Panel: The Colonial Experience in Africa and the Pacific

Colonial Service Carousel: An Agenda for Research into Inter-territorial Migration between Africa, Australia and the Western Pacific

by

ANTHONY KIRK-GREENE

Lecturer in the Modern History of Africa
and Fellow of St Antony's College
University of Oxford

NOT TO BE QUOTED OR REPRODUCED WITHOUT PERMISSION
later date, it is this aspect of this research agenda which I should like to explore and which I believe might be a matter of interest to Australian social historians as well as to my own project of trying to write a history of the District Officer in Africa.

In qualifying this paper as no more than an agenda I wish to emphasise my awareness of how preliminary my findings are because of constraints of time and data (let alone intellectual ones!). This presentation is at once a summary of how far the initial investigation has reached and a statement of where I should, with help, like to take it further. (3)

Overall there are, as I see it, four basic dimensions to the question addressed in this paper which merit examination:

1. Inter-territorial migration within the Colonial Service.
2. The recruitment of Australians into the Colonial Service.
3. Migrations from latterday colonial Africa to the Western Pacific.
4. The influence (if any) of British colonial personnel practices on Australia's staffing of its own off-shore territories.

This paper sets out to examine (1) in detail; to demonstrate the vigorous nature of (2) and to stimulate interest in taking this research further in Australia; and to do no more than invite guidance on (3) and (4), particularly with regard to the latter in its positive contrast to the New Zealand approach.

1 Two-way traffic in the Colonial Service: Africa and the Western Pacific

Interchange was at the heart of a Colonial Service career from 1930 onwards. Before then it had been an established pattern at the level of
Introduction

This paper takes the form of an agenda for the study of the interaction and interchange between Africa, Australia and the Western Pacific, primarily in respect of Colonial Service personnel but potentially leading to a subsequent comparative consideration of colonial administrative policy. The fundamental aim here is to construct a profile of the principal actors in that interchange, arguably a necessary prerequisite before embarking on any analysis of what such interplay may have meant in the formulation, application and effects of policy. While the timespan relates to the 20th century (Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Arthur Gordon's unusual experience of half-a-dozen colonial governorships apiece around the world in thirty to forty years remains outside our terms of reference for both temporal and geographical reasons), the focus is essentially on the fifty years from 1930 to 1980. (1)

The first part of the paper deals with the phenomenon of Colonial Service migration, in this instance the two-way traffic demonstrated in the transfer of officials from Africa to the Western Pacific as well as, less commonly, from the Western Pacific to Africa. The second part adopts a different approach to understanding the full nature of that interchange. Access to a recent acquisition of prime Australian documentation has enabled me to follow up my earlier research into the role of another Dominion in staffing the basically British Colonial Service, (2) and so advance the argument that, properly speaking, there is another major element to be taken into account in any assessment of what really constituted this interplay of officials: namely, the recruitment of Australians into the British Colonial Service. At a
gubernatorial appointments, a principle stretching back to the Service's creation almost a century earlier. It had also been for some time an accepted Colonial Office convention that for those whose feet were about to step onto the ladder of gubernatorial promotion, a spell outside one's present colony was de rigueur: for instance, a Colonial Secretaryship in the Caribbean or South East Asia, or the Chief Secretaryship of another African territory, was a common prelude to ending up with a major governorship. (4) Exceptions were extremely rare to the 'rule' whereby a man was never appointed to the substantive governorship of a territory directly from within it: in nearly every instance it was a case of a move outside before returning to the top post.

But the conversion from convention and principle to regulation and its application to all levels of appointment did not take place until, following the recommendations of the Colonial Office Conferences of 1927 and 1930, a scheme of unification of the Colonial Service was introduced. Starting with the Colonial Administrative Service in 1932, each of the professional services became unified (e.g. the Colonial Agricultural Service in 1935, the Colonial Education Service in 1937, the Colonial Geological Survey Service in 1938) until, by 1948, the twentieth and last unification took place, that of the Colonial Civil Aviation Service. Before then, except in the Colonial Audit Service which had been unified since 1910, overseas civil servants joined a territorial service, e.g. Kenya Police, Nigerian Administrative Service, Uganda Medical Service; and there many could expect to spend their whole career. Unification, on the other hand, not only made liability to an inter-territorial transfer a mandatory condition of service but also
measurably widened the chances of extra-territorial promotion. Now one
joined not the Gold Coast or Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia
Administrative Service but the Colonial Administrative Service, liable
(but unlikely save on application or with consent) to a cross-posting
anywhere within the Colonial Empire.

Of course, nobody believed the new policy would or could be
implemented to the letter: in a Service of 10-20,000 staff, the cost of
transferring an Assistant Director of Education from Fiji to the
Falkland Islands to act as Deputy Director or a District Officer from
the Solomon Islands as Assistant Financial Secretary in Sierra Leone in
order to plug a gap filled by sudden death simply on the grounds that he
was the next senior officer in the whole Colonial Service would likely
far outweigh all the arguable advantages put together. Nevertheless, it
can be maintained that in a unified Colonial Administrative Service of
some 2,000 posts, this new opportunity for promotion on transfer
injected an incentive into a Service which hitherto had generally
conceded first place to the superior attractions of similar but not
strictly comparable careers in the Indian Civil and the Sudan Political
Services.

If it never quite reached the scale of "Join the Army and See the
World" as a recruiting slogan, it nevertheless added some kind of
magnetic fillip to a Colonial Service career. And the new dispensation,
with its prospects of open transfer between colonies, may have helped
out over the perennial problem of the Colonial Service Division at the
Colonial Office in facing up to balancing the territorial choice of
candidates against the number of vacancies within the more popular
colonies: while many registered a preference for climate-smiling Kenya
and the no less 'aristocratic' and polo-playing Northern Provinces of Nigeria or the messing about-with-boats 'Pattern of Islands' in the Pacific, few volunteered to fill the vacancies in the perceived 'White Man's Grave' of Sierra Leone or dead-end Gambia, and only a few might apply for the god-forsaken crater called Aden or that 'real man's world' of sun-baked Somaliland. At any rate, the way was now open to a run-of-the-mill transfer (that is to say, no longer the exception of a health or compassionate posting), often on promotion, from, say, West and East Africa to the Western Pacific, or vice-versa. A perusal of the Colonial Office's Establishment files suggests that the strongest resistance came from colonial governments arguing over which of them was to pay what proportion of a transferred officer's final pension! More seriously, it may also be noted that in the post-war era of the positive localisation of territorial civil services the question was sometimes raised, not always constructively, of how could one be expected to appoint a Nigerian as a District Officer when, as a member of a unified Colonial Administrative Service, he would be liable to transfer to Uganda or Zanzibar, let alone to Sarawak or Singapore?

As an indication of how frequent the policy of inter-territorial transfer was after c.1930, Tables I, II and III (to be found at the end of this paper) present sample (i.e., no claim to total coverage is made) data drawn from a 'finger count' examination of the Colonial Office List for 1950, 1960 and 1966 (final year of publication), supplemented by personal knowledge, in respect of the Africa-Western Pacific two-way traffic. Table I looks at the appointment of Governors, High Commissioners and Resident Commissioners with African experience to all five territorial commands in the Western Pacific (Fiji, Western Pacific
and the no less 'aristocratic' and polo-playing Northern Provinces of Nigeria or the messing-about-with-boats 'Pattern of Islands' in the Pacific, few volunteered to fill the vacancies in the perceived 'White Man's Grave' of Sierra Leone or dead-end Gambia, and only a few might apply for the god-forsaken crater called Aden or that 'real man's world' of sun-baked Somaliland. At any rate, the way was now open to a run-of-the-mill transfer (that is to say, no longer the exception of a health or compassionate posting), often on promotion, from, say, West and East Africa to the Western Pacific, or vice-versa. A perusal of the Colonial Office's Establishment files suggests that the strongest resistance came from colonial governments arguing over which of them was to pay what proportion of a transferred officer's final pension! More seriously, it may also be noted that in the post-war era of the positive localisation of territorial civil services the question was sometimes raised, not always constructively, of how could one be expected to appoint a Nigerian as a District Officer when, as a member of a unified Colonial Administrative Service, he would be liable to transfer to Uganda or Zanzibar, let alone to Sarawak or Singapore?

As an indication of how frequent the policy of inter-territorial transfer was after c.1930, Tables I, II and III (to be found at the end of this paper) present sample (i.e., no claim to total coverage is made) data drawn from a 'finger count' examination of the Colonial Office List for 1950, 1960 and 1966 (final year of publication), supplemented by personal knowledge, in respect of the Africa-Western Pacific two-way traffic. Table I looks at the appointment of Governors, High Commissioners and Resident Commissioners with African experience to all five territorial commands in the Western Pacific (Fiji, Western Pacific
High Commission, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (G & EIC), British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) and the New Hebrides). Table II offers the same information in respect of the top post of Colonial/Chief Secretary. Table III, where the data is consciously far more of a model than in the other two (probably complete) Tables, attempts to do the same thing for Colonial Service officers of a lower rank than those listed in Tables I and II, and often from the professional departments as well as the administrative service. In each case, the migration information includes a transfer to Africa as well as the far more frequent move from Africa to the Pacific.

Two comments on this two-way traffic are in order. One - which justifies my OAU-approved but maybe not immediately thought-of inclusion of Mauritius and the Seychelles as part of Africa - is that some 'island experience' was perhaps a factor en route to the higher class governorship of Fiji. Two, while the link between being a DO in Kenya and a senior posting to the Pacific reveals an interesting and maybe personal preference for over fifty years, that between DC Gold Coast and either High Commissioner or Chief Secretary of the Western Pacific High Commission takes on the form of a suspected apostolic succession!

Secondly, while not unexpectedly Fiji was a senior enough governorship to rank as a likely terminal career posting, it was also held, within the space of six years, by two of the still-up-and-coming heavyweights of the Colonial Service, Sir Arthur Richards (later Lord Milverton) and Sir Philip Mitchell: for the latter it constituted the sole break in his forty years of African service.

Finally, a number of points need to be made on Table III, apart from its clear need for extension. First, it may not be generally realised
High Commission, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (G & EIC), British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) and the New Hebrides. Table II offers the same information in respect of the top post of Colonial/Chief Secretary. Table III, where the data is consciously far more of a model than in the other two (probably complete) Tables, attempts to do the same thing for Colonia) Service officers of a lower rank than those listed in Tables I and II, and often from the professional departments as well as the administrative service. In each case, the migration information includes a transfer to Africa as well as the far more frequent move from Africa to the Pacific.

Two comments on this two-way traffic are in order. One - which justifies my OAU-approved but maybe not immediately thought-of inclusion of Mauritius and the Seychelles as part of Africa - is that some 'island experience' was perhaps a factor en route to the higher class governorship of Fiji. Two, while the link between being a DO in Kenya and a senior posting to the Pacific reveals an interesting and maybe personal preference for over fifty years, that between DC Gold Coast and either High Commissioner or Chief Secretary of the Western Pacific High Commission takes on the form of a suspected apostolic succession!

Secondly, while not unexpectedly Fiji was a senior enough governorship to rank as a likely terminal career posting, it was also held, within the space of six years, by two of the still-up-and-coming heavyweights of the Colonial Service, Sir Arthur Richards (later Lord Milverton) and Sir Philip Mitchell: for the latter it constituted the sole break in his forty years of African service.

Finally, a number of points need to be made on Table III, apart from its clear need for extension. First, it may not be generally realised
that it was not until after 1928 that steps were taken to bring the recruitment of District Officers for Fiji into the mainstream of appointments to the Colonial Administrative Service. The Governor, Sir Eyre Hutson, had complained to the Colonial Office that his staff "consisted too largely of Pacific 'beachcombers'...with too low a standard of education and quality". (5) In an attempt to break the mould, the especially promising G.K. Roth was selected in 1928. Thereupon the Governor, anxious to "raise [the administration] to the standard of tropical Africa...wanted more of a similar kidney...sahibs who would sympathize with, and try to understand, the natives and their customs." This chronology is important for a proper reading of Table III. The second point is the comparatively small group of officials who, having been assigned to the Pacific on initial appointment, later sought a transfer to Africa, e.g. Baker, Cartland, Fowler and Macquarie, to take the less common DOs alone. The third is another small but important group of officers who were presumably posted away from – or across to – the Pacific in order to lift their horizons and broaden their experience in career terms and who therefore, in the former instance, returned to the Pacific. Leading examples are Hill, Horsfall, MacLeod-Smith, Richardson and Roth from the Administration. The fourth is that some departments, notably Audit, Judicial and Legal, were much more liable to serial inter-territorial transfers as an integral part of their career structure than the other professions, where an inter-territorial transfer to and from the Pacific often came towards the end of a career, on promotion as Director or Deputy Director; or than in the Administrative Service, at least until an officer reached the superscale or staff grade and had been identified by the Colonial Office as a high-
flier who needed to experience other situations and responsibilities before going onward and upward (these are more likely to appear here in Table II). No account has, of course, been taken here of the 'inter-island' transfers between, say, Fiji, G & EIC and BSIP.

While we may conclude from these Tables that there is a considerably closer history of a shared 'colonial experience' between Africa and the Pacific (to have recourse to the theme of this Panel) than we may at first have thought insofar as Colonial Service personnel were concerned, it may not be so easy to establish what this practice of migration meant when it came to ideas affecting the implementation of policy. To an extent, and a notable one, too, this has at least begun to be assessed in the studies of the colonial governors involved, for instance J.K. Chapman's *The Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon* (Toronto, 1964), R.B. Joyce's biography, *Sir William MacGregor* (Melbourne, 1971), and R.L. Peel's memoir of Sir Arthur Richards, *Old Sinister* (Cambridge, 1986). Further sources could include the autobiographies of such proconsuls (other than that of Sir Arthur Grimble, too much a Pacific devotee ever to think much, if at all, of Africa), whether published, such as Sir Philip Mitchell's *African Afterthoughts* (London, 1954), Sir Robert Stanley's *King George's Keys* (London, 1975), Sir Robert Gazzrey's *Gentleman Pauper* (Bognor Regis, 1984), Sir William Des Voeux's *My Colonial Service* (1903) and Sir Harry Luke's *Cities and Men* (vol. III, London, 1956) and *From a South Seas Diary* (London, 1945); or unpublished, such as, that by Sir Kenneth Maddocks which I have recently had the privilege of reading in manuscript. (6) In it he tells how in a major official address of welcome at Suva when he took up his appointment as Governor of Fiji in 1958, after nearly thirty years'
that it was not until after 1928 that steps were taken to bring the
recruitment of District Officers for Fiji into the mainstream of
appointments to the Colonial Administrative Service. The Governor, Sir
Eyre Hutson, had complained to the Colonial Office that his staff
"consisted too largely of Pacific 'beachcombers'...with too low a
standard of education and quality". (5) In an attempt to break the
mould, the especially promising G.K. Roth was selected in 1928.
Thereupon the Governor, anxious to "raise [the administration] to the
standard of tropical Africa...wanted more of a similar kidney...sahibs
who would sympathize with, and try to understand, the natives and their
customs." This chronology is important for a proper reading of Table
III. The second point is the comparatively small group of officials
who, having been assigned to the Pacific on initial appointment, later
sought a transfer to Africa, e.g. Baker, Cartland, Fowler and Macquarie,
to take the less common DOs alone. The third is another small but
important group of officers who were presumably posted away from...or
across to...the Pacific in order to lift their horizons and broaden
their experience in career terms and who therefore, in the former
instance, returned to the Pacific. Leading examples are Hill, Horsfall,
MacLeod-Smith, Richardson and Roth from the Administration. The fourth
is that some departments, notably Audit, Judicial and Legal, were much
more liable to serial inter-territorial transfers as an integral part of
their career structure than the other professions, where an inter-
territorial transfer to and from the Pacific often came towards the end
of a career, on promotion as Director or Deputy Director; or than in the
Administrative Service, at least until an officer reached the superscale
or staff grade and had been identified by the Colonial Office as a high-
who needed to experience other situations and responsibilities before going onward and upward (these are more likely to appear here in Table II). No account has, of course, been taken here of the 'inter-island' transfers between, say, Fiji, G & EIC and BSIP.

While we may conclude from these Tables that there is a considerably closer history of a shared 'colonial experience' between Africa and the Pacific (to have recourse to the theme of this Panel) than we may at first have thought insofar as Colonial Service personnel were concerned, it may not be so easy to establish what this practice of migration meant when it came to ideas affecting the implementation of policy. To an extent, and a notable one, too, this has at least begun to be assessed in the studies of the colonial governors involved, for instance J.K. Chapman's _The Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon_ (Toronto, 1964), R.B. Joyce's biography, _Sir William MacGregor_ (Melbourne, 1971), and R.L. Peel's memoir of Sir Arthur Richards, _Old Sinister_ (Cambridge, 1986). Further sources could include the autobiographies of such proconsuls (other than that of Sir Arthur Grimble, too much a Pacific devotee ever to think much, if at all, of Africa), whether published, such as Sir Philip Mitchell's _African Afterthoughts_ (London, 1954), Sir Robert Stanley's _King George's Keys_ (London, 1975), Sir Robert Gazrvey's _Gentleman Pauper_ (Bognor Regis, 1984), Sir William Des Voeux's _My Colonial Service_ (1903) and Sir Harry Luke's _Cities and Men_ (vol. III, London, 1956) and _From a South Seas Diary_ (London, 1945); or unpublished, such as, that by Sir Kenneth Maddocks which I have recently had the privilege of reading in manuscript. (6) In it he tells how in a major official address of welcome at Suva when he took up his appointment as Governor of Fiji in 1958, after nearly thirty years'
service in Nigeria, mostly in the Lugardian emirates, the speaker made a
point of reminding His Excellency that Fiji needed no Nigerian to come
and tell them what indirect rule was all about! There is, too, a major
linking theme between the administration of Africa and Fiji, namely the
colonial bond of indirect rule and the concomitant upholding of the
authority of the chiefs, all the way from Gordon to Lugard (note the
chronology) and beyond and down to others who had practised the art in
Nigeria and Tanganyika, in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

Much remains to be done in the analysis of the exchange of ideas on
colonial administration in the Western Pacific. (7) How far did the
transfer of Colonial Service personnel affect the administrative system
of the 'host' territory? How often was it intended to effect change?
How fair is it to suggest that there might be a case for restructuring
the whole issue of Colonial Service migration and asking not "what new
ideas did they bring with them?" but simply *cui bono?*: how often was the
transfer not so much in the carefully thought out developmental
interests of the inhabitants of the territory as primarily in the
Colonial Office's perception of the career requirements of the incoming
official?. At least these Tables may help us identify who the potential
carriers were. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that, whatever their
private comparative thoughts, all Colonial Service migrants learned the
lesson of the fate of G.V. Maxwell, who broke the golden rule of inter-
colonial migration. Transferred in 1921 from Fiji to Kenya after 23
years there, as Chief Native Commissioner, he could not refrain from
pinning for his beloved Fiji and complaining how Kenya had absolutely no
native administration worthy of the name. He soon earned the nickname
in Nairobi of Fijiwi, because his every utterance started "In Fiji we used to..." (8)

2. Australians in the British Colonial Service

We now move to the second dimension of our theme of cross-Colonial-Service-cultural influences between the Pacific and Africa. This is the contribution of Australia (and in another place at another time, New Zealand) to the staffing of Britain's colonial empire through appointments in the British Colonial Service. As far as I am aware so far, little if anything of substance has been published on this, though I once again would welcome being better informed. However, unlike my experience with working on the comparable Canadian connection, where local ignorance plummeted to the nadir of determined disbelief, I sense a palpable feeling of consciousness of, even pride in, the Australian role.

Essentially what I am opening up here is the Australian contribution to what was known as the Dominion Selection Scheme, started in Canada in 1923 and extended to Australia in 1928. Now the standard Colonial Service biodata sources are lamentably silent on national provenance. Neither the annual Colonial Office List nor the regular Staff or Civil Service Lists indicate nationality (although a painstaking reading of place of education enables a fair presumption), while access to officials' personal files, even of deceased personnel, is totally forbidden in the UK. (9) However, by a stroke of good fortune which the forum of this conference allows me appropriately to share with Australian scholars, in my capacity as one-time Director of the Oxford Colonial/Development Record Project the minute books of the key Australian Central Committee for Colonial Service Appointments, covering
service in Nigeria, mostly in the Lugardian emirates. The speaker made a point of reminding His Excellency that Fiji needed no Nigerian to come and tell them what indirect rule was all about! There is, too, a major linking theme between the administration of Africa and Fiji, namely the colonial bond of indirect rule and the concomitant upholding of the authority of the chiefs, all the way from Gordon to Lugard (note the chronology) and beyond and down to others who had practised the art in Nigeria and Tanganyika, in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

Much remains to be done in the analysis of the exchange of ideas on colonial administration in the Western Pacific. (7) How far did the transfer of Colonial Service personnel affect the administrative system of the 'host' territory? How often was it intended to effect change? How fair is it to suggest that there might be a case for restructuring the whole issue of Colonial Service migration and asking not "what new ideas did they bring with them?" but simply cui bono?: how often was the transfer not so much in the carefully thought out developmental interests of the inhabitants of the territory as primarily in the Colonial Office's perception of the career requirements of the incoming official?. At least these Tables may help us identify who the potential carriers were. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that, whatever their private comparative thoughts, all Colonial Service migrants learned the lesson of the fate of G.V. Maxwell, who broke the golden rule of intercolonial migration. Transferred in 1921 from Fiji to Kenya after 23 years there, as Chief Native Commissioner, he could not refrain from pining for his beloved Fiji and complaining how Kenya had absolutely no native administration worthy of the name. He soon earned the nickname
the years 1929 to 1966, were recently offered to us for deposit in the Colonial Archive at Rhodes House Library, Oxford. It is by building onto this unique source the leads derived from my earlier correspondence with Sir Zelman Cowen, then Governor-General of Australia but before that *inter alia* the Colonial Service Liaison Officer for Australia from 1951 to 1966, and a discussion with Professor H.A.J. Ford, that the core of the second part of this paper has been constructed.

The outline of the Dominion Selection Scheme is as follows. As early as 1920 R.A. (later Sir Ralph) Furse, prime mover in the recruitment of the Colonial Service from 1910 to 1948 and rightly looked on as the architect of the modern Colonial Service, had the idea of tapping the Canadian universities to help fill the post 1914-1919 gaps in the staffing of Britain's colonies. The Canadians believed that such career opportunities were deliberately kept out of the reach of Dominions men and women. Following an appeal for manpower by the Colonial Secretary, Leo Amery, in Toronto in 1920 and a visit by Furse to some twenty Canadian universities the year after, a scheme was inaugurated in 1923 to offer appointments to qualified Canadians. Through it, the Canadian General Board could recommend likely candidates to the Colonial Office, within an expected quota of half-a-dozen appointments a year, mostly in the Administrative, Agricultural and Medical Services, and excluding vacancies in the Eastern Cadetships (Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Hong Kong), which were still filled by open examination and not by nomination, record and interview. Amery was soon able to comment on "the small but steady stream of very satisfactory young candidates from Canada who have entered the West and East African and other Colonial Services." (10)
Five years later the Dominion Selection Scheme was set up in Australia and New Zealand.

Furse spent the Southern hemisphere spring of 1928 (exactly sixty years ago) in Australia travelling from Brisbane across to Perth to organize the selection machinery. By the time he left in November he was able to record how "the Dominion Selection Scheme was successfully launched in Australia and New Zealand... Each made minor modifications to suit itself, but in general organization was on the Canadian model."
The Governor-General entered one caveat: he hoped that after a few years' service his government would "buy back" some of the men taken by the Colonial Service "after they had imbibed British traditions of administration."(11)

The inaugural meeting of Australia's specially created Colonial Appointments Committee took place on 16 August 1929, at 538 Collins Street, Melbourne. In the chair was Sir Brudenell White, supported round the table by the Hon. F.W. Eggleston, Dr A.C.D. Rivett, Major K. Officer and Mr J.H.L. Cumpston. The secretary was Mr S.S. Addison. This Central Committee had been appointed by the Federal Government in June. Small local committees were also established, in Adelaide, Queensland and Tasmania, and six universities had appointed their own liaison officers, e.g. Professors W.K. Hancock at Adelaide and K.H. Bailey at Melbourne. The first two nominations, announced in October 1930, were of T.A. Sutherland (Melbourne), aged 28, and B.B. Watchorn (RMC, Duntroon), aged 33. Both were recommended to the Colonial Office for appointment. In the event, however, the slump overtook the Colonial Office machinery and none of the eight men recommended in 1930-31 could be offered an appointment. Possibly the first Australian appointed to
the years 1929 to 1966, were recently offered to us for deposit in the Colonial Archive at Rhodes House Library, Oxford. It is by building onto this unique source the leads derived from my earlier correspondence with Sir Zelman Cowen, then Governor-General of Australia but before that inter alia the Colonial Service Liaison Officer for Australasia from 1951 to 1966, and a discussion with Professor H.A.J. Ford, that the core of the second part of this paper has been constructed.

The outline of the Dominion Selection Scheme is as follows. As early as 1920 R.A. (later Sir Ralph) Purse, prime mover in the recruitment of the Colonial Service from 1910 to 1945 and rightly looked on as the architect of the modern Colonial Service, had the idea of tapping the Canadian universities to help fill the post 1914-1919 gaps in the staffing of Britain's colonies. The Canadians believed that such career opportunities were deliberately kept out of the reach of Dominions men and women. Following an appeal for manpower by the Colonial Secretary, Leo Amery, in Toronto in 1920 and a visit by Purse to some twenty Canadian universities the year after, a scheme was inaugurated in 1923 to offer appointments to qualified Canadians. Through it, the Canadian General Board could recommend likely candidates to the Colonial Office, within an expected quota of half-a-dozen appointments a year, mostly in the Administrative, Agricultural and Medical Services, and excluding vacancies in the Eastern Cadetships (Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Hong Kong), which were still filled by open examination and not by nomination, record and interview. Amery was soon able to comment on "the small but steady stream of very satisfactory young candidates from Canada who have entered the West and East African and other Colonial Services." (10)
the Colonial Administrative Service under the Dominion Selection Scheme was Eliot Rowan Reeves. (12) Recommended by the Central Board, he was posted to Nigeria in 1932 and later became a District Commissioner in Palestine.

As it happened, 1929-1932 was not the most propitious moment to initiate such a scheme. It was a time when retrenchment rather than recruitment was characterising the Colonial Service. During 1937 we find Furse letting the Central Committee know that he was hopeful of maintaining the unofficial 1936 'scale' for Australian appointments: 2-3 in the Colonial Administrative Service, 3-4 in the Medical, and two for the Agricultural or Veterinary Colonial Scholarships. In the event, successful applications from Australia were to average precisely one a year between 1930 and 1939. Nevertheless, by 1942 nearly 300 candidates "of Dominion origin" had been appointed to the Colonial Service.

By 1946, such was the scale of the operation to fill Colonial Service vacancies after six years of minimal recruitment (13) that the Colonial Office was begging the Central Committee to submit up to twenty nominations for the Administrative Service, with five for the Colonial Police and four for the Audit Service. A few months later the Colonial Office went so far as to reserve no less than eighteen specific vacancies for suitable Australians, all as District Officers: 7 in Malaysia, 5 in Uganda, 2 in Kenya and 2 in the High Commission Territories, and 1 each in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Australia was poised to make a very positive mark in Colonial Service appointments.

Table IV assembles the names of all the Australian candidates considered by the final Central Committee in the three peak years of
1946, 1947 and 1948. These names are taken from the Committee's minutes. There are, of course, many names of other officers who joined the Colonial Service from the Australian end in other years, including such to-the-top people as R.R.E. Jacobson, who rose from being appointed through the Central Committee as a geologist in Nigeria in 1937 to becoming Director of the Nigerian Geological Survey in 1949, a post he was to hold through to independence in 1960, and D. Marshall, who was appointed to Uganda as a cadet in 1947 and ended up, only 18 years later, as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government. The three annual lists displayed here are thus no more than a sample. Clearly there is a tremendous amount of important data to be derived from these minute books. So far I have only scratched the surface, but the findings seem interesting enough to share with colleagues in Australia working in the same field of social history.

However, from my preliminary earlier analysis of the strength and composition of the modern (i.e., post-1919) British Colonial Service it is clear that, as influential as the Central Committee was to become after 1946, it was not the only way for Australians to secure an appointment in the Colonial Service. Right from the end of World War I onwards (and possibly earlier, I suspect, especially for posts in the pre-unification Western Pacific services) we find Australians as often as not graduating from British universities, and so happening to be in or near London, successfully applying direct to the Colonial Office in the normal (= UK) way. Table V offers a partial list; hopefully, participants will be able to expand it. Several of these deserve special comment.
the Colonial Administrative Service under the Dominion Selection Scheme was Eliot Rowan Reeves. Recommended by the Central Board, he was posted to Nigeria in 1932 and later became a District Commissioner in Palestine.

As it happened, 1929-1932 was not the most propitious moment to initiate such a scheme. It was a time when retrenchment rather than recruitment was characterising the Colonial Service. During 1937 we find Furse letting the Central Committee know that he was hopeful of maintaining the unofficial 1936 'scale' for Australian appointments: 2-3 in the Colonial Administrative Service, 3-4 in the Medical, and two for the Agricultural or Veterinary Colonial Scholarships. In the event, successful applications from Australia were to average precisely one a year between 1930 and 1939. Nevertheless, by 1942 nearly 300 candidates "of Dominion origin" had been appointed to the Colonial Service.

By 1946, such was the scale of the operation to fill Colonial Service vacancies after six years of minimal recruitment (13) that the Colonial Office was begging the Central Committee to submit up to twenty nominations for the Administrative Service, with five for the Colonial Police and four for the Audit Service. A few months later the Colonial Office went so far as to reserve no less than eighteen specific vacancies for suitable Australians, all as District Officers: 7 in Malaysia, 5 in Uganda, 2 in Kenya and 2 in the High Commission Territories, and 1 each in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Australia was poised to make a very positive mark in Colonial Service appointments.

Table IV assembles the names of all the Australian candidates considered by the final Central Committee in the three peak years of
Frank Officer and Julian Simpson were appointed in 1919, calling on Furse at the Colonial Office on their way home to Australia from the Western Front. Furse goes on:

I was careful not to tell them - or anyone else - what was in my mind. But in each case I had made the mental note that I hoped they would not make a permanent career in the Colonial Service, as I wanted all the Englishmen I took to do. I hoped that after a few years' experience they would resign and go into public life or public service in their own country. (14)

This they both did, Officer making a distinguished career in the Department of External Affairs after five years in Nigeria and Simpson becoming an aide to Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce, by 1928 and standing for the Federal Parliament. W.V.C. Baker, St. Elmo Nelson and J.T.A. Pearce would have pleased the early (but not the later) Furse less, for all saw out a full career in the Colonial Service in Africa, each ending up as a Provincial Commissioner or its equivalent and two of them being awarded the C.M.G.

By far the most prominent (the adjective needs choosing with some care) member of this 'direct entry' group was W.R. (later Sir Walter) Crocker. Appointed as an Assistant District Officer to Northern Nigeria in 1930 very much under Furse's eye, he possibly delighted his patron (but less so his employers) by resigning at the end of only his second tour and joining the ILO in Geneva. Judging from both his exceptionally revealing and damning memoir, *Nigeria: A Critique of British Colonial Administration* (London, 1936), and the administration folklore that lingered on in the Northern Provinces for a decade longer, it was something of a stormy experience all round. (15) Fifty years after that encounter with the Colonial Service hierarchy - and with multiple
ambassadorships, including a back-to-Africa assignment, teaching posts, several important books and the lieutenant-governorship of South Australia behind him as evidence of a versatile and truly distinguished post-Colonial Service career - Sir Walter has valuably re-lived the experience in another memoir, *Travelling Back* (Melbourne, 1981). For our purposes here, what is critical is his account of how he joined the Colonial Service:

Once when I was out in the desert of southern California (he was a Commonwealth Fund Fellow at Stanford University, 1928-30) the notion struck me of seeing Africa and, as the best means of doing so, of trying to get into the British Colonial Service. I was also wanting, after nearly nine years at university, to taste for a while at least, a life of action in place of study, and not least a life of action connected with Empire responsibilities. (16)

So, "on arriving in Oxford from Russia", he went straight to the rooms of his old Balliol tutor, Kenneth Bell (incidentally but perhaps not accidentally one of Purse's most trusted talent spotters for likely Colonial Service material at Oxford) to discuss his future. Together "we talked far into the night". The next day Bell got in touch with Purse "to see if there was any possibility of a place". Interviews followed, first with Purse and then with the Colonial Service Appointments Board, and "before long I was appointed to what was perhaps the most sought after of the colonies, Northern Nigeria" - described by the enthusiastic Purse as "a nursery of Governors". To keep his Dominions biases equal Purse despatched by the same boat to Lagos a young Assistant District Officer from New Zealand, R. Sinclair. He, too, ended up with a knighthood, but stayed the course and finished his
Colonial Service career as Chief Justice of Nyasaland and then of Kenya. (17)

Table VI provides a further list of Australians appointed to the British Colonial Service. Here not all the names have yet been confirmed from official records, as they derive from replies to my appeal to Colonial Service pensioners to look back in their memories and try and think of any Dominions men and women among their colleagues. (18). As with nearly all these Tables, part of the point of their presentation is to solicit amplification and correction.

Because this section of the paper focusses on the Australia-Africa connection, no discussion can legitimately be entered on those Australians who were appointed to the Colonial Service and posted to non-African territories. For completeness's sake it should be recorded that a passing glance at the territorial staff lists suggests that, relatively speaking, a high proportion of Colonial Service appointments in Fiji, the Western Pacific and North Borneo, and a fair proportion in Malaya and Hong Kong were held by Australians.

Tables VII, VIII and IX are self-explanatory enough to require little or no explanation. The number of Australians serving as District Officers in Nigeria in the mid-1950s is perhaps surprisingly high (Table VII). The number of Australians recruited by the Sudan Political Service (SPS) (not a Fursian responsibility) in the whole of its fifty-six years of existence, from 1899 to 1955, is depressingly low (Table VIII). I am not aware of any Australian appointed to the Indian Civil Service (ICS) (19), though this is a field not yet analysed since it lies outside the geographical confines of this "African" paper. The nearest I have so far got is when H.M. Poulton of the Indian Political
Service encountered in the North West Frontier a powindah or nomadic Ghilzai camel driver who greeted him in unmistakable Australian.

"Goodness me!" exclaimed the District Officer, "what's your name?" "Roz Gol", was the answer. "That's an unusual name for a Ghilzai tribesman", pondered the puzzled Poulton. "Yes," came the reply, "it's really Riaz Gul, but them Austrylian boogers called me Roz Gol when I was working with my camels there, and it's kinda stuck".(20) Holders of Rhodes Scholarships, even Dominions ones, are, despite its potential as a breeding-ground for imperial service, perhaps less likely to choose a career in Africa than other mortals, yet here, too, Australians have established themselves (Table IX).

3. From Post-colonial Africa to the Western Pacific: the last transfer?

There are several possible by-products to extract from the examination of the two-way traffic in personal transfers between the Pacific and Africa during the latter's colonial period which might be of relevance for a follow-up. One would involve a chronological reorganization of Tables I to III so as to emphasise the number of transfers to the Western Pacific, expectedly higher than normal, in the decade 1957-1967 as the African territories progressively achieved independence. In this redeployment of Colonial Service personnel; the provisions of the Colonial Office's ad hoc Special List 'A', guaranteeing continued Government employment elsewhere to those faced with loss of career prospects in Nigeria through premature retirement, played a part.(21) Another would be to catalogue the migration of 'old Africa hands' into Universities, both in the Pacific and in Australia; and, it might well be, of Australians to teach in the new African universities, too. Such 'Africans' included former Colonial Service
personnel who had already made the transition from administrator to academic and had special skills, particularly in public administration, to offer to institutions of higher education in, notably, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, as well as 'straight' academics who had started their teaching career at an African university and then moved east for the experience. Either group could also cover those who, after Africa, came to teach in Australian universities. Names that occur to me are, among the African administrators-turned-academic M.J. Campbell, A. Dixon, T. Gee, I.F. Nicolson, S.S. Richardson, E.N. Scott; and, among African academics-turned-Pacific-academics, a remarkable proportion of the distinguished membership of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific (John Ballard, Ulli Beier, David Dorward, David Goldsworthy, Cherry Gertzel, to name only those known longest to me) as well as other old friends like John Chick, Anthony Low and David Murray. Without a doubt my memory will be jogged by reading the list of participants at this Conference. All brought something substantial of Africa to their Pacific assignment.

A further influence in the post-colonial carousel would be the effect of the Commonwealth Scholarship interchange scheme, in so far as its African connection is concerned. Finally, a small and probably not influential group of incoming 'Africans' would be those who, after service in that continent, migrated or even retired to Australia as private persons. In that category I can immediately think of only one ex-colonial Governor. All in all, I am hopeful that the Australian data will furnish an important contribution to my current research project into the 'second careers' of Britain's former overseas services personnel.
4. The impact of the concept of a 'Colonial Service' on Australia's staffing of its Mandated Territories (22)

I have neither the time (here) nor the competence (yet) to develop the final discussion of my research agenda. Let me just sketch its outlines so that I can learn from those who know much more about it than I do.

What I am interested in, within the continuing context of the Colonial Service interaction between Africa and the Pacific, is such questions as how far did Australia look to copy or shun the precedent of Britain's Colonial Service, in both ethos and career structure, when it came to fulfilling its comparable responsibilities in administering the Protectorate of Papua after 1906 and mandated New Guinea from 1920? How influential was the follow-up of Australia's imaginative initiative in commissioning a report on New Guinea's administration in 1924 from John Ainsworth, derived from his experience as Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya? (23) How comparable were Patrol Officers and District Officers? How did Sir Hubert Murray view the similarities and the differences in administration during his record-breaking governorship from 1908 to 1940? What was the role of the University of Sydney, in particular Professor Radcliffe-Brown's personnel training programmes? How far can what has been called Australia's 'office-boy' method of entry (24) be said to have been more or less successful than the elitist public school-cum-Oxbridge British approach? What effect, if any, did the operation of the Dominion Selection Scheme have after 1929 on the recruitment, training and conditions of service of Australia's staffs in Papua and New Guinea? In parenthesis, let me say that the question of Australia's success there takes on greater piquancy when set beside the sorry record of New Zealand in the staffing of its comparable Western
Samoan mandate, a service whose inferior quality was castigated by both New Zealand's own Verschaffelt-Berendsen report and the League of Nations and an issue which has been reopened, sixty years later, in the recent publication of the late Dame Margery Perham's diary of her visit to Africa in 1929. (25)

**Conclusion**

In the belief that to append a conclusion to a mere agenda is virtually a contradiction in terms, my concluding remarks take the form of a series of questions. Some, such as the underlying appeal to reinforce and substantiate the undisguised preliminary state of my research, speak for themselves. Others are raised specifically at p. 20 Overall I am left with the need to answer, or at least to take further, such less biodata, more analytical questions as: Why did Australians join the Colonial Service? Did they prefer it to similar work in 'their own' Papua and New Guinea? Were they as proud of their contribution to the Dominion Selection Scheme as I am led to believe, like the New Zealanders and anything but like the Canadians? What influence did Africa have on them? Thereby, on polycultural Australia? In postcolonial retrospect, what effect - if any - did the Australian presence in the African Colonial Services, regardless of the level of seniority, have on the official mind of an essentially British Colonial Service? Above all, did being an Australian create any different impact on the mind of the Africans whom they administered or taught or helped to develop? Was there a recognizably different colonial personality, performance and projection? Or, at the end of the day, did it make no difference in attitudes to colonial administration that the agent was himself a 'colonial', not just another pommy bastard but a genuine
Castlemaine XXXX lager Strine? Somehow, after my first forty-eight hours in Australia, I just don't think so!

FOOTNOTES

1. It was in 1928 that the Dominion Selection Scheme (see below) was launched in Australia and in 1930 that the unification of the various territorial Colonial Services was started. 1980 saw the independence of Vanuatu, the last of the five new states of the Western Pacific to emerge from British colonial rule.


3. Already the encouragement from David Dorward to undertake this kind of analysis for this Conference has inspired me to see, in so far as my next research project is concerned, "The Fatal Shore" translated through "The Fatal Impact" into "The Fatal Attraction" of continuing archival work in Australia itself.


6. Is it only this new immersion in the gubernatorial literature of the Pacific that makes me think that a Colonial Service career in the Western Pacific turned more governors into authors than relatively did Africa?

7. Omitted from Tables I-III are the 'African' influences brought into the Pacific either by such latterday ex-African ex-proconsuls as, for instance, Sir Alan Burns in his capacity as chairman of a Commission of Enquiry into land and population problems in Fiji in 1959-60 and of a UN Trust Territory Visiting Mission to Samoa, or of Sir Gawain Bell's mission to the New Hebrides in 1976, or by those early colonial governors who included an Australian governorship as well as an African one, for example Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir William MacGregor, and Sr Matthew Nathan.


9. The operative phrase is "in the UK". As Henrika Kuklick has shown for Accra in *The Imperial Government: The Colonial Administrative Service in the Gold Coast, 1920-1939* (Stanford, 1979), all sorts of illicit trouvailles may turn up in the local ex-colonial archives. Robert Heusler was equally lucky in being given access to a number of 'non-existing' Files on Colonial Service applications by the Registrar of Oxford University, a cache which he put to good use in his *Yesterday's Rulers* (Syracuse, 1963).


12. It is possible to argue that Furse (ibid., 103) is in error by identifying Walter R. Crocker (see below) as the first Australian to be appointed under the Scheme. Certainly he does not appear in the
Central Board's minutes, though he may perhaps have come off some notional Australian quota in the Colonial Office. I remain unclear about this.

13. Recruitment for the whole Colonial Service dropped from 325 in 1938 to 95 in 1942, and then rose dramatically to 1,715 in 1946. Nevertheless, by 1951, when 1,510 appointments were made, 41% of the approved posts remained unfilled. Cf. statistical tables in Sir Charles Jeffries, *Whitehall and the Colonial Service* (London, 1972), *passim*.


15. To what I suspect may possibly have been his three 'handicaps' - he was considerably older than most first-tour appointments; he had a book to his name; and he was a 'colonial' - Crocker added a fourth disadvantage for a tenderfoot in such a service at such a period: he was intellectually superior to most of his colleagues, junior and (more dangerously) senior alike. Margery Perham, catching up with him at Kano in 1932 after Oxford, has painted a neat vignette of this "intellectually starved" cadet. given odd jobs as "not much more than an office boy under men who may distrust a brilliant subordinate and think he needs teaching his place". She records how she advised him to resign as soon as he could. Her label of "quite the most intelligent person I have met in Nigeria, except the Governor (Sir Donald Cameron)" underlines one of the problems Crocker must have encountered as 'the new boy from the outback' (*West African Passage*, London 1983, 86-87). His own journal for 1933-34 remains an invaluable source for the study of colonial administration in action.
16. *Travelling Back*, 71. The questions that follow are all taken
from Chapter 6. His full memoirs are at the University of Adelaide,
under embargo until the year 2000.

17. I have not yet explored my hunch that those Australians who joined
directly through the Colonial Office rather than via the Dominion
Selection Scheme mechanism back home may have got higher quicker.

18. "Colonial Service History Notes and Queries: II. The Colonial
Service and the Dominions", *Overseas Pensioner* 45, April
1983, 17.

19. There is no mention in such standard works on the ICS personnel as
those by Philip Mason (1954), Roland Hunt and John Harrison (1980)
or David C. Potter (1986).

20. Recounted in Sir Terence Creagh Coen, *The Indian Political Service*
(London, 1971), 204.

21. *Her Majesty's Oversea Civil Service: Statement of Policy regarding

22. The phrase "Officers of the Services of Dominion. Mandated
Territories" was used in the *Post-War Training for the Colonial
Service* (the Devonshire Committee Report), Col.198, 1946, paras. 99-
100.

23. The Ainsworth papers are in Rhodes House Library, Oxford. I have
not yet consulted either this report or the biography of Sir Hubert
Murray by Francis West.

the police need an officer class or not, is being currently aired in
Britain (see *Daily Telegraph*, 3 and 6 August 1987.)

25. Margery
Perham, *Pacific Prelude: A Journey to Samoa and Australasia*
(1929) (London, 1988). She queries both Australia's and New Zealand's capacity to administer its mandates with the largely rhetorical question: "Can a young democracy produce the type that can govern natives?" (189).