations) by Wim Biemond indicate that the pottery has an Nguni/Tsonga origin and possibly date to the late 18th/early 19th century (Biemond 2011: 2; 5-6, 9). This is of course indication that the site was also occupied prior to the Anglo-Boer War and Steinaecker's Horse presence, but the possibility that the site was still settled at the time should not be excluded.



Figure 6: Three potshards from a single pot.



Figure 7: Decorated pottery from layer 2 of Excavation 23.



Figure 8: More decorated pottery from layer 2 of Excavation 23.



Figure 9: Other decorated pottery from layer 2 of Excavation 23.

Glass

1 x fragment of transparent glass (Figure 10). It seems to have been worked into some kind of a tool, something that was also found during previous years on the site (Van Vollenhoven 2013: 127).

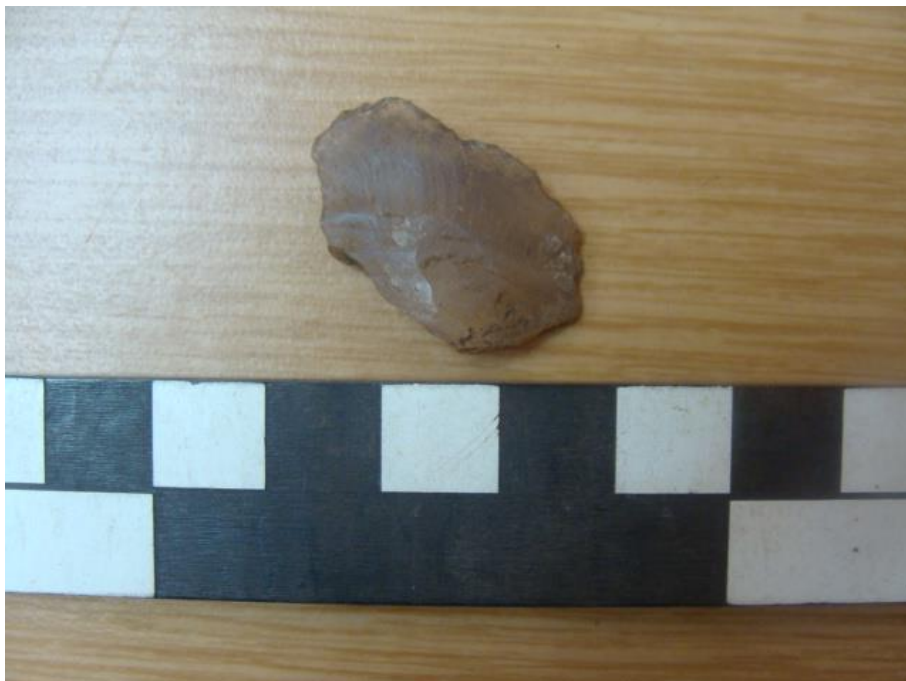


Figure 10: Piece of glass from layer 2 of Excavation 23, which seems to have been worked into a tool.

Glass Beads

1 x white translucent glass bead of medium size, recovered from layer 2 (Figure 11). Similar beads were found previously at other Steinaecker's Horse sites. This most likely is a trade bead from Europe and could be an indication of trade on the site (Van Vollenhoven 2013: 141). Of course it was most likely worn for personal adornment.

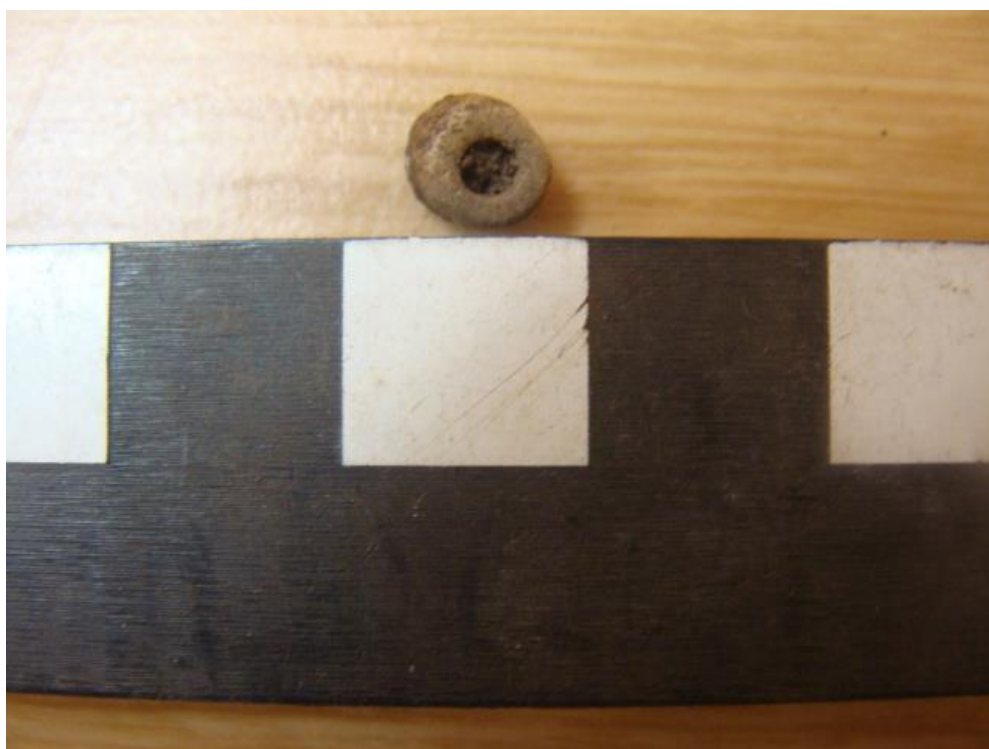


Figure 11: Glass bead from Excavation 23.

Faunal remains

Layer 1:

15 x shell, mostly from land snail (*Achatina*)

154 x animal bone, mostly small and fragmented. Although the remains have not been expertly analysed, it is possible to say that these probably belong to cattle or an animal (non-domestic) of similar size. The outpost was used for herding cattle taken from Boer individuals, while the known presence of cattle kraals is also evidence of this. Analysis of faunal remains from other Steinaecker's Horse sites indicated of course that the men stationed at the outposts also hunted and fished to supplement their tinned rations. Bones of both domesticated (cattle) and non-domesticated animals were found at these sites (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 43-45).

Layer 2:

67 x shell, including one large *Achatina* shell, fresh water mussel and at least two other species

139 x animal bone, mostly fragmented. Although the remains have not been expertly analysed, it is possible to say that these probably belong to cattle or an animal (non-domestic) of similar size. The outpost was used for herding cattle taken from Boer individuals, while the known presence of cattle kraals is also evidence of this. Analysis of faunal remains from other Steinaecker's Horse sites indicated of course that the men stationed at the outposts also hunted and fished to supplement their tinned rations. Bones of both domesticated (cattle) and non-domesticated animals were found at these sites (Pelser & Van Vollenhoven 1998: 43-45).

4 x teeth or partial pieces of teeth

OES beads

Layer 1:

10 x OES beads (Figure 12)



Figure 12: OES beads from layer 1 of Excavation 10.

Layer 2:

6 x OES beads (Figure 13)



Figure 13: OES beads from layer 2 of Excavation 23.

Charcoal

Layer 1:

27 x small samples of charcoal

Layer 2:

42 x small samples of charcoal

Stone tools

1 x whetstone from layer 2

EXCAVATION 24

At Excavation 24 human skeletal remains from one individual was unearthed. A number of 36 artefacts were unearthed:

Ceramics – 29 (29 x indigenous pottery)

Faunal material – 7

The excavation was done at the southern edge of the midden and south of Excavation 20 as the deposit seemed to be at its deepest here. The aim was to determine whether this was only a cattle kraal or also a refuse midden and to test the depth of the midden. The amount of artefacts found indicate that this was just a cattle kraal.

Ceramics

Indigenous pottery –

21 x undecorated shards of which one is burnet

7 x shards with red burnish of which one is a lip shard

1 x shard with decoration and red burnish (Figure 14). Analysis of the pottery from the site (found during both the 2010 and 2011 excavations) by Wim Biemond indicate that the pottery has an Nguni/Tsonga origin and possibly date to the late 18th/early 19th century (Biemond 2011: 2; 5-6, 9). This is of course indication that the site was also occupied prior to the Anglo-Boer War and Steinaecker's Horse presence, but the possibility that the site was still settled at the time should not be excluded.



Figure 14: Decorated potshard from Excavation 24.

Faunal material

7 x small unidentifiable fragments

EXCAVATION 25

Excavation 25 produced the following number of artefacts:

Glass – 7 (7 beads)

The excavation was done to the north of the midden and north of Excavation 23 at an area containing cultural material. The aim was to determine whether this was a hut or working area as a lower grinder was identified here and to obtain cultural material. It most likely was a working area.

Glass Beads

- 1 x small white bead
- 2 x small dark blue beads
- 1 x broken green bead
- 2 medium sized white beads
- 1 x medium sized black bead (Figure 15)

These types of beads have been found on all the other sites associated with Steinaecker's Horse and have been identified as trade beads (also typical of the Late Iron Age) originating from Europe and India. The smaller beads are all of Indian or Venetian origin and are called trade beads as these were commonly used in trade during the 19th century. Of course it was also worn as decoration (Faria 2013: 19-20).



Figure 15: Glass beads from Excavation 25.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that the analysis of the cultural material from the 2014 excavations at the Gaza Gray outpost indicate that Indigenous ceramics dominate the collection with 71,7%. It also has be mentioned that these mostly came from one excavation (Excavation 23) where 69% of all artefacts on site are represented by pottery.

The large number of pottery found seem to indicate either an area where pots were manufactured or an area where women sat and worked with whatever needed to be stored in these pots. A few pieces of charcoal was found here, but too little to suggest that food was also being cooked here.

The indigenous pottery found at the site most probably are Nguni in origin and could date to the between the late 18th and 19th century. This indicates an earlier occupation of the site (prior to the Anglo-Boer War and the presence of Steinaecker's Horse), although clearly there was local people who also settled on the site during the war as well. Analysis of the pottery from the site (found during both the 2010 and 2011 excavations) by Wim Biemond indicate that the pottery has an Nguni/Tsonga origin and possibly date to the late 18th/early 19th century (Biemond 2011: 2; 5-6, 9).

European ceramics, which here only consisted of one stoneware shard, only indicates a link to the European soldiers who were present on the larger site during the Anglo-Boer War as it is similar to that found on the other Steinaecker's Horse sites such as the Makhadzi, Ngotso Mouth and Sabi Bridge outposts as well as other areas of the Gaza Gray site. It dates to the late 19th and early 20th centuries (the time of the Anglo-Boer War).

The glass beads from the excavations are similar to those found on all the other Steinaecker's Horse sites and have an European and Indian origin mostly. These beads were used as trade items. The single other glass fragment it important as it indicates the link with European people, in this case most likely the soldiers of Steinaecker's Horse who seems to have camped about 200 m from here.

This section of the site however lacks the evidence of a military presence, as ammunition and other military objects found during previous excavations, are not present here. It therefore is clear that the soldiers did not occupy the south-eastern section of the site, but they definitely had contact.

Faunal remains form the second highest category of the total sample. It also is spread out over the entire site. It seems to be mostly from BOV III indicating that cattle was being herded here, but which must also have been a source of food. It should be considered that expert analysis of the faunal remains from the site (although the sample is relatively small) be undertaken to help determining the diet of the unit (over and above the tinned rations).

The human skeletal remains from Excavation 24 were analysed by Anja Meyer of UP Anatomy and is not included here. It was however found in the midden which proved to be a true cattle kraal as it also contained very few artefacts. It is common that men were buried in cattle kraals.

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APPENDIX B

**PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HUMAN
REMAINS RECOVERED FROM THE 2014 EXCAVATIONS AT THE GAZA GRAY
OUTPOST OF STEINAECKER'S HORSE**

By Anja Meyer

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1. Analytical methods:

The remains were cleaned and analysed using standard physical anthropological techniques taken from Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994). Age at death was estimated by the degree of epiphyseal closure (Krogman and İşcan, 1986; Scheuer and Black, 2004; Schaefer *et al.*, 2009) and tooth development (Loth and İşcan, 2000a; Scheuer and Black, 2004); changes in the sternal ends of ribs (Loth and İşcan, 2000a; İşcan and Steyn, 2013); changes in the face of the pubic symphysis of the pelvis (Brooks and Suchey, 1990), and the status of cranial suture closure (Acsádi and Nemeskéri, 1970; Krogman and İşcan 1986; Buikstra and Ubelaker, 1994). Any observable degenerative changes and dental wear (Hillson, 1998; Loth and İşcan, 2000a; Ortner, 2003) were noted for each individual where present which would suggest an older age.

Both metric and non-metric techniques were used to determine sex. Non-metric characteristics of the pelvis and the skull were used where discerning features were preserved (Krogman and İşcan, 1986; Loth and İşcan, 2000b). Metric assessment of sex was done by comparing single long bone measurements to known standards (Loth and İşcan, 2000b). For the determination of ancestry both non-metric and metric techniques were used where possible. This included the non-metric characteristics observable on the skull and mandible (İşcan *et al.*, 2000; Krogman and İşcan, 1986), and metric analysis of the cranial dimension indices (İşcan and Steyn, 1999).

Stature was determined by regression formulae for single long bone measurements (Lundy and Feldesman, 1987; Steyn and Smith 2007).

Several sources were referred to for the pathology observed on the skeleton and teeth (Aufderheide and Rodríguez-Martin, 1998; Hillson, 1998; Ortner, 2003).

2. Results:

2.1. SH GG 2014

2.1.1. Preservation and inventory

The remains were completely skeletonized and in a fair state of preservation. Some post-mortem damage was however evident on the skull.

Almost all the skeletal elements were present except for left zygomatic and sphenoid bones, one right rib, the right pubic bone and auricular surface, the right patella, seven right carpals and six left carpals, all of the left metacarpals and four of the right metacarpals, 12 left hand phalanges and nine right hand phalanges.

2.1.2. Age at death

The upper and lower third molars were in complete occlusion suggesting an age older than 18 years. This was corroborated with the complete fusion of all visible epiphyses including the medial ends of the clavicles and the spheno-occipital synchondrosis, both suggesting an age older than 30 years. Degenerative changes were observed on some of the major synovial joints as well as the lumbar vertebrae indicating that this person was probably older than 35 at the time of death.

Most of the cranial sutures showed a significant degree of closure, indicating an age estimate of between 45 and 55 years. However, poor preservation of some of the cranial elements made it difficult to observe some of these sutures. Therefore this estimate should only be used as a tentative age. Sternal rib ends presented as phase 7 which suggested an age estimate of between 40 and 78 years with a mean age estimate of 59.2 years. Changes observable on the left pubic symphysis fell within phase 6 suggesting an age range of between 34 and 86 years with a mean age of 61.2 years.

A final age estimate of older than 50 was therefore given for this individual.

2.1.3. Sex

The morphological features observable on the skull and pelvis are consistent with features associated with males. The skull presented with a prominent nuchal crest, a large mental eminence and large mastoid processes. The pelvis presented with a narrow greater sciatic notch, and the absence of subpubic concavity, an ischiopubic ramus ridge, a ventral arc and a pre-auricular sulcus.

All single long bone measurements fell well within the limits provided for males (Refer to table 1 and 2 for cranial and postcranial measurements). This individual was therefore classified as male.

2.1.4. Ancestry

Morphological features observable from the skull included a prognathic facial profile, a long and low skull, wide nasal openings and guttered nasal sills, all indicative of an African ancestry. Due to the fragmentary state of the cranium no metric assessment could be done.

This individual was therefore tentatively assigned to be of African ancestry.

2.1.5. Stature

Stature was calculated by using the maximum combined length of the femur and tibia. A stature of 177.4 ± 2.371 cm was obtained. This is considered a tall stature for someone of this population group and sex (Steyn and Smith, 2007).

2.1.6. Dentition

All the teeth were present. Occlusal wear with slight to moderate dentine exposure could be observed on the upper and lower, left and right first and second molars. Dental pathology that could be observed included slight dental calculus on the buccal surfaces of the upper and lower central and lateral incisors and regression of the alveolar bone (Fig. 1). The latter presented mainly on the mandible and was accompanied by slight porosity or periostitis in the region of the central and later incisors (Fig. 1), possibly suggesting periodontal disease. For all dental measurements refer to table 3.

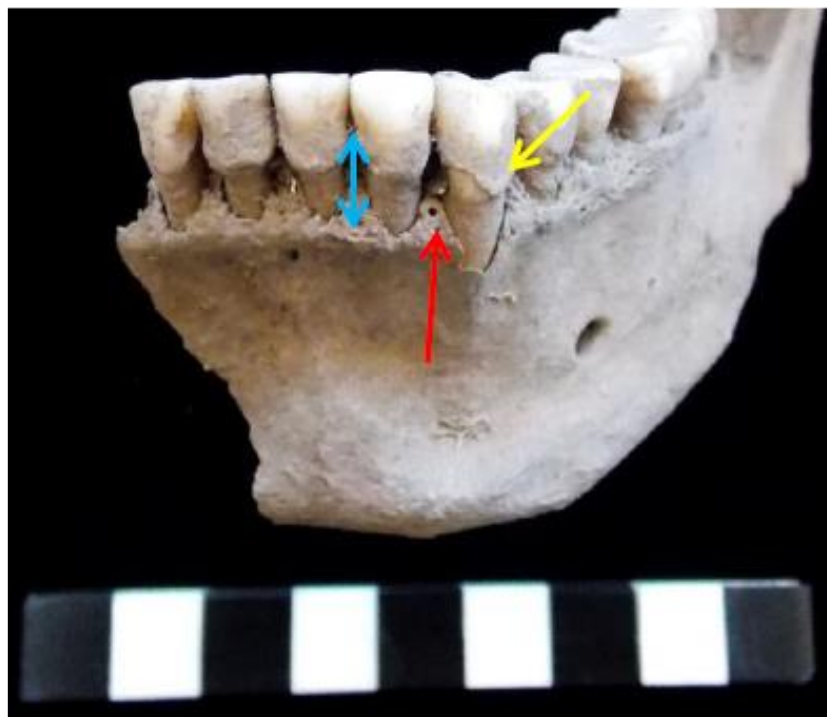


Figure 1: Mandible presenting with dental calculus (yellow arrow), periostitis (red arrow) and alveolar regression (blue arrow)

2.1.7. Trauma and pathology

No trauma could be observed. Pathology that could be observed included degenerative pathologies and pathology indicative of possible infection. Osteoarthritic changes could be observed in almost all the major joints including the left shoulder which presented with a possible pseudo articular facet on the acromion (scapula; Fig. 2); olecranon spurs and osteophytic lipping of the trochlear notch of both the left and right ulnae; slight osteophytic lipping of the left and right acetabular margins of the pelvis; slight lipping of the distal epiphyses of the femora; slight osteophytic lipping at the distal epiphyses of the tibiae; slight osteophytes on the lumbar vertebrae; and finally possible osteophytosis (cup-and-pencil erosion) of the distal metatarsals and phalanges of the right foot (Fig. 3). Additionally, T12 also presented with a Schmorl's node.

The pelvis presented with sacralization of L5 (Fig. 4) as well as bilateral ankylosis. Extensive bone deposition (possibly due to an enthesopathy) was observed on the right distal tibia, in the region of the medial malleolus (Fig. 5). This may be due to inflammatory remodelling underlying the tendon of the tibialis anterior (Ortner, 2003). The left patella also presented with lateral avulsion, possible due to overstretching or tearing of the tendon vastus lateralis causing what is referred to as a vastus notch (Fig. 6; Mann and Murphy, 1990).

And finally, destructive lesions could be observed on several parts of the skeleton. This included lytic lesions on the endocranium, along the sagittal suture in the region of the meningeal vessels, the anterior (T1-12 and L1) and posterior aspects (T4-T12 and including the lamellae, pedicles and spinous processes) of the vertebrae (Fig. 7); the caudal edges of the ribs (in the region of the costal groove; Fig. 8); the left and right scapulae (caracoid processes, inferior angle and acromion); the humeri (in the region of the anatomical neck, greater and lesser tubercle and left lateral epicondyle); the left radius (suprastyloid crest); sacrum (posterior margins of dorsal wall); and tibiae (in the region of the semimembranosus groove). These lesions can be attributed to an infection, possibly a fungal infection. Mycotic diseases are caused by pathogenic fungi entering the respiratory system. In systemic cases the infection can spread haemigenously to other parts of the body (Ortner, 2003). A differential diagnosis may be tuberculosis; however the posterior parts of the vertebrae are not commonly affected in cases of TB.

Additionally hypertrophic bone was observed on the left and right tibia (just beneath the medial condyle in the region of the *semimembranosus* groove; Fig. 9), right lunate carpal; left pelvis (ischiopubic ramus); and on all of the tarsal bones (Fig. 10). It is unclear what caused these lesions, however it may be associated with the infection (hypertrophic pulmonary osteoarthropathy) seen in other parts of the skeleton.



Figure 2: Left scapula showing pseudo articular facet in region of acromion



Figure 3: Osteophytosis of right metatarsals (cup-and-pencil erosion)

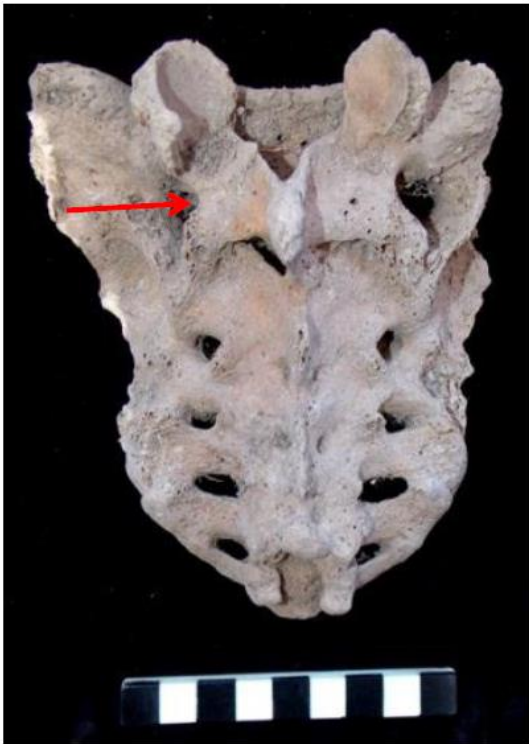


Figure 4: Sacralization of L5 to sacrum



Figure 5: Enthesopathy on medial malleolus of the right distal tibia



Figure 6: Vastus notch in left patella



Figure 7: Lytic lesions on anterior and posterior elements of thoracic vertebrae



Figure 8: Porosity on caudal edge of rib



Figure 9: Hypertrophic bone beneath medial condyle of left tibia



Figure 10: Hypertrophic bone on right talus

3. Conclusion:

The remains represent that of an adult male of possible African ancestry. Age at death was estimated to be older than 50 years. A stature of 177.4 ± 2.371 cm was obtained which is considered to be tall for someone of this population group and sex. Pathology that could be observed included degenerative changes to the major joints and lower back, and lytic and hypertrophic lesions possibly associated with a pulmonary infection (possibly fungal).

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Table 1: Cranial measurements

All measurements in mm.

- skeletal element was absent or damaged and therefore measurements could not be obtained

* indicates right side

<u>Skeletal dimension</u>	<u>SH GG 2014</u>
Max. cranial length	-
Max. cranial breadth	-
Bizygomatic diameter	-
Basion-bregma height	-
Cranial base length	-
Basion-prosthion length	-
Maxillo-alveolar breadth	-
Maxillo-alveolar length	-
Biauricular breadth	-
Upper facial height	-
Min. frontal breadth	96.77
Upper facial breadth	-
Nasal height	-
Nasal breadth	-
Orbital breadth	-
Orbital height	-
Biorbital breadth	-
Interorbital breadth	-
Frontal chord	104.28
Parietal chord	-
Occipital chord	-
Foramen magnum length	-
Foramen magnum breadth	-
Mastoid length	35.07
Chin height	34.98
Height of mandibular body	32.86
Breadth of mandibular body	11.14
Bigonial width	-
Bicondylar breadth	-
Min. ramus breadth	-
Max. ramus breadth	-
Max. ramus height	-

Mandibular length	-
Biasterionic breadth	-

Table 2: Post-cranial measurements

All measurements in mm.

- skeletal element was absent or damaged and therefore measurements could not be obtained

* indicates right side

<u>Skeletal dimension</u>	<u>SH GG 2014</u>
Clavicle max. length	164
Clavicle ant.-post. diameter midshaft	12.67
Clavicle sup.-inf. diameter midshaft	9.89
Scapula height	198
Scapula breadth	136
Humerus max. length	322
Humerus epicondylar breadth	64.50
Humerus vertical diameter head	40.84
Humerus max. diameter midshaft	23.15
Humerus min. diameter midshaft	18.65
Radius max. length	279
Radius ant.-post. diameter midshaft	11.60
Radius med.-lat. diameter midshaft	14.45
Ulna max. length	301
Ulna ant.-post diameter	16.96
Ulna med.-lat. diameter	13.46
Ulna physiological length	269
Ulna min. circumference	37
Sacrum anterior length	-
Sacrum ant.-sup. breadth	-
Sacrum max. transverse diameter base	-
Os coxae height	-
Os coxae iliac breadth	152
Os coxae pubis length	-
Os coxae ischium length	-
Femur max. length	490
Femur bicondylar length	489
Femur epicondylar breadth	82
Femur max. diameter femur head	46
Femur ant.-post. subtrochanteric diameter	27.43
Femur med.-lat. subtrochanteric diameter	36.31

Femur ant.-post. midshaft diameter	32.70
Femur med.-lat. midshaft diameter	28
Femur midshaft circumference	95
Tibia length	437
Tibia physiological length	419
Tibia max. prox. epiphyseal breadth	80.25
Tibia max. distal epiphyseal breadth	50
Tibia max. diameter nutrient foramen	40.09
Tibia med.-lat. diameter nutrient foramen	24.73
Tibia circumference nutrient foramen	104
Fibula max. length	418
Fibula max. diameter midshaft	17.55
Calcaneus max. length	86
Calcaneus middle breadth	45

Table 3: Dental measurements

All measurements were taken in mm.

- dentition was absent or damaged and therefore measurements could not be obtained

* indicates right side. MD=mesiodistal, BL = buccolingual

<u>Maxilla</u>	<u>SH GG 2014</u>	<u>Mandible</u>	<u>SH GG 2014</u>
MD I1	7.59	MD I1	5.57
BL I1	7.13	BL I1	5.94
MD I2	6.12	MD I2	6.05
BL I2	6.45	BL I2	6.10
MD C	7.56	MD C	7.05
BL C	7.86	BL C	8.08
MD PM1	7.23	MD PM1	7.67
BL PM1	9.55	BL PM1	8.46
MD PM2	6.53	MD PM2	7.49
BL PM2	9.47	BL PM2	8.91
MD M1	10.82	MD M1	11.18
BL M1	11.76	BL M1	11.04
MD M2	10.43	MD M2	11.06
BL M2	11.64	BL M2	10.56
MD M3	8.67	MD M3	11.43
BL M3	10.64	BL M3	9.98

APPENDIX C

**PHOTOGRAPHS OF LARGE ARTEFACT IN SITU AT THE SOUTH-EASTERN
SECTION OF THE GAZA GRAY OUTPOST OF STEINAECKER'S HORSE**

Google Earth images:



1 – Distribution of cultural material at the south-eastern section of the Gaza Gray site

CM – Cultural material (ceramics etc.)

Glass – Glass

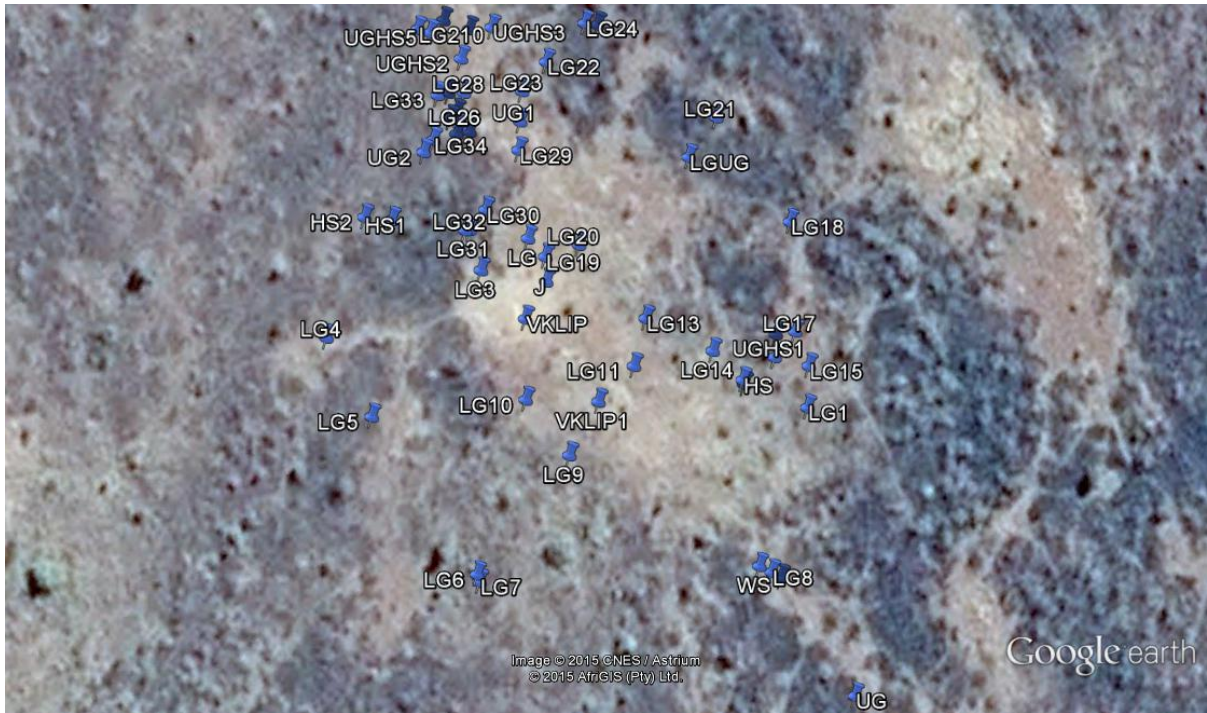
LG – Lower grinding stone

UG – Upper grinding stone

HS – Hammer stone

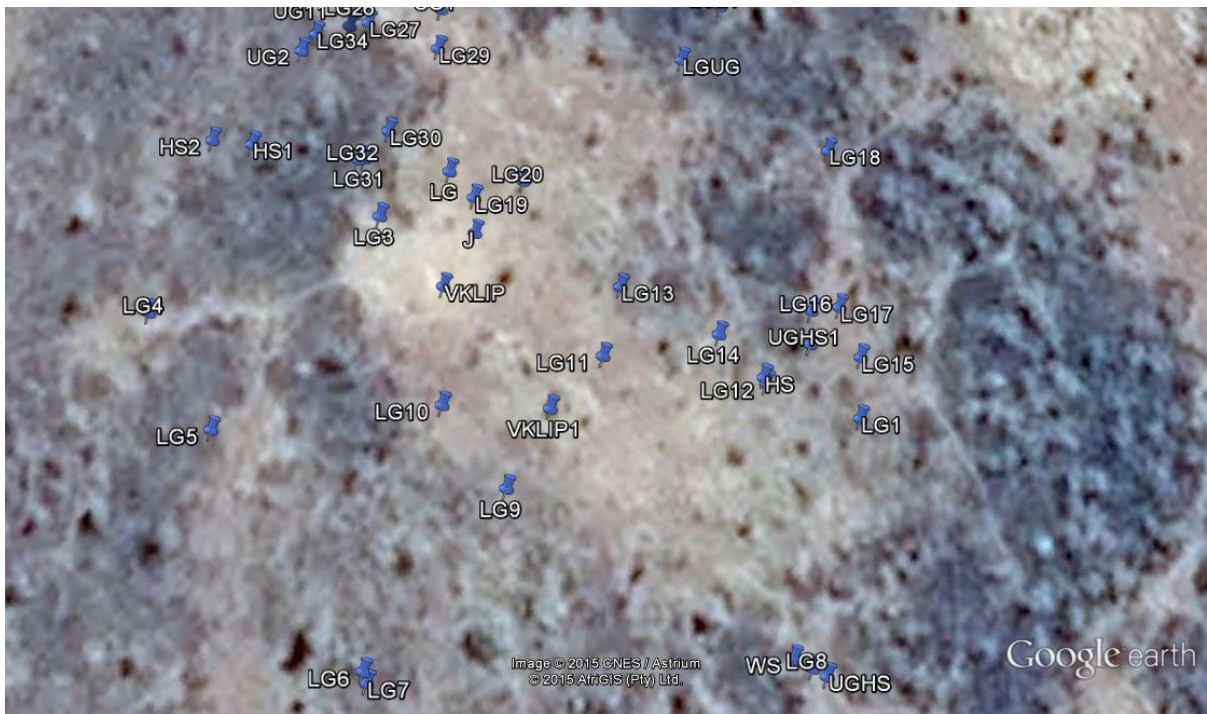
WS – Whetstone

Vkclip – Rubbing stone



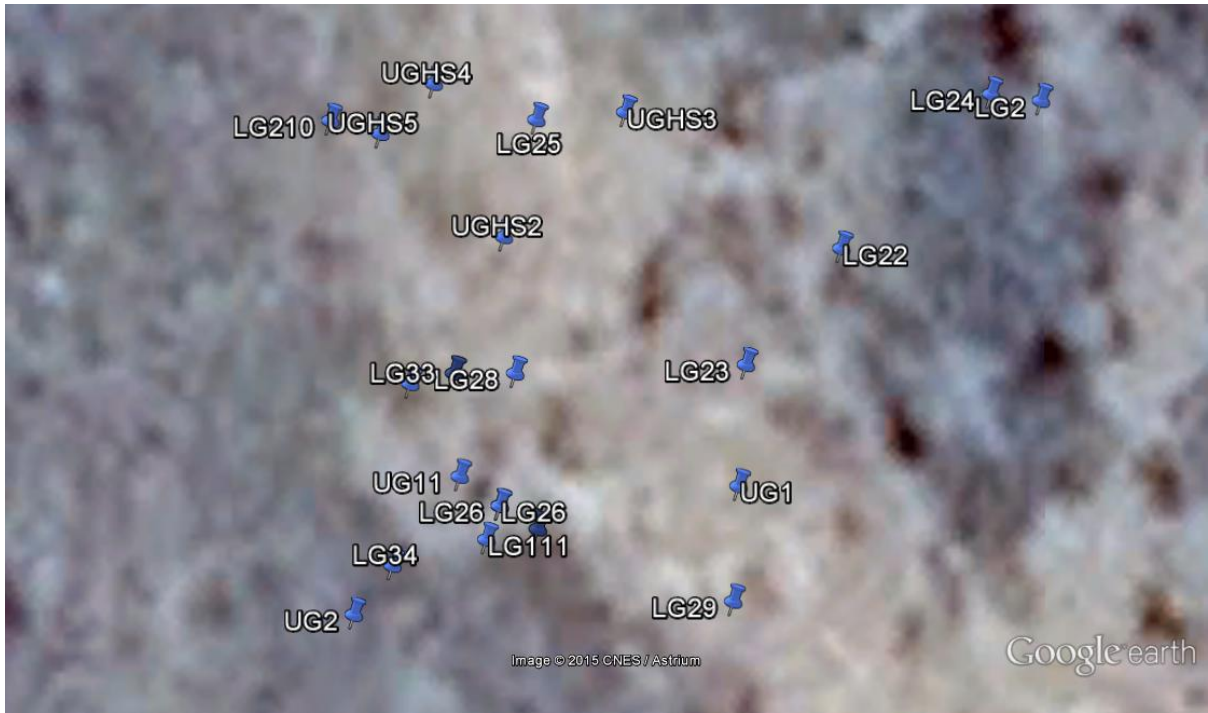
2 – Zoomed in distribution of cultural material around the south-eastern section of the Gaza Gray site

- J – Datum point**
- LG – Lower grinding stone**
- UG – Upper grinding stone**
- HS – Hammer stone**
- WS – Whetstone**
- Vklip – Rubbing stone**



**3 – Distribution of cultural material around the cattle kraal/
midden at the south-eastern section of the Gaza Gray site**

- LG – Lower grinding stone**
- UG – Upper grinding stone**
- HS – Hammer stone**
- WS – Whetstone**
- Vklip – Rubbing stone**



4 – Distribution of cultural material around Excavation 23 at the south-eastern section of the Gaza Gray site

LG – Lower grinding stone
UG – Upper grinding stone
HS – Hammer stone

Lower grinding stones (mostly broken):

1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



32



Lower grinding stone and upper grinding stone

1



Lower grinding stones

1



2



3



Upper grinding/ hammer stones

1



2



3



4



5

