

Historical Atlas of the British Empire and Commonwealth

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1. Overview

To fully appreciate the significance of the Commonwealth, Britain's global position, it is important to understand its origins from the British Empire. Technically, there have been three empires, the first in France, lost by 1558; the second in North America, which became the United States of America after 1776; and the third was global, which became the modern Commonwealth of Nations after 1949. Each one being larger than the one before.

The origins of the British Empire can be seen as going back to the Middle Ages with the beginning of the conquest of Ireland (1172) and conquest of much of France during the Hundred Years' War. However, the modern British Empire can be considered having started in 1497 with John Cabot's claim to Newfoundland. The British Empire was the largest Empire in history; At it's zenith, it held sway over a population of nearly 500 million people - roughly a quarter of the world's population - and covered about 14.3 million square miles (17.4 million including Antarctic claims), almost a third of the world's total land area. During the mid-19th century Britain was the sole developed hyper-power, enjoying unparalleled prosperity. Britain was "the work-shop of the world," and even by 1870 she still was producing well over 30% of the global industrial output, no other nation coming even close to her production superiority. In 1885 America and Germany can be considered as having become industrialised, but Britain was still the world's most developed nation until around 1913 when she was surpassed by America. Due to the supremacy of the Royal Navy, Britain truly did rule the waves for centuries. With territories scattered across every continent and ocean and in every time-zone, the "Empire Under Palm and Pine" was accurately described as "the empire on which the sun never sets." The Empire facilitated the spread of British technology, commerce, language, and government around much of the globe through Pax Britannica and British Imperial hegemony. The contributions the British Empire made to the world, the technology, philosophy, literature, medicine, investment, institutions, and plain advancements of mankind have left a profound legacy.

The British Empire consisted of various territories all over the world conquered or colonized by Britain from about 1600. It was expanded by commerce, trade, colonisation, and sometimes conquest. Over all the Empire was built on commerce, not conquest. There were colonies conquered, but they were done for a reason. For instance, France hired the Mughal Empire to fight Britain. Britain then fought back and conquered the Mughal Empire which made up the Northwest corner of present day India. The 19th century saw the largest expansion of the Empire as the British took many former French possessions in the West Indies and began to settle in large numbers in Australia in the early part of the century and later competed fiercely with other European powers for territory in Africa. At the same time, there was serious expansion in Asia, notably the acquisition of Singapore (1824), Hong Kong (1841), and Burma (1886), and the South Pacific, particularly the settlement of New Zealand (1840). The final big expansion of the empire was following World War I, when former German and Turkish territories were mandated to Britain and the Dominions. The only serious loss of territory was the loss of the 13 American colonies in the American Revolution of 1776 – 1783, which became the United States of America. The British Empire was at its largest territorial expansion after the First World War – after 1918, until the 1940's, consisting of over 25% of the world's population and 30% of its area.

Since 1949, the British Empire was replaced by the Commonwealth of Nations. Most colonies are now independent; today's Commonwealth is composed of former and remaining territories of the British Empire and a few non former British Empire countries which once belonged to other powers such as Portugal, France and Belgium. The Commonwealth is a loose, voluntary organisation dedicated to preserving human rights and democracy and is held together by a desire for membership and the English language as well as history.

2. British Isles and Europe

England, Ireland, Wales and France

For almost four centuries following the Norman conquest in 1066 under William I, Duke of Normandy, England was dominated by Kings who were often more concerned with their holdings in France. For fully three quarters of the time they were native French-speakers. The Norman symbol, the lion, eventually became the arms of England. In 1154, Henry of Anjou became King of England and his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine placed him firmly in the ascendancy. His plentiful lands were added to his new wife's possessions, giving him control of Aquitaine. The riches of the markets and vineyards in these regions, combined with Henry's already plentiful holdings, made Henry the most powerful vassal in France. In 1170, the Normans conquered Ireland and added an area on the east coast they called The Pale to the English Crown. King Henry III was succeeded in 1272 by his son, the warrior King Edward I. He finally conquered Wales in 1282, and made it a principality to be held by the heir to the English throne. Scotland became an English dependency in 1290, but regained its independence under Robert the Bruce in 1328, although with a border adjusted in favour of England by Edward III in 1334. By then, the Plantagenets were again preoccupied with France. In 1331, Edward III, grandson of Edward I, had declined to do homage to the King of France, breaking the custom which had been established in 1066. He did so because not because he wanted England to be independent from France, but because he had decided (not without some justice) that his claim to the throne of France was stronger than its incumbent, Phillip VI. He made this claim official in 1337, beginning the Hundred Years War (which actually lasted until 1453, with occasional truces). Edward overrun all of Aquitaine, but could not gain recognition of his claim to the French throne. In 1360 he abandoned that claim in return for recognition of his conquests. By this time, the ruling class in England had begun speaking English rather than French, although the royal family remained bilingual. This explains the French mottos 'Dieu et Mon Droit' and 'Honi Soi Qui Mal Y Pense' in the British Royal Coat of Arms. The three lions on the English arms represent England, Normandy and Aquitaine.

By 1453 England had lost all its holdings in France (except for Calais, which it kept for another century, and the Channel Islands, which still remain). By this time, the Kingdom of England was on the verge of civil war, between the junior Plantagenet houses of Lancaster (under the mad King Henry VI) and York (under Richard, his regent, who had claimed the throne). The war was to last 30 years (1455-85), and allowed the Scots to regain their pre-1334 frontier. By 1455, for the first time since 1066 the Kingdom of England had no significant connections with the Continent. This was to continue under the Tudors (1485-1603) who instead concentrated upon bringing the whole British Isles under their rule. The siege of Orleans failed when the French were spurred to take the initiative by Joan of Arc. Although she was captured and judiciously murdered in 1431, her achievements had shattered the English reputation for invincibility.

The "wars of the Roses" -- both houses had Roses as their symbols -- would see the end of many noble families, creating new opportunities for "native" English and Welsh families. Indeed, the Lancastrian victor of 1485 was Henry Tudor, whose surname was derived from his Welsh grandfather. Many Welshmen even saw Henry VII's victory, at the head of a largely Welsh army, as fulfilling the prophecy that they would one day regain all of Britain. In 1536 his son Henry VIII removed the political institutions that had stigmatized Wales as a conquered country, making it formally part of the Kingdom of England, but the new united Kingdom was still generally known as England, and it was English law which prevailed. Henry VIII is most famous of course for founding the church of England in 1534. Its ambiguous status (anti-Papist, but not really Protestant) and imposition from above caused recurrent religious and political problems in the Kingdom for a century and a half.

It also made it necessary for Ireland to be made a Kingdom in 1541, in personal union with the Kingdom of England, because the lordship of Ireland had been a Papal grant. Henry VIII was proclaimed King of Ireland as well as England and Wales. During the reign of Henry VIII's daughter Elizabeth I (1558-1603), English rule over Ireland was made effective for the first time. In her reign, the English fleet enabled England to found its first trans-oceanic colonies (in North America) and prevented an invasion by Europe's greatest power by defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588. The last English holding in France was Calais, which was finally lost to the French in 1558. However, English monarchs continued to claim to also be monarchs of France until 1801, even though that had been completely lost. To this day, all that remains of England's vast medieval empire in France is the tiny Channel Islands off the northern coast of France. The claim to the throne of France was abandoned when the British Government recognised the French Republic in 1801. The Channel Islands and Isle of Man are self-governing Crown Dependencies.

On the death of the childless Queen Elizabeth I of England in 1603, the Kingdoms of England and Ireland were inherited by her nephew, James Stuart, King of Scotland. In this way the British Isles came under one monarch for the first time. Although James considered himself King of Great Britain (and Ireland), the parliaments of England and Scotland remained independent of each other but in a personal union of the Crowns. Shortly afterwards the first really successful English colony in North America, was established. Newfoundland had been claimed for England by John Cabot in 1497 soon after the Americas were discovered. Virginia was claimed in 1607. By 1664, England had colonies along the eastern seaboard of North America including New England (1620), Pennsylvania and New York and in the West Indies including Barbados, Jamaica and Mosquito Coast. Rupert's Land around Hudson Bay was claimed in 1660 and Nova Scotia was annexed in 1691. During the reign of King William of Orange, England and Scotland also had a personal union with the Netherlands. When King George I came to the throne in 1714, Great Britain had a personal union with Hanover, in what is now Germany, until 1837.

Scotland

The Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 proclaimed independence for Scotland, which was realised after the two Scottish Wars of Independence by 1328. English attempts to conquer Scotland had failed, so it remained independent after 1328. In 1695, the Scottish Parliament passed an act that chartered a company for trading with Africa and the Indies. William Paterson directed the first efforts of the company to found a colony on the Isthmus of Panama (Darién) to compete with the

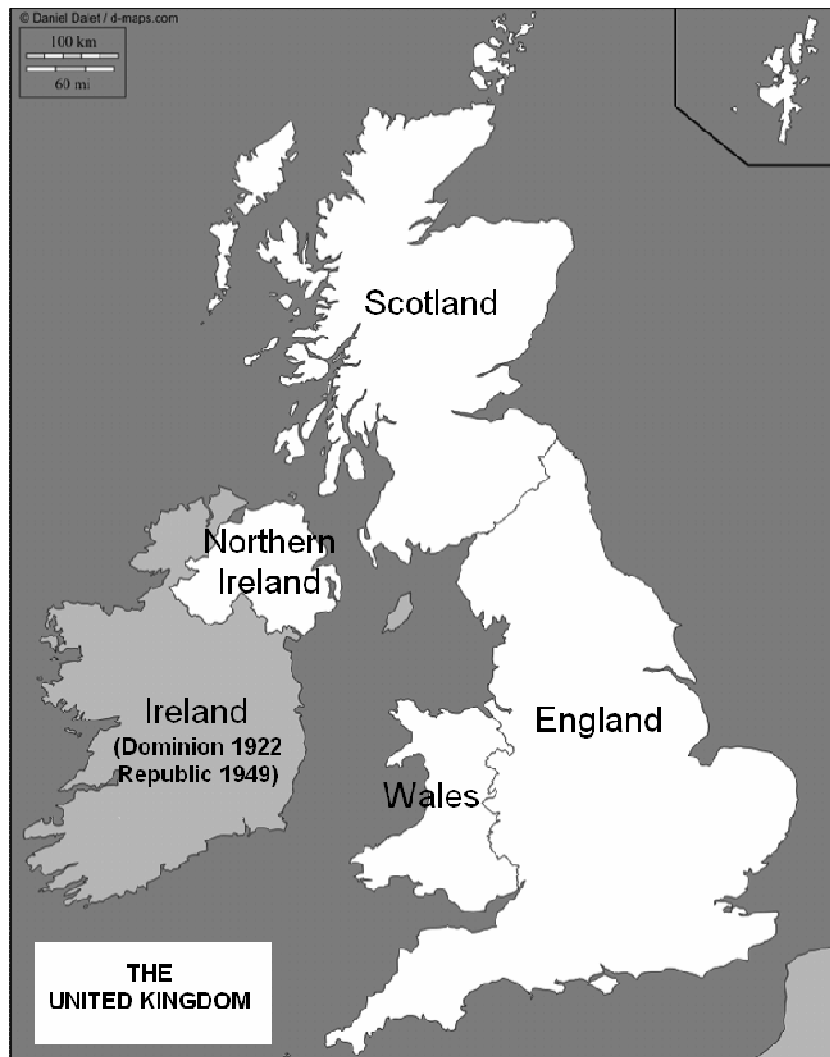
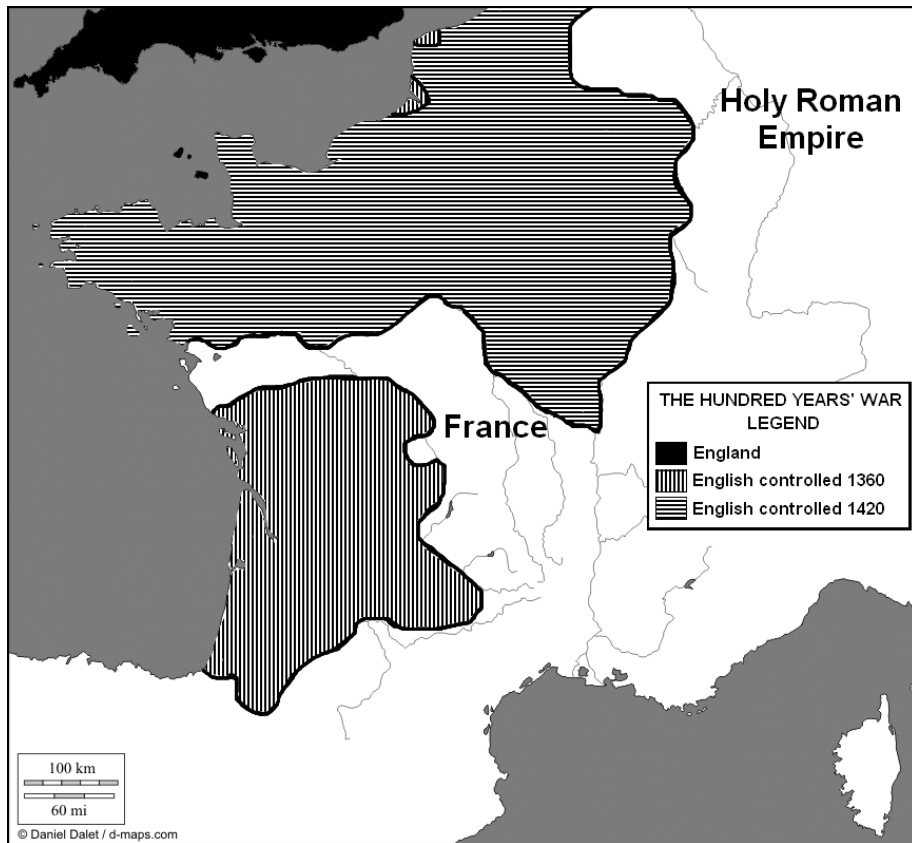
Dutch and Spanish for trade. Stock was subscribed in England and Scotland, but opposition by the English government and by the East India Company caused English investors to withdraw. The company's two expeditions (1698, 1699) failed because of poor leadership and equipment, disease, and the hostility of the Spanish; many lives were lost. The failure, with its immense losses to Scottish investors, vividly demonstrated Scotland's commercial disadvantage outside the British realm. By the terms of the Act of Union with England (1707), creating the United Kingdom, Scotland secured equality in trade. Investors in the Darién venture were partially indemnified for their losses. After the Act of Union, the English Empire became the British Empire.

United Kingdom

Today's British state is the latest of several unions formed over the last 1000 years. Scotland and England have existed as separate unified entities since the 10th century. Wales, under English control since the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284, became part of the Kingdom of England by the Laws in Wales Act 1535 and was confirmed as part of England by 1542.

Resentment towards the union continued in Ireland, particularly with the treatment of its Roman Catholic population, who were denied the right to vote until 1829. An Irish Nationalist party in the Westminster Parliament campaigned throughout the 1800's for Irish Home Rule with the establishment of an Irish Parliament within the United Kingdom. This was blocked by loyalists from predominantly-Protestant Ulster in the north of Ireland. Home Rule was actually passed in 1914, but put on hold due to the First World War. This escalated into the declaration of an independent Irish republic in Dublin in 1916 which was followed by the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921). In 1919, a more extremist party called Sinn Fein which wanted outright independence for Ireland, won all of the seats in Parliament in Ireland, except for the Protestant northern counties. They refused to take their seats and demanded immediate independence. After bitter fighting which echoes down to the current political strife, the Anglo-Irish Treaty partitioned Ireland into the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland in 1921, with the latter remaining part of the United Kingdom. As provided for in the treaty, Northern Ireland, which consists of six of the nine counties of the Irish province of Ulster, immediately opted out of the Free State and to remain in the UK. The Irish Free State became an autonomous dominion within the British Empire, later becoming an independent republic in 1949. The nomenclature of the UK was changed in 1927 to recognise the departure of most of Ireland, with the current name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland being adopted. A devolved Scottish Parliament, a Welsh Assembly and a Northern Irish Assembly were established in 1999. Today, Scottish Nationalists seek independence for Scotland and a return to the 1603 arrangement with a shared crown but independent parliaments.

The United Kingdom, the dominant industrial and maritime power of the 19th century, played a leading role in developing Western world ideas of property, liberty, capitalism and parliamentary democracy - to say nothing of its part in advancing world literature and science. At its zenith during the first half of the 20th century, the British Empire stretched over one quarter of the earth's surface. The effects of World War I and World War II saw the UK's strength seriously depleted. The second half of the 20th century saw the replacement of the Empire with the Commonwealth of Nations and the UK rebuilding itself.



Europe

Much of France was held by the English kings after the Norman conquest of England in 1066. However, this was gradually lost to the French by 1455. The Channel Islands off the French coast, consisting of the Bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey, and smaller islands of Sark and Alderney, remained English and are now Dependencies of the British Crown. The Isle of Man, situated in the Irish Sea, half way between England and Ireland, is also a Crown Dependency. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man are not parts of the United Kingdom, like England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, but are self-governing Dependencies with a direct link to the British Crown, but not the British Government.

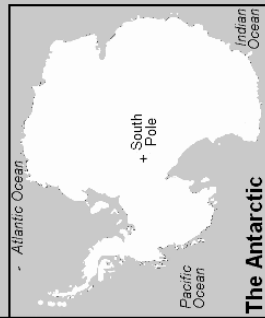
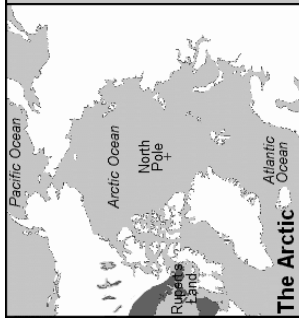
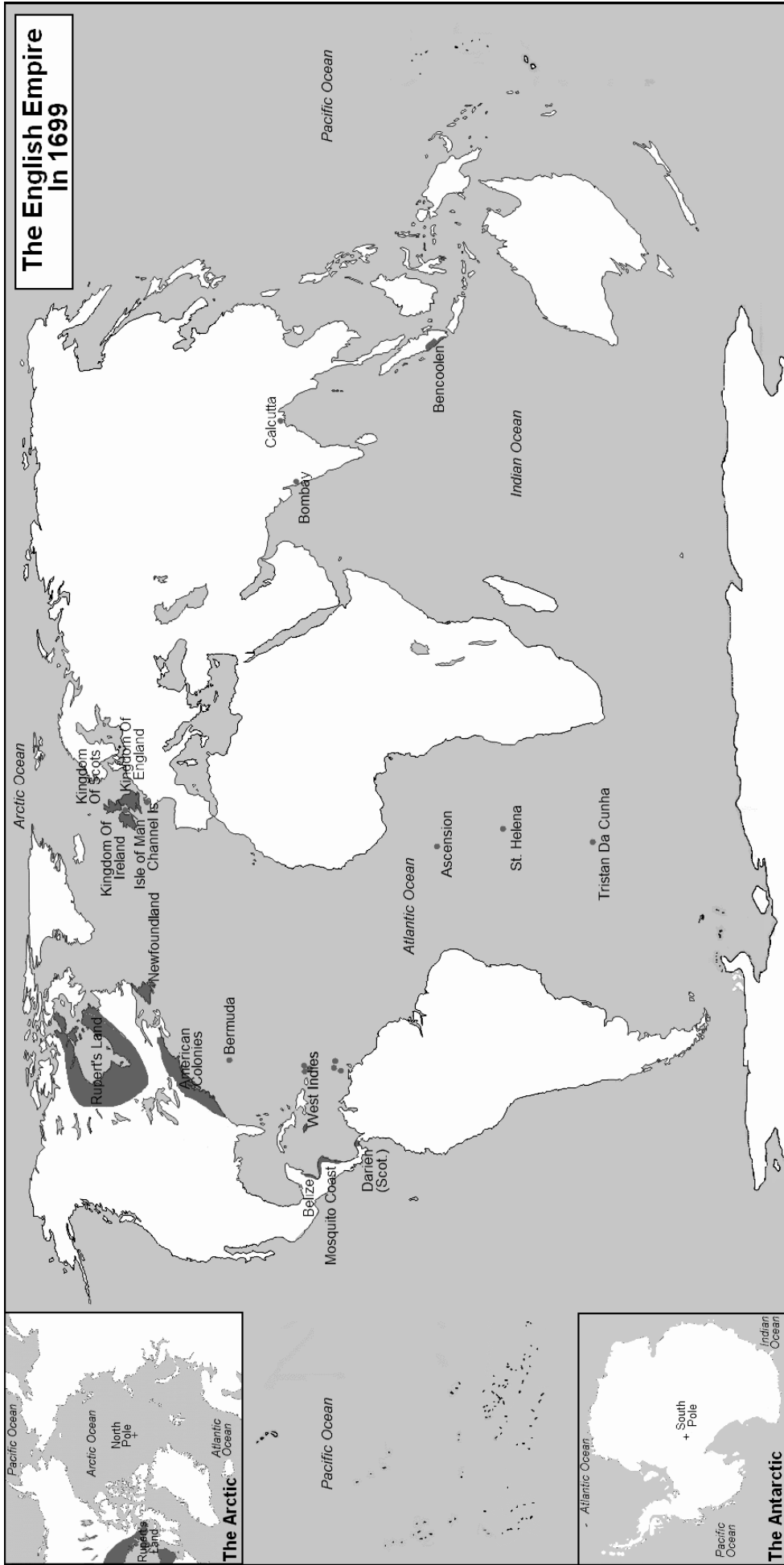
During the War of Spanish Succession, which began in 1701, Gibraltar, a peninsular on the southern tip of Spain, in the Mediterranean, was besieged (1704) by a squadron commanded by Sir George Rooke and a land force of 1800 English and Dutch under Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt; after three days the city was captured (24 July). In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, it became definitively a British possession, though many attempts were made by the Spaniards to regain it. To this day, Gibraltar remains a British possession. In 1998, it ceased to have the status of a Crown Colony and became a British Dependent Territory. Its residents are British Overseas Citizens. Spain does not recognise British control of Gibraltar and still claims it as part of its territory. Minorca, off the east coast of Spain, was captured by the British in 1708 and annexed in 1714. It was taken by the French in 1756, but was retaken by the British, along with Canada, after the Seven Years War in 1763, and was returned to Spain in 1783. Minorca was reoccupied by the British in 1798 and then permanently returned to Spain by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

During the Napoleonic Wars of the early 1800's, the British recognised that Malta was essential for the British fleet in the Mediterranean. It was captured by the British from the French in 1800 and finally recognised as a British colony in the Treaty of Paris in 1814. Malta became a self-governing Dominion in 1921, but then reverted back to the status of a Crown Colony in 1933 for financial reasons. During the Second World War, in 1941 and 1942, Malta was besieged and fiercely bombarded by both German and Italian aircraft. King George VI awarded the island the George Cross medal on 15 April 1942 for gallantry in withstanding the enemy air bombardment. Internal self-government was established in Malta in September 1947.

Also as a result of the Napoleonic wars, Britain gained control of the island of Heligoland, off the northwest coast of Germany, in 1814. This was given to Germany in 1890 in exchange for British control of Zanzibar, off the east coast of Africa, next to then German East Africa (later British Tanganyika).

Another prize of the Napoleonic Wars was the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean off the coast of Greece. The British drove the French out of the islands and annexed them as the Protectorate of the United States of the Ionian Islands in 1815. They were transferred to Greek control in 1864 out of respect for the wishes of the majority of its people. Today, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Malta and Cyprus are all members of the European Union. Gibraltar, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man remain British Dependencies, but are not considered to be parts of the European Union.

The English Empire In 1699



3. Age of Exploration

Exploration to Colonisation

The first successful British colony was Jamestown, Virginia, founded in 1607, although there was an earlier settlement at Newfoundland in 1583. The Empire was gradually built over the next two centuries as the British established colonies and trading posts in many parts of the world, as well as capturing them from other European empire builders. Settlements were made in Gambia and on the Gold Coast of Africa in 1618; in Bermuda in 1609 and other islands of the West Indies; Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1655; in Canada, Acadia (Nova Scotia) was secured from France by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which recognised Newfoundland and Hudson Bay (as well as Gibraltar in Europe) as British. New France (much of Canada) became British as a result of the Seven Years' War of 1756-63. In North America, the Thirteen Colonies along the Atlantic seaboard between French Canada and Spanish Florida were firmly established by 1733. The colonists had begun to plant cotton in the 17th century, and this plantation crop was grown on a very large scale by the late-18th century. This combined with a scattering of settlements in West Africa and the trade from the West Indies to create the 'Triangular Trade': British ships took manufactured goods and spirits to West Africa to exchange them for slaves whom they landed in the West Indies and the southernmost of the Thirteen Colonies. The ships then returned to Britain with cargoes of cotton, rum, sugar, and tobacco, produced mainly by the labour of the slaves. Britain's prosperity was bound up with the slave trade, until it became illegal in 1807, by which time the Empire had ceased to be dependent upon the slave trade as other forms of commerce had become more profitable and Britain was starting to emerge as the leading industrial nation, inevitably reducing the economic demand for slave labour. Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire by act of the British Parliament in 1833, while it continued in the United States for another thirty years. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Empire made Britain one of the richest and most powerful nations in the world.

The early growth of the Empire was not laid down in any coordinated plan and it was held together and administered by whatever means seemed most expedient for a particular time and place. Pirates, traders, soldiers, explorers, financial speculators, missionaries, convicts, and refugees all played a part in creating the British Empire. Private individuals or companies often provided the initial impetus for the exploration and subsequent exploitation of foreign lands, frequently in the face of government reluctance, but, increasingly, British governments were drawn in to maintain them. One of the early pioneers of British settlement in North America was William Penn, who gave his name to Pennsylvania.

The British ruling class developed a great interest in science during the 17th and 18th centuries and what started out as inquiry and exploration usually led to settlement and eventually colonization. Between 1768 and 1780, scientific naval expeditions commanded by Captain Cook explored the islands and coasts of the Pacific Ocean all the way from the entrance to the Arctic to the then unknown coasts of New Zealand and Australia. However, the British government showed little interest in annexing these southern lands until the loss of the American colonies deprived it of a dumping ground for the convicts and debtors who had up until then been deported to North America. Perhaps the best-known example of private initiative leading the way was the East India Company. An important exception was in the West Indies, where many members of Parliament had commercial interests and so there was frequent government

intervention. However, as the Empire grew, Britain became a rich and powerful nation and by the late 19th century British policy tended towards imperialism, annexing countries for reasons of national prestige rather than solely for commercial gain.

Religious Missions

British missionaries of all denominations took the Christian religion throughout the Empire. Although they made relatively little impression in places where advanced religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam dominated, even in those areas their converts numbered several millions. Their success was greater in the West Indies and in Africa south of the Sahara. David Livingstone, a Scottish missionary, explored much of what are now Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Like several other intrepid explorers, such as Richard Burton, John Hanning Speke, and Sir Samuel Baker, Livingstone explored the River Nile. His journeys also took him to the Zambezi River and to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa (now Malawi). Following Livingstone's journeys, the Free Church of Scotland sent a mission to Nyasaland (now Malawi) in 1875, and the country became a British protectorate in 1891, a year after Bechuanaland (Botswana).

West Indies

The West Indies was a very attractive target for colonization due to the huge commercial possibilities of the region, mainly the rum and sugar produced there.

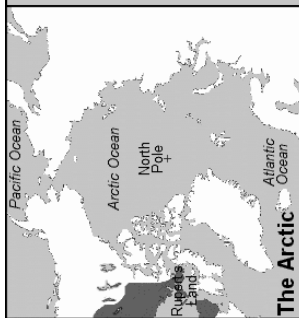
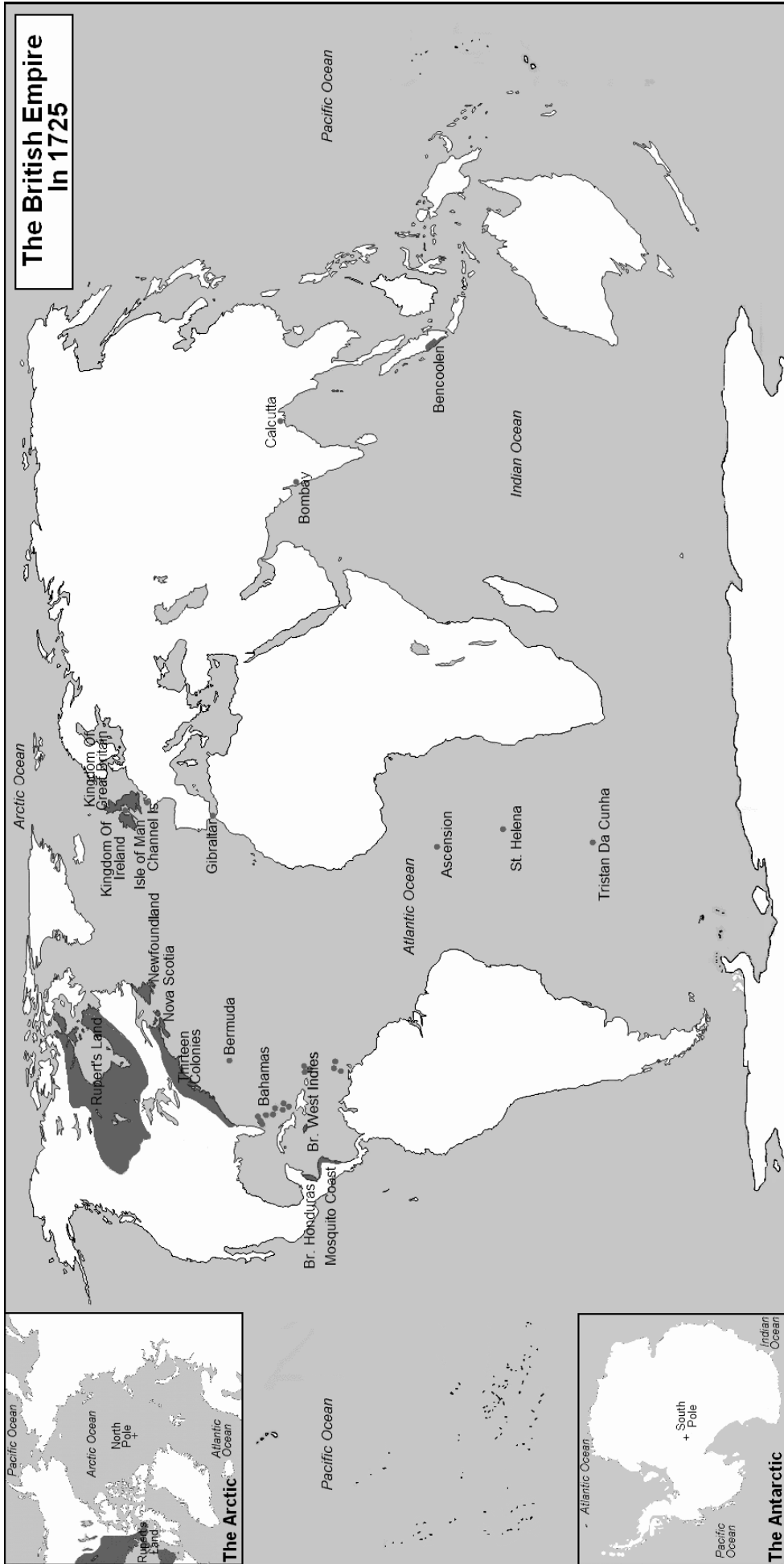
Bermuda was settled in 1609. It has the oldest Parliament outside of Britain. Between 1623 and 1632, English settlers occupied St Kitts, Barbados, St Croix (later lost), Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat. Cromwell's forces took Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, although it was not officially ceded until 1760, and the tiny Atlantic island of St Helena was annexed in 1673. Belize (British Honduras) was governed as part of Jamaica until 1884.

In 1678, England also took control of the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua in Central America. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) between the United States and Great Britain checked British expansion, but relinquishment of the coast was delayed until a separate treaty was concluded with Nicaragua (1860), which established the autonomy of the so-called Mosquito Kingdom. In 1894, the territory's anomalous position was ended when it was forcibly incorporated into Nicaragua.

Sir William Stapleton established the first federation in the British West Indies in 1674. Stapleton set up a General Assembly of the Leeward Islands in St. Kitts. Stapleton's federation was active from 1674 to 1685 when Stapleton was Governor and the General Assembly met regularly until 1711. The Bahamas became a British colony in 1717, but were briefly taken over by the Spanish during the American Revolution. However, they were returned to British control in 1783 at the conclusion of that war.

By the 18th Century each island had kept its own Assembly and made its own laws, but continued to share one Governor and one Attorney-General. Although unpopular, Stapleton's Federation was never really dissolved but simply replaced by other arrangements.

The British Empire In 1725



Between 1816 and 1833 the Leewards were divided into two groups, each with its own Governor: St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla and Antigua-Barbuda-Montserrat. In 1833 all the Leeward Islands were brought together and Dominica was added to the grouping until 1940.

In 1869, Governor Benjamin Pine was assigned the task of organizing a federation of Antigua-Barbuda, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, Anguilla and the British Virgin Islands. St. Kitts and Nevis however opposed sharing their government funds with Antigua and Montserrat, which were bankrupt. Governor Pine told the Colonial Office that the scheme had failed due to "local prejudice and self-interest". Thus the only achievement was giving the Leewards a single Governor. All laws and ordinances, however, had to be approved by the each island council. In 1871 the British government passed the Leeward Islands Act through which all the islands were under one Governor and one set of laws. Each island was called "Presidency" under its own Administrator or Commissioner. Like earlier groupings this federation was unpopular but was not dissolved until 1956 to make way for the Federation of the West Indies. The Federal Colony was composed of all islands organised under Governor Pine's previous attempt.

In 1833 the Windward Islands became a formal union called the Windward Islands Colony. In 1838, Trinidad (acquired in 1802) and St. Lucia (acquired in 1814) were brought into the Windward Islands Colony, but were not given their own assemblies (having previously been Crown Colonies). In 1840 Trinidad left the Colony. The Windward Islands Colony was unpopular as Barbados wished to retain its separate identity and ancient institutions, while the other colonies did not enjoy the association with Barbados (but needed such an association for defence against French invasions until 1815). Thus the individual islands resisted British attempts at closer union. Barbados in particular fought to retain its own Assembly.

From 1885 to 1958 the Windward Islands Colony consisted of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent and St. Lucia for the entire period. Tobago left in 1889 when she formed a union with Trinidad. Dominica joined the Windward Islands Colony in 1940 after having been transferred from the Leewards and remained in the Colony until 1958. After 1885 the Windward Islands Colony was under one Governor-General in Grenada and each island had its own Lieutenant-Governor and its own assembly (as before). Attempts at a Federal Colony like in the Leewards were always resisted. The Windward Islands Colony broke up in 1958 when each island chose to join the new Federation of the West Indies as a separate unit.

The remaining British colonies in the Caribbean except for British Guiana and the Bahamas were grouped under Jamaica out of convenience and sometimes for historical and/or geographical reasons. British Honduras was surrounded by hostile Spanish colonies and needed the protection afforded by the Army and Navy based in Jamaica. In addition, British Honduras had been founded by loggers and had expanded in population partly by the settlement of Englishmen arriving from Jamaica in the late 1600s and early 1700s (with settlers also arriving from England directly or being born in the colony). So from 1742 British Honduras was a dependency directly under the Governor of Jamaica. Then in 1749 the Governors of Jamaica appointed Administrators for British Honduras. In 1862 British Honduras became a Crown Colony and was placed under the Governor of Jamaica with its own Lieutenant-Governor. In 1884 it finally broke all administrative ties with Jamaica.

On 17 December 1918, after a mutiny by the British West Indies Regiment due to harsh discipline, 60 West Indian sergeants met to form the Caribbean League, which although short-lived due to internal divisions centred on island identities, marked a pivotal moment in the emergence of nationalist movements in the Anglophone Caribbean. A memorable and oft-cited slogan emanating from a subsequent meeting of the League was "that the black man should have freedom and govern himself in the West Indies and that force must be used, and if necessary bloodshed to attain that object".

The West Indies Federation was a short-lived federation that existed from January 3, 1958 to May 31, 1962. It consisted of several Caribbean colonies of the United Kingdom. The expressed intention of the Federation was to create a political unit that would become independent from Britain as a single state--possibly similar to the Australian Federation, or Canadian Confederation; however, before that could happen, the Federation collapsed due to internal political conflicts.

Today, the islands of the British West Indies exist as separate independent members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Guyana (formerly British Guiana), Trinidad and Tobago and Dominica are republican members and Jamaica, the Bahamas, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St Kitts and Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda and Belize (formerly British Honduras) are realms of Queen Elizabeth II, represented by a Governor General in each country. Bermuda, a colony since 1609, remains a British Overseas Territory, along with the Cayman Islands (formerly governed by Jamaica), the Turks and Caicos Islands (formerly governed by the Bahamas), the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat and Anguilla. An independence movement is gaining strength in Bermuda and the Turks and Caicos Islands have considered joining the Canadian Confederation. The others are too small to become independent or wish to remain British.

North America

John Cabot became the first European since the Vikings to discover Newfoundland (but see *João Vaz Corte-Real*), landing at *Cape Bonavista* on 24 June 1497. On August 5, 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert formally claimed Newfoundland as *England's* first overseas colony under *Royal Prerogative* of *Queen Elizabeth I*. The island of Newfoundland was nearly conquered by French explorer *Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville* in the 1690s, but remained firmly in English hands. Newfoundland celebrated 500 years under the Crown in 1997.

During his famed *circumnavigation* of the globe (1577–1580) in which he was ordered to destroy the *Spanish* flotillas in the *New World* and plunder settlements, *Sir Francis Drake* landed on the western coast of *North America* in 1579 in what is now northern California and claimed the area for *Queen Elizabeth I* as *New Albion*. However this claim was later abandoned. Following the early settlement in Virginia in 1607, British colonies spread up and down the east coast of North America and by 1664, when the English secured *New Amsterdam* (*New York*) from the Dutch, there was a continuous fringe of colonies from the present *South Carolina* in the south to what is now *New Hampshire*. These colonies, and others formed later, had their own democratic institutions.

4. Early Empire

The Thirteen American Colonies

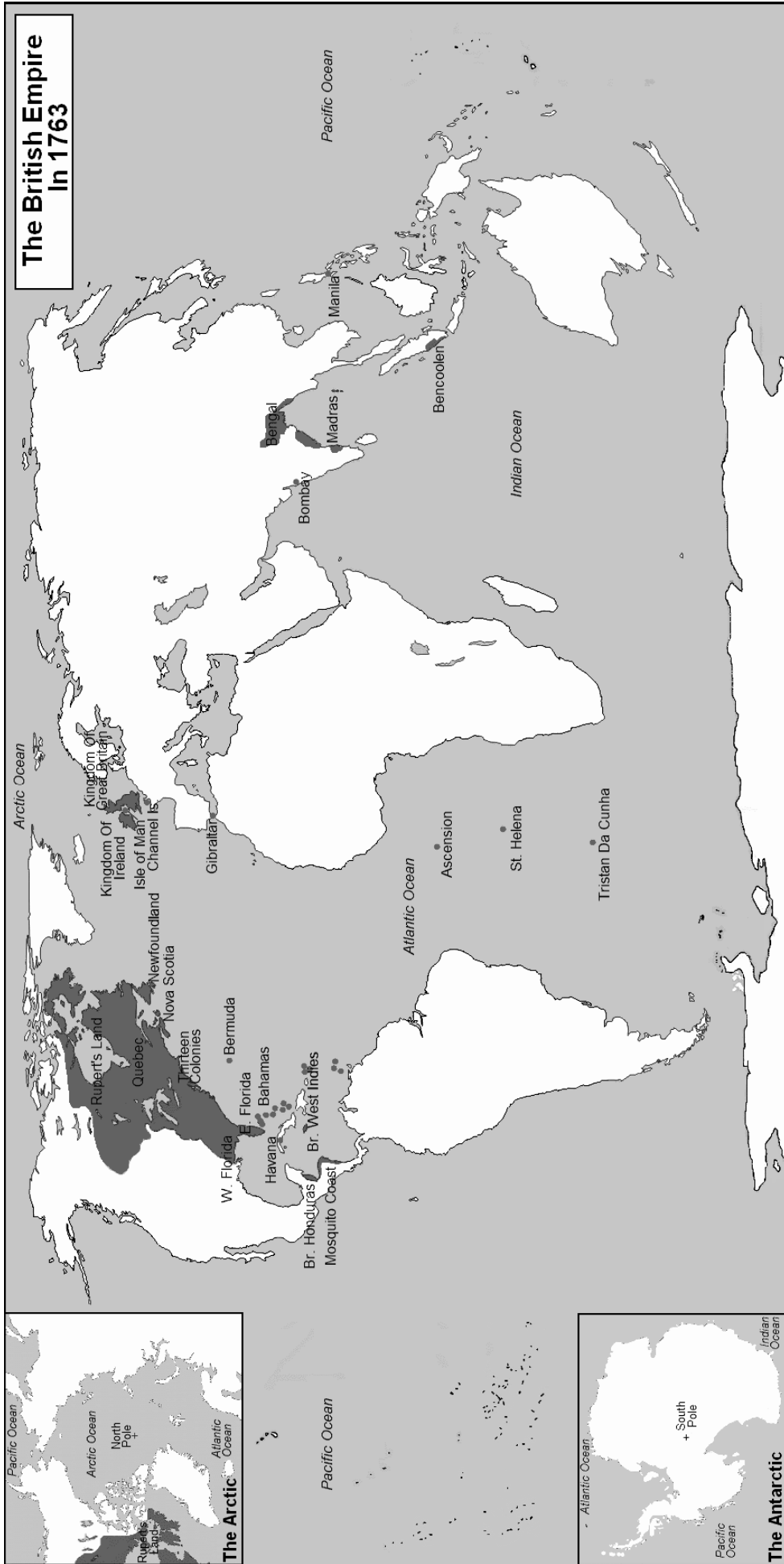
By 1720, thirteen British colonies existed on what is now the eastern seaboard of the United States. In what is now Canada, Rupert's Land around Hudson Bay had been claimed by the Hudson Bay Company in the 1660's and Nova Scotia became English in 1691 as part of Massachusetts and then a separate colony in 1713. The Kingdom of Great Britain acquired the French colony of Acadia in 1713 and then Canada and the Spanish colony of Florida in 1763.

There was also an early unsuccessful attempt by the Kingdom of Scotland to establish a colony at Darién, and the short-lived Scottish colonisation of Nova Scotia (Latin: "New Scotland") from 1629 to 1632. Thousands of Scotsmen also participated in the English colonization even before the two countries were united in 1707.

From 1756-1763, Britain, whose forces were led by James Wolfe, defeated France in North America and took control of France's possessions in the continent, mostly in what is now Canada. Britain now controlled the entire eastern half of North America from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Islands. A Proclamation Line was declared west of the thirteen American colonies in 1763, preventing further western settlement in order to preserve lands for the natives. This upset many colonists. Spain intervened during this war on the side of France, so Britain declared war on Spain in 1762, occupying Manila in the Philippines and Havana in Cuba. These were returned to Spain at the signing of the peace treaty in 1763. Spain was given French Louisiana as compensation for losing Florida to the British.

A dispute regarding taxes, involving the American colonists, roused them to resistance under the leadership of George Washington, which came to a head in the American Revolution of 1775-1781 and led to the Declaration of Independence on 4 July 1776 of the Thirteen American Colonies as the republic of the United States of America. One third of American colonists chose to stay loyal to Britain, and one of the first battles in 1776, the Battle of Long Island, was won by the British and half way through the war, it looked like the British would win. The northeastern part of New York colony declared itself independent as the Republic of New Connecticut (later Vermont Republic) in 1777. In 1778, the British Government's Carlisle Commission offered a solution of self-government for the colonies under the Crown with representation in Parliament. However, this was rejected by the American Continental Congress, who then enlisted Britain's rivals of France, Spain and Holland which turned the war around. British forces surrendered to American forces and their French, Spanish and Dutch allies in 1781 and Great Britain recognised the independence of the United States in 1783. George Washington became the republic's first President. American colonists who remained loyal to Great Britain, called United Empire Loyalists, fled to the Bahamas and to Canada and settled mostly in southern Ontario and the Maritimes. Many Ontario cities and towns were founded by these loyalists. British East and West Florida, taken from France and Spain in 1763, were ceded to Spain in 1783 for the return of the Bahamas to British control. Florida was annexed by the U.S. President in 1819. The Vermont Republic joined the United States as the 14th state in 1791.

The British Empire In 1763





The Canadian Colonies

The Canadian colonies, some of which were taken from France in 1763, remained loyal to Britain. Constitutional development in Canada started with an act of 1791. After being renamed the Province of Quebec, the former French Canada was divided in two Provinces, the Canadas, consisting of the old settled country of mainly French-speaking Lower Canada (today Quebec) and the newly settled Upper Canada (today Ontario), mainly English-speaking.

In the War of 1812, the U.S.A. tried unsuccessfully to annex Canada with many battles fought in what is now southern Ontario. The British and Canadian troops under General Isaac Brock successfully defeated the invading Americans. American forces had occupied and burned down the Town of York (Toronto). In retaliation British troops burned Washington D.C. The war ended with no political or boundary changes.

In the north, the Hudson's Bay Company actively traded for fur with the indigenous peoples, and had competed with French fur traders. The company came to control the entire drainage basin of Hudson Bay called Rupert's Land. The small parts of the Hudson Bay drainage which are south of the 49th parallel went to the United States in the Anglo-American Convention of 1818. However, in both the Canadas, there was sufficient discontent to lead to rebellion in 1837. A Declaration of Independence was even issued by mostly French-speaking rebels in Lower Canada (Quebec). After the suppression of these risings, Lord Durham was sent out to advise on the affairs of British North America; his report, published in 1839, became the basis for the future structure of the Empire. In accordance with his recommendations, the two Canadas were united in 1840 and given a representative legislative council of their own: the beginning of colonial self-government. In 1849, the addition of Vancouver Island stretched British North America to the west coast.

South America

South America is the one part of the world where British expansion was rather small. Only British Guiana, taken from the Dutch in 1804, and the Falkland Islands and its dependencies - the South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands - annexed in 1833, were successfully added to the British Empire in this part of the world. Venezuela claimed a large part of western British Guiana, which it still claims today. Argentina claims the Falkland Islands and its dependencies, calling them the Malvinas. This dispute erupted into war in 1982 when Argentina invaded the islands, but were defeated by the British.

Britain, at one time, did have plans for a much larger empire in South America. After the loss of the North American colonies, the British decided to expand into the Spanish Colonies of South America. In 1795, a Scot by the name of Nicholas Vansittart wrote a white paper clearly outlining a way to take South America away from Spain. The British Government initially approved the Vansittart plan but later cancelled it, in 1797. Major General Sir Thomas Maitland revised the Vansittart plan in the early 1800's.

The British Government approved this plan and it subsequently changed its name to the Maitland plan. The Maitland plan was put into effect during the Napoleonic War in 1806. Great Britain used the fact that Spain was now technically an ally of France as the excuse to start the war.

Great Britain sent an expeditionary force of 1,600 men to invade Buenos Aires, in Argentina, under General William Carr. This attempt failed. A year later, an invasion army of 11,000 men arrived in Buenos Aires under the orders of General John Whitelocke. At the same time, a second fleet with 4,000 men captured Montevideo and used the city as a staging post and communications centre. The Spanish colonial authorities in Buenos Aires were made to swear allegiance to the British Crown. The people of Buenos Aires single-handedly defeated this huge invasion force in hand-to-hand and street-by-street fighting. A British force commanded by

Lieutenant-General David Baird and Admiral Sir Home Popham took the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope in 1805. The following year, a smaller British force of 1,500 men under Colonel William Carr Beresford was sent across the South Atlantic to invade the Plata region, departing on 14 April 1806. The Spanish Viceroy, Marquis Rafael de Sobremonte, had asked the Spanish Crown for reinforcements many times, but no new men arrived. The residents of the city were pleased to see the British arrive at first, although some feared becoming a British colony and favoured independence.

However, one of the first measures of Beresford was to decree free commerce and reduction of port taxes. This measure displeased the merchants, who benefited from the Spanish monopoly, and so they gave their support to the resistance. French marine officer Santiago de Liniers y Bremond, in service to the Spanish Crown, organised the re-conquest of Buenos Aires from Montevideo, with help of the city governor Ruiz Huidobro. Also of importance was the participation of Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, chief of the urban militias. On 4 August, 1806, Liniers landed at Las Conchas, north of Buenos Aires, and advanced with a mixed force of Buenos Aires line troops and Montevideo Militia toward the city. After two days of fighting, Beresford surrendered on 12 August 1806.

Lieutenant-General John Whitelocke commanded the British forces in the second invasion. On 3 February 1807, Montevideo was captured in a joint military and naval operation using British reinforcements of 8,000 men under General Sir Samuel Auchmuty and a naval squadron under Admiral Sir Charles Stirling. On 10 May, Lieutenant-General John Whitelocke arrived in Montevideo to take overall command of the British forces on the Río de la Plata. On 1 July, Liniers was defeated in the environs of the city. Finally, three days after defeating Liniers, Whitelocke resolved to attack Buenos Aires. Trusting the superiority of his soldiers, he divided his army into 12 columns and advanced without the protection of the artillery. His army was met on the streets by a determined militia, and fighting continued on the streets of Buenos Aires on 4 July and 5 July. Whitelocke underestimated the importance of urban combat, in which the inhabitants of the city overwhelmed the British troops. By the end of 5 July, the British controlled Retiro but the city's centre was still in the hands of the defenders, and the invaders were demoralized.

At this point, a Spanish counter-attack defeated many important British commanders, including Robert Crauford and Dennis Pack. Then Whitelocke proposed a 24-hour truce, which was rejected by Liniers, who ordered an artillery attack. After having more than half his forces killed and captured, Whitelocke signed a ceasefire with Liniers on 12 August. He left the Río de la Plata basin taking with him the British forces in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Colonia. Less than three years after the second invasion, the May Revolution took place in 1810, as a prelude to the Declaration of Independence of Argentina of 1816. Sir Thomas Maitland moved on to become Governor of Ceylon.

The planned extensive British Empire in South America was never established as most of the countries on the continent became independent in the early 19th Century. Argentina did, however, become part of Britain's 'informal empire'. Many British people decided to settle in Argentina and the country has a large British community of over 500,000 people, including a Welsh-speaking community in Patagonia at the continent's southern end, which was unclaimed

until 1902. In that year, the Patagonian Welsh unsuccessfully petitioned the Colonial Office in London for Britain to annex Patagonia into the British Empire. Patagonia became part of Argentina, which had developed a very close friendship with Britain.

The United Kingdom was one of the first countries to recognise the independence of Argentina, in a treaty of 1825. English arrivals and investment played a large part in the development of the rail and tramways of Argentina, and of Argentine agriculture, livestock breeding, processing, refrigeration and export. At one point in the 19th century, ten per cent of the UK's foreign investment was in Argentina, despite not being a colony. In 1939, 39% of investment in Argentina was British. The British built infrastructure and invested heavily in Argentina, which would last for over 150 years. This came to an end with the invasion of the British-controlled Falkland Islands by Argentina in 1982.

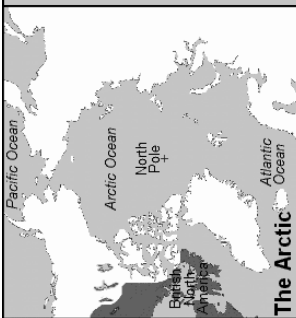
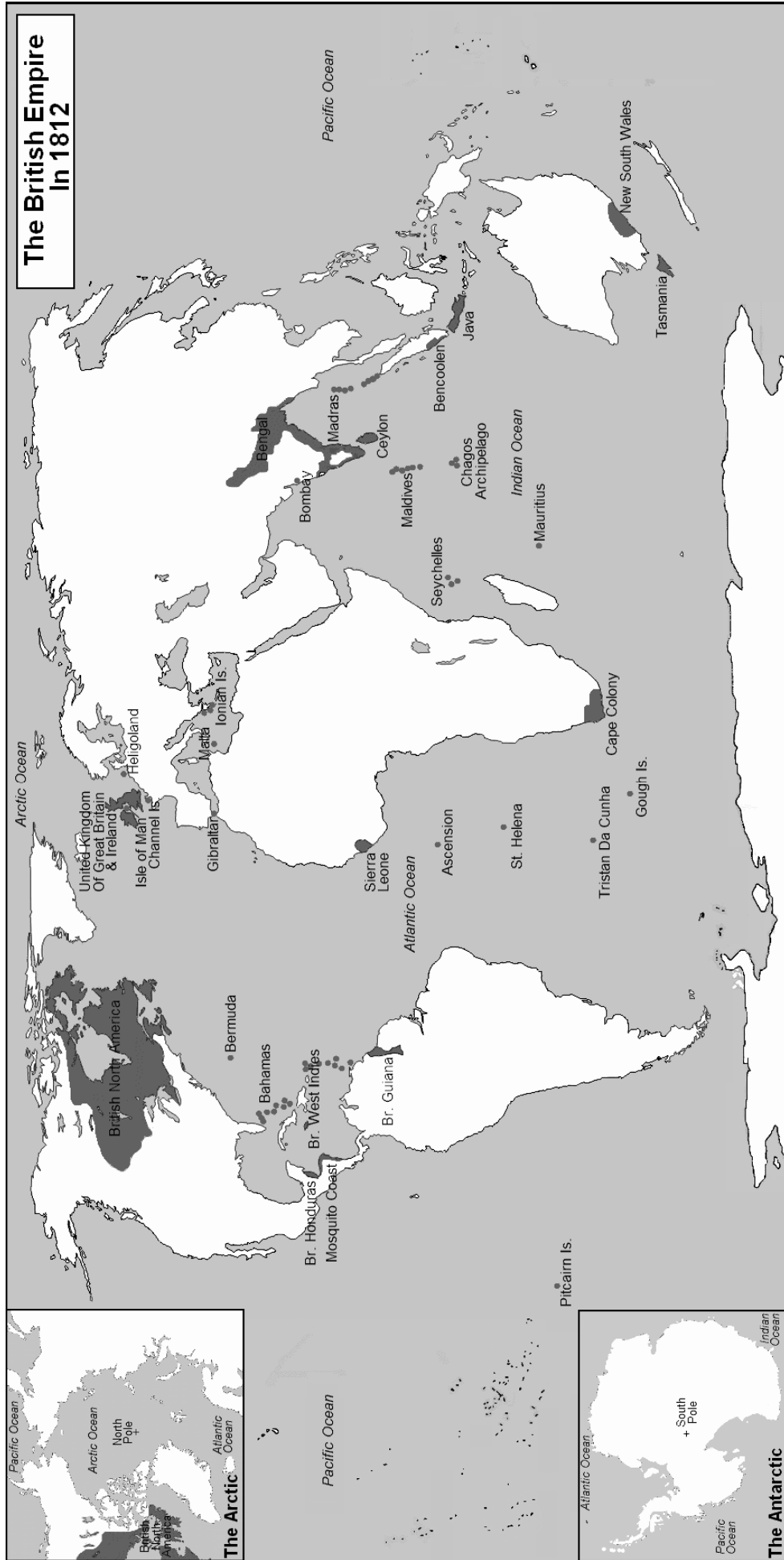
The British colony of the Falkland Islands also included South Georgia, the South Sandwich Islands and, after 1908, it also included British Antarctica. The British Antarctic Territory became a separate British Dependency in 1962 and South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands became a separate British territory in 1985 after the Falklands War with Argentina.

Largest Expansion Of Empire

The British Empire underwent several growth 'spurts'. Its largest expansion was during the Victorian era (1837 to 1901). During the first half of the nineteenth century, expansion of the Empire was mostly in Asia with the creation of the Indian Empire by 1877 and the annexation of Burma in the 1880's. Aden was annexed in 1839 and an invasion of Afghanistan was launched during the same year. Britain also established a presence in Malaya and annexed Hong Kong. The surrounding New Territories were added to Hong Kong by a 99-year lease in 1898. Additions were also made to British possessions in Canada, Australia and India. New Zealand was annexed in the 1840's and many islands in the Pacific were added to the Empire after the annexation of the Fiji Islands in 1870.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the 'Grab for Africa' with the annexation of large stretches of the African continent. In 1815, Britain had only footholds in the Cape of Good Hope and in west Africa. In 1882, Britain occupied Egypt and the major African additions soon followed. The Berlin Conference of 1884 was a large meeting of European leaders to decide how to carve up Africa among the European powers. No Africans were represented or had any input. Throughout the 1880's and 1890's, Britain's west African possessions were expanded and a great north-south corridor of British rule was created up the east side of Africa ultimately connecting the Cape of Good Hope with Egypt under the guidance of Cecil Rhodes and his 'Cape to Cairo' plan with the annexation of Rhodesia, Nyasaland, British East Africa, Somaliland and the Sudan. This ended with the annexation of the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on the conclusion of the Boer War in 1902. In 1910, these were united with the Cape Colony and Natal to form a new Dominion known as the Union of South Africa. Only German East Africa then stood in the way of the completion of this 'Cape to Cairo' corridor. In 1908, Britain laid claim to a large section of Antarctica, immediately south of the Falkland Islands. Australia also claimed part of the Antarctic in 1933.

The British Empire In 1812



The final large expansion of the British Empire came after the First World War in 1919, when former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific became British, thus completing the British 'Cape to Cairo' corridor in Africa, and the annexation of former Ottoman Turkish provinces in the Middle East of Palestine and Mesopotamia (Iraq). After a rebellion against the British in 1919, Egypt gained independence in 1922, but with British occupation of the Suez Canal Zone continuing. The British Empire therefore reached its widest extent between the two world wars in the period 1918 to 1942. Japan occupied the British Far Eastern possessions after 1942. These were restored to British control in 1945 and Italian territories in North Africa were administered by Britain also in 1945. However, by this time, imperialism was no longer acceptable and Britain was severely economically weakened, so by 1948, the Empire began its decline. It was said that the 'sun never set on the British Empire' because the empire was so vast and far-flung that it was never out of daylight somewhere. In 1904, celebration of Empire Day throughout the British Empire on 24 May, the late Queen Victoria's birthday, began. Queen Victoria's birthday was chosen for Empire Day as she was the sovereign who reigned over the largest expansion of the Empire during the 19th Century and she became the first Empress of India. The Empire Day holiday usually consisted of fireworks, parties, flags and patriotic songs. This lasted until 1958 when it was renamed as Commonwealth Day. In the 1970's, Commonwealth Day was moved to the second Monday in March to mark a break from the imperial past. Empire Day continues to be celebrated in Canada as Victoria Day.

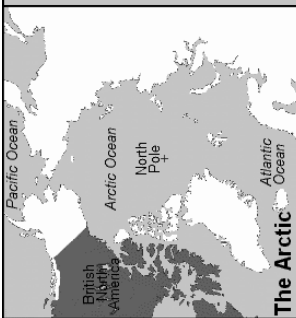
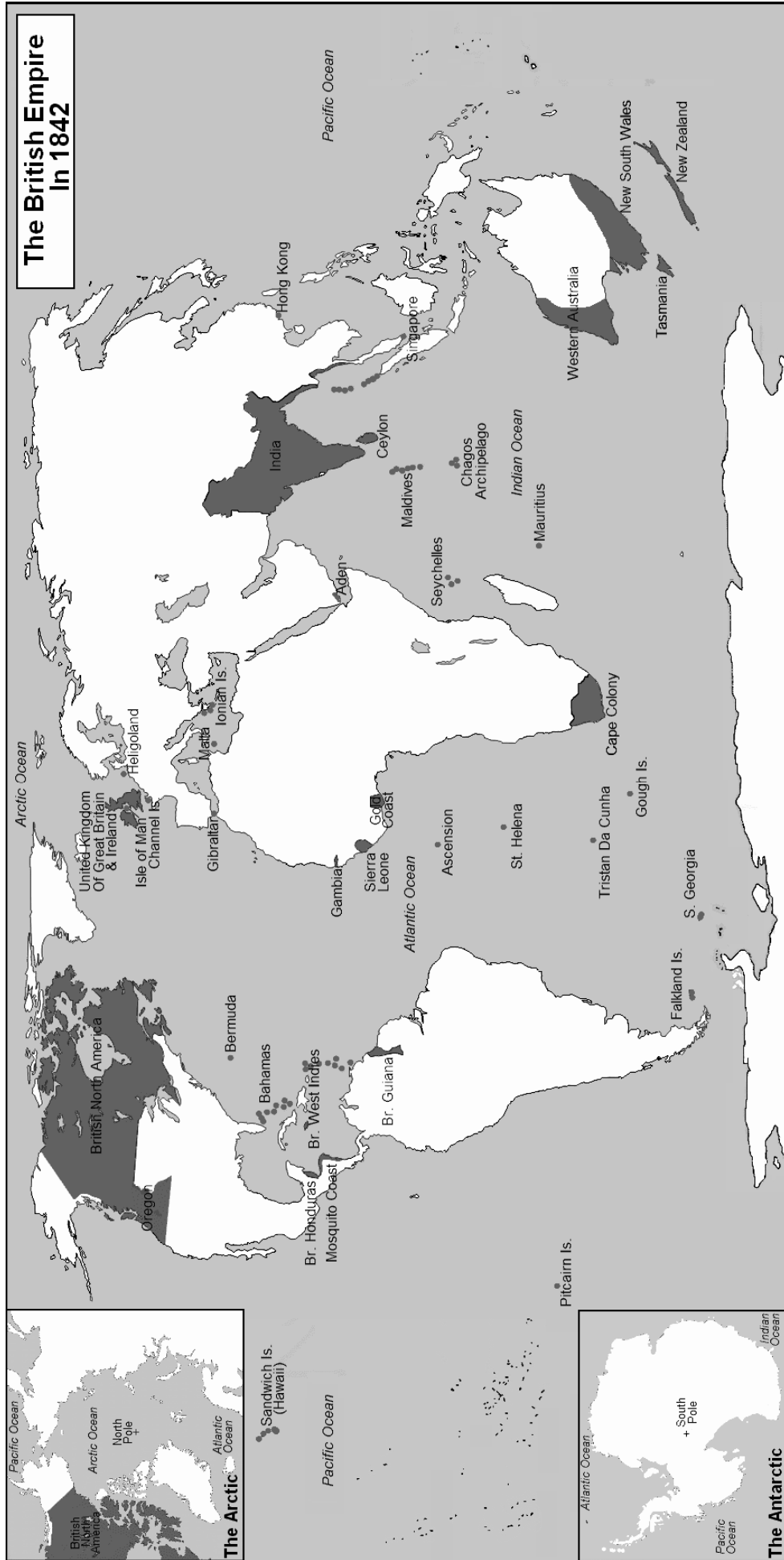
The British Empire was originally overseen in the British Government by two offices – the Colonial Office (responsible for the dominions, colonies and protectorates) and the India Office (responsible for the British Indian Empire and Aden) – each office with its own Secretary of State. The Foreign Office handled diplomatic relations with foreign non-British Empire countries. The Dominions Section of the Colonial Office was established in 1907 to oversee the then newly-created self-governing dominions. As the dominions became more autonomous after the First World War, a separate Dominions Office was created in June 1926 with its own Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

5. Height of Empire

Canada

Fear of further American invasion of Canada led to a movement among leading Canadian colonial politicians for a unified federation of the British North American colonies which would be strong, united, self-governing and could defend itself. With the British North America Act of 1867, the autonomous Dominion of Canada came into existence with the union of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia with Sir John A. MacDonald as the first Prime Minister. Later, further territories were added until the federal government of the Dominion of Canada controlled all the northern part of the continent, except Alaska, which belonged to the U.S.A. Manitoba in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, followed by Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 all became provinces of the Dominion. The British Government transferred the Arctic islands in the north to the Dominion government in 1880. The northern parts of Canada remain to this day as territories. Canada gained full autonomy within the British Empire in 1931.

The British Empire In 1842



In 1854, Newfoundland was granted responsible government by the British government. Newfoundland remained a colony until acquiring dominion status as the Dominion of Newfoundland on September 26, 1907, along with New Zealand. It successfully negotiated a trade agreement with the United States but the British government blocked it after objections from Canada. In 1927, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London settled the boundary dispute between Quebec and Labrador by ruling in Newfoundland's favour. In 1934, the Dominion, because of financial difficulties, was obliged to give up its self-governing status and a British Commission of Government took its place. Following World War II, the Commission held elections for the Newfoundland National Convention which debated the dominion's future in 1946 and 1947. Two referenda resulted in which Newfoundlanders decided to end the Commission, and join the Canadian Confederation in 1949 as Canada's tenth province. Currently, a movement is underway to promote the idea of the Turks and Caicos Islands, a British colony in the Caribbean, to possibly become Canada's eleventh province.

India

India was at the heart of the British Empire but it was initially controlled, not directly by the British government, but through the East India Company. This huge company, chartered in 1600, set up a number of factories, as their trading posts were called, and steadily increased its possessions and the territories over which it held treaty rights until its power extended from Aden in Arabia to Penang in Malaya, both vital ports of call for company vessels plying between Britain, India, and China. Robert Clive, the first British Governor of Bengal, established the Company's great military power. The East India Company was the most powerful private company in history, controlling India partly by direct rule and partly by a system of alliances with Indian princes, maintained by the Company's powerful army. The company's political power was ended by the Indian War of Independence (referred to by the ruling British as the 'Indian Mutiny') in 1857.

The rebellion began with mutinies by sepoys of the Bengal Presidency army; in 1857 the presidency consisted of present-day Bangladesh, and the Indian states of West Bengal, Bihar and UP. However, most rebel soldiers were from the UP region, and, in particular, from Northwest Provinces (especially, Ganga-Jumna Doab) and Oudh, and many came from landowning families. Within weeks of the initial mutinies—as the rebel soldiers wrested control of many urban garrisons from the British—the rebellion was joined by various discontented groups in the hinterlands, in both farmed areas and the backwoods. The latter group, forming the civilian rebellion, consisted of feudal nobility, landlords, peasants, rural merchants, and some tribal groups

Although this revolt was put down, it resulted in the Crown taking over the government of India in 1858; Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India on 1 Jan 1877. India then became known as the Indian Empire and the vice-regal representative was called a Viceroy. The British army fought two wars with Afghanistan (1839-41 and 1878-80) to protect India's northwest frontier and invaded Tibet in 1904. A semi-protectorate existed in Afghanistan from 1880 to 1919 with Britain controlling the country's foreign affairs. Afghanistan declared full independence during the Third Afghan War (1919-1921). British influence in Nepal began in 1857 with the country having a very pro-British king. Nepal's independence was recognised by a

Treaty of Friendship with Britain in 1923. Burma was part of India until 1937. In that year it became a separate British colony.

Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the Act for the Better Government of India (1858) made changes in the governance of India at three levels: in the imperial government in London, in the central government in Calcutta, and in the provincial governments in the presidencies (and later in the provinces).

In London, it provided for a cabinet-level Secretary of State for India and a fifteen-member Council of India, whose members were required, as one prerequisite of membership, to have spent at least ten years in India and to have done so no more than ten years before. Although the Secretary of State formulated the policy instructions to be communicated to India, he was required in most instances to consult the Council, but especially so in matters relating to spending of Indian revenues. The Act envisaged a system of "double government" in which the Council ideally served both as a check on excesses in imperial policy-making and as a body of up-to-date expertise on India. However, the Secretary of State also had special emergency powers that allowed him to make unilateral decisions, and, in reality, the Council's expertise was sometimes outdated.

Suzerainty over 175 Princely States, including some of the largest and most important, was exercised (in the name of the British Crown) by central government of British India under the Viceroy; the remaining, approximately 500, states were dependents of the provincial governments of British India under a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner (as the case might have been). A clear distinction between "dominion" and "suzerainty" was supplied by the jurisdiction of the courts of law: the law of British India rested upon the laws passed by the British Parliament and the legislative powers those laws vested in the various governments of British India, both central and local; in contrast, the courts of the Princely States existed under the authority of the respective rulers of those states.

In Calcutta, the Governor-General remained head of the Government of India and now was more commonly called the Viceroy on account of his secondary role as the Crown's representative to the nominally sovereign princely states; he was, however, now responsible to the Secretary of State in London and through him to British Parliament. A system of "double government" had already been in place in the East India Company rule in India from the time of Pitt's India Act of 1784. The Governor-General in the capital, Calcutta, and the Governor in a subordinate presidency (Madras or Bombay) was each required to consult his advisory council; executive orders in Calcutta, for example, were issued in the name of "Governor-General-in-Council" (i.e. the Governor-General with the advice of the Council). The Company's system of "double government" had its critics, since, from the time of the system's inception, there had been intermittent feuding between the Governor-General and his Council; still, the Act of 1858 made no major changes in governance. However, in the years immediately thereafter, which were also the years of post-rebellion reconstruction, the Viceroy Lord Canning found the collective decision-making of the Council to be too time-consuming for the pressing tasks ahead. He therefore requested the "portfolio system" of an Executive Council in which the business of each government department (the "portfolio") was assigned to and became the responsibility of a single Council member. Routine departmental decisions were made exclusively by the member,

however, important decisions required the consent of the Governor-General and, in the absence such consent, required discussion by the entire Executive Council. This innovation in Indian governance was promulgated in the Indian Councils Act of 1861.

At the turn of the 20th century, British India consisted of eight provinces that were administered either by a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor. The following table lists their areas and populations (but does not include those of the dependent Native States): During the partition of Bengal (1905–1911), a new province, Assam and East Bengal was created as a Lieutenant-Governorship. In 1911, East Bengal was reunited with Bengal, and the new provinces in the east became: Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 to push for greater self-government for India. The first steps were taken toward self-government in British India in the late 19th century with the appointment of Indian counsellors to advise the British viceroy and the establishment of provincial councils with Indian members; the British subsequently widened participation in legislative councils with the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Municipal Corporations and District Boards were created for local administration; they included elected Indian members.

The Government of India Act of 1909 — also known as the Morley-Minto Reforms (John Morley was the secretary of state for India, and Gilbert Elliot, fourth earl of Minto, was viceroy) — gave Indians limited roles in the central and provincial legislatures, known as legislative councils. Indians had previously been appointed to legislative councils, but after the reforms some were elected to them. At the centre, the majority of council members continued to be government-appointed officials, and the viceroy was in no way responsible to the legislature. At the provincial level, the elected members, together with unofficial appointees, outnumbered the appointed officials, but responsibility of the governor to the legislature was not contemplated. Morley made it clear in introducing the legislation to the British Parliament that parliamentary self-government was not the goal of the British government. The Government of India Act of 1919 set up further reforms. In the 1920's, the capital and government of the Indian Empire was moved to a new city called New Delhi. The Government of India Act of 1935 set up the Indian Empire as an autonomous federation with its own parliament, almost as a Dominion. Burma was separated from the Indian Empire in that year and became a separate colony. Aden, near the Persian Gulf, was also governed by the India Office in London.

East Indies

When the Netherlands came under French occupation (1793-1815) the East India Company took the opportunity to occupy parts of the East Indies, such as Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) annexed to the East India Company in 1796. In 1819, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, an official with the British East India Company, established Singapore as a trading post and settlement.

In 1818, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed as the Lieutenant Governor of the British colony at Bencoolen. He was determined that British should replace the Dutch as the dominant power in the archipelago, since the trade route between China and British India, which had become vitally important with the institution of the opium trade with China, passed through the archipelago. The Dutch had been stifling British trade in the region by prohibiting the British from operating in Dutch-controlled ports or by subjecting them with high tariff. Raffles hoped to

challenge the Dutch by establishing a new port along the Straits of Malacca, the main ship passageway for the India-China trade. He convinced Lord Hastings, the Governor-General of India and his superior at the British East India Company, to fund an expedition to seek a new British base in the region. The British briefly ruled the island of Java from 1811-1816. Bencoolen and Java were recognised as Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. Britain concentrated on establishing itself further north in Borneo and Malaya.

Raffles arrived in Singapore on 29 January 1819 and soon recognised the island as a natural choice for the new port. It lay at the southern tip of the Malay peninsula, near the Straits of Malacca, and possessed a natural deep harbour, fresh water supplies, and timber for repairing ships. Raffles found a small Malay settlement, with a population of a few hundreds, at the mouth of the Singapore River, headed by Temenggong Abdu'r Rahman. The island was nominally ruled by the Sultan of Johor, Tengku Rahman, who was controlled by the Dutch and the Bugis. However, the Sultanate was weakened by factional division and Temenggong Abdu'r Rahman and his officials were loyal to Tengku Rahman's elder brother Tengku Hussein (or Tengku Long) who was living in exile in Riau. With the Temenggong's help, Raffles managed to smuggle Hussein back into Singapore. He offered to recognise Hussein as the rightful Sultan of Johor and provide him with a yearly payment; in return, Hussein would grant the British the right to establish a trading post on Singapore. A formal treaty was signed on 6 February 1819 and modern Singapore was born

When the British government took over from the company it also acquired the Straits Settlements and by 1914 all Malaya was under British control. Britain gained Hong Kong as a result of the Opium Wars (1839-42) and Kowloon was added to the colony after a second Opium War (1856-58). The surrounding New Territories were added to Hong Kong in a 99-Year lease in 1898. In the same year, Weihaiwei, on the northeastern coast of China, was leased by Britain for 25 years. It was returned to China in 1930. Burma (now Myanmar) became a province of British India in 1886 after a series of Anglo-Burmese Wars from 1824. In Borneo, Sarawak was ruled as a personal possession by James Brooke, a former soldier of the East India Company, and the British North Borneo Company acquired Sabah in 1888. The sultanate of Brunei, which had formerly possessed Sarawak and Sabah (British North Borneo), itself came under British protection in the same year. Labuan, Malacca, Penang, Singapore and the Straits Settlements on and near the Malay peninsula formed the Federated Malay States.

Australia, New Zealand and Oceania

In Australia, claimed for the British by Captain James Cook, colonization began with the desire to find a place for penal settlement after the loss of the original American colonies. The first shipload of British convicts landed in Australia in 1788 on the site of the future city of Sydney.

The expedition of the Endeavour under command of British Royal Navy Lieutenant James Cook navigated and charted the east coast of Australia, making first landfall at Botany Bay on 29 April 1770. Cook continued northwards and before leaving put ashore on Possession Island in the Torres Strait off Cape York on 22 August 1770. Here he formally claimed the eastern coastline he had discovered for the Crown, naming it New South Wales. Given that Cook was a British explorer and his discoveries would lead to the British settlement of Australia, he is often popularly considered its European discoverer, although he had been preceded by many—and by

Janszoon in particular—more than 160 years prior. The favourable reports of these lands relayed by Cook's expedition upon their return to England generated interest in its offered solution to the problem of penal overcrowding in Britain, which had been exacerbated by the loss of its American colonies. Accordingly, on 13 May 1787, the 11 ships of the First Fleet set sail from Portsmouth, England, bound for Botany Bay.

The British Crown Colony of New South Wales started with the establishment of a settlement at Sydney Cove by Captain Arthur Phillip on 26 January 1788. This date later became Australia's national day, Australia Day. These islands included the current islands of New Zealand, which was administered as part of New South Wales. Van Diemen's Land, now known as Tasmania, was settled in 1803 and became a separate colony in 1825. New South Wales was opened to free settlers in 1819. Britain formally claimed the western part of Australia in 1829. Separate colonies were created from parts of New South Wales: South Australia in 1836, New Zealand in 1840, Victoria in 1851, and Queensland in 1859. The Northern Territory was founded in 1863 as part of the Province of South Australia. In 1829, the Swan River Colony was declared by Charles Fremantle for Britain, which later became Western Australia, with Albany coming under the authority of the governor at Perth. Western Australia was founded as a free colony but later accepted transported convicts because of an acute labour shortage. The transportation of convicts to Australia was phased out between 1840 and 1868.

In 1853 transportation of convicts was abolished. A gold rush began in Australia in the early 1850s, and the Eureka Stockade rebellion in 1854 was an early expression of nationalist sentiment; the flag that was used to represent it has been seriously considered by some as an alternative to the Australian flag. The gold rushes brought many immigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, Europe, North America and China. Between 1855 and 1890, the six colonies individually gained responsible government, managing most of their own affairs while remaining part of the British Empire. The Colonial Office in London retained control of some matters, notably foreign affairs, defence and international shipping. The gold led to a period of great prosperity, but eventually the economic expansion came to an end, and the 1890s were a period of economic depression.

Before the end of the century five Australian colonies - New South Wales, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, Queensland - and the island colony of Tasmania had each achieved self-government; an act of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster created the federal Commonwealth of Australia, a self-governing Dominion, in 1901.

New Zealand, annexed in 1840, was at first a dependency of New South Wales. In 1788, the colony of New South Wales had been founded. According to Captain Phillip's amended Commission, dated 25 April 1787, the colony included all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean within the latitudes of 10°37'S and 43°39'S which included most of New Zealand except for the southern half of the South Island. In 1825 with Van Diemen's Land becoming a separate colony, the southern boundary of New South Wales was altered to the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean with a southern boundary of 39°12'S which included only the northern half of the North Island. However, these boundaries had no real impact as the New South Wales administration had little interest in New Zealand. In response to complaints about lawless white sailors and adventurers in New Zealand, the British government appointed James Busby as

Official Resident in 1832. In 1834 he encouraged Maori chiefs to assert their sovereignty with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1835. This was acknowledged by King William IV. Busby was provided with neither legal authority nor military support and was thus ineffective in controlling the European population.

In 1839, the New Zealand Company announced its plans to establish colonies in New Zealand. This, and the continuing lawlessness of many of the established settlers, spurred the British to take stronger action. Captain William Hobson was sent to New Zealand to persuade Maori to cede their sovereignty to the British Crown. On 6 February 1840, Hobson and about forty Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands. Copies of the Treaty were subsequently taken around the country to be signed by other chiefs. A significant number refused to sign or were not asked but, in total, more than five hundred Maori eventually signed. The Treaty gave Maori control over their lands and possessions and all of the rights of British citizens. Britain was motivated by the desire to forestall other European powers (France established a very small settlement at Akaroa in the South Island later in 1840), to facilitate settlement by British subjects and, possibly, to end the lawlessness of European (predominantly British and American) whalers, sealers and traders. Officials and missionaries had their own positions and reputations to protect. Maori chiefs were motivated by a desire for protection from foreign powers, the establishment of governorship over European settlers and traders in New Zealand, and to allow for wider settlement that would increase trade and prosperity for Maori.

The practical effect of the Treaty was, in the beginning, only gradually felt, especially in predominantly Maori regions. Having been administered, through 1840 when the treaty was signed, as a part of the Australian colony of New South Wales, New Zealand became a colony in its own right on 3 May 1841. It was divided into provinces that were reorganised in 1846 and in 1853, when they acquired their own legislatures, and then abolished in 1876. The country rapidly gained some measure of self-government through the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852, which established central and provincial government. Autonomous dominion status as the Dominion of New Zealand was achieved in 1907.

After the annexation of Australia and New Zealand, Britain proceeds to expand the empire further in the Pacific region. Captain George Vancouver established a UK-Hawaii friendship in 1793-4 and obtained a "cession" of the Islands to the UK, but the British government apparently never took notice of it. From 1794 to 1816, Hawaii flew the British Union Jack as its National Flag. From 1816 to 1843, Hawaii flew an early version of its present flag, containing the Union Jack. British troops occupied the Hawaiian Islands from 25 February to 31 July 1843. A Hawaiian "revolt" led to a British withdrawal in July 1843. The "revolt" consisted of the total ignoring of the presence of the British by the Hawaiians. No talking, no notice, nothing. Actually, the occupation was not sanctioned by London, and February to July is how long it took word to go to London and back again. But the Hawaiians say they defeated the British by ignoring them! Hawaii was occupied by the United States in 1893 and became a state of the United States in 1959. Today, it continues to use a flag containing the Union Jack to honour its original friendship agreement with the UK.

The Fiji Islands were ceded to the British Crown by their Great Council of Chiefs in 1874. In 1906, a condominium between Britain and France was established for the New Hebrides islands.

British New Guinea was established in 1884, becoming the Territory of Papua, governed by Australia, in 1904. German New Guinea was mandated by the League of Nations to Australia in 1919, while the island of Nauru was mandated jointly to Britain, Australia and New Zealand, also in 1919. German Samoa was mandated to New Zealand in 1919 also. Most of the British islands were administered by a single Western Pacific High Commissioner.

South Africa

The Cape of Good Hope in South Africa was occupied by two English captains in 1620, but initially neither the government nor the East India Company was interested in developing this early settlement into a colony. The Dutch occupied it in 1650, and Cape Town remained a port of call for their East India Company until 1795 when, French revolutionary armies having occupied the Dutch Republic, the British seized it to keep it from the French. Under the Treaty of Paris in 1814, the UK bought Cape Town from the new kingdom of the Netherlands for the equivalent of \$6 million.

British settlement began in 1824 on the coast of Natal, proclaimed a British colony in 1843. Meanwhile, the Boers had started to grow increasingly dissatisfied with British rule in the Cape Colony. The British proclamation of the equality of the races particularly angered them. The need to find new farmland and establish independence from British rule led a body of Boers (Dutch 'farmers') from the Cape to make the Great Trek northeast in 1836, to found Transvaal and Orange Free State as independent republics. Beginning in 1835, several groups of Boers, together with large numbers of Khoikhoi and black servants, decided to trek off into the interior in search of greater independence. North and east of the Orange River (which formed the Cape Colony's frontier) these Boers or Voortrekkers ("Pioneers") found vast tracts of apparently uninhabited grazing lands. They had, it seemed, entered their promised land, with space enough for their cattle to graze and their culture of anti-urban independence to flourish. Little did they know that what they found - deserted pasture lands, disorganised bands of refugees, and tales of brutality - resulted from the difaqane, rather than representing the normal state of affairs.

With the exception of the more powerful Ndebele, the Voortrekkers encountered little resistance among the scattered peoples of the plains. The difaqane had dispersed them, and the remnants lacked horses and firearms. Their weakened condition also solidified the Boers' belief that European occupation meant the coming of civilisation to a savage land. However, the mountains where King Moshoeshe I had started to forge the Basotho nation that would later become Lesotho and the wooded valleys of Zululand proved a more difficult proposition. Here the Boers met strong resistance, and their incursions set off a series of skirmishes, squabbles, and flimsy treaties that would litter the next 50 years of increasing white domination.

The Great Trek first halted at Thaba Nchu, near present-day Bloemfontein, where the trekkers established a republic. Following disagreements among their leadership, the various Voortrekker groups split apart. While some headed north, most crossed the Drakensberg into Natal with the idea of establishing a republic there. Since the Zulus controlled this territory, the Voortrekker leader Piet Retief paid a visit to King Dingaan. The Zulus, accusing the Boers of conspiring to overthrow the Zulu state, captured Retief. After receiving the specified cattle ransom, they sent an army to decimate Retief's settlement, killing 280 Boers and 250 black servants. At the Battle of Itala, a Boer army's attempt at revenge failed miserably.^[1] The culmination came on 16

December 1838, at the Ncome River in Natal. Though only several Boers suffered injuries, they killed several thousand Zulus. So much bloodshed reportedly caused the Ncome's waters to run red, thus the clash is historically known as the Battle of Blood River. The Voortrekkers, victorious despite their numbers, saw their victory as an affirmation of divine approval. Yet their hopes for establishing a Natal republic remained short lived. The British annexed the area in 1843, and founded their new Natal colony at present-day Durban. Most of the Boers, feeling increasingly squeezed between the British on one side and the native African populations on the other, headed north. The British set about establishing large sugar plantations in Natal, but found few inhabitants of the neighbouring Zulu areas willing to provide labour. The British confronted stiff resistance to their encroachments from the Zulus, a nation with well-established traditions of waging war, who inflicted one of the most humiliating defeats on the British army at the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879, where over 1400 British soldiers were killed. During the ongoing Anglo-Zulu Wars, the British eventually established their control over what was then named Zululand, and is today known as KwaZulu-Natal Province.

The British turned to India to resolve their labour shortage, as Zulu men refused to adopt the servile position of labourers and in 1860 the SS *Truro* arrived in Durban harbour with over 300 people on board. Over the next 50 years, 150,000 more indentured Indians arrived, as well as numerous free "passenger Indians", building the base for what would become the largest Indian community outside of India. As early as 1893, when Mahatma Gandhi arrived in Durban, Indians outnumbered whites in Natal. The Boers meanwhile persevered with their search for land and freedom, ultimately establishing themselves in various Boer Republics, eg the Transvaal or South African Republic and the Orange Free State. For a while it seemed that these republics would develop into stable states, despite having thinly-spread populations of fiercely independent Boers, no industry, and minimal agriculture. The discovery of diamonds near Kimberley turned the Boers' world on its head (1869). The first diamonds came from land belonging to the Griqua, but to which both the Transvaal and Orange Free State laid claim. Britain quickly stepped in and resolved the issue by annexing the area for itself.

The discovery of the Kimberley diamond-mines unleashed a flood of European and black labourers into the area. Towns sprang up in which the inhabitants ignored the "proper" separation of whites and blacks, and the Boers expressed anger that their impoverished republics had missed out on the economic benefits of the mines. Long-standing Boer resentment turned into full-blown rebellion in the Transvaal (under British control from 1877), and the first Anglo-Boer War, known to Afrikaners as the "War of Independence", broke out in 1880. The conflict ended almost as soon as it began with a crushing Boer victory at Battle of Majuba Hill (27 February 1881). The republic regained its independence as the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek ("South African Republic"), or ZAR. Paul Kruger, one of the leaders of the uprising, became President of the ZAR in 1883. Meanwhile, the British, who viewed their defeat at Majuba as an aberration, forged ahead with their desire to federate the Southern African colonies and republics. They saw this as the best way to come to terms with the fact of a white Afrikaner majority, as well as to promote their larger strategic interests in the area.

In 1879 Zululand came under British control. Then in 1886 an Australian prospector discovered gold in the Witwatersrand, accelerating the federation process and dealing the Boers yet another blow. Johannesburg's population exploded to about 100,000 by the mid-1890s, and the ZAR

suddenly found itself hosting thousands of uitlanders, both black and white, with the Boers squeezed to the sidelines. The influx of Black labour in particular worried the Boers, many of whom suffered economic hardship and resented the black wage-earners.

The enormous wealth of the mines, largely controlled by European "Randlords" soon became irresistible for British imperialists. In 1895, a group of renegades led by Captain Leander Starr Jameson entered the ZAR with the intention of sparking an uprising on the Witwatersrand and installing a British administration. This incursion became known as the Jameson Raid. The scheme ended in fiasco, but it seemed obvious to Kruger that it had at least the tacit approval of the Cape Colony government, and that his republic faced danger. He reacted by forming an alliance with Orange Free State.

Conflict between the British government, which claimed sovereignty over those areas (since the settlers were legally British subjects), and the Boers culminated, after the discovery of gold in the Boer territories, in the South African War of 1899-1902, which brought Transvaal, led by President Paul Kruger, who had been a prominent Boer resistance leader against British rule, and Orange Free State definitely under British sovereignty. The situation peaked in 1899 when the British demanded voting rights for the 60,000 foreign whites on the Witwatersrand. Until that point, Kruger's government had excluded all foreigners from the franchise. Kruger rejected the British demand and called for the withdrawal of British troops from the ZAR's borders. When the British refused, Kruger declared war. This Second Anglo-Boer War lasted longer than the first, and the British preparedness surpassed that of Majuba Hill. By June 1900, Pretoria, the last of the major Boer towns, had surrendered. Yet resistance by Boer bittereinders continued for two more years with guerrilla-style battles, which the British met in turn with scorched earth tactics. By 1902 26,000 Boers had died of disease and neglect in concentration camps. On 31 May 1902 a superficial peace came with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging. Under its terms, the Boer republics acknowledged British sovereignty, while the British in turn committed themselves to reconstruction of the areas under their control.

During the immediate post-war years the British focussed their attention on rebuilding the country, in particular the mining industry. By 1907 the mines of the Witwatersrand produced almost one-third of the world's annual gold production. But the peace brought by the treaty remained fragile and challenged on all sides. The Afrikaners found themselves in the ignominious position of poor farmers in a country where big mining ventures and foreign capital rendered them irrelevant. Britain's unsuccessful attempts to anglicise them, and to impose English as the official language in schools and the workplace particularly incensed them. Partly as a backlash to this, the Boers came to see Afrikaans as the volkstaal ("people's language") and as a symbol of Afrikaner nationhood. Several nationalist organisations sprang up.

The system left Blacks and Coloureds completely marginalised. The authorities imposed harsh taxes and reduced wages, while the British caretaker administrator encouraged the immigration of thousands of Chinese to undercut any resistance. Resentment exploded in the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906, in which 4,000 Zulus lost their lives after protesting against onerous tax legislation. The British meanwhile moved ahead with their plans for union. After several years of negotiations, the South Africa Act 1909 brought the colonies and republics - Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State - together. Given self-government in 1907, they were formed,

with Cape Colony (self-governing in 1872) and Natal (self-governing in 1893), into the Union of South Africa in 1910. German South-West Africa was transferred to the Union of South Africa by League of Nations mandate in 1919 and the territory was absorbed into the Union in 1948. Under the provisions of the act, the Union remained British territory, but with home-rule for Afrikaners. The British High Commission territories of Basutoland (now Lesotho), Bechuanaland (now Botswana), Swaziland, and Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe) continued under direct rule from Britain. English and Dutch became the official languages. Afrikaans did not gain recognition as an official language until 1925. Despite a major campaign by Blacks and Coloureds, the voter franchise remained as in the pre-Union republics and colonies, and only whites could gain election to parliament.

Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company, chartered in 1889, extended British influence over Southern Rhodesia (a colony in 1923) and Northern Rhodesia (a protectorate in 1924); with Nyasaland, taken under British protection in 1891, the Rhodesias were formed into a federation (1953-63) with representative government. Uganda was made a British protectorate in 1894. Kenya, a protectorate, became a colony in 1920; coastal areas forming part of the sultan of Zanzibar's Dominions remained a protectorate. Rhodes' plan was to create a British state in Africa stretching from the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of the continent to Cairo in Egypt, known as the 'Cape to Cairo route'. The Rhodesias had been named after Cecil Rhodes.

Berlin Conference

The Berlin Conference (German: Kongokonferenz or "Congo Conference") of 1884–85 regulated European colonization and trade in Africa during the New Imperialism period, and coincided with Germany's sudden emergence as an imperial power. Called for by Portugal and organised by Otto von Bismarck, the first Chancellor of Germany, its outcome, the General Act of the Berlin Conference, is often seen as the formalization of the Scramble for Africa. The conference ushered in a period of heightened colonial activity for the European powers, while simultaneously eliminating most existing forms of African autonomy and self-governance.

Portugal – Britain: The Portuguese Government presented a project known as the "Pink Map" in which the colonies of Angola and Mozambique were united. All the countries but United Kingdom agreed with this project. In 1890 the British Government, in breach of the Treaty of Windsor and of the Treaty of Berlin itself, launched an ultimatum forcing the Portuguese to withdraw from this area.

France – Britain: A line running from Say in Niger to Baroua, on the north-east coast of Lake Chad determined what part belonged to whom. France would own territory to the north of this line, and the United Kingdom would own territory to the south of it. The Nile Basin would be British, with the French taking the basin of Lake Chad. Furthermore, between the 11th and 15th degrees longitude, the border would pass between Ouaddaï, which would be French, and Darfur in Sudan, to be British. In reality, a no man's land 200 kilometres wide was put in place between the 21st and 23rd meridian.

France – Germany: The area to the north of a line formed by the intersection of the 14th meridian and Miltou was designated French, that to the south being German.

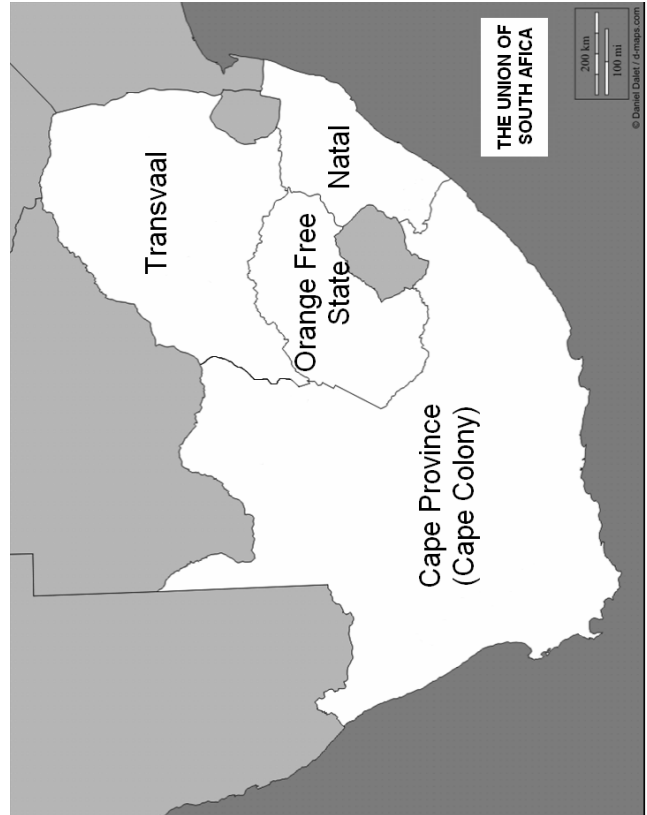
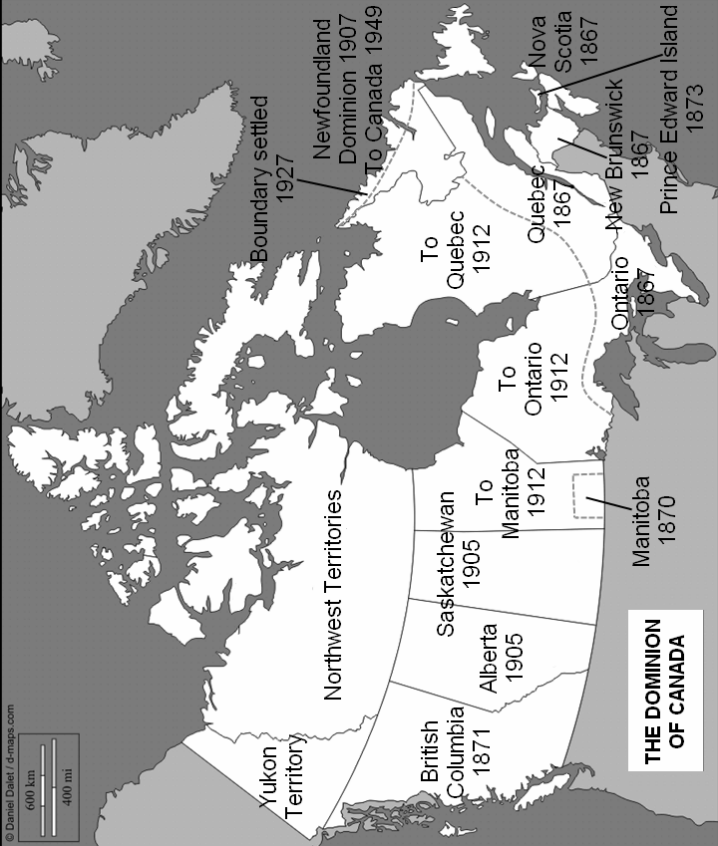
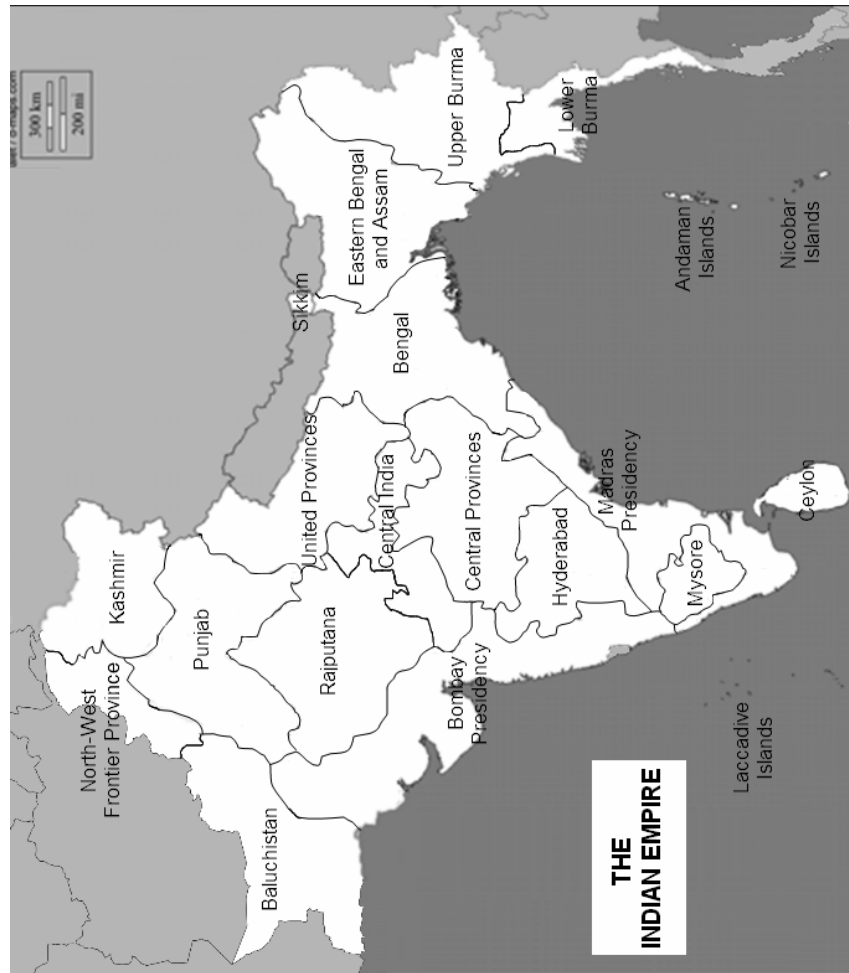
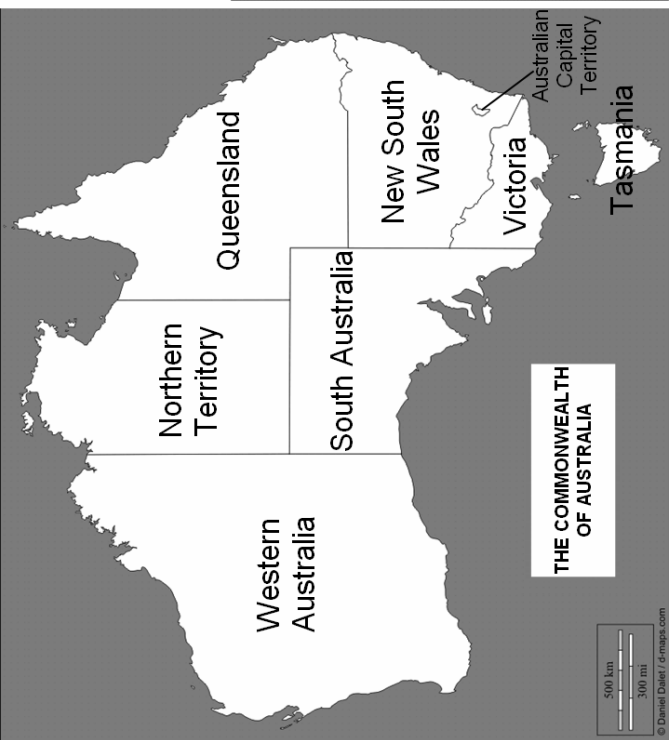
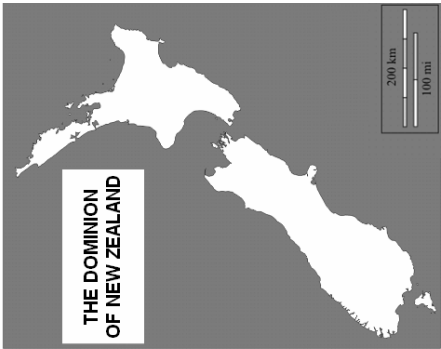
Britain - Germany The separation came in the form of a line passing through Yola, on the Benoué, Dikoa, going up to the extremity of Lake Chad.

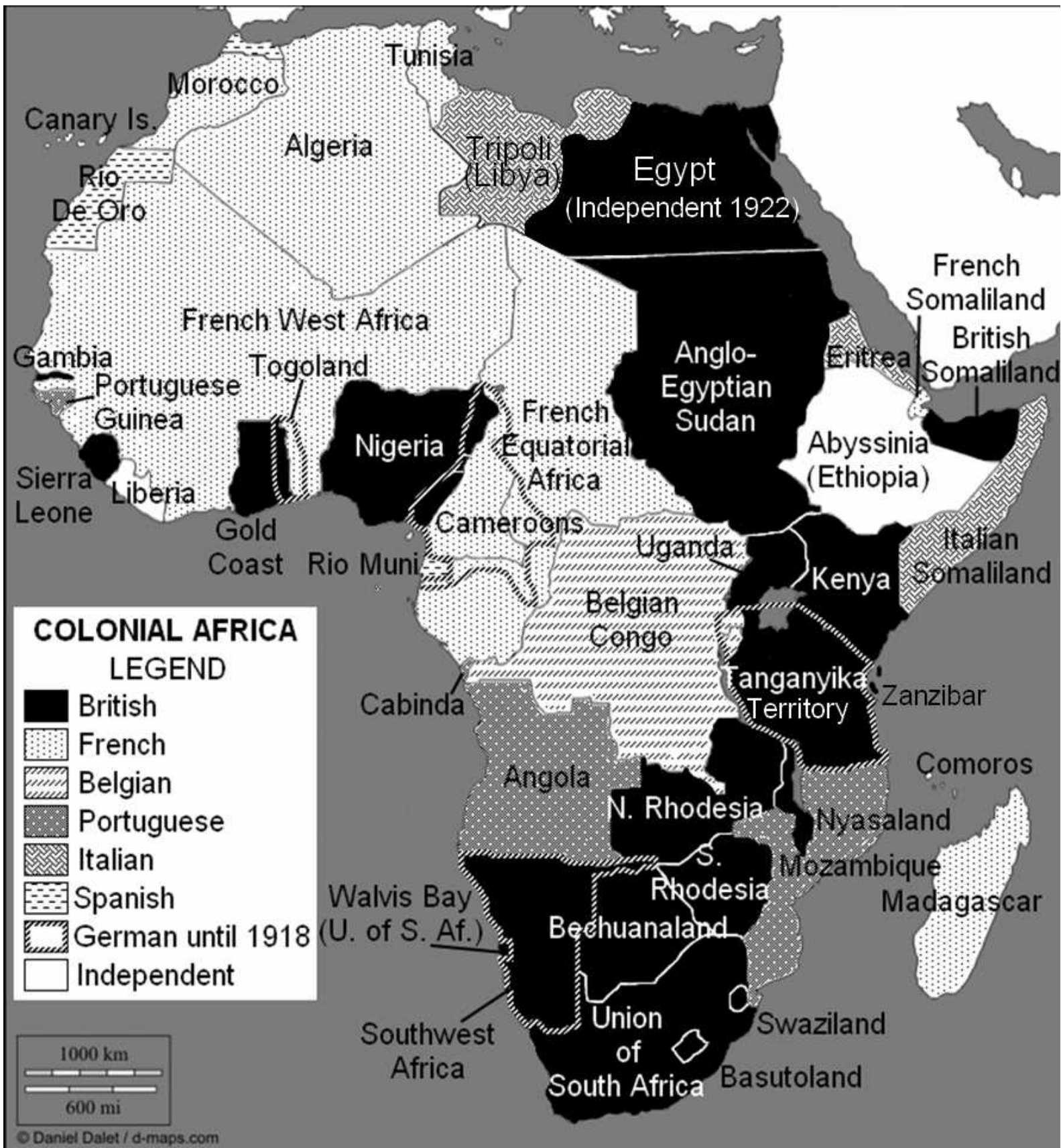
France – Italy: Italy was to own what lies north of a line from the intersection of the Tropic of Cancer and the 17th meridian to the intersection of the 15th parallel and 21st meridian.

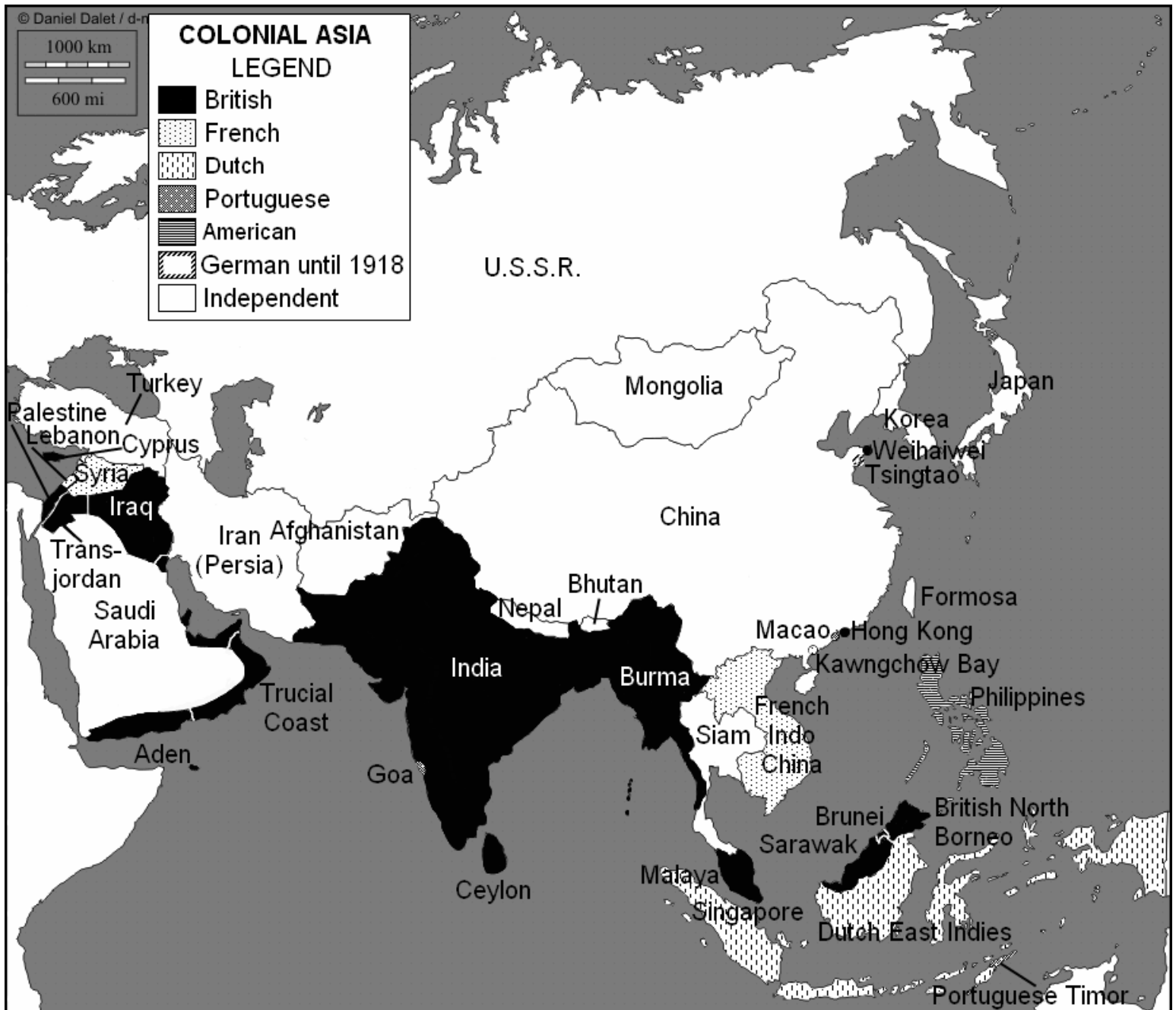
The Scramble for Africa sped up after the Conference, since even within areas designated as their sphere of influence, the European powers still had to take possession under the Principle of Effectivity. In central Africa in particular, expeditions were dispatched to coerce traditional rulers into signing treaties, using force if necessary, as for example in the case of Msiri, King of Katanga, in 1891. Within a few years, Africa was at least nominally divided up south of the Sahara. By 1895, the only independent states were: Liberia, founded with the support of the USA for returned slaves; Abyssinia (Ethiopia), the only free native state, which fended off Italian invasion from Eritrea in what is known as the first Italo-Abyssinian War of 1889-1896. The following states lost their independence to the British Empire roughly a decade after: Orange Free State, a Boer republic founded by Dutch settlers; South African Republic (Transvaal), also a Boer republic. By 1902, 90% of all the land that makes up Africa was under European control. The large part of the Sahara was French, while after the quelling of the Mahdi rebellion and the ending of the Fashoda crisis, the Sudan remained firmly under joint British–Egyptian rulership. The Boer republics were conquered by the United Kingdom in the Boer war from 1899 to 1902. Morocco was divided between the French and Spanish in 1911, and Libya was conquered by Italy in 1912. The official British annexation of Egypt in 1914 ended the colonial division of Africa. By this point, all of Africa, with the exceptions of Liberia and Ethiopia, was under European rule. Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was occupied by Italy in 1936.

West Africa

The British showed little interest in Africa outside the Cape until the scramble for territory of the 1880s, although a few forts were kept in West Africa, where gold and ivory kept their importance after the slave trade was ended by Britain in 1807. An early exception was the colony of Sierra Leone founded in 1788 with the cession of a strip of land to provide a home for liberated slaves; a protectorate was established over the hinterland in 1896. British influence in Nigeria began through the activities of the National Africa Company (the Royal Niger Company from 1886), which bought Lagos from an African chief in 1861 and steadily extended its hold over the Niger Valley until it surrendered its charter in 1899; in 1900 the two protectorates of North and South Nigeria were proclaimed. British West Africa or the British West African Settlements constituted during two periods (17 October 1821 until its first dissolution on 13 January 1850 and again 19 February 1866 till its final demise on 24 November 1888) an administrative entity under a governor-in-chief (comparable in rank to a Governor-general), an office vested in the governor of Sierra Leone (at Freetown). The various colonies were established mainly to aid the efforts of the Royal Navy's West Africa Squadron rather than any expansionist or economic reasons. Coaling stations and depots were built in the coastal villages and, because jobs were created for the local population, newcomers flocked into them and the villages grew into cities. The other colonies originally included in the jurisdiction were the Gambia and the British Gold Coast (modern Ghana). Nigeria as a whole never was, but since the re-constitution in 1866 its nucleus, Lagos territory, was. World War I ousted Germany from the African continent, and in 1919, under League of Nations mandate, Cameroons and Togoland, in West Africa, were divided between Britain and France. Britain became responsible for the northern Tripolitania part of the Italian colony of Libya in North Africa from 1945 until 1951, while France got southern Libya.







East Africa

British East Africa which became a protectorate covering roughly the area of present-day Kenya. It grew out of British commercial interests in the area in the 1880s and lasted until 1920, when it became the colony of Kenya. European missionaries began settling in the area from Mombasa to Mount Kilimanjaro in the 1840s, nominally under the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In 1886 the British government encouraged William Mackinnon, who already had an agreement with the Sultan and whose shipping company traded extensively in East Africa, to establish British influence in the region. He formed a British East Africa Association which led to the Imperial British East Africa Company being chartered in 1888. It administered about 150 miles of coastline stretching from the river Tana via Mombasa to German East Africa which were leased from the Sultan. The British "sphere of influence", agreed at the Berlin conference of 1885, extended up the coast and inland across the future Kenya, and after 1890 included Uganda as well. However, the company began to fail, and on July 1, 1895 the British government

proclaimed a protectorate, and in 1902 made the Uganda territory part of the protectorate also. In 1902, the East Africa Syndicate received a grant of 500 square miles in order to promote white settlement in the Highlands. The capital was shifted from Mombasa to Nairobi in 1905, and on July 23, 1920 the protectorate became the Kenya Colony. The high ground of the area made it far more suitable for settlement by white colonists than the colonies in the west. Once again, private companies under charter from the British government pioneered the way, establishing their control over Kenya in 1888 and Uganda in 1890. Somaliland came under direct control of the British government in 1884 and in 1890 Germany, which had already relinquished its interests in Uganda, ceded Zanzibar to Britain in exchange for Heligoland, an island off the German coast. After first losing to the Mahdi of Sudan in 1885, then a victory over him in 1898, a condominium between Britain and Egypt was established over the territory, known from then on as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. German East Africa was transferred to British administration by League of Nations mandate, and renamed as Tanganyika, in 1919, thus completing the Cape to Cairo route. Britain occupied and administered Italian colonies of Italian Somaliland and Eritrea from 1945 to 1952.

Middle East

British Empire in the Middle East mostly lasted for a short time. Britain was interested in securing the trade route to India, particularly after the Suez Canal was built. The British Government wanted to achieve the securing of the trade route to India by annexing territories along the route between Britain and India. It began with the British annexation of Aden in 1839, which was later governed by the India Office. However, the main British interest over the Middle East grew when the British government bought shares in the Suez Canal in 1856. Britain subsequently occupied Egypt in 1882, in which British forces were led by Viscount Edmund Allenby. Cyprus was also annexed.

In 1882 opposition to European control in Egypt led to growing tension amongst native notables, the most dangerous opposition coming from the army. A large military demonstration in September 1881 forced the Khedive Tewfiq to dismiss his Prime Minister. In April of 1882 France and Great Britain sent warships to Alexandria to bolster the Khedive amidst a turbulent climate, spreading fear of invasion throughout the country. Tawfiq moved to Alexandria for fear of his own safety as army officers led by Ahmed Urabi began to take control of the government. By June Egypt was in the hands of nationalists opposed to European domination of the country. A British naval bombardment of Alexandria had little effect on the opposition which led to the landing of a British expeditionary force at both ends of the Suez Canal in August 1882. The British succeeded in defeating the Egyptian Army at Tel El Kebir in September and took control of the country putting Tawfiq back in control. The purpose of the invasion had been to restore political stability to Egypt under a government of the Khedive and international controls which were in place to streamline Egyptian financing since 1876. It is unlikely that the British expected a long-term occupation from the outset, however Lord Cromer, Britain's Chief Representative in Egypt at the time, viewed Egypt's financial reforms as part of a long-term objective. Cromer took the view that political stability needed financial stability, and embarked on a programme of long term investment in Egypt's productive resources, above all in the cotton economy, the mainstay of the country's export earnings. Britain declared a full Protectorate over Egypt in 1914 at the outbreak of the First World War to protect it against the neighbouring Turkish Ottoman Empire

which was allied with Germany. Viscount Allenby became High Commissioner of Egypt, a position of governorship.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1919, assisted by Arab tribesmen led by British Colonel T.E. Lawrence, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq (Mesopotamia) were mandated by the League of Nations to Britain. Colonel Lawrence had promised the Arabs their independence after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, so the Arabs felt betrayed by the British after they found themselves mandated to British rule after the First World War. At that time, many British statesmen believed in creating a vast new British Dominion across the Middle East, however, this proved to be not possible. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 promised the Jews a home in Palestine. This also infuriated the Arabs.

An uprising against British control in Egypt in 1919 led to independence for the country in 1922. Egypt was declared independent, but with Britain retaining responsibility for maintenance of communications, defence, protection of European interests and the question of Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 recognised the complete independence of Egypt and the termination of British military occupation. However, it provided for British troops to continue to guard the Suez Canal Zone until the 1950's. The British High Commissioner in Egypt became the British Ambassador. Egypt had been officially part of the British Empire for only eight years (1914-1922). By the Treaty of Jeddah, signed on 20 May 1927, the United Kingdom recognised the independence of the kingdoms of Hejaz and Nejd. In 1932, these regions were unified as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. A semi-Protectorate existed in Iran (Persia) from 1919 to 1921 with an offer of British military and financial assistance; abandoned after being rejected by Iranians. The British mandate in Iraq was terminated in 1932 and the country became an independent kingdom. However, it was re-occupied by the British from 1941 until 1947. Transjordan gained independence as Jordan in 1946 and the State of Israel was declared in a partitioned Palestine in 1948. Aden joined with other British protectorates as the Federation of South Arabia in 1962.

Antarctica

In Antarctica, as more and more government officials began to realise the potential strategic, economic, and scientific importance of the last continent, governments began to lay claim to vast tracts of land there, basing their claims on the prior discoveries of their countrymen. The oldest continuously occupied station is the weather station on Laurie Island in the South Orkneys, turned over to Argentina by W.S. Bruce in 1904. This history of occupancy forms a key element of the Argentinean claim to the Peninsula, but the first formal claim over Antarctic territory was made by Britain in 1908 to a large part of the continent south of the Falkland Islands.

Captain Robert Scott explored Antarctica for Britain The British National Antarctic Expedition (1901–1904), led by Robert Falcon Scott, came to within 857 km (463 nautical miles) of the South Pole from its base at McMurdo Sound. In 1903, the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition established Osmond House, a meteorological observatory on Laurie Island in the South Orkneys. A year later, ownership of the base was passed to Argentina and it was renamed to Orcadas Base. It is the continent's oldest permanent base, and, until World War II, the only one present.

Ernest Shackleton, who had been a member of Scott's expedition, organised and led the British Imperial Antarctic Expedition (1907-09), again with the primary objective of reaching the South

Pole. It came within 180 km (97 nautical miles) before having to turn back. During the expedition, Shackleton discovered the Beardmore Glacier and was the first to reach the polar plateau. Parties led by T. W. Edgeworth David also became the first to climb Mount Erebus and to reach the South Magnetic Pole. On December 14, 1911, a party led by Norwegian polar explorer Roald Amundsen from the ship *Fram* became the first to reach the South Pole, using a route from the Bay of Whales (his camp Polheim and up the Axel Heiberg Glacier. Amundsen was followed by Robert Falcon Scott from the *Terra Nova* over a month later, using the route pioneered by Shackleton. Scott's party later died on the return journey after being delayed by a series of accidents, bad weather, and the declining physical condition of the men. The Amundsen-Scott South Pole Station was later named after these two men. The Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition of 1914, led by Ernest Shackleton, set out to cross the continent via the pole, but their ship, the *Endurance*, was trapped and crushed by pack ice before they even landed. The expedition members survived after an epic journey on sledges over pack ice to Elephant Island. Then Shackleton and five others crossed the Southern Ocean, in an open boat to South Georgia to raise the alarm at the whaling station Grytviken.

In 1923, Britain handed over the Ross Dependencies, to New Zealand. In 1924, France laid claim to Terre Adlie. Australia claimed a large chunk of territory in 1933. In January 1939, Norway formalized its claim to Dronning Maud Land (largely to protect its whaling interests and preempt the anticipated claims of the German *Schwabenland* Expedition). Finally, in 1940, Chile became the third country to claim sovereignty over the Antarctic Peninsula (after Britain and Argentina). Although the United States pursued no claims of its own, the flurry of international land grabbing may have encouraged the U.S. Congress to establish the U.S. Antarctic Service in 1939. From that moment on, the U.S. government assumed almost complete control of American Antarctic exploration. Other countries were soon to follow suit. By the late 1940s Antarctic exploration had entered a new phase, and one not just due to increased government involvement. For the first time in history, permanent bases were established. The British had been the first when they erected their secret bases in the closing days of the Second World War. Once their existence was known, however, the scramble to occupy the continent was on and other countries established bases there as well. These bases remain active in Antarctica today. Previously a dependency of the British colony of the Falkland Islands, the British Antarctic Territory was established as a separate British territory in 1962. In 2007, Britain claimed 1 million sq km (386,000 sq miles) of seabed off the Antarctic coast in order to protect oil and gas reserves in the area, thus vastly extending its sovereignty over the continent's coastal areas. This is permitted under the international Law of the Sea Convention.

Imperial Federation Proposal

In 1884, the Imperial Federation League was established with the purpose of promoting a Federation of the British Empire governed by an Imperial Parliament with representatives from Britain and the colonies. Firm proposals were drawn up for imperial free trade and for a parliament in London with M.P.'s from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies. It was proposed that M.P.'s from India and other colonies would be added later. The idea of a global inter-continental state was far ahead of its time as international communications and travel were very slow at this time.

Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies in the early 1900's, was an avid supporter of the idea. However, it was opposed by many Canadian and South African politicians. The movement dissolved in 1911 due to disagreement and the last proposal for an imperial federation parliament was put forward in 1919. However, the movement was successful in getting Imperial Conferences established, which continue today as Commonwealth Conferences.

Colonial Conferences in London of leaders of the various parts of the British Empire began in 1887, being restyled as Imperial Conferences in 1911 and continuing as such until 1937. They then stopped due to the Second World War, but then resumed in 1944 as British Empire and Commonwealth Conferences, becoming just Commonwealth Conferences in 1949. Since 1973, they have been held every two years in all different parts of the Commonwealth and are called CHOGM – Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting. Empire Free Trade was established at Ottawa in 1932. After the First World War, the idea of drawing the British colonies closer together in imperial federation faded away to be replaced by greater colonial self-government and cooperation. The last Imperial Federation proposal put forward in 1919:

British Empire Federal Parliament: 300 Seats

England and Wales: 185 seats

Scotland: 25 seats

Ireland: 40 seats

Canada and Newfoundland: 20 seats

Australia: 15 seats

New Zealand: 5 seats

South Africa: 5 seats

West Indies: 5 seats

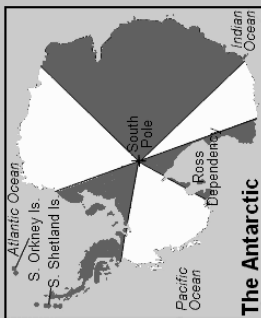
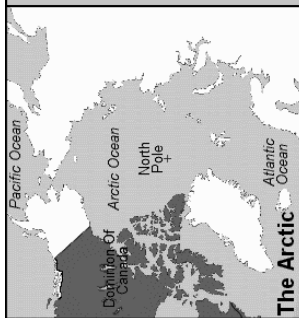
The Informal Empire

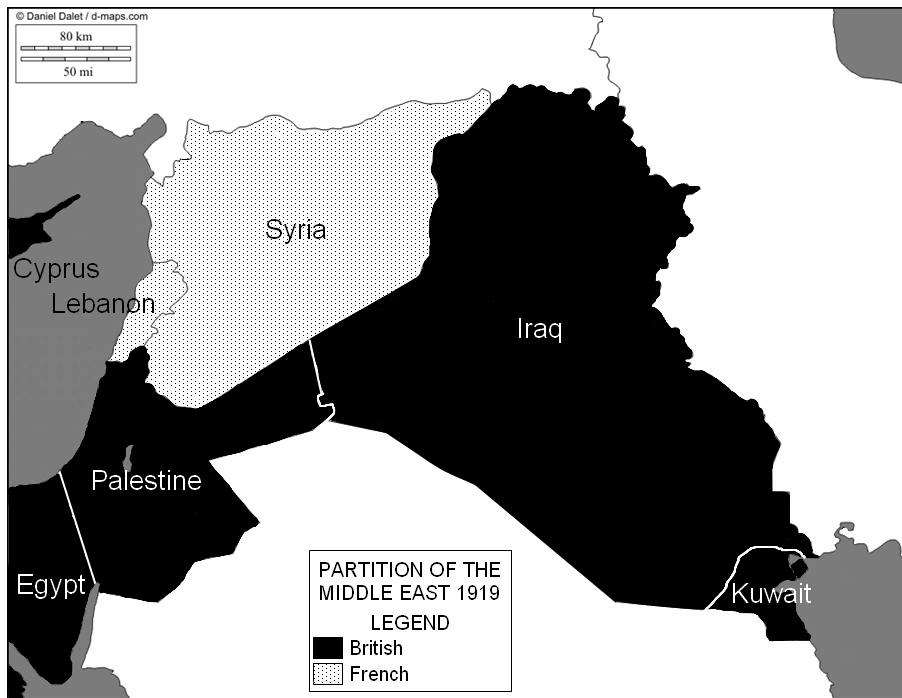
In addition to the British territories around the world, customarily shown in red or pink on maps of the world, there was the British sphere of influence, often known as the 'Informal Empire'. These were countries which had either been occupied by British troops at one time or had been of strategic or of economic interest to Great Britain. They were independent, but British military and/or economic involvement was significant.

Argentina, in South America, was occupied by the British from 1806 to 1807 in an aborted attempt by Britain to build a South American empire. After the country gained its independence in 1816, many British people continued to settle there and the country was built up on British investment and finance. It has the only Welsh-speaking community outside of Wales. Other South American countries such as Chile and Uruguay were also part of Britain's 'informal empire' due to heavy British investment in their economies.

Egypt was occupied by British troops in 1882 to safeguard the Suez Canal. The country was declared as a formal protectorate of Britain in 1914 at the outbreak of the First World War. However, after a nationalist revolt in 1919, Egypt received nominal independence in 1922, but British troops remained in the Suez Canal Zone until 1954.

The British Empire In 1914





Afghanistan, on the North-West Frontier of the Indian Empire, was invaded by British troops in 1839. An informal protectorate over the country was declared in 1880 with Britain controlling the country's foreign affairs, but it was abandoned in 1919 as it was difficult to defend during the Third Afghan War (1919-1921).

Nepal, a kingdom on the northern frontier of India, though never annexed into the Indian Empire, was definitely in the British sphere of influence. The famous Gurkhas in the British Army come from Nepal. Its independence was recognised by treaty in 1923.

In 1904, the Viceroy of India sent troops into Tibet, immediately north of Nepal, to open up a trade route to China, but this invading force quickly withdrew after meeting heavy resistance. British influence in Tibet did remain for some time. In addition to colonies along the China coast, Britain also had a large area of influence over southeastern China along with France, Germany, Russia and Japan which also had coastal colonies and spheres of influence in other parts of China. British, Americans and French nationals also inhabited the Shanghai International Settlement, a part of the City of Shanghai occupied by foreigners. The Europeans had just carved up Africa among themselves and now they were starting to carve up China. This increasing of foreign spheres of influence over parts of China led to the Boxer Rebellion from 1899 to 1901 in which Chinese nationals attacked foreign properties. This was put down by the armies of the foreign powers. Japan went on to occupy most of eastern China in the 1930's and 1940's. The Chinese Revolutions of 1912 and 1949 helped to end foreign spheres of influence over China.

After annexing Iraq, British troops entered Iran (Persia) at the end of the First World War and an informal semi-protectorate was declared over the country in 1919. A more ambitious plan to create new British Protectorates in the Caucasus region after the fall of the Russian Empire, in Georgia and Azerbaijan, was not pursued. The semi-Protectorate in Iran was abandoned also as unworkable. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company opened up much business between Britain and Iran. The British sphere of influence began to fade after the Second World War, but much British investment remains in countries all over the world. Egypt and Iraq were independent (since 1922 and 1932 respectively) but were in alliance relationships with Britain. The formal treaty between

Britain and Egypt was not agreed up on until 1936. At that point, the British High Commissioner in Egypt became the British Ambassador. These alliances with Egypt and Iraq were ended after revolutions in those countries (in 1952 and in 1958 respectively) ousted their pro-British monarchs and replaced them with nationalistic republics. These countries had been re-occupied by the British during World War Two. Colonel Nasser declared Egypt's full independence on 18 June 1954 when the last British troops left that country. British occupation ended in Iraq on 26 October 1947, but today, British and Australian troops are back in Iraq, since 2003, supporting the United States in an effort to bring order and democracy to that country.

First World War and League of Nations Mandates

In August 1914, when the United Kingdom declared war on Germany and its allies, all of the British Empire was automatically at war.

Canadians and Newfoundlanders mainly fought in Europe alongside the British and distinguished themselves in the Battles of Ypres and Vimy Ridge. The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps was a First World War army corps of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force that was formed in Egypt in 1915 and operated during the Battle of Gallipoli. The corps was disbanded in 1916 following the evacuation of Gallipoli. The corps is best remembered today as the source of the acronym ANZAC which has since become a term, "Anzac", for a person from Australia or New Zealand. South Africans mainly fought in Africa and conquered German East Africa and German South West Africa. The war gave the dominions a sense of nationhood and individuality. Separate Dominion armies and navies, later followed by air forces after the war, were created to help Britain. As far as India was concerned, the war began with an unprecedented outpouring of loyalty and goodwill towards the United Kingdom from within the mainstream political leadership, contrary to initial British fears of an Indian revolt. India under British rule contributed massively to the British war effort by providing men and resources. This was done by the Indian Congress in hope of achieving self-government as India was very much in control of the British. The United Kingdom disappointed the Indians by not providing self-governance, leading to the Gandhian Era in Indian history. About 1.3 million Indian soldiers and labourers served in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, while both the Indian government and the princes sent large supplies of food, money, and ammunition. In all 140,000 men served on the Western Front and nearly 700,000 in the Middle East. 47,746 Indian soldiers were killed and 65,126 wounded during World War. Zones of French and British influence and control in the Ottoman Empire were established by the Sykes-Picot Agreement between the British and French governments on 16 May 1916.

After victory by the Allies in 1918, at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the British Dominions insisted on signing the peace treaty separately but were happy to participate in a British Empire delegation. The territories of the defeated powers were divided up among the victorious powers in a mandate system organised by the newly-established League of Nations. The United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were the British Empire beneficiaries of this. All the territories subject to League of Nations mandates were previously controlled by states defeated in World War I, principally Imperial Germany and the Ottoman Empire. The mandates were fundamentally different from the protectorates in that the Mandatory power undertook obligations to the inhabitants of the territory and to the League of Nations.

The process of establishing the mandates consisted of two phases:
the formal removal of sovereignty of the previously controlling states
the transfer of mandatory powers to individual states among the Allied Powers.

Germany's divestiture of territories was accomplished in the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 and allotted to the Allied Powers on May 7, 1919. Ottoman territorial claims were first dispensed with in the Treaty of Sèvres of 1920 and later finalized in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. The Turkish territories were allotted to the Allied Powers in the Conference of Sanremo of 1920. While most mandate territories were situated in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, the régime was also applied in Europe, notably to the Danzig, Memel and Saar territories of Germany which went to a newly-independent Poland. The British Protectorate in Egypt, declared in 1914, was recognised by the international community in 1919, but following a revolution in Egypt during that year, Britain unilaterally recognised Egypt's independence in February 1922 with some reservations regarding defence and security. The exact level of control by the Mandatory power over each mandate was decided on an individual basis by the League of Nations. However, in every case the Mandatory power was forbidden to construct fortifications or raise an army within the mandate and was required to present an annual report on the territory to the League of Nations. Despite this, mandates were seen as de facto colonies of the empires of the victor nations.

The mandates were divided into three distinct groups based upon the level of development each population had achieved at that time: The first group or Class A mandates were areas formerly controlled by the Ottoman Empire deemed to "...have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

The Class A mandates were:

Iraq – Mesopotamia (United Kingdom), 10 August 1920.

Palestine (United Kingdom), from 25 April 1920 (effective 29 September 1923 - 14 May 1948 to the independence of Israel), till 25 May 1946 including Transjordan (the Hashemite emirate, later kingdom of Jordan).

The second group or Class B mandates were all former Schutzgebiete (German territories) in the Sub-Saharan regions of West - and Central Africa, which were deemed to require a greater level of control by the mandatory power: "...the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion". The mandatory power was forbidden to construct military or naval bases within the mandates.

The Class B mandates were :

Tanganyika Territory (United Kingdom) from 20 July 1922,

the former German colony of Togoland was split in British Togoland (under an Administrator, a post filled by the colonial Governor of the British Gold Coast (present Ghana) except 30 September 1920 - 11 October 1923 Francis Walter Fillon Jackson) and French Togoland (under a Commissioner) (United Kingdom and France), 20 July 1922 separate Mandates

The final group, the Class C mandates, including South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, were considered to be "best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory"

The Class C mandates were former German possessions:

former German New Guinea (Australia) from 17 December

Nauru, formerly part of German New Guinea (Australia in effective control, formally together with United Kingdom and New Zealand) from 17 December 1920

former German Samoa (New Zealand) 17 December 1920 a League of Nations mandate, renamed Western Samoa

South-West Africa (South Africa); from 1 October 1922 Walvisbaai's (Walvis Bay) administration was also assigned to South West Africa Mandate

Climax of Empire

The addition of the mandates after the First World War from former German colonies and Ottoman provinces was the last major global expansion of the territory of the British Empire, bringing it to its widest extent. Over one million square miles of extra territory with a population of twenty-five million was added to the British Empire after the First World War - an area nine times the size of Britain itself. Another modest expansion occurred after the Second World War when Britain became briefly responsible for former Italian colonies in North Africa. The British Empire remained at its widest extent for thirty years from 1918 to 1948. Every 24 May was celebrated as Empire Day. This was Queen Victoria's birthday, and since she was Queen when most of the Empire was built up, it was decided to celebrate Empire Day on her birthday. This was a holiday with patriotic festivities celebrated all over the British Empire. This tradition continued until 1958.

Britain's self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland and the Irish Free State, and to a lesser degree, Malta and Southern Rhodesia, enjoyed a large measure of autonomy which was confirmed in the Balfour Report of 1926 and recognised in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. This gave them self-rule while keeping them firmly within the British Empire. India was moving towards joining this group and was granted some limited autonomy in 1935. The Empire was also economically united and self-sufficient.

6. Dominions

Dominion Status

The concept of self-government for some of the colonies was first formulated in Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America in 1839 which recommended that responsible government (the acceptance by governors of the advice of local ministers) should be granted to Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). This pattern was subsequently applied to the other Canadian provinces and to the Australian colonies which attained responsible government by 1859, except for Western Australia (1890). New Zealand obtained responsible government in 1856 and the Cape colony in 1872, followed by Natal in 1893. In 1880, British Empire countries began to exchange High Commissioners to each other. Each unitary colony or

dominion had a Governor, but federations like Canada, Australia and South Africa, had a Governor General. A further intermediate form of government, Dominion status, was devised in the late 19th and early 20th century at a series of Colonial Conferences (renamed Imperial Conferences in 1907). Canada became a Dominion in 1867, Australia in 1901, New Zealand and Newfoundland in 1907, the Union of South Africa by 1910 and the Irish Free State in 1922. These five self-governing countries were known as Dominions within the British Empire. Their meetings with the British government were the basis for the idea of the Commonwealth of Nations. Very limited self-government was granted to India in 1919. This was updated in 1935 with a new act which organised the British Indian Empire into a partially self-governing federation, with the plan to achieve full Dominion Status for India in the near future. Malta and Southern Rhodesia were almost Dominions.

A major challenge to the Empire came from Ireland, where it can be argued the British Empire began when Henry II declared himself 'Lord of Ireland' in 1171. After 630 years of English rule and 120 years as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland since 1801, 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland became the Irish Free State in 1922. The Anglo-Irish Treaty ended the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921) with the rest of Britain, in which Irish nationalists had declared an independent republic in 1916. British forces would withdraw from most of Ireland which was to become a self-governing dominion of the British Empire; a status shared by Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa. As with the other dominions, the British monarch would be the head of state of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) and would be represented by a Governor General. The National Army of the Irish Free State was established by the Anglo-Irish Treaty and fought the Irish Civil War between June 1922 and May 1923 against republican opponents of the treaty. The remaining six counties in the north of Ireland chose to remain in the United Kingdom as the province of Northern Ireland. The Free State had Dominion status but in contrast to the relatively amicable and gradual devolvement of the four other existing Dominions, only after centuries of hatred culminating in civil war. A new constitution adopted by the Free State under the leadership of Eamon de Valera in 1937 dropped the name Irish Free State, renaming it as Eire and declaring it to be a 'sovereign independent state'. The Governor General was replaced by a President. The break was completed in 1949 when Eire became the Republic of Ireland outside the Commonwealth, though remaining in a special relationship with the now United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and becoming a fellow European Union member.

The First World War had enhanced a sense of nationhood among the British Dominions and they no longer wanted to be considered to be nothing more than colonies. This was particularly pushed by the nationalistic Union of South Africa and Irish Free State. They were mostly self-governing and wanted a new status in the British Empire which would give them a large measure of independence and allow them to be consulted on imperial affairs and even to opt out of decisions they did not agree with. This led to the setting up of an inter-imperial affairs committee and the Balfour Declaration of 1926 which stated that the Dominions were "autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." By 1936, the flags of the Governors General were changed from being based on the Union Jack to the royal crest on a blue flag. In 1928, the Union of South Africa adopted a new tricolour national

flag containing the Union Jack and the flags of the old Boer Republics. This flag was flown equally alongside the Union Jack. South Africa's previous British-style ensign continued for maritime use until after the Second World War.

Dominion Status was very inexactly defined until the Statute of Westminster in 1931 established it as complete self-government within the British Empire, as recommended in the Balfour Report of 1926. The Statute had established a new sovereign Dominion Status in the Empire which it was hoped would eventually satisfy the demand for self-government in other parts of the Empire as well such as India. Southern Rhodesia and Malta had gained autonomy in the 1920's and were considered de facto British Dominions, but the Statute of Westminster did not apply to them yet, so they continued with the pre-Statute British constitutional status. It was expected that they would soon become fully autonomous Dominions like the others and they even participated in the Imperial Conferences.

By an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament, the Statute of Westminster took effect immediately in Canada, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State making them the first sovereign British Dominions. Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland would remain as colonial Dominions until their parliaments passed resolutions adopting the Statute as was required in their constitutions. Australia did not adopt the Statute until 1942 (though it was backdated to 3 September 1939 at the start of the Second World War) and New Zealand did not adopt it until 1947. Newfoundland never adopted the Statute since on 16 February 1934, Newfoundland reverted back to full colony status governed by British Commissioners due to financial difficulties and eventually joined Canada as its tenth province in 1949. The Canadian government requested that the British North America Act, acting as Canada's constitution, remain in the possession of the British government since Canadian politicians could not agree on an amending formula. The Dominions even gained the right to secede from the Empire, a right which Ireland soon exercised. The Union of South Africa contented itself for now by giving itself its own national flag, but it too would ultimately secede thirty years later. Canada, Australia and New Zealand remain under the Crown today by their own choice. The Statute of Westminster provided that all new Dominions created in the future would be fully sovereign. Discussions had already begun on granting this status to India, which was not to happen until after the Second World War.

Despite this new sovereign status, the Dominions were still firmly parts of the British Empire. Governors General often moved around the Empire. Lord Willingdon, for example, was Governor General of Canada in 1926 and then Viceroy of India in 1931. The Earl of Athlone had been Governor General of the Union of South Africa since 1924 and he later became Governor General of Canada in 1931. Members of the British Royal Family continued to be Governors General in the Dominions until well after the Second World War.

On 11 December 1931, the United Kingdom and the now completely self-governing Dominions of the British Empire: the Dominion of Canada, the Union Of South Africa and the Irish Free State formed the British Commonwealth. The Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand became parts of it in 1942 and 1947 respectively when they adopted the Statute of Westminster. The British Commonwealth was the collective name for the now completely autonomous Dominions of the British Empire united by a common allegiance to the Crown. The

United Kingdom would only act on their behalf with their consent and they made their own declarations of war at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. They could even negotiate treaties with foreign countries with no British involvement.

In 1935, a large measure of self-government was granted to India with an elected central parliament, but ultimate executive power still remained with the British-appointed Viceroy. There was an expectation that India would soon gain full Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth, though many Indian nationalists preferred full independence outside the British Empire. India, Southern Rhodesia and Malta continued to be Dominions in the pre-Statute of Westminster sense with self-government, but with the final power still resting with Britain. In 1937, Burma was separated from the British Indian Empire and made into a separate British colony. It was expected to eventually gain Dominion status along with India. Northern Ireland was almost a Dominion with a full parliament of its own, but continued to send members to the British Imperial Parliament at Westminster as a part of the United Kingdom. In 1938, a West Indies Royal Commission recommended the establishment of a federation of the British West Indies as a new self-governing Dominion in the British Commonwealth similar to Canada. This did not happen for another twenty years and then only briefly, ending in failure due to disagreement amongst the constituent islands.

Citizens of the new British Commonwealth retained the common British Subject status. The Governor General of each Dominion would now represent the Crown and not the British Government. New Zealand had had a Governor General since 1917 but Newfoundland still had a Governor. The King continued to have a common Imperial title throughout all part of the British Empire of 'King of Great Britain and Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas and Emperor of India'. Individual citizenships of the Dominions was not to be created until after the Second World War. Despite the passing of the Statute of Westminster and the granting of full self-government to the Dominions, complete constitutional independence was still not yet achieved. The Statute did not, however, immediately provide for any changes to the legislation establishing the constitutions of the Dominions. This meant, for example, that many constitutional changes continued to require the intervention of the British Parliament, although only at the request and with the consent of the Dominions. The constitutional powers of the British Parliament over the Dominions was not removed in Canada, Australia and New Zealand until the 1980's, in the Union of South Africa until it left the Commonwealth in 1961, and in the Irish Free State until it adopted its own quasi-republican constitution in 1937.

Under the provisions of section 9 of the Statute, the British Parliament still had the power to pass legislation regarding the Australian states, although "in accordance with the [existing] constitutional practice". In practice, these powers were not exercised. For example, in a referendum held in April 1933 in Western Australia, 68% of voters voted for the state to leave the Commonwealth of Australia with the aim of becoming a separate Dominion within the British Empire. The state government sent a delegation to Westminster to cause the result to be enacted, but the British Parliament refused to intervene on the grounds that it was a matter for the Commonwealth of Australia. As a result no action was taken. So in a legal sense, the Dominions remained colonies for long after the Statute of Westminster was passed, gaining full independence once the power of the British Parliament to legislate for them was completely removed. They were completely self-governing in all other matters and were no longer

automatically at war when Britain went to war. The Dominions made their own declarations of war at the start of the Second World War in 1939.

The British Union Jack was the national flag of the entire British Empire including all of the Dominions until well after the Second World War. The Union Jack was the official flag in India until 1947, in Australia and New Zealand until 1954, in Newfoundland until 1980 well after it joined Canada in 1949, in Ceylon until 1956, in the Union of South Africa until 1958 along with its own flag for 30 years, and in Canada until 1965. The Irish Free State, however, dropped the Union Jack in the 1920's. However, all British territories also had a colonial ensign which was either red or blue with the Union Jack in the upper left corner (the canton) and their own badge or emblem on the fly. These ensigns were used at sea and at international gatherings. As the Dominions became more autonomous, these ensigns evolved into their national flags. Australia adopted its blue and red ensign flags with the white stars of the Southern Cross and its Australian Commonwealth star for unofficial use in 1901, while the Union Jack remained the official flag. New Zealand adopted its blue ensign with red stars of the Southern Cross in 1902 as a national flag which flew along with the Union Jack. The Australian and New Zealand ensigns are still in use today. Newfoundland adopted a red ensign with its coat of arms on the fly in 1904. The Union of South Africa, which had used a red ensign with its coat of arms since 1910, formally adopted two flags in 1928. The Union of South Africa brought in its own distinctive orange, white and blue horizontal tricolour national flag containing a small Union Jack and two small Boer flags in the centre, and the other flag was the Union Jack which would continue to be flown to show loyalty to the Empire. Canada, however, adopted the British Union Jack as its national flag in 1904 and only used a red ensign with its coat of arms at sea and at international gatherings. Calls for a distinctive Canadian flag to be used on land, probably an ensign containing the Union Jack for loyalty to the Empire and a maple leaf for Canada, began in 1925 and debated again in 1938 and 1946, when the red ensign with the coat of arms was authorised for use as a de facto national flag for Canada, while the Union Jack remained the official flag. Disagreement between English-speaking Canadians who wanted the Union Jack and more nationalistic French-speaking Canadians kept the issue unresolved for many more years. The nationalistic Irish Free State used a distinctive tricolour as its national flag, which was adopted during the Irish Revolution of 1919, and still in use by the Irish Republic today. India used a red ensign with the star of India on the fly, however in 1931, Indian nationalists began to use an orange, white and green horizontal tricolour flag for their movement, which evolved into the national flag after independence in 1947. British territories obviously dropped the Union Jack when they got their independence after the Second World War, except for a few which continued to use ensigns with the Union Jack in the upper left corner (the canton).

Imperial Conferences continued with the British Prime Minister and Dominion Prime Ministers from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. The Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930 adopted the Balfour Report with the recommendations which were enacted in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. Southern Rhodesia was represented at the 1930 and 1937 Imperial Conferences. The last Imperial Conference before the Second World War was held in 1937 for the Coronation of King George VI. India and Burma were represented at the 1937 Imperial Conference, but the Irish Free State (Eire) was absent (it had declared itself to be a pseudo-republic in that year). Imperial Conferences were renamed as Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences in 1944.

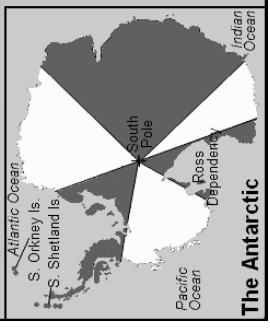
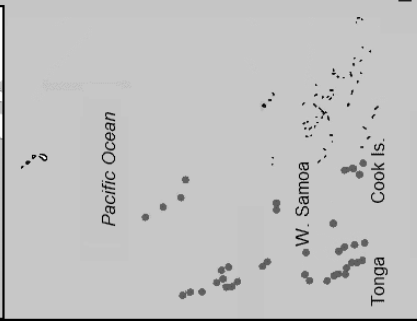
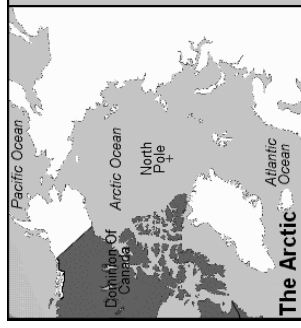
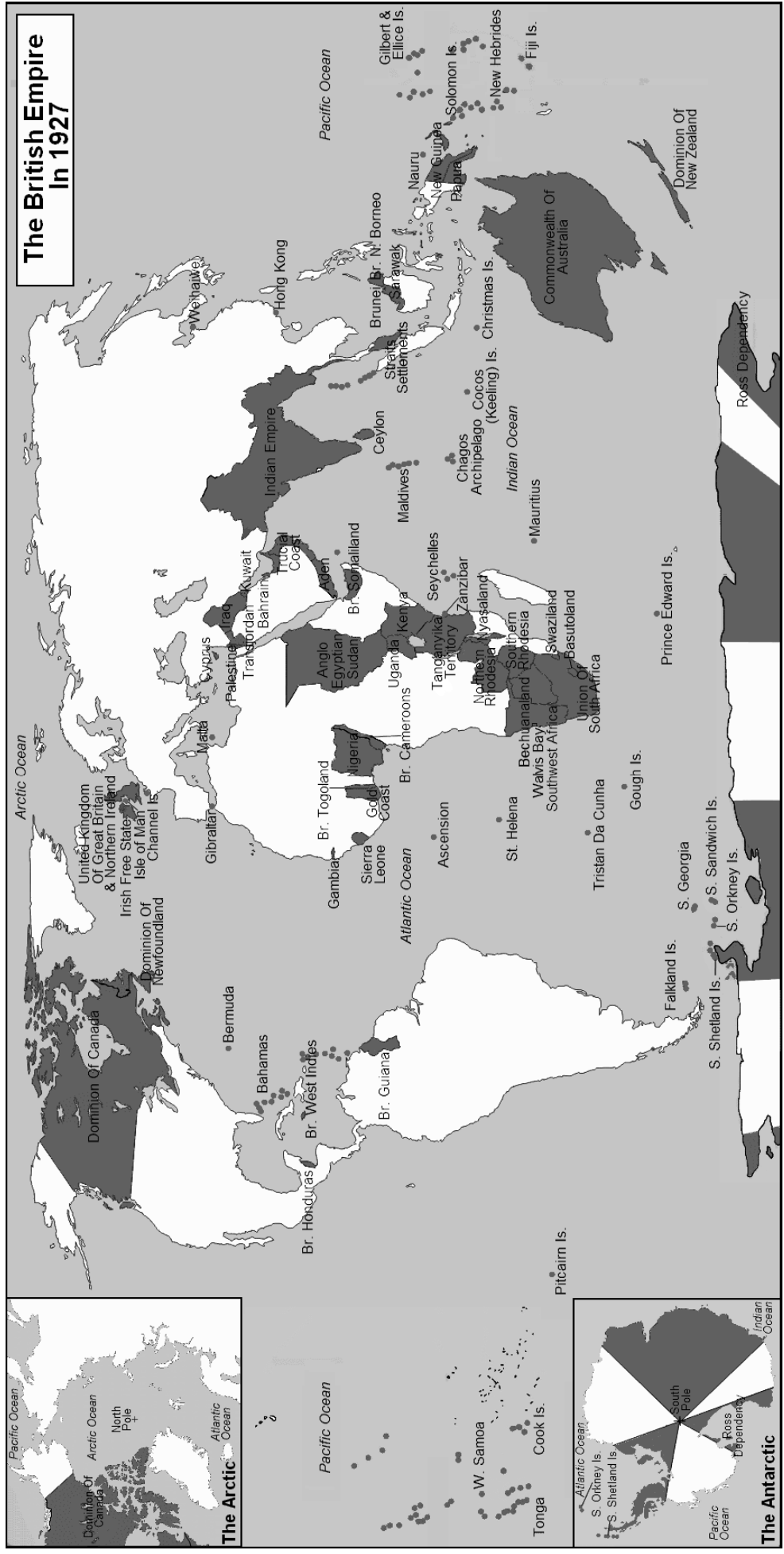
The British Empire in 1931

<u>Territories</u>	<u>Area (square miles)</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population per square mile</u>
<u>United Kingdom</u>	94,728	44,200,000	469
<u>Dominions</u>			
Canada	3,684,723	9,787,000	3
Australia	2,974,581	5,436,000	2
New Zealand	104,225	1,500,000	14
Union of South Africa	471,917	6,929,000	15
Irish Free State	26,600	2,972,000	112
Newfoundland	152,734	264,000	2
Southern Rhodesia	149,000	1,033,000	7
Malta	122	225,000	2,000
<i>Dominions Sub-Total</i>	<i>7,658,180</i>	<i>72,346,000</i>	<i>9</i>
<u>Indian Empire</u>	1,805,332	318,942,000	177
<u>Colonies</u>			
Colonies in Europe	2	21,000	10,500
Colonies in Asia	320,931	13,708,000	43
Colonies in Africa	3,199,357	42,435,000	13
Colonies in Americas	170,757	1,091,000	6
Colonies in Oceania	200,111	1,140,000	6
<i>Colonies Sub-Total</i>	<i>3,835,250</i>	<i>59,395,000</i>	<i>15</i>
<u>British Empire Total</u>	13,355,015	450,402,000	34

Population and industrial capacity of the British Commonwealth

	Population in 1939	Steel output in tons
United Kingdom	47,961,000	13,192,000
Canada	11,682,000	1,407,000
Australia	6,807,000	1,189,000
New Zealand	1,585,000	--
Union of South Africa (white)	2,161,000	250,000
Indian Empire	<u>374,200,000</u>	<u>1,035,000</u>
British Commonwealth*	444,396,000	17,073,000

The British Empire In 1927



Economically, the Empire was united. The Empire Marketing Board existed from 1926 to 1933 to promote inter-British Empire trade. A British Empire Conference in Ottawa, Canada in 1932 established Empire preferential trade in which preference was given to goods being traded between Empire countries and at lower tariffs than for other countries. British trade with Empire countries vastly increased after this. Empire countries, except Canada (which had a dollar since 1850) and Newfoundland, also belonged to the Sterling Area, made up of countries which used British Pounds Sterling as their currency or the base for their currency. These arrangements lasted until 1972. Pounds Sterling circulated in the British Empire, but in some parts, they were used alongside local currencies such as the Indian Rupee. For example, the gold sovereign was legal tender in Canada despite the use of the Canadian dollar. Several colonies and dominions adopted the pound as their own currency. These included the Australian, British West African, Cypriot, Fijian, Jamaican, New Zealand, South African and Southern Rhodesian pounds. Some of these pounds retained parity with Sterling throughout their existence (e.g. the South African pound), whilst others deviated from parity in later years (e.g. the Australian pound). These currencies and others tied to Sterling constituted the Sterling Area. Some foreign countries which were not parts of the British Empire, also belonged to the Sterling Area because they pegged their currencies to the British Pound Sterling. Some of these included Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Argentina and Iran. It is often said that the British Empire peaked in the 1920s, following World War One (1914-18), in which it gained most of the German territories in Africa, and Ottoman provinces in the Near East by League of Nations mandates. After the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, the British monarch remained (and still remains, except for South Africa), the monarch of the Dominions, represented by British Governors General and their citizens remained British Subjects until at least 1947, so the Dominions continued to be counted as parts of the British Empire. World War Two (1939-45) showed that they were indeed parts of the Empire: in 1939 the Australian prime minister informed his country that Britain had declared war on Germany and that "as a result Australia is also at war", and in 1940 millions of pounds of gold were shipped to Canada in preparation for a possible relocation of the British royal family. By this reckoning, the Empire reached its greatest extent following that war, in 1945 when most of the Italian territories in Africa (Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland) were occupied by Britain, as was all of Northwest Germany and parts of Austria and Berlin.

King George V and British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin with Dominion Prime Ministers of Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Canada at the Imperial Commonwealth Conference of 1926. Southern Rhodesia would be represented at the next Imperial Conference in 1930. India and Burma would send observers in 1937.

Movement around the Empire was easy and British people tended to emigrate to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Kenya and Southern Rhodesia only needing a passport and a ticket for travel. They could get a job and buy a home when they got there. Many British people also went to India particularly to serve in the vast administration of the Raj. One of these passports gave any British Subject anywhere in the Empire instant access to their one quarter of the world as it was clearly stated on the first inside page of the passport that it was good for free travel anywhere in the British Empire. This lasted until 1948. The details inside the passport were written by hand. Imperial Airways began the first long-distance flights around the British Empire in the mid-1930's. The self-governing Dominions had the best of both - they were

autonomous, but they kept all the links that the Empire offered. Many people from the West Indies and Africa moved to Britain, particularly after the Second World War to seek better employment.

Royal tours of the Empire increased over the years. King George V travelled to India in 1911 after his coronation for the one and only Delhi Durbar for his investiture as Emperor of India. He was the only reigning monarch to visit India. Plans for a Durbar in India for King George VI in 1937 were cancelled due to the growing nationalist political situation demanding independence for India. The Prince of Wales carried out a tour of the Empire in 1919-1920. To show the new status of the Dominions as autonomous communities, Royal visits of the reigning monarch to the Dominions began as the Second World War approached. The monarch would spend some time in the Dominions to show that they now had a more important function to play in international relations. In 1939, King George VI became the first reigning monarch to tour an overseas Dominion with his visit to Canada. He was also the first reigning monarch to tour the Union of South Africa in 1947. Queen Elizabeth II was the first reigning monarch to tour Australia, New Zealand and Ceylon in 1954.

British Empire Games

British Empire Games began in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada in 1930 with teams from Australia, Bermuda, British Guiana, Canada, England, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Scotland, the Union of South Africa and Wales. Since these games were only for the British parts of the world, the United Kingdom was represented by its four constituent countries on separate teams. However, they came together as a single Great Britain team in the Olympics. In 1930, events included track and field, bowling, boxing, rowing, swimming and wrestling. The games were held every four years, except during the Second World War, in 1934, 1938 and in 1950.

Second World War

Empire troops from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India and other colonies served loyally in the Boer War (1899 – 1902), in the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939 – 1945). In the Boer War and in the First World War, the Dominions were automatically at war when Britain went to war. However, after the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, the Dominions could choose to serve or to remain out of Britain's wars. British wartime Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who led the British Empire during the Second World War, consulted the Dominions on the war effort. In the Second World War, the self-governing Dominions came loyally to Britain's side immediately when war broke out. Australia and New Zealand declared war on the same day as Britain – September 3, 1939. A bitterly divided South African parliament also declared war on this day. The Canadian parliament took one week to debate and approve the declaration of war, which was issued for Canada on September 10, 1939. However, Ireland, which had declared itself a de facto republic in 1937, remained neutral. India, not yet fully self-governing, was automatically at war when Britain went to war, much to the anger of Indian nationalists who were demanding independence. Many Indians fought loyally with the British and others helped the Japanese.

During the war, particularly after 1942, much of the British Far Eastern Empire in Burma, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore and British North Borneo fell to the Japanese. British and Canadian

troops were captured in Hong Kong. The Channel Islands were occupied by the Germans and the Italians conquered British Somaliland for one year. Imperial unity during the Second World War was clearly shown by programmes such as the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, where airmen of the British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand air forces trained together in Canada during the war. As in the First World War, Canadians distinguished themselves in Europe and bravely took part in the ill-fated Dieppe Raid against Nazi-occupied France in 1942. After the fall of Singapore in that same year, Britain was unable to help Australia and New Zealand, who turned to the United States for assistance against the Japanese in the Far East. The British Eighth Army which took part in the victorious British campaigns in North Africa included British, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, South African and Indian troops. At the end of the war in 1945, all imperial territories lost to enemy powers were retaken and restored to the British Empire. Also in 1945, the British Empire expanded to its widest extent as Britain took over administration of Italy's possessions in Africa including Eritrea, Italian Somaliland (Somalia), part of Libya and the Dodecanese Islands in the Mediterranean. A British occupation zone was set up in defeated Germany and Austria, as well as French, American and Soviet zones, until 1949. The British planned to make the Dodecanese into a self-governing territory under the British Crown, but they were transferred to Greece in 1947. Britain also briefly administered Madagascar, Syria, Sicily, the Dutch East Indies and French Indochina. Iraq, Egypt and southern Iran had also been re-occupied by the British during the war

The British Empire possessed further resources for war, Canada and Australia had significant industries and their populations, like those of New Zealand and white Union of South Africa, were well-educated and physically and mentally capable of providing high-quality recruits. These four self-governing dominions followed the British lead and declared war in 1939.

In 1945, at the end of the war, a general election in Britain swept Winston Churchill, who was a great imperialist who opposed Indian independence, out of power, to be replaced by Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee, who was more sympathetic to nationalistic demands and creating a British Commonwealth of Nations of completely independent members. Winston Churchill was to return to power in the early 1950's. After 1945, there was now no doubt that the Dominions were nations in their own right. This was recognised by the British Parliament in 1947, and in the case of Canada, King George VI transferred some of his powers to the Canadian Governor General. Australia and New Zealand finally ratified the Statute of Westminster and the Union of South Africa elected a Nationalist government in 1948 which desired a republic. The term 'Dominion' would be abandoned soon after the Second World War as British Commonwealth countries would prefer to be referred to as nations. Indian independence, a key demand for participation in the war by Indian leaders, was only a matter of time. The fall of the world's greatest Empire was imminent. A new Commonwealth of Nations was about to take shape.

Following the Second World War, Britain's economy was devastated and took well into the 1950's to recover. Food rationing continued after the war until it was finally phased out by 1954. Due to a particularly harsh winter in 1947, food rations in Britain were cut during that year. The overseas Dominions showed their loyalty to Britain by coming to Britain's aid with generous donations of food.

The British Empire In 1945



7. Commonwealth

Indian Independence

World War I began with an unprecedented outpouring of loyalty and goodwill towards the United Kingdom from India and the rest of the British Empire, contrary to initial British fears of an Indian revolt. India contributed generously to the British war effort by providing men and resources. About 1.3 million Indian soldiers and labourers served in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, while both the Indian government and the princes sent large supplies of food, money, and ammunition. But high casualty rates, soaring inflation compounded by heavy taxation, a widespread influenza epidemic, and the disruption of trade during the war escalated human suffering in India. The prewar nationalist movement revived, as moderate and extremist groups within the Congress submerged their differences in order to stand as a unified front. In 1916, the Congress succeeded in forging the Lucknow Pact, a temporary alliance with the Muslim League over the issues of devolution of political power and the future of Islam in the region.

The British themselves adopted a "carrot and stick" approach in recognition of India's support during the war and in response to renewed nationalist demands. In August 1917, Edwin Montagu, the secretary of state for India, made the historic announcement in Parliament that the British policy for India was "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The means of achieving the proposed measure were later enshrined in the Government of India Act of 1919, which introduced the principle of a dual mode of administration, or diarchy, in which both elected Indian legislators and appointed British officials shared power. The act also expanded the central and provincial legislatures and widened the franchise considerably. Diarchy set in motion certain real changes at the provincial level: a number of non-controversial or "transferred" portfolios, such as agriculture, local government, health, education, and public works, were handed over to Indians, while more sensitive matters such as finance, taxation, and maintaining law and order were retained by the provincial British administrators.

The positive impact of reform was seriously undermined in 1919 by the Rowlatt Act, named after the recommendations made the previous year to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Rowlatt Commission, which had been appointed to investigate "seditious conspiracy." The Rowlatt Act, also known as the Black Act, vested the Viceroy's government with extraordinary powers to quell sedition by silencing the press, detaining political activists without trial, and arresting any individuals suspected of sedition or treason without a warrant. In protest, a nationwide cessation of work (*hartal*) was called, marking the beginning of widespread, although not nationwide, popular discontent. The agitation unleashed by the acts culminated on 13 April 1919, in the Amritsar Massacre in Amritsar, Punjab. The British military commander, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, ordered his soldiers to fire into an unarmed and unsuspecting crowd of some 10,000 persons. They had assembled at Jallianwala Bagh, a walled garden, to celebrate Baisakhi, a Sikh festival, without prior knowledge of the imposition of martial law. A total of 1,650 rounds were fired, killing 379 persons and wounding 1,137 in the episode, which dispelled wartime hopes of home rule and goodwill in a frenzy of postwar reaction.

India's option for an entirely original path to obtaining *swaraj* (self-rule, sometimes translated as Home Rule or Independence) was due largely to Mahatma Gandhi, (Mahatma meaning *Great Soul*). A native of Gujarat who had been educated in the United Kingdom, he had been a timid lawyer with a modest practice. His legal career lasted a short time, since he immediately took to fighting for just causes on behalf of the Indian community in South Africa. Gandhi had accepted an invitation in 1893 to represent indentured Indian labourers in South Africa, where he stayed on for more than twenty years, lobbying against racial discrimination. Gandhi's battle was not only against basic discrimination and abusive labour treatment; it was in protest of suppressive police control akin to the Rowlatt Acts. After several months of non-violent protests and arrests of thousands of indentured laborers, the ruler of South Africa, Gen. Jan Smutts released all prisoners and repealed the oppressive legislation. A young, timid Indian was now blooded in the art of revolution, and well on course to Mahatma-hood. His victory in South Africa excited many Indians at home. He returned to India in 1915, virtually a stranger to public life but fired with a patriotic vision of a new India. It should be noted, however, that Gandhi did not yet believe that political independence from the Empire was the solution to India's problems. Upon his return, he had candidly stated that if as a citizen of the Empire, he wanted freedom and protection, it would be wrong of him not to aid in the defence of the Empire during World War I.

A veteran Congressman and Indian leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale became Gandhi's mentor, and Gandhi traveled widely across the country for years, through different provinces, villages and cities, learning about India's cultures, the life of the vast majority of Indians, their difficulties and tribulations. Gandhi's ideas and strategies of nonviolent civil disobedience initially appeared impractical to some Indians and veteran Congressmen. In Gandhi's own words, "civil disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments," but as he viewed it, it had to be carried out nonviolently by withdrawing cooperation with the corrupt state. Gandhi's ability to inspire millions of common people was initiated when he used satyagraha during the anti-Rowlatt Act protests in Punjab. In Champaran, Bihar, Gandhi took up the cause of desperately poor sharecroppers, landless farmers who were being forced to grow cash crops at the expense of crops which formed their food supply, and pay horrendously oppressive taxes. Neither were they sufficiently paid to buy food. By now, Gandhi had shed his European dress for self-woven khadi dhotis and shawls, as is seen in his most famous pictures. This simple Gandhi instantly electrified millions of poor, common Indians. He was *one of them*, not a fancy, educated elitist Indian. His arrest by police caused major protests throughout the province and the British government was forced to release him, and grant the demands of Gandhi and the farmers of Bihar, which were the freedom to grow the crops of their choosing, exemption from taxation when hurt by famine or drought, and proper compensation for cash crops. It was with his victory in Champaran, that Gandhi was lovingly accorded the title of Mahatma. It was given not by journalists or observers, but the very millions of people for whom he had come to fight.

In 1920, under Gandhi's leadership, the Congress was reorganised and given a new constitution, whose goal was *Swaraj* (independence). Membership in the party was opened to anyone prepared to pay a token fee, and a hierarchy of committees was established and made responsible for discipline and control over a hitherto amorphous and diffuse movement. The party was transformed from an elite organisation to one of mass national appeal and participation.

Gandhi always stressed that the movement should not be directed against the British people, but the unjust system of outside administration. British officers and leaders are human beings,

emphasized Gandhi, and capable of the same mistakes of intolerance, racism and cruelty as the common Indian or any other human being. Punishment for these sins was God's task, and not the mission of the freedom movement. But the liberation of 350 million people from colonial and social tyranny definitely was. During his first nationwide satyagraha, Gandhi urged the people to boycott British educational institutions, law courts, and products; to resign from government employment; to refuse to pay taxes; and to forsake British titles and honours. Although this came too late to influence the framing of the new Government of India Act of 1919, the magnitude of disorder resulting from the movement was unparalleled and presented a new challenge to British rule. Over 10 million people protested according to Gandhi's guidelines in all cities and thousands of towns and villages in every part of the country. But Gandhi made a tough decision and called off the campaign in 1922 because of an atrocious murder of policemen in Chauri Chaura by a mob of agitators. He was deeply distressed with the act, and the possibility that crowds of protestors would lose control like this in different parts of the country, causing the fight for national freedom to degenerate into a chaotic orgy of bloodshed, where Englishmen would be murdered by mobs, and the British forces would retaliate against innocent civilians. He felt Indians needed more discipline and had to understand that they were not out to punish the British, but to expose the negative effects of their discrimination and tyranny. As much as liberating India, he hoped to reform the British, see them as friends and break the back of racism and colonialism across the world. He was imprisoned in 1922 for six years, but served only two. On his release from prison, he set up the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad, on the banks of river Sabarmati, established the newspaper *Young India*, and inaugurated a series of reforms aimed at the socially disadvantaged within Hindu society - the rural poor, and the untouchables.

Emerging leaders within the Congress --Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose, and others-- championed Gandhi's leadership in articulating nationalist aspirations. The Indian political spectrum was further broadened in the mid-1920s by the emergence of both moderate and militant parties, such as the Swaraj Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Communist Party of India and the Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh. Regional political organisations also continued to represent the interests of non-Brahmans in Madras, Mahars in Maharashtra, and Sikhs in Punjab. In the 1920's, Indian nationalists wanted Dominion status within the British Empire like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, but by 1930 this had escalated to wanting full independence as a republic outside the Empire.

Following the rejection of the recommendations of the Simon Commission by Indians, an all-party conference was held at Bombay in May 1928. The conference appointed a drafting committee under Motilal Nehru to draw up a constitution for India. The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress asked the British government to accord Dominion status to India by December 1929, or a countrywide civil disobedience movement would be launched. The Indian National Congress, at its historic Lahore session in December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, adopted a resolution to gain complete independence from the British. It authorised the Working Committee to launch a civil disobedience movement throughout the country. It was decided that 26 January 1930 should be observed all over India as the *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence) Day. Many Indian political parties and Indian revolutionaries of a wide spectrum united to observe the day with honour and pride. It was an Indian Declaration of Independence. Gandhi emerged from his long seclusion by undertaking his most famous campaign, a march of about 400 kilometres from his commune in Ahmedabad to Dandi, on the

coast of Gujarat between 12 March and 6 April 1930. The march is usually known as the *Dandi March* or the *Salt Satyagraha*. At Dandi, in protest against British taxes on salt, he and thousands of followers broke the law by making their own salt from sea water. In April 1930 there were violent police-crowd clashes in Calcutta. Approximately over 100,000 people were imprisoned in the course of the Civil disobedience movement (1930-31). While Gandhi was in jail, the first Round Table Conference was held in London in November 1930, without representation from the Indian National Congress. The ban upon the Congress was removed because of economic hardships caused by the satyagraha. Gandhi, along with other members of the Congress Working Committee, was released from prison in January 1931.

In March of 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed, and the government agreed to set all political prisoners free. In return, Gandhi agreed to discontinue the civil disobedience movement and participate as the sole representative of the Congress in the second Round Table Conference, which was held in London in September 1931. However, the conference ended in failure in December 1931. Gandhi returned to India and decided to resume the civil disobedience movement in January 1932.

For the next few years, the Congress and the government were locked in conflict and negotiations until what became the Government of India Act of 1935 could be hammered out. By then, the rift between the Congress and the Muslim League had become unbridgeable as each pointed the finger at the other acrimoniously. The Muslim League disputed the claim of the Congress to represent all people of India, while the Congress disputed the Muslim League's claim to voice the aspirations of all Muslims.

The Government of India Act 1935, the voluminous and final constitutional effort at governing British India, articulated three major goals: establishing a loose federal structure, achieving provincial autonomy, and safeguarding minority interests through separate electorates. The federal provisions, intended to unite princely states and British India at the centre, were not implemented because of ambiguities in safeguarding the existing privileges of princes. In February 1937, however, provincial autonomy became a reality when elections were held; the Congress emerged as the dominant party with a clear majority in five provinces and held an upper hand in two, while the Muslim League performed poorly.

In 1939, the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow declared India's entrance into World War II without consulting Indian provincial governments, unlike the self-governing Dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, which declared war in their own parliaments. In protest, the Congress asked all of its elected representatives to resign from the government. Jinnah, the president of the Muslim League, persuaded participants at the annual Muslim League session at Lahore in 1940 to adopt what later came to be known as the Lahore Resolution, demanding the division of India into two separate sovereign states, one Muslim, the other Hindu; sometimes referred as Two Nation Theory. Although the idea of Pakistan had been introduced as early as 1930, very few had responded to it. However, the volatile political climate and hostilities between the Hindus and Muslims transformed the idea of Pakistan into a stronger demand. Indians throughout the country were divided over World War II, as the British had unilaterally and without consulting the elected representatives of Indians, entered India into the war. Some wanted to support the British, especially through the Battle of Britain, hoping for independence

eventually through this backing during the U.K.'s most critical life-death struggle. Others were enraged by the British disregard for Indian intelligence and civil rights, and were unsympathetic to the travails of the British people, which they saw as rightful revenge for the alleged enslavement of Indians. In a climate of frustration, anger and other tumultuous emotions, arose two epochal movements that form the climax of the 100-year struggle for freedom of 350 million Indians. The arbitrary entry of India into the war was strongly opposed by Subhash Chandra Bose, who had been elected President of the Congress twice, in 1937 and 1939. After lobbying against participation in the war, he resigned from Congress in 1939 and started a new party, the All India Forward Bloc. He was placed under house arrest, but escaped in 1941. He surfaced in Germany, and enlisted German and Japanese help to fight the British in India.

In 1943, he travelled to Japan from Germany on board German and Japanese submarines. In Japan, he helped organise the Indian National Army (INA) and set up a government-in-exile. During the war, the Andaman and Nicobar islands came under INA control, and Bose renamed them *Shahid* (Martyr) and *Swaraj* (Independence). The INA engaged British troops in northeastern India, hoping to liberate Indian territories under colonial rule. But the poorly equipped soldiers fighting in dense jungle and with little real support from the Japanese died by the thousands. Their die-hard courage, patriotism and spirit could not overcome the disastrous odds, and the INA's efforts ended with the surrender of Japan in 1945. It is agreed by many that Subhash Chandra Bose was killed in an air crash in August 1945. But his death is still controversial.

The Congress Party, which had not supported Bose's use of violence, embraced the INA martyrs and surviving soldiers as heroes. The Congress set up a special fund to take care of the survivors and the families of the soldiers who lost their lives or were seriously wounded. To this day, Subhas Bose's daring and courage are an awe-inspiring example for newer generations of Indians, and the INA soldiers are treated in equal regard and honour to the men who fought with Mahatma Gandhi, albeit the use of violence.

The Quit India Movement (Bharat Chhodo Andolan) was the final call, the definitive organised movement of civil disobedience for immediate independence of India from British rule issued by Mahatma Gandhi on 8 August, 1942, made famous by his slogan *Do or Die*. Unlike the previous two Gandhi-led revolts, Quit India was more controversial (as it was in the middle of World War II), and specifically designed to obtain the exit of the British from Indian shores.

The Congress Party had earlier taken the initiative upon the outbreak of war to support the British, but were rebuffed when they asked for independence in return. On 14 July, 1942, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution demanding complete independence from the United Kingdom. The draft proposed that if the British did not accede to the demands, a massive Civil Disobedience would be launched. However, it was an extremely controversial decision. The Congress had lesser success in rallying other political forces under a single flag and mast.

On 8 August, 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee (AICC). At Gowalia Tank, Mumbai Gandhi urged Indians to follow a non-violent civil disobedience. Gandhi told the masses to act as an independent nation and not to follow the orders of the British. The British, already alarmed by the advance of the Japanese

army to the India/Burma border, responded the next day by imprisoning Gandhi at the Aga Khan Palace in Pune. The Congress Party's Working Committee, or national leadership was arrested all together and imprisoned at the Ahmednagar Fort. They also banned the party altogether. Large scale protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. Workers remained absent en masse and strikes were called. However, not all the demonstrations were peaceful. Bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity was cut and transport and communication lines were severed.

The British swiftly responded by mass detentions. A total over 100,000 arrests were made nationwide, mass fines were levied, bombs were air-dropped and demonstrators were subjected to public flogging.

The entire Congress leadership was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years. Gandhi's wife Kasturba Gandhi died and personal secretary Mahadev Desai died in a short space of months, and Gandhi's own health was failing. Despite this, Gandhi went on protest 21-day fasts and maintained a superhuman resolve to continuous resistance. Although the British released Gandhi on account of his failing health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the complete release of the Congress leadership.

The war had sapped a lot of the economic, political and military life-blood of the Empire, but the powerful Indian resistance had shattered the spirit and will of the British government, and had made it clear that after the war, even a greater, larger movement would be launched and would succeed, as no excuse or distraction from the issue would remain. In addition, the British people and the British Army seemed unwilling to back a policy of repression in India and other parts of the Empire even as their own country lay shattered by the war's ravages. The writing was on the wall, and freedom only a matter of time.

By early 1946, all political prisoners had been released, and the British openly adopted a political dialogue with the Indian National Congress for the eventual independence of India. In that year, the Congress passed a resolution that India should become an independent democratic Republic and not be part of the British Commonwealth. World War II not only changed the map of the world, it also helped mature British public opinion on India. The Labour Party's election victory in 1945 helped reassess the merits of the traditional policies. The new British Government announced that the British would leave India by no later than June, 1948. While the British were negotiating to transfer power to India, the Muslim League renewed its demand for the formation of Pakistan. Jinnah was opposed to sharing power with the Indian National Congress, he declared 16 August 1946 as *Direct Action Day*, which brought communal rioting in many places in the north. Over 5,000 people were killed, mostly Hindus. On 3 June 1947, Viscount Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy, announced that independence would be advanced to 15 August of that year and he also announced plans for partition of the British Indian Empire into secular India, and Muslim Pakistan, which itself was divided into east and west wings on either side of India. They would, however, remain in the British Commonwealth as completely independent and sovereign Dominions, each with a Governor General representing the Crown. The Congress agreed to this rather than try to fight for a Republic in order to bring about independence much faster. They knew that they could always write a new constitution and walk out of the British Commonwealth later.

At midnight, on 15 August, 1947, amidst ecstatic shouting of "Jai Hind" (Victory to India), India became an independent nation, with its first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivering his famous speech on India's tryst with destiny. Gandhi did not support the idea of partition of India, so he did not participate in the celebration of Indian Independence. He spent the day fasting and praying in Kolkata. Concurrently, the Muslim northwest and northeast of British India were separated into the nation of Pakistan. Violent clashes between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs followed this partition. The area of Kashmir in the far north of the subcontinent quickly became a source of controversy that erupted into the First Indo-Pakistani War which lasted from 1947 to 1949. The Dominion of India and the Dominion of Pakistan were created in 1947 and the Dominion of Ceylon in 1948.

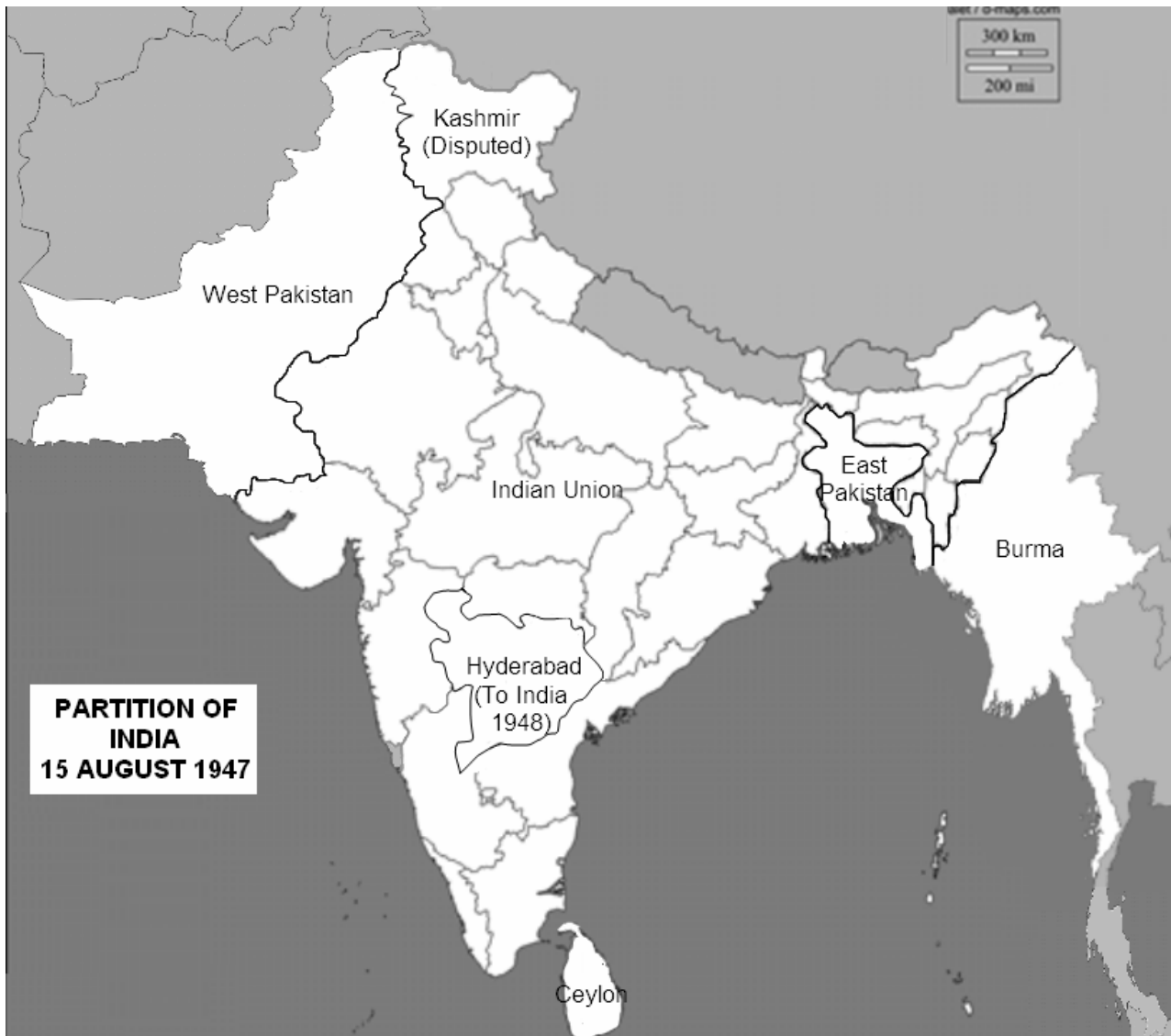
Both India and Pakistan were Dominions within the Empire, granted full autonomy, with the King-Emperor crowned as King and Head of State of both India and Pakistan, and the Governor General as the King's representative. Prime Minister Nehru and Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel invited Lord Mountbatten to continue as Governor General of India. He was replaced in June 1948, by Chakravarti Rajgopalachari, a veteran Congress leader. Mohammed Ali Jinnah took charge as Pakistan's Governor General, and Liaquat Ali Khan became the Muslim state's Prime Minister. The Constituent Assemblies of both Dominions would serve as their respective legislative bodies. King George VI dropped the title 'Emperor of India' in 1948 to recognise India's independence. Pakistan had come into existence in two separate parts to the west and east of India.

One man rose to the challenges faced by the tumultuous birth of a gigantic nation like no other: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. As India's Home Minister, Sardar Patel was the leader of all-out efforts to stop communal violence; caring and rehabilitation for the 10 million Hindu and Sikh refugees pouring in from Pakistan.

As Minister for the States, Patel had the awesome responsibility of welding 565 princely states, not parts of the India that would become free on 15 August, 1947, leaving it half its natural size of today. Patel nevertheless managed by ingenious *velvet glove and fist* diplomacy to obtain the accession of 562 states, appealing to the patriotism of the kings and if necessary, pointing out the insurmountable and rising threat of the people's thirst for democracy and a united nation to live in. Patel also established democratic governments to rule those states while the Constitution was being prepared. Sardar Patel however, had to use force to obtain the accession of Hyderabad state. Its Muslim ruler was holding out, and even threatening to accede to Pakistan. Its 85% Hindu majority population was being oppressed, entirely shunt out of political participation, and a Muslim terrorist group propping the ruler up, called the Razakars, attacked towns and villages in India. The Princely State of Hyderabad joined India in 1948 and the State of Kashmir remained disputed between India and Pakistan.

The growing danger to India's stability, security and future by Hyderabad's oppressive monarchy could not be tolerated, and Indian forces were sent in by Patel to liberate it in May of 1948. The state of Junagadh in Gujarat was similarly liberated, after its Muslim nawab acceded to Pakistan despite a formidable geographical separation from it, and an 80% Hindu majority population.

But before the full culmination of the sacrifices of a generation of Indians, terrible tragedies had occurred. Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on January 30, 1948, by a Hindu fanatic who held him responsible for partition. The whole nation trembled in shock, and literally millions of people poured out in Delhi to follow Gandhi's funeral caravan. Fond eulogies poured in from men like Albert Einstein and U.S. President Harry Truman, and even the mighty British nation, the beaten adversary of this frail old man, joined in grieving and genuine sorrow. On 25 December, 1950, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Iron Man of India, the strongest Congress leader and Gandhi's loyal lieutenant died of a heart attack. Patel had suffered his first heart attack within a month of Gandhi's passing, as the bottled-up grief over the Mahatma's passing exploded and nearly killed him. Sardar Patel's most enduring contributions had come just after independence. The India which stepped into the latter half of the 20th century, free and sovereign, did not include Goa, until it was liberated from Portuguese control in 1961, and Pondicherry, which the French ceded in 1953-54. In 1952, India held its first democratic general elections, with a turnout of voters exceeding 62%, making it in practice the world's largest democracy. While Pakistan was satisfied to start off independence as a Dominion, Indians began to write a new constitution for themselves which would be enacted by 1950.



Creation Of Israel

Palestine had been a British Mandate since 1922 with the British intent of making it a national home for the Jews, against the wishes of the Arab population. By 1946, many of the surrounding Arab nations were also emerging from colonial rule. Transjordan, under the Hashemite ruler Abdullah, gained independence from Britain in 1946, but it remained under heavy British influence. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 included provisions by which Britain would maintain a garrison of troops on the Suez Canal. From 1945 on, Egypt attempted to renegotiate the terms of this treaty, which was viewed as a humiliating vestige of colonialism. An Arab revolt took place in Palestine from 1936 to 1939.

In 1945, at British prompting, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan, and Yemen formed the Arab League to coordinate policy between the Arab states. Iraq and Transjordan coordinated policies closely, signing a mutual defense treaty, while Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia feared that Transjordan would annex part or all of Palestine, and use it as a basis to attack or undermine Syria, Lebanon, and the Hijaz.

On 29 November 1947 the United Nations General Assembly approved a plan, UN General Assembly Resolution 181, to resolve the Arab-Jewish conflict by partitioning Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. Each state would comprise three major sections, linked by extraterritorial crossroads; the Arab state would also have an enclave at Jaffa. With about 32% of the population, the Jews would get 56% of the territory, an area that then contained 499,000 Jews and 438,000 Palestinians, though this included the inhospitable Negev Desert in the south. The Palestinians would get 42% of the land, which then had a population of 818,000 Palestinians and 10,000 Jews. In consideration of its religious significance, the Jerusalem area, including Bethlehem, with 100,000 Jews and an equal number of Palestinians, was to become a Corpus Separatum, to be administered by the UN. Although some Jews criticized aspects of the plan, the resolution was welcomed by most of the Jewish population. The Zionist leadership accepted the partition plan as "the indispensable minimum" glad as they were with the international recognition, but sorry that they didn't get more. Arguing that the partition plan was unfair to the Arabs with regard to the population balance at that time, the representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and the Arab League firmly opposed the UN action and even rejected its authority to involve itself in the entire matter. They upheld "that the rule of Palestine should revert to its inhabitants, in accordance with the provisions of [...] the Charter of the United Nations." According to Article 73b of the Charter, the UN should develop self-government of the peoples in a territory under its administration.

In 1947, following increasing levels of violence by militant groups, alongside unsuccessful efforts to reconcile the Jewish and Arab populations, the British government decided to withdraw from the Palestine Mandate. Fulfilment of the 1947 UN Partition Plan would have divided the mandated territory into two states, Jewish and Arab, giving about half the land area to each state. Under this plan, Jerusalem was intended to be an international region under UN administration to avoid conflict over its status. Immediately following the adoption of the Partition Plan by the United Nations General Assembly, the Palestinian Arab leadership rejected the plan to create the as-yet-unnamed Jewish state and launched a guerilla war.

On 14 May 1948, before the expiring of the British Mandate of Palestine at midnight of 15 May 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed by David Ben-Gurion. The surrounding Arab states supported the Palestinian Arabs in rejecting both the Partition Plan and the establishment of Israel, and the armies of six Arab nations attacked the State of Israel. Over the next 15 months Israel captured an additional 26% of the Mandate territory in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 west of the Jordan river and annexed it to the new state. Most of the Arab population fled or were expelled during the war. The continuing conflict between Israel and the Arab world resulted in a lasting displacement that persists to this day.

Suez Crisis

In 1952, a revolution ousted the pro-British King of Egypt and a nationalist republic was declared. Gamal Abdel Nasser had become President and he wanted foreign troops out of Egypt. Britain's desire to mend Anglo-Egyptian relations in the wake of the coup saw her strive for rapprochement with the latter throughout 1953 and 1954. Part of this process was the agreement, in 1953, to terminate British rule in The Sudan by 1956 in return for Cairo's abandoning of its claim to suzerainty over the Nile Valley region. In October 1954, Britain and Egypt concluded an agreement on the phased evacuation of British troops from the Suez base, the terms of which agreed to withdrawal of all troops within 20 months, maintenance of the base to be continued, and for Britain to hold the right to return for seven years.

Despite the establishment of such an agreement with the British, Nasser's position remained tenuous. The loss of Egypt's claim to the Sudan, coupled with the continued presence of Britain at Suez for a further two years, led to domestic unrest including an assassination attempt against him in October 1954. The tenuous nature of Nasser's rule caused him to believe that neither his regime, nor Egypt's independence would be safe until Egypt had established itself as head of the Arab world. This would manifest itself in the challenging of British Middle Eastern interests throughout 1955.

Britain was eager to tame the unruly Nasser and looked towards the U.S. for support. However, Washington remained unresponsive. The events that brought the crisis to a head occurred in the spring/summer of 1956. On May 16th Nasser officially recognised the People's Republic of China, a move that angered the U.S. and its Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, a keen sponsor of Taiwan. This move, coupled with the impression that the project was beyond Egypt's economic capabilities, caused Washington to withdraw all American financial aid for the Aswan Dam project on July 19th. Nasser's response was the nationalisation of the Suez Canal on 26 July 1956. The nationalisation of the Suez Canal hit British economic and military interests in the region. Britain was under immense domestic pressure from Conservative MPs who drew direct comparisons between the events of 1956 and those of Munich in the 1930s. After the American government didn't support the British protests, the British government decided for the military intervention against Egypt to avoid the complete collapse of British prestige in the region.

However, direct military intervention ran the risk of angering the United States and damaging Anglo-Arab relations. As a result, the British government concluded a secret military pact with France and Israel that aimed at regaining the Suez Canal. The combined forces of the United Kingdom, France and Israel attacked Egypt on 29 October 1956 to retake the canal, but this met with international condemnation, even from some Commonwealth nations. The operation to take

the canal was highly successful from a military point of view, but was a political disaster due to external forces. The United States forced a cease-fire on Britain, Israel, and France which it had previously told the Allies it would not do. The U.S. demanded that the invasion stop managed to get a United Nations resolution to support it, which established the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), and called for "an immediate cease-fire". Portugal and Iceland went so far as to suggest ejecting Britain and France from NATO if they didn't withdraw from Egypt. Britain and France withdrew from Egypt within a week. After an occupation since 1882, British forces, along with French allies, left Egypt for the last time by 22 December 1956, to be replaced by neutral UNEF troops.

The Suez Canal, which had been the lifeline of the British Empire, was lost and this was seen as the last gasp of the Empire. Nasser declared Egypt's complete independence from the United Kingdom and diplomatic relations between the two countries were not re-established until 1969. Decolonisation of the rest of the Empire would soon follow.

Decolonisation Of The British Empire

The League of Nations granted mandates over former German and Turkish territories in Africa, the Middle East and the Pacific to Britain and the Dominions in 1919. Mandates in the Middle East in Iraq became independent in 1932 and Palestine and Transjordan became independent as Israel and Jordan shortly after World War II. League mandates granted to Britain in Africa of Togoland, Cameroons and Tanganyika became United Nations trusteeships in 1946, continuing under British guidance. They eventually became independent within the Commonwealth after 1960. The Union of South Africa incorporated its mandate of Southwest Africa into its national territory, but this was not recognised by the United Nations. Australia continued to have a trusteeship over neighbouring New Guinea. Britain also became responsible for Somalia, Eritrea and part of Libya after World War II.

The major decline of the British Empire began almost immediately after the Second World War when India was partitioned into two new Dominions of India and Pakistan in 1947. Ceylon became a Dominion in 1948 and Burma broke away from the British Commonwealth to become an independent republic. In 1948, the United Nations terminated Britain's mandate in Palestine and partitioned it into a Jewish state and Arab lands. The independent State of Israel was born in 1949. To this day, it has an uneasy relationship with its Arab neighbours. Libya gained independence in 1952, Eritrea joined Ethiopia in 1951 and Somalia reverted to Italian control as a Trust Territory in 1949, gaining independence in 1960.

At the time of independence of the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan, the other Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, which had become autonomous within the British Empire in 1931, were declared in 1947 to be of equal status with the United Kingdom within the British Commonwealth, free to establish their own citizenships and appoint their own ambassadors. Canada had appointed its first ambassador, which was to the United States, in 1943. Upon the independence of India and Pakistan in August 1947, the British Government departments responsible for the empire were changed. The Dominions Office merged with the India Office as the Commonwealth Relations Office. The Commonwealth Relations Office later merged with the Colonial Office in 1966 to become the Commonwealth Office since most British colonial territories had gained independence by then.

This lasted for only two years, as the Foreign Office and the Commonwealth Office merged in 1968 to create the single Foreign and Commonwealth Office, commonly called the Foreign Office or the FCO, which it remains today. It is the British government department responsible for promoting the interests of the United Kingdom overseas. Until the late 1940's, all citizens of the British Empire were British Subjects with no distinctive Dominion citizenships. Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, etc. were British Subjects only, and travelled on British passports. However, after 1947, that began to change. The British Commonwealth countries began to establish their own distinctive national citizenships beginning with Canada in 1947, followed by South Africa in 1948 and Australia and New Zealand in 1949. Peoples of these countries remained as British Subjects in addition to becoming citizens of their own countries. Common British Subject status alongside national citizenship throughout the Commonwealth was phased out in the 1970's. Ireland had established its own citizenship in 1936 when it adopted a quasi-republican constitution.

The Dominions, previously issuing British passports, started issuing their own passports after 1947-1948 when they created their own citizenships. New UK citizenship acts in 1948 and 1983 restricted the free travel of a British passport to the UK and remaining colonies only. Free movement around the Empire-Commonwealth ended in the 1960's when visa restrictions began as countries were gaining independence. Today, distinctive British passports, once used throughout one quarter of the world, no longer exist. They have been replaced by the new burgundy-coloured European Union passports allowing British people to have free access throughout Europe, but not the Commonwealth. British Subject status was ended in 1998 and replaced with British Citizen status for residents of the UK and British Overseas Citizen status for residents of British Overseas Territories.

In 1949, the Indian government stated that they wished for their country to become a Republic but they now wished to remain within the Commonwealth. In November of that year, a formula was agreed upon called the London Declaration where the required common allegiance to the Crown was dropped. Members could have whatever status they wished, but they would all recognise the British Monarch in a new position as 'Head of the Commonwealth'. Dominion Status was ended in 1949 and Dominions had now become completely independent nations and were restyled as Commonwealth Realms. In the future, the now completely independent members of the Commonwealth would include Realms, Republics and some even with their own Monarchies. The title of the organisation was changed from the British Commonwealth to the Commonwealth of Nations to reflect this new reality. Membership is voluntary and all Commonwealth countries continued to exchange High Commissioners to each other instead of ambassadors to recognise their special relationship. Imperial Conferences of the British Prime Minister with Dominion Prime Ministers were renamed as Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences in 1944. Canada dropped the title 'Dominion' from official use in 1949. Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and Fiji would continue to use it in an official sense for a few more decades until they eventually either phased it out or became republics.

India's Constituent Assembly, under its President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Chairman of the Drafting Committee B.R. Ambedkar, began the work of drafting the Constitution. On 26 January, 1949, the work was officially completed and on 26 January, 1950, the Dominion of India became the Republic of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected by the Constituent

Assembly to be the first President of India, taking over from Governor General Rajgopalachari. India thus officially severed its ties with the monarchy, but opted to remain in the successor to the British Empire, the Commonwealth of Nations. India had made history by becoming the first Republic to do so. The Dominion of Pakistan became a Republic within the Commonwealth in 1956. Burma and Ceylon became independent in 1948. Burma chose to leave the Commonwealth, but Ceylon became a Dominion. The Dominion of Ceylon eventually became the Republic of Sri Lanka in 1972, however remaining a Commonwealth member. All British Monarchs previously had the title of sovereign of 'Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas'. In 1953, Queen Elizabeth II dropped that title and was crowned as Queen of each of the Realms separately. She was also the first monarch to adopt separate titles for each of the Realms (such as Queen of Canada, Queen of Australia, Queen of New Zealand), and the first to include the new title 'Head of the Commonwealth' in those titles. 1949 marked the pivotal point at which the Commonwealth's colonial legacy was positively transformed into a partnership based on equality, choice and consensus.

Newfoundland, which had been its own Dominion, but reverted to colonial status in 1933, finally decided to join Canada in 1949 after a referendum was held. Ireland was partitioned in 1921. The northern six counties, with a Protestant majority, remained part of the renamed United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, but with their own parliament at Stormont, in Belfast. The Catholic South became a Dominion. However, unlike the other Dominions, it took its independence seriously and adopted a de facto republican constitution as Eire in 1937 remaining neutral in World War Two. In 1949, Eire became the Republic of Ireland and left the Commonwealth.

World War II fatally undermined Britain's already weakened commercial and financial leadership and heightened the importance of the Dominions and the United States as a source of military assistance. Australian prime minister John Curtin's unprecedented action (1942) in successfully demanding the recall for home service of Australian troops earmarked for the defence of British-held Burma demonstrated that Dominion governments could no longer be expected to subordinate their own national interests to British strategic perspectives. Curtin had written in a national newspaper the year before that Australia should look to the United States for protection, rather than Britain. From 1942 to 1945, Japan occupied almost the entire British East Asian empire, taking Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Burma away from the British along with French and Dutch possessions. These were recovered for the British Empire after the Allied victory in 1945. After the war, Australia and New Zealand joined with the United States in the ANZUS regional security treaty in 1951 (although the US repudiated its commitments to New Zealand following a 1985 dispute over port access for nuclear vessels). Interestingly, in 1940, then British Prime Minister Winston Churchill offered full union of the United Kingdom and France in order to strengthen the resolve against German expansion in Europe. This was rejected by France. However, in 1956, French Prime Minister Guy Mollet proposed the same thing in order to strengthen France's declining position in the world, especially with the Suez Crisis in the Middle East and the war for independence in Algeria. This was rejected by the British.

In 1954, the name of the British Empire Games was changed to the British Empire and Commonwealth Games and changed again to the British Commonwealth Games in 1966, finally

dropping the word 'Empire' to reflect the changing constitutional situation. The word 'British' was finally dropped in 1978 when the games became simply the Commonwealth Games. The use of the Imperial Crown was dropped from the games flag in 2002 due to the majority of Commonwealth members being republics. These games continue to be held today with teams from every part of the Commonwealth and consisting of many more varied events. These games are held between each set of Olympic Games and are rotated around the Commonwealth in different locations.

Egypt had become independent in 1922, however, Britain retained a military presence there. In 1952, a revolution ousted the pro-British King of Egypt and a nationalist republic was proclaimed. Gamal Abdel Nasser became President and he wanted British troops out of the country. In 1956, he nationalised the Suez Canal, which had been built and maintained by Britain and France. The two colonial powers decided to attack Egypt to take back the canal, but were forced to withdraw after international disapproval. The British Empire really came to an end in 1956 after the Suez Crisis, in which the United States opposed Anglo-French intervention in Egypt, seeing it as a doomed adventure likely to jeopardise American interests in the Middle East, and when serious post-war decolonisation began in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the Pacific, with almost unseemly haste in the face of increasingly powerful (and sometimes mutually conflicting) nationalist movements, with Britain rarely fighting to retain any territories. The full dismantling of the British Empire took fifty years – from 1947 to 1997. Colonies of other powers such as France and Belgium, and later Portugal, were becoming independent also.

Singapore became independent in two stages. The British did not believe that Singapore would be large enough to defend itself against others alone. Therefore, Singapore was joined with Malaya, Sarawak and North Borneo to form Malaysia upon independence from the Empire. This short-lived union was dissolved in 1965 when Singapore left Malaysia and achieved complete independence. East Pakistan, physically separated from West Pakistan by India, fought and won its independence from Pakistan as Bangladesh in 1972.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth II has seen the gradual dismantling of the Empire. In the Mediterranean, a guerrilla war waged by Greek Cypriot advocates of union with Greece ended (1960) in an independent Cyprus, although Britain did retain two military bases - Akrotiri and Dhekelia. A referendum was held in Malta in 1956 on integration into the United Kingdom, but a boycott by nationalists made this inconclusive. Malta gained independence in 1964. The end of Britain's Empire in Africa came with exceptional rapidity, often leaving the newly-independent states ill-equipped to deal with the challenges of sovereignty: Home rule and independence movements began in Africa in the early 1950's, modelled on the movement in India of the 1930's. This started with a home rule campaign led by Kwame Nkrumah in the Gold Coast (Ghana), in West Africa. This resulted in the creation of the first independent native-ruled African Dominion in 1957, known as Ghana, brought into existence ten years after Indian independence. Sudan and Malaya also gained independence in the 1950s. Ghana's independence was followed by that of Nigeria (1960), Sierra Leone and Tanganyika (1961), Uganda (1962), Kenya and Zanzibar (1963), The Gambia (1965), Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) and Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) (1966), the Federation of South Arabia (Aden) in 1967 and Swaziland (1968). These countries joined the Commonwealth. British withdrawal from the southern and eastern parts of Africa was complicated by the region's white settler populations:

Kenya had already provided an example in the Mau Mau Uprising of violent conflict exacerbated by white landownership and reluctance to concede majority rule. Despite now being called Commonwealth Realms, the Dominion of Kenya (1963-1964) and later the Dominion of Fiji (1970-1987) officially used those more traditional titles until they became republics.

Starting with Egypt in 1947, most countries left the Sterling Area to adopt their own currencies by the 1970's. Today, the Pound Sterling is only the currency of the United Kingdom, its Crown dependencies (the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands) and the British Overseas Territories of South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, British Antarctic Territory and British Indian Ocean Territory. The Manx pound, Jersey pound, Guernsey pound, Gibraltar pound, Falkland Islands pound and Saint Helenian pound are separate currencies, pegged to Pound Sterling. Egypt and Sudan still have separate Pound currencies. The white-dominated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was set up in 1953 aiming at independence. However, without majority participation in government, it ended in 1963, followed by the independence of Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) and Zambia (the former Northern Rhodesia) in 1964. After Zambian independence, Southern Rhodesia (a self-governing colony since 1923) became Rhodesia. Its white minority declared unilateral independence (UDI) in 1965, rather than submit to equality with black Africans. This was the only other time that white British settler colonists had rebelled against Britain since the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. The support of South Africa's apartheid government kept the Rhodesian regime in place until 1979, when agreement was reached on majority rule in an independent Zimbabwe which came into existence in 1980. Portugal granted independence to its African colonies all at once in 1975. Most of Britain's Caribbean territories opted for eventual separate independence after the failure of the West Indies Federation (1958–62): Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago (1962) were followed into statehood by Barbados (1966). The smaller islands of the eastern Caribbean opted for the status of Associated States with the United Kingdom in 1967. However, they moved to full independence later on (1970's and 1980's). The Queen remains Sovereign in eight Caribbean island nations and in Belize in Central America. Britain's Pacific dependencies of Fiji, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Kiribati and Tuvalu) also underwent decolonisation in the 1970's. Australia gave independence to Papua New Guinea in 1975, which subsequently joined the Commonwealth. At the end of Britain's 99-year lease of the mainland New Territories, all of Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997. Realms also evolved into republics; Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, Malta, Trinidad & Tobago, Fiji and Mauritius made the change. Even though Fiji became a republic in 1987, it has retained the Queen in the position of Paramount Chief of the Great Council of Chiefs in Fiji.

The old Dominions, which had stood loyally by Britain's side during World War II, were becoming far more nationalistic in the second half of the 20th Century. Canada was the first Dominion to introduce its own citizenship in 1947, as distinct from the common imperial citizenship of British subjects. This was followed by the abolition of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London in 1948 and the appointment of the first Canadian-born Governor General in 1952. Moves to adopt a unique Canadian flag to replace the Union Jack and Canadian Red Ensign as Canada's national flags began seriously in 1946, and were finally achieved after much debate and disagreement with adoption of the Maple Leaf flag as Canada's national flag in 1965. Loyalist Ontario and Manitoba reacted against this change by bringing in their own red ensigns with their badges on the fly, which they still use today. The

Union Jack was also confirmed as Canada's Royal flag to continue to be used to show the allegiance to the Crown. The last constitutional control by Britain was removed in 1982 when Canada finally adopted its own constitution. However, the Queen remains Sovereign of Canada. Canada joined a free trade agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Mexico in 1988. The title Dominion of Canada is no longer officially used.

Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa followed Canada and introduced their own citizenships in 1948-49. Abolition of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London and the appointment of a locally-born Governor General soon came. However, New Zealand did not do so for many years later. In 1953, the Australian Government passed the Australian Flags Act which formally replaced the Union Jack with the Australian blue ensign as its national flag. The Union Jack continued to fly alongside the blue ensign national flag in New Zealand well into the 1950's, and in some cases instead of it. The Union Jack was featured on the New Zealand coat of arms until 1956, when it was replaced with a crown. Eventually, the Union Jack was phased out in New Zealand in favour of only the blue ensign national flag.

In the Union of South Africa, use of the Union Jack alongside the national flag was abolished in 1958. South Africa was transformed into a republic outside the Commonwealth in 1961 after a very narrow victory for republican status in a referendum during the previous year. It left the Commonwealth after criticism of its Apartheid policy. The mandate over South-West Africa, held since 1919, was terminated in 1990 when it became independent within the Commonwealth as Namibia. The Republic of South Africa also returned to the Commonwealth in 1994 after the abandonment of Apartheid. South Africa then adopted a new national flag which deleted the Union Jack and the flags of the old Boer Republics.

Australian states and New Zealand also had a direct constitutional link with Britain until 1986 when Australian and New Zealand constitutional Acts finally ended these links in that year. A referendum was held on republican status for Australia in 1999, but was defeated. The Queen remains Sovereign in Australia and in New Zealand, which maintained very close links with Britain, including a vast majority of trade until Britain joined the E.E.C. in 1973. Australia and New Zealand are now forging economic ties with nearby Asian states, and republicanism is growing in those two countries, particularly in Australia. Proposals for new distinctive national flags deleting the Union Jack in the corner are also being discussed. The title Dominion of New Zealand was changed to the Realm of New Zealand. Australia remains as the Commonwealth of Australia, where republicanism is strong and another referendum on becoming a republic is anticipated.

Residual powers of the British Parliament over the Dominions were finally removed, making the Dominions totally independent, by the Union of South Africa becoming a republic in 1961, the passage of the Canada Act 1982, the Australia Act 1986, and the New Zealand Constitution Act 1986. The Queen is also Sovereign in nine countries in the Caribbean and three in the Pacific, independent since the 1960's.

Britain's pursuit from 1961 and attainment of European Community membership weakened the old commercial ties to the Dominions, ending their privileged access to the UK market. Commonwealth preferential trade ended when Britain entered the European Economic

Community (now European Union) in 1973 and most members of the Sterling Area left the bloc to peg their currencies with the United States Dollar. By then, only a few small possessions remained, most of which were proceeding toward independence. After the granting of independence within the British Empire, nationalism threatened the unity of the United Kingdom itself. 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland had seceded from the United Kingdom in 1922 to become the Irish Free State, which in turn declared itself a de facto republic in 1937 and leaving the Commonwealth altogether in 1949. Separatism began to rise in the rest of the United Kingdom. Welsh nationalists demanded Dominion Status for Wales as early as 1934. Independence for Wales remains a long-term objective after the more immediate goal of a Welsh Parliament within a federal United Kingdom. In 1946, some Ulster Unionists began to consider Dominion Status for Northern Ireland. Sectarian violence blew up in Northern Ireland after 1969 between Unionists and Nationalists who wanted to join the Irish Republic. This later ended in the 1990's with power-sharing. Nationalists in Scotland wish to make the country into a Commonwealth Realm, demanding independence from the UK Government, but retaining the allegiance to the Crown.

The end of Britain's 400-year old trans-oceanic Empire was made official in 1998 when the remaining British territories ceased to be Crown Colonies and were given the new status of British Overseas Territories. Their inhabitants became British Overseas Citizens with equal rights to those in the UK. Some did not want to end their colonial status. Gibraltar, for example, felt that it risked absorption by Spain if Britain withdrew. Britain fought a war against Argentina in 1982 to retain control of the Falkland Islands. A referendum on independence was held in Bermuda in 1995, but it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The issue remains a priority for some of the island's politicians. Others like St. Helena and Anguilla were just too small to become independent. Politicians in the Turks and Caicos Islands, a British Dependency in the Caribbean, have often discussed joining Canada. The British Empire had completely and peacefully transformed into the Commonwealth of Nations by the late 20th Century.

The Commonwealth of Nations

The modern Commonwealth of Nations was founded in 1949 with only eight members including seven realms and one republic; today, there are 54 independent members of the Commonwealth of Nations, 16 of which are realms that recognise Queen Elizabeth II as Sovereign, five have their own indigenous monarchies and 33 are republics. There are also two almost-independent associated states of New Zealand and 13 remaining British dependencies, now referred to as British Overseas Territories. About 95% of the British Empire remains voluntarily within the Commonwealth today. The Commonwealth has evolved three times. In 1931, the British Commonwealth was formed of just autonomous British Empire dominions. In 1949, it evolved into the Commonwealth of Nations as India joined as the first republican member. In 1995, the first non-former British Empire territories joined the Commonwealth. Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony in southern Africa, and Cameroon, consisting of both former British and French mandates, became members of the Commonwealth in 1995, thus, for the first time, extending the organisation beyond the borders of the former British Empire. Rwanda, a former Belgian mandate, became the second country with no historical links to the British Empire to join the Commonwealth in 2009. Other aspirant nations, particularly in Africa, are expected to apply to join the Commonwealth after 2009, as it offers many programmes as a stable English-speaking bloc. Since the 1980's, members are required to adhere to democracy, respect human

rights and use English as an official language. The Commonwealth has no formal structure or constitution, but is an organisation of independent states cooperating with each other. Even though most members are republics and some even have their own monarchies, all members recognise Queen Elizabeth II as Head of the Commonwealth, a purely ceremonial position, as was agreed upon when the organisation was established in 1949. To this day, members exchange High Commissioners instead of ambassadors. Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences became Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGM) in 1971, which continue every two years to the present.

The original Empire Day on May 24 became Commonwealth Day in 1958. However, to symbolise a break with the colonial past, since 1976, Commonwealth Day is held on the second Monday in March. The Queen's Official Birthday is celebrated as a holiday in the Falkland Islands in April, in Canada in May, in the United Kingdom and other British Overseas Territories, Australia, New Zealand and Fiji in June. Canada is the only country in the Commonwealth which still celebrates the original 24 May Empire Day holiday, a day which is no longer observed even in the United Kingdom. Though today, it is known in Canada as Victoria Day and has also been the present monarch's official birthday in that country since 1957.

All of the African and Asian Commonwealth countries have become republics except a few which have their own indigenous monarchs. However, in addition to the United Kingdom, Queen Elizabeth II remains sovereign of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Caribbean and Pacific Island nations, as well as remaining British Overseas Territories such as Gibraltar, Bermuda, the Falkland Islands, St. Helena, a few Caribbean islands and Antarctic Territories. This may change in the future as more realms of the Queen may become republics. The Queen remains sovereign of more land than any other head of state in the world, though not as much as in the early days of her reign when she was also Queen of countries such as South Africa and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). In each of her realms, except the United Kingdom, the Queen is represented by a Governor General and also by Governors in the states of Australia and by Lieutenant Governors in the provinces of Canada.

Beside the Royal Standard used in Britain, the Queen has adopted distinctive personal flags for some of her other realms: in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica and Barbados. She also had personal flags in Sierra Leone, Trinidad & Tobago, Malta and Mauritius when they realms before they became republics. All Governors General in the realms used a blue flag with a lion and crown and a scroll bearing the country's name on it. Canada, Fiji (when it was a realm), Solomon Islands and New Zealand now use distinctive variations. Canada has a lion and maple leaf, New Zealand has a national shield as of 2008, Fiji had a whale's tooth on its former Governor General's flag, and Solomon Islands has a frigate bird. Commonwealth countries have also adopted distinctive military ensigns that are similar to the British ones.

Constitutional change will continue to occur as Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica and Barbados may become republics. Fijian leaders wish to restore the Queen as Sovereign. South Africa, Pakistan and Fiji had left the Commonwealth but later returned. Zimbabwe (the former Rhodesia) left the Commonwealth in 2003 over criticism of its land reform policy of seizing

white-owned farms and redistributing them to Africans. However, Zimbabwean opposition leaders have expressed an interest in returning to the Commonwealth.

A permanent Commonwealth Secretariat and Secretary-General were established in 1965 in London. The Commonwealth offers aid, business, educational and election-monitoring programmes to member countries. Commonwealth Heads of Government meetings (CHOGM) are held every two years and Commonwealth Games are held every four years. Improved trade links among members is also being discussed, including potential free trade and climate change arrangements. The Commonwealth will continue to evolve in the future.

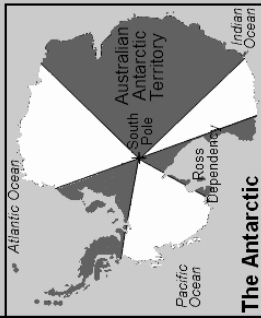
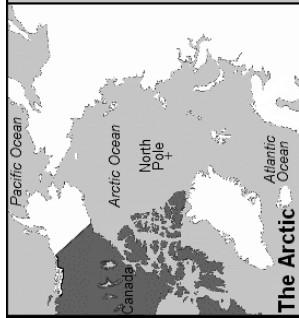
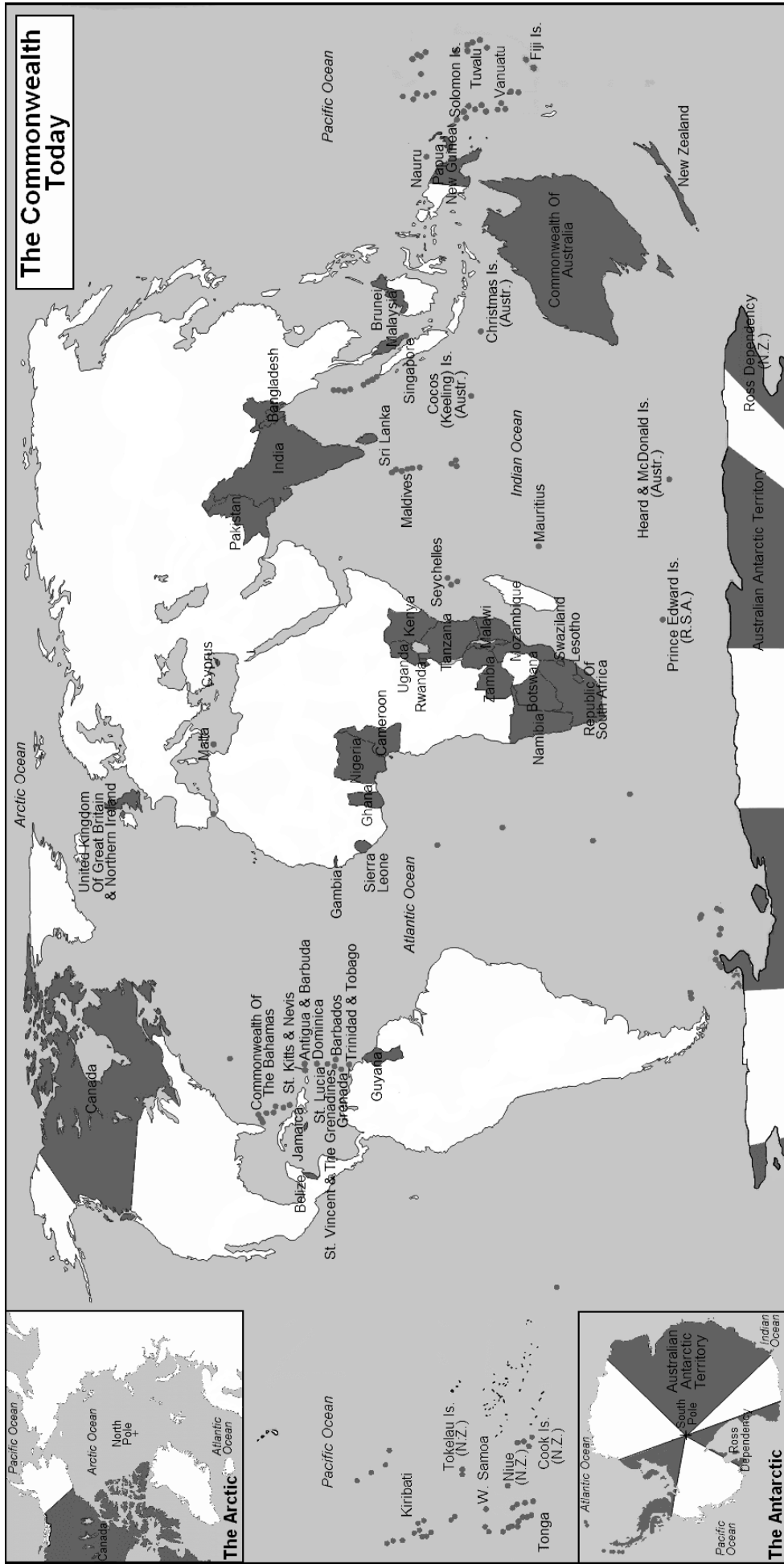
Britain Extends Its Reach Again In the 21st Century

As decolonisation and the Cold War were gathering momentum during the 1950s, an uninhabited rock in the Atlantic Ocean, Rockall, became the last territorial land acquisition of the United Kingdom. Concerns that the Soviet Union might use the island to spy on a British missile test prompted the Royal Navy to land a party and officially claim the rock in the name of the Queen in 1955. In 1972 the Island of Rockall Act formally incorporated the island into the United Kingdom.

In September 2007, Britain (United Kingdom) prepared to claim tens of thousands of square kilometres of Atlantic seabed around some of the country's remote island possessions. Britain planned to exploit an international rule that allowed countries to claim underwater territory as far away as 560 km from its shoreline. The deadline for submitting claims was May 2009. There were five claims in total that the UK put forward. They were in the Bay of Biscay; around Ascension; off the British Antarctic Territory; around the Falkland Islands and South Georgia; and in the Hatton/Rockall basin.

A new grab for control of the seabed off Antarctica was triggered by British plans to claim sovereign rights over more than a million square kilometres of territory. The claims included areas around the Falkland Islands, 13,000 km from the British mainland, Ascension Island, a volcanic island in the middle of the Atlantic, and Rockall, a tiny, uninhabited rock 320 km off the Scottish coast. The British government also filed a claim under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea by 2009 for a wide swath of one million square km of undersea territory adjacent to the British Antarctic Territory.

The Commonwealth Today



Preliminary talks on Rockall were held in late September 2007 in Iceland. The head of law of the sea division of Britain's hydrographic office stated that the Falklands claim were the most likely to be contentious. The status of the British-run Falklands was hotly disputed by Argentina, which also claimed sovereignty over the islands and fought a war over the territory in 1982. Britain submitted to the United Nations a joint claim with France, Spain and the Irish Republic for part of the Bay of Biscay. It was also in discussions with Iceland, Ireland and Denmark on a joint claim in the Hattan-Rockall area off the west coast of Scotland and was working on a claim to extend around the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and Ascension Island. The planned British submission to the UN was closely watched by Australia and other nations with claims on Antarctica, perhaps triggering competing claims. Technology did not yet exist to reach mineral deposits that can sit as far as four or five miles (8 km) under water. During the northern summer of 2007, Russia was subject to criticism for making claims beneath the Arctic Ocean, while France registered a claim to thousands of square kilometres around New Caledonia, in the Pacific.

In February 2010, a new diplomatic row between the United Kingdom and Argentina occurred over sovereignty of the Falkland Islands. The British began drilling for oil near the islands and this angered Argentina which claimed the Falklands. Argentina ruled out ever using military force again to regain control of the islands, as it had done in 1982 and lost. However, Argentina did get the support of Mexico, Latin American countries and Caribbean countries in its bid to reinforce its claim to sovereignty over the Falklands, which it called Las Malvinas. The dispute over the oil-drilling was taken to the United Nations for a hearing. This would open a new set of negotiations over sovereignty of the islands, whose inhabitants made clear that they wished to remain British. Spain also claimed sovereignty over British-ruled Gibraltar whose inhabitants wanted self-government under the British Crown. Spain also wished to reopen negotiations over the sovereignty of Gibraltar.

8. The Future

The Commonwealth at 60

In 2009, the modern Commonwealth celebrated its 60th anniversary. Its future is subject to debate. Many people believe that the Commonwealth has become too weak and nearly irrelevant in today's world, but its potential could be great and should be realised. This is despite the fact that the Commonwealth operates many good programmes which aid people and countries all over the world. Some are calling for a revitalisation of the Commonwealth with a restoration of its economic ties and a stronger role for the Commonwealth in international diplomacy. 'Commonwealth Advantage' is an international think tank set up in the 1990's, headed by Canadian Sinclair Stevens, to examine the economic potential of the Commonwealth and promote trade among its members. The United Kingdom Independence Party adopted Commonwealth free trade as policy in 2007. The UK Conservatives began to advocate for a stronger and wider Commonwealth in 2009. Canada even began negotiating a free trade agreement with the European Union which would restore economic ties with Britain through the E.U.

The future direction of the Commonwealth including both its role and expanding its membership, and the succession to the Crown after the death of Queen Elizabeth II, will be subject to

discussion at future CHOGM's (Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting), held every two years. The next British Monarch does not automatically become Head of the Commonwealth as this has to be agreed upon. It has even been suggested that it may be changed to a rotating position appointed at CHOGM's. The future of the Commonwealth, and what shape it will take, is definitely a subject for debate in the early 21st Century.

In November of 2005, at the Commonwealth Business Summit in Malta, the final communique stated that countries should consider "the possibility of establishing a Commonwealth preferential, or free trade area" should the WTO's Doha Round prove fruitless. Four years on, the success of that round has been as elusive as the action to make good on that statement. A Commonwealth climate change agreement was achieved at the 2009 CHOGM. For the first time, non-Commonwealth leaders from Europe and the United Nations attended the 2009 CHOGM to discuss climate change. The future direction, survival and growth of the Commonwealth will continue to be debated.

Interest in the Commonwealth is increasing and the organisation is growing. There is now a list of many other applicant countries. Madagascar and Algeria, both former French colonies, and Sudan and Yemen, both former British territories, have applied to join the Commonwealth. Membership criteria for joining the Commonwealth was reviewed in 2007 and any country with an historical constitutional link to an existing member may join in the future. This opens the door to many countries around the world being able to join. Angola, Eritrea, Israel, Palestine, Ireland, Senegal, Somaliland, East Timor and Cambodia have considered joining. The former Soviet republic of Georgia in western Asia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have expressed interest in becoming parts of the Commonwealth. The opposition pro-democracy movement in Burma (Myanmar) is interested in joining also.

Lord Howell's Commonwealth Mark Two

If the Commonwealth today were an economic bloc, it would be equal in size to the United States; it would have thirteen of the world's fastest growing economies; it would possess most of the world's leading 'knowledge economies' outside of the US; it would have one third of the world's population; and would represent forty percent of the membership of the World Trade Organisation. If an agreement were achieved and it could bring per capita incomes up to a level comparable with the developed world, the Commonwealth would have an economy valued at over US\$45 trillion – the equivalent of adding the combined GDP's of the European Union with that of NAFTA – then doubling it. For small and developing nations of the Commonwealth, such an initiative is a positive reaction to their calls for "trade, not aid" and a genuine response to such programmes as NEPAD and individual national targets for UN Millennium development goals. Already, Australia has negotiated, or is negotiating, FTA's with New Zealand, Singapore, and Malaysia. New Zealand is doing likewise. Canada, at present, is pursuing similar arrangements with Singapore and the members of CARICOM.

Lord Howell of Guildford has proposed a Commonwealth Mark Two Plan. He was Shadow Deputy Leader of the Lords, a former Minister in the governments of Edward Heath and Margaret Thatcher, from 1987-1997, and he was chairman of the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. Today the Commonwealth contains seven of the most dynamic economies in the world - India, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore, Canada and the United Kingdom. The hi-tech wave is coming from Asia, and from India in particular, which is scheduled by 2025

to have a national product larger than the whole of Western Europe - the jewel indeed in the Commonwealth network of the future. Lord Howell's plan for a second Commonwealth could make Britain great again.

Today the Commonwealth contains seven of the most dynamic economies in the world - **India, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Singapore, Canada** and the **United Kingdom**. Forget the old ideas of primary producers selling to the richer West, or Western investment in the impoverished East or South. Today the growing capital flows are changing as Indian, Chinese and other Asiatic enterprises nose their way into Europe. The hi-tech wave is coming from the East, and from India in particular, which is scheduled by 2025 to have a national product larger than the whole of Western Europe - the jewel indeed in the Commonwealth network of the future. But despite all this, some doubts remain valid. Can the Commonwealth really cohere on vital issues? Can it deliver real weight and power, argue the corner of the smaller and poorer countries in a way that the EU most notably does not do, and present one front on the really key issues of democracy, rule of law, human rights, world policing and a general commitment to free societies and free enterprise? The answer is that the modern Commonwealth certainly has the right underlying common values, but if it is to be an effective platform the framework needs to be strengthened and enlarged.

In effect, the Commonwealth should develop its own foreign policy. It should stretch out and work with other like-minded democracies who, along with many existing members, want to be pro-American but not subservient, and have their own perspective on key world issues, not an American-imposed one. **Japan** is one obvious example. But so, too, are countries like **Poland, Turkey, Norway**, the three Baltic states of **Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Italy, Thailand** and even some of the democratising Gulf states such as the **United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and Oman**. Put this group together with the existing membership and one would have a kind of Commonwealth Mark Two, a rallying point for the planet's "good guys" and a coalition of real might (**it would contain more than a third of the world's GNP**), size, experience and influence. It would also be a vastly greater source of soft power and influence for Britain - the origin of the whole undertaking - than anything on offer from Brussels, or indeed from the battered United Nations. Even on issues like handling Iran - a matter for the Asian powers and Russia as much as it is for the West (perhaps even more so), a strong and wise voice from this greater Commonwealth would get a better reception than threats of force from Washington, or the ignored diplomacy of the EU. A Mark Two Commonwealth is not the complete answer. But it could do better than anything forthcoming from the dated 20th-century institutions that Britain has inherited. It would also be a golden chance for Britain to make her full contribution, in a way that our feeble foreign policy just does not permit at present.

