THE 'BRITISH-IMPERIAL' MODEL OF ADMINISTRATION: ASSEMBLING THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY, 1900 – 1902

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Abstract

With the end of the South African War believed to be in sight, British policy makers in South Africa created the South African Constabulary (SAC) in late 1900 to provide law and order over the new Transvaal and Orange River colonies. By 1900, policy makers no longer simply exported 'English' or 'Irish' models to the colonies but sought guidance from existing institutions throughout the British Isles and Empire in a single 'British-Imperial' model of administration. Those policy makers and the new corps' senior officers turned to the imperial policing network for ideas, methods, and particularly personnel to assemble the SAC, recruiting ten thousand officers and constables from across the British Isles and Empire. When it disbanded eight years later, SAC veterans used the imperial policing network to take up new positions in police forces throughout the British Isles and Empire. This 'British-Imperial' model implemented a 'best practices' form of administration in which the men (and, very occasionally, women) who carried these practices enjoyed superior importance.

Securing the new colonies

With his army behind him, British Field Marshal Lord Frederick S Roberts entered Pretoria, the capital of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR), on 5 June 1900. Five days earlier, his troops had captured Johannesburg, the ZAR's largest city. To the British military and civilian leadership in Southern Africa, the imperial army had, for all intended purposes, won the South African War. They believed that British troops would soon capture the Boer political and military leaders, after which the remaining Boer commandos would capitulate.[1] The time was ripe to plan for the aftermath of the war in the Transvaal and

recently annexed Orange Free State, the ZAR's ally. For some months, Roberts' High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, the top British civilian official in Southern Africa, and Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, Milner's superior at the Colonial Office in London, had discussed the region's pending reconstruction.

Those policy makers held two priorities: reopen the Witwatersrand gold mines and create a police force for the new British colonies of Transvaal Colony and Orange River Colony (ORC). Tax revenue from the mines would fund British reconstruction, while policemen – cheaper than soldiers and more presentable to a recently conquered population – would secure it. As Roberts entered Pretoria, General Robert Baden-Powell, the hero of the seven-month siege defence of Mafeking by Boer forces, led a column of British soldiers in western Transvaal, mopping up Boer resistance. With his wide popularity and renowned organisational skills, Roberts and Milner separately identified Baden-Powell as the man to lead the new police force – the South African Constabulary (SAC).

By the start of the twentieth century, a blueprint for British policing had developed, embedded within an imperial policing network launched seventy years earlier with London's Metropolitan Police (LMP) and Ireland's Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). By 1900, policy makers no longer simply exported 'English' or 'Irish' models to the colonies; they plucked ideas, procedures, and particularly personnel, from existing institutions throughout the British Isles and Empire to form a single 'British-Imperial' model of administration. Officials concerned themselves less with context and more with methods and people. If a model of governance appeared successful, such as the much-publicised supervision of the 1898 Klondike gold rush by Canada's North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), they sought to transport it to another environment. In reality, policy makers had little impact on the day-to-day operations of their institutions far from London and colonial capitals. They worked pragmatically within their limits and budgets and 'ruled' through their imperial agents, the 'men on the spot' such as policemen. Imperial agents – soldiers, settlers, traders, civil servants, missionaries and travellers – negotiated with local mediators, largely out of reach of the metropolitan state and its bureaucracy.[2] The best policy makers could do was to lay the foundation and frame an institution and then pray that their agents finished the assembly to their liking, a strategy adopted by the policy makers behind the South African Constabulary.

The SAC provides a profound specimen through which to examine the interconnectedness of the British world.[3] In the minds of British policy makers, state agents, and metropolitan and colonial subjects, the British empire-state formed

one large, heterogeneous whole, with no clean lines of demarcation between the metropolitan core and colonial peripheries; the British Isles, dominions and the Empire; the formal and informal empire; and domestic, imperial and international economics and politics. But these disparate territories comprised a single entity only in the policy makers' fantasies. 'Empire' remained a work-in-progress, a project where policy makers continually struggled to channel the diverse energies of the empire-state toward their geo-political goals.[4] As 'missionaries' of this integrated vision, policemen in London, Ireland, western Canada, India, Southern Africa and elsewhere provided policy makers with the agents to homogenise local communities.[5] As their strategy was to firm up a weak state, policy makers transported ready-made agents from around the British world to the frontiers of the Empire in Southern Africa to construct new, loyal colonies.

Given its worth to contemporary empire-state builders, surprisingly few historians have investigated the SAC.[6] Most histories of the period neglect the corps, which at its peak comprised over 10 000 officers and men, forming the largest single unit that fought in the South African War.[7] The sheer size of the force in comparison to other British police forces demonstrates its indispensability to imperial strategy in Southern Africa: 46,5 constables per 1 000 Boers and 6,1/1 000 per the entire population of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies.[8] These figures greatly outweigh concurrent ratios for London's Metropolitan Police (3,5/1 000), Royal Irish Constabulary (2,7/1 000), Canada's North-West Mounted Police (3,3/1 000), and the combined Indian provincial police forces (0,5/1 000).[9] The large size of the SAC, one constable for every 22 Boers, reveals the significance policy makers placed on its mandates to police the Boer communities and attach them to the British Empire.

After briefly outlining the similarities between the police forces of the British Isles and Empire at the turn of the century, this article will trace how policy makers contrived, from the 'British-Imperial' model of administration, a new police force in Southern Africa. Recent scholarship on the British Empire has focused on imperial networks – multi-directional web-like systems that existed between the British Isles, white settler colonies, India, and dependent colonies. These networks provided racial ideas, discourses, scientific knowledge, news, economic flows of migrants, goods and capital.[10] Much of this outstanding scholarship, however, leaves out the main participants in imperial networks – people. Individuals used networks for patronage, appointments, commercial opportunities and political lobbying.[11] Only through those social networks could policy makers hope to maintain the Empire's position over advancing Boer, German, Russian or American

challengers. The imperial policing network provided jobs, information, practices and connections for the policemen of the Isles and Empire. For the South African Constabulary, the network brought ideas, experiences and men to Southern Africa.

The 'British-Imperial' model of policing

Historians of policing argue that the police forces of the British Isles and Empire had dual separate but related models of policing: a liberal, civilian urban 'English' model that followed London's Metropolitan Police, and a coercive, paramilitary rural 'Irish' model that followed the Royal Irish Constabulary. Charles Jeffries first advanced the dual-model thesis in his 1952 *The Colonial Police*, to date the only synthesis on British imperial police forces.[12] Comparable to the new military history, recent historians of policing have taken a critical political and social look at the thin blue line that defended the British Isles and Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some scholars continue to agree with Jeffries's dual-model thesis.[13] Others argue that no general model could exist, because police forces controlled, coerced and served local communities in different environments.[14] This article rejects both views.

The police forces of the British Isles and Empire developed through a single 'British-Imperial' model,[15] which went beyond simply following precedents.[16] When creating a new police force, such as the Metropolitan Police (1829), the (Royal) Irish Constabulary (1836), the provincial police forces of India (standardised, 1861), the North-West Mounted Police (1873), or the South African Constabulary (1900), policy makers drew ideas and practices from all existing forces. Metropolitan and colonial governance was broad and flexible enough that only one model existed for administrative institutions like the police, judiciary or 'native' affairs. Police forces resided within an imperial network where officials, officers and constables exchanged ideas, practices and documents while moving between police forces of the British Isles and Empire.[17]

In the 'British-Imperial' model of policing, police forces stood as reactive instruments of power with a milder presence than the Army. They assisted metropolitan and colonial policy makers in integrating new regions and establishing control over existing regions. In their daily contact with the Crown's subjects, policemen physically represented the state to the peoples of the British Isles and Empire.[18] They enforced the state's claimed monopoly over the law, which the state increasingly realised during the nineteenth century.[19] As policemen moved from one force to another, they spread 'successful' means of coercion, surveillance,

control and authority throughout the British Isles and Empire, developing similar techniques to deal with criminals and anarchists in the metropolitan regions and with guerrillas and 'savages' in the colonies.

More similarities than differences occurred across the police forces of the British Isles and Empire of 1900. British and colonial policemen, whether white or black, had limits on the extent to which they could repress a policed population, as the latter could always appeal to the government or air abuses against such repression in public through the local or British Isles press. For imperial legitimacy back home, officials needed the appearance of the rule of law in the colonies.[20] Unlike other states' paramilitary forces in the first half of the twentieth century, the mass killing of civilians by British security officials remained the exception and not the norm.[21] While police forces did use coercive measures, prevention – rather than detection – of crime and disorder served as their main goal, again with the public limiting their invasiveness.[22]

Whether in London, Dawson City, Madras or Johannesburg, British police forces functioned analogously. For the most part, the central government controlled them. For example, the heads of the LMP and RIC both reported directly to Cabinet officials, the Home Secretary and Irish Secretary respectively. By 1900, Westminster controlled the British provincial forces as well, as the Home Office supplied the bulk of their budgets.[23] The officer corps throughout the Isles and Empire was closely aligned with the military. Retired military officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) joined police forces in leadership positions. In England, selection committees preferred to hire military officers as chief constables because they exerted better control and discipline over local junior officers and constables.[24] While never in a majority, former soldiers joined the rank and file.[25] Recruiters sought out certain types of men as constables. They desired 'strangers policing strangers' – outsiders to the policed community who would hold their loyalty to the force and state and not to the local community. The LMP wanted rural farmers' sons.[26] RIC constables, though mainly Irish, could not serve in their home counties.[27] Sikhs formed the NCO backbone of forces throughout Asia and East Africa.[28] SAC officers believed that Zulu 'boys' from Natal made the best 'native' constables.[29]

Population density and corresponding foot or horse beat patrols provided the main differences between urban and rural forces. Urban and rural policemen protected property (businesses, stores, homes and livestock), its demarcation, and its use. As government agents, policemen protected the interests and mores of those

elements of society – such as law-abiding citizens and moral reformers in London, Indian landlords and industrialists in Madras, or Boer farmers – that supported the state. To gain that community's support, policemen controlled and coerced the portion of the population which the state and its supporting community wished to suppress, such as criminals and pimps in London, industrial workers in Madras, and Africans in Southern Africa.[30] Use of arms against the local population comprised just one of the many tools to maintain order.[31] In Southern Africa, during the post-war reconstruction period, where the minority Boer and majority African populations did not fully support the new British state, constables needed arms to protect themselves and the property and investments of the British and Boer communities. Another tool for order was barracks, where the state housed constables when an *esprit de corps* was needed to maintain order over communities that did not support the state.[32] Otherwise, economy dictated that policemen lived on their own as other government employees.

Finally, the military stood behind the police, ready to intervene whenever necessary. Police essentially comprised the domestic military arm of the state and served as a vehicle for policy makers to coerce and attempt to control the population in a less harsh manner.[33] The military deployed to support the police as a last resort, not only in the colonies but also in the Home Isles such as in Glasgow during the 1919 Battle of George Square to suppress 'Red Clydeside' or in Ireland during the Anglo-Irish War or Irish War of Independence (1919–21). Throughout the Isles and Empire, the public understood that the Army stood at attention in their barracks, ready to support the aims of the police and the state. This potential for violent coercion always worked in the British empire-state's favour.[34]

Personnel comprised the main commonality across these police forces. Sons, brothers, nephews and cousins of policemen often joined their relative's force or sought work in another one.[35] Policemen moved from one force to another for various reasons. Some looked for work in a new and exciting environment. Others sought to escape their current situation and family responsibilities. Yet others wanted promotions and increased pay in order to better their standing in society. Police departments poached officers and constables from other forces, seeking outsiders with experience to fill senior positions.[36] Those with experience would hold the rank and file's respect and have their past experiences to fall back on when encountering similar situations elsewhere in the Isles and Empire, such as the imperial borderlands of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies.

Assembling the South African Constabulary

When assembling the South African Constabulary in the Southern hemisphere's late winter and early spring of 1900, British civilian administrators, military leaders and SAC senior officers had a ready template for their new force. Many of the potential personnel were already in Southern Africa, serving in British and colonial regiments. Securing the right sort of officers and men held more importance for policy makers than formulating the specific procedures and duties for the force. At this time, policy makers expected Inspector General Baden-Powell to have the SAC fully deployed by June 1901, by which time they believed the war would be over.[37]

Policy makers considered first how the new colonial government would police the two new colonies. Once the Army thought it had taken control of the Orange Free State in March 1900 and the ZAR three months later, provisional military forces policed Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Field Marshal Roberts, High Commissioner Milner, and the Colonial Office in London discussed what permanent shape the police force(s) should take. To ensure the success of his reconstruction project for the Transvaal, Milner needed the Witwatersrand gold mines to produce at full capacity. Only then would tax revenue from the mines pay for the entire reconstruction project, which consisted of building infrastructure, attracting British settlers and 'anglicising' the Boers.[38] Roberts and Milner, with approval from Colonial Secretary Chamberlain, decided to split responsibilities for the colonies into three forces: the Transvaal Town Police (TTP) for the Rand and Pretoria,[39] ORC Municipal Police for Bloemfontein,[40] and South African Constabulary for the remainder of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies.

Roberts and Milner approached Baden-Powell in late August 1900 to serve as Inspector General. He immediately accepted. Roberts and Milner gave the SAC three mandates: police the rural districts of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies; act as models of British civility for the Boers; and prevent African communities from obstructing the colonial states' goals. As the RIC attempted to do in Ireland, the officers and constables aspired to attract rural Boers to the British Crown.[41] Milner believed that Boer farmers, whom he identified as uneducated, devout Calvinists with few national beliefs, had been misled by their leadership.[42] If the British state could show Boers the benefits and prosperity of British rule, law and civility, then these farmers would anglicise and support the Crown.

Policy makers intended for the South African Constabulary to serve the needs of the new colonial states and turn them from self-policed to state-policed societies. The Army however first needed to end the war. In September 1900, Lord Roberts believed active hostilities were "practically … over … For some little time outbreaks will … occur, but these will become fewer and fewer as the people learn that we bear them no animosity, and find that they are being treated justly and kindly".[43] On 22 October 1900, Roberts released a *Government Gazette Extraordinary* establishing the SAC and initiating the recruitment of the new force.

Before policy makers could fully recruit the force, they needed to agree on the total complement of constables. At the outset, Milner and Baden-Powell hoped for 6 000 constables.[44] They sought to recruit 1 000 men in Britain, with the remaining men transferring from the Army, which would allow up to 20 per cent of a single unit to transfer into the SAC.[45] Roberts wanted more constables, arguing that 10 000 would pacify the population more quickly than 6 000. For Roberts, more constables would reduce the War Office pressure on him to lower the number of soldiers in Southern Africa in order to cut costs.[46] Chamberlain supported Roberts's position but Milner resisted, not wanting extra men on the limited colonial budget.[47] Milner finally relented when the War Office agreed to pay for the additional 4 000 constables in late November. In reality, Chamberlain left him no choice.[48] In exchange for partially financing the SAC, the War Office requested that, when necessary, the Army could 'borrow' SAC units in their war effort against the remaining Boer guerrillas. At this time, both the Colonial and War Offices thought 'borrowing' would happen only infrequently. Roberts left South Africa in late December, confident that he had won the war, to return to Britain to replace Lord Wolseley as the Commander-in-Chief of all British forces. His Chief of Staff Lord Kitchener succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief of British forces in South Africa. Throughout 1901 and 1902, Kitchener 'borrowed' more and more SAC units to serve under Army command in the rapidly escalating guerrilla war, much to the dismay of Milner and Baden-Powell. By the end of the war end, fewer than 2 per cent were serving as constables.

Policy makers and senior officers drew their ideas for the SAC from those imperial forces they knew personally. While the British South Africa Company (BSAC) ran Rhodesia, the colony's police, the British South Africa Police (BSAP), reported directly to Milner.[49] High Commissioner since 1897, Milner had also overseen the Cape Police and Natal Police. In his prior colonial appointment in Egypt as Under-Secretary of Finance, Milner followed with great interest the reformation of the Egyptian police by Maj. Horatio H Kitchener.[50] Surprisingly,

Milner and Roberts did not consult with Kitchener about the formation of the SAC. Roberts had interacted with police forces during his long service in India, which culminated in his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of British forces in India from 1885 to 1893, and in Ireland where he served as Commander-in-Chief from 1895 to 1899. He oversaw the campaign to incorporate Burma into the Raj in the late 1880s, where imperial policemen followed the Army and helped pacify the newly conquered territory.[51]

Of the policy makers behind the SAC, Inspector General Baden-Powell had the least policing experience. As an Army officer in India, he most certainly came into contact with provincial police forces and had served alongside the BSAP during the 1896 campaigns to suppress the Matabele and Shona uprisings. Baden-Powell had a reputation for organisation, from both the siege defence at Mafeking and the earlier military training manuals he wrote on scouting, reconnaissance and cavalry use. Milner desired to capitalise on Baden-Powell's fame and organisational skills.[52] To balance Baden-Powell's lack of policing experience, Milner appointed BSAP Commander Col. John S Nicholson as SAC Chief Staff Officer. Earlier in 1900, Milner and Baden-Powell had met separately with North-West Mounted Police Superintendent Sam Steele, who was in Southern Africa as the commander of Strathcona's Horse, a Canadian cavalry unit.[53] Steele had commanded the Mounties in the Yukon during the height of the Klondike gold rush in 1898, gaining worldwide fame.[54] While Steele disliked the Southern African heat, Baden-Powell persuaded him to join the SAC as a Divisional Commander in November 1900.[55]

For a force of 10 000 constables, policy makers agreed to about 300 officers.[56] Finding suitable senior officers provided a challenge, as few officers wanted to work for Baden-Powell, especially those who had served under him before.[57] Beneath CSO Nicholson came four division commanders. Baden-Powell and Milner secured only two of their first choices: Steele for the northern Transvaal B division and Lt Col. Alfred HM Edwards of the 5th Dragoon Guards for the western Transvaal A division. Edwards had served under Baden-Powell when the latter commanded the 5th Dragoon Guards in India from 1897 to 1899. They settled for Col. Henry Pilkington from the 2nd Western Australian Mounted Infantry to lead the eastern Transvaal C division and Col. Charles Ridley from the Mounted Infantry for the Orange River Colony E division.[58] Baden-Powell had desired to split the ORC into two divisions, but could never find a prominent enough man to lead D division. After men such as Col. Robert Kekewich (commander of siege defence of Kimberley), Lt Col. Colin J MacKenzie (military governor of Johannesburg), and Col. William Pulteney (commander of the Scots Guard) turned him down, he

decided to have only one division for the Southern colony.[59] For the remainder of the officer corps, Baden-Powell had the final say, taking into consideration the suggestions of Milner, Roberts, Kitchener and others in the Colonial Office, Army, colonial administration and War Office.[60] They had little trouble attracting junior officers, with approximately 3 000 applicants.[61] Although only 6 per cent of officers had prior policing experience, those officers influenced heavily the future of the SAC.[62]

Baden-Powell reached directly into the imperial policing network for personnel. In April 1901, he contacted RIC Inspector General Neville Chamberlain seeking non-commissioned officers as instructors for the SAC.[63] No volunteers came forward, however, as RIC sergeants would have lost their pensions by transferring to the SAC.[64] The Colonial and War Offices cleared for transfer a few men outside of Southern Africa. Capt. Herbert P Walton of the Burma Police came to Southern Africa, recommended by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.[65] Baden-Powell requested the Colonial Office to transfer Lt. William FS Edwards from the Sierra Leone Frontier Force, the main paramilitary police force in British West Africa.[66] For many, if not all, candidates, personal connections secured commissions. Irishman Marcus Hartigan provides a typical example of these connections. A member of the provisional police in the Orange River colony, his father, a retired officer of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, had served in India with Col. John Hanbury-Williams, Milner's military secretary. His chances were also increased by his former service in the Natal Police, Cape Police and Kimberley CID, and as a private detective in Kimberley.[67] Hartigan accepted a lieutenancy in the SAC. Many non-military men or their sponsors wrote directly to Milner, Baden-Powell or other figures in the government or military to ask for a commission. They were directed to apply for non-commissioned positions in the force.

Recruiting constables

As the War Office had already paid for thousands of soldiers to travel to Southern Africa to fight in the war, Milner preferred to recruit the rank and file from those irregular and colonial units already in Southern Africa.[68] These men served on short, normally one-year contracts. If Milner could extend their stay in Southern Africa to two or three years in the SAC, perhaps they would be more likely to settle in the new colonies and add to its British character.

Milner and Baden-Powell wanted to have a small representation of (British) Southern African colonials in the force, as they were likely to know Dutch or an African language. In addition, they sought to add a limited number of Boers, who knew Dutch and the developing Afrikaans patois, some of the African languages, and the lay of the land. Boer constables would demonstrate to their fellow burghers that service to the Crown was a worthy occupation. These men, many of whom had begun the war in commandos and had become 'joiners', became vital to the various SAC units that later fought in the Army's anti-guerrilla campaigns.[69]

Army soldiers began to transfer in October 1900. Many men from the recently disbanded (Bechuanaland) Protectorate and Rhodesian Regiments joined the SAC as well.[70] By late November, the Army stopped approving additional transfers to the SAC. Chief of Staff Kitchener informed Baden-Powell that the Army could no longer spare men for the SAC in light of the escalating Boer guerrilla campaign.[71] The Army officially suspended transfers on 8 December 1900, two days before Roberts left Southern Africa.[72] Milner and Baden-Powell had planned to raise just 1 000 constables in the UK.[73] Now they would need to find thousands more in Britain and perhaps in the settler colonies as well.

The British Isles became the main location for recruitment. Baden-Powell instructed recruiting officers –

> to engage a superior class of men who, besides making good policemen, will be likely, by their previous training or standing, to make useful, respectable, and self-supporting colonists after termination of their engagement in the Constabulary; between 20 and 35 years of age, or physically equivalent. Smart, well set-up, and, if possible, with some knowledge of riding. Good eyesight is essential. Good recommendations from employers, especially as to sobriety, should be required.[74]

In order to attract men of the 'right stamp', the SAC offered higher wages than did the Army.[75] It also held out the option, so desired by Milner, of land for settlement following the men's discharge.[76] He aimed to 'anglicise' the Transvaal by two means. First, British policy makers would attract Boer farmers to the Crown, whether through examples of 'civility' by constables or English taught in government schools. Second and more vital for Milner, the colonial state would encourage British migration to the Transvaal. He hoped to redistribute poorly utilised Boer farmland to the new British settlers. Policemen made ideal settlers, as they could form a military reserve for the colonial state.[77] To encourage permanent settlement within the ranks of the SAC, the initial provisions of the terms of service

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

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[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.

[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/l01/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.

[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.

[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.

[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.

[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*.