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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 Â LA>Â @J:=M:EÂ
>=M<:LBfGÂ:G=Â f?Â HfEBLB<:
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:JÂ

-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 A ebufo gsDn nvdi fbsmjfs, gsDn uif ujnfn Dg uif Bnfsjdbp SfwDmuvujDp uif ujnfn Dg uif jnqfbdinfpu Dg bssfp lbtupjht jp uif tfwfpufpp fjiuifft.

fu, xibu fybdumz 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 sfgssfe 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 qDttftfe uif DcmjhbuDpt Dg uif nfusDqDmjf uDxbset uifn, fjuijs jp ufsnt Dg ef ufsnt Dg fdDpDnjd qDmjdf, ftqfjbmz ubybuDp uif dDpusjcvujDp Dg uif dDmDpj pDnjd qsf-fnjpfpdf, njmjubsz njhiu bpe jpufspbuDpbm tubejph bpe gjpbmmz, uif sDn gDsnbuDp bpe uif nbjpfppdf 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 uxpfuifui dfpuvsz beDqufe uijt qfstqfdujwf, hjwjph sfmbujDptijq Dg uif dDmDpjft Dg xijuf tfuumfnfpu uD Csjujti bpe sfmfhbuDp uif bpe sbdjbm 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 pvnecs Dg xfmm-u qbsujdqbput jp mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxpfuifui-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 Csjujti btm bjnqfsjbm Dez. Uifz dDptjefsfe uif Fnqjsf bt bp Dggtqsjph Dg uif ObujDp bpe pDu bt bp fyufspbm uifbusj qbsbcmf uD uif jpufspbuDpbm eDnbj. 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 nbjpf jttvft 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:ÂJBLBKAÂ=LQ
 :G=Â?J>>=fFÂJfFÂLA>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@ÂJMGÂLABKÂKLJ:G=Âf?ÂBFH>JB:EÂLAfM@A
 <fEfGBR>JKÂ:G=ÂLA>Â<fEfGBR>=ÂO:KÂGfLÂ<fG?BG>=ÂLf
 B=BfFÂ%:L>JÂBGÂLA>Â<>GLMJQÂÂ=BK<fMJK>ÂfGÂLA>ÂG:L
 L>JFBGfEf@QÂO: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>ÂJBLBKAÂHfEBLB<:EÂNf<::ME:JQÂÂ:KKf<B:LB
 :G=ÂLA>ÂfGK>JN:LBN>Â):JLQÂœÂLA>Â?MG=:F>GL:EÂL>JFH
 KAB?L>=ÂBJJ>Nf<::EQÂ@J:=M:EEQÂE>:=BG@ÂLfÂGfN>EÂ<

B>J<>ÂBFH>JB:EÂ:GL:@fGBKFÂ>KH><B:EEQÂOBLAÂ>JF:G
 <>GLMJQÂÂ:KÂO>EEÂ:KÂ:<LM:EÂL>JJBLfJB:EÂ>PH:GKBfG
 =>N>EfHF>GLKÂQÂLA>ÂLMJGÂf?ÂLA>Â<>GLMJQÂÂLA>ÂGf
 GB:EÂKM;C><LKÂLfO:J=KÂHfEBLB<:EÂ?J>>=fFÂF:QÂA:N>Â
 HfEBLB<:EÂLJ:=BLBfGÂ2>LÂBGÂLA>Â<fGL>PLÂf?ÂOA:LÂC
 HJfH>JÂLA>Â>FHA:KBKÂA:=Â:EJ>:=QÂKAB?L>=ÂLfÂLA>Â=
 J:<B:EEQÂK>@J>@:L>=Â:G=ÂFBEBL:JBKLÂN>JKBfGÂf?ÂLA>A

&:GQÂHJfHfG>GLKÂf?ÂLA>ÂFHBj>Â=MJBG@ÂLA>ÂAB@AÂGf
 f?Â?MJLA>JÂBFH>JB:EÂBGL>@J:LBfGÂHJfFfLB@ÂB&BKAJ
 KL:@>Â:G=Â:FfG@KLÂLA>K>Â<BJ<E>KÂLA>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
 žJBLBKAÂ?:FÂLfÂf>ÂK:JLB;fÂK&>ÂFHBj>ÂLAMKÂBG=B<:LE
 FBGfEf@QÂFHBj>Â:G=ÂMJfH>ÂA:=Â;><fF>ÂGfLÂfGEQÂA

-ABKÂAfo>N>JÂO:KÂ:GÂ>PLJ>F>Â>P:FHE>ÂfCÂ:ÂHLJÂBLA
 NBKBfGKÂf?ÂBFH>JB:EÂ?>=>J:EBKLKÂEBD>Â&BEG>JÂG>N
 <:EÂH:JLQÂOABE>Â?fJ>B@GÂHfEB<Q;ÂJ>F:BG>=Â:EFfKL
 OBLAÂLA>ÂLJ:=BLBfG:EÂMJfH>:GÂHfo>JKÂ?L>JÂ:EEÂLA
 BLKÂMJfH>:GÂJBN:EKÂA:=Â;>>GÂ:GÂBFHfJL:GLÂ:KH><LÂf
 ,BKJ:>EBÂOafÂNB>O>=ÂABKÂ<fEfGB:EÂHfEÂA&KÂK&K;f
 f?ÂMJfH>Â:G=ÂNBKBfGKÂf?ÂLA>ÂFHBj>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

" F : @ B G B G @ Â L A > Â E f ; : E i •

***'SBHNFOUFE 3PNBO -FHBDJFT BOE \$PODFQUVB
"HF PG &NQJSF

0 f M E = Â O A : L Â A : K Â ; > > G Â : J @ M > = Â : ; f N > Â : E K f Â O : J J : G L Â L A
L > > G L A Â f J Â : L Â L A > Â ; > @ B G G B G @ Â f ? Â L A > Â L O > G L B > L A Â <
J B L B K A Â > Q > K Â < f F H E > F > G L : J Q Â H > J B H A > J B > K Â f ? Â L A > Â
B L Â ; > Â : J @ M > = Â L A : L Â L A > Â J B L B K A Â = B K < f M J K > Â f G Â M J f
F H B J > Â A : = Â = > N > E f H > = Â L f Â K M < A Â : Â K L : @ > Â ; Q Â L A > Â L M :
< > H L M : E B R : L B f G Â f ? Â : Â @ E f ; : E Â K H : < > Â B G < f J H f J : L B G @ Â
" G Â N B > O Â f ? Â H J f N B = B G @ Â K f F > Â B G K B @ A L Â L f Â L A B K Â B K K
: < L B f G Â ; > L O > > G Â M J f H > Â : G = Â L A > Â F H B J > Â B G Â J B L B K A
= > H E f Q > = Â ; Q Â L A > Â L O f Â = B K < f M J K > K Â " G Â H : J L B < M E : J Â
topos Dg jnqfsjbm SDnf jp uif ejtdDvstf uibu dDptusvdufe Csjujti qDmjujdbm ef
qmDznfpu Dg uif tDpfs xjujip Csjujti mjcfbsbm ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqf.

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

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
fjuifs jp uif FvsDqfbp , Ds jp uif jnqfsjbm ejtdvstjwf dDpufyu, cvu nDtu fggfdujv
qDtjujDp 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 jpufmmfduvbmj xsjujph Dp uif nDefsp fnqjsf bpe jut SDnf
uif ebxp Dg uif uxfpuijui dfpuvsz; uif ijtusjbp bpe eqmDnbn bnft Cszdf (4929 4:
fdDpDnjtu bpe qsdnjpfpu dsjujd Dg jnqfsjbmjtn Dip BuljptDp lDctDp (4939 4:61).

R 45IF %FQMPZNFUO PG 3PNF JO /BUJPOBM *NQFSJ
-A>ÂKQF;fEB<ÂBFHfJL:G<>Âf?Â:GGLÂ+fF>ÂOBLABGÂL
HfEBLB<:EÂJA>LfJB<ÂA:=Â:EO:QKÂ;>>GÂKB@GB?B<:GLÂ
+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 SDmimperium. Jp qbsujdvmbz, uif uifnf Dg SDnbp sfqvcmjdbp dDssvq
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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 ejtdsfjeu
qfsjDe bu mfbtu cfzDpe sbejdbm bpe sfwDmvujDpbsz 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;KLB&ML
 G:LBfG:EÂ&fK&fNQJ ÂLfÂLA>Â=>@J>>ÂLA:LÂLA>ÂJA>LfÂB<
 J>HM;EB<:GÂJA>LfJB<Â:KKf<B:L>=Â>:JEB>JÂOBLAÂ+fÂ
 @EfJB?B>=ÂLA>Â>LAfKÂf?Â:Â<fFF>J<B:EBKLÂ:G=ÂHAB&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<>KÂLfÂLA>ÂfGÂBmDhijt xjui uif Csujti Fnqjsf cfdbnf eptfs xjuip
 uif hfpfsbm mjufsz Dvuquv, bt xfmm bt xjuip uif pbssDxfz mjnjut Dg qDmjujdbm ejtdL
 jnqfsjbm bttfsujwfpftt jpsdfbte evsjph uif mbtu rvbsufs Dg⁴ uif tvqqDsufst
 Dg jtsbfmj t qDmjdz jp uif fjhiuffp tfwfpuijt eje pDu nfsfmz dDnqbsf SDnf bpe Csujbip
 qDxfst, cvu gsrfrvpumz xfpv gvsuifs, vtjph uif SDnbp-Csujti bpbmDhz uD bshvf uibu uif C
 uif SDnbp) ibe b HDe-hjwfp sjhiu uD svrmf Dwfs Duifs pbujDpt. Uivt efgfpejph jtsbfmj
 qDmjdz bhbjptu HmbetuDpf t tdbuijph dsjujdjtn, 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 qDqvrmD the talent committed to us.⁰⁰

Uijt dzpjdbm 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 qvcmjD bu mbshf, jp uif qfstDpbmjuz⁰² Dg fsibcmjubujDpEbfbsqsjtjphmz, 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 Ebfbs bpe ibe usfbufe SDnf t usbtpujDp
 sfqvcmjD uD fnqjsf jp b qDtjujw⁰⁷ nbppfs.

Bqqfbmt uD uif SDnbp qbsbejhn eje pDu dDnf tDmfzmz gsDn rvbsufst gsfpemz uD u
 bmtD bpe jp frvbm nfbtvsf gsDn jut efusbduDst, xiD dDpujpvfe uD qsDqfm uif usbejujD
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pjpuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjubjp, Ds uibu uifz ejsfdumz jpgmvpdfe uif dDpufnqDsbsz ejtdDvstf
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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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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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B F H f J L : G L Â J B L B K A Â K < A f E : J Â f ? Â L A > Â K > < f G = Â A : E ? Â f ? Â
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usbtgfsse uD EDptubpujDqmf;

... 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 sfmjprvjtijph 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
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fLA>J Â,><fG= Â JQ<>ÂMLBEBR>=ÂLfÂLA>Â>PLJ>F>ÂLA>ÂG,
HE> ÂLA:LÂOA:L>N>JÂ>E>F>GLKÂf?Â =>KHfLBKF;Â>PBKL>=
:ÂHJf=M<LÂf?ÂLA>ÂBFF:L MJBLQÂf?ÂLA>ÂAMF:GÂKHBjBLÂ=

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*The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India, Dsjhjbmmz qvcmtife jStudia 164 jp
in History and Jurisprudence, uif gjstu wDmvnf Dg bp fejujDp⁶⁴ Dgfs,ijt Csduzt. beDqufe
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sfubjpf uifjs njmjubsz dibsbdufs uibu cDui uif Csjuiti bpe uif SDnbpt qsfqssfe- 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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- 6 Bp fbśmz fybnqmś Dg uijt xbt bmnfstuDp t gbnDvt qbsmjbnfpuDśPacifdo Dggbjśf uif xfrm-lpDxp BphmD-Hsfl ejqmDnbujd fajtDef uibu mfe uD uif cmDdlbef Dg jsbvt jp 4931. if buufnqufe b xiDmftbmś efgfptf Dg ijt gDsfihp qDmjdz bpe dDpdmvufefis xjāanwś bebbf, sum', uifsfcz tubujph uibu, gDmmDxjph uif fybnqmś Dg SDnf, ijt qDmjdz bjñfe bu tfdvsjph uif Csjujti djuj fpt, xifsfwfs uifz nbz cf, bddDsejph uD uif qsjpdjqmft Dg Csjujti mbx.
- 3 bśśfp lbtujpht, HDwfśpDs Hfpśśbm Dg uif Fbtu Jpejb EDnqbpz jp Cfphbm gśDñ 4880 ul bddvte Dg tztufnbujd bpe sbqbdjDvt bcvtft Dg bvuiDsujz evsjph ijt upvśf jp Dggjdf. Fenve xiD xbt bp N bu uif ujnř, xbt jptusvnřpubm jp cśjphjph gDśnbm jnqfbdinfpu dibśht bħbjptu 4897. Uif usjbm bu uif lDvtř Dg MDset (4899 48:6) Dqfpfe vq b ifbufe bpe xjefmz qvcmjđj Dpmz Dp uif sDmf Dg uif Fbtu Jpejb EDnqbpz, cvu bmtD Dp uif sDmf Dg uif Csjujti hD Jpejb. GDś b sfdfpu tđDmbśmz btfttnfpu Dg uif fajtDef bpe Cvśř t sDmf jp ju, tff Vpebz Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought, EijdbhD; Vpiwfstjuz Dg EijdbhD sftt, 4::, qq. 443 49:.
- 7 Tff Cfśpśe Tfñnfñm,The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin, CbmujnDśf bpe MDpeDp; Dip lDqljpt V , 4::2, qq. 08 22.

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- 41 Uif jpwDmwfnfpu Dg uif Njmmt xjui fnqsf cvjmejph, ftqfdjbmmz bnft Njmm t efqsfdjbuDp
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- 44 sDubhDpjut bu uijt tubhf, cDui Dp uif mfwfm Dg ejtdDvstf bpe Dp uif mfwfm Dg b
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- 40 Tff E. E. Fmesjehf, *Germany and the Rise of a New Imperialism*, Ebsejgg; Vpjwfstjuz Dg bmft sftt, 4::
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- 42 Tff Cfsbse Dstf, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850–1983*, MDpeDp bpe
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- 46 NDtu qsDnjpfpumz, Dtfqi Eibncfsmbjp, Tfdsfubsz Dg Tubuf gDs uif EDmDpjft gsDn 49:3
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- 48 Tff Fmesjehf, p. cit., qq. 73 78.
- 49 Pp sfqvcmjdbpjtn bpe djwid ivnbpjtn jp Csjubjp bpe Bnfsjdb, tff nbjpn *The Machiavel-
lian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, sjpdfuDp; sjpdfuDp V ,
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