

THE GLORY AND THE GRANDEUR:
JOHN CLARKE STOBART AND THE DEFENCE OF
HIGH CULTURE IN A DEMOCRATIC AGE

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ABSTRACT

J.C. Stobart's two books, The Glory that was Greece (1911) and The Grandeur that was Rome (1912), were published at the same historical moment as the Loeb Classical Library (1912). Like it they were aimed at a new readership interested in classical antiquity but without Latin or Greek, but adopted very different strategies: the Loeb's were small and cheap, while Stobart's books were monumental, expensive and heavily illustrated volumes. Stobart aimed to provide lucid and approachable texts which commented on their illustrations, while clinging to the traditional view of Classics as a source of eternal value that resisted the change and relativity characteristic of the late nineteenth century. His publisher Frank Sidgwick, son of a celebrated classical teacher, turned from Classics to English literature, and so belonged to a transitional generation in which Latin and Greek were marginalised. Stobart's two books stood out among contemporary popularising literature as large, expensive and beautifully produced Gesamtkunstwerke.

KEYWORDS

John Stobart; Frank Sidgwick; Glory that was Greece; Grandeur that was Rome; publishing; illustration; materialist bibliography; illustration; classicising

My subject is a pair of books published just before World War I: *The Glory that was Greece* (1911) and *The Grandeur that was Rome* (1912).¹ Their author, John Clarke Stobart, took their titles from Edgar Allan Poe's poem 'To Helen':

Helen, thy beauty is to me
Like those Nicaean barks of yore,

¹ I should like to dedicate this paper to Ann Baer, Frank Sidgwick's daughter, and to John Spurling, John Stobart's grandson, with thanks for their generous help and convivial hospitality. For John Spurling, see www.johnspurling.com; for Ann Baer, see S. Markham, 'Guardian of the Ganymeds: Ann Baer at 100', *The Book Collector* 63 (2014), 417–26. The image below shows Stobart's two books, with (L) a volume in the Loeb Classical Library (1912), and (R) a volume in the Home University Library (1911). Photograph by the author, taken in Cambridge University Library, North Front 4.

That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,
The weary, wayworn wanderer bore
To his own native shore.

On desperate seas long wont to roam,
Thy hyacinth hair, thy classic face,
Thy Naiad airs have brought me home
To the glory that was Greece
And the grandeur that was Rome.

Lo! in yon brilliant window-niche
How statue-like I see thee stand
The agate lamp within thy hand!
Ah, Psyche, from the regions which
Are Holy-Land!²

These two books, now almost forgotten, were widely admired when they first appeared, went into several editions and were still in print fifty years later. A century after the *Glory* was published, a distinguished student of Greek religion, Robert Parker, wrote that

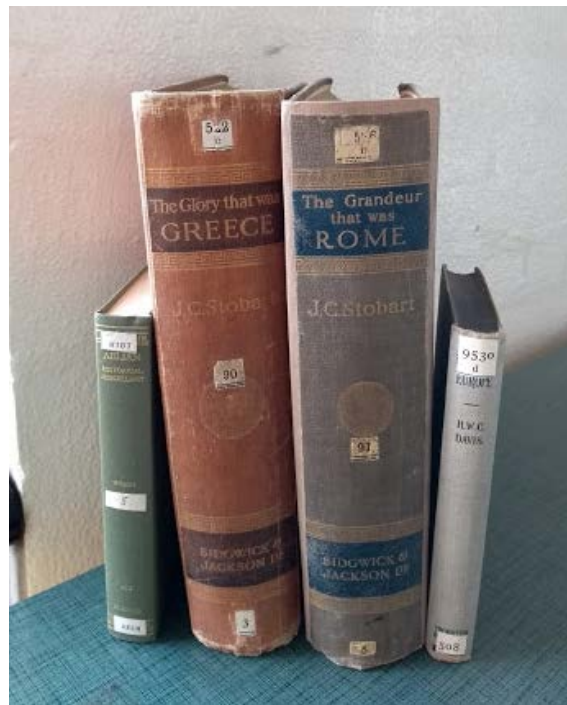
In relation to Greece, the classicizing approach that sought there models of timeless perfection has largely fallen out of fashion. J.C. Stobart's *The Glory that was Greece* seems finally to have gone out of print; instead we are urged to remember that, for all its superficial familiarity, the ancient world was 'desperately alien' from our own.³

Parker was referring to academic fashions, but Stobart's book was aimed at a general audience, and one that was unlikely to know Greek. It is however true that the anthropological turn of the 1960s and '70s filtered down to schools and to the general reading public. The phrase 'desperately alien' probably originated with Moses Finley, and it should be remembered that Finley was not only a leading ancient historian but also a prolific populariser, through his journalism, and an influential figure in

² Stobart's use of the poem is discussed in C.A. Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830–1960* (OUP, 1998), 7–12. The original version of 1831 had 'a folded scroll' instead of 'an agate lamp', and 'A psyche' instead of 'Ah! Psyche'; the version given above dates from 1845.

³ Robert Parker, *Greek Religion* (OUP, 2011), vii. H.S. Versnel called the phrase quoted by Parker 'a modish mantra' in his essay 'Prayer and curse', in E. Eidinow and J. Kindt (eds), *The Oxford Handbook to Ancient Greek Religion* (OUP, 2015), 447–62, at 452.

school curriculum reform, through the JACT Ancient History Committee.⁴ As a result, perspectives employed or argued for in his writing are likely to have influenced readers at several levels: I can still remember the impact *The World of Odysseus* made on me when I was at secondary school.⁵ The final editions of both the *Glory* and its companion volume the *Grandeur* were published in 1987, but since then a variety of reprints have been issued, some in the ‘Classics Reprint’ series of Forgotten Books, and Kindle versions are also available. For the publishers of such reprints,



classicizing or anthropological approaches are less important than the expiry of Stobart’s copyright, 70 years after his death in 1933: a point which illustrates the way in which the histories of scholarship and of the book can be mutually illuminating. Stobart himself, as we shall see, did intend his books to encourage a search for timeless perfection, but much of his text can be read without engaging in such a search, and this is even more true of the revised editions of both books in the 1930s (by F.N. Pryce) and 1960s (by R.J. Hopper for the *Glory*, and by W.S. Maguinness and H.H. Scullard for the *Grandeur*).

Stobart’s books appeared at a specific historical moment, just before World War 1, when the old dominance of Classics in elite British culture

⁴ For the phrase, see Finley’s preface to P.E. Easterling and J.V. Muir (eds), *Greek Religion and Society* (CUP, 1985), xiii. My thanks to Robert Parker for discussion.

⁵ See the essays in D. Jew, R. Osborne and M. Scott (eds), *M.I. Finley: An Ancient Historian and his Impact* (CUP, 2016).

was fading, and when attempts were being made both to shore up its position in schools and universities, and to reach out beyond them to maintain interest in it among a wider readership which had neither Latin nor Greek. Like so many other things, these attempts were interrupted by the outbreak of war. As my mention of education and publication indicates, this paper stands at the interface between the histories of Classics and of publishing, and I shall be concerned to look at the relationship between the two. One could discuss Stobart simply by reading what he wrote, but that would be to leave out of account the way his text is printed on paper and bound in board, and the way it is enhanced by a few coloured and large numbers of black and white photographs and line drawings, and by the way the boards are moulded in bas relief.⁶ The role of illustration is of special importance in this case, since Stobart and his publisher, as we shall see, viewed the text as a commentary on the illustrations.⁷

Parameters of change 1850–1920: institutions, ideologies and publishing

Between 1850 and 1920, the central position of Classics in British schools and universities was undermined by social and institutional changes. New subjects were introduced in the ancient universities from the 1850s: history, law, economics, modern languages, natural sciences, and eventually English (Oxford in the 1890s, Cambridge in the 1910s). In the new municipal secondary schools set up after the 1902 Education Act, Latin was available but not Greek. After World War 1, the compulsory Greek requirement for entry to Oxford and Cambridge, first challenged in 1870, was abolished.⁸ The franchise was extended to working-class men, and eventually to women (aged 30 in 1921, aged 21 in 1928); the elite social order for so long identified with a classical education was beginning to crumble. State schooling was introduced, at an elementary level from 1870 (compulsory from 1881) and at the secondary level from 1902. Literacy was almost universal, university extension teaching became popular,

⁶ The *Glory* bears an image of Athena Parthenos, the *Grandeur* a medallion showing the head of Germanicus.

⁷ On the use of illustrations in US editions of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, see C.S. Kraus, 'Pointing the moral' or 'adorning the tale?' Illustrations and commentary on Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* in 19th and early 20th-century American textbooks', in S.J. Harrison and C.B.R. Pelling (eds), *Classics and Classicists* (forthcoming 2020).

⁸ See Stray, *Classics Transformed*, 167–270.

and a growing market for self-education was created among skilled workers who had no prospect of going to university.⁹

Among the institutional responses to the marginalising of Classics were the foundation of the Classical Association of England and Wales in 1903, and of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching a decade later. The Classical Association's founder, the Cambridge Latinist J.P. Postgate, warned that without concerted action Classics could disappear from school curricula; the founder of the ARLT, the headmaster W.H.D. Rouse, sought to recreate an imagined golden age of pre-industrial harmony by teaching Classics through conversation in Latin and Greek.¹⁰

Ideologies

Responses to these changes can be seen both in the defences and justifications composed by classical scholars, and in the books brought out by publishers as they reoriented to new markets and new readerships. A long tradition of using classical antiquity as a source of timeless and universal exemplars was coming to an end, as classicists developed a wide range of reformulated visions of the subject. Some of these involved modulated versions of the absolutist conception of the timeless and universal value of the classical; others sought an accommodation to relativity and change. Among the most influential examples of the latter position was Gilbert Murray's conception of 'evolutionary humanistic Hellenism', in which the Hellenic spirit embodied a kind of change which was controlled by its progressive directionality.¹¹ What is striking about Stobart's books is that

⁹ See P. Bowler, *Science for All* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 81–90, and more generally J. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (Yale UP, 2010).

¹⁰ For the Classical Association, see C.A. Stray, 'The foundation and its contexts', in id. (ed.), *The Classical Association: The First Century* (OUP, 2003), 3–22; for the ARLT, C.A. Stray, *The Living Word: W.H.D. Rouse and the Crisis of Classics in Edwardian England* (Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 44–8. Rouse's vision was on display in the booklet he wrote to promote the Loeb Classical Library, *Machines or Mind?* (Heinemann, 1912).

¹¹ 'Classicising' and the responses to its erosion are discussed in C.A. Stray, 'Culture and discipline: The reconstruction of Classics in England, 1830–1930', PhD Diss., University of Wales, 1994, 11–56. (This thesis is now available for download via the British Library's Ethos scheme.) It is also discussed more briefly in Stray, *Classics Transformed*, 10, 15–20; responses, 202–32; for Stobart see 7–12. For 'evolutionary humanistic Hellenism', see F.M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (Yale UP, 1981), 61–76. For Murray (1866–1957, see the biographies by Wilson and West (n. 34 below), and C.A. Stray (ed.), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre, and International Politics* (OUP, 2007).

they represent an attempt to maintain the absolutist position which one might see reflected in Poe's reference to Greece and Rome as a 'home' for the 'weary traveller' on 'desperate seas'. As he wrote in the preface to the *Glory*,

My claim for the study of Hellenism would not be founded on history. I would urge the need of constant reference to some fixed canon in matters of taste, some standard of the beautiful which shall be beyond question or criticism; all the more because we are living in eager, restless times of constant experiment and veering fashions ... The proper use of true classics is ... to keep them as a compass in the cross-currents of fashion. By them you may know what is permanent and essential from what is showy and exciting. (*Glory* 5)

The source of Stobart's absolutism can perhaps be found in the waning of religious faith in the later nineteenth century and the search for alternative exemplars of value. From about 1855, a steady decline can be seen in the ordination rates of Oxford and Cambridge graduates; in Stobart's generation, graduates were more likely to go into teaching, the law or the civil service than into the church.¹² His own father was a clergyman, and we could compare W.H.D. Rouse, son of a Baptist missionary, who devoted his adult life to a secular mission: to convert teachers and pupils to the direct method, teaching and learning Latin and Greek through conversation in the classical languages.¹³ Others in Stobart's generation inherited secular missions from their fathers, as in the case of the Latinist J.P. Postgate, son of a food purity reformer.¹⁴ Frank Sidgwick's father Arthur Sidgwick was a political and cultural liberal who like his brother Henry had never been ordained. The Sunday homilies he delivered to the sixth-formers at Rugby in the late 1860s were designed to counter the chapel sermons of the conservative headmaster Henry Hayman, to whom Sidgwick and his colleagues were bitterly opposed.¹⁵

Where others' commitment to Classics can be seen as a substitute for religion, for Stobart the two ran in parallel. At the BBC, his religious faith will have recommended him to the sternly religious Sir John Reith, the

¹² A.G.L. Haig, 'The church, the universities and learning in later Victorian England', *Historical Journal* 29 (1986), 187–201.

¹³ Stray, *The Living Word*.

¹⁴ Stray, *Classics Transformed*, 225.

¹⁵ The conflict led first to Hayman's sacking Sidgwick, and eventually, in 1873, to the school governors' sacking Hayman. See the *ODNB* on Hayman article, revised by M.C. Curthoys; the original *DNB* article was, unusually, anonymous, in itself an indication of contention.

first director-general, who greeted a new employee at interview by asking, ‘Do you accept the fundamental teachings of Jesus Christ?’¹⁶ Stobart was put in charge of a range of programmes, including religious talks. Stobart’s own religiosity can be seen in the titles of two books collecting his essays: *The Gospel of Happiness* (1933) and *The Divine Spark* (1934). A reviewer of the first book declared that Stobart was ‘essentially a preacher, a reverently-minded man with a message’.¹⁷ In April 1929 Stobart went on a lecture tour of Canada, and in Victoria, British Columbia, spoke at the City Temple: his title was ‘Jesus the Poet, or the Holiness of Beauty’.¹⁸ At the BBC Stobart introduced the custom of broadcasting every New Year’s Eve a ‘Grand Goodnight’, in which a ‘message of hope and encouragement’ was broadcast to listeners. In the broadcast on the last day of 1932, he declared that what the nation needed was a return to Jesus Christ.¹⁹ The broadcast came from a microphone installed in his bedroom, where he was dying of diabetes; an offer of a knighthood was on its way to him when he died on 11 May 1933.²⁰

To return to Stobart’s conception of Classics: despite his overall absolutism, he does not hold to the position that fifth-century Greece was a transcendent exemplar, and applauds the Greekless reader for being ‘much less likely [than the professional philologist] to overrate that narrow strip of time which classical scholars select out of Greek history as “the classical period”’ (*Glory* viii). In fact ‘This volume is fortunate in the moment of its appearance, for it is now possible for the first time to illustrate the prehistoric culture of Greece in a worthy manner’ (*Glory* ix). Stobart goes on to mention ‘the models of the treasures of Crete and Mycenae’ held in the Ashmolean and British Museums, and to acknowledge Arthur Evans’s permission to reproduce them in colour (*Glory* Plates 5 and 7).

Stobart’s references to Crete and Mycenae, and so to the work of Schliemann and Evans, point to the changes that had come over Classics in the late nineteenth century, after archaeological discoveries revealed a Greece very different from that of the fifth century BCE. A significant

¹⁶ R.S. Lambert, *Ariel and All his Quality: An Impression of the BBC from Within* (Gollancz, 1940), 25. For Henry Sidgwick, see B. Schultz, *Henry Sidgwick — The Eye of the Universe: A Biography* (CUP, 2004).

¹⁷ Undated review of *The Gospel of Happiness*, in the Stobart scrapbook held by John Spurling.

¹⁸ Information from press cuttings in the Stobart scrapbook.

¹⁹ ‘BBC’s “Grand Goodnight”: stirring New Year’s message’, *Church of England Newspaper*, 6 Jan. 1933.

²⁰ See the informative Wikipedia article on Stobart, written by his grandson John Spurling.

moment in this process was the foundation in 1879 of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, whose object was to promote archaeological rather than linguistic or literary exploration of ancient Greece.²¹ When the first volume of the Society's *Journal of Hellenic Studies* came out in 1880, it was reviewed by the Oxford Homerist David Binning Monro.²² In his review, Monro quoted the Society's rules, which declared that its main object would be 'to advance the study of Greek language, literature and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and neo-Hellenic periods' (Rule 1: JHS 1, ix). Monro went on to point out that such aspirations were different from those of earlier classical revivals. The new features he finds are first, 'the idea of development, which impels us to look at the continuous history of a literature or a nation, rather than to dwell exclusively on brilliant epochs.' Secondly, 'the idea of science, which tends to put all phenomena on the same level, rather than choose out this or that portion as especially worthy of study'; thirdly,

the idea of nationality ... which is satisfied by the long historical life of the Greek people ... All these ideas are distinctively modern; and their influence may be seen in the province marked out by the new Renaissance. That province is "Hellenism" — Hellenism of every period and in every exhibition of its spirit. And the success which has so far attended the movement is due, not merely to the literary prestige of Hellenic Studies", but still more to the consciousness that what they offer is in a supreme degree the conditions of scientific interest.²³

Monro's point about development may have been fuelled by his personal focus on Homer, to whom no more than lip service was paid by those scholars for whom fifth-century Athens was the peak of Greek civilisation. The more fundamental point about development was that it undermined the crucial argument for classical antiquity, that it provided timeless exemplars of value. Once the notion of historical change was introduced, that bulwark crumbled. His second point referred to another corrosive of the classical ideal, the amoral world of scientific naturalism.²⁴ As it

²¹ C.A. Stray, 'Promoting and defending: reflections on the history of the Hellenic Society (1879) and the Classical Association (1903)', in idem, *Classics in Britain 1800–2000* (OUP, 2018), 228–42.

²² For Monro, see his article in *ODNB*, and J. Cook Wilson, *David Binning Monro: A Short Memoir* (OUP, 1904).

²³ D.B. Monro, review of *JHS* vol. 1, *The Academy* 454, 15 Jan. 1881, 38–9.

²⁴ Stray, *Classics Transformed*, 152; cf. F.M. Turner, *Between Religion and Science: The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in Late-Victorian England* (Yale UP, 1974);

emerged in the later nineteenth century, this set up a powerful alternative to the world of literary and humanistic value of which Classics had been a central part. Monro's final point, about nationalism, brought up another serious challenger to the world of universal value manifested in the history of Latin as a European lingua franca which underpinned the *res publica litterarum*. Nationalism went along with the shift to vernacular language and publishing, both of which had made significant advances in the eighteenth century. Particularism, then, worked against the universal value seen by so many as exemplified by Classics, the bulwark against change and relativity.

As Yeats put it in 1920 in his apocalyptic poem 'The second coming', 'Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world'. But it was not only the wider world that was falling apart, but also the smaller world of classical scholarship. Stobart was writing for a new audience which could not be assumed to know Greek or Latin, but he was also trying to give an integrated picture of classical civilisation at a time when he saw scholarship fragmenting into specialisms. As he put it in the preface to the *Glory*, 'Real students are now like miners working underground, each in his own shaft, buried far away from sight or earshot of the public, so that they even begin to lose touch with each other' (*Glory* v). Stobart's conclusion was that we must either compile 'encyclopaedic works under slight editorial control' or 'present a panorama of the whole territory from an individual point of view'; the latter plan is clearly what he is following, though he is aware that 'The best that [he] can hope for is that his archaeology may satisfy the historians and his history the archaeologists' (*Glory* vii–viii).²⁵

Any reader of Stobart's books cannot fail to realise that they are indeed viewing 'a panorama ... from an individual point of view'. Discussing the Homeric 'king', Stobart comments that 'The truth, of course, is that he's a king in buckram. He is only a country squire with a pedigree, dressed up as a Basileus to suit the conventions of the epic' (*Glory* 47).²⁶ At Sparta 'prefects' were appointed to look after younger boys: 'the latter had his [sic] "fags" entirely under his orders' (*Glory* 91). This glimpse of

Turner, 'The triumph of idealism in Victorian classical studies', in idem, *Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life* (CUP, 1993), 322–61.

²⁵ His reference to encyclopaedic works is surely to Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopaedie des Altertumswissenschaft*. This had first appeared in 1837–52 in 6 vols in 7 and grew under successive editors till it is now in 49 volumes in 83.

²⁶ Note the colloquial 'he's', invoking the atmosphere of a fireside chat. Buckram was a loose-woven cotton fabric stiffened with paste: in other words, a plain everyday material very different from regal robes. Cf. Shakespeare, *Henry VII*, IV.vi, 'thou buckram lord'.

the public-school system that Stobart knew as both pupil and teacher is paralleled in his reference to the ‘dog-eared texts and grammars’ which ‘waft back’ to a graduate ‘the strangely close atmosphere of the classical form-room’ (*Glory* 1). At times, the author writes of his own feelings, as when in discussing Gibbon he remarks parenthetically that ‘I write as one who cannot change trains at Lausanne without emotion’ (*Grandeur* viii).²⁷ He also offers highly idiosyncratic opinions at times, as when describing a funereal monument:

Commentators tell us that the cat (*felis domesticus*) was not kept as a pet in Greece, but that when ancient commentators talk of the ‘wavy-tail’ who catches mice they mean the weasel. Would any one but a commentator keep a weasel for a pet?’ (*Glory* 193).²⁸

Remarks such as this explain why the editors of the fourth edition of the *Grandeur* (1961) wrote that ‘It is hoped that readers of the present edition will not miss Stobart’s engaging flippancy’.²⁹ A review of the first edition of the *Glory* had made the same point:

A title *ad captandum* of the most hackneyed sort and a flippant literary manner designed also, no doubt, to catch, have to be set against the very real merits of Mr J.C. Stobart’s book ...³⁰

Stobart’s publisher Frank Sidgwick, on the other hand, will have appreciated Stobart’s flippancy, since his own family was known for making flippant remarks in discussions of serious subjects, a trait referred to as ‘Sidgwickedness’. The term was first used of Frank’s uncle, the philosopher Henry Sidgwick.³¹

²⁷ Gibbon had lived in Lausanne in 1753–8, 1763–4 and 1783–94.

²⁸ Stobart evidently did not know anyone who kept ferrets, and surely was unaware of the competitive sport of ferret-legging (keeping ferrets inside one’s sealed trousers), for which the current world record is 5 hours 10 minutes (<https://www.topendsports.com/sport/unusual/ferret-legging.htm>, last accessed 09.12.19).

²⁹ W.S. Maguinness and H.H. Scullard, Preface, *The Grandeur that was Rome*, fourth edition, ix. (How could readers miss it, unless they had already read earlier editions?)

³⁰ Review of the *Glory*, *Illustrated London News* 13 Jan. 1912, 2.

³¹ See A. and E.M. S[idgwick], *Henry Sidgwick* (Macmillan, 1906), 586. The use of the term in a poem in the St John’s College magazine *The Eagle* (Easter 1897), 583, in the phrase ‘Sidgwickedness shifty and shady’, perhaps represents independent invention, referring as it does to Sidgwick’s failed attempt to have women made eligible for degrees. The term is also used in F.C.S. Schiller’s spoof philosophical journal *Mind!*

Stobart makes it clear that his books are inevitably based on the specialised work of other scholars: anyone who adopts his plan ‘is compelled to ... tread on innumerable toes with every step he takes. Every fact he chronicles is the subject of a monograph, every opinion he hazards may run counter to somebody’s life-work’ (*Glory* vii). Yet he is not afraid to criticise or disagree with eminent authorities: ‘Mommsen, like a true Bismarckian German, has a striking comparison of the ancient Gallic Celt with the modern Irishman’ (*Grandeur* 115). ‘I think, in opposition to Ferrero ...’ (*Grandeur* 170); ‘It is ... unhistorical to assert, as does the foremost of living historians in Germany, Dr Eduard Meyer ...’ (*Grandeur* 171).

Publishing

In response to the changes outlined above, new kinds of books were published. The textbook series launched in the first two decades of the twentieth century were designed to be more approachable, easier to work through and with less focus on the detailed rules of grammar and syntax. Literary texts were given more extensive notes, and in some cases vocabularies were added, thus creating problems for the publishers of dictionaries. Illustrations were introduced to make books more attractive to young learners, in some cases with a limited use of colour; limited because of the cost of printing in colour. A relatively elaborate example was Atkinson and Pierce’s *Dent’s First Latin Book* (J.M. Dent, 1902), which carried 12 colour plates by Mary Durham.³²

Beyond the school market, new series of books were published to appeal to new audiences who could not read Latin or Greek. The Loeb Classical Library, an Anglo-American venture planned in 1911, began to issue volumes in 1912, each volume including a Latin or Greek text and facing translation; some read the translation, while marking up the facing

(Williams and Norgate, 1901), 140. I owe my own knowledge of the term to conversation with Frank Sidgwick’s daughter Ann Baer.

³² Limited because of the cost of printing in colour: some books carried a coloured frontispiece and then relapsed into black and white. Cf. C.A. Stray, ‘Classics’, in R. Louis (ed.), *History of Oxford University Press 3: 1896–1970* (OUP, 2013), 422–40, at 434–7. These new initiatives were not discussed in C.A. Stray and G. Sutherland, ‘Educational publishing’ in D.J. McKitterick (ed.), *Cambridge History of the Book in England vol 6: 1830–1914* (Cambridge, 2008), 359–81: an omission the authors now regret. On printing illustrations in this period, see the contributions of David McKitterick and Michael Twyman to *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 6: 1830–1914*, ed. D. McKitterick (CUP, 2009), 90–1, 130, 134–5, 141.

original.³³ With a much wider remit, the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge (1911) was edited by the classical scholar Gilbert Murray (Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford 1908–36), his friend the historian H.A.L. Fisher (President of the Board of Education 1916–22),



H.W. Atkinson and J.W.E. Pearce, *Dent's First Latin Book* (1902), with coloured frontispiece by Mary Durham.

the biologist J. Arthur Thompson, Regius Professor of Natural History at Aberdeen, and William T. Brewster, Professor of English at Columbia University. Murray's own book *Euripides* was published in the series in 1913, and later classical titles were contributed by Jane Harrison and Maurice Bowra. Murray remained an editor till his death in 1957.³⁴

³³ H. Nicolson, *Some People* (Pan Books, 1947), 186.

³⁴ The Home University Library deserves a full-scale study. E. Glasgow, 'The origins of the Home University Library', *Library Review* 50 (2001) 95–9 is superficial; much more useful is J. Stapleton, 'Gilbert Murray and Alfred Eckhard Zimmern', in C.A. Stray (ed.), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed* (OUP, 2007), 261–91, at 268–75. Cf. P. Bowler, *Science for the People* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 128–31; D. Wilson, *Gilbert Murray OM* (OUP, 1987), 187–92; F. West, *Gilbert Murray: A Life* (Croom Helm, 1984), 139–41.

Stobart's books were written for the same new audiences, but were different in an important respect: they were large-format and heavily illustrated, their text serving almost as an accompaniment to their illustrations, and thus they were inevitably expensive. They were aimed, we must conclude, at the upper sectors of the new readership, and as gift or prize books.³⁵ I referred above to publishers' reorienting toward the new markets: Sidgwick had less of a problem than some, since his firm had been founded only in 1908 (its history is discussed below).

Among the consequences of the academic specialisation decried by Stobart has been the separation between the history of science and of the humanities. This is made all the more evident by the scale and quality of work produced in the history of science.³⁶ In the case of the publishing for new readerships in the early twentieth century to which Stobart's books belong, it is characteristic that an excellent general account is available, as it is not for the humanities. Peter Bowler's *Science for All: The Popularisation of Science in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (2009) can provide us with several perspectives on Stobart's books, both parallel and complementary. In the case of the Home University Library, which as I have suggested (n. 19) deserves a full-scale study, Bowler reports evidence from the papers of scientific contributors. For example, a printed prospectus hailed the series as 'a landmark of modern book production' and identified its readership as 'thousands of students in upper elementary schools ... university extension classes, evening schools, home reading circles, literary societies etc.'³⁷ Bowler's excellent discussion of the new readerships and on the way in which publishers and authors responded to them (pp. 81–90) is to a degree generalisable to humanities publishing. An interesting parallel to Stobart's books mentioned by Bowler is the prolific Scottish scientific populariser Charles Gibson's *The Autobiography of an Electron* (1911), an approachable and often humorous account (p. 35).³⁸

³⁵ The classicists who have told me of their encounters with the books remember them as volumes in their school libraries.

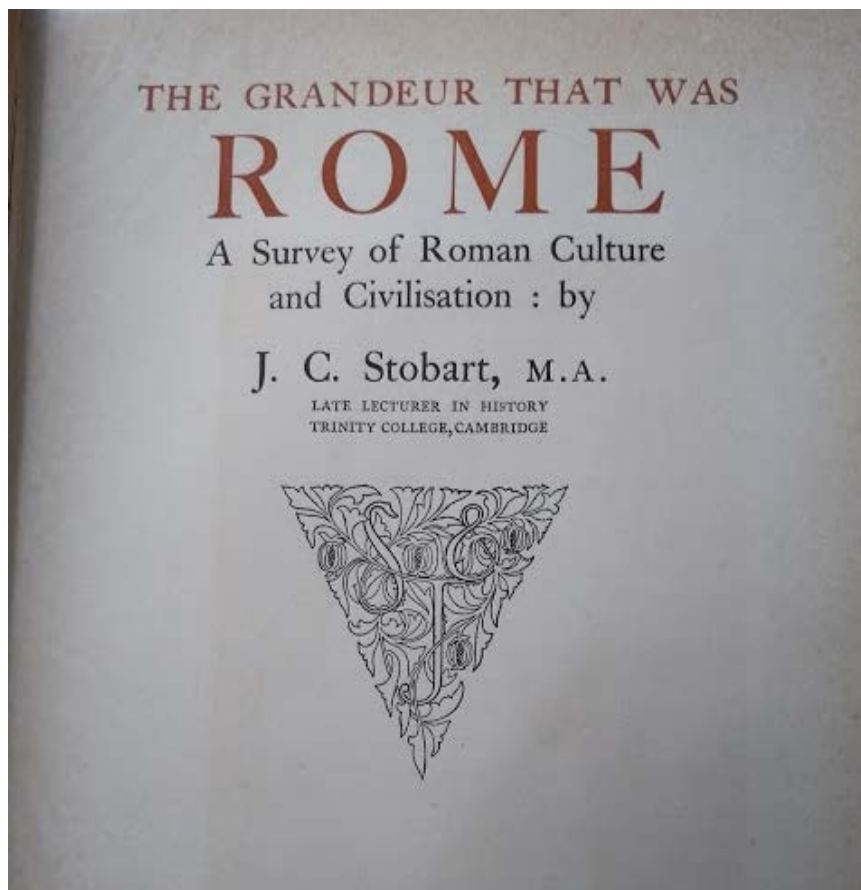
³⁶ Hence the compensatory movement exemplified by the three-volume series edited by R. Bod, T. Weststeijn and J. Matt, *The Making of the Humanities* (Amsterdam University Press, 2010–15).

³⁷ Bowler, *Science for All*, 128–19, citing the papers of Patrick Geddes in the National Library of Scotland, 153a.

³⁸ Another study worth mentioning here is Matthew Skelton's, 'The paratext of everything: constructing and marketing H.G. Wells's *The Outline of History*', *Book History* 4 (2001), 237–75, which draws on correspondence and publishing records.

The look of the book

Let me turn to the books themselves.³⁹ The first editions of 1911–12 are large format (super-royal octavo, 10 1/2 in. x 7 1/2 in.), thick and heavy — the *Glory* is just under 300 pages and weighs in at 1.825 kg; the *Grandeur*



The Grandeur that was Rome (1912), title page.

is 350 pages and 1.975 kg. They were printed in Monotype Caslon Old Face Standard, the leading typeface of the time for serious books.⁴⁰ The text was printed on high-quality paper and heavily illustrated, each volume having 100 illustrations of different kinds: collotypes, half-tones, line drawings, a few of the half-tones being in colour, as were photo-gravures made by Emery Walker. Walker was a distinguished printer who

³⁹ This section has benefited greatly from discussion with Michael Twyman.

⁴⁰ This typeface had been released by the Monotype Company in 1906, following another version of Caslon (Old Face Special) released in 1903. On receiving early proofs of the *Glory*, Sidgwick complained to his printers, the Ballantyne Press, that they had mistakenly introduced examples of the earlier face into the text. Sidgwick to Ballantyne, 26 Feb. 1911: Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 12.21.

had befriended and worked with William Morris, and was the most influential engraver and typographer of his day: 'It is scarcely too much to say that his influence, direct or indirect, can be discerned in nearly every well-designed traditional typographical page that now appears, and that to him more than to any other man the twentieth century's great improvement in book production in Britain was due.'⁴¹ The use of Walker's skills is one of several indications that Sidgwick was determined to apply the



Glory and Grandeur: first, second, third and fourth editions.

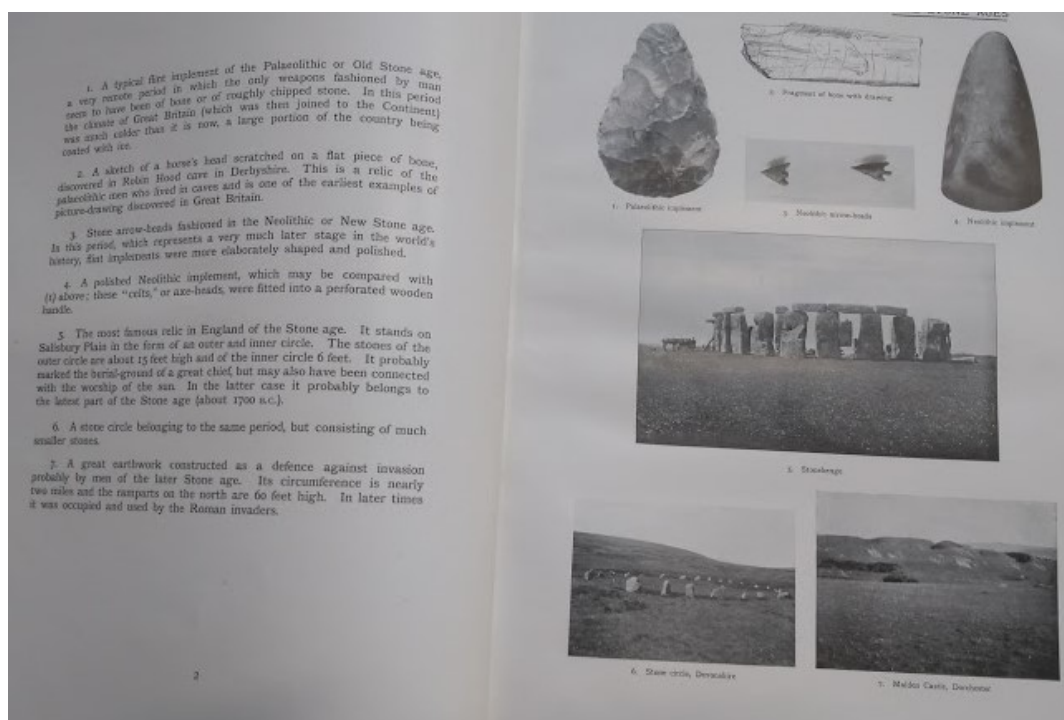
highest standards to Stobart's books. Another such indication is that many of the illustrations were printed on a 'dull art paper' specially commissioned by Sidgwick from the London firm of Grosvenor Chater; Sidgwick was clearly determined to avoid the 'spotty photos on shiny paper' (half-tones) that he had referred to in a letter to Stobart.⁴² The title

⁴¹ S. Cockerell, 'Sir Emery Walker', *ODNB*, rev. J. Trevitt, 2004. At one point Frank Sidgwick invited Walker to write his autobiography, but there is no evidence of a response.

⁴² Sidgwick to Stobart, 13 Oct. 1910: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 10.145. Sidgwick was proud of this paper, and drew attention to it when sending out review copies. This is mentioned in some reviews: see the section on reception below. Sidgwick to C.H.

pages of the two books are classically austere, but their austerity is relieved by the use of rubrication and by the triangular panel below the title (see illustration above). This panel, which carries the firm's acronym 'S J & C', is in the style of the Arts and Crafts movement, begun in 1887 to foster decorative design.⁴³ The title page as a whole thus reminds us of the combination of, and potential tension between, the classical values explored in Stobart's text and the rather different artistic tendencies of contemporary book-making.⁴⁴

In choosing to print Stobart's text (and some illustrations) on high-class paper, with art paper tipped in, Sidgwick took a different route from



S.C. Roberts, *The Picture Book of British History*, vol.1, *From the Earliest Times to 1485 A.D.* (Cambridge University Press, 1914): pp. 2–3, 'The stone ages'.

McCall (Ballantyne Press), 16 Oct. 1911: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 14.358. In 1920 Sidgwick brought home dummy copies of both books sent him by the binders, for his daughters Elizabeth and Ann to use as albums; they found the (blank) paper too shiny to write on. (Information from Ann Baer.)

⁴³ Michael Twyman suggests that the design of the triangular panel reflects the work of Lewis F. Day, a founder member of the Arts and Crafts Society, who died in 1910. Among Day's wallpaper designs, now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are 'Greek' and 'Athenian'. As far as I know, Sidgwick did not use the triangular design on any other books.

⁴⁴ The tension is expressed in the difference between the moulded classical cameos of the cover and the logo panel on the title page.

that adopted by other publishers. Sydney Roberts' *Picture Book of British History*, published in three volumes by Cambridge University Press from 1914, was printed throughout on art paper. Roberts's Preface opened as follows:

Great emphasis is now laid by educational authorities upon the importance of pictorial illustration in the teaching of history. The Board of Education, in its most recent circular on the subject, describes it as 'an indispensable aid at all stages', and recommends that 'portraits of eminent persons, reproductions of old prints, documents and other famous records ... will often form the best means of representing social life and customs, pageants and battles, the apparatus of husbandry, trade and war'.⁴⁵

Another book of this kind, A.F. Giles's *The Roman Civilization* (T.C. and E.C. Jack, 1918) was also printed on art paper. It belonged to a series of illustrated books entitled 'Through the Eye' (the series title is displayed on the cover), a popular contemporary phrase which summed up the doctrine reflected in the Board of Education's circular. Jennifer Lynn Peterson has described the phrase as 'a common conceit of the era', and cites a 1912 editorial in the *New York Evening Journal* which declared that moving pictures 'will educate, through the eye, hundreds of millions of children'.⁴⁶

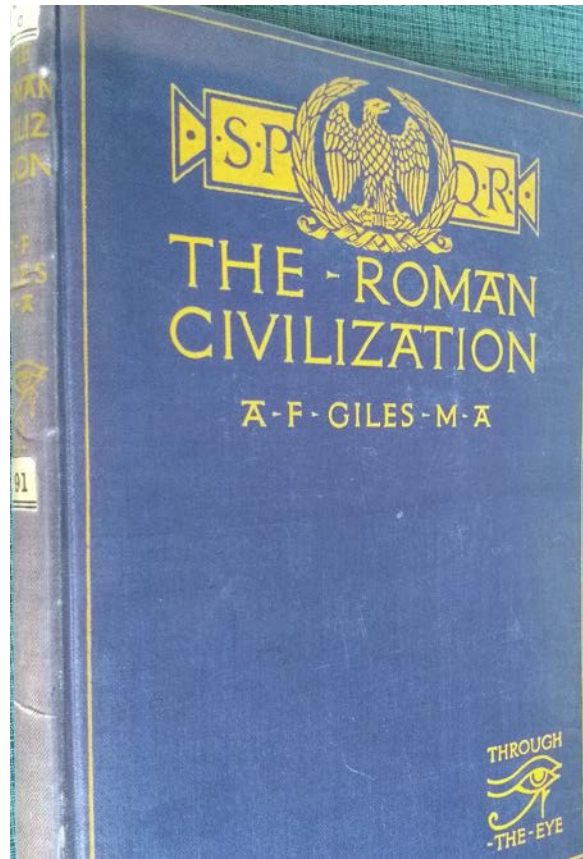
To return to Stobart's books: the illustration does not stop at the endpapers (which all feature maps), however, since they have elaborately decorated covers with embossed gold medallions, reminiscent in some ways of Edward Burne-Jones's silver and grey bas-relief panels for his Perseus series.⁴⁷ The colour scheme varies: the *Glory* is in two shades of brown, the *Grandeur* silver and grey. The contrast could hardly be greater between these massive volumes and those in the series brought out in the same period by other publishers. The Home University Library, whose volumes ran to about 50,000 words each, had a standard price of 1s.

⁴⁵ Roberts was probably referring to Board of Education Circular 833, *Suggestions for the Use of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools, Instalment no.6: Suggestions for the Teaching of History* (HMSO, 1914). This reminded teachers that 'Pictorial illustration ... is an indispensable aid at all stages' (p. 15).

⁴⁶ J.L. Peterson, *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film* (Duke University Press, 2013), 101.

⁴⁷ The series was commissioned by Arthur Balfour in 1875, and worked on for ten years. The surviving preliminary studies are in Southampton Art Gallery, some finished panels in the Staatsgalerie at Stuttgart.

Harper's Library of Living Thought, which included volumes on archaeology, consisted of books of less than 200 pages priced at 2s 6d. More



A.F. Giles, *The Roman Civilization*
(T.C. and E.C. Jack, 1918)

upmarket was Heinemann's Regions of the World series, beginning in 1902, whose volumes were priced at 7s 6d; even more so the publications of the Medici Society, founded in 1908, whose series Handbooks to Ancient Civilisations was priced at 12s 6d a volume and included illustrations, some in colour. Amara Thornton, to whose pioneering work in this area I am indebted, regards this series as 'on the expensive end of the "popular" scale'.⁴⁸ On this reckoning Stobart's two books were well off this scale, selling as they did at 30s each, rather than the guinea Sidgwick had estimated in advance.⁴⁹ To find more massive and more expensive

⁴⁸ Thornton, *Archaeologists in Print: Publishing for the People* (UCL Press online, 2018), 110. Cheaper than any of these were the volumes of Benn's Sixpenny Library, founded in 1926, whose small-format yellow paperbacks ran to less than 100 pages.

⁴⁹ Sidgwick to Stobart, 13 Oct. 1910: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 10.145.

volumes, one would have to go to Liddell and Scott's *Greek–English Lexicon* (8th edition 1897: xvi, 1,776 pages, 11³/₄ in. x 9 in., 4.25 kg), priced at 42s. Its Latin counterpart, Lewis and Short's *A Latin Dictionary* shared its format with Stobart's books (10¹/₂ in. x 7¹/₂ in.); it was thicker and heavier (xiv, 2,010 pages, 2.65 kg) but was cheaper at 25s.⁵⁰ Later editions of the *Glory* in Stobart's lifetime were sold at reduced prices. The printing and publishing history of both books up to 1924 can be extracted from the firm's ledgers.⁵¹ The *Glory* was published in December 1911, priced at 30s. The print run was 1,500, followed in June 1913 by a run of 1,200 for a Swedish translation.⁵² By the end of 1914, 541 copies had been sold at home, and 268 in the USA. A second 'cheap' edition was issued in 1915, priced at 7s 6d. The much reduced price of the second edition probably reflects both the reduced sophistication and complexity of the boards, and the fact that some first edition costs were one-off rather than recurrent.

A new impression in 1918 was priced at 15s, another in 1920 at 21s. By the end of 1924, the second edition had sold 3,088 copies at home, and 1,538 in the USA; American editions were also published by J.B. Lippincott of Philadelphia in 1913 and 1915. A third edition, revised by F.N. Pryce, appeared in 1933, and was reprinted seven times by 1960; a US edition was published in 1933 by Grove Press. The fourth edition, revised

⁵⁰ The price differential can be explained in part by the fact that Lewis and Short had been printed unrevised from electroplates provided by Harper and Brothers of New York since first publication in 1879, whereas Liddell and Scott had a long history of revision, the 1897 being the eighth edition. The *Lexicon* had gone from standing type to stereotype to electrotype. For the publishing history of Lewis and Short, see F.J. Sypher, 'A history of Harper's Latin Dictionary', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 20 (1972), 349–66; for that of Liddell and Scott, C.A. Stray, 'Liddell and Scott in historical context: Victorian beginnings, twentieth-century developments', in Stray, M.J. Clarke and J.T. Katz (eds), *Liddell and Scott: The History, Methodology and Languages of the World's Leading Lexicon of Ancient Greek* (Oxford, 2019), 3–24.

⁵¹ King's College Modern Archive, Cambridge, papers of Rupert Chawner Brooke, RCB/S/16.2.1. The ledgers cover the period 1908–51; it is not clear why the entries for Stobart's books end in 1924. The archive was acquired by King's College from Maggs in 2015: see P.M. Jones, 'Rupert Brooke and the profits of poetry', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* XVI (2016), 107–23. My thanks to Peter Jones for alerting me to the existence of the Schroder deposit and for helpful discussion.

⁵² This was *Hellas' härlighet: en skildring av Greklands Kultur under forntiden*, trans. P.G. Norberg (P.A. Norstedt, 1915). Norstedt was a publishing house founded in 1823; the connection was made through the British representative of another Swedish publisher (Albert Bonnier), Margaret Dowling, who also worked for Sidgwick and Jackson. See the prefatory note to the catalogue of MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, Reading Room 1, Weston Library, Oxford.

by R.J Hopper, was issued in 1961, and went into paperback in 1971. A joint edition with St Martin's Press appeared in 1987.

The *Grandeur* was published in December 1912, priced at 30s, and by December 1920 755 copies had been sold at home and 557 in the USA. The second edition, priced at 21s, appeared in 1920, and by the end of 1924 had sold 1,200 copies at home, and 460 in the USA. American editions (Lippincott again) appeared in 1913 and 1915. The third edition, revised by F.N. Pryce, was issued in 1934 and reprinted six times by 1960; a US edition was published by Appleton-Century in 1938. The fourth edition of 1961, revised by W.S. Maguinness and H.H. Scullard, was reprinted in 1965 by the New English Library, and in 1971 and 1976 by Book Club Associates.

A few general conclusions can be drawn from the above details. First, the *Glory* was more popular than the *Grandeur*. Second, US sales made up about a third of the total for both books. Third, they were clearly seen for several decades as worth reissuing in revised form rather than replacing, even after the appearance of such books as R.H. Barrow's *The Romans* (Penguin, 1949) and H.D.F. Kitto's *The Greeks* (Penguin, 1951).

Reception

Reviews of both books were overwhelmingly positive, though a few complained of errors of fact.⁵³ Here is a representative example, published under the heading 'Hellenism for the Barbarian':

Mr Stobart has produced the very book to show the modern barbarian the meaning of hellenism ... Nor has the learned author a dull chapter. Mr Stobart's danger, indeed, lies not in heaviness, but in the excess of sprightliness ... But we forgive this and an occasional touch of cocksureness for the sake of a work so attractive and suggestive and of learning so lightly worn. ... The book is nobly illustrated ... no such collection of beautiful things ... has yet been placed before the English public, and never before have we seen the difficulties of successful reproduction so successfully combated; in particular the publishers call attention with legitimate pride to the fact that the surface of the paper used for the illustrations is similar to that of the letter-press, instead of the shiny abomination which usually mars books of this kind. The result is a book

⁵³ For example, the review of the *Glory* in the *Athenaeum* of 6 April 1912 largely consists of a long list of errors, though the reviewer ends by praising the book's 'many merits'.

to buy (the price is high, but could hardly be lower), a book to beg, borrow or steal.⁵⁴

The *Pall Mall Gazette* offered Stobart warm masculine praise:

A fair-minded, unprejudiced man paying attention to all the beauties contained in this book can only come to one conclusion: My son must enter this paradise and become familiar with it. (30 October 1911)

The *Grandeur* was similarly well received. The *Observer* was especially enthusiastic:

[Stobart] treats not one phase of Roman history in his book, but the whole scope of her story; and he treats it with magnificent freshness and lucidity. It is a book which must be read; it is a book which should be in the library of every school and every college; and it is an ideal book to be given as a prize in place of the standard classics on which the dust has settled too thickly. (Sunday, January [1913])

The American editions were also well reviewed. The *Christian Science Monitor* commented on the *Grandeur* that ‘Mr Stobart has written an important and an interesting book, and English literature is, in every way, the richer for its publication’ (n.d.).⁵⁵ The New York magazine *Tribune*, reviewing the *Grandeur*, remarked that “‘The Glory that was Greece’ had lent itself magnificently to illustration. The author has been no less successful in making Roman art serve his purpose ...’ (5 April 1913)

Stobart’s books also had a literary afterlife, though it is not always easy to distinguish between references to them and to Poe’s poem. The seventh episode of Joyce’s *Ulysses* has a section entitled ‘The Grandeur that was Rome’, in which a character remarks that

We mustn’t be led away by words, by sounds of words. We think of Rome, imperial, imperious, imperative. ... What was their civilisation? Vast, I allow: but vile. Cloacae: sewers. The Jews in the wilderness and on the mountaintop said: *It is meet to be here. Let us build an altar to Jehovah.* The Roman, like the Englishman who follows in his footsteps,

⁵⁴ *Saturday Review*, 9 December 1911. The art paper is also singled out for mention in the *Observer* of 10 February 1912: ‘It is satisfactory to note that the publishers have adopted, with signal success, a dull surface paper for the printing of the half-tone illustrations.’

⁵⁵ This and the previous review, held in a scrapbook inherited from Stobart by his grandson John Spurling, lack some or all date information.

brought to every new shore on which he set his foot (on our shore he never set it) only his cloacal obsession. He gazed about him in his toga and he said: *It is meet to be here. Let us construct a watercloset.*⁵⁶

In 1935 Joyce wrote to his children that:

There is nothing like the classics before breakfast. You did not know? Pshaw! It is of the pshiunplest. As:
My dear grandeur that was Rome, may I not tempt you to another slice of bacon? You had such a tiny piece!
Thanks, dear glory that was Greece, your bacon is truly delicious. It is crispness porkonafried!⁵⁷

A few years later, in his autobiographical poem *Autumn Journal* (1939), Louis MacNeice gave an account of his Oxford education:

The Glory that was Greece: put it in a syllabus, grade it
Page by page
To train the mind or even to point a moral
For the present age:
Models of logic and lucidity, dignity, sanity,
The golden means between opposing ills
Though there were exceptions of course but only exceptions —
The bloody Bacchanals on the Thracian hills.⁵⁸

Two years later, MacNeice wrote the script for a BBC broadcast, ‘The Glory that is Greece’, transmitted on 28 October 1940. This went on air within hours of Metaxas’s famous response to Mussolini’s ultimatum: ‘*Ochi!*’ (‘No!’). MacNeice’s title alluded to Stobart’s *Glory*, and both books were referred to in a *New York Times* editorial on the following day entitled ‘The hour of Greece’:

The Grandeur that was Rome has declined to the mean bravado of a bully, striking at those who are not expected to strike back. But the

⁵⁶ J. Joyce, *Ulysses* (Simon and Brown, 2011), 189. The novel was serialised from 1918 to 1920, then published in book form in 1922.

⁵⁷ Joyce to Giorgio and Helen Joyce, 13 August 1935: S. Gilbert (ed.), *The Letters of James Joyce* (Faber, 1957), 379–80. Joyce had had neither of Stobart’s books in his library in Trieste, where he lived from 1904 to 1920, so the reference is probably to Poe.

⁵⁸ L. MacNeice, *Autumn Journal*, 38–9. The ‘Bloody Bacchanals’ were the wild dances of the maenads in Euripides’ *Bacchae*. See A. Wrigley, *Greece on Air: Engagements with Ancient Greece on BBC Radio, 1920–1960s* (OUP, 2015), 151–72.

Greeks in this hour, outnumbered as they are, poor in the instruments of modern war, remember and defend the glory that was Greece.⁵⁹

By then an abridgment of the *Glory* had appeared: Elsie Herrin's *Teach Yourself about Greece* (1939).⁶⁰

The *Glory* was the first book put on the shelves of the farmhouse in Arcadia bought by Stobart's grandson, the novelist and dramatist John Spurling and his wife, the biographer Hilary Spurling, in 2006. In a 'Letter from Arcadia', published two years later, Hilary Spurling recorded the purchase and renovation of their Greek home, using Stobart's own description of Greece to illuminate her and her husband's experiences.⁶¹

This history of reception should not overlook the possibility of hybrid formations. A single example will suffice: Douglass Cross's lyrics for the song 'I left my heart in San Francisco', written in 1953.

The loveliness of Paris seems somehow sadly gray
The glory that was Rome is of another day
I've been terribly alone and forgotten in Manhattan
I'm going home to my city by the Bay.

Why Rome and not Greece, since they are metrically equivalent? Perhaps because this verse is about cities, not countries. Why glory and not grandeur? Because it works better semantically in this context.

Author and publisher

Stobart (b. 1878) and Sidgwick (b. 1879), almost exact contemporaries, both belonged to a generation in which Classics was being dethroned from its central position in English high culture, and in which the boundaries between school and university teaching were relatively fluid. Sidgwick's father Arthur Sidgwick, one of the best-known classical scholars and teachers in late-Victorian England, had moved from Rugby School to

⁵⁹ The text is reprinted in A. Wrigley and S.J. Harrison (eds), *Louis MacNeice: The Classical Radio Plays* (OUP, 2013), 43–80, with an introduction by Gonda Van Steen; quotation from p. 44.

⁶⁰ This was one of the first volumes in a long-running series published by English Universities Press, a subsidiary of Hodder and Stoughton.

⁶¹ H. Spurling, 'Letter from Arcadia', *The Hudson Review* 61 (2008), 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16–17. The 'Zeus-like' British classical scholar whose visit she describes without identifying him was Peter Green.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, just after Frank was born.⁶² Both men read Classics at Trinity College Cambridge; then Stobart went into school teaching, Sidgwick into publishing. Both author and publisher belonged to a transitional generation in which Classics gave way to English, and some members of an academic elite turned inward to disciplinary scholarship, while others in response turned outward to engage with new markets and new readerships.

John Clarke Stobart

Stobart taught Classics in two schools (1901–7), and History at university level (1907–10), and then became one of His Majesty’s Inspectors of Schools (HMI). During World War 1 he worked for the Ministry of Munitions, and was then assistant secretary to the Cabinet in 1917–18. After returning to the inspectorate, he was seconded to the British Broadcasting Company (as it then was) in 1924, where he later served as its first director of education (1926–33).

Stobart wrote his books after spending three years as a lecturer in history at Trinity College, Cambridge (1907–10). He had been an undergraduate there, sitting the Classical Tripos Part I in 1899 (1st class, division 2) and Part II in 1901 (2nd class). Part I consisted largely of language and literature; Part II was divided into five optional sections, literature, philosophy, history, archaeology and comparative philology. In its characteristically elitist fashion, the Cambridge University Calendar only recorded sections chosen by those who obtained first-class honours, so we do not know which Stobart took; but a remark in the *Glory* suggests that he studied archaeology (section C):

⁶² C. Collard, ‘Arthur Sidgwick’, in R.B. Todd (ed.), *Dictionary of British Classicists* (Thoemmes, 2004), 893–4; idem, ‘Schoolmaster, don, educator: Arthur Sidgwick moves to Corpus in 1879’, in C.A. Stray (ed.), *Oxford Classics: Teaching and Learning 1800–2000* (Duckworth, 2007), 78–93; J. Howarth, ‘Sidgwick, Arthur (1840–1920)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP online, 2004); E. Rutherford, ‘Arthur Sidgwick’s *Greek Prose Composition*: gender, affect and sociability in the late-Victorian university’, *Journal of British Studies* 56 (2017), 96–117; T. Charles-Edwards and J. Reid, *Corpus Christi College Oxford: A History* (OUP, 2017), 319–21, 336–41. Sidgwick’s younger brother Hugh was seen as the brightest of the family; he became private secretary to L.A. Selby-Bigge, president of the Board of Education; he apparently wrote Selby-Bigge’s speeches for him, composing in Greek first and then translating them into English. Hugh Sidgwick died in action in 1917: see T. Patterson, *Arthur Hugh Sidgwick (1882–1917): Scholar, Educationist, Poet, Essayist. A Biography* (the author, 2017). My thanks to Tom Patterson for kindly giving me a copy of his book.

... circumstances have so directed my studies that they have been almost equally divided between the three main branches — archaeology, history, and literature. I have experienced the extraordinary sense of illumination which one feels on turning from linguistic study to the examination of objective antiquity on the actual soil of the classical countries, and then the added interest with which the realities are invested by the literary records of history. (*Glory* viii)⁶³

‘History’ refers to his three years’ giving lectures on the subject to Trinity and intercollegiate students 1907–10; ‘literature’ to Part I of the Classical



John Clarke Stobart

Tripes; and so ‘archaeology’ must refer to his Part II specialisation.⁶⁴ Consciously or otherwise, Stobart’s words echo the point made by Gilbert

⁶³ At this point it was possible to sit for two sections in Part II of the Tripes. No candidates are recorded as gaining distinctions in more than one section after 1894.

⁶⁴ ‘directed my studies’ might be taken as an allusion to the characteristically Cambridge institution of the Director of Studies, an office separate from that of the moral tutor.

Murray in his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Greek at Glasgow in 1889, that for many people the focus of their learning should be wider than the traditional concentration on language and literature:

... Greece and not Greek is the real subject of our study. There is more in Hellenism than a language, though that language may be the liveliest and richest ever spoken by man.⁶⁵

Referring to the new audience of the 1910s, Stobart wrote that:

The Greek language has now, probably for ever, lost its place in the curriculum of secondary education for the greater part of our people ... But there has always been a genuinely cultivated public to whom Greek was unknown, and it is undoubtedly very much larger in this generation. To them, though Greek is unknown Greece need not be wholly sealed. (*Glory* viii)

After he left Cambridge, Stobart went on to teach Classics at Merchant Taylors' School, at first as assistant to the headmaster, Revd John Arbuthnot Nairn, and then as a form master. Nairn, a friend who was four years older than Stobart, had been a high-flying classicist at Trinity (a double first and several prizes); he became well known to a later generation of classicists as the author of a useful reference tool, *Nairn's Classical Hand-List*, a bibliographical guide to the study of Classics published in 1931 (2nd edition 1939, 3rd edition 1953).⁶⁶ Nairn, who officiated at Stobart's wedding in Oxford on 27 July 1904, had published an edition of the mimes of Herodas in that same year, but later found that he could not combine academic work with being a headmaster, and retired early in 1926 at the age of 52, five years before his *Hand-List* was published. Stobart himself began to publish while still teaching at Merchant Taylors': a series of nine short introduced selections, 'Epochs of English Literature', running from Chaucer to Tennyson in nine volumes, appeared in 1906–7.

⁶⁵ G. Murray, *The Place of Greek in Education* (J. MacLehose, 1889), 13.

⁶⁶ This in effect replaced J.B. Mayor's *Guide to the Choice of Classical Books*, 1st edn 1874, 2nd 1879, 3rd 1885, supplement 1896. Nairn was appointed to his headship in 1900, aged 26. See Nairn, 'Threaded beads of memory: my eighty years', printed for private circulation, 1954. I know of only two copies: one in a private collection in the UK, the other in Kansas University Library, to whose staff I am indebted for a scanned PDF copy.

Frank Sidgwick⁶⁷

Frank Sidgwick was the elder son of the celebrated Oxford classical scholar Arthur Sidgwick, originally a Trinity (Cambridge) man, who had taught at Rugby School before becoming a Tutor at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and later Reader in Greek in the University. Sidgwick



Arthur Sidgwick, c. 1910



Frank Sidgwick aboard the *Blue Dragon*, 1907

senior was the author of widely-used classical textbooks, some of which are still in print. Frank began his schooling at Oxford Preparatory School, later called the Dragon School. The headmaster C.C. Lynam became a lifelong friend, and Frank often sailed with him in Lynam's yacht *Blue Dragon*.⁶⁸ His elder son was a disappointment to him, achieving only a third-class degree in Classics: Arthur Sidgwick wrote to his sister-in-law Eleanor that 'Frank is no scholar ... I have never had any illusions about his Tripos'.⁶⁹ Frank did however gain the Chancellor's Prize for English

⁶⁷ 'It is high time that someone wrote a life of Frank Sidgwick', declared an anonymous writer (probably Nicolas Barker): *The Book Collector* 28 (1979), 113.

⁶⁸ Sidgwick was appointed steward on the boat; hence the pseudonym 'B.D. Steward' that he adopted for his only published novel, *Treasure of Thule: A Romance of Orkney* (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1912).

⁶⁹ Arthur Sidgwick to Nora (Eleanor) Sidgwick, 28 June 1901: Trinity College Library, Cambridge, Add MS b.71/12. Frank Sidgwick did however play the leader of the chorus in the *Agamemnon*, the Cambridge Greek play of 1900.

and the Winchester Reading Prize.⁷⁰ He left Cambridge in 1901 after gaining a mediocre degree in Classics (Part I, 3rd class division 2), which was at that time sufficient to enable him to graduate BA. In 1902 he joined A.H. Bullen as a junior partner in the Shakespeare Head Press, set up in Stratford on Avon to produce a complete edition of the plays in Shakespeare's home town.⁷¹ Here for five years he learned the art of printing and publishing, and of coping with Bullen's poor managerial and financial skills. This experience was recorded in his diary, published in 1975 by his daughter Ann Baer.⁷² While he was with Bullen he brought out a selection of early English lyrics with E.K. Chambers.⁷³ In 1908 he founded the firm of Sidgwick and Jackson, bringing in the young Scot Robert Jackson, who had previously worked for Brimley Johnson and J.M. Dent, as a junior partner. After Sidgwick's marriage in 1911 to Mary Coxhead, the couple attended the Thursday soirees of Naomi Royde-Smith, who had been editing the 'problems and prizes' page of the *Saturday Westminster Gazette* since 1904, and with whom Sidgwick collaborated on editing the page.⁷⁴ The second of two compilations from the page was published by Sidgwick and Jackson in 1909.⁷⁵ After Jackson's death in France in September 1917, the bibliographer R.B. McKerrow briefly ran the firm while

⁷⁰ Peter Jones ('Rupert Brooke and the profits of poetry', p. 110) suggested that Sidgwick went into printing and publishing 'despite his academic credentials', but his poor degree would hardly have helped him to secure an academic post, though school teaching might have been a possibility. English had only just been introduced as a degree subject in Oxford, and in Cambridge had to wait until 1917.

⁷¹ Bullen was a family friend, and had in fact brought Sidgwick's parents together. Sidgwick brought to the enterprise money lent him by his father and by his old Rugby housemaster Robert Whitelaw (well known for his 1883 translation of Sophocles into English verse). Bullen was hopeless with money, and the loans were never repaid. P. Morgan, 'Arthur Henry Bullen and the Shakespeare Head Press', in *Frank Sidgwick's Diary, and Other Material relating to A.H. Bullen and the Shakespeare Head Press* (Blackwell, 1975), 68–95, at 78.

⁷² *Frank Sidgwick's Diary*. This nicely produced book, designed by Ruari Maclean, begins and ends with notes by Ann Baer, who generously gave me her 'spare copy, a trial copy with the wrong endpapers' (light rather than dark blue) and a pressed rosemary leaf picked by her in the Press's former garden in Stratford in Avon. Rosemary is for remembrance.

⁷³ *Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral and Trivial, Chosen by E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick* (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1907).

⁷⁴ For Naomi Royde-Smith, see her article in ODNB. A pleasant glimpse of Mary and Frank's relationship is afforded by a letter written to her mother on 16 June 1911, on the day after their wedding, in which she wrote, 'A very tactless woman sat with us in the train ..., and Frank could only kiss me surreptitiously in the tunnels'. Sidgwick family papers: quoted by permission of Ann Baer.

⁷⁵ M.C. Sidgwick, 'Memoirs', ed. Ann Baer (privately printed, 1982), 60–1.

Sidgwick was on active service.⁷⁶ After the war, C.H. McCall of Ballantyne, the firm that had printed the *Glory* and the *Grandeur*, found Sidgwick a well-paid job in Cambridge advising decommissioned officers on employment.⁷⁷ Sidgwick then ran the firm till his death in 1939. His best-known author was Rupert Brooke, whose *Poems* Sidgwick published in 1911; the success of Brooke's volumes of verse was the origin of the firm's status as the leading publisher of poetry in Britain, until the rise of T.S. Eliot and Faber & Faber in the 1930s. Its history can be followed in detail thanks to the purchase of material from its archives by John Schroder in 1957.⁷⁸ Schroder's interest was in Rupert Brooke, but as he bought the firm's early publication ledgers, it is possible to trace the publication history of other books, including Stobart's *Glory* and *Grandeur*.

Sidgwick himself was a keen collector and publisher of early English poetry, especially ballads. He and E.K. Chambers published a substantial collection of early English lyrics in 1907, but even before then Sidgwick had himself published through Bullen's press an edition of *Everyman* and the work of the seventeenth-century poet George Wither.⁷⁹ He continued in this vein, bringing out over a dozen volumes of ballads, as well as poems of his own and an introduction to writing verse.⁸⁰ As an undergraduate Sidgwick had won the Chancellor's prize for English verse (1900), and had also contributed skits and parodies to the Cambridge magazine *The Granta*.⁸¹ The best-known of these was his parody of 'Sumer is icumen in': 'Winter ys icumen-in / Lhoudly sing *tish-ù*'. This was published in his *Some Verse* (1915), the year before Ezra Pound's better-known parody appeared.⁸²

⁷⁶ Jackson had joined up in March 1916; see his obituary in *The Publishers' Circular*, 6 Oct. 1917, 337. His death is wrongly dated to 1915 by J. Potter, 'The book in wartime', in A. Nash et al. (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain VII: The Twentieth Century and Beyond* (CUP, 2019), 569.

⁷⁷ M.C. Sidgwick, 'Memoirs', 74. Sidgwick was paid £800 p.a., considerably more than he had earned at Sidgwick and Jackson, where he drew about £500 in salary: Elizabeth (Sidgwick) Belsey, 'Great Missenden remembered, 1916–1925', privately printed, 1987–8), 1. For McCall, see n. 65 above.

⁷⁸ See P. M Jones, 'Rupert Brooke and the profits of poetry' (n. 50 above).

⁷⁹ E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick (eds), *Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral and Tivial* (A.H. Bullen, 1907); F. Sidgwick (ed.), *Everyman, A Morality Play* (A.H. Bullen, 1902), 19th edition 1903, illustrated edition (Medici Society) 1911); F. Sidgwick (ed.), *The Poetry of George Wither*, 2 vols (A.H. Bullen, 1902). Sidgwick also wrote a short account of the ballad genre: *The Ballad* (Martin Secker, 1915).

⁸⁰ *Some Verse* (1915), *More Verse* (1921); R. Swann and F. Sidgwick, *The Making of Verse* (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1934).

⁸¹ The volume for 1898–9 carries eleven of his skits, all signed 'Sigma Minor'.

⁸² 'Winter is icumen in / Lhude sing Goddamm.'

Stobart and Sidgwick were friends, the relationship having presumably begun during their time as undergraduates at Trinity College. In his diary, Arthur Sidgwick recorded two visits to his Oxford home by his son and Stobart, first in December 1902, then in July 1904, when Stobart was married at a local church.⁸³ Frank Sidgwick recalled a conversation with literary friends in which one of them referred to Poe's poem and remarked that 'The glory that was Greece' and 'The grandeur that was Rome' would make splendid book titles, and Frank himself responded. 'And I know exactly the man to write them, my old friend Stobart'.⁸⁴ Stobart and Sidgwick's relationship can be compared with other links between classicists and publishers. George Macmillan, a director of the publishing firm, was also secretary of the Hellenic Society; the firm published the Society's *Journal of Hellenic Studies* from its foundation in 1880 until 1947. Edward Sonnenschein, Professor of Latin at Birmingham and a prolific textbook author, was the brother of the publisher William Swan Sonnenschein, who published his books. Stobart and Sidgwick collaborated effectively to produce the two books, Sidgwick commissioning drawings from the British Museum and from museums and photographic libraries in England, Germany, Italy and Greece. In doing so, he took advantage of recent technological advances which made it possible to include good-quality images in books. Evidence from Sidgwick and Jackson's commercial records, and from Sidgwick's daughter and from Stobart's grandson, has made it possible to build up a detailed picture of the compilation and publishing of the two books.

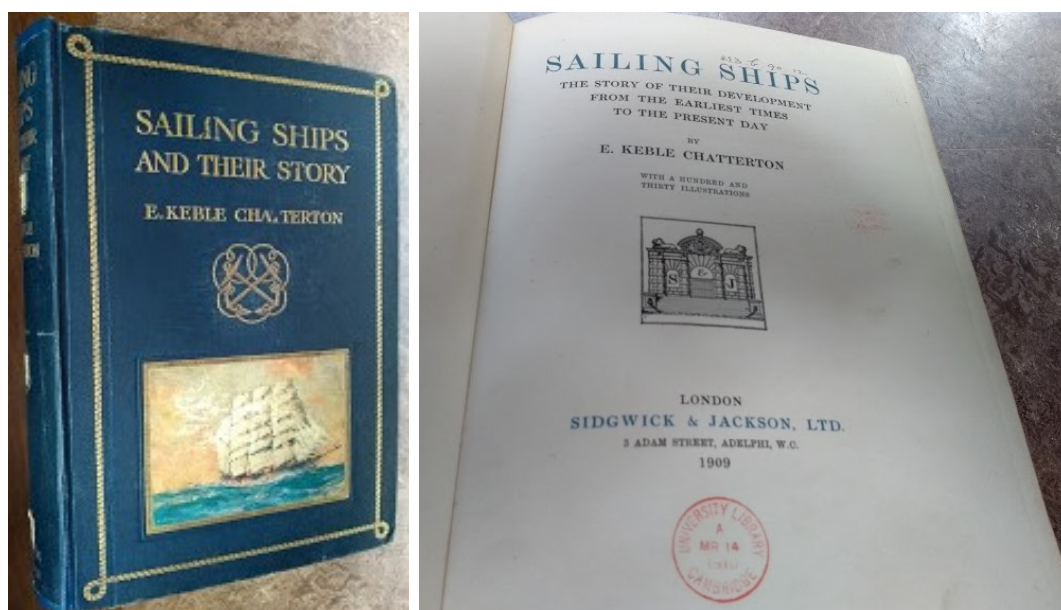
How did Sidgwick get into publishing large, heavily illustrated books? An earlier book from Sidgwick and Jackson, E.K. Chatterton's *Sailing Ships: The Story of Their Development from the Earliest Time to the Present Day* (1909), can be seen as a precursor to Stobart's books. It was a royal octavo, so almost large as the *Glory* and the *Grandeur*, with a coloured frontispiece and 130 illustrations, and appropriately bound and printed with blue.⁸⁵ Acknowledgement is made to a variety of museums and individuals, just as in the classical books, and Chatterton's preface makes it clear that the book is aimed at the general reader. Sidgwick will have been attracted to its subject matter, as a keen sailor himself; and the following year he published Chatterton's account of a sailing trip, *Down Channel in the 'Vivette'*, which had a colour frontispiece and 50 illustrations. Both books were printed by the Ballantyne Press, as were Stobart's

⁸³ Arthur Sidgwick, diary 1896–1906: Bodleian Library, Eng. Misc.e 658.

⁸⁴ Recounted to me by Ann Baer in a letter of 28 January 2017.

⁸⁵ The allusion was perhaps not just to the sea, but specifically to the *Blue Dragon* on which Sidgwick so often sailed.

books; the press, which had been run since 1883 by Charles McCall, was well used to printing illustrated books and limited editions.⁸⁶ Sidgwick's



E. Keble Chatterton, *Sailing Ships and their Story* (1909), cover and title page.

interest in fine illustrated books is reflected in his founding membership of the Double Crown Club (1924), along with S.C. Roberts.⁸⁷

Printing and publishing history

Stobart's book appeared at a point when the publishing of books and periodicals in Britain had reached an unprecedented peak. The emergence of mass-circulation newspapers, the New Journalism, the introduction of more efficient powered presses, the take-up of Linotype and Monotype machines, along with the conjunction of large and cheap print runs and almost universal literacy, made the Edwardian period a golden

⁸⁶ See C.H. McCall and L. Danson, 'Max and Mr McCall revisited: Halcyon days at the Ballantyne Press', *Princeton Library Record* 49 (1987), 78–86. An in-house history was based on material gathered by one of its readers, W.T. Dobson: *Ballantyne, Hanson and Co., The Ballantyne Press and its Founders 1796–1908* (Edinburgh, 1909). A London branch was opened in 1876 and it was this with which Sidgwick dealt. During World War 1 the Edinburgh firm closed down, and the London branch was taken over by Spottiswoode to make the new firm of Spottiswoode, Ballantyne,

⁸⁷ For the club, see J. Moran, *History of the Double Crown Club* (Westerham, 1974). Roberts was the author of the *Picture Book of British History* discussed above; he went on to be secretary to CUP 1922–48.

age for publishing, an industry as yet unchallenged by other media.⁸⁸ It was at this point that Sidgwick, after his experience of fine printing with A.H. Bullen from 1902 to 1907 and the early years of his own firm since 1908, engaged to publish the *Glory* and the *Grandeur*.

Stobart approached Sidgwick and Jackson with a proposal for the two books in September 1910. In his reply of 6 October, Sidgwick noted that Stobart proposed ‘a narrative on a new plan’, while he himself thought of a picture book. The books published in 1911 and 1912 represented a combination of those two conceptions. The project was approved a week later, and alternative payment options discussed; the eventual agreement was for payment of royalties until the total reached £120, when they would cease.⁸⁹ From November till March 1911, Stobart prepared his text while Sidgwick gathered images. Some came from commercial companies who had collections of photographs, including W.A. Mansell in England, Alinari in Rome, and the English Photographic Company in Athens. This last firm appears to have been founded by the Englishman Shirley Clifford Atchley, who reached Greece c. 1887 and was later First Secretary of the British Legation. Its photographs were sold by the firm of Beck and Barth, based in Panepistimiou (University) Street in Athens, which published a multi-volume series on the holdings of the National Archaeological Museum and the *Mitteilungen* of the Athens branch of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; its owners had links both to the German ancient historian Georg Busolt and to the nearby bookshop founded in 1898 by Kostas Eleftheroudakis.⁹⁰ Another Englishman was also involved: Arthur

⁸⁸ S. Eliot, *Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800–1919*, Bibliographical Society Occasional Paper 8 (1994), 13–14.

⁸⁹ The 2019 equivalent is nearly £3,500. In 1955, Sidgwick’s widow wrote to the firm asking if she was owed any money, and was reminded of the agreement, made in 1910. M.C. Stobart to Sidgwick and Jackson, 16 Nov. 1955; J. Knapp-Fisher to M.C. Stobart, 21 Nov. 1955. Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 260.71–2.

⁹⁰ For Atchley, see his obituary in *The Times*, 22 June 1936. Beck and Barth published archaeological texts and site guides from their shop in Syntagma Square. Beck may have been the German photographer Henri Beck, whose *Vues d’Athènes* (Berlin: Asher, 1868) contained 52 images of the city (copies in the Bavarian State Library and in the Gennadius Library, Athens). Wilhelm Barth (1856–1940) also wrote books on archaeology. Beck shared lodgings with the German ancient historian Georg Busolt: see M.H. Chambers, *Georg Busolt: His Career in his Letters (Mnemosyne, Supplementum 113: 2000)*, 18 n. 44. He may have been connected with the Munich firm of C.H. Beck, which published Busolt’s books on the constitutional history of ancient Greece. The Eleftheroudakis shop was a fixture in Athens throughout the 20th century, but closed down in 2016. In 1920 the English Photographic Company published Wilhelm Barth’s *Hellas*, a picture book published in Athens and using the Company’s slides. This book, which seems to consist of two slim fascicles, is held in two university

Hill, who kept a photographic shop in Syntagma (Constitution) Square. The English Photographic Company was evidently known to Stobart, since the contact came at his suggestion.⁹¹ Sidgwick also contacted the Hellenic Society, whose library contained large stocks of slides and prints of archaeological sites, and other publishers, including Cambridge University Press and John Murray, for permission to reproduce illustrations from their books. The British Museum was a major resource, not only for photographs of its exhibits but also for line drawings made by one of its staff.⁹² In May 1911 Sidgwick announced that he would soon be sending Stobart paper proofs, and asked him, ‘will you keep a bright eye for the words demanding glossarialisation? “Aniconic” would give the General Reader the dry gripes, and even a scholar a moment’s pause.’⁹³ ‘Glossarialisation’ referred to one of the features of the book that reflected its orientation at a general audience, a glossary of technical terms (*Glory* 267–9); in the *Grandeur* this was replaced by a Chronological Table. A close eye was also kept on page layout; Sidgwick told Stobart in April 1911 that section headings would be centred, and that they would not be numbered as ‘we think it looks too schoolbooky’.⁹⁴

Later editions

The third edition of the *Glory* (1933) was edited by Frederick Norman Pryce (1888–1953), who was on the staff of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. Pryce became Keeper of the department in 1936, but was required to resign in 1938 after the scandal

libraries in Bavaria (Erlangen, Regensburg) and two in Switzerland (Zurich, Lausanne); I have been unable to trace copies in Greece, the UK or the US. In 1921 Atchley donated about 1,000 slides to the Hellenic Society library in London. My thanks to Debi Harlan (British School at Athens) and Dimitris Grigoropoulos (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen) for information on the company.

⁹¹ He had presumably made contact with them on a visit to Athens: ‘From your hotel window in Athens you can see hill-tops in the heart of the Peloponnese’ (*Glory* 7). Stobart appears to have had no contact with the British School of Archaeology (now the British School at Athens), founded in 1886, whose hostel was often used by English university students and graduates, and where A.E. Zimmern worked while writing his *The Greek Commonwealth*, published in the same year as the *Glory*.

⁹² The Greek and Roman and Coins and Medals departments of the British Museum are thanked in the acknowledgments in the *Glory*, but not in the *Grandeur*. Sidgwick may have found that it was easier or cheaper to rely on commercial picture libraries.

⁹³ Sidgwick to Stobart, 3 May 1911: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 12.413. Sidgwick’s reference to glossarialisation is a typical jest, since the word could itself be seen as in need of glossing.

⁹⁴ Sidgwick to Stobart, 8 April 1911: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 12.288.

of the ‘cleaning’ of the Parthenon marbles broke.⁹⁵ His revision dealt largely with matters of detail, particularly in the opening chapters, where change was needed ‘in view of the great advance made in recent years in the study of the prehistoric civilisations of Greece’ (*Glory*, 3rd edition (1933), viii). More substantial changes were made for the fourth edition of 1961 by R.J. Hopper, Professor of Classical Archaeology at Sheffield. Hopper’s editorial preface is interesting in the way it sees Stobart’s book as part of a history of classical reception:

Some of the views expressed in the original version rest on attitude and values different from those of the present day, and it is therefore in itself a valuable document of a past age, and evidence of something growing rarer in our times: the influence of Greek studies seriously pursued on a man of education, an amateur in the best sense of the word rather than a professional scholar. The eternal and universal appeal made by the ancient Greeks is thus demonstrated as it should be. (*Glory*, 4th edition (1961), viii)

The sudden switch from historicism to timelessness and universality in the final sentence is startling, using relativity as it does to bolster its opposite. But as with Stobart himself, and also Gilbert Murray, these opposites offered the challenge of reconciliation.

In his preface to the second edition of the *Grandeur* (1920), Stobart wrote that

I am glad to know that this book, which is a glorification not so much of Rome as of Peace and Civilisation, has survived the Great War, and I hope that in a cheaper form it may be brought within the reach of those classes of adult readers who are showing an increased interest in the history of society. (*Grandeur*, second edition (1920), x)

More mundanely, he was able to correct errors in the text. The first edition of the *Grandeur* had contained this comment on the unreliability of stories of early Roman history:

Thus it is necessary to throw overboard a great mass of edifying and famous history in the interest of youth. (p. 26, lines 1–2)

Admirable sentiment! But any careful reader would suspect the final word, and in the second edition it was changed to ‘truth’.

⁹⁵ See I. Jenkins, *Cleaning and Controversy: The Parthenon Sculptures 1811–1939* (British Museum Publications, 2001).

The third edition, like that of the *Glory*, was revised by Frederick Pryce, who remarked that

... the obvious duty of a reviser ... was to tamper as little as possible with the book. ... The illustrations have been revised, a number of new ones added, and some of the older plates withdrawn; among them more than one old favourite which has long served to illuminate Roman history in this country, only to meet with condemnation at the hands of this specialist generation. (*Grandeur*, 3rd edition (1934), ix)⁹⁶

More radical changes were made to Stobart's text by the editors of the fourth edition (1961), W.S. Maguinness and H.H. Scullard, Professors of Latin and Ancient History respectively at King's College London:

Considerable changes have been made in the text ... On the historical side the time has come to redress the balance in favour of the Roman Republic; care has been taken to ensure that the Empire, for which he was so enthusiastic, has not suffered in the process. The advance of knowledge during the last thirty or forty years has made alterations necessary in the account of early Rome and Italy. The pages on literature, notably those on drama and elegiac poetry, have also undergone substantial change. (*Grandeur*, 4th edition (1961), ix)

Maguinness and Scullard went on to comment on Stobart's 'engaging flippancy', in a sentence quoted above.

Stobart's two books were followed by others in what was later labelled 'The Great Civilisations': Margaret Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt* (1949), A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (1954), and H.W.F. Saggis, *The Greatness that was Babylon* (1962); but as the publication dates show, these were late afterthoughts. In some ways more interesting is the book Stobart himself never wrote, a two-volume sequel to the *Glory* and the *Grandeur* devoted to English civilisation. As I have suggested elsewhere, the stories of books which were planned but never appeared are an important and neglected part of the historical record.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ One candidate is the marble bust of 'Clytie', Charles Townley's favourite sculpture, now in the British Museum. A photogravure by Emery Walker appears at p. 246 of the second edition of the *Grandeur*, but is not present in the third edition. For 'Clytie', see M. Jones (ed.), *Fake? The Art of Deception at the British Museum* (Antique Collector, 1990), 32–3.

⁹⁷ 'Lex Wrecks: a tale of two Latin dictionaries', *Dictionaries* 32 (2011), 66–81; 'Reading silence: the books that never were', in A. Verlinsky et al. (eds), *Variante loquella. Alexandro Gavrilov septuagenario* [= *Hyperboreus* 16–17, 2010–2011], 527–38.

‘England’: a sequel that never was

In January 1921, Sidgwick wrote to Stobart to propose a sequel to the *Glory* and the *Grandeur*:

The project before us is: ‘England’, by J.C. Stobart, 2 vols, profusely (or rather, perhaps, sumptuously) illustrated; so written that a reviewer may say ‘Mr Stobart has now done for England what he did for ancient Greece and Rome ... a perspective view of English culture and civilisation ... pictures are still an essential part of Mr Stobart’s scheme, and their reproduction reflects great credit on Messrs’ etc.

For preliminary reading of the subject, if you wish from time to time to try what books you want, we will endeavour to get them for you, permanently or temporarily. We also propose to collaborate, as far as the pictures are concerned, submitting for your verdict anything choice that we come across. As far as reproduction of pictures is concerned, we mean to go all out, and knock spots off any previous work of the kind.

You estimate two years for the work. We cannot form any exact idea of what it will cost us, or what price we can publish at: but roughly the two vols. will be as much, in letterpress and pictures, as Greece and Rome together. You will no doubt like to see the colour of your cheque as you go along, and we are ready to pay you say £200 in advance of royalties, lump by lump as the copy comes in, or some on signing of agreement with us.⁹⁸ But will you have it now or wait till you get it? — I mean this: we propose that any advance we pay you should be reckoned as an advance of a 10% royalty, so that the larger the advance you have the longer you wait for a rise of royalty. But perhaps you will tell me frankly how much you expect and when you would like it. As far as I can see we shall have to put a couple of thousand into the production alone. That has a lovely rich sound; but we do mean rather to ‘feature’ this book, as the movies say — even if we have to suppress other projects.

I have got you a charming 18th century fragment of pure English life — a Ms alluding to the ‘glad eye’ (literally) in 1250 — which awaits you here, with other material. When we get going, you might look in periodically to see what we have amassed.⁹⁹

This letter was followed the next day by a contract for the new book. Then silence till October, when Sidgwick asked Stobart how the book was going, adding, in characteristically jocular fashion:

⁹⁸ The payment offered was the equivalent of about £6,000 in 2019 values.

⁹⁹ Sidgwick to Stobart, 20 Jan. 1921: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 50.407–8.

We are not the least concerned to have that £50 returned, though I can imagine that you don't find it easy to get going. In fact I rather guessed you reculing to mieux sauter the premier pas qui compte. But encourage yourself: hast dared a thing more doggish of yore: none but the brave! Excelsior Avanti; gutta cavet lapidem; recte si possis, or other wise.¹⁰⁰

A year later, Stobart returned his £50 advance. Sidgwick in response wrote that:

I have now opened a letter containing a cheque for £50 with some regret. I expect the failure is due to you having tried to start at the beginning of a subject that hasn't any, and I still believe you could have written con amore and currente calamo if you had settled on 1400 [CE] or so. However, hope springs eternal.¹⁰¹

So ended a project whose proposal and planning, however unsuccessful, in retrospect add considerable resonance to the story of the *Glory* and the *Grandeur*. Additional resonance, however, comes from its remarkable similarities to another failed project. In the year of the *Glory's* publication, a rather different book on Greece was published: this was Alfred Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth: Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens*, published by Oxford University Press. It had a publishing history similar to that of Stobart's books: 2nd edn. 1915, 3rd 1922, 4th 1924, 5th 1931; paperback 1961. At some point Zimmern agreed to write a modern sequel, to be entitled *The English [or Modern] Commonwealth*, but like Stobart, he never really engaged with it. Modern writers who have discussed Zimmern mention the failed project, but no detailed account of it has been given.¹⁰² Nor, to my knowledge, has any comparison with Stobart's work, published or unpublished, been attempted. There are obvious difficulties in comparing two failed projects, of course, but in addition Zimmern's seems to have left few traces, while the reason for Stobart's career and publications not having received any attention from historians is probably because he wrote trade books for a non-academic audience.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Sidgwick to Stobart, 11 Oct. 1921: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 51.755.

¹⁰¹ Sidgwick to Stobart, 22 Oct. 1922: MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, 53.691.

¹⁰² See P. Millett, 'Alfred Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth* revisited', in C.A. Stray (ed.), *Oxford Classics: Teaching and Learning 1800–2000* (Duckworth, 2007), 168–202, at 198 n. 33; J. Stapleton, 'The classicist as liberal intellectual', at 277–8.

¹⁰³ The nearest approach to a discussion of Stobart comes in Asa Briggs' history of the BBC, where his career as its first director of education is mentioned: A. Briggs, *The*

Conclusion

The *Glory* and the *Grandeur* stood out in the world of Edwardian publishing because of their size, their cost and the quality of their book-making. Like Richard Jebb's seven-volume edition of Sophocles (1883–96), but even more strikingly, they were *Gesamtkunstwerke*, combining paper, binding, text and images into an integrated whole which both explored and exemplified the values of classical culture.¹⁰⁴ The books also stood out because of their price, which as we have seen was far higher than that of the majority of the books aimed at the new, non-classically educated reader of the period. In them, Stobart spoke to his readers with an individual voice, summarising vast amounts of historical material while avoiding the fragmentation and specialisation of contemporary classical scholarship. What made the books so successful, despite their price, was not only their production values, but the approachable, informal, and at times humorous nature of Stobart's text. It was perhaps inevitable that these humane aspects of the books would be excised by professional scholars in the 1930s and 1960s, the inheritors of the narrowing and specialising tendencies Stobart had deplored in the 1910s.¹⁰⁵

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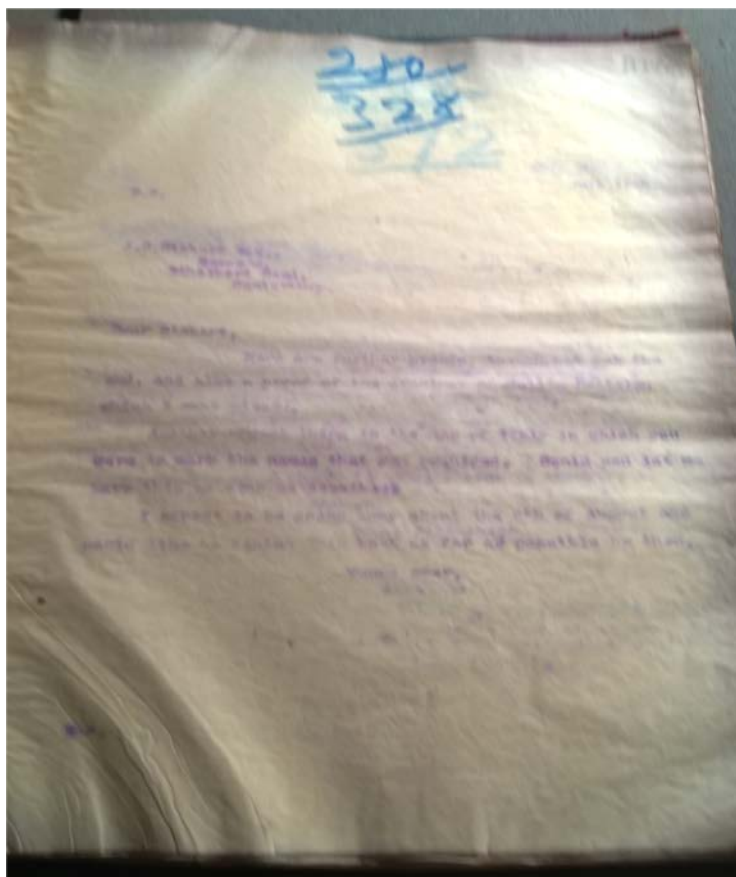
Golden Age of Broadcasting (OUP, 1995), 187–8. He is also discussed in a memoir by a BBC colleague: R.S. Lambert, *Ariel and All his Quality*, 49–50. Lambert was the founding editor of *The Listener*, but was more widely known for his successful slander action in the case of Gef the talking mongoose (Lambert v. Levita): <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gef> (last accessed 21.11.19). Zimmern's book was published in an Italian translation in 1967 by Il Saggiatore of Milan.

¹⁰⁴ For Jebb's Sophocles as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, see Stray, 'Jebb's Sophocles: an edition and its maker', in id. (ed.), *Classical Books: Scholarship and Publishing in Britain since 1800* (BICS supplement 101), 76–96, at 92.

¹⁰⁵ Though they were not revised in this way, for longevity and 'rereadability' one might compare Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth: Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens* (1911) and Finley's *World of Odysseus* (1956).

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The major source of information on the firm of Sidgwick and Jackson is the collection from which the image below was taken; the collection contains 381 shelfmarks. It includes large numbers of carbon copies of out-letters to authors, and as the example below shows, some of the copies are at or beyond the limits of legibility. The firm's ledgers 1908–51 are held in the King's College Modern Archive, Cambridge, as part of the Schroder Collection of material relating to Rupert Brooke (GBR/0272/PP/RCB). Correspondence and other papers of Frank Sidgwick are held by his daughter Ann Baer and by other members of his family; I am especially grateful to Ann Baer's nephew Justin Lumley for his help in locating and copying material. Correspondence relating to Sidgwick's time at A.H. Bullen's Shakespeare Head Press is held by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford on Avon. Sidgwick's commonplace book is held in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, Add.Ms. a 578. Scrapbooks and other material on J.C. Stobart are held by his grandson John Spurling.



An almost illegible letter from Sidgwick to Stobart, from MSS Sidgwick and Jackson, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford. The blue-pencil numbering refers to the previous and next letters in the thread on a topic.