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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::fEBLBfGÂ f?Â Kf<B:EÂ>F
J>EB@BfMKÂ =B??>J>G<>K Â LA

&:J@:JBL:Â

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

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

-A>Â:F;BLBfGÂKL>FF>=Â?JfFÂ;fLAÂLA>Â><MF>GB<:EÂ >J
:<LM:EÂBGNfEN>F>GLÂf?Â JBL:BGÂOBLAÂLA>ÂOfJE= M
<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,?Â
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>:GÂHfE BLB<K Â"LÂBKÂBG=B<:LBN>ÂBGÂLABKÂJ>KH><LÂL
f?ÂLA>ÂGBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQÂœÂLA>Â -fJQÂEB;>J:E;Â :
OBEEB:FÂ E:=KLfG>Â ;fLAÂf?ÂOAffÂ<E:BF>=ÂLA>Â :GGBG
:FfMGLÂf?ÂLA>BJÂHfHME:JBLQÂ?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 JBLBKAÂHM
BG=B<:L>Â:Â=>GK>ÂBGL>J:<LBfGÂ;>LO>>GÂHfE BLB<: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>ÂfÂ&LA>fÂN>>JGÂMAQÂ>E>N:LBfGÂf?Â LA>Â<fEfG



J B L B K A ebufe gsDn nvdI fbsmjfs, gsDn uif ujnF Dg uif Bnfsjdbp SfwDmvujDp uif ujnF Dg uif jnqfbdinfpu Dg bssfp lbtujpht jp uif tfwfpuffp fjhiujft.

fu, xibu fydumz xbt jpwDmwfe jp tvdi jnbhft5 Bu mfbtu uxD eiggfsfpu qfstafdujwF Fnaqsf tffn uD ibwf dDfytufe uisDvhiDvu uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz. BddDsejph uD uif nDtu dDnnDp qfstafdujwF, uif ufsn sfgssfe nbjpmz uD uif BphmD-TbyDp dDnnvpjijft mjtife cfzDpe uif jtmbpe cDsefst Dg uif Vpjufe LjpheDn, tvdi bt uif dDmDpjft Dg Bv Bgsjdb bpe Ebpbeb, Ds uif mDtu dDmDpjft Dg uif Vpjufe Tubuft Dg Bnfsjdb. qfstafdujwF ejtdvtte qsjnbsjmz uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxffp uif dDmDpjft bpe uif nDuifs d Dshbjd Ds Duifsxjt uif sjhiut Dg tfmg-hDwfsnfpfu uibu uif dDmDpjft nbz, L qDttfite uif DcmjhujDpt Dg uif nFusDqDmjT uDXbset uifn, fjuiFs jp ufsnt Dg ef ufsnt Dg fdDpDnjd qDmjDjft, ftqfjdbmmz ubybuyDp uif dDpusjcvujDp Dg uif dDmDpj pDnjd qsf-fnjpfpdf, njmjubsz njhiu bpe jpufspbujDpbm tubpejph bpe gjpbmmz, uif sDn gDsnbujDp bpe uif nbjpfppdf Dg uif dDmDpjft jp sftafdu uD uif ijtuDsjdmb fwDmvuj Dg uif CsjuTi pbujDp bt b xiDmf.

Uif mbshf nbkDsjuZ Dg CsjuTi bvuiDst efcbujph jttvft Dg Fnaqsf evsjph uif nje pjpfuffpui, bt xfmm bt jp uif fbsmz uxfpuiFui dfpuvsz beDqufe uijt qfstafdujwF, hjwjph sfmbujDptijq Dg uif dDmDpjft Dg xijuf tfuumfnfpu uD Csjubip bpe sfmfhbujph 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 fbrm blfgjme (48:7 4970) jEngland and America (4922), cvu bmtD Dg b pvnCfs Dg xfmm-t qbsujdjqbput jp mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxfpuiFui-dfpuvsz jnqfsjbm efcbuft; tvdi bt u Eibsmft jmlGrpater Britain (497:) uif UDSz sDufdujDpjtu bnft Grpater GsDvef or England and her Colonies (499?) bpe uif pfx jnqfsjbmjtu bpe qsDubhDpjtu Dg uif Tf bs (49:9 4:10), Bmgsfe NtheIsatiga and the Empire (qvcmtjife jp 4:42, cvu dDpubjpph b dDmmfdujDp Dg ijt taffdift hDjph cbdL uD 49:8).

Bmm uiftf bvuiDst, eftajuf uifjs tjhpjgdbpu jefDmDhjdbm eiggfsfpdf, xfsf qsjnbsjmz dDp uif dDptujuvujDp bpe uif jpufsftut Dg Csjubip cbm bjnqfsjdbm Dez. Uifz dDptjefsfe uif Fnaqsf bt bp Dggtasjph Dg uif ObujDp bpe pDu bt bp fyufspbm uifbusj qbsbcmf uD uif jpufspbujDpbm eDnbj. Uifjs ufpefpdz uD jnqDtf b dfsubjP jpwjtjcmj dDmDpjbm tvckfdut Dp uif mfwfm Dg uifjs ufyt fjuiFs 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 ejtdvtte jp sfmbujDp uD Jpejb xbt iDxapatri 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 / f
:EKfÂ;QÂ>E:;fJ:LBG@ÂMHfGÂLA>ÂB=>:Âf?Â:Â JBLBKAÂ= / L Q
:G=Â?J>>=fF Â JfFÂLA>Â>B@AL>>GÂLO>GLB>KÂLfÂLA>Â / 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>ÂHÂJKfG: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>@>ÂEÂJ<LÂbBÂF /
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:JBKL'ÂN>JKBfGÂf?ÂLA> /

&:GQÂHJfHfG>GLKÂf?ÂLA>Â FHBj>Â=MJBG@ÂLA>ÂAB@AÂGf / f
f?Â?MJLA>JÂBFH>JB:EÂBGL>@J:LBfG ÂHJfFfLB@ÂbBBKÂ /
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?:FÂLQÂfÂf>ÂK:JBB;fÂKÂ>Â FHBj> ÂLAMKÂBG=B<:LE /
FBGfEf@QÂ FHBj>Â:G=Â MJfH>ÂA:=Â;><fF>ÂGfLÂfGEQÂ

-ABK ÂAfo>N>J ÂO:KÂ:GÂ>PLJ>F>Â>P:FHE>ÂfCÂ:ÂHLJÂB / A
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:KÂNBK;f /
f?Â MJfH>Â:G=ÂNBKbfgKÂf?ÂLA>Â FHBj>ÂKÂfME=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 j •

***'SBHNFOUFE 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
toposDg jnqfsjbm SDnf jp uif ejtdDvstf uibu dDptusvdufe Csjujti qDmjujdbm ef
qmDznfpu Dg uif ttpfs xjujip Csjujti mjcfjsbm ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqf.

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

TfdDpe, uif eqmDznfpu Dg uif SDnbp qbsbejhn bt b nfbpt Dg vpefstubpejph bpe efts
nDefsp xDsme dDvme mfbe uDxbset jpufsftujph 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 jpuft
rvbtj-hmDcbm btqfdut Dg uif mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxfpuijui-dfpuvsz xDsme, bt ju
uif qfp Dg uxD jnqDsubpu jpufmmfduvbm t xsjujph Dp uif nDefsp fnqsf bpe jut SDnf
uif ebxp Dg uif uxfpuijui dfpuvsz; uif ijtuDsibp bpe eqmDnbu bnft Cszdf (4929 4:
fdDpDnjtu bpe qsdnjpsfpu 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<:GL Â
+fF:GtÂ qDmjujdbm bpe njmjubsz, sfqsftfufe uif dDsf Dg uif sfqvcmjdbp jefbm.
uif qDmjujdbm xDsme Dg Bvhvtubp Csjujbp bdujwfmz qbsujdqbufe jp b usbejujDpbm
tjDp dDpdfspjph uif srfmbujDptijq Dg uif ~~peDsoqDmjujdbm~~ res
publica bpe uif SDimberium. Jp qbsujdvmb, uif uifnf Dg SDnbp sfqvcmjdbp dDssva
efdmjpf jpuD Fnqsf xbt gsfrvfpumz vtfe dsjujdbmmz jp Csjujti qDmjujdbm ejtdD
vqDp nDefsp Csjujti fyqfsjff.

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

OBLAÂ J>G<AÂHfE BLB<:EÂ>P<>KK>KÂ:G=ÂOBLAÂLA>ÂG> :L
 J>?>J>G<>KÂBGÂHfE BLB<:EÂ<fFF>GL:JQÂO>J>ÂKM;KLB&ML
 G:LBfG:EÂ&fK&fNQJ ÂLfÂLA>Â=>@J>>ÂLA:LÂLA>ÂJA>L f B<
 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=ÂHABfK
 ,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&fBmDhijt xjui uif Csjuti Fnqjsf cfdbnf efpfjs xjujip
 uif hfpfbsm mjufsbsz Dvuqvu, bt xfm m bt xjujip uif pbssDxfjs mjnjut Dg qDmjuidbm ejtdl
 jnqfsjbm btfsujwfpftt jpdsfbtfe evsjph uif mbtu rvbsufs Dg⁴ uif Dsdfpufsz uif tvqqDsufst
 Dg jtsbfmj t qDmjdz jp uif fjhiuffp tfwfpujft eje pDu nfsfmz dDnqbsf SDnf bpe Csjubjp
 qDxfst, cvu gsfrvpumz xfpv gvsuifs, vtjph uif SDnbp-Csjuti bpbmDhz uD bshvf uibu uif C
 uif SDnbp) ibe b HDe-hjwfp sjhiu uD svmf Dwfs Duifs pbujDpt. Uivt efgfpejph jtsbfmj
 qDmjdz bhbjptu HmbetuDpf t tdbuijph dsjudjtn, 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 qDqvrmi the talent committed to us.⁰⁰

Uijt dzpjdbm sfibcjmjubujDp Dg uif jnqfsjbm mfhbdz Dg SDnf xbt bmtD sfgmfdufe, bt
 ibt pDufe, jp b sfpfxfe jpufsftu tiDxp cDui cz qsDgfttjDpbm ijtuDsjbpt, mjlf . B. G
 cz uif qvcמיד bu mbshf, jp uif qfstDpbmjuz⁰² Dg fsib&fjvDuEbfbsqsjtjphmz, uif sftafdu
 uibu uif qsDnjpfpu ijtuDsjbp Dg fbsmz SDnbp ijtuDsz C. H. Ojfcvis fpkDzfe bnDphtu
 bdbefnjdt jp uif gjstu ibmg Dg⁰⁶ uif xbt pDuz tvqfsdfefe cz UifDeDs NDnntfp, xiD, jp
 ijt Römische Geschichte, ibe hmDsjgffe vmjvt Ebfbs bpe ibe usfbufe SDnf t usbtjujD
 sfqvcמיד uD fnqjsf jp b qDtjujw⁰⁷ nbppfs.

Bqafbmt uD uif SDnbp qbsbejhn eje pDu dDnf tDmfzmz gsDn rvbsufst gsjfpemz uD u
 bmtD bpe jp frvbm nfbtvsf gsDn jut efusbduDst, xiD dDpujpvfe uD qsDqfm uif usbejujD
 uibu uif bdrvtjujDp Dg Fnqjsf ibe cffp uif nbjp dbvtf Dg uif eDxpgbmm Dg SDnf. G
 dsjudj jph Csjuti jnqfsjbmjtu jefDmDhz bu uif uvsp Dg uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz, Dip
 dDpefnpfe uif vpdDnqsfifpejph xbz jp xijdi uif Csjuti jnqfsjbmjtu bmxbz tdbpt uif tuD
 Dg bpdjfpu SDnf , bpe fpufsfe vqDp bp fyufptjwf Dwfwjfx Dg SDnbp tDjbm bpe qD
 jp Dsefs uD fnqibtj f uif usvui uibu uif tafdjbm dbvtf Dg efdz jt kvtu fnqjsf . M
 cfgDs f ijn, SDcfsutDp jptjtufe Dp uif efnDsbmj bujDp Dg uif SDnbp bsjtuDdsbdz evf
 csfe cz fydfjtjwf tvddfjt jp gDsfjhp dDprvftut Dp uif dDssvqujDp Dg uif cDez qDmjuid
 eftusvdujDp Dg uif dmbtt Dg tnbmm bhsjdvmvsjtut bpe Dp uif bevufsbujDp Dg uif
 tDdjfuz uisDvhi uif fydfjtjwf jnqDsubujDp Dg⁰⁷ tmbwft.

Jssftafdujwf Dg uif qDtjujwf Ds pfhbujwf sifuDsjdbm gvpujDpt ju dDvme cf nbef uD gv
 sfqfsuDsjsf, mjpljph SDnf bpe Csjubjp uDhfuijs Dp uif cbtjt Dg uifjs dDnnDp jnqfsjbm
 xbt uif qsDevdu Dg b qbsumz usbejujDpbm bpe qbsumz pDwfm dmbttj dj jph tus

LA:LÂLA>ÂGndfufmz bpe bpe Dhz cfuxffp Csjubjp bpe SDnf xbt dDptusvfe Dp uif Dg dfsubjp Dtufptjcmz dDnnDp tDdjDmDhjdmb, qDmjujdbm Ds dvmuvsbm dibsbdufsjtuj gDs uif dDnqbsjtDpt uD xDsl, ibe uD cf dDnqmufmz ef-dDpufyubmj fe gsDn uif nv ijtuDsjsdbm ufnqDsbmjujft xjujij xijdi uifz xfsf Dsjhjpbmmz jptdsjcf. Ju xbt b ijhimz qsdDfsvf, sfbebqujph b dfpuvsjft-Dme wDdbcvmbz, tD bt uD gbdjrmjubuf uif sftusvdu pbujDpbm jefpujuz jp bp vpsqdfefpufe jnqfsjbmjtu bhf.

43PNF BOE &VSPQF JO -JCFSBM 1SPQBHBOEB BOE

"GÂLA>Â<fGL>PLÂf?Â JBLBKAÂ=BK<fMJK>ÂfGÂ MJfH>Â :G=Â>KH><B:EEQÂBLKÂF:BGKlj>:FÂEB;>J:EÂKLJ:G=KÂf?Â :GÂ:EL>JG:LBN>ÂBFH>JB:EÂJ>H>JLfBJ>Âf?Â:GfLA>JÂ+fF fJB@BGÂœÂ:KÂO>EEÂ:KÂLA>ÂHfEBlB<:EÂ:G=ÂABKLfJB< BGÂGBG>L>>GLA <>GLMJQÂ JBL:BG Â;MLÂ:EKfÂBGÂLA> BGÂ@>G>J:E ÂGfLBfGKÂf?Â fGLBG>GL:EiÂfJÂ MJfH>: LAJfM@AÂF>=B>N:EÂJ>BG lmpdth> lpd. BfDgkÂ fufSvbi uif sftuf. GÂ nfpu Dg nfejwbm pDujDpt Dg Fnqjsf uibu ibe ublfq qmbdf bdsDtt FvsDqf tjpdf uif Jp qbsujdvmbz, bddDsejph uD tdiDmbst efbmjph xjui fbsmz nDefsp qDmjujdbm uifDs, efcbuf uibu qsfDddvqife ftufsp kvsjtut bpe qijmDtDqifst jp uif fbsmz nDefsp qfsjDe, uif efcbuf Dp vpjwstbm nDpbsdiz , Dp efgfptjwf bpe Dggfptjwf gfevsbujDpt, dDpgfef nDpbsdijdbm vpjDpt, Ds uif efcbuf Dp jpufspbujDpbm mbx, ibe uifjs sDDu jp uif usbe dDpdfspjph uif mfhujnbdz Dg vpjwstbm Fnqjsf bpe uif mfhbdjft Dg SDnf.

Ju nbz cf bp Dwfstubufnfpu uD dmbjn uibu uiftf usbejuiDpbm efcbuf xfsf tujmm c pjpfuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjubjp, Ds uibu uifz ejsfdumz jpgmvpdfe uif dDpufnqDsbsz ejtdDvst nDefsp FvsDqfbp gbnjnz Dg pbujDpt . fu, uiftf pDujDpt fpkDzfe b tjhpjgdbpu bgu Dg qDqvmbz tzncDmjtn, bt xfrm bt jp uif dDpufyu Dg ijtuDsJhsbqiz.

Uif nDtu qsdNjpfpu bpe qfstjufpu mfhbdjft Dg uijt usbejuiDpbm ejtdvtjDp Dp Fnqjsf x Dpf ibpe, uif jefb uibu bpz fyqbtjwf FvsDqfbp eftqDujtn xDvme qDt f tfsjDvt u mjcsujft Dg uif pbujDpt Dg FvsDqf , bpe Dp uif Duijs, uif pDujDp uibu uif Dpmz FvsDqfbp qbfdf xbt uif qsfjswbujDp Ds, bu mfbtu, uif eqmDnbujd bpe qDmjujdbm Dg tDnf tDsu Dg cbmbpdf Dg qDxfz bnDphtu uif nbkD⁹ GsdqfhpDujDujDp t ibe b wfsz tjhpjgdbpu jnqbd Dp pjpfuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjujti ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqfbp qDn

vsjph uif ObqDmfDpj d bst, uif uisfbu Dg Fnqjsf ibe cffp jefpujgife xjui ObqDmfD njmjubsjtn. ftajuf jut DcwjDvt nDefspjuz, ObqDmfDpj Gsbpdf xbt gsfrvfpumz wjfxe bu b sfhsfttjwf bpe eftusvdujwf gDsdf, uisfbufpjph uif nDefsp wbmvt Dg mjcsuz bpe pbuj FvsDqf.^{0:} Bgufs uif ObqDmfDpj d bst, mjcsbm DajpjDp hsbevmmz cfdbnf gDdvtfe Dp bpe dDpwpfjfpu fpfnjft; uif sfnbjph nvmuj-pbujDpbm FvsDqfbp Fnqjsft, bpe ftqfjbmz xijdi dbnf uD cf wjfxe bt uif uzqjdbm nDefsp sfjpdspbujDp Dg uif usbejuiDpbm jnq

Jp svp-Dg-uif-njmm nje-pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz qDqvmbz qsdqbhbpeb xijdi fpwjtdpfe d tusvhmft Dg pbujDpbm bpe mjcsbm FvsDqf bhbjtu uif eftqDujd EDpufjpubm

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f J Â > P : F H E> Â : J E Â + > L K E : @ Â : Â > J F : G Â H f EBLB<:EÂJ>?
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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

Bpe zfu, jp uif fzft Dg b pvnchs Dg pjpfuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjujti ijtuDsjbpt, jpufstufte bt
jp uif fyqmDsbujDp Dg b tibsfe FvsDqfbp qbtu bt jp dDpufnqDsbsz FvsDqfbp efwfmDqf
tjnmjitud cjbpsz jefpuijgdbujDp Dg Fnqjsf xjui uif qbtu bpe Dg pbujDpbm mjcsf
eje pDu befrvbufmz eftdsjcf uif fnfshpdf Dg FvsDqfbp nDefspjuz. GDS fybnqmf, uif ijtuL
bpe fevdubujDpbmjtU UiDnbt BspDme (48:3 4960) wijxfex uif tuvez Dg SDnbp mfhbdjft
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Dg FvsDqfbp ijtuDsz bt b xiDmf.

BspDme t Dxp dDpusjcvujDp uD uif efwfmDqnfpu Dg sfmfwbpu ijtuDsjDhsbqiz xbt Dp
nbujd, bt eftajuf ijt jpujDp uD xsjuf b ijtuDsz Dg SDnf vq uD uif dsDxpjph Dg
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ejbmfdujd cfuxffp SDnbp bpe pbujDpbm fmfnfput xjujip uif ijtuDsz Dg FvsDqf.

Gsffnbp t nDtu dibsbdufsjtuid xDsl jp sftafdu uD uif qsDnDujDp Dg uif dfpusbmjuz
FvsDqfbp ijtuDsz xbt b tfsjft Dg mfduvsft efmjwfsfe bu PygDse jp uif tqsjph Dg 4993
tvctfrvpumz qvcmtjife uif gDmmDxjph zfbs vpefs ~~Tha~~ Chuj Period of European His-
tory.²⁰ ftajuf jut sbuifs tdifnbujd pbuvsf, uijt xDsl sfgmfudut xjui hsfbu dmbsjuz uif bvui
Dp uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxffp bpujrvjuz, uif Njeemf Bhft bpe nDefspjuz.

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nbp svmf (b qfsjDe if jefpuijgfe xjui uif bpdjfpu Hsffl xDsme), uif qfsjDe evsjph xijdi S
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tfqbsbujph nDefspjuz qsDqfs gsDn jut jnnfejubf ijtuDsjdbm qbtu, xbt tjhpjgdbpumz tib

Uijt qsDkfdufe tfptf Dg bp bcsvqu ejtsvqujDp xjui uif sfdfpu qbtu bmmDxfe Gsffnbp
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xDsme. Jp qbsujdvmb, if dmbjnfe uibu uif nDefsp pbujDp-tubuft xfsf jp b tjnjmbs q
djuz tubuft Dg mbuf Hsffl bpujrvjuz, bt tjnjmbsmz, uifz cfmDphfe uD b xDsme xjujDvu
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" F : @ B G B G @ Â L A > Â E f ; : E i •

f J = B G : L > Â : G = Â L f Â K Q K L > F : L B R > Â = B K H : J : L > Â B G L > J K L : L > Â
G > > = > = Â L f Â < J > : L > Â B G K L B L M L B f G K Â f ? Â B G L > J G : L B f G : E Â
F > = B : L B G @ Â : G = Â K M H > J B G L > G = B G @ Â J f E > Â L A : L Â + f F > Â A : :

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
P G U I F 3 P N B O - F H B D Z

- A B K Â D B G = Â f ? Â : J @ M F > G L Â B K Â K L J f G @ E Q Â J > F B G B K < > G L Â
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
J B : G Â : G = Â = B H E f F : L Â # : F > K Â J ~~The Holy Roman Empire~~ g S O A f u Â D p u f L
d D n q f u j u j D p j p 4976.

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jefb bpe Dg uif jptjuvujDp Dg Fnqjsf uisDvhi uif mDph dpuvsjft Dg FvsDqfbp ijtu

lfsf Fnqjsf eje pDu tjhpjgz b dpusbmj fe bpe bctDmvujtu gDsn Dg hDwfsprfpu, cvu
tztufn Dg sfmbujDptijqt ftubcmjtife cfuxffp b tvqsnf bvuiDsjuz, gDvpejph jut mfhujnbdz
uif SDnbp usbejijDp bpe uif Eisjtujbp Eivsd, bpe b iDtu Dg Duifs, qbsujdvmbms l
cDvpe djwjm bvuiDsjujft. BddDsejph uD Cszdf, uif Fnqjsf jutfmg xbt pDu efgjpf j p
ju xbt qsnbsjmz bp jefb. GvsuifsnDsf, gsDn uif nDnfp uibu uif dpuvsf Dg uif
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 sfmjprvtijph jut ufssjuDsjbm dibsbdufs, uif Fnqjsf ibe cfdDnf uif fncmfDn Dg b
djwjm fdvnpf , xijdi, Dsjhjbmmz bu mfbtu, ejsfdumz dDssftqDpefe uD uif sfbmn

Gvsuifs Dp, xsjujph bcDvu uif gDvsuffpui bpe gjguffpui dpuvsjft, Cszdf eftdsjcf eDX
tubhf, uif Fnqjsf bttvnfe uif nbpumf Dg uif tvqsnf kvehf Dg nbplje bpe dbnf uD
bt uif tvqsnf qsDufduDs Dg vpjwfstbm tqsjvubm vpjuz bpe qfbd. Bu uijt eDjpu, Csz
mfm cfuxffp uijt jnqfsjbm qfstDpb bpe uif nDsf sfdfpu buufnqut Dg ivnbplje uD
tztufn Dg jpufspbuDpbn²⁷ mbx.

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cfuufs tvjufe uif Gsfpd, uif SDnbpt Dg uif nDefsp xDsme , uibp uif UfvuDpt. U
uifDsz Dg Fnqjsf, Dp uif Duifs ibpe, xbt nvidi mftt bctDmvujtu uibp uif SDnbp-Gsfpd.
Ju xbt b eftqDujtn pDu Dg uif txDse cvu Dg uif mbx b eftqDujtn xijdi
nvpjdjqbm gsffeDn, bpe fwszxisf eje jut cftu gDs mfbspjph, gDs sfmj²⁹ijDp, gDs jpu

-AMKÂ JQ<>Â;MBELÂBGÂLABKÂO f JDÂ:GÂBFH>JB:EÂBF:© ÂL
LBfGKÂ LJ:=BLBfG:E;Â FHBj>Â<:JJB>=ÂBGÂLA>Â<fGL> Â
MJfH>:GÂ FHBj> ÂBGÂABKÂ:G:EQKBK ÂO:KÂGfLÂEBGD> ÂC
LfO:J=KÂEf<:EÂ=>Ff<J:<Q ÂLA>Â?>=>J:EÂB=>:EÂ:G=Â> Â J
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"LÂBKÂBGL>J>KLBG@ÂLfÂGfL>ÂLA:LÂBGÂfJ=>JÂLfÂ:<AB>
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LBfGÂ;>LO>>GÂ %:LBGK;Â:G=Â >JF:GK;ÂBGÂfJ=>JÂLfÂCM
N>JKBfGKÂf?ÂBFH>JB:EÂLA>fJQ Â-ABKÂO:KÂ:ÂHfHME:JÂE
ž=>KHfLB<ÿÂ J>G<AÂ:G= Âž%:LBGÿÂH>fHE>KÂO>J>ÂHBL
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:LMJBLQÂf?ÂLA>ÂAMF:GÂKHBjBLÂ=

-MJGBG@ÂLfÂ JQ<>;KÂMG=>JKL:G=BG@Âf?ÂLA>ÂGfLBfGÂJ
<:J>>JÂA>ÂOJfL>Â:GfLA>J Â;MLÂKAfJL>JÂ:G=Â;>LL>J DGfC

*The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India, Dsjhpbmmz qvcmtife jStudia 46 jp
in History and Jurisprudence, uif gjstu wDmvnf Dg bp fejujDp⁶⁴ Dgfs,ijt Cszdf. beDqufe
b dDnqmufufmz ejggsfpu tusbufhz gDs efbmjph xjui uif jnqfsjbm mfhbdjft Dg uif dmbt
uif Dpf eqmDzfe jp ijt fbsmjfs ijtuDsz Dg uif IDmz SDnbp Fnqjsf.*

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Fnqjsft; uifz xfsf tjnjmbs jp uibu uifz xfsf cDui cbtfe Dp njmjubsz dDprvftu bpe dDptf
sfubjpfef uifjs njmjubsz dibsbdufs uibu cDui uif Csjujti bpe uif SDnbpt qsfqfssfe- uD svmf j
qDujd nbppfs, cvu qsfqfswfe b ijhi qvcmjD tajsju, jnqDtfe mbx bpe Dsefs bþe jdbgfhvbsese
uibu cDmperia gbdjmbufefe dDnnvpjdbujDpt bpe qSDnDufe uif iDnDhfpj bujDp Dg uif tvDsejph
qDqvm bujDpt uisDvhi xDslt Dg jpgsbtsvEDesftqDpejphmz, bddDsejph uD ijt bpbmztjt, uif ux
Fnqjsft xfsf ejggsfpu jp uibu uif SDnbp nfusDqDmjti ibe tvcnfshfe bpe fggbdfe jutfrmj xju
Fnqjsf, xijmf jp uif dbtf Dg uifpESujti dDnqmufuf tDajbm btjnjmbujDp cfuxffp uif dDmDpjut
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Dg uif fbsmjfs xDsl efsjwfe qsfjtfmz gsDn uif nbtufsmz xbz jp xijdi uif bvuiDs pfh
tmjqqbhf Dg jnqfsjbm tjhpjgdbujDp uisDvhi ijtuDsjdbm ujn, ifsf uifsf xbt ibsemz bpz d
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btftfnfpu Dg uif Csjujti Fnqjsf jp ijt mbufs usfbujtf, ju xDvme baqfbs uibu uif Csjujti,
sjbmjtut Dg uif SDnbp uzaf, ibe qfswfsufe uif qSDqfs njttjDp Dg uifjs UfvuDpid

fu, gDdvtjph Dp uijt baqbsfpu jpdDphsvpdf jt cfzDpe uif qDjpu. ibu vmujnbufmz kvtuj
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Dg CsjuDpt bpe SDnbpt, cvu sbuifs uif dDpufnqDsbsz dDpujphfudz xjujij xijdi uif ijtu
dDnqbsjtDp xbt vpefsublf; uibu jt, uif dDpejujDp Dg xDsme bggbjst bu uif ebxp Dg



<> G L M J Q Â : K Â L A > Q Â : H H > : J > = Â B G Â L A > Â > Q > K Â f ? Â L A > Â : M L
O > Â < : G Â K > G K > Â J Q <> ; K Â > P H > < L : L B f G Â < f G <> J G B G @ Â L A >

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

sDhsfttjwf nbuvsjbm bpe jpufrmmfduvbm vpjgDsnjuz vpefs uif bvtajdft Dg b dDnnDp dvm
ujDp Dg dmvuvsbm qbsujdvmsujjft bpe mDdbm usbejujDpt, dmDtf qDmjuidbm bpe dD
uisDvhiDvu uif xDsme, vpjuz gDtufsfz cz uif hsDxui Dg dDnnpjdbujDpt bpe uif- bewbpdft
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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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