# THE EMPIRE ON THE ANVIL, BEING SUGGESTIONS AND DATA FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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The Empire on the anvil, being suggestions and data for the future government of the British Empire by W. Basil Worsfold

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Trieste

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Being Suggestions and Data for the Future Government of the British Empire

# W. BASIL WORSFOLD

#### WITH A PREFACE BY

LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.L.E., F.R.S.

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### 1916

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The Empire seems to us something greater than it was a year ago. When mighty armies from the Dominions and Dependencies arrayed themselves in battle line a new and impressive spech in its history was marked. These pregnant events have already given birth to a new order. It is realised that great policies and questions which concern and govern the issues of peace and war cannot in future be assumed by the people of the British Islands alone.—Sir Rouxer Bourses at New York, December word, 1915

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" In the creation of the British Empire, design has been conspicuously absent. The process has followed the general laws of evolution. Here and there a great statesman may have marked and sought to guide the swift onward progress, or may have pondered as to how the inevitable requirements of the future were to be met. Great wars have forcibly directed attention to the strategic importance of particular points, and have left their impress upon the national policy; but the lessons were not all applied, and the readjustments, which followed on long contests in which Great Britain played a leading part, do not always show either clear purpose or adequate foresight. The incentive to expansion appears to have been supplied mainly by commercial rivalry, impelling forward a race which cherishes a strong aversion to militarism. It is natural that questions of Imperial defence should have been neglected." \*

With these words, written nineteen years ago, I prefaced an attempt to draw serious attention to the urgent need of the organisation of the Empire for the purposes of Imperial defence. For more than thirty years, this problem has always been

• "Imperial Defence," 1897.

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foremost in my mind as the wealth and resources of the Empire rapidly developed with a corresponding increase of its burdens, responsibilities and dangers. Many writers and thinkers, realising the lack of effective co-operation and the growing risk of divergences of policy among scattered communities linked only by the sea and working out their destinies in differing conditions, have earnestly sought to find a permanent solution. Meanwhile Colonies grew into powerful and progressive dominions preoccupied with their domestic affairs, and the Motherland, similarly engrossed, has not found time or opportunity to give careful consideration to constructive statesmanship in the higher plane of Imperial affairs. Between 1853 and 1893, all the larger Colonies were invested with responsible government; but this wise policy, described by Mr. Gladstone as " a specific alike for the relief of the Mother Country, the masculine and vigorous well-being of the Dependency, and the integrity of the Empire," was not conceived with any idea of federal developments in the future. There was a time when "the relief of the Mother Country" seems to have been the predominant consideration, and it was widely believed, without misgiving, that the Colonies, once started on a career of self-government, would gradually drift into the position of independent States. This dangerous theory was soon to be abandoned and replaced by Imperial ideals, vaguely understood

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by the masses, but gathering strength with improved intercommunications and the growing recognition of essential mutual interests. The military assistance, freely offered in the Sudan in 1885 and in South Africa in 1899-1902, supplied an object lesson alike of the strong sentiment of our fellow subjects overseas and of their military spirit, which powerfully appealed to the public imagination. Thus, in the years before the bursting of the storm, forces have come into play which have worked in the direction of closer political interchange and of tentative organisation for defence. Other forces of local origin have brought about the federation of two important groups of contiguous Colonies and may have helped to disseminate the federal idea.

In Part I. of his very interesting and opportune book, Mr. Worsfold deals with the work so far accomplished, beginning with the foundation of the Imperial Federation League in 1884 and ending with the Imperial Conference of 1911. He is able to show that, in some directions, there were advances although the *non possumus* of H.M. Government in regard to change in the fiscal system of the United Kingdom barred "all really effective progress towards organic unity." In matters of defence more had been accomplished than is generally known. The Colonial Defence Committee, appointed in 1885, was able to do much quiet work before it became merged in the Committee of