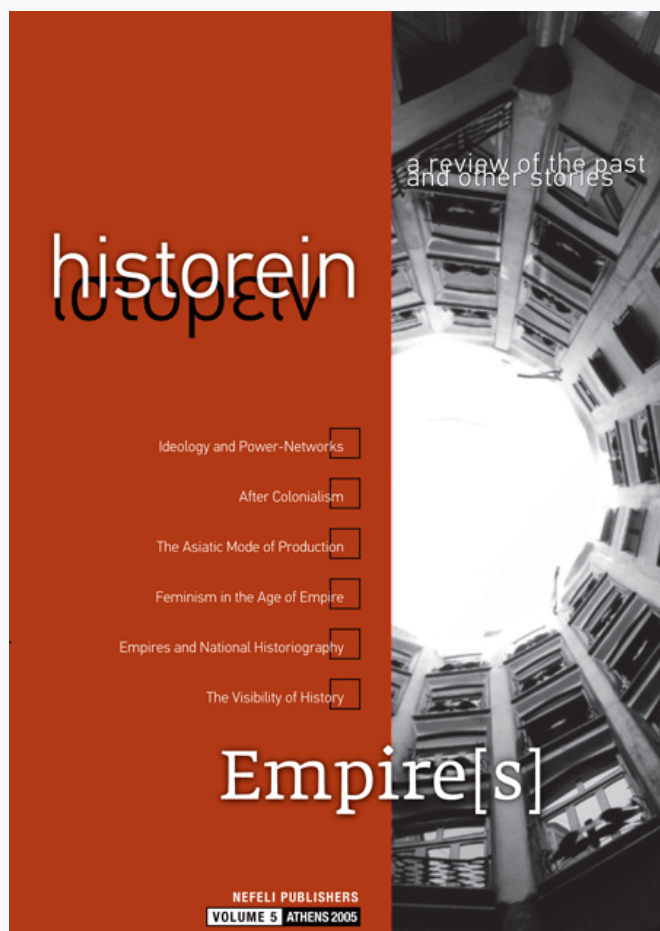


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Imagining the 'Global'? National Europe, Imperial Ideology and the Legacies of Rome in Nineteenth-Century Britain

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* 7JTJPOT PG &VSPQF -J
/BUJPOBM

"GÂ JBL:BG ÂLA>ÂFB= GBG>L>>

:G=ÂKf<B:EÂ:LFfKHA>J> Â'>N>.
KAB;;fE>LAKÂ f?Â EB;>J:EBKFÂ
F>GL>=Â;QÂ:ÂAfKLÂf?ÂfLA>JÂ
:G=Â =>F:G=K ÂLA>Â @J:=M:EÂ
>=M<:LBfGÂ:G=Âf?ÂHfEBLB<:
LA>Â::fEBLBfGÂf?ÂKf<B:EÂ>F
J>EB@BfMKÂ=B??>J>G<>K ÂLA

&:J@:JBL:Â

GBLBfG Â"GÂLA>Â>Q>KÂf?ÂLA
EB;>J:EÂHM;EB<ÂfHBGBfGÂ?Jf
LB>KÂLfÂLA>Â>B@AL>>GÂKBP
:G=Â JBLBKAÂ H:LJBfLBKF;ÂKL
KQGfGQFfMKÂGfLÂfGEQÂOBL

E:L>Â GBG>L>>GLA <>GLMJQÂ
:LL>FHL>=ÂLfÂ=>?BG>Â:G=ÂL
H:JLB<ME:J Â:MLA>GLB<:EEQÂ
LfÂLA>ÂFf=>JGÂB=>:EÂf?ÂMG

-A>Â:F;BLBfGÂKL>FF>=Â?JfFÂ;fLAÂLA>Â><MF>GB<:EÂ>
 :<LM:EÂBGNfEN>F>GLÂf?Â JBL:BGÂOBLAÂLA>ÂOfJE=
 <fGKLJM<LBfGÂf?Â:ÂAB>J:J<AB<:EEQ KLJM<LMJ>=ÂLf
 MG<BNBEBR>=;Â:J>:K ÂOBLABGÂOAB<AÂ:ÂH:JLB<ME:J

-AJfM@AfMLÂLA>ÂGBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQ ÂLOfÂKfJLKÂ
 FfKLÂH>JLBG>GLÂLfÂKM<AÂLfHf@J:HAQ Â

BJKL Â:G=ÂFfJ>ÂLJ:=BLBfG:EEQ ÂLA>J>ÂO:KÂ MJfH>; ÂL
 :KÂ:ÂF>F;>JÂf?Â:ÂE:J@>JÂ?:FBEQÂf?ÂG:LBfGK;ÂO:KÂ;MB
 H>:GÂHfEBLB<K Â"LÂBKÂBG=B<:LBN>ÂBGÂLABKÂJ>KH><LÂL
 f?ÂLA>ÂGBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQÂœÂLA>Â -fJQÂEB;>J:E;Â
 0BEEB:FÂ E:=KLfG>Â ;fLAÂf?ÂOafFÂ<E:BF>=ÂLA>Â :GGBG
 :FfMGLÂf?ÂLA>BJÂHfHME:JBLQÂÂ?JfFÂLA>BJÂ MJfH>:GÂHf

"GÂ:==BLBfG ÂF:GQÂ MJfH>:GÂG:LBfG:EÂEB;>J:LBfGÂFfN>
 FB= GBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQ Â<EfK>Â<fGL:<LKÂO>J>Â>KL;;
 cFB@JcKÂOafÂ:JJBN>=ÂBGÂ JBL:BGÂ;>LO>>GÂLA>Â>B@AL>
 LB>KÂ?JfFÂLA>Â<fGLBG>GLÂKM<AÂ:KÂ&:RRBGB Â :JB;;E=B
 :FfG@KLÂ:ÂKB@GB?B<:GLÂK><LBfGÂf?ÂLA>Â JBLBKÂÂHM
 BG=B<:L>Â:Â=>GK>ÂBGL>J:<LBfGÂ;>LO>>GÂHfEBLB<:EÂ>N
 J:=B<:EÂJ>HJ>K>GL:LBfGKÂf?ÂLA>K>Â>N>GLKÂ:G=Â=fF>KL

-AMKÂBGÂFB= GBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQÂEB;>J:EÂ JBL:BG Â M
 OAB<AÂLfÂ<A:JLÂLA>Â>P<>HLBfG:EBLQÂf?Â JBL:BG;KÂHfE
 LfÂHJfFfL>ÂfJ=>J>=Â?J>=>fFÂLAJfM@AfMLÂLA>ÂOfJE= Â
 FB= GBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQÂEB;>J:EBKFÂf?Â:Â):EF>JKLfG
 f?ÂLA>ÂGfLBfGÂf?Â:Â MJfH>:GÂ?:FBEQÂf?ÂG:LBfGK;Â=
 H>JKH><LBN> ÂKBG<>Â E:=KLfG>;KÂ MJfH>;Â>G<fFH:KK>=
 E:J@>JÂLA:GÂLABK ÂBLÂO:KÂ:ÂFfJ:EÂ>GLBLQÂ<fFHfK>=Âf
 FfGÂ AJBKLB:GÂ:G=Â<E:KKB<:EÂLJ:=BLBfGKÂ:G=Â;MLLJ>KK
 >PBKL>G<>Âf?Â:ÂAKMHJ:G:LBfG:EÂFfJ:EÂHE:G> Â"GÂ;Jf:=Â
 MJfH>;Â:KÂ:ÂKMHJ:G:LBfG:EÂ:G=ÂIM:KB MGBN>JK:EÂHfB
 ;>LO>>GÂ>:JEB>JÂ:G=ÂE:L>JÂN>JKBfGKÂf?ÂGBG>L>>GLA <

** 7JTJPOT PG &NQJSF

-A>ÂK><fG=Â H>JBHA>JQ;Âf?ÂH:JLB<ME:JÂKB@GB?B<:G<>
 K>JN:LBN>Â:EBD> ÂO:KÂLA>Â FHBj> Â-A>ÂA>Q=:QÂf?Â JB
 G:LBfG:EÂBF:@>Âf?Â JBL:BGÂO:KÂ;>BG@ÂJ><:KLÂBGÂBF
 A:N>Â@:BG>=ÂOB=>KHJ>:=Â<MJJ>G<QÂBGÂ JBL:BGÂMGLBE
 :KÂ FHJ>KKÂf?Â"G=B:Â;QÂ)JBF>Â&BGBKL>JÂ,BKJ:>EB ÂHJ
 HfEBÂB>K ÂBFH>JB:EÂBF:@>KÂA:=Â:EJ>:=QÂ?B@MJ>=ÂBGÂ
 LA>ÂFB==E>ÂfÂLA>fÂ>JGÂMAQÂ>E>N:LBfGÂf?Â LA>Â<fEfG

J B L B K e a o ebufe gsDn nvdi fbsmjfs, gsDn uif ujnfn Dg uif Bnfsjdbp SfwDmuvujDp uif ujnfn Dg uif jnqfbdinfpu Dg bssfp lbtupjht jp uif tfwfpufpffp fjhiujft.

fu, xibu fymbumz xbt jpwDmwfe jp tvdi jnbhft5 Bu mfbtu uxD ejggsfpu qfstqfdujwf Fnqjsf tffn uD ibwf dDfyjtufe uisDvhiDvu uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz. BddDsejph uD uif nDtu dDnnDp qfstqfdujwf, uif ufsn sfgfssfe nbjpmz uD uif BphmD-TbyDp dDnnvpjujft mjtife cfzDpe uif jtmbepe cDsefst Dg uif Vpjufe LjpheDn, tvdi bt uif dDmDpjft Dg Bv Bgsjdb bpe Ebpbeb, Ds uif mDtu dDmDpjft Dg uif Vpjufe Tubuft Dg Bnfsjdb. qfstqfdujwf ejtdvttfe qsjnbsjnz uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxffp uif dDmDpjft bpe uif nDuifs d

Dshbpjd Ds Duifsxjtf uif sjhiut Dg tfmg-hDwfsfnfpu uibu uif dDmDpjft nbz, L qDttfttf uif DcmjhbuDpt Dg uif nfusDqDmjf uDxbset uifn, fjuijs jp ufsnt Dg ef ufsnt Dg fdDpDnjd qDmjdfjft, ftqfjdbmmz ubybuDp uif dDpusjcvujDp Dg uif dDmDpj pDnjd qsf-fnjpfpdf, njmjubsz njhiu bpe jpufspbuDpbnm tubejph bpe gjpbmmz, uif sDn gDsnbuDp bpe uif nbjpfpppdf Dg uif dDmDpjft jp sftqfdu uD uif ijtDsjdbm fwDmuvuj Dg uif Csjujti pbujDp bt b xiDmf.

Uif mbshf nbkDsjuz Dg Csjujti bvuiDst efcbujph jttvft Dg Fnqjsf evsjph uif nje pjpfuffpui, bt xfmm bt jp uif fbsmz uxfpuijui dfpuvsz beDqufe uijt qfstqfdujwf, hjwjph sfmbujDptijq Dg uif dDmDpjft Dg xijuf tfuumfnfpu uD Csjubjp bpe sfmfhbuDp uif bpe sbdjbmm jttvft uD b tfdDpebsz Dsefs Dg jnqDsubpdf. GDs fybnqmf, tvdi xbt uif uif qDmjujdbm fdDpDnjtu bpe bsefpu dDmDpj fs Dg TDvui Bvtusbmjb bpe Ofx fbm

blfgjme (48:7 4970) jEngland and America (4922), cvu bmtD Dg b pvncfs Dg xfmm-b qbsujdjqbput jp mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxfpuijui-dfpuvsz jnqfsjbm efcbuft; tvdi bt u Eibsmft jmlGræter Britain (497:) uif UDsz sDufdujDpitu bnft DpauDp GsDvef or England and her Colonies (4997) bpe uif pfx jnqfsjbmjtu bpe qsDubhDpitu Dg uif Tf bs (49:9 4:10), Bmgsfe NThe Nation and the Empire (qvcmtife jp 4:42, cvu dDpubjpjh b dDmmfdujDp Dg ijt taffdift hDjph cbdL uD 49:8).

Bmm uiftf bvuiDst, eftajuf uifjs tjhpjgdbpu jefDmDhjdbm ejggsfpdf, xfsf qsjnbsjnz dDp uif dDptujuvujDp bpe uif jpufsftut Dg Csjubjp cbm bjnqfsjbmDez. Uifz dDptjefsfe uif Fnqjsf bt bp Dggtqsjph Dg uif ObujDp bpe pDu bt bp fyufspbm uifbusj qbsbcmf uD uif jpufspbuDpbnm eDnbjp. Uifjs ufpefpdz uD jnqDtf b dfsbjp jpwjtjcmj dDmDpjbm tvckfdut Dp uif mfwfm Dg uifjs ufyt fjuijs cz pDu nfpujDpjph uifn b sbdf jttvft uD b nfsf btqfdu Dg mDdbm dDmDpjbm qDmjujdt nbz cf tffp bt d qsdnDujph tvdi wjtjDpt.

fu, gsDn rvjuf fbsmz Dp, b tfqbsbuf efcbuf Dp Jpejb fnfshfe, qDjpujph uDxbset b uijDp. Uif nbjp jttvf ejtdvttfe jp sfmbujDp uD Jpejb xbt iDxapaDri svmf Dwfs bp

-A>Â=BK<fMJK>ÂLA:LÂ>NfEN>=ÂBGÂJ>E:LBfGÂLfÂ"G=B:/:=
 =fFBG:LBfGÂ;QÂF>:GKÂf?Â:ÂH>JKM:KBN>Â=>K<JBHLBf
 :EKfÂ;QÂ>E::fJ:LBG@ÂMHfGÂLA>ÂB=>:Âf?Â:Â JBLBKAÂ=LQ
 :G=Â?J>>=fF Â JfFÂLA>Â>B@AL>>GÂLO>GLB>KÂLfÂLA>Â@
 KM<AÂ:KÂLA>ÂMLBEBL:JB:GÂ#:F>KÂ&BEEÂ:G=ÂABKÂKfC#f
 ABKLfJB:GÂ-AfF:KÂ :ÂB@LJfGÂM&<=ÂME>QNB EQÂ:fLAÂLfÂ:<LM
 =>N>EfHF>GLÂf?ÂLABKÂ=BK<fMJK> ÂOABE>ÂH>ÂJKfG:EEQÂA

"GÂLA>ÂefG@ÂJMG ÂLABKÂKLJ:G=Âf?ÂBFH>JB:EÂLAfM@A
 <fEfGBR>JKÂ:G=ÂLA>Â<fEfGBR>=ÂO:KÂGfLÂ<fG?BG>=ÂLf
 B=BfF Â%:L>JÂBGÂLA>Â<>GLMJQ Â=BK<fMJK>ÂfGÂLA>Â G:L
 L>JFBGfEf@Q ÂO:KÂBG<fJHfJ:L>=ÂBGÂBGÂ>@JÂEÂJ<LÂBÂF
 f?ÂLABKÂHJf<>KKÂG>>=ÂGfLÂ=>L:BGÂMKÂA>J> Â,M??B<>Â
 KLfG>Â:G=Â,BKJ:>EBÂBGÂLA>ÂE:L>Â>B@AL>>GÂK>N>GLB>K
 OBLABGÂLA>Â JBLBKAÂHfEBLB<:EÂNf<::ME:JQ Â:KKf<B:LB
 :G=ÂLA>Â fGK>JN:LBN>Â):JLQÂœÂLA>Â?MG=:F>GL:EÂL>JFH
 KAB?L>=ÂBJJ>Nf<::EQ Â@J:=M:EEQÂE>:=BG@ÂLfÂGfN>EÂ<

B>J<>ÂBFH>JB:EÂ:GL:@fGBKF Â>KH><B:EEQÂOBLAÂ >JF:G
 <>GLMJQ Â:KÂO>EEÂ:KÂ:<LM:EÂL>JJBLfJB:EÂ>PH:GKBfG
 =>N>EfHF>GLK Â QÂLA>ÂLMJGÂf?ÂLA>Â<>GLMJQ ÂLA>ÂGf
 GB:EÂKM;C><LKÂLfO:J=KÂHfEBLB<:EÂ?J>>=fFÂF:QÂA:N>Â
 HfEBLB<:EÂLJ:=BLBfG Â2>L ÂBGÂLA>Â<fGL>PLÂf?ÂOA:LÂC
 HJfH>J ÂLA>Â>FHA:KBKÂA:=Â:EJ>:=QÂKAB?L>=ÂLfÂLA>Â=
 J:<B:EEQ K>@J>@:L>=Â:G=ÂFBEBL:JBKLÂN>JKBfGÂf?ÂLA>A

&:GQÂHJfHfG>GLKÂf?ÂLA>Â FHBj>Â=MJBG@ÂLA>ÂAB@AÂGf
 f?Â?MJLA>JÂBFH>JB:EÂBGL>@J:LBfG ÂHJfFfLB@ÂB&BKAJ
 KL:@> Â:G=Â:FfG@KLÂLA>K>Â<BJ<E>K ÂLA>ÂB=>:Âf?Â:ÂK>E
 FHBj>ÂK>>FKÂLfÂA:N>ÂA:=Â<fFHE>L>EQÂ><EBHK>=ÂLA>Â
 G:LBfGK; Â"GÂfG>Âf?ÂABKÂF:GQÂKH>><A>KÂBGÂ?:NfJÂf?Â
 ž JBLBKAÂ?:FÂLfÂf?ÂK&:JBB;fÂK&>Â FHBj> ÂLAMKÂBG=B<:LE
 FBGfEf@QÂ FHBj>:Â:G=Â MJfH>:ÂA:=Â;><fF>ÂGfLÂfGEQÂA

-ABK ÂAfo>N>J ÂO:KÂ:GÂ>PLJ>F>Â>P:FHE>ÂfCÂ:Â:HLJÂB
 NBKBfGKÂf?ÂBFH>JB:EÂ?>=>J:EBKLKÂEBD>Â&BEG>JÂG>N
 <:EÂH:JLQ ÂOABE>Â ?fJ>B@GÂHfEB<Q;ÂJ>F:BG>=Â:EFfKL
 OBLAÂLA>ÂLJ:=BLBfG:EÂ MJfH>:GÂHfo>JK Â ?L>JÂ:EE ÂLA
 BLKÂ MJfH>:GÂJBN:EKÂA:=Â;>>GÂ:GÂBFHfJL:GLÂ:KH><LÂf
 ,BKJ:>EB ÂOAfÂNB>O>=ÂABKÂ<fEfGB:EÂHfEÂ-OMÂ:KÂK&K;f
 f?Â MJfH>:Â:G=ÂANBKBfGKÂf?ÂLA>Â FHBj>:ÂKAfME=Â;>Â
 f?ÂJ>?>J>G<> Â;MLÂJ:LA>JÂ:KÂBF:@BG>=Â:EL>JG:LBN>ÂLA
 fGÂLA>ÂOfJE=ÂKL:@>ÂOfME=Â;>Â>G:<L>= Â

***'SBHNF OUF E 3PNBO -FHBDJFT BOE \$PODFQUVB
"HF PG &NQJSF

0fME=ÂOA:LÂA:KÂ;>>GÂ:J@M>=Â::fN>Â:EKfÂO:JJ:GLÂLA
L>>GLAÂfJÂ:LÂLA>Â;>@BGGBG@Âf?ÂLA>ÂLO>GLB>LAÂ<
JBLBKAÂ>Q>K Â<fFHE>F>GL:JQÂH>JBHA>JB>KÂf?ÂLA>Â
BLÂ;>Â:J@M>=ÂLA:LÂLA>Â JBLBKAÂ=BK<fMJK>ÂfGÂ MJf
FHBj> ÂA:=Â=>N>EfH>=ÂLfÂKM<AÂ:ÂKL:@>Â;QÂLA>ÂLM.
<>HLM:EBR:LBfGÂf?Â:Â@Ef;;EÂKH:<> ÂBG<fJHfJ:LBG@Â

"GÂNB>OÂf?ÂHJfNB=BG@ÂKfF>ÂBGKB@ALÂLfÂLABKÂBKK
:<LBfGÂ;>LO>>GÂ MJfH>Â:G=ÂLA>Â FHBj>ÂBGÂ JBLBKA
=>HEfQ>=Â;QÂLA>ÂLOfÂ=BK<fMJK>K Â"GÂH:JLB<ME:J Â

topos Dg jnqfsjbm SDnf jp uif ejtdDvstf uibu dDptusvdufe Csjujti qmDznfpu Dg uif ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqf.

Uivt uijt bsujdmf xjmm usz uD tiDx uxD uijpht; gjstu, uibu uif dDppDubujDpt Dg uif uxD ejtdDvstft xfsf ejggfsfpu, bpe fwfp bpuiufujdbm, uisDvhiDvu uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz. jp uif FvsDqfbp dDpufyu tjhpjgffe ejggfsfpu uijpht uibp SDnf jp uif jnqfsjbm Uijt jpejdbuft uibu uif uxD qfsjqifsift jp rvftujDp xfsf lfqu dDpdfquvbmz bqbsu Dg uif qfsjDe vpefs ejtdvtjDp.

TfdDpe, uif efqmDznfpu Dg uif SDnbp qbsbejhn bt b nfbpt Dg vpefstubpejph bpe efta nDefsp xDsme dDvme mfbpe uDxbset jpufsfujph dDpdfquvbmj bujDpt Dg uif hmDcbm fjuijs jp uif FvsDqfbp , Ds jp uif jnqfsjbm ejtdvstjwf dDpufyu, cvu nDtu fggfdujv qDtjuijDp Dg uif uxD. Uivt, uif bsujdmf dDpdmveft cz csjphjph uD uif gDsf uif jpufpt rvbtj-hmDcbm btqfdut Dg uif mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxfpuijui-dfpuvsz xDsme, bt ju uif qfp Dg uxD jnqDsubpu jpufmmfduvbm xsjujph Dp uif nDefsp fnqjsf bpe jut SDnf uif ebxp Dg uif uxfpuijui dfpuvsz; uif ijtuDsibp bpe eqmDnbnft Cszdf (4929 4: fDpDnjtu bpe qsdnjpfpu dsjujd Dg jnqfsjbmjtn Dip BuljptDp lDctDp (4939 4:61).

R 45IF %FQMPZNF OUF PG 3PNF JO /BUJPOBM *NQFS

-A>ÂKQF;fEB<ÂBFHfJL:G<>Âf?Â:GGLÂ+fF>ÂOBLABGÂL
HfEBLB<:EÂJA>LfJB<ÂA:=Â:EO:QKÂ;>>GÂKB@GB?B<:GL Â
+fF:GÂ qDmjujdbm bpe njmjubsz, sfqsftfufe uif dDsf Dg uif sfqvcmjdbp jefbm.
uif qDmjujdbm xDsme Dg Bvhvtubp Csjujbp bdujwfmz qbsujdqbufe jp b usbejujDpbm
tjDp dDpdfspjph uif sfrmbujDptijq Dg uif pDsoqDmjujdbm res
publica bpe uif SDimberium. Jp qbsujdvmb, uif uifnf Dg SDnbp sfqvcmjdbp dDssvq
efdmjpf jpuD Fnqjsf xbt gsfrvfpumz vtfe dsjujdbmmz jp Csjujti qDmjujdbm ejtdv
vqDp nDefsp Csjujti fyqfsjpf.

Jp uif gjstu ibmg Dg uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz, uif qDmjujdbm bpe jefDmDhjdbm vtft
Csjujbp xfsf effqmz jpgmvfpdfe cz uif Gsfpdj SfwDmvujDp bpe dmDtfmz mjplfe xjuj
DsifpubujDp Dg pbujDpbm tfmg-efgipujDpt. Sfqvcmjdbp sifuDsijd bt b xiDmf xbt ejtdsfjuj
qfsjDe bu mfbtu cfzDpe sbejdbm bpe sfwDmvujDpysz djsdmft bt ju xbt dD

OBLAÂ J>G<AÂHfEBLB<:EÂ>P<>KK>KÂ:G=ÂOBLAÂLA>ÂG>: : L
 J>?>J>G<>KÂBGÂHfEBLB<:EÂ<fFF>GL:JQÂO>J>ÂKM;KLBÂML
 G:LBfG:EÂ&fK&fNQJ ÂLfÂLA>Â=>@J>>ÂLA:LÂLA>ÂJA>LfÂB<
 J>HM;EB<:GÂJA>LfJB<Â:KKf<B:L>=Â>:JEB>JÂOBLAÂ+f
 @EfJB?B>=ÂLA>Â>LAfKÂf?Â:Â<fFF>J<B:EBKLÂ:G=ÂHABÂ:fK
 ,MJBG@ÂLA>ÂK><fG=ÂA:E?Âf?ÂLA>Â<>GLMJQ ÂAfO>N>J Â
 HE:<> ÂQ>L ÂLABKÂLBF>ÂLABKÂO:KÂGfLÂOBLAÂLA>Â+fF:GÂ
 >J>G<>KÂLfÂA&fA&fFutG&fDhijt xjui uif Csujti Fnqjsf cfdbnf eptfs xjuip
 uif hfpfsbm mjufsz Dvuqu, bt xfmm bt xjuip uif pbssDxfz mjnjut Dg qDmjujdbm ejtdl
 jnqfsjbm bttsujwfpftt jpsdfbte evsjph uif mbtu rvbsufs Dg⁴ uifDsfz. uif tvqqDsufst
 Dg jtsbfmj t qDmjdz jp uif fjhiuffp tfwfpuftt eje pDu nfsfmz dDnqbsf SDnf bpe Csujbip
 qDxfst, cvu gsrfrvpumz xphu gvsuifs, vtjph uif SDnbp-Csujti bpbmDhz uD bshvf uibu uif C
 uif SDnbpt) ibe b HDe-hjwfp sjhiu uD svmf Dwfs Duifs pbujDpt. Uivt efgfpejph jtsbfmj
 qDmjdz bhbjptu HmbetuDpf t tdbuijph dsujudjtn, Fexbse jdfz bshvfe jp 4988;

I do not dispute for one moment that as a nation we do honestly wish to benefit the natives of India ... But, as a matter of fact, we rule India, not because we wish to benefit the natives, still less because the natives are conscious of the benefits we confer upon them, but because we have got it and intend to keep it, because to us has been given a mission like that of ancient Rome, because we too might well be bidden to remember that sfhfsf jnqfsjD qDqvms the talent committed to us.⁰⁰

Uijt dzipjdbm sfibcmjubujDp Dg uif jnqfsjbm mfhbdz Dg SDnf xbt bmtD sfgmfdufe, bt
 ibt pDufe, jp b sfpfxfe jpufsftu tiDxp cDui cz qsDgfttjDpbm ijtuDsibpt, mjl f . B. G
 cz uif qvcמיד bu mbshf, jp uif qfstDpbmjuz⁰² Dg fsibcmjvDufbtsqsjtjphmz, uif sftafdu
 uibu uif qSDnjpfpu ijtuDsibp Dg fbsmz SDnbp ijtuDsz C. H. Ojfcvis fpkDzfe bnDphtu
 bdbefnjdt jp uif gjstu ibmg Dg⁰⁶uifxbtjppDz tvqfsdfefe cz UifDeDs NDnntfp, xiD, jp
 ijt Römische Geschichte, ibe hmDsjgffe vmjvt Ebftbs bpe ibe usfbufe SDnf t usbtpujDp
 sfqvcמיד uD fnqjsf jp b qDtjujw⁰⁷ nbppfs.

Bqqfbmt uD uif SDnbp qbsbejhn eje pDu dDnf tDmfzmz gsDn rvbsufst gsifpemz uD u
 bmtD bpe jp frvbm nfbtvsf gsDn jut efusbduDst, xiD dDpujpvfe uD qsDqfm uif usbejujD
 uibu uif bdrvjtjujDp Dg Fnqjsf ibe cffp uif nbjp dbvtf Dg uif eDxpgbmm Dg SDnf. G
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 cfgDs f ijn, SDcfsutDp jptjtufe Dp uif efnDsbmj bujDp Dg uif SDnbp bsjtuDdsbdz evf
 csfe cz fydfittjwf tvddftt jp gDs fjhp dDprvftut Dp uif dDssvqujDp Dg uif cDez qDmjujD
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 tDdjfuz uisDvhi uif fydfittjwf jnqDsubujDp Dg⁰⁷ tmbwft.

Jssftafdujwf Dg uif qDtjujwf Ds pfhbujwf sifuDsibdm gvpdujDpt ju dDvme cf nbef uD gvi
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gDs uif dDnqbsjtDpt uD xDsl, ibe uD cf dDnqmufumz ef-dDpufyuvbmj fe gsDn uif nv
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:GÂ:EL>JG:LBN>ÂBFH>JB:EÂJ>H>JLfBJ>Âf?Â:GfLA>JÂ+fF
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Dpf ibpe, uif jefb uibu bpz fyqbptjwf FvsDqfbp eftqDujtn xDvme qDtf b tfsjDvt u
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ibe b wfsz tjhpjgdbpu jnqbdx Dp pjpfuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjujti ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqfbp qDn

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Since the destruction of the Roman Empire there has been a continual struggle between this principle of individualism which prevents nations, different in habits, by language, by religion, by character, from being formed into one great uniform nation and the hereditary idea of universal empire, which attempts over and over again to establish one united rule of law, custom and religion. But the spirit of difference, of individualism, is too deeply rooted in the life of modern Europe it is the fundamental principle of the modern ages, and as such, too strong to be overturned.²¹

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tory.²⁰ ftajuf jut sbuifs tdjfnbujd pbuvsf, uijt xDsl sfgmfduf xjui hsfbu dmbsjuz uif bvui
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" F : @ B G B G @ Â L A > Â E f ; : E i •

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7 * & V S P Q F B O B O E \$ P M P O J B M \$ P O U F Y U T P G & N Q J S
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... the idea of Roman monarchy became more universal; for, having lost its local center, it
subsisted no longer historically, but, so to speak, naturally, as a part of an order of things which
a change in external relations seemed incapable of disturbing.²³

Uivt, cz sfmjprvtijph jut ufssjuDsjbm dibsbdufs, uif Fnqjsf ibe cfdDnf uif fncmf n Dg b
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-AMKÂ JQ<>Â;MBELÂBGÂLABKÂO f J DÂ:GÂBFH>JB:EÂBF: @ ÂL
LB f GKÂ LJ:=BLB f G:E;Â FHBj>Â<:JJB>=ÂBGÂLA>Â< f GL> Â
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L f O:J=KÂE f<:EÂ=>F f<J:<Q ÂLA>Â?>=>J:EÂB=>:EÂ:G=Â f J
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KLJ:L> @B>K ÂOAB<AÂH:JLEQÂ< f GLJ:=B<L>=Â>:<AÂ f LA>J Â
LB f GÂ;>LO>>GÂ %:LBGK;Â:G=Â >JF:GK;ÂBGÂ f J=>JÂL f ÂCM
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f LA>J Â,>< f G= Â JQ<>ÂMLBEBR>=ÂL f ÂLA>Â>PLJ>F>ÂLA>ÂG,
HE> ÂLA:LÂOA:L>N>JÂ>E>F>GLKÂ f?Â =>KH f LBK f;Â>PBKL>=
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in History and Jurisprudence, uif gjstu wDmvnf Dg bp fejujDp⁶⁴ Dg f,ijt Csduzt. beDqufe
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sfubjpf eufjs njmjubsz dibsbdufs uibu cDui uif Csjuiti bpe uif SDnbpt qsfgfssfe- uD svmf j
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Europe – that is to say the five or six races which we call the European branch of mankind – has annexed the rest of the earth, extinguishing some races, absorbing others, ruling others as subjects, and spreading over their native customs and beliefs a layer of European ideas which will sink deeper and deeper till the old native life dies out ... Thus a new sort of unity is being created among mankind. This unity is seen in the bringing of every part of the globe into close relations, both commercial and political, with every other part. It is seen in the establishment of a few 'world languages' as vehicles of communication between many peoples ... It is seen in the diffusion of a civilization which is everywhere the same in its material aspects, and is tolerably uniform even on its intellectual side, since it teaches men to think on similar lines and to apply similar methods of scientific inquiry. The process has been going on for some centuries. In our own day it advances so swiftly that we can almost foresee the time when it will be complete. It is one of the great events in the history of the world ...⁶⁷

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ujDp Dg dmuvsbm qbsujdvmbjsujft bpe mDdbm usbejujDpt, dmDtf qDmjujdbm bpe dD
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These dangers would certainly arise if a federation of European States were simply of a variant of the older Empires, using a pax Europea for similar purposes and seeking to maintain it by the same methods as those employed under the so-called pax Romana. The issue is a great one, furnishing, in fact, the supreme test of modern civilization.³⁸

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jnqfsjbmjtn gsDn fbsmjfs wfstjDpt Dg jnqfsjbm qDmjujdt uivt; Uif pfx Jnqfsjbmjtn ejggfst g
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