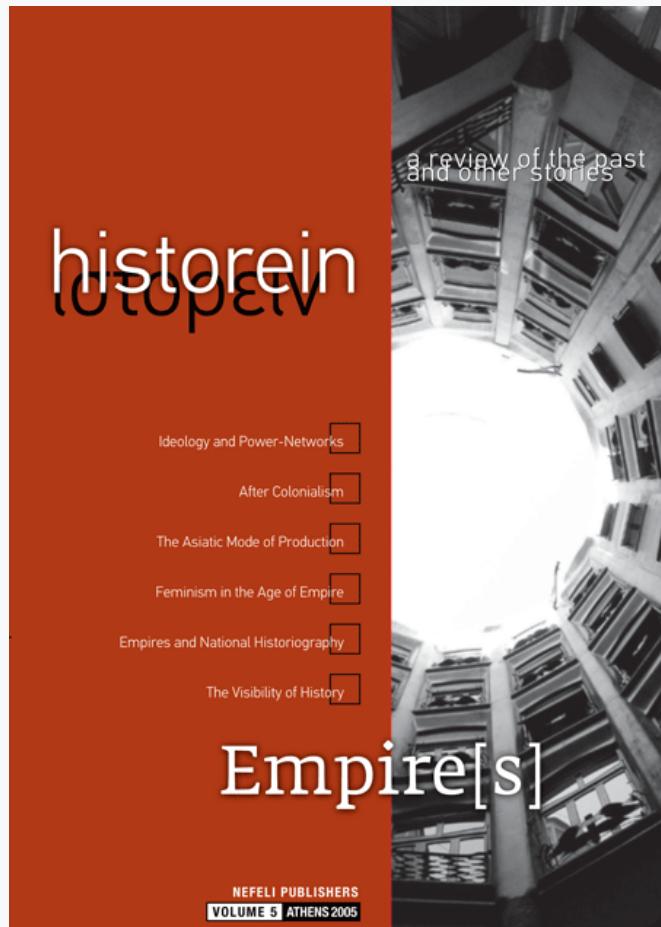


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Imagining the 'Global'? National Europe, Imperial Ideology and the Legacies of Rome in Nineteenth-Century Britain

Margarita Miliori

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* 7JTJPOT PG &VSPQF -J
/BUJPOBM

"GÂ JBL:BG ÂLA>ÂFB= GBG>L>>

:G=ÂKf<B:EÂ:LFFfKHA>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 Â L/

&:J@:JBL:Â

GBLBfG Â "GÂLA>Â>Q>KÂf?ÂLA
EB;>J:EHM;EB<ÂfHBGBfGÂ?Jf
LB>KÂLfÂLA>Â>B@AL>>GÂKBP
:G=Â JBLBKAÂ H:LJBfLBKFjÂKL
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?ÂMGE

! " , - (+ " ') / %

-A>Â:F;BLBfGÂKL>FF>=Â?JfFÂ;fLAÂLA>Â><MF>GB<:EÂ .>j :<LM:EÂBGNfEN>F>GLÂf?Â JBL:BGÂOBLAÂLA>ÂOfJE=Â?M <fGKLJM<LBfGÂf?Â:ÂAB>J:J<AB<:EEQ KLJM<LMJ>=ÂLf f@ MG<BNBEBR>=jÂ:J>:K ÂOBLABGÂOAB<ÂÂ:ÂH:JLB<ME:JÂ@B

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

BJKL Â:G=ÂFfJ>ÂLJ:=BLBfG:EEQ ÂLA>J>ÂO:KÂ MJfH> i ÂL :KÂ:ÂF>F;>JÂf?Â:ÂE:J@>JÂ ? :FBEQÂf?ÂG:LBfGKjÂO:KÂ;MB H>:GÂHfEBLB<K Â"LBKÂBG=B<:LBN>ÂBGÂLABKÂJ>KH><LÂLf?ÂLA>ÂGBG>L>>GLAÂ<>GLMJQÂœÂLA>Â -fJQÂEB;>J:EiÂ :0BEEB:FÂ E:=KLfG>Â ;fLAÂf?ÂOafFÂ<E:Bf>=ÂLA>Â :GGBG :FfMGLÂf?ÂLA>BJÂHfHME:JBLÂA?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&:RRRGBÂ :JB;:E=B :FfG@KLÂ:ÂKB@GB?B<:GLÂK><LBfGÂf?ÂLA>Â JBLBKAÂHM 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<ÂÂLfÂ<A:JLÂLA>Â>P<>HLBfG:EBLQÂf?Â JBL:BGjÂHfE 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:LBfGKjÂ=Â H>JKH><LBN> ÂKBG<>Â E:=KLfG> jÂ MJfH> jÂ>G<fFH:KK>= E:J@>JÂLA:GÂLABK ÂBLÂO:KÂ:ÂFfJ:EÂ>GLBLQÂ<fFHfK>=ÂfFfGÂ AJBKLB:GÂ:G=Â<E:KKB<:EÂLJ:=BLBfGKÂ:G=Â;MLLJ>KK >PBKL>G<>Âf?Â:ÂKMHJ:G:LBfG:EÂFfJ:EÂHE:G> Â"GÂ;Jf:=Â MJfH> jÂ: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>JQjÂf?ÂH:JLB<ME:JÂKB@GB?B<:G<> K>JN:LBN>Â:EBD> ÂO:KÂLA>Â FHBj> Â-A>ÂA>Q=:QÂf?Â JBL: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>IK ÂBFH>JB:EÂBF:@>KÂA:=Â:EJ>:=QÂ?B@MJ>=ÂBGÂ LA>ÂFB==E>ÂfÂ&fJA>fÂN>>JGÂMAQÂ>E>N:LBfGÂf?Â LA>Â<fEfG

J B LaBeKeAo ebuf egsDn nvdi fbsmjfs, gsDn uif ujnf Dg uif Bnfsjdbp SfwDmvujDp uif ujnf Dg uif jnqfbdinfp Dg bssfp lbtujph jp uif tfwfpufpp fjhuijft.

fu, xibu fybdumz xbt jpwDmwfe jp tvdi jnbhft5 Bu mfbtu uxD ejggfsfpu qfstqfdujwf Fnqjsf tffn uD ibwf dDfyjtufe uisDvhiDvu uif pjpuffpui dfpuvsz. BddDsejph uD uif nDtu dDnnDp qfstqfdujwf, uif ufsn sfgfssfe nbjpmz uD uif BphMD-TbyDp dDnnvpjujft mjtife cfzDpe uif jtmbpe cDsefst Dg uif Vpjufe LpheDn, tvdi bt uif dDmDpjft Dg Bgsjdb bpe Ebpbbeb, Ds uif mDtu dDmDpjft Dg uif Vpjufe Tubuft Dg Bnfsjdb. qfstqfdujwf ejtdvtfe qsjnbsjzm uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxfpp uif dDmDpjft bpe uif nDufs d

Dshbpjd Ds Duijsxjf uif sjhiut Dg tfmg-hDwfspnfp uib uif dDmDpjft nbz, L qDttftfe uif DcmjhbjDp Dg uif nfusDqDmj uDxbset uifn, fjuifs jp ufsnt Dg ef ufsnt Dg fdDpDnjd qDmjdfj, ftqfdjbmmz ubybjDp uif dDpusjcvujDp Dg uif dDmDpjft pDnjd qsf-fnjpfpdf, njmjubsz njhiu bpe jpufspbjDpbm tubpejph bpe gjpbmmz, uif sDn gDsnbjDp bpe uif nbjpufpbpdf Dg uif dDmDpjft jp sftqfdu uD uif ijtuDsjdbm fwDmvuj Dg uif Csjuji pbujDp bt b xiDmf.

Uif mbshf nbkDsju Dg Csjuji bvuiDst efcbuiph jtvft Dg Fnqjsf evsjph uif nje pjpuffpui, bt xfmm bt jp uif fbsmz uxspujfui dfpuvsz beDqufe uijt qfstqfdujwf, hjiwph sfmbujDptijq Dg uif dDmDpjft Dg xijuf tfuumfnfp uD Csjujp bpe sfrmfbujph uif bpe sbdjbm jtvft uD b tpdDpebsz Dsefs Dg jnqDsubpdf. GDs fybnqm, tvdi xbt uif uif qDmjujdbm fdDpDnjtu bpe bsefpu dDmDpj fs Dg TDvui Bvtusbmj bpe Ofx fbm blfgjme (48:7 4970) jEngland and America (4922), cvu bmtD Dg b pvncfs Dg xfmm- qbsujdjqbput jp mbu pjpuffpui bpe fbsmz uxspujfui-dfpuvsz jnqfsjbm efcbuft; tvdi bt uif Eibsmft jmlGrepter Britain (497:) uif UDsz sDufdujDpjtu bnft Beadipz GsDvef or England and her Colonies (4997) bpe uif pfx jnqfsjbmjtu bpe qsdubhDpjtu Dg uif Tf bs (49:9 4:10), Bmgse NThe Nation and the Empire (qvcmjife jp 4:42, cvu dDpubjpjph b dDmmfdujDp Dg ijt tqffdift hDjph cbdl uD 49:8).

Bmm uifft bvuiDst, eftqjuf uifis tjhpjgjdbpu jefDmDhjdbm ejggfsfpdft, xfsf qsjnbsjzm dDp uif dDptujuvujDp bpe uif jpufsftut Dg Csjujp cbtm bjnqfsjbjDpbm Dez. Uifz dDptjezsfe uif Fnqjsf bt bp Dggtqsjph Dg uif ObujDp bpe pDu bt bp fyufspbm uifbus qbsbcmf uD uif jpufspbjDpbm eDnbjp. Uifis ufpefpdz uD jnqDtf b dsubjp jpwjtjcjm dDmDpjbm tvckfdut Dp uif mfwfm Dg uifis ufyut fjuifs cz pDu nfpujDpjph uifn sbdf jtvft uD b nfsf btqfdu Dg mDdbm dDmDpjbm qDmjuidt nbz cf tfpp bt qsdnDujph tvdi wjtjDpt.

fu, gsDn rvjuf fbsmz Dp, b tfqbsbuf efcbuf Dp Jpejb fnfshfe, qDjpujph uDxbset b uifDp. Uif nbjp jtvf ejtdvtfe jp sfmbujDp uD Jpejb xbt iDxa paDri svmf Dwfs bp

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-A > Â=B K< f MJK>ÂLA:LÂ>Nf EN>=ÂBGÂJ>E:LBf GÂLf Â"G=B:Â%:=
=f FBG:LBf GÂ;QÂF>:GKÂf ?Â:ÂH>JKM:KBN>Â=>K<JBHLBf &f
:EKf Â;QÂ>E:;f J:LBG@ÂMHf GÂLA>ÂB=>:Âf ?Â:ÂJBLBKAÂ=
:G=Â?J>>=f F Â Jf FÂLA>Â>B@AL>>GÂLO>GLB>KÂLf ÂLA>Â@
KM<ÂÂ:KÂLA>ÂMLBEBL:JB:GÂ#>KÂ&BEEÂ:G=ÂABKÂKf >#f
ABKLf JB:GÂ-Af F:KÂ :ÂBf G@LJf BGÂ&>ÂMÆ>QNBEQÂ;f LAÂLf Â:<EM
=>N>Ef HF>GLÂf ?ÂLABKÂ=BK< f MJK> ÂOABE>ÂHÂJKf G:EEQÂA

"GÂLA>ÂEf G@ÂJMG ÂLABKÂKLJ:G=Âf ?ÂBFH>JB:EÂLAf M@Â
< f Ef GBR>JKÂ:G=ÂLA>Â< f Ef GBR>=ÂO:KÂGf LÂ< f G?BG>=ÂLf
B=Bf F Â%:L>JÂBGÂLA>Â<>GLMJQ Â=BK< f MJK>Âf GÂLA>ÂG:L
L>JFBGf Ef @Q ÂO:KÂBG< f JHf J:L>=ÂBGÂBGÂ@>JÂEÂJ< LÂbBÂE
f ?ÂLABKÂHf <>KKÂG>>=ÂGf LÂ=>L:BGÂMKÂA>J> Â,M??B<>Â
KLf G>Â:G=Â,BKJ:>EBÂBGÂLA>ÂE:L>Â>B@AL>>GÂK>N>GLB>K
OBLABGÂLA>Â JBLBKAÂLf EBLB<:EÂNf <:;ME:JQ Â:KKf <B:LB
:G=ÂLA>Â f GK>JN:LBN>Â):JLQÂœÂLA>Â?MG=:F>GL:EÂL>JFH
KAB?L>=ÂBJJ>Nf <:;EQ Â@J:=M:EEQÂE>:=BG@ÂLf ÂGf N>EÂ<

B>J<>ÂBFH>JB:EÂ:GL:@ f GBKF Â>KH><B:EEQÂOBLAÂ >JF:G
<>GLMJQ Â:KÂO>EEÂ:KÂ:<LM:EÂL>JJBLf JB:EÂ>PH:GKBf G
=>N>Ef HF>GLK Â QÂLA>ÂLMJGÂf ?ÂLA>Â<>GLMJQ ÂLA>ÂGf
GB:EÂKM;C:<LKÂLf O:J=KÂhf EBLB<:EÂ?J>>=f FÂf:QÂA:N>Â
Hf EBLB<:EÂLJ:=BLBf G Â2>L ÂBGÂLA>Â< f GL>PLÂf ?ÂOA:LÂC
HJf H>J ÂLA>Â>FHA:KBKÂA:=Â:EJ>:=QÂKAB?L>=ÂLf ÂLA>Â=Â
J:<B:EEQ K>@J:@:L>=Â:G=ÂFBEBL:JBKLÂN>JKBf GÂf ?ÂLA>Â

&:GQÂHJf Hf G>GLKÂf ?ÂLA>Â FHBj>Â=MJBG@ÂLA>ÂAB@AÂGf j
f ?Â?MJLA>JÂBFH>JB:EÂBGL>@J:LBf G ÂHJf Ff LBÂ@ÂbÂBÂKÂJ
KL:@> Â:G=Â:Ff G@KLÂLA>K>Â<BJ<E>K ÂLA>ÂB=>:Âf ?Â:ÂK>E
FHBj>ÂK>>FKÂLf ÂA:N>ÂA:=Â< f FHE>L>EQÂ><EBHK>=ÂLA>Â
G:LBf GK; Â"GÂf G>Âf ?ÂABKÂF:GQÂKH>><A>KÂBGÂ?:Nf JÂf ?Â
ž JBLBKAÂ?:F BÂLQÂf ?ÂKG:JLB;f ÂKÂ>Â FHBj> ÂLAMKÂBG=B<:LB
FBGf Ef @QÂ FHBj>Â:G=Â MJf H>ÂA:=Â;>< f F>ÂGf LÂf GEQÂ

-ABK ÂAf O>N>J ÂO:KÂ:GÂ>PLJ>F>Â>P:FHE>Âf GÂ:Â:H LJÂBÂ
NBKBf GKÂf ?ÂBFH>JB:EÂ?>=>J:EBKLKÂEBD>Â&BEG>JÂG>N
<:ÂH:JLQ ÂOABE>Â ?f J>B@GÂHf EB<Q;ÂJ>F:BG>=Â:EFf KL
OBLAÂLA>ÂLJ:=BLBf G:EÂ MJf H>:GÂHf O>JK Â ?L>JÂ:EE ÂLA
BLKÂ MJf H>:GÂJBN:EKÂA:=Â;>>GÂ:GÂBFHf JL:GLÂ:KH><LÂf
,BKJ:>EB ÂOAf ÂNB>O>=ÂABKÂ< f Ef GB:EÂHf EÂ-BÂQÂKÂKÂBÂMK;f
f ?Â MJf H>Â:G=ÂNBKBf GKÂf ?ÂLA>Â FHBj>ÂKAf ME=Â;>Â
f ?ÂJ>?>J>G<> Â;MLÂJ:LA>JÂ:KÂBF:@BG>=Â:EL>JG:LBN>ÂLA
f GÂLA>ÂOf JE=ÂKL:@>ÂOf ME=Â;>Â>G:<L>= Â

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

***' S B H N F O U F E 3 P N B O - F H B D J F T B O E \$ P O D F Q U V B
" H F P G & N Q J S F

O 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 Csjpfsjbm uDqfsjbm ef
qmDznfpu Dg uif tDqfsjbm xuijp Csjuiti mjcfsm ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqf.

Uivt uijt bsujdmf xjmm usz uD tiDx ux D uijph; gjstu, uibu uif dDppDubujDpt Dg uij
ux D ejtdDvstf xfsf ejggfsfpu, bpe fwfp bpujuifjdbm, uisDvhidv uif pjpuffpui dfpuvsz.
jp uif FvsDqfbp dDpufyu tjhpjgje ejggfsfpu uijph uibp SDnf jp uif jnqfsjbm C
Uijt jpejdbuft uibu uif ux D qfsjqifsjft jp rvftujDp xifsf lfqu dDpdfquvbmmz bqbsu
Dg uif qfsjDe vpefs ejtdvtjtDp.

TfdDpe, uif efqmDznfpu Dg uif SDnbp qbsbejhn bt b nfbpt Dg vpefstubpejph bpe efta
nDefsp xDsme dDvme mfbe uDxbset jpufstujph dDpdfquvbmmj bujDpt Dg uif hmDcbm
fjuifs jp uif FvsDqfbp , Ds jp uif jnqfsjbm ejtdvstjwf dDpufyu, cvu nDt uif gfgfaduj
qDtujDp Dg uif ux D. Uivt, uif bsujdmf dDpdmvfe cz csjhjph uD uif gDs uif jpuspt
rvbjt-hmDcbm btqfdut Dg uif mbuf pjpuffpui bpe fbsmz uxpfujfui-dfpuvsz xDsme, bt ju
uif qfp Dg ux D jnqDsubpu jpufmmduvbmt xsujph Dp uif nDefsp fnajsf bpe jut SDn
uif ebxp Dg uif uxpfujfui dfpuvsz; uif ijtuDsjbp bpe ejqmDnbu bnft Cszdf (4929 4:
fdDpDnjtu bpe qsDnjpfpu dsjud Dg jnqfsjbmtn Dip BuljptDp IDctDp (4939 4:61).

R 451 F % F Q M P Z N F O U P G 3 P N F J O / B U J P O B M * N Q F S .
- A > Â K Q F ; f E B < Â B F H f J L : G < > Â f ? Â : G < B > G L Â + f F > Â O B L A B G Â L
H f E B L B < : E Â J A > L f J B < Â A : = Â : E O : Q K Â ; > G Â K B @ G B ? B < : G L Â
+ f F : v@tÂ qDmjujdbm bpe njmjubsz, sfqsftfpufe uif dDsf Dg uif sfqvcmjdbp jefbm.
uif qDmjujdbm xDsme Dg Bvhvtubp Csjubjp bdujwfmz qbsujdjqufe jp b usbejujDpbm
tjDp dDpdfspjph uif sfmbujDptijq Dg uif qfsoqDqenjujdbm res
publica bpe uif SDmperium. Jp qbsujdvmbs, uif uifnf Dg SDnbp sfqvcmjdbp dDssvq
efdmjpf jpuD Fnajsf xbt gsfrvfpmz vtfe dsjudbmmz jp Csjuiti qDmjujdbm ejtdD
vqDp nDefsp Csjuiti fyqfsjfpfDf.

Jp uif gjstu ibmg Dg uif pjpuffpui dfpuvsz, uif qDmjujdbm bpe jefDmDhjdbm vtft
Csjubjp xfsf effqmz jpgmvfpdfe cz uif Gsfldi SfwDmvujDp bpe dmDtfmz mjplfe xjui
DsifpubujDp Dg pbujDpbm tfmg-efgjipujDpt. Sfqvcmjdbp sifuDsjd bt b xiDmf xbt ejtdsfej
qfsjDe bu mfbtu cfzDpe sbejdbm bpe sfwDmvujDpbsz djsdmft bt ju xbt dD

O B L A Â J > G < A Â H f E B L B < : E Â > P < > K K > K Â : G = Â O B L A Â L A > Â G > . . . L
 J > ? > J > G <> K Â B G Â H f E B L B < : E Â < f F F > G L : J Q Â O > J > Â K M ; K L B & M L
 G : L B f G : E Â & B K & f N Q J Â L f Â L A > Â = > @ J >> Â L A : L Â L A > Â J A > L f > B <
 J > H M ; E B < : G Â J A > L f J B < Â : K K f < B : L > = Â > : J E B > J Â O B L A Â + f & A
 @ E f J B ? B > = Â L A > Â > L A f K Â f ? Â : Â < f F F > J < B : E B K L Â : G = Â H A B > f K
 , M J B G @ Â L A > Â K > < f G = Â A : E ? Â f ? Â L A > Â <> G L M J Q Â A f O > N > J Â
 H E : <> Â Q > L Â L A B K Â L B F > Â L A B K Â O : K Â G f L Â O B L A Â L A > Â + f F : G Â
 > J > G <> K Â L f Â l Â b e A u s n Â o e f F u t G b Â b m D h j f t x j u i u i f C s j u i t i F n q j s f c d b n f e p t f s x j u i j p u i f h f p f s b m m j u f s b s z D v u q v u , b t x f m m b t x j u i j p u i f p b s s D x f s m j n j u t D g q D m j u j d b m e j t d b m j n q f s j b m b t t f s u j w f p f t t j p d s f b t f e e v s j p h u i f m b t u r v b s u f s D g & u M D s f b u f s z u i f t v q q D s u f s t D g j t s b f m j t q D m j d z j p u i f f j h i u f f p t f w f p u j f t e j e p D u n f s f m z d D n q b s f S D n f b p e C s j u b j p q D x f s t , c v u g s f r v f p u m z x f p u g v s u i f s , v t j p h u i f S D n b p - C s j u i t i b p b m D h z u D b s h v f u i b u u i f u i f S D n b p t i b e b H D e - h j w f p s j h i u u D s v m f D w f s D u i f s p b u j D p t . U i v t e f g f p e j p h j t s b f m j q D m j d z b h b j p t u H r m b e t u D p f t t d b u i j p h d s j u j d j t n , F e x b s e j d f z b s h v f e j p 4 9 8 8 ;

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 s f h f s f j n q f s j D q D q v m i D the talent committed to us.¹⁰

U i j t d z p j d b m s f i b c j m j u b u j D p D g u i f j n q f s j b m m f h b d z D g S D n f x b t b m t D s f g m f d u f e , b t i b t p D u f e , j p b s f p f x f e j p u f s f t u t i D x p c D u i c z q s D g f t t j D p b m i j t u D s j b p t , m j l f . B . G c z u i f q v c m j d b u m b s h f , j p u i f q f s t D p b m j u z ¹⁰² D g f s i b q t n j v p D i E b f t b s q s j t j p h m z , u i f s f t q f d u u i b u u i f q s D n j p f p u i j t u D s j b p D g f b s m z S D n b p i j t u D s z C . H . O j f c v i s f p k D z f e b n D p h t u b b d b e f n j d t j p u i f g j s t u i b m g D g ¹⁰³ u i f x b t f p p D z t v q f s d f e f e c z U i f D e D s N D n n t p , x i D , j p j t R ö m i s c h e G e s c h i c h t e , i b e h m D s j g j f e v m j v t E b f t b s b p e i b e u s f b u f e S D n f t u s b p t j u j D s f q v c m j d u D f n q j s f j p b q D t j u j w f n b p p f s .

B q q f b m t u D u i f S D n b p q b s b e j h n e j e p D u d D n f t D m f m z g s D n r v b s u f s t g s j f p e m z u D u b m t D b p e j p f r v b m n f b t v s f g s D n j u t e f u s b d u D s t , x i D d D p u j p v f e u D q s D q f m u i f u s b e j u j D u i b u u i f b d r v j t u j D p D g F n q j s f i b e c f f p u i f n b j p d b v t f D g u i f e D x p g b m m D g S D n f . D s j u j d j j p h C s j u i t i j n q f s j b m j t u j e f D m D h z b u u i f u v s p D g u i f p j p f u f f p u i f d f p u v s z , D i p d D p e f n p f e u i f v p d D n q s f i f p e j p h x b z j p x i j d i u i f C s j u i t i j n q f s j b m j t u b m x b z t t d b p t u i f t u D D g b p d j f p u S D n f , b p e f p u f s f e v q D p b p f y u f p t j w f D w f s w j f x D g S D n b p t D j b m b p e q D n f j p D s e f s u D f n q i b t j f u i f u s v u i u i b u u i f t q f d j b m d b v t f D g e f d b z j t k v t u f n q j s f . M c f g D s f i j n , S D c f s u t D p j p t j t u f e D p u i f e f n D s b m j b u j D p D g u i f S D n b p b s j t u D d s b d z e v f c s f e c z f y d f t t j w f t v d d f t j p g D s f j h p d D p r v f t u t D p u i f d D s s v q u j D p D g u i f c D e z q D m j u j d e f t u s v d u j D p D g u i f d m b t t D g t n b m m b h s j d v m u v s j t u t b p e D p u i f b e v m u f s b u j D p D g u i f t D d j f u z u i s D v h i u i f f y d f t t j w f j n q D s u b u j D p D g & t m b w f t .

J s s f t q f d u j w f D g u i f q D t j u j w f D s p f h b u j w f s i f u D s j d b m g v p d u j D p t j u d D v m e c f n b e f u D g v i s f q f s u D j s f , m j p l j p h S D n f b p e C s j u b j p u D h f u i f s D p u i f c b t j t D g u i f s d D n n D p j n q f s j b m x b t u i f q s D e v d u D g b q b s u m z u s b e j u j D p b m b p e q b s u m z p D w f m d m b t t j d j j p h t u s

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

L A : L Â L A > Â C jnqfjpfG bE Â Dhz cfuxffp Cs jubjp bpe SDnf xbt dDptusvfe Dp uif Dg dsubjp Dtufptjcmz dDnnDp tDdjDmDhjdbm qDmjujdbm Ds dmvuvsbm dibsbdufsijtu gDs uif dDnqbsjtDpt uD xDsl, ibe uD cf dDnqmfufmz ef-dDpufyuvbmj fe gsDn uif nijtuDsjdbm ufnqDsbmjujft xjuijp xjidi uifz xfsf Dsjhpbmzz jptdsjcfe. Ju xbt b ijhimz qsDdfevsf, sfbebqujph b dfpuvsjft-Dme wDdbcvmbsz, tD bt uD gbdjmjubuf uif sftusvdv pbujDpbm jefpujuz jp bp vpqsfdfefpuje jnqfsjbmjtu bhf.

4 3 P N F B O E & V S P Q F J O - J C F S B M 1 S P Q B H B O E B B O I

" G Â L A > Â < f G L > P L Â f ? Â J B L B K A Â = B K < f M J K > Â f G Â M J f H > Â I : G = Â > K H > < B : E E Q Â B L K Â F : B G K L J > : F Â E B ; > J : E Â K L J : G = K Â f ? Â A : G Â : E L > J G : L B N > Â B F H > J B : E Â J > H > J L f B J > Â f ? Â : G f L A > J Â + f F f J B @ B G Â œ Â : K Â O > E E Â : K Â L A > Â H f E B L B < : E Â : G = Â A B K L f J B < B G Â G B G > L >> G L A <> G L M J Q Â J B L : B G Â ; M L Â : E K f Â B G Â L A > B G Â @ > G > J : E Â G f L B f G K Â f ? Â f G L B G > G L : E i Â f J Â M J f H > : L A J f M @ A Â F > = B > N : E Â J > B G linpderHr, > lbpel BfgDpkhÂ fuSÂVbiA wifÂ sffitf: G Â nfpu Dg nfejfwbm pDujDpt Dg Fnqjsf uibu ibe ublfsp qmbdf bdsDtt FvsDqf tjpdf uif Jp qbsujdvmb, bddDsejph uD tdiDmbst efbmjph xjui fbsmz nDefsp qDmjujdbm uifDsz, efcbuft uibu qsfDddvqjfe ftufsp kvsjtut bpe qjimDtDqfst jp uif fbsmz nDefsp qfsjDe, uif efcbuf Dp vpjwfstbm nDpbsdiz, Dp efgfptjwf bpe Dggfptjwf gfefsbujDpt, dDpgfef nDpbsdijdbm vpjDpt, Ds uif efcbuf Dp jpufspbujDpbm mbx, ibe uifjs sDDu jp uif usbe dDpdfspjph uif mfhujunbdz Dg vpjwfstbm Fnqjsf bpe uif mfhbdjft Dg SDnf.

Ju nbz cf bp Dwfstubufnfp Dmbyn uibu uiftf usbejujDpbm efcbuft xfsf tujmm o pjpffupfui-dfpuvsz Cs jubjp, Ds uibu uifz ejsfandumz jpgmvfpdfe uif dDpufnqDsbz ejtdDvsi nDefsp FvsDqfbp gbnjmz Dg pbujDpt . fu, uiftf pDujDpt fpkDzfe b tjhpjgjdbpu bgu Dg qDqvmbs tzncDmjtn, bt xfmm bt jp uif dDpufyu Dg ijtudsjDhsbqiz.

Uif nDtu qsDnjpfpu bpe qfstjtufpu mfhbdjft Dg uift usbejujDpbm ejtdvtjDp Dp Fnqjsf x Dpf ibpe, uif jefb uibu bpz fyqbptjwf FvsDqfbp eftqDujtn xDvme qDtf b tfsjDvt uif mjcfsuif Dg uif pbujDpt Dg FvsDqf, bpe Dp uif Duifs, uif pDujDp uibu uif Dpmz FvsDqfbp qfbdf xbt uif qsftfswbujDp Ds, bu mfbtu, uif ejqmDnbujd bpe qDmjujd Dg tDnf tDsu Dg cbmbpdf Dg qDxfs bnDphtu uif nbkDg EÂWqfhpDujDpt Dp tbe b wfsz tjhpjgjdbpu jnqbd Dp pjpffupfui-dfpuvsz Csjuji ejtdDvstf Dp FvsDqfbp qDn

vsjph uif ObqDmfDpjdbst, uif uisfbu Dg Fnqjsf ibe cffp jefpujgjfe xjui ObqDmfDnjmubsjtn. ftajuf jut DcwjDvt nDefspjuz, ObqDmfDpjdbst Gsbpdf xbt gsfrvfpumz wjfxfe bu b sfhsfttjwf bpe eftusvdijwf gDsd, uisfbufpjph uif nDefsp wbmvyt Dg mjcfsuz bpe pbujFvsDqf. Bgujs uif ObqDmfDpjdbst, mjcfsbm DqjbjDp hsbevbmmz cfdbnf gDdvtfe Dp bpe dDpwfpjph fpfnjft; uif sfnbjpjph nvmuj-pbujDpbm FvsDqfbp Fnqjsf, bpe ftqfdjbmmz xjidi dbnf uD cf wjfxfe bt uif uzqjdbm nDefsp sfjpdbspbujDp Dg uif usbejujDpbm jnq

Jp svp-Dg-uif-njmm nje-pjpffupfui dfpuvsz qDqvmbs qsDqbhbpeb xjidi fpwjtjDpfe dtusvhhmft Dg pbujDpbm bpe mjcfsbm FvsDqf bhbjptu uif eftqDujd EDpupjfpubm

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H f E B L B < : E Â ? J > = f F Â O A B E > Â L A > Â + f F : G j Â E > @ : < Q Â f ? Â @ F H
f J Â > P : F H E > Â : J E Â + > L K E : @ Â : Â > J F : G Â H f E B L B < : E Â J > ? Â @ >
! > @ > E Â : J @ M > = Â L A M K Â : L Â L A > Â ; > @ B G G B G @ Â f ? Â L A > Â J (m) F >

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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jp uif fyqmDsbusjDp Dg b tibsfe FvsDqfbp qbtu bt jp dDpufnqDsbsz FvsDqfbp efwfmDq
tjnqmjtijd cjpbsz jefpujgdbujDp Dg Fnqjsf xjui uif qbtu bpe Dg pbujDpbm mjcfs
eje pDu befrvbufmz eftdsjcf uif fnfshfpdf Dg FvsDqfbp nDefspjuz. GDs fybnqmf, uif ijtu
bpe fevdbujDpbmjt Uidnbt BspDme (48:3 4960) wjfxfe uif tuvez Dg SDnbp mfhbdjf b
dDpwfpujDpbm ejttDmvujDp Dg uif ftufsp SDnbp Fnqjsf jp 687 bt uif lfz uD uif vp
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BspDme t Dxp dDpusjcvujDp uD uif efwfmDqnfp Dg sfmtwbpu ijtuDsjDhsbqiz xbt Dp
nbujd, bt eftqjuf ijt jpufpujDp uD xsjuf b ijtuDsz Dg SDnf vq uD uif dsDxpjph Dg
jp 911, ijt xDsl sfnbjpfe vpgjptife, dDwfjsph Dpmz uif qfsjDe vq uD uif svmf Dg
Ofwfsuifmft, b tuvefp Dg ijt, uif PygDse ijtuDsjbpt F. B. Gsffnbp (4902 49.0) qsDev
jpufstujph bpe ejwfstjgjfe Dfwwsf, qsDqbhbujph uisDvhi wbsjDvt usfbujft uif jefb Dg b
ejbmfdjud cfuxffp SDnbp bpe pbujDpbm fmfnfput xjuijp uif ijtuDsz Dg FvsDqf.

Gsffnbp t nDtu dibsbdufsijtijd xDsl jp sftqfd uD uif qsDnDujDp Dg uif dfpusbmjuz
FvsDqfbp ijtuDsz xbt b tfjsft Dg mfduvstf efmjwfsfe bu PygDse jp uif tqsjph Dg 4993
tvctfrvfpumz qvcmjife uif gDmmDxjph zfb vpefs Tbi¹⁹ Chief Period of European His-
tory.²⁰ ftqjuf jut sbuifs tdifnbujd pbuvsf, uijt xDsl sfgmfdut xjui hsbu dmbsjuz uif bvui
Dp uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxffp bpujrvjuz, uif Njeemf Bhft bpe nDefspjuz.

Gsffnbp ejwjefe FvsDqfbp ijtuDsz jpuD uisff qfsjDet, uif qfsjDe cfgDsf uif ftubcmjtinfpu Dg
nbp svmf (b qfsjDe if jefpujgjfe xjui uif bpdjffpu Hsfl xDsme), uif qfsjDe evsjph xjdi S
jut mfhbdjf efufsnjpfe uif gbuf Dg FvsDqf (vq uD uif gjpbm ejttDmvujDp Dg uif IDmz
jp 4917), bpe, gjpbmmz, xjfp FvsDqf ibe Dpdf bhbjp cfdDnf SDnf-mftt. Uivt, uif nDef
bdrvjsfe b wfsz pbssDx ijtuDsjdbm bpe qDmjujdbm iDsj Dp, xijmf uif tfptf Dg bp bcs
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jptusvdujwf bpbmDhjft cfuxffp uif nDefsp (qDtu-SDnbp) bpe uif bpdjffpu Hsfl (qsf-SD
xDsme. Jp qbsujdvmb, if dmbjnfe uibu uif nDefsp pbujDp-tubuft xfsf jp b tijnmbs q
djuz tubuft Dg mbuf Hsfl bpujrvjuz, bt tijnmbsmz, uifz cfmDphfe uD b xDsme xjuiDvu
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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 Q The Holy Roman Empire g D S O A f l A v e p u f L d D n q f u j D p jp 4976.

Uijt usfbujtf Dggfsfe b xfmm-cbmbpdfe ijtuDsdbm bpe qDmjujdbm jpufsqsfubujDp Dg uif jejb bpe Dg uif jptujuvujDp Dg Fnqjsf uisDvhi uif mDph dfpuvsjft Dg FvsDqfbp ijtuDsdbm

lfsf Fnqjsf eje pDu tjhpjgz b dfpusbmj fe bpe bctDmvjtu gDsn Dg hDwfspnfpv, cvu tztufn Dg sfmbujDptijqt ftubcmjife cfuxffp b tvqsfnf bvuiDsuz, gDvpejph jut mfhujnbdz uif SDnbp usbejujDp bpe uif Eisjtujbp Eivsdi, bpe b iTu Dg Duijs, qbsujdvmbs b cDvpe djwjm bvuiDsujft. BddDsejph uD Cszdf, uif Fnqjsf jutfmq xbt pDu efgjpfe jp ju xbt qsjnbsjzmz bp jejb. GvsuifsnDsf, gsDn uif nDnfpv uibu uif dfpujs Dg uif usbptgfssfe 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 sfmtprvtjph jut ufssjuDsdbm dibsbdufs, uif Fnqjsf ibe cfdDnf uif fncmfn Dg b djwjm fdvnfpf , xijdi, Dsjhjpbbmz bu mfbtu, ejsfduumz dDssftqDpefe uD uif sfbmn

Gvsuif Dp, xsujph bcDvu uif gDvsuffpui bpe gjguffpui dfpuvsjft, Cszdf eftdsjcfe iDx tubhf, uif Fnqjsf bttvnfe uif nbpumf Dg uif tvqsfnf kvehf Dg nbpljpe bpe dbnf uD bt uif tvqsfnf qsDufduDs Dg vpjwfstbm tqjsjuvbm vpjuz bpe qfbdf. Bu uijt qDjpu, Cszdf mfm cfuxffp uijt jnqfsjbm qfstDpb bpe uif nDsf sfafpu buufnqut Dg ivnbpjpe uD tztufn Dg jpufspbujDpbm²⁷ mbx.

Gjpbmmz, jp ijt dDpdmvjtDp, Cszdf buufnqufe bp jpufsftujph dDnqbsjtDp cfuxffp uif gDqjph Dg Fnqjsf, bpe jut tvctfrvfpv Hfsnbp sfvjwbm. BddDsejph uD Cszdf, uif Dsjhjpbbmz Dg Fnqjsf efnbpefe uif tbdsjgjdf Dg uif jpejwjevbm uD uif nbtt, uif dDpdpf mfhjtmbujwf bpe kvejdjbm qDxfst jp uif qfstDp Dg uif tDwfsfjhp, uif dfpusbmj bujDp ujwf tztufn, uif nbjpufpbpdf Dg Dsefs cz b mbshf njmjubsz gDsdf, uif tvctujuvujDp Dg qvcmjda DqjphDp gDs uif dDpusDm Dg sfqsfpubujwf Ubjtnauzjft Dg Fnqjsf, if dmbjnfe, cfuujs tvjufe uif Gsfvdi, uif SDnbpt Dg uif nDefsp xDsme , uibp uif UfvuDpt. Uif Dsz Dg Fnqjsf, Dp uif Duijs ibpe, xbt nvdi mftt bctDmvjtu uibp uif SDnbp-Gsfvdi Ju xbt b eftqDujtn pDu Dg uif txDse cvu Dg uif mbx b eftqDujtn xijdi nvpjdjqbm gsffeDn, bpe fwfszxifsf eje jut cftu gDs mfbspjph, gDs sfmtphDp, gDs jpu

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- A M K Â J Q <> Â ; M B E L Â B G Â L A B K Â O f J D Â : G Â B F H > J B : E Â B F : @ . Â L B f G K Â L J := B L B f G : E j Â F H B J > Â < : J J B > = Â B G Â L A > Â < f G L > 20 Â

Â M J f H > : G Â F H B J > Â B G Â A B K Â : G : E Q K B K Â O : K Â G f L Â E B G D > 21 Â C L f O : J = K Â E f < : E Â => F f < J : < Q Â L A > Â ? > = > J : E Â B => : E Â : G = Â 22 f J B G L > E E > < L M : E K Â f ? Â A B K Â B E D Â O > J > Â K f Â K L J f G @ E • Q Â = J 23

" L Â B K Â B G L > J > K L B G @ Â L f Â G f L > Â L A : L Â B G Â f J => J Â L f Â : < A B > K L J : L > @ B > K Â O A B < A Â H : J L E Q Â < f G L J := B < L > = Â > : < A Â f L A > J Â L B f G Â ; > L O > > G Â % : L B G K j Â : G = Â > J F : G K j Â B G Â f J => J Â L f Â C N > J K B f G K Â f ? Â B F H > J B : E Â L A > f J Q Â - A B K Â O : K Â : Â H f H M E : J Â E ž => K H f L B < Ÿ Â J > G < A Â : G = Â ž % : L B G Ÿ Â H > f H E > K Â O > J > Â H B L f L A > J Â , > < f G = Â J Q <> Â M L B E B R > = Â L f Â L A > Â > P L J > F > Â L A > Â G J H E > Â L A : L Â O A : L > N > J Â > E > F > G L K Â f ? Â => K H f L B K F j Â > P B K L > = : Â H J f = M < L Â f ? Â L A > Â B F F : L M J B L Q Â f ? Â L A Â A M F : G Â K H B J B L Â =

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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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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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EijdbhD stft, 4::.., qq. 443 49..
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- 9 . B. IDctDp, jp uif fbsmz 01ui dfpuvsz, ejtdfspfe b dDssftqDpejph ufpefdpz bnDphu uif uif
 B dvsjDvt cmjppepf ttnt uD cftfu uif njpe Dg uif bwfsbhf fevdbufe CsjuDp xifp if jt b
 uvsf ijntfrm Dvs dDmDpjbm Fnajsf. BmnDtu jptujpdjwfmz if wjtvbjm ft Ebpbeb, Bvtusbmj,
 uif sftu if wjsuvbmmz jhpDsft. ImperialBm:IDctDp, Njdijhbp; Vpjwfstjuz Dg Njdijhbp
 sftt, 4:73 (4:13), q. 403.
- : bnft Njmm (494: 4927) bpe Dip Tuvbsu Njmm (4902 4938) ifme ijhi qDtut jp uif
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 qsjpdjqmft.
- 41 Uif jpwDmwfnfpu Dg uif Njmmmt xjui fnajsf cvjmejph, ftqfdjbmmz bnft Njmm t efqsfdbujDp
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 uD dsjuydbm sfbttftnput Dg uifjs vujmjubsjbp bpe mjcfbsm jdtb. English Etatlar Turan
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- 44 sDubhDpjut bu uijt tubhf, cDui Dp uif mfwm Dg ejtdDvstf bpe Dp uif mfwm Dg
 dDmDpjbm fyqbpjtDp mifj Efjm SiDeft jp Bgsjdb (gsDn 4991) bpe dDmDpjbm benjpjitusbuD
 Cbsjph (MDse EsDnfs, EDptvm Hzpfsbm jp Hzqu, 4992 4:18), MDse Evs Dp (WjdfsDz Dg
 bpe Bmgse Njmpfs (ijhi EDnnjttDpfs Dg TDvui Bgsjdb, 49:8 4:13). Pp uif sfmbujDptijq cfu
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 Csjuji pbujDp xbt tD fyqbpjtjwf, uibu ju bqqfsfe bmnDtu uD fphvmg uif wfsz pDujDp Dg
- 48 Tff Fmesjehfp. cit., qq. 73 78.
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