
“Poor South Africa! Will no nice English people ever come out here?”—The South African Constabulary of the Second South African War

JOHAN FOURIE, ALBERT GRUNDLINGH AND MARTINE MARIOTTI

Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: 04/15

KEYWORDS: ANGLO-BOER WAR, SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, SOLDIERS, RECRUITS, ATTESTATION FORMS, STATURE
JEL: N30, N37

JOHAN FOURIE
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
UNIVERSITY OF
STELLENBOSCH
PRIVATE BAG X1, 7602
MATIELAND, SOUTH AFRICA
E-MAIL: JOHANF@SUN.AC.ZA

ALBERT GRUNDLINGH
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF
STELLENBOSCH
PRIVATE BAG X1, 7602
MATIELAND, SOUTH AFRICA
E-MAIL:
AMGRUND@SUN.AC.ZA

MARTINE MARIOTTI
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL
UNIVERSITY and
UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH
PRIVATE BAG X1, 7602
MATIELAND, SOUTH AFRICA
E-MAIL:
MARTINE.MARIOTTI@ANU.EDU.AU



UNIVERSITEIT
STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY



A WORKING PAPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND THE
BUREAU FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

“Poor South Africa! Will no nice English people ever come out here?”—The South African Constabulary of the Second South African War¹

JOHAN FOURIE², ALBERT GRUNDLINGH³ AND MARTINE MARIOTTI⁴

ABSTRACT

Using newly digitized and transcribed attestation records, we provide a detailed description of the composition of the South African Constabulary, a volunteer force of mostly English recruits during and after the Second South African War. These records contain personal particulars, such as age, country of origin, occupation and religion, for 10 399 service terms. We also match these attestation records to the delistment records for each recruit, providing evidence about cause of exit and length of service. The records not only provide a wealth of genealogical data, but also inform our understanding of comparative living standards in the colonies.

Keywords: Anglo-Boer War, South African War, soldiers, recruits, attestation forms, stature

JEL codes: N30, N37

¹ The authors thank Dewald Nel, Chris de Wit and Linda Orlando for help in digitizing the South African Constabulary data. This project is funded by the Elite Project Fund of the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University, and the Australian National University’s College of Business and Economics.

² Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. E-mail: johanf@sun.ac.za

³ Department of History, Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

⁴ Research School of Economics, Australian National University, Australia, and Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

The South African Constabulary (SAC) was a police force established in September 1900 to help Britain administer the two newly conquered territories of the Free State and the Transvaal. After the British forces had captured the capitals of these former Boer Republics, in May and June 1900, and these territories had been annexed as British colonies, arrangements had to be made to stabilize and administer the territories. However, hostilities did not end immediately—the war continued for another 22 months as the Boers shifted from conventional warfare to guerrilla tactics. The Constabulary was thus employed as a military force under the British commander-in-chief, Lord Herbert Kitchener. When the war ended, with the Treaty of Vereeniging in May 1902, the Constabulary could finally get on with their original job of stabilizing the new colonies. They also had a wide range of other duties, such as repatriating several thousand Boer families, restoring civil administration, compiling census data, and registering voters.

As army personnel were withdrawn they were replaced by SAC units throughout the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, creating a network of police posts whose patrols paid regular visits to the farms in each district. By the beginning of August 1902, 28 districts, 61 sub-districts, and 210 posts were occupied. Figure 1 shows the towns where the largest numbers of recruits delisted (more than 100 in each town). The inter-colonial Council, established to bring about closer co-operation between the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, was responsible for the administration and funding of the force. Major-General R. S. Baden-Powell remained in charge of the Constabulary until April 1903. He was succeeded by Colonel J. S. Nicholson, who did duty until August 1905, and then by Colonel R. S. Curtis, who served until the disbanding of the force in June 1908, following the abolition of the Inter-Colonial Council once self-government had been granted to the two colonies. The number of men in the force gradually decreased from a peak of 9,482 in July 1902 to 1,733 in May 1908 as the country districts began to require less intensive patrolling and the administration of the SAC began to wind down. The Constabulary was replaced by the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Police. Although some members of the force were retained, after self-government had been granted an attempt was made to enroll more local men from the two colonies.

Given the important role the Constabulary played in the reconstruction of the former Boer Republics, it is surprising that it has received so little scholarly attention. Considerable attention has been paid to the North West Mounted Police, a semi-military Canadian force

that influenced the formation of the Constabulary.⁵ In contrast, only one historian, Albert Grundlingh, has thoroughly investigated the Constabulary: why it was established, what were its duties, and how the Constabulary recruits related to the repatriated Boer families and the indigenous African groups.⁶

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Despite Grundlingh's contribution, however, we know very little about these men. Grundlingh relied on a small sample of SAC attestation records, the biographic and biometric information that recruits supplied when they enrolled. But this small sample leaves us with more questions than answers. Who joined the Constabulary? Where were they from and what were their backgrounds? What prompted them to enlist? Were these volunteers from the upper classes, keen to defend the honor of the Empire, or were they mostly from the laboring classes, for whom a stronger attraction might be the chance to exchange a life of drudgery for excitement in the colonies? Contemporary accounts seem to suggest the latter. For example, Emily Hobhouse, a British welfare campaigner and outspoken critic of the concentration camps that housed Boer women and children, was alarmed that the Constabulary was recruiting farm laborers. She exclaimed: "Where on earth was such a low, rough, almost criminal-looking crew raked together? ... Poor South Africa! Will no nice English people ever come out here?"⁷ And indeed, as Grundlingh points out, the Constabulary was designed to be a rural police force and recruited men with a farming background because their knowledge, skills, and experience could be valuable when dealing with the rural Boers. According to Grundlingh, a "considerable number of ploughmen, farm workers and other members of the rural underclasses in Britain thus found their way into the SAC."⁸

This paper tests these and other assertions by investigating the records of 8,873 men who enlisted in the SAC. We can do this because we have transcribed and analyzed all 10,399

⁵ Stanley Horrall, "The Royal North-West Mounted Police and Labor Unrest in Western Canada, 1919," *Canadian Historical Review*, 61 (1980), 169–190; William Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver, 2011); Amanda Nettelbeck and Russell Smandych, "Policing Indigenous Peoples on Two Colonial Frontiers: Australia's Mounted Police and Canada's North-West Mounted Police," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 43 (2010) 356–375.

⁶ Albert Grundlingh, "Protectors and Friends of the People? The South African Constabulary in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1900–1908," in D. M. Anderson and D. Killingray (eds.), *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830–1940*. (Manchester, 1991).

⁷ R. van Reenen (ed.), *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War Letters* (Cape Town, 1984), quotation on 89.

⁸ Grundlingh, "Protectors and Friends", quotation on 169.

attestation forms archived in the South African National Department of Defence (SANDF) Documentation Centre in Pretoria. Not only do these records provide us with a wealth of statistical evidence to validate or refute contemporary and later claims, but, by linking the attestation forms with the records of exit for each member of the force, we are able to discover how long the Constabulary men served, why they left the force, and how willing they were to reenlist.

These particulars are interesting not only because they provide information about an understudied military unit but also because the biographical and socio-economic information contained in these records gives us a glimpse into the lives of recruits from across the British Empire and the Americas. Using anthropometric data, we are able to compare the early-life conditions of individuals born in Australia, Canada, the United States, India, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and South Africa. Because some Boers who joined the British side also enlisted in the Constabulary, we are able (for the first time, to the best of our knowledge) to differentiate between the early-life living standards of South Africans born in the British colonies of the Cape and Natal and those born in the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. We also investigate employment type, using the HISCO classifications of occupations, to show that most recruits were not farmers as claimed by an earlier literature.

THE CONSTABULARY ATTESTATION FORMS

Attestation forms give us a wealth of information about social and economic conditions. They have been used in the medical, military, and economic sciences to investigate hereditary diseases,⁹ epidemics,¹⁰ heroism,¹¹ and comparative living standards.¹² The SAC attestation forms are particularly revealing, as they record not only the usual biographical particulars—name, age, place of origin, and next of kin— but also medical, military, and socio-economic particulars that make it possible for us to paint a more complete picture of these recruits' backgrounds.

⁹ Bernard Harris, "Health, Height, and History: An Overview of Recent Developments in Anthropometric History," *Social History of Medicine* 7 (1994), 297–320.

¹⁰ John M. Barry, Cécile Viboud, and Lone Simonsen, "Cross-Protection between Successive Waves of the 1918–1919 Influenza Pandemic: Epidemiological Evidence from US Army Camps and from Britain," *Journal of Infectious Diseases* 198 (2008), 1427–1434.

¹¹ Dora Costa and Matthew Kahn, "Cowards and Heroes: Group Loyalty in the American Civil War," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 118 (2003), 519–48

¹² Richard H. Steckel, "Stature and the Standard of Living," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 33 (1995), 1903–1940.

To do this has, however, required a massive investment of time and resources. The SAC attestation forms are located at the SANDF's Documentation Centre in Pretoria. We photographed each of the several sheets that are available for each individual. We then transcribed these photographed records manually into Microsoft Excel. Because the papers are often not grouped for each recruit, we took care to combine the same photographs of an individual in one entry. We found information on 10,399 service terms, and 8,873 individuals (1,512 signed up for a second term, 13 for a third term, and one for a fourth term).

There are two forms for each recruit entering the service: a biographical attestation form and a form listing the results of a set of medical tests. Combining these two forms provides us, in most cases, with first name and surname, country of origin, next of kin, age, height, weight, eye color, hair color, complexion, religious affiliation, marital status, calling (previous occupation), and wage to be paid in the Constabulary. In some cases we also have information about chest size; physical development; vaccination history; any bodily infirmities such as hernias; skills such as languages spoken and ability to swim, ride and shoot; and personal history such as whether the recruit had been or was currently in the army, whether he had been dismissed from a previous job, and whether he had ever been convicted of a crime.

When a recruit exited the service, a delistment form was archived with his original attestation. These forms include only a few, though important, details: cause of discharge, date of discharge, the recruit's character at discharge, and the length (in days) of his tenure in the Constabulary.

The records show that Constabulary recruits signed up in all the years between 1900 and 1909, although most were recruited during the War years. As Figure 2 shows, more than half of our sample were recruited during 1901 and a further fifth in 1902. The numbers declined significantly in 1903 but picked up again in 1904, when 12.5 percent of the sample enlisted. This is because 76.6 percent of the sample enlisted for three years; the terms of those signing up in 1901 would have expired and reenlistments would have been needed. Incidentally, autumn months seemed to be the most popular; 43.1 percent of the Constabulary signed up during the months of March, April, and May (autumn in South Africa).

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Constabulary personnel, predictably, enlisted in the north of the country, and mostly in three towns: 32.8 percent of all attestations that list place of enlistment were signed in Heidelberg, another 23.9 percent in Pretoria, and 13.4 percent in Modderfontein. More than 50 town names are included as places of enlistment.

The attestations reveal that the recruits came from all parts of the British Empire and beyond. As examples, we might note Federico Peter, a farmer from Buenos Aires, Argentina, described as “stiffly built”, who served for one year,¹³ Max Klein, a Roman Catholic barman from Germany who served for five months,¹⁴ William Frederick Morris from Wellington, New Zealand, married, with blue eyes and brown hair, “tattoos on both arms and chest,” a drover by occupation, who served for two years,¹⁵ and Steward Ferris, a horse trainer from Exeter, England, who died at Engelbrecht’s Drift on 24 May 1901 from a wound received in battle, 55 days after enrolling in the SAC.¹⁶

From the digitized and transcribed SAC attestations we have been able to compile detailed statistics of the full population of recruits. We find, for example, that 57.8 percent of the recruits were born in England, 13.2 percent in Scotland, 10.8 percent in Ireland, and 1.4 percent in Wales.¹⁷ In total, then, 83.1 percent of all the recruits were born in the UK. A total of 6.3 percent (563 recruits) were locals, giving their birthplaces as the Cape Colony (1.8 percent), Natal (0.4 percent), or the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State (0.5 percent) and the Transvaal (2.9 percent), or simply “South Africa” (69 recruits, 0.7 percent). Three recruits were born elsewhere in southern Africa: two in Southern Rhodesia and one in Swaziland. The two other territories that provided significant numbers of recruits were Australia (213 or 2.4 percent) and Canada (545 or 6.2 percent), and a few were born in India (36), New Zealand (31) and the US (31).

An important part of the daily task of these recruits from across the Empire, as representatives of the British administration and “worthy of the name of Englishmen,”¹⁸ was to convince the Boers that the new regime was an improvement on the old. As Kitchener saw it, the men of the SAC had been entrusted with “the great and noble task of embodying in the eyes of the burghers of the Transvaal and the O.R.C. the character and behavior of their British fellow-

¹³ Image number: 2917; Registration number: A508.

¹⁴ Image number: 6130; Registration number: H2792.

¹⁵ Image number: 7646; Registration number: H2982.

¹⁶ Image number: 8369; Registration number: C684.

¹⁷ See Table A1 in the Appendix for the actual numbers from each country.

¹⁸ From a memorandum on the SAC, June 1902, TA, HC 2/46.

subjects, of whom they must be for some time the most conspicuous exponents.”¹⁹ But they faced a daunting task. Mostly unfamiliar with the customs of the country and unable to speak Dutch, they had to manage the subjugated and ill-disposed Boers, many of whom had lost homes and possessions in the war, and who spoke only Dutch. The SAC therefore made a determined effort to enlist Dutch speakers. But the “bitter-ender” Boers were unwilling to join a British police force. The approximately 400 Boers who did enroll were from among the “joiners”, those who had been collaborators during the war. An SAC officer observed in 1905: “I do not think you would get a good class of Boer to join the Constabulary. The farmers do not like the Boer policemen. They would sooner deal with the English policemen, if both parties could understand each other.”²⁰ Baden-Powell’s idea was that the inclusion of Boer recruits would create links between the Boer population and the British, but the plan backfired because the collaborators were despised and disowned by their people, and the policy of enlisting the “joiners” caused the Boers’ hostility towards them to rebound on the SAC.

From the attestations, we can identify SAC recruits born in the South African colonies of Natal and the Cape Colony and the Boer Republics. To discover whether they were English-speaking or Dutch-speaking, we constructed a variable that differentiated Boer surnames from English surnames.²¹ It turned out that those recruited from the Boer Republics were almost all Boer “joiners”: 214 (84 percent) of the 254 recruits born in Transvaal had Boer surnames, compared with only 42 (26.4 percent) of the 159 born in the Cape Colony.

As Figure 3 shows, most of the recruits were born during the tumultuous years of the 1870s and 1880s, when the discovery of diamonds and gold had changed the demographics of the interior. Johannesburg expanded rapidly to become a bustling city with an increasingly motley collection of immigrants and fortune-seekers. Many of these were of British extraction and were labelled “*uitlanders*”²² by the Kruger regime. The *uitlanders* were to become the main bone of contention between the Kruger and British governments, especially when Lord Alfred Milner became High Commissioner in South Africa in 1897. Tensions centered on the issue of the franchise for *uitlanders*. Although this was ostensibly the cause of war, there were

¹⁹ Kitchener to Baden-Powell, 17 June 1902 (copy), TA GOV 1165/70/10.

²⁰ Report of the SAC Commission, minutes of evidence, evidence of Captain O. Wood, Heidelberg, 28 August 1905, Ta, HC 5/47, quotation on 305.

²¹ We could, of course, have used “home language” to differentiate between the Dutch-speaking and English-speaking recruits, but this piece of information was less frequently recorded so our sample size would have been quite small. To ensure a larger sample size, we were thus obliged to use the more subjective surname classification to differentiate between Dutch and English South Africans.

²² Dutch for ‘foreigners’.

also wider considerations relating to control of the goldfields and Britain's need to assert itself in the face of economic competition from America and Germany. Kruger, for his part, in issuing the ultimatum to Britain on 11 October 1899, had hoped for a short war like the clash with Britain in 1881 when the British quickly gave up the fight. This time round it was not to be the case. A long-drawn-out war with numerous unforeseen consequences ensued.²³

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

On average, the SAC recruits were between 24 and 25 years of age when they joined the SAC, although, as Figure 3 makes clear, there was considerable variation in age. The youngest person to be recruited was Piet Petersen, a 16-year-old scout born in the Transvaal, but whose father lived in Durban, Natal.²⁴ Petersen was recruited on 2 August 1902, served for three years in the SAC, and left with the character description "Very Fair." It was only two days later that the oldest SAC recruit, George Potbury, enlisted. He was 50 years old, born in England, and had been living with his wife in Van Wyks Rust, Transvaal, which is also where he enlisted. Potbury served for two years and 258 days before being retrenched when the size of the Constabulary was reduced. His character on leaving was "Very Good."²⁵

Table 1 lists the wages and some personal characteristics of the recruits by region of birth. While there is obviously much to say about each of these characteristics, here we discuss only the most striking. We can see that the Boer recruits were paid considerably lower wages than the rest. Those born in the Cape Colony and Natal earned on average 4.98 shillings per week, while those born in the Transvaal or Orange River Colony earned an even lower 4.46 shillings, more than sixpence (half a shilling) less than the average (5.01 shillings). Those born in the Boer Republics were on average nearly a year younger than the average (23.5 as compared with 24.6 years).

Those born outside the British Isles, bar Ireland, were much taller than those born in England, Wales and Scotland. Asian-born recruits were the tallest, although we can be less confident

²³ For a recent overview of these developments, see Shula Marks, "Class, Culture, and Consciousness in South Africa, 1880–1902," in Robert Ross, Anne Kelk Mager and Bill Nasson (eds.), *Cambridge History of South Africa*, Volume 2, (Cambridge, 2011), 102–156.

²⁴ Image number: 3115; Registration number: A2626.

²⁵ We identified the youngest and oldest recruits using only those who self-reported their age. Image numbers: 3939 and 4073; Registration numbers: A218 and A2671.

about this result, given the small sample. Those born in Africa, the Americas, and Australia were on average about two centimeters taller than those born in England and Scotland and three centimeters taller than the Welsh (175 cm as opposed to 173 cm and 172 cm respectively). These patterns are not entirely matched by the average weights. Those born in Europe were the heaviest (although again this may be the effect of the small sample size), followed by recruits born in America and the Boer Republics. We discuss wages and heights in more detail below.

Very few of the SAC recruits were married, though the figure is rather larger for those born in South Africa (just over a tenth of Boer Republic men and about one eighth of those from the Cape Colony and Natal were married). Two thirds of the Boer Republic recruits were farmers, significantly more than those from the British Isles. Of the recruits who were Roman Catholic, about one third were from Ireland, and another third from Europe.

Most of the attestation forms have information about the recruits' exits. Of the total, 95 died during their SAC tenure, 34 from unknown causes, 20 in battle or from wounds sustained during battle, and 25 of enteric fever, known today as typhoid fever. Other causes were drowning (four recruits), suicides (two), cardiac failure, brain hemorrhage, accidents, pneumonia, and dysentery. None of the South-Africa-born recruits died during their tenure, while 3 percent of those born in Wales did, the highest proportion.

Excluding those who died during their tenure, we found the average length of service to be 638 days (see Table 1). Recruits born in South Africa served the shortest time; those born in the Boer Republics, for example, served only 416 days on average. The Scots and the English remained in service the longest (668 and 656 days respectively). Various reasons for quitting the service, other than death, were service time expired (24.8 percent), purchase of freedom (21.7 percent), free discharge (19.9 percent), dismissal for various reasons (13.0 percent), declared medically unfit (6.5 percent), retrenchment (4.2 percent), transfer to other units (5.1 percent), and desertion (0.4 percent – 36 recruits).

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

The attestation forms record some very specific details. We have information, for example, about the recruits' eye and hair color and whether they had bodily marks or scars or tattoos.

Table 2 lists seven personal characteristics of the SAC recruits by region of birth. All the variables are 1 if positive and 0 if negative, so that the values can be interpreted as the share of the SAC population possessing the particular characteristic.

It is interesting to note the high percentage of South African recruits from the Cape Colony and Natal and the Boer Republics who could speak a black language. As expected, very few of them (and none of those born in the Boer Republics) could speak French, as compared to 29.1 percent of the total SAC population. The Welsh (29 percent) were the most likely to have a tattoo. More than 1 in 5 recruits born in the Boer Republics also had a tattoo upon enlistment. Nearly all the recruits said they could ride a horse and shoot a gun, but only about three quarters said they could swim.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

HISTORY WITH NUMBERS

One of the primary uses of attestation forms has been to ascertain the stature (or height) of recruits. Stature has been shown to be a very useful way of measuring living standards.²⁶ Because stature is determined in the formative years of life, it reflects the individual's living standards during the years immediately following birth. It thus allows economic historians to investigate periods for which we do not have other statistical measures of living standards, such as real wages and income. Using surveys of people's heights in the 2000s, for example, economists can say something about living standards during the 1960s and 1970s.²⁷ Similarly, the heights of recruits to the SAC can tell us about early childhood living standards in the late nineteenth century. Figure 4 shows the average heights of recruits by region of origin.

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

²⁶ Steckel, "Stature and the Standard of Living."

²⁷ Martine Mariotti, "Fathers' Employment and Sons' Stature: The Long-Run Effects of a Positive Regional Employment Shock in South Africa's Mining Industry," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 63 (2015), 485–514.

Our knowledge of South African heights for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is extremely limited. Kris Inwood and Oliver Masakure have used the heights of World War I soldiers to show that white South Africans were among the tallest to enlist.²⁸ The whites were on average seven centimeters taller than the colored South Africans who also enlisted in the War, which suggests that their living standards were much higher. This indicates inequality in the young Union.

In Figure 4, the whiskers on each of the graphs show the confidence interval: the top and bottom of the lines indicate that we are 95 percent sure that the average lies somewhere in between. Note how tall the recruits from the colonies were in contrast to those from England, Scotland, and Wales. (Because of the number of English recruits in our sample, the two whiskers for England are very close together.) Recruits from the Americas, Australasia, Asia, and Africa measured on average 175 cms, while those born in Scotland and England measured on average 173 cms. Welsh recruits were even shorter, at 172 cms on average.

Ireland is the surprising exception: Irish recruits were on average as tall as the recruits from the various British colonies. This is surprising, given that these individuals would have been born between 1860 and 1880, in the decades following the Irish potato famine, 1845 to 1852. We would therefore expect them to have been significantly shorter. Irish exceptionalism in heights is, however, not unique to the SAC data. Nicholas and Steckel found similar heights for individuals in pre-famine Ireland and ascribe this to a nutritious diet and epidemiological isolation.²⁹

But our interest is particularly in South African history. Can the Constabulary records tell us something about the inter-group differences of those born in South Africa? Figure 4 suggests that those born in the two Boer Republics were on average similar to those born in the Cape Colony or Natal. Given that the Boers who enlisted were not considered “a good class of Boer”, as was noted in contemporary field reports, and therefore may have been the children of struggling farmers, we might expect them to have been shorter than the other South Africans. But we find that their heights were in fact very similar: an average of 174.98 cms for the 299 Dutch-speaking recruits in the SAC and 174.77 cms for the 243 English-speakers. There is no statistically significant difference between these two groups.

²⁸ Kris Inwood and Oliver Masakure, “Poverty and Physical Well-being among the Coloured Population in South Africa,” *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 28 (2013), 56–82.

²⁹ Stephen Nicholas and Richard H. Steckel, “Tall but Poor: Living Standards of Men and Women in Pre-Famine Ireland,” *Journal of European Economic History* 26 (1997), 105–134.

These average heights suggest that the Boers who signed up for the SAC had early childhood living standards similar to those of the recruits from Britain, the British colonies, Europe and the Americas. They were also similar in height to South Africans fighting in World War I—perhaps a more appropriate reference category for the height of South African men at the end of the nineteenth century. The Boers in the SAC were nearly one centimeter taller than Inwood and Masakure’s sample of WWI recruits from South Africa, and even taller (by about 0.2 cm) than the South African men in World War II.³⁰

Some of this variation may of course be explained by sample selection bias. Taller army recruits in one region may simply reflect poorer standards of living in one particular section of a country.³¹ For example, because the private sector was performing poorly in South Africa, the stronger, and therefore probably taller, individuals might select into the army, whereas in England, where the private sector was flourishing, the weaker, and therefore probably shorter, individuals might select into the army because all the strong and tall individuals had found better opportunities outside the army. Fourie et al. add that this selection bias may also be due to the technological requirements of the army: while the ability to ride a horse was critical for the SAC, it became unnecessary during WWI when warfare became mechanized. Selection on height thus became less important over time.³²

Without the height records of the full population, however, there is little we can do to mitigate these possible selection effects. What is clear, however, is that the SAC recruits who were born in the Boer Republics between 1860 and 1885 were, on average, taller than those born in the Cape Colony and Natal in the same period, and significantly taller than those born in Great Britain during that period. There is no evidence that the early childhood living standards of the citizens of the Boer Republics, according to this measure of welfare, were lower than those of most of the British Empire or the Americas.

WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT

It was during the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain that police work became a distinct career. For working class men, the SAC offered a professional identity, regular pay,

³⁰ Inwood and Masakure, “Poverty.”

³¹ Howard Bodenhorn, Timothy Guinnane, and Thomas Mroz, “Caveat Lector: Sample Selection in Historical Heights and the Interpretation of Early Industrializing Economies,” No. w19955 (2014), National Bureau of Economic Research.

³² Johan Fourie, Martine Mariotti, and Kris Inwood, “Can Technology Explain the Industrial Growth Puzzle?” Mimeo: Stellenbosch (2015).

and possible upward social mobility. This was a distinct improvement on the uncertain rewards of farming.

The attestations show that 95 percent of the recruits earned five shillings a week. (Table A2 provides the distribution of wages.) More than 200, however, earned only four shillings per week, and three recruits, Abraham Black, Stephen Peter Naude and John Steinberg, all from the Cape Colony, earned an even lower wage of three shillings per week.³³ Sergeant William Loader earned a high wage of eight shillings and threepence, and Constable Victor Charles Primrose, a “smart” six-foot draper from Australia, with his “forefinger off his left hand”, did even better at nine shillings and threepence.³⁴ Promotions generally meant higher pay. There was little difference in wages between recruits from different countries, with one important exception: recruits from the Boer Republics were paid significantly less than those from any of the other regions, including those born in the British Southern African territories. Figure 5 illustrates this discrepancy.

[INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE]

It is unclear from the historical records why the recruits from the Boer Republics were paid so much less. A comparison between the Dutch-speaking recruits from the South African colonies and those from the Boer Republics may provide a clue: we find that the average weekly wage for Dutch-speaking recruits born in the South African colonies was 4.86 shillings, while for those born in the Boer Republics it was only 4.38 shillings. In comparison, recruits born outside South Africa earned an average weekly wage of 5.06 shillings. The lower pay for Boer recruits appears counterintuitive, given the eagerness of the SAC to recruit Dutch speakers.

To eliminate the possibility that these wage differences can be explained by observable characteristics, we regress a set of personal characteristics on the log of wages (see Table 3). We include each recruit’s age, height and weight, marital status, occupation type, and place of birth as independent variables, as well as year of enlistment (to eliminate the influence of changing macro-economic conditions). The multivariate analysis shows that in all four

³³ Black: 2634; no registration number. Naude: 9067; B2641. Steinberg: 7700; no registration number. All three were on six-month contracts.

³⁴ Loader: 8751; A1245. Primrose: 4525; C2923.

specifications, Dutch-speakers from across southern Africa earned lower wages (5.1 percent less in the final specification) than their English-speaking compatriots, and those born in the Boer Republics earned 8.6 percent less than those born in England. Personal characteristics such as age, height, and weight seemed to have mattered little. We also include a variable of occupation (using HISCO categories, explained below), although once we control for year of enlistment, this seems to be economically and statistically unimportant. These results are confirmed by a Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition analysis, suggesting that it is discrimination rather than differences in observable characteristics that explains the discrepancy in wages.³⁵

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

A further incentive to enroll in the SAC was the possibility of acquiring land. In the hope of attracting farmers, the SAC helped the recruits to buy land, which some of them did in partnerships, pooling their savings.³⁶ The aim was to attract large numbers of farmers, and earlier research suggests that this was successful: a “considerable number of ploughmen, farm workers and other members of the rural underclasses in Britain ... found their way into the SAC.”³⁷ The occupation category in the attestation forms allows us to test this assertion. We grouped all occupations into three categories: farmers, upper class and skilled workers, and unskilled and laborers. Table 4 shows the results. It is clear that between the formation of the SAC and the end of the war, the proportion of farmers in the force increased, reaching a high of 20 percent. Thereafter, however, the share of farmers fell significantly, until in 1906 it was less than 7 percent of new recruits.

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

It is perhaps more insightful to disaggregate these numbers by country of birth. Table 5 shows the regional breakdown.

³⁵ These results are not shown but are available from the authors on request.

³⁶ Grundlingh, “Protectors and Friends”, 170.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, quotation on 169.

[INSERT TABLE 5 HERE]

Most recruits from the Boer Republics were farmers (65 percent), and the other South African territories also contributed a sizeable share (25 percent). However, contradicting claims that the Constabulary attracted large numbers of English farmers, the attestations show that very few of those who came from England were from a farming background; only 9 percent listed their calling as “farmer.”

More than a thousand different occupations— or “callings” as they are termed in the Constabulary attestations— are recorded.³⁸ We use the historical international classification of occupations, HISCO, to categorize each occupation.³⁹ HISCO is divided into 10 major occupational groups and several dozen minor occupational groups. The 10 major groups are defined by the first digit of the two-digit HISCO code: professional, technical and related workers (0 and 1), administrative and managerial workers (2), clerical and related workers (3), sales workers (4), service workers (5), agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters (6), and production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers (7, 8 and 9). Table 6 shows the minor groups and the number of Constabulary recruits classified into each category.

[INSERT TABLE 6 HERE]

Farmers and farm workers are the largest category, making up a fifth of all enlistees. Clerical workers make up 10 percent, protective service workers (soldiers, policemen and firemen) make up 8 percent, and proprietors, food and beverage processors, and construction workers make up 5 percent each. As the HISCO classification makes clear, most enlistees were from

³⁸ It is difficult to determine exactly how many different occupations there were, as some may be the same job described in different ways.

³⁹ Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas, and Andrew Miles, “Creating a Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations: An Exercise in Multinational Interdisciplinary Cooperation,” *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 37 (2004), 186–197; Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas, “Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification.” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36 (2010), 429–451.

the laboring classes. Emily Hobhouse's assessment of the English recruits seems to have been spot on, if rather disparaging.

The distribution of the recruits' occupations differed somewhat by region of origin. Table 7 shows the 10 HISCO categories across the 10 regions the enlistees originated from. A third of all Asian recruits were from the professional and technical classes, compared to only 1.4 percent of those drafted from the Boer Republics. In contrast, 64 percent of those from the Boer Republics were farmers, farm workers, hunters, or fishermen, while only 13 percent of those from Wales and only 12 percent of those from Asia were in these categories. Other noteworthy outliers are the large number of clerical and related workers who came from the Cape Colony and Natal (more than 20 percent), the large number of Irish sales workers (more than 10 percent), and the large numbers of Welsh miners (close to 10 percent, see Table A3 in the Appendix).

[INSERT TABLE 7 HERE]

There were also some more unusual occupations. Several recruits were professional sportsmen: there were three professional golfers (Walter Edwin Clinch and William Staniforth from England and Alexander Davis from Scotland),⁴⁰ a professional swimmer, a steeplechase jockey, a gymnast, and a professional athlete. Six Australian "bushmen" signed up, and 10 American "cowboys." And then there were also a lobster packer, a china painter, a deer stalker, and Thomas Gray, a Scot who was recruited in Perth, who specified his calling as "mole catcher."⁴¹

THE COMMONWEALTH AND COLONIALISM

The digitization and transcription of military attestation records can reveal much more than simply the personal details of those enlisted in the army. Using the South African Constabulary attestation forms, our research reveals, for the first time, the size and composition of an Anglo-Boer War peacekeeping force. This has improved our understanding

⁴⁰ Clinch: 9466; C2787. Staniforth: 6956; HQ74. Davis: 3422; A549.

⁴¹ Image number: 3746; Registration number: A2396.

of the origins, occupation, and physical characteristics of the recruits, and by linking their attestation forms with their delistment forms we have been able to calculate their length of tenure.

More broadly, the digitization of the SAC attestation forms has given us some idea of the early childhood living conditions across different parts of the British Empire and Americas. We found that the recruits born outside the British Isles (bar Ireland) were taller, on average, than those from England, Wales, and Scotland. We recognize that these results may be subject to selection biases; at the least, though, our results suggest that the British and colonial recruits had had very different life experiences by the time they joined the SAC, some of them very rough and deprived, which is perhaps the reason Emily Hobhouse was appalled upon witnessing the arriving English recruits. The attestations also enable us to study the labor market, assess the determinants of high wages, and identify and maybe explain the discrepancy between the wages of Dutch-speaking Boers in the Boer Republics and those from elsewhere in the Empire.

Across the African continent there is renewed enthusiasm for exploring the history of colonialism. The digitization of attestation forms of colonial subjects stands central to these endeavors: information on heights and wages offers a more nuanced interpretation of colonialism, for example showing an improvement in living standards in some regions while others stagnated or deteriorated.⁴² Indeed, this new understanding of the colonial experience ‘from below’, acquired by using individual-level sources, is what Gareth Austin and Stephen Broadberry have labelled ‘the renaissance of African economic history’.⁴³

South Africa’s specific variety of colonialism, however, has often excluded the country from comparisons with other colonized countries. The digitization, transcription and analysis of the records of the South African Constabulary recruits allows us, for the first time, not only to compare South African colonial history with Commonwealth history, as has been shown here, but notably also to position pre-Union South Africa within the history of colonialism in Africa.

⁴² Alexander Moradi, “Towards an objective account of nutrition and health in colonial Kenya: a study of stature in African army recruits and civilians, 1880–1980,” *The Journal of Economic History* 69 (2009), 719–754; Denis Cogneau and Léa Rouanet, “Living conditions in Côte D’ivoire and Ghana, 1925–1985: what do survey data on height stature tell us?” *Economic History of Developing Regions* 26 (2011), 55–82; Ewout Frankema and Marlous Van Waijenburg, “Structural impediments to African growth? New evidence from real wages in British Africa, 1880–1965,” *The Journal of Economic History* 72 (2012), 895–926.

⁴³ Gareth Austin and Stephen Broadberry, “Introduction: The renaissance of African economic history,” *The Economic History Review* 67 (2014), 893–906.

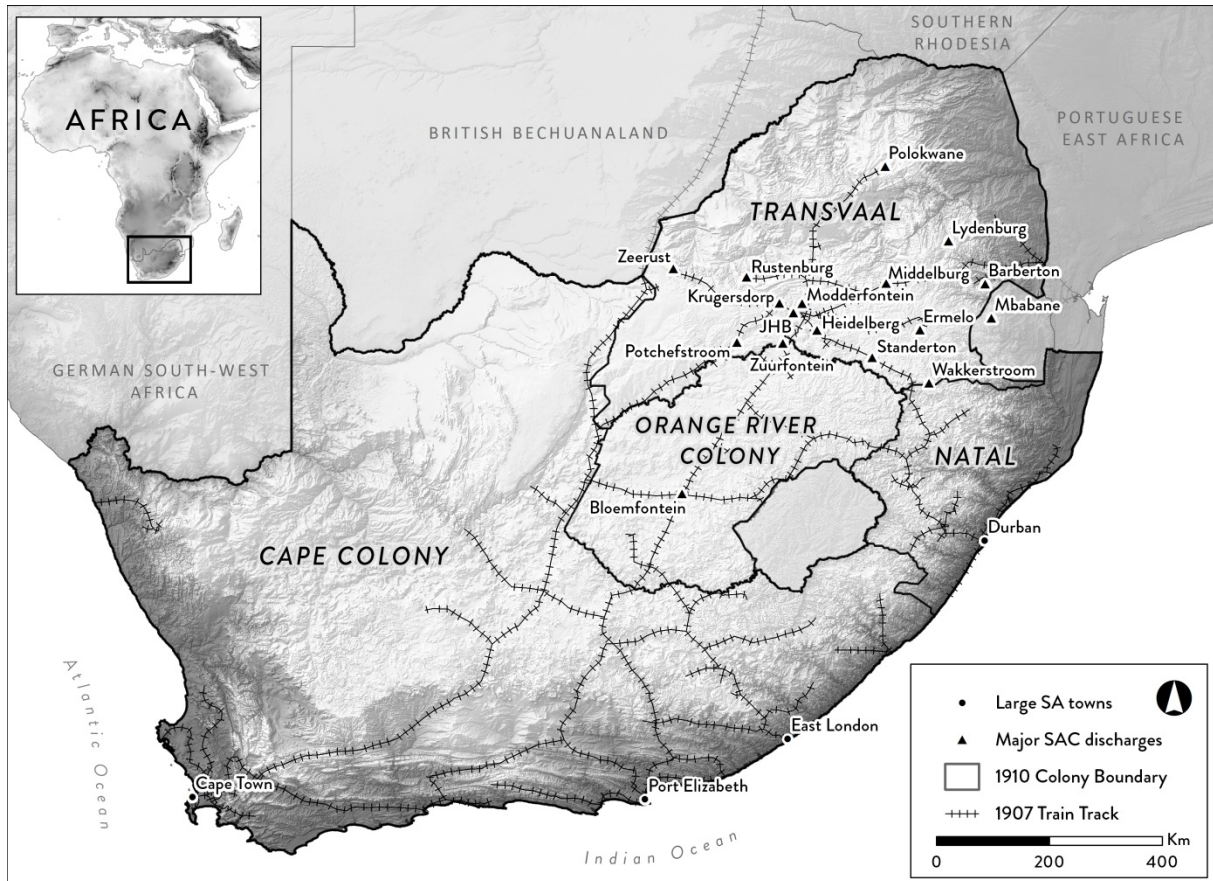


Fig. 1 Map of South Africa Showing the Four Provinces in 1910 with the Towns Where Most SAC Discharges Were Signed

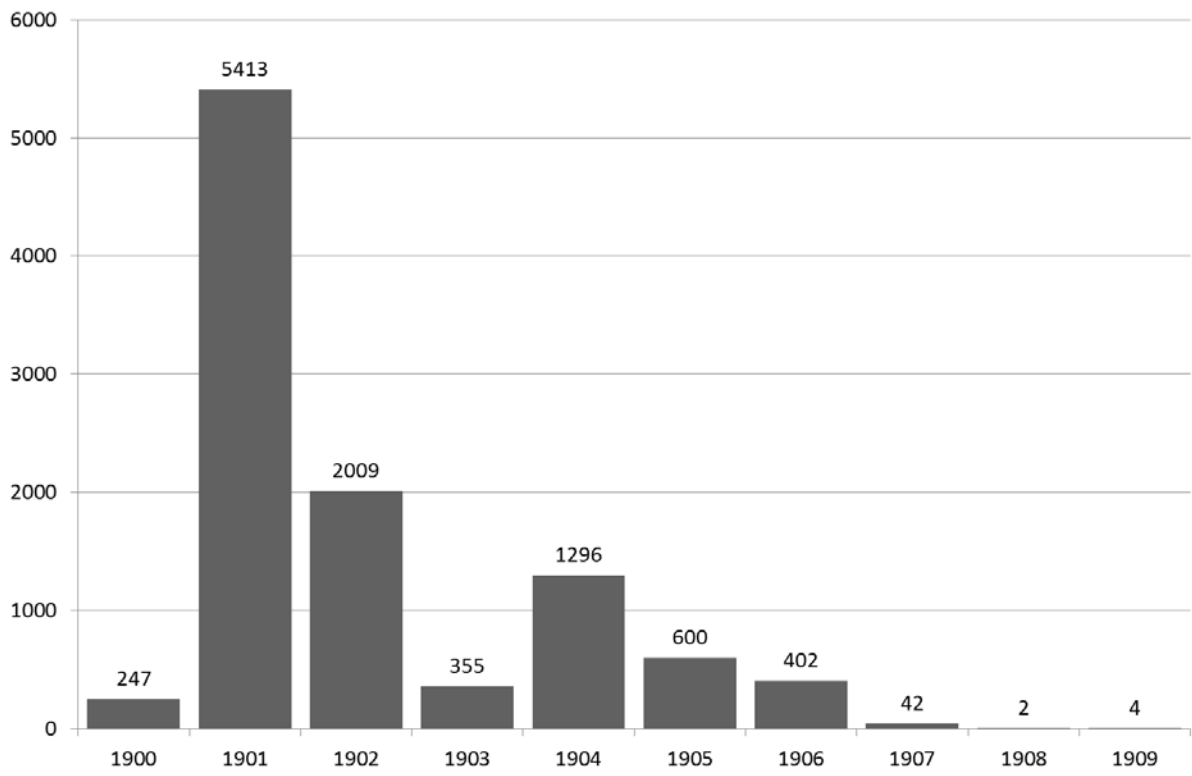


Fig. 2 Number of SAC Enlistments, by Year (1900-1909)

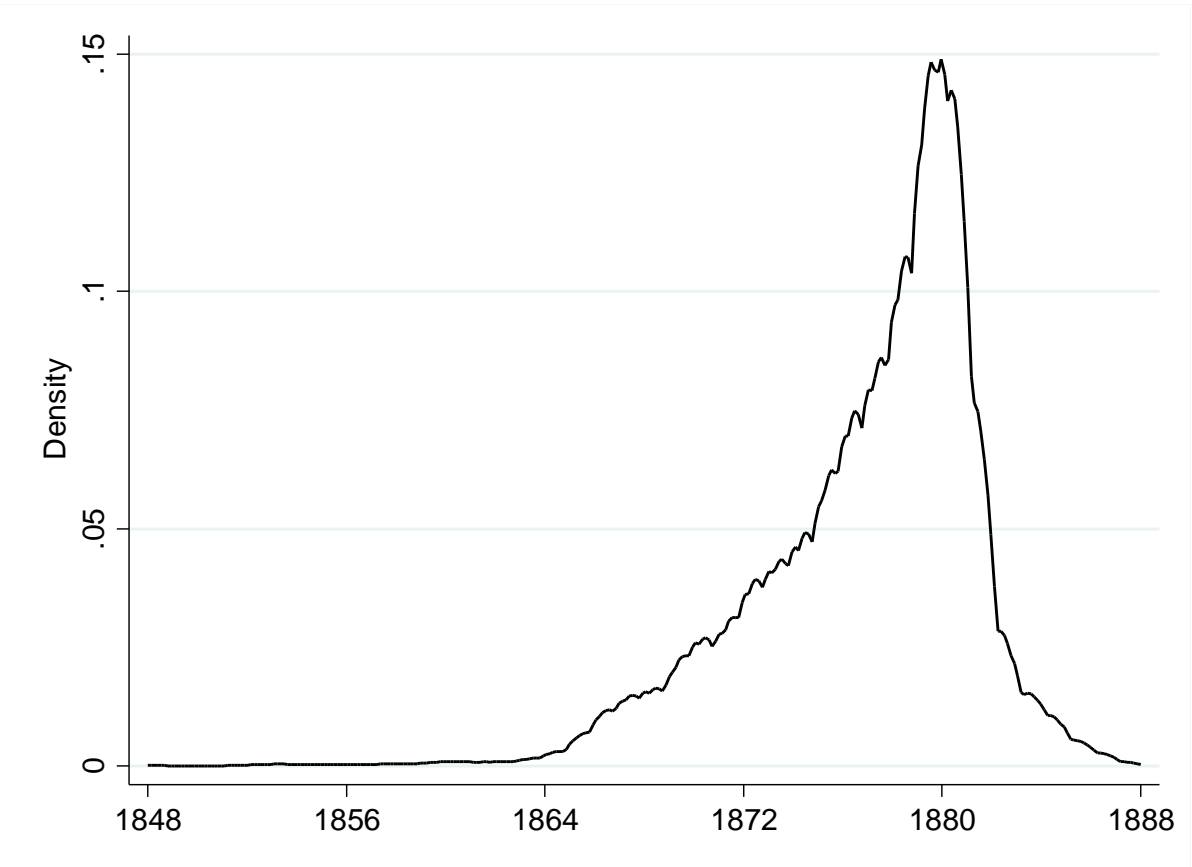


Fig. 3 Date of Birth of SAC Recruits, 1848-1888

Fig. 4 Mean Height of SAC Recruits, by Region (centimeters)

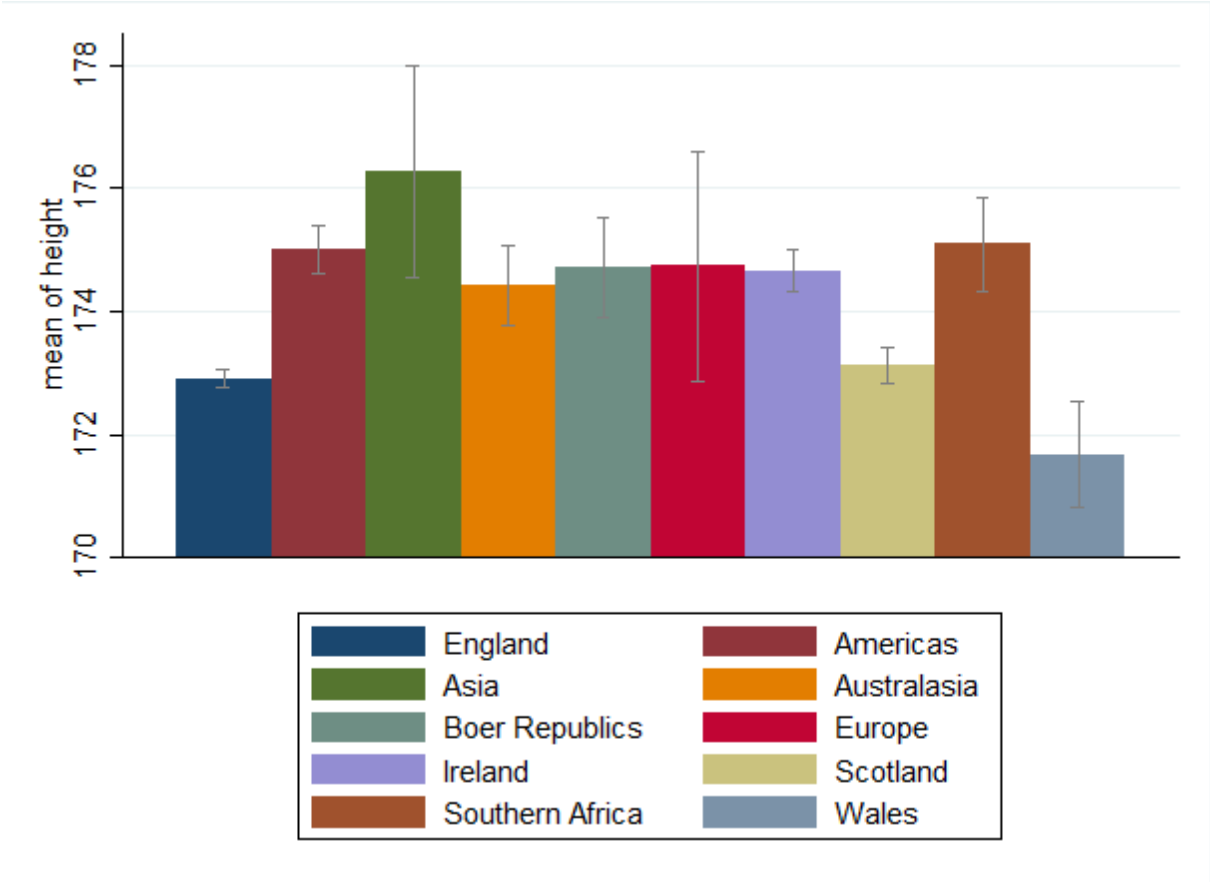


Fig. 5 Mean Wage of SAC Recruits, by Region (shillings)

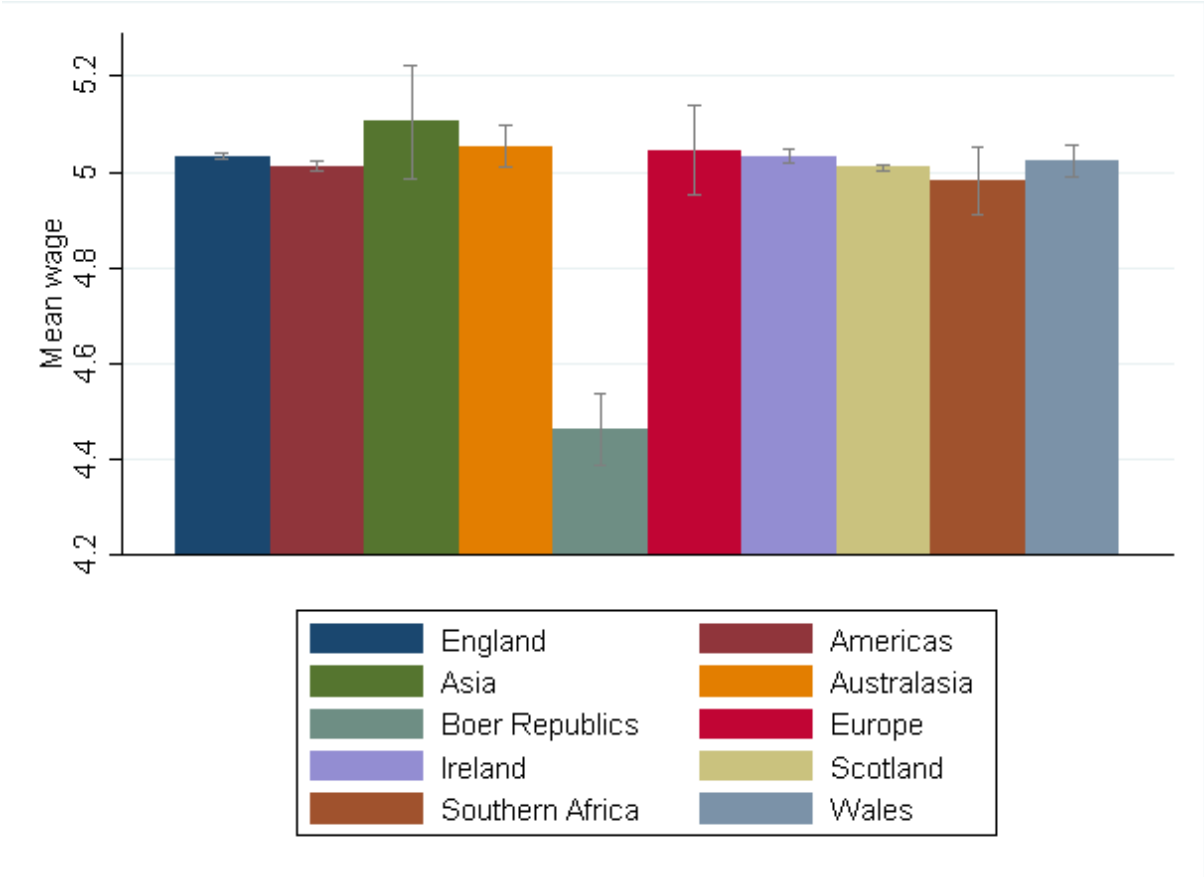


Table 1 Personal Characteristics of SAC Recruits, by Region of Birth

	Wage	Age	Height	Weight	Married	Farmer	RC	Chest	Died	Tenure
Americas	5.01	24.01	174.99	70.79	0.02	0.24	0.10	36.06	0.01	628.14
Asia	5.10	25.91	176.26	67.16	0.07	0.10	0.14	35.35	0.00	562.00
Australasia	5.05	25.82	174.42	69.12	0.05	0.15	0.17	36.43	0.01	496.97
Boer Republics	4.46	23.48	174.66	70.35	0.18	0.64	0.01	36.17	0.00	415.87
England	5.03	24.52	172.91	65.97	0.06	0.09	0.04	35.84	0.01	655.67
Europe	5.05	25.16	174.73	71.09	0.06	0.16	0.27	35.97	0.00	520.90
Ireland	5.03	25.35	174.65	68.12	0.05	0.17	0.32	36.51	0.02	624.61
Scotland	5.01	24.58	173.13	67.51	0.05	0.11	0.03	36.47	0.01	668.11
Southern Africa	4.98	24.55	175.03	68.53	0.14	0.25	0.09	35.91	0.00	490.61
Wales	5.02	25.52	171.70	66.01	0.03	0.10	0.06	36.05	0.03	573.15
Total	5.01	24.61	173.43	67.07	0.06	0.14	0.08	36.04	0.01	630.92
Number of obs.	8799	8724	8771	8170	8804	8751	8811	7261	6911	6822

NOTE Wages are in shillings per week. Height is in centimeters. Weight is in kilograms. 'Married' is 1 if recruit was married. 'Chest' is the average of the minimum and maximum chest circumference, and measured in centimeters. 'Catholic' is 1 if the recruit was Roman Catholic as recorded under 'Religion'. 'Died' is 1 if the individual died while serving in the Constabulary. 'Tenure' is the number of days the individual served in the SAC. All repeat observations are dropped from the analysis.

Table 2 Additional Personal Characteristics of SAC Recruits, by Region of Birth

	Blue eyes	Red or ruddy hair	Speaks black lang.	Speaks French	Has tattoo	Can ride	Can shoot	Can swim
Americas	49.7%	0.7%	6.7%	30.5%	15.3%	99.6%	100%	92.2%
Asia	44.2%	2.3%	15.8%	47.4%	23.1%	83.3%	96.7%	92.0%
Australasia	44.3%	1.6%	37.9%	13.8%	21.6%	97.8%	97.8%	86.3%
Boer Republics	32.2%	2.4%	36.8%	0.0%	21.6%	100%	100%	100%
England	39.3%	1.1%	14.4%	31.8%	22.9%	93.1%	94.6%	75.2%
Europe	45.5%	0.0%	23.8%	19.0%	18.2%	100%	100%	88.9%
Ireland	47.2%	1.7%	14.2%	43.2%	19.9%	96.1%	97.1%	74.1%
Scotland	43.9%	1.6%	11.8%	18.4%	19.9%	93.3%	94.4%	62.9%
Southern Africa	27.8%	1.1%	45.9%	2.7%	21.4%	96.4%	98.8%	87.5%
Wales	31.5%	0.8%	13.0%	8.7%	29.0%	92.6%	93.7%	78.5%
Total	40.9%	1.3%	15.5%	29.1%	21.5%	94.0%	95.3%	75.0%

NOTE 'Speak black language' is 1 if the individual recorded that he spoke a southern African indigenous language. This is most often simply referred to as 'Kafir' language, but Zulu, Sotho, Swazi, Matabele and Shona are also recorded. 'Tattoo' is 1 if the individual reports a tattoo under the category 'Marks and scars'. 'Ride', 'shoot', and 'swim' are 1 if the recruit self-reported possessing these three skills.

Table 3 What Explains the Wage Gap between Boer and Other Recruits?

	Spec (1)	Spec (2)	Spec (3)	Spec (4)
Afrikaans	-0.108*** (-9.83)	-0.101*** (-26.73)	-0.072*** (-12.27)	-0.057*** (-12.45)
Age		0.000** -2.7	0.000* -2.18	-0.000*** (-3.89)
Height		0.000* -2.28	0 -1.96	0 (-0.49)
Weight		-0.000*** (-4.03)	-0.000** (-2.97)	0 -1.09
Married		-0.011*** (-4.23)	-0.011*** (-4.25)	-0.003 (-1.28)
HISCO 0			0.003 -1.52	-0.001 (-0.38)
HISCO 1			0.004 -1.15	0.002 -0.7
HISCO 2			0.003 -0.57	0.005 -1.12
HISCO 3			0.004* -2.24	-0.003 (-1.92)
HISCO 4			0.006** -2.88	0.003* -1.97
HISCO 5			-0.001 (-0.49)	-0.004* (-2.55)
HISCO 7			0.005* -2.48	0.001 -0.59
HISCO 8			0.007*** -3.68	0.002 -1.26
HISCO 9			0.004* -2.55	0.001 -0.56
England			0.047*** -8.15	0.078*** -17.16
Americas			0.044*** -7.36	0.076*** -16.01
Asia			0.063*** -6.83	0.083*** -11.51
Australasia			0.050*** -7.63	0.075*** -14.73
Europe			0.053*** -5.12	0.057*** -7.04
Ireland			0.048*** -8.04	0.078*** -16.72
Scotland			0.043*** -7.26	0.074*** -15.92
Cape Colony & Natal			0.066***	0.059***

			-11.22	-12.91
Wales			0.045***	0.073***
			-6.36	-13.25
1901				-0.019*
				(-2.00)
1902				-0.024*
				(-2.55)
1903				-0.009
				(-0.94)
1904				-0.016
				(-1.65)
1905				-0.012
				(-1.26)
1906				0.102***
				-10.43
1907				0.240***
				-18.99
Constant	1.601***	1.587***	1.539***	1.565***
	-194.35	-91.6	-83.41	-90.61
R-squared	0.149	0.099	0.121	0.468
N	554	7442	7394	7389

NOTE HISCO-category 6 (farmers) is the reference group for occupations, the Boer republics are the reference group for place-of-birth, and 1900 is the reference group for year of enlistment.

Table 4 Share of Occupations by Year of Enrolment

Class	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	Total
Farmers	6.1%	13.1%	20.0%	11.9%	7.8%	7.9%	6.9%	13.7%
White collar	65.4%	63.4%	57.2%	64.7%	60.8%	52.6%	59.6%	61.5%
Blue collar	28.5%	23.5%	22.8%	23.4%	31.3%	39.5%	33.5%	24.8%

Table 5 Share of Occupations by Region of Birth

	Upper,		
	Farmers	middle	Lower
Americas	23.55%	54.44%	22.01%
Asia	9.52%	40.48%	50.00%
Australasia	15.16%	59.02%	25.82%
Boer Republics	64.53%	30.07%	5.41%
England	8.99%	65.60%	25.40%
Europe	15.63%	65.63%	18.75%
Ireland	17.19%	49.26%	33.54%
Scotland	10.79%	70.32%	18.90%
Southern Africa	25.46%	43.17%	31.37%
Wales	9.68%	66.94%	23.39%
Total	13.67%	61.56%	24.78%

Table 6 HISCO Classification of South African Constabulary Occupations

HISCO	Description	Freq.	%
00	Gentlemen / No occupation specified	260	2.96
01	Physical Scientists And Related Technicians	1	0.01
03	Architects, Engineers And Related Technicians	281	3.20
04	Aircraft And Ships' Officers	11	0.13
06	Medical, Dental, Veterinary And Related Workers	81	0.92
10	Students	22	0.25
11	Accountants	42	0.48
12	Jurists	13	0.15
13	Teachers	50	0.57
15	Authors, Journalists And Related Writers	10	0.11
16	Sculptors, Painters, Photographers And Related Creative Artists	26	0.30
17	Composers And Performing Artists	73	0.83
18	Athletes, Sportsmen And Related Workers	26	0.30
19	Professional, Technical And Related Workers Not Elsewhere Classified	5	0.06
21	Managers	20	0.23
22	Supervisors, Foremen And Inspectors	50	0.57
30	Clerical And Related Workers, Specialisation Unknown	814	9.28
31	Government Executive Officials	9	0.10
32	Stenographers, Typists And Card- And Tape-Punching Machine Operators	19	0.22
33	Bookkeepers, Cashiers And Related Workers	51	0.58
36	Transport Conductors	87	0.99
37	Mail Distribution Clerks	25	0.28
38	Telephone And Telegraph Operators	53	0.60
39	Clerical And Related Workers Not Elsewhere Classified	62	0.71
41	Working Proprietors (Wholesale And Retail Trade)	394	4.49
42	Buyers	3	0.03
43	Technical Salesmen, Commercial Travellers And Manufacturers Agents	170	1.94
44	Insurance, Real Estate, Securities And Business Services Salesmen And Auctioneers	63	0.72
45	Salesmen, Shop Assistants And Related Workers	87	0.99
51	Working Proprietors (Catering, Lodging And Leisure Services)	18	0.21
53	Cooks, Waiters, Bartenders And Related Workers	110	1.25
54	Maids And Related Housekeeping Service Workers Not Elsewhere Classified	86	0.98
55	Building Caretakers, Chars, Cleaners And Related Workers	45	0.51
56	Launderers, Dry-Cleaners And Pressers	7	0.08
57	Hairdressers, Barbers, Beauticians And Related Workers	24	0.27
58	Protective Service Workers	732	8.34
59	Service Workers Not Elsewhere Classified	24	0.27
61	Farmers	58	0.66
62	Agricultural And Animal Husbandry Workers	1654	18.85
63	Forestry Workers	19	0.22
64	Fishermen, Hunters And Related Workers	51	0.58
71	Miners, Quarrymen, Well-Drillers And Related Workers	164	1.87
72	Metal Processors	53	0.60
73	Wood Preparation Workers And Paper Makers	5	0.06

74	Chemical Processors And Related Workers	9	0.10
75	Spinners, Weavers, Knitters, Dyers And Related Workers	43	0.49
76	Tanners, Fellmongers And Pelt Dressers	16	0.18
77	Food And Beverage Processors	433	4.93
78	Tobacco Preparers And Tobacco Product Makers	5	0.06
79	Tailors, Dressmakers, Sewers, Upholsterers And Related Workers	112	1.28
80	Shoemakers And Leather Goods Makers	179	2.04
81	Cabinetmakers And Related Woodworkers	69	0.79
82	Stone Cutters And Carvers	55	0.63
83	Blacksmiths, Toolmakers And Machine-Tool Operators	250	2.85
84	Machinery Fitters, Machine Assemblers And Precision-Instrument Makers	167	1.90
85	Electrical Fitters And Related Electrical And Electronics Workers	59	0.67
87	Plumbers, Welders, Sheet-Metal, And Structural Metal Preparers And Erectors	135	1.54
88	Jewellers And Precious Metal Workers	16	0.18
89	Glass Formers, Potters And Related Workers	43	0.49
90	Rubber And Plastics Product Makers	3	0.03
91	Paper And Paperboard Products Makers	7	0.08
92	Printers And Related Workers	74	0.84
93	Painters	87	0.99
94	Production And Related Workers Not Elsewhere Classified	13	0.15
95	Bricklayers, Carpenters And Other Construction Workers	441	5.03
96	Stationary Engine And Related Equipment Operators	49	0.56
97	Material Handling And Related Equipment Operators, Dockers And Freight Handlers	75	0.85
98	Transport Equipment Operators	305	3.48
99	Workers Not Elsewhere Classified	273	3.11
Total		8776	100

NOTE Several dozen enlistees have no 'calling' entry. These are excluded from the analysis.

Table 7 Share of Occupations, by Region

HISCO	America	Asia	Austral- asia	Boer Rep.	England	Europe	Ireland	Scotland	Cape Colony, Natal	Wales	Total
0	5.99%	23.81%	8.23%	1.37%	7.38%	15.63%	9.14%	5.73%	7.09%	9.76%	7.21%
1	2.40%	9.52%	4.53%	1.02%	3.47%	6.25%	3.51%	1.30%	2.24%	2.44%	3.05%
2	0.17%	2.38%	0.82%	0.00%	0.87%	0.00%	0.85%	0.87%	1.12%	0.81%	0.80%
3	13.87%	19.05%	12.76%	5.80%	12.42%	12.50%	16.47%	10.07%	21.64%	12.20%	12.74%
4	3.42%	4.76%	8.23%	1.37%	8.68%	3.13%	11.26%	7.99%	6.34%	9.76%	8.16%
5	6.85%	19.05%	7.82%	15.36%	12.13%	12.50%	15.52%	12.24%	6.72%	7.32%	11.94%
6	26.71%	11.90%	24.28%	64.16%	16.45%	18.75%	22.10%	20.31%	25.37%	13.01%	20.28%
7	9.59%	0.00%	9.47%	1.02%	10.37%	3.13%	4.46%	12.85%	6.34%	17.89%	9.59%
8	15.24%	4.76%	9.47%	5.46%	11.54%	15.63%	6.06%	13.02%	10.82%	13.01%	11.11%
9	15.75%	4.76%	14.40%	4.44%	16.70%	12.50%	10.63%	15.63%	12.31%	13.82%	15.12%

APPENDIX

Table A1 Number and percentage of recruits, by Region

Country	Number	Percent
Argentina	1	0.01%
Australia	213	2.42%
Belgium	1	0.01%
Canada	545	6.19%
Cape Colony	159	1.80%
Ceylon	3	0.03%
Channel Islands	1	0.01%
China	1	0.01%
Denmark	3	0.03%
England	5089	57.76%
France	3	0.03%
Germany	9	0.10%
Gibraltar	2	0.02%
Guernsey	1	0.01%
Hungary	1	0.01%
Iceland	2	0.02%
India	36	0.41%
Ireland	949	10.77%
Isle of Man	3	0.03%
Isle of Wight	4	0.05%
Japan	3	0.03%
Jersey	3	0.03%
Malta	2	0.02%

Mauritius	2	0.02%
Natal	37	0.42%
New Zealand	31	0.35%
Norway	2	0.02%
Orange River Colony	44	0.50%
Southern Rhodesia	2	0.02%
Russia	2	0.02%
Scotland	1160	13.17%
Shetland Islands	1	0.01%
South Africa	69	0.78%
South America	3	0.03%
Swaziland	1	0.01%
Sweden	3	0.03%
Switzerland	1	0.01%
Transvaal	254	2.88%
Turkey	2	0.02%
USA	31	0.35%
Wales	124	1.41%
West Indies	6	0.07%
Unknown	2	0.02%
Total	8811	100.00%

Table A2 Wages per Week (Shillings)

Wage	Freq.	Percent
3	3	0.03
4	222	2.51
5	8395	94.89
5.25	22	0.25
5.5	7	0.08
6	27	0.31
6.25	1	0.01
6.5	166	1.88
8	1	0.01
9	3	0.03
Total	8847	100

Table A3 Share of Occupations, by Region

HISCO	America	Asia	Austral- asia	Boer Rep.	England	Europe	Ireland	Scotland	Cape Colony, Natal	Wales
00	1.20%	14.29%	3.29%	1.37%	2.98%	6.25%	5.10%	1.39%	5.22%	2.44%
01	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
03	3.94%	7.14%	4.12%	0.00%	3.37%	9.38%	2.02%	3.21%	1.87%	6.50%
04	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.18%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
06	0.68%	2.38%	0.82%	0.00%	0.83%	0.00%	2.02%	1.04%	0.00%	0.81%

10	0.17%	2.38%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%	0.00%	0.74%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%
11	0.68%	0.00%	1.23%	0.00%	0.43%	0.00%	0.43%	0.35%	1.87%	0.00%
12	0.34%	0.00%	0.82%	0.00%	0.12%	0.00%	0.11%	0.00%	0.00%	1.63%
13	0.34%	2.38%	0.41%	0.68%	0.51%	0.00%	1.59%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%
15	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.18%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
16	0.68%	0.00%	0.41%	0.34%	0.37%	0.00%	0.11%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
17	0.00%	4.76%	0.82%	0.00%	1.20%	3.13%	0.53%	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%
18	0.00%	0.00%	0.82%	0.00%	0.37%	0.00%	0.00%	0.26%	0.37%	0.81%
19	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.08%	3.13%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
21	0.00%	2.38%	0.82%	0.00%	0.20%	0.00%	0.43%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%
22	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.67%	0.00%	0.43%	0.61%	1.12%	0.81%
30	9.08%	16.67%	8.23%	1.37%	9.66%	6.25%	12.33%	5.64%	16.79%	8.13%
31	0.34%	0.00%	0.41%	0.00%	0.06%	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%	0.37%	0.00%
32	0.34%	0.00%	0.00%	0.34%	0.24%	0.00%	0.32%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
33	2.23%	0.00%	0.41%	0.00%	0.37%	3.13%	1.06%	0.52%	0.00%	0.81%
36	0.86%	0.00%	0.00%	2.39%	0.83%	0.00%	0.85%	1.04%	3.36%	1.63%
37	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.26%	0.00%	0.53%	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%
38	0.68%	2.38%	2.88%	1.37%	0.39%	3.13%	0.53%	0.69%	1.12%	0.00%
39	0.17%	0.00%	0.82%	0.34%	0.61%	0.00%	0.85%	1.39%	0.00%	1.63%
41	1.88%	2.38%	2.47%	0.34%	5.01%	0.00%	4.57%	5.03%	4.10%	6.50%
42	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
43	0.86%	0.00%	1.65%	0.00%	2.09%	0.00%	2.98%	2.08%	0.75%	0.00%
44	0.34%	0.00%	3.29%	0.00%	0.75%	3.13%	0.96%	0.26%	0.00%	0.81%
45	0.34%	2.38%	0.82%	1.02%	0.79%	0.00%	2.76%	0.52%	1.49%	2.44%
51	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.28%	0.00%	0.11%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%
53	0.86%	2.38%	0.41%	0.00%	1.32%	3.13%	1.28%	1.91%	0.00%	0.81%
54	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.28%	0.00%	0.85%	1.04%	0.00%	0.00%
55	0.00%	0.00%	0.82%	0.34%	0.67%	0.00%	0.43%	0.35%	0.00%	0.00%
56	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
57	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.32%	0.00%	0.43%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%
58	5.48%	16.67%	6.17%	15.02%	7.79%	9.38%	12.11%	8.33%	6.72%	5.69%
59	0.00%	0.00%	0.41%	0.00%	0.37%	0.00%	0.32%	0.00%	0.00%	0.81%
61	0.51%	4.76%	0.00%	2.73%	0.65%	3.13%	0.53%	0.35%	0.37%	0.81%
62	24.83%	7.14%	22.22%	61.43%	15.32%	15.63%	21.25%	17.36%	25.00%	12.20%
63	1.37%	0.00%	2.06%	0.00%	0.04%	0.00%	0.11%	0.26%	0.00%	0.00%
64	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.43%	0.00%	0.21%	2.34%	0.00%	0.00%
71	3.77%	0.00%	4.53%	1.02%	1.34%	0.00%	0.85%	2.95%	1.87%	9.76%
72	0.68%	0.00%	0.82%	0.00%	0.59%	0.00%	0.43%	0.95%	0.37%	0.81%
73	0.17%	0.00%	0.41%	0.00%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
74	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.12%	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%	0.37%	0.00%
75	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.71%	0.00%	0.21%	0.35%	0.00%	0.00%
76	0.34%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.14%	0.00%	0.11%	0.52%	0.00%	0.00%
77	2.91%	0.00%	3.29%	0.00%	6.09%	0.00%	1.59%	5.82%	3.36%	5.69%
78	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
79	1.54%	0.00%	0.41%	0.00%	1.24%	3.13%	1.28%	2.00%	0.37%	1.63%
80	2.05%	0.00%	2.88%	1.02%	2.07%	0.00%	2.02%	1.91%	1.12%	5.69%

81	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.99%	3.13%	0.21%	0.69%	0.37%	0.00%
82	0.34%	0.00%	0.41%	1.71%	0.41%	0.00%	0.11%	2.00%	0.75%	0.00%
83	4.97%	2.38%	4.53%	0.34%	2.90%	0.00%	1.49%	3.21%	2.24%	3.25%
84	2.40%	2.38%	0.41%	1.02%	1.97%	6.25%	1.70%	1.74%	3.36%	0.81%
85	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.68%	0.85%	0.00%	0.21%	0.26%	0.37%	0.81%
87	2.23%	0.00%	1.23%	0.34%	1.56%	6.25%	0.21%	2.34%	2.24%	1.63%
88	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
89	0.68%	0.00%	0.00%	0.34%	0.49%	0.00%	0.11%	0.87%	0.37%	0.81%
90	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
91	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%	0.37%	0.00%
92	1.20%	0.00%	0.00%	0.68%	1.06%	3.13%	0.11%	0.43%	0.37%	1.63%
93	0.68%	0.00%	2.06%	0.34%	1.22%	3.13%	0.53%	0.52%	1.12%	0.00%
94	0.17%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.22%	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%	0.00%	0.00%
95	4.11%	0.00%	4.53%	2.39%	5.78%	6.25%	2.66%	4.51%	7.09%	6.50%
96	1.37%	0.00%	0.82%	0.00%	0.39%	0.00%	0.43%	0.95%	1.12%	0.00%
97	1.03%	0.00%	1.23%	0.00%	0.95%	0.00%	0.64%	0.87%	0.75%	0.00%
98	4.11%	4.76%	2.47%	0.00%	3.71%	0.00%	2.23%	4.86%	1.49%	3.25%
99	3.08%	0.00%	3.29%	1.02%	3.25%	0.00%	4.04%	3.13%	0.00%	2.44%