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Voices Collection in Context

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List of Abbreviations

BECM	– British Empire and Commonwealth Museum
BMGA	– Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives
CO	– Colonial Office
CS	– Colonial Service
HMOCS	– Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service
OCRCP	– Oxford Colonial Records Project
ODRP	– Oxford Development Records Project
OSPA	– Overseas Service Pensioners Organization
PV	– Project Voices
SDP	– Scottish Decolonisation Project

Introduction

In an article about oral history archives, orality and usability Douglas Boyd writes:

“Oral history interviews continue to be a difficult information package to accession, process, discover and use. The voices of oral history, the ‘material’ of our professional practice, for the most part, remain silent.”¹

This thesis is an attempt to prevent this from happening to a new collection of oral history interviews with former members of the Colonial Service. Project Voices is a Vienna based oral history project which collected around 100 interviews and additional documents between 2016 and 2018. This thesis frames the collection from two perspectives with the aim of providing researchers with information on the genesis of the collection and its contents. By contextualizing the collection and its contents I hope to facilitate the access to its contents and the voices therein. I have participated in the project as an interviewer and have catalogued the materials it contains, giving me the access which has allowed me to write this thesis.

The first part of the thesis puts Project Voices into the context of earlier collections that also contain oral history interviews with members of the Colonial Service, namely the Oxford Colonial Records Project and its successor the Oxford Development Records Project, the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum collection, and the Scottish Decolonisation Project. Through a comparison of the collections’ beginnings and history, their collection criteria, collection practice and the materials they include as well as of their oral history programmes, ample information is given about these aspects of Project Voices. Such information providing context to a collection is often scarce or non-existing which is why a second aim of this first chapter is to gather in one place the information available on the collections Project Voices is compared to, which until now was scattered through a variety of sources.

The second part of the thesis aims to give insight into the content of the interviews. This is done by comparing the sample of Colonial Service officers who have been interviewed by Project Voices to the Colonial Service in general through looking at a number of variables. Career related variables are discussed first: Which branch of the service- and which colony officers in the Colonial Service served in compared to the branches and colonies represented in Project Voices. Then, non-career related variables are discussed which include officers’ educational backgrounds, officers who have been recruited in the Dominions, officers with non-British and non-Dominion origins, and gender. Through this comparison it is determined how representative the sample collected by Project Voices is compared to the Colonial Service. This chapter also gives some insight into the content of some individual interviews.

A catalogue detailing the material related to individual officers that is at the core of Project Voices is attached in Appendix 1 and can serve as a first point of access to the collection.

¹ Douglas A. Boyd, 'I just want to click on it to listen'. Oral History Archives, Orality and Usability. In: Robert Perks, Alistair Thompson (Eds.), *The Oral History Reader*. (Third Edition, London / New York 2016) 117-134, here 129.

Note that this thesis is not about the Colonial Service and does not intend to give new insights into its inner workings, its relationship with the populations of the colonies it governed, on the policies it implemented or on how it implemented them. However as the contents of the collections discussed here, and especially those of Project Voices are related to the Colonial Service, some terms used throughout need to be shortly clarified here.

To give a definition of the term “Colonial Service” is not as straightforward an undertaking as one might expect. As Charles Jeffries, Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office in London wrote in 1949:

“To anyone with a tidy and logical mind the British Colonial Service is a baffling institution. That there is such a Service is an undoubted fact. But an attempt to find out exactly what it is and what it does, where it starts and where it end, who belongs to it and who does not, continually brings the inquirer up against that maddening kind of answer which begins (and often ends) with ‘It all depends what you mean’”²

There is an argument to be made to define the Colonial Service as the sum of all employees in the civil services of all colonial governments which fell under the responsibility of the Colonial Office in London. In this thesis however I choose a narrower definition of the Colonial Service as the sum of all officers in senior posts in the civil services of colonial governments. These were mostly British officers who were recruited by the Colonial Office in London and it is them who are represented in Project Voices and the other collections discussed here. I use the term “Colonial Service” in this way throughout, even though in 1954 the name was changed to Her Majesty’s Overseas Civil Service (HMOCS).

The terms “colony” or “territory” are used for all territories administered by the Colonial Office in London and staffed by the Colonial Service. No distinction is made between ‘protectorates’, ‘mandated territories’ and ‘colonies’ as the legal difference between them is not relevant for the purposes of this thesis³.

This thesis is the result of my knowledge of the Project Voices collection, but it would not have been possible to write it without the support of my thesis supervisor Prof. Peter Becker. I also want to thank Dr. Valentin Seidler, Project Voices’ director, for giving me access to the dataset of biographical information on members of the Colonial Service I use in the second half of the thesis, and especially for his comments and overall support in writing this thesis.

² Charles *Jeffries*, *Partners for Progress. The Men and Women of the Colonial Service* (London 1949) 24.

³ For similar usage see: Anthony *Kirk-Greene*, *Britain's Imperial Administrators 1858-1966* (London 2000) 127. And: *Jeffries*, *Partners for Progress*, 24.

Chapter 1 – Project Voices compared to other Collections containing Oral History Interviews with members of the Colonial Service

Introduction

It would be possible to simply describe the Project Voices Collection and tell the story of how it started, reflect on the collection process and the methods used for the oral history interviews. I think it will be more useful, however, to not only describe this particular collection, but to compare it to collections that include similar materials. This allows contextualization and portraying its strengths and limitations in light of what else has been done. Putting the Project Voices Collection into context will also point scholars to materials that complement the ones in this collection and that might be interesting to them.

To be considered in the comparison, collections had to contain oral history interviews with members or former members of the British Colonial Service and have the Colonial Service as a central point of interest in their collection criteria. The materials included in the collections, however, did not have to be limited to oral history interviews. Three collections in Britain qualify for the comparison under these criteria. These are the Oxford Colonial Records Project (OCRP) and the Oxford Development Records Project (ODRP) held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the collections assembled by the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum (BECM) now at the Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives, and the collection of oral history interviews by the Scottish Decolonisation Project at the National Library of Scotland. Other important collections that also contain materials on the Colonial Service, such as the collections at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library and the Centre of South Asian Studies at Cambridge, are excluded on the grounds that they do not include oral history interviews. The collection at the Imperial War Museum which includes oral history interviews, is excluded because its focus lies exclusively on war and conflict, and the few members of the Colonial Service who are included, had been interviewed because of their wartime experiences and not because of their experiences as members of the Colonial Service meaning that their membership in the Service did not factor into the collection criteria.

The comparison will cover, as best is possible, all aspects of the collections. I begin by looking at the general characteristics of each collection, like the time of collecting, the collection's location, its availability to researchers etc. that are subsumed in Table 1.1. This will give a first idea of the general size and scope of the collections. Keeping this in mind, I then look more closely at why the collections were created, and by whom and at the collection process in general. Finally I consider the oral history interviews and compare the processes and different methods used.

Table 1.1				
Overview of the Collections				
	OCRIP / ODRP	BECM	SDP	Project Voices
Time of collecting	OCRIP: 1963-1975 ODRP: 1977-1985	1995-2012	1985-1993	2016 ongoing
Collection's Location	Bodleian Libraries Oxford – Weston Library	Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives	National Library of Scotland	Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Digital History - Vienna
Availability of the Collection	Available items can be found through the Online Catalogues of Archives and Manuscripts of the Bodleian Libraries	The photograph and film collections are available online, other documents, including the oral history interviews, are waiting to be catalogued	Transcripts of all the interviews are available at the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Scotland	Available on request
Sources about the Collection	Articles by Patricia Pugh and John Tawney <i>The Overseas Pensioner</i>	Prospectus detailing some of the collections by Joe Duffy <i>The Overseas Pensioner</i>	Reference Guide to the Collection	This thesis
Initiators of the Collection	OCRIP: Dame Margery Perham and Dr. A.F. Madden ODRP: William Beaver	John Letts, publisher and arts campaigner	Prof. D.C.M. Platt and Patrick Cadell, Keeper of Manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland	Dr. Valentin Seidler
Directors of the Collection	OCRIP: John Tawney ODRP: William Beaver, Anthony Kirk-Greene	Gareth Griffiths		Dr. Valentin Seidler
Institutional Collaborators	Oxford University and the Bodleian Libraries	British Empire and Commonwealth Museum and Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives	National Library of Scotland	Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Digital History Vienna University Library Austrian Film Museum
Funding	Selection: <u>Pilot Project</u> (6 months) - University of Oxford Beit Fund OCRIP: Grant from Lord Boyd (subsequently supported by the Goldsmiths Company and the Drapers Company) Grant from the African Studies Association of America Leverhulme Trust	Grant from Sir Jack Hayward British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Trust	Carnegie Fund for the Universities of Scotland (first year) Grant from the Nuffield Foundation Grant from the Royal Bank of Scotland (transcription)	FWF (Austrian Science Fund) Beit Trust ÖAW (Austrian Academy of Science)

	British Academy Pilgrim Trust, for the Oral History Scheme <u>ODRP</u> : Grant from the Ministry of Overseas Development			
Recruitment of Contributors	Personal Contacts, membership lists provided by OSPA, advertisements in the press	OSPA, advertisements in the press	Personal contacts of the interviewer Susan Sym and snowball effect	OSPA and snowball effect
Collection Criteria	Everything related to the British Colonial Service, its work, its members etc. 20 th century	Everything related to the British Empire and Commonwealth 17 th century onward	Contributors had to have witnessed decolonisation in any territory and be Scottish 20 th century	Contributors had to be members of the British Colonial Service Second half of the 20 th century
Types of Documents Included in the Collection	Large variety of documents including written documents of various kinds, photographs, films and oral history interviews	Large variety of documents including objects, written documents of various kinds, photographs, films, oral history interviews and other sound archives	Oral history interviews, tapes and transcriptions, some additional documents	Oral history interviews, photographs, films, written documents of various kinds, some OSPA files
Total Number of Oral History Interviews	Around 80 in 1980, not counting informal interviews conducted by John Tawney	Over 2000	107	108

The amount of information available on the collections varies considerably. The comparison presented here is based on everything I could gather between March 2018 and March 2019 without physically visiting the collections myself. At this point it seems noteworthy that my information on Project Voices by far surpasses what I could gather about the other projects as I conducted many interviews and catalogued the materials myself.

A first look at Table 1.1 shows how the collections relate to each other in size and scope. It is clear, that the OCRP and the ODRP represent the largest collection. They represent the earliest efforts in actively collecting materials from members of the Colonial Service and began in the early stages of decolonisation when many African countries were gaining their independence and large numbers of former officers were returning to Britain. Taken together, the two projects kept collecting documents for the longest period of time and managed to assemble a wide variety of documents from various different sources. The scope of the collection criteria remains closest to the Colonial Service and, due to its broad collection practice, includes documents about many aspects of the British Empire and the Colonial Service. Its importance makes it a model for all further collections of its kind.

The second largest collection, that of the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, was

assembled only fairly recently and at great speed. However, its scope goes far beyond the Colonial Service and includes documents relating to all aspects of the Commonwealth and the British Empire which makes it less focussed than the other collections discussed here. It also represents the largest variety of different documents, since it includes objects and art as well as written documents, photographs and films. Unfortunately, many documents from the collection, including the oral history interviews, have not been available to researchers since their move to the Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives in 2012 as many of them remain uncatalogued.

Compared to these two large collections, the Scottish Decolonisation Project and the Project Voices Collection are both relatively small. They both are focused on oral history interviews and the additional material included in them complements the interviews. Their respective focus is also much more precise and specialized. The Scottish Decolonisation Project is focussed on Scots, who, in any capacity, had witnessed decolonisation in any British Colony. Project Voices on the other hand is focused on the experiences of members of the Colonial Service, excluding all other persons who might have been present in the colonies. In addition to this, the Project Voices Collection is the only collection of this selection outside of England, and the only collection outside the former British Empire and the Commonwealth.

With the exception of the Scottish Decolonisation Project, all collections received help and support by the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association (OSPA)⁴ in the recruitment of contributors showing its worth as a powerful ally. In addition to OSPA, the OCRP and ODRP and the Scottish Decolonisation Project relied on personal contacts when recruiting contributors. Both John Tawney and Anthony Kirk-Greene who directed the OCRP and ODRP respectively had been members of the Colonial Service themselves, and Susan Sym who interviewed for the Scottish decolonisation Project was the daughter of a colonial servant.

While keeping this general information in mind, I am now going to go into more detail on different important aspects of the collections. First, I give a short overview of the sources available about each collection. Then, I move to compare the collections themselves by looking at why the different collectors started to collect and what questions they hoped could be answered by the collections. This point will be expanded by general overview of the collection's history. Then I am going to look more closely at the kinds of documents that were collected. Finally an extensive section will be devoted to the different kinds of oral history documents and the interviewing methods. I would like to note again that the amount of information available on each collection varies, and while I have collected as much information as I could on each one, my insight into the history and inner processes

⁴ The Overseas Service Pensioners' Association, which closed in October 2017, was an association devoted to protecting the pensions of Colonial Service and HMOCS officers and their families. They were also interested in promoting research on the Colonial Service to spread a better understanding of its goals, its members and what their life was like. More on OSPA's activities can be found in their newsletter, the Overseas Pensioner, described below, and on their Website: Overseas Service Pensioners' Association, 2017, online under <http://www.ospa.org.uk/about/objectives-activities> (15.03.2019).

of Project Voices far surpasses what I was able to gather on any of the others. Hence the focus of the comparison clearly lies on the Project Voices collection, and the intent is to show how it supplements the other collections as well as to reveal its limitations.

Sources on the collections

The kind of information on collections that is needed to answer the questions posed here, is not necessarily readily available. It had to be gathered from a variety of sources.

A first and very useful source for anyone trying to establish an overview on collections and the locations of material on the Colonial Service are the newsletters published twice annually by OSPA called *The Overseas Pensioner*, which I will describe in some detail below. It was a kind of magazine published between November 1960 and April 2017 for the benefit of communication with its members and among them⁵. In them, in addition to many other things, OSPA endorsed collection projects and gave the collectors a platform to inform OSPA's members about their projects and the progress they were making, while recruiting their help as contributors.

Issues of the *Overseas Pensioner* contain many references to both the OCRP and the ODRP, with the inserts by the ODRP being the most extensive source on this project available to me. Contributions by the Oxford Projects contained information on specific collection interests or updates on the projects that would interest the readers of this magazine especially if they had contributed to them already.

The BCEM used the magazines to regularly update OSPA members on their work and the progress they were making with their many projects. This makes it possible to roughly reconstruct the history of the museum and the collections. There are very few other sources on the collection process of the BCEM, making the *Overseas Pensioner* an invaluable source. This lack of sources might be due to the circumstances leading to the Museum's definite closure⁶ and to the relocation of the documents to the Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives, which is discussed below.

Finally, the Scottish Decolonisation Project, is least represented in the *Overseas Pensioner*. It is

⁵ Two full sets of this magazine were donated to Project Voices, one of which was given to the Vienna University Library where it is waiting to be catalogued and possibly digitized. (March 2019) See: Susanne Rettenwander, *Das Projekt OSPA-Journals. Oder die Herausforderungen im Zeitalter der Digitalisierung*. (ungedr. Projektendbericht im Rahmen des Grundlehrgangs des Universitätslehrgangs Library and Information Studies, Universität Wien 2018).

⁶ The museum closed its doors to the public in 2008 announcing a move from Bristol to London. Operations continued until it was announced that the museum's director Gareth Griffiths had been dismissed because of a police investigation into the unauthorized disposal of museum objects. For more on this see: Gareth Harris, *Museum Director Dismissed Pending Police Investigation*. In: Museums Association, *Museums Journal*, 16.03.2011, online under <https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/16032011-becm> (15.03.2019).
And: Steven Morris, *Museum Director Leaves Post Amid Police Investigation Into 'Missing' Exhibits*. British Empire and Commonwealth Museum parts with Gareth Griffiths amid allegations of items disappearing from Collection. In: *The Guardian*, 17.03.2011, online under <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/mar/17/british-empire-museum-director-dismissed> (15.03.2019).

mentioned only once in the 1999 Jubilee issue⁷, in which some collections containing documents by former members of the Colonial Service are shortly presented. Project Voices also contributed to the *Overseas Pensioner*, albeit only in the last year of the magazine's existence⁸.

Next to the *Overseas Pensioner*, articles published in specialized journals and mentions in bibliographies are another important source of information, in particular on the OCRP and ODRP. The size and importance of these projects explains the interest in their methods and work by archivists and other collectors as well as scholars. Articles by John Tawney, OCRP's first director⁹, and by a few others¹⁰ are noteworthy. The most valuable source, however, is Patricia Pugh's article *The Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project* published in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*¹¹. In it, the author relates the project's story from an insider's perspective, having worked on it as an archivist. Unfortunately, no such sources are available for the other collections.

A last kind of source are the collections' catalogues themselves. For the OCRP and ODRP, the collected documents have been integrated into the main Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts of the Bodleian Libraries¹². This catalogue includes their whole archive and, while it is easily searchable and documents by colonial officers can be determined, it does not provide information on whether or not a document was collected by the OCRP or the ODRP. This catalogue is, therefore, not very useful for determining the kinds of documents that were collected but it is, of course, when it comes to searching for specific sources one might want to analyse.¹³

For the BECM a prospectus published by the museum in 2006 gives us an idea of the scope of the collection, even though it is incomplete.¹⁴ As of March 2019 the Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives who now hold the BECM's collections have published catalogues of the photographic¹⁵ and film¹⁶ collections, but none are yet available on the other documents from the BECM.

⁷ The *Overseas Pensioner*. Spring 1999, 63.

⁸ The *Overseas Pensioner*. October 2016, 26-31 ; The *Overseas Pensioner*. April 2017, 18-20.

⁹ John J. Tawney, Personal Thoughts on a Rescue Operation. The Oxford Colonial Records Project. In: *African Affairs* 67/269 (1968) 345-350. ; John J. Tawney, An Exercise in Partnership. The Oxford Colonial Records Project and Rhodes House Library. In: *The Bodleian Library Record* 9/2 (1974) 113.

¹⁰ F. Leese, The Oxford Colonial Records Project. In: *Botswana Notes and Records* 6 (1974) 218. ; Oxford Colonial Records Project. A Progress Report. In: *African Studies Bulletin* 7/2 (1964) 6-8. ; Alison Redmaye, The Oxford Colonial Records Project. In: *Journal of Religion in Africa* 11/1 (1980) 71-73.

¹¹ Patricia Pugh, The Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project. In: *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 6/2 (1978) 76-86.

¹² Bodleian Library, Online Catalogues of Archives and Manuscripts, online under <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/online.htm> (15.03.2019).

¹³ Catalogues detailing the material collected by the OCRP were published by the Bodleian Libraries before the online catalogue existed: Louis B. Frewer, *Manuscript Collections of Africana in Rhodes House Library Oxford* (Oxford 1971). And: Wendy S. Bryne: *Manuscript Collections, Africana and non-Africana, in Rhodes House Library Oxford. Supplementary Accessions to the End of 1977 and Cumulative.* (Oxford 1978).

¹⁴ Jo Duffy, A Prospectus of the Archival Collections Held at the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum. BECM / University of Bristol / University of the West of England, 2006, online under <https://docplayer.net/60377675-A-prospectus-of-the-archival-collections-held-at-the-british-empire-and-commonwealth-museum-incorporating-a-guide-for-researchers.html> (15.03.2019).

¹⁵ Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives, The Photographic Collections, online under <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/narratives.php?irn=14182> (15.03.2019).

¹⁶ Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives, The Film Collections, online under <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/narratives.php?irn=14181> (15.03.2019).

The Reference Guide¹⁷ to the Scottish Decolonisation Project is kept at the National Library of Scotland with the collection and is the main source I consulted on this project. It contains a list of all the contributors to the project arranged by the country they saw decolonisation in. Some preliminary information is given about each contributor, including their occupation, the duration of this occupation and, in some cases, some additional comments by the interviewer. Even though it gives little information on the collection's history and process, it does convey a good indication of its scope and contents. A study on the Scottish Nation at Decolonisation by Bryan Glass¹⁸ in which he used some of the materials collected by the Scottish Decolonisation Project has also been very useful in that it provides a full list of the questions asked during the Interviews.

The information provided here on the Project Voices collection draws on my personal implication in the project as one of the interviewers and later, as the project's main archivist. My aim is to provide sufficient background information on the project for any researcher interested to work with the sources within it.

The Collections' Beginnings and History

The Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project

The OCRP was started in 1963 at Oxford University. By this time the process of decolonisation was in full swing and many former members of the Colonial Service were returning from their posts to continue their careers outside the service.¹⁹ The project originated out of concern for the safety of documentary evidence on the British colonial period expressed by historians at two conferences held at Nuffield College in Oxford in 1962 and 1963. The need to take immediate action was clear, as it was feared that officers would dispose of valuable sources in their possession if they were not made aware of the interest they held for colonial historiography²⁰. As will be discussed in the next part of this chapter, the main focus of the OCRP collection were personal documents from members of the Colonial Service and persons associated with it. Oral history interviews were not a part of the collection from the beginning, the necessary resources to produce them were acquired a few years into the project.

The conferences at Nuffield College were initiated by Dame Margery Perham and Frederick Madden who also became the project's chief supporters. Both were important figures in the field of colonial studies at the time and had been involved with a number of research projects on the subject. Dame

¹⁷ Acc 10809 (1), Reference Guide to Decolonisation Archive. National Library of Scotland. Department of Manuscripts.

¹⁸ Bryan Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End* (Basingstoke 2014).

¹⁹ An unknown number of officers remained in the civil services of the newly independent countries they had previously worked in, and did not 'return' to Britain until some years later. Cf.: Valentin Seidler, *Copying Informal Institutions. The Role of British Colonial Officers During the Decolonisation of British Africa*. In: *Journal of Institutional Economics* 14/2 (2018) 289-312.

²⁰ OCRP Progress Report, 6.

Margery Perham (1895-1982) had studied at Oxford and started her historian's career as Lecturer at Sheffield University in 1917. She became interested in Africa after she visited her sister in Somaliland in 1922 and returned to the continent on a travel grant by the Rhodes trustees in 1924. During her travels, which lasted five years, she also began to actively lobby on the subject of colonial affairs. She became the first official fellow of Nuffield College in Oxford in 1939 and was elected Reader in Colonial Administration until 1948. During this time she taught future colonial servants in the first and second Devonshire courses, and later she played a part in developing universities for the new African leaders. She was heavily involved in promoting colonial studies at Oxford and helped found the Oxford Institute of Colonial Studies, where she served as director from 1945-1948.²¹ She published travel reports, books and numerous papers on colonial Africa and was an active broadcaster and correspondent on colonial matters.²²

Frederick Madden (1917*) was Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, the former Institute of Colonial Studies established by Perham, at Oxford from 1961-1968. In this function he supported the creation of the OCRP.

As we can see, the emergence of this project at Oxford is no coincidence. It was the location of prominent scholars who were interested in the subject, as well as home to important institutions devoted to colonial and Commonwealth studies. A systematic collection of sources on the Colonial Service in Oxford could only strengthen the university's position in this field and attract scholars, who are interested in the many questions that could be studied through such a collection.

Building on a small pilot project that had looked into the available sources in the 1950s, the first conference at Nuffield commissioned a more thorough investigation of the kind of papers in private possession likely to be of value to British colonial history. John Tawney, who had served as an administrative officer in Tanganyika and then as editor of the Colonial Service's journal *Corona*²³ for ten years, was charged with the task. He reported his findings at the second conference prompting the official establishment of the OCRP and became its director once they had secured sufficient funding. As can be also be seen in Table 1.1., funding came from a grant from Lord Boyd (subsequently supported by the Goldsmiths Company and the Drapers Company) and a Grant from the African Studies Association of America. While the African Studies Association of America led to a large portion of the collection being focused on Africa, enough alternative funds were secured to

²¹ Bodleian Library, Department of Special Collections. Collection Level Description: Papers of Dame Margery Freda Perham, online under <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/blcas/perham.html> (15.03.2019).

²² A selection of her most important works includes: Margery Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria* (London 1937). ; Margery Perham, *The Life of Frederick Dealtry Lugard* (London 1956). And Margery Perham, *West African passage. A Journey through Nigeria, Chad and the Cameroons, 1931-1932*. Anthony Kirk-Greene (Ed.), (London 1983). For a complete bibliography of her published Works see: Thomas P. Ofcansky, Margery Perham. A Bibliography of published Work. In: *History in Africa* 15 (1988) 339-350.

²³ The Corona was a journal published monthly by the Colonial Office from 1949-1962: Colonial Office: Corona. *The Journal of Her Majesty's Colonial Service* (London 1949-1962). It was linked to the Corona Club. For more on the Corona Club see: Anthony Kirk-Greene, *The Corona Club, 1900-1990. An Introductory History* (London 1990).

include the whole British Colonial Empire.²⁴

The main objective of the project was to prevent the destruction of valuable sources on the British Colonial period by collecting privately owned papers and, later, oral histories. These would not only serve the British historians working on the colonial period but also historians from the newly independent countries interested in reconstructing the colonial past. This is shown in a report Tawney wrote on the Project in 1968, which also highlights the great sense of urgency that drove the collectors:

“If papers likely to be of value to the study of the British Colonial period were not to be lost or irretrievably dispersed, immediate action was needed to halt a process which had already begun. Any papers rescued would be of use not only to established disciplines and to historians still dissecting the British colonial record. In many cases they could be some of the earliest written evidence available to historians of new states concerned with tracing their own countries’ advance to independence. Not only could they contribute to research into the growth of political consciousness but they could be capable of allying historical study with social and economic research.”²⁵

Or, as Patricia Pugh, the project’s first archivist, writes: “Failure to preserve these records could result in a completely artificial history of the colonial period being produced and the loss of valuable information about the various territories.”²⁶

Note that the OCRP and ODRP were not concerned with official documents created by and belonging to the institutions of colonial administration. The documents from the Colonial Office would be handled and preserved, or, as was the case with personnel files, destroyed, by the Public Records Office²⁷. The National Archives of the newly independent countries would be responsible for documents created by the territorial governments and administrations. Instances of intentional destruction of such documents²⁸, were not the concern of the OCRP which was focused on collecting those privately owned documents that would not have fallen under the responsibility of either the Public Records Office or the new National Archives.

It is also important to note that actively collecting privately owned documents as historical sources, especially documents by non-prominent persons, was a fairly new approach to the building of a historical record and to the building of archives. There were, therefore, no obvious precedents on how to collect, as Tawney reflects. He writes:

“When the Oxford University Colonial Records Project began work in 1963 its purpose was clear but its methods were empirical. So far as was known it was the first organisation to be set up anywhere with the purpose of discovering in as short a time as possible the maximum number of privately owned papers likely to be of value in a

²⁴ OCRP Progress Report, 6.

²⁵ *Tawney*, Personal Thoughts, 345f.

²⁶ *Pugh*, The Oxford Colonial Records Project, 77.

²⁷ For a guide to Colonial Office files in the Public Record Office see: Anne *Thurston*, *Sources for Colonial Studies in the Public Record Office*, Vol. 1, Records of the Colonial Office, Dominions Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and Commonwealth Office (London 1995). And: Mandy *Banton*, *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968. A Guide to the Records of the Colonial Office in the National Archives of the UK* (London 2008).

²⁸ On intentional destruction of documents belonging to the colonial administration see for example: Augustus *Adebayo*, *White Man in Black Skin* (Ibadan 1985).

particular field of historical research.”²⁹

The OCRP is therefore important not only in size, but it also represents a model for later collections of privately owned materials, especially when it comes to purposefully collecting instead of merely accepting private donations to complement existing collections of institutional nature. I go into detail on the exact collection criteria and their methods in the following section of this chapter.

The Project’s initial funding ended in 1968 but, as Pugh puts it, the Project was “stubbornly refusing to die”³⁰. More documents were continuously offered and had to be catalogued and indexed before they were made available in the Rhodes House Library. When it became clear that this would not end by 1970, Rhodes House Library took over the responsibility for continuing the necessary work, under the project’s name. Collections continued to be processed and made accessible in this way until 1978³¹.

Not convinced that all relevant records had yet been found, a graduate student named William Beaver decided that he wanted to track down papers by people who had been involved in development planning. He managed to institute a follow up project, the Oxford Development Records Project, which started in 1977 with himself as its first director. Its goal was to “collect the papers and recorded experiences of officials and non-officials involved in developing economically the former British dependencies in Africa, the West Indies and non-Indian Asia, from 1945.”³² In addition to collecting such documents, it also conducted studies on specific facets of development often looking at certain services like the Educational Service and the Medical Services and at certain regions. These appeared in a series of publications known as the ODPR Reports³³. The Oxford Development Records Project was later headed by Anthony Kirk Greene whose studies on the Colonial Service are standard works on the subject.

Today the documents collected by the Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project are part of the Commonwealth and African Collections and are situated in the Weston Library, where they moved in 2014.³⁴ They are catalogued with the Commonwealth and African Collections and are not distinguished in any special way making it difficult to trace the ones that were brought in by the OCRP and ODRP. This is especially the case when it comes to locating the audiotapes and transcripts resulting from the oral history project³⁵.

²⁹ *Tawney*, Personal Thoughts, 345.

³⁰ *Pugh*, The Oxford Colonial Records Project, 85.

³¹ *Ibid*, 85f.

³² *Ibid*, 86.

³³ For example: A.R. *Allen*, Conferring Benefits on the Land. The Colonial Education Service in Northern Nigeria 1945-60 (ODRP Report No. 9, Oxford 1985). ; Eric W.D.H. *Earle*, The Development of Education in Pre-Independent Ghana. Based on the Personal Accounts of Twenty-Five Participants in that Development. (ODRP Report No. 10, Oxford 1985). ; Pat *Holden*, Doctors and other Medical Personnel in Nigeria, Uganda and Tanganyika (ODRP Report No. 17, Oxford 1985). ; Mary *Bull*, The Medical Services of Nigeria. (ODRP Report No. 19, Oxford 1985).

³⁴ Bodleian Library. Moves of Special Collections, 15.05.2014, online under <https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/notices/2014/2014-mar-20> (15.03.2019). And: The Overseas Pensioner. April 2015, 15f.

³⁵ The difficulty of finding oral history interviews in archives is a known problem and has been discussed in oral

Apart from the documents collected by the ODRP and the OCRP, there are many more interesting personal collections in the Commonwealth and African Collections at the Bodleian Libraries. In many cases former colonial officers or their families, but also institutions like OSPA, donated their documents directly to the library, after the OCRP ended.

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Collection

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum was first envisioned by John Letts in the 1970s. Letts, a publisher and arts campaigner, found that no museums in the UK presented the history of the British Empire and Commonwealth, a symptom, he felt, of the country's reluctance to deal with its colonial past. He argued that it was important to establish a museum covering the colonial past before the generation who had experienced the colonial and postcolonial period disappeared. Its mission would be to preserve, explore and study the cultural heritage associated with the former empire and the Commonwealth and examine its legacy.³⁶ In 1988 he established a trust, which later provided the necessary funds to open the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum inside the then disused Brunel's Temple Meads Railway Station in Bristol³⁷. A considerable amount, which allowed for the renovation of the building and hiring a small staff charged with starting work on the museum, was donated by Sir Jack Hayward.³⁸

When Letts first had his idea of opening a museum he did not yet have any actual collections. Rather, the board of trustees hoped that exhibition pieces could be provided through collaborations with national museums and institutions who already owned pertinent items and collections. An ambitious oral history program started by the museum around 1995, was supposed to supplement these items. The oral history program was very successful and, in addition to many thousand hours of recordings, it also brought collections of documents, photographs, films and objects to the museum³⁹.

The Brunel's Temple Meads Railway Station building was leased in 1995 and the progression of renovations allowed the museum to open its first galleries in 1999. The official opening was in 2002, which was also when the museum took over the collections from the Commonwealth Institute, which had been closed shortly before. Until its closure to the public in 2008, the museum hosted a number of exhibitions, among them a highly acclaimed one about the Slave Trade. From the moment its doors opened, and even before, the museum was at the centre of a controversial discussion about the question about how it dealt with this part of Britain's past and how this should be done. Critics have pointed out the ambivalence in how the museum both confronted the British role in the Slave trade

history theory for example here: James E. *Fogerty*, Oral History and Archives. Documenting Context. In: Thomas L. *Carlton*, Lois *Myers*, Rebecca *Sharpless* (Eds.), History of Oral History. Foundations and Methodology (Lanham 2007) 197-226. ; *Boyd*, Oral History Archives.

³⁶ Gareth *Griffiths*, Presenting Unwanted Histories. The Project to Establish the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum. Gresham College, 3.11.2004, online under <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/presenting-unwanted-histories-the-project-to-establish-the-british-empire-and> (15.03.2019).

³⁷ *Duffy*, Prospectus, 7.

³⁸ Obituary John Letts. In: The Telegraph, 01.04.2006, online under <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1514474/John-Letts.html> (15.03.2019).

³⁹ *Duffy*, Prospectus, 7.

and the establishment of Empire and commemorated and celebrated other aspects of the Empire.⁴⁰ The collection of oral history and other materials continued during the time the museum was open. However, activities gradually shifted their focus to more specific topics in colonial and commonwealth history. Thus, they collected materials, among other themes, on British rule in Palestine, on the colonization of the Americas and, especially interesting in this context, on the British Colonial Service.⁴¹ The latter collection was then made into a travelling exhibition entitled “Administering Empire” in 2008.⁴² In addition to building exhibitions, the museum also stressed the importance of education and collaborated with institutions devoted to it on every level, from preschool to university.

2008 was also the year the museum closed its doors to the public, at that time under expectations that the museum would be moved to London. However, the search for a suitable location was not successful and the museum remained closed until the combination of a scandal involving the museum’s director Gareth Griffiths⁴³ and a shortage of funds lead to its definite closure in 2011. The collections had remained in Bristol, awaiting their move to London and were eventually taken in by the Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives. The 7000 objects went to the Museums and Galleries, and around 70.000 written archives are now housed at the Bristol City Archives. The transfer also included around 2000 films and 500.000 still images. The new caretakers continued the practice of regularly updating OSPA members about their activities, which in the beginning were focused on assessing the collections, on assuring that they were properly cared for, and on compiling an inventory. This was completed relatively quickly for the objects, that could then be made accessible to researchers again. A new inventory and catalogue of the considerably larger number of archival documents, were not yet completed by March 2019 (the date of terminating this thesis), and it remains unclear when they will be available for research.⁴⁴

The Scottish Decolonisation Project

Unlike the two collections described above, the Scottish Decolonisation Project was a small project which was conceived to fill a particular gap in the already existing collections. It was Professor Christopher Platt of Oxford University who, when he started studying decolonisation in the 1980s, noticed that the OCRP as well as the collections at Cambridge had tended to not include Scottish men and women. As a scholar, Platt was interested in international development in the 19th and 20th

⁴⁰ See for example: Corinna McLeod, Negotiating a National Memory. The British Empire & Commonwealth Museum. In: *African and Black Diaspora. An International Journal* 2/2 (2009) 157-165.

⁴¹ Duffy, Prospectus, 8.

⁴² The exhibition was announced in: *The Overseas Pensioner*. October 2006, 42.

⁴³ See for example: Harris, Museum Director Dismissed. And Morris, Museum Director Leaves Post.

⁴⁴ *The Overseas Pensioner*. April 2012, 15. And: SCOLMA, British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Archival Collections, 12.11.2012, online under <https://scolma.org/british-empire-and-commonwealth-museum-archival-collections/> (15.03.2019).

centuries.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, he died in 1989⁴⁶ and was never able to publish anything based on the Project. In collaboration with Patrick Cadell, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Scottish National Library, he managed to secure the necessary funds and shelf space to start this oral history project⁴⁷ “with the object of recording the memories and experiences of Scottish men and women who were involved with or who lived through the period of decolonisation in the various parts of the British Empire.”⁴⁸ By now, those who could contribute to such a project were starting to disappear, which added to the urgency to start the project as soon as possible.⁴⁹

The project was started with a grant by the Carnegie Fund in 1985 and launched properly in 1986, supported by the Nuffield foundation. The money allowed Platt and Cadell to employ Susan Sym (formerly Steedman) as an interviewer. Later, she was also assisted by William Dorward.⁵⁰ Sym completed the interviewing process in 1991 and they finished transcribing the tapes in 1993. Around 100 interviews were recorded and are now available in the Scottish National Library.⁵¹

The Project Voices Collection

The beginnings of the Project Voices Collection are very similar to those of the Scottish Decolonisation project. It also originated from the research interests of a single scholar, namely Dr. Valentin Seidler of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Digital History in Vienna⁵². Like Platt, Seidler felt that the sources which were already secured by the other collections could not answer the questions he was asking in his research by themselves. However, the idea of building a collection of oral history interviews with former members of the British Colonial Service only slowly came into being.

The first steps on the way to building the Project Voices Collection were taken by Seidler in 2014 when he came across Antony Kirk Greene’s *Biographical Dictionary*⁵³, which contained biographical entries for the 14,200 most senior officers in the Colonial Service after 1939. As described in more detail below, Seidler was interested in the role that senior colonial officers played in preparing the colonies for independence and the implications of the officers’ individual skills and work experience (or the lack thereof) on the future institutional and economic development of former colonies. The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton offered to host his research project for one year in 2014 and with the additional support of the Max Kade Fellowship by the Austrian Academy of Science Seidler was able to begin the work with the collected biographical data in 2015. However, expert help

⁴⁵ Publications by Platt include: Desmond C. M. *Platt*, *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy 1815-1914* (Oxford 1968). ; Desmond C. M. *Platt*, *Social Welfare, 1850-1950. Australia, Argentina and Canada Compared* (London / Basingstoke 1989).

⁴⁶ Jim *Tomilson*, Book Review. D.C.M. Platt, with A.J.H. Latham and Ranald Michie. *Decline and Recovery in Britain's Overseas Trade, 1873-1913*. In: *The Economic History Review* 47/3 (1994) 625.

⁴⁷ *The Overseas Pensioner*, Spring 1999, 63.

⁴⁸ Acc. 10809 National Library of Scotland. Department of Manuscripts.

⁴⁹ *The Overseas Pensioner*, Spring 1999, 63.

⁵⁰ *The Overseas Pensioner*, Spring 1999, 63.

⁵¹ Acc. 10809 National Library of Scotland. Department of Manuscripts.

⁵² Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Digital History, online under <https://geschichte.lbg.ac.at/tags/institut> (15.03.2019).

⁵³ Anthony *Kirk-Greene*, *A Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Service 1939-1966* (London 1991).

was essential to understand acronyms and other pieces of information included in the biographical entries. Seidler contacted Anthony Kirk-Greene who, at this point, unfortunately was no longer in good health and unable to offer much support. Seidler eventually got in touch with OSPA and its secretary David Le Breton, who proved to be an invaluable ally from this point onward. With OSPA's help, he was able to find ten officers who were willing to be interviewed about their role in preparing colonies for independence. Seidler hoped that they could provide useful background information on the dataset of biographical entries, and they did. He realized that a larger oral history project could be an important addition to the pool of available sources on the Colonial Service. Since the urgency to collect officer's memoirs before they disappeared was even greater than with the previously discussed collections – note that most officers we interviewed are well over 80 years old – Seidler decided to go ahead with the very limited funding he could organize in the short time. As there was no funding tying him to the UK, the project was started in Vienna with the help of Professor Peter Becker of the University of Vienna. Project Voices officially started in 2016. After the interviewing was completed in 2018, the project's goals now are to transcribe the interviews, digitize and catalogue the additional materials provided by some of the officers and eventually dynamically connect the interviews, documents and biographical entries on a web-based platform accessible to interested scholars and a wider public.

The principal aim of Project Voices, however, is closely related to Seidler's own research agenda. The project was created to get a better understanding of the conditions officers worked in while preparing for independence and to see if and how officers had been involved in institutional reforms. The collection would thus serve to approach the content of the 14,200 biographical entries both as a way to clarify its contents as well as provide a basis for possible interpretations. A closer look at Seidler's research agenda is therefore necessary to better understand the collection's contents.

Research agenda behind Project Voices

Seidler is an economist by training, not a historian, and he is interested in development, particularly in institutional copying and the question of how institutions can be successfully transferred from one country to another.⁵⁴ This question is based on the accepted idea among economists, that economic development is closely linked to successful institutions.⁵⁵ This makes the question of how to transfer such successful institutions from one environment into another very pressing, as it seems to hold a key for successful economic development. However, the transfer of formal institutions into environments who are not familiar with their procedures has been difficult, and in many cases has

⁵⁴ Early publications on this subject include: Valentin *Seidler*, *Colonial Legacy and Institutional Development. The Cases of Botswana and Nigeria* (Vienna 2011). And: Valentin *Seidler*, *When Do Institutional Transfers Work? The Relation Between Institutions, Culture and the Transplant Effect. The Case of Borno in North-Eastern Nigeria*. In: *Journal of Institutional Economics* 10/3 (2014) 371-397.

⁵⁵ Valentin *Seidler*, *Colonial Bureaucrats, Institutional Transplants, and Development in the 20th Century*. In: *Administrative Zeitschrift für Verwaltungsgeschichte* 1 (2016) 155-172, here 155.

failed. This has been called the “transplant effect”⁵⁶ and a debate has been taking place in scholarship about how to avoid this effect and successfully implement new institutions in developing countries⁵⁷. Seidler's arguments and research are located in this field. He approaches the question from a historic perspective and regards the colonial- and decolonisation period of British colonies a period of intensified institutional copying. By studying examples of successful and unsuccessful transplants in this context, he hopes to find answers to the problems of institutional transfer and useful strategies that have worked in the past and that could therefore be translated into developmental practice today.

Over the past years, and increasingly using the biographic materials and interviews collected by Project Voices, Seidler has presented a number of arguments. It is useful to put them in the context of the academic discussion on institutional transfers that has provided the framework for Seidler's research.

Generally⁵⁸, it has been found that transferred institutions fail, when they enter into conflict with local institutions.⁵⁹ The conventional literature on institutional copying proposes two solutions for this. Seidler has recently added a third strategy. Among the accepted opinions a top down change of existing informal institutions, such as foreign, imported institutions, is considered possible albeit under high costs of enforcement. A new law which potentially conflicts with existing practices will need to be supported by strict and consequent enforcement efforts e.g. by government agents (police, judicial system). Examples include the curbing of Jim Crow practices in the USA in the 20th century which needed strong federal enforcement by the new civil rights legislation⁶⁰. In developing countries - which are the focus of Seidler's work - government agencies are themselves ineffective and strict government enforcement cannot be expected. Instead, the new institution is likely to become dead law.

The second conventional transfer strategy is to adapt the formal institution one wants to introduce to the informal institutions and general conditions of the environment one wants to introduce it to. Even though this might lead to 'second best', hybrid institutions which do not exactly correspond with the original, it is considered preferable to have a working institution of this kind to a perfect copy of an institution that is not working.⁶¹ However, this approach is not widely practised by development agencies today and little is known on how this can be achieved.⁶² For example, an understanding of exactly how the institutions would have to be adapted, and by whom, is missing in the literature. It is

⁵⁶ Daniel Berkowitz, Katharina Pistor, Jean-François Richard, Economic Development, Legality, and the Transplant Effect. In: *European Economic Review* 47/1 (2003) 165-195.

⁵⁷ Seidler, When Do Institutional Transfers Work?, 372.

⁵⁸ Note that this is a rough summary of the discussion. For more detailed and complete information on the subject I refer to Seidler's articles.

⁵⁹ Seidler, Copying informal institutions, 295.

⁶⁰ Gretchen Helmke, Steven Levitsky, Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics. A Research Agenda. In: *Perspectives on Politics* 2/4 (2004) 725-740, here 732.

⁶¹ Seidler, Copying Informal Institutions, 295.

⁶² Ibid, 296.

in this context that Seidler introduces his concept of the “institutional” tailor.⁶³

Seidler argues that to better understand how the strategy of adaptation can be successfully implemented, one needs to pay close attention to the actors actually effectuating the transfer. He finds that there is a need for individuals – tailors - who are capable of building customized, tailor-made, institutional solutions. To be a tailor, the person in charge of adapting needs to have a very good understanding of local norms and customs as well as of the aim and functions of the foreign institution that is going to be implemented.⁶⁴ By studying the period of decolonisation of British colonies in Africa, a period in which institutional copying was frequent, Seidler found that such tailors existed in the ranks of the Colonial Service, citing one concrete example from the small series of preliminary interviews he did in 2016.⁶⁵ Through the analysis of the dataset of biographical entries of over 14.000 senior officers which I am going to discuss in detail in the following chapter, Seidler aims to map out conditions under which institutional tailoring can take place⁶⁶. Project Voices was created with the same line of enquiry in mind. In order to analyse how tailoring could work in specific cases, first-hand accounts of it would be necessary. Interviews with former members of the Colonial Service also provide background information that, in combination with other sources, could lead to a better understanding of the information contained in the dataset. A large part of the questionnaire for the Project Voices interviews has therefore been designed to help answer both questions about tailoring as well as about the inner workings of the Colonial Service, as will be shown later.

While the interviews and the analysis of biographical entries of leading colonial bureaucrats aim to put flesh on the second conventional argument about how institutional adaptation can be achieved, Seidler recently presented a third transfer strategy. This option is based on the observation that imported, modern institutions which are predominantly formal in nature (e.g. written codes of law) enter into conflict with prevailing norms which are mostly unwritten, informal, and based on customs and tradition. In an ideal world, formal institutions are based on informal institutions.⁶⁷ When formal institutions are created they are normally based on the informal institutions, or social and cultural norms, that prevail in the culture that creates them. Without the corresponding informal norms to back them up, formal institutions would not work. Therefore, Seidler argues, when one wants to successfully transfer a formal institution, underpinning the informal institutions, have to be transferred with them. This can only be done by persons who have a deep understanding of the informal institutions underlying the formal institution they want to transfer. Seidler shows that former colonies who retained British officers on their staff after independence for an extended period of time, have have higher acceptance rated of imported institutions than former colonies where

⁶³ *Seidler, Colonial Bureaucrats*, 156.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁶⁶ Valentin *Seidler*, Institutional Copying in the 20th Century. The Role of 14,200 British Colonial Officers. In: *Journal of Contextual Economics* 137 (2017) 93-120.

⁶⁷ Douglas *North*, Economic Performance through time. In: *The American Economic Review* 84/3 (1994) 359-368. And: Oliver *Williamson*, The New Institutional Economics. Taking Stock, Looking Ahead. In: *Journal of Economic Literature* 38/3 (2000) 596-613.

officers left with or shortly after independence. In analogy to Robert Merton's seminal work on reference groups⁶⁸ Seidler argues that the prolonged stay of expatriates who were familiar with both formal and informal institutions has facilitated not only passing on the details of the formal institution but to also explaining and transmitting the informal institutions on which it is based in the society of its origin (here the UK), thus assuring its success.⁶⁹ It is therefore interesting to analyse the factors that influenced officers' decisions to leave or to stay on after independence and also how their working conditions evolved after they remained, to see how the transfer of informal institutions could have taken place. Much attention has also been given to such factors in the interview questionnaire and Seidler's most recent study already includes material from the Project Voices collection.⁷⁰

Table 1.2. summarizes the three options for transferring institutions described above.

Table 1.2.	
Three Strategies of Institutional Copying	
1) Top down	Implementation of formal institutions that are enforced ex-post from the top down by legislation
2) Tailoring	Formal institutions are implemented but adaptations are made in the process to ensure compatibility in the local contexts
3) Copying formal and informal institutions	Formal institutions are implemented top down and the prolonged stay of experts helps the introduction of the informal institutions that go with them
<i>Based on: Seidler, Copying Informal Institutions, 7-10.</i>	

Conclusions

What seems to determine the differences and similarities between the four collections? The settings under which collections are established appear to determine their aims and scope.

The OCRP and ODRP were mostly concerned with preservation. The idea was to secure a large number of sources for the use of researchers, mostly historians, and work in the project was focused on locating these sources and on making them available. The institutional setting of the collection was, first, that of a well funded and prestigious university, and second, that of a renowned library and archive. What is also interesting about the OCRP is that it was among the first collection projects with an interest in bringing privately owned sources into the context of archival preservation.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Robert King *Merton*, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York 1968).

⁶⁹ *Seidler*, *Copying Informal Institutions*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 303.

⁷¹ Archival theory is not very concerned with individual papers and how and why they are collected. It rather focuses on institutional records. When the question of papers by individuals comes up, it is often in the context of pointing to the personal nature of this kind of record. See for example: Catherine *Hobbs*, *Personal Archives. The Character of Personal Archives. Reflections on the Value of Records of Individuals*. In: *Archivaria* 52 (2001) 126-135. And: Sue *McKemmish*, *Evidence of Me*. In: *The Australian Library Journal* 45/3 (1996) 174-187. Unfortunately I have been unable to find any theoretical discussion of collections of papers targeting individuals who were no known public figures except for feminist collections of women's papers, see below.

Unlike the two relatively smaller collections (Scottish Decolonisation Project and Project Voices), the OCRP and, ODRP were not driven by one particular research question or research agenda. Instead they were aimed at collecting as many sources as they could, and thus providing the basis for many different kinds of research. Oral history played a part in these projects, as is going to be shown later, but it was only a small part of a very diverse project.

As a museum, the BECM had a different focus. The collections were aimed at a different audience, which included researchers, but was by far not restricted to them. The museum was actively involved in education at many different levels, and the collected items and documents were destined to be exhibited. This way the context of the interactions between audiences and sources was very different from that at the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford. Also, oral history interviews were at the centre of the BECM's collection efforts and many exhibitions were built around those materials. Unlike the OCRP, it also did not restrict its collections to privately owned documents, even though these played an important part. The public stance of the BECM is reflected in the fact that it was discussed in the media and was at the centre of controversial conversations about how to deal with a past that was, and still is, uncomfortable to many. Although of similar size, the OCRP and its successors were never discussed in this way.

Finally, the two smaller collections have, again, different aims. They both represent an attempt to cater to a particular research interest that, its initiators felt, could not be answered by using the sources that were already available. They are not located at large centres devoted to research on the subject of the British Empire like the OCRP and the BECM collections, which is due to the difficulties of finding support and funding for such small projects, especially in the case of Project Voices. Also they both are oral history projects in essence, with only little room for additional materials.

However, on a more general level, the four collections also present a number of similarities. Every one of these collections originated with individuals who saw that the sources available to them were not of the kind they thought to be necessary for furthering their research and that of others, or to play a part in educating a larger audience on the colonial past. They felt compelled, albeit for different reasons, to collect their own sources and add to the historical record in this way.⁷²

⁷² Not much literature has been written on historian-collectors of this kind, except for literature that is specific to oral history (presented below). Collections that are similar in nature, in that they have been done by historians who felt a need to collect sources that would complement the sources already being kept because they saw that certain stories were being left out of the historical record, but with a more explicit political stance are collections of women's papers by feminist historians. One example is the *Sammlung Frauennachlässe* at the University of Vienna. For more on this see: Li *Gerhalter*, *Decisions and Chances – the Winding Path of Women's Personal Testimonies. The Collection of Women's Estates / Sammlung Frauennachlässe*, Vienna In: Kristina *Popova*, Marijana *Piskova*, Margareth *Lanzinger*, Nikola *Langreiter*, Petar *Vodenicarov* (Eds.), *Women and Minorities. Ways of Archiving* (Sofia / Vienna 2009) 20-34. ; Li *Gerhalter*, 'Auf zur eigenen Dokumentation von Erinnerung!'. *Feministische Archive für auto/biographische Dokumente als Schnittstellen von Erinnerungspolitiken und Forschung*. In: Elke *Krasny*, / *Frauenmuseum Meran* (Hg.): *Women's Museum. Curatorial Politics in Feminism, Education, History and Art*. (Wien 2013) 285-295. And: Li *Gerhalter*, 'Quellen für die Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte haben wir auf jeden Fall benötigt.' *Die Sammlung Frauennachlässe am Institut für Geschichte*. In: Hubert *Szemethy*, Marianne *Klemun*, Martina *Fuchs*, Fritz *Blakomer*, Mathias *Beitl* (Hg.), *Gelehrte Objekte? Wege zum Wissen. Aus den Sammlungen der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien* (Wien 2013) 122-141.

Collection Criteria, Practice, and Materials Included in the Collections

The following section looks at what exactly the different collections assembled and how. It is structured along three categories, namely the criteria for inclusion in the collection, practical concerns such as the recruitment of donors and the inclusion of the collections in an institutional setting, and, finally, what materials are included in the collection. Having catalogued the materials in Project Voices myself, this last point will be treated in greater detail in the discussion about Project Voices.

The Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project

The collection criteria for the OCRP and the ODRP vary somewhat, with the latter project working on the basis of what had been done by its predecessor. The OCRP was started out of a general concern about the possible disappearance of sources on the British Empire and was concentrated especially on privately owned documents. Its collection criteria were therefore very broad: Collected materials should be contained in the “period of colonial administration in all the territories administered by the British Colonial Office at the time when that department was constituted in 1925”⁷³. This means their geographical scope excluded India and the Dominions as they were not the responsibility of the Colonial Office. The time frame is also largely limited to the 20th century, as this is the time when colonial administration took shape under a unified Colonial Service. No restriction was placed on the kind of persons the materials could be from, which meant that they could come from former members of the Colonial Service and their wives, but also from persons outside the Service who had been present in the territories like settlers, merchants and diplomats to name only a few. However, the project refrained from collecting materials from areas covered by other institutions like the London University Institute of Commonwealth Studies, the West African Studies Department of Birmingham University, Edinburgh University for materials on Scottish Missions and Durham University for material on the Sudan. Also, when they were offered printed materials that were already in the possession of the Bodleian Libraries, these were offered, with the owner’s consent, to other institutions. Similarly, non-archival material, like objects, was handed over to museums.⁷⁴

As successor to the OCRP, the ODRP had a slightly different focus and wanted to, as quoted above:

“collect the papers and recorded experiences of officials and non-officials involved in developing economically the former British dependencies in Africa, the West Indies and non-Indian Asia, from 1945”⁷⁵

It moved the focus away from the administration of colonial territories to the period around independence. Documents collected in this phase of the project are closer in content to the ones collected by the Scottish Decolonisation Project and Project Voices. Even though the initial collection criteria of the ODRP were broad, the project focused their collection efforts on a number of more

⁷³ Tawney, *Personal Thoughts*, 345.

⁷⁴ Pugh, *The Oxford Colonial Records Project*, 78.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 80.

specific subprojects like the ones enumerated in the May 1980 issue of the *Overseas Pensioner*. Subprojects dealt with the intensification of African agriculture in Kenya, the transfer of power in Nyasaland, the role of the British forces in the colonies since 1919, the role of British banking in the colonies, or the rise of universities in Anglophone Africa, among other themes.⁷⁶

As has been shortly mentioned above, the OCRP was one of the first projects interested in actively collecting privately owned materials. Their collection practice was therefore not based on established archival practices. John Tawney, having been an administrative officer in the Colonial Service himself, proved to be a good choice of director. Not only was he able to draw on his administrative experience when it came to develop a workflow that could work for such a project, but he could also rely on a great number of contacts in the Colonial Service and, through his own background, he knew the kind of materials that former colonial officers could be expected to have and would want to contribute to the project.⁷⁷ In addition to this, through his personal contacts and his standing as a respected former officer he offered a guarantee to the seriousness and good intentions of the project, that may have influenced some donor's decision to participate. The need for such endorsements from people that are trustworthy to potential donors, will also show in the following projects.

At the Nuffield College conference where it was decided to move forward with the project, the attendees, among who were representatives of the Colonial Office, agreed that approaching officers directly instead of through general appeals in the press, would likely be more successful when recruiting potential donors to the project.⁷⁸ Therefore, in 1963, Tawney started a first round of appeals by writing directly to former officers. This approach was continued when the project officially launched, and letters were written to all the 13000 recorded members of the Colonial Service they were able to trace. OSPA offered invaluable help in this process. They offered their membership contact-lists and many first contacts were made through them.⁷⁹ In addition to contacting individual members of the Colonial Service, general appeals were made in journals and magazines that were interesting to former officers, like the *Overseas Pensioner*⁸⁰. While it was hoped, that such inserts would help reach potential donors who had not been directly contacted, their main goal was to reassure those who had already heard about the project, of its seriousness. By publishing such appeals, organizations like OSPA indirectly endorsed the project which added to its credibility⁸¹.

The first years of the project were very successful, which prompted the organization of several events and talks which in turn, contributed to the popularity of the project. On the one hand, Tawney made sure to keep archivists from other institutions, who were interested in the project, informed, for example by talking at the annual general meeting of the Society of Archivists in 1965, or by inviting them to Oxford. On the other hand, the project was also promoted to the public via an exhibition

⁷⁶ The *Overseas Pensioner*. May 1989, 10.

⁷⁷ Pugh, The Oxford Colonial Records Project, 77.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 78.

⁸⁰ A first approach to OSPA's members was made here: News Letter. February 1963, 9.

⁸¹ Pugh, The Oxford Colonial Records Project, 78.

held in 1966.⁸²

Once the project had identified potential donors, they made sure to avoid collecting materials they considered to be of little value to researchers. Unfortunately, the criteria for determining this value are not explicitly listed in the sources I consulted. It seems that the unwanted materials mostly consisted of non archival materials like large objects. Pugh mentions a stuffed crocodile and a dug-out canoe⁸³, but it is unclear what other materials were refused. It appears that in most cases Tawney judged the sources himself by visiting donors in their homes and determining the value of the materials that were being offered to the project. When their value to the project had been established, the donations were finalised. Many donors handed their documents over immediately, others promised them for a later date, sometimes leaving them in their wills. As they came in, the documents were catalogued and indexed, first by the project's archivist Patricia Pugh who was later assisted by a small team of archivists.⁸⁴ They wrote detailed handlists of the collections which were reproduced by the National Register of Archives. 1500 accessions were harvested in the first five years of the projects and many more were added thereafter. The ODRP, building on the experience of its predecessor, used similar collection and cataloguing practices.

What is most notable about these projects is the sheer quantity of sources they managed to collect. It was therefore only a slight exaggerating when, promoting the ODRP, they wrote in an issue of the *Overseas Pensioner*, that:

“Deep beneath Oxford, behind massive walls and steel doors, resides the real story of Britain's work overseas. There, on scores of shelves receding into the darkness, stand the experiences of proconsul, cadet and some thousands in between.”⁸⁵

As this quote suggests, the collections include materials from many different sources. In many cases the donors were individuals from a range of backgrounds, but donations from societies, like the Minute Books of the General Council of the European Civil Servant's Association of Malaya⁸⁶, or the Fabian Society who donated the papers of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, were also accepted. The more theme-focussed collection of the ODRP brought in materials on more specific areas of interest. For example, they collected the papers of a number of women administrative officers⁸⁷. OSPA also pledged some of their papers to the Project and they were handed over in 2017, when the Association ceased to exist. Even though the documents were catalogued, not all of them have yet been integrated in the online catalogue in as much detail as they were described in the handlists. Also, the online catalogue does not specify if the documents were collected by the ODRP and ODRP or if they were donated to the Bodleian Library independently. A personal visit to the Weston Library is necessary in any case, if one wishes to access the documents.

⁸² Ibid, 82.

⁸³ Ibid, 78.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 81.

⁸⁵ The Overseas Pensioner. May 1980, 10.

⁸⁶ The Overseas Pensioner. May 1968, 4.

⁸⁷ Bodleian Library, Catalogue of Papers of Women Administrative Officers in Colonial Africa 2016, online under <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/blcas/waoca/waoca.html> (15.03.2019).

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Collection

Compared to the OCRP and the ODRP, the BECM's collection criteria were more broadly formulated and not restricted to privately owned materials. In general, they were interested in all documents or objects related to the British Empire and Commonwealth. The BECM's geographical scope included all territories which had been part of the British Empire and those belonging to the Commonwealth including the American colonies, Australia and New Zealand and South Africa. The time frame they collected from was equally broad, beginning with the first British colonialist activities in the 16th century, and spanning the following centuries until the present day. Also, as a museum, in addition to archival documents like papers and photographs, they actively sought to collect objects.

Unfortunately, not as many details are known on the actual collection practices of the BECM. They started their collection process with a widespread oral history project and through this were able to gradually add documents and objects to their collection. Contributors to this project were recruited through advertisements in newspapers, but especially through the help of institutions like OSPA, who helped recruit former members of the Colonial Service. The project was first introduced to OSPA's members in the *Overseas Pensioner* in 1999 where they were asked to participate in the museum's oral history programme.⁸⁸ But its interest went far beyond the former members of the Colonial Service, especially in the years before the opening, when it was eager to assemble documents that would cover the subject of Empire and Commonwealth as widely as possible. They succeeded in establishing themselves as an institution that could be trusted with keeping relevant materials by the time the museum officially opened its doors in 2002. The handover of the collections of the Commonwealth Institute, which closed in the same year, to the museum shows this acquired status.

While they were happy to accept such donations, which would bring them closer to their explicit goal of becoming a national centre for colonial and Commonwealth studies, they were especially interested in collecting audio-visual materials. The oral history recordings were part of this, of course, and in total the sound archive made up around one third of the total collection. In addition to this, they also collaborated with television companies, took over the Colonial Film Unit archive and collected private films and images.⁸⁹

After the opening, the museum started to focus collection on specific topics. Normally this occurred in preparation for specific exhibitions. Examples are the Palestine Mandate⁹⁰, the North American territories or the Administration of Empire⁹¹. The latter case is especially interesting in this context, since it was in this context, that many former members of the Colonial Service were interviewed, and additionally, the exhibition counted on the explicit support from OSPA. However, this exhibition was a travelling exhibition and was not held at the museum, which, soon after this exhibition debuted in

⁸⁸ The Overseas Pensioner. Spring 1999, 18.

⁸⁹ Griffiths, Presenting Unwanted Histories. From Min: 28:00. And: Duffy, Prospectus.

⁹⁰ The museum started to research this topic in 2002, see: The Overseas Pensioner. October 2002, 35. It culminated in an exhibition project in 2009 which, unfortunately, was never realized due to the closure of the museum, see: The Overseas Pensioner, October 2009, 27.

⁹¹ For more information on the latter see for example: The Overseas Pensioner. October 2006, 41f.

2008, closed its galleries to the public⁹². Collection efforts effectively stopped when it became clear, that the collection would be handed over to the Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives (BMGA) in 2012.⁹³ In late 2013 the BMGA announced that they would look to acquire appropriate materials to complement the collection and that they would collaborate with other institutions and museums, but no extensive collection programs have been undertaken yet.

The materials collected by the BECM are, understandably, varied, and together they form a very large collection. In 2013 around 7.000 artefacts, 70.000 written archives, 500.000 photographs and 2.000 films were handed over to the BMGA. They have since been cataloguing the artefacts, and, in the context of the 'Exploring Empire' project they launched in 2015, they have been able to catalogue the large photographic collections and some of the films, and digitize parts of them. On their website, the BMGA describe the photograph- and film collections as follows:

"The photographic collection of about 500.000 still images covers a wide time range and a broad subject range, from the documentation of major infrastructure projects to family birthday parties. The film collection holds about 2000 films, many of them amateur films of family events, but they show the work and family life of the Colonial Service staff, and the people with whom they worked."⁹⁴

The written archives and the oral history recordings, however, are still being catalogued and are not yet available to research. In the meantime, the prospectus written by Joe Duffy gives a general, albeit incomplete, indication of what awaits researchers at the BMGA once they are ready to open the rest of the collections to the public.⁹⁵

The Scottish Decolonisation Project

The Scottish Decolonisation Project is a very small project when compared to the previously discussed two. Its aim was to fill a particular gap that its initiators felt, had been left by the existing collections. Its collection criteria, therefore, are more precise and focused on closing this gap. In this case, the collection was to include accounts by Scottish men and women who were involved with or lived through decolonisation in any part of the former British Empire.⁹⁶ Note, that this does not limit the project to members of the Colonial Service, but also includes members of the Indian Civil Service, as well as persons outside the administration like wives, missionaries, people working for international corporations or NGO's, scientists and journalists. In this aspect, the scope resembles that of the previous two collections, but limited by both time (potential interviewees had to have witnessed decolonisation) and nationality (they had to be Scottish). Also, the Scottish Decolonisation Project was primarily interested in recording oral history accounts. Some interviewees also provided additional materials to their interview, but they are the exception rather than the rule. The potential

⁹² The Overseas Pensioner. April 2008, 21. And The Overseas Pensioner. October 2008, 29.

⁹³ The Overseas Pensioner. April 2012, 15.

⁹⁴ Bristol Museums Galleries Archives. British Empire and Commonwealth Collection, online under <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/narratives.php?irn=8786> (15.03.2019).

⁹⁵ Duffy, Prospectus.

⁹⁶ Acc. 10809 National Library of Scotland. Department of Manuscripts.

size of the project, according to these criteria, could of course have been much larger. However, it was limited by the availability of funds and therefore of staff.

The project was directed by Platt and Cadell, and the collecting was mostly done by Susan Sym, who recruited and interviewed the participants. As the daughter of a former colonial administrator in India, Sir Robert Scott, Sym was able to use personal contacts as her first interviewees. Since many of these first contacts had witnessed decolonisation in South- and South East Asia, she decided to actively search for others, who had been in other parts of the former empire. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find out exactly how she did this. What is clear, is that she did not rely on the help of OSPA⁹⁷.

A look at the reference guide confirms that most interviewees have seen decolonisation in India and in African territories, especially in Nigeria. Other highly represented territories are Aden, Burma, Malaya, Nyasaland and Tanganyika. In a few cases, the interviewees had not witnessed decolonisation in a former British territory as is the case for the British ambassador to the Congo who was present for decolonisation there, but they can be considered exceptions. Since the collection consists almost exclusively of oral history interviews, the collection's contents will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapter.

The Project Voices Collection

The collection criteria of Project Voices Collection, are similar to those of the Scottish Decolonisation Project in that they are aimed at closing a particular gap in the previous collections and answer particular questions. Project Voices, as the result of Seidler's research agenda presented above, is aimed at better understanding officers' roles at independence and the conditions under which institutional copying took place. This in turn determined the collection criteria. Possible contributors had to have been members of the Colonial Service of every nationality, excluding wives (unless they were also employed in the Colonial Service) and other professionals who were present in the colonies (e.g. British entrepreneurs, NGO workers or journalists). Also excluded are members of the Indian Civil Service, and the Sudan Political Service. Former members of the Colonial Service contributed through oral history recordings, with Project Voices seeking to supplement these accounts, as much as possible, by additional materials the officers were prepared to give. As is shown below, other kinds of documents were also accepted, even though these were not included in the initial criteria.

The scope of the project would have allowed for it to be larger. A first limiting factor was time constraint. Most territories staffed by the Colonial Service became independent in the 1960s, therefore, those who staffed them in most cases are well over 80 years old today. A second limiting factor was location. Project Voices was based in Vienna and communication with most interviewees, albeit not all of them, was done via email. OSPA, who recruited most interviewees by contacting

⁹⁷ The project is first mentioned in the Overseas Pensioner in the jubilee issue of 1999, long after it ended: The Overseas Pensioner. Spring 1999, 63.

them and asking them to join, also did so via email but for some exceptions. This excluded many members who either had no access to email or the internet, or had not provided OSPA with this contact information. Some officers who read the project's inserts in the *Overseas Pensioner*⁹⁸ did contact either OSPA or Project Voices directly via mail, but they are the exception.

Most recruiting was done in this way by OSPA or via the inserts in their magazine and the project would not have been possible without their support. A few additional interviewees were recruited via "snowballing", i.e. by asking the interviewee at the end of the interview if he knew any former colleagues or friends who would also be interested in participating in the project.

Interviewees were also asked, if they had any additional material that they wanted to contribute to the project in addition to their interview. This way, memoirs, photographs, films, letters and other documents relating to their time in the Colonial Service were collected. The catalogue in Appendix 1 lists the additional materials provided by each officer. Most such donations are small and relate directly to the content of the interview. They often include only a few individual documents. Officers could either lend the documents to the project for a short period of time so they could be digitized or donate them in which case they are also digitized as well as conserved according to current archival practice.

My familiarity with the documents in the collection permits me to give a detailed description of their nature and their possibilities.

A varying number of photographs have been contributed by eleven officers. In two cases, the officers sent photographic albums with annotated photographs. This allows not only for the analysis of the individual photographs but one can also look at how the officers positioned them and related them to each other. Most other collections of photographs are small and in most cases don't surpass 30 photographs. A notable exception is the collection of Norbert Abeles with 182 photographs, among other documents. Generally, the photographs document the daily lives of the officers. Some show their families and give a glimpse of their family and social life. In some cases these are wedding photos, in others they show the family enjoying themselves on vacation. In combination with the accounts of family and social life included in the interviews this makes an interesting source. Another popular subject is the working environment. This includes photographs of the buildings in which work was carried out, but also ones documenting the officer's duties. Especially outdoor or field duties among the local population are often portrayed. The exact subjects of course vary depending on the work the officers were doing. Derek Hunt for example, who was a police officer on riot duty in Uganda, photographed, among other things, the riot damage he encountered when out with his team. A third possible subject are official ceremonies or large social gatherings. Scenes showing the local population, for example at a market, are part of this group. Somewhat akin to this, are group photographs of, for example the staff of the station the officer worked in, or of a school. Local community leaders are also portrayed in group photos. Finally, a very common subject are

⁹⁸ The Overseas Pensioner. October 2016, 26. And: The Overseas Pensioner. April 2017, 18.

landscapes. In some cases these photographs were taken by the officer when he was out on safari, making his rounds, which meant months on the road. In one case they even picture wildlife. Normally, the photographs are accompanied by captions describing the scenes on the picture or giving additional information on the date and location they were taken at. In some cases, they correspond to anecdotes related in the interview, sometimes they are even directly referred to. However, most photographs serve primarily as a more general illustration of the officer's accounts. They are, of course, also valuable sources on their own and could be compared among each other and with others, contained in larger collections. The advantage of the relative compactness of this collection, in combination with the interviews, is that it provides a manageable amount of photographic material that can be studied in depth and that could lead to questions that could guide a researcher through the larger photographic collections of, for example, the Bodleian Libraries or the BECM.

In addition to the photographs, Project Voices also collected three amateur film collections. Two of them, Ronald Kemp's and John Gill's, have been donated to the Project, one, Richard Hannington's, was loaned so it could be digitized⁹⁹. The films have been digitized by the Austrian Film Museum in collaboration with the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Digital History. All three officers were ambitious amateur cinematographers which means that they put some care into the films. The collections can be described as home movies on the one hand and amateur films on the other hand. Home movies, like the ones by Gill, are set in a private context, showing the family. They were meant to be shown in private contexts and only to a familiar audience. Kemp's films can be considered amateur films. They are of a documentary nature, like a film in which Kemp documents the planting of Teak which was shown to his colleagues for training purposes. These amateur films were destined to a wider audience outside the private sphere. A very interesting film by Gill portrays his colleagues and the work they were doing together. Note that the work environment is a rare subject for either amateur films or home movies.¹⁰⁰

The kind of additional documents that are most represented in the collection are autobiographies or memoirs. Twenty-five officers have donated copies of their memoirs, either as scans or hard copies and in a few more cases they gave us their publication's references. Some of these writings are short texts published in the *Overseas Pensioner* or on Stephen Luscombe's site *The British Empire*¹⁰¹ others are independently published memoirs, and in a few cases they are unpublished manuscripts. Some are of a considerable length and even comprise several volumes. The authors were part of different services, but most of the memoirs are set in African territories like Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Nigeria. A few are also set in Hong Kong. These of course represent only a

⁹⁹ All three of them were interviewed, see: Ronald *Kemp*, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 15. November 2017, PV-119. ; John Marsden *Gill*, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 6. July 2017, PV-099. And: Richard (Dick) *Hannington*, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 2. June 2017, PV-038.

¹⁰⁰ I thank Stephanie Zingl of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Digital History, who is responsible for the film collections, for her assessment of the films that this paragraph is based on.

¹⁰¹ Stephen *Luscombe*, *The British Empire*, online under <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/> (15.03.2019).

small share of the many memoirs by members of the Colonial Service that have been written so far.¹⁰² However, they provide useful additional information when considered in the context of other available sources from the collection, especially the interviews. The memoirs usually provide a more detailed description of subjects the officer himself deemed interesting about his own life and work in the Colonial Service. They also often describe officer's lives before they joined and after they left the Service, which the interviews do not. This way, we can learn more about what post-Colonial Service careers looked like or about their social and educational background. In a few cases, a memoir is sadly the only record of an officer in the collection, if he died before he could be interviewed.

Other types of documents include interviews and talks given outside Project Voices, full Cvs and some diaries. One officer sent reports he wrote in his time as an agricultural officer in Tanganyika and three letters were given to us by another officer who was stationed in Uganda.

Finally, if an officer is listed in the Colonial Office List and Kirk-Greene's *Dictionary* with a biographical entry, the entry is added to his collection. It can be read together with the biographical details the officer gave in his interview. This can also help to better understand other biographical entries in the dataset.

In addition to the oral history interviews and the additional materials provided by interviewees, Project Voices received a part of OSPA's archives¹⁰³. While the full content of OSPA's files still needs to be reviewed by March 2019 one part of their donation – the complete set of their biannual publication, *The Overseas Pensioner* – deserves to be described in more detail.

The Overseas Pensioner

The files from OSPA include two complete sets of the *Overseas Pensioner*, the magazine OSPA published for its members. One of these sets was donated to the Vienna University Library and one remains with Project Voices. The *Overseas Pensioner* is a highly interesting source and provides a well of information about many different subjects. It was published biannually from May 1961, when the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association was created and took over from the various regional pensioners' associations that had existed until then, until 2017 when OSPA ended.

On the cover of the first issue, Sir James Robertson, the first President of the OSPA, addresses the readers about the aims of this News Letter. He writes: "I hope this News Letter will meet a real need, and will help to build up a corporate spirit among the many members of the Association."¹⁰⁴ The first eleven issues were still published under the simple title of "News Letter". These early issues were mostly focussed on the Association's original purpose which was to fight for the pensions of its members. They include, for example, interviews with the Secretary of State for the colonies, and updates on parliamentary debates on the subject of pensions. Updates on pensions and policies

¹⁰² Kirk-Greene provides a bibliography which is a good place to start: Anthony Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service. A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Service 1837-1997* (London / New York 1999) 144-150.

¹⁰³ OSPA documents, especially those related to policy, went to the Bodleian Libraries, presumably as part of an agreement made with the OCRP.

¹⁰⁴ News Letter. May 1961, 1.

related to pensions, taxes and other kinds of provisions continued to be a part of the publication until the end, but as time went on, other kinds of contributions were included as well. The updates on pensions and related issues, in combination with the minutes of the general meetings which are included in each autumn issue, are a valuable source for historians interested both in the aspect of pensions in the UK and specifically the pensions of overseas officers and members of the Colonial Service, and in the history of OSPA, which can also be looked at as one case study for this kind of organization in the UK, its set up, traditions and administration. This kind of content is generally found at the front of the magazine. This placement is relatively consistent over the years, unlike that of other features. Complementing this, note that the programs for the annual general meetings from 1963 until 1979 are included in the donation. Some later programs are included as well, but not systematically.

From the very beginning each issue included an obituary, listing the names of those members who had died since the last issue had been published. A few mistakes were made in the composition of these lists, as one can see from retractions published in some issues, responding to what I imagine were rather indignant letters from members who, very much alive, found themselves included. Early obituary lists only included the names of the late officers and the colonies they served in, without specifying any dates or other information. For some time during the 1970s and 1980s, the job title of the officers in question was added to the obituary list, but not in every case, and it was dropped again in the 1990s. In addition to the general obituary list, from the late 1960s onwards, specific obituaries were also sometimes included. These were either about persons who had some importance to the Colonial Service and its members¹⁰⁵ or inserts paid for by the late member's family or friends. While the former generally fill one whole page and in some cases even include a photograph of the person in question, the latter generally are no longer than a few lines. They do, however, provide some more information about the life and career of the deceased. The editors seem to have had some trouble to find the right placement for the obituaries in the magazine. This is especially true for the obituary list. Sometimes it is included in the supplement, which also includes the list of new members, and sometimes put at the very end of the magazine. Private obituaries can, in most cases, be found on the last pages of the magazine next to the member's announcements. As I have mentioned, lists of new members were also included. They were generally put in supplements that normally were bound in the middle of the publication, so they could easily be taken out and kept for further reference.

In accordance with the aim of encouraging a corporate spirit among the members, the president proclaimed in the first issue, enquiries by members who were looking for help from their fellow members were also published.¹⁰⁶ A section headed 'Members' Announcements' became a regular feature of the magazine from 1964 onwards. In this section, members offered rooms or accommodations for rent or asked their fellow members for help in specific issues. They are a

¹⁰⁵ For Sir Ralph Furse see for example: *The Overseas Pensioner*. April 1974, 5.

¹⁰⁶ See: *News Letter*. February 1963.

testimony to the community spirit among former members of the Colonial Service.

A first change in format occurred in the July 1963 issue, which was slightly larger in size than the previous issues. This issue also contains advertisements for the first time. These advertisements would make an interesting subject of study in themselves. They are highly relevant to the readership of the magazine. In this first issue for example, one ad is from a shop offering discounts to former officers of the Colonial Service, one from a moving company specializing in overseas moves and one for a historical monograph about the empire¹⁰⁷. In the January 1964 issue, a Member's Advertisements section was also introduced¹⁰⁸. This section is not always separated from the Member's Announcements section.

Compared to later issues, the first News Letters were still comparatively short (around 15 pages) and very much focussed on updating the members on the ongoing fight for their pensions. Their size gradually increased to around 35 pages in 1965 and finally to around 70 pages in the 1970s. Catering to the increasing size and scope of the publication, a new layout was introduced for the cover in the August 1965 issue¹⁰⁹. From now on the cover was printed on blue, instead of white, paper and the index was moved from the cover to the first pages of the magazine itself. The cover design remained unchanged for many years, until David Le Breton took over the editorship in 1992. He not only changed the layout of the cover, introducing new cover art, but soon also changed the blue paper and had the cover printed in colour. In the last decade of publication from 2007 to 2017, he even changed the colours of the cover every year.

Another change that reflects the increasingly varied content is the change of the name of the magazine from *News Letter* to *The Overseas Pensioner* in the September 1966¹¹⁰ issue. The editors obviously no longer thought about the publication as a simple News Letter and instead wanted to make it more like a magazine.

Accordingly, some interesting new features were introduced in the second half of the 1960s that deserve to be discussed individually. The first such feature is a section dedicated to Book Reviews¹¹¹. This is a highly interesting section and an analysis of the books that were included over the years could provide an insight into the discourse of this particular group, especially about empire and colonialism, as these book reviews were generally written by members themselves. A full bibliography of the books reviewed would make a good starting point for those interested in studying the Colonial Service. Book Reviews are not included in every issue, but they are fairly common, and include more and more books over the years. Among the books reviewed are publications on the Colonial Service written either by historians or by former members of the Colonial Service. In some earlier issues this section is not directly recognizable in the index, for example when instead of 'Book Review' the title of the book itself is the title of the contribution and figured in the index this way.

¹⁰⁷ News Letter. July 1963.

¹⁰⁸ For the first time here: News Letter. January 1964.

¹⁰⁹ News Letter. August 1965.

¹¹⁰ The Overseas Pensioner. September 1966.

¹¹¹ For the first time here: News Letter. August 1965.

When reviews are subsumed under the heading of “Book Reviews” in the index, the titles of the individual books are not mentioned there as well. Generally, this section can be found towards the end of the magazine.

With the change of names, the editors also started to include short texts by members of the Association. They show OSPA’s interest in promoting contributions to the historical record from its members, as well as in promoting a kind of dialogue among its members about their experiences. An analysis of these texts would surely be very interesting under a number of research questions. The first such contribution for example, published in the September 1966 issue, was written by J.W. Robertson about the Nigerian Revolution¹¹². Such contributions by members would become an essential part of the publication. They could be autobiographical, or, due to their limited length, anecdotal, or they could be reflections on the Colonial Service or the Empire and its policies in general. At first the number of contributions per issue was limited to only one or two and their texts were still less important than the reports about OSPA’s activities on behalf of pensions etc. This changed in the late 1970s when more member’s contributions were published. In the 1980s they were published in several instalments, normally stretching over two to four issues. One example for such a recurrent contribution are the “Ramblings of a Wicked Colonialist” by Justin Trevor Moon, a section which was included from November 1985 until April 1988.¹¹³ During this time, the contributions made up most of the issues. When Le Breton took over as editor the contributions were once again limited to one issue and more space was given to other types of content. However, this allowed him to publish contributions from a wider range of members. It goes without saying that these contributions are a valuable source in many respects. They are not only a record of some officer’s experiences in the Colonial Service, as many memoirs and autobiographies are also. Their relatively short length and the specific context of publication also makes them reflections of, and on, prominent discourses of the time and show what issues former members of the Colonial Service felt the need to discuss with their peers. As such they can be contrasted with postcolonial discourses and read critically in this respect. It is to be kept in mind that they were addressed, not to the general public, but to a closed group of individuals with shared experiences and, based on these experiences, a similar world view.

Contributions could also take the form of scholarly essays. In many cases these were written by Anthony Kirk-Greene, who was a member of the Association himself. Many contributions have been collectively published by David Le Breton in an anthology titled *I Remember it Well*.¹¹⁴

In the 1980s features like the “Letters to the Editor” section, a recurrent address by the chairman commenting on the latest OSPA events and a column by the secretary titled “Secretary’s Corner” were introduced. Occasional comments by readers of the magazine had been published before, but

¹¹² The Overseas Pensioner. September 1966.

¹¹³ The Overseas Pensioner. November 1985, 30-34. ; The Overseas Pensioner. April 1986, 33-35. ; The Overseas Pensioner. October 1986, 33-36. ; The Overseas Pensioner. April 1987, 23-25. ; The Overseas Pensioner. October 1987, 45-48. And: The Overseas Pensioner. April 1988, 15-17.

¹¹⁴ David, Le Breton (Ed.), *I Remember it Well* (Kinloss 2010).

subsuming the letters under one fixed section allowed for a conversation to take place among the members of the Association. A study of the different points of view expressed here could supplement similar studies of other parts of the magazine. In the beginning, the “Secretary’s Corner” was a way to remind members to pay their membership and subscription fees on time and remind them to let the Association know if they changed addresses etc. Under David Le Breton however, it grew and now also included bits that he considered to be interesting for the members as well as personal endorsements of different research projects. In most cases it does not contain much information in itself, but is a useful pointer to projects, events etc. that might interest a researcher.

Finally, I want to point out how the *Overseas Pensioner* reflects OSPA’s keen interest in promoting historical research and the preservation of the historical record. It frequently includes contributions by researchers looking for information from OSPA’s members to promote their research or updating them on their progress, and, as we have seen before, from institutions who were interested in collecting materials from persons related to the British Empire, including members of the Colonial Service and their families but also other groups of Europeans in the colonies like missionaries and traders. The value of inserts by scholars as a source on the history of Colonial Service historiography is obvious and allows to study scientific and historiographical practice. An analysis of the different entries, their style and format, and their areas of interest could shed light on research agendas as well as areas of interest and how those changed over time. In some cases an analysis could be expanded by looking at the updates on the progress of the research projects that some projects published in the magazine. This makes it possible to track the progress of such projects over time, a perspective often missing from finished historiographical publications.

Anthony Kirk-Greene’s use of the magazine is a good example of how individual researchers used the magazine to promote and further their research. Unlike the institutions or projects that were interested in collecting materials, Kirk-Greene was not interested in collecting documents focused on collecting information instead. As an Oxford fellow he had access to the relevant archives and collections anyway.

It would be a great help for anyone interested in working with the *Overseas Pensioner* to have the material in a digital and annotated form. A digitization project was indeed envisaged in collaboration with the University of Vienna Library but unfortunately currently held up due to a lack of funds and legal concerns about the publication rights.¹¹⁵

Conclusions

The discussion of the collection criteria and practices and the description of the collected materials in these four collections has shown that there are many different factors influencing the scopes and final sizes of these collections, in addition to, for example, the availability of funding. These shall be summarized here, by looking at a number of aspects, namely: the availability of contributors, the

¹¹⁵ Rettenwander, Das Projekt OSPA-Journals.

criteria for collecting, funding and financial support, its location, and its collection strategies. A combination of these factors explains the final size of each collection and the materials they each include.

The availability of materials or contributors to a collection is a crucial aspect, especially when the collection is to include oral history material. When the OCRP started in 1963, most members of the Colonial Service, and others who had been present in the colonies, had only recently retired or were retiring just then. Therefore, their number was large, their memories were fresh, and they still had most of their documents with them. This easy availability of such contributors declined as the years progressed. While the Scottish Decolonisation Project could still include people who had served in India, and those who had witnessed decolonisation in any other part of the empire were still fairly young, it was more difficult for the BECM and, finally, Project Voices, to find people who were well enough to be interviewed as by now, many former Colonial Officers have passed away and the remaining ones are often over 80 years old. Although it is most obvious when it comes to oral testimony, the factor of time also plays into the availability of other kinds of documents. The longer they remained in private possession the greater the chance that they were lost or disposed of and are therefore no longer available to be collected.

A second aspect that plays into the final appearance of a collection are its collection criteria. Completeness is not a goal for every collection and it is necessary to look closely at the criteria before judging the success of a collection. While the OCRP had a very broad collection policy, and the aim was to collect as many sources as possible, this was not a goal to the smaller collections, such as the Scottish Decolonisation Project or Project Voices, who, while they wanted to interview as many contributors as possible, knew that completeness was not attainable. The BECM was also not interested as much in the completeness than in the diversity of its collections. This would allow it to present a wide variety of different sources to its visitors while telling the stories of the British Empire and Commonwealth, an objective that is more important to them as a museum. A significant difference in the aims of these collections can be explained through looking at the kind of institution they were created for: The OCRP and its successor collected in an archival and library context, the BECM's collection was aimed at furnishing the galleries of a museum and the Scottish Decolonisation Project and especially Project Voices were created by individual researchers who had specific questions they wanted to answer, even though the Scottish Decolonisation Project also had the support of the manuscript division of a library.

The collection strategies often related to the respective collection criteria. However, the four collections discussed here share some interesting similarities in this respect. Common to all four collection strategies is the reliance on personal contacts for the recruitment of potential contributors or donors. The Scottish Decolonisation Project was the only one that did not rely on the help of OSPA, but in Mrs. Sym, they had a person who had personal contacts from the Indian Civil Service and, through them, was able to recruit contributors who had been in other parts of the Empire at

decolonisation. All other collection projects relied on the help of OSPA, but we have to note that both the director of the OCRP and the second director of the ODRP were prominent former members of the Colonial Service themselves and could rely on personal acquaintances in addition to the contacts provided by OSPA. The collection of the BECM and Project Voices both heavily relied on OSPA for recruiting contributors as they had no persons with personal contacts working directly for them. Another strategy that at least three of the projects used was advertisement through the press. I have found no evidence of the Scottish Decolonisation Project using this strategy, which of course does not mean that they have not done so. Both larger collections have advertised in major papers, and the BECM also used television and radio advertisements, as well as contributing to magazines like the *Overseas Pensioner*, that were directed specifically to a group of potentially interested persons. Project Voices did not have as much reach and therefore only advertised in the *Overseas Pensioner*. This brings us to the fourth aspect, namely the availability of funding. The amount of funds available to each project varies significantly and correlates with the collections' respective size. Generous funding made it possible for the OCRP and the ODRP to collect as long as they did, and for the BECM to employ, at the peak of their oral history project, 25 interviewers to tour the country and collect testimonies. The Scottish Decolonisation Project on the other hand was only able to employ one person as an interviewer and a second person to help her with the transcription of the tapes, while Project Voices has so far relied on volunteer work from students for the organization of the interviews and the interviewing. This limit in resources also limits the possible amount of collecting and interviewing.

Location also plays an important part in the establishment and use of a collection. This is especially notable when one compares Vienna based Project Voices to the other collections that are all based in the UK. In terms of access, being based in the UK is advantage, and locating Project Voices in Vienna meant heavily relying on modern technology and the internet. This allowed for low cost communication with contributors from around the globe and the collection of materials in digital form. Interviewing over the phone with the two interview partners not seeing each other makes for different kind of interviews than conventional oral history interviews¹¹⁶ as they happened in a less intimate context. The lack of proximity also made the collection of physical materials more complicated, as the officers wishing to donate or lend them to the Project had to send them to Vienna which some hesitated to do, if only because the perceived distance was so great. Another disadvantage of having the collection in Vienna is the difficult access to relevant and detailed secondary literature on the Colonial Service. This, of course was not a problem for the OCRP and the ODRP, who not only could rely on the archival collections that were already kept at Rhodes House Library, but also on the many published resources available there and in other British libraries. The other two projects were also in more close proximity to the wealth of materials available in the

¹¹⁶ Some insight into the influence of the internet and other digital technologies on the practice of oral history is given here: *Boyd, Oral History Archives*, 125-132.

different institutions across the UK. The BECM had sufficient funds to build its own library, and the Scottish Decolonisation Project could use their affiliation to a larger institution, in this case the National Library of Scotland.

Finally, collections that, like these, rely on contributions, donations or loans need to appear trustworthy to those they want to collect materials from. To an extent, the aforementioned factors play a role in how trustworthy a project appears to be. The OCRP was very well placed in this respect as its location, its leadership, its collection strategies and also its funding indicated that they were well placed to care for donated documents. Through the affiliation with the University of Oxford and the Bodleian Library, both influential and well regarded institutions, it already conveyed the seriousness of its intent. This was amplified through the endorsement by OSPA, and by Dame Margery Perham, an important, well known and respected historian of the British Empire, and by having a former member of the Colonial Service as its director. Perhaps this context also reassured the donors that the kind of history written on the basis of their documents would be respectful to their side of the story. The BECM had to use a different strategy, since it could not rely on the venerability of its institution or on personal contacts. Instead, it prompted a national conversation by criticising how the history of the British Empire was being (or not being) told and, this way, was able to attract those who felt they wanted to contribute to their projected rewriting of his part of the nation's history. In the case of the Scottish Decolonisation Project, trust in the project was conveyed through the person of Susan Sym, who began by recruiting her personal contacts and heavily relied on the strategy of "snowballing" to find more contributors. Project Voices, finally, owes much of its legitimacy through OSPA's endorsement.

Oral History Methods and Materials

The presence of oral history interviews in a collection was a criterion for including it in this comparison. However, the oral history interviews are integrated differently into each collection and were conducted according to different principles. Therefore, it is useful to define what is meant by oral history, give some context on how it has been used by historians and social scientists in the past and present and on the different methods that can be used in the context of oral history interviewing. This will provide a frame of reference in which the comparison can take place.

Defining oral history is a complicated undertaking as there are more meanings to the term than it seems to have at first glance. While some definitions focus on the aspect of interviewing¹¹⁷ others not only include the process of interviewing but also the product of that interview¹¹⁸. Lynn Abrams for example writes:

¹¹⁷ For example: Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History. A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. (Walnut Creek 2005) 4. ; Patricia Leavy, *Oral History. Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford 2011) 4. And: Robert Perks, Alistair Thompson (Eds.), *The Oral History Reader*. (Third Edition, London / New York 2016) xii.

¹¹⁸ Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (Oxford 2003) 24.

“Oral history is a catch-all term applied to two things. It refers to the process of conducting and recording interviews with people in order to elicit information from them about the past. But an oral history is also the product of that interview, the narrative account of past events.”¹¹⁹

Nancy MacKay goes even further. She writes:

“I make a distinction between interview and oral history. An interview is a recorded question and answer session completed in a single sitting – a component of a completed oral history. An oral history is a 'package' which I call the intellectual unit: the interview or series of interviews supplemented with commentary, photos, timelines, clippings and other materials the oral historian includes to provide context.”¹²⁰

Abrams and MacKay refer to published oral histories in the second parts of their definitions, but they are also useful in the context of archival oral histories where the interviews, as it is the case with Project Voices, the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, and the OCRP, are supplemented by additional materials that add to the story told during the interview.

A short overview of how oral history began and the two different approaches it took will further help in contextualizing the four collections discussed below.¹²¹ In general, modern oral history practice began in the second half of the twentieth century when portable tape recorders became available after the Second World War. It was a response to a critical evaluation of the available sources and the limitations of these sources, but this evaluation was made by different people on either side of the Atlantic and lead to different conclusions and therefore different kinds of oral history.

In the United States¹²², oral history was established in the context of archival practice. Archivists had noticed that, even though the quantity of documents produced by the administrations they were in charge of was increasing, the quality of the information they contained was decreasing. In order to get a fuller picture of the inner workings of these administrations they resorted to complement the written documents with oral historical accounts. They focused on interviewing high ranking officials like generals or ambassadors who supposedly had a more general knowledge about the work in their respective administrations. Due to their background in archives, American oral historians were also very concerned about the preservation of the oral histories they were collecting and theorized about how to best transcribe them and make them available to the public.¹²³

In Britain, on the other hand, oral history developed in the context of social history. Here, the concern was with including into the historical record the voices of those, who had, until then, been excluded. Historians from the New Left, who made their political stance very clear, interviewed people from the

¹¹⁹ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Second Edition, London / New York 2016) 2.

¹²⁰ Nancy MacKay, *Curating Oral Histories. From Interview to Archive* (Walnut Creek 2007) 12f.

¹²¹ Summaries on the history of oral history are included in most Handbooks on Oral History. Here I draw on: Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*. ; Rebecca Sharpless, *The History of Oral History*. In: Thomas L. Carlton, Lois Myers, Rebecca Sharpless (Eds.), *History of Oral History. Foundations and Methodology* (Lanham 2007) 9-32. And: Ronald J. Grele, *Oral History as Evidence*. In: Thomas L. Carlton, Lois Myers, Rebecca Sharpless (Eds.), *History of Oral History. Foundations and Methodology* (Lanham 2007) 33-93.

¹²² For a detailed description of the history of oral history in the United States see: Sharpless, *The History of Oral History*.

¹²³ Grele, *Oral History as Evidence*, 35f.

working class and from minorities in order write a new kind of history.¹²⁴ In *The Voice of the Past* Paul Thompson sums the intent of this kind of oral history up as follows: "I myself believe that the richest possibilities for oral history lie within the development of a more socially conscious and democratic history."¹²⁵ This kind of oral history is still often used today, for example by feminist historians.

The question of who to interview, elites or non-elites, was central to oral history theory in the beginning, until new concerns, especially about the validity of oral sources as historical evidence and about memory, and, later, about methods of interpretation, took over the discipline¹²⁶. Of course, the divide between archival and elitist oral history in the U.S. and socialist oral history in Europe was not absolute and they have informed each other. More recent oral history theory has been concerned with questions of memory, self, narrative, power and empowerment and trauma¹²⁷.

If one looks closer at oral history interviews themselves it becomes clear that they can take many forms. It is especially social scientists, like Brinkmann and Leavy, who have defined and discussed different types of interviews. Typically, they are ranged on a scale from structured to unstructured interviews¹²⁸. In structured interviews the questions are standardized as to make the answers comparable across participants and to possibly make them quantifiable. On the other end of the spectrum, unstructured interviews try to avoid questions altogether as life story interviews do, for example. Semi-structured interviews are what is most often used in oral history. Here the interviewer does ask questions, but there is room for adaptation and the questions are often fit to the story the interviewee is telling.¹²⁹ Leavy includes one more step on the spectrum and distinguishes oral history, which she defines as an open ended form of collaboration or conversation around a topic of investigation with room to discuss a range of experiences, from in-depth interviews, which she defines as topic-focussed. The latter can include a larger pool of participants and are often shorter than oral history.¹³⁰ Historians generally think of a form of semi-structured or even unstructured interview when they talk about oral history.

In addition to the form of the interview and its content, the context in which it is created needs to be considered. Who are the interviewers? Are they specialists on the subject discussed in the interview or are they experienced interviewers with an acquired knowledge on the subject?¹³¹ Also: who are the interviewees? How were they recruited and how do they relate to each other and to the research topic at hand? If there is a sample of interviewees, how representative is it?¹³² And, what is the scope of the research project?

¹²⁴ Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 23f. And: Grele, *Oral History as Evidence*, 37f.

¹²⁵ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History* (Oxford 1978). x.

¹²⁶ For a recent overview on the theoretical concerns in oral history see: Abrams, *Oral History Theory*.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Svend Brinkmann, *Unstructured and Semi-Structured Interviewing*. In: Patricia Leavy (Ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford 2014) 277-299.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 286f.

¹³⁰ Leavy, *Oral History*, 12f.

¹³¹ Mary Larson, *Research Design and Strategies*. In: Thomas L. Carlton, Lois Myers, Rebecca Sharpless (Eds.), *History of Oral History. Foundations and Methodology* (Lanham 2007) 95-124, here 112f.

¹³² This question is discussed in depth for Project Voices in Chapter 2.

Archivists of oral history have stressed the need to document the context of the creation of interviews to be able to properly include them into their archives¹³³, but this is equally important as a source for those who wish to use an interview or a collection of them, that they have not created themselves. The following discussion will therefore be devoted to asking the questions posed above and to compare how they were answered by the different collections.

The Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project

From the very beginning, the OCRP's committee knew that it would be interesting to supplement the collected documents with recorded recollections. However, since the project's focus was the preservation of sources in danger of being destroyed, its first years were devoted mainly to collecting documents. The funding of the project was not sufficient to also cover an oral history programme. Aware of the fragility of memories, Jack Tawney still decided to start recording the conversations he had with prospective donors when he visited them to assess their donations. He did this in an informal manner at first, before the development of a coherent oral history programme¹³⁴. Since Pugh mentions them in her article it is probable that Tawney's recordings are being kept with the other documents but it is impossible to verify from the catalogue.

Tawney's awareness of the importance of this kind of material is reflected in a text he wrote in 1968 where he recognizes the potential of oral history in answering new questions posed in colonial studies and in providing additional information on the available archival documents. He writes:

“Inevitably the thought emerges that something of value may have been missed, some stone on which to found a valuable new exercise in scholarship, some candle to lighten with truth a shadowy corner of speculation. And inevitably this turns the enquirer's thought beyond the written word, to the knowledge and experience locked up in men's minds. [...] in the field of oral history, with its pitfalls of unreliable memories to be balanced against the recreative properties of verbal discussion, there are great possibilities, not least though the ability of knowledgeable questioners and careful preparation to elicit information on specific matters in any chosen field.”¹³⁵

Funds from the Pilgrim Trust allowed the OCRP to establish an official oral history programme. This was focussed on prominent persons in and around the Colonial Service and Colonial Office, for example governors and politicians.¹³⁶ They employed an unknown number of interviewers who were selected for their expertise in the field that was to be discussed in the interview. The questions were carefully prepared before each interview and were specific to each interviewee. In some cases, they chose to experiment with unusual interview formats, for example when a former critic of the interviewee was selected as interviewer, or when more persons who had been involved in the same historical event, were asked to discuss their respective roles with expert historians at a round table.¹³⁷

Apparently without being aware of this, as it is not mentioned in the sources, the OCRP's oral history

¹³³ Fogerty, *Oral History and Archives*.

¹³⁴ Pugh, *Oxford Colonial Records Project*, 80.

¹³⁵ Tawney, *Personal Thoughts*, 349f.

¹³⁶ Leese, *Oxford Colonial Records Project*, 218.

¹³⁷ Pugh, *Oxford Colonial Records Project*, 80.

programme resembled the early American oral history programmes both in its concern for supplementing the archival documents they were collecting with oral accounts, and in choosing to interview high ranking officials who had played prominent roles in historical events. Tawney also mentions the unreliability of memory which is a great concern in oral history theory.

Unfortunately, many details of the OCRP's oral history programme are unknown as the available sources only briefly mention it. A visit to the Bodleian Library, where the interviews are kept along all other documents collected by the project, would be necessary to gain a better understanding of the oral histories kept here. As they are not listed in any of the sources, the format of the interviews, and especially the questions asked, can only be known by listening to the interviews or reading the transcripts if there are any available. Unfortunately, the interviews are difficult to find, reflecting difficulties in the cataloguing of oral history materials in many archives and libraries.¹³⁸

A similar scarcity of detailed sources on the oral history programme of the BECM explains the briefness of the following discussion.

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Collection

In distinction to the OCRP, oral history was the starting point for the BECM's collection. Little has been published on the actual interviewing process, the methods used in collecting the many hours of interviews, or on the interviewers and the questions that were asked. Since the interviews, along with most of the remaining collections, are still being processed by the Bristol Archives, they cannot be accessed. Hopefully, once they have been catalogued, they will be made available online like the photograph collection.

What can be gathered from the 2006 prospectus is that at that point the BECM had around 1000 interviews amounting to around 7000 hours of recorded sound. Unlike that of the OCRP, this oral history programme included people from many different backgrounds with many different connections to the British Empire and Commonwealth. 70% of interviewees are Europeans, the other 30% come from parts of the former Empire. However, when the prospectus was published, only 50% of the interview's content was logged and only 200 interviews had been fully transcribed. The interviews are stored on cassettes (85%), and minidiscs and CDs (15%).¹³⁹ Tables showing the interviews broken down by occupation, territory and decade¹⁴⁰ give an idea of the contents of the collection. Most interviewees' occupation was in the administration or the military. Many interviewees had spent their childhood in the Empire or had been the wives of those who worked in it. The most represented territories are India, Nigeria, Kenya, Malaysia and Tanzania corresponding to the highest staffed colonies in the British Empire. Finally, if the table breaking down the interviewees by decade means the decade of their time in the Empire, the most represented decades are the

¹³⁸ See: *Fogerty*, Oral History and Archives. And: *Boyd*, Oral History Archives.

¹³⁹ *Duffy*, Prospectus, 33.

¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately it is not clear if these tables include the whole collection, only parts of the collection and if so, what parts.

1940s and 1950s with a fair share of interviewees in the 1920s and 30s and the 1960s.¹⁴¹

Also in contrast to the OCRP oral history project, the aim of this collection went beyond providing source material to researchers. As a museum they used them in exhibitions and they even had a radio station broadcasting the material. In fact, the use of audio-visual material was key in the BECM's museography.¹⁴² The intended audience for the interviews, therefore, was as varied as the interviewees and included schoolchildren and interested adults as well as researchers. Along with the collection criteria, the oral history programme first was fairly broad, and later focused on specific areas of interest like the administration of Empire or the Palestine Mandate. With over 2000 interviews¹⁴³, of the four collections discussed here, the BECM definitely assembled the largest collection of interviews.

The Scottish Decolonisation Project

The Scottish Decolonisation Project was a pure oral history project and did not collect other kinds of sources. All interviews were conducted by Susan Sym over the course of several years. She also was the one responsible for finding suitable interviewees. Bryan Glass, who used the interviews from the project for his book *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*¹⁴⁴ includes a list of the questions asked during the interviews in his appendix. This list is reproduced in Appendix 3.

Glass's list attributes some of the questions to Christopher Platt and Patrick Cadell, but most of them come from Sym. They cover a wide range of topics. Platt's questions are mostly related to the interviewee's career and achievements, Cadell's are about how the interviewees assumed locals thought of decolonisation. As Keeper of Records, one of his questions is also if the interviewee would like to donate any papers to the archive to preserve them for posterity. Many of Sym's questions are about daily life in the colony. She also asks about attitudes toward independence and the social environment at the time as well as about the relationship between the local- and the ex-patriot population. None of the questions is directly related to the interviewee's career after independence. It is unclear if all the questions listed by Glass were asked in each interview, which seems unlikely, or if they are guidelines Sym followed loosely. As the project interviewed a wide range of people, from members of the Colonial Service and the Indian Civil Service and their wives, to diplomats, journalists, businesspeople and NGO workers, the questions would have had to be adapted to the individual narratives in any case.

While Project Voices for example aimed to avoid leading questions that already contained assumptions as far as possible, the questions cited by Glass seem to suggest, that this was not taken into account by the Scottish Decolonisation Project. Examples of such leading questions include:

¹⁴¹ Duffy, Prospectus, 33f.

¹⁴² Griffiths, Presenting Unwanted Histories. From Min: 26:00. Information about the museum's radio station from Min: 50:00.

¹⁴³ Bristol Museums Galleries Archives. British Empire and Commonwealth Collection, online under <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/narratives.php?irn=8786> (15.03.2019).

¹⁴⁴ Glass, *The Scottish Nation at Empire's End*.

“Were all the decision makers British?” or “Did you ever do your own cooking?”.

Similar to the OCPR, this oral history collection was created in an archival context. However, it includes a wider range of people and is not explicitly focused on interviewing the elites. The interview practice seems close to the semi-structured interviewing used by many oral historians as the questions are largely open and do not seem to adhere to a strict sequence. As an interviewer, Sym was an insider in that she knew about life in the colonies either from her own experience or from that of her father. As many of the interviewees were either direct contacts of hers or recruited by such direct contacts, she was known to them¹⁴⁵, which might have been the reason why, as Cadell writes: “[she] developed an impressive ability in wringing answers out of old and often stubborn men.”¹⁴⁶

Project Voices

Project Voices differs from the other three collections in its interviewing methods¹⁴⁷. The main interviewing phase of Project Voices took place between March 2017 and April 2018. Before this, Seidler conducted ten preliminary interviews between April and June 2016. These interviews aimed at gaining an initial understanding of the Colonial Service, its members and the kind of stories they would be willing to share. The preliminary interviews also served as a starting point for the development of the interview questionnaire used in the following interviews. They were mostly unstructured by design. Only few questions were asked and the interview was guided by the officer's own narrative which means that they closely resemble oral histories as defined by Leavy¹⁴⁸. This changed in the main Project Voices interviews in which Seidler used a more structured questionnaire to build a comparable body of knowledge around his specific research interest using more structured interviews.¹⁴⁹

For the main interviewing phase, Seidler recruited a small team of interviewers, myself among them. Interviewers were students of global history who were recruited in a course on comparative empire studies given by Prof. Peter Becker at the University of Vienna¹⁵⁰. The main selection criteria for interviewers were proficiency in the English language, as the interviews were naturally going to be in English, and interest in the subject at hand. None of the interviewers had any expert knowledge about the Colonial Service prior to being recruited. Seidler introduced the interviewers to the project, its goals and his own research interests, and over the course of a few workshops familiarized the students with the Colonial Service and its structures as well as on oral history procedures and interviewing techniques, especially in the kind of structured interview that was going to be used. By

¹⁴⁵ The insider/outsider status of interviewers is pertinently discussed here: Alessandro *Portelli*, *Oral History as a Genre*. In: Mary *Chamberlain*, Paul *Thompson* (Eds.), *Narrative and Genre* (London / New York 1998) 23-45.

¹⁴⁶ *The Overseas Pensioner*. Spring 1999, 63.

¹⁴⁷ I was one of the leading interviewers for Project Voices. The following account therefore partially draws on my own impressions.

¹⁴⁸ *Leavy*, *Oral History*, 11-14.

¹⁴⁹ *Brinkmann*, *Unstructured and Semi-structured interviewing*, 285f.

¹⁵⁰ The interviewers were, sorted by the number of interviews conducted: Edurne Laia Kugeler, Clara Easthill, Julia Heyer, Victoria Thoma and Miriam Plangger.

using peer monitoring a high degree of uniformity in style and questioning as well as in the overall quality of the interviews was ensured. Students had to observe and evaluate a first interview conducted by Seidler himself before their own first interview. This one in turn was observed by Seidler or by another experienced interviewer. After this interview suggestions were made on how to improve. Interviewers used spelling sheets and biography sheets¹⁵¹ in addition to the questionnaire to keep track of difficult terms, proper names and career moves.

Another student was in charge of communicating with the officers and arranging the dates for their interviews. Details the officer had provided about himself prior to the interview were entered into a so-called "Profile Sheet"¹⁵² which was forwarded, along with the date of the interview, to the interviewer. In advance of the interview, officers were given preliminary information about the process in the form of an interview guide detailing the themes that were going to be discussed during the interview so he could prepare. In some cases, the officer sent biographic materials that he wished the interviewer to look at before the interview. These could include autobiographies, photographs, previous interviews or detailed CVs.

Most officers were interviewed over the phone. To retain a scientific standard, interviewers and interviewees were not allowed to see each other even if this could have been possible over Skype. This way the interview conditions were the same in every case. In the few cases where phone interviews were not possible (e.g. because of hearing problems), the interviewees were sent a questionnaire, either via email or by post, that they could fill out themselves. This questionnaire is a simplified version of the one used in the phone interviews that is described below.¹⁵³

As these are structured interviews, as opposed to more open interview formats which are restricted to only a few questions, they follow a long and elaborate questionnaire containing almost 80 questions. A mixed methods approach is used, combining open questions ("grand narratives", see below) with questions aimed at collecting quantifiable data (e.g. "rating questions", below). This allows the extraction of comparable and quantifiable data as well as the recording of general anecdotes and memories the officers want to share. The questionnaire is divided into five parts and follows a typical career path in roughly chronological order. The interviewers stuck to the questionnaire as closely as possible. While the order the questions were asked in was not important in itself, they had to make sure, all questions were asked. In my experience I found that following the order of the questionnaire worked well in most cases. If the officer anticipated some questions I would either refer him to a later point in the interview when I would ask about his, or ask him to tell me more about it when I got to the question, referencing the information I had been given earlier on. My colleagues might have had different approaches. I felt like adhering to the chronological order made it easier for the officer to construct his narrative around the questions. While this interviewing method allows the gathering of comparable data and comparable narratives in addition to this, it

¹⁵¹ All materials included in Appendix 2.

¹⁵² A model Profile Sheet is included in Appendix 2.

¹⁵³ Both questionnaires are included in Appendix 2.

limits the spontaneity of the officer's memory and even though the questionnaire includes a few parts that allow for relatively open narrative, some interesting anecdotes might have been lost because of the questionnaire. The following discussion of the different parts of the interview questionnaire will give a more detailed idea of the kind of information that was gathered by Project Voices.

The first part of the interview is devoted to introducing the interview procedure to the officer. He is asked whether he wants to remain anonymous or have his name published and why he decided to take part in the project. The answers to this question alone are already very interesting and highlight how the officers perceive their own part in 'history'. Some general details like the full name (if the officer wants to give it), nationality, place of birth and date of birth, are then collected for the record as well as the year they entered and the year they retired from the colonial service.

The second part, in many cases, is the longest part of the interview. In it, the officer is asked about his education and background, his recruitment to the Colonial Service and his subsequent career. The part about his education includes questions about the schools he went to, and if he thinks that there was a connection between schools and the services chosen by later recruits. Some questions concern the military service or national service of the officer. An important part is the one about recruitment where the officer is asked about the steps involved and if he was able to choose or influence the territory he was going to be sent to. Answers to these questions provide interesting information about the recruitment process for the Colonial Service in general, about how it was adapted to each service, and even about how it changed over time. It is also in this part where the first of a number of 'rating questions' is asked. With 'rating questions' the officer is asked to rate his experience or the importance he gives to a particular topic on a scale from one to ten. In this case, the question is about how satisfied he was with the colony he had been assigned to when he first heard about it. Included in this part is also the first 'grand narrative' about the officer's career in the Colonial Service. This means that here, the interview reverts into more of an oral history narrative and the officer is encouraged to talk at length about his experience. Meanwhile the interviewer records all the steps of the officer's career she can make out from this first narration on the 'Biography Sheet'. Depending on the officer this can be a more or less difficult task. However, the officer is generally not interrupted until he finishes his narrative for it is here that officers often tell interesting anecdotes that would otherwise be lost. If some of the career steps remain unclear, these are asked for after he is finished with his account. If the interviewer felt that a clarification during the interview was not possible, she emailed her questions or doubts to the officer after the interview and completed this data then. This way it was possible to combine quantifiable data (the career steps and how long it took for every promotion) with a qualitative narration which contains many valuable and interesting insights into the daily work of these colonial servants.

The third part of the interview is devoted to Seidler's own research interest and the questions are

therefore more detailed than someone interested in the work of colonial officers from a purely historical perspective might expect them to be. It concerns the officer's role in preparations for independence. Questions related to how independence influenced the officer's work and how preparations for independence were perceived by him are asked here. Questions also touch on how local personnel was trained and how they coped with imported British structures. In general, this third part aims at identifying those officers that Seidler calls 'tailors'¹⁵⁴. A second 'grand narrative' part is devoted to those who have been identified as tailors. As my own experience showed, this part was sometimes somewhat difficult to convey to the officer. As I explained above, the questions relate to a very specific research interest, and it was not always easy for the officer to understand what was being asked of him. Therefore, this part had to be adapted and revised a few times in order to make it work.

The fourth part of the interview is concerned with family and social life in the colony. Here, the officer is asked if he was married and had children while in the colonial service and what kinds of arrangements he made for his children's education, if he had them. Some officers here went into quite some detail about what they think their wives' lives were like. This part also covers his private social life of duties. Many tell stories of the club at this point and about playing sports or dining with other members of the Service. Much information can be gathered from these stories, that vary in length, depending on the officer, for example about the relationship between expatriates and the local population. Not all officers, however, experienced this kind of social life, a notable exception being John Hare who was stationed in a very remote district in Northern Nigeria and reports that for him, there was no distinction between duty and private life.¹⁵⁵ Here, officers are also asked if they were able to speak a local language and if so, how they learned it. Very interesting anecdotes about speaking and learning local languages are therefore to be found in this part as well.

The fifth and final part of the interview is about independence and retiring. Due to their late entry into the Colonial Service, that I will further discuss in the following chapter, all officers who participated in Project Voices saw independence in at least one territory. Some of them stayed on in the independent country after independence, others retired. The reasons for choosing one or the other are the main theme of this part of the interview. Some questions also go into detail about compensation payments for loss of career and the details offered therein. If the officer remained in the independent country he is also asked about possible changes, both generally and within the Civil Service. Some of the data gathered in this part has already been used by Seidler in his most recent article.¹⁵⁶

Like the first question about the reasons for taking part in the Project, the very last question also gives interesting insights into the officer's perception of themselves and the work they did in the Colonial Service: "What would you see as the biggest success in your career with the colonial

¹⁵⁴ Seidler, *Colonial Bureaucrats*, 155-172.

¹⁵⁵ John Hare, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 5. June 2017, PV-040.

¹⁵⁶ Seidler: *Copying Informal Institutions*.

service?”

After this, the interviewer goes through specific terms and proper names that came up during the interview using the 'Spelling Sheet', and ends transcription. After the end of transcription, the officer is asked if he knows any former colleagues who might also be interested in participating. The project recruited a few new contacts this way, especially among the close knit community of ex-officers in Hong Kong. Officers were also asked if they had any documents they might want to share in addition to their interview. This is how most additional documents in the collection were assembled.

Immediately after the interview we filled the data we just collected into an Excel data sheet and informed the project coordinator whether the officer had promised any material or if he had named any former colleagues. She would then follow up on this.

The interview stops at the officer's retirement from the Colonial Service or the Civil Service of the country he served in after independence. His career after this is sometimes mentioned in the interview or the additional documents he provided, but it is not part of the interview as such.

Also note that even though the questionnaire was very carefully crafted to avoid leading questions of any kind, through the experience gained by interviewing it sometimes became clear that some of the questions contained assumptions about the proceedings of the service that were not applicable to the experiences of each officer. Some, for example, already knew the colony they were going to go to because it was specified in the announcement of the vacancy they had replied to. Question 20 “Could you choose or otherwise influence in which colony you would serve? If so please describe the process.” did not apply in this case and had to be modified by the interviewer in order to fit the information she had already been given by the officer. A great deal of concentration was therefore required when interviewing, because sticking to the questions too much when they obviously did not fit the officer's experience, could be considered rude or inconsiderate by the interviewee who would then become reluctant to share his memories.

Conclusions

Comparing and contrasting these four oral history programmes on the Colonial Service reveals differences and can help understand and contextualize the different approaches used.

First, the position of the oral history programme within the larger context of the collection varies. Project Voices and the Scottish Decolonisation Project started as oral history projects who are mainly devoted to the collection of interviews. The collections of the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum also started with the recordings of oral history materials. However, the museum also actively sought, and was able to accommodate, other types of documents that could speak about the history of the British Empire and Commonwealth in their own way. These documents provide a context for the oral history recordings that goes beyond the inclusion of materials provided by the interviewees themselves. For the collections of the OCRP and the ODRP this is even more the case. Even though the inclusion of oral history was deemed a valuable addition to the collections, collecting

was mainly focussed on archival documents and the oral history programme remained relatively small in this case. The relative size of each oral history programme is of course linked to the general collection criteria discussed above.

The collection criteria and the collection practice also influenced which interviewees were approached and who finally contributed to the collections. While not a lot of information is available about this point for the BECM's oral history collection, information given in the prospectus suggests that interviewees were of many different backgrounds and representative of many kinds of experiences abroad. The OCRP's oral history programme on the other hand, was more focused on interviewing persons who had played key roles in deciding official British Empire policy, and the course it would take. Their status as a prestigious project located at Oxford and headed by well-known and influential historians of the British Empire was key to granting the collectors access to former governors, high standing officials of the Colonial Office and influential diplomats. Other collections, like the Scottish Decolonisation Project or Project Voices did not have this kind of access and could not have included such persons in their collections. The focus of the Scottish Decolonisation Project and Project Voices on less high ranking members of the Colonial Service, and of other services as well as persons outside the service in the case of the Scottish Decolonisation Project, was not, however, due to their inability to find higher ranking interviewees. On the contrary, it was a deliberate choice and focal point for the collections who wanted to include the stories of persons that had not been previously recorded. Especially in the case of Project Voices the focus on more junior members of the Colonial Service must be seen in the context of an understanding of history that acknowledges the roles of the actors who, on the one hand, were charged with implementing the policies decided on by their superiors, but who, at the same time, had a lot of room to interpret these policies in the adaptation to the specific circumstances they encountered, and therefore made a difference on the local level.

While the choice of interviewees is very much influenced by both the collection criteria and the availability of different kinds of interviewees, the actual method and practice used for the interviews depends on a different set of factors. The most important factors are of course the aim and goals of each oral history programme, but some external factors, like the availability of funding, of interviewers and of access to the interviewees also influence the interviewing practice. The OCRP oral history project's aim was to complement the sources they had already collected and each interviewee was considered to be an expert on a particular event or had been involved in preparations of a specific event, which is why they were chosen to be interviewed in the first place. Since the interest was in specific events, it makes sense that questions were tailored to the respective interviewee. This specific interest was also highlighted by the choice of particular interviewers who are experts on the subject the interviewee was going to be asked about. Project Voices chose a very different approach to interviewing. They very closely followed a structured questionnaire that was fixed and used in every interview. This allowed the inclusion of questions aimed at collecting quantitative data makes it

possible to easily compare the interviews. The Scottish Decolonisation Project's method can probably be located somewhere between these two. They used a semi-structured questionnaire which provided a guideline for interviewing, but could easily be adapted to each individual interview. The methods used by the BECM for their oral history programme are not presented in the sources available to me and can therefore not be compared here.

What is a common trait of all these oral history programmes, albeit not equally distinct, is that the interviews are not made by individual historians considering them to be the first step in a process that would eventually lead to a historiographical publication, but by archivists, librarians and museologists who wanted to create sources that could be made available to researchers other than themselves. In the case of the BECM, they were even intended for a general public of museum-goers.

Chapter 2 - The Project Voices Interviews Compared to the Colonial Service in General

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a more detailed understanding of the content of the Project Voices interviews in the context of the Colonial Service by determining how representative the interviewees of Project Voices are in relation to it. This should shed light on potential biases in the collection and improve the collection's usability for scholars.

As I explained in the previous chapter, the structured nature of the interviews permits a descriptive statistical analysis, because all officers answered the same set of questions and their answers were codified immediately after the interview¹⁵⁷. I put this data into relation with the composition of the whole Colonial Service in the mid 20th century, by using biographical data on members of the Colonial Service that was published annually by the Colonial Office in London in the form of the *Colonial Office List*. Entries between 1939 and 1966 were assembled by Kirk-Greene in 1991 and digitized by Seidler in 2015¹⁵⁸. The resulting 14,200 entries are probably the most complete set of biographical information available on members of the Colonial Service as the personnel files kept by the Colonial Office are either inaccessible or have been destroyed.¹⁵⁹ However, not every single officer in the Colonial Service was included in the *Colonial Office List*, nor was every piece of information about them. The first part of this chapter will therefore be devoted to discussing the possibilities and limitations of the biographical entries dataset. I will include a comparison of the dates of first positing of officers with biographical entries and Project Voices interviewees which will demonstrate where the two sets of data overlap, where they do not, and why.

The following two sections of the chapter are devoted to comparing specific variables from the two sets of data. The first section is devoted to career related variables. First I look at the distribution of officers among the different branches of the Colonial Service. Then I compare how the officers were distributed among the colonies of which the Colonial Office was in charge. In the second section I compare non career related variables. These include officers' educational backgrounds, their national origins, where I look at officers from the Dominions and at officers with non-British and non-Dominion origins, and their gender, where I reflect on the absence of women in Project Voices.

In order to meaningfully contextualize and interpret the data, I begin the discussion of each variable by positioning it in the context of Colonial Service history. These contextualizations heavily rely on Anthony Kirk-Greene's seminal work about the Colonial Service. He compiled the biographical entries from the Colonial Office Lists into the *Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Service from*

¹⁵⁷ Note that the ten unstructured interviews Seidler made in the early stages of Project Voices are not considered in this chapter.

¹⁵⁸ The level of codification of the data used in this chapter reflects its status as of July 2018.

¹⁵⁹ *Kirk-Greene, Biographical Dictionary*, xv.

1939-1966¹⁶⁰ which is the basis for the dataset of biographical entries I use in this chapter. In the introduction to this *Dictionary* Kirk-Greene provides detailed information on this source, on which I draw for the first part of this chapter. Another important source is his history of the British Colonial Service which is the only comprehensive history of this institution¹⁶¹. In it, he presents the history of the Colonial Service from an administrative perspective centred at the Colonial Office in London. It gives a comprehensive account of how the Service was structured, how recruitment worked and how it evolved over time. Kirk-Greene does not go as far as providing an interpretation of the effects the Colonial Service had on the territories it worked in, nor does he discuss its place in the broader picture of British imperialism. A series of Kirk-Greene's other publications provide additional information on more specific subjects¹⁶². As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, Kirk-Greene had been a member of the Colonial Service before he became its historian¹⁶³, and he was the director of the ODRP until it ended. This gave him both a unique insight into the available sources and an insider's perspective when portraying the service. It may also have resulted in him being less critical about its role than others might have been.

In general, many important studies on the Colonial Service or parts of it have been written by former members of the Service or by employees of the Colonial Office. By this I do not mean the many memoirs written by former colonial officers about their experiences in the field¹⁶⁴ as they often only cover one specific geographical area, as well as one specific service. As useful as they are as sources in this respect, they don't provide any information on the workings of the Colonial Service as a whole, which is what this chapter is about. Memoirs and other writings by high ranking and influential officials in the Colonial Office on the other hand, tend to have a more general perspective and often consider the whole Service. The autobiography of Sir Ralph Furse, who was head of recruitment at the Colonial Office for the first half of the 20th century¹⁶⁵ for example, provides a detailed account of the system of recruitment he devised for staffing the Colonial Service and discloses his reflections and motivations behind it. Charles Jeffries who was Deputy Under Secretary of State to the Colonial Office also published a number of useful books on the Colonial Service from a Colonial Office perspective. They provide context, precise descriptions of the different parts that make up the complicated entity that is the Colonial Service as well as useful data on different aspects of it¹⁶⁶. Even more than Kirk-

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service*.

¹⁶² On the Administrative Service, see: *Kirk-Greene, Britain's Imperial Administrators*. And more specifically on the role of District Officers in Africa: *Anthony Kirk-Greene, Symbol of Authority. The British District Officer in Africa* (London / New York 2006). Note also the following articles on the size of the Colonial Service: *Anthony Kirk-Greene, The Thin White Line. The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa*. In: *African Affairs* 79/314 (1980) 25-44. And on the establishment of the Dominions Selection Scheme in Canada: *Anthony Kirk-Greene, Taking Canada into Partnership in "The White Man's Burden"*. *The British Colonial Service and the Dominion Selection Scheme of 1923*. In: *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 15/1 (1981) 33-46.

¹⁶³ See his biographical entry below.

¹⁶⁴ Kirk-Greene provides a useful bibliography of such memoirs: *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service*, 144-150.

¹⁶⁵ *Ralph Furse, Aucuparius. Recollections of a Recruitment Officer* (London 1962).

¹⁶⁶ See: *Jeffries, Partners for Progress*. ; *Charles Jeffries, The Colonial Police* (London 1952). ; *Charles Jeffries, The Colonial Office* (London 1956). And: *Charles Jeffries, Whitehall and the Colonial Service. An Administrative Memoir, 1939-1956* (London 1972).

Greene's studies, these texts come from an insider's perspective and reflect a mostly positive disposition towards the Colonial Service and the idea of Empire in general that has to be taken into consideration.

There are, of course, valuable contributions to the study of the Colonial Service by scholars who have no personal connection to it. These are often devoted to a particular aspect of the history of the service. Most useful among them, because they consider the whole Colonial Service, have been two recent studies by David Millar¹⁶⁷ and Chris Jeppesen¹⁶⁸ on the Dominions Selection Scheme in New Zealand, and strategies of recruitment to the Service after the Second World War respectively. Another interesting, albeit older and sometimes flawed¹⁶⁹, study on the ideas and preconceptions guiding recruitment during the interwar years, is Robert Heussler's *Yesterday's Rulers*¹⁷⁰.

Compared to other parts of the Colonial Service, the position of women within it has gotten a fair amount of scholarly attention, especially from feminist scholars. Margaret Strobel's *European Women and the Second British Empire*¹⁷¹ and Hellen Callaway's *Gender, Culture and Empire*¹⁷² provide good introductions to the positions of all kinds of women in the empire, including, of course, professional women in the Colonial Service. Pat Holden's study on Women Administrative Officers in Colonial Africa which was published by the Oxford Development Records Project is more directly devoted to women in the Colonial Service¹⁷³.

Some publications on specific services have also been helpful in supplementing details. These are Joseph Hodge's *Triumph of the Expert*¹⁷⁴ and Sabine Clarke's *A Technocratic Imperial State?*¹⁷⁵ about the technical services and David Anderson's *Policing and Decolonisation*¹⁷⁶ about the Police Service.

The Dataset of Biographical Entries from the *Colonial Office List*

As has been mentioned in the introduction, the data I use to represent the Colonial Service is taken from the biographical entries which were published in the *Colonial Office List* from 1939 to 1966. They were collected by Anthony Kirk-Greene and with the help of his wife, he compiled them into his

¹⁶⁷ Daniel F. Millar, New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service. C. 1920-1970. In: New Zealand Journal of History 52/2 (2018) 1-22.

¹⁶⁸ 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. In: The Historical Journal 59/2 (2016) 469-508.

¹⁶⁹ Heussler's description of the British elite education system coming from his perspective as an American sometimes borders on the stereotypical. Both John MacPherson and Margery Perham comment on his focus on class in the Foreword and Introduction respectively. See also: Jeppesen, Sanders of the River, 472.

¹⁷⁰ Robert Heussler, Yesterday's rulers. The making of the British Colonial Service. (Syracuse 1963).

¹⁷¹ Margaret Strobel, European Women and the Second British Empire (Bloomington / Indianapolis 1991).

¹⁷² Helen Callaway, Gender, Culture and Empire. European Women in Colonial Nigeria (Urbana / Chicago 1987).

¹⁷³ Pat Holden, Women Administrative Officers in Colonial Africa, 1944-1960 (ODPR Report No.5, Oxford 1985).

¹⁷⁴ Joseph Morgan Hodge, Triumph of the expert. Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism (Athens, Ohio 2017).

¹⁷⁵ Sabine Clarke, A Technocratic Imperial State? The Colonial Office and Scientific Research, 1940-1960. In: Twentieth Century British History 18/4 (2007) 453-480.

¹⁷⁶ David Anderson, David Killingray (Eds.), Policing and Decolonisation. Politics, Nationalism and the Police, 1917-1965 (Manchester 1992).

*Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Service*¹⁷⁷. In 2015 they were digitized, codified and put into a machine-readable and therefore easily searchable database by Seidler at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. Even though the dataset has not yet been published in full, I was kindly allowed to use it for this thesis.

For some context on this source, it is useful to look at the *Colonial Office List*¹⁷⁸ of which the biographical entries were an important, but not the only part. It appeared annually for a little more than 100 years, from 1862 to 1966, except in the war years of 1941 to 1945 and in 1947 due to paper shortages. The establishment of Harrison and Sons printed it before 1919, then it was handled by Waterlow and Sons until 1940. After the War, HMSO took over and published the *List* until the end of the Colonial Office in 1966.

Typically, it was composed of four parts. The first part contained a description of the Colonial Office, the Crown Agents and other institutions who were concerned with colonial affairs. Generally, this made up around 10% of the volume. The second part contained detailed information about each territory under the Colonial Office's control, including information about their history, some statistics, the names of all their governors and of the current senior staff. However, the last item about the current senior staff could be rather unreliable as it was not always up to date. It also contained, except in 1952 and 1953, the list of names of those working in the Colonial Office. This second part made up around 50% of the volume. The biographical entries of the members of the Colonial Service that form the basis of our dataset were included in the third part of the *List* under the title *Record of Services*. This section varied in length between 1948 and 1966 due to the growing numbers of staff in the Colonial Service and to the restrictions imposed on the length or inclusion of these entries after 1948, which I am going to come back to. Generally, however, it made up around 30% of the volume. Finally, the fourth part contained lists of parliamentary and non-parliamentary papers that had been published on colonial affairs. Until 1951 this was a cumulative list, after 1951 it only included the publications from the previous year. It also included a general map, a brief general index and, from 1950 onwards, a chart on the differences between local and Greenwich Mean Time. A fifth part, containing the Colonial Regulations, was not included in most post-war *Lists*. Maps were also cut out after the war and published collectively as *The Colonial List Map Supplement* in 1948.¹⁷⁹ Only few libraries conserve a complete set of the *Colonial Office List*¹⁸⁰ and only some issues from the 19th century have been digitized and are available online¹⁸¹. Therefore, Kirk-Greene's compilation

¹⁷⁷ Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary.

¹⁷⁸ As this chapter is exclusively about the Colonial Office List and does not mention other kinds of territorial staff- or service lists, I will heretofore refer to it simply as *List*.

¹⁷⁹ Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary, ix.

¹⁸⁰ For more information see: Anthony Kirk-Greene, Colonial Service Biographical Data. The Published Sources. In: African Research and Documentation 46 (1988) 2-16. And: Anthony Kirk-Greene, The Location of Colonial Staff and Civil Service Lists in British Libraries. Preliminary Checklist. In: African Research and Documentation 73 (1997) 8-29.

¹⁸¹ Only a few very early issues are fully available on Google Books.

https://books.google.lu/books?id=CtgNAAAAQAAJ&dq=the+colonial+office+list&hl=de&source=gbs_navlinks_s

(15.03.2019).

and, based on it, Seidler's digital dataset, provide a unique opportunity to find biographical information on members of the Colonial Service collected in one place and ready to use. Even though the *Record of Service* was included in the *List* right from the beginning, both Kirk-Greene and Seidler only go back as far as 1939. To include all entries starting from 1856 would have surpassed the scope of Kirk-Greene's undertaking. He started in 1939, which was the only way he could include personnel serving in Ceylon and Palestine, who gained their independence in 1948. Starting in 1939 also allowed him to include many officers who had joined the service in the 1920s and 1930s and who, for any number of reasons, were no longer serving in 1948 which was the first year biographical entries were included in the post-war *List*.¹⁸² Kirk-Greene's main reason for not including the pre-1939 entries in the dictionary was that their form and content was only regulated after 1948 which makes them easier to handle and codify.¹⁸³ Since the first Project Voices interviewees had entered the service in 1946, the exclusion of previous data does not make a difference for this comparison in any case.

It is also necessary to note, that neither the *Dictionary* nor the dataset include every single biographical entry that was published in the *List*. Once an officer qualified for entry in the *List*, his or her entry was republished in every *List* until their retirement, and even longer in the case of governors, who continued to be included even after their retirement¹⁸⁴. For the *Dictionary*, Kirk-Greene decided to only include each officer's last entry, working backwards from the 1966 *List* to gather them. An officer's last entry contains the most information about his or her career as well as the retirement year, yet, as a rule it is also very condensed as the large number of officers who were included in the *List* in the 1960s meant that printing space had to be managed carefully which makes some entries hard to read, especially for scholars who are unfamiliar with the abbreviations they used.¹⁸⁵ This selection is the basis for Seidler's database.

Also, the *Record of Service* was not included in every *Colonial Service List*. In our time frame of 1939-1966 it did not appear in the war years of 1941-1945 and in 1947 when the *List* itself was not published due to paper shortages. It was also not included in the 1946 *List*, nor in that of 1952. That year the HMSO insisted that the biographical entries should be cut, because paper was still in short supply. It was only due to the insistence of the Colonial Office that the biographical entries were reinstated in 1953, albeit very reduced¹⁸⁶. The post-war shortages, in combination with the expansion of the Colonial Service during this period, explains the gradual reduction of information included in the entries, which I am going to turn to now.

Before the war, the *List* included all officers of the Colonial Service who were recruited by the Colonial Office, including most, but not all, officers in junior ranks. Here, junior rank refers to the entry level

¹⁸² Kirk-Greene, *Biographical Dictionary*, xvi.

¹⁸³ For a more detailed list of reasons see: Seidler, *Institutional Copying in the 20th Century*, 114f.

¹⁸⁴ Kirk-Greene, *Biographical Dictionary*, x.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, xiv.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, x.

positions of those officers who were recruited by the Colonial Office. A few words on the general structure of the Colonial Service are necessary at this point. Generally, the Service was comprised by five grades: the Subordinate Service, the Clerical, Sub-Clerical Grades and analogous Grades, and the Artisan and Technician Grades were normally staffed by local personnel. The remaining Grades, namely the Technical- and the Administrative and Professional Grades, were staffed by expatriates¹⁸⁷. As Adu explains in his *The Civil Service in New African States*, the division between posts that were, and could be, filled by expatriates and those that were filled by local personnel was marked by a division into senior and junior service posts. He explains that, even though this division mostly followed the lines set by the grade system, in fact, all posts held by Europeans were effectively considered to be senior posts, without regarding their actual function. This went as far as describing those few local people who were appointed to senior posts as “Africans holding European posts”¹⁸⁸. After the war, in the context of new policies established in 1954¹⁸⁹ aimed at creating equality between expatriate and local staff in sight of preparing the colonies for self government, programs of Africanization or localization of senior posts started to be seriously implemented, and it is at this point that we see local personnel taking over senior positions. Note that local personnel in the lower grades was never included in the *Colonial Office Lists* nor in the regional Staff Lists.

The *Lists* therefore only included the most senior ranks of the service, typically held by Europeans until the 1950s. It therefore represented only a small fraction of the whole service¹⁹⁰. After the Second World War, in 1948 to be exact, when the HMSO took over the publication, paper shortages in combination with the rising numbers of Colonial Service recruits, put a cap on the possible size of the publication. In 1948, therefore, new restrictions and guidelines were introduced for the inclusion of biographical entries.

The most important restriction implemented in 1948 is the ten-year-minimum-service rule. To be included, officers now had to have served in the Colonial Service for at least ten years¹⁹¹. Seidler finds that the distribution of officers with less than ten years of service was fairly even across the colonies and he finds no non-random factor influencing it. This makes the dataset still a good representation of colonial officers serving between 1939 and 1966, even though it is incomplete.¹⁹² However, because the last *List* was printed in 1966, the ten-year-minimum-service rule leads to the exclusion of officers who entered the service in 1956 or later. Also officers who retired from the Colonial Service before reaching ten years of service, for example because the colony they served in gained independence, are omitted.

After 1948, inclusion into the *List* also depended on an officer's rank. As a rule, only officers in senior

¹⁸⁷ Amishadai Lawson Adu, *The Civil Service in New African States* (London 1965) 33.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 18.

¹⁸⁹ Colonial Office: Reorganisation of the Colonial Service (Cmnd. 306, London 1954).

¹⁹⁰ Kirk-Greene discusses this phenomenon here where he coined the phrase „The Thin White Line“: Kirk-Greene, *The Thin White Line*.

¹⁹¹ Kirk-Greene, *A Biographical Dictionary*, xf.

¹⁹² Seidler, *Institutional Copying*, 98.

posts were included. Even though before 1953 what was meant by senior ranks was not closely defined, they were generally equated with posts that were given responsibility and decision power in the different services. After 1953 senior posts came to mean posts with the rank of Deputy Head of Department (or field equivalent) and above.¹⁹³

In addition to this, only officers employed on permanent and pensionable terms were included in the *List*. This means the exclusion of all those who were employed on contract or locally unless they received tenure later in their career. Kirk-Greene's estimation is that due to increased recruitment after the war the number of overseas officers employed by HMOCS peaked at 20.500 in 1960¹⁹⁴. This gives us an idea of how many officers were not included in the list. The number of all persons employed in the Colonial Service was even higher. Unfortunately, no centralized record of all locally employed members of the service exists as they were the responsibility of the colonial government that employed them. The closest estimate we have for the service's total size was made by Charles Jeffries in 1948 when he was Deputy Under-Secretary of the State for the Colonies. He assessed that the size of the Service was about 300.000 men and women, 96 percent of which were recruited locally with only the remaining 4 percent being from Britain or other Commonwealth countries.¹⁹⁵

The restrictions to the *Record of Services* were acknowledged by the editors in a message of omission included in every *List*. They write:

"It is possible to include, owing to considerations of space, only those officers who are permanent holders of administrative, judicial, professional and technical appointments and who have had ten years' service, except in a few cases of holders of important posts."¹⁹⁶

The guidelines introduced in 1948 also set a uniform format for the biographical entries and regulated the information that could be included. Eleven categories were established, four of which are included in all entries. For these categories I follow Kirk-Greene who bases his categories on the 1947 guidelines¹⁹⁷. The information included in the entries could also be arranged in a different way, as does Seidler¹⁹⁸. It is useful to shortly explain them one by one.

Surname: The *List* was structured by the alphabetical listing of these names. Therefore, this was a category which was always included.

Given names: These were given in full until 1951. However, due to considerations of space, they were reduced to initials when the *Record of Services* was continued in 1953 except in the cases of knighted officers and when it was necessary to distinguish between two officers who had the same surname

¹⁹³ Ibid, 97f.

¹⁹⁴ Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service, 74.

¹⁹⁵ Jeffries, Partners for Progress, 28. See also: Kirk-Greene, The Thin White Line. Seidler uses isotypes to visually represent the number of people employed in the colonial civil services, colonial officers and the number of colonial officers included in the *Colonial Office List* here: Seidler, Institutional Copying, 100.

¹⁹⁶ Colonial Office List 1966, taken from Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary, ix.

¹⁹⁷ Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary, xi-xiv.

¹⁹⁸ Seidler, Institutional Copying, 105.

and initial. Seidler puts these first to categories into one.

Decorations: Until 1951 this category featured degrees and professional qualifications. These were disallowed in 1953. Military ranks could also feature in this category, but they quietly died away in the 1950s. Titles of nobility were included in this category, even though only few members of the Colonial Service were ennobled.

Year of birth: This important category is also included in every entry. Before the war the practice was to omit this piece of information in the entries of female officers, but it started to be included after 1948.

Education: This was also one of the indispensable categories. It included the secondary school and university, if the officer had attended one. In the cases of attendance at Oxford or Cambridge, the specific college was specified. Before 1948, the entries could become quite specific in this point, giving, for example, an officer's degree, but it did not go beyond the school names after. This category is split into two by Seidler who differentiates secondary school education and university education and only rates secondary school education as an indispensable category. I use data from this category in the discussion of officers' educational backgrounds below.

War service and final rank: Before the war this category could include information like the specific army the officer had served in or even certain campaigns. However, such specific information was gradually deleted until only the time spent in military or national service and the final rank were included.

First appointment: This is the last indispensable category, included in every entry. In general, it applied to the first appointment to the Colonial Service or – Office. If an officer had transferred from the Indian services in 1946/47, or from the Sudan Civil Service in 1952, this was indicated here. The entry level rank to the colonial service, the branch of the service joined by the officer and the colony he was appointed to were included in addition to the year they started their first post. Data used in the discussion of the career related variables below, is taken from this category.

Promotions and transfers: This category was updated every time an officer was promoted. It includes the new rank and the year of his promotion. If there was a transfer to another colony, the new colony is also noted. It does not include transfers within the same territory if they were not linked to a promotion.

Special duties: This category was not frequently included. It could include memberships in special commissions of public enquiry. Later it was also used to mention assignments to special duty on Trusteeship Council business at the United Nations.

Continued service in the independent country: This category was not foreseen by the 1948 guidelines and was included only later. It indicates the officers who chose to remain in the civil services of the newly independent countries they had served in.

Publications: Before 1953 many entries included extensive bibliographies of the professional writings of officers as well as of publications that were less concerned with the professional side of the service

and more with life as a colonial civil servant. The restrictions of 1953 imposed heavy reductions of this section and it virtually disappeared in the 1960s.

These categories contain a well of information, but a number of details that could be interesting to scholars unfortunately are not included. There is, for example, no way to know about officers' social backgrounds, places of birth, parent's occupations, and religion, nor if they were married and the number of children they had. Another missing detail is if they were recruited over the Dominions Selection Scheme, which I am going to come back to in the third part of this chapter. In addition to this there is, of course, always the possibility that entries were unintentionally forgotten, or that officers asked not to be included which was within their rights.¹⁹⁹

Due to advances in technology and Seidler's valuable work of digitizing the entries, they no longer have to be manually counted, as they were by Kirk-Greene's wife for the compilation of his *Dictionary*. However, there are still limits to the level of accuracy that can be attained by decoding the entries on the basis of machine reading them alone.²⁰⁰ The following scan of Anthony Kirk-Greene's biographical entry, as an example, will help show the possibilities and limits of data extraction possible at the moment:

**KIRK-GREENE, A. H. M., M.B.E. (1963).
—b. 1925; ed. Rugby and Clare Coll., Camb.;
mil. serv., 1943–47, capt.; cadet, N. Nig.,
1950; supvr. admin. serv. trng. course,
Zaria, 1957; admin. offr., cl. II, 1960; dir.
inf. serv., 1960; reader in pub. admin., inst. of
admin., 1961; hd. of dept. of lang., Ahmadu,
Bello Univ., 1964. (Nig. Govt. service.)**

This a typical example of an entry, similar to most others. As we can see, not all categories I described above are included in every entry, nor are the categories clearly introduced by markers that would make it possible to search for them directly. Yet, there are identifiable pieces of information that can relatively easily be turned into quantifiable data. The year of birth, for example, is always preceded by a b. which makes it easy to find. In this case it is preceded by the year in which Kirk-Greene was awarded Member of the Order of the British Empire (M.B.E.). The exact year of entry to the service is not as easily determined. As it does not have a fixed place in every entry (sometimes it is preceded by the dates of military service like in Kirk-Greene's case, who served between 1943 and 1947, sometimes it is not) and it is not introduced by a specific marker it is indistinguishable, to the programme, from every other date in the entry, like the dates of military service or the dates of

¹⁹⁹ *Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary*, xv.

²⁰⁰ As of July 2018, when I used the dataset, entries had been checked but not all aspects had been manually coded.

promotion. This problem can be bypassed, until the entries are manually encoded, by adding 23 years to the year of birth, to determine the date of entry to the service. 23 is, on average, the age recruits started their first posts at. It was equally impossible to determine all schools and universities officers had gotten their educations from. However, we know that many of them had been sent to so called Public Schools, independent secondary schools of high prestige in the UK.²⁰¹ Many of them continued on to either Oxford or Cambridge. As abbreviations are uniform throughout the entries it has been possible to determine exactly how many officers had attended to Public Schools and Oxbridge. What has been easy to determine, as there are a limited number of possibilities in each case and here again, the same abbreviations have been used throughout, are which service each officer joined and in which colony they served.

Before I begin to compare the backgrounds, services and territories of officers in the dataset to those of Project Voices Interviewees, I want to clarify how the Project Voices sample relates to the sample from the *List*.

Project Voices Interviewees in the Dataset of Biographical Entries

Only seven out of the 98 officers²⁰² interviewed for Project Voices (7,14%) have a corresponding biographical entry in the database. This is due to two interrelated reasons. First, while all Project Voices interviewees had senior ranks in the service and would have qualified for biographical entries in this respect, only few of them actually served for ten years. This is because, when many of them entered the service, only a few years separated them from independence in their respective colonies. As I explained in the first chapter, the pool of potential interviewees for Project Voices was limited to those who were still in condition to be interviewed. Many of the officers with biographical entries had already passed away when the project started. Second, there are those who did serve for ten years or more but completed this milestone after 1966, when the *Colonial Office List* and its biographical entries had been discontinued.

At this point it appears necessary to briefly put the trends of recruitment into historical context.

Table 2.1 gives an overview of recruitment to the Colonial Service form 1919 until 1960. It clearly shows how recruitment was influenced by both global events and by policy.

²⁰¹ The leading independent secondary schools are today organized in an association called the Headmasters' & Headmistresses' Conference (HMC) in the UK. Information on the HMC schools, as well as a list, can be found at: HMC, Leading Independent Schools, online under: <https://www.hmc.org.uk/schools/> (15.03.2019).

²⁰² As of March 2019. Also note, again, that the ten preliminary interviews conducted by Seidler are not considered in this chapter.

Table 2.1							
Colonial Office Recruitment for Overseas Territories 1913-1960							
Year	Number of recruits	Year	Number of recruits	Year	Number of recruits	Year	Number of recruits
1913	248	1929	449	1940	180	1951	1396
1919	295	1930	378	1941	144	1952	1378
1920	551	1931	165	1942	95	1953	1227
1921	387	1932	70	1943	162	1954	1135
1922	174	1933	121	1944	193	1955	1377
1923	233	1934	165	1945	632	1956	1467
1924	352	1935	231	1946	1715	1957	1367
1925	406	1936	249	1947	806	1958	1335
1926	424	1937	306	1948	957	1959	1083
1927	460	1938	325	1949	1341	1960	816
1928	507	1939	255	1950	1510		

Source: ODI – Overseas Development Institute: Technical Assistance. A Factual Survey of Britain's Aid to Overseas Development through Technical Assistance (London 1964) 25.

The recruitment of persons who would occupy the senior posts in the administrations of British colonies was the responsibility of the Colonial Office in London. After the First World War, some former German and Ottoman colonies were added to the responsibilities of the Colonial Office, when Britain received them as mandates from the League of Nation. This meant that more recruits were needed to staff the new territories.²⁰³ In addition to the need to staff the new colonies, the recruitment department had to fill the vacancies that had been left open during the war, as there had been no recruitment between 1914 and 1918, and those left by officers who had died in the war.²⁰⁴ A little slump in recruitment numbers is noticeable in 1922 and 1923 because potential recruits had to deal with the aftermaths of the war and very little submissions were made. However, recruitment recovered quickly and rose again, against the background of the economic boom of the 1920s. By now, the Colonial Service was considered an attractive and worthwhile career.²⁰⁵ The financial collapse of 1929 and the following Great Depression led to another slump in recruitment. On the one hand, this was because posts and salaries had to be reduced and on the other, because there were less applications overall. A low was hit in 1932, when only 70 appointments were made.²⁰⁶ In the second half of the 1930s, recruitment recovered and the number of appointments increased. Importantly, the inter-war years saw a change in the profile of the Colonial Service. Before the First World War, most recruits were appointed to the Administrative and Medical Service. During the inter-war years this began to change, as Joseph Hodge points out:

²⁰³ *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service*, 20.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 21.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 23.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 25.

“Prior to the First World War, organization of the technical services was sporadic and carried out on a departmental and territorial basis, but during the inter-war period technical recruits rose dramatically, accounting for more than 40 percent of overall appointments to the CS.”²⁰⁷

During the war recruitment was increasingly low and the loss of Hong Kong and Malaya, two important territories, to Japan, made things even more difficult.²⁰⁸ Furse and his team managed to keep recruiting officers for the most necessary positions²⁰⁹ and, building on the experience of the previous post-war years, prepared for the time after the war, when, they foresaw that many new recruits would be needed²¹⁰. In part this need arose from substantial changes which had been made to colonial policy during the war with the introduction of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945²¹¹. Instead of having colonies which had to be self-sufficient, funds were now allocated for their economic and social development. A much larger staff was needed to implement the new development plans²¹². This is reflected in the recruitment numbers which tripled, on average, when compared to the inter-war years.²¹³

To prevent a repetition of the slump in recruitment of 1922 a number of measures were taken. Women were now allowed entry into all branches of the service, especially the Administrative Service, where they took on secretarial duties. Also, Furse had collected a pool of potential recruits during the war, and many of them were appointed as soon as they were demobilized along with many others who had served in the war and were now looking for employment.²¹⁴

The slightly declining numbers in 1953 and 1954 were raised again when the Colonial Service was replaced in 1954, by HMOCS.²¹⁵ But even though the HMOCS continued to recruit mostly on permanent and pensionable terms until the early 1960s, it gradually became clear that a full career would no longer be possible for most. After 1960, when Nigeria, one of the biggest and highest staffed territories, became independent, recruitment numbers invariably declined and more posts became limited to short periods of time.²¹⁶

It is this context that the following comparison between the dates when Project Voices interviewees took up their first posting and the dates officers with biographical entries did the same²¹⁷. As I

²⁰⁷ *Hodge, Triumph of the Expert*, 10.

²⁰⁸ *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service*, 39.

²⁰⁹ *Furse, Aucuparius*, 268.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 267-276.

²¹¹ More on the establishment and details of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts here: Michael Ashley *Havinden*, David *Meredith*, *Colonialism and Development. Britain and Its Tropical Colonies. 1850-1960* (London / New York 1993) 135-138. And here: Charlotte Lydia *Riley*, *Monstrous Predatory Vampires and Beneficent Fairy-Godmothers. British Post-War Colonial Development in Africa*. (unpubl. Doctoral Thesis, University College London 2013) 73-75.

²¹² On the increase of the technical services and scientific staff in the colonies during this time see: *Hodge, Triumph of the Expert*. And: *Clarke, A Technocratic Imperial State?*.

²¹³ *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service*, 59 and 73.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 49.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, 73.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 75.

²¹⁷ The biographical entries only include the date, when officers started their first post in the colony. In many

explained above the year of entry of officers with biographical entries is determined by adding 23 years to the year of birth, this being the average age at which officers started their first posts. Considering that the first officer to join the Colonial Service included in the Project Voices Sample did so in 1946, for this comparison I only considered officers who were born after 1920 and therefore would have joined the service from 1943 onwards.

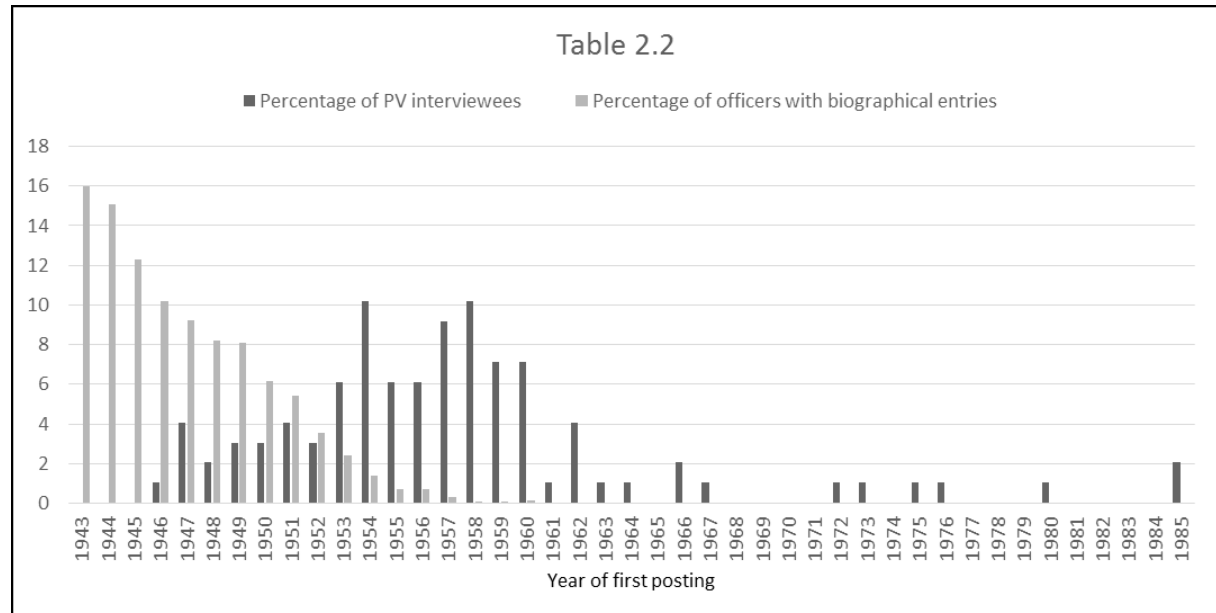


Table 2.2 compares the percentage of officers with biographical entries who started their first post per year with that of Project Voices interviewees per year. While the percentage of officers with biographical entries steadily declines from 16% in 1943 to 0,7% in 1956²¹⁸, most Project Voices interviewees started their first posts between 1953 and 1960. We see a slight increase in the second half of the 1940s and a decrease in the 1960s. The last Project Voices interviewees to start their posts did so in 1985, but in general, few started after 1962.

The decline of the percentage of officers with biographical entries is easily explained by the ten year rule. All those joining after 1956 could not possibly have been included in the *List*, and the decline can be explained if one considers that ten-year careers were increasingly difficult to have, as many territories, including all the African territories, became independent before 1966. The same factors explain why only seven interviewees are represented in the *List*. Most of the 42 of them who joined before 1956 and could therefore potentially have been included in the *List*, did not have ten-year careers when the colonies they served in became independent and they either retired or stayed on in the civil service of the newly independent country.

The increasing percentage of Project Voices interviewees to be recruited in the second half of the 1940s, on the other hand, can be explained by age. David Turner, who was the first among the Project Voices interviewees to join the service, in 1946, was 95 years old at the time of his interview in

cases this was some time after the moment they were recruited.

²¹⁸ The very small percentages of officers with biographical entries that do show up after 1956 are probably due to the margin of error that comes from taking 23 as the average age of entry into the service.

October 2017²¹⁹. Many of those who joined the service with him, if they are still alive, would have been too old to give an interview. The decrease of interviewees who joined in the 1960s probably reflects the general decrease of recruitment during that period due to decolonisation. Later recruits are special cases in any case. Although they joined the HMOCS, they were no longer recruited by the Colonial Office, which had ceased to exist. Six of the seven interviewees who were recruited after 1970 went directly to Hong Kong.

As this comparison shows, the Project Voices sample is younger and joined the service around ten years later than the officers represented in the dataset of biographical entries. While this has to be kept in mind in the following discussions, they still offer interesting insights into the composition of the Project Voices sample and can point to possibilities of further studies on the basis of it.

Career Related Variables

Branches of the Colonial Service

In the first chapter of his book *Partners for Progress*, Charles Jeffries points out that the Colonial Service can be analysed from two perspectives. First, one may look at it as a collection of territorial civil services, which is what I do in the next section of this chapter, and second, one can put together the departmental or functional branches of each of these territorial services and analyse the Colonial Service as the sum of its branches which include, for example, a Colonial Administrative Service, a Colonial Medical Service etc., which is the topic of this section.²²⁰

Before 1930, each territory's colonial administration organized its departments individually. Officers were recruited for an opening in one particular territory and it was in this territory that they then pursued their careers. Career paths and service conditions varied from colony to colony depending on the possibilities and needs of each administration. Promotions happened at different stages of a career and different rank titles were used. Pay and pension arrangements depended on the budget of the colony. Transfers between colonies were extremely rare as they were difficult to handle under these conditions²²¹.

During the interwar period, parts of the Colonial Service were thoroughly reformed. The aim was that these reforms would make it easier to recruit the kind of officers the Colonial Office wanted for the Service, as they would improve the conditions of service and add to the overall prestige of the Colonial Service. An important reform in this context was the unification of the departmental branches of the various territorial civil services into a unified Colonial Service. Leo Amery, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, endorsed the idea to the governors at the 1927 Colonial Service Conference and it was included in the proposals of the Warren Fisher Committee in 1930. The first

²¹⁹ David Turner, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 13. October 2017, PV-085.

²²⁰ Jeffries, *Partners for Progress*, 27f.

²²¹ Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, 33.

service to be unified was the Colonial Administrative Service in 1932. Table 2.3 shows at what point the other branches of the service, that had existed before 1930, were unified. Branches added after 1930 were naturally conceived as unified services from the start. The Colonial Engineering Service for example was created when engineering, architecture and town planning were removed from the Crown Agent's responsibilities in 1945. Only the Audit Service had been conceived as a unified service at its creation in 1910.²²²

Unification and the unified services were initially designed for the British officers in the different services. The idea was that they should have access to a world-wide career and comparable service conditions. Careers that before 1945 had been designated to local staff inside each territory's administration were not affected by the unification schemes. With unification, it became necessary to define which careers and posts would be integrated into the new service. These posts were then called 'scheduled posts' and it was the Secretary of State, and no longer the Colonial Governments, who would appoint persons to these posts. Within the unified services, the conditions of service such as pay, terms of pension, job titles, and promotions were aligned which made transfers from one colony to another relatively easy.²²³ While this was a good selling point for potential British recruits to whom the Colonial Service was now able to offer the possibility of a world-wide career, it created a divide between British and local posts that was difficult to bridge when more local staff gradually entered take on senior posts in the administrations of their countries in the 1950s.²²⁴

The unification was beneficial to small territories as officers from larger territories could be seconded to them more easily. Finally, as Kirk-Greene puts it, the unified Colonial Service was able to generate a "unique pool of knowledge and comparative experience" which was to become a great bonus in the run-up to independence because it made it possible for officers who had seen independence in one territory to move to another one that was still preparing for it.²²⁵

Even after the unification of the Civil Aviation Service in 1948, which was the last service to be unified, services continued to change and new ones were added, even though they were now called appointments. The list used in the coding of the biographical entries database and in the Project Voices interviews, is the list of services provided in the 1950 *Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service* pamphlet which was given out to potential new recruits to help them make their choice of career. The following comparison will therefore also be based on this list. Table 2.3 shows the 28 permanent services and appointments listed as such in the 1950 appointments pamphlet and five additional career options that need some further explanation.

²²² Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, 33f.

²²³ Jeffries, *Partners for Progress*, 45f.

²²⁴ Ibid, 47f.

²²⁵ Kirk Greene, *On Crown Service*, 33f.

Table 2.3	
Appointments and Services in 1950	Date of Unification
Colonial Administrative Service	1932
Colonial Agricultural Service	1935
Colonial Audit Service	1910
Biological appointments	
Broadcasting appointments	
Colonial Chemical Service	1938
Colonial Civil Aviation Service	1948
Colonial Customs Service	1938
Development Officer (1)	
Economic, Commercial and Statistical appointments	
Colonial Education Service	1937
Colonial Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners	1945
Fisheries appointments	
Colonial Forest Service	1935
Colonial Geological Survey Service	1938
Income Tax appointments	
Labour appointments	
Colonial Legal Service	1933
Colonial Medical Service incl. Pharmacists	1934
Meteorological Service	
Colonial Mines Service	1938
Colonial Police Service	1937
Colonial Postal Service	1938
Colonial Prisons Service	1936
Public Relations appointments	
Social Welfare appointments	
Colonial Survey Service	1938
Treasury and Currency appointments (3)	
Telecommunication and Wireless appointments (4)	
Colonial Veterinary Service	1935
Queen Elisabeth's Colonial Nursing Service	1940
Governor (2)	
Colonial Office based (5)	
Sources: Jeffries, <i>Whitehall and the Colonial Service, Appendix II. And: Colonial Office: Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service (London 1950).</i>	

(1) The career of development officers was created in the context of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945.²²⁶ As has been described above, these Acts marked the reversal of the long standing policy that colonies had to be self-sufficient and attributed funds for development schemes. Development officers often lacked the necessary qualifications for admittance into the Administrative Service, but had administrative experience from wartime, which was useful for implementing these development schemes.²²⁷ Unlike officers in most other services, development officers were sent out on contract and were not permanently appointed.²²⁸ A few of them later transferred to the Administrative Service.²²⁹ Some development officers are included in the biographical entries but they might be under-represented in this source as many of them went out on contract and were not eligible for inclusion into the List. As one development officer was interviewed for Project Voices, they have been included in this comparison nevertheless²³⁰.

(2) Governors had no special service and the details of their recruitment varied over the years. In the nineteenth century governors were generally appointed from the ranks of politicians or military officers and this practice continued to some extent into the first half of the twentieth century. However, by then, most governors came from the ranks of the Colonial Service itself except for those of the 'fortress colonies' Bermuda, Gibraltar and Malta which were reserved to military officers. A few governors had been Colonial Office officials when they were appointed to their respective colonies. If a governor was to be selected from among the Colonial Service, he was recommended to the Secretary of State by the permanent Under Secretary in the Colonial Office.²³¹ Only one Project Voices interviewee served as governor of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands²³². Most interviewees however, would have been too young to be considered for the position of governor when most colonies gained their independence.

(3) Treasury and Currency appointments are not mentioned either in the 1950²³³ or in the 1952²³⁴ appointments pamphlet, but they do appear in the biographical entries and one Project Voices officer was appointed to this service which is why it is included here²³⁵.

(4) Telecommunication and Wireless appointments, later "Radio" Operator appointments, were the responsibility of the Crown Service²³⁶, but like Treasury and Currency appointments they are treated as a service in the *Lists*. One of them was interviewed by Project Voices²³⁷, which is why they are also included here.

²²⁶ *Kirk-Greene*, On Crown Service, 49.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, 49.

²²⁸ Colonial Office, Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service (London 1950) 65.

²²⁹ *Kirk-Greene*, On Crown Service, 49.

²³⁰ Allan Hall, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 1. June 2017, PV-036.

²³¹ *Kirk-Greene*, On Crown Service, 101.

²³² *Anonymous*, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 13. July 2017, PV-079.

²³³ Colonial Office, Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service (London 1950).

²³⁴ Colonial Office, Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service (London 1952).

²³⁵ David Leigh, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 20. June 2017, PV-055.

²³⁶ Colonial Office, Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service. (London 1950), 72.

²³⁷ Kenneth Banks, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 11. April 2017, PV-009.

(5) This last category means that the officer served at the Colonial Office for some time in his career. Even though integrating the Colonial Service and the Colonial Office had been talked about, the two were separate entities. However, as it had been recognized that some knowledge of the work done by the Colonial Office could be useful, some members of the Colonial Service temporarily worked in the London office. A few of them were posted there for a period of two years, others continued their careers here after they retired from the Colonial Service.²³⁸ Three officers from the Project Voices sample worked in the Colonial Office for some time.²³⁹ However, as of July 2018 it has not been possible to extract the number of officers with biographical entries who served in the Colonial Office which is why they are not included in this comparison.

Table 2.4 shows the percentage of Project Voices officers per service in relation to the general percentage of officers per service in the Colonial Service. This includes a small share of officers who served in more than one service.²⁴⁰

The first thing that stands out, is that even though the Administrative Service was the largest service in the Colonial Service, employing 21,3% of its officers, the share of Project Voices interviewees who served in the Administrative Service is more than twice as high at 46,7%. A similar bias can be found with members of the Police Service. Police Service officers made up 8,2% of the Colonial Service and constitute 13,1% of the Project Voices sample. One possible explanation for this divergence is that Administrative officers have a more acute sense that their stories are relevant to historians and are therefore more interested in participating in an oral history project. For the Police Service officers it might be explained because of the close ties the officers have kept even after they stopped serving which might have helped recruiting them for the project through a snowball effect. At the same time, the percentage of Project Voices interviewees in the Medical Service and the Legal service is somewhat lower than average.

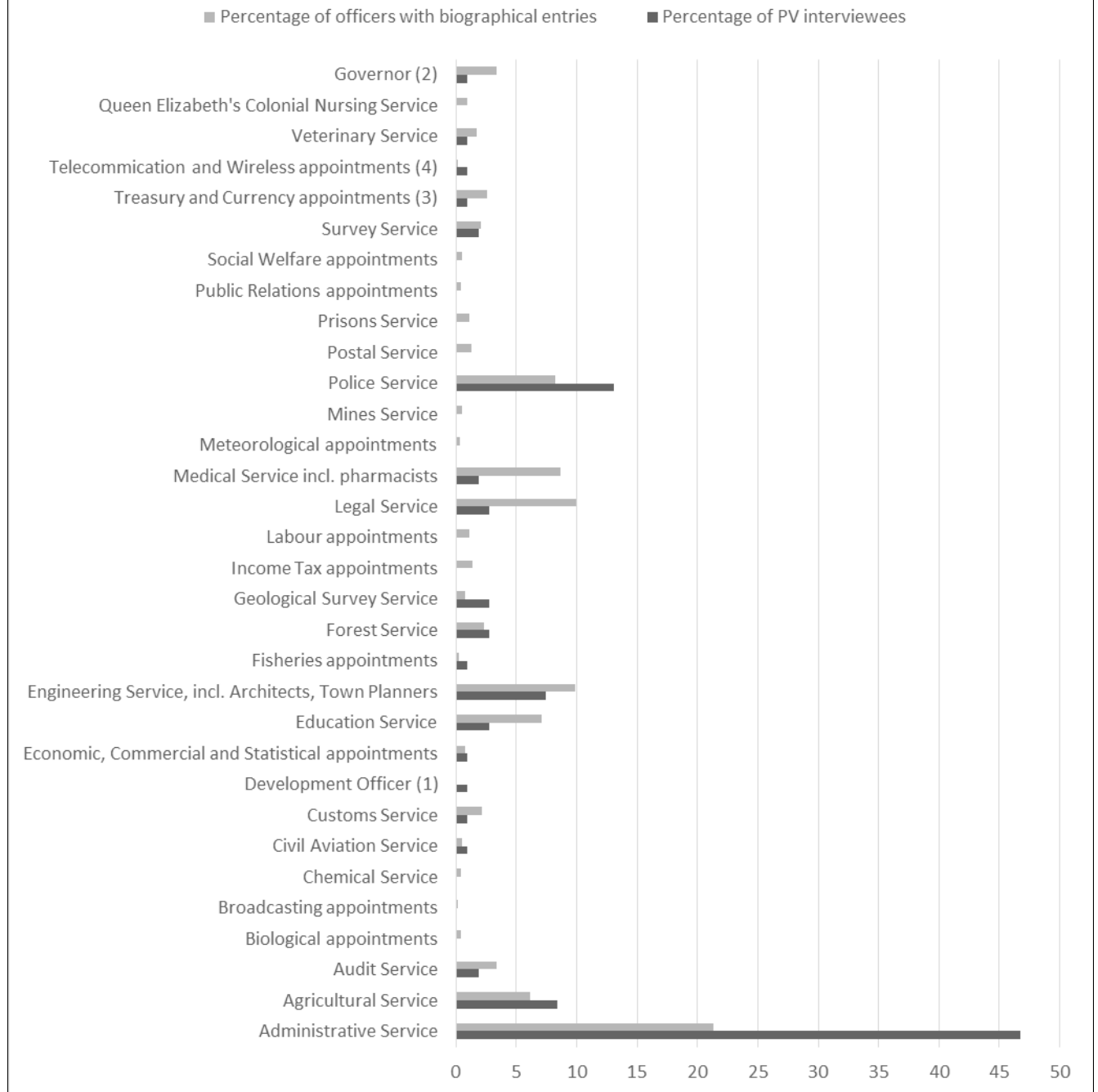
We can also see that not all Services are represented in Project Voices. Unfortunately no Biological appointments, Broadcasting appointments, members of the Chemical Service, Income Tax appointments, Labour appointments, Meteorological appointments, members of the Mines Service, the Postal Service and the Prisons Service, Public Relations appointments, Social Welfare appointments or members of Queen Elisabeth's Colonial Nursing Service could be recruited for the project. However, each of these services made up less than two percent of the whole Colonial Service which means that they had only comparably few members to begin with.

²³⁸ Jeffries, *Partners in Progress*, 165-173.

²³⁹ Clinton Leeks, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 14. June 2017, PV-054. ; Philip Mackley, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 28. June 2017, PV-060. ; John Yaxley, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 9. October 2017, PV-094.

²⁴⁰ For the Project Voices interviewees this is 9,2 %. The exact percentage of officers with biographical entries having served in more than one service could not be determined by July 2018.

Table 2.4



What can generally be said is that even though the Administrative Service is overrepresented in the Project Voices sample, the sample does include members of other and even quite small services. The technical and scientific services are represented as are the Police Service and the Education Service. Project Voices therefore contains examples for most functions of the Colonial Service and can be used to gain an understanding of the different kinds of work it included.

Colonies, Protectorates and Territories Staffed by the Colonial Service

Not all territories in the British Empire were staffed by the Colonial Service. India had its own Indian Civil Service (ICS)²⁴¹. Burma was included in the responsibilities of the ICS until 1937 and then it was administered by the Burma Office under the Secretary of State for India and Burma until its independence in 1948. Southern Rhodesia, even though it was formally a colony, had the status of self-governing colony from 1923. It was handled by the Commonwealth Relations Office and was never staffed by the Colonial Service.²⁴² Like India, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan had its own civil Service, the Sudan Political Service²⁴³. It should be noted though that officers from India or the Sudan sometimes transferred into territories administered by the Colonial Office, particularly when these territories became independent. They were then included in the *List*, with a mention of this previous posting. Such cases are not considered here.

In 1946, before the independence of Ceylon and Palestine, there were 37 “administrative units” under the control of the Colonial Office. Administrative units are defined as territories or collections of territories under a single executive authority, namely a governor or sometimes a High Commissioner.²⁴⁴ However, both the biographical entries and the Project Voices interviewees, give more detailed information and generally name the exact territory where the officer was stationed instead of the administrative unit it was a part of. This is why it was necessary to expand the list of territories taken from the 1946 *Colonial Office List*²⁴⁵ to include territories individually.

Beside administrative units the British preferred grouping territories by geographic location. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and the New Hebrides were all counted under 'Western Pacific'. In the same way, Anguilla, Antigua, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat and St. Kitts and Nevis were subsumed under 'British Leeward Islands' while Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines were counted together as 'British Windward Islands'²⁴⁶. Other territories are not included in the *List* because they were governed indirectly through other colonies. This was the case with Brunei, managed by Malaya, the Cayman Islands, managed by Jamaica until its independence in 1962 when they became a separate Crown Colony, the Turks and Caicos Islands who were managed by Bermuda, the Bahamas and Jamaica until the Bahamas gained independence in

²⁴¹ A central study on the ICS is that by David Potter: David *Potter*, *India's Political Administrators* (Oxford 1986). A more recent study is the following: Clive *Dewey*, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes. The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London / Rio Grande 1993). The ICS has been compared to the Colonial Service by Anthony Kirk-Greene here: *Kirk-Greene*, *Britains Imperial Administrators*, 87-124. And by Peter Marshall here: Peter *Marshall*, *The British Experience of Imperial Rule*. In: John *Smith* (Ed.), *Administering Empire. The British Colonial Service in Retrospect* (London 1999) 1-18.

²⁴² *Jeffries*, *Partners for Progress*, 24.

²⁴³ For studies on the Sudan Political Service see: Robert *Collins*, *The Sudan Political Service. A Portrait of the 'Imperialists'*. In: *African Affairs* 71/284 (1972) 293-303. ; Anthony *Kirk-Greene*, *The Sudan Political Service. A Profile in the Sociology of Imperialism*. In: *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15/1 (1982) 21-48. And compared to the Colonial Service here: *Kirk-Greene*, *Britain's Imperial Administrators*, 164-201.

²⁴⁴ *Jeffries*, *Partners for Progress*, 26.

²⁴⁵ Colonial Office, *The Colonial Office List 1946. Comprising Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the Colonial Empire, Lists of Officers Serving in the Colonies, etc. and Other Information* (London 1946) 39.

²⁴⁶ Note that geographic grouping changed over time. Dominica, which had previously been included in the British Leeward Islands, joined the Windward Islands in 1940.

1973, and the Maldives, who were managed by Ceylon. All these territories, except for the Maldives, appear as destinations in the biographical entries. The Maldives are not distinguished in them and are therefore counted with Ceylon.

The High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland were first included in the *List* in 1952, albeit still in italics. Administratively, as they were territories in South Africa, they were the responsibility of the Commonwealth Relations Office, but they are included in the *List* because, as Kirk-Greene writes: “the Territories' Services are [now] interchangeable with the Colonial Service”²⁴⁷. In fact, Colonial Service appointments to the High Commission Territories had regularly been made by the Colonial Office since 1945. However, they had to wait until 1963 and 1964 to be properly included. This was when their Resident Commissioner became directly responsible to the Colonial Office.²⁴⁸ They all appear as singular destinations in the biographical entries.

A case could be made to count the Gilbert and Ellice Islands twice, once as Gilbert- and once as Ellice Islands because they were separated administratively shortly before their respective dates of independence (1978 for Ellice Islands, now Kiribati and 1979 for Gilbert Islands, now Tuvalu). However, since this difference does not appear in the biographical entries and can be neglected in this analysis for the one Project Voices interviewee who served there at independence²⁴⁹, I am not going to include them separately in this list.

A small note also on the Pitcairn Islands and the Antarctic Territories. The Pitcairn Islands were managed by Fiji until it became independent in 1970. However, they remain a British Overseas Territory until today. For a short time they were staffed by the HMOCS as an individual territory and they show up in two biographical entries. Because they were so few, I am still going to count these officers with Fiji considering that because the biographical entries were discontinued in 1966 they must have been appointed to Fiji. A similar case arises with the Antarctic Territories. They were listed as Falkland Islands before 1962 when the name was changed to British Antarctic Territories. Therefore, I am going to count the four officers in the dataset who are listed as having served there with the ones who served on the Falkland Islands.

Another case I have to discuss here is that of the Federation of Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo and the Straits Settlements which, except for Singapore are now part of Malaysia. The Straits Settlements had been made a single Crown Colony in 1867 which then included Malacca, Dinding, Penang and Singapore. In 1946, Singapore became a separate Crown Colony. The biographical entries dating prior to 1946 do not specify in which of the Straits territories an officer worked. In consequence I group the Federation of Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo and the Straits Settlements for this analysis. Officers, whose entries mention Singapore after 1946, are assumed to have served there before, and are counted with Singapore. Even though the exact locations of the Project Voices interviewees are known, I allocate them according to the rules above for the sake of making the data comparable.

²⁴⁷ The Colonial Office List 1952, taken from: *Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary*, vii.

²⁴⁸ *Kirk-Greene, A Biographical Dictionary*, vii.

²⁴⁹ *Anonymous*, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 13. July 2017, PV-079.

Finally, I have to mention Zanzibar. It too has a complicated status as it was not under British sovereignty and had its own Sultan, albeit being under British control as a protectorate²⁵⁰. As of July 2018 it was not coded separately in the biographical entries dataset and could therefore not be included.

Table 2.5		
Territories Administered by the CO and Dates of Independence		
Region	Territory	Date of Independence
East and Central Africa	British Somaliland	1960
	Kenya	1963
	Northern Rhodesia	1964
	Nyasaland	1964
	Tanganyika	1961
	Uganda	1962
High Comission Territories	Basutoland	1966
	Bechuanaland	1966
	Swaziland	1968
West Africa	Gambia	1965
	Gold Coast	1957
	Nigeria	1960
	Sierra Leone	1961
Eastern Dependencies	Ceylon	1948
	Federation of Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo, Strait Settlements	1957
	Singapore	1965
	Brunei	1983
	Hong Kong	1997
Mediterranean and Middle East	Aden	1967
	Cyprus	1960
	Gibraltar	/
	Malta	1964
	Palestine	1948

²⁵⁰ *Jeffries, Partners for Progress*, 31.

West Indies		
	Bahamas	1973
	Barbados	1966
	Bermuda	/
	British Guiana	1966
	British Honduras	1981
	Jamaica	1962
	Cayman Islands	/
	Turcs and Caicos Islands	/
<i>Leeward Islands</i>		
	Anguila	/
	Antigua	1981
	British Virgin Islands	/
	Monserat	/
	St. Christopher and Nevis	1983
<i>Windward Islands</i>		
	Dominica	1978
	Grenada	1974
	St. Lucia	1979
	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1979
Western Pacific		
	British Solomon Islands	1978
	Fiji (incl. Pitcairn Islands)	1969
	Gilbert and Ellice Islands	1978/1979
	New Hebrides	1980
	Tonga	1969
Atlantic and Indian Ocean		
	Falkland Islands (incl. British Antarctic Territories)	/
	St. Helena and Ascension	/
	Mauritius	1968
	Seychelles	1976
<i>Sources: Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service, 4f and 14. Own Compilation.</i>		

Table 2.5 shows all the territories included in this analysis by region and their dates of independence. Note that 14 of them remain British Overseas Territories today. They have been added to the responsibilities of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office after the Colonial Office was closed in 1966²⁵¹ but continued to be staffed by the HMOCS until it ended after the Handover of Hong Kong in 1997.

²⁵¹ *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service, 85.*

In general, candidates who applied to the Colonial Service did not apply for a specific vacancy in a specific territory. In many cases they did not know where they were going to be sent until after they had been accepted.²⁵² Preferences could be named, but there was no guarantee that they would be granted. A real choice to go to any territory on the list was never given and appointments were based on existing vacancies in the territories. The following data on appointments therefore hardly indicates officers' personal preferences.

Table 2.6 shows the percentage of Project Voices officers per territory in relation to the general percentage of officers in the Colonial Service per territory. This percentage includes officers who have been to two or more territories.²⁵³

We can see that not all territories are covered by Project Voices, and that some territories, like Hong Kong, are disproportionately highly represented. The percentage of Project Voices interviewees who were stationed in Hong Kong is 16,1%, which is almost four times as high as the percentage of all Colonial Service officers stationed there which is 4,4%. It has to be considered that the dataset of the biographical entries ends in 1966 and Hong Kong continued to be staffed by HMOCS until 1997 which is why the real percentage of officers serving in Hong Kong might be higher. However, another part of the explanation for this gap might lie in the recruitment practices of Project Voices. As I explained in Chapter 1 based on the pool of officers willing to be interviewed that OSPA kindly put at our disposal, at the end of each interview the officer was asked if he knew anyone else who might be willing to participate in the project. HMOCS officers who were stationed in Hong Kong, and who for the most part are still living there have kept close contact with each other. Some have even set up a weekly lunch meeting. This way, many officers from Hong Kong could be recruited through a snowball effect. A final factor influencing the high proportion of Hong Kong officers in Project Voices is their relatively young age. Because the colony needed to be staffed until 1997, there was still a possibility to join its services quite late. It is also interesting to note that for five out of twenty Project Voices Officers who have been posted to Hong Kong, this was the second or even third territory they worked in.

Due to their spread in size and population, the African territories were the ones where 52% of Colonial Officers were posted. The percentage of Project Voices interviewees serving in Africa is even higher, at 66,9%. Many of them were stationed in the East African territories of Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya as well as in Nigeria. The Project Voices Sample is therefore fairly representative of the whole Colonial Service with regards to the share of officers posted to Africa. The small percentage of Project Voices Officers in Gold Coast might be explained with the early date of its independence in 1957 which, converse to Hong Kong, means that officers who were stationed here are over 82 years old²⁵⁴.

²⁵² *Kirk-Greene*, Britain's Imperial Administrators, 130f.

²⁵³ The exact percentage of officers with biographical entries who have been to more than one territory could not be determined as of July 2018. The percentage of Project Voices Interviewees who were stationed in more than one territory is 28,6%.

²⁵⁴ If we consider that officers had to be 21 years old before they could join the Colonial Service.

Table 2.6



A similar logic applies to Ceylon and Palestine who were the first territories staffed by the Colonial Service who gained their independence in 1947 and 1948 respectively. Officers having served there are now over 91 years old and therefore hard to find. Only one officer, who briefly served in Palestine in the Civil Aviation Service, was interviewed by Project Voices.²⁵⁵

Territories who generally had less staff are less likely to be represented in Project Voices. This concerns mostly, but not exclusively, islands and other small territories. A remarkable exception are the British Solomon Islands which gained their independence relatively late, in 1978. Five Project Voices officers were stationed there, but they were all transferred from other territories where they had previously served²⁵⁶.

With the exception of Hong Kong, which is overly represented for the reasons explained above, the Project Voices sample reflects the importance of territories in terms of staff. The share of Project Voices interviewees having served in African territories is comparable to, albeit slightly higher than, that of the general Colonial Service. Smaller colonies are also represented in Project Voices even though it does not include every single colony. We can conclude, therefore, that taken as a whole, the Project Voices interviews cover the different kinds of experiences Colonial Service officers could have had in the different kinds of territories around the globe. The prevalence of interviewees who had been to Hong Kong also makes it interesting for those who are interested in studying this particular colony in more detail.

Non Career Related Variables

The following section is devoted to the discussion of non career related variables.

First I discuss officer's educational background. The name of the secondary school and university an officer attended is consistently included in the biographical entries which makes it possible to compare to the schools attended by Project Voices interviewees. As Colonial Service officers attended a long list of different secondary schools a comparison to the secondary schools attended by Project Voices interviewees would not lead to meaningful results. I therefore focus on the share of officers who have attended either Oxford or Cambridge, as this is a significant number. The connection between education and social class is a tempting next step, even if Kirk-Greene warns us that: "Too ready a connection between school and class is a progressively dangerous finding, the further the twentieth century advances beyond the end of the Edwardian era."²⁵⁷ This has not stopped scholars from linking educational to social backgrounds in an attempt of interpreting the attitudes of a whole

²⁵⁵ Leslie Jock *Holliday*, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 9. September 2017, PV-044.

²⁵⁶ *Anonymous*, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 13. July 2017, PV-079. ; Alan *House*, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 11. May 2017, PV-046. ; Dr. James *MacGregor*, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 22. June 2017, PV-059. ; David *Trotman*, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 12. August 2017, PV-083. And: John *Yaxley*, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 9. October 2017, PV-094.

²⁵⁷ *Kirk-Greene*, *Britain's Imperial Administrators*, 137.

group of officers (such as the Administrative Service) or of the policies carried out in the colonies²⁵⁸. The interviews conducted by Project Voices were partly designed to reveal information permitting a more detailed debate on the potential relationship between social background, education and position in the Colonial Service.

Second I discuss officers recruited directly from the Dominions by the Dominions Selection Scheme. Unfortunately, the biographical entries do not indicate if an officer was recruited in this manner. An approximate guess could be made by determining officers who had been to Dominion secondary schools or universities, however this would require these schools to be determined and manually coded which had not been done by July 2018. For the contextualization of Project Voices in this case I therefore rely on recruitment figures.

A third variable I discuss are officers with non-British and non-Dominion origins. In this case a comparison to the Colonial Service in general is impossible due to the lack of data, however, the presence of such officers in the Project Voices collection might be interesting to certain researchers which is why I include them here.

Finally, I discuss the absence of women in Project Voices, and attempt to explain the difficulties we had in recruiting them by briefly discussing the nature of their contributions to the Colonial Service and viewing the recruitment to Project Voices in this context.

Educational Background

From the beginning of modern colonial rule in the 19th century it was understood in London that senior positions in the Civil Services of each colony had to be filled with qualified candidates. Essentially this meant that senior civil servants had to be British. Even after the Second World War, when attitudes towards colonial rule and the purpose of the Colonial Service started to change, this still was the basic assumption guiding recruitment with superior education used as an argument. In 1956, for example, Charles Jeffries wrote:

“The nomination of persons to the higher appointments is retained in [the Secretary of State's] hands not in order that he may find 'jobs for the boys' but in order that these key posts may be filled by impartial selection from the widest possible field of persons who are best qualified for the work. There is everything to be said for appointing candidates of local origin to any posts which they are qualified to fill. But in most territories and most branches of the service there are not yet and cannot be for a long time enough such candidates to go round.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Heussler for example goes very far, perhaps even too far, in his interpretation of the effect a Public School and Oxbridge education, which, according to him, is what most colonial administrators received, had on their mindsets and actions. (*Heussler, Yesterday's rulers*). A more recent and nuanced analysis in the context of recruitment to the Administrative Service is given by Jeppsen. (*Jeppsen, 'Sanders of the River'*). Kirk-Greene touches on the subject in *Britains Imperial Administrators*, also with a focus on the Administrative Service. To my knowledge no such studies have been made about the backgrounds of officers joining other services. For the backgrounds of officers from the dominions see Milar's study on New Zealandish officers. (*Millar, Empire Men*)

²⁵⁹ *Jeffries, The Colonial Office*, 141.

Appointments to senior positions in the different territories were made by the Secretary of State to the Colonies. Recruitment was therefore managed by the Colonial Office in London even though officers were paid out of the budget of the territories they served in and with the colonial government as an employer. The details of how recruiting was done of course changed over time as the Colonial Service grew and policies were adapted to new requirements. They were, however always informed by an idea of who the perfect kind of candidate would be and this idea in turn influenced the recruitment process.²⁶⁰

Before 1914, the Colonial Service was relatively small.²⁶¹ In 1913 for example, only 248 officers in total were appointed.²⁶² Until the 1930s a system of patronage was used in the recruitment and selection process in London. Candidates submitted their applications and backed them with references. If they were found satisfactory after a thorough examination, the candidate was interviewed. Successful candidates were proposed to the Secretary of State for appointment by two Assistant Private Secretaries in charge of appointments.²⁶³ One of them was R.D. Furse who started this job in 1910.

Major, later Sir, Ralph Furse was responsible for recruitment from 1910 until his retirement in 1950. In this time he actively shaped not only the methods used in the recruitment process but also the attitudes that underlined it. As has been shown previously, after the First World War more senior staff was needed in the colonies and recruitment went up. In the 1920s it became clear that the current system in which recruitment was essentially handled by a two-person team under the heading of patronage could not be upheld. Therefore, in 1930 proposals by the Warren Fisher Committee led to the establishment of a personnel division within the Colonial Office under Furse, and the abolishment of the patronage system. This was done by instituting a Colonial Service Appointments Board which consisted of members of the Colonial Service passing through on leave and at least one expert, especially in the cases of appointments to the technical services. The Board was in charge of making the final decision on whether or not to appoint a candidate.²⁶⁴

This did not, however, change much of Furse's recruitment system nor of the conception of the ideal candidate he dictated. Heussler for example suggests that, since the Appointments Board was made up of men who had previously been picked by Furse, it would share his general assumptions about the ideal candidate.²⁶⁵ The system continued to rely on the examination of references and on interviews instead of written examinations. Both these practices were designed to establish if the candidate had the right kind of character suited to colonial administrators. A precise definition of this

²⁶⁰ The sometimes rather complicated relationship between what was considered a suitable candidate by some and the kind of candidates who could work towards the goals set by the Colonial Office is discussed by Jeppesen: *Jeppesen, Sanders of the River*.

²⁶¹ A general overview of the size of the Colonial Service before 1914 is given by Anthony Kirk-Greene here: *Kirk-Greene, On Crown Service*, 6-14. A discussion of the relatively small size of the Service as compared to the size of the populations it governed can be found here: *Kirk-Greene, The Thin White Line*.

²⁶² *Furse, Aucuparius*, 314-315.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 17-19.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 131.

²⁶⁵ *Heussler, Yesterday's Rulers*, 77f.

character was never given. Instead, Furse and his team relied on instinct when determining the suitability of a candidate.²⁶⁶

Conscious that recruitment did not start when the candidate handed in his application, Furse and his team devised strategies to actively attract the kind of candidates they wanted. They saw the need to promote the service to the general public to make it a legitimate choice of career in the eyes of those it wanted to attract.²⁶⁷ Securing good conditions of service was also a part of this strategy²⁶⁸. A more direct way of attracting suitable candidates was to closely cooperate with universities, technical colleges and schools. In practice this meant using personal contacts at Oxford and Cambridge and corresponding with the headmasters of leading public schools to have them look out for students with the right kind of character. They would then guide them in the direction of the Colonial Service and their endorsement was taken very seriously²⁶⁹. This strategy was used especially for recruiting future members of the Colonial Administrative Service. There was, therefore, a strong link between a certain kind of education and being recruited to the Service. For the Administrative Service character was valued the most as recruits would become the District Officers who would be in direct contact with the local population and in charge of governing them.²⁷⁰ As Furse puts it:

“The more specialized the post and the more its duties were confined to laboratory or office, the greater the weight attached to brains and specialized knowledge. Conversely, where the man's duties made human contacts of the first importance, the greater was the attention paid to character, personality, physique and habits.”²⁷¹

This general 'rule of thumb' is reflected in the qualifications the Colonial Office's *Appointments to His Majesty's Colonial Service* pamphlets list as requirements for joining particular services. A look at the requirements for the three most represented services in Project Voices, which, incidentally are three very different services namely the Administrative Service, the Police Service and the Agricultural Service²⁷², clearly shows the different qualifications recruits needed to have.

According to the *Appointments* pamphlet from 1950, there was “no fixed educational requirement either for immediate appointment or for appointment after training.” for Administrative Officers. However it was “desirable that candidates should be of the intellectual capacity of those who secure

²⁶⁶ In his autobiography, Furse describes his process as well as the standing of the personnel division within the administration of the Colonial Office in great detail: *Furse, Aucuparius*, 216-232. Heussler studies the same process from an outsider's perspective: *Heussler, Yesterday's rulers*.

²⁶⁷ After he noticed the lack of knowledge about the empire among the general public for example, Furse called the *Times* and asked the editor to include articles about the colonies and the British activities overseas on a regular basis. *Furse, Aucuparius*, 224f.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 221.

²⁶⁹ *Kirk-Greene, Britain's Imperial Administrators*, 130.

²⁷⁰ Heussler argues that the limitation of recruitment to Public Schools and Oxbridge reflected the idea that only the kind of man produced by these institutions, who was also of a certain class, was thought suitable for work in the Colonial Service, especially in the interwar years. *Heussler, Yesterday's rulers*. This argument is updated by Jeppsen. *Jeppsen, Sanders of the River*.

²⁷¹ *Kirk-Greene, Britain's Imperial Administrators*, 141.

²⁷² See Table 2.4.

First or Second Class Honours Degrees at a University.”²⁷³ Although this reflects Furse's ideal of considering character above academic achievements, having an university education was the norm for joining the Administrative Service, as was having attended a public school.²⁷⁴ After the First World War some officers were recruited from military units, other colonial services, directly from public schools or via local promotion in the colonies, but most came from universities, especially Oxbridge. In the 1930s, recruitment from sources other than universities ceased with Oxbridge graduates being the norm.²⁷⁵ This trend continued after the Second World War even though it was still possible to be recruited even without an university education.²⁷⁶ In either case, recruits to the Administrative Service had to take a one year course at either Oxford, Cambridge or the London University, together with recruits from some of the other services, where they were taught languages and other skills they would need in their assigned territories.²⁷⁷

For future members of the Police Service²⁷⁸ the minimum educational qualification was “the possession of a School Certificate”²⁷⁹. From the 14 Project Voices officers who were members of the Police Service, 2 hold a university degree and 12 have completed their secondary school education. This makes members of the Police Service 44,4% of all Project Voices officers without a Higher Degree. The next greatest share of Project Voices officers without a university degree are Administrative Officers at 25,9%.

For potential agricultural officers, in turn, “the normal requirement is a University Degree in Agriculture. Candidates with a University Degree in Horticulture or Natural Science, including Botany, may also be considered.”²⁸⁰ Unlike for administrative officers, agricultural officers, and officers in similar technical departments, needed to prove that they had the technical know-how corresponding to the job they were applying for. After their selection, recruits took a postgraduate course at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, allowing them to gain a more precise understanding of tropical agriculture.²⁸¹

²⁷³ Colonial Office: Appointments (1950) 15f.

²⁷⁴ Kirk-Greene, Britain's Imperial Administrators, 136. We also learn from the interviews that attendance at prestigious schools helped in being appointed to the Administrative Service. See: *Anonymous*, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 13. July 2017, PV-079. And: Edward *Cunningham*, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 15. December 2017, PV-113.

²⁷⁵ *Heussler*, Yesterday's Rulers, 50.

²⁷⁶ *Kirk-Greene*, Britains Imperial Administrators, 137.

²⁷⁷ For more on the postgraduate course and its establishment see: *Heussler*, Yesterday's Rulers, 155-195. ; *Furse*, *Aucuparius*, 270 and 283f. ; *Kirk-Greene*, Britains Imperial Administrators, 132-135. And: *Kirk-Greene*, *On Crown Service*, 43f.

²⁷⁸ For more on the Colonial Police Service see: *Jeffries*, The Colonial Police. And: David *Killingray*, David *Anderson*, An orderly retreat? Policing the End of Empire. In: David *Anderson*, David *Killingray* (Eds.), *Policing and Decolonisation. Politics, Nationalism and the Police, 1917-1965* (Manchester 1992) p. 1-21.

²⁷⁹ Colonial Office, Appointments (1950) 55.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 19.

²⁸¹ *Furse*, *Aucuparius*, 141.

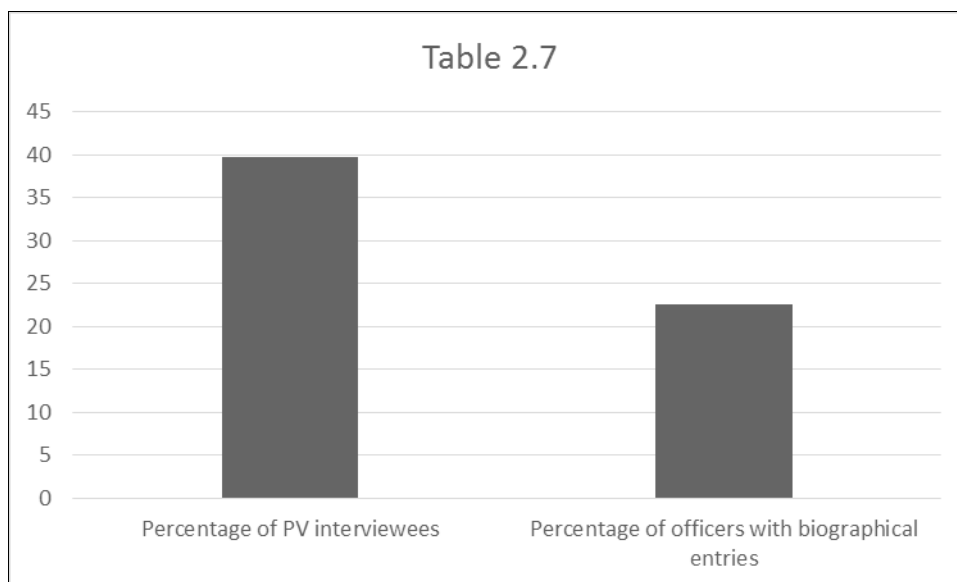


Table 2.7 shows the share of Project Voices interviewees who went to Oxbridge, compared to that of the Colonial Service in general. Both schools are equally represented in the Colonial Service, with 11,2% of officers having been educated in Cambridge and 11,3% of officers in Oxford. It shows the share of Project Voices interviewees who have attended Oxford to be notably higher than the share of officers in the Colonial Service. However, the table needs to be seen in the context of the differences in the shares of officers having been to Oxbridge per service. A look at the differences between the three services discussed above presented in Table 2.8 shows this clearly.

Table 2.8		
Oxbridge Attendance per Service: Project Voices Compared to Biographical Entries in the CO List		
	% of officers from the KG 1991 dataset having attended Oxbridge	% of Project Voices interviewees having attended Oxbridge
Administrative Service	53,4	68
Agricultural Service	31,2	22,2
Police Service	0,05	7,1

While the share of officers in the Administrative Service who had been to Oxbridge is a little over 50%, only 0,05% of officers in the Police Service attended either of these Universities. The slightly higher share of Project Voices interviewees in the Administrative Service who attended Oxbridge might be explained by the higher share of administrative officers in Project Voices on the whole. Note that the high percentage of Police Service officers in Project Voices only represents one single officer who transferred to the Police Service from the Administrative Service.

The diversion in Table 2.7 might therefore be explained through the higher share of Project Voices interviewees in the Administrative Service overall. Out of the 39 Project Voices interviewees who have been to Oxbridge, 34 later joined the Administrative Service.

Overall, however, Table 2.8 shows that the share of Oxbridge-educated officers in Project Voices resembles that of officers in the Colonial Service in general and can therefore be considered representative in this regard.

Officers from the Dominions

Generally, Colonial Service officers were recruited directly by the Colonial Office in London. All candidates were interviewed in London, which meant that, even though men and women from the Dominions were technically allowed to join the Colonial Service initially it was difficult for them to do so, as they had to go to London for the interview on their own expense. This problem was addressed in 1920. With the support of the then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, Leo Amery, Furse and his collaborators established the Dominions Selection Scheme²⁸², first in Canada in 1923, in Australia and New Zealand in 1928/9 and eventually also in South Africa.²⁸³ It consisted of setting up recruitment boards in the Dominions that operated on a similar basis than Furse's enterprise in London. Contact persons were identified at major schools and universities and told to look out for suitable candidates. These candidates were then interviewed by a board of interviewers who were, at least in the case of New Zealand, Oxbridge graduates and persons with imperial credentials.²⁸⁴ They recommended those they deemed suitable for appointment to London, where the final decision was made. In a recent article on the Selection Scheme in New Zealand, Daniel Millar describes how the criteria for selection related to class and how they reflect the notion of what was to be considered a good and productive member of the Colonial Service in a colonial setting.²⁸⁵

Only the school education permits an educated guess whether or not an officer was recruited through the Dominions Selection Scheme from the biographical entries.²⁸⁶ Some figures are also provided by Kirk-Greene: Between 1945 and 1955, 95 officers were recruited from New Zealand, 80 from Australia and 75 from Canada.²⁸⁷ We also know that the number of officers recruited through the Scheme in the first twenty years of its existence approached the 300²⁸⁸.

In Millar's article we find some more detailed figures on recruitment from New Zealand: At least 176 New Zealanders were recruited between 1920 and 1970. At least 96 of them entered the Colonial Service before 1944 and at least 72 entered after, which, considering the rise in recruitment after the Second World War in general, means that recruitment from the Dominions was declining. At least 66 New Zealanders joined the Service in the 1940s, only 22 in the 1950s and recruitment stopped in

²⁸² Kirk-Greene studies the establishment of the Scheme in great detail here: *Kirk-Greene*, Taking Canada into Partnership. A whole chapter on the scheme's establishment can also be found in Furse's autobiography: *Furse*, *Aucuparius*, 87-121.

²⁸³ *Kirk-Greene*, On Crown Service, 29.

²⁸⁴ *Millar*, New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service, 7.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ As schools from the dominions had not yet been separately coded by July 2018, this option is not taken here.

²⁸⁷ *Millar*, New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service, 29.

²⁸⁸ *Kirk-Greene*, Taking Canada into Partnership, 45.

1961²⁸⁹. Millar also points out, that more New Zealanders joined the service than Australians and Canadians which he explains by both pointing out the high interest New Zealanders had in the Empire and the smaller job market in New Zealand providing less opportunities at home.²⁹⁰

There are two officers in Project Voices from the dominions. Duncan McCormack²⁹¹ and Gordon Andreassend²⁹² are both from New Zealand. McCormack was recruited through the scheme in 1958, which he describes in his interview. He was probably one of the last New Zealanders to be recruited this way. Andreassend was recruited in 1966 through a version of the scheme, which shows that even after official recruiting from the dominions had ended, there were still some opportunities for New Zealanders to join the service. They both joined the Survey Service which, according to Millar, was a popular service for New Zealanders²⁹³. McCormack went to Kenya where he was involved in making the first Atlas of Kenya, and Andreassend had a long career in Hong Kong.

Officers with Non-British or -Dominion Origins

Only the location of the school provided in some biographical entries gives an indication of officers' origins. However, in many cases it would be difficult to draw direct conclusions from the location of a school to the place of birth, first because boarding schools were fairly common and second in the case of officers who grew up in countries that were not the country of their origin. However, the interviews in Project Voices include four Colonial Service officers with non-British or Dominion origins.

Three of them were born in Austria in the 1920s and early 1930s²⁹⁴. Norbert Abeles joined the Engineering Service in 1956 and served in Nigeria until 1965²⁹⁵. Freddy Kosten²⁹⁶ was part of the Geological Survey Service in the Gold Coast from 1949 until 1955. The third officer, who chose to remain anonymous, joined the Legal Service in 1954 and served in Kenya for ten years.²⁹⁷ They all, one way or another, fled to Britain after they and their families had been persecuted by the Nazis. Even though our interviews focussed on their time in the Colonial Service, all three have sent us additional materials that complement their stories. These are very interesting stories and it would certainly be worthwhile to examine the presence of former refugees in the Colonial Service.

The fourth officer I want to mention here is Mervyn Maciel, who was born in Kenya and is of Indian origins and also went to school in India. He served from 1947 until 1966, which is a comparably long time, first in the Administrative and then in the Agricultural Service in Kenya²⁹⁸. He also submitted

²⁸⁹ Millar, *New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service*, 5.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 6.

²⁹¹ Duncan McCormack, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 2. September 2017, PV-061.

²⁹² Gordon Andreassend, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 25. September 2017, PV-104.

²⁹³ Millar: *New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service*, 11.

²⁹⁴ Even though Project Voices was managed from Vienna, Austria the high number of Austrian-born officers is pure coincidence.

²⁹⁵ Norbert Abeles, Project Voices Interview with C. Easthill on the 13. June 2017, PV-002.

²⁹⁶ Manfred (Freddy) Kosten, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 20. October 2017, PV-117.

²⁹⁷ Anonymous, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 16. January 2018, PV-118.

²⁹⁸ Mervyn Maciel, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 11. October 2017, PV-057.

additional biographical material, like his two published books *Bwana Karani*²⁹⁹ and *From Mtoto to Mzee*³⁰⁰ and photographs, including photographs and writings by his wife Elsie Maciel.³⁰¹ In addition to this, an interview he did with Frederick Noronha in 2010 can be found on YouTube.³⁰²

Women in the Colonial Service and their Absence from Project Voices

Unfortunately, Project Voices has been unable to recruit any female Colonial Service officers to be interviewed. European women in different capacities have been present in the colonies from the beginning. Some went out as missionaries or as the wives of those who worked in the Empire like traders, scientists or members of the Colonial Service. Others had professional careers of their own that brought them to the colonies, they were journalists, worked for international organizations or, as more than a few did, they went out as members of the Colonial Service. Of the latter group, those who met their future husbands in the colonies generally stopped working to become full time wives³⁰³, but there were exceptions³⁰⁴.

Jeffries tells us that between 1922 and 1943 a total of 2352 women were recruited by the Colonial Office. The majority, 2189 to be exact, were appointed to the Colonial Nursing Service (whose name changed to Queen Elisabeth's Colonial Nursing Service in 1948). Of the others 83 went to the Education Service, 72 to the Medical Service and 8 to 'miscellaneous' posts. After the Second World War, career opportunities for British women in the Colonial Service increased and more of them were recruited.³⁰⁵

These numbers show that the place of European women in colonial administration was heavily influenced by the valid gender norms of the time. These are also reflected in Jeffries' account of women in the Colonial Service. In response to those who raised the question of the admission of women to the Colonial Service he argues that this is not a useful question to raise for a number of reasons. One of them is that, according to him: "it is obvious that there are some jobs which only women can do and some which only men can to."³⁰⁶ He also points out that the kinds of jobs those, who raise the question of women's admission, think of for the women that should be admitted, like clerical and executive positions, are often already done by people from the colonies which is why

²⁹⁹ Mervyn Maciel, *Bwana Karani* (Braunton 1985).

³⁰⁰ Mervyn Maciel, *From Mtoto to Mzee. Story of my Life's Safari* (Sutton 2014).

³⁰¹ Some of Maciel's biographical material is available on the Project Voices website at: Valentin Seidler, Project Voices – Digital Humanities, online under <https://homepage.univie.ac.at/valentin.seidler/project-voices/> (15.03.2019).

³⁰² Frederick Noronha, *Mister Clerk ... the story of the lives of Goans in Africa, and more...* (1/3). On: Youtube, 18.11.2010, online under <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQtpJ6LCjI8> (15.03.2019).

³⁰³ One of many such examples has been studied by Stephen Constantine in his recent study: Stephen Constantine, *Woman's Work in the Service of Empire. Lady Margaret Field (1905-94) from School Teacher to Governor's Wife*. In: *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46/3 (2018) 473-501. A different example came up in a Project Voices interview: Richard Colin Heape, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 25. May 2017, PV-100.

³⁰⁴ For example Jean Boyd, the wife of John Boyd, continued her work as a teacher even after they got married. See: John Boyd, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 16. April 2018, PV-014.

³⁰⁵ Jeffries, *Partners in Progress*, 153.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 151.

there was no need for British women to take these positions.³⁰⁷ The positions that European women could, and did, take presupposed a level of expertise and training the colonial authorities felt was not as developed in local populations that did not have access to the same kind of training available in Europe. At the same time, they confirmed gender norms about a woman's place in society and especially in professional life. Nursing, had long been established as a women's profession, as it emphasises the aspect of care. Within the Medical Service, Lady Medical Officers were recruited mostly to work with women and children. The need for women doctors was recognized because in many cases local traditions would not allow women to be cared for by male doctors. The same premise holds true for the Education Service. Teaching was considered to be a profession suitable to women, especially when their teaching was directed to women and girls, and so they could join this service more easily.³⁰⁸

During the Second World War, some women were also able to join the Administrative Service to service immediate staff needs in colonial headquarters when male recruits were scarce. At first, they were recruited on a temporary basis, and, even though short-term contracts continued to be popular for women, more permanent positions opened up after the war, although they were considered experimental posts.³⁰⁹ Their recruitment numbers increase in the 1950s when fewer men applied, because they were uncertain if the Colonial Service could still offer a full career. Still, not all positions within the Administrative Service were open to women, and the possibilities of promotion were virtually non-existent. Only in the mid-1950s Assistant Secretary positions were opened to women in Tanganyika and Northern Nigeria.³¹⁰

The number of women recruited to other services is very small, even after the war. Some joined the architects and town planners, others did research, and Jeffries mentions one woman who followed her husband to Hong Kong by joining the Service as an accountant.³¹¹ However, probably only few women had the necessary qualifications to join any of the technical services as they would have had to fight gender norms and societal expectations to get the required education.

Apart from having their careers restricted by the conditions of their employment, as I mentioned, many women were recruited on a temporary basis and on contract instead of on pensionable terms. In many cases careers were also cut short by marriage.

Professional women in the Colonial Service show up in the biographical entries dataset, even if we have to consider that many of them must have been excluded from the Colonial Office List by the ten year rule, or because their posts were not senior enough. Their biographical entries are identifiable because they normally include the abbreviation Mrs. or Miss. before their names.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 151f.

³⁰⁸ *Strobel*, *European Women and the Second British Empire*, 31.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ *Kirk-Greene*, *Britain's Imperial Administrators*, 149.

³¹¹ *Jeffries*, *Partners in Progress*, 153.

Table 2.9			
Female Officers in the CS			
Services and Appointments	No. of Female Officers	In % of all Officers in this Service	In % of all Female Officers
Administrative Service	1	0,02	0,31
Agricultural Service	4	0,31	1,22
Audit Service	0	0	0
Biological appointments	1	1,23	0,31
Broadcasting appointments	0	0	0
Chemical Service	0	0	0
Civil Aviation Service	0	0	0
Customs Service	0	0	0
Economic, Commercial and Statistical appointments	2	1,17	0,61
Education Service	132	8,7	40,37
Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners	2	0,09	0,61
Fisheries appointments	0	0	0
Forest Service	0	0	0
Geological Survey Service	0	0	0
Income Tax appointments	0	0	0
Labour appointments	1	0,43	0,31
Legal Service	5	0,23	1,53
Medical Service incl. Pharmacists	25	1,35	7,65
Meteorological Service	0	0	0
Mines Service	0	0	0
Police Service	1		0,31
Postal Service	0	0	0
Prisons Service	0	0	0
Public Relations appointments	1	1,15	0,31
Social Welfare appointments	14	12,28	12,28
Survey Service	0	0	0
Treasury and Currency appointments	0	0	0
Telecommunication and Wireless appointments	0	0	0
Veterinary Service	2	0,54	0,54

Queen Elisabeth's Colonial Nursing Service	124	63,27	37,92
Governor	0	0	0
Colonial Office based	12	1,67	3,67
Total of all female officers	327		

Table 2.9 subsumes the number of women per service in the dataset, their share of all officers in that service and their share of all female officers. The list of services is the same as in Table 2.5. This confirms that most women in the Colonial Service worked in the Education Service, closely followed by the Queen Elisabeth's Colonial Nursing Service. At the latter, they accounted for 63,27% of the total service. A small, but noticeable share also worked in the Medical Service and some were Social Welfare appointments. Women in other services, like the Administrative Service, were very rarely included in the biographical entries because of the reasons mentioned above, and compared to the number of men in each service except for the Nursing Service, they are a minority.

An additional source of data reflecting the findings in the biographical entries dataset are the recruitment numbers given in various *appointments* pamphlets for the years between 1939 and 1952 as is shown in Table 2.10. They complement the findings from the dataset, confirming that most women were appointed to either the Education-, or the Nursing Service with a fair share going to the Medical Service as well. The number of women recruited to the Administrative Service or other Services is however not detailed.

Table 2.10														
Recruitment of Female Officers to the CS 1939-1952														
	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Education	0	2	1	5	13	54	52	49	58	69	91	109	99	118
Medical	2	1	0	1	4	0	8	15	13	6	7	8	11	12
Nursing	127	102	77	97	67	76	91	157	228	220	183	131	175	178
Misc.	1	0	0	1	3	6	35	7	15	6	9	7	9	8
Total	130	105	78	104	87	136	187	228	314	301	290	255	294	316
<i>Sources: Colonial Office: Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Service (London 1950) 111. And: Kirk Greene, On Crown Service, 50.</i>														

The lack of female interviewees in Project Voices does not mean that the interviews cannot be analysed from a feminist perspective. Even though the wives of Colonial officers who were not in the service themselves did not fit the criteria for the project, some of them joined their husbands for the interviews³¹². Also, an analysis of how much and how the interviewees chose to talk about their wives' experiences could complement similar studies of colonial autobiographies³¹³. While some

³¹² A good example is an interview in which the officer's wife was present the whole time and when talking about family and social life in the colony commented to her husband: „your job was our life“.

³¹³ For example: *Callaway*, Gender Culture and Empire, 22.

officers gave extensive accounts on their impressions of their wives' experiences, and mentioned them often, even before they were asked about their family life, others were very reserved on this subject and barely went beyond answering if they were married. Some officers also married only after they had retired.

In some cases, the wives of the interviewees, had been either nurses or secretaries in the Colonial Service and had met their husbands in the colonies they both served in. However, they did not want to join the project, or were unable to. Notwithstanding, many sources on women's experiences in the Colonial Service are available in other collections. Professional women's papers collected by the Oxford Development Records Project, for example, can be easily found through the Catalogue of Papers of Women Administrative Officers in Colonial Africa³¹⁴. The Scottish Decolonisation Project also includes interviews with women who either worked in the colonies, accompanied their husbands or both³¹⁵.

³¹⁴ Bodleian Library, Catalogue of Papers of Women Administrative Officers in Colonial Africa 2016, online under <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/bcas/waoca/waoca.html> (15.03.2019).

³¹⁵ Acc 10809 (1), Reference Guide to Decolonisation Archive. National Library of Scotland. Department of Manuscripts.

Conclusion

Collections, be it of oral histories or of other materials, always develop in context. Normally they are supported by institutions like universities, libraries, museums or archives who in many cases also store them. They are initiated as a response to a perceived lack of sources on a particular subject by certain scholars interested in exploring this subject further, and they are reliant on donors to provide the documents they want to collect. The collection criteria and collection process as well as the materials ultimately included in the collections result from this context and in turn influence the collections final content. However, in many cases collectors neglect to record this context³¹⁶ and to reflect on how it influences the collection and the materials contained within it. The goal of this thesis was to remedy this in the case of Project Voices and to record both the development of the collection in the context of other collections containing similar materials, and the contents of the collection in the context of the group it attempts to cover, the Colonial Service.

The first part of this thesis has provided insights into the context of Project Voices' creation. It has been put in relation to other collections which also contain oral history interviews with members of the Colonial Service. This has shown that Project Voices is a useful addition to these collections. Even though it is smaller than the OCRP and ODRP and the BECM collections it has a stronger focus on the Colonial Service as its collection criteria are restricted to former members of the service. The comparable nature of the interviews makes it possible to approach them both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. Its location outside of Britain also makes Project Voices unique in that it removes it from the centres of colonial studies in Britain and allows it to take an outsider's perspective on the subject of the Colonial Service. Another advantage of the small size is that documents contained in the collection can be given more individual attention that they would receive within a larger collection. However, for more general studies on, for example, decolonisation, the more varied collections in Britain, like the Scottish Decolonisation Project and the ODRP, may be able to provide a fuller picture as they are not restricted only to members of the Colonial Service and include persons who were present in the colonies in many different capacities. The semi-structured kind of interviews included in the other collections also might provide more detailed accounts on subjects that have been less important to Project Voices, like everyday life in the colonies, colonial policy or careers beyond the Colonial Service. They also might be closer to interviewees' own narratives and include the events they chose to remember in the way they chose to remember them. Finally, the location of Project Voices, even though it is made possible through technology and easy access to catalogues and published literature online, complicates the access to some published sources that are only available in British libraries and to archival material kept in Britain. Most of these sources are not available online and have to be consulted in person at the library. Generally, therefore, a good knowledge on what to expect from a collection is necessary to assess its value and

³¹⁶ *Fogerty, Oral History and Archives.*

its ability to cater to specific research questions.

The second part of the thesis has gone into more detail on the contents of the Project Voices interviews. By approaching them from a quantitative perspective it was possible to compare them as a whole to the Colonial Service in general. This comparison has shown that the sample collected by Project Voices, albeit not complete, is fairly representative of the Colonial Service. In the case of career related variables it reflects the distribution of the service both among its different branches and among the territories it staffed, even though in some cases the circumstances of collection have led to certain branches or territories (the Administrative Service and Hong Kong in particular) being overrepresented in the Project Voices sample. The discussion of non-career related variables allows for a similar conclusion. Oxbridge education among Project Voices interviewees is reflective of trends in the Colonial Service as a whole, especially when broken down by service branch. Even though the available data has made it impossible to directly compare the share of officers from the Dominions and the share of officers with non-British and non-Dominion origins in Project Voices to that in the Colonial Service in general, the presence of such officers in Project Voices makes it possible to study these aspects through the specific stories of these officers. Finally, the unfortunate absence of female officers in Project Voices, which might be due, in part, to the collection practice, does reflect to some extent the smaller role they played as professionals in the service compared to men. Fortunately other collections have managed to record the experiences of female officers.

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- David *Turner*, Project Voices Interview with E. Kugeler on the 13. October 2017, PV-085.
- John *Yaxley*, Project Voices Interview with J. Heyer on the 9. October 2017, PV-094.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Catalogue Project Voices Collection

Includes only oral history interviews and personal additional materials. Materials donated by OSPA are not yet included in this catalogue.

Contributors are listed in alphabetical order with anonymous contributors at the end.

NAME: Abeles, Norbert
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-002
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, 182 photographs, memoirs, interview with Albert Lichtblau, secondary literature on Norbert Abeles
INTERVIEW DATE: 13.06.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1956 – 1965
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES: The interview was done via email, Norbert Abeles filled out the written questionnaire

NAME: Allan, Alexander Y., Dr.
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-003
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, two diaries, account of a trip to Kenya by Mary Agnes Allan (Allan's wife), documents and letters related to work in the Agricultural Service, secondary literature
INTERVIEW DATE: 24.03.17
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1975
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Allen, Hubert
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-004
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, biographical entry, transcript of a talk given by Hubert Allen at UCL
INTERVIEW DATE: 28.03.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Anderson, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-005
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 30.03.17
SERVICE: Customs Service ; Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1953 – 1973
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Federation of Malaya ; Kenya ; Uganda ; Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Anderson, Malcolm
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-006
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, 31 photographs, memoir “The Geographic Labourers of Arewa”
INTERVIEW DATE: 20.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service ; Economic, Commercial and Statistical Appointments
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1970
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Andreassend, Gordon
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-104
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, interview with researchers from the Hong Kong Heritage Project
INTERVIEW DATE: 25.09.17
SERVICE: Survey Service
TIME SERVED: 1966 – 1995
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria ; Uganda ; Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Banks, Kenneth
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-009
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 11.04.17
SERVICE: Telecommunications and Wireless Appointments
TIME SERVED: 1951 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Federation of Malaya
NOTES:

NAME: Barton, Donald
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-010
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, photographs, letters, documents related to his work in the Administrative Service
INTERVIEW DATE: 07.04.17 ; 29.07.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1952 – 1961
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES: Donald Barton was interviewed twice since he felt he had more to tell after the first interview. The second interview did not closely follow the questionnaire

NAME: Bean, Christopher
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-011
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 11.04.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 - 1967
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nyasaland / Malawi ; Bechuanaland / Botswana
NOTES:

NAME: Berry, Peter
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-012
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir “80 Odd Years of Happenings”
INTERVIEW DATE: 30.05.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1966 – 1997
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Bond, Mick
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-115
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir “From Northern Rhodesia to Zambia”
INTERVIEW DATE: 14.11.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1962 - 1969
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Bowcock, Philip
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-013
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir "Last Guardians"
INTERVIEW DATE: 25.08.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1950 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Sudan ; Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Boyd, John Foster (Dick)
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-014
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 16.04.18
SERVICE: Education Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 – 1984
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES:

NAME: Buckoke, Anton
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-021
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 03.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tang
NOTES:

NAME: Caldwell, Clive
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-114
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir "Memoires of Colonial Hong Kong"
INTERVIEW DATE: 18.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 - 1956
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Christie, Malcolm (Callum)
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-022
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 20.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service ; Economic, Commercial and Statistical Appointments
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1970
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Collingwood, Jeremy
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-024
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, autobiographical texts “Mporokoso”, “East Africa”, “Abercorn”, “Ndola and Sesheke”, “Lusaka”
INTERVIEW DATE: 31.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service ; Legal Service
TIME SERVED: 1961 – 1970
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Cunningham, Edward
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-113
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 15.12.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1960
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Cunningham, Eric
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-131
MATERIALS: Collection of essays “Gold Coast and Ghana Memories”
INTERVIEW DATE: /
SERVICE: /
TIME SERVED: /
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Gold Coast / Ghana
NOTES: Eric Cunningham passed away before he could be interviewed for the project.

NAME: Davidson, William Ronald (Ron)
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-097
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 02.11.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1968
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Dingley, Richard
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-027
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 09.05.17
SERVICE: Medical Service
TIME SERVED: 1962 – 1986
TERRITORY SERVED IN: North Borneo
NOTES:

NAME: Duran, Douglas
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-028
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 05.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1972
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Eberlie, Richard (Dick)
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-029
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, Parts 2, 3 and 4 of his memoirs: “District Officer in Tanganyika, 1956 to 1960” , “The Winds and Wounds of Change, 1961 to 1965” and “Aden: The Curtain Falls, 1965 to 1967”
INTERVIEW DATE: 10.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika ; Aden / Yemen
NOTES:

NAME: Forward, Alan
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-109
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir "You Have Been Allocated to Uganda"
INTERVIEW DATE: 12.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Fox, Roger
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-030
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 18.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1956 – 1959
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanga
NOTES:

NAME: Fullerton, Peter
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-031
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 24.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1953 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Gardner, Charles
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-032
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 07.07.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1956 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Gee, Thomas
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-033
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, biographical entry
INTERVIEW DATE: 25.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1947 – 1965
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Gill, John Marsden
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-099
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, films, memoirs “All the World's A Stage” and “Cameroon Trilogy”
INTERVIEW DATE: 06.07.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1951 – 1961
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES: The film collection has been digitized in cooperation with the Austrian Film Museum

NAME: Graham, Robert
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-035
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 30.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1965
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES:

NAME: Greenshields, Robert
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-110
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 27.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1961
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Griffiths, John
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-036
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 13.06.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1993
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Hall, Allan
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-037
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir “Tanganyika. Recollections of the Songea Tobacco Industry”
INTERVIEW DATE: 01.06.17
SERVICE: Development Appointments
TIME SERVED: 1951 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Hannington, Richard (Dick)
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-038
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, curriculum vitae, film collection
INTERVIEW DATE: 02.06.17
SERVICE: Veterinary Service ; Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1949 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES: The film collection has been digitized in cooperation with the Austrian Film Museum

NAME: Hare, John
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-040
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 05.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES: John Hare has a website, where one can find information about his subsequent career and a bibliography of his published works.
<https://www.johnhare.org.uk/>

NAME: Hawkins, Jeremy
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-042
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 06.06.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Heape, Richard Colin
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-100
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, 9 photographs
INTERVIEW DATE: 25.05.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Henry, Peter
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-043
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, curriculum vitae, memoirs “All Our Yesterdays” and “An Earthly Paradise”, article “Professional Forestry Staff Numbers and Their Achievements by Decades in Nigeria 1897-1960”
INTERVIEW DATE: 19.06.17
SERVICE: Forestry Service
TIME SERVED: 1950 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria ; Bechuanaland / Botswana
NOTES:

NAME: Holliday, Leslie Jock
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-044
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, biographical entry, text “*Entertainment*”, diary and photographs of his time in Borneo
INTERVIEW DATE: 09.09.17
SERVICE: Civil Aviation Service
TIME SERVED: 1947 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Palestine ; Singapore ; Sarawak ; North Borneo
NOTES:

NAME: House, Alan
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-046
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 11.05.17
SERVICE: Education Service
TIME SERVED: 1950 – 1975
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya ; Solomon Islands
NOTES:

NAME: Hunt, Derek
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-048
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, 22 slides, 18 photographs
INTERVIEW DATE: 14.06.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Jackson, Christopher
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-050
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 15.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1976 – 2004
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Jones, Marsden
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-051
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 16.06.17
SERVICE: Geological Survey Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1973
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Bechuanaland / Botswana
NOTES:

NAME: Kemp, Ronald
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-119
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, films, programme of the Self Government Celebration in Northern Nigeria, documents related to work in the Forest Service
INTERVIEW DATE: 15.11.17
SERVICE: Forest Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 - 1969
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES: The film collection has been digitized in cooperation with the Austrian Film Museum

NAME: Kosten, Manfred (Freddy)
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-117
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, 3 photographs, article in the Gold Coast Weekly Review "Geological Survey Plans A Big Part in the Country's Development Schemes", certificate of service
INTERVIEW DATE: 20.10.17
SERVICE: Geological Survey Service
TIME SERVED: 1949 – 1955
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Gold Coast
NOTES:

NAME: Lang Brown, James
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-052
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoirs "Uganda Diary" and "A Good Life", letters
INTERVIEW DATE: 06.09.17
SERVICE: Forest Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Lawley, Johnathan
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-116
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, diaries "Northern Rhodesia to Zambia" and "Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe Elections", memoirs "Staying on in Zambia 1964-1969 and a final job for HMOCS in Southern Rhodesia in 1980", article "Achievements of the British Colonial Service. A retrospective View."
INTERVIEW DATE: 16.10.17

SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1969
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Le Breton, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-053
MATERIALS: Photographs, letters, documents related to work in the administrative service, appointments pamphlet, Swahili phrasebook written by his father F.H. Le Breton “Up-Country Swahili”
INTERVIEW DATE: /
SERVICE: Administrative Service ; Legal Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES: David Le Breton was also the secretary of OSPA from 1992 until it ended in 2017

NAME: Leeks, Clinton
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-054
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 14.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1975 – 1999
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Leigh, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-055
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 20.06.17
SERVICE: Treasury and Currency Appointments ; Audit Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1976
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Swaziland
NOTES:

NAME: Longmore, Robert
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-111
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 2018
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1948 – 1960
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES: Robert Longmore answered the questions on the written questionnaire

NAME: Maciel, Mervyn
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-057
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoirs "*Bwana Karani*" and "*From Mtoto to Mzee. Story of my Life's Safari*", poem, photographs, texts published by his wife Elsie Maciel on www.britishempire.co.uk, interviews on youtube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQtpJ6LCjI8>
INTERVIEW DATE: 11.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service ; Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1947 – 1966
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: MacGregor, James, Dr.
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-059
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 22.06.17
SERVICE: Medical Service
TIME SERVED: 1952 - 1975
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Sierra Leone ; Solomon Islands
NOTES:

NAME: Mackley, Philip
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-060
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 28.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1964 – 1993
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Mc Cormack, Duncan
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-061
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, curriculum vitae, "A Brief Biography of Berard McArthur", two texts submitted to be published in the Overseas Pensioner "Mapping Kenya before Independence" and "My Years with Survey of Kenya"
INTERVIEW DATE: 02.09.17
SERVICE: Survey Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: McNicol, Iain
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-062
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 14.10.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1985 – 2016
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Meecham, Keith B.
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-063
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 28.06.17
SERVICE: Fisheries Appointments
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1967
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Gold Coast ; Sierra Leone
NOTES:

NAME: Mitchell, Harry
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-064
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoirs "Remote Corners. A Sierra Leone Memoir" and "Confessions of a Briefless Barrister"
INTERVIEW DATE: 27.03.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1958
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Sierra Leone
NOTES:

NAME: Newton, John
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-124
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 17.11.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Nissim, Roger
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-103
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, curriculum vitae
INTERVIEW DATE: 05.08.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1973 – 1993
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Reilly, Wyn
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-069
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 30.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1953 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Gambia ; Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Ridely, Jeffrey
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-112
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, Commonwealth Charter, curriculum vitae, articles submitted for publication in the Overseas Pensioner “Legacies from the former Colonial Audit Service” and “From the Magna Carta to the Commonwealth Charter and Beyond”, 1 photograph
INTERVIEW DATE: 10.10.17
SERVICE: Audit Service
TIME SERVED: 1953 - 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES:

NAME: Ross, Iain
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-070
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, first chapter of his memoir *"Kidepo. An African National Park on the Front Line"*
INTERVIEW DATE: 04.09.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Salmon, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-071
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, editions of his letters vol. 1-3
INTERVIEW DATE: 29.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1968
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Saunders, Charles
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-072
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 06.07.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1956 – 1996
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya ; Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Schur, Anthony
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-073
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 10.07.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1962 - 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Searle, Roger John
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-075
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 19.08.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1961
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Shirra, Guy
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-078
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, memoir “An Accidental Prawn”
INTERVIEW DATE: 12.07.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1967 – 1997
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Strange, Ian
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-123
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 10.11.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1985 – 1997
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Strick, Robert
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-080
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, biographical entry
INTERVIEW DATE: 15.08.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1971
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Fiji ; Tonga
NOTES:

NAME: Thatcher, Charles
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-082
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, film, photographs
INTERVIEW DATE: 19.08.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Trotman, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-083
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, curriculum vitae, photographs
INTERVIEW DATE: 12.08.17
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1974
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda ; Bechuanaland / Botswana ; Solomon Islands
NOTES:

NAME: Tuckett, James
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-084
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, reports he wrote in his time in the CS
INTERVIEW DATE: 07.09.17
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1965
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Turner, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-085
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, biographical entry
INTERVIEW DATE: 13.10.17
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1946 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nyasaland / Malawi ; Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Wallis, J.A. Nicholas
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-086
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 25.04.17
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 - 1971
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Federation of Malaya
NOTES:

NAME: Waterfield, Tony
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-087
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 28.08.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1952 – 1965
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Federation of Malaya
NOTES:

NAME: Wilson, Brian
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-089
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview, biographical entry, memoir “Hong Kong Then”
INTERVIEW DATE: 04.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1948 – 1983
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Wright, David
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-092
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 03.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1969
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Wright, Timothy
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-093
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 04.10.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 – 1966
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Northern Rhodesia / Zambia
NOTES:

NAME: Yaxley, John
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-094
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 09.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1993
TERRITORY SERVED IN: New Hebrides ; Solomon Island ; Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-016
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 13.04.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1953 – 1965
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-023
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 21.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1956 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-025
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 04.05.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1962 – 1993
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-026
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 05.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1961
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-047
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 03.07.17
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1953 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Uganda
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-056
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 29.08.17
SERVICE: Police Service
TIME SERVED: 1957 – 1994
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-067
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 03.07.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1980 – 1997
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Hong Kong
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-068
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 04.07.17
SERVICE: Education Service
TIME SERVED: 1956 – 1967
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nyasaland / Malawi
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-074
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 16.05.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1992
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Fiji ; Hong Kong ; Cayman Islands
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-077
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 11.07.17
SERVICE: Engineering Service, incl. Architects, Town Planners
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-079
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 13.07.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1951 – 1978
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nigeria ; Solomon Islands ; Gilbert / Kiribati and Ellice / Tuvalu Islands
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-081
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 17.08.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1958 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-090
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 25.03.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1955 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-098
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 23.10.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service
TIME SERVED: 1959 – 1962
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-101
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 2017
SERVICE: Agricultural Service
TIME SERVED: 1960 – 1970
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Nyasaland / Malawi
NOTES: The interviewee filled out the written questionnaire

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-118
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 16.01.18
SERVICE: Legal Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1964
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Kenya
NOTES:

NAME: Anonymous
REFERENCE NUMBER: PV-132
MATERIALS: Project Voices interview
INTERVIEW DATE: 23.06.17
SERVICE: Administrative Service ; Legal Service
TIME SERVED: 1954 – 1963
TERRITORY SERVED IN: Tanganyika
NOTES:

Appendix 2: Project Voices Interview Material

Interview Questionnaire

30	Part 1: INTRODUCTION	YOUR NOTES HERE	FILL IN AID
1	Interviewer checks if all biography sheet, spelling sheet are labelled (top of page) and pencils ready Interviewer starts recording software	entry_bin =	Entry_bin = 1 if biographical entry exists Entry_bin = 0 if no biographical entry exists
2	Ring officer on Skype.	Today's date =	Check if MP3 Skype Recorder software started automatically with the conversation
3	"Hello / good afternoon..... Thank you very much for participating in the interview. I am very glad that we get the opportunity to have this talk. My name is and I am a student of / professor of at" "I have read your ... (biography, biographical entry from the Colonial Office List, your explanations you sent us in your emails, your statement at the Witness seminars etc.)". Feel free elaborate on what you know of the officer's background. "I am very interested to hear your story. Is this a good moment for you to talk?"		Switch off your mobile phone!
4	"Our talk will roughly follow a chronological order starting with your recruitment. You can of course interrupt at any time. You can also skip a question or topic, you do not want to talk about. A small note on terminology: I will say 'colonial service' throughout our conversation even though the name changed in 1954 to Her Maj. Overseas Civil Service. I hope you do not mind this simplification. Do you have any questions at this stage?"		Answer his questions in detail. Interviewee should feel welcome and appreciated and at ease.
5	"Before we the actual transcription begins, I would like to ask you whether you want to remain anonymous or to have your name published together with your account. Mr. do you want to remain anonymous or give your name?" Repeat his answer for the record. - If anonymity chosen: Do not address the interviewee with his name for the rest of the interview.	anonym_bin =	Anonym_bin = 0 officer allows us to publish his name. Anonym_bin = 1 officer wants to stay anonymous.
6	"The transcription and publication starts now. This interview is part of project VOICES. The responsible project leader is Dr. Valentin Seidler at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Historical Social Science in Vienna. Today isdate. The interviewer isyour name." "What were you reasons for taking part in this interview?"		
7	"Thank you again for taking part. I would like to begin with a few personal details."		

8	<p>If interviewee chose to remain <u>anonymous</u>: "Could you me give your nationality, place of birth and date of birth".</p> <p>If interviewee chose to <u>give his name</u>: "Could you give me your full name, nationality, place of birth and date of birth"</p>	<p>Do <u>not</u> ask for the name if the officer stays anonymous</p> <p>name =</p> <p>nationality =</p> <p>placeofbirth =</p> <p>yearofbirth =</p> <p>monthofbirth =</p>	<p>Ex. Name = "John Hillary Smith"</p> <p>Ex. nationality = "UK Scotland" "UK England" "Ghana" etc.</p> <p>Ex. placeofbirth = "UK Scotland" "UK England" "Ghana", "Kenia", "Cyprus" etc.</p> <p>Ex. Yearofbirth = "1932"</p> <p>Ex. Monthofbirth "August"</p>
9	<p>This is again for the record: When you did start with your first post and when did you retire from the colonial service?</p> <p>- Entry year = year of 1st post in the colony.</p>	<p>entryyear =</p> <p>retirementyear =</p>	<p>Ex. entryyear = "1958" year of 1st post in the colony.</p> <p>Ex. retirementyear = "1971"</p>
10	Part 2: CAREER IN THE COLONIAL SERVICE		
11	"What were your reasons for joining the colonial service?"		
12	"How did the possibility of colonies gaining independence influence your decision to join the colonial service?"		
13	2.1 RECRUITMENT until arrival in the colony		
14	<p>"Could you speak about your education and your training at home before you joined the colonial service?"</p> <p>"It would be great if you started with your secondary school education."</p> <p>- "School_country1" = country of his secondary school education (roughly 11-16 years old). If this was in the UK distinguish in England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland. "</p> <p>- "School_country2" only if he attended school in two different countries.</p> <p>- "Oxbridge_bin" = 1, if the officer attended either Oxford or Cambridge</p>	<p>school_name =</p> <p>school_country1 =</p> <p>school_country2 =</p> <p>higherdegree =</p> <p>Oxbridge_bin =</p>	<p>Ex. school name: "Dunbarton" or "unknown"</p> <p>Ex. school_country1: "UK-England", "UK-Scotland", "Gold Coast". School1 refers to his secondary school (years 11-16)</p> <p>Ex. school_country2 = "999" if school education in one country only.</p> <p>Ex. higherdegree: "Law", "Medical degree" or "Botanist" or "none"</p> <p>Ex. Oxbridge_bin = 1 if the officer at either Oxford or Cambridge before joining the Colonial Service. A colonial service training at Oxbridge does not count.</p>

15	<p>"Anthony Kirk-Greene, a former colonial officer has written that there was a connection between the social and educational background and careers in the colonial service."</p> <p>"How would you think about this?"</p> <p>If the officer does not mention it himself ask him "Did you attend a public school (also independent school) in the UK?"</p>	<p>publicschool_bin =</p>	<p>Ex. Publicschool_bin = 1 if the officer attended a public school in the UK</p> <p>Ex. Publicschool_bin = 0 if the officer attended a different school</p>
16	"Did you serve in the military service or the national service?"	milservice_bin =	Ex. milservice_bin = 1 if the officer served in the army . Also national service counts
17	In case the officer served in the military: "When did you serve?"	milservice_start =	Ex. milservice_start = 1950
		milservice_end =	= 999 if this question was omitted
18	<p>In case the officer served in the military: "Were you recruited into the colonial service right out of the armed forces?"</p> <p>- No need to ask this, if the officer has already explained how he was recruited (e.g. out of university)</p>	RDW6_bin =	<p>Ex. RDW6_bin = 1 if the officer was recruited right out of the armed forces</p> <p>Ex. RDW6_bin = 0 if the officer was recruited the usual way (via London)</p>
19	<p>"Please tell me: What were the steps involved in recruitment - from the moment you wanted to apply to the Colonial Office up to your actual arrival in the colony?"</p> <p>- Should include selection process (interviews, what happened after acceptance?</p>	recruitmentage =	recruitmentage = age of signing up with colonial service.
20	<p>"Could you choose or otherwise influence in which colony you would serve? If so please describe the process."</p> <p>- "Ichosemicolony" = 0 ... no wishes expressed</p> <p>=1 ... wish expressed, uncertain until being sent there</p> <p>=2 ... wish expressed, was sent somewhere else</p> <p>=3 ... wish expressed, felt reassured his wish would be granted (and it was)</p>	ichosemycolony_4 =	<p>Ex. Ichosemicolony = 0 the officer did not express a specific wish for a colony during recruitment.</p> <p>Ex. Ichosemicolony = 1 the officer expressed a specific wish and was sent there. He had no certainty until the first assignment.</p> <p>Ex. Ichosemicolony = 2 the officer expressed a specific wish and was sent somewhere else.</p> <p>Ex. Ichosemicolony = 3 if the officer expressed a specific wish and was reasonably assured that he would be sent there.</p>
21	"What were the most popular colonies for young recruits and why?"		
22	<p>"How satisfied did you feel with the colony you had been assigned to when you first heard about it?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer, then: "For statistical reasons, I would ask you to try and rate your satisfaction with the assigned colony on a scale from 1 to 10. A score of 10 means you were very pleased with your assigned colony. 1 means you were utterly unhappy with that location."</p>	colonyatisfaction_10 =	<p>Ex. Colonyatisfaction_10 = enter a number 1 to 10</p> <p>If the officer give two numbers ("I'd say 4 or 5") take down the first number.</p>

23	2.2 CAREER STEPS in the colonial service			
24	<p>"Please tell me about your career in the colonial service. What were your posts and function(s)? Please add a very brief description of a typical activity for each position. Please start with your first position in the colony."</p> <p>GRAND NARRATIVE: Please give time and ask for details until you and the interviewee are fully satisfied. Ask for details to achieve a good understanding of "What duties were involved with this position?"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Create a rough chronology of his functions on the biography sheet. Use post title in the officer's biographical entry, where available.- Ask to describe general duties and working culture of his service (e.g. Administrative Service).- If you come across a specific name (of a location, of a colleague etc.) ask him to spell it out clearly and pencil it down on the Spelling sheet. Check your spelling with the officer at the end of the interview.- Ask or make sure whether he served a time in London and tick variable.- Ask or make sure whether he served as private assistant to the governor (or equivalent) and tick the variable.	positions 1,2,3, use separate Biography sheet	<i>names of locations & colleagues spell out on Spelling sheet</i>	<p>Ex. service1 = "medical service" (take name from List of colonial services)</p> <p>Ex. nrcolonies = 3 (Home visits do not count as territory)</p> <p>Ex. territory1,2,... = "Gold Coast" (use colonial names). Home visits do not count.</p> <p>Ex. servedinLondon_bin = 1, if the officer rotated into a job in London (e.g. in the Colonial Office) otherwise = 0</p> <p>Ex. pvtesecr_bin = 1 if the officer served as a private secretary / assistant to the governor. Otherwise = 0</p>
25	In case the officer served in <u>more than one colony</u> "What were your reasons for transferring to another colony? Could you describe the process behind this?"			
26	In case the officer served in <u>more than one service</u> : "What were your reasons for changing services? What was the process behind this like?"			
27	<p>"Thank you. That was an impressive account. What would you consider your highest position in your career with the colonial service?"</p> <p>- Circle or otherwise mark the highest position (title, years, colony) on the biography sheet.</p>	highestpost =	Ex. highestpost = "acting governor, 1966-68, Gold Coast" must match a position in the biography sheet .	
28	Part 2.3 WORK IN THE COLONIES			
29	"In hindsight: What did you particularly enjoy when working in the colonial service?"			
30	"In hindsight: What part of your work in the colonial service did you find most annoying or hard to get used to?"			
31	<p>"Looking back at your whole career in the colonial service. How would you rate your job satisfaction overall?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Can you express your overall job satisfaction on a scale from 1 to 10? A score of 10 means it was an excellent experience throughout. A score 1 one means you felt miserable and unhappy throughout your whole career."</p>	careersatisfaction_10 =	Ex. careersatisfaction_10 = ... number 1 to 10	

32	"My next two questions concern corruption. I define this as the improper use of authority or of funds for personal benefit."			
33	"What kind of corrupt behavior do you remember among local staff in the colonial service? How was it dealt with?"			
34	"What kind of corrupt behavior do you remember among expatriate staff in the colonial service? How was it dealt with?"			
35	Part 2.4 PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE (TAILORING)			
36	"My next questions are all related to the period of time in which the work in the colonial administration was focused on preparing for independence."			
37	<p>"Did you serve in a colony when it gained independence? If so, which one?"</p> <p>- <u>Any time up to 6 months before independence</u> counts as YES. In doubt clarify this ("Anytime close to 6 months before independence also counts.")</p> <p>- Very few officers saw independence in more than one colony (because of frequent transfers) - take down all colonies.</p>	<p>independence_bin =</p> <p>independence_country1 =</p> <p>independence_country2 =</p> <p>independence_country3 =</p>	<p>Ex. Independence_bin = 1 if the officer served in at least one colony when it achieved independence or up to 6 months before it gained independence, otherwise = 0</p> <p>Ex. Independence_country1 = "Gold Coast"</p>	
38	<p>"In your judgment: How many years or months in advance of independence did the colonial administration start active preparations (e.g. reforms, training courses) for it?"</p> <p>- If the officer saw more than one independence = 1st country in which he experienced independence. Say this ex. "I am referring to your first independence in ..."</p>	<p>independence_prepare_months =</p> <p>(Ex: "24" for two years)</p>	<p>Ask this question even if the officer did not stay until a colony reached independence.</p> <p>= "999" if he really cannot say</p>	
39	"How did it influence your own motivation to work, when you realized that the colony is heading for independence?"			<p>Ask this question, even if the officer did not stay until a colony reached independence.</p>
40	<p>"Do you remember an assignment which - in your opinion - was mostly related with preparing the country for independence? What did you do?"</p> <p>- The title of the post should correspond to a position in your biographical sheet. If necessary ask "Which post did this concern?" or similar.</p>	<p>post_preparingindep1 =</p> <p>(Ex: "Land surveyor, Kenya, 1954-56")</p>	<p>= 0 if officer says he was never related with indep.</p> <p>= 999 if the officer cannot remember or question was omitted</p>	
41	"How would you pass on your duties and tasks to a local successor? What activities were involved?"			
42	<p>"In the period before independence: How would you judge the amount of time you had for tasks and duties?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Please use again a scale from 1-10. A high score means that you had more than enough time to fulfill your assignments. A score of 1 means there was extreme time pressure."</p>	<p>prepare_time_10 =</p>	<p>Ex. Prepare_time_10 = number 1 to 10</p>	
43	<p>In the period before independence: How much decision power were you given in fulfilling your duties, say in deciding on what needed to be done and how?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Can you rank your impression on a scale from 1-10? A high score means that you had a free hand and very little involvement by you superiors. A score 1 means you were given detailed tasks with no flexibility on how to fulfill them."</p>	<p>prepare_decisionpower_10 =</p>	<p>Ex. prepare_decisionpower_10 = number 1 to 10</p>	

44	<p>"How would you judge the number of well-trained <u>expatriate officers</u> available during the period of preparing for independence?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Please use again a scale from 1-10. A high score means that you felt there were plenty of well-trained expatriate officers for the job. A score of 1 means there was a clear lack of well-trained expatriate officers and great need for them."</p>	prepare_availexpats_10 =	Ex. prepare_avaiexpats_10 = number 1 to 10
45	<p>"Finally, how would you judge the number of well-trained <u>local personnel</u> available during this period of preparing for independence?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Please use again a scale from 1-10. A high score means that you felt there were plenty well trained local officers available. A score 1 means there was a clear lack of well-trained local personnel and great need for them."</p>	prepare_availlocals_10 =	Ex. prepare_availlocals_10 = number 1 to 10
46	<p>"In the period of preparations for independence, some officers adapted British systems and institutions to make them more compatible with the situation in the colony. What is your opinion on this practice?"</p> <p>If the officer seems lost with the question, bring this short story: "To illustrate could I tell you a short story from another interview? A former Administrative officer told us that he had been assigned with training the first <u>local</u> Justices of Peace. In Britain, lay magistrates are instructed on law and procedures by qualified Clerks of the Court and need no formal legal training. In the colony, there were no qualified clerks to advise the lay magistrates. The officer feared that, without adaptation the British lay magistracy would not work as intended. The officer developed rough guides for the various legal codes. The first local lay magistrates used these manuals on the bench - <u>unseen</u> by the public. In a sense, the officer single-handedly adapted a British institution to the specific conditions in the colony. What do you think of this practice of adapting imported British structures?"</p>	<p>tailor_opinion_bin =</p> <p>Ex. for such institutions: British law, procedures or even the setup of ministries or departments</p>	<p>Ex. tailor_opinion_bin = 1 if the officer approves on institutional adaptations a minimum degree, = 0 if he is neutral or disapproving.</p> <p>The Administrative officer in the story was Colin Baker in Nyasaland. Interviewed in May 2016. You can give details if the officer asks</p>
47	<p>"Do you remember occasions in which <u>you adapted</u> or in which you were involved in adaptations of a British structure to create a better functioning version for the colony?"</p> <p>- GRAND NARRATIVE: Give time and encourage to think of such a situation. Ask for personal experiences, details and clarifications</p> <p>- Tick the variable "tailor_bin" = 1 if the officer actually adapted to local conditions.</p> <p>- Take note of the position and the time to which the officer's account refers. If necessary ask "Which post did this concern?" or similar. Use post title from the <u>biography sheet</u>.</p> <p>- Tick the variable "tailor_fieldpost_bin" = 1 if the activity in the officer's account took place mostly in the field (= outside the colonial capital or a major urban center). Ask for clarification if necessary.</p> <p>- Tick the variable "tailor_localstaff_bin" = 1 if the activity was done together with mostly local officers.</p>	<p>tailor_bin =</p> <p>tailor_post1 =</p> <p>tailor_post2 =</p> <p>tailor_post3 =</p> <p>tailor_fieldpost_bin =</p> <p>tailor_localstaff_bin =</p>	<p>Ex. tailor_bin = 1 if the officer adapted a British structure to the conditions in the colony. The resulting structure must be a bit different from the one in Britain. Otherwise = 0</p> <p>Ex. tailor_post1 = "medical offir, 1954-55, Nyasaland" (from the <u>biography sheet</u>)</p> <p>Ex. tailor_fieldpost_bin = 1 if the work was carried out in the field (outside the capital or major towns). = 0 if the adapting happened in the colonial capital or a major town.</p> <p>Ex. tailor_localstaff_bin = 1 if majority of colleagues at that times were locals. = 0 if expat colleagues</p>

48	In case the officer adapted to local conditions: "In your opinion, what <u>external factors or circumstances</u> allowed you to experiment and eventually modify the British system?"		
49	In case the officer adapted to local conditions: "Do you think <u>anything related to your own person</u> allowed you find an adapted solution for the colony?"		
50	"In your opinion: How common were adaptations of British institutions to the conditions in the colony?" Allow time to answer and fill in "tailor_common_3" accordingly	tailor_common_3 =	= number 1 if officer thinks tailoring was common = number 0 if he is neutral or does not agree = 3 if officer says something else
51	"Again, in your opinion: When adaptations happened, how substantial in nature would you judge the resulting deviations from the British model?" Allow time to answer and fill in "tailor_extnt_3" accordingly	tailor_extnt_3 =	= number 1 if officer thinks tailoring was substantial = number 0 if he is neutral or does not agree = 3 if officer says something else
52	"A former Gold Coast officer once wrote that straight and unadapted importations of British structures would fail to perform as intended without British officers to man them. What is <u>your opinion or your experience?</u> " -Take note of the officer's opinion. Does he a) agree = 1 with this sentence b) disagree = 2 or c) gives a different statement = 999	Adu_opinion_3 =	Ex. Adu_opinion_3 = 1 if the officer agrees or somewhat agrees with the statement = 2 if the officer disagrees or somewhat disagrees = 3 if the officer says anything else
53	"Do you think that working alongside with British officers in the same office or in the same "room" helped local personnel in how they worked with new British structures? What were your own experiences?"	intheroom_opinion_3 =	= 1 if the officer agrees or somewhat agrees = 2 if the officer disagrees or somewhat disagrees = 3 if the officer says anything else
54	If the officer thinks British officers made a difference: "Can you think of a minimum share of British officers in an office to make a difference in how local staff coped with European procedures?" Take down a fraction (10%) here. If necessary ask for confirmation "So you think 30% expatriate officer were enough?"	referencegroup_share =	Ex. referencegroup_share = 30% British needed to improve how local colleagues coped with British structures = 999 if the officer has no opinion.
55	If the officer thinks the presence of British officers made a difference: "In your opinion: How long time working alongside British staff was needed for local officers to work with European procedures?"	referencegroup_months =	Ex. referencegroup_months = 12

56	Part 3: FAMILY and SOCIAL LIFE IN THE COLONIAL SERVICE		
57	<p>"My next questions concern social life in the colony. If I may I will begin with marriage."</p> <p>If the officer responds that he was not married, skip this question.</p> <p>"What was it like to be married and work in the colonial service?"</p> <p>- In addition, take note of a) whether the officer was married during his tenure and b) whether his wife was European.</p> <p>- In addition, be sure to take note of his wife's nationality. If necessary ask "What was your wife's nationality?"</p>	<p>married_bin =</p> <p>wifernationality =</p> <p>Europeanwife_bin =</p>	<p>This is personal. Give time to elaborate.</p> <p>Ex. married_bin = 1 if the officer got married during his time with the colonial service</p> <p>Ex. Wifernationality = British</p> <p>Ex. Europeanwife_bin = 1 if the wife is from Europe = 0 if otherwise</p>
58	In case interviewee was married. "Did you have children while in the colonial service?"	children_bin =	children_bin 1= children were born while the officer was with the colonial service
59	In case the interviewee had children while serving "How were your children educated?"	childrenedu_local_bin =	If one kid was educated for at least 3 years in colony = "1" for local education otherwise = "0" for education in Europe.
60	"How was your private social life like when you were off duties?"		
61	<p>"Did you spend private time with local colleagues or local friends?"</p> <p>- In addition, tick variable "local_friends_bin"</p>	localfriends_bin =	Ex. Localfriends_bin = 1 if the officer had at least one friend from among the local population.
62	<p>"Did you speak a local language? If so, how did you learn it?"</p> <p>- In addition, tick "localidiom_bin"</p>	localidiom_bin =	Ex. localidiom_bin = 1 if the officer claims that he spoke a local language
63	<p>In case the officer spoke a local language: "How much did you enjoy speaking a local language?"</p> <p>Allow time for an answer, then: "Could you assign a number from 1 to 10 for how much you enjoyed conversing in a local language. A score 1 means you avoided speaking it where possible. A score of 10 means you very much enjoyed conversing in the local language."</p>	Localidiom_satisfaction_10 =	Ex. Localidiom_satisfaction_10 = number 1 to 10
64	Part 4: INDEPENDENCE and RETIRING		
66	<p>We have reached the final part of our interview. In this part, I would like to focus on the time around independence and on your decision to resign or remain in service.</p> <p>"What did you do when the colony in which you served gained independence?"</p> <p>"What were the reasons for your decision?"</p>	<p>remain_bin =</p> <p>remain_country =</p>	<p>remain_bin = 1 if officer remains in the independent country for at least 12 months,</p> <p>remain_bin = 0 if officer retires / transfers to another colony / remains for less than 12 months</p> <p>remain_country = ex-colony if officer stayed there for at least 12 months. Otherwise "999".</p>
67	„At the time, when you made up your mind, did you feel welcome to stay on in the country after independence?“	feelingwelcome_bin =	feelingwelcome_bin = 1 if the officer felt at least a bit welcome, = 0 if neutral to not welcome.

Part 4a: REMAINING in the INDEPENDENT COUNTRY		Officer remained in the <u>independent</u> country for at least 11 months. Otherwise skip.	
68	If the officer remained in service: "How long did you continue to serve in the civil service after independence?" - Officer will probably give years. Calculate x12 for entry in the Data entry sheet.	remain_months =	Ex. remain_months = 18 (min 12 months otherwise he counts as "has not remained") = 999 if the whole question was skipped because the officer did not remain
70	If the officer remained in service: "What changes in your work did you observe <u>after</u> independence as compared with time <u>before</u> independence?"		
71	If the officer remained in service: "How would you <u>describe</u> standards of the <u>integrity</u> and <u>political neutrality</u> in the public service in the months and years after independence?" If the officer observed falling standards: "Do remember changes in the level of corruption or in political motivated appointments?" If the officer observed falling standards: "When would you say did standards begin to fall?" - Ask for rough estimate of years (months) after independence to the point where the officer remembers falling standards	remain_fallingstandards_bin = (Ex. remain_fallingstandards_bin = 1 if the officer thinks corruption got worse after independence) remain_corruption_months =	remain_fallingstandards_bin = 1 if the officer thinks standards fell after independence. = 0 if standards were the same. = 999 if the question was skipped. remain_corruption_months = 24, if the officer estimates that standards started to fall from around 2 years after independence. remain_corruption_months = 0 if officer estimates that standards fell at independence or before independence.
72	If the officer remained in service: "Do you think that your physical presence of expatriate officers after independence helped maintain standards of integrity among your colleagues or in your department?"		
73	End of Part 4a		
74	"Were you offered a <u>compensation payment</u> for loss of career at independence?" "What were the details therein?" - Tick variable compensationoffered_bin with 1 (YES) if the officer was offered a compensation for the loss of his career	compensationoffered_bin =	Ex. compensationoffered_bin = 1 if the officer was offered a compensation payment for the loss of his career due to independence.
75	If the officer was offered compensation payment: "How did it influence your decision to leave or to remain in service?"		
76	If the officer was offered compensation payment: "How relevant were the conditions offered in the compensation package for your decision to stay or to leave?" Allow time to answer then: "Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means the compensation payment had no influence whatsoever on your decision. A score of 10 means it highly influenced your decision."	stayed_compensation_relevance_10 =	Ex. stayed_compensation_relevance_10 = number 1 to 10
77	If the officer had children "In hindsight, how relevant was the education of your children for the decision to leave or to stay on?" Allow time to answer then: "Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means this had no influence on your decision at all. A score of 10 means this was a highly influential factor."	stayed_edukids_relevance_10 =	Ex. stayed_edukids_relevance_10 = number 1 to 10

78	<p>"How relevant was your age and work opportunities <u>outside</u> the colonial service at that time for your decision?</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means age and career options outside the colonial service had no influence whatsoever on your decision. A score of 10 means this highly influenced your decision."</p>	age_career_relevance_10 =	Ex. age_career_relevance_10 = number 1 to 10
79	<p>"How did your perspective of the territory's political future influence your decision to remain in service or to leave?"</p> <p>Allow time to answer then: "Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means your perspective on the territory's future had no influence whatsoever on your decision. A score of 10 means this highly influenced your decision."</p>	stayed_futureperspective_10 =	Ex. stayed_futureperspective_10 = number 1 to 10
80	"Can you tell me about decisions taken by colleagues around you. What were the most common reasons for leaving or staying?"		
81	If the officer has not mentioned this before: "When you eventually resigned, what were your reasons?"		
82	Part 5: CLOSING		
83	"Thank you very much. This was very interesting. Maybe a final question: What would you see as the biggest success in your career with the colonial service?"		
84	<p>"We have reached the end of our interview. Let me again thank you for sharing your history with me." Before we end our transcription, I would like to go through some spelling of terms and names ..."</p> <p>- Go through the biography sheet and check with officer if it is complete</p> <p>- Now refer to specific terms and names from spelling sheet and check if your spelling is correct</p>	<p>Biography sheet minimum information:</p> <p>"District Offr" + "Kampala, Uganda" + "1954-1955"</p>	
85	"This interview was conducted by ... your name on date ... over the phone. The interviewee has opted to remain anonymous / to give his name. Would you please confirm that we can publish your account and that you grant us all <u>associated rights</u> ?" Wait for answer.		
86	"Transcription ends here."		
87	"Thank you very much indeed for your time and for your patience. It has been a really fascinating talking with you." Our official part is over. I would like to ask you if you would like to share documents, <u>photos</u> or even your <u>amateur movies</u> , which we should publish together with your recorded interview.	This is important. We would <u>love</u> to receive private communication, letters, documents, <u>photos</u> and <u>in particular their amateur movies</u> .	Interested contact Veronika at voices@univie.ac.at We digitize their amateur movies and return digital copy to them.
88	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Copy the mp3 file from "Downloads" to Project Voices "Interview partner" / Folder of your officer 2. Fill in and sign the Profile sheet. Correct telephone number or other info where needed. 3. Fill in the variables in the Excel file in Folder "Dateneingabe" 4. - Give original notes and various sheets in one pack (paperclip, plastic folder) to Veronika 5. Write the "Thank you-letter" and ask for more officer (colleagues) and photos / movies 		

Profile Sheet

Profile Sheet

CONTACT DETAILS

E-Mail:

Telephone:

Residence:

TERRITORY/
TERRITORIES

PROFESSION

BIO ENTRY COLONIAL
OFFICE LIST

ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION

ADDITIONAL
DOCUMENTS

APPROVAL to PUBLISH

All Documents

Yes/No

INTERVIEW
CONDUCTED

Date/Time

Name of Interviewer

Consent to publish
officer's name with
interview

Signature Interviewer

YES NO

Biography Sheet

Name of officer:

Name of interviewer:

	Title	Location	Period
<i>Example</i>	<i>District Officer</i>	<i>Gold Coast (Accra)</i>	<i>1955-1957</i>
position 1			
position 2			
position 3			
position 4			
position 5			
position 6			
position 7			
position 8			
position 9			
position 10			
position 11			
position 12			
position 13			
position 14			
position 15			
position 16			
position 17			
position 18			
position 19			
position 20			

Spelling Sheet

Spelling Sheet

Name of officer:

Categories:

Name of interviewer:

Colleagues

Locations

	Name	Category	Relation to officer
<i>Example</i>	<i>Robert F Langley</i>	<i>colleague</i>	<i>served together in Bechuanaland</i>
<i>Example</i>	<i>Chigwell</i>	<i>shool</i>	<i>public school attended</i>
<i>Example</i>	<i>Masaka</i>	<i>location</i>	<i>Uganda 3rd post</i>
term 1			
term 2			
term 3			
term 4			
term 5			
term 6			
term 7			
term 8			
term 9			
term 10			
term 11			
term 12			
term 13			
term 14			
term 15			
term 16			
term 17			

Written Interview Questionnaire

The following questionnaire should be considered as suggestions. If, on any topic, you wish to write more, or if you wish to skip a question entirely feel free to do so! We want to hear your story and your perspectives. There is a section at the end for any further comments you might have. Thanks for taking part!

1. Would you like to remain anonymous or give your name?	
2. What were your reasons for taking part in this interview?	
Personal details (for the record)	
3. Name: (unless you wish to remain anonymous)	
4. Nationality:	
5. Place of Birth:	
6. Month and year of birth:	
7. When did you start with your first post in the colonial service and when did you retire? (A brief note: We use the term colonial service despite the fact that the name changed to <i>Her majesty's colonial service</i> , this is for the sake of simplicity)	

Your career in the colonial service:	
8. What were your reasons for joining the colonial service?	
9. (How) did the possibility of colonies gaining independence affect your decision to join the colonial service?	
<p>10. What would you like to share about your education and training at home before joining the colonial service?</p> <p>Which secondary school did you attend and in which country?</p> <p>Did you study at university? At which one and what degree did you choose?</p>	

<p>11. Anthony Kirk-Greene, a former colonial officer and later researcher, wrote that there was a connection between the social and educational background and careers in the colonial service.</p> <p>How would you think about this?</p>	
<p>12. Did you serve in the military service or the national service?</p> <p>From when until when?</p> <p>IF you did serve in the military or national service, were you recruited into the colonial service right out of the armed forces?</p>	
<p>13. Could you tell us about the steps involved in recruitment for the colonial service, including the application process/ interviews and training?</p>	
<p>14. Could you choose or otherwise influence in which colony you would serve?</p> <p>IF you could choose your colony, could you describe the process?</p>	

<p>15. What were the most popular colonies for young recruits?</p> <p>Why?</p>	
<p>16. How satisfied were you with the colony assigned to you when you first heard about it?</p> <p>Could you try and rate how satisfied you felt with the colony assigned to you when you first heard about it?</p> <p>Could you try and rate this on a scale from 1-10 (10 meaning you were very pleased with the assigned colony, 1 meaning you were unhappy.)</p>	
<p>17. Your career steps in the colonial service: Could you tell us about your career in the colonial service, including the different posts and functions you held? If possible – could you try to fill out the grid below and include the positions and dates on it?</p>	
<p>Post held (feel free to include any details, specific tasks etc.)</p>	
<p><i>Example: District officer</i> <i>The post included travelling into remote...</i></p>	

<p>18. IF you changed service in this period (for instance from Education to Administrative service) what were the steps involved in this?</p> <p>What were the reasons behind this change?</p>	

<p>19. IF you changed colonies in this period what were the reasons behind this?</p> <p>What was the process in changing service?</p>	
<p>20. What would you consider your highest position in your career in the colonial service?</p>	
<p>Working in the colonies:</p>	
<p>21. In hindsight: What did you particularly enjoy about your work in the colonies?</p>	
<p>22. What part of your work in the colonies did you enjoy least?</p>	
<p>23. Looking back at your whole career in the colonial service. How would you rate your job satisfaction overall?</p>	

<p>Can you express your overall job satisfaction on a scale from 1 to 10? A score of 10 means it was an excellent experience throughout. A score 1 one means you felt miserable and unhappy throughout your whole career.</p>	
<p>The next two questions are about corruption. For the purposes of these interviews we are defining this as the improper use of authorities or of funds for personal benefit.</p>	
<p>24. What kind of corrupt behaviour do you remember among local staff in the colonial service?</p> <p>How was it dealt with?</p>	
<p>25. What kind of corrupt behaviour do you remember among expatriate staff in the colonial service?</p> <p>How was it dealt with?</p>	
<p>Preparing for independence: These questions are all about the period of time in which work in the colonial administration was focused on preparing for independence.</p>	
<p>26. Did you serve in any colony in the last six months before it gained independence?</p> <p>Which one?</p>	
<p>27. In your judgment and experience: How much time (months/years) did the colonial administration start active preparations for independence?</p>	

<p>28. (How) did it influence your personal motivation to work when you realised the country was heading for independence?</p>	
<p>29. Did you have any assignments related to the preparation for independence?</p> <p>Which ones?</p>	

<p>30. In the period before independence: How would you judge the amount of time you had for tasks and duties?</p> <p>Could you try and rate this on a scale from 1-10 once more? A high score means that you had more than enough time to fulfil your assignments. A score of 1 means there was extreme time pressure.</p>	
<p>31. In the period before independence: How much decision power were you given in fulfilling your duties, say in deciding on what needed to be done and how?</p> <p>Can you rank your impression on a scale from 1-10? A high score means that you had a free hand and very little involvement by your superiors. A score of 1 means you were given detailed tasks with no flexibility on how to fulfil them.</p>	
<p>32. (How) did you pass your duties and tasks on to a local successor?</p> <p>What activities were involved?</p>	

<p>33. How would you judge the number of well-trained expatriate officers available in the period of preparing for independence?</p> <p>Could you try to judge this once more on a scale of 1-10? A 10 would mean there were plenty of well-trained expat officers, while a 1 would mean there was a clear lack of well-trained expatriate officers.</p>	
<p>34. How would you judge the number of well-trained local personnel available during the period of preparing for independence?</p> <p>Could you also try and use a scale from 1-10 for your impression? A 10 would mean there were plenty of well-trained local officers, while a 1 would mean there was a clear lack of them.</p>	

35. During the time of the colonial service, there were many officers who adapted British systems and institutions to make them more compatible with the situation in the colonies. What is your opinion on this practice?

Please think of these systems in broad term such as British laws and procedures, imported technology or all sorts of agencies, bureaus, commissions and ministries.

(**IF** this seems a little abstract the following is an example from another interview where a colonial officer did adapt in this way.)

A former Administrative officer told us that he had been assigned with training the first local Justices of Peace. In Britain, lay magistrates are instructed on law and procedures by qualified Clerks of the Court and need no formal legal training. In the colony, there were no qualified clerks to advise the lay magistrates. The officer feared that, without adaptation the British lay magistracy would not work as intended. The officer developed rough guides for the various legal codes. The first local lay magistrates used these manuals on the bench - unseen by the public. In a sense, the officer single-handedly adapted a British institution to the specific conditions in the colony.)

<p>36. Do you remember occasions in which you adapted (or in which you were involved in adaptations of) a British system to create a better functioning version for the colony?</p> <p>(We are looking for personal experiences in this question – if you cannot think of such a situation that is okay as well – just skip this next question)</p> <p>IF you can remember such a situation in which post was it?</p> <p>Were you working mainly with local officers or with expat officers at this time?</p> <p>Were you working in the field or in a major city at this point?</p> <p>In your opinion: What external factors allowed you to experiment and adapt British systems?</p> <p>Do you think anything related to your own person allowed you to find an adapted solution?</p>	
<p>37. In your opinion, and in your own experience: How common were such adaptations of British institutions to the conditions in the colony?</p>	

<p>38. In your opinion, and in your own experience, when such adaptations happened, how substantial in nature were they?</p>	
<p>39. A former Gold Coast officer once wrote that straight and unadapted importations of British structures would fail to perform as intended without British officers to man them. What is your opinion/ experience?</p>	
<p>40. Do you think that working alongside with British officers in the same office or in the same "room" helped local personnel in how they worked with new British structures? What were your own experiences?</p> <p>IF you think the presence of British officers made a difference:</p> <p>How much time would local officers have had to work alongside British officers to learn to work within their structures?</p> <p>How many European officers would it take to make a difference? Say, in a team of 10 would 1 single British officer be enough to improve how the other 9 local officers work with new British structures?</p>	

Family and Social Life in the Colonial Service:	
<p>41. Were you married in the colonial service?</p> <p>IF yes, what was it like to be married in the colonial service?</p> <p>IF yes: Where was your wife from?</p> <p>IF yes: Did you have children in the colonial service?</p>	
<p>42. IF yes: How were your children educated? (<i>Did they go to school in the colony or were they sent back to England for their education</i>)</p>	
<p>43. What was your private life like in the colonies when you were not working?</p> <p>Did you spend private time with local colleagues or local friends?</p>	
<p>44. Did you speak a local language?</p> <p>IF yes: How did you learn it?</p> <p>IF yes: How much did you enjoy speaking a local language?</p> <p>Could you try and rate this on a scale from 1-10? A 10 would mean you very much enjoyed speaking a local language, a 1 would mean you avoided it whenever possible.</p>	

Independence and Retiring:	
<p>45. As Independence drew nearer, what were your personal motives for your decision to resign or to remain in service?</p> <p>While you were making up your mind on whether to resign or remain: Were you made to feel welcome in the country?</p>	
<p>46. IF you remained in service after independence (otherwise skip to the next question)</p> <p>For how long did you continue to serve?</p> <p>What changes in your work did you observe after independence as compared to the period before?</p> <p>How would you describe standards of integrity and political neutrality in the public service in the months after independence?</p> <p>IF you observed falling standards: When would you say standards began to fall?</p> <p>Do you think that the physical presence of you and other expat officers after independence helped maintain standards of independence?</p>	

<p>47. Were you offered a compensation payment for the loss of your career at independence?</p> <p>IF yes: How did the compensation payment affect your decision to leave or to remain in service?</p> <p>Could you try and use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means the compensation payment had no influence whatsoever on your decision. A score of 10 means it highly influenced your decision.</p>	
<p>48. IF you had children while in the colonial service:</p> <p>How relevant was the education of your children for the decision to leave or to stay on?</p> <p>Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means this had no influence on your decision at all. A score of 10 means this was a highly influential factor.</p>	
<p>49. How relevant was your age and work opportunities outside the colonial service at that time for your decision?</p>	

<p>Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means age and career options outside the colonial service had no influence whatsoever on your decision. A score of 10 means this highly influenced your decision.</p>	
<p>50. How did your perspective of the territory's political future influence your decision to remain in service or to leave?</p> <p>Please use a scale from 1-10. A score of 1 means your perspective on the territory's future had no influence whatsoever on your decision. A score of 10 means this highly influenced your decision.</p>	
<p>51. Can you tell me about decisions taken by colleagues around you. What were the most common reasons for leaving or staying?</p>	
<p>52. When you eventually resigned, what were your reasons?</p>	
<p>53. All in all: What would you consider the biggest success of your career in the colonial service?</p>	

54.Thank you very much for your time. Do you have any final comments?	
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Appendix 3: Scottish Decolonisation Project Interview Questionnaire

Questions asked by the Scottish Decolonization Project as cited by Bryan Glass:

Questions from Professor Platt:

1. What were the high points / was the high point of your career?
2. What do you think you were able to achieve?
3. Who were the influential people in the British Service at the time?
4. What were they like and what were they able to do with their lives? (Were there people you met in the course of your work / career who made a special impression on you, British or Local?)
5. Are there people you would like to describe, good or bad?
6. Much change took place during your career. What would you single out for Posterity?
7. We (Britain) made mistakes, no doubt. Are there things which you think we should or should not have done?
8. You are a professional. What would you like to say about your career which you would like to be known by historians?

Questions from Dr. Patrick Cadell:

1. Do you know what the 'locals' thought of British rule? Or think now?
2. What did they expect to get out of de-colonization?
3. Do you think they got it?
4. Do you think the established view of your area is a true picture of the time?
5. Is there something you would like to correct or add to the story?
6. Do you have any letters or papers you would like to have preserved for posterity / be prepared to donate to the archives?

Questions from Mrs. Susan Steedman:

Recruitment:

- How did you come to live in?
- When did you go? And when did you leave?
- Did you have a family history of foreign service?
- What were the influences which led you to take up your appointment?
- Did you know what to expect? And were you surprised by what you found?
- Were you given training before leaving Britain?
- If so, what did it consist of and was it useful?
- What did it leave out?
- Were you given medical advice? Vaccinations etc?
- Clothing lists etc?

Your Work:

- What were your first impressions on arrival?
- Did you find it easy to settle down? Was there an organisation to help you?
- How did you find your work?
- Did you find it organised in a familiar way or were concessions made to local conditions?
- Were all the decision makers British?
- Were any local people employed at the top end?
- If not, was there a policy to train local people to take the top jobs?
- Did you know that Independence was coming?
- If not, when did you learn and how did it affect your work?
- Were women employed?

Housing:

- Can you remember what your first house was like?
- Could you describe the sort of house you lived most of the time in?
- What was it built of?

How was it roofed? Floors made of? Walls covered? Windows etc?
 How many rooms did it have? Was the kitchen indoors?
 Did you have electricity? Plumbing? Flush w.c.? What did you cook on?
 How did you keep cool / warm?
 Was the house owned by the Company?
 Was it furnished for you? Did you have anything of your own?
 Did you have trouble with insects / ants in furniture etc? How did you cope with these?
 Did you have a number of servants? Did you have woman servants?
 Where did they live / sleep? Were their families with them?
 How did you communicate with them? (in their language or yours)
 Was it difficult to get servants? (was it a popular job)
 Did you look after their medical needs / feed them / become involved with their families?

Recreation:

What did you do for 'fun'?
 Club life (was this 'mixed'?) Dancing / theatricals / films / lectures / books / records / dinner parties (were local people invited, ever? If so did they come and did they bring their wives?)
 Sports football / cricket / tennis etc. shooting / sailing etc. swimming.

Communications:

Where these good?
 Road / rail / water to travel about and meet people, shop etc.
 Postal services / telephone / radio / telegraphic services.
 Newspapers (from U.K.?)

Food and drink:

Did you 'live of the land' or did you import food stuffs?
 If so, what did you import?
 What about the water? Was it ample? Pure enough or did you filter it?
 If so, what system did you use?
 What were the easiest things to get? And what was scarce?
 Did you ever do your own cooking?
 Looking back, do you remember some foods that you ate regularly and miss now?

Safety:

What about law and order? Did you feel safe in the house?
 Was there a lot of theft / murder? Were there bandits?
 Were you, or friends of yours attacked and robbed?
 Did you carry or own a weapon? Or ever have to use one?
 Were the police considered to be honest and incorruptible?
 Were you (or yours) ever offered bribes? Why? What happened?
 Or were you obliged to bribe people for services?

Behaviour:

What was thought of as bad behaviour amongst ex-Patriots?
 How was it dealt with?
 Were the same 'faults' or 'crimes' by British and by local peoples punished in the same way?
 What happened if a British man drank / gambled / womanized? Was he excused? Was he excluded from clubs or private functions?
 What happened if he married a local girl? Were they welcomed?
 Or if he was known to have a mistress at home 'a sleeping dictionary'?
 What happened to the children of these liaisons?
 Was there any organisation to care for them?

'Good' deeds:

Was there interest shown in local need?
 Lepers / blind etc? If so, how?
 Scouts and guides / Church groups etc.
 Schools etc.
 Or interest taken in local culture / history / archaeology / plants etc
 Was an effort made to mix cultures or not really?

Were these really because of lack of common ground or lack of interest?

Missionaries:

What are your thoughts on these?

Discrimination:

Or this?

What about attitudes?

Did any ex-Pats you knew intend to stay for the rest of their lives or did they all intend to retire 'home'?

Did you ever feel that 'Britain' (the public, the politicians, the press) really understood your way of life, or your ambitions or strivings in your foreign service?

Did you have 'visiting firemen'? And feel that they comprehended your situation?

Can you remember any in particular and how they were entertained?

As Independence drew near, did you feel any change in atmosphere?

Did you ever feel threatened or 'disliked' for being foreign?

Did you ever discuss politics or Independence with local friends?

Did you notice any signs of changes taking place?

Did you try to maintain a completely British way of life, (porridge, bacon, and eggs for breakfast etc,) or did you find you adapted to another lifestyle?

What about clothes and fashion? Did you try to follow what was going on in London or Paris or did you find you had a local 'style'?

Was there still a 'fishing fleet' of girls who came to look for husbands, or were more men arriving already married, than previously?

What would you say was your happiest memory of life in?

Did you ever have experience of difficulties with animals?

Were there any local / religious formalities or taboos that you had to be aware of or became involved with?

Appendix 4: Abstract

Abstract – English

This thesis presents and contextualizes Project Voices, a collection of around 100 oral history interviews with former members of the British Colonial Service, thus making its contents known and accessible to scholars interested in working with the contents of the collection. In the first part of the thesis the Project Voices collection is compared to other collections containing oral history interviews with members of the Colonial Service, namely the Oxford Colonial Records Project and its successor the Oxford Development Records Project, the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum collections, and the Scottish Decolonisation Project. It provides information on how the collections were created and on how they functioned and compares their methods. The second part of the thesis is devoted to the contents of the Project Voices interviews. The sample of Colonial Service officers interviewed in Project Voices is compared to the Colonial Service as a whole to determine how representative it is of the whole service. The discussed variables are: the service branch and territory officers were posted to, their educational backgrounds, if they were recruited in the Dominions, if they had non-British and non-Dominion origins, and their gender. The thesis also includes a catalogue detailing the interviews and any additional material collected from interviewees by Project Voices.

Abstract – Deutsch

In dieser Masterarbeit wird Project Voices, eine Sammlung von rund 100 oral history Interviews mit Beamten des britischen „Colonial Service“, vorgestellt und kontextualisiert um ihre Inhalte interessierten ForscherInnen bekannt und zugänglich zu machen. In dem ersten Teil der Arbeit wird die Project Voices Sammlung mit anderen Sammlungen verglichen, die ebenfalls oral history Interviews mit britischen Kolonialbeamten beinhalten. Dies sind das Oxford Colonial Records Project und sein Nachfolger das Oxford Development Records Project, die Sammlung des British Empire and Commonwealth Museum und das Scottish Decolonisation Project. Es beschreibt, wie die Sammlungen entstanden, wie die Sammlungspraxis aussah und vergleicht ihre Methoden. Der zweite Teil der Arbeit ist den Inhalten der Project Voices Interviews gewidmet. Die von Project Voices gesammelte Stichprobe an Kolonialbeamten wird mit dem „Colonial Service“ als ganzem verglichen um die Repräsentativität der Stichprobe zu bestimmen. Folgende Variablen werden diskutiert: Die Sektion des Service, der der Beamte angehörte und die Kolonie, in die er geschickt wurde, der Bildungshintergrund, ob sie in den Dominions rekrutiert wurden, ob sie anderer als britischer- oder dominion Herkunft waren und ihr Geschlecht. Die Arbeit enthält außerdem einen Katalog, in dem die von Project Voices gesammelten Interviews, sowie zusätzliches Material, das die Interviewten dem Projekt zur Verfügung gestellt haben aufgelistet sind.