

Empire Men

NEW ZEALANDERS IN THE BRITISH COLONIAL SERVICE, C.1920–1970



EXPLAINING HIS DESIRE to join the British Colonial Service in 1947, Christchurch-born Douglas McKenzie recalled:

The colonial service looked attractive. As a boy I gobbled up the *Strand* magazine stories of the Sanders of the River ilk and I had rather fancied myself as, armed with no more than a solar topee and a fly whisk, the ruler over hundreds of thousands of grateful tribesmen. Needless to say, my adult mind was perfectly open to the reality of it all. Nevertheless there was something about those far-flung lands which did appeal. Perhaps it was the New Zealander in me coming out.¹

Like many New Zealanders in the early-to-mid-twentieth century, the young McKenzie dreamt of empire far beyond the mother country and ended up working as an administrative officer in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (later Kiribati and Tuvalu). Yet while the colonial empire loomed large in the imaginative worlds of many Pākehā, the actual experiences of Pākehā in the twentieth-century Colonial Service have been largely overlooked.

With the resurgence of historical interest in cultural Britishness in New Zealand, empire has gradually emerged as an important but understudied topic. This article explores New Zealand participation in the British Colonial Service from roughly 1920 to 1970 to shed further light on New Zealand Britishness in the context of empire. As the body which carried out the functions of government in British colonies and territories outside India, Egypt and Sudan, the service is central to the histories of settler colonial engagement with the empire. Significantly, official New Zealand engagement with imperial governance began in the interwar period and remained firm throughout the decolonization period, even as international opinion turned against Britain's imperial project.

In looking at the Colonial Service specifically, this study addresses a significant historiographical gap: New Zealand engagement with the twentieth-century colonial empire. Indeed, while recent histories have re-emphasized the Britishness of New Zealand's past, study of direct engagement with the empire has lagged behind these developments.² Though the recent volume *New Zealand's Empire* expanded knowledge on the topic, settler colonial experiences of the empire remain under-explored.³ This is perhaps due to the persistence of the Sinclairian view that empire was mostly the business of the elite and educated, a view that holds true to some extent. The fact that it was

an elite domain meant that empire had a pervasive and enduring influence across society for a large part of the twentieth century.

Looking at the recruitment, careers and experiences of the 176 men who entered the service c.1920 to 1970 reveals the importance of empire among New Zealand elites and its influence on education, class, race and Pākehā identity in New Zealand. Though the number of New Zealanders involved was small, their commitment to empire was great. For most, joining the service meant years living far from European worlds, and often whole working lives were spent overseas. Their small numbers belie their (at least official) importance in the empire since a District Officer, for example, might be responsible for governing a population of tens of thousands, while an Education Officer may have overseen all the schools in a large region. Such lived experiences as ‘men on the spot’ add another dimension to more ephemeral displays of imperialism, like Empire Day, and illustrate the enduring relevance of empire and the lingering influence of Britishness to New Zealand in a period usually characterized by developing nationhood.

With an overarching focus on New Zealand Britishness in the context of empire, this article examines the scale and nature of New Zealand involvement in the Colonial Service while examining three intersecting aspects of this involvement. First, I look at the class-based nature of official engagement with the empire in relation to service recruitment in New Zealand. Second, I examine the racial thinking of New Zealand colonial servants in the empire and their contributions to circulating imperial racial thought. Third, I link imperial racial thinking to New Zealand settler colonial identities and look at the importance of both settler and colonial empires to these identities.

Collaborating closely with metropolitan officials, New Zealand elites acted as the gatekeepers for the Colonial Service in New Zealand. Importantly, they ensured the service selected only men who fitted the gentlemanly ideals set by the Colonial Office in both the interwar and post-war periods; men who supposedly represented the ‘best of Britain’ in New Zealand.⁴ Close and enthusiastic collaboration ensured the continued success of the scheme, especially compared to the other dominions where recruitment was frequently a struggle. As will be seen, recruitment was highly exclusive and Māori were never considered as possible recruits; indeed this would have been unthinkable to both metropolitan and colonial recruiters. It almost goes without saying that recruitment also remained a masculine enterprise until the end of empire despite the increasing feminization of imperial politics and rhetoric from the interwar period.⁵

Nevertheless, despite the exclusive recruitment standards, there was a significant individual diversity in the body of men recruited. While the vast

majority of New Zealanders in the service believed in the empire and shared common educational and social backgrounds, as careers went on beliefs changed and careers sometimes took very different paths. In examining experiences and recollections of these men we also learn much about the affinitive connections between New Zealand settler colonials and the wider British imperial world. Influenced by, and contributing to, imperial racial thinking, for example, men consciously and unconsciously reflected on their identities as distinct settler colonials within the empire. As Tony Ballantyne has pointed out, external connections like these were fundamentally important to New Zealand settler colonial identities as individuals negotiated their place in the world. Connections with and experiences of different parts of the colonial empire and their indigenous peoples were a fundamental part of this.⁶

Keith Sinclair's older assertion that 'the Empire belonged to an official rhetoric, to newspaper editors, to school teachers, to politicians, to Governors and Governors-General,' has the feel of truth when it comes to New Zealand involvement with the Colonial Service.⁷ Clearly an elite exercise, it was based on imperial networks that have been emphasized in more recent work, such as Tamson Pietsch's study of settler colonial universities.⁸ Further to the material connections, the strong cultural connection of individuals to the empire was plainly evident. As Felicity Barnes has argued, the continued connection of white colonials with the metropole reinforced the racial hierarchy of empire, and nowhere was this more evident than in the Colonial Service.⁹ Working within a framework of multiple British worlds, recruitment for the service was built on pre-existing imagined, material and local worlds that gave the process powerful backing and ensured its success.¹⁰ While some scholars continue to argue that New Zealand's engagement with empire was 'awkward' on the basis of disparate, New Zealand-centred studies, New Zealand involvement with the empire here was anything but awkward, especially from an elite vantage point.¹¹ In fact, the Dominion's involvement fitted well with the metropolitan need for manpower and desire (in some official quarters) for closer relations with the dominions after the experiences of World War I.¹² Given the longevity and strength of New Zealand support, its continued connection to the Colonial Service offers strong, if specific, evidence for both the endurance and complexity of British connections in New Zealand history.

Despite the re-connection of British imperial and settler colonial histories in recent historiography, the topic of settler colonials working for the British Empire has hardly been addressed. Anthony Kirk-Greene's 1981 article on Canadian involvement is the lone published study and, while trail-blazing for its time, it was mostly uncritical and failed to tease out the wider

implications of settler colonial involvement in empire.¹³ Perhaps reflecting an older metropolitan view of empire, it also left unexplored issues of movement, class, race and identity. Intimately related, these issues now have particular relevance for historians in places like New Zealand who continue to grapple with legacies of colonialism. Similarly, two related studies — I.C. Campbell's article on New Zealand recruitment for service in Samoa and Patricia O'Brien's more recent chapter on imperial legacies in New Zealand's rule of Western Samoa — give little insight into New Zealand's wide-ranging involvement with empire, with the latter surprisingly lacking wider imperial context.¹⁴ To help remedy this incomplete picture, this study highlights the global reach of twentieth-century New Zealand imperialism.

In the decade before New Zealand's first imperial foray in the South African War (1899–1902), the Colonial Service began to establish its presence among the British public and in the official mind.¹⁵ Under the watch of committed imperialist Joseph Chamberlain, a modern, professionalized service began to take shape just as New Zealand became a centralized nation-state.¹⁶ As part of a broader process of imperial re-integration, settler colonials joined the service in growing numbers up until and immediately after World War I. Unsurprisingly the war itself was a powerful catalyst for wider imperial engagement on both sides. Introduced *en masse* to metropolitan elites during the war, dominion men were increasingly seen as essential to the future of the empire among influential figures in the British government over the following decade. As a result, formal schemes for the recruitment of New Zealand and Australian men for imperial service were established by the Colonial Office in 1928 and began operating in 1929, following the modestly successful introduction of a Canadian scheme in 1924. By 1942, more than 300 dominion men had been recruited.¹⁷ Imperial expansion after World War I meant the empire needed more men and the dominions were increasingly looked upon as a new source of manpower, especially by Leo Amery as British Secretary of State for the Colonies (1924–1929), and for Dominion Affairs (1925–1929).¹⁸ Through the recruitment of colonials, Britain gained talented men and further strengthened relations within the empire 'as a political gesture to the Commonwealth countries concerned.'¹⁹ This was in line with Amery's strong advocacy for 'imperial preference' and Dominion status; for him the settler empire especially was 'not merely a source of pride but an ever replenishing fountain of British power.'²⁰ After the Second World War, Britain's programme of colonial state-building renewed and expanded ties with the dominion as more men and new expertise were needed.²¹ For the most part, Amery's original confidence was repaid by the many New Zealand colonial servants who dedicated their careers to the empire despite the often challenging conditions of work.

The formal recruitment scheme showed how strongly New Zealand was intertwined with Britain and the empire in the early-to-mid-twentieth century through material and affinitive connections, especially between metropolitan and colonial elites. In the midst of what James Belich has described as a recolonial phase in New Zealand history, taking up the call to empire was accepted without question.²² Consequently, in setting up both the schemes, ‘everyone [within government] helped. The Governors-General and Prime Ministers of both Dominions listened to what [Colonial Office head of recruitment Ralph Furse] had to say and gave their support. . . .’²³ Reflected in the relatively high numbers accepted into the service over the next two decades, elite support was crucial for ensuring that the scheme had the prestige to attract top-quality candidates and that it functioned well at a number of bureaucratic levels. The enduring commitment by a succession of governments and New Zealand elites over at least three decades goes some way in demonstrating the ongoing importance of the empire to New Zealand history.

At least 176 New Zealanders were recruited into the Colonial Service between 1920 and 1970, underlining New Zealand’s active participation in the empire. Though a scattered few entered in the years after World War I through the British recruitment system, the number of New Zealanders increased substantially after the domestic recruitment scheme began in 1928–1929: a prime example of how effectively official connections could reinforce and expand imperial relationships to hold the empire together and keep it functioning. At least 96 men entered the service up until 1944, with at least 72 entering after. As in Britain, an increase in recruitment numbers after the war came about as selection criteria were loosened due to the increased need for manpower, a shortage of qualified technical officers and a glut of candidates who had proved themselves in what was considered the ultimate test: war.²⁴ Increased demand was the result of the new British Labour government’s Colonial Welfare and Development Act (1945), which aimed at preparing colonial territories for eventual self-government.²⁵ However, while there was greater demand in the short-term, imperial decline meant that the recruitment of colonials fell substantially in the 1950s and became non-existent in the 1960s with the cessation of recruitment in 1961. At least 66 New Zealanders were accepted for posts in the 1940s, while only 22 were accepted in the 1950s. Most likely fewer men were needed from the 1950s, rather than the decline being a result of declining interest. The high points of the scheme were therefore in the 1930s, excepting the worst of the Depression years, and immediately after 1945 as Britain set about rebuilding the empire. Fulfilling their imperial responsibilities, elite New Zealanders

responded enthusiastically when called upon in the interwar and post-war periods. Rather than being a silent partner in the empire, New Zealand was an active and successful participant in its operation for decades.

Demonstrating New Zealand's relatively strong contribution to empire, the 176 New Zealanders who joined the service after World War I outnumbered the 119 Australians in the same period.²⁶ Similarly, Kirk-Greene states that 95 New Zealanders joined between 1945 and 1955 compared with 80 Australian and 75 Canadians.²⁷ Though the overall recruitment number was low, New Zealand's contribution was high in comparison with the other dominions, and represented a significant contribution in terms of the country's educated and most talented young men. On one hand, the much smaller job market for university graduates probably led to a relatively higher number of candidates. On the other, more candidates did not mean more appointments. That the New Zealand scheme consistently produced more candidates who met the exacting recruitment standards for colonials also suggests that commitment to empire was stronger among elites in New Zealand than in the other dominions.

The difference between Australia and New Zealand was made clear by expatriate New Zealander Ralph Grey following a tour to promote Colonial Service recruitment in 1950. He concluded, in reference to the moral and altruistic attractions of imperial work, that, '[of] those Australian graduates and final-year under-graduates who were sufficiently interested to attend well-advertised meetings . . . most of them were unmoved by the various intangibles which still attract New Zealanders'.²⁸ Economic opportunity at home and a lack of imperial spirit was to blame as both the Australian and Canadian schemes struggled to match their New Zealand counterpart in recruit numbers.²⁹ As late as 1950, New Zealanders were still seen as being very well-disposed to a career in the empire. While the service remained attractive from a career perspective, Britain's imperial mission and the desire to 'do good' also appeared to have a strong influence on New Zealanders joining the service well into the post-war period.

Reflecting on the evolution and operation of the schemes as a whole, Furse explained that they relied almost entirely on the dominions themselves to provide the right candidates: 'The secret of success lay in the fact that we put the Canadians on their mettle. Left them to work with minimum interference, and trusted their judgement . . . Five years later I was able to apply the same system . . . to the universities of Australia and New Zealand; and with similar results [sic].'³⁰ As with the Canadian scheme:

The liaison officers were responsible for making suitable openings known in their university and for advising inquirers. If a man applied, they made him fill up an application form, collected reports about him, and had him interviewed by the university committee. If recommended by them, his file went on to the Central Board who, in their turn, made independent inquiries and [usually] interviewed him themselves If he passed both these tests his file, with all the information collected about him and the reports of both committees, [went] home to [Furse].³¹

This was unmistakably an elite enterprise which revealed the class-based nature of imperial connections in New Zealand. Dominated by Oxbridge graduates and others with strong imperial credentials, the composition of both the central and the university committees reflected the elite nature of the New Zealand recruitment scheme and the imperial networks on which it was based.³² Significantly, only in New Zealand was the recruitment scheme co-ordinated through the Governor-General's office with the ex-officio involvement of the civil service. An exclusionary British service elite with a public-school and Oxbridge-inspired ethos collaborated with like-minded and similarly educated colonial elites to run the scheme. Functionally and culturally they were akin to Britain's gentlemanly service class.³³ The whole system, in New Zealand as in Britain, was racially exclusive, extremely personalized and based on highly subjective, class-based criteria. Furse himself was open about the personalized approach, stating that, 'the system was known as Patronage The Reader may raise an eyebrow. What was patronage doing in the democratic England of the Twentieth century? But the English are conservative, and they know a good horse when they see one.'³⁴ Of course, only the 'very best' (white, male) New Zealanders were considered 'good horses'. The restrictive criteria also reflected the fact that some New Zealanders were just too colonial for the Colonial Service.³⁵ Furse made the point in 1929 when discussing the need to focus on character in selecting candidates: 'This is of especial importance not only for reasons which influence us in selecting Englishmen, but because there is a type of man in the Dominions, who, however well qualified, will never be a success in a Service mainly recruited from home.'³⁶

The implication appeared to be that many colonials lacked a natural respect for authority and could not be counted upon to represent the values of the metropolitan service elite. This thinking was clearly based on British class prejudices which were shared by the colonial elite in New Zealand. In practice, material and affinitive connections between British and New Zealand elites were enacted through travel between the two countries, and through frequent personal and official communication. The system depended on like-minded, well-qualified and energetic individuals to maintain standards set in Whitehall. As such, Colonial Service recruitment in New Zealand was

the domain of a colonial elite who created and maintained imperial networks at an official level, reflecting the ‘uneven landscapes of global connection.’³⁷ Taking the example of Colonial Service recruitment, Britishness in recolonial New Zealand may therefore be seen as multi-layered, with upper-class New Zealanders being strongly tied more closely into British imperial networks of communication and collaboration.

One important key to shared affinities between elites was schooling. As with England’s public schools, New Zealand’s state and private boys’ schools were elite institutions that installed in young men the values and ideals of the English gentlemanly elite, including a strong belief in the virtue of Britain’s imperial cause.³⁸ Though there were significant differences between these schools, especially between public and private schools in terms of cost, all sought to inculcate English public school ideals as much as possible in colonial conditions.³⁹ At Otago Boys’ High School, for example, future colonial servant Dennis McCarthy remembered singing old school songs and patriotic songs at the school’s centenary, with students ‘all united with a sense of purpose in the future and the Empire, which was also a good thing.’⁴⁰ At least 71% of New Zealand colonial servants attended New Zealand boys’ schools, with a majority of recruiters having attended the same schools or their English equivalents.⁴¹ Providing a ready pool of talent, the schools produced men who matched up well to the archetypal public school and Oxbridge-educated Englishman against whom they were measured.⁴² The ideal man had to be gentlemanly, intelligent but not necessarily academic, physically tough, and have a positive and mature attitude that would serve well in the colonies. Most importantly candidates had to have ‘character’ — a loosely defined quality that encompassed a range of imperial values and which made one a gentleman. These values included characteristics like ‘go and grit’, the ‘stiff upper lip’, loyalty to the system, monogamous sexual restraint, ‘straightforward dogged perseverance’, common sense, pluck and ‘moral strength’⁴³ — exactly the type of man that the well-known imperialist Frank Milner at Waitaki Boys’ High School and his fellow headmasters sought to produce.⁴⁴

While boys’ schools provided an unofficial pool of talent, New Zealand’s university colleges acted as recruitment centres just like Oxford and Cambridge. Unsurprisingly given the recruitment criteria, at least 76% of New Zealanders in the Colonial Service had university degrees. Even more exclusive than New Zealand’s boys’ schools, attendance at the university colleges of Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury and the University of Otago was largely restricted to the well-off middle and upper classes of society. At Canterbury, ‘the students at the College between the wars were an elite, either by birth or education,’

though the university colleges gradually became more open after World War II.⁴⁵ For most young New Zealanders in the interwar years, a university education was beyond reach given that only a very small minority of young people even attended high school and university was expensive (at around £100 a year to support a student in 1922).⁴⁶ As in other settler colonies, these institutions acted as local British worlds: specific sites of empire that fostered imperial networks through systems of personalized trust.⁴⁷

At New Zealand's university colleges the Colonial Office found like-minded collaborators in academics and university officials who could be trusted to select candidates that were not 'too colonial'.⁴⁸ Mediating between applicants and the Central Board, New Zealand university committees were central to Colonial Service recruitment in forging and maintaining imperial networks at a local level. Beyond New Zealand, an Oxbridge education was seen as the ultimate qualification for imperial service and gave colonials a far greater chance of selection. Furse himself thought that recruits from humble backgrounds 'would be so affected by the Oxford experience that they would eventually display the desired upper-class qualities' necessary for colonial rule.⁴⁹ Exemplifying this bias, three New Zealand Rhodes Scholars were recruited into the service: James Dakin (1930), Percy Minns (1930) and John Matson (1938), along with at least 21 other New Zealand Oxbridge graduates. A number of others also attended the short administrative training courses for new recruits at Oxford and Cambridge.

The exclusive nature of recruitment, especially in the 1930s, was emphasized by the first New Zealander recruited into the prestigious administrative service through the formal scheme, William Tripe. He explained to a young family friend in 1932 that:

... most of the fellows within the service are men with honours degrees from Oxford or Cambridge so that it is very difficult to get into the service without some intellectual and practiced attainment as well ... I'm rather inclined to believe that the only way to get in apart from being brilliant is to have influence, though this of course is officially denied.⁵⁰

To be recruited into the administrative service especially, New Zealanders had to be brilliant all-rounders, and better on average than metropolitan recruits because of their more suspect colonial origins. If anything, recruitment in New Zealand was more personalized in a small society where social and educational elites were few and often known to one another. Central to all of this were the country's leading boys' schools and university colleges which provided the institutional foundation for recruitment and guaranteed the longevity and relative success of the recruitment scheme.

Once men passed the exacting recruitment muster, most remained dedicated servants of empire. Indeed, the average career length of New Zealanders was almost 18 years, suggesting a strong sense of imperial mission and career dedication. At least 98 out of 176 men spent their entire career in a single territory, with the remainder moving between territories and/or between regions. That over half remained in one territory for their entire colonial career suggests that New Zealanders contributed strongly to the ‘active material practices’, which allowed ‘colonial and metropolitan places, and the differences between them, to emerge.’⁵¹ Importantly, these contributions were made on a global scale, with the spread of men reflecting wider imperial needs above all else. Most men were posted to Africa, with 85 New Zealanders working in colonies such as Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi), Nigeria, Kenya, and the Gold Coast (Ghana). The Pacific received the next highest number of men, with at least 62 spending time in Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Kiribati and Tuvalu) or the New Hebrides (Vanuatu; then a condominium with France).⁵² Forty-two of these spent their entire careers in the region. Interestingly, given the dominions’ own imperial ambitions, the high concentration of Australians and New Zealanders in the islands seemingly led to the development of informal patronage networks in which compatriots were helped into positions.⁵³ Lastly, smaller numbers of New Zealanders were posted to British Southeast Asia (centred on modern-day Malaysia), the Caribbean, the Mediterranean and isolated outposts like the Seychelles.⁵⁴

A testament to the success of the New Zealand recruitment scheme was the number of New Zealanders who took up positions in the more exclusive administrative service, the branch responsible for local and central government administration in the colonies.⁵⁵ This service recruited around a third of the total number of New Zealand colonial servants, with the outstanding calibre of recruits reflected in the number of men who obtained high rank, including four who became colonial Governors — Sir Colin Allan (the Seychelles and the Solomon Islands), Sir Ralph Grey (British Guiana and, outside of the service, Northern Ireland), Sir John Rankine (Western Nigeria), and Sir Ian Turbott (Antigua and Grenada), and numerous others of note. New Zealand was generally seen to produce candidates who closely fitted the public school-Oxbridge archetype. Indeed, after travelling through the Commonwealth in 1945/6 as part of a post-war reassessment of recruitment, Colonial Office official P.M. Renison wrote that:

ever since its inception in 1928 the New Zealand Board have done us extremely well; and indeed have shown themselves the most effective of the Dominion organisations so far. They have set a good standard and the best of their men have been very good indeed The New Zealand scheme has always been our best Dominion scheme and I think it will remain so.⁵⁶

Given this assessment of the recruitment scheme and its track record, well-qualified New Zealanders may have been considered relatively ‘safe bets’ for the administrative service, despite being colonials. After administration there were also high numbers of New Zealanders in the Surveying and Legal services, suggesting that their settler colonial training and expertise were well regarded.⁵⁷ Elsewhere a number of New Zealand teachers were recruited into the Education service and New Zealand’s pioneering expertise in agricultural science led to some significant contributions to colonial land development, especially in the Pacific.⁵⁸ New Zealanders also joined the public works, mining, police and customs services, with experienced police officers no doubt applying their knowledge of Māori and colonizing mentalities to other indigenous peoples.⁵⁹

Regardless of the tight recruitment criteria, once in the colonies New Zealanders naturally exhibited a wide range of beliefs about empire according to experiences. Though the recruitment scheme worked to a general public school-Oxbridge archetype and most recruits shared a belief in the civilizing mission of the empire, views on the empire’s role and purpose could vary widely. Britishness and identity were as contingent on local circumstances and experiences as much as being the product of values inculcated in youth.⁶⁰ As Ronald Hyam pointed out in regard to the imperial administrative elite, ‘generalisation . . . is difficult, for individuals varied in their temperamental approaches.’⁶¹ At one end of the spectrum was John Dalzell Rankine, a born ‘empire man’ who believed deeply in the imperial mission. The son of Sir Richard Rankine, a former chief secretary in Uganda and British Resident in Zanzibar, and Oamaru-born Hilda Dalzell, he was educated at Croydon Preparatory School, Wellington College and Christ’s College before taking a degree at Oxford and joining the service in Uganda in 1931. His ‘insider’ status, dedication to the cause and undoubted ability saw him rise to become British Resident in Zanzibar in 1952 (following his father), and then Governor of Western Nigeria in 1954. He seemingly never questioned the value of the empire or his role in it. Described as a conscientious hardliner by Chief Simeon Adebó, later the head of the Nigerian civil service, Rankine was a paternalistic governor who saw imperial rule as morally justified and effective.⁶² True to imperial form, on retirement Rankine revealed his desire to ‘vegetate in the Sussex countryside’ as a former colonial governor back in the mother country, rather than return to New Zealand.⁶³

For many colonial servants, however, belief in empire was tempered by paternalistic humanitarianism. Colin Allan, who became Governor of the Seychelles and the Solomon Islands, dedicated himself to the betterment of colonial peoples after having become disenchanted with New Zealand, which he saw in his younger days as ‘a racist, violent and smug country.’⁶⁴ The reverse of the common belief that New Zealand had the ‘best race-relations in the world’, Allan’s disenchantment reflected his academic background and his explicit, morally guided humanitarianism.⁶⁵ Likewise, in negotiating Grenadian independence Auckland-born Governor Ian Turbott wrote that his ‘blood at times had rebelled against the unbelievable coarse approach of some of those would be superior Civil-Servants in London.’⁶⁶ He was comforted by ‘the knowledge that the colonies’ eventual acquisition of self-government was quite inevitable. Any human being has the right by birth to manage his or her own affairs, no matter how badly.’⁶⁷ Like Turbott, most post-war New Zealand colonial servants probably saw the dissolution of the empire as inevitable. Despite their belief in the imperial mission, and perhaps because of their settler colonial origins, most also appeared reconciled to empire’s end.

At the far end of the spectrum were those who became outsiders in the service. Like Rankine, Eric Temple-Perkins had impeccable family connections to empire, but he ended up as an outsider in the Ugandan service and became cynical about imperialism’s legacy in Africa. The extent of his cynicism can be seen in his memoir when he suggested that officers give up being ‘big white chiefs’ for a period and live incognito in order to:

let them see how they prosper in the unequal struggle with the bone-headed ignoramuses and, worse, the self-satisfied upstarts. They would see the African as he really is, not necessarily as a polite and obedient individual; and the result would be a revelation . . . The non-official, the planter, the businessman — has gained his experience in a different way; he has started from scratch — he has never sat on the throne of state and benefitted by the authority and prestige it confers.⁶⁸

Cutting through the civilizing rhetoric of the empire in his own racist way, Temple-Perkins came to see that empire would provide no lasting benefit to African peoples. In the remote Pacific, a fellow outsider was the notorious Donald Kennedy. Despite having ‘qualities of heart and head that lift him well above the average officer’, his staunchly independent approach, illustrated by his often violent and unorthodox methods, alienated him from his colleagues.⁶⁹ After years spent in isolation he was never able to re-adjust to European society. As Robert Bickers commented of Shanghai policeman Maurice Tinkler, another of this type, ‘the bad colonist was woven into the empire tapestry.’⁷⁰

Differing in their beliefs about empire and experiences of it, New Zealand colonial servants also differed in their racial thinking. Applying inherited colonizing mentalities to new colonial contexts yielded a wide range of results, with common experiences of Māori marking New Zealand colonial servants out as distinctive imperialists, at least in their own minds.⁷¹ Indeed, that many New Zealanders referenced Māori in their recollections is strong evidence that early-to-mid-twentieth century New Zealand remained a ‘racialized state, one associated with a nineteenth century British Empire increasingly organised through discourse and practices of race.’⁷² Just as the imperial connections persisted in New Zealand well into the twentieth century, so too did imperial modes of thinking.

In his recollections, Tom Dorman, who served as an Education Officer mostly in Northern Rhodesia, provides a strong example of New Zealand racial thinking applied to empire. Looking back on his service from 1947 to 1962, Dorman believed that ‘Africans’, Māori and other indigenous peoples were still reeling from the imposition of European civilization, having survived fatal impact. This harked back to the liberal position on colonization in the 1920s and 1930s, which held that ‘tribal cultures [were] peculiarly vulnerable to corruption, even disintegration, on contact with outside forces.’⁷³ Applying this mentality to the cultural despoliation of other indigenous people, he wrote:

Just as we see now in other countries — including New Zealand — the indigenous peoples (or rather the earlier invaders if one is to be accurate) deprived of their tribal unity and leadership tend to make up for it by a certain loudness and truculence, born of insecurity.⁷⁴

Cultural degeneration was therefore the net result of empire as ‘natives’ were metaphorically reduced to children struggling to adapt to civilization. Buying into the widespread myth that invading Māori drove the original Moriori to the Chatham Islands, Dorman also revealed the lingering influence of social Darwinism on his thinking.⁷⁵ The clear implication was that some races were more advanced than others and that European imperialism in Africa was therefore a natural phenomenon.

While paternalistic racial attitudes based on belief in white superiority predominated in the period, racial thinking in the colonies was again strongly influenced by humanitarian ideas that emerged in the interwar years.⁷⁶ Colin Allan’s two-part memoir, *Solomons Safari*, was mainly dedicated to problems of land tenure and colonial administration. Having studied Māori land policy in the Waikato under James Hight at Canterbury College and the Solomon Islands Marching Rule movement at Cambridge, Allan was

an academically minded administrator who sought to usefully apply British ‘colonial knowledge’ for the betterment of indigenous peoples.⁷⁷ Appointed to the role of Special Land Commissioner in the Solomon Islands, he believed that his task of sorting land rights into individual titles was the best solution to the ‘problem’.⁷⁸ Writing of New Zealand legislation as it stood in 1953, he argued:

It was a mess and badly in need of consolidation. It seems that the legislation — highly paternalistic — together with the decisions of the European-dominated Maori Land Courts were contributing extensively to grave multiple ownership and fragmentation Certainly as far as land was concerned the Maori in 1953 was a second-class citizen in his own country. It seemed to me that in the Solomon Islands important lessons were to be learnt from the failure of both colonial and post-colonial policies to devise a positive policy for Maori land and its development.⁷⁹

Seemingly oblivious to the paternalism in his humanitarian approach, Allan believed the ultimate aim of British governance was to develop the Solomon Islands economically while uplifting the islanders socially. He saw 1950s New Zealand as a society that had gone beyond the colonial phase in its history, an insight that reflected the historical and racial mentality of many educated New Zealanders who believed that they had overcome the challenges of colonization and therefore had special expertise in colonial development. This belief in special expertise in an imperial context was closely aligned to the cherished belief in New Zealand having the ‘best race relations in the world’, which was later used for nationalist purposes.

Like Dorman, Temple-Perkins also referenced Māori when dealing with problems of administration in Africa. After speaking up at a district officers’ conference he was:

gazed at with unfeigned scorn for daring to express an opinion on so weighty a problem. I quietly remarked that ‘Of course I have little qualification to speak of, being a newcomer to this country. My only justification gentlemen, for my presumption in thinking that I knew something about natives of this kind is that I was amongst Maoris [sic] and Fijians from the days of my cradle, and I was at school with Maoris [sic] and Fijians, and I judge that there must be some remote similarity at least between Africans and those fine people.’⁸⁰

To him, many non-white races shared similar traits and culture and could be governed in similar ways. Typical of Pākehā at the time, Temple-Perkins treated the term ‘Maori’ transculturally, confusing shared usage with shared understanding.⁸¹ In the colonial context of New Zealand, Pākehā believed they understood Māori implicitly, signified by adoption of Māori terms into

general vocabularies. Connecting Māori and Fijians in an imperial context, he also showed how ‘The categorization of New Zealand’s “natives” was consequently at once local and imperial, a creative invention of a circulating language that facilitated “coming to terms” with both the magnitudes of empire and the peculiarities of a new colony.’⁸²

Pākehā racial views were, as Damon Salesa has argued for an earlier period, the product of empire as it generated and circulated ideas about race in a feedback cycle that influenced common understandings of indigenous peoples, including Māori, and which fundamentally underpinned European identities.⁸³ More practically, and despite Temple-Perkins’s experience, settler colonial racial experience was also looked upon favourably in Colonial Service recruitment as it was assumed men could usefully apply their experience wherever they were posted.⁸⁴

Reflecting the mutually constitutive relationship between imperial and New Zealand racial thinking, New Zealanders in the empire saw themselves simultaneously as Britons in general and New Zealanders in particular. They saw themselves more specifically as being similar to Scotsmen or Welshmen, but different in being a colonial people from a land halfway around the world with its own indigenous people.⁸⁵ This combination suggests New Zealanders had what might be termed a ‘dominion identity’, denoting their unique status as settler colonial Britons from New Zealand.⁸⁶ In the same way ‘Canadian imperialists were not simply Britons overseas; they were Canadian Britons with a deep attachment to Canada . . . They were as deeply concerned to secure for the dominion a definite status in the Empire as to maintain and strengthen the bonds among Britons.’⁸⁷ Negotiated in the context of empire, therefore, ‘Dominion Britishness . . . was not just a persistent legacy of settler pasts, but a contemporary and contingent phenomenon.’⁸⁸

Just as racial thinking was made explicit in imperial contexts, New Zealand identities were also laid bare. Conscious of their colonial origins, most men transitioned into a world dominated by metropolitan Britons with relative ease because they were considered, and considered themselves, to be part of the same British race.⁸⁹ This familial relationship was expressed perfectly when Cecil Rhodes’s former acolyte, eminent Governor Sir Robert Coryndon, stopped Eric Temple-Perkins and compatriot Bruce Morrison at an official function in Uganda and remarked, ‘two good New Zealanders, the best of luck to you.’⁹⁰ Likewise Tom Taylor’s career in the Malayan Education service exemplified the ‘psychological cooperation’ that underpinned empire:

There was no feeling however slight, of being a stranger to them from a strange country — the only other New Zealander in the Education Department was the deputy director, soon afterwards to become the Director of Education. Though, as will be seen, quite difficult problems appeared during our stay in the country, this feeling of really ‘belonging’ never changed until the day came for us to end our service and say farewell.⁹¹

Taylor appeared a very agreeable man and the Malayan Education Service was clearly one of the friendlier and more cooperative services; his positive recollections suggest that a racial and familial closeness existed among colleagues based on shared British identity. Despite entering the service, as he saw it, as a ‘stranger’ from ‘down under’, he was never treated as such.⁹² Instead, he was treated as an equal partner in empire; a fellow Briton from New Zealand.

New Zealand engagement with the colonial empire demonstrates the importance of empire to the small dominion in the early-to-mid-twentieth century and beyond. While Colonial Service recruitment was an exclusive, white, male enterprise that operated through elite institutions, there was also significant diversity in the ways individuals thought about empire, in their career paths, and in their identities as white New Zealanders. Common educational and social backgrounds set limits on diversity, but there was no stereotypical New Zealander in the service just as there was no stereotypical colonial servant in general. Nevertheless, New Zealanders also approached empire in specific ways. Contributing to the imperial circulation of ideas, New Zealand racial thinking was applied to empire just as imperial racial thought influenced thinking in New Zealand. This colonial knowledge made white New Zealanders distinct imperialists to some extent and provided a foundation for their settler colonial identities in the wider British world. The examples here also present a clear reminder that imperially influenced colonizing racial attitudes were prevalent among white New Zealanders well into the twentieth century. An exemplar of New Zealand’s active and enduring participation in British imperialism, New Zealand men’s involvement in the Colonial Service speaks loudly to the importance of empire in New Zealand’s past.

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NOTES

1 Douglas McKenzie, 'Pacific Raj', p.24, ARC-0340, MS-2165, Hocken Library (HL), Dunedin. Robert Clifford Douglas McKenzie was a Squadron Leader in the Royal Air Force in World War II prior to joining the Colonial Service. See also, Chris Jeppesen, "'Sanders of the River, Still the Best Job for a British Boy"; Recruitment to the Colonial Administrative Service at the End of Empire', *The Historical Journal*, 59, 2 (2016), pp.469–508.

2 More widely, national histories have written progressive narratives of escape from empire, whilst newer, transnationally focused work has tended to consider other locations and other time periods. For recent histories, see Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2012; Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: The Metropolis and New Zealand's Culture, 1890–1940*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2012 and John Griffiths, *Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities, 1880–1939*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014.

3 Felicity Barnes, 'Review: New Zealand's Empire', *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 51, 2 (2016), p.2; Katie Pickles and Catharine Colbourne, eds, *New Zealand's Empire*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2015.

4 Jeppesen, "'Sanders of the River, Still the Best Job for a British Boy'", pp.486–8. For a female perspective on the Colonial Service see Peggy Watt's memoir, *There is Only One Nigeria*, Arthur H. Stockwell, Ilfracombe, 1985. She was the English-born wife of New Zealander Leith Simpson Watt. See also, Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World: The Rise of the Female Diplomat*, Bloomsbury, London, 2014 on the under-acknowledged history of female diplomats in the twentieth century.

5 See Barbara Bush, 'Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century', in Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, pp.80–82.

6 Tony Ballantyne, 'Knowledge, Sociability and Community in Gore's Intellectual Life, 1875–1914,' *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 44, 2 (2010), p.139.

7 Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1986, p.173.

8 See, James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Allen Lane, Auckland, 2001; Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*; Barnes, *New Zealand's London*; Kynan Gentry, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness, and Cultural Identity in New Zealand, 1870–1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2015; Griffiths, *Imperial Culture*; Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Inter-marriage, and the Victorian British Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

9 Barnes, *New Zealand's London*, p.7.

10 Tamson Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World', *The Journal of British Studies*, 52, 2 (2013), pp.441–63.

11 Pickles and Colebourne, eds, *New Zealand's Empire*, p.1.

12 Anthony Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837–1997*, I.B. Taurus, London, 1999, pp.22–23.

13 A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'Taking Canada into partnership in "The White Man's Burden": The British Colonial Service and the Dominion Selection Scheme of 1923', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 15, 1 (1981), pp.33–46. Similar failings can be seen in Iain E. Johnston's more recent article on Dominion involvement with the Royal Air Force. See 'The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and the Shaping of National Identities in the Second World War', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (JICH), 43, 5 (2015), pp.903–26.

14 I.C. Campbell, 'Staffing Native Administration in the Mandated Territory of Samoa,' *NZJH*, 34, 2 (2000), p.279; Patricia O'Brien, 'From Sudan to Samoa: Imperial Legacies and

Cultures in New Zealand's Rule Over the Mandated Territory of Western Samoa', in Pickles and Colbourne, eds, *New Zealand's Empire*, pp.127–46.

15 Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, p.15.

16 Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, p.19; Tony Ballantyne, 'The State, Politics and Power, 1769–1893', in Giselle Byrnes, ed., *New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 2010, pp.100, 124.

17 Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, p.29.

18 Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, p.29; see also, Wm. Roger Louis, *In the Name of God, GO! Leo Amery and the British Empire in the Age of Churchill*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1992, pp.88–89.

19 'Notes of a Meeting Held on 7th January 1953 to discuss the Commonwealth Recruitment Scheme', p.1, Colonial Office (CO) 1017/18, The National Archives (TNA), London.

20 Wm. Roger Louis, *In the Name of God, GO!*, pp.19–20.

21 Joanna Lewis, *Empire state-building: War and Welfare in Kenya, 1925–1952*, James Currey, Oxford, 2000, n.p., cit. Jeppesen, "'Sanders of the River, Still the Best Job for a British Boy'", p.475.

22 See Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp.53–86.

23 Ralph Furse, *Aucuparius: Recollections of a Recruiting Officer*, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, p.199.

24 Indeed, head of recruitment Ralph Furse valued strong military experience above all else and from the outset hoped to create a 'Colonial Service which would be a *corps d'élite*, like a crack cavalry regiment (Furse, 'Memorandum', 14 April 1920, MSS, Brit. Emp. S415, cit. Richard Symonds, *Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?*, The Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1986, p.195). See also, Jeppesen, "'Sanders of the River, Still the Best Job for a British Boy'", p.476.

25 Jeppesen, "'Sanders of the River, Still the Best Job for a British Boy'" pp.475–9.

26 As listed in Anthony Kirk-Greene, *A Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Service, 1939–1966*, H. Zell, London, 1991.

27 Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, p.29.

28 R.F.A. Grey, 'Notes on a Recruiting Tour for the Colonial Service in Australia and New Zealand', n.p., CO 877/56/5, TNA.

29 R.F.A. Grey, 'Notes on a Recruiting Tour for the Colonial Service in Australia and New Zealand', n.p., CO 877/56/5, TNA.

30 Furse, *Aucuparius*, p.103.

31 Furse, *Aucuparius*, p.102.

32 In 1929, for example, the elected members of the central committee were Major-General Sir A.H. Russell, Dr C.M. Gilray (former All Black and Rhodes Scholar), Mr H.D. Acland (Oxford graduate and prominent barrister/solicitor), L.O.H. Tripp (Cambridge graduate and prominent barrister/solicitor) and Harold Featherston Johnston (Oxford graduate and later Supreme Court judge). In the same year, the Victoria University College committee consisted of Oxford-educated Professors J. Rankine Brown and P.W. Robertson (a Rhodes Scholar), librarian H.G. Miller (another Rhodes Scholar), Professor T.A. Hunter (a noted sportsman and university administrator) and law Professor J. Adamson.

33 See P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688–2000*, Longman, New York, 2002, pp.421–2. For a related discussion of gentlemanly capitalism in New Zealand in an earlier period, see Jim McAloon, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and Settler Capitalists: Imperialism, Dependent Development and Colonial Wealth in The South Island of New Zealand', *Australian Economic History Review*, 42, 2 (2002), pp.204–23, and a response by A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism in New Zealand', *Australian Economic History Review*, 43, 3 (2003),

pp.287–97. This article takes a recolonial perspective and argues that New Zealand elites were a gentlemanly elite in the interwar period and beyond on the basis of close material and affinitive connection to Britain and empire.

34 Ralph Furse, 'Recommendations to University Committees', 1929, p.17, 'Central Board of Selection, New Zealand, 1929–1931', CO 877/6/8, TNA.

35 Similarly, Indian Civil Service recruiters in a preceding period were concerned with the type or class of Irishmen being recruited, rather than the recruitment of Irish personnel *per se* (Patrick O'Leary, *Servants of the Empire: The Irish in Punjab, 1881–1921*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2011 p.45).

36 Furse, 'Recommendations to University Committees', p.4.

37 Tamson Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World', pp.448, 458.

38 See, J.A. Mangan, 'Introduction', in J.A. Mangan, ed., *Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, p.6. See also, James McNeish, *Dance of the Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile in the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse-Tung*, Random House, Auckland, 2003, p.20, Howard Baldwin, 'Educating the Elite? Otago Boys' High School Fathers and Sons, 1863–1903', in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen, eds, *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2005, pp.121–2, and R. Openshaw, 'Patriotism and Kiwi Primary Schooling', in Mangan, ed., *Benefits Bestowed?*, esp., pp.115–6.

39 See also, Greg Ryan, *The Making of New Zealand Cricket, 1832–1914*, Frank Cass, London, 2004, pp.5–6.

40 Dennis McCarthy, untitled memoir, private collection, p.4.

41 Auckland Grammar School, the oldest and largest boys' school in New Zealand's biggest city, produced the largest number of colonial servants at 26. Second was Wellington College at 14, followed by Christ's College at 13. On the 1929 Central Board, Acland and Tripp were old boys of Christ's College, Gilray of Otago Boys High School and Johnston of Wanganui Collegiate (see previous footnote for details). In addition, Russell was an old boy of Harrow School, England. The university committees were also dominated by alumnae of the same or similar schools. At Auckland: Sir E.H. Northcroft (Wellington College), Professor Maxwell Walker (Auckland Grammar) and O'Shea (Otago Boys' High School). At Canterbury: H.G. Denham (Christchurch Boys' High School), A.E. Flower (Christ's College), while G.M.L. Lester was educated at the lesser English public school Sherborne. At Otago: H.E. Barrowclough (Palmerston North Boys' High School) and H.D. Skinner (Nelson College). The Director of Education on the board after World War II, C.E. Beeby, was educated at Christchurch Boys' High School. In the period of recruitment, five out of six of New Zealand's British-born Governors-General were educated at Eton, widely regarded as the most elite of England's public schools. In addition, Freyberg was educated at Wellington College and H.E. Barrowclough, later appointed Governor-General, at Palmerston North.

42 However, it is worth noting that the English public schools and Oxbridge became more meritocratic from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

43 George Orwell, *Burmese Days*, Secker & Warburg, London, New York, 1934; S. Orwell and I. Angus, eds, *The Collected Essays of George Orwell*, vol.1, Secker & Warburg, London, 1968, pp. 239, 288, 393, 403, cit. R. Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire: the road to decolonisation, 1918–1968*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, p.11.

44 John Bertram, 'Foreword', in Ian Milner, *Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of the Man*, John McIndoe and Waitaki High School Old Boys Association, Dunedin, 1983, p.12.

45 W.J. Gardner, E.T. Beardsley and T.E. Carter, *A History of the University of Canterbury, 1873–1973*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1973, pp.179, 268.

46 Gardner, Beardsley and Carter, *A History of the University of Canterbury*, pp.179, 268.

47 Tamson Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: Universities, networks and the British academic world, 1850–1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013, pp.4, 114; Pietsch, ‘Rethinking the British World’, pp.441, 444–5, 456–8.

48 In the same way, ‘settler universities relied heavily on the private recommendations of trusted individuals in Britain’ in appointing academics from Britain (Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars*, pp.5–6).

49 Robert Heussler, *Yesterday’s Rulers: The Making of the British Colonial Service*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, NY, 1963, p.113.

50 William Tripe to Mother/Father, 8 May 1930, pp.4–5, MSS. Afr. s. 868/1/2, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies (BLCAS), Oxford. The collection is now held at the Weston Library, University of Oxford.

51 Doreen Massey, *For Space*, Sage, London, 2005, p.118, quoted in David Lambert and Alan Lester, ‘Introduction’, in David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds, *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: imperial careering in the long nineteenth century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, p.16.

52 For a list of men in the Colonial Service, see Daniel F. Millar, ‘Empire Men: New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service, c.1920–1970’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2015. The database has since been expanded and slightly corrected.

53 See Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, p.29. Evidence of this was seen in B.E.V. Parham writing to fellow New Zealander W.J. Blackie, Chief Chemist in Fiji, enquiring about a job and introducing himself as a friend of Rev. J. Temple-Perkins and the brother of J.W. Parham at Sigatoka Experimental Station. B.E.V. Parham to W.J. Blackie, 1 July 1932, MS 4042-009, HL. This was seen with the recruitment of Canadian Agricultural Officers in Nigeria between at least 1945 and 1953 on account of the Director of Agriculture being Canadian (‘Note on a Meeting Held on the 7th January 1953 to Discuss the Commonwealth Recruitment Scheme’, CO 1017/18, TNA).

54 Britain’s territories in this region: the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements (Penang with the provinces of Wellesley, Malacca and Singapore), the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang), the un-federated Malay States (Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu and Johore), and the Borneo territories (including Sarawak, Brunei, Labuan and British North Borneo).

55 The administrative service was made of up mainly of District Officers and Commissioners in the field and various administrative staff in colonial capitals.

56 P.M. Renison, ‘Report on Recruitment’, p.9, CO 877/24/3, TNA.

57 Indeed, New Zealand expertise in colonial surveying was acknowledged to some extent in imperial circles, with the Surveyor-General in Kenya, for example, preferring them ‘to candidates who [had] only a short course at Southampton’ (F.R.H. Green to Duncan Tovey (Colonial Office), 24 February 1931, CO 533/397/10, TNA). The concentration of high-ranking New Zealanders in the Malayan service also suggests compatriots may have been favoured in recruitment. There were an especially large number of high-ranking New Zealanders in the Legal Service: for example, Sir Ronald Sinclair was Chief Justice in Nyasaland (Malawi) and Kenya before becoming President of the East African Court of Appeal. Sir Campbell Wylie was Chief Justice of Sarawak and Sabah before becoming Attorney-General of Barbados. Maurice Heenan and Frederick Robertshaw were Attorneys-General in Hong Kong and British Somaliland respectively, while Sir A.G. Lowe and J.L. MacDuff were successive Chief Justices of Fiji. At least 23 New Zealanders entered the legal service and at least 23 entered the surveying service.

58 J.T Hall was Director of Agriculture in the Solomon Islands, Norman Lamont was Deputy Director of Agriculture in Fiji. B.E.V. Parham and his son J.W. Parham also made significant contributions to Fijian agriculture.

59 For colonizing mentalities, see Graeme Dunstall, *A Policeman’s Paradise: Policing a Stable Society, 1918–1945*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1999, pp.204–14, esp. p.210. See

also, John Mackie, 'Graduates of the Former School of Mines University of Otago in Pre-War Malaya', Misc-MS-1471, HL.

60 See Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, Colonial Officials and the Construction of the Imperial State, c.1900–39*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013, pp.2–3.

61 C. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*, The Hambleton Press, London, 1993, cit. Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, p.10.

62 Simeon Adebo, *Our Unforgettable Years*, Macmillan Nigeria, Lagos, 1984, pp.185. 214–15.

63 Rankine to Sir John MacPherson, 17 February 1959, p.2, MSS. Afr. s.2237/2, BLCAS.

64 Colin Allan, Questionnaire, HMOCS Project, cit. Nile Taro Gardiner, 'Sentinels of Empire: The British Colonial Administrative Service, 1919–1954', PhD thesis, Yale University, 1998, p.162.

65 For one significant expression of this pervasive and enduring belief, see Keith Sinclair, 'Why are Race Relations in New Zealand Better Than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota?', NZJH, 5, 2 (1971), pp.121–7. See also Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, pp.17–18.

66 Ian Turbott, *Lands of Sun and Spice*, Ian Turbott, Sydney, 1996. p.230.

67 Turbott, *Lands of Sun and Spice*, p.230.

68 Temple-Perkins, 'Unadorned Career', Part 6, n.p. MSS. Afr. s. 1818/9/2, BLCAS.

69 Arthur Grimble to Eyre Hutson, 10 January 1928, WPHC 3794/1928, item 1, quoted in Mike Butcher, '... when the long trick's over': *Donald Kennedy in the Pacific*, Holland House, Kennington, Victoria, 2012, p.174.

70 Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, Penguin, London, 2003, p.240.

71 Just as later historical narratives exploited Māori otherness and tikanga in service of national distinctiveness.

72 Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, p.17.

73 Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School*, 3rd ed., Routledge, London, 1996, p.108.

74 T.E. Dorman, *African Experience: an education officer in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)*, Radcliffe Press, London, 1993, p.81.

75 K.R. Howe, *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?*, Penguin, Auckland, 2003, pp.160–7, esp.166–7.

76 On humanitarian thinking, see Anna Bocking-Welch, 'Imperial Legacies and Internationalist Discourses: British Involvement in the United Nations' Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1960–1970', JICH, 40, 5 (2012), pp.879–96; Bush, p.99; Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, pp.413–15, 528–31, 545–46; Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, pp.44–48.

77 Colin H. Allan, *Solomons Safari*, Part I, Nag's Head Press, Christchurch, 1989, p.12. See also Colin H. Allan, *Solomons Safari*, Part II, Nag's Head Press, Christchurch, 1989.

78 See Tom Bennion, 'The Maori Land Court and Land Boards, 1909 to 1952', Waitangi Tribunal, Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1997.

79 Allan, *Solomons Safari*, Part I, p.13.

80 Temple-Perkins, 'Unadorned Career', Part 5, n.p., MSS. Afr. s. 1818/9/2, BLCAS.

81 Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, p.22.

82 Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, p.21.

83 On the importance of transnational knowledge production to Pākehā-European identities, see also Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Empire: Aryanism in the British Empire*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012, p.24.

84 Gardiner, 'Sentinels of Empire', p.64.

85 On this theme, J.G.A. Pocock described the ‘antipodean perception’ as being uniquely influenced by distance, economic dependence and modernity (Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, p.6).

86 As equal partners in the empire, New Zealanders did not see themselves as colonial in the sense of replication and inferiority. Neither were identities strictly provincial since they partly derived from a far-away and dissimilar land with a European population largely composed of people from all over Britain and Ireland. See Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800–1945*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2008, Keith Sinclair, ed., *Distance Looks Our Way: The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand*, Auckland, 1961, and for an earlier South African comparative, John Lambert, ‘South African British? Or Dominion South Africans? The Evolution of an Identity in the 1910s and 1920s’, *South African Historical Journal*, 43 (1), 2009, pp.197–222, esp. p.205. See also, John Darwin, ‘A Third British Empire? The Dominion Idea in Imperial Politics’, in Judith Brown and Wm. Roger Louis, eds, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, pp.64–87.

87 Douglas Cole, ‘The Problem of “Nationalism” and “Imperialism” in British Settlement Colonies’, *The Journal of British Studies*, 10, 2, (1971), p.174.

88 Felicity Barnes, ‘Bringing another Empire alive? The Empire Marketing Board and the construction of Dominion identity, 1926–33’, *JICH*, 42, 1, (2014), p.64.

89 To a large extent the mostly upper-class New Zealanders selected for service were accepted without issue.

90 Temple-Perkins, ‘Unadorned Career’, Part 5, n.p., MSS. Afr. s. 1818/9/2, BLCAS; Darwin, *Empire Project*, p.12.

91 Tom Taylor, *Sunset of the Empire in Malaya: A New Zealander’s Life in the Colonial Education Service*, Radcliffe Press, London, 2006, p.38; p.112.

92 Taylor, *Sunset of the Empire in Malaya*, p.1.