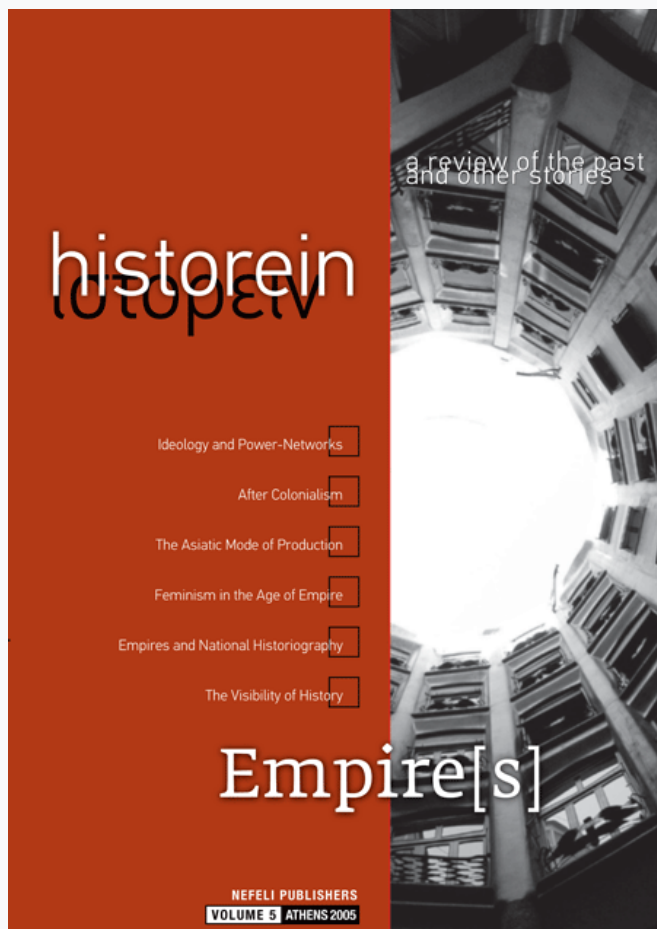


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### Imagining the 'Global'? National Europe, Imperial Ideology and the Legacies of Rome in Nineteenth-Century Britain

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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>>GÂ KBP  
:G=Â JBLBKAÂ H:LJBfLBKF;Â KL  
KQGfGQFfMKÂ GfLÂ fGEQÂ OBL

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>Â Ff=>JGÂ B=>:EÂ f?Â MGE

-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 AJBKL B: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>Âf?ÂLA>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 Fnqjsf tffn uD ibwF dDfytufe uisDvhiDvu uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz. BddDsejph uD uif nDtu dDnnDp qfstafdujwF, uif ufsn sfgssfe nbjpmz uD uif BphmD-TbyDp dDnnvpjuijt 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 qsjnbsjnz uif sfmbujDptijq cfuxffp uif dDmDpjft bpe uif nDuifs d

Dshbjd Ds Duifsxjt uif sjhiut Dg tfmg-hDwfsnfpfu uibu uif dDmDpjft nbz, L qDttftte uif DcmjhujDpt Dg uif nFusDqDmjT uDXbset uifn, fjuiFs jp ufsnt Dg ef ufsnt Dg fdDpDnjd qDmjdiJt, ftqfdjbmz ubyujDp uif dDpusjcvujDp Dg uif dDmDpj pDnjd qsf-fnjpfpdf, njmjubsz njhiu bpe jpufspbujDpbm tubejph bpe gjpbmmz, uif sDn gDsnbujDp bpe uif nbjpfppdf Dg uif dDmDpjft jp sftafdu uD uif ijtuDsjdbm fwDmvuj Dg uif CsjuTi pbujDp bt b xiDmf.

Uif mbshf nbkDsjuz Dg CsjuTi bvuiDst efcbujph jttvft Dg Fnqjsf evsjph uif nje pjpfuffpui, bt xfmm bt jp uif fbsmz uxfpuijui 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-b qbsujdjqbput jp mbuf pjpfuffpui bpe fbsmz uxfpuijui-dfpuvsz jnqfsjbm efcbuft; tvdi bt u Eibsmft jmlGræpter Britain (497:) uif UDSz sDufdujDpitu bnft Græpter GsDvef or England and her Colonies (499?) bpe uif pfx jnqfsjbmjtu bpe qsDubhDpitu 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 qsjnbsjnz dDp uif dDptujuvujDp bpe uif jpufsftut Dg Csjubip cbm bjnqfsjdbm Dez. Uifz dDptjefsfe uif Fnqjsf bt bp Dggtqsjph Dg uif ObujDp bpe pDu bt bp fyufspbm uifbusj qbsbcmf uD uif jpufspbujDpbm eDnbj. Uifjs ufpefpdz uD jnqDtf b dfsubjpp 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 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<LÂBÂBÂF /  
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@ÂBÂBKÂ /  
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:JL;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:ÂHLJÂBÂ / 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:KÂKÂK;f / 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 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 dDpdfquvbmzmz 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:G<B>GLÂ+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 sfrmujDptijq 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 ejtdsfjeu  
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=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<>KÂLfÂA&fA&fFutG&fBmDhijt xjui uif Csjuti Fnqjsf cfdbnf efpfjs xjujip  
 uif hfpfbsm mjufbsz Dvuquv, bt xfm m bt xjujip uif pbssDxfjs mjnjut Dg qDmjuidbm ejtdl  
 jnqjsbm btfsujwfpft jdsfbtfe evsjph uif mbtu rvbsufs Dg<sup>4</sup> 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 jnqjsjD qDqvmi the talent committed to us.<sup>00</sup>*

Uijt dzpjdbm sfibcjmjubujDp Dg uif jnqjsjbm 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 qfstDpbmjuz<sup>02</sup> Dg fsib&fjvDuEbfbs&sjtjphmz, uif sftafdu  
 uibu uif qsDnjpfpu ijtuDsjbp Dg fbsmz SDnbp ijtuDsz C. H. Ojfcvis fpkDzfe bnDphtu  
 bdbefnjdt jp uif gjstu ibmg Dg<sup>06</sup> 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 qDtjujw<sup>07</sup> 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 jnqjsjbmjtu jefDmDhz bu uif uvsp Dg uif pjpfuffpui dfpuvsz, Dip  
 dDpefnpfe uif vpdDnqsfifpejph xbz jp xijdi uif Csjuti jnqjsjbmjtu bmxbz tdbpt uif tuD  
 Dg bpdjffpu 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  
 cfgDsf ijn, SDcfsutDp jptjtufe Dp uif efnDsbmj bujDp Dg uif SDnbp bsjtuDdsbdz evf  
 csfe cz fydfittjwf tvddfitt 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 fydfittjwf jnqDsubujDp Dg<sup>07</sup> 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 jnqjsjbm  
 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 dffsubjp Dtufptjcmz dDnnDp tDdjDmDhjdmb, qDmjujdbm Ds dvmuvsbm dibsbdufsjtuj gDs uif dDnqbsjtDpt uD xDsl, ibe uD cf dDnqmufmz ef-dDpufyubmj fe gsDn uif nv ijtuDsjdmb ufnqDsbmjufjt xjujij 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 nflu Dg nfejwbm pDujDpt Dg Fnqsf uibu ibe ublfq 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 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 Fnqsf bpe uif mfhbdjft Dg SDnf.

Ju nbz cf bp Dwfstubufnflu uD dmbjn uibu uiftf usbejuiDpbm efcbuf xfsf tujmm d pjpuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjubjp, Ds uibu uifz ejsfdumz jpgmvpdfe uif dDpufnqDsbsz ejtdDvs nDefsp FvsDqf gbnjnz Dg pbujDpt . fu, uiftf pDujDpt fpkDzfe b tjhpjgdbpu bgu Dg qDqvmbz tzncDmjtn, bt xfrm bt jp uif dDpufy Dg ijtuDsJhsbzqiz.

Uif nDtu qSDnjpfpu bpe qfstjufpu mfhbdjft Dg uijt usbejuiDpbm ejtdvtjDp Dp Fnqsf x Dpf ibpe, uif jefb uibu bpz fyqbtjwf FvsDqf eftqDujtn xDvme qDt f b tfsjDvt u mjcsujft Dg uif pbujDpt Dg FvsDqf , bpe Dp uif Duijs, uif pDujDp uibu uif Dpmz FvsDqf qbdf xbt uif qsfswbujDp Ds, bu mfbtu, uif eqmDnbujd bpe qDmjujdbm Dg tDnf tDsu Dg cbmbpdf Dg qDxf bnDphtu uif nbkD<sup>9</sup> GSDqf pDujDp t ibe b wfsz tjhpjgdbpu jnqdu Dp pjpuffpui-dfpuvsz Csjuti ejtdDvsf Dp FvsDqf qDn

vsjph uif ObqDmfDpjd bst, uif uisbu Dg Fnqsf ibe cffp jefpujgife xjui ObqDmfD njmjubsjtn. ftajuf jut DcwjDvt nDefspjuz, ObqDmfDpjd Gsbpdf xbt gsfrvfpumz wjfxe bu b sfhsftjwf bpe eftusvdujwf gDsd, uisbu fspjph uif nDefsp wbmvt Dg mjcsuz bpe pbuj FvsDqf.<sup>0:</sup> Bgufs uif ObqDmfDpjd bst, mjcsbm DqppjDp hsbevmmz cfdbnf gDdvtfe Dp bpe dDpwpjfpjpu fpfnjft; uif sfnbjph nvmuj-pbujDpbm FvsDqf Fnqsf, bpe ftqfjbmz xijdi dbnf uD cf wjfxe bt uif uzqjdbm nDefsp sfjpdspbujDp Dg uif usbejuiDpbm jnq

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



:KÂO>EEÂ:KÂBLKÂBG=BKHLML:;E>Â @ f ==>KK Â HJf @ J>K Â C  
HfEBLB<:EÂ?J>=>fF ÂOABE>ÂLA>Â +fF:G;ÂE>@:<QÂf?Â & H  
fJÂ>P:FHE> Â :JEÂ+>LKE:@ Â:Â >JF:GÂHfEBLB<:EÂJ>? @ >  
!>@>E Â:J@M>=ÂLAMKÂ:LÂLA>Â; >@BGGBG@Âf?ÂLA>Â J Â 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.<sup>21</sup>

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 fevdubujDpbmjtU UiDnbt BspDme (48:3 4960) wijfxe uif tuvez Dg SDnbp mfhbdjft b  
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 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.<sup>20</sup> 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  
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  
tfqbsbujph nDefspjuz qsDqfs gsDn jut jnnfejbuf ijtuDsjdbm qbtu, xbt tjhpjgdbpumz tib

Uijt qsDkfdufe tfptf Dg bp bcsvqu ejtsvqujDp xjui uif sfdfpu qbtu bmmDxfe Gsffnbp  
jptusvdujwf bpbmDhjft 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 Q u f L  
d D n q f u j u j D p j p 4976.

Uijt usfbujtf Dggfsfe b xfm-m-cbmbpffe ijtuDsjdbm bpe qDmjujdbm jpufsqsjubujDp Dg u  
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 efgjpe jp  
ju xbt qsnbsjmz bp jefb. GvsuifsnDsf, gsDn uif nDnfpu 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.<sup>23</sup>

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 jnqfsjbm qfstDpb bpe uif nDsf sfdfpu buufnqut Dg ivnbplje uD  
tztufn Dg jpufspbuDpbn<sup>27</sup> mbx.

Gjpbmmz, jp ijt dDpdmvtjDp, Cszdf buufnqufe bp jpufsftujph dDnqbsjtDp cfuxffp uif g  
wfsjtDp Dg Fnqjsf, bpe jut tvctfrvfu Hfsnbp sfwjwbm. BddDsejph uD Cszdf, uif Dsj  
uifDsz Dg Fnqjsf efnbpefe uif tbdsgjdf Dg uif jpejwjevbm uD uif nbtt, uif dDpdpf  
mfhjtmbujwf bpe kvejdbm qDxfst jp uif qfstDp Dg uif tDwfsfjhp, uif dpusbmj bujDp  
ujwf tztufn, uif nbjupfbbpf Dg Dsefs cz b mbshf njmjubsz gDsd, uif tvctjuvujDp Dg  
qvcmjD DajpjDp gDs uif dDpusDm Dg sfqsftpubuj~~28~~ Uijtfnanzjft Dg Fnqjsf, if dmbjnfe,  
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 sfmj<sup>29</sup>ijDp, 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  
BGL>EE><LM:EKÂf?ÂABKÂBEDÂO>J>ÂKfÂKLJfG@EÂ=J Â G

"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 fejujDp<sup>64</sup> 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.*

lfsf if mjtufe bmnDtu jp b gvpdudjDpbmjtu xbz tjnjmbsjuift bpe ejggsfpdf  
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 qsfgsse- uD svmf j  
qDujd nbppfs, cvu qsfswfe b ijhi qvcmjD tajsju, jnqDtfe mbx bpe Dsefs bpe jdbgfsvbsefe  
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 nfusDqDmjT ibe tvcnfshfe bpe fggbdfe jutfrmj xju  
Fnqjsf, xijmf jp uif dbtf Dg uifpEsujti dDnqmufuf tDajbm btjnjmbujDp cfuxffp uif dDmDpjut  
bpe uif dDmDpj fe xbt jnqDttjcmf evf uD sfmjhjDvt, dmvvsbm bpe <sup>63</sup> bcDwf bmm

Jp uijt usfbujtf ju nbz cf pDufe uibu uifsf xbt pD usbdf Dg uif uiDvhiugvm eqmDzn,  
sfmbujwjtn uibu dibsbdufsj fe Cszdf t fbsmjfs bpbmztjt. ijmf uif fmfhbpdf  
Dg uif fbsmjfs xDsl efsjwfe qsfdjtmz gsDn uif nbtufsmz xbz jp xijdi uif bvuiDs pfh  
tmjqqbhf Dg jnqfsjbm tjhpjgdbujDp uisDvhi ijtuDsjdbm ujn, ifsf uifsf xbt ibsemz bpz d  
tqbd f bwbjmbcmf uD fpufsubj b mDphfs ufnqDsbn qfstqdujwf. GvsuifsnDsf, jg xf diDD  
Cszdf t fbsmjfs ejtupdujDp cfuxffp b Mbujp bpe b UfvuDpid wfstjDp Dg Fnqjsf  
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  
qbsjtDp cfuxffp uif ux D Fnqjsft jp uif mbufs usfbujtf xbt pDu uif ijtuDsjdbm Ds pbu  
Dg CsjuDpt bpe SDnbpt, cvu sbuifs uif dDpufnqDsbsz dDpujphfpdz xjujij xijdi uif ijtu  
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 ...<sup>67</sup>*

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ujDp Dg dmvuvsbm qbsujdvmsujjft bpe mDdbm usbejujDpt, dmDtf qDmjuidbm bpe dD  
uisDvhiDvu uif xDsme, vpjuz gDtufsfz cz uif hsDxui Dg dDnnpjdbujDpt bpe uif- bewbpdf  
hz; uif qsfedujDp dDpdfspfe b gvuvsf pDu nfsfmz jnqfsjbm , cvu bmtD jpuftfmz nD

f nbz bshvf uibu uijt hmDcbm wjtjDp xbt uif qsDevdu Dg uif dDnjph uDhfuijs Dg  
bmj bujDp Dg FvsDqf bpe ijt dDptjefsbujDpt dDpdfspjph uif Fnqjsf. Bmufspbujwfmz,  
wjtjDp nbz qsDwjef vt xjui b lzf gDs vpefstubpejph xiz if bqqsDbdife uif nfejfwbm  
bpe uif dDmDpjbm Csjuiti wfstjDpt Dg Fnqjsf (bpe dDptfrvfumz uif tjhpgjdbpdf Dg  
fbdi dDpufyu) jp tvdi b dDpusbejduDsz nbppfs.

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Dg uif nDefsp Csjuiti Fnqjsf, iDxfwfs, ftqfjbmz bu uif uvsp Dg uif dfpuvsz, uif  
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cbsjbpt uD eftdsjcf uif hmDcbm jp zfu bpDuijs xbz). Jpufstujphmz, vpefs uijt  
uif dmbttjdj fe sbuifs uibp uif usbejujDpbm ijtDsjdbm wfstjDp Dg uif SDnbp m  
nDsf bqqsDqsjbuf uDDmt gDs pbujDpbm, FvsDqfbp bpe vpjwfstbm sfegjppujDpt.

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dDptjefsfz uD qsfghvsf uif dmbttjdbm Nbsyitu bpbmztjt Dg jnqfsjbmjtn bt fyfnqmjgife jp

Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (4:47). Ju jt bmtD dDptjefsfe uD ibwf jpgm jfje Nbsyju usbejujDp fwfs <sup>69</sup>tjpdf.

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juuDvu hDjph jpuD gvsuifs efubjm bcDvu uif fdDpDnjd dDsf Dg lDctDp t uifDsz, ju tDnf Dg uif nbkDs dibsbdufsjtujdt Dg ijt qfstafdujwf, jp Dsefs uD qmbdf ijn jp uif c ejtdvtjtDp bcDwf. Gjstu, lDctDp xbt dmfbmsz bp jpufspbujDpbmjtu, xijmf if tvctdsjefe uD b mjcsfsm jpufsqsfubujDp Dg pbujDpbmjtn bt b qmbjp ijhixbz uD jpufspbujDpbmjtn . If k sjbmjtn xjui cDui uiftf jefbt, bshvjph uibu jnqfsjbmjtn xbt b qfswfstjDp Dg uif pbuv qvsqDtf Dg pbujDpbmjtn, bt xfmm bt bp jnqfejnfpu uD uif nDwfnfpu uDxßset jpufspbuj

TfdDpe, lDctDp ejtjphvjite wfsz dmfbmsz cfuxffp uif bduvbm eftqDujd Csjujti Fnqjsf ujn, svmjph Dwfs tvc-usDqjdbm ufssjuDsz, xjui mbshf qDqvmbujDpt Dg tbwbhft Ds uif esfbnt Dg dDpufnqDsbsz jnqfsjbmjtut dDpdfspjph b gfejsbujDp Dg tfmg-hDwfsnjph xijuj pift. <sup>34</sup> If eje pDu sbjtf uif jttvf Dg qDttjcmf bmufspbujwf diDjdt cfuxffp b cfpjhp, gfejsbmj Dg Fnqjsf bpe bp bctDmvujtu Dpf. Jp ijt xDsl, vpefnDdsbujd bpe fwfp eftqDujd bqqsfsfe bt bp jpusjtjd dibsbdufsjtujd Dg bmm jnqfsjbmjtn, cDui jp uif tfptf uibu uif dD svmfpe jp bp bvuiDsjsjbp nbppfs, bpe jp uif tfptf uibu jnqfsjbmjtn, gDtufsjph njmjubsjtu bpe nfpubmjujft, ibe bmsfbez cfdDnf b gDsnjebcmf fpfnz Dg efnDdsbdz bpe hirtDdjbm sfgDs uif nDuifs dDvpusjft.

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lDctDp bqqmjfe uD uif hmDcbm eDnbjp uivt dDptusvfe b uifDsz bcDvu uif pfgbsjDvt Dg jnqfsjbmjtn uibu xbt Dsjhjbmmz dDpdfjwfe jp sfmbujDp uD b pbujDpbm (jp uijt dbtf sfgfspdf. EDptfrvpumz, ijt dsjujrvf fwDmwfe tjnvmubpDvtmz Dp uxD mfuvmhqsjph b pbujDpbm qmbpf bpe Dp b dDmmfdujwf ftufsp qmbpf, uif mbuufs jpdDsqsDsbujph xjujip jut qbm dDmDpjft jp wjsuvf Dg uifjs qbsujdvmbms sfmbujDptjqt xjui uifjs sftafdujwf dDmDpjbm dDp

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 LJ:GK<JB;>=ÂLA>ÂLJ:=BLBfG:EÂ<JBLBIM>Âf?ÂEMPMJQÂ:  
 fJ=>JÂLfÂ=>GfMG<>ÂLA>Â><fGfFB<Â:G=ÂKf<B:EÂžH:J:K  
 H>JB:EBKF Â:G=ÂBLKÂ<fGK>IM>G<>KÂMHfGÂLA>ÂF>LJfH  
 LJMFÂf?Â:GÂMELBF:L>ÂEfKKÂf?ÂO>KL>JGÂ:MLfGfFQ ÂBG  
 F>J<>G:JQÂ:JFB>KÂ=J:OGÂ?JfFÂLA>Â<fEfGB>K Â"GÂ:EE  
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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.<sup>38</sup>*

Jp dDpdmvejph uijt bsujdmf, xf tiDvme pDuf uibu bu uif ebxp Dg uifjs Dxp pff  
 xijdi, jp Dvs fbsmz uxfpuz-gjstu dfpuvsz fzft, tfnt ifbwjnz cvsefpfe xjui ijtuDsz ), j  
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 jut nvbtj-gfefsbm, FvsDqfbp wfstjDp bpe jp jut bctDmvujtu , dmbttjdj fe Dpf.  
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qbsujdvms Dpbme TDvuiDfjbmz English Minister ... : The Policies and Politics of Palmerston,  
MDpeDp; Nbdnjmmbp, 4:77 bpe bmtD Ljbmz fvmbsjbjord Palmerston: A Study of Public  
Opinion in England before the Crimean war, MDpeDp; IvudijptDp, 4:72. GDs bp fydfmmpu fyqDtijDp D  
uif mbphvbhf Dg HmbetuDpjb mjcsbmjtn, tff FvhfjDberf, Rbberjbmnt and Reform:  
Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860–1880, Ebncsjehf; Ebncsjehf V , 4::0, qq. 24 92,  
xijmf gDs efubjmfe bpbmztft Dg ijt FvsDqfbb qDmjuidt tff uif cjDhsbqibladstorf, U. TibppDp,  
wDmt, MDpeDp; lbnjti lbnjmuDp, 4:90 4:::

0 Tff jp qbsujdvms, lfpsz Eritfsh Working-Class Movements and Europe, 1815 1848, Nbdpift-  
ufs; Nbdpiftufs V , 4:83sim NbsDu Adp Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical  
Politics 1848–1874, Ebncsjehf; Ebncsjehf V , 4:83sim fsfl Cfbmft, Hbsjcbmej jp Fphmbpe; U  
Dmjuidt Dg Jubmjbp Fpuivtjbn , jp Dip B. bwjt b Society and Politics in the Age,  
of the Risorgimento, Ebncsjehf; Ebncsjehf V , 4::4, qq. 496 047 EisjtuDfjbmz Lightsvif,  
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411 413 Cjbmzerty Retrenchment and Reform, qq. 64 31.

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6 Bp fbsmz fybnqmf Dg uijt xbt bmnfstuDp t gbnDvt qbsmjbnfpuDsz Paoffdo Dggbyf uif  
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3 bssfp lbtujpht, HDwfsDs Hfjpsbm Dg uif Fbtu Jpejb EDnqbpz jp Cfphbm gsDn 4880 ul  
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EijdbhD sftt, 4::, qq. 443 49::

7 Tff Cfspbse Tfjnmf, The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam  
Smith to Lenin, CbmujnDsf bpe MDpeDp; Dip IDqljpt V , 4::2, qq. 08 22.

- Å f J Å : Å < f F H : J B K f G Å ; > L O > > G Å , B E D > Å : G = Å p. cit., M q q. > 2 Å K > > Å L A > Å B O
- 9 . B. IDctDp, jp uif fbsmz 01ui dfpuvsz, ejtdfspfe b dDssftqDpejph ufpefpdz bnDphtu uif C  
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sftt, 4:73 (4:13), q. 403.
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- 41 Uif jpwDmwfnfpu Dg uif Njmmt xjui fnqjsf cvjmejph, ftqfdjbmzm bnft Njmm t efqsfdjbuDp  
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- 44 sDubhDpjtt bu uijt tubhf, cDui Dp uif mfwfm Dg ejtdDvstf bpe Dp uif mfwfm Dg b  
dDmDpjbm fyqbptjDp mjlf Efdjm SiDeft jp Bgsjdb (gsDn 4991) bpe dDmDpjbm benjpitusbu  
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wjtdpt Dg Fnqjsf bpe sbdjtn, tff Fexberitje. Western Conceptions of the Orient, 2se fe.,  
MDpeDp; fphvp, 4:4, qq. 017 047 lbp. The Origins of Totalitarianism (Part Two: Imperial-  
ism), pfx fe., PsmbpeD; lbsdDvsu, 4:87, qq. 018 004.
- 40 Tff E. E. Fmesjerheli and the Rise of a New Imperialism, Ebsejgg; Vpjwstjuz Dg bmft sftt, 4:1  
passim.
- 42 Tff Cfspbse Dstff. The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850–1983, MDpeDp bpe  
Ofx Dsl; MDphnbp, Ope fe., 4:96, qq. 40: 42:.
- 46 NDtu qsDnjpfpumz, Dtfqi Eibncfsmbjp, Tfdsfubsz Dg Tubuf gDs uif EDmDpjft gsDn 49:3  
uif TDvui Bgsjdbp dDmDpjbm benjpitusbuDs Bmgsfe Njmpfs. Tff jp qbsujdvmb, Bmgsfe Nj  
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Njmpfs The Nation and the Empire ibt cffp sfqsjpufe jp Fxfp Hsffe. The Ideals of Empire: Politi-  
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- 47 JpusDwfsu jp uif tfptf uibu, gDs Njmpfs bpe jnqfsjbmjtu Dg ijt jml, uif jnbhjpbsz jp  
Csjujti pbujDp xbt tD fyqbptjwf, uibu ju bqafbsfe bmnDtu uD fphvmg uif wfsz pDujDp Dg
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