

offered land to constables after five years' service.⁷⁸ As a further spur to settlement, constables signed two- or three-year terms of service with no retirement pension (i.e. superannuity) package, unlike service in the military or other British and imperial police forces. The absence of a pension reflected the conflicted goals of Milner, who envisioned the SAC as a short-term force, helping to turn the Transvaal 'British'.⁷⁹ No pension, however, meant that constables would not make careers in the SAC. Many would leave Southern Africa after their contracts ended, foiling any settlement plans.

The UK Recruiting Office had no trouble finding inductees for the force, receiving over 15 000 applications in the first month alone to enlist in 'Baden Powell's police'.⁸⁰ The Colonial Office relied on the extensive military network of army doctors, recruiting officers, and riding and shooting evaluators to test potential applicants. Recruiters based the application on the BSAP form, took the medical form from the Cape Mounted Rifles, and adopted the riding and shooting tests from those used for the Imperial Yeomanry.⁸¹ By early April 1901, recruiters raised 5 601 constables from all over the British Isles.⁸² A number of men had police experience from such forces as the LMP, Liverpool City Police, Hereford City Police, Glasgow City Police, Inverness Constabulary, RIC, and Dublin City Police.⁸³

Policy makers desired to recruit constables in the established settler colonies as well. In October 1900, Chamberlain wrote to the several colonial governments in Australia, New Zealand and Canada asking whether colonial soldiers already serving in Southern Africa could receive their discharge and volunteer for the SAC. The Australian colonies agreed, but would not allow the SAC to recruit down under. New Zealand declined; they did not want to lose their settlers to Southern Africa.⁸⁴ The Canadian government agreed and additionally volunteered to raise 1 000 men for the SAC in Canada. Milner and Baden-Powell had already thought to recruit in Canada, one reason why they had offered a Divisional Commandership to Steele.⁸⁵ They thought Steele, widely popular in Canada because of his exploits in the Yukon, would bring out Canadian recruits. Recruiting began in February 1901, with the Canadian militia handling the responsibilities in eastern Canada and the NWMP in western Canada. South African War veterans, NWMP Mounties, and members of Canada's permanent forces received preferential status.⁸⁶ Recruiters raised 1 209 men for the SAC in Canada, landing at Cape Town in late April 1901.⁸⁷

In addition to the aforementioned constables from British Isles forces, SAC men had served in constabularies as diverse as the Cape Police, Natal Police, BSAP, Bechuanaland Border Police, Alexandria (Egypt) Special Mounted Police, New

South Wales Police, Western Australia Police, New Zealand Police Force, NWMP, Long Island (NY) Railroad Police, British Guiana Police, Calcutta Police, Siam Police, Shanghai Police, and Hong Kong Police.⁸⁸ These men, along with transferred Army sergeants and former members of the Protectorate and Rhodesian Regiments, made up the NCO and, later, the detective backbone of the SAC. In total, officers and men with experience in over 75 police forces joined the SAC.

In addition to the 10 000 white constables and officers, the SAC employed between 2 000 and 3 000 ‘natives’. Africans served as teamsters, servants, cooks, scouts, and, crucially, as second-class constables.⁸⁹ As the majority of white constables had not lived in Southern Africa before, native constables helped them interact with African communities. However, officers gave native constables only short-term contracts, recording just their first names on roll sheets.⁹⁰ Officers were not to arm native constables or use them to police the Boer communities. As Milner informed Baden-Powell, “Such a course is contrary to our policy & might lead to exasperation of feeling on the part of the Dutch population.”⁹¹ For native constables, they sought out Zulus. Civilian and military policy makers considered Zulus, like Punjabi Sikhs in India, as Southern Africa’s martial race, a belief born out of the reputation of Shaka’s conquests in the 1820s and the more recent victory of Zulu impis over British forces at the 1879 Battle of Isandlwana. As Zulus historically resided in Natal, beyond the purview of the SAC, Zulu constables were ‘strangers policing strangers’. Despite the valuable services they performed, SAC policy makers and officers considered African constables expendable.

Soldiers into constables

The South African Constabulary provides a strong example of the ‘British-Imperial’ model of administration. The new colonial state controlled the force, provided arms to its constables in the face of potentially hostile policed communities, and housed the constables in barracks. Fighting as an auxiliary unit during a war and staffed with mostly former soldiers, the SAC had close ties with the military. Primarily, the SAC supported the aims of the British administration in the Transvaal. Secondarily, after the end of the war, the constables supported the aims of the Boer community in a gamble to capture the Boers’ loyalty to their new state. The constables therefore kept Africans in their place, as ‘natives’ fell into two roles for the new colonial state: cheap labourers for the gold mines and farmhands for the Boer farms. The SAC helped recruit migrant workers and enforced pass laws to keep Africans not working in mines and on farms away from white settlements.

Imperial policy makers and SAC senior officers formed the SAC in late 1900, believing that it would take control of the two new colonies in the coming months. They did not take into account the determination of the Boer commandos to continue to fight the British through guerrilla warfare. A few troops, particularly around Bloemfontein, protected the local community from raiding Boer commandos. However, the majority of SAC men fought the war similar to other men who took the King's shilling. They battled Boers, boredom and disease but began to construct a large social network among themselves based upon a common camaraderie gained in the veldt. Throughout the guerrilla war period, the main directives of the SAC – police, civilise and separate – remained, but were put on hold for the indefinite future.

With the war winding down in early 1902, Baden-Powell set out to mould the SAC into a proper constabulary. By late 1901 while on sick leave, he visited RIC Headquarters in Dublin to meet with senior officers and to review RIC methods.⁹² On his return to Southern Africa in January 1902, he met over the next few months with the Transvaal Town Police Commissioner and travelled to Natal to speak with senior officers in the Natal Police and Durban Police.⁹³ To form the Transvaal's (A, B and C Divisions) CID, Baden-Powell requested permission to contact London's Metropolitan Police for an officer on loan, which the High Commissioner denied for the time being.⁹⁴ Later in 1902, Milner and the Colonial Office approved the transfer of Gibraltar's Commissioner of Police John L Bennett to organise the Orange River colony's (E Division) CID.⁹⁵

While Baden-Powell sought assistance from outside the SAC, ex-police officers in his officer corps guided the Inspector General in generating police procedures and duties. Former North-West Mounted Police Superintendent Steele, a confident and strong-willed man, attempted to replicate the NWMP as commander of northern Transvaal (B) Division. He stressed to Baden-Powell the practicality of using police officers as District Magistrates and Justices of the Peace.⁹⁶ While Baden-Powell backed Steele's suggestions, Milner and Transvaal Attorney General Richard Solomon overruled them, refusing to have the same man collect evidence for trial and then judge it.⁹⁷ Baden-Powell depended heavily upon his Chief Staff Officer, former BSAP Commander Nicholson, for support. In addition, Milner and his new Military Secretary, Col. William Lambton, consulted unofficially with Nicholson to make sure Baden-Powell had not missed or overlooked any aspect of the planning.⁹⁸

Baden-Powell turned to former Burma Police officer Capt. Walton to produce the ‘catechism,’ or Police Code book of all constable regulations and procedures. After a month’s work, in May 1902, Baden-Powell rejected Walton’s catechism, finding it “more than we require at this stage for guidance of Constables”.⁹⁹ He earlier had informed his officers to “give your subordinates each his job, allowing him plenty of initiative, and hold him fully responsible for its performance”.¹⁰⁰ Overall, Baden-Powell’s viewpoints conflicted with the way Milner, senior officers such as Nicholson, and Attorney General Solomon wanted the SAC run. Milner had wanted Baden-Powell out as Inspector General as early as December 1901, but Chamberlain advised him to wait until the public’s gaze turned away from Southern Africa.¹⁰¹ A few days into Chamberlain’s well-publicised tour of Southern Africa in early 1903, presumably after Chamberlain and Milner had discussed the situation, the War Office ‘promoted’ Baden-Powell out of the SAC to the position of Inspector General of Cavalry in the Army in Britain. Nicholson replaced him as Inspector General. Capt. Hartigan, the former Natal and Cape Police constable, finished the catechism soon thereafter.¹⁰²

The imperial policing network

With the Peace of Vereeniging signed on 31 May 1902, the SAC undertook its policing duties fully throughout the two new colonies in June and July 1902. The constables, as the initial government agents in towns and countryside, stood at the head of the new British administration as it gradually expanded its presence throughout the new colonies. The force brought a new sense of order and administration to the colonies and created a semblance of loyalty for the new British state within the Boer community. It did so by controlling the African communities to a degree that the former Boer Republics had not attained, providing the capability for later governments to enact legalised segregation. The Transvaal and Orange River colonies gained self-governing status in 1907. With fewer than 2 000 men remaining, the new governments disbanded the SAC in June 1908, with the Transvaal Police and Orange River Colony Police replacing it in those respective colonies. Many constables joined those two forces and continued to serve the new Union of South Africa in the state-wide, centralised South African Police (SAP), formed in 1913.

The thousands of discharged SAC constables flooded the imperial policing network, altering dramatically the police forces of the British Isles and Empire. Former SAC men supplied the core of the new SAP, particularly its officer corps. They joined and, in a few cases, led forces in England, Scotland, the Isle of Man,

Ireland, Canada, Australia, West Africa, India, East Asia and later Palestine.¹⁰³ Most significantly, former SAC men led the police forces of the British Empire's two other African settlement colonies – Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. Former SAC Col. AHM Edwards served as Commissioner of the BSAP from 1913 to 1923, followed by another former SAC officer, Capt. A Essex Capell, from 1923 to 1926. Between his time in the SAC and that served in the BSAP, Capell had served as Chief of Police of Grenada. The founding Inspector General of the British East Africa Police, later the Kenya Police, was former SAC Capt. WFS Edwards, serving from 1908 to 1922. Finally, Baden-Powell incorporated many SAC practices, such as the uniform, use of small troops, and the 'Be Prepared' motto, into his Boy Scouts, founded in 1908.¹⁰⁴

The 'British-Imperial' model occurred not only in policing, but in all aspects of British administration in the Isles and Empire. Rather than investing in costly new forms of administration, this model implemented a 'best practices' form of administration in which the men (and, very occasionally, women) who carried these practices enjoyed superior importance.¹⁰⁵ For 'imperial careerists', it did not matter in which environment they worked.¹⁰⁶ While colonial administrators, army officers and imperial policemen served the state, they did not limit their social interaction to government matters but spread British ideas and techniques within the British world. Quasi-governmental social networks such as the imperial policing network linked the British world with the dependent British Empire and India. As these men moved among the Isles, settler colonies and rest of the Empire, they connected the British world with the wider world, fostering the process of globalisation.¹⁰⁷

We continue to see today the importance of recruiting qualified administrators in the aftermath of imperial conquests. One hundred years ago, in planning for the reconstruction of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies, High Commissioner Milner recruited his famous 'Kindergarten' of recent Oxford graduates to fill the ranks of the new colonial administration.¹⁰⁸ Less well known, Milner turned to the imperial policing network to maintain law and order in the new territories, as this article has shown. One can only speculate how different the past ten years might have been in Iraq if the Bush administration's Coalition Provisional Authority had followed Milner's example of recruiting men (and women) based on merit, ambition and expertise and not simply for their adherence to the party line.¹⁰⁹

Endnotes

¹ While some scholars treat the terms 'Boers' and 'Afrikaners' as interchangeable, I use 'Boers', the term used by the British at this time, throughout this article.

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- ² See Buettner, E. *Empire families: Britons and late imperial India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Jasanoff, M. *Edge of empire: Lives, culture, and conquest in the East, 1750–1850*. New York: Knopf, 2005; Robinson, R. “Non-European foundations of European imperialism: Sketch for a theory of collaboration”. In Owen, R & Sutcliffe, B (eds), *Studies in the theory of imperialism*, London: Longman, 1972, 117–140.
- ³ On the “British World,” see Bridge, C & Fedorowich, K (eds). *The British World: Diaspora, culture, and identity*. London: Frank Cass, 2003; Belich, J. *Replenishing the earth: The Settler Revolution and the rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; Magee, GB & Thompson, AS. *Empire and globalisation: Networks of people, goods and capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- ⁴ Darwin, J. *The Empire Project: The rise and fall of the British World system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- ⁵ Storch earlier used the term ‘domestic missionaries’ to describe English policemen out to discipline the general population on behalf of the state. Storch, RD. “The policeman as domestic missionary: Urban discipline and popular culture in Northern England, 1850–1880”. *Journal of Social History* 9. 1976. 481–509.
- ⁶ The few scholars who have examined the SAC place it within a narrow South African or Canadian context. Grundlingh, A. “‘Protectors and friends of the people’? The South African Constabulary in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1900–08”. In Anderson, DM & Killingray, D (eds), *Policing the Empire: Government, authority and control, 1830–1940*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991, 168–182; Wallace, J. *No colours, no drums: Canadians in the South African Constabulary*. Calgary: Bunker to Bunker Publishing, 2003; Miller, C. “The unhappy warriors: Conflict and nationality among Canadian troops during the South African War”. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 23. 1995. 77–104; Miller, C. *Painting the map red: Canada and the South African War, 1899–1902*. Montreal: Canadian War Museum and McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993, 368–390.
- ⁷ On the historical neglect of the SAC, see Miller, “The unhappy warriors ...” *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- ⁸ Streak, M. *Lord Milner’s immigration policy for the Transvaal 1897–1905*. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University, 1970, 16; Page, W (ed). *Commerce and industry: A historical review of the economic conditions of the British Empire from the Peace of Paris in 1815 to the Declaration of War in 1914, based on Parliamentary debates, 2 vols.* 1919. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968, 1; Transvaal Colony. *Statistics of the Transvaal Colony for the years 1904–1909*. Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationary Office, 1909, 7.

- ⁹ “History of the Metropolitan Police: Time line 1890–1909”. *Metropolitan Police*. <<http://www.met.police.uk/history/timeline1890-1909.htm>> Accessed on 26 September 2011; Mitchell, BR with the collaboration of Deane, P. *Abstract of British historical statistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962, 7, 22–23; Herlihy, J. *The Royal Irish Constabulary: A short history and genealogical guide, with a select list of medal awards and casualties*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997, 60; The North-West Mounted Police. *Sessional Paper No. 15, Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1899*. Ottawa: SE Dawson, 1900, part III, p. 5; “Population urban and rural, by province and territory (Canada)”. *Statistics Canada*. <<http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/101/cst01/demo62a-eng.htm>> Accessed on 26 September 2011; Campion, D. “Watchmen of the Raj: The United Provinces Police, 1870–1931 and the dilemmas of colonial policing in British India”. PhD thesis. University of Virginia, 2002, 274; Wall, EG. *The British Empire year book 1903*. London: Edward Stanford, 1903, 467, 484.
- ¹⁰ Ballantyne, T. *Orientalism and race: Aryanism in the British Empire*. Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2002; Lester, A. *Imperial networks: Creating identities in nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain*. London: Routledge, 2001; Drayton, R. *Nature’s government: Science, imperial Britain, and the “improvement” of the world*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000; Potter, SJ. *News and the British World: The emergence of an imperial press system 1876–1922*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003; Magee & Thompson *op. cit.*
- ¹¹ Laidlaw, Z. *Colonial connections 1815–1845: Patronage, the information revolution and colonial governance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- ¹² Jeffries, C. *The Colonial Police*. London: Max Parrish, 1952.
- ¹³ Palmer, SH. *Police and protest in England and Ireland 1780–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Brewer, JD. *Black and blue: Policing in South Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; Sinclair, G. *At the end of the line: Colonial policing and the imperial endgame 1945–80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- ¹⁴ Anderson, DM & Killingray, D. “Consent, coercion and colonial control: Policing the Empire, 1830–1940”. In Anderson & Killingray (eds) *op. cit.*, pp. 1–15; Macleod, RC. *The NWMP and law enforcement 1873–1905*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- ¹⁵ Only one scholar, M Brogden, has argued for a singular model of policing. He asserts that the British police existed in a ‘continuum’ with differences of ‘degree’ rather than models, with practices in one locale affecting other locations, particularly with colonial police forces influencing actions in England. Most scholars dismiss Brogden’s claims, as he overstates the continuously coercive nature of the English police forces, to the point that he claims Westminster deployed policemen to colonise the British Isles. Nonetheless, he makes a strong point. Brogden, M. “The emergence of the

- police – the colonial dimension”. *British Journal of Criminology* 27/1. 1987. 4–14; Brogden, M. “An act to colonise the internal lands of the island: Empire and the origins of the professional police”. *International Journal of the Sociology of the Law* 15. 1987. 179–208.
- ¹⁶ Hawkins argues that the Irish experience was too localised for scholars to consider it a ‘model’. If anything, it served more as a ‘precedent’ for other policy makers to emulate certain aspects of its organisation. Hawkins, R. “The ‘Irish Model’ and the Empire: A case for reassessment”. In Anderson & Killingray (eds) *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- ¹⁷ Concerning an imperial policing network, Williams suggests how personnel flowed between the police forces of the United Kingdom and the British Empire in the late nineteenth century, and Sinclair and Williams demonstrate convincingly the connections between the polices forces of the Isles and Empire for the post-World War II era. While each work discusses what we could call an ‘imperial network’, neither uses this useful analytical conception. Williams, CA. “How insular was Britain’s new police?”. Paper presented at the 6th CIRSAP Program Conference, Police and Colonial Empires, 1700–1900, University Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, 27 November 2009. http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/history/downloads/pdfs/Williams_police_insularity.pdf Accessed on 23 September 2013; Sinclair, G & Williams, CA. “‘Home and away’: The cross-fertilisation between ‘colonial’ and ‘British’ policing, 1921–1985”. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Studies* 35/2. 2007. 221–238.
- ¹⁸ Anderson & Killingray, “Consent, coercion and control ...,” *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2; Campion *op. cit.*, p. 266.
- ¹⁹ Dunstall, G & Godfrey, BS. “Crime and empire: Introduction”. In Dunstall, G. & Godfrey, BS (eds). *Crime and empire 1840–1940: Criminal justice in local and global context*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2005, 1.
- ²⁰ Wiener, MJ. *An empire on trial: Race, murder, and justice under British rule, 1870–1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 5–7.
- ²¹ Amritsar was, of course, one of the notable exceptions. Arnold, D. *Police power and colonial rule: Madras 1859–1947*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 230.
- ²² Petrow, S. *Policing morals: The Metropolitan Police and the home office 1870–1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 29–32, 45, 296.
- ²³ Emsley, C. *The English police: A political and social history*. Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, 6–7.
- ²⁴ Wall, DS. *The chief constables of England and Wales: The socio-legal history of a criminal justice elite*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, 2, 99–128.
- ²⁵ Emsley *op. cit.*, pp. 180–82.
- ²⁶ Palmer *op. cit.*, pp. 299–300.
- ²⁷ Malcolm, E. *The Irish policeman 1822–1922: A life*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006, 40.

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- ²⁸ Metcalf, TR. “‘A well selected body of men’: Sikh recruitment for colonial police and military”. In Grant, K, Levine, P & Trentmann, F (eds). *Beyond sovereignty: Britain, Empire and transnationalism, c. 1880–1950*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 146–68.
- ²⁹ The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew (hereafter NAUK), Colonial Office (CO) Files, CO 549/4, Col. John Nicholson, Minutes of Evidence, 17 July 1905, *Report of the South African Constabulary Commission, 1905, with Minutes of Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence and Annexures*, November 1905, 21–22.
- ³⁰ Arnold *op. cit.*, p. 235; Petrow *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- ³¹ Where the majority of the population supported the state, as in London, policemen did not need arms to maintain order. Arms, and their use by internal government agents, stood as one of the main impediments of establishing police forces in England in the early nineteenth century. Palmer *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 24, 278.
- ³² Malcolm *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- ³³ Arnold *op. cit.*, p. 4; Graybill, AR. *Policing the great plains: Rangers, mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875–1910*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 203.
- ³⁴ Arnold *op. cit.*, pp. 147–148.
- ³⁵ Malcolm *op. cit.*, p. 170.
- ³⁶ Herlihy *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- ³⁷ Curtis, RS. *Review of the South African Constabulary 1900–1908*. Johannesburg: Government Printing Office, 1908, 5.
- ³⁸ Streak *op. cit.*, *passim*; Denoon, D. *A grand illusion: The failure of imperial policy in the Transvaal Colony during the period of reconstruction 1900–1905*. London: Longman, 1973, Ch. 2–3.
- ³⁹ The TTP maintained order over the urban, mainly white population of the Rand and Pretoria.
- ⁴⁰ The small ORC Municipal Police policed Bloemfontein and was amalgamated into the SAC in 1903.
- ⁴¹ Malcolm *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.
- ⁴² Milner to Sir Edward Hamilton, 24 June 1900. In Headlam, C (ed). *The Milner papers. Vol. II: South Africa 1899–1905*. London: Cassell & Company, 1933, 115–117.
- ⁴³ Roberts to Queen Victoria, 17 September 1900. In Wessels, A. (ed). *Lord Roberts and the war in South Africa 1899–1902*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing for the Army Records Society, 2000, 135.
- ⁴⁴ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Baden-Powell, 4 October 1900, 18; Curtis *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- ⁴⁵ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Baden-Powell, “South African Constabulary”, 20 October 1900, 66.

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- ⁴⁶ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Roberts to Secretary of State for War Marquess of Lansdowne, 10 October 1900; Roberts to Milner, 24 November 1900, 15, 81.
- ⁴⁷ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Chamberlain to Milner, 20 October 1900, 12.
- ⁴⁸ NAUK CO 879/65/2, War Office to Colonial Office, 17 November 1900; Milner to Chamberlain, 29 November 1900, 36–37, 50.
- ⁴⁹ Chanock, M. *Unconsummated union: Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa 1900–1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977, 43.
- ⁵⁰ Milner, A. *England in Egypt*, 13th ed. 1920 [1892], reprint. New York: Howard Fertig, 1970, 268–277; O’Brien, TH. *Milner: Viscount Milner of St James’s and Cape Town 1854–1925*. London: Constable, 1979, 100–101.
- ⁵¹ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Roberts to Milner, 24 November 1900, 81; Surridge, KT. *Managing the South Africa war, 1899–1902: Politicians v. generals*. Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society, 1998, 105.
- ⁵² NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Chamberlain, 13 September 1900, 1.
- ⁵³ Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Sir Samuel Steele Fonds, Series I, Diaries (hereafter Steele Diaries), file 2008.1.18, NWMP Diary, 3 May 1900, 19 October 1900.
- ⁵⁴ See Berton, P. *Klondike: The last great gold rush 1896–1899* (rev ed). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972 [1958], 265–278; Morrison, WR. “The North-West Mounted Police and the Klondike Gold Rush”. *Journal of Contemporary History* 9/2. 1974. 96–97, 99.
- ⁵⁵ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Baden-Powell to Milner, 10 November 1900, 80; Steele Diaries, file 2008.1.18, NWMP Diary, 17 October 1900, 18 November 1900.
- ⁵⁶ Baden-Powell, RSS. *Lessons from ‘varsity of life’*. London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1933, 220.
- ⁵⁷ For example, Lord Edward Cecil, Baden-Powell’s Chief Staff Officer during the Mafeking siege, refused a position in the SAC. National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria (hereafter NASA), Political Secretary Correspondence (PSY), PSY 3, Political Secretary to Milner, 8 October 1900, 190–191.
- ⁵⁸ Of all the senior officers in the force, Ridley was the only one whom I could find in my research that had been ‘Stellenbosched’. Other scholars who have narrowly researched the SAC have proclaimed that the officer corps was full of Stellenbosched officers, as they have accepted criticism against the SAC during the war (from officers rejected from consideration in SAC) and after the war (from Afrikaners against any British government agency). For some unknown reason, Baden-Powell himself helped spread the false idea of the Stellenbosched officer corps that many historians have later quoted. In fact, the quality of the junior and senior officer corps was outstanding, as their later careers demonstrate. The Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg, MS.035, Hartigan, MM. *Memoirs*, 149; Baden-Powell *op. cit.*, pp. 219–220.
- ⁵⁹ National Army Museum, Chelsea (hereafter NAM) 6411-1-4-4, Baden-Powell Papers, Staff Diary, 7, 9, 10, 16 March 1901.
- ⁶⁰ NASA High Commissioner’s (HC) Papers, HC 3, File HC 7/35/F.

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- ⁶¹ Baden-Powell *op. cit.*, p. 220.
- ⁶² The Officer's register contains such information as names, prior units, and next of kin for the 459 officers who served in the South African Constabulary from 1900 to 1908. From this information, I estimate that 6% of the 459 officers had served in police forces prior to their service in the SAC. NASA, South African Constabulary (SAC) Files, SAC 340.
- ⁶³ Neville FF Chamberlain (no relation to Joseph Chamberlain or his son, the future prime minister of the same name), Roberts's long-time aide-de-camp, had served as his private secretary during the 1900 campaign. Chamberlain most likely had Roberts's assistance in attaining the Inspector Generalship in late 1900, another military-to-police appointment. He resigned as Inspector General in the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising. Today, Chamberlain is best known as the founder of snooker. See Matthew, HCG and Harrison, B (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- ⁶⁴ NAUK CO 879/65/2, 199, 209, 228.
- ⁶⁵ NASA HC 7, "List A: officers approved for SAC", s.a. [late 1900], s.n.
- ⁶⁶ NASA HC 3, file 13/28/12, Baden-Powell to Military Secretary Maj. John Hanbury-Williams, and Milner to Chamberlain, December 1900.
- ⁶⁷ Hartigan *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36, 114.
- ⁶⁸ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Chamberlain, 13 September 1900, 1.
- ⁶⁹ Grundlingh, A. *The dynamics of treason: Boer collaborations in the South African War of 1899–1902*. Trans. B. Theron. Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2006 [1979], 231–239.
- ⁷⁰ The Protectorate and Rhodesian Regiments were the two 450-man regiments that Baden-Powell raised in August to September 1899, just before the war began. The Protectorate Regiment manned Mafeking during the siege. The Rhodesian Regiment served north of Mafeking. Both regiments joined Baden-Powell in the Rustenburg campaign of June to August 1900. Roberts disbanded both regiments in September 1900, when the men's year enlistment expired. Jeal, T. *The boy-man: The life of Lord Baden-Powell*. New York: William Morrow, 1990 [1989], 217–218; Stirling, J. *The colonials in South Africa, 1899–1902: Their records, based on the despatches*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1907, 200–216.
- ⁷¹ NASA HC 4, folder 12/2/12, Baden-Powell to Milner, 20 November 1900.
- ⁷² NASA HC 7, Army Orders, South Africa, no. 239, 8 December 1900, s.n.
- ⁷³ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Chamberlain, 4 November 1900, 27.
- ⁷⁴ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Baden-Powell, "Instructions to officers recruiting in England", 1 November 1900, 61.
- ⁷⁵ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Chamberlain, 16 November 1900, 37.

- ⁷⁶ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Chamberlain, 24 September 1900; Milner to Chamberlain, 16 November 1900; Baden-Powell, "South African Constabulary", 20 October 1900, 3, 37, 64–65.
- ⁷⁷ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Milner to Chamberlain, 24 September 1900, 3.
- ⁷⁸ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Terms of Service for "South African Constabulary for the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal", sec. 15, 44.
- ⁷⁹ NAUK CO 879/65/2, "South African Constabulary: Conditions of service, pay, promotion, reserve, discharge.", 7 October 1900, 23–25.
- ⁸⁰ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Maj. Kenneth McLaren to Colonial Office, 4 October 1901, 278; NAM 9906-27, Tpr. G. Fleck, "Extracts from a diary on the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902", ch. 1.
- ⁸¹ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Chamberlain to Milner, 17 November 1900, 38.
- ⁸² The origin of constables were as follows: 29% from London, 39% England excluding London, 19% Scotland, 12% Ireland, 1% Wales, and less than 1% Channel Isles. NASA HC 2, "Return of men accepted for the South African Constabulary", s.n.
- ⁸³ NASA SAC 317-37, Registers of Service.
- ⁸⁴ NAUK CO 879/65/2, 9-12, 67.
- ⁸⁵ Steele Diaries, file 2008.1.18, NWMP Diary, 18 November 1900; NAUK CO 879/65/2, Baden-Powell to Milner, 10 November 1900, 80.
- ⁸⁶ Miller *Painting the map red ... op. cit.*, p. 372
- ⁸⁷ NAUK CO 879/65/2, Capt. Perry Fall to Nicholson, 7 May 1901, 233–234.
- ⁸⁸ NASA SAC 317-37, Registers of Service.
- ⁸⁹ NAUK CO 549/4, Nicholson, Minutes of Evidence, 17 July 1905, *Report of SAC Commission*, 21–22.
- ⁹⁰ None of these rolls apparently survive in the South African archives. Curtis *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- ⁹¹ NASA HC 4, file 21/10/1, Milner to Baden-Powell, 10 December 1900.
- ⁹² "Ireland". *The Times* (London). 28 November 1901. 6.
- ⁹³ NASA SAC 346, "Diaries of tours, Inspection-General Baden-Powell", 19 March 1902, 2; 16 May 1902.
- ⁹⁴ NASA SAC 346, "Diaries of tours, Inspection-General Baden-Powell", 31 May 1902, 6.
- ⁹⁵ NASA, HC 8, file SAC 98/4, "Mr. Bennett chief of C.I.D. ORC folder".
- ⁹⁶ NASA SAC 346, "Diaries of tours, Inspection-General Baden-Powell", 5 April 1902.
- ⁹⁷ NASA SAC 346, "Diaries of tours, Inspection-General Baden-Powell", 23 April 1902.
- ⁹⁸ For example, see margins of NASA SAC 346, "Diaries of tours, Inspection-General Baden-Powell", 25 April 1902.
- ⁹⁹ Underlining in original. NASA HC 2, file 42/H, Baden-Powell to Walton, 12 May 1902.
- ¹⁰⁰ Baden-Powell, RSS. *Notes and instructions for the South African Constabulary*. Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, 1901, 21.

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- ¹⁰¹ Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. Milner, Dep. 171, Milner to Chamberlain, 3 December 1901.
- ¹⁰² Hartigan *op. cit.*, p. 179.
- ¹⁰³ *The Nongqai*, the South African Police and Defence Service magazine, published monthly from November 1913 until the early 1960s, updated current South African policemen about their former colleagues around the world.
- ¹⁰⁴ Baden-Powell, *Lessons ... op. cit.*, p. 287.
- ¹⁰⁵ Anderson & Killingray, “Consent, coercion and control ...” *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- ¹⁰⁶ Lambert, D & Lester, A. “Introduction: Imperial spaces, imperial subjects”. In Lambert, D & Lester, A (eds). *Colonial lives across the British Empire: Imperial careering in the long nineteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 1–2; on colonial judges, see Wiener *op. cit.*, pp. 11–13.
- ¹⁰⁷ Magee and Thompson argue that the social networks of the British World helped foster twentieth- and twenty-first-century globalisation. Unfortunately, they define social networks solely as private, grassroots non-governmental organisations, thereby omitting quasi-governmental social networks such as the imperial policing network that developed within the British Empire. Magee & Thompson *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21.
- ¹⁰⁸ Nimocks, W. *Milner’s young men: The “Kindergarten” in Edwardian imperial affairs*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1968, ch. 3.
- ¹⁰⁹ Chandrasekaran, R. *Imperial life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq’s green zone*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006, 11–12, *passim*.