

# *A Preliminary Analysis of the Socio-economic Composition of Canada's South African War Contingents \**

by Carman MILLER \*\*

Who were the 7,368 Canadian citizen soldiers who volunteered for service with British arms during the South African war, 1899-1902? Their contemporaries, save for a few perceptive observers,<sup>1</sup> saw them as a mirror of Canadian society, drawn from all classes and creeds, from "farm, mart, factory, bank, hill and plain." At the time this harmonious, happy image proved politically comforting and understandably popular. To some, it even seemed to justify and vindicate the Canadian government's despatch of troops. Since then it has attained the secure status of received wisdom, except for the almost universal recognition that French Canadians were more conspicuous by their absence.

But why did these men volunteer to fight in South Africa? This question, too, has suffered somewhat in the grip of contemporary authority. These men's motives, according to their contemporaries, were largely ideological, the call of blood, religion, right, vengeance, glory, progress, freedom and adventure; and in many cases these explanations may not have been far wrong. But this study, a tentative analysis of the socio-economic composition of the Canadian contingents, is based on two alternate assumptions. First, it rests on the notion that socio-economic circumstances partially explain men's behavior. Second, it assumes that an examination of these circumstances can clarify the place and relative importance of socio-psychological factors less susceptible to measurement. In other words the question 'who' ought to precede and define the equally important question 'why'.

The character of this study has been shaped by the nature of the accessible evidence. The chief source of information has been 136 volumes of attestation papers which have been corrected, cross-checked and

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<sup>1</sup> S. W. EVANS, *The Canadian Contingents* (Toronto: 1901) p. 87; The (Edmonton) *Bulletin*, 22 January, 1900; *The Citizen and Country*, 4 November, 1899.

supplemented by extant nominal roles, North West Mounted Police records and contemporary printed sources. In all cases of irreconcilable conflict primacy has been given to the attestation papers. This process has yielded information on 5,825 of the original 7,368 volunteers. Of the 1,543 men who remain missing from the files all but 375 belonged to one contingent, the South African Constabulary, a regiment numbering 1,238 men and in some respects a regiment different from the rest. Constituted as a 'permanent' police force, the Constabulary insisted on a three year service contract as opposed to the normal one year term. It also possessed provision for service renewal and a land reserve incentive, a government assisted land purchase scheme, to encourage settlement in South Africa. The Constabulary's distinctive character, so valuable for comparative purposes, makes its absence the more regrettable.

This study's methodology is relatively conventional. All available information has been coded under the following twenty categories: Regiment / Birthplace / Next of kin's address / Age / Marital status / Religion / Language / Occupation / Enlistment place / Enlistment date / Original enlistment date / Enlistment rank / Original enlistment rank / Nature of previous South African military experience / Nature of previous non-South African military experience / Duration of previous military experience / Discharge type / Discharge place / Discharge date / Discharge rank. The most valid and readily accessible information is contained in the categories: Birthplace / Religion / Age / Occupation, the subjects of this paper, though reference will be made to relevant data in other supportive categories. All information has been programmed and analyzed with the aid of The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Although this study is the result of only one cross-tabulation with the category regiment serving as the constant, all the coded data is readily retrievable and capable of verification and additional analysis. Statistical interpretation has been facilitated by the existence of the 1901 decennial census compiled during the war.

### NATIVITY

To many articulate late nineteenth century English Canadian Nationalists British imperialism offered a promise of protection, prestige, men, money and resources to defend Canada's integrity from the pretensions of its restless and unpredictable southern neighbour. Put another way, the Empire gave Canada membership in a powerful defensive club in which benefits far outweighed obligations. But there were obligations; the South African war made that perfectly clear. Indeed its outbreak in October 1899 provided a crude type of loyalty test, a means of measuring the nature and extent of Canada's imperial commitment.

The war demonstrated that Canadians rallied more reluctantly to the imperial cause and in far fewer numbers than in comparable British settlement colonies. According to British government post-war calculations Australasia (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand), which possessed a total population of

Table I. NATIVITY

<i>Regiment:</i>		<i>Canadian Born</i>	<i>British Born</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Not Given</i>
		<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Royal Canadian Regiment	(1,019)	71.2	24.6	1.2	3.0
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	(1,125)	52.5	39.8	3.7	4.0
Strathcona's Horse	( 519)	44.8	49.8	3.5	1.9
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	( 911)	64.0	30.2	2.5	3.3
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	( 477)	80.9	16.6	1.9	0.6
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	( 474)	82.9	14.5	2.4	0.2
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	( 522)	53.6	39.6	5.7	1.1
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	( 486)	77.5	19.8	2.5	0.2
Various	( 170)	37.0	11.7	.6	50.5
Not Given	( 122)				
Average	(5,825)	63.7	29.4	2.5	4.3
Canadian Population	(5,371,315)	86.9	7.8	5.1	0.0

*Guide:* All bracketed numbers represent frequency

<i>Canadian</i>	<i>British</i>	<i>Other</i>	
Nova Scotia (435)	England (1,140)	New Zealand (8)	United States (112)
New Brunswick (353)	Scotland (230)	Australia (4)	Germany (26)
Prince Edward Island (139)	Wales (25)		France (5)
Quebec (484)	Ireland (191)		Norway (5)
Ontario (2,110)	India (45)		Denmark (5)
Manitoba (92)	Newfoundland (50)		China (3)
North West (55)	West Indies (7)		Sweden (3)
British Columbia (42)	Malta, Gibraltar (10)		Less than three...

4,500,000 contributed 22,591 men and spent £ 1,530,000 on the war.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, Canada, with a population of 5,371, 315 or 3,722,417 if you exclude Quebec, raised only 7,368 men and spent £ 620,000, a figure which includes the cost Canada incurred while raising a regiment, the 3rd Royal Canadian Regiment, to relieve the British garrison in Halifax. Embarrassed Canadian imperialists explained this discrepancy in pragmatic, strategic terms.

The Australasian colonies, they contended, volunteered primarily to protect the vital alternative Cape sea link to Britain, whereas Canadians rallied out of sheer "patriotism to Canada and loyalty to Britain"<sup>3</sup>.

An analysis of the Canadian contingent's nativity distribution, however, seems to confirm the fact of Canada's qualified response to the war.<sup>4</sup> To be more specific, Canadian-born men, regardless of ethnic

<sup>2</sup> C. F. HAMILTON, "The Canadian Militia: The South African War," *The Canadian Defence Quarterly*, Vol. 7 (1929-30), pp. 541-42.

<sup>3</sup> T. G. MARQUIS, *Canada's Sons on Kopje and Veldt*, (Toronto: 1900), p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> The lack of Australasian literature on recruitment patterns makes further colonial comparisons difficult. Richard PRICE'S *An Imperial War and The British Working Class* (Toronto: 1972) particularly his Chapter V, suggests some striking Canadian parallels. His study, however, is less readily applicable to Canada owing to the war's greater claim on Britain's population, which was also much larger, more urban, more ethnically homogeneous and structured than the colonial case.

origin, volunteered far less readily than British and Empire-born residents of Canada. Although Canadian-born men, for example, constituted 86% of Canada's male population they accounted for only 63.7% of the Contingent's recruits. The British and Empire-born, on the other hand, counted for 29.4% of the Canadian contingents even though they represented only 7% of Canada's male population. This represented the lowest percentage of British-born in the general population for decades<sup>5</sup> and was doubtlessly a reflection of the poorer economic conditions which prevailed in Canada during the first years of the previous decade.

Three striking features characterized the British and Empire-born recruits. First, taken as a group they contributed 4.2 men per thousand population, a proportion far in excess of the Canadian-born, that is .7 men per thousand. Canada's British and Empire-born recruitment pattern, however, is almost identical to the general pattern in the Australasian colonies with the exception of New Zealand which ranked close to the United Kingdom itself with 8.0 men per thousand.<sup>6</sup> Second, the English-born alone counted for 19.6% of the contingents whereas in the general population they numbered only 3.7%. This provides a sharp contrast to the Scottish-born volunteers which constituted 3.9% of the contingents against 1.5% of the general population.<sup>7</sup> Third, a temporal pattern seemed to govern the flow of British-born recruits. They, in contrast to the Canadian-born, appeared to increase sharply in times of British military adversity and fall as British fortunes improved.

Several obvious factors may help explain this peculiar pattern of British recruitment, a phenomena which recurred during World War I. At first glance, the extremely low percentage of French-Canadian recruits might be thought to have distorted greatly the high British figures. French Canada, a collectivity which possessed the highest rate of native born Canadians and constituted 30% of Canada's population, for example, contributed no more than 3% of the Canadian contingent's recruits. But if the population of Quebec, the provincial homeland of the overwhelming majority of French Canadians, is excluded from calculations, native born Canadians still represented 82% of the remainder which leaves a significant discrepancy of some 18% between Canadian and British born recruits.

Another plausible explanation, that is the reputedly more rootless, restless, mobile character of an immigrant population, poses similar difficulties and generally falls far short of a satisfactory solution. First, the British immigrant in Canada does not fit the migrant image. He tended to be older, married, more urban, white collar and literate than the general Canadian population<sup>8</sup> and presumably, therefore, a more stable social group with a greater stake in society. It may well be that the British-born recruits were unrepresentative of their group. They, the recruits, may

<sup>5</sup> CANADA, *Census of Canada*, Population (Ottawa: 1922), p. XIII.

<sup>6</sup> HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

<sup>7</sup> CANADA, *Census of Canada*, Population (Ottawa: 1902), Table XVI, p. 450-51.

<sup>8</sup> L. G. REYNOLDS, *The British Immigrant* (Toronto: 1935), p. 45.

have been the more restless elements of an otherwise stable, established social unit.

The temporal pattern of recruitment, however, fails to support this image of the British recruit as a restless group in search of adventure. In fact this picture is probably more appropriate to the Canadian-born volunteer. For example, in Canada's first Contingent, an infantry regiment recruited and despatched soon after the war began amidst great popular enthusiasm, an expedition billed as a bloodless adventure, a demonstration of imperial solidarity, a short, badly contested march to the Transvaal capital of Pretoria, Canadian-born volunteers outnumbered British-born 71.2% to 24.6%. But when the war turned into a tough, bloody battle, six of this contingent's eight companies, refused to extend their year's service even a few months, despite the blandishments of their Commanding Officer, Colonel William Otter, and Lord Roberts, the popular British Commander-in-Chief,<sup>9</sup> for whom the British Tommies seemed willing to do anything or go anywhere. The next two Canadian contingents, the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles<sup>10</sup> and the Strathcona's Horse, however, were under no illusions about the war.<sup>11</sup> They were both recruited in late December 1899 and January 1900 in the wake of the devastating British defeats of "Black Week", a period drained of the earlier romanticism and replaced by a grim, sombre sense of the serious nature of the war. These adversity contingents attracted relatively few Canadian-born men. In the 1st Mounted Rifles, for example, Canadian-born recruits comprised 52.5% of the total as against 39.8% for the British-born. And, in the Strathcona's Horse the number of British-born surpassed the Canadian-born, the Canadians accounting for a little less than half (49.8%) as opposed to 44.8% for the British born. Moreover once British fortunes improved Canadian-born recruitment rose. In the 2nd regiment Canadian Mounted Rifles, a contingent recruited in December 1900, six months after the British had captured Pretoria, a period characterized by a declining interest in the war, repeated predictions of the war's imminent demise and growing criticisms of British leadership and strategy, Canadian-born recruits composed 64% of this contingent in contrast to 30.2% for the British-born. This trend continues in subsequent regiments, notably the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Mounted Rifles. In these regiments, raised in April

<sup>9</sup> Desmond MORTON, *The Canadian General* (Toronto: 1974), pp. 227-29.

<sup>10</sup> Officially designated the 1st Battalion Canadian Mounted Rifles, this contingent, though recruited as one regiment consisted of three distinct units, namely two squadrons of Royal Canadian Dragoons, two squadrons of Canadian Mounted Rifles (later styled the 2nd Battalion Canadian Mounted Rifles) drawn largely from the North West Mounted Police and one brigade division of the Royal Artillery. In South Africa they were divided into their constituent units described above and worked only rarely as a united contingent. Given their different military function, regional composition and South African records there are good reasons to treat them as separate units. Indeed the programme recognized the peculiar nature of this contingent and coded all information by constituent unit rather than contingent. Nevertheless for the sake of convenience and clarity and the paper's focus on recruitment motives rather than service record this contingent is described throughout as the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles. Although some contemporaries referred to this contingent as the 2nd Contingent they would have had little difficulty recognizing it by its official designation.

<sup>11</sup> E. W. B. MORRISON, *With the Guns in South Africa* (Hamilton: 1901), p. 12.

1902 and so late in the war that none saw actual service, Canadian-born recruitment reached its highest peak. These last regiments considered as a unit contained 73.2% Canadian-born recruits against 23% for the British-born, the lowest British-born percentage of the war. Therefore if imperial patriotism, that is an identification with and commitment to British ideals, values, interests and aspirations, moved men to fight in South Africa these figures seem to suggest that it held a much stronger, more immediate and pressing appeal for British-born than Canadian-born citizens.

### RELIGION

In Canada religion has been a formative social force which has helped create social conditions which affect men regardless of personal piety. Religion, for example, has served both as a focus and agent of national identification. To be more specific, Canadian methodism, historians have often pointed out, has been an early instrument of 'Canadianization'<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, the numerical strength of Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches with close communal and sometimes structural ties with their European brethren, has nurtured and helped retain Canada's trans-Atlantic loyalties. Moreover, religion has shaped and reinforced Canada's 'vertical mosaic' pattern of ethnicity and created "ethno-religious subcultures with different value system."<sup>13</sup> These cultures have tended to define social class and the ethnic nature of Canada's power structure. Roman Catholics, for example, have tended to be French, Irish and Highland Scotch. Anglicans and Presbyterians have been predominately British, the Presbyterians being largely Lowland Scots but both traditionally associated with economic, political and social power and prestige.<sup>14</sup> All these factors, national identification, class and ethnicity can be expected to have influenced recruitment.

The Churches, particularly the Protestant Churches, of course, played an even more conspicuous role as agents of the imperial idea. When war began few Protestant clergymen made a secret of their commitment to the civilizing influence of British arms in South Africa. Ministerial associations passed resolutions endorsing the war and denominational papers, especially during the crucial period between October 1899 and June 1900, described the war as justifiable and necessary given "the mission of our race in South Africa."<sup>15</sup> Contemporary daily papers often reported the "stirring references to the war" heard from Protestant pulpits. No denomination was more 'patriotic' than the Anglican Church

<sup>12</sup> J. S. MOIR, *Church and State in Canada West* (Toronto: 1959); William H. MAGNEY, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914," *The Bulletin*, 20 (1968).

<sup>13</sup> John PORTER, *Canadian Social Structure* (Toronto: 1967), p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> John PORTER, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: 1965), pp. 73, 75, 77, 290, 390.

<sup>15</sup> *The Methodist Magazine* (April, 1900), p. 323. I am indebted to B. Riley and E. Dahl for use of their unpublished seminar paper (History 533, Carleton University, 1969) entitled "Militarism, Anti-militarism, Imperialism, The Idea of Progress, and the Sense of Mission in the *Methodist Magazine and Review* around the time of the Boer War."

Table II. RELIGION

Regiment:	Roman	Methodist	Presby-	Anglican	Baptist	Others	N.G.
	Catholic		terian				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Royal Canadian Regiment	15.4	13.3	20.3	42.5	3.5	1.4	3.5
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	9.3	14.3	20.8	46.7	3.9	1.9	3.1
Strathcona's Horse	4.2	8.9	23.1	59.3	1.9	.8	1.7
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	8.9	12.7	24.9	42.9	3.8	1.7	5.0
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	12.8	21.4	22.2	32.1	4.0	2.5	5.0
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	27.8	12.4	19.0	25.7	8.4	1.4	5.1
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	9.6	15.5	25.1	40.4	3.1	1.0	5.4
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	15.0	17.7	26.5	31.9	5.1	1.8	1.9
Contingents' Average	12.2	14.0	22.0	40.4	4.1	1.5	5.7
Canada	41.7	17.2	15.8	12.8	5.9	6.6	—

which designated a day of solemn services to support the war. Dissent, it is true, existed in all major denominations but it received no support from the Church hierarchy and aroused no popular response from the laity. Although the precise relationship between religion and recruitment requires more study, a statistical analysis of the contingent's religious composition may help to suggest and define the nature of the problem.

At first glance the contingent's relative religious distribution described in Table II may seem both obvious and predictable. Given our knowledge of the recruit's nativity one would expect to find a disproportionately large number of Anglicans. The extent or degree of over-representation, however, may be significant. Otherwise religious affiliations could conceivably be dismissed as a simple function of maturity. But this does not appear to be the whole case. For example, if for the sake of argument, all English-born recruits (and, indeed, for the Royal Canadian Regiment and the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles, all British-born recruits) were considered Anglican, that denomination would remain over-represented in all the contingents and in the first four by percentages ranging from 7% to 13% above their national average, still making Anglicans the most over-represented of all denominations. Nor is this discrepancy to be explained satisfactorily by the undoubted presence of "military Anglicans," those men who lacked a formal religious association and found it convenient to be designated Anglican. In fact during the war, the Anglican Church probably proved a more 'patriotic' forum than other denominations, not that the others lacked fervor. To be more precise, the Anglican Church, constantly watered by the influx of English immigrants, who tended to choose the Church, presumably the Anglican Church, as the first organization joined during their initial years in Canada, combined with its continued recruitment of clergy in England, doubtlessly<sup>16</sup> raised the 'patriotic' tone of this denomination and gave it a more marked anglophilic flavour conducive to military recruitment. The statistical evidence

<sup>16</sup> REYNOLDS, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

permits other observations, too, which confirm, contradict or qualify traditional assumptions.

The weak representation of Roman Catholics, Canada's largest religious group, is to be expected given the limited participation of French Canadians, almost all of whom were Catholic. But the precise proportion of Catholics in the contingents, that is to say 12.2% in the contingents as opposed to 41.7% in the general population, suggests that the French Canadian explanation is only part of the answer. Newspapers of the period, of course, had relatively few references to stirring sermons on the righteousness of the war heard from Catholic pulpits, French or English. Although one Irish-Catholic newspaper in Kingston, Ontario, made no secret of its violent opposition to the war and British policy generally,<sup>17</sup> the eloquent silence of other reputedly hostile Irish clergy in English-Canadian Catholic parishes may well have spoken louder than words, despite the fact that the first Canadian contingent possessed in Father O'Leary a Catholic priest whose popularity among some Protestants and Catholics reached heroic proportions. On the other hand, his popularity and the stories used to stoke its flames, tales of him reading Protestant prayers over the body of dead Orangemen may not have improved his reputation or stimulated Catholic recruitment among the less œcumenical.

The recruitment pattern of Canada's Methodists is much more difficult to explain with any degree of precision. Although some perceptive contemporaries noted the numerical weakness of Methodists among the men of the first contingents the charge was quickly repudiated by the Methodist hierarchy which pledged its full and fervent support for the war and condoned it as a righteous, civilizing mission to darkest Africa.<sup>18</sup> In general, of course, Methodists were under-represented but the percentage of over or under-representation never rises or falls beyond 5% of their national average in any one contingent. Yet a certain temporal pattern does emerge; the under-representation of Methodists in the first three contingents is corrected and to a certain extent off-set by their relatively stronger showing in the last four contingents. The initial reluctance of Methodists during the emotionally charged first months might well reflect the small current of clerical opposition to the war among the 'low' clergy.<sup>19</sup> Once the war lost its emotional, political appeal and recruitment began to reflect more clearly conditions on the labour market, Methodist recruitment climbed closer to the national average. Clearly more enlightened speculation must await a second analysis of the data and a more thorough examination of the nature, means and methods of political-religious indoctrination at the turn of the last century.

Some obvious anomalies in the contingent's religious composition, however, may have other explanations unrelated to religious indoctrination. Reference to regionalism provides a good example, since national

<sup>17</sup> *The Citizen and Country*, 7 October, 1899.

<sup>18</sup> *The Manitoba Free Press*, 22 January, 1900.

<sup>19</sup> Carman MILLER, "English-Canadian Opposition to the South African War as seen through The Press," *Canadian Historical Review*, (December, 1974) p. 433.



averages distort the figures' significance and tend to create needless mysteries. For example, in the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles, a contingent raised largely in Eastern Canada, more precisely Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec, the high number of Roman Catholic and Baptist recruits simply reflects the relative strength of these denominations in that area in contrast to the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles, recruited in Western Canada, where these denominations are relatively weak. Similar regional comparisons may illuminate other apparent anomalies, not only on the subject of religion but nativity and occupational distribution.

### AGE

An analysis of the contingent's age composition in itself may prove of limited interpretive value. But considered in the context of the other categories the contingents' age profile helps to confirm and identify the motives and character of each regiment.

Two things should be noted, however, before examining the statistical age chart more closely. First, except for a numerically insignificant minority, all recruits were between the ages of 20 and 25, though all regiments, except the South African Constabulary, accepted men up to the age of 40. Second, the Canadian averages cited in Table III have limited comparative value since they ignore marital status, an important consideration particularly in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Canadian Mounted Rifles, which all insisted on the prospective recruits' celibacy. In fact only 4% of the total contingents' volunteers were married, though the percentage rose to as high as 8.5% in the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles.

The most striking feature of the age chart (Table III) is the comparative maturity of the adversity contingents, the Strathcona's Horse and the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles compared to the relative youth of the final contingents, the 3rd, 4th, and 6th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Neither, of course, reflect a serious drain on Canada's potential military manpower.

Table III. AGE

<i>Regiment</i>	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40...	N.G.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Royal Canadian Regiment	0.8	57.8	26.0	9.1	3.8	0.4	2.4
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	1.3	50.2	26.4	11.6	7.0	1.2	2.1
Strathcona's Horse	0.8	36.6	31.3	18.2	10.1	2.2	1.9
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	0.8	56.9	25.3	9.0	4.6	0.5	2.9
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	0.6	81.5	13.4	2.4	1.2	0.0	0.6
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	0.2	79.7	12.4	4.8	2.3	0.2	0.2
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	0.6	56.5	26.7	10.9	4.8	0.2	0.4
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	0.2	76.9	15.2	5.6	1.6	0.2	0.2
Contingents' Average	0.7	58.5	23.0	9.1	4.6	0.5	3.4
Canada — Males (20-39)*	—	30.6	25.9	22.7	20.7	—	—

\* These figures, extracted from Urquhart, *op. cit.*, p. 16, are slightly exaggerated since they only consider men between the ages of 20 and 40. National averages including men on either side of these age lines would have rendered comparisons meaningless.

Taken as one unit 50.7% of the men who enlisted in the adversity contingents were 25 years or over and in the Strathcona's Horse the number rose to 61.8%, a good portion, 10% of whom were between 35 and 39 years old. In contrast the four final contingents, taken together, possessed only 25.4% of their men 25 years or over. And in the case of the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles the percentage of men 24 years or under rose to as high as 81.5%. The interesting exception is the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles which though recruited during the final months of the war contained a high portion (42.6%) of older men, a figure more in character with the adversity contingents which it also resembled in nativity, religion and occupation.

Three possible considerations may help explain the contingents' age pattern. First, age may be simply a function of nativity. British-born male immigrants 25 years and older constituted a far greater portion of their group, British-born males in Canada, than Canadian-born males, the British-born males over 25 representing 64.9% of their group, as opposed to 43% of the Canadian born.<sup>20</sup> A subsidiary argument, the affinity of the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles and the Adversity Contingents, tends to substantiate this argument. For the most obvious explanation of these contingents' similarities is that they were recruited largely in Western Canada, the region with the highest percentage of British-born residence per provincial population. Second, considered from the other side, the youth of three of the four final contingents, suggests a possible correlation between nativity and adventure, Canadian-born recruitment falling with adversity and rising as the danger diminished. Third, the youth pattern of the final contingents may also be related to occupation, the subject of the final section of this paper.

### OCCUPATION

"In contemporary society, occupation, more than any other factor, determines income... prestige" and social stratification<sup>21</sup> Despite the recognized hazards of occupational analysis the following statistical material suggests several tentative conclusions. The attached Tables (IV), constructed from some ninety-nine occupational designations found in the original documentary evidence, attempts to describe and analyze the Canadian contingents' occupational composition. The guide, a key to the occupational groupings, is self-explanatory.

First, these statistics demonstrate the contingents' predominately urban character. This fact appears even more striking when it is remembered that, apart from the Royal Canadian Regiment, recruitment criteria called for mounted men, presumably a rural virtue. Moreover, in 1901 62.5% of Canada's population lived in rural areas,<sup>22</sup> centres with less than 1,000 population and 45.6% of all males over fourteen years of age who

<sup>20</sup> M. C. URQUHART, ed., *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Toronto: 1965), p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Michael B. KATZ, "Occupational Classification in History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Summer, 1972), p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> PORTER, *Canadian Social Structure*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

were gainfully employed worked in an agricultural occupation.<sup>23</sup> Yet only 27.4% of the South African volunteers came from the primary sector of the labour force including agriculture, mining, fishing and trapping. Only two small contingents, the Strathcona's Horse and the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles possessed percentages in the primary sector above the national average (not necessarily rural, mining being the dubious exception). All the other contingents fell far below. The other men, of course, came from service, blue or white collar occupations.

Canada's most urban contingent, the Royal Canadian Regiment, contained only 5% who listed agriculture as their former occupation. In their place went an inordinately large number of men from the sales and clerical sector, a phenomena which, according to Richard Price, characterized British volunteer recruitment, particularly in the Imperial Yeomanry and City Imperial Volunteers. Men who in civilian life worked in the sales and clerical sector counted for one man in every four who enlisted in Canada's first contingent, a percentage far in excess of the British figures where the "commercial, i.e. clerck etc." category described 11.4% of the British Imperial Yeomenry.<sup>24</sup> In fact, in Canada's first contingent the simple clerk designation, that is unqualified by the prefix store / bank / law / etc. constituted 14.2% of the whole. Moreover this somewhat conspicuous phenomena, the inordinately large number of clerical recruits which averaged 8.6% for the eight Canadian contingents, continued throughout the war, despite the fact that the clerical sector of Canada's work force represented only 2.9% of the country's male workers over 14 years of age.<sup>25</sup>

There are several possible explanations for this phenomena. The initial recruitment campaign, particularly for the first contingent, gave preference to men with military experience. The city militia regiments were reputedly more efficient, that is more professional and better-trained and presumably more ready to volunteer than the ill-trained paper rural militia. They also possessed their full quota of clerks, mechanics and shop assistants.<sup>26</sup> It ought to be remembered, too, that the British-born population in Canada, that segment of the population more readily drawn to the colours, tended to be urban and possess a disproportionately large white collar representation particularly in the clerical sector. In the years between 1904 and 1909, for example, 8.3% of all British immigrants who entered Canada declared their occupation as 'clerical',<sup>27</sup> a fact which helps explain their large presence in the Canadian contingents. Moreover the urban, white collar and more literate nature of the British immigrant doubtlessly made him (together with his Canadian-born, urban compatriots) more vulnerable to the 19th century instruments of patriotic propaganda, "press, pulpit and periodical", to use the contemporary cliché.

<sup>23</sup> URQUHART, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> PRICE, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>25</sup> URQUHART, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> MORTON, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> REYNOLDS, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

Table IV — A. WHITE COLLAR

<i>Regiment :</i>	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Proprietorial</i>	<i>Sales/ Clerical</i>	<i>Total</i>
	%	%	%	%
Royal Canadian Regiment	7.5	1.8	26.6	35.9
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	6.5	1.6	12.6	20.7
Strathcona's Horse	5.1	0.8	7.1	13.0
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	5.0	0.9	14.6	20.5
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	4.3	0.6	18.3	23.2
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	3.4	0.6	17.4	21.4
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	2.9	0.4	11.7	15.0
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	5.3	0.4	15.9	21.6
Contingents' Average	5.5	1.1	16.3	22.9

*Guide :**Professional*

Student (98)  
 Teacher (31)  
 Doctor (18)  
 Law Student (37)  
 Professional Engineer (86)  
 Dentist (15)  
 Medical Student (37)

*Sales/Clerical*

Salesman (21)  
 Travelling Salesman (2)  
 Clerk (502)  
 Store Clerk (39)  
 Traveller (23)  
 Bookkeeper (61)  
 Commercial traveller (22)  
 Chemist (11)  
 Messenger (16)  
 Bank Clerk (69)  
 Druggist (32)

Merchant Tailor (1)  
 Draughtsman (4)  
 Inspector (5)  
 Bill Collector (11)  
 Grocer (23)  
 Agent/life insurance (16)  
 Surveyor (25)  
 Stenographer (18)  
 Law Clerk (5)  
 Agent (17)  
 Civil Servant (11)  
 Accountant (10)

*Proprietorial*

Merchant (24)  
 Gentleman (14)  
 Owner/florist/outfitter (12)  
 Hotel/restaurant keeper (3)  
 Business owner manager (9)

A closer examination of the nature of urban recruitment reveals a second striking social characteristic, that is, the strength of middle class, white collar participation. Although middle class commitment to family, career and community might be expected to deter recruitment, a deterrent probably less strong among seasonal, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour, the reverse seemed the rule in Canada's South African contingents. This pattern of middle class participation becomes particularly evident if agriculture is excluded from comparative calculations. (See Table IV-F). The result shows white collar workers comprising 30.5% of the contingents whereas in the general male work force (excluding agriculture) they represented only 20.4%. Blue collar workers, on the other hand, remained under-represented. They, for example, formed 38.9% of the contingents against 52.5% in the general population.<sup>28</sup>

A temporal pattern, similar to that noted in the age and nativity categories, seems to govern the flow of white and blue collar recruitment. The final contingents, that is the 3rd, 4th and 6th Canadian Mounted

<sup>28</sup> URQUHART, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

Table IV — B. BLUE COLLAR

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Un/semi-skilled</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Royal Canadian Regiment	28.0	9.4	37.4
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	17.5	5.8	23.3
Strathcona's Horse	8.7	2.2	10.9
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	19.0	6.8	25.8
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	30.6	12.4	43.0
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	29.6	13.3	42.9
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	14.4	7.0	21.4
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	24.8	14.1	38.9
Contingents' Average	21.0	8.2	29.2

*Guide :**Skilled:*

Artisan (38)	Brickmaker (20)
Baker (42)	Machinist (136)
Printer (49)	Stone Mason (34)
Cooper (12)	Shoemith (43)
Miller (8)	Painter (90)
Butcher (52)	Photographer (8)
Saddler (44)	Tailor (63)
Electrician (52)	Glass Worker (40)
Plumber (86)	Cheese Maker (16)

*Un/Semi-Skilled:*

Black/Tinsmith (162)	Factory worker (79)
Carpenter (170)	Labourer (316)
Book Binder (11)	Stevadore (15)
Marble Polisher (7)	Cotton Worker (1)
Mechanic (21)	Mill hand (18)
Brewer (1)	Bridge worker (8)
Wheel Wright (14)	Packer (41)
Watch Maker (14)	

Table IV — C. SERVICE

<i>Regiment :</i>	<i>Protective</i>	<i>Transportation</i>	<i>Personal</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Royal Canadian Regiment	10.6	2.2	1.5	1.2	15.5
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	23.5	2.2	0.8	1.1	27.6
Strathcona's Horse	11.0	2.7	0.6	1.0	15.3
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	8.7	3.4	1.2	0.7	14.0
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	7.3	3.7	1.4	0.8	13.2
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	7.0	3.9	3.1	2.1	16.1
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	3.8	3.1	1.7	0.4	9.0
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	6.8	4.3	2.4	1.0	14.5
Contingents' Average	11.1	2.7	1.4	1.1	16.3

*Guide :*

<i>Protective</i>	<i>Transportation/Communication</i>	<i>Personal</i>	<i>Misc.</i>
Soldier (375)	Conductor (18)	Gardener/Servant (14)	Barber (24)
Police (228)	Line/Brake/Trainman (69)	Waiter/Barman (48)	Reporter (11)
Fireman (47)	Coachman (14)	Janitor (4)	Horse Trainer (3)
	Driver (31)	Cook (18)	Actor/Artist (13)
	Telephone/Telegraph (32)		Jockey (4)
			Veterinarian (8)

Table IV. — D. PRIMARY

<i>Regiment :</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Mining</i>	<i>Fishing</i>	<i>Trapping</i>	<i>Lumber</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Royal Canadian Regiment	5.0	1.0	1.5	0.0	1.6	9.1
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	22.0	0.9	0.5	0.2	2.3	25.9
Strathcona's Horse	49.2	6.2	0.2	1.7	1.2	58.5
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	29.7	2.6	0.9	0.5	2.6	36.3
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	11.5	1.0	0.4	0.4	3.6	16.9
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	7.7	3.4	1.5	0.2	4.4	17.2
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	39.8	9.4	0.2	0.0	4.6	54.
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	17.3	1.6	1.6	0.2	3.1	23.8
Contingents' Average	20.9	2.7	0.8	0.4	2.6	27.4

*Guide :*

<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Mining</i>	<i>Fishing</i>	<i>Trapping</i>	<i>Lumber</i>
Farmer (593)	Miner (129)	Sailor/-Mariner (48)	Hunter/-Trapper (22)	Lumberjack (35)
Farm Labourer (15)	Prospector (32)			Shantyman (2)
Rancher (322)				Teamster (119)
Ranch Labourer- Cattleman/Cowboy (250)				
Stablehand (29)				
Dairyman (3)				

Table IV — E. OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISONS: TOTALS

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>White Collar</i>	<i>Blue Collar</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Primary</i>
	%	%	%	%
Royal Canadian Regiment	35.9	37.4	15.5	9.1
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	20.7	23.2	27.6	25.9
Strathcona's Horse	13.0	10.9	15.3	58.5
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	20.5	25.8	14.0	36.3
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	23.2	43.0	13.2	16.9
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	21.4	42.9	16.1	17.2
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	15.0	21.4	9.0	54.0
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	21.6	38.9	14.5	23.8
Contingents' Average	22.9	29.2	16.3	27.4
Canadian Male Work Force	11.3	29.0	9.1	50.2

Table IV — F. OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISONS: NON AGRICULTURE

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>White Collar</i>	<i>Blue Collar</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Primary</i>
%	%	%	%	
Royal Canadian Regiment	38.6	40.2	16.3	14.4
1st Canadian Mounted Rifles	27.4	30.8	36.5	5.1
Strathcona's Horse	26.8	22.4	31.5	19.1
2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles	30.6	38.5	20.9	9.8
3rd Canadian Mounted Rifles	27.3	50.7	15.5	6.3
4th Canadian Mounted Rifles	23.8	47.6	17.9	10.5
5th Canadian Mounted Rifles	25.1	35.9	15.1	23.8
6th Canadian Mounted Rifles	26.5	47.7	17.7	7.9
Contingents' Average	30.5	38.9	21.7	8.6
Canadian Male Work Force Non-Agricultural	20.4	52.5	16.4	10.5

Rifles were not only more Canadian and younger but more blue collar than the earlier regiments. The service sector, it should be noted, is inflated throughout by the high percentage of soldier and police participation, particularly in the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles and The Strathcona's Horse which recruited heavily in Western Canada and directed their appeal to the North West Mounted Police, a force which constituted 11.8% and 8.5% respectively of the men in these contingents. Soldiers, of course, were drawn naturally to active service conscious that war experience would benefit their careers. The war, therefore, during its initial phase had less attraction to farmers and blue collar workers than the urban middle classes, usually considered the strongest, at least the most vocal, Canadian defenders of the 'Imperial Ideal'.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, occupational analysis permits some informed speculation on recruitment motivation, particularly among primary and blue collar workers. In the white collar sector boredom and the pull of adventure doubt-

<sup>29</sup> Carl BERGER, *The Sense of Power* (Toronto: 1971), p. 5.

lessly drew many, especially in the clerical and student ranks, to enlist and they constituted a considerable portion of the total contingents' manpower. Social pressure, patriotism, a sense of religious mission, several rather than single motives, may have moved men to seek military service. Moreover economic inducements made the pull of patriotism, or any other ideological conviction, stronger, more attractive and probably in some cases profitable.

The possible economic motive is less clear, however, in Canada's first contingents. The Royal Canadian Regiment, the most urban, white collar contingent, for example, gave privates only 50¢ a day, the standard rate for privates in militia camp, still 10¢ above the permanent militia's daily pay. Although the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles and the Strathcona's Horse received a somewhat higher stipend, 75¢ per diem for privates, the base pay scale for the North West Mounted Police, both rates were well below the average daily wage of ordinary labourers, that is \$1.25 a day.<sup>30</sup> The military, however, provided board and lodging, which usually cost between \$3.00 and \$4.50 a week in the leading Canadian cities,<sup>31</sup> a consideration which may have constituted a strong incentive to the unemployed or seasonal blue collar worker. It should be remembered, too, that all the contingents were recruited in the autumn, winter or early spring, a generally quiet season for many blue collar and primary occupations and a period which tended to attract the proverbial military 'snow-birds', those men who sought winter food and shelter in the Canadian permanent militia and who 'melted' away with the first spring thaw or warmer weather. Moreover these first contingents, launched amidst great popular enthusiasm, offered many additional benefits. "Municipalities made grants of money averaging from \$25 to \$50 for each private and \$100 for each officer,"<sup>32</sup> a considerable sum given the anticipated three to six month duration of the war. These gifts, too, were frequently augmented by friends, employers, clubs and local regimental funds. In fact some employers not only promised to retain positions for patriotic volunteers but agreed to keep men on the payroll during their absence. The Government, trying to keep pace with the private sector, offered separation allowances to married volunteers. The Red Cross Society, the Soldiers' Wives League and The Patriotic Society (organized in January 1900), offered relief and assistance to soldiers and their dependents during and long after the war, an early form of select social security. Finally, all the men were well insured (the Insurance companies saw to that) often three times over against death or injury in combat but not enteric fever which claimed half the fatalities.

In subsequent contingents, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Canadian Mounted Rifles, an even more plausible line exists between economic benefit and recruitment particularly in primary and blue collar occupations. Privates in these contingents received \$1.21 per diem including

<sup>30</sup> *The Labour Gazette* (November, 1900), p. 117.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> EVANS, *op. cit.*, p. 86.



board and lodgings with an additional incentive of 24¢ per diem for particular occupational skills, notably blacksmiths and ferrier-sergeants, an indispensable talent in a mounted force. Blacksmiths, an occupation which figures conspicuously in the attached scaled rankings (Table IV-G), scarcely suffered financially from military service. An enlisted blacksmith, who may have been only a blacksmith's helper in civilian clothes, earned at least as much as a regularly employed civilian blacksmith who worked six days a week, earned \$2.00 a day (rates ranged between \$1.75 and \$2.00)<sup>33</sup> and paid the cheapest board and lodging. Many more poorly paid civilian occupations, for example, labourers (\$1.25 — \$1.50), cooks (\$1.00),<sup>34</sup> teamsters (\$1.35 — \$1.50),<sup>35</sup> firemen (\$1.35),<sup>36</sup> carpenters (\$1.25 — \$2.00),<sup>37</sup> and painters (\$1.67),<sup>38</sup> not to mention soldiers and policemen who gained by pay and promotion, probably benefited considerably from regular employment, a factor which may help explain the rise of blue collar workers in the latter contingents. Even white collar workers, third class clerks, for example, who drew an annual salary ranging between \$480 and \$800,<sup>39</sup> may have bettered their lot as well, particularly at the improved pay rates.

Labour conditions, too, may have forced men to consider enlistment. A closer examination of one occupational group, the farm/ranch labourer, a group which figures prominently in many contingents particularly the 1st, 2nd and 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles and The Strathcona's Horse, provides a good example of this phenomena. (It is more than likely, of course, that many men who designated themselves farmers/ranchers were indeed labourers and not owners thereby swelling the ranks of the group under consideration.) A highly seasonal, mobile occupation, farm labourers were idle four to five months of the year, usually during late autumn and early spring, the prime recruiting period. In the autumn and winter the more fortunate and energetic found employment in lumber camps while the idlers, the unemployable unemployed, drifted into the cities. Despite grumblings about farm labour shortages, especially in season, farm labourers, according to *The Labour Gazette*, were becoming increasingly redundant replaced by the spreading use of better farm machinery.<sup>40</sup> In the high season these men received between \$15.00 to \$20.00 a month or \$1.00 to \$1.25 a day on shorter engagements but often without board and lodging.<sup>41</sup> Those who were retained during the slack period went on reduced wages roughly \$5.00 to 15.00 per month.<sup>42</sup> Many of the more ambitious farm labourers, anxious to obtain capital to begin homesteading, forsook temporary farm jobs for more lu-

<sup>33</sup> *The Labour Gazette* (November, 1900), p. 115-116.

<sup>34</sup> CANADA, *Auditor-General's Report*, vol. XXXV, Sessional Paper No. 1.

<sup>35</sup> *The Labour Gazette* (September, 1900), p. 20.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>38</sup> URQUHART, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> CANADA, *Auditor-General's Report*, *op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> *The Labour Gazette* (January, 1901), p. 253.

<sup>41</sup> *The Labour Gazette* (June, 1901), p. 566.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

Table IV — G. OCCUPATIONAL SCALED RANKINGS

<i>Royal Canadian Regiment</i>		<i>1st Canadian Mounted Rifles</i>		<i>Strathcona's Horse</i>		<i>2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles</i>	
	%		%		%		%
Clerk	(14.2)	Police	(11.8)	Rancher	(19.3)	Farmer	(13.2)
Soldier	( 8.7)	Soldier	(11.1)	Ranch/labourer	(15.2)	Rancher	( 8.7)
Labourer	( 6.6)	Farmer	(10.2)	Farmer	(13.9)	Clerk	( 6.9)
Farmer	( 4.2)	Clerk	( 5.3)	Police	( 8.5)	Ranch/labourer	( 6.5)
Carpenter	( 3.9)	Rancher	( 5.3)	Miner	( 3.7)	Soldier	( 4.6)
Machinist	( 3.5)	Labourer	( 4.2)	Black/tinsmith	( 2.7)	Labourer	( 4.1)
Student	( 3.0)	Ranch/Labourer	( 4.1)	Engineer	( 2.7)	Black/tinsmith	( 4.0)
Painter etc.	( 2.8)	Black/tinsmith	( 3.7)	Prospector	( 2.5)	Police	( 3.2)
Plumber	( 2.4)	Carpenter	( 2.1)	Clerk	( 1.9)	Carpenter	( 3.0)
Black/tinsmith	( 2.2)	Teamster	( 2.1)	Hunter	( 1.7)	Line/brakeman	( 2.2)
<i>3rd Canadian Mtd Rifles</i>		<i>4th Canadian Mtd Rifles</i>		<i>5th Canadian Mtd Rifles</i>		<i>6th Canadian Mtd Rifles</i>	
	%		%		%		%
Clerk	(12.8)	Clerk	(11.4)	Farmer	(18.6)	Farmer	(11.9)
Farmer	( 9.9)	Labourer	( 9.3)	Rancher	(10.7)	Clerk	( 9.5)
Labourer	( 8.0)	Farmer	( 6.5)	Ranch/labourer	( 9.0)	Labourer	( 8.6)
Soldier	( 6.5)	Machinist	( 5.3)	Miner	( 8.6)	Soldier	( 6.0)
Carpenter	( 4.6)	Soldier	( 5.3)	Clerk	( 7.1)	Black/tinsmith	( 4.9)
Factory Worker	( 3.6)	Carpenter	( 5.1)	Labourer	( 4.6)	Factory worker	( 3.7)
Machinist	( 3.6)	Teamster	( 4.4)	Black/tinsmith	( 4.2)	Carpenter	( 2.9)
Black/tinsmith	( 3.1)	Black/tinsmith	( 3.8)	Teamster	( 2.9)	Rancher	( 2.7)
Student	( 2.9)	Miner	( 3.4)	Soldier	( 1.7)	Teamster	( 2.5)
Teamster	( 2.1)	Plumber	( 3.2)	Police	( 1.7)	Student	( 2.1)

crative, short-term employment and were, consequently, ideal candidates for South Africa. This group had little to lose and sometimes something to gain from a brief military service. Some too may have been poor American farm labourers who drifted across the rather fluid western border in search of better economic conditions.<sup>43</sup> In short, while economics alone may not explain men's recruiting behavior the contingents' competitive rates and benefits enabled men to afford the profession of more lofty public principles.

### CONCLUSION

A comparison of the Canadian contingents' socio-economic composition with that of the general Canadian population suggests some answers to the questions who went to South Africa? When? And why? Or put another way, to which social groups did the war appeal most and why? Although the analysis remains tentative the evidence seems to indicate that the war won widest support among the urban, the white collar and the British-born. The British-born's commitment to the war, measured by their numbers, maturity and readiness to volunteer during the dark days of British military misfortune, is particularly striking. The strength of the young, the Canadian-born and the blue-collar workers in the contingents recruited before and after the period of greatest military danger suggests a group with more mixed motives, a group drawn to the colours by a restless sense of adventure, patriotism and economic inducement. These men, particularly those who joined the final contingents, seemed to have responded more to their own needs than those of their employers. Indeed, given the popular boredom which characterized the closing months of the war, a stark contrast to the October euphoria which despatched Canada's first contingent, these men needed something more emotional patriotism, since, by then, that commodity seemed in rather short supply.

<sup>43</sup> Karel D. BICHA, *The American Farmer and the Canadian West* (Laurence: 1968), pp. 12-16.