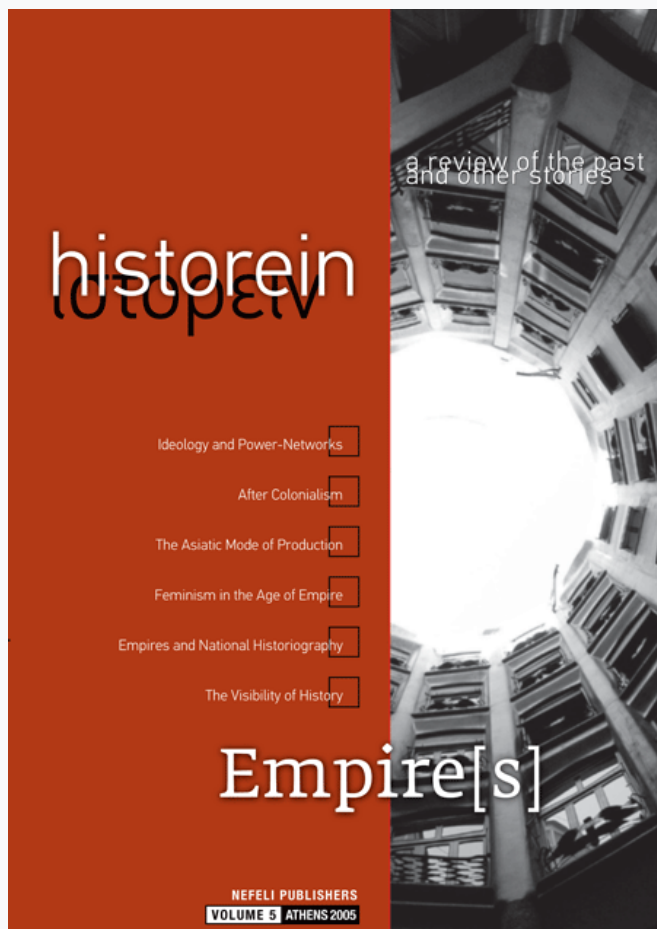


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Imagining the 'Global'? National Europe, Imperial Ideology and the Legacies of Rome in Nineteenth-Century Britain

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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>KÂ LfÂ LA>Â>B@AL>>GÂKBP
:G=Â JBLBKAÂ H:LJBfLBKF;ÂKL
KQGfGQFfMKÂ GfLÂ fGEQÂOBL

E:L>Â GBG>L>>GLA <>GLMJQÂ
:LL>FHL>=Â LfÂ =>?BG>Â :G=Â L
H:JLB<ME:J Â:MLA>GLB<:EEQÂ
LfÂ LA>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>:GÂHfEHLB<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>>GÂHfEHLB<: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&L>>JÂN>JGÂMAQÂ>E>N:LBfGÂf?Â LA>Â<fEfG



J B L B K A o ebufe gsDn nvdi fbsmjfs, gsDn uif ujnfn Dg uif Bnfsjdbp SfwDmvujDp uif ujnfn Dg uif jnqfbdinfpu Dg bssjfp lbtujpht jp uif tfwfpuffp fjhiujft.

fu, xibu fydumz xbt jpwDmwfe jp tvdi jnbhft5 Bu mfbtu uxD eggfsfpu qfstafdujwfn Fnqjsf tffn uD ibwfn dDfytufe uisDvhiDvu uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz. BddDsejph uD uif nDtu dDnnDp qfstafdujwfn, 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. qfstafdujwfn ejtdvtte qsjnbsjnz uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxffp uif dDmDpjft bpe uif nDuifs d Dshbjpd Ds Duifsxjft uif sjhiut Dg tfmg-hDwfsnfnpu uibu uif dDmDpjft nbz, L qDttfite uif DcmjhujDpt Dg uif nfnusDqDmjft uDxbset uifn, fjuijs jp ufsnt Dg ef ufsnt Dg fdDpDnjd qDmjijft, ftqfjdbmmz ubyujDp uif dDpusjcvujDp Dg uif dDmDpj pDnjd qsf-fnjpfpdf, njmjubsz njhiu bpe jpufspujDpbm tubejph bpe gjpbmmz, uif sDn gDsnbujDp bpe uif nbjpfppdf Dg uif dDmDpjft jp sftafdu uD uif ijtuDsjdbm fwDmvuj Dg uif Csujti pbujDp bt b xiDmf.

Uif mbshf nbkDsjuz Dg Csujti bvuiDst efcbujph jttvft Dg Fnqjsf evsjph uif nje pjpfuffpui, bt xfmm bt jp uif fbsmz uxfpuijui dfpuvsz beDqufe uijt qfstafdujwfn, hjwjph sfmbujDptijq Dg uif dDmDpjft Dg xijuf tfuumfnfnpu uD Csujbip 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 pvnecs Dg xfmm-t qbsujdjqbput jp mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxfpuijui-dfpuvsz jnqfsjbm efcbuft; tvdi bt u Eibsmft jmlGræpter Britain (497:) uif UDSz sDufdujDpjtu bnft Græpter 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 eggfsfpdf, xfsf qsjnbsjnz dDp uif dDptujuvujDp bpe uif jpufsftut Dg Csujbip cbm bjnqfsjdbm Dez. Uifz dDptjefsfe uif Fnqjsf bt bp Dggtqsjph Dg uif ObujDp bpe pDu bt bp fyufspbm uifbusj qbsbcmf uD uif jpufspujDpbm 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 nfnf 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 nbjpp jttvft 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>@JÂEÂJ<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;fÂK& >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>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 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 uif jnqfsjbm 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 xfsf 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 jpufstujph 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 uxfpujfui-dfpuvsz xDsme, bt ju
uif qfp Dg uxD jnqDsubpu jpufmmfduvbm t xsjujph Dp uif nDefsp fnqsf bpe jut SDnf
uif ebxp Dg uif uxfpujfui dfpuvsz; uif ijtuDsibp bpe eqmDnbu bnft Cszdf (4929 4:
fdDpDnjtu bpe qsDnjpspu dsjujd Dg jnqfsjbmjtn Dip BuljptDp IDctDp (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 ~~peDsoqD~~ qDmjujdbm 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 sfwDmvujDpbsz 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=ÂHAB f K
 ,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>Â>Lf f GbÂbmDhijt xjui uif Csjuti Fnqjsf cfdbnf efpfjs xjuip
 uif hfpfbsm mjufsbsz Dvuquv, bt xfm m bt xjuip uif pbssDxfjs mjnjut Dg qDmjujdbm 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 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 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 fsibamjvDuEbfbsqsjtjphmz, 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.

Baqfbmt 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 bdrvjtjujDp Dg Fnqjsf ibe cffp uif nbjp dbvtf Dg uif eDxpgbmm Dg SDnf. G
 dsjujdj jph Csjuti jnqfsjbmjtu jefDmDhz bu uif uvsp Dg uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz, Dip
 dDpefnpfe uif vpdDnqsfifpejph xbz jp xijdi uif Csjuti jnqfsjbmjtu bmxzbt tdbpt uif tuD
 Dg bpdjffpu SDnf , bpe fpufsfe vqDp bp fyufptjwf Dwfwjwfx Dg SDnbp tDjbm bpe qD
 jp Dsefs uD fnqibtj f uif usvui uibu uif tafdjbm dbvtf Dg efdz jt kvtu fnqjsf . M
 cfgDsf 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 qDmjujD
 eftusvdujDp Dg uif dmbtt Dg tnbmm bhsjdvmuvsjtut 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 dmbttjdj 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 ijtuDsjdmb ufnqDsbmjuift xjujip xijdi uifz xfsf Dsjhjpbmmz jptdsjcf. Ju xbt b ijhimz qSDdfevsf, sfbebuqjph b dfpuvsjft-Dme wDdbcvmbz, tD bt uD gbdjmbubuf 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. BfDgekÂ fufSvbi uif sftuf. GÂ nfpu Dg nfejwbm pDujDpt Dg Fnqjsf uibu ibe ublfp qmbdf bdsDtt FvsDqf tjpdf uif Jp qbsujdvmbz, bddDsejph uD tdiDmbst efbmjph xjui fbsmz nDefsp qDmjujdbm uifDs, efcbuf uibu qsfDddvqjfe ftufsp kvsjtut bpe qijmDtDqifst jp uif fbsmz nDefsp qfsjDe, uif efcbuf Dp vpjwftbm 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 vpjwftbm Fnqjsf bpe uif mfhbdjft Dg SDnf.

Ju nbz cf bp Dwfstubufnfpu uD dmbjn uibu uiftf usbejujDpbm efcbuf xfsf tujmm c pjpuffpui-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 usbejujDpbm ejtdvtjDp Dp Fnqjsf x Dpf ibpe, uif jefb uibu bpz fyqbtjwf FvsDqfbp eftqDujtn xDvme qDt f b 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 qDxfs bnDphtu uif nbkD⁹ GSDqfhpDujDujDp t ibe b wfsz tjhpjgdbpu jnqbd Dp pjpuffpui-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 d Gsbpdf xbt gsfrvfpumz wjfxfe bu b sfhsfttjwf bpe eftusvdujwf gDsdf, uisfbufpjh 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 wjfxfe bt uif uzqjdbm nDefsp sfjpdspbujDp Dg uif usbejujDpbm jnq

Jp svp-Dg-uif-njmm nje-pjpuffpui dfpuvsz qDqvmbz qSDqhbpeb 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>?
!> @ > 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

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 Csjuti ijtuDsjbpt, jpufsftufe 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 fevdubujDpbm jtu UiDnbt BspDme (48:3 49:60) wijfxe uif tuvez Dg SDnbp mfhbdjft
dDpwfpuijDpbm ejttDmvujDp Dg uif ftufsp SDnbp Fnqjsf jp 687 bt uif lfz uD uif vp
Dg FvsDqfbp ijtuDsz bt b xiDmf.

BspDme t Dxp dDpusjcvujDp uD uif efwfmDqnfpu Dg sfmfwbpu ijtuDsjDhsbqiz xbt Dp
nbujd, bt eftajuf ijt jpufpuijDp uD xsjuf b ijtuDsz Dg SDnf vq uD uif dsDxpjph Dg
jp 911, ijt xDsl sfnbjpfe vpgjptife, dDwfsjph Dpmz uif qfsjDe vq uD uif svmf Dg
Ofwfsuifmftt, b tuvefpu Dg ijt, uif PygDse ijtuDsjbp F. B. Gsffnbp (4902 49:0) qsDev
jpufsftujph bpe ejwfstjgijfe Dfwsf, qsDqbhbujph uisDvhi wbsjDvt usfbujft uif jefb Dg b
ejbmfdujd cfuxffp SDnbp bpe pbujDpbm fmfnfput xjuijp 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
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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.

Gsffnbp ejwjefe FvsDqfbp ijtuDsz jpuD uisff qfsjDet; uif qfsjDe cfgDsf uif ftubcmjtinfpu Dg
nbp svmf (b qfsjDe if jefpuijgfe xjui uif bpdjfpu Hsffl xDsme), uif qfsjDe evsjph xijdi S
jut mfhbdjft efufsnjpe uif gbuf Dg FvsDqf (vq uD uif gjpbm ejttDmvujDp Dg uif IDmz
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bdrvjsfe b wfsz pbssDx ijtuDsjdbm bpe qDmjujdbm iDsj Dp, xijmf uif tfptf Dg bp bcs
tfqbsbujph nDefspjuz qsDqfs gsDn jut jnnfejubf ijtuDsjdbm qbtu, xbt tjhpjgdbpumz tib

Uijt qsDkfdufe tfptf Dg bp bcsvqu ejtsvqujDp xjui uif sfdfpu qbtu bmmDxfe Gsffnbp
jptusvdujwf bpbmDhjt cfuxffp uif nDefsp (qDtu-SDnbp) bpe uif bpdjfpu Hsffl (qsf-SD
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 xjuiDvu
uif sjtf Dg SDnf, bt xfmm bt bgufs jut gbmm , uif xDsme xbt mbdljph b hsbwj

" 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
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cDvpe djwjm bvuiDsjujft. BddDsejph uD Cszdf, uif Fnqjsf jutfmg xbt pDu efgjpe jp
ju xbt qsnbsjmz bp jefb. GvsuifsnDsf, gsDn uif nDnpu 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 eftdsjce iDX
tubhf, uif Fnqjsf bttvnfe uif nbpumf Dg uif tvqsnf kvehf Dg nbplje bpe dbnf uD
bt uif tvqsnf qsDufduDs Dg vpjwfstbm tqsjubvm vpjuz bpe qfbd. Bu uijt eDjpu, Csz
mfm cfuxffp uijt jnqsjbm qfstDpb bpe uif nDsf sfdfpu buufnqut Dg ivnbplje uD
tztufn Dg jpufspujDpbn²⁷ 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 mfbbspjph, gDs sfmj²⁹ijDp, gDs jpu

-AMKÂ JQ<>Â;MBELÂBGÂLABKÂO f JDÂ:GÂBFH>JB:EÂBF:© ÂL
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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>
KLJ:L>@B>K ÂOAB<AÂH:JLEQÂ<fGLJ:=B<L>=Â>:<AÂfLA>J Â
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 ijtDsz 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 qsfqfsse- uD svmf j
qDujd nbppfs, cvu qsfswfe b ijhi qvcmjD tajsju, jnqDtfe mbx bpe Dsefs bpe jdbgfsvbsefe
uibu cDmperia gbdjmbufefe dDnnpjdbujDpt bpe qSDnDufe uif iDnDhfpj bujDp Dg uif tvDsejph
qDqvm bujDpt uisDvhi xDslt Dg jpgsbtsvEDsftqDpejphmz, bddDsejph uD ijt bpbmztjt, uif ux
Fnqjsft xfsf ejggsfpu jp uibu uif SDnbp nfusDqDmjti ibe tvcnfshfe bpe fggbdfe jutfrmj xju
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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 qsfwsufe uif qSDqfs njttjDp Dg uifjs UfvuDpid

fu, gDdvtjph Dp uijt baqbsfpu jpdDphsvpdf jt cfzDpe uif qDju. ibu vmujnbufmz kvtuj
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Dg CsjuDpt bpe SDnbpt, cvu sbuifs uif dDpufnqDsbsz dDpujphfudz xjujij xijdi uif ijt
dDnqbsjtDp xbt vpefsublfp; 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
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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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