

## British World Policy and the Projection of Global Power, c.1830–1960

A fundamental truth about British power in the nineteenth century and beyond was that Britain was a global power. Her international position rested on her global economic, naval and political presence, and her foreign policy operated on a global scale. This volume throws into sharp relief the material elements of British power, but also its less tangible components, from Britain's global network of naval bases to the vast range of intersecting commercial, financial and intelligence relationships, which reinforced the country's political power. Leading historians reshape the scholarly debate surrounding the nature of British global power at a crucial period of transformation in international politics, and in so doing they deepen our understanding of the global nature of British power, the shifts in the international landscape from the high Victorian period to the 1960s, and the changing nature of the British state in this period.

T. G. Otte is Professor of Diplomatic History at the University of East Anglia. Among his latest books are *July Crisis: The World's Descent into War, Summer 1914* (2014), *The Age of Anniversaries: The Cult of Commemoration, 1895–1925* (ed., 2018) and *Statesman of Europe: A Life of Sir Edward Grey* (2020).

---

# British World Policy and the Projection of Global Power, c.1830–1960

---

*Edited by*

T. G. Otte

*University of East Anglia*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment

978-1-316-64832-2 — British World Policy and the Projection of Global Power, c.1830–1960

T. G. Otte

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781316648322](http://www.cambridge.org/9781316648322)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108182775

© Cambridge University Press 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

First paperback edition 2022

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data*

Names: Otte, Thomas G., 1967– author.

Title: British world policy and the projection of global power, c.1830–1960 / T.G. Otte.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY, USA : Cambridge University Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019008742 | ISBN 9781107198852 (alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Great Britain – Foreign relations – 19th century. | Great Britain – Foreign relations – 20th century. | Great Britain – Politics and government – 19th century. | Great Britain – Politics and government – 20th century.

Classification: LCC DA530 .O88 2019 | DDC 327.41009/034–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019008742>

ISBN 978-1-107-19885-2 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-64832-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment

978-1-316-64832-2 — British World Policy and the Projection of Global Power, c.1830–1960

T. G. Otte

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

---

*In memoriam* Keith Neilson



## Contents

---

<i>Notes on the Contributors</i>	<i>page ix</i>
<i>Preface and Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
Introduction: British World Policy and the White Queen's Memory T. G. OTTE	1
1 The War Trade Intelligence Department and British Economic Warfare during the First World War JOHN ROBERT FERRIS	24
2 The British Empire and the Meaning of 'Minimum Force Necessary' in Colonial Counter-Insurgencies Operations, c.1857–1967 DAVID FRENCH	46
3 Yokohama for the British in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Hub for Imperial Defence and a Node of Influence for Change HAMISH ION	67
4 'The Diplomatic Digestive Organ': The Foreign Office As the Nerve Centre of Foreign Policy, c.1800–1940 T. G. OTTE	90
5 Financial and Commercial Networks between Great Britain and South America during the Long Nineteenth Century KATHLEEN BURK	111
6 Britain through Russian Eyes: 1900–1914 DOMINIC LIEVEN	129
	vii

viii	Contents	
7	Imperial Germany's Naval Challenge and the Renewal of British Power JOHN H. MAURER	147
8	Views of War, 1914 and 1939: Second Thoughts ZARA STEINER	174
9	The Ambassadors, 1919–1939 ERIK GOLDSTEIN	201
10	The Tattered Ties that Bind: The Imperial General Staff and the Dominions, 1919–1939 DOUGLAS E. DELANEY	226
11	Seeking a Family Consensus? Anglo-Dominion Relations and the Failed Imperial Conference of 1941 KENT FEDOROWICH	245
12	Imperial Hubs and their Limitations: British Assessments of Imposing Sanctions on Japan, 1937 G. BRUCE STRANG	276
	<i>Index</i>	305

## Notes on the Contributors

---

KATHLEEN BURK is Professor Emerita of Modern and Contemporary History at University College London. Her general field is international history, concentrating on politics, diplomacy and finance. Among her publications are *Troublemaker: The Life and History of A. J. P. Taylor* (2002), *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (2009), and *The Lion and the Eagle: The Interaction of the British and American Empires 1783–1972* (2018).

DOUGLAS E. DELANEY holds the Canada Research Chair in War Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada, where he lectures in the military history of Canada and the British Commonwealth, strategic studies and the two World Wars. His books include *The Soldiers' General: Bert Hoffmeister at War* (2005), *Corps Commanders: Five British and Canadian Generals at War, 1939–1945* (2011), *Turning Point 1917: The British Empire at War* (2017) and *The Imperial Army Project: Britain and the Land Forces of the Dominions and India, 1902–1945* (2017).

KENT FEDOROWICH is Reader in British Imperial History at the University of the West of England. His research covers the fields of Empire Migration, prisoners of war, civilian internment, Anglo-Dominion relations and the British World. He has published widely on these subjects in learned journals and scholarly collections of essays. Among his publications are (with Bob Moore) *The British Empire and Its Italian Prisoners of War, 1940–1947* (2002) and (ed. with Andrew S. Thompson) *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World* (2013).

JOHN ROBERT FERRIS is Professor of History at the University of Calgary, where he is also a Fellow at the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, and where he teaches nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperial, international and intelligence history. He has published numerous articles and essays in scholarly journals and edited collections. His books include *The Evolution of British Strategic Policy, 1919–*

## x Notes on the Contributors

1926 (1989), (ed.) *The British Army and Signals Intelligence During the First World War* (1992) and *Intelligence and Strategy, Selected Essays* (2005).

DAVID FRENCH is Professor Emeritus of History at University College London. His interests centre on British military history, especially since the late nineteenth century. Among his publications are *British Strategy and War Aims* (1986), *Raising Churchill's Army: The British Army and the War against Germany, 1919–1945* (2000), *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army and the British People, c.1870–2000* (2005) and *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency* (2011).

ERIK GOLDSTEIN is Professor of International Relations and History at Boston University. He is the founder-editor of the journal *Diplomacy & Statecraft*. His publications include *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916–1920* (1991), *Wars and Peace Treaties* (1992) and *The First World War's Peace Settlements: International Relations, 1919–1925* (2002, Italian translation, 2004). He has co-edited *The End of the Cold War* (1990), *The Washington Conference, 1921–1922: Naval Rivalry, East Asian Stability, and the Road to Pearl Harbor* (1994), *The Munich Crisis: New Interpretations and the Road to World War II* (1999), *Power and Stability: British Foreign Policy, 1865–1965* (2003) and *Guide to International Relations and Diplomacy* (2002).

HAMISH ION is Professor Emeritus of History at the Royal Military College of Canada. His publications concentrate on modern Japanese and Chinese history, Middle Eastern history, imperial and post-colonial history, Canadian and European history and the politics of the Third World. Among them are *The Cross and the Rising Sun* (2 vols., 1990–1993), *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931–1945* (1999), *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Japan, 1859–73* (2010) and (ed. with Keith Neilson) *Elite Military Formations in War and Peace* (1996).

DOMINIC LIEVEN is Professor of Russian History at the London School of Economics and Senior Research Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge. His numerous works include *Russia and the Origins of the First World War* (1983), *Russia's Rulers under the Old Regime* (1988), *Aristocracy in Europe* (1992), *Nicholas II: Emperor of All the Russias* (1993), *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (2001), (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 2 (2006), *Russia against Napoleon: The Struggle for Europe, 1807–1814* (2009), *Towards the Flame. Empire,*



*War and the End of Tsarist Russia* (2015) and (ed. with Janet M. Hartley and Paul Keenan) *Russia and the Napoleonic Wars: War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850* (2015).

JOHN H. MAURER is Alfred Thayer Mahan Professor of Sea Power and Grand Strategy at the United States Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, and a Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Program on National Security. In recognition for his service and contribution to professional military education, he has received both the US Navy's Meritorious Civilian Service Award and Superior Civilian Service Award. His research covers the causes of war, arms control and Winston Churchill as statesman and war leader. Among his innumerable publications are (ed. with Erik Goldstein) *The Washington Conference, 1921–1922: Naval Rivalry, East Asian Stability, and the Road to Pearl Harbor* (1994) and *The Outbreak of the First World War: Strategic Planning, Crisis Decision Making, and Deterrence Failure* (1995).

T. G. OTTE is Professor of Diplomatic History at the University of East Anglia. He is the author or editor of seventeen books. Among the more recent ones are *The China Question: Great Power Rivalry and British Isolation, 1894–1905* (2007; Chinese translation, 2018), (with Keith Neilson) *The Office of the Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1854–1946* (2009), *The 'Foreign Office Mind': The Making of British Foreign Policy, 1865–1914* (2011), (ed.) *An Historian in Peace and War: The Diaries of Harold Temperley, 1900–1939* (2014), *July Crisis: The World's Descent into War, Summer 1914* (2014) and (ed.) *The Age of Anniversaries: The Cult of Commemoration 1895–1925* (2018).

ZARA STEINER is an Emeritus Fellow of Murray Edwards College, Cambridge. Among her books are *The Foreign Office and British Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (1969), *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (1977, second ed. with Keith Neilson, 2003), *The Lights That Failed: European International History, 1919–1933* (2005) and *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History, 1933–1939* (2011).

G. BRUCE STRANG is Professor of History at Brandon University. His research specialism lies in the fields of international history c.1870–1990, fascist ideology and twentieth-century British history. He has contributed numerous articles and chapters to learned journals and collections of essays. Among his publications are *On the Fiery March: Mussolini Prepares for War* (2003) and (ed.) *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and Its International Impact* (2013).

## Preface and Acknowledgements

---

At the end of the First World War, in the famous quip by Sellar and Yeatman, America had ‘clearly [become] top nation, and History came to a.’ Or so it seemed at the time. History, of course, did not come to an end then or later. What the war of 1914–18 did, however, was, in the words of Keith Neilson, to ‘cast a retroactive shadow over historical studies’.<sup>1</sup> It skewed scholarly assessments of pre-war British foreign policy by privileging an Anglo-German perspective that was quite alien to the thinking of Britain’s foreign policy elite in the long nineteenth century. And it helped to entrench a ‘declinist’ cast of mind that has tended to see Britain after 1919 as slowly and steadily retreating from global power.

The waxing and waning of British influence in the world, and the nature of the elements of power that underpinned the nation’s international position and the nature of their interaction, has been the subject of enduring fascination for historians, academic and lay alike. It is also at the core of Keith Neilson’s scholarly *œuvre*. A native of Alberta in western Canada, from his vantage point at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, Ontario, he brought an ‘imperial’ perspective to studies of Britain’s external relations. His work did not neglect the fundamentally European setting of British policy, however. On the contrary, it is remarkable for its finely balanced appreciation of the global nature of British policy. While appreciating the more extraneous, ephemeral even, cultural or ideological aspects of the subject – entirely befitting for someone of his fine literary sensibilities – Keith Neilson nevertheless placed political and material power at the heart of his studies.

These elements lie also at the heart of the essays brought together in this volume. Keith Neilson spent his life, which was tragically cut short within a year of his retirement from RMC, in learning and teaching, in thinking and writing about history and in sustaining his family and friends. Several of his friends and former colleagues have joined in producing this

<sup>1</sup> K. Neilson, *Britain and the Last Tsar: British Policy towards Russia, 1894–1917* (Oxford, 1995), xi.

## xiv Preface and Acknowledgements

collection of studies which they offer to Joan, Anne, David and Susan as a token – a slight and, I fear, wholly inadequate one – of their deep and continued respect and affection. These essays serve to underline both the varieties and the essential unity of history; and they justify the vocation of the man in whose memory his friends have written them.

I am grateful to all my fellow contributors for their dedication and efforts. All but two of them stayed the course, and their absence is noted with regret. I am most grateful to Michael Watson at Cambridge University Press for his steady support and sagacious advice during this volume's elephantine gestation period.