Classics, Empire, and Didacticism in Popular Literature, 1919-1939

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Phyllis Brighouse

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Declaration

This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any degree, qualification or course

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Abstract

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This enquiry examines a range of popular writings of the interwar years and discusses the interrelationship between Classics and perceptions of the British Empire during the interwar years. Three case studies examine a diverse range of narrative texts, all of which were highly popular and read by millions of people, of all ages and both genders, across a broad social spectrum. All their narratives are didactic in that they carry political, moral or spiritual messages, and all were intended for the general reader's leisure reading.

In one sense these three authors comprise a uniform group. They were born close in time during the 1870s, shared the common intellectual and cultural influences of the late-Victorian period, and religious faith influenced their perceptions of the ancient world. However, these authors are also representative of three diverse social groups. John Buchan (1875-1940), best known as the author of the novel The Thirty-Nine Steps (1915), also wrote accessible historical biographies. He was not born into the elite but gained a first in Greats at Oxford and rose to join the elite, becoming Governor General of Canada. Charles Hamilton (1876-1961) was a member of the lower-middle class who received a modest Classical education at a private school. He is the author of highly popular, boarding-school fiction published in boys' weekly papers. Arthur Mee (1875-1943) was born into a working-class family, educated at his local state school, and received no Classical education. An autodidact, he created the Children's Encyclopedia, the first work of its kind read by young people.

Significant among these three authors were questions concerning British identity, the perception of Britain as the natural successor to the Roman Empire, and the interrelationship of Classics and the British Empire. As such, their narratives reflect not the ambiance of the post-Great War years but the late-Victorian debates of their formative years. Their popularity ensured that any conflation of Classics and Empire reached a wide audience.

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I would like to thank the Library staff at the University of Liverpool, my Supervisors Professor Thomas Harrison and Professor Bruce Gibson, The Disability Support team at the University of Liverpool and at ATOP, all my support assistants, the Archivists at Friardale.co.uk, James Ford for his friendship and unstinting technical help, and my husband, Alan for all his help in proofreading over the years. Thank you for all your support and help.

Notes

For translations of classics authors, I have used the Loeb Classical Library, unless otherwise stated.

The Archivists at Friardale organise the scans of the *Magnet, Gem* and other boys' weekly papers into the name of the paper, then the year, then the number of the paper. This I have used in the footnotes.

The views described and analysed in this work in no way reflect the views of the author of this enquiry. Within the cultural and ideological environment in which they lived and worked, many of the views expressed in these texts are racist. In contemporary society such views are utterly intolerable. As the modern historian Keith Crawford points, out, within the Victorian and Edwardian world of eugenic theorising, questions of race and racial superiority were routine and taken seriously, and they permeated the public psyche.[1]

[1] Keith Crawford, *Arthur Mee: A Biography.* Cambridge: Lutterworth Press. (2016), p. 90.

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

C.E. (1910) *Children's Encyclopaedia*. First version of this text, in 8 volumes.

C.E. (1922) *Children's Encyclopedia*. First edition of second version, in 10 volumes.

C.E. (1940) *Children's Encyclopedia*. 1940 edition of second version.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION:
CLASSICS, EMPIRE, AND DIDACTICISM IN POPULAR LITERATURE, 1919-1939

1. The Scope of this Enquiry

This enquiry seeks to examine the relationship between Classics and empire in didactic popular literature read during the interwar years. It will be seen that Classical references occurred within a cultural environment in which, while there were some challenges,[2] the British empire was generally unquestioned and taken for granted. Furthermore, Classics was used to underpin the justification for the existence of the Empire and imperial hegemony.

This enquiry comprises three case studies examining the work of authors whose narratives were popular during the interwar years. John Buchan (1875-1940) is best known as the author of popular thrillers such as *The Thirty-nine Steps* (1915) which he termed 'shockers'.[3] However, he also wrote a wide range of other material, including historical biographies. Charles Hamilton (1876-1961) was the author of boarding-school fiction. Arthur Mee (1875-1943) was the driving force who created the first encyclopedia for children. In this way, the enquiry contrasts three authors of similar ages who were writing in three different genres.

2. Classics in the Early Twentieth Century

During the interwar years ordinary people who read popular and populist literature were surrounded by cultural artefacts which provided a broad range of influential Classical models. As well as the narratives they read they include architecture, sculpture and painting, and the

[2] See for example texts by George Orwell, including 'Boys' Weeklies', in Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (eds), *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell* vol. 1 *1920-1940*, London: Secker & Warburg (1968), pp. 460-485. This is discussed in the Charles Hamilton case study.

[3] See Ursula Buchan, *Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps: A Life of John Buchan*, London: Bloomsbury (2019), 157, 177.

new media of motion pictures and radio. The Classicist Simon Goldhill notes the major revival of Classicising art at the end of the Victorian era and the early twentieth century. Such 'texts' included visual art such as architecture and paintings on public display.[4]

Following on from earlier examples of Classicising architecture, during the nineteenth century there was, as Goldhill comments, a flowering of the Neoclassical style, especially in London as the centre of the British metropole. Such buildings include Canada House (1824-1827), Clarence House (1825-27), and the façade of the Royal Opera House (1858), while the late Victorian period includes the Doric Arch entrance to Euston Station (1890s). Public art includes the Shaftesbury Memorial Fountain, known as the Statue of Eros, in Piccadilly Circus (1893). Much of such Neoclassical architecture would be created to celebrate the achievements of Britain and the British Empire. The Wellington Arch, known as Constitution Arch (1826), and the Waterloo Victory Arch at Waterloo Station (1907-22) celebrate the battle of Waterloo**.** Many such works incorporate imperialist symbols depicting British victories or achievements. The Wellington Arch, for example, is topped with a depiction of Nike, the winged goddess of victory, riding in a war chariot and carrying a laurel wreath. Entanglements between Classics and Empire were therefore taken for granted by their audiences.

Such entanglements occurred not only in London but the provinces. During the early twentieth century on Merseyside, for example, children attending state schools as well as pupils at public schools such as Liverpool College or Birkenhead School might pass older Neoclassical buildings and see new ones being erected. Examples in Liverpool include the Town Hall (1749),[5] the Lyceum Building (1802), St George's Hall (1849) the Walker Art Gallery (1850), Liverpool's Port of Liverpool Building (1907), the Liver Building (1911) and India Building (1932). Neoclassical buildings in Wirral include Birkenhead Town Hall (1887), the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight (1922), Birkenhead's Williamson Art Gallery (1928) and Birkenhead Public Library (1934). Examples of Liverpool's public art include the Minerva terracotta in the Town Hall (1802), the bronze figures of Neptune,

[4] Goldhill, for example, identifies the paintings of J.W. Waterhouse. See Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction and the Proclamation of Modernity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press (2011), pp. 10; 23-64.

[5] The dates given are the dates the public buildings were opened to the public or when the public art was installed.

Amphitrite, Acis and Galatea on the Steble fountain outside St George's Hall (1879), and the statue of Eros in Sefton Park (1932). In the provinces, local art and architecture also conflated Classics and Empire. St George's Hall in Liverpool provides a significant local example. The building itself is Neoclassical in style, whilst the reliefs on the front of the building carry imperialist messages in the way it personifies Liverpool and prepares Liverpudlian youth for future lives within the British Empire. Such reminders of the ancient world existed throughout the nation.

As well as public art and architecture, in the early twentieth century, the British public could access, in their homes, lavishly illustrated written texts about the ancient world. The most popular were J. C. Stobart's lavishly illustrated written narratives promoting knowledge of the ancient world: *The Glory That was Greece* **(**1911), and *The Splendour that was Rome* (1912). These were ground-breaking books and as Christopher Stray confirms in *Classics Transformed* (1998) they were aimed at the literate 'general reading public' whose knowledge of the ancient world 'could no longer be taken for granted.[6] They were so successful they ran to four editions, the last in the 1960s. This was partly because of the popular style which Stobart combined with a scholarly approach. As Stobart remarks in his Introduction to the first edition of *The Glory that was Greece* (1911), rather than create a 'storehouse of information' which would serve as a reference work, his intention was to provide a wide audience with a general picture of ancient Greek culture.[7]

The new media of film and radio also provided the general public with Classical models. Early silent films depicted the ancient world[8] and, as Amanda Wrigley reveals,

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[6] Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities and Society in England, 1830-1960.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998), p. 10.

[7] Stobart wished to abandon the growing specialisation in the universities and refers to the habit in academia of working 'like miners underground, each in his own shaft, buried away from sight or earshot of the public, so that they begin to lose touch with one another' and wishes to teach his audience to learn to 'love all things Hellenic'. See J. C. Stobart, *The Glory that Was Greece* 'Introduction to the Original Edition, Fourth Edition. London: Sidgwick & Jackson (1964), pp. v, vii.

[8] Regarding Classics and silent film see, for example, Maria Wyke, *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History.* London: Routledge (1997). For silent and sound films depicting the ancient world see, for example, Jeffrey Richards, *Hollywood's Ancient Worlds*. London: Hambledon Continuum (2008) and Jeffrey Richards, J. 'Boys' Own Empire: Feature Films and Imperialism in the 1930s' in John MacKenzie (ed) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester, Manchester University Press (1986), pp. 140-164. See also Joanna Paul, *Film and the Classical Epic Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013). For the social and cultural impact of film

during the interwar years BBC radio provided translations of ancient Greek drama by Gilbert Murray, and dramatisations by Louis MacNeice of non-dramatic storylines.[9] It also published articles providing background information in the *Radio Times.* As discussed in the Arthur Mee case study, during the interwar years Gilbert Murray's promotion of Hellenism attracted Mee's attention so that he both transmits Murray's ideas and appropriates them for his own didactic message in his 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia.*

In consequence, the British public, including those who had received little or no Classical education, was surrounded by Classical models. Within schools however, Classics was challenged. The 1902 Education Act provided free access to secondary level education for the first time in England and this created a debate concerning the nature of the state secondary curricula. The creation of the Classical Association of England and Wales in 1903 may be identified as a significant response to the challenges posed to Classics as an academic discipline. A speech given to the Association in 1910, reveals the two major challenges to students wishing to access higher education. These were first the appropriateness of a Classical degree for those who successfully gained admission to university. Second was the question of the requirement for competence in the Latin and Greek languages required for, and frequently impeding, admission to University.

As Stray reveals, at the beginning of the twentieth century Classics dominated secondary and higher education. For many centuries, Stray reminds us, 'classical antiquity had provided a symbolic repertoire' throughout a long history of reception, and within the ancient universities the humanist curricula, founded upon the Classical Tradition remained unchallenged.[10] The early British Industrial Revolution during the eighteenth century had occurred with minimal input from science. The dominance of Classics in education therefore remained unchallenged throughout the nineteenth century.[11] A second reason for the continuing dominance of Classics in the nineteenth century was of the late provision by the

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on the general public residing in colonial societies see James Burns, *Cinema and Society in the British Empire, 1895-1940.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2013).

[9] See Amanda Wrigley and S.J. Harrison (eds), Louis MacNeice: The Classical Radio Plays. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013); and Amanda Wrigley, Greece on Air: Engagements with Ancient Greece on BBC Radio, 1920s-1960s. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2015).

[10] Stray (1998), 10.

[11] As science played a minimal role in the industrial revolution, science did not enter educational curricula and challenge the dominance of Classics until the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries.

British government of free access to secondary education. Britain did not provide access to free secondary education until 1902.[12] This created an educational market place where Classics 'became a crucial status marker', with the level of access to a Classical education used to differentiate the social classes.[13] By the mid-nineteenth century the members of the elite who would ultimately govern the nation and the rapidly expanding Empire received an extensive Classical education at the great public schools which were, in turn, expanding to meet the demand for governors and administrators. The public schools defined themselves by the extensive level of Classics provided in their education. Below this were innumerable private schools providing increasingly attenuated levels of Classics in their curricula, where the level of Classics provided defined the status of the students attending such schools.[14] This reinforced the status quo, impeding educational reform.

The quality of the Classical education received was held to be the means of forming the mind, and Classical texts were held to be authoritative. As Goldhill recognises, within this system Classics was therefore perceived as the mechanism which formed, as well as informed, the mind of the 'figure of authority'.[15] Classics thus 'became the furniture of the mind' to this elite.[16]

A significant response to the challenges to Classics posed by the introduction of free access to secondary state education was the establishment of the Classical Association of England and Wales founded on 19 December 1903. Its creation followed the seminal article 'Are the Classics to go?' by John Percival Postgate in the *Fortnightly Review* in November 1902. This called for a major response by Classics to the challenges created by the 1902

[12] This had been preceded by access to free primary-level education in 1870.

[13] Stray (1998), 27-29, at 29.

[14] Stray (1998), 41. The Buchan case study reveals a man who received a Classical education at a prestigious school in Scotland, and the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford, enabling him to draw on a wide range of Latin texts to create a biography of Augustus which challenged Mussolini's appropriation of ancient Rome as the natural successor of the ancient world. The Hamilton case study identifies Hamilton as a man who had received a more modest Classical education at a cheap private school. Mee, an autodidact, received no Classical education at his state Board school.

[15] Goldhill (2011), 2.

[16] Goldhill (2011), 2. As Goldhill points out, Thomas Babbington Macaulay, on his way to taking up a colonial position in India, read Virgil, Livy, Homer and other Classics on the journey. See also Stray (1998), 53. As discussed in the Hamilton case study, Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* were incredibly popular and influenced Hamilton's own reception of the ancient world.

Education Act. As Stray suggests, Classics as an academic subject faced educational annihilation.[17] Stray reveals that, although Postgate urged members to engage with these challenges, many members of the Association were reluctant to do so, particularly with regard to the demand for requirement of competence in the Greek language by all potential students. The Association, however, did not engage with this matter openly. This was a consequence, as Stray confirms, of an internal politics of veiled competing differences.[18] At the beginning of the nineteenth century the ethos of the great Universities was 'literary-humanist' and powerful vested interests resisted change.[19]

The Classicist J.W. Mackail's 'The Place of Greek and Latin in Human Life'[20] reveals the attitudes which were under challenge, and provides an indication of the nature of such challenges:

> … all that is known to us through the Latin and Greek languages, or the knowledge of which is intimately connected with and inseparable from a knowledge of Greek and Latin: first and foremost coming the languages themselves as mediums of the most exquisite delicacy precision and finish; then the literature embodied in the languages, as the original record of that history upon which our own history is founded and the expression of the fundamental thought, the permanent aspiration, and the central emotion of mankind; then the effective surviving product of Greece and Rome in art, politics, religion, and the whole conduct and control of life. [But] …. there is a further implied meaning: that of a certain factor or element in our own lives both individual and national, which depends upon and can only be expressed in terms of that knowledge. The Classics are in this sense at once the roots and the soil out of which

[17] See 'The Foundation and its Contexts' in Christopher Stray (ed), *The Classical Association: The First Century 1903-2003.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2003a), pp. 3, 5-6.

[18] Stray (2003a), 19. A reflection of the ongoing debates concerning educational reform, and resistance to that reform, is that Henry Jackson of Trinity College, Cambridge was so opposed to the retention of the demand for competence in the Greek language before admission to the universities that he wrote to the Classical Association Council stating that 'if the Association intended to support its maintenance he would not join'. See Stray (2003a), 18.

[19] Stray (1998), 117.

[20] J. W. Mackail, 'The Value of Greek and Latin in Human Life' in *Classical Studies*. London: John Murray (1925), pp. 1-16.

> the modern world has grown, and from which … it draws life through a thousand fibres.[21]

This speech reveals not only how Classics was conceived by academics in this period, but also indicates the two serious challenges to that position. First is the centrality of Classics within higher education, and that many students who succeeded in gaining entry to higher education found that the Classical curricula were unsuited to the careers they wished to follow. Second was the continuing requirement for compulsory Greek and Latin: a demand that those entering higher education should demonstrate a competence in both languages.

During the Victorian period British cities expanded rapidly. By the late Victorian period increasing numbers of middle-class professionals in the growing provincial towns and cities of England desired access to higher education curricula that were more appropriate for a professional career.[22] Many families were unable to afford to send their sons to a school providing the rigorous Classical education which led to higher education at the ancient universities. Those who successfully entered university frequently found the curriculum unsuited to their requirements, especially those who would go on to find employment in the Dominions. The poem 'The Younger Son' by the popular English poet Robert Service (1874-1958)[23] idealises the courage of the typical aristocratic or middle class younger son farming in the Dominions.[24] That it is an idealisation is illustrated in an emigrant's letter written from Australia to *Chambers Journal* at the beginning of the twentieth century.[25] The

[21] Mackail (1925), 3-4. The Buchan case study reveals Buchan's acceptance of the widely accepted belief that Classics is the foundation of Western thought and culture. The Mee case study describes how Mee, as an autodidact, absorbed the notion without questioning it, and perpetuates the claim in his 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia.*

[22] Cities such as Sheffield, for example, had large numbers of commercial families who required a more vocational and technical education. See Stray (1998), 32-33.

[23] The poet Robert Service worked as a bank clerk for the Whitehorse and Dawson City branches of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in Canada from 1903-1909, writing poetry in his leisure time.

[24] Robert Service, 'The Younger Son' in *The Collected Verse of Robert Service*. London: Ernest Benn (1930), pp. 92-96. Reprint of poem in Robert Service, *Songs of a Sourdough* (1907).

[25] 'Victim', 'English Public-School Education from a Colonial Point of View' in *Chambers's Journal,* sixth series. Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers Ltd (February 10 1906), p. 173-176.

correspondent, who signs himself 'a victim', found himself 'sadly handicapped' in his career in Australia by 'the Classics-dominated education he had received in England'.[26]

In an attempt to meet the challenges posed, the ancient universities set up Extension Schemes. As the Classicist Oscar Browning confirms,[27] the roles undertaken by the participating towns and Cambridge University were complementary.[28] Richard Moulton, a Cambridge Classicist, discusses how the University created the courses and supplied the teachers.[29] Browning confirms that there was a demand from the working class and lower middle class for a broad range of courses to meet individual needs[30] together with a keen desire to learn,[31] and he confirms that the courses were intended for working people who could attend lectures in the evening following their work, such as clerks, artisans, miners and shop assistants.[32] Most working-class boys in late Victorian Britain lacked any secondary-level education. Miners, for example, appreciated the opportunity to study higher-level courses at affordable prices, such as the miner who stated 'I deeply deplore the last 34 years of my life, being buried in the mines since I was nine years of age' and 'I have broken loose from my fetters and am proceeding onwards'.[33] As Edith Hall and Henry Stead reveal,

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[26] Victim (1906), 175, 176.

[27] Oscar Browning, 'The University Extension Movement at Cambridge in *'Science'* 9, no 207. Washington D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science (1887), p. 61-63.

[28] In the Scheme, Browning describes how local towns created committees to raise funds, then set up and administered educational centres to provide university-level education. See Browning (1887), 61-62. Vera Brittain was elected to the Buxton University Extension Committee. See Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*. London: Virago (1978), p. 97.

[29] In the courses on Classical literature, the exercises set by these tutors were in translation, and therefore did not comprise language drills. Instead, in keeping with Gilbert Murray's inclinations, they were designed to stimulate original work and a love of the subject. The University created the courses, organized examinations, and administered the scheme. Each lecture would be accompanied by a weekly discussion 'class', and essays. On successful completion of the examination, students could become affiliates of the University. See Moulton (1891), 174-178.

[30] Browning (1887), 61.

[31] Browning (1887), 62. Browning's statistics show a rapid increase in numbers between 1880 and 1885. There were 36 centres in 1885 compared to only 13 in 1880. There were 80 courses in 1885 compared to 37 in 1880. There were 8,500 attendees in 1885 compared with 4,300 in 1880.

[32] Browning (1887), 62.

[33] Browning (1887), 63. Browning does not indicate whether the miner in question studied Classics, although Edith Hall and Henry Stead confirm that many members of mining communities did study Classics over a long period and in a variety of ways. See for example E. Hall and H. Stead, *A People's History of Classics: Class and*

although working-class and lower-middle class boys lacked an extensive Classical education, or had even received no formal Classical education, they nevertheless aspired to learn about the ancient world. In *A People's History of Classics* (2020) they point out that the working classes had always aspired to the study of Classics. Significantly, on the Extension scheme although Classics was not identified specifically as a course a considerable number of the literature courses included Greek and Latin texts in translation, rather than in the original languages. They proved to be some of the most successful courses,[34] and Moulton has no hesitation in identifying these courses as 'Classics' courses. He further notes that few people failed the final examinations with examiners reporting that the standard demanded of students was comparable with those of the courses taught in the Universities.[35]

As Thomas Kelly points out in *For the Advancement of Learning: The University of Liverpool* (1981), a number of northern Colleges were also established to deliver higher education,[36] following demands for professional university-level education by the middle classes.[37] At Oxford, Benjamin Jowett grew concerned that such colleges were independent of the ancient Universities, and feared the dominance of vocational education at the expense

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Greco-Roman Antiquity in Britain and Ireland, 1689-1939. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (2020), pp. 128-129, 164; especially see Chapter 22 'Classics Among the Miners' concerning Classics in mining communities, pp. 460-475.

[34] Moulton (1891), 176.

[35] Moulton (1891), 176.

[36] In addition to these Colleges, University College, London had perceived the need for high level professional training and established three chairs in Civil Engineering between 1840 and 1846. See Thomas Kelly, *For the Advancement of Learning: The University of Liverpool* 1881-1981. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press (1981), p. 11.

[37] Kelly (1981), 12-13. In 1851 Owens College, Manchester, funded from a legacy by John Owens, a local manufacturer, made some concessions to local needs such as modern languages and commercial subjects. Its curriculum, however, was founded on Classics and praised by its sponsors for its remoteness from daily life. At first it proved less successful than the subsequent Cambridge Extension Scheme. Generous benefactors who funded medical and scientific research, however, led to success in professional training. New Civic Colleges were subsequently created in the major regional centres such as Yorkshire College of Science in Leeds, established in 1874, or the Mason Science College in Birmingham. See Kelly (1981), 6-9. Such an education was also open to able working-class students as well as the sons of middle-class professional men. My husband's grandfather, who lived in Scotland Road, a working-class area of Liverpool, studied at the University of Liverpool at the end of the nineteenth century. He subsequently became a head teacher at a local state primary school.

of a 'liberal education' embracing Classical and literary studies. He informed the University of Oxford Commission of 1877 that 'if we take no part in this movement it passes out of our hands'.[38] However, a broad range of local centres which had acted as Centres for the Cambridge Extension Courses also became University Colleges.[39] By the end of the century, Owens College, Manchester was campaigning to become a University offering arts, science, law and medicine,[40] and in its Jubilee text *The University of Liverpool 1903-1953* (1953) the author confirms that in 1901 Liverpool University College openly expressed a desire for independence, leading to the government Privy Council decision that Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester should be granted Royal Charters.[41] All together six civic universities were founded before the Great War,[42] ending the ancient universities' control over higher education, with its emphasis on Classics.

The creation of the new Civic Universities, however, did not end the requirements for compulsory Greek and Latin at England's ancient universities. Compulsory Greek remained an especial problem, as few private schools provided a sufficient level of language skills. As Dominic Hibberd reveals, before the Great War the gifted war-poet Wilfred Owen possessed both the ability and desire for higher-level education. His lower-middle class family, however, lacked the financial means to provide an appropriate secondary-level education, and he was unable to master Greek to a sufficient standard. After he left school Owen later lacked the financial means to make up that deficiency.[43] Edith Hall and Henry Stead comment on

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[38] Jowett therefore ensured that the new College established in Bristol in 1867 became a University College teaching the arts as well as sciences. See Kelly (1981), 13.

[39] These include Sheffield (1897), Nottingham (1881) and Liverpool (1881). See Kelly (1981), 13-14.

[40] Kelly (1981), 40.

[41] Anonymous, *The University of Liverpool, 1903-1953*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press (1953), p.9. This text is the Liverpool University Jubilee Book. Liverpool gained its charter on 15 July 1903 with the University of Leeds receiving its Royal Charter in 1903-4, as did the University of Manchester.

[42] They are the Universities of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol and Sheffield.

[43] Dominic Hibberd, *Wilfred Owen: A New Biography.* London: Phoenix (2003), p. 22. Cf. Elizabeth Vandiver, *Stand in the Trench, Achilles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010), p. 115. Owen studied Latin at Birkenhead Institute Junior School from 1900-1907 but was unable to continue this subject as a pupil-teacher, which was the only academic career open to a talented man with no independent. income. As Vandiver reveals, while attending the Pupil-Teacher Centre at Shrewsbury Borough Technical School Owen was able to study neither Latin nor Greek. See Vandiver (2010), 47. Owen was thus unable to offer Greek when tutoring two boys in France. See Hibberd (2003), 187. He continued his struggle to master the requisite skill, but it is unclear whether he was able to do so before his death during the Great War: Vandiver (2010), 4.

how the novelist Thomas Hardy, the son of a stonemason, had been denied a public-school education. Consequently, he learned little Greek formally but had successfully acquired sufficient Greek informally to read the *Iliad* as a teenager.[44] In addition to the struggle of British youths to achieve a higher education are the difficulties faced by women. Women's education rarely included the requisite study of Latin and Greek, restricting a University-level education to women from affluent, liberal-minded families. As Vera Brittain reveals, she lacked such a Classical education and abandoned 'in despair' the Greek textbooks borrowed from her brother Ronald.[45] She subsequently acquired sufficient Greek to pass her examinations only because she was unmarried and did not go out to work, and therefore had sufficient time to devote to study.[46]

At the end of the nineteenth century, at Oxford University, Gilbert Murray led the challenge to compulsory Greek, demanding its abolition.[47] In Murray's opinion, a love of the subject rather than mechanical competence in linguistic technique was essential. He held that 'Greece, not Greek, should be our motto.[48] As Julia Stapleton reveals[49] Murray's viewpoint was:

> Allow the Oxford science man to dispense with Greek if he wishes and, at the same time, allow the Hellenistically-minded boy or girl in an average secondary school to have a fair chance of learning it.[50]

In January 1919 compulsory Greek finally ended at Cambridge, and Oxford shortly after followed their example.[51] Compulsory Latin, however, remained throughout the interwar period. Stray, in 'The Lull Between Two Storms' (2003) comments how Latin therefore remained embedded in the curriculum of grammar schools, but was taught alongside English,

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[44] Hall & Stead (2020), 101-102.

[45] Brittain (1978), 100.

[46] Brittain (1978), 102.

[47] Stray (1998), 224

[48] Stray (1998), 224.

[49] See Julia. Stapleton, 'Classics and the Liberal Intellectual: Gilbert Murray and Alfred Ackhard Zimmerman' in Christopher Stray (ed), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007), pp. 262-290.

[50] See Gilbert Murray, 'An Educated Nation' delivered to the Conference of Educational Associations, University of London, January 1917. See Gilbert Murray papers GM 441.14, p7. Cf Stapleton (2007), 265.

[51] Stray (1998), 267

science and modern languages.[52] As noted above, after the Great War compulsory Greek ended. However, as Stray reveals, Murray failed to persuade the Government to increase its provision for the teaching of Greek in schools.[53] Stapleton notes that Murray wished to promote a wide appreciation of the Greek cultural legacy,[54] and the Mee case study reveals how, in attracting the attention of Arthur Mee, his comments concerning Greek literature and culture were quoted in the 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia.* As Stray comments, however, compulsory Latin continued throughout the interwar period and was not ended until after World War Two.[55]

The response of the Classical Association to the challenges to Classics was viewed by its critics as inadequate. Reform initiatives in higher education that had been instituted were largely at Cambridge where, Stray comments, the curricula were 'preoccupied with mathematics'.[56] Oxford was thus 'the primary home for Classics in England'. The consequence of such dominance was, as Stray reveals, complacency.[57] Mackail supported the study of the Latin language. His subordinate, J.W. Headlam, however was concerned with the serious problems inherent in inspiring a love of Classics in a culture which adhered to 'purely linguistic concerns'.[58] No committee was established to consider the question of compulsory Greek and Latin, however. Stray comments that of the three committees established by the Classical Association Council, the largest was concerned with the improvement of the Latin and Greek curricula in schools,[59] to ensure that any changes benefited a small number of

[52] Christopher Stray, 'A Lull Between Two Storms: From the 1920s to the 1950s' in Christopher Stray (ed) *The Classical Association: The First Century 1903-2003.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2003c), pp. 38-41 at 39.

[53] Stray (1998), 265-70.

[54] Stapleton (2007), 265.

[55] Stray (1998), 293-5.

[56] Stray (2003a), 19.

[57] Stray (2003a), 20.

[58] Stray (2003a), 21. Headlam identified the 'tendency of perfection of style, analysis of language, grammar and stylistic criticism', and critiqued such a teaching style as 'the ossified system of fifty years before'. As such, these methods resemble the teaching of Latin in Hamilton's fictional boarding schools. Hamilton founded these fictional institutions on his memories formed many years before the creation of his narratives, and Headlam's description of schoolboys' dislike of Classical languages resembles Hamilton's descriptions of school life in the Hamilton case study. Similarly, the preoccupation with linguistic style in early twentieth century schools may be identified with the preoccupations of Hamilton's fictional teachers and headmasters.

[59] Other challenges concerned the lack of a consistent system of pronunciation of the Latin language. See Christopher Stray, 'Getting Under Way: Challenge and Response, 1904-1922' in Christopher Stray (ed), *The*

excellent Latin and Greek scholars, rather than the average pupil.[60] Gilbert Murray's desire for a broad approach, especially concerning Greek culture, was unsuccessful. Instead, the focus fell upon the teaching of language, particularly Latin, and the need for the standardization of Latin pronunciation and spelling was considered of the utmost importance by the Committee.[61]

During the interwar period, as Stray indicates, education in England as a whole went through a period of 'stability' or 'truce' with few public debates concerning schools' curricula, although three Government educational reports were issued in 1926, 1938 and during World War Two in 1943.[62] The Classical Association's memorandum to the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education emphasized linguistic study and grammar, and indicates no recognition of a need for engaging the wider school community. Its descriptions of 'training in exactness and self-discipline, and in distinguishing between right and wrong, between mastery and half-knowledge', however, was rejected. At the end of the interwar period, Stray points out, the Association discussed the 1939 Report 'in a rather desultory way.'[63] Throughout the interwar period, therefore, Stray reveals that although the challenges to Classics were severe, the responses were inadequate.

3. Classics and Empire

The British Empire, like Classics, also faced significant challenges during this period, though for different reasons. As the modern historian John Darwin identifies, British political supremacy had been made possible by Britain's empire of occupation, settlement and rule. This had been accompanied by a 'commercial republic' centred on the city of London which

Classical Association: The First Century, *1903-2003.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2003b), pp.23-26. There was also a perceived need for ongoing training of Classics teachers to ensure their knowledge remained up to date. See Stray (2003b), 26.

[60] Stray (2003b), 27-28.

[61] Stray (2003b), 24-25, 28.

[62] Stray (2003c), pp. 38-9.

[63] Stray (2003c), 39.

had created a prosperous economic 'world system' of cultural imperialism.[64] Nevertheless, as Darwin reminds us, from the 1850s the rising European empires challenged this supremacy.[65]

Before the Great War a specific range of challenges influenced British responses to perceived threats from the new European empires, particularly those posed by Germany's economic and naval power.[66] The modern historian Bernard Porter reminds us that the free trade policy of successive Liberal governments had rejected government intervention in trade negotiations.[67] In response to the protectionist policies of the rising European empires, however, Chamberlain proposed a divisive Tariff campaign to protect imperial trade. This policy was soundly rejected at the 1906 General Election.

Following the Great War, with the downturn in the world economy, tariffs were imposed by other nations against British goods. In response the British government attempted to reintroduce 'imperial preference'. This was a version of Chamberlain's plan, whereby there would be free trade within the Empire and tariffs imposed on other nations. As the modern historian Stephen Constantine notes, the Empire Marketing Board (1926-1933) was set up to facilitate the promotion of trade within the Empire.[68] Between 1924 and 1929 Leo Amery, a former supporter of Chamberlain's Tariff Reform Campaign was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies.[69] Amery toured the Empire between 1927 and 1928 promoting the scheme, and his narrative *The Empire in the New Era* records his public

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[64] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2009), p. 112. This had created a wide sphere of economic influence. A tenfold increase in world trade between 1850 and 1913 meant that by 1913-14 sixty percent of the bills of exchange, the accepted form of payment, were between foreign buyers and sellers. See Darwin (2009), 114-115.

[65] For discussions concerning the economic challenges posed by the new European empires see also Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2004).

[66] Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A History of British Imperialism 1850 to the Present.* Harlow: Pearson (2004), p. 171. vised edition of 2004.

[67] Porter (2004), 166.

[68] Stephen Constantine, 'Bringing the Empire Alive, The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda 1926-1933' in John MacKenzie (ed), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press (1986), pp. 192-231.

[69] Constantine (1986), 193, 196.

addresses.[70] Darwin reveals, however, that the response of the Dominion governments was a demand for the freedom to protect their own local industries. This included the right to trade with other nations.[71] As Darwin points out, just as the British government was promoting the scheme, the Statute of Westminster was passing through Parliament. It came into law in 1931, giving the Dominions internal autonomy.[72]

The dominance of Classics in educational curricula also played a role within this dilemma. In Canada, as early as 1902 the Canadian James Loudon, President of the University of Toronto,[73] was already connecting a classically dominated educational curriculum in Canadian higher education with the economic problems faced by Britain and, by extension, by Canada. In his public address 'The Universities in Relation to Research' (1902)[74] Loudon contrasts the Canadian and German secondary and higher education systems. The Canadian higher education system, he points out, had been established under the guidance of British university academics from Oxford and Cambridge, However, neither Canada nor the English universities were producing researchers. Defining 'research' in its widest meaning as the extension of knowledge in the fields of physical and natural sciences,

[70] Leo S. Amery, *The Empire in the New Era: Speeches Delivered during an Empire Tour 1927-1928*. London: Edward Arnold (1928). Amery toured the Dominions urging them to support the British Empire, and his speeches draw on both the ancient world, and the unquestioned perception of a connection between modern Britain and the Dominions. On his return, his address to the Royal Colonial Institute (1928) identifies his tour as an Odyssey, and that he, Amery, had also learned about the aspirations of the Dominions. See Amery (1928), 1. In Cape Town, South Africa, he refers to their connection through the Imperial conferences, calling London the 'Mother City'. See Amery (1928), 7. In Kimberley, he speaks of South Africa as 'imbued with the British tradition and British ideals'. See Amery (1928), 19. In Adelaide, Australia, he acknowledges the growing independence of the Dominions and in Melbourne he states he does not believe this weakens the link between the two nations. See Amery (1928), 92, 95. Through the tour he emphasises the importance of both trade between Britain and the Dominions, and the continuing movement of peoples between Britain and the Dominions.

[71] Darwin (2009), 436-438.

[72] Darwin (2009), 443

[73] Between 1892 and 1906 Loudon was Professor of Mathematics and Physics and President of the University of Toronto, Canada, following his work as a tutor in Classics. Loudon was therefore able to consider the role of Classics in education from both viewpoints.

[74] James Loudon, 'The Universities in Relation to Research' in Science, 15, 392. Washington D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science (1902), pp. 1001-1009.

literature, and art,[75] Loudon comments that in British universities, the 'medieval spirit was tenacious' so that the growth of research there had been slow, with the result that English universities rarely guided students into research. Consequently, less new research originated in England, and by extension in Canada.[76]

In Germany, by contrast, Loudon reveals that both arts and sciences had produced independent learners capable of undertaking university-level research,[77] and that German students could carry out their own independent lines of research to increase scientific knowledge and skill.[78] He attributes the lack of Canadian research to the dominance of Classics at Oxford and Cambridge. This, he considered, meant the British economy faced serious challenges from foreign trade, particularly German trade and calls for the British education system to make appropriate changes.[79] British Academics, he felt, were 'deluded in the self-satisfied belief' that the humanist education received at a British university 'was near perfection,' and therefore, by definition, superior to that of Germany.[80] British commercial supremacy, he argues, was under threat owing to the ancient universities' adherence to the Classics-based traditional humanist education, with its emphasis on reading and examinations. As a result, he argues, there are rarely attempts to guide English undergraduates into research, however advanced the abilities of a student might be, as tutors were unacquainted with the field of organised research and academic administrators were indifferent to it.[81]

Loudon calls for educational reform in all universities, so that students might be guided into research. Loudon's concerns, whether accurate or not, indicate the impact of the dominance of Classics in British education upon university research and technology, and subsequently upon the economy, within both Britain and the Dominions before and after the Great War. As noted above, despite Loudon's concerns Classics did not respond adequately to the challenges to education during the interwar years (see Section 2).

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[75] Loudon (1902), 1001.

[76] Loudon (1902), 1004.

[77] Loudon (1902), 1003.

[78] Loudon (1902), 1002-1004.

[79] Loudon (1902), 1005.

[80] Loudon (1902), 1005.

[81] Loudon (1902), 1005.

Following the Great War, as noted above the Statute of Westminster (1931) gave autonomy to the white settled Dominions which enabled them to conduct their own treaty negotiations. However, although the Dominions gained autonomy, progress was slow in India where, although 'Indianisation' was part of the official Government agenda, its aims were incomplete. Although historians record ways in which the British Empire faced specific economic and political challenges, the concept of Empire did not merely involve such discrete, individual problems.

As Phiroze Vasunia has pointed out that it was extremely difficult for Indians to enter the Indian civil service.[82] Historically, the prestigious Indian Civil Service had been regulated by competitive examinations which, he notes, 'were not even held in India' until 1922, thus making it almost impossible for Indian subjects to access the examination process. He also reveals that, historically, weight was given in the examinations to Latin and Greek in 'efforts to create a class of imperialist "gentlemen", ideally drawn from Oxford or Cambridge', so that 'Greek and Latin authorized and participated in imperial culture'.[83] An article in the *Boys Own Paper* (October 1923) leads to the conclusion that, during the interwar years, participation by Indian people in the government of their own country remained problematic. In this edition of the *Boys Own Paper* the Editor recommends the Indian Police Service as a suitable career for British young man, and comments that:

> As regards what is known as 'Indianisation' the maximum percentage of posts intended to be allotted to Indians (or Burmans) is fixed at thirty-three percent. Appointments are not being filled in any definite ratio, [and] it is impossible to say when this percentage will be arrived at.[84]

'Indianisation' was not perceived by the editor of the *Boys Own Paper* as progressing rapidly in the years following the Great War.

Such problems reveal that challenges to the Empire were not individual, discrete problems, but clearly involved the cultural perceptions of the British people. As John

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[82] See Phiroze Vasunia, Chapter 5, 'Competition Wallahs: Greek, Latin and the Indian Civil Service' in *Classics and Colonial India.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013). 'Greek and Latin were almost indispensable for successful entry into the Indian Civil Service in late Victorian Britain. See Vasunia (2013), 136.

[83] Vasunia (2013), 194-195.

[84] Editor, 'When I Leave School', *Boys' Own Paper.* London: Religious Tract Society (October 1923), p. 12.

MacKenzie argues, many modern historians who have written about imperialism 'have been principally concerned with its political, strategic and economic dimensions, with the official mind rather than the popular psychology'. This, he points out, has left a 'vacuum … in consideration of its role in British history.[85] It is therefore necessary to think beyond the discrete, individual challenges to Empire. As Edward Said reveals, Empire had an immense impact upon, and drew on, wider British culture. In 1993 Said pointed out that 'the enterprise of empire depends upon *the idea of having an empire'* and that 'all kinds of preparation are made for it within a culture'. As a result, the notion of empire involves a ruler and those who are ruled, and both share the same culture.[86] Consequently, Said adds, Empire incorporates the practices and attitudes of 'a dominant metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory'.[87]

From the beginning of *Culture and Imperialism*, within his Introduction, Said emphasizes the centrality of culture to the concept of imperialism, and that understanding this centrality enhances our reading of fictional narratives.[88] Some historians argue that the British people were unconcerned about Empire. As Said reveals, however, the concept of Empire was, in fact, central to the way in which the British people perceived themselves. Although some modern historians continue to argue that the British people were largely unconcerned about the British Empire,[89] following Said's insights, a new wave of material has considered Empire in a wider context.

One way in which the British people understood their place in the Empire was by contrasting themselves with other imperial subjects, and modern investigations reveal some of the ways in which the peoples of the Empire were perceived by the British. Said, in *Orientalism* (1978), comments on the controlling nature of a verbal language of cultural imperialism. He notes how 'western constructions' create 'a regime of truth'. 'Truth', he argues, was created by, and directed by, those with authoritative status who are 'charged with saying what counts as true'. Consequently, the aspect of 'truth' was the way those with

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[85] John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester, Manchester University Press (1984) p. 2.

[86] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Random House (1994), p.11. Said's own italics.

[87] Said (1994), 9.

[88] Said (1994), xiv.

[89] See for example David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*. London: Penguin (2001).

authority can define the meaning of words so that such meanings become unquestioned.[90] Said reveals that such 'truth' differentiating the races resides in the power of authoritative writers and academics to represent the Orient as 'the Other' through binary oppositions between Europeans and 'Orientals'.[91]

As the modern historian Joanna de Groot identifies, such 'truth' was 'verified' by an academic base which, during the Victorian era, 'validated' such 'truth' through modern sciences including anthropology, biology, and medical scholarship. In this way white superiority became verified 'scientifically' by employing descriptions to differentiate between genders, races and classes. Physical attributes such as gender differences or differences in skin colour, or differing behavioural patterns between the classes, were described to 'verify' the 'scientific truth' of the superiority of western white males.[92] Consequently the themes of race and gender both influenced the treatment by western men of women and non-Europeans.[93] Such 'facts', however, merely reflected cultural assumptions of differences between the white British and the 'Other''.[94] As the historian Nicholas Thomas reveals, quoting the anthropologist Johannes Fabian, while such modern regimes appear incorporative on the surface, they are 'founded on distancing and separation'.[95] Catherine Hall confirms, therefore, that as early as the mid-Victorian period the experience of Empire

[90] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (1978), 3.

[91] Said (1978), 3.

[92] Joanna de Groot, '"Sex" and "Race" in the Construction of Language' in Catherine Hall (ed), *Cultures of Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press (2000) pp. 37-60 at 40.

[93] De Groot (2000), 37-38. De Groot identifies interactions and interdependence between 'sexes', 'classes', and 'race'. This led to sharp distinctions between male and female roles within families and between classes at work which, at the same time, also led to mutual personal reliance. De Groot reveals a tension between dominance and dependence in both cases, so that concepts of feminism, class and race became increasingly founded on the same interactions of reciprocity and mutual need. See de Groot (2000), 38-40.

[94] De Groot (2000), 40.

[95] Quoted in Nicholas Thomas, 'Colonial Conversions: Distance, Hierarchy and History in Early Twentieth-century Evangelical Propaganda' in Catherine Hall (ed), *Cultures of Empire: A Reader*. Manchester: Manchester University Press (2000), pp. 198-328. For a discussion concerning such distancing and separation within the British Empire in the Pacific South Seas see Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire.* New Haven: Yale University Press (2010).

was universal and something which everyone knew about and took for granted.[96] As Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose remind us in the Introduction to their edited volume *At Home with the Empire* (2006),[97] the connection between the metropole and the Empire had a long history and that the Empire was 'taken-for-granted as a natural aspect of Britain's place in the world and its history'. No-one, therefore, doubted that 'Great Britain was an imperial nation state'. Debates have included discussions from concerning the economics of the Empire to the 'burdens and responsibilities' of Empire shouldered by the British.[98]

Figures of authority frequently appropriated Classics to discuss Empire in their public debates, which implicated Classics in these imperialist assumptions. Vasunia, for example, identifies Seeley, at the end of the nineteenth century, and after him Lucas, and Lord Cromer at the beginning of the twentieth. As Vasunia emphasises, by calling on the ancient world to 'legitimise' the British Empire, their arguments about Rome are inseparable from their claims about Britain's Empire.[99] Before taking the Regius Chair in Modern History at Cambridge, Seeley had held the Latin Chair at University College, London, and had lectured on Roman imperialism.[100] His essays on the topic were published in 1870 and republished in a collection of his essays and lectures in 1895.[101] Seeley was thus an authoritative establishment figure.[102] His viewpoint was influenced by Classics, and his arguments were taken up by other establishment figures, such as Sir Charles Lucas and Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer,[103] and the authority of both was unquestioned. As Catherine Hall and Sonia Rose point out, John

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[96] See Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Oxford: Polity (2002). Hall focusses on Birmingham in particular and examines such items as correspondence to reveal the intellectual and emotional connections ordinary people in England have always had with the Empire.

[97] Catherine Hall and Sonia O. Rose (eds) *At Home with the Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2006).

[98] C. Hall and S. O. Rose, 'Introduction' in Catherine Hall and Sonia O. Rose (eds) *At Home with the Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2006), pp. 1-31 at 24.

[99] Phiroze Vasunia's chapter 'Greater Rome and Greater Britain' in his volume *The Classics and Colonial India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013), pp. 130-131. This is a republication of his paper published in Barbara Goff (ed), *Classics and Colonialism*, London: Duckworth (2005), pp. 38-64.

[100] Thomas Harrison, 'Ancient and Modern Imperialism', in *Greece and Rome* vol. 55 no. 1 (2008), pp.1-22, at pp. 10-11. See also Vasunia (2013), 135.

[101] For Seeley's lectures on Roman Imperialism see Sir John R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*. Boston: Adamant Media Corp. (Elibron Classics) (2006). Reprint of 1895 edition.

[102] See Vasunia (2013), 135-136.

[103] Vasunia (2013), 131.

Seeley's series of lectures *The Expansion of England* (1883)[104] indicate not only how, at the end of the nineteenth century, 'empire depended upon the idea of having an empire', but also that the fact that Britain possessed such an empire was accepted unchallenged by the British public.

Vasunia notes how Seeley referred back to Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke's[105] use of the term 'Greater Britain'. This term, he points out, meant different things to different people.[106] Seeley, a federalist who supported Joseph Chamberlain's wish to unite the Empire into a single entity,[107] wished to rally the people in support of the Empire. He famously argued that the British 'seemed to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind'.[108] As Thomas Harrison points out in 'Ancient and Modern Imperialism' (2008), by this Seeley meant that 'the English needed to wake up and work to maintain the Empire,' not merely be aware of it.[109] Seeley's arguments leading up to this phrase define 'England' as the state whose seat of government is in England. He defines the English state as the society of English people who are subject to the English government, and reminds his audience that the 'English' and therefore the 'English State' had expanded into other countries around the globe to create a 'Greater Britain'.[110] The British people, he affirms, must no longer think of themselves as members of a society inhabiting a small island on the north coast of Continental Europe,[111] and that the English population includes the peoples of the white settled dominions – that is, Great Britain and the four main territories largely inhabited by the English and who are subjects of the English crown: the Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and the West Indies and British possessions in South

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[104] See J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures*, London: Macmillan & Co. (1907), p. 10. Reprint of 1883.

[105] See Sir Charles W. Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867*. London: Macmillan (1868); and *Problems of Greater Britain.* London: Macmillan (1890).

[106] Vasunia (2013), 131.

[107] John Buchan had originally also supported this notion and it is further discussed in the John Buchan case study.

[108] Seeley (1907), 10. Cf. Catherine Hall and Sonia Rose, 'Introduction', *At Home with the Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2006).

[109] Thomas Harrison 'Ancient and Modern Imperialism' in *Greece and Rome*, second series, vol 55, no 1 (2008), pp. 1-22 at 11. See also Vasunia (2013), 135.

[110] Seeley (1883), 8.

[111] Seeley (1883), 8.

Africa.[112] Seeley excludes India, because it was inhabited largely by a foreign people. By contrast, the English people throughout the globe are tied together as a single community through the sharing of a single race, Christian religion, and interests. The British, he informs his audience, ought therefore to give greater consideration to their other colonies, rather than to India.[113] The modern historian Roger Louis notes that Seeley was drawing the attention of his white audience in Britain and the white settled Dominions to 'to the unconscious acceptance by the public of the burdens of Empire, particularly of India'.[114]

As Vasunia comments, 'race' poses a problem for Seeley. His use of the term 'Greater Britain', Vasunia notes, is 'more or less co-terminous with the British Empire'. However, Seeley found the inclusion of India within Greater Britain problematic so that half of Seeley's narrative is devoted to the problem of 'another Greater Britain'.[115] Seeley, in fact, is concerned about the inherent problems in governing a multi-lingual Empire and employs Classics into his discussion in order to draw on the Roman experience of the problem. Classics is therefore made complicit in debates concerning the governance of the British Empire, particularly problems concerning race.

Seeley's theme of Greater Britain was also taken up by Sir Charles Lucas 1912.[116] Lucas, like Seeley, co-opts the ancient world to discuss the modern British Empire. For example, he reminds his readers that many of the words we employ to discuss the connection between Britain and the Dominions are of Roman origin, and '[illustrate] the debt which we owe to the Romans for our terminology.' This, Lucas believed, enabled him to use the ancient world and discuss the relationship between the Motherland and the Empire by comparing and contrasting them with 'the characteristics of the Roman Empire, which was the greatest political system of the ancient world.'[117] The comparison was possible, he argues because the British Empire was the natural successor to Rome through its adoption of Roman styles of government and law. Richard Jenkyns, as editor of *The Legacy of Rome* (1992)[118] identifies

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[112] Seeley (1883), 10. Arthur Mee's use of the term 'Greater Britain' is discussed in the Mee case study.

[113] Seeley (1883), 11.

[114] Wm. Roger Louis, 'Introduction' in Robin W. Winks (ed), *The Oxford History of the British Empire* Vol 5: *Historiography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (1999).

[115] Vasunia (2013), 136.

[116] Sir Charles P. Lucas, *Greater Rome and Greater Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1912).

[117] Lucas (1912), 1-9.

[118] Jenkyns, R. (ed) *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1992)

the Roman legacy which the British had absorbed subliminally throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. As discussed above, the early twentieth century periods British culture was already saturated with receptions of the ancient world, including Roman culture (See section 2).

Another critical intervention in the relation between Classics and empire was the 1910 speech delivered to the recently formed Classical Association of England and Wales by Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer entitled *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*.[119] This address repeated Seeley and Lucas's co-option of the ancient world to discuss the modern British Empire. Cromer, who had received an extensive Classical education at public school, reiterated the popular conception that the British Empire was the natural successor to Rome. Cromer and, as Thomas Harrison points out in 'Through British Eyes' (2005), Cromer also revealed that he would 'put his received knowledge of ancient empires alongside his hands-on knowledge of administering a modern one'.[120] As the modern historian C.A. Hagerman comments, Classics contributed to 'the official mind.'[121] Harrison, in 'Ancient and Modern Imperialism' (2008), also comments on how Cromer identified the modern Christian British Empire as being superior to Rome as it was founded on 'the granite rock of a Christian moral code'.[122] For Cromer, a knowledge of how ancient Rome was governed, together with Christian moral principles, would assist in the governance of the even greater British Empire.[123]

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[119] See Cf. E. Baring, Earl of Cromer). (1910) *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*. London, John Murray.

[120] Thomas Harrison 'Through British Eyes: The Athenian Empire and Modern Historiography' in Barbara Goff (ed)*Classics and Colonialism.* London: Duckworth (2005) pp. 25-37 at 26n11. Cf. Cromer's address to the Classical Association in Evelyn Baring, Earl of Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism.* London, John Murray (1910).

[121] C. A. Hagerman, *Britain's Imperial Muse.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan (2013), p.2. Hagerman takes the quotation from R. Robinson, and J. Gallagher with A. Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism,* London: Macmillan (1961).

[122] T. Harrison (2008), 18. (Cited as T. Harrison to avoid confusion with S. J. Harrison). Cf. E. Baring, Earl of Cromer, 'The Government of Subject Races', reprinted in his *Political and Literary Essays 1908-1913* (London, 1914), 3-4; quoted by Owen (n. 18), 363.

[123] The John Buchan, Charles Hamilton and Arthur Mee case studies all concern individuals for whom Christianity is central to their values. Their commitment to Classics and their view of Empire became infused with Christian values. This is a key theme in the case studies.

The appropriation of the ancient world by Seeley, Lucas and Cromer, all figures of authority, in order to discuss the modern British Empire affirms Said's conclusion that an idea of empire occurs within a cultural environment. That environment contained a wide range of everyday reminders of the connections between the British Empire and the ancient past it claimed as its own (see Section 2.1 above). For the British people, the notion of Empire remained an unquestioned assumption which was re-emphasised by their cultural environment. Authoritative figures such as Seeley in the nineteenth century and Lucas and Cromer in the twentieth reinforced such assumptions. As Simon Goldhill points out, 'authoritative' Classics and a powerful British Empire are especially identifiable within a broad cultural milieu'.[124] As Richard Evans, the Regius Professor Emeritus of Cambridge University, reminds us:

> cultural memory finds solid expression with public statues, monuments and memorials. They are there to remind us of who we are or … who we want to be as a nation.[125]

However, with Classics and Empire so intertwined in the public imagination, as the novelist Gore Vidal confirms, from the 1930s motion pictures became one of the most powerful of the visual texts to reflect socio-political expressions of the British as imperial subjects whose culture had succeeded that of Rome. Vidal comments on the power of meanings transmitted by such visual images:

> where literature was, movies are … [and] reality does not begin to *mean* until it has been made art of. For the Agora, art is now sight and sound.

Adding:

> it is not *what* things are that matters so much as *how* they are perceived. We perceive … not as it demonstrably is but as we think it ought to be, as carefully distorted for us by …. [t]riumphantly, - the movies.[126]

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[124] Goldhill (2011), 4.

[125] Richard Evans, 'The History Wars' in *New Statesman* (27 June 2020), Archived at https://www.newstatesman.com/international/2020/06/history-wars accessed 1 September 2020.

[126] Gore Vidal in *Screening History,* London: Andre Deutsch (1992), pp. 5; 6.

Prose-based history inspired our perceptions of Empire through the written word, and stage and radio added the dramatization of the human voice to written descriptions, all of which required a good imagination. However, as Vidal points out, 'movies changed our world forever' so that 'through ear and eye we are both defined and manipulated by fictions of such potency that they are able to replace our own experience, often becoming our *sole* experience of a reality.[127] …' Before a film was shown, newsreels by Pathé News often showed royalty performing royal duties such as ribbon cutting ceremonies, and this might be followed by a film whose story is set in the ancient world. For example, in 1932 Cecil B. de Mille made a sound version of the Victorian stage play *The Sign of the Cross.*[128] The film opens with Nero singing and playing the lyre as Rome burns in 64 A.D. and closes with a sequence which:

> remains one of the most memorable in the Ancient World cinema, recreating as it does notable Victorian paintings of the games, in particular Simeon Solomon's *Habet* (1895) with its row of bored patrician ladies watching the fighting, and Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Ave Caesar, moritui te salutant* (1859) with the assembled gladiators saluting the Emperor, and *Pollice* thumbs up or thumbs down signal …[129]

The film was a great success and during the second half of the interwar years, therefore, the advent of the 'talkie' – moving picture with sound – reinforced the connections between Classics and Empire just at a time when both were facing serious challenges. Like the public art and architecture the public passed when they left the cinema, the film became a new source of 'authority'.[130] In 1934 de Mille made the film *Cleopatra*, which 'has an indelible 1930s feel' with sets and costumes which 'for all their Egyptian inspiration are pure Art

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[127] Vidal (1992) 31-32.

[128] This was a retelling of Wilson Barrett's highly popular stage play. Equally popular silent versions had appeared in 1904 and 1914. See J. Richards (2008), 47.

[129] J. Richards (2008), 47, 78.

[130] See for example, Jeffrey Richards, 'Boys' Own Empire: Feature Films and Imperialism in the 1930s' in John MacKenzie (ed) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester, Manchester University Press (1986), pp. 140-164. As Richards points out, ordinary people could now see for themselves an Empire depicted as a 'mythic landscape of romance and adventure.' They 'might not know precise details of the 'actual conditions in Empire' but 'the imagery they absorbed and endorsed' was 'romantic, adventurous and exotic'. See Richards (1986), 143-144. Audiences already deemed the peoples of the Empire to be the 'Other' and such images reconfirmed their unquestioned assumptions.

Deco'.[131] Its opening montage sequence seeks to 'encapsulate the military campaign between Octavian and Antony,' and as Jeffrey Richards points out, '[t]he film luxuriates in its Orientalism … with a silhouette of pyramids and palm trees, great bronze doors opening, a slave girl raising a smoking senser and then a statue of the Sphinx … [which] sets the atmosphere from the outset.' Cleopatra's entry into Rome and then her betrayal is 'the embodiment of the Oriental threat to Rome'.[132]

In 1935 Ernest B. Schoedsack and Merian C. Cooper, as director and producer, made the film *the Last Days of Pompeii*. Although they used the title of Bulwer-Lytton's novel, the story did not follow the text so that it became 'a cross between *Ben-Hur* and *The Sign of the Cross'* incorporating as it did both Christianity and events in the arena. The film culminates with the eruption of Vesuvius just at the moment when the hero realises his son must fight in the arena as a punishment for aiding runaway slaves.[133] This film, however, was a box office failure.

During the second half of the interwar years, when Classics and Empire were facing separate but serious challenges, the advent of the 'talkie' – moving picture with sound – both emphasised the connection between Classics and Empire and reinforced the unquestioned assumptions of the audiences. Like the public art and architecture which the public passed when they left the cinema, the film became a new source of 'authority'.[134] The most serious political challenge to the British Empire in the interwar period, however, was the rise of Fascism and the subsequent Second World War. This occurred at a time when the demands for Dominion autonomy led to challenges to the political unity of the Empire regarding the foreign policies of the Dominions. This challenge, and role of John Buchan in meeting that challenge, is discussed in the Buchan case study.

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[131] J. Richards (2008), 49. The Arthur Mee case study reveals how the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun resulted in 'Tutmania', which had a major influence on the Art Deco movement.

[132] J. Richards (2008), 49.

[133] J. Richards (2008), 51-52.

[134] See for example, Richards (1986), 140-164. As Richards points out, ordinary people could now see for themselves an Empire depicted as a 'mythic landscape of romance and adventure. They might not know precise details of the 'actual conditions in Empire' but 'the imagery they absorbed and endorsed' was romantic, adventurous and exotic'. Richards (1986), 143-144. Audiences already deemed the peoples of the Empire to be the 'Other' and such images reconfirmed their unquestioned assumptions.

4. The Place of Popular Culture in this Enquiry

This enquiry examines how Classics supports Empire within literature of low status read by a wide range of the public during the interwar years. The focus of the enquiry is to examine a range of didactic popular works regardless of their aesthetic quality and seek to identify how, despite any implicit message on the part of the author, unquestioned assumptions about Empire result in Classics encouraging support for imperialism within popular narratives which were read in large numbers across a wide social spectrum.

Classics has always been a popular area of study by ordinary working people, and a growing body of work examines the role of 'class' in the perceptions of the ancient world.[135] This includes discussions of the ways in which the working classes have always accessed the classics through the visual arts, adult education, and myth. It also considers the range of readers, including miners, soldiers, pottery workers. An enthusiasm for Classics beyond those who have received some form of Classical education may thus be identified has having a long history.

Until recently, however, little research has been carried out on such literature during the interwar period. Many contemporary critics during the interwar period considered the pre-Great War era a 'golden time' for writing, including children's writing, and that narratives created following the Great War failed to meet this standard. Peter Hunt[136] considers that, with the regard to adult fiction, the inter-war period was an 'age of overblown "rewards' whose basic materials hark back to the nineteenth century.[137] Robert Leeson calls attention to a comment from the *Library Association Review* at the time saying that children's publishing contained 'a few admirable books submerged in an ocean of terrible trash … in every respect

[135] These include Henry Stead and Edith Hall's (eds) *Greek and Roman Classics in the British Struggle for Social Reform*. London: Bloomsbury (2015); Henry Stead's 'Classics Among the Miners' in Edmund Richardson's edited volume *Classics in Extremis: The Edges of Classical Reception.* London: Bloomsbury (2019), pp. 460-475; and Edith Hall and Henry Stead's *A People's History of Classics: Class and Greco-Roman Antiquity in Britain and Ireland 1869-1939*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (2020).

[136] See Peter Hunt, *An Introduction to Children's Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1994). The title of Hunt's chapter concerning inter-war children's reading is 'The Long Weekend', which implicitly disassociates such texts from narratives of high literary merit.

[137] Hunt (1994), 106.

disgraceful'.[138] Geoffrey Trease concludes that 'a new story in 1920 or 1930 tended to be a fossil in which one could trace the essential characteristics of one written in 1880 or 1890' and that 'serious reviewing hardly existed'.[139] The critic and writer George Orwell especially criticises the narratives published in boys' weekly papers, and many modern scholarly commentators have followed suit.[140] Orwell's comments are further examined in the Hamilton case study.

As Lisa Maurice points out, popular literature is often an individual's first encounter with the ancient world.[141] Recently, academic research has been conducted into the reception of Classics in such literature.[142] Nevertheless, the debate on the merits of popular literature continues. Charles Martindale argues that the examination of literary texts should be restricted to those which have been judged beautiful and thus assigned positive aesthetic value, even if they have not necessarily been identified as 'high art'.[143] He is less interested in

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[138] Robert Leeson, *Reading and Righting*. London: Collins (1985), p 110, quoting from *The Library Association Review*. Cf Hunt (1994), 106n2.

[139] Geoffrey Trease, 'The Revolution in Children's Literature' in E. Blishen (ed) *The Thorny Paradise*. London: Harmondsworth Press, Kestrel (1975), pp 14. Cf. Hunt (1994), 107n3.

[140] See especially George Orwell, *Boy's Weeklies* in Ian Angus and Sonia Orwell (eds) *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, Vol 1, An Age Like this: 1920-1940*. London: Secker & Warburg (1968), pp. 460-485.

[141] Lisa Maurice, 'Children, Greece and Rome: Heroes and Eagles' in Lisa Maurice (ed) *The Reception of Ancient Greece and Rome in Children's Literature.* Boston: Brill (2015), pp 1-14;

[142] In addition to Lisa Maurice, other recent scholarship includes Elizabeth Hale, 'Classics, Children's Literature, and the Character of Childhood, From *Tom Brown's Schooldays* to *The Enchanted Castle*' in Lisa Maurice (ed). *The Reception of Ancient Greece and Rome in Children's Literature.* Leiden: Brill (2015), pp 17-29; Joanna Paul, '"Time is Only a Mode of Thought, You Know": Ancient History, Imagination and Empire in E. Nesbit's Literature for Children' in Lisa Maurice (ed). *The Reception of Ancient Greece and Rome in Children's Literature.* Leiden: Brill (2015), pp 30-55. Holly Blackford examines modern interpretations of Persephone in *The Myth of Persephone in Girls' Fantasy Literature*. New York: Routledge (2012). See also Owen Hodkinson and Helen Lovatt (eds) *Classical Reception and Children's Literature: Greece, Rome and Childhood Transformation.* London: Bloomsbury (2018).

[143] Charles Martindale, 'Performance, Reception, Aesthetics: Or Why Reception Studies Need Kant' in Edith Hall and Stephen Harrop (eds) *Theorising Performance: Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice*. London: Bloomsbury Academic (2010), 71-84. Martindale famously argues that for readers reception takes place at the moment a text is read. Subsequent readings influence later readings of the same text creating a 'circularity' in the interpretation of texts. Furthermore, other texts can inform the reading of a narrative. See

narratives deemed to have low aesthetic value. To read a narrative, he argues, is an invitation to make a judgement of taste, as indicated in Kant's *Third Critique* as the founding text of modern aesthetics.[144]

Goldhill disagrees and argues that all texts merit investigation, regardless of whether they have aesthetic value.[145] He also rightly argues that the creation of a text may be regarded as a performance which takes into account the development of ideas over time. Authorial receptions may thus be identified as a process in which an author expresses ideas and concepts which are developed over time – that is, diachronically – including subconscious reflection. Consequently, as Goldhill notes, in the creation of a text meaning is found 'in the process of reception',[146] rather than when a narrative is either written down or read at the point of reception. The process creates the 'writer's voice' – that is the author's view of the world expressed in his or her texts.[147] A reception which occurs in a single moment – that is synchronously – does not take the history of an author's developing ideas into account.[148]

Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1993).

[144] Martindale (2010), 72.

[145] Goldhill takes the example of the creation of Gluck's operas which were created over a number of years, with his ideas growing and developing. See Simon Goldhill, 'Cultural History and Aesthetics: Why Kant is no place to start Reception Studies' in Edith Hall and Stephen Harrop (eds), *Theorising Performance: Greek Drama, Cultural History and Critical Practice*. London, Bloomsbury Academic (2010), pp. 56-62.

[146] Goldhill identifies written texts as 'performances', in addition to musical performances, dramas, or fine art displayed in a gallery. All such performances of 'Classics' in the Victorian era, Goldhill further points out, occupy a continuum extending through time and space which extend back from the performance itself to include recollections of earlier performances and forward to incorporate reassessments and re-performances; see Goldhill (2010), 9-14.

[147] Authors frequently create narratives mentally, reflecting on their ideas without writing them down. Such creations are subject to change until the narrative is written, and that specific written draft reaches completion. Subsequent drafts might change the narrative. The creation of a narrative may therefore be regarded as a process rather than a single act.

[148] Goldhill (2010), 14. Recalling earlier criticisms, Goldhill also defends his position from those who rightly reject the earlier paradigm of historicism, and who critique him by mistakenly '[using] the term 'historicist' when discussing his ideas. The earlier paradigm of historicism, as Said notes, argues that **'…**to understand a humanistic text, one must try to do so as if one is the author of that text, living the author's reality, undergoing the kind of life experiences intrinsic to his or her life' See E. W. Said, 'Introduction', in Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Thought.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press (1953)

The process of the development of an author's ideas is worthy of study, regardless of whether the final text has 'artistic merit', yet the neglect of such narratives has largely restricted investigations to narratives of high literary merit. Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), for example, focuses on texts of high literary merit, including such authors as Joseph Conrad or Jane Austen. Concerning narratives created during the interwar period, critics focus on works deemed to have high artistic merit, such as works by Virginia Woolf or D.H. Lawrence, or the later narratives of Rudyard Kipling.

This enquiry examines three case studies covering popular literature across a broad range of material from three different literary genres. All three writers were subject to same cultural influences as they were born within two years of each other. However, their narratives were also created within very different cultural contexts. John Buchan (1875-1940) received a Classical education at Brasnose College, Oxford (1895-1899). Best known for his imperialist thrillers, such as *The Thirty-nine Steps* (1915) he also wrote in a wide range of genres, including biographies, such as *Augustus* (1937). His writing was so popular among both adults and young people that contemporary reviewers of *Augustus* hoped that this very accessible, but erudite, work would encourage those members of his audience who knew little or nothing of imperial Rome to read more about the ancient world.

Charles Hamilton (1876-1961), who received a modest Classical education, became the most popular author of boarding school fiction published in boys' weekly papers during the first half of the twentieth century. His stories, in which Hamilton creates nostalgic fictional worlds depicting imperialist institutions which privilege Classics, were read by millions of young people in Britain and through the Empire. He received a modest Classical education but developed an enthusiasm for the Classics, and he creates nostalgic fictional worlds which depict imperialist institutions. Hamilton's enthusiasm for Thomas Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842) led to a love of Classics and his Christian morality is conflated with the qualities of the Roman hero Horatius. His fictional schools privilege Classics, and Hamilton hoped that his stories might not only encourage his readers to live a moral life but also inspire such readers to learn a little more about the ancient world.

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pp. ix- xx. Fiftieth Anniversary Edition. The erudite reader might then 'enter the inner life of a distant author or historical epoch even with a healthy awareness of one's limitations of perspective and insufficiency of knowledge of the period.' John Buchan's interpretation of the life of *Augustus*, discussed in the John Buchan case study, provides an example of such thinking.

Arthur Mee (1875-1943) was the son of Non-conformist parents. He attended his local village school, where he received no Classical education. He was an autodidact who unquestioningly and uncritically absorbed the popular perceptions of Classics and Empire. Mee, as editor of the first encyclopedia for children, reached millions of children across the English-speaking world. At a time when the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun was creating world-wide excitement, he both recounts a history of the British Empire which identifies it as the successor to Rome, and also refers to the ancient ruins in Egypt and elsewhere which remain today and the archaeology which uncovered that past.

Together these three authors span the genres of biography, fiction, and educational material. All were so popular that their work may be described as a 'brand', in that their names alone would ensure continuing sales. All three referenced Classics in their narratives in a way which encouraged support for the British Empire. Their work had a massive impact on the way the Classical world was perceived to such an extent that, within their work, Classics becomes implicated in the debates concerning Empire. Because they did not aspire to create 'high literature', however, their narratives have been neglected and not, until now, examined in any depth.

All three writers connect Classics and Empire in a way that justifies imperialism. All are alike in that they were born within two years of each other, and had writing careers which effectively ended at the commencement of World War 2. All were middle aged during the interwar period, with formative ideas which had been created during the Victorian period. They differ in their cultural and education backgrounds and were writing in different genres for different kinds of audiences. received a Classical education at Brasnose College, Oxford (1895-1899). The latter includes his biographical sketch *Julius Caesar* (1932) which would introduce the Classics to schoolboys, and the more authoritative and accessible *Augustus* (1937). The Buchan case study reveals that contemporary Classicists expressed the hope that his popularity would encourage his wide audience to appreciate the ancient world.

JOHN BUCHAN (1875-1940) AND THE *AUGUSTUS*

1. Introduction: The significance of John Buchan's *Augustus*

John Buchan was an incredibly popular writer whose wide-ranging texts were read throughout the British Empire not only by both adults but also young people,[149] so that they had a broad appeal throughout the interwar years.[150] Both his narratives and his career are incredibly wide-ranging. Best known as the author of the imperialist novel *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915), his career spanned not only his work as the author of twenty-eight novels, but his journalism, and biographies, including two biographies of Roman leaders: *Julius Caesar* (1932) *Augustus* (1937). Additionally, Buchan was a lawyer, editor, public servant, and Member of Parliament (1927-1935) and, ultimately, Governor General of Canada (1935-1940).[151]

Contemporary reviewers considered both *Augustus* and *Julius Caesar* were accessible to a wide range of readers from academics to the general population, including young readers,

[149] As the modern historian J. P. Parry comments, Buchan's books during the interwar period were 'almost staple reading for decent young men.' See J. P. Parry, 'From the Thirty-Nine Articles to the Thirty-Nine Steps: Reflections on the Thought of John Buchan' in M. Bentley (ed.), *Public and Private Doctrine: Essays in British History Presented to Maurice Cowling.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1993), pp. 209–35, at 211.

[150] As the sales figures reveal, Buchan's earnings from all sources between 1924 and 1929 was between seven and eight thousand pounds. From 1930 to 1935, when he became Governor-General, it rose to between £8,000 and £9.500. His advance fee for *Augustus* was £2,000 and sales in Britain alone were 5,000 in the original hardback edition and 36,000 after it went into a cheap edition in 1942, shortly after his death. See Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan: A Biography*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis (1965), 297-298.

[151] After gaining a First in Classics at Brasenose, Oxford (1899) Buchan was called to the Bar (1901). During the Great War Buchan served as Director of Information (1916/17-1918) before, during and after which he wrote a a twenty-four volume *Nelson's History of the War* (1914-19), first published as a part work. He became the Unionist Member of Parliament for the Combined Scottish Universities (1927-1935). Shortly after the publication of *Augustus* Buchan died unexpectedly. For biographies see Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan: A Biography.* London: Rupert Hart-Davis (1965); Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan and His World.* London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd. (1979); Andrew Lownie, *John Buchan: The Presbyterian Cavalier.* Boston, David R. Godine. Revised edition of 1995; J. William Galbraith, *John Buchan: Model Governor General.* Toronto: Dundurn (2013); Ursula Buchan, *Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps: A Life of John Buchan.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing (2019).

so that both texts would reach a mass market.[152] The contemporary reviewer Charles Mierow, reviewing the *Augustus* for *the Classical Journal* identifies Buchan's narratives as 'scholarly' but written in a manner which would introduce the ancient world to average readers of all ages more successfully than professional academics.[153] The anonymous reviewer for *Greece and Rome* reviewing *Julius Caesar* especially hopes Buchan's popularity would draw the attention of young readers to the topic, noting that *Julius Caesar* was 'lucidly written' and 'deserves a place in every school library'.[154] C. G. Stone of *The Classical Review* not only considers *Julius Caesar* an excellent introduction and a 'book for the general reader who knows little about Caesar', but also considers it 'should interest schoolboys and others.'[155] Such contemporary reviewers reveal both texts to be accessible introductions to a broad range of readers of all ages and education across the English speaking world who have little or no knowledge of Rome, thus enabling Buchan's audience to interact with his ideas.

This case study focuses on the *Augustus*, written when Buchan was Governor General, read in conjunction with his short biography *Julius Caesar* (1932), together with his essays, and his public addresses. It identifies how Buchan, prohibited from commenting on political matters as a representative of the King during his period as Governor General,[156] nevertheless encodes a covert message within the *Augustus* which rejects Mussolini's claim, discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry, that Italian Fascism was Rome's successor and identifies that successor as the democracy of the British Empire. In the person of Augustus,

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[152] B.C. Clough, reviewing the *Augustus* for *Classical Weekly* writes that the text is 'admirably adapted for the general reader' without being 'too "popular" to attract the interests of the scholar. See B. C. Clough '*Augustus* by John Buchan: *Augustus Caesar* by Bernard M Allen', in *The Classical Weekly,* vol 31 no. 12 (1938), 115-116. Charles Mierow reviewing *Augustus* for *The Classical Journal* identifies the text as a 'scholarly record of fact written in an absorbingly interesting style.' See Charles Mierow, '*Augustus* by John Buchan in *The Classical Journal*, vol 34, no 8 (1939), pp 492-495 at 493.

[153] Mierow (1939), 42-45.

[154] Anonymous, '*Julius Caesar* by John Buchan' in *Greece and Rome* vol 7 no. 21 (1938), p. 188.The reviewer considers that despite some simplifications and possible disputes concerning Caesar's strategy in Gaul, it introduces for young readers 'some sort of rational coherency into the tangle of Roman politics which culminated in the civil war'.

[155] C.G. Stone, *'Julius Caesar* by John Buchan' in Classical Review, vol 52, no 5 (1938), p. 188.

[156] 'I am in the unfortunate position of having no private capacity, only an official one. I unable to express my views upon any public question of real importance'. See John Buchan 'The Governor General at Washington', in *Canadian Occasions.* Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Ltd. (1940f), pp 59-61. See also *Canadian Occasions*, 79, 153.

Buchan identifies a benevolent moral and spiritual great leader of history whom he terms a Great Captain, and the selection of his source material draws parallels between the British Empire and Rome, reinforcing his political message.

In the course of this investigation, this case study considers the major influences on the development of Buchan's ideas. It especially examines how he perceives the ancient world in the light of his thinking about the modern world, and how his ideas about the modern British Empire parallel his conclusions about ancient Rome under the leadership of Augustus. It does so through the examination of three themes: religion, leadership and politics. Section 2 discusses the conflation of Classics and Calvinism in Buchan's moral thinking, and how Buchan's attitude reflects these standards in Augustus, identifying his morality. Section 3 examines Buchan's concept of leadership in the modern world and how these views are applied to his depiction of Augustus as a leader of men. Section 4 considers how Buchan's political life, and his political thinking concerning the modern world, impact on his perceptions of Augustus's political and moral reforms. It especially identifies parallels between the political structure of the British Empire and those of Rome, and how each faced external challenges. These themes reveal how Buchan' characterisation of the life and work of Augustus in the Roman Empire becomes conflated with aspects of his perceptions and political prejudices concerning the British Empire, and his concerns about the threat of Fascism to its future. It also examines how Buchan's contemporaries viewed Augustus, with special attention given to Ronald Syme's *The Roman Revolution* (1939). In the light of postcolonial ideas, these examinations permit conclusions to be drawn on the role of Buchan's ideas conflating Classics with imperialism.

In addition to *Augustus* and *Julius Caesar* a range of other primary sources authored by Buchan are examined which reveal how his religious and political preconceptions in the modern world inform his views concerning Augustus and Rome. These include Buchan's biography *Lord Minto* (1924), which reveals the early origins of Buchan's opinions concerning the future of the British Empire, especially Canada. His addresses *Montrose and Leadership* delivered to St Andrews University (1930)[157], and his Rede Lecture at Cambridge

[157] Recorded in John Buchan, *Montrose and Leadership.* Oxford: Oxford University Press Reprinted in John Buchan (ed) *Men and Deeds*. London: Peter Davies (1930) pp. 261-278.

University, *The Causal and the Casual in History* (1929)[158] reveal his thinking about the role of leadership in historical events and his perception of divine intervention within them. His essays recorded in *Homilies and Recreations* (1926) provide insights into Buchan's historiography and his interpretation of men he identifies as great leaders in world history. His popularity was such that many of his public addresses as Governor General were published posthumously in *Canadian Occasions* (1940). His essays created while he was editor of the *Scottish Review* before the Great War were republished posthumously in *Comments and Characters* (1940) edited by W. Forbes Gray and reveal the origins of his political stance.

Buchan died unexpectedly before he could formally record his life story but his informal memoir *Memory-Hold-the-Door* (1940), published posthumously, stands as the closest text to an autobiography. The most up-to-date secondary texts are the biographies *Beyond the Thirty-Nine-Steps* (2019) by Ursula Buchan, John Buchan's granddaughter, and *John Buchan: Model Governor General* (2013) by the Canadian modern historian J. William Galbraith. Ursula Buchan confirms the family's awareness of Buchan's anti-Fascist message within the *Augustus*, whilst Galbraith provides interesting insights into Buchan's concerns about the future of the British Empire during his time as Governor General. Other primary and secondary narratives are introduced as appropriate.

2. Faith and Values

This section discusses the influence of Calvinism on Buchan's perception of morality, how he found a secular vision of this in Classics, particularly Cicero's *De Officiis* ('On Duty'), and how he projects his moral ideas on to Augustus. It then examines the development of Buchan's conflation of Classics and Calvinism from his youth and during his years at Oxford. This reveals the nature and development of his Incarnationalist beliefs in adulthood.

[158] Recorded in John Buchan, *The Causal and the Casual in History: The Rede Lecture 1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2014) Reprint of the 1929 edition.

2.1 Faith and Buchan's perceptions of Augustus as moral man

As the Cambridge historian J.P. Parry comments in 'From the Thirty-Nine Articles to the Thirty-Nine Steps' (2003), Buchan's Calvinist childhood left a deep mark on him.[159] That faith gave him the conviction that all achievements were the result of 'the will to duty', particularly a duty of moral stewardship.[160] As the Classicists Michael and Isobel Haslett reveal in 'John Buchan and the Classics' (2010), reading the Classics for relaxation was a lifelong habit for Buchan,[161] and it is a conflation of Classics and Calvinism which Buchan projects on to Augustus.

Buchan's essay on leadership, 'The Great Captains' (1926), outlines the attributes he requires of the greatest wartime generals, and reveals his belief that all such men require a combination of a good intellect and a 'character built on massive lines.' Consequently, as Buchan reveals, 'in the last resort you cannot separate mind from character.'[162] The essay ends with a plea for the greatest wartime generals to employ the soldier's 'genius of mind and character' in civilian government.[163]

For Buchan, Augustus personifies the concept of a 'Great Captain' who had fought in war and transferred military experience to civilian life. As he states in the Preface to *Augustus*, his narrative is 'an attempt to understand a little part of the mind of a great man.'[164] Buchan finds in Augustus the qualities of character, particularly moral character, which in his estimation made Augustus an outstanding leader. He states (on page 130 of a 347-page text) that 'the remainder of this book must be a study of his mind, [and] the way in which he faced and solved an infinity of problems.'[165] As Buchan considers morality to be the foundation of

[159] See J. P. Parry 'From the Thirty-Nine Articles to the Thirty-Nine Steps: Reflections on the Thought of John Buchan', in M. Bentley (ed.), *Public and Private Doctrine: Essays in British History Presented to Maurice Cowling.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1993), pp. 209–35 at 212.

[160] Parry (2003), 212, 235.

[161] M. Haslett & I. Haslett, "John Buchan and the Classics' in *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps.* London: Routledge (2010), pp. 17-27 at 19.

[162] John Buchan, 'The Great Captains' in Buchan, J. (ed) *Homilies and Recreations*. London: T. Nelson & Sons (1926a), pp 65-90 at 86 87.

[163] Buchan (1926a), 89.

[164] John Buchan, *Augustus*, T. Nelson and Sons (1937), 7.

[165] Buchan (1937), 130.

good leadership, it is useful to examine his perception of how Augustus's morality was the foundation of Augustus's leadership.

On a page with a paratextual heading 'Character of Augustus'[166] Buchan comments that '[i]t can truly be said of Augustus that the mind was the man', and that 'his moral qualities were in full accord with his intellectual powers.' This acknowledges Buchan's conviction that Augustus's intellect made him a significant leader in history, but that it was his moral qualities which made him a great one. Buchan identifies four moral attributes in Augustus. These both resonated with his own Calvinist moral convictions and with the four cardinal virtues which Cicero identifies as the absolutist moral ideal in Book 1 of the *De Officiis*. In his Preface to *Augustus* Buchan relates how he had always, since his undergraduate days, hoped to write Augustus's biography, and that he spent his first two winters in Canada re-reading the relevant Greek and Latin texts.[167] These source materials are listed at the beginning of *Augustus*, of which twelve texts are by Cicero including *De Officiis.*[168] This is Cicero's discussion of moral values and duties. Concerning the ideal of absolute moral values, Cicero states:

> Every treatise on duty has two parts: one dealing with the doctrine of the supreme good; the other with the practical rules by which daily life in all its bearings may be regulated. The following questions are illustrative of the first part… [169]

All that is morally right, Cicero argues, arises from four cardinal virtues which are discrete but also interconnected:

> (1) the full perception and development of the true; the conservation of organised society; or (2) the rendering to every man his due and with the faithful discharge of obligations assumed; or (3) the greatness and strength of a noble and invincible spirit;

[166] Buchan (1937), 253. The pages of the first edition include useful paratextual headings which focus his audience's readings of the text.

[167] Buchan (1937), 7.

[168] Buchan (1937), 13-16, at 13.

[169] *Omnis de officio duplex est quaestio: unum genus est, quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, alterum, quod positum est in praeceptis, quibus in omnis partis usus vitae conformari possit.*

> or (4) with the orderliness and moderation of everything that is said and done, wherein consist temperance and self-control.[170]

In each of these cardinal virtues, Cicero informs us, may be found specific moral duties (Cic. *De Off.* 1.17). The first major aspect of morality is found in wisdom and prudence, and the search for truth. (Cic. *Off.* 1.17). The three remaining virtues concern not mental qualities but acts which help preserve society. Through such acts 'we shall be conserving moral rectitude and moral dignity' (Cic. *De Off.* 1.17).[171]

These four 'cardinal virtues' may be identified in Buchan's depiction of the moral character of Augustus. Buchan identifies how Augustus set out diligently to discharge all obligations he undertook. Augustus, he judges:

> … was a man with a mission, and he pursued it with as austere a devotion as any saint or prophet … He began with two purposes: to avenge his great kinsman [Caesar], and to make himself the first man in the state, and these he followed with cold resolution … Then came the purpose of using the power he had won to build an orderly world. In later life his task was the perfecting of his new mechanism. [172]

Buchan interprets Augustus's intention as being to personally complete Caesar's reshaping of the Empire, which Augustus 'held with a serious passion'.[173]

In Cicero's estimation such 'missions' require the specific moral qualities identified in his first, second and third cardinal virtues: a focus on the maintenance of the state, and the resolution and strength of character to bring this about. After Augustus had become Princeps, Buchan identifies in him Cicero's fourth cardinal virtue: that of moderation and self-control in all things. In a page heading 'Simplicity of Life'[174] Buchan depicts Augustus's life as one of moderation. His house on the Palatine was 'a modest palace, being without mosaics or

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[170] *Sed omne quod est honestum, id quattuor partium oritur ex aliqua; aut enim in hominum societate tuenda tribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore aut in omnium, quai fiunt quaeque dicuntur, ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia.* (Cic. *De Off.* 1.15).

[171] *...modum quondam et ordinem adhibentes honestatem et decus conservabimus.*

[172] Buchan (1937), 253-254.

[173] Buchan (1937), 71.

[174] Buchan (1937), 255.

marbles, and having a colonnade of plain Alban stone'. He always slept in the same, modestly furnished room and though he had several country houses these were 'far fewer than the great nobles', although their parks were elaborately laid out, his homes were 'austerely furnished'.[175]

In his manner, Augustus 'had the countryman's good humour, which would give and receive plain words', and he was 'always ready to laugh at himself and to prick the bladder of fulsome praise,' while his reproofs were always 'kindly.' Buchan illustrates Augustus's modesty with Suetonius's anecdote concerning Tiberius's protest at the amount of free speech Augustus permitted. Augustus's reply was:

> My dear fellow, don't be childish and worry because people say hard things of me. It is enough if we can prevent them *doing* us any harm.[176]

Cicero identifies that: 'from these elements is forged and fashioned that moral goodness which is the subject of this enquiry – something that, even though it be not generally ennobled, is still worthy of all honour; and by its own nature, we correctly maintain, it merits praise, even though it be praised by none.'[177] Having identified the cardinal virtues, Cicero rejects the notion that a moral man should devote 'too much industry and too deep study to matters that are obscure and difficult and useless as well'. The philosopher who seeks wisdom, he points out, is seeking truth. Men will be rewarded if they concentrate upon 'problems that are morally right and worth the solving',[178] and that 'the whole glory of virtue is in activity'.[179]

Buchan also identifies this quality in Augustus. When evaluating what we observe in a search for truth, Cicero demands that 'first we must not treat the unknown as known and too readily accept it, and that he who wishes to avoid this error (as we all should do) will devote

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[175] Buchan gives no citations to defend this claim.

[176] Buchan (1937), 255-256. Cf. Suet. *Div. Aug.,* 51. Buchan also differentiates between Augustus's acceptance of personal criticism and his rejection of criticism 'which lowered the dignity of his office.'

'[177] '*Quibus ex rebus conflatur et efficitur id, quod quaerimus, honestum, quod etiamsi nobilitatum non sit, tamen honestum sit, quodque vere dicimus, etiamsi a nullo laudetur, natura esse laudabile.*' (Cic. *De Off.* 1.14).

[178] '*quod quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obsuras atque difficiles conferunt easdemque non necessarias*' (Cic. *De Off.* 1.19).

[179] '*Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit*' (Cic. *De Off.* 1.19).

time and attention to the weighing of the evidence.'[180] Augustus was required to seek the best solution to the problem of restoring Rome, and Buchan identifies in Augustus the same pragmatic quality of examining evidence demanded by Cicero. His personal life was never permitted to interfere with efficiency,[181] and his 'sharp, practical logic saved the world from … the sterile mysticism of the philosophers.'[182]

> [Augustus's] concern was with things, not fancies. He could appreciate a far-reaching plan, but towers and adminicles must wait for the deep foundations. … He brought [his preferences] always to the test of plain reality. Julius had been a dreamer. Augustus admired, examined and discarded many of his dreams.'[183]

The resolution required to undertake the pursuit of ultimate power involves great resolution and moral choice as to whether to continue or surrender. Buchan identifies Augustus as a man who, at the end of the wars, had the choice of whether or not to continue to pursue his mission, to take on his self-appointed task of becoming Rome's leader and ensuring the continuity of the State. However, on his return to Italy at the end of the wars, in Buchan's estimation, Augustus was weary and ill, and so hesitated:

> … he seems to have shirked the task before him … the edge had gone from his spirit and he shrank from the long, toilsome road in front of him … [should he] retire, like Sulla, into a private world of ease and let a restored republic jog along in the old rut? …The mood passed.[184]

The word 'shirked' implies a self-appointed obligation, with the overcoming of this moment represented as a moral and spiritual strength.

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[180] '*unum, ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus iisque temere assentiamur; quod vitium effugere qui volet (omnes autem velle debent), adhibebit ad considerandas res et tempus et diligentiam*' (Cic. *De Off.* 1.18).

[181] Buchan (1937), 254.

[182] Buchan (1937), 339.

[183] Buchan (1937), 339.

[184] Buchan (1937), 132. Buchan cites Book 52 of Dio's *The Roman History: The Reign of Augustus* and Horace's Ode fourteen in *Odes and Epodes* (trans) Riall Rudd. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press (2004). in a discussion concerning the choices faced by Augustus at this point, between the restoration of the republic and the establishment of a Principate, identifying a Roman tradition that Augustus passed through such a period of doubt.

Buchan's attitudes to Augustus's actions in office are largely positive and discussed below (See Section 4). Nevertheless, Buchan also acknowledges moments when Augustus did not live up to the standards of a great, moral leader. He asserts that during his years of office, Augustus never displayed the cruelty with which he was charged in his youth. However, he was implacable concerning his daughter and granddaughter's moral lapses. Buchan's defence of his approach by noting this attitude was consistent with his public policy of encouraging morality.[185] Nevertheless, as Clough points out,[186] Buchan has the difficulty faced by all apologists in reconciling Augustus's record concerning the proscriptions:

> The proscription of the triumvirs is the darkest stain on [Augustus's] record. So dark that ancient writers, looking on the beneficent rule of Augustus, were driven to assume what psychologists call 'dissociated personality': youth, debauched, pitiless and self-centred which by some miracle was changed by success into a pattern of virtue…[187]

Buchan divides Augustus's ruthless pursuit of vengeance and power before he became Princeps, as separate from his behaviour afterward. He identifies the point of transition for Augustus in the moment of 'shirking' his duty, and how he then accepted it as a changed man. His further defences are that to insist upon clemency would have demanded the surrender of 'every hope he cherished'. Clough is especially sceptical of Buchan's 'usual shop-worn appeal' that Augustus should be judged in the 'light of the moral standards of his day'.[188]

Such relativist arguments are difficult to reconcile within an absolutist moral position, such as Buchan's. He faces similar difficulties concerning the burning of Perusia 'apparently by accident', and the execution of the senatorian refugees and the garrison's surviving republican defenders. Buchan's defence in this case is that it was the final event in his self-appointed vengeance against Caesar's murder, and 'he saw no reason to be merciful towards

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[185] Buchan (1937), 255.

[186] Clough (1938), 115.

[187] Buchan (1937), 70.

[188] Clough (1938), 115. Cf. Buchan (1937), 70-71. There is also the implication that the surrender of Augustus's hopes, in Buchan's perception, would be a dereliction of the duty of striving to complete a task undertaken demanded in Cicero's *De Officiis.*

irreconcilables.'[189] However, there is here a contradiction between pursuing a goal until it is achieved, and acting morally, particularly in times of war, especially civil war. Ultimately, Buchan solves the dilemma in his attitudes to Augustus's character before and after he took office by identifying the moment of 'shirking' as forming a 'Rubicon' moment when Augustus took on a specific mantle and lived up to it. Buchan's enthusiasm for Classics, combined with his sense of morality, was projected onto Augustus. His depiction of Augustus is of a moral man.

As noted in the Introduction to this enquiry, Martindale identifies the circularity of perceptions of Classics and other texts. Buchan's projection of the modern world on to Augustus provides an example of perceptions in which Classics and the morality inspired by Buchan's Calvinist faith constantly inform each other. Before discussing Augustus's leadership, and his actions as Princeps, it is useful to examine Buchan's Calvinist upbringing, the development of his conflation of Classics and Calvinism in his youth and at University, and its continuation as a 'passion' at in adult life. This reveals other aspects of Buchan's faith which he also projects on to the ancient world and his judgement of Augustus as a leader of men, especially Buchan's belief in predestination.

2.2 The Conflation of Classics and Faith in Buchan's Perception of Augustus

As the Buchan scholar the Rev. James Grieg identifies,[190] the home environment contributes to the making of a mindset.[191] For Buchan the greatest influence on his childhood was his Calvinist upbringing. Other investigations into Buchan's narratives also identify the importance of both religious faith and Classics in Buchan's thinking. Parry identifies Buchan's Calvinism as the centre of his world view.[192] K. Hankins, the American reviewer of *Memory Hold-the-Door*, published in the United States as *Pilgrim's Way*, heads the review as 'John Buchan, Classicist', commenting on Buchan's 'weighty and convincing comments' and on the 'beauty and power of Classical study'.[193]

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[189] Buchan (1937), 85.

[190] James Grieg, 'John Buchan and Calvinism' in Kate Macdonald (ed) *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps*. London: Pickering & Chatto (2010), 6-16.

[191] Grieg (2010), 7.

[192] Parry (2003), 210.

[193] K. Hankins, 'John Buchan, Classicist, in *The Classical Journal* vol. 37 no 3 (1941), pp. 164-167 at 165.

Although Buchan became a member of the British establishment his family was not wealthy. His father graduated from Edinburgh University, and was ordained a minister in Scotland's Free Church shortly before his marriage in 1874. John Buchan, their eldest child, was born on 26 August 1875.[194] In 1876 his father was called to the Free Church at Pathhead, in Fife, not far from Kirkcaldy,[195] where Buchan and his siblings lived for twelve years. It was not a prosperous area. Nearby were a linoleum factory, a coal pit, a bleaching-works and a rope-walk.[196]

Buchan's family circumstances delayed his introduction to a serious study of Latin until after his thirteenth birthday, when he attended Hutchesons' School in Glasgow. There, an inspirational teacher, James Caddell, gave him a lifelong love of Latin language and literature. Later, at Glasgow University, his tutor Gilbert Murray introduced him to an appreciation of Greek.[197] In Classics, Buchan found a secular reinforcement of his religious convictions, which then converged with the religious and moral sides of his life. In his memoir Buchan notes that the 'preoccupation with the Classics was the happiest thing that could have befallen me. It gave me a standard of values' and adds:

> 'above all the Calvinism of my boyhood was broadened, mellowed and also confirmed. For if the Classics widened my sense of the joy of life, they also taught me its littleness and transience; if they exalted the dignity of human nature they insisted upon its frailties and the *aidos*[198] with which the temporal must regard the eternal … I

[194] Adam Smith (1965), 13.

[195] Adam Smith (1965), 14.

[196] Adam Smith (1965), 14-15. Buchan was the eldest of 5 children living at Pathhead. During his father's twelve-year ministry at Pathhead, four more children were born: Anna (1877). William (1880) Walter (1883) and Violet (1888).

[197] Haslett & Haslett (2010), 17. Cf. J. Buchan, 'Mr Caddell: An Appreciation' in *John Buchan Journal.* Peebles, Scotland: The John Buchan Society vol. 20. (1999) pp. 2-3.

[198] As Grieg identifies, the Greek word *aidōs* occurs frequently in Buchan's writing. Grieg notes that, according to the context, this term covers 'a sense of shame', bashfulness, modesty and a sense of honour, or respect, including self-respect. We may therefore regard it as opposed to vanity and to hubris and, as Grieg explains, this comment by Buchan reveals *aidōs* as key to Buchan's final stance on Calvinism. See Grieg (2010), 11. An example is found in Mary Hannay's use of the term, in Chapter 1 of *The Three Hostages.* Mary defines it as 'you must walk humbly and delicately to propitiate the Fates'. John Buchan, *The Three Hostages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (1950), p. 809. Reprint of 1924 edition.

> became profoundly conscious of the dominion of unalterable law. Prometheus might be a fine fellow in his way,[199] but Zeus was king of gods and men.[200]

Calvinist religion had been central to life at Pathhead. It included prayers every morning, church services and Sunday school,[201] together with a sense of life lived under the eye of Almighty God who perceived all the wrongdoings of an individual.[202] The Calvinism which the Reverend John Buchan transmitted to his children, however, was not a harsh regime. It was mellowed by common sense and emphasised the love of God rather than the sin of man and the hellfire awaiting humanity for original sin.[203] In the Introduction to *Mr Standfast,* John Buchan's son, William, confirms that his grandfather's faith 'was founded on the modified Calvinism which inspired the Presbyterian creed',[204] and in her autobiography Buchan's sister Anna confirms that 'Calvinism sat lightly on them'.[205] As Buchan himself states in *Memory Hold-the-Door*, '[t]he cosmology of the elder Calvinism, with its … material penalties and rewards, I never consciously rejected … since it meant nothing to me.[206]

Classics and Calvinism became so merged in Buchan's thinking that, as Grieg points out, Buchan's terminology might be from the Classics, but it operated within a mindset 'already and inevitably conditioned by Buchan's upbringing in the manse of a Free … Church of Scotland minister.'[207] In Classics, Buchan found a secular version of his Calvinist ideas. This is crucial to understanding Buchan's perceptions of the life and works of Augustus.

Concerning his childhood Buchan comments:

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[199] Prometheus, in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, is punished by Zeus for transmitting to humanity the gifts which began human development.

[200] John Buchan, *Memory Hold-the-Door*. London: Hodder & Stoughton (1940g), p.35.

[201] Adam Smith (1965), 16.

[202] Adam Smith (1965), 16.

[203] William Buchan, 'Introduction' in *Mr Standfast*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1993**),** pp. i-x. Reprint of 1918 edition.

[204] W. Buchan (1993), viii.

[205] Anna Buchan, *Unforgettable, Unforgotten*. London: Hodder & Stoughton (1945), pp. 21-22.

[206] Buchan (1940g), 36.

[207] Grieg (2012), 12.

> [O]ur household was ruled by the old Calvinist discipline. That discipline … did not dim the beauty and interest of the earth. My father was a man of culture to whom, in the words of the Psalms, all things were full of the goodness of the Lord. … He was conscious of living in a world ruled by unalterable law under the direct eye of the Almighty. He was a miserable atom … but one in whom the Omnipotence took a keen interest.[208]

In adult life,[209] in his address 'A University's Bequest to Youth',[210] Buchan identifies himself as an Incarnationalist.[211] Whereas atonement-based theology fails to acknowledge God's mercy, Buchan emphasised not man's sin but God's mercy in taking on human form for the salvation of humanity.[212] Buchan could therefore inform claim that 'I left out the Calvinistic Devil. He never worried me, for I could not take him seriously.[213]

The conflation of Calvinism and Classics in Buchan's ideas is revealed in the images evoked in his imagination by the countryside around his childhood home. As he grew older, they changed their emphasis from Calvinism to Classics. Buchan's childhood obsession was

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[208] Buchan (1940g), 16.

[209] Grieg confirms that as early as 1895-1900, when Buchan was studying at Oxford, his writings suggest that his approach to Calvinism was already more liberal than many other Calvinists whose interpretation of Calvin's teaching was both legalistic and doctrinaire. See Grieg (2010), 8.

[210] John Buchan 'A University's Bequest to Youth' in *Canadian Occasions*. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Ltd. (1940k), pp. 121-130. Delivered at Victoria University, Toronto, on 10 October 1936.

[211] Buchan (1940k), 127. This posits that through the birth of Jesus Christ all individuals may find salvation and contrasts with the hard reading of Calvinism which posits that not all souls may be saved. Buchan retained the Calvinist connection between physical striving and salvation, especially in the face of nature such as when climbing in the Alps. See John Buchan, 'The Alps', in W. Forbes Gray (ed.), *Comments and Characters.* London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd. (1940a), pp. 275-281). Buchan himself had endured the desperate journeys which Hannay endures on the Scottish moors. See Adam Smith (1979), 27. Such a striving enabled Buchan to gain a degree in Classics at Glasgow University and a first in Greats at Brasenose, Oxford in 1899, and also winning the Bridgeman, Stanhope and Newdigate prizes while supporting himself with scholarships and his literary earnings. See Lownie (2003), 62.

[212] Buchan (1940k), 127. Cf. Parry (2003), 212.

[213] Buchan (1940g), 17.

with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, a favourite childhood text.[214] His vivid imagination had peopled the woods around his home with the characters from the narrative:

> There were passages such as the death of Mr Valiant-for-Truth which all my life have made music to my ear … John Bunyan claimed our woods as his own. There was the Wicket-gate at the back of the colliery, where one entered them; the Hill Difficulty – more than one; the Slough of Despond – various specimens; the Plain called Ease; Doubting Castle – a disused gravel pit; the Enchanted Land – a bog full or orchises; the Land of Beulah – a pleasant grassy place where tinkers made their fires.[215]

For the youthful Buchan these woods were 'on the whole a solemn place, canopied by Calvinistic heavens': romantic, exciting, mysterious, but 'governed by an inexorable law',[216] This perception changed following his discovery of Latin and Greek Classics at school.[217] In his imagination, the border countryside previously filled with the characters of *Pilgrim's Progress* were now:

> … filled with 'an aura of classical convention, and "Pan playing on his aiten reed" has never ceased to be a denizen of its green valleys … I got it into my head that here was the appropriate setting for pastoral, for the shepherds of Theocritus and Virgil, for the lyricists of the Greek Anthology, and for Horace's Sabine farm.[218]

In *Memory Hold-the-Door* Buchan confirms that during and immediately after the Great War he read the great Classics extensively to escape his 'bitter detestation' of the War:

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[214] Buchan writes that 'The *Pilgrim's Progress* became my constant companion. Even today I think that, if the text were lost, I could restore most of it from memory. See Buchan (1940g), 17. See also John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress.* London: Penguin Classics. Reprint of the 1678 text. Buchan lists his youthful reading, in addition to the Bible, was eclectic and included Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Shakespeare, history texts, travel books, essays by such authors as Bacon, Addison, Hazlitt and Lamb. His enjoyment of poetry included Milton, Pope, Dante (in a translation), Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Browning and 'solemn gnomic verses'.

[215] Buchan (1940g), 18.

[216] Buchan (1940g), 20.

[217] Buchan (1940g), 32.

[218] Buchan (1940g), 35. The novel *Mr Standfast* (1918) references the structure of *Pilgrim's Progress* in the progression of his narrative, and the narrative ends with the death of Peter Pienaar emulating the death of Mr Valiant-for-Truth. See John Buchan, *Mr Standfast*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1993). Reprint of 1918 edition.

> [They] were beyond the caprice of time. I read and re-read Thucydides, for he had also lived among crumbling institutions; Virgil for he had known both the cruelty and mercy of life; Plato above all, for he was seraphically free from the pettinesses which were at the root of our sorrows.[219]

As Haslett and Haslett identify, this constant presence of Classics in Buchan's mind is revealed in the way he embellished his narratives from the authors he studied at Oxford. These included both Latin quotations and Greek quotations in translation.[220]. Concerning his translations of poetry, Buchan's translations in his writings of Callimachus, Anyte, Leonidas of Tarentum, Horace and Byzantium are short, but those of Theocritus Idyls 7 and 21, are substantial.[221] He especially enjoyed the Oxford school of Classical 'Greats' which, as he records, 'compels a close study of one or two masters like Plato and Thucydides'.[222] In *Memory Hold-the Door* discussing his study of Greek in those years, Buchan notes:

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[219] Buchan (1940g), 167.

[220] Haslett & Haslett (2010), 19. Haslett and Haslett here indicate how they counted this usage and provide an indication of Buchan's 'personal enthusiasms' concerning individual Classical authors. Quotations from Buchan's studies for his 'Mods' examination include the set authors Virgil, Homer, Plato and Cicero, but not Demosthenes who 'was completely ignored'. Similarly, quotations from the chosen authors for study include Horace, Theocritus, and Tacitus, whilst those recommended as ancient historians include Cicero Appian and Julius Caesar, with Catullus among his favourite poets. Plato and Aristotle were both studied for the Greats examination, and in the novels it is Plato that is more extensively quoted, revealing a strong personal preference.

[221] Haslett & Haslett (2010), 19. Other authors are quoted and who were connected with his examination subjects include Juvenal, both Senecas, Aulus Gellius, Martial, Lucretius, Lucan, Ovid, Petronius Arbiter, Ennius, Herodotus, Xenophon and possibly Hadrian. Those authors he quotes who were not connected with the syllabus include Livy, Helvidius Priscus, Cato the Elder, Apuleius, Plautus, Callimachus, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Pindar, Diogenes Laertius, Sappho and Meleager. See Haslett & Haslett (2010), 19. This indicates that even as a student Buchan read Classical authors for pleasure as well as study. Not all the authors studied at Oxford, however, are quoted with any frequency. Haslett and Haslett also reveal, however that remaining writers on the syllabus barely feature in Buchan's narratives. As Janet Adam Smith reveals, he found Greek literature in particular, a 'grind', especially Demosthenes. Theocritus, however, he considered 'delightful', and he also enjoyed reading three books of Horace's *Odes* (in Latin). His Divinity examination comprised 'John and Luke in Greek, and the Acts'. See Adam Smith (1965), 51, 56, 54.

[222] Buchan (1940g), 35.

> In Latin I was fairly proficient, but my Greek was rudimentary … men are by nature Greeks or Romans, Hellenists or Latinists. Murray was essentially a Greek;[223] my own predilection has always been for Rome, but I owe it to him that I was able to able to understand something of the Greek spirit.[224]

The conflation of his love of Classics with his Calvinist faith continued throughout his adult life. As Haslett & Haslett also reveal, in addition to Classical quotations in his narratives, particularly the fiction, there are extensive lists of early Christian and mediaeval writers from western Europe to the Near East in Latin and Greek. Their examples include Buchan's knowledge of Antiphilus of Byzantium, St Ambrose, St Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Bishop Basil of Caesarea, St Thomas Aquinas, the *Gesta Romanorum,* and 'probably many others'.[225]

As Buchan states in *Memory Hold-the-Door*, as an undergraduate he had the idea or writing a biography of Augustus and that he had done a great deal of preparatory work on the topic.[226] His biography identifies Augustus as one of history's greatest leaders or, as Buchan terms it, a 'Great Captain', and his essay 'The Great Captains' (1924) identifies the precise qualities Buchan demanded of such a great leader and creates a model for his judgement of Augustus.

3. Leadership

This section focusses on the theme of leadership. Buchan's model of great leaders, reinforced by his experiences during the Great War, is revealed in his essay 'The Great Captains' (1926).[227] This is the model Buchan projects on to Augustus's qualities as a leader, and on to his conception of what leadership entails.

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[223] Murray's view, as Christopher Stray notes, was not uncommon at the end of the nineteenth century. Cf. Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998), p. 204, for example.

[224] Buchan (1940g), 34.

[225] Haslett & Haslett (2010), 21.

[226] Buchan (1940g), 198-199.

[227] Buchan (1926a), 65-90. Reproduced from an address delivered to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, January 19, 1920. It was during the Great War that Buchan first incorporated the term into his narratives. He refers to Caesar as a Great Captain in *Nelson's History of the War*, vol 4 Chapter 25. His first novel to overtly

3.1 Buchan's Great Captain Model of Leadership projected on to Rome

Buchan's identification of the qualities he perceived in those he deemed as great historical leaders, such as Augustus, owes much to Thomas Carlyle's Great Man theory. As a youth Buchan read Carlyle's work with enthusiasm,[228] and his Great Captain model derives from Carlyle's lectures published as *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (1841).

As the critic Alison Booth notes[229] Carlyle proposes that certain historical leaders can stand for the spirit of the age:

> Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is caused by the History of the Great Men.'[230]

Carlyle considers individuals such as the Marquis of Montrose and Napoleon as Heroes whose lives are worthy of investigation.[231]

Buchan, however, perceives a difference between the motivations of moral and immoral Heroes, and for Buchan only moral leaders can be considered as Great Captains. Carlyle identifies the Marquis of Montrose as 'the noblest of all the Cavaliers'.[232] Buchan's first published biography was *The Marquis of Montrose* (1913), while *Montrose* (1928) formed a more extended examination of Montrose's life, in which Buchan reveals Montrose

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employ the term is a reference in John Buchan, *The Path of the King.* Cleveland: Duke Classics (1921), p116, which likens the eyes of a courageous young woman to those of a great captain. Many of Buchan's addresses and essays, the biographer Andrew Lownie comments, are now dated. However, they are important on revealing Buchan's views. Lownie mentions Burke, Balfour, Scott, the nature of democracy, literature and topography, the judicial temperament, Scots vernacular poetry and Tweeddale literature, Burns, Morris, Rossetti and Catullus. He omits both 'The Muse of History' and 'Great Captains', however, thus failing to identify two significant essays concerning Buchan's historiography and his interpretation of Augustus. See Lownie (2003), 285, 193.

[228] Buchan (1940g), 42.

[229] Alison Booth, 'Life Writing' in J. Shattock (ed) *English Literature 1830-1940.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2010), pp. 59-69 at 59.

[230] Thomas Carlyle, 'On Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History' in Henry Duff Traill (ed) *The Works of Thomas Carlyle,* vol *5.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2010), p. 1. Reprint of 1841.

[231] Carlyle (2010), 204.

[232] Carlyle (2010), 204.

to be a Great Captain.[233] However, whilst Carlyle identifies Napoleon Bonaparte at a Great Man who was 'our second modern King'[234] and 'our last Great Man!,'[235] Buchan does not accept Napoleon as a leader who fits the model of a Great Captain. At the beginning of his career Napoleon was an effective soldier who reconstructed France. This, Buchan states, was not pursued in a spirit of personal ambition and at this stage he identifies Napoleon as a moral man. However, Buchan criticizes Napoleon's later actions. In Buchan's estimation, Napoleon's aims beyond the French border were inspired by ignoble personal ambition so that, in Buchan's judgement, Napoleon was a Great Man but not a Great Captain.[236]

The requisite leadership qualities which Buchan deems essential in Great Captains comprise a conflation of intellectual and moral attributes, with the latter incorporating a spiritual element. Buchan acknowledges that all leaders require a sufficient reasoning ability and intellect to enable them to extend their leadership skills through training and experience.[237] In his analysis such intellectual skills may be acquired and this 'presupposes only industry and effort'.[238] He differentiates between the intellect of reasoned decisions and those involving an instinctive capacity for intuitive leaps which form 'genius'. These cannot be acquired but are innate; that is, the greatest leaders possess this quality from birth, whilst lesser individuals do not. This capacity enables Great Captains to examine a mass of information which is too great for reasoned deduction, and then to take the correct course of action. For example, such a wartime leader may apprehend the battle front as a whole, then simplify large blocks of information, and instinctively perceive the salient points 'in a flash of white light'.[239] Together the intellectual power of reasoned argument and instinct are, for Buchan, essential to successful leaders of armies.

Nevertheless, in Buchan's estimation the greatest leaders of men require more than such intellect. Many successful leaders have been 'morally wanting, selfish, brutal, with low earthly ambitions.' Great Captains, by contrast, have 'character[s] built on massive lines', and

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[233] John Buchan, *The Marquis of Montrose*. London: T. Nelson and Son. (1913); John Buchan, *Montrose*. London: T. Nelson & Sons (1928). See especially pp. 366, 378, 393.

[234] Carlyle (2010), 237.

[235] Carlyle (2010), 204

[236] Buchan (1926a), 87.

[237] Buchan (1926a), 70-72.

[238] Buchan (1926a), 74.

[239] Buchan (1926a), 75-78, 80, 81.

must possess 'certain fundamental virtues.'[240] Their personalities must inspire confidence, loyalty and devotion in the men they lead, even among those whom they never meet. In this way, their reputations will survive rumours and reports about them which are unfavourable. To complete the tasks they undertake, they will be patient when facing setbacks, and maintain their optimism and resilience in defeat. Such men may be identified by their fortitude and a willingness to sacrifice everything, even their lives, by taking on the crushing responsibilities of decision making and subsequent responsibilities, and they dare to be optimistic in the face of defeat 'when weaker souls would play for safety.'[241] Above all, in a Great Captain:

> there must be the sense of eternal continuity so that failure and even death will not seem the end, and a man sees himself only as part of a pre-destined purpose. It may not be for him to breach the fortress, but the breach will come. [242]

This identifies Buchan's belief in predestination, in which God has a plan for the world. Continuity of nations, guided by God, is required for the smooth running of God's plan. The modern historian Keith Grieves, in his review of *Nelson's History of the War*, points to instances when Buchan's narrative emphasises and embeds a tradition of continuity as central to the history of Britain, together with Buchan's identification of Bolshevism as an ahistorical phenomena, as the Russian past had been eradicated and replaced with a logic-based politics.[243]

Buchan's essay 'A Note on Edmund Burke' reveals both admiration for the British politician Edmund Burke (1729-1797), and Burke's rejection of revolutionary change to the British Constitution if it remains fit for purpose.[244] For Buchan, it was evolution and not revolution which is desirable in a nation's history. As Grieg points out, Buchan's interest in St Augustine's view of predestination suggests that although Buchan accepted predestination, he did not necessarily exclude free will in practice.[245] Nevertheless, that Buchan accepted that

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[240] Buchan (1926a), 86-87.

[241] Buchan (1926a), 88.

[242] Buchan (1926a), 87-89.

[243] Keith Grieves, 'Nelson's History of the Great War: John Buchan as a Military Historian 1915-1922', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 28, no. 3 (1993), pp, 533-551 at 535-537.

[244] John Buchan, 'A Note on Edmund Burke' in John Buchan (ed) *Homilies and Recreations*. London: T. Nelson (1926c), pp. 111-132.

[245] Grieg (2010), 14.

God was involved in world events and might occasionally intercede may be identified in his Rede Lecture delivered to the University of Cambridge in 1929. After discussing the randomness of most historical events, he adds:

> We are therefore obliged to deliver up that operation to mere chance, or more piously (perhaps more rationally) to the occasional interposition and irresistible hand of the Great Disposer.[246]

Great Captains, in Buchan's final analysis, are spiritual men who are able to grasp, however vaguely, God's plan for the world. This required that Great Captains should have an understanding of a nation's continuity, sufficient spirituality to perceive God's plan, and the qualities of character required to play their part in that plan.

'The Great Captains' does not discuss Augustus. It is Julius Caesar in the ancient world, and Allied leaders during the Great War,[247] whose qualities may be identified as those of Great Captains. Buchan cites Caesar's victory at Alesia as an example of his intuitive genius.[248] In *Julius Caesar* Buchan projects the qualities of a Great Captain onto Caesar.[249] By reading the *Augustus* in conjunction with *Julius Caesar* the same qualities of such a Great Captain may be identified in Augustus.

Within *Julius Caesar,* Caesar is identified as the man who planned the revitalization of Rome and Augustus as the man who ensured this was completed:

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[246] John Buchan, *The Causal and the Casual in History': the Rede Lecture, 1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2014), pp. 1-46, at 46. Reprint of the 1929 edition.

[247] Throughout the essay, Buchan also identifies the French general Foch as a Great Captain.

[248] Buchan (1926a), 86. At Alesia, Caesar created a circumvallaton. Vercingetorix sent for reinforcements. Caesar's line was then defended by a contravallation. During the battle when Vercingetorix' reinforcements arrived and a weak point on the circumvallation became a focal point in a joint attack by Vercingetorix and his relief force. Caesar's ability to see the battlefront as a whole, including the rear of the relief force, inspired Caesar to send his cavalry beyond the contravallation to attack Vercingetorix' reinforcements unexpectedly, from behind, and defeat them (*BG.* 7.87.2). Labienus had led six cohorts to defend the weak point (*BC* 7.87.1-2). Once Vercingetorix' reinforcements were defeated, Caesar could join Labienus to complete his victory (*BC* 7.87.3).

[249] 'The Campaigns in Gaul are Caesar's chief title to what has never been denied him; a place in the inner circle of the world's [C]aptains'. See John Buchan *Julius Caesar*. Cornwall: Stratus Books Ltd. (2008), p. 58. Reprint of the 1932 edition.

> The pioneer is rarely the exploiter, and the man who destroys the old edifice and marks out the lines of a new one does not often live to see the walls rise. Caesar made the Empire by preparing the ground for it; but, like King David, he had to leave the building to another … The future was with his great nephew.[250]

In *Augustus*, the qualities of a Great Captain are those which Buchan projects on to both Augustus's qualities as a leader and Augustus's own conception of his role as leader.

Buchan's identification of Augustus as moral man (see Section 2.1 above) reveals him to be possessed not only morality but the spiritual awareness which made him a great leader. Concerning Augustus's beliefs and spirituality, Buchan acknowledges the difficulty of identifying Augustus's personal beliefs but does not question that 'he held, beyond doubt, to some form of God, some divine power which governed the world'. For Buchan, although Augustus had his private superstitions,[251] his self-confidence meant his actions were rational and that such private superstitions were not permitted to govern his conduct.[252] Augustus's spirituality in Buchan's estimation is centred on fatalism and the 'mild Stoicism' he imbibed in his youth from Posidonius. In an interconnection between Classics and religious faith, Buchan comments that Augustus had written 'Exhortation to Philosophy' apparently based on Cicero's *Hortensius*, now lost. Buchan regrets this loss, as we 'know the profound influence it had on St Augustine and if we possessed it we might learn more of St Augustine's creed.'[253]

In *Memory Hold-the-Door* Buchan identifies the qualities of leadership displayed during the Great War by General Sir Douglas Haig.[254] This interpretation of leadership in the

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[250] Buchan (2008), 84. This metaphor of state as a building is taken from 'A Note on Edmund Burke' (1926), where Buchan quotes from a speech by Burke rejecting unnecessary constitutional change as long as the existing Constitution as fit for purpose and reveals how the ancient and modern worlds were conflated in Buchan's thinking. Buchan takes this metaphor from Burke's objection to constitutional change for the sake of change. See Buchan (1926c), 111-132 at 114.

[251] Buchan (1937), 267. Cf. Suet. *Div. Aug.,* 90-92.

[252] Buchan (1937), 267.

[253] Buchan (1937), 267. Cf. St Augustine, *Confess*, iii.4 and 69n2.

[254] Buchan writes that Haig had 'the sense of the divine fore-ordering of life. He found deep wells from which to draw comfort. The self was obliterated, for a I do not think that he ever thought of his own reputation … his country and what he held to be God's purpose became for him the transcendent realities.' He faced an enemy attack with 'quiet resolution' and did not hesitate to advance when the time came. His outstanding qualities were

modern world contains the assumption of a heavy burden which must be borne alone by a man who inspires devotion and respect. This experience is projected on to both Caesar and Augustus. Just as Caesar is revealed in *Julius Caesar* as accepting the heavy burden of sole responsibility for reforming Rome when he crossed the Rubicon,[255] and afterwards when he faced the burdens of office alone,[256] so Augustus, in seeking and accepting the role of supreme leader of Rome, assumed the 'heavy burden of responsibility' alone, and pursued it with fortitude:

> Few have ever entered upon a more apparently hopeless task than Augustus when, in his nineteenth year, he left Apollonia … for years he lived a life of unremitting physical toil and mental anxiety combined with miserable health – no small test of fortitude … he lived in constant peril.[257]

The role of Princeps was, as Buchan identifies, a heavy burden, and one which Augustus had to shoulder alone, to the sacrifice of both health and personal life.

> No man in history was ever forced to labour so continuously and decide daily on graver issues. We can see from his portraits what toll this took of his body and spirit.[258]

This burden was endured in a 'lonely pre-eminence'.[259] Such isolation meant Augustus was unable to share his responsibilities or his confidences, even with his wife Livia. His 'trusted lieutenant Agrippa was a soldier, not a statesman, whilst Maecenas was 'a grasshopper [who] must often have become a burden.'[260]

In the modern world, the fictional exemplar of the Great Captain's sacrifice of his life to ensure the task is completed is found in his fictional character Peter Pienaar. In Buchan's

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'patience, sobriety, balance of temper, and unshakable fortitude. Against the doubts of the British Cabinet he persevered with his conviction that breaking through the Hindenburg line was necessary.' In Buchan's estimation, only Haig's inability to relate to the men under him prevents him from being one of history's greatest Captains. See Buchan (1940g), 174-178.

[255] Buchan (2008), 64, 66-67.

[256] Buchan (2008), 78.

[257] Buchan (1937), 337.

[258] Buchan (1937), 254.

[259] Buchan (1937), 196.

[260] Buchan (1937), 257.

imperialist novel *Mr Standfast* (1918) injured and imprisoned, Pienaar writes to Richard Hannay about courage:

> … the big courage is the cold-blooded kind, the kind that never lets go even when you're feeling empty inside and … [the] trouble's not over in an hour or two but lasts months or years … [it is] 'Fortitude' … just to go on enduring when there's no guts or heart left in you.[261]

As the narrative ends, wounded and crippled, Pienaar demonstrates the self-sacrifice of the Great Captain. Emulating the death of John Bunyan's Mr Valiant-for-Truth, he sacrifices his life to complete the task of defeating the enemy.[262]

Both Caesar and Augustus are described as inspiring great affection and loyalty from those they led. Buchan's *Julius Caesar* notes Caesar's popularity among the troops.[263] Describing Caesar's character when in office, Buchan conflates the Roman concept of *clementia* with a genuine humanity, citing Cicero's tag *mitis clemensque natura*[264] to identify the quality of humanity in Caesar, revealing in him a human sympathy and magnanimity to other men.[265] His description of Caesar reveals a man who, rather than acting as a heavy-handed, self-centred egoist, was a man possessed of charm and grace who was tolerant of other men's prejudices. His character was 'generally benign',[266] with a 'womanish gentleness and the most delicate courtesy'.[267] Similarly, Augustus inspired great respect and affection. Buchan describes Augustus as always publicly 'friendly, easy-of-access, [and] affable to all', in spite of his loneliness and isolation.[268] A 'cold, self-contained youth' became genial in

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[261] Buchan (1993), 155-156.

[262] Buchan (1993), 330.

[263] At the Rubicon, Caesar explained the situation to his troops, and their enthusiasm assured him of their loyalty. Buchan (2008), 64. This is a striking view. Caesar himself, in his record of the event, addresses his troops at the time, states in his closing remarks that his men should protect his reputation and dignity from his enemies (*BC*. 1.7.7.).

[264] Buchan does not cite a reference. It is taken from Cicero's *Letters to Friends* (trans D.R. Shacketon-Bailey), vol 1. Princeton: Loeb Classical Library (2001), 350. (*In Caesare haec sunt: mitis Clemens que natura qualis exprimitur praeclaro illo libro 'Querelarum' tuarum).*

[265] Buchan (2008), 580-59.

[266] Buchan (2008), 83.

[267] Buchan (2008), 83-84.

[268] Buchan (1937), 255.

maturity', and 'the friend of all the world'. These qualities merge in Augustus as the qualities of *pietas*, *gravitas*, *civilitas*, *clementia* and *providentia* which, together comprised a complete *auctoritas*.[269] Buchan confidently identifies Augustus as possessing a reputation so great that it lived on after his death, evidenced by the stories about him that survived in Rome his death.[270] A great burden carried alone, leading to respect and a great reputation, were the manifestations of Buchan's projection of a Great Captain.

Such a leader possessed a clear vision of what leadership should entail. As Parry confirms, Buchan had a precise understanding of what he believed any great leader wishes to achieve. That is to help the people of a nation to flourish. This could be brought about by creating the environment in which such people could work together responsibly, to promote 'common purposes worthy of the human brotherhood.'[271] It is this notion of leadership which Buchan projects on to Augustus. As noted above Augustus's priority above all was bring about peace, regardless of the cost.[272] (See Section 2.1)

In Buchan's estimation, Rome had been destroyed by evil actions in the past, and the restoration of order was essential. As the literary scholar David Daniell[273] recognises in *The Interpreter's House* (1975),[274] Buchan considered civilisation to be fragile in the modern world, and susceptible to destruction by evil actions. As Daniell comments Buchan's novel *The Power House* (1916)[275] 'soon develops into one of the clearest statements in Buchan of the thinness of the veneer of civilisation.'[276] For Buchan, evil actions result in a chaos which is always waiting to break through a thin borderline in society between civilisation and

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[269] Buchan (1937), 337-338.

[270] Buchan (1937), 256.

[271] Parry (2003), 211.

[272] Buchan (1937), 71. This comment concludes with a recognition that violence as 'only violence could curb violence'. Buchan here acknowledges that to his early career Augustus brought 'the stony-heartedness of self-absorbed youth'. Buchan argues that this early attitude concurred with Horace Walpole's opinion that 'no great country was ever saved by good men, because good men will not go to the lengths that may be necessary.'

[273] Daniell was a Buchan researcher and former Professor of English at University College, London.

[274] Daniell (1975), 157.

[275] Published by T. Nelson & Co .in 1916, following publication in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1913. See John Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps and The Power House*. London: T. Nelson & Sons (1922). Reprint of the 1916 and 1915 editions.

[276] David Daniell, *The Interpreters House: A Critical Assessment of the Work of John Buchan.* London: T. Nelson & Sons (1975), p. 157.

anarchy. In *The Power House* a conversation takes place between the barrister Edward Leithen and the mysterious anarchist Andrew Lumley. Leithen is horrified by Lumley's view that civilisation is fragile and can be easily broken if he chooses:

> "You think that a wall as solid as the earth separates civilization from barbarism. I tell you the division is a thread, a sheet of glass. A touch here, a push there, and you bring back the reign of Saturn.[277]

This is a reworking of Virgil's *Saturnia regna* where it is identified in a positive manner (*Ecl*. 4.6; *Aen*. 11.252), rather than through the negative images Buchan uses to depict the chaos awaiting should civilisation end. The Hannay novels act not only as imperialist adventures, but also reveal how Buchan perceives evil as being active in the modern world. In *Mr Standfast* Hannay and his friends may be identified as angels, that is messengers of God carrying out God's work in casting evil out of the world and restoring order.[278]

In *Mr Standfast*, a vision of England at peace after the chaos of war becomes, for Hannay, an idea and an ideal which comes 'as a kind of revelation'. It is centred on a countryside in which is embedded a national disposition and temperament:

> I saw not only victory after war, but a new and happier world after victory, when I should inherit something of this English peace and wrap myself up in it till the end of my days.[279]

Buchan had honed the ideas about the fragility of civilisation during the Great War which had threatened the British Empire and destroyed the German and Russian Empires. Buchan reveals Augustus as accepting the burden of leadership and the responsibility for the rebuilding of the Roman world after it had been shattered by the evil of a civil war in which Roman citizen had been pitted against Roman citizen. He projects on to Rome the notion of the rebuilding and conservation of an organised society following the civil wars in the same way that England would be rebuilt after the Great War.

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[277] Buchan (1922), 211-212.

[278] In Chapter 1 'The Wicket Gate', Hannay is sent on a mission to Fosse Manor and is told his hosts 'entertain many angels unawares'. When, in Chapter 4, Hannay visits a house in Glasgow, Hannay's contact informs a friend that he is 'entertaining an angel unawares.'

[279] Goldie (2010), 30. Cf Buchan *Mr Standfast*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1993), pp. 14–15. Reprint of 1918 edition.

In his address 'The Western Mind' (1935), Buchan defines 'civilisation' in terms of his acceptance of the continuity of nations. It is, he states, the culture inherited by the 'Mediterranean tradition' which descends from Greece and Rome. This, he informs his audience, is 'based on the thought and the philosophy, the art and the letters, the ethics and religion of the modern Christian world'.[280] Reflecting how Classics has become conflated in his thinking about the modern world, especially his Incarnationalist rejection of the harsher forms of Calvinism he records in *Montrose*, he identifies 'civilisation's' great characteristic as a rejection of all theocracies in favour of 'reasoned individualism'. This, as he points out, means that whilst people are 'units of a society' they also possess a 'high degree of personal freedom', including freedom of thought, so that '[i]n the last resort it. [the idea of reasoned individualism], regards the *person* as what matters.' Consequently, in an idea which reflects Augustus's rational approach to his reforms in Rome, such 'civilisation' does not deal in abstracts but is only concerned with 'practical realities' not 'abstractions'.[281]

Buchan's description of Augustus's perception of leadership is of a man rebuilding 'civilisation' after evil actions had destroyed it, and in Chapter 4 of Book 4 in Augustus*,* 'The Augustan Peace,'[282] Buchan reveals his view of the 'civilisation' Augustus created as the result of his leadership of Rome. In this chapter, an imaginary tourist travels through the Empire. At each country he finds colonies which have grown and thrive, creating crops and artifacts which are traded with neighbours and with Rome, further increasing prosperity. This is identified as being the creation of the Augustan peace, but also as a reason for the perpetuation of that peace.

Buchan judges that, in bringing order and civilisation to Rome, Augustus identified in the people the desire 'not for self-government, but good government.' That meant 'an ultimate autocracy'. He also, however, identified the people's desire for continuity with the past, so that this autocracy should incorporate the old republican forms.[283] Before considering Buchan's description of Augustus's revival of Rome, and how this reveals Buchan's

[280] John Buchan, 'The Western Mind' in *Canadian Occasions.* Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Ltd. (1940l), 17-23, at 18, 21. Address to McGill University, Montreal, 23 November 1935.

[281] Buchan (1940l), 18-19.

[282] Buchan (1937), 285-327.

[283] Buchan (1937), 134.

projection of the British Empire on to the Roman Empire in order to create a covert anti-Fascist message (see Section 4.5 below), it is useful to discuss this 'ultimate autocracy'.

As reviewers comment, in the context of the academic world within which Buchan wrote – that is, prior to Syme's seminal text *The Roman Revolution* (1939)[284] – the tendency of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Classicists was to laud Augustus, particularly the eminent British Classicist T. Rice Holmes (1855-1933).[285] Buchan is no exception, with both Mierow and Clough identifying Buchan's description of Augustus's life and work as laudatory.[286] As the Classicist Gustavo Alberto Garcia Vivas reminds us in his discussion concerning the young Augustus, 'That Sickly and Sinister Youth: The First Considerations of Syme on Octavian as a Historical Figure' (2014), Holmes was 'one of the most distinguished exponents of the orthodox trend in British historiography of the period'. That view of Augustus was 'indulgent'. This view 'would be demolished by Syme in *The Roman Republic* (1939).[287] Syme was significant in changing this paradigm. Despite having access to the same primary and secondary sources as Buchan, and despite researching and publishing almost simultaneously, Syme reaches very different conclusions. No discussion of *Augustus* can therefore be considered without first examining Syme's contribution to the ongoing debate concerning the life and achievements of Augustus and identifying how

[284] Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1939).

[285] See especially *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. (1911) Second edition, revised. *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar.* Oxford, Clarendon Press (1907) and *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire.* Oxford: Clarendon Press (1928-31). Second edition. In a short list of recommended further reading in *Julius Caesar*, in addition to *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (1911 edition) Buchan recommends Rice Holmes' *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (1928-1931). See Buchan (2008), 93-94.

[286] Clough (1938), 115; Mierow (1939), 493. Clough emphasises Buchan's high praise for Augustus. Mierow identifies how Buchan, without being uncritical of Augustus, is nevertheless sympathetic and appreciative of him. As Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones comments, in 1939 when Syme wrote *The Roman Revolution* (and of course in 1937 when Buchan published *Augustus*) Mommsen dominated Roman scholarship, especially his *History of Rome,* which was accessible to the general reader. See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, 'Syme's Revolution' in *London Review of Books*, vol 2, no. 1 (1980). London online edition archived at https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v02/n01/hugh-lloyd-jones/syme-s-revolution accessed 24 June 2021.

[287] Garcia Vivas, G.A. "'That Sickly and Sinister Youth": The First Considerations of Syme on Octavian as a Historical Figure' in *CADMIO* (*Centro de Historia da Universidade de Lisboa*) 24, pp 84-110. Lisbon: Coimbra University Press. (2014), 87-110, at 96n34.

Buchan and Syme could access the same sources almost simultaneously yet reach such differing conclusions.

3.2 Buchan's Historiography in the Context of Syme's *The Roman Revolution*

This section comments on how Buchan and Ronald Syme differed in their conclusions concerning Augustus's leadership. Their narratives were written in the context of the rise of Fascism and reveal their rejection of Fascism. Although both men had accessed the same primary and secondary sources, however, they nevertheless reach diametrically opposed conclusions about Augustus's character and career. There are two major causes of these differences. First are differences in their approach to historiography. Second are the differences concerning their assumptions regarding the nature of government arising from this. This led to Syme's rejection of the conventional British lauding of Augustus.

As Parry confirms, Buchan considered Mussolini as 'detestable', and that the Italian people tolerated Fascism because they had lost confidence in the parliamentary institutions which provided the 'ability to rule themselves'. Buchan's comment refers to his advocation of 'individualism' and the need for individuals to think for themselves, come to their own conclusions and then exercise their franchise to make their opinions known. In 'his address Quality and Quantity he equates this with 'democracy': that is, as a system 'in which Everyman has in the last resort some share in the government'.[288] He expresses 'the best method of government the human mind has yet devised', and speaks of the European background of the interwar period as 'the day of coloured shirts in politics'.[289] Buchan, as Parry reveals, was particularly concerned that 'foolish people' outside Italy were 'hero-worshipping' Mussolini and 'ready to abase themselves before what they called a strong man'.[290]

[288] John Buchan, 'Quantity and Quality' in *Canadian Occasions*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd. (1940i), 184-191, at 190. Transcript of address to McMaster University Hamilton, 4 November 1937.

[289] Buchan (1940i), 188.

[290] Parry (2003), 219. See Parry 291n69: Cf. Buchan to Lord Halifax 5 November 1938, Buchan MSS, Box 14; and to 'The Future of Western Democracy' 1928, Tweedsmuir MSS 9058, Box 5, f.2.

Both Syme and Buchan reject Fascism as a creed.[291] Writing in the context of twentieth century Europe, Syme, unlike Buchan, finds elements of Fascism in the rule of Augustus and in contrast to Buchan's description of Augustus's character and work. Anthony Birley, as editor of Syme's correspondence, identifies notes for a talk 'Forty Years On' which identifies Buchan's depiction of Augustus as 'the good headmaster', with the comment '*Auctoritas'* beside that note.[292]

Syme is not adulatory about Augustus, but critical, and holds his supreme leadership to be a despotism.[293] Syme's opinion, expressed at the beginning of his Preface to *The Roman Revolution*, states that all governments are oligarchies, and oligarchy 'therefore emerges as the dominant theme of political history, between the Republic and the Empire … whatever may be the name or theory of the constitution'.[294] When Syme declares that 'in all ages, whatever the form and name of government, be it monarchy, republic or democracy, an oligarchy lurks behind the façade,' this comment is made in the context of Mussolini's claims concerning the Fascist government of Italy at the time *The Roman Revolution* was researched and published. As Syme comments, following Sulla's ordinances a 'restored monarchy of *nobiles* held office at Rome'. This was broken at Philippi and Augustus became the head of a new coalition.[295]

For Syme, Augustus's restoration of the Republican constitution was a deceit and a republic in name only and not a factual legal construct. He rejects all 'adulatory' and 'panegyric' descriptions of Augustus and argues that the governing class interacted with his leadership through patronage, as a 'syndicate',[296] operating 'behind the façade of the constitution.'[297] In a barbed remark, Syme critiques the deception behind the 'convenient

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[291] A. Birley (ed) *Select Correspondence of Ronald Syme, 1927-1939.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: History of Classical Scholarship (2020). Anthony Birley, as editor of *Select Correspondence of Ronald Syme, 1927-1939* reveals, for example, that although Eric Birley's correspondence with Syme includes correspondence in which Collingwood is referred to as 'Duce' – Mussolini's term describing his own status – as they are accustomed to so, it 'did not in any way suggest sympathy with Italian fascism' See Birley (2020), 84. Remarks signalled in Syme's own 'Notes for Retrospective Talks' indicate this is the case. See Birley (2020), 8, 201.

[292] Birley (2020), 193. See Appendix II, 'Syme's Notes for Retrospective Talks'

[293] Syme (1939), 1.

[294] Syme (1939), 1-2.

[295] Syme (1939), 7.

[296] Syme (1939), 7.

[297] Syme (1939), 348.

revival of the Republican constitution' by Augustus. He argues that this was not, in common with all deceptions, 'less effective for being veiled', commenting that Tacitus in the ancient world and Gibbon in the modern one 'knew better'. Syme thus rejects the early twentieth century authors who lauded Augustus, calling it 'a modern and academic failing.'[298] In the context of the first half of the twentieth century, Syme's interpretation of Augustus may be read as a comment on the patriotic veneer adopted by Mussolini, with its appropriation of the past. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford comments that hearing Mussolini haranguing the Italian mob had apparently led Syme to the conclusion that the realities of power, and the importance of who controlled the military, were more significant than any constitutional niceties.[299]

Buchan, by contrast, differentiates between democratic systems and oligarchic systems. In his essay 'Quantity and Quality' he expresses the opinion that democracies are the most difficult methods of government to successfully implement, whilst dictatorships and oligarchies 'are far easier systems to work'.[300] Here, likening Augustus's reforms to democracy he especially praises Augustus's efforts to 'preserve local idioms and to foster individuality in the citizens.'[301] Syme, like Buchan, indirectly argues against Mussolini's claims through discussions concerning the rule of Augustus, but in doing so reaches diametrically opposed conclusions to those of Buchan concerning Augustus's character and his 'restoration' of the Republic. Such clear differences in the approaches and conclusions of Syme and Buchan must be accounted for.

Buchan's essay 'The Muse of History' (1926)[302], read in conjunction with Syme's seminal text, identifies a number of ways in which *Augustus* reflects major differences in their approaches as historians concerned with the ancient world. The first difference is the role of the historian as biographer. Whilst Buchan, by definition, accepts the use of the genre of biography, Syme rejects it as inadequate for a discussion concerning the history of Rome.

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[298] Syme (1939), 2, 3. Syme (1939), 3 n. 1 invokes Tacitus *Ann* 1.2 for the hollowness of the restoration of Republican forms.

[299] See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, 'Syme's Revolution', *London Review of Books*, Vol 2, No. 1. (1980),

[300] Buchan (1940i), 190.

[301] Buchan (1940i), 187.

[302] John Buchan, 'The Muse of History' in John Buchan (ed) *Homilies and Recreations*. T. Nelson & Sons (1926b), pp. 91-108. An address to the Workers' Educational Association; reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1914.

As Syme comments, a historian examining ancient Rome cannot merely discuss the lives of a single individual but should take into consideration the lives of those interacting with that individual. A biography is therefore insufficient to describe such a situation as it 'invests history with dramatic unity at the expense of truth.[303] As Buchan acknowledges in 'The Muse of History', historians' works form a 'large canvas with a multitude of figures' whilst a biography 'produces a miniature, or at best a kit-kat.'[304] Mierow points out that Buchan does make some attempt to broaden his biography by, including 'brief but life-like portraits of Cicero, Antony and Brutus as well as of Julius Caesar,[305] [and] there is also a spirited defence of Cleopatra … and of Livia.'[306]

Second are the differing views expressed by Buchan and Syme concerning the difficulties encountered by the historian in identifying a character's nature and intentions. As Haslett and Haslett confirm, when researching the life of Augustus Buchan had few ancient sources and had to rely on his own interpretation of Augustus's achievements and character.[307] In 'The Muse of History' Buchan accepts the expression of opinions within the narrative, provided they are honest and free of bias. For Buchan, openly expressed views concerning historical events and the characters involved in those events is preferable to the subtle influence of covert bias. Provided biased accounts which express the authors ideas are presented openly and honestly, 'with the impartiality of a judge', readers may reach their own conclusions.[308] For example, he disagrees with Ferrero's conclusion concerning Antony's oration at Caesar's funeral, and the primary source on which that opinion is based. Buchan then includes for interested readers the alternative primary sources expressing views that

[303] Syme (1939), 7.

[304] Buchan (1926b), 95.

[305] Cf Buchan (1937) especially p. 348; Mierow (1939), 494-495.

[306] Mierow (1939), 495. For Cleopatra cf. Buchan (1937), 77. For Livia cf. Buchan (1937), 253-254.

[307] Haslett and Haslett (2010), 26. As Haslett & Haslett point out, Velleius Paterculus, the only contemporary source apart from Strabo, was a man of thirty when Augustus died. He wrote a compendium of Roman history treating the reign of Augustus in considerable detail. Buchan's only other sources were Appian, Suetonius, the two Plinys and Dio Cassius, who wrote anything from fifty to two hundred years later and were neither reliable historians nor reliable judges of Augustus's personality.

[308] Buchan (1926b), 105-6.

differ from his own.[309] This leads to the question of whether a historian might make judgements based solely on the evidence, such as written texts, or make judgements about the past, form opinions about the meaning of that evidence and then transmit these opinions to his audience? Buchan's approach is to seek the 'mind', that is the character, of Augustus (See Section 2). He then presents his arguments to his audience. As the critic Nathan Waddell confirms, at the end of his Preface Buchan reveals that 'I am conscious that my interpretation of Augustus is a personal thing, coloured insensibly by my own beliefs'. This declaration, as Waddell notes, is closely connected to Buchan's own beliefs and assumptions and how they permit him to form his own judgements.[310]

While Syme, by contrast, interprets his sources and identifies meaning within them, he rejects speculations on the part of the historian that are not founded on written evidence. For example, as he points out rejecting various arguments concerning the precise legal points of Caesar's claim that he might stand for the consulship in absentia to retain his Province, any conclusions can only be speculative. As Syme acknowledges, the debates and the misrepresentations around the topic contain biased accounts by partisan authors.[311] Syme, where possible, would restrict himself to firm evidence such as autobiographical narratives and public records. This is the case concerning Julius Caesar, as Caesar left no record of his unrealised intentions. Consequently, they are unverifiable and open to misrepresentation by both his followers and his enemies.[312] A further example is found regarding Caesar's Senate reforms. As Syme points out, although there are records expressing partisanship concerning rumours that some of Caesar's equestrian officers may have been ex-centurions, there is, in fact, only a single attested example that this was the case.[313] As discussed above Buchan, by contrast, examines the primary sources, draws a conclusion, and presents it to his audience together with alternative evidence. Syme takes note of possible prejudices on the part of authors of primary sources and restricts conclusions to cases with firm evidence.

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[309] Concerning Antony's speech at Caesar's funeral see *Augustus* p.39n1. Also cf. Mierow (1939), 493. Buchan, within *Augustus* p39n1, also provides the major alternative primary sources so interested audiences may decide for themselves.

[310] Nathan Waddell, *Modern John Buchan: A Critical Introduction.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars' Publishing (2009), p. 82. Cf. Buchan (1937), 9.

[311] Syme (1939), 48.

[312] Syme (1939), 53.

[313] Syme (1939), 81-2.

Concerning Augustus's rise to power, Syme identifies no lack of continuity in the primary sources with the violent past, with the proscriptions forming part of a seizure of power and redistribution of property by a revolutionary leader which perpetuated that violent past.[314] Following Augustus's accession after this violence, the available evidence enables him to conclude that Augustus's constant employment of propaganda to present a particular vision of his reign identifies a hypocrite.[315] In *The Roman Revolution* the chapter 'The Organisation of Opinion'[316] identifies a broad range of methods through which a 'hypocritical' Princeps manipulated public opinion.

Of especial note is the way in which Augustus and his circle patronised men of letters, especially Horace and Virgil, to create a 'systematic exploitation of literature on a grand scale', to 'work upon the upper and middle classes of a regenerated society.[317] Propaganda to attach the support of the Roman plebs to his cause was achieved through the corn-dole. Additionally, support was gained through spectacles and games, and through the appointment of *vicomagistri* to take charge of shines where honour was paid to the *lares compitales*, with 'whom they associated the *genius* of the Princeps. Augustus, in Syme's judgement, missed no opportunity for 'sharpening the loyalty of the people and inculcating a suitable lesson.'[318] Above all, Augustus became the centre of a new cult, which worshipped Augustus as a god. As Syme concludes concerning the worship of the Emperor, the different forms it took in Rome, Italy and in the provinces 'illustrate the different aspects of his rule – he is Princeps to the Senate, Imperator to the army and people, King and God to the subject peoples of the Empire'. This 'recapitulate[d] the sources of his personal power in relation to town, provinces and kings'.[319]

Buchan, the former Director of Information during the Great War, did not share Syme's contempt for propaganda. As Redley points out, preceding his work as Director of Information, Buchan's work with Milner involved propaganda duties, and Milner 'blessed his

[314] Syme (1939), 2.

[315] Syme (1939), 459-475.

[316] Syme (1939), 459-475.

[317] Syme (1939), 460, 468.

[318] Syme (1939), 468. Syme identifies a quarter of a million plebs as being in receipt of this dole.

[319] Syme (1939), 474-5.

narrative *The African Colony* (1903) as part of his propaganda duties.'[320] His wartime experience, as Grieves reveals, involved 'close involvement in the administration of propaganda', and (as the social historian P. Buitenhuis points out) 'his entire *History of the War* is propaganda'. The critic Peter Henshaw concurs, noting how Buchan's war narratives were actively targeted towards the American market by his publishers, Thomas Nelson, and that these works were 'official' propaganda. Similarly, Buchan's fiction was equally important in shaping American opinion.[321] Grieves, in contrast, defends Buchan against his detractors, noting that its purpose is manipulating opinion. He comments that, although Harold Lasswell claims that '[a]ctual propaganda, where-ever studied, has a large element of the fake in it,'[322] propaganda does not necessarily mean transmitting false information. Books which had strategic informative value are often deemed 'propaganda'.[323] Following the Great War, Buchan had accumulated a wide experience of the manipulation of factual propaganda texts which promoted specific viewpoints with honest intentions. In *Augustus* Buchan's conclusions are formed from his own identification of Augustus as a Great Captain promoting his notion of 'democracy'. Buchan does so in the light of his experiences in the modern world.

Buchan declares that in a democracy it is essential for individuals to make informed decisions. As he states in 'Canada's Outlook on the World' a modern democratic nation needs a reasoned attitude when deciding on government policy, and that attitude 'is determined mainly by the citizens themselves' so that 'the cumulative views of individual citizens' prevail. Throughout the Commonwealth, as Buchan comments, these views must be

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[320] Michael Redley 'John Buchan and the South African War' in Kate Macdonald (ed) *John Buchan Reassessed: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps.* London: Routledge (2010), pp 65-76 at 73. Cf. Buchan to Strachey, 17 July 1903; D. Denoon, *A Grand Illusion: The Failure of Imperial Policy in the Transvaal Colony During the Period of Reconstruction, 1900–1906.* London: Longman (1973), p. 58. See *The African Colony.* London: William Blackwood and Sons (1903).

[321] Peter Henshaw, 'John Buchan, America and the British World' in Kate Macdonald (ed) *Reassessing John Buchan Reassessed: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps.* London: Routledge (2010), p. 106. Henshaw identifies the first three Hannay novels, *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915), the novelisation of *The Power House* (1916), and *Mr Standfast* (1918-9) together with his American-set historical novel *Salute to Adventurers*, London: T. Nelson and Sons. (1915).

[322] Grieves (1993), 533-534. Cf. H.D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in World War I*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press (1971). Reprint of 1927 editon. 206, 195-200.

[323] Grieves (1993), 535.

'the consequence of a widely diffused knowledge' on the part of the electorate. Consequently, the Commonwealth may respond to a crisis with one voice, 'because the component parts have thought out for themselves their own special problems and made their contribution to the discussion'.[324] For democracy to succeed, he believes, an electorate educated in the problems of the day is essential, and with regard to Augustus, education was vital. When discussing propaganda in relation to the British Empire, Buchan identifies a variety of propaganda methods as valuable. Syme, however, speaks disapprovingly of Augustus's use of propaganda to achieve victory. Even though it had ensured victory with 'but little shedding of blood', it had created the means of influencing opinion' to 'persuade men to accept the Principate and its programme,'[325] Lacking an effective opposition narrative, Syme is commenting, this had left Augustus as a 'monopolist' of truth.

Within *Augustus*, Buchan's analysis of Augustus's actions criticised by Syme above are discussed as the achievements of a Great Captain. What Syme identifies as unacceptable propaganda concerning the corn dole, Buchan identifies as never have been more than a subsistence and 'a necessary form of outdoor relief which could be amended but not terminated.' Similarly, 'the games and shows were … an attempt, almost obligatory, to give an under-employed populace something to think about.[326] Augustus, in Buchan's interpretation, respected this class, was concerned at the large numbers of Roman poor. He recognised that their large numbers were caused by the increase in slave population which resulted in all crafts being performed 'in house', leaving little employment for the ordinary working freeman. Augustus responded by attempted to protect the rights of the urban poor, such as by restricting the supply of slaves.[327] Buchan particularly draws attention to Emperor worship but identifies this as a means of providing a method of uniting a divided empire by focussing worship on himself as a universally recognised figure. In this he projects his concerns about the British Empire on to his depiction of Rome (See Section 4).

A third factor concerns the involvement of a historian's 'moral sense'. Syme rejects the narrative of historians whose accounts of the past express moral viewpoints. Any future

[324] John Buchan, 'Canada's Outlook on the World', in *Canadian Occasions.* Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd. (1940c), pp. 79-83 at 80.

[325] Syme (1939), 457-458.

[326] Buchan (1937), 261.

[327] Buchan (1937), 261.

atonement for the crimes and violence of Augustus's early career, for example, he considers not only irrelevant but a question for 'the moralist or casuist'.[328] Although Syme does not mention Buchan by name, or refer to *Augustus*, he rejects historical narratives which incorporate 'an estimate of the character and personality of the principal agent'. Such narratives, he concludes, permit apology on moral or emotional grounds.[329] Whilst Syme is suspicious of expressions of moral concern, morality is central to Buchan's approach owing to his Calvinist religious principles. This has major implications for his interpretation of motivations and the ideas he perceives in Augustus as a man he identifies as a Great Captain.

Nevertheless, Buchan's interpretation may be identified as flawed. As Haslett and Haslett point out, Stone implies in his review of *Julius Caesar* that Buchan attributed too little ambition and ruthlessness to Caesar and that modern scholars today make similar criticisms of *Augustus.*[330] In *Julius Caesar*, for example, Buchan speaks of Gaul as 'not only conquered but pacified'.[331] This turn of phrase fails to acknowledge, even conceals, the vast death toll in Gaul. Furthermore, as the recommended reading list for *Julius Caesar* reveals, despite efforts to incorporate the latest research, Buchan's secondary reading in the 1930s was somewhat dated.[332] Concerning Augustus, as Haslett and Haslett have identified, German research between 1900 and 1925 into prosopography, the study of the careers of individuals and members of individual families through inscriptions, strongly suggested that the old Roman aristocracy never recovered from the civil wars and proscriptions, and as a political force was virtually extinct by AD 70. Buchan had requested Hugh Last, Oxford Professor in Ancient History, to examine his manuscript and he ends his Preface thanking both Last and also Roberto Weiss. As Haslett and Haslett reveal, Last's lack of German language skills meant he had not understood the extent to which the Roman aristocracy had been marginalised by Augustus.[333] Similarly, referencing Syme's research, Haslett and Haslett

[328] Syme (1939), 4.

[329] Syme (1939), 113.

[330] Haslett and Haslett (2010), 25. Cf Syme's *The Roman Revolution* which is highly critical of Caesar.

[331] Buchan (2008), 58.

[332] Buchan (2008), 91-94. Most of these texts are pre-Great War, with many published in the nineteenth century. Rice Holme's *the Architect of the Roman Empire* (1928-1931), his *The Roman Republic and The Founder of Empire* and Stuart Jones's chapter 'Administration' in T*he Legacy of Rome* (1923) are his only post-Great War recommendations.

[333] Haslett and Haslett (2010), 25.

identify Buchan's erroneous 'cosy relationship' between Augustus's Imperial civil service and the Senate.[334]

Buchan's projects his ideas concerning the British Empire on to Rome. As Grieg notes, from the early 1930s Buchan was aware of the dangers posed by the success of Nazism in 1932 and by Fascism since 1922. This had a bearing on his novels *A Prince of the Captivity* (1933) and *The House of the Four Winds* (1935). The former references post-Great War alarms 'signalling the onset of Nazism.[335] As Ursula Buchan comments concerning the final paragraphs of *Augustus*:

> No-one at the time would have missed what [Buchan] was driving at: the similarities and the differences between Augustus and the European dictators of the 1930s, especially Mussolini.[336]

Clough did not miss the significance of Buchan's concluding comments. As he comments, 'in general the author has refrained nobly from making the past an excuse to preach about the present'. However, he then identifies the significance of Buchan's concluding sentence which emphasises how Augustus would be disdainful of those people who 'enslave themselves and … exult hysterically in their bonds'.[337]

Augustus, I would argue, forms a conscious projection of the social, religious and political values he holds concerning the democratic British Empire, and an expression of his concern regarding the threat of Fascism to it. Within his narrative he encodes a political message he is unable to openly express owing to his role as Governor General, concludes it with a polemic against (unnamed) modern states who have rejected the values of democracy, and ends with a statement that Augustus himself would hold such nations in contempt. These final paragraphs, I would argue, form a key to the interpretation of Buchan's selection of material in his description of the moral character and actions of Augustus. Within *Augustus,*

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[334] Haslett and Haslett (2010), 25.

[335] Grieg (2010), 13. Cf *A Prince of the Captivity.* London: T. Nelson and Sons (1933) and *The House of the Four Winds.* London: T. Nelson and Sons (1935).

[336] Ursula Buchan, *Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps: A Life of John Buchan*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing (2019), p. 361. As a member of the John Buchan Society, I have met and informally discussed this with Ursula Buchan, who assured me the family accepted that the concluding paragraphs of *Augustus* were an attack on Fascism.

[337] Clough (1938), 115-116.

this selected material and his final polemic form a work identifying the British Empire, not Fascism, as the successor to Rome.

4. Empire

This section concerns Buchan's projection of Buchan's idea of the British Empire on to Rome. It first reveals Buchan's discussion of the breakdown of the Republic and the four areas of reforms made by Augustus to regenerate Rome. These are the Constitution, the Senate and the administration of government, the attempted reform of the Assemblies, and Augustus's moral and spiritual reforms. Buchan's description of each of these reforms project his own perceptions of the British Empire onto Rome. This section also identifies the manner in which the notion of 'democracy' is embedded within *Augustus*, and the implied message Buchan encodes within his text, identifying the democratic British Empire, not Fascism, as the successor to Rome. It also considers Buchan's public addresses. Such consideration reveals not only his perception of a democratic British Empire but how, in a reversal of his reception of Rome, Buchan's public addresses urge his audiences, as members of the British Empire, to adopt the values the British Empire and, therefore those of ancient Rome, and not those of Fascism.

4.1 Buchan's Projection of the British Empire on to Rome

Buchan begins *Augustus* by reminding his audience how Rome had expanded over four centuries from a community of yeomen to the greatest city in Italy, but there 'had been no corresponding adjustment of her constitution'. Rome, he points out, 'still maintained the antique forms of the old city-state, forms continually transgressed or discarded, but still in theory inviolate'.[338] As Buchan depicts, the Roman Empire required constitutional reform, and a corresponding reform of the framework of government. Augustus's reforms may be conceived under the headings of the outward form of the Empire and its inner spirit.[339] In Buchan's estimation, even as a young man Augustus possessed a sense of his nation's continuity, and his plans for the future began from his perception of Rome's past:

[338] Buchan (1937), 26.

[339] Mierow (1939), 492.

> [Augustus] had in his bones the Roman sense of the past, and his mind … had been working back upon the long record of his people and striving to assess [in that past] the many elements upon which Rome's future depended.[340]

Buchan begins his analysis by noting that Augustus faced the challenge of not only avenging Caesar but also re-evaluating Caesar's plans for the Roman Empire's future. Caesar's 'great conception' was to 'decentralise, to establish local government in Italy as 'the beginning of a world-wide system' in which Rome was 'only the greatest among many great and autonomous cities' forming 'a universal Roman nation, [and] not a city with a host of servile provinces.' In this scheme 'the decadence of the Roman plebs would be redeemed by 'the virility of new peoples', and he 'dreamed of an Empire which would be one great Rome'.[341]

It was, Buchan declares, a great conception, and at first it attracted Augustus.[342] As he considered the scheme, however, he doubted its feasibility. Significantly, Buchan's interpretation stresses Augustus's desire to retain Rome's identity as a continuous nation and not abandon Roman's great historical past:

> He [Augustus] had in his bones the Roman sense of the past, and his mind in those quiet months had been working back on the long record of his people, and striving to assess the many elements upon which Rome's future depended. He saw behind him one of the little miracles of history.[343]

In Buchan's estimation, as well as necessity it was as much Augustus's conservative sentiment and respect for Rome's history that brought about his reaction to Caesar's dream.[344] Augustus, as the practical man whom Buchan considers a rational Great Captain, rejected dreams and only acted on ideas if they stood up to 'the test of reality'.[345] Rome was to be 'the heart and pulse of the empire' and 'on its well-being hung the future of the civilised world'.[346]

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[340] Buchan (1937), 25.

[341] Buchan (1937), 34, 205.

[342] Buchan (1937), 34.

[343] Buchan (1937), 25.

[344] Buchan (1937), 205.

[345] Buchan (1937), 339.

[346] Buchan (1937), 204.

Buchan's depiction of Augustus's rejection of a form of Greater Rome reflects Buchan's own personal rejection of the New Imperialist dream of Imperial Federation discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. Following the Boer War Buchan had been offered a post acting as one of Lord Milner's civil servants in South Africa.[347] Milner, 'had the instincts of a radical reformer' and 'centred all his interests on the service of the state' with 'a vision of the Good Life spread in a wide commonality'.[348] Like many other imperialists of that time Milner believed in federation. Buchan also accepted this at first:

> I dreamed of a world-wide brotherhood with the background of a common race and creed, consecrated to the service of peace; Britain enriching the rest out of her culture and traditions, and the spirit of the Dominions … I saw in the Empire a means of giving to the congested masses at home open country instead of a blind alley. I saw hope for a new [divine inspiration] in art and literature and thought. Our creed was … humanitarian and international; we believed we were laying the basis of a federation of the world.[349]

The policy was met with opposition from the Dominions, who desired greater autonomy. Buchan provides an example in his biography *Lord Minto* (1924). Minto, then Governor-General, informed the Colonial Office in 1903 that Canada was in 'a state of evolution' and that despite feelings of British sentiment among the English-speaking population, 'the strongest feeling among her people is that of Canadian nationality' with 'suspicion of imperial interference'.[350] Buchan records Chamberlain's fears that the consequence of the division of the Empire into autonomous Dominions would be a loss of significance and power for the Empire as a whole. Imperial unity, he held, was sits strength.[351]

As the Canadian historian William Galbraith confirms, Buchan had been a supporter of nationhood for the Dominions from early in the twentieth century.[352] Whilst Buchan passionately believed in the British Empire, he continued to reject Federation and supported

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[347] Buchan (1940g), 95.

[348] Buchan (1940g), 98.

[349] Buchan (1940g), 125.

[350] John Buchan, *Lord Minto: A Memoir*. Teddington, England: The Echo Library (2006), p.113.

[351] Buchan (2006), 113.

[352] Galbraith (2013), 31. Galbraith cites W. Forbes Gray 'Introduction' in W. Forbes Gray (ed) *Comments and Characters*, T. Nelson & Sons (1940), p. 95.

autonomous Dominion status for the white settled colonies (as defined by the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster, 1931). In his role as Governor General, Buchan's address 'The Monarchy and the Commonwealth identified the British Empire as 'a community of free nations … under one King.[353] Buchan thus projects his own concerns regarding the British Empire on to Rome and concludes that, for Augustus, reforms to the Roman constitution must, of necessity, reflect Rome's Republican past.

Concerning Augustus's reform of the Roman constitution, Buchan neatly redefines the term 'republic'. As Clough sharply comments regarding the moot point of whether Augustus did or did not restore the Republic in a meaningful way, '[h]e [Buchan] says rather curtly "what republic?"', and proceeds to discuss 'the possible (in 27 B.C.) meanings of the term.'[354] As Buchan points out, the 'old simple city-state' no longer functioned, and 'no antiquarian piety could have brought that to life again'. As 'his first task was to mend the political machine', constitutional reform was necessary. 'Good government' meant somehow combining autocracy with the preservation of the old Republican forms.[355] The result, Buchan concludes, was neither a monarchy nor a republic but a 'mixed constitution'.[356] Buchan identifies Augustus as having first restored what was still viable within the Roman Constitution in fact, not merely in form, and then adapting it to the post-civil war situation, creating something original.

Augustus, Buchan argues, preserved the republican institution where possible, but had then adapted this to 'a new executive purpose'.[357] In Buchan's account, Augustus technically restored the Constitution by returning authority to the people, which would subsequently grant him supreme power in that revised Republic.[358] In his opinion it was necessary that Augustus would need to formally preserve the ancient magistracies, and then appropriate their powers without appropriating the actual offices. In this way Augustus could rule as an

[353] Galbraith (2013), 31. Cf. John Buchan, 'The Monarchy and the Commonwealth' in *Canadian Occasions*, Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd. (1940h), 94-101 at 94. Address to Bishop's College, Lennoxville, June 1938.

[354] Clough (1938), 115. Cf. Buchan (1937), 150.

[355] Buchan (1937), 133, 134.

[356] Buchan (1937), 154.

[357] Clough (1938), 115-6.

[358] Buchan (1937), 149.

absolute ruler, with the consent of the people, without appearing to do so.[359] As Buchan comments, Tacitus identifies tribunician power as 'the real secret of Augustus's predominance.'[360] Buchan's position is therefore close to Tacitus' analysis.

Buchan's redefinition of the term 'Republic' is an original method of reconciling the difficulties inherent in the problems of whether Augustus did or did not restore the ancient constitution in fact, rather than merely in form as a supreme leader. Buchan justifies Augustus's actions because of the need to govern a rapidly expanding Empire and because the old Constitution was unfit for purpose. As Buchan accurately explains at some length, the Empire was now so extensive that it could no longer be preserved through the early Republic's volunteer citizen army and modest number of unpaid officials.[361] Buchan's redefinition of the term 'Republic', and his conviction that Augustus found a means to preserve Rome's past and restore it in a meaningful way, but in a modified form, conflicts with Syme's seminal reinterpretation in *The Roman Revolution* (1939).

Buchan acknowledges that the legal aspect of this reform of the Constitution was not the most vital concern. Augustus, he concedes, had won a status which laws could not limit, with his *auctoritas* as the dominating factor. The only alternative to supreme rule by one man was chaos. Augustus, prior to his final battle against Antony, had the senators, citizens and the army voluntarily swear their oath of allegiance not to Rome but to himself.[362] From the beginning Augustus rejected the title of 'King'[363] but was aware that sole authority was required. Augustus's power rested with his command of the army, and as Buchan admits, 'the cardinal fact of the principate' was that Augustus's legions throughout the empire took their military oath to him and obeyed him 'as their only sovereign'.[364]

Buchan's analysis projects his personal view of sovereignty in the British Empire on onto Rome to such an extent that the Classicist Susan Treggiari likens Buchan's

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[359] Buchan (1937), 134.

[360] Buchan (1937), 142. Buchan does not cite his source. In Book 1 of *Annals*, Tacitus writes that Augustus dropped the title of triumvir, 'giving out that he was a Consul and was satisfied with a tribune's authority for the protection of the people.' See Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome* (trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb). London: Penguin (2003), p. 5.

[361] Buchan (1937), 29-30.

[362] Buchan (1937), 115.

[363] Buchan (1937), 106.

[364] Buchan (1937), 155-156.

interpretation of Augustus to a constitutional monarch such as George V.[365] As Syme points out, Augustus had executive power, whilst the British monarch, as Buchan acknowledges in his address 'The Monarchy and the Commonwealth (1940), 'reigns but does not govern'.[366] In this address Buchan informs his audience the British Empire was governed through a hereditary monarchy which had endured for centuries, and evolved as necessary.[367] The monarchy in relation to the British Empire, he declares, serves two functions. First, in the same way that a father unites a family, the Throne united the 'family of nations' comprising the British Empire in shared memories and loyalties. In Buchan's opinion this same centre of continuity was provided by Augustus. In his address Buchan refers to '*Roma et Augustus*', identifying how it 'combined the majesty of Rome with his own person'. This formed part of Augustus's moral and spiritual programme of reform discussed in this section, below.

Buchan not only here connects British and Roman national continuity but points out that the modern Fascist states lacked such continuity. Germany had adopted the Nordic tradition and Italy the 'ancient majesty of Rome', but we in Britain, he declares 'did not have to invent', as our monarchy had passed continuously through all stages of development. Buchan then, for his audience, connects Augustus's position as ruler of Rome with the second function of the British Throne as the centre of imperial unity, in the same way as *Roma et Augustus*. As Parry identifies, Buchan firmly believed in the unifying function of kingship and acknowledges how Buchan's biography *The King's Grace* (1935), is a tribute to George V's ability to articulate national ideals and to heal divisions in society.[368] Buchan draws such strong parallels between Rome and the British Empire in *Augustus* that Treggiari is not mistaken in identifying the resemblance of Augustus to a British constitutional monarch.[369] Buchan's address 'The Monarchy and the Commonwealth' reveals that this is precisely his

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[365] Susan Treggiari 'Roman Social History: Recent Interpretations', in *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 8 (1975), pp. 149–164 at 151. Cf. G.A. Garcia Vivas, "'That Sickly and Sinister Youth': The First Considerations of Syme on Octavian as a Historical Figure" in *CADMIO* (*Centro de Historia da Universidade de Lisboa*) 24, pp 84-110. Lisbon: Coimbra University Press. (2014), p.100n47.

[366] Buchan (1940h), 95.

[367] Buchan (1940h), 96-97. Buchan points to the earliest days when the king was the finest warrior in battle. The Tudors, he continues, established a paternalist government to recover from the Wars of the Roses. With the Reformation paternalism 'became irksome' and when Charles I and James II did not recognise this a new parliamentary system was born which developed into modern democratic government.

[368] Parry (2003), 210. Cf. John Buchan, *The Kings Grace*. London: Hodder & Stoughton (1935).

[369] Treggiari (1975), 151. Cf. Garcia Vivas (2014), 100n47.

intention. As Parry notes, Buchan's address 'The Fortress of the Personality' (1940)[370] reveals Buchan's perception concerning the interconnectedness of the peoples of the British Empire, and his view that patriotism begins with family loyalties, memories and traditions, and extends to the neighbourhood and then to nation and the Empire.[371] Reflecting Lucas's notion of shared values discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry, Buchan here emphasises individuality of reasoned thought and how this will lead the responsible individual to support the democratic values of Empire. Buchan's emphasis is clearly focussed upon combatting the *de facto* power of Fascism in modern Italy rather than discussing the niceties of government in Rome, and Augustus's position as sovereign leader.

In Buchan's estimation it was imperative to Augustus that the Republic should be restored in some form or other, and that its symbol, the Senate, should also continue to accept its responsibilities.[372] This is partly based around the feasibility of what Augustus could persuade the Roman people to accept, and partly around concerns regarding the feasibility of governing Rome and the Empire.[373] In Buchan's judgement, Augustus realised that Caesar had turned the Senate into 'a farce', and that what was required, was a way to 'preserve the old forms and conciliate the aristocracy.'[374]

Buchan, when considering the British Empire and the Roman Empire under Augustus, imposes his own rejection of Federalism onto Augustus's own repudiation of Julius Caesar's plans for the future of Rome. Just as Buchan saw the future of the British Empire as centred on the metropole of London, so he identifies in Augustus the requirement that the Roman Empire's cities should be subordinate to Rome. As identified above in Section 3.1 this is founded on his conviction of the role of historical continuity in God's plan for the world, identified in 'The Great Captains' in which Augustus, as a Great Captain, had a part to play. This continuity is central to his political convictions concerning Britain the British Empire, as expressed in his essay 'A Note on Edmund Burke, and his rejection of Bolshevism as 'ahistoric', identified by Grieves in his review of Buchan's *History of the Great War.* When

[370] John Buchan, 'The Fortress of the Personality' in *Canadian Occasions*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd. (1940e), pp. 153-161 at pp 153-161. Address to University of Toronto, 27 November 1935.

[371] Parry (2003), 213.

[372] Buchan (1937), 35.

[373] Buchan (1937), 206. Augustus's conservative policy on Roman reconstruction meets with Buchan's clear approval

[374] Buchan (1937), 35.

discussing Augustus's constitutional reforms, therefore, Buchan is projecting his views of the British Empire on to Rome.

4.2 Buchan's Projection of the British Empire on to Government

Concerning the reform of the Senate, and 'good government' within the new form of Constitution, Buchan reveals his opinion that Augustus's intention was that Senate members, under his leadership, should exercise their Constitutional responsibilities. This involved member attending the Senate to debate political matters. Augustus hoped that, with his support, they would then form judgements on them. This would have enabled Augustus's new form of the Republican Constitution to function as he had hoped. Buchan concludes, however, that Augustus's efforts to enable the Senate to govern effectively were largely unsuccessful. As he points out, Augustus's task was 'less creation than conservation' of an institution which was 'the only body which represented the continuing identity of the Roman state … whose members had some experience of public service'.[375]

In Buchan's interpretation of Augustus's relationship with the Senate, as the traditional head of the Roman state Augustus acquired the office of consul, renewable by annual election, together with a seat on the tribune's bench. In this way he acquired the powers of a tribune required to govern the state, but without the appearance of perpetual dictatorship.[376] Buchan emphasises that the Principate was therefore neither a dictatorship nor a monarchy but a magnified tribuneship, based upon the past, which linked the Princeps with popular tradition.[377] The Senate was perceived by the People as the heart and soul of the Republic, but it had grown over-large over the previous century, and the quality of its members had declined. To reform the Senate and the aristocracy so they might successfully carry out their duties to the state, Augustus gained a special "potestas censoria" to enable him to carry out a census of the people, identify suitable future Senators and then refresh the Senate and the patriciate from Roman plebeian stock.[378] With the Senate reduced in numbers

[375] Buchan (1937), 214-7. As Buchan explains here, the Senate had replaced the Assembly as a legislative authority, had extensive judicial powers and had charge of the public finances. A functioning Senate was thus a necessity.

[376] Buchan (1937), 140-141.

[377] Buchan (1937), 142.

[378] The term 'plebeian' does not automatically imply a lower-class status, and many families of high status came from plebeian stock. Syme expresses concern with the decline of the senatorial class and the promotion of non-

and revitalised in quality Augustus could share the burden of the management of the Empire with its members, as representative of all that was best in the Roman tradition. It was Augustus himself, however, who would judge the efficacy of their work.[379]

In Buchan's estimation, the Senate had now gained a substantial share in the responsibility for government, and Buchan identifies two main principles involved in Augustus' decision. First, whilst it refreshed the Senate, it also incorporated the best of the traditional aristocracy. Second, it was wholly Roman, and with non-Roman members purged from the Senate, Rome was established in the eyes of its imperial subjects as the centre of power.[380] In consequence of Augustus' reforms the authority of the Senate was, in Buchan's interpretation, real and not illusory.[381] Buchan is emphatic that 'the Senate was more than a constitutional monarch reigning and not governing'.[382] The structure Augustus set up was not, in the common sense of the word, a monarchy.[383] Instead, Augustus had succeeded in formally combining the essence of the Republic with the demands of Empire, and in a form into which it had been slowly evolving since the days of the Gracchi.[384] Furthermore, the structure he established would be reviewed after a ten-year period, as he intended his system to develop and evolve in ways which reflected the traditions of Rome together with the practical needs of the Empire.[385]

Within that relationship, however, Augustus's power was executive, legal and judicial, 'but principally the first'.[386] Concerning that executive power in Rome, Buchan describes in detail the development of an efficient imperial civil service from the foundations laid by Julius Caesar. Augustus had appropriated the powers of the ancient magistracies. The magistracies then became increasingly dependent on the executive, that is upon Augustus and

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traditional families into the elite. For example, citing Juvenal 3.60 he comments that Juvenal mocked pedigrees but 'did not dare deride the new nobility'. His poem is, as Syme comments, 'a lament for the decline of aristocratic *virtus.* See Syme (1939), 490.

[379] Buchan (1937), 142-143.

[380] Buchan (1937), 143.

[381] Buchan (1937). 151-2.

[382] Buchan (1937), 152.

[383] Buchan (1937), 155.

[384] Buchan (1937), 153.

[385] Buchan (1937), 153.

[386] Buchan (1937), 128.

his civil service.[387] Such an interpretation is open to debate. Two of Buchan's public addresses in Canada reveal tensions within his argument. Buchan comments in his address The Civil Service' that 'The Roman Empire as created by Augustus owed its success to the highly competent Civil Service which he established' as '[a] popular assembly cannot administer a State.'[388] In his address 'The Service of the State', Buchan describes extensive the British civil service system during the interwar period, comprising the home Civil Service and the Indian and Colonial Services. He identifies its origins in the eighteen century, two hundred years' previously and how, in the mid-twentieth century, the British Colonial Service selected its members 'in an elaborate system of cross-bearings.'[389] The twentieth-century organisation was clearly a vast, complex organisation. Yet in 'The Civil Service' he criticises the too-powerful civil service of the later Roman Empire.[390] There is a marked tension Buchan's parallels drawn between a complex British system formed two hundred years previously and the newly-established, evolving civil service of the early Roman Empire.

It was Buchan's opinion that the Principate and the Senate, as a public duty, should work collaboratively.[391] In *Memory Hold-the-Door* Buchan expresses the view, when discussing his plans to enter parliament, that all citizens of a country had a duty to find some form of public service.[392] In 'The Service of the State' Buchan praises honourable careers in public service as a form of public duty, however poorly paid, in either the civil service or Parliament.[393] Augustus's partnership with Senators carrying out such a public duty failed, in Buchan's opinion, for two reasons.

Buchan argues that first, following the Social Wars and the Civil War the Senate as a body had 'lost corporate vitality' so that Senate members, in his opinion, were 'inclined to be captious and childish and to shirk their duties'. They failed to attend Senatorial meetings to

[387] Buchan (1937), 217.

[388] John Buchan, 'The Civil Service', in *Canadian Occasions.* Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd. (1940d) pp. 90-93 at 90-91. Address at the Civil Service Dinner, Ottawa, 7 October 1937.

[389] John Buchan, The Service of the State" in *Canadian Occasions*, Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd. (1940j), pp. 71-78 at 72. Address to University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, , December 1936.

[390] Buchan (1940d), 91.

[391] Buchan (1937), 215.

[392] Buchan (1940g), 144.

[393] Buchan (1940j), 75-78. Address to University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, December 1936.

such an extent that Augustus imposed fines for non-attendance.[394] Second were the vast number of executive tasks which only the Principate could carry out, through the powers appropriated from the magistracies and now carried out through newly formed civil service. While Augustus might refer questions of foreign policy to the Senate, as the supreme commander of the army all final decisions rested with the Principate.[395] This, as Buchan acknowledges, had always been an impossible task. As he points out, Augustus had accepted powers which resulted in a multitude of tasks that only he, the Princeps, could perform. Treggiari's comment, noted above, identifies Buchan's interpretation of Augustus's intentions.

While Buchan expresses disappointment and dissatisfaction with Augustus's failure to reform the Senate, his public addresses reveal his disappointment with British politics. As Parry confirms, significant features of Buchan's work were his faith and his conception of political leadership.[396] Parry identifies how Buchan became frustrated with the way the British political system operated. Although he applauded the developing British democracy, Parry notes how Buchan, in his address 'A University's Bequest to Youth', remained hostile in his attitude if augmenting state power resulted in increased bureaucracy.[397] Parry especially considers Buchan's frustration with the National Government, and notes his view that 'it contained many men of little ability and narrow sympathies' and many Liberals who had been included for no other purpose than coalition balance.[398] Parry also reveals how Buchan, at a time of international crisis, was concerned about the isolationism and protectionism of western democracies. He left for Canada 'grieved by the mediocrity of the British political leaders' and the threat posed by Nazism, which threatened to mobilise nations to defend liberal values.[399] This indicates how Buchan projected these frustrations on to Augustus who, in his depiction, shared the same frustrations.

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[394] Buchan (1937), 215.

[395] Buchan (1937), 151.

[396] Parry (2003), 210.

[397] Parry (2003), 211. Cf. Buchan (1940k), 125-6.

[398] Parry (2003), 232. Cf. Janet Adam Smith (1965), 325. Parry also reveals that Buchan found Neville Chamberlain's leadership 'uninspiring, inflexible and indecisive. Cf. Letter to Mrs Grosvenor, 30 April, 1o36, Buchan MSS Box 7, and letter to Violet Markham, 28 December 1938, Buchan MSS Box 10.

[399] Parry (2003), 233-4.

The Senate, under the authority of the Princeps, would govern, but their decisions would require an extensive administrative machine. The equestrians formed a 'middle class'. Buchan depicts their new function as officials in the administration of the now vast Roman empire. This class, in Buchan's opinion, formed the backbone of the Augustan civil service[400] and offered 'the able youth a brilliant career' so that 'the empire at its most prosperous stage was ruled by the upper middle class.' Buchan identifies the reform of this class, and the creation of a state administrative machine as Augustus's greatest achievement.[401]

Buchan's perception of Augustus's reform of Rome's government is clearly a projection of his own admiration for those in the modern world who undertook public service in the British Empire. As Parry reveals, Buchan's faith led to the conviction that the duty of man was to develop a sense of individual responsibility which lies at the heart of civilisation.[402] Buchan's address 'The Civil Service'[403] reveals how this sense of responsibility finds expression in public service. Here, projecting this value on to Augustan Rome, he praises Augustus for his creation of the 'highly competent' Roman civil service which 'remained for centuries the true cement of Rome.' He identifies its necessity in a constitutional democracy and praises the British Colonial Service and the young men who administer the Empire in the tropics. He concludes that although the rewards are not as great as those in commercial and financial careers its distinction lies in service to the Empire. His earlier address 'In the Service of the State'[404] urges talented young people to take up some form of public service as a duty to the state, whether in the civil service or government.

4.3 Buchan's Projection of the British Empire onto Rome's Assemblies

Buchan identifies Augustus's partial successes in the reform of the Senate, and his achievement concerning the function of the middle classes within the state. However, he identifies a greater problem. This was how to inspire the plebeian class to take up their role in the functioning of the state in an act of individual responsibility. As Buchan points out,

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[400] For a modern interpretation see P. A. Brunt, 'Princeps and Equites', *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol 73, pp. 42-75.

[401] Buchan (1937), 212-213. Buchan had, as noted above, failed to take into account the way this new civil service appropriated powers from the Senate.

[402] Parry (2003), 213.

[403] Buchan (1940d), 90-93.

[404] Buchan (1940j), 71-78.

according to Republican theory the People 'issued commands' and the Senate 'put these commands into official resolutions'. When Augustus assumed power, however, the Assemblies, where this occurred, were more 'forms than realities.'[405] As such, they were of little interest to the general population. Buchan attributes this to the prevalence of slave labour within households which would otherwise employ free Roman artisans and workmen who, deprived of the ability to prosper failed to engage with Roman affairs.[406] Buchan compares the Assemblies with the British Accession Council, both being 'an antiquarian relic without serious functions'.[407]

After describing the 'rights' of the Roman plebs, Buchan describes Augustus's attempts to awaken the populace to their constitutional 'duties', including his attempt to divide the city into districts and municipalities, with the aim of providing, in the latter, 'some kind of elective local government.' This, in Buchan's opinion, reveals Augustus's intention to create an interest in public affairs in the Roman people[408] and, within limits, of inducing them to exercise the franchise and take on 'an organic function in the state'.[409] As Buchan comments, the major obstacle was the originality of the idea, within the ancient world, of the concept of the freedom to reflect on matters and to elect a man to represent their concerns. Such a Representative could understand their ideas and thoughts and represent them to those in authority. Roman plebeians could understand delegation, but not the concept of voting for a man in whom they could have confidence. As Buchan notes, 'Burke's famous doctrine would have seemed wholly unintelligible.'[410] Although Augustus began by attempting to use the Assembly as a legislative body, he was later was forced to abandon the plan.

Buchan also discusses Augustus's desire that the people of Italy as a whole should also reflect on political matters and exercise their vote. Whilst the Assemblies of the Curies and the Centuries proved impossible to reform, Buchan expresses the opinion that Augustus hoped that 'something might be done with the Assembly of the Tribes'. This, he judges, probably failed because of the distances involved in transporting the ballot boxes.[411] Buchan

[405] Buchan (1937), 151.

[406] Buchan (1937), 207-208.

[407] Buchan (1937), 210.

[408] Buchan (1937), 210.

[409] Buchan (1937), 211.

[410] Buchan (1937), 211.

[411] Buchan (1937), 210-211.

here reflects on Augustus's attempts at setting up an elementary form of modern democracy as he defines the term and the impossibility, however much Augustus desired it, of creating within Rome a democratic government in the modern sense. Augustus's ideas for the Assembly, Buchan concludes, failed and the Assemblies slowly lapsed. Augustus, Buchan informs his audience, began by using it as a legislative body but 'dropped the habit'.[412]

With regard to Buchan's judgement that Augustus had attempted to bring about a form of democracy, his reference to Burke is significant. When discussing those who would be elected to represent the people is a projection of Buchan's early declaration of the ideal democratic system expressed in his essay 'A Note on Edmund Burke' (1926).[413] Here, Buchan, discusses the role of the Member of Parliament in the past and in the present day, and identifies Burke's interpretation of a parliamentary representative as one who represents the views of the voter rather than, as in the modern British Empire, the views of a political party. In a comment which reflects his later frustrations with the operation of the parliamentary system, he critiques the development of the role of a Member of Parliament to represent the views of his party rather than the views of his constituents. Buchan, acknowledging the change, ends his essay stating 'I would rather be governed by Burke's kind of representative; but if I cannot have him I am willing to trust myself to the plain man who … does the world's work.'[414] It is significant that, when analysing Augustus's attempted reforms of the Assemblies, Buchan discusses the failure in terms of the inability of the Roman citizen to grasp the role of the representative who would express the views of the electorate. Buchan has clearly identified Augustus as attempting to create the earlier British imperial democracy which, in turn, evolved into the modern party-political system. If Augustus's reforms of the Assemblies had succeeded, he would have created an Assembly representing the views of the individual plebeian voters who would have reflected on the issues of the day, then cast their ballot regardless of pressure or propaganda from politicians.

These attempted reforms of the Assemblies are connected with Augustus's campaign for moral and spiritual regeneration. Augustus wished to induce each Roman citizen to accept their role, however small, in the government and administration of the state, and his 'moral

[412] Buchan (1937), 212. Buchan comments that in the first twenty years of Augustus's principate the Assembly passed twenty-one laws but passed only four in the second.

[413] Buchan (1926c), 111-132.

[414] Buchan (1926c), 132.

and religious regeneration' would inspire a sense of individual moral and social responsibility in the people of Rome. He especially identifies in Augustus the desire to create a sense of personal responsibility in the Roman people so that they might participate in Government. That this is a projection of his perception of the ideal British democracy is especially noticeable in personal political identification with Burke's notion of a 'representative' to present to the government the views of his constituents, rather than to represent those of a governing political party. This is the electoral system which he argues is that attempted by Augustus, and his conclusion that this is the position desired by Augustus resonates with his frustrations with the British government, where that 'representative's party demanded the loyalty to the party line rather than the wishes of the majority of his constituents.

These attempted reforms of the Roman Assemblies are also connected with Augustus's campaign for moral and spiritual regeneration. Similarly, they form projections of Buchan's political ideas. Augustus wished to induce each Roman citizen to accept their role, however small, in the government and administration of the state, and his 'moral and religious regeneration' would inspire a sense of individual moral and social responsibility in the people of Rome.

4.4 Augustus's Spiritual and Moral Rejuvenation of Rome

Augustus first acted to rejuvenate public worship. Alongside a plethora of less important Olympian deities, three major Italian divinities were Jupiter, Juno and Minerva and worship in Rome was a civic function and a public duty so that Rome might prosper. To revive public worship Augustus restored a number of old temples and built new ones and ensured the Roman poets revived the deities in the public imagination.[415] He also preserved and encouraged private worship of lesser deities, such as the *Lares compitales* of the urban poor.[416] Augustus's campaign also awakened the Roman citizens to their historic legacy through the work of the Roman poets and authors. Ovid's *Fasti* told readers of old religious practices and beliefs. Livy related the ancient glories of Rome. The new poets such as Horace and Virgil connected the past and the future.[417] As noted in the Introduction to this case study

[415] Buchan (1937), 270.

[416] Buchan (1937), 270-271.

[417] Buchan (1937), 272-273. Horace 'gave poetry to those not ordinarily sensitive to poetry, and a philosophy of conduct to those who fought shy of philosophies'. Virgil gave Rome a sense of pride and hopefulness,

Buchan's narratives were highly popular and, as noted above. Reviewers of *Augustus* had identified how accessible his narratives were and expressed the hope that his texts would reach a wide audience (see Section 1). Buchan's inclusion of the most widely read Roman literature reinforces the view that Buchan, as someone embedding an implied message into his narrative, hoped for a wider readership than the narrower, academic audience.[418]

Above all, however, Buchan identifies how Augustus desired to find 'a universal object of devotion'. In Rome there was no such tradition. His solution was *Roma et Augustus*. The worship of Augustus as a god throughout the Empire absorbed local traditions, enabling the same notion to be expressed differently in the Empire's cities and nations. Each town, and each nation, adapted their own traditions to emperor worship and so continued with their own proud traditions and simultaneously acknowledged the supremacy of Rome within the Empire, and of the Princeps as supreme authority in Rome.[419] In Rome, Buchan concludes, Augustus 're-created a soul which was fast dying, and left an ideal to which the best of men were to cling for many generations.'[420]

Buchan's interpretation of Augustus's emperor-worship as a means of uniting the Roman people reflects Buchan's own ability simultaneously to support allegiance to London as the metropolitan centre of the Empire, and also to Scotland and his Scottish roots. This enabled him to support both the unity of the Empire as an entity and the autonomy of individual Dominion within that empire.

As the Buchan scholar David Goldie identifies,[421] Buchan's position as someone with loyalty to both Scotland and England gave him a capacity for identifying and then sympathising with two nations simultaneously. This, as Goldie points out, did not create a divided loyalty but created instead what Buchan himself called 'twin loyalties'.[422] As Goldie

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[418] Syme's *The Roman Revolution* is also an accessible text which, whilst it acknowledges ancient sources, has a more approachable style.

[419] Buchan (1937), 279-283.

[420] Buchan (1937), 283. Rome, he continues, 'could not keep up the high levels to which he and his poets had led it. *Accidie* returned and material prosperity weakened … there was soon a satiety with high endeavour …'

[421] David Goldie, 'Twin Loyalties: John Buchan's England' in Kate Macdonald (ed) *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps*. London: Routledge. (2010), pp 29-39.

[422] Goldie (2010), 29, 30. As Goldie reveals., while Buchan desired that Scotland maintained its cultural identity, much of his attention focussed on England which 'had provided him' with his higher education and had become his home. See Goldie (2010), 30-31, 34.

comments this reflects what the critic Patrick Wright describes as the search for a 'Deep State', a form of 'invisible heritage' that is shared between 'true members of the ancestral nation.'[423] Goldie points out that this notion of 'twin loyalties' permeates Buchan's fiction. Richard Hannay, for example, is both a South African Scot and an Englishman. Buchan's work constantly emphasises union and homogeneity, in the form of the common historical and cultural bonds that hold together the English-speaking peoples. Simultaneously, national differences and discrete national identities are valued and celebrated. Consequently, as Goldie notes, Buchan has the capacity to both embrace imperialism and urge imperial unity whilst actively cultivating Canada's sense of nationhood with its own distinct history and culture.[424]

This depiction of Augustus' emperor-worship, as discussed above concerning Augustus's desire to retain Rome as the centre of the Empire, reflects Buchan's own view of the British Empire united under one King. Just as Buchan identifies the British Empire through the lens of twin loyalties, so Buchan depicts Rome, in the words of Aelius Aristides, as 'an empire made up of cities'; 'what each city is to its own land … Rome is to the whole world'.[425] That Augustus's vision of Rome, for Buchan, stood the test of time is seen in Buchan's quotation from Marcus Aurelius: '[a Roman] is a citizen of a supreme city in which other cities are like houses.'[426]

Buchan's depiction of Augustus's success in uniting the citizens of the Empire in support of Rome, reflects Buchan's personal concerns for unity within the British Empire. As Galbraith reveals, Buchan arrived in Canada at an exceptional moment. The Canadian government in domestic affairs was gaining in scope and size owing to the contributions of the provincial governments, so that Canada's domestic policy was increasingly in its own hands.[427] Its foreign policy, however, was less certain, as became clear in Italy's invasion of Abyssinia in 1935. Canada, as a member of the League of Nations, had to formulate its

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[423] Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain.* London: Verso (1985), pp. 81–7. Cf. Goldie (2010), 34.

[424] Goldie (2010), 30, 36, 37.

[425] Buchan does not cite a reference.

[426] Buchan (1937), 206. Buchan is citing *Med.*, iii.12.

[427] Galbraith (2013), 44. As Galbraith notes, prior to confederation Britain had been the primary source of financing the building of bridges, railways and canals, rather than the Canadian national government.

foreign policy following the Statute of Westminster (1931) which gave the Dominions the right to do so.[428]

During his time as Governor-General Buchan constantly emphasised the need, not only for Canadian citizens to form a sense of community,[429] but for the Dominions also to unite in support of the Empire. He hoped that the developments in transportation and communication would 'advance the unity of the Commonwealth'.[430] This need for a unified response, for example, was needed 'to maintain unity within the League of Nations'.[431] Similarly, a unified response by the Dominions in wartime was equally important, and not only with regard to Abyssinia, as noted above. It had been important during the Great War in which, as Galbraith points out, 'the British Empire had fought as one'.[432] Unity would be equally important during World War II. Buchan wrote of the subsequent Balfour Report[433] that Balfour had seen the 'inevitable development of the Empire' and that the Imperial Conference leading up to the Statute of Westminster was 'the most important event in the history of the Empire'. As Galbraith comments that this reveals Buchan's support for Dominion autonomy in foreign affairs.[434] Nevertheless, Buchan equally supported Dominion unity in times of crisis.

That concern grew with Buchan's growing fears regarding European Fascism. As Galbraith reveals, Buchan did not discount another European war and had identified the

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[428] Galbraith (2013), 44. As Margaret Macmillan identifies, at the Treaty of Versailles Canada and other Dominion nations had demanded the right to attend. As Macmillan reveals, the British establishment were taken by surprise at this demand. See Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World.* London: John Murray (2001). Prior to the Status of Westminster, foreign policy was in the hands of the British government. Following the Statute, it lay in the hands of the Dominions.

[429] Galbraith (2013) 17.

[430] Galbraith (2013), 113.

[431] Galbraith (2013), 117. Unity was especially desired during times of war, as the Chanak incident of 1922 had revealed. When the British Government had committed troops to defend the Dardanelles from the revolutionary government of Kemal Ataturk in 1922, the Canadian government informed the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, that in the event of Canadian involvement the Canadian Government would need to authorise the commitment of troops. See Galbraith (2013), 34.

[432] Galbraith (2013), 33.

[433] This Report, led by Arthur Balfour, the former Prime Minister, resulted from the 1929 Imperial Conference and led to the Statute of Westminster 1931.

[434] Galbraith (2013), 35.

possible scenarios which would bring this about.[435] Galbraith points to Buchan's address in autumn 1936 to the inaugural meeting of the Western Canada Association of Canadian Bookmen. This emphasised the dangers from the 'violent ideologies' spreading through Europe. Buchan reiterated his conviction that the Classical tradition which encouraged thinking that demanded a 'keen alert mind with an edge on it' was antithetical to Fascism and communism. These ideologies employed in a loose manner political phrases and slogans which 'dulled the mind'.[436] His annual addresses to the Boy Scouts Association, Galbraith confirms, grew progressively more explicit as the dangers grew.[437]

Augustus, it may be seen, reveals parallels between ancient Rome and the modern British Empire, in which Buchan projects on to Rome his perceptions of the democratic British Empire. This democracy is emphasised in *Augustus.* Writing of the British democratic Empire he states that 'our constitution is named a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many', whilst 'our law secures equal justice for all and welcomes excellence in all branches of achievement, not for any class reason, but on grounds of excellence alone.'[438] Buchan refers to Augustus's reforms as being not merely to bring order but to attempt to ensure that each citizen played their part in the government of the state by reflecting on political matters, then casting their ballot to make their voice heard. Similarly, Augustus is depicted as supporting the poets and writers of Rome in encouraging reflective thinking. Projecting this notion of democracy on to Rome, Buchan refers to how, before Augustus came to power, the Senate's attention was divided. Whilst it had to administer the Empire, it was also preoccupied with 'curbing the new democracy':[439] that is, the Senate was involved in political battles between the old, conservative aristocracy and those who wished for reform, whom Buchan identifies as 'democrats'. He also refers to Caesar's rule as 'the Caesarian military democracy'[440] Before discussing Buchan's anti-Fascist message

[435] Galbraith (2013), 118. An attack on British territory, he was certain, would result in the Dominions uniting in support of Britain as they had in 1914. He also identified the possibilities of a direct threat to Belgium or the Netherlands ('Britain's front door') and an unprovoked attack on France. Cf. Tweedsmuir to Caroline Grosvenor in London, September 16, 1936, PB, LAC.

[436] Galbraith (2013), 359.

[437] Galbraith (2013), 387.

[438] Buchan (1937), 340.

[439] Buchan (1937), 29.

[440] Buchan (1937), 95.

supporting the British Empire which he encodes into *Augustus,* it is useful to examine how Buchan embeds his notion of democracy into his narrative.

4.5 Democracy and Buchan's Implied Message Within *Augustus*

Augustus incorporates a wide range of primary and secondary sources within the text, including those of Mommsen;[441] they are relatively short, as are most quotations from secondary sources. During the time Buchan studied at Oxford, where the historian A. H. J. Greenidge was Buchan's Greats Tutor, Roman studies largely comprised discussions of the work of Mommsen.[442] Both these historians, together with Gibbon, were influential in Buchan's thinking.[443] It would not be unexpected for Buchan to have cited these historians extensively. Buchan, however, especially privileges the American Classical scholar Tenney Frank's narratives. His short, infrequent reference to Mommsen and Greenidge contrast with two extensive quotations by Frank.[444]

Frank follows the lead of Mommsen, defining the political strife of the Republic's final century in terms of a struggle between the conservative 'Optimates' and the reforming 'Populares'. As Catherine Hall explains Whig historians have consistently been concerned with the preservation of law and individual liberty, and their histories relate a tale of peaceful progress and reform. Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press This is consistent with Buchan's emphasis on British history's continuity and the historical development of democracy, law and order.

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[441] See Buchan (1937), 94, 106, 155.

[442] Mommsen dominated scholarship at the time Buchan and Syme were writing their versions of the life of Augustus. See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, 'Syme's Revolution', *London Review of Books*, vol 2, no. 1 (1980).

[443] Haslett and Haslett (2010), 5.

[444] See Buchan (1937), 349-40. cf. Tenney Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*. Ontario, Canada: Batoche Publishing (2004), pp. 260-261. Reprint of 1927 revised edition. Online edition at https://socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/~econ/ugcm/3ll3/FrankTenney/EcHistRome.pdf accessed 26 June 2021. Accessed 30 June 2020); Buchan (1939), 278. Cf. Tenney Frank, *Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (1932), 63. Buchan cites the former when discussing Augustus's political reforms concerning the government and administration of Rome and the Empire, and the latter when considering Augustus's social reforms concerning the moral and spiritual welfare of the people of Rome.

Buchan follows Mommsen and Frank by employing the terms 'democracy' and 'democratic' with reference to the ancient world in both 'The Muse of History'[445] and both *Julius Caesar* [446] and *Augustus.*[447] When discussing 'democracy' in the context of ancient Rome it is important to understand what Buchan means by 'democracy'. Buchan's definition of 'democracy' is very precise and is discussed extensively in his essay 'A Note on Edmund Burke' (1926). Here he identifies democracy as 'the rule of the majority of the citizens of a country', with each citizen 'counting as one and no more.' This is consistent with his identification of Augustus's attempt to give each individual in the state a function in the government of Rome [448] Buchan concludes his essay by stating Burke's notion of a Representative being someone who represents his electors, and not a party.[449] Buchan's interpretation of Augustus's reforms as to emphasise a desire to induce individual thinking in the Roman population may be recognised as a projection of Buchan's own personal conception of 'democracy'. Consequently, it is unsurprising that Buchan should incorporate within *Augustus* Frank's parallels between the ancient and modern worlds.

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[445] Buchan reminds his audience that to Mommsen Rome was 'the greatest of imperialisms and the truest of democracies', although he acknowledges that in the case of the Senate Mommsen's view requires correction. See Buchan (1926b), 100.

[446] Concerning Rome's history Buchan describes the efforts of Tiberius Gracchi to 'build his authority on the popular Assembly' but that 'no serious democracy could be based on what had become a farcical piece of mechanism.' The young Julius Caesar may have 'once dreamed of a Periclean democracy in Rome', a government of the Many who should also be the Best,' but that it was impossible in 'the cesspool of Romulus.' Consequently, the conditions for 'a Periclean democracy' were wanting. Buchan (2008), 90-10, 20, 66.

[447] Buchan writes concerning Rome as a young democracy that 'the Senate, with the twin tasks of administering an Empire and curbing the new democracy, failed in both.' Polybius, he writes, had identified in the Roman constitution 'an adroit mingling of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy' in the roles of the Senate, the Assembly and the Tribunes. Buchan also identifies a 'Caesarian military democracy'. Augustus, Buchan notes, attempted to give every class a function in the state, but that after him Rome had to wait for many centuries until it was revived as 'a principle of democracy'. And Augustus, as a man who supported the idea of democracy as the fact of every individual having a function in the administration of the state, would have approved of Pericles' definition of democracy as the constitution being 'in the hands not of the few but of the many'. Buchan (1937), 29, 32, 95, 340-341.

[448] Buchan (1937), 339-340.

[449] Galbraith (2013), 31. This is consistent with Buchan's view of democracy, identified by Galbraith, as a personal spiritual position rather than a political structure

A review of Frank's *Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome* (1932) reveals how Frank employs powerful parallels between the ancient and modern worlds.[450] Frank's *Economic History of Rome up to the end of the Republic* (1920) is especially important when considering Buchan's implicit political message identifying Augustan Rome as the precursor to a democratic British empire. Concerning early Roman history, for example, regarding the year 287 BCE Frank identifies how plebeians of the early Republic used their power to achieve the franchise in legislation so that Rome, in addition to the Greek city states, provides a further example of 'pure democracy'.[451]

Frank's subsequent argument concerns the use of that franchise by the Roman people to form a democratic Republic. He especially praises the 'democratic' reforms of Gaius Gracchus, and Crassus and Caesar as 'young democratic leaders' who 'wished to gain control of [their] Party before Pompey came to assume that leadership'.[452] By contrast, Frank comments, the Senate, fearing that Pompey would favour democratic ideas, was anxious to retain power for itself.[453] As Frank points out, there was no economic crisis at the time, and yet anxiety in Rome about the future was growing, with the Senate and the people increasingly recognising that it would be civil strife that decided Rome's future. As Frank interprets this anxiety, this battle was between democracy and oligarchy.[454] Buchan, by incorporating into his narrative Frank's parallels into his account of the subsequent civil strife in Rome, implicitly identifies Augustan Rome as the precursor to western democratic civilisation rather than Fascism. Buchan implicitly rejects the notion that Augustus' rule

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[450] H.M. 'Review: Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome' in *Journal of Roman Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 24 September. (1932), pp. 265-6. published online 24 September 2012 at https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-roman-studies/article/abs/tenney-frank-aspects-of-social-behavior-in-ancient-rome-martin-classical-lectures-vol-ii-cambridge-mass-harvard-university-press-1932-pp-x-155-10s-6d/A97E631D9BB3A28E005FB4CC73A7EE09 Accessed 4 August, 2021.

[451] Tenney Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*. Ontario, Canada: Batoche Publishing. (2004), p. 28. Reprint of 1927 revised edition. The idea of Rome as a democracy was revived by Fergus Millar: *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (1988). See also, for example, Fergus Miller, 'Princeps and Equites', *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983), pp, 42-75.

[452] Regarding progressive enfranchisement, Frank comments that though it had previously been an aristocratic policy, it came to be associated with Gaius Gracchus; concerning the contract system Frank identifies Gracchus as 'too much of a democrat to comprehend why the Greek cities … should go immune while the peasants continued to pay the old stipend. See Frank (2004), 92-93, 80.

[453] Frank (2004), 98-99.

[454] Frank (2004), 98-99.

formed part of an oligarchy, in direct contradiction to Syme's view that all governments are oligarchies. Instead, he projects his interpretations of the term 'democracy' and his judgements about the development of democracy in the British Empire, onto ancient Rome.

Concerning the failure of Augustus's attempts to impose such democratic ideas on Rome, especially through his depiction of the reform of the Assemblies, Buchan agrees with Frank that the Roman artisans had been impoverished because personal services and the making of artifacts had been by domestic slaves rather than freemen.[455] This dominance of slavery created a lack of a feeling of involvement in the governing of Rome and a lack of interest in political affairs, and a subsequent failure to exercise their vote.[456] Buchan's conflation of Classics and Calvinism, and the impact of this on his view of political activism as a form of public service, is projected on to Augustus's recognition of the social and economic needs of Rome, his efforts to ensure the moral and spiritual regeneration of the Roman people and the continuity of the Republican traditions. This may be seen in his extensive quotation from Frank's *Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome* concerning the future failure of Augustus's efforts by his successors long after his death. Buchan, citing Frank, comments that future Emperors did not, as did Augustus, 'comprehend even the elementary and social needs of the Empire'. Augustus had created emperor-worship to unite the Empire through incorporating local traditions into *Roma et Augustus.* His successors did not, however, remain unaware of the power of ancient Roman tradition.[457] In an interpretation of ancient Rome Buchan projects on to Augustus the role of the Great Captain who played his part as the man who succeeded Augustus, in ensuring Rome's survival. This, in turn, ensured both that Christianity might thrive, spread throughout the Roman world, and that the legacy of the ancient world should not be lost. In *Julius Caesar*, speaking of Caesar's role in this plan, Buchan writes:

> Caesar, by his conquests, staved of the descent of the outland hordes, while by his internal reforms he kept the danger from the urban mob within bounds … he gave the world a long breathing space, and thereby ensured that the legacy of both Greece and

[455] Frank (2004), 142. See also, Buchan (1937), 207-209.

[456] Buchan (1937), 210-211.

[457] Buchan (1937), 240.

> Rome should be so interwoven with the fabric of men's minds that it should never perish.[458]

As identified in the Introduction to this case study, Buchan, as Governor-General and the King's representative, could not openly comment on leaders of other nations. Nevertheless, *Augustus* not only acts as a conclusion to *Julius Caesar* but also carries an implied message to his audience. *Augustus* ends, as Clough recognises,[459] with an extended comment on the Europe of the 1930s. In pages entitled 'The Perspective of History' and 'Law and Liberty', Buchan comments that, should Augustus's *magna imago* return to earth, he would be puzzled 'by some of our experiments in Empire' after his efforts to bring peace and order to Rome. He had fought in war but 'hated the thing'. He had appreciated 'the wisdom of Julius's liberalism' and would be 'perplexed by the modern passion for regimentation and the assumed contradiction between law and liberty.' Augustus had emphasised the first of necessity but laboured to preserve the second, and would sadly admit that Roman people, '[b]eing too much governed had forgotten how to govern themselves.' He would appreciate the progress the world had made since his death, and how so many could now 'live a life that was both orderly and free,' so that 'self-government need not be mob government'. He would be amazed that men could 'light-heartedly reject it [self-government] and disdain 'the craving of great peoples to enslave themselves and to exult hysterically in their bonds'.[460]

An examination of the final paragraphs of *Augustus*, together with the records of intertextual remarks in his public addresses, made shortly before his departure for Canada and shortly after his arrival, are revealing. They show that Buchan's concerns about Fascism had been in his mind before his departure to Canada and continued during his period in office, and that these had been openly declared.

Buchan's concerns expressed at the conclusion of *Augustus* are reflected in remarks his speech to the Canada Club in London, shortly before his departure in 1935. Speaking of public affairs, he refers to the suffering caused by the economic depression, the need for fresh social and economic ideas and the difficulties this posed for young nations such as Canada. A Canadian citizen now needed what was possible through their inheritance of the Greek and Roman past: a 'disciplined spirit, a stout heart and a clear head' together with 'clear eyes and

[458] Buchan (2008), 82-83.

[459] Clough (1938), 115.

[460] Buchan (1937), 345-347.

steady nerves.' Buchan identifies a real peril posed by those whose behaviour reflected 'a timidity which makes men forget their manhood and rush in panic to any shelter.' Democracy is imperilled by those 'who have come to believe that it cannot be administered on the old line of personal freedom' because 'freedom is inconsistent with efficiency.'

In an intertextual reference to the page title 'Law and Liberty' on the final page of *Augustus,* in his address 'Ave' Buchan declares law and liberty to be the twin foundations of civilisation and, in a precursor to the lines he will employ in *Augustus* concerning those who abandon self-government and 'enslave themselves', speaks of how 'proud nations lose heart and surrender themselves to a dictator.' He concludes with the rallying comment:

> We present an example of nations holding fast to their old traditions … we are a living proof that peoples can dwell together in unity and peace, for have we not made in the Empire a league of nations of our own … over a great part of the Earth's surface.[461]

Shortly after his arrival in Canada Buchan repeated this message in his address 'The Fortress of the Personality'.[462] Here, he not only repeats these sentiments but associates them with Augustus. Discussing 'democracy' in terms which Galbraith identifies as 'spiritual democracy'[463] Buchan points out that 'popular forms of government have no power unless they foster in each individual the power of being himself … living his life according to a law which is self-imposed.' He speaks of 'a failure of nerve' and 'panic abroad'. As a result, he declares, 'people run to any shelter from the storm.'

In a criticism of Fascism and a defence of the Canadians of the British Empire, he makes a contrast between the University of Toronto and German universities which, he declares, are popular but lack the ideals of freedom.[464] By contrast, he refers to the capacity of Canadian citizens of the British Empire for 'a high level of human sympathy and complete freedom of thought,' in which the individual has the freedom to think rationally, independently and reach his own conclusions. Discretely challenging the Fascist claims to

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[461] John Buchan, 'Ave' in *Canadian Occasions*, T. Nelson and Sons (1940b), pp, 9-14, at 13.

[462] Buchan (1940e), 153-161. In the address he refers to having come from England 'one month ago' During his 'stormy and rather comfortless voyage' he read texts by St Augustine. See Buchan (1940e), 155.

[463] Galbraith (2013), 31.

[464] Buchan 1940e), 154.

'efficient government', he refers to 'spiritual bondage' and refers to how 'certain great countries in the Old World have been prepared to surrender their souls to a dictator or an oligarchy, if only they are promised security.' In a coded attack on the power of Fascism to unify public opinion into a single voice, Buchan informs his audience they must avoid phrases such as 'the workers' or 'the people'. Such phrases, he argues, obscure rational, individual thought, which results in the notion of the State, whatever its structure, being identified as a single unit which becomes the beneficiary of action, becomes 'an end in itself', rather than an entity created to benefit individuals.[465] Human values, he argues, depend upon individual freedom of thought, and that 'what we are accustomed to call civilisation' is lost without it.[466]

Buchan then identifies such 'freedom of thought' and the values of 'spiritual democracy' with Augustus, as someone who:

> had devised a stiff bureaucracy … [which] would fail unless the individuality of the citizen were preserved … he might have succeeded if his successors had been of his own calibre, but they were not and the experiment failed … Deliverance came from the Christian faith which as part of its gospel taught the freedom of the individual …[467]

After praising Augustus's example, he urges his audience that it must not 'take your creed second-hand from anyone, but shape it yourselves.'[468] In this way, Buchan connects 'personality', the subject of his talk, with 'democracy' and reinforces his conception of democracy with his perception of Augustus' achievements. Buchan arrived in Canada shortly before delivering this address. As noted above that first winter in Canada Buchan began his preparatory reading for *Augustus*,[469] (see Section 2.1) and was evidently contemplating his narrative when he gave this address.

Buchan, in his address to Toronto University, emphasises the threat to civilisation posed by Fascism. Within *Augustus* Buchan incorporates an intertextual reference to his

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[465] Buchan (1940e), 155-6.

[466] Buchan 1(940e), 157.

[467] Buchan (1940e),158-159.

[468] Buchan (1940e), 160.

[469] Buchan (1937), 7.

novel *The Power House* which also refers to the threat to civilisation. This text, as discussed above in Section 3.1 above, depicts an argument between the lawyer Edward Leithen and the political anarchist Lumley in which Lumley identifies the line between civilisation and chaos as fragile, so that chaos might always break through. In *The Power House* it is political anarchy. In a comment at the conclusion of *Augustus*, Buchan identifies the threat of the anarchy of political chaos breaking through civilisation in the modern world. Openly identifying parallels between Augustan Rome and the twentieth century, he points to similarities between an identical anarchy faced by Augustus in Rome and the potential of political anarchy in twentieth-century Europe. He comments that 'we can trace a resemblance between the conditions of his time and those of today.'[470] '[O]nce again', he points out, 'the crust of civilisation has worn thin, and beneath can be heard the mutterings of primeval fires. Once again many accepted principles of government have been overthrown … there is no question of today that Augustus had not to face and answer.'[471]

In his final paragraphs Buchan clearly intended to identify Fascism as a threat to civilisation, and as noted above Ursula Buchan acknowledges this intention (see Section 4.5). I would argue that these final paragraphs are not merely a short excursion into the present to contrast that present with Augustan Rome. (See Section 4a-d). Rather, these final paragraphs should be viewed as the key to reading a narrative which was created as propaganda text in its entirety. As discussed above Buchan himself was a highly experienced author of propaganda texts (See Section 3.2). In his address 'Canada's Outlook on the World' (1940),[472] delivered in the year *Augustus* was published, Buchan emphasises Canada's need to have a 'reasoned attitude towards the outer world'. Britain, he argues, has attempted to create a spirit without which some form of internationalism was impossible, and Canada was a democracy, but must attempt to live in tolerance alongside states which were not. This, as he points out, requires knowledge of other states, as 'things are too serious for mere prejudice and sentiment, and he identifies 'a crying need for propaganda.' He adds:

[470] Buchan (1937), 345.

[471] Buchan (1937), 345.

[472] Buchan (1940c), 79-83.

> Propaganda can be a horrible thing when it means the dissemination of falsehood and bitterness. But it can be a very fine thing when it is directed towards a truer understanding by the nations of each other.[473]

Buchan's addresses before and after the publication of *Augustus* are filled with what he might have called righteous propaganda against Fascism.

Buchan's depiction of Augustus as a man resembling a constitutional monarch, however, is a carefully constructed narrative. His selection of material was chosen to meet his challenge to Fascism, through an (implied) declaration that British democracy, as the successor to Rome, was in peril.

He asks for an understanding of Fascism, but does not hesitate in his addresses to identify it as antithetical to democracy. He calls here for peaceful co-existence but elsewhere it is clear he does not wish for citizens of democracies within the Empire to abandon their democratic principles in favour of Fascist ones. *Augustus*, as a propaganda narrative, challenges the values of Fascism by promoting those of the British Empire and the democracy into which it had evolved. Through his depiction of Augustus, the Roman Empire of Augustan Rome is identifiable as the precursor to democracy, the exemplar of which, for Buchan, was the British Empire, with its long history, established monarchy and democratic values.

However, it must be remembered that Buchan was a member of the elite, and a representative of the leader of that elite in the person of the King. Having been educated at public school and Oxford and had absorbed its philosophy, *Augustus*, as a propaganda text, disseminated that philosophy.

5. Conclusion

Alan Riach, in John Buchan: Politics, Language and Suspense' (2010) concurs that in his novels and poetry 'Buchan implicitly endorses imperial authority'.[474] Within *Augustus*

[473] Buchan (1940c), 81.

[474] Alan Riach, 'John Buchan: Politics, Language and Suspense' in Kate Macdonald (ed), *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps.* London: Routledge (2010), 171-181 at 179.

Buchan imposes onto Rome, through the person of Augustus, his perceptions of the British Empire which were formed by his elitist educational and career experience. This concluding section draws together his ideas on the modern British Empire which are reflected in *Augustus.* Buchan does so by depicting Augustus's reforms of the Roman constitution, government and administration, and the electoral process which Buchan associates with Augustus's spiritual and moral reform. This he identifies as achieved in ways which parallel the democratic British constitution, government, administration and electoral system. In the final paragraphs of *Augustus*, in which Buchan castigates unnamed European peoples for their acceptance of dictatorships, Buchan comments that Augustus would hold such peoples in disdain. In the light of these preceding parallels, however, the entire narrative of *Augustus* should be considered as a propaganda text, with the final paragraphs providing a key to the interpretation of a narrative identifying the British Empire as the successor to Rome and not Nazism or Italian Fascism.

Although he does not discuss *Augustus*, Riach identifies anti-Nazi propaganda in Buchan's fiction.[475] Within *Augustus,* however, there are aspects of Buchan's use of such anti-Fascist propaganda which must today be regarded as racist.[476] When considering *Augustus* as a narrative, there are inconsistencies concerning race that must be noted. For example, Buchan first acknowledges that while Augustus had restricted the grants of Roman citizenship, 'this had been for a temporary purpose, since the heart of the principate must first be made strong if the blood was to circulate freely to the members'. Buchan then adds that the future Roman Empire had 'drawn much of its strength from the non-Italian stocks, in philosophers, poets, emperors and soldiers.'[477] This led to the critic H.A.L. Fisher pointing out in his review of the chapter on 'The Augustan Peace' for the *Spectator* (19 October 1937), that in *Augustus* Buchan depicts 'an Empire without racialism or religious persecution.'[478] This, however, is in contradiction to Augustus's views expressed elsewhere

[475] Riach (2010), 178-179. He comments on *The Three Hostages* but especially discusses *A Prince of the Captivity,* citing Owen Dudley Edwards identification of it as 'almost certainly the first major anti-Nazi popular novel'. Cf. O. D. Edwards, 'John Buchan: Novelist, Publisher & Politician', in A. Reid and B. D. Osbourne (eds), *Discovering Scottish Writers.* Hamilton & Edinburgh: Scottish Library Association & Scottish Cultural Press. (1997), p.16.

[476] Riach (2010), 179.

[477] Buchan (1937), 346.

[478] H.A.L. Fisher, Review: 'The Augustan Peace: *Augustus* by John Buchan' in *Spectator*, London: Press Holdings (19 Oct 1937), 749.

in the narrative regarding the Roman people. Buchan describes Augustus's wish to ensure that the blood of Roman citizens should not be diluted by other races. He writes:

> [Augustus considered] the Italian race was immeasurably superior of any other and did not wish to see it lost in a polyglot-welter.'[479]

He then expresses the opinion that Augustus was 'enough of a moralist and philosopher' to be concerned that 'in the lower classes the old Roman stock was nearly extinct, and the men who voted in the Assembly were a conglomerate of men of all races.'[480] Accepting Frank's estimation of the Roman population, noted in Frank's *Economic History of Rome,* Buchan deplores the polyglot nature of Roman citizens, adding 'it has been calculated that some ninety percent were of foreign extraction, and their source of origin was largely the East.'[481] When considering the future of the Roman Empire, therefore, Buchan declares that 'Augustus believed that in Italy lay the imperial centre of gravity, and that only on the Italian race could a new Empire be built.' Buchan here cites Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 12.827: 'let there be the Roman breed drawing power from Italian manliness.'[482]

Augustus, in Buchan's view, reaches the conclusion that:

> Rome must be the Eternal City; the prepondering (sic) element in any culture must be Latin. There must be a new *Populus Romanus*, co-extensive with the Italian race, strong enough to keep its character in a cosmopolitan empire, for only thus could any government have an enduring foundation.[483]

The conclusion which Buchan perceives in Augustus's decisions concerning Rome's future is parallel to the accepted British imperialist view. This is discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry, and reveals the conviction that London should be the centre of the British Empire. Just as in the British Empire the culture of the British elite 'white race', perceived as the

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[479] Buchan (1937), 35.

[480] Buchan (1937), 31.

[481] Buchan (1937), 31 n1. Here Buchan here comments that this is the view of Tenney Frank in his *Economic History of Rome*. Buchan also cites Cic. *pro Flacco,* 17. This is an extraordinary assessment of the native Roman stock. It is possible that Frank, employing the term 'population', had intended to incorporate the foreign slave population into his statistics, and that Buchan had conflated Frank's statistic with the smaller statistic for the population of Roman extraction, thus inflating the figures for the Roman free population.

[482] Buchan (1937), 82. (*Sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago*).

[483] Buchan (1937), 135.

natural successor to Rome. should be the prevailing culture of that Empire, so Buchan here identifies Augustus as perceiving that Rome should stand at the centre of the Roman Empire, and that Roman values should dominate that Empire.

Concerning other peoples within that Empire, Buchan expresses the implicit imperialist view of the 'ladder' of races, discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. In this, white 'races' are the most superior, with other nations below them. Citing Lord Acton, in a statement which identifies non-white peoples as the Other Buchan comments:

> The combination of different nations in one state is as necessary a condition of civilised life as a combination of men in society. The inferior races are raised by living in political union with races intellectually superior. Exhausted and decaying nations are revived by contact with a younger virility. Nations in which the elements of organisation and the capacity for government have been lost, either through the demoralising influence of despotism or the disintegrating action of democracy, are restored and educated anew.[484]

Buchan's quotation from Lord Action within *Augustus* justifies his depiction of the 'fertilising and regenerating' qualities of a single government centred on Rome, under whom the peoples of the nations of the Roman Empire could live. Such a government in an intellectually superior and reinvigorated Rome, Buchan argues, could reinvigorate the 'exhausted and dying nations' it governed. By citing Lord Action, Buchan is contrasting this view with his own view of the government of the British Empire, centred on London, by the 'superior' British people.

Within *Augustus*, Buchan also speaks of the Roman slave population in the same terms. Commenting on how the provision of all tasks were provided by household slaves, thus depriving the Roman plebeian class of work (See Section 3), he identifies how most of the slaves had, in the past, been 'from races of a high civilisation', skilled in every task from the most menial to the most expert.'[485] He then comments that later in Rome's history the slaves were 'often of barbarian stock and of uncouth traditions', and Buchan identifies Augustus as concerned that excessive manumission of slaves would lead the city to become a

[484] Buchan (1937), 135. 135n1 cites Acton's *History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907), 200.

[485] Buchan (1937), 207.

'polyglot rabble'.[486] This reflects Buchan's rejection of peoples of mixed race expressed in *Lord Minto*, where he identifies the problems created at the Red River Rebellion against the white authorities as instigated by a 'half breed Indian', Louis Riel.[487]

Such opinions reflect Buchan's acceptance of mixed-race peoples from 'superior' nations, and his rejection of those descended from 'inferior races'. Within *Augustus* this may be identified in his view of Cleopatra. Buchan rejects the view of Cleopatra as a 'sexual degenerate' and draws a sympathetic picture of her as a cultured leader of Egypt as 'the only human being, except Hannibal, who had ever put fear on Rome'. He defends that view, however, because although she is of mixed race, those races are Greek and Macedonian. Significantly, Buchan's opinion is founded on the fact that Cleopatra is not Egyptian by descent:

> She has come down to us as … a seducer of virtue … a mistress of all the unholy arts of the East. There is reason to revise that view. She was no Oriental, being by descent half Greek and half Macedonian, with not a drop of Egyptian blood.[488]

Such views reflect the imperialism discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. As a work of propaganda, Buchan's appropriation Rome to reflect aspects of the British Empire are emphasised in his address ''The Monarchy and the Commonwealth'.[489] This address indicate that Susan Treggiari is correct when she identifies Buchan's depiction of Augustus as that of a modern constitutional monarch. In this address, Buchan likens the British monarch as the head of a family around whom its members gather. Similarly, a family of nations gather around the British monarch, uniting the Empire. Buchan then argues:

> Augustus, when he founded the Roman Empire, saw the need for something of the kind, and his solution was the state worship of *Roma et Augustus*, the majesty of Rome combined with his own person. If you have not a centre of historic consciousness you have to invent one. For example, today in Italy they have exalted

[486] Buchan (1937), 208.

[487] Buchan (2006), 58.

[488] Buchan (1937), 87.

[489] Buchan (1940h), 94-101.

> the ancient majesty of Rome; in Germany the Nordic tradition … We are more happily situated, for we have not had to invent.[490]

Like the British monarch who united his Empire's nations, Buchan is asserting, so Augustus provided a similar internal focal point around which the Roman Empire could unite. Augustus, like the British monarch, became the focus of the historic consciousness of the nation … the mystical, indivisible centre of national union.' Italy and Germany, by contrast, had to invent a form of continuity as they lacked a central figure around whom centuries of tradition could be focussed. The British monarch has 'a thread on which we can string all the stages in our development'.[491]

Buchan's address here refers back to how, in *Augustus*, Buchan depicts how Augustus took what remained viable of the Roman Republican constitution and then became the Princeps, a head of state governed by that constitution, around whom the nation could rally. Augustus also attempted, unsuccessfully, to create a Burkean democracy in which each Roman citizen would have the duty of reflecting on Roman affairs and participating in government by casting their ballot, and Buchan associates such duty and responsibility with *Roma et Augustus.*

There are, of course, differences. Augustus, to a greater or lesser degree, ruled with the Senate whilst, as Buchan emphasises in his address, a British monarch "'reigns' but does not 'govern.'"[492] Buchan also exaggerates the impact of the nascent Roman civil service. Nevertheless, in *Augustus* the modern British Empire and ancient Rome are identified, for propaganda purposes, as parallel, and in such a way that an implicit propaganda message may be detected which declares the British Empire to be the natural successor to Rome. The final paragraphs of *Augustus* not only provide the key to identifying this narrative but reject the claims of Italian Fascism, or Nazism, to be that successor. As Riach argues, Buchan implicitly endorses British imperial authority. Through his parallels he also endorses Roman imperial authority. However, as noted above in this section, his views on the Roman race also parallel those unacceptable views of the British imperialists discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. In this way Classics becomes complicit in Buchan's responses to both ancient and modern imperialism. Nevertheless, Buchan's immense popularity and the accessibility of

[490] Buchan (1940h), 98-99.

[491] Buchan (1940h), 98-99.

[492] Buchan (1940h), 95.

his narratives, ensured that his *Augustus*, and any implied message within it, would reach a wide audience.

CHARLES HAROLD ST JOHN HAMILTON (1876-1961): The Conflation of Classics and Empire in Boys' Weekly papers

1. Introduction

This case study seeks to establish how the popular fictional narratives of Charles Hamilton, one of the most popular authors of boys' boarding-school fiction during the interwar years, referenced Classics in such a way that he encouraged support for the British Empire. His narratives were published in boys' weekly papers published by Amalgamated Press during the interwar years. After discussing Hamilton's complex relationship with Classics, this case study discusses in detail Hamilton's imagined world. This was critiqued by the novelist George Orwell as a dated, imperialist world which promoted elitist ideas concerning class. An examination of the social relationships within Hamilton's imagined world reveals how Hamilton consciously incorporated an implicit message within his narratives which encourages a morality which may be identified in the construction of social hierarchies among the schoolboys of that fictional world. It then discusses Hamilton's relationship with his readership, and ways in which the activities of the publisher acted as a bridge between Hamilton and that audience. Finally, it considers ways in which Classics and Empire became conflated within Hamilton's narratives in such a way that Classics became implicated in the promotion of an outdated conception of the values of the British Empire as identified by Orwell.

1.1 The Significance of Charles Hamilton

The extent of Hamilton's audience, both in the UK and across the Empire, identifies him as an influential author during the interwar period. This section reveals that Hamilton was the most widely read author of boys' boarding-school popular fiction during the interwar years and considers the extent of his influence across Britain and the British Empire. It examines George Orwell's identification of Hamilton's influence on the perceptions of his audience, and especially considers Orwell's argument that this influence promoted an outdated imperialism in which an elite dominated the ideas of other social classes. These views were accessed by an extensive audience across the Empire. Finally, it identifies the narratives which will be discussed in this case study.

Charles Harold St John Hamilton was born in 1876.[493] His long writing career began when he was seventeen,[494] and continued until his death in his late eighties, in 1961.[495] Although a broad spectrum of young readers accessed Buchan's texts, his imperialist narratives were intended for an adult audience. By contrast, Hamilton's imperialist boarding-school narratives were intended to be read by young readers. He is best known for his popular boarding-school fiction,[496] created for boys' weekly papers published by Amalgamated Press from very early in the twentieth century and extending throughout the interwar period.[497] His output was prolific. As his niece Una Hamilton Wright confirms in her biography, in addition to narratives created under his own name Hamilton wrote under twenty-eight other pseudonyms.[498] This vast collection of narratives was marketed throughout the English-speaking Dominions and the United States throughout the interwar period.[499]

As Orwell identifies in his famous article 'Boys' Weeklies' published in *Horizon* (March 1940),[500] Hamilton's audience was eclectic and included boys preparing for entrance to public schools

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[493] Una Hamilton Wright, *The Far Side of Billy Bunter: A Biography of Charles Hamilton.* Wokingham, England: The Friar's Library. (2006), p. 17.

[494] Hamilton, 1962), 7. This footnote refers to Hamilton's autobiography, written as Frank Richards: *The Autobiography of Frank Richards.* London: Charles Skilton Ltd. (1962). Memorial Edition. Hamilton wrote this autobiography under his most famous pen-name for his fiction, Frank Richards. Hamilton's non-fiction, such as the autobiography, is cited as 'Hamilton'. His fiction created as Frank Richards is cited as 'F. Richards. To avoid confusion, the social historian Jeffrey Richards is referred to as J. Richards.

[495] Wright (2006), 259-260. His major works were published in the boys' weeklies of Amalgamated Press, however, and with their closure at the commencement of World War 2 Hamilton lost the majority of his audience.

[496] Preceded by Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays.* London: Penguin Harmsworth. Reprint of 1857 edition, and Frederick W. Farrar's *Eric, Or Little by Little* (1858), the boarding-school story became highly popular in the late Victorian period. Many were serialised in *Boys Own Paper* before being published in hardback form, such as the narratives of Talbot Baines Reed (1852-1893). *Chums*, founded in 1892 by Cassell, continued to publish school stories until absorbed by Amalgamated Press in 1927.

[497] These especially include the Amalgamated Press boys' weeklies the *Magnet*, the *Gem,* the *Boys' Friend* and *Modern Boy.*

[498] Wright (2006), 275.

[499] The strapline within these weeklies identifies their copyright in the United States, whilst inside the papers, and also the addresses of their agencies in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. See for example *Magnet* 621 (1920), 2, 18.

[500] George Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies' in Ian Angus, I. and Sonia Orwell (eds.) *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, Vol 1: An Age Like This (1920-1940).* London: Secker & Warburg Ltd. (1968), 460-485. It was subsequently included in the collection *Inside the Whale and Other Essays*. London: Victor Gollancz (1940).

(who ceased reading the *Magnet* and *Gem* at about twelve years of age),[501] the sons of professional men receiving an attenuated Classical education at one of 'the thousands of [cheap] private schools', referred to by Christopher Stray in *Classics Transformed*[502] (who continue reading until they are fifteen or sixteen), and working-class boys.[503] That girls also read Hamilton's narratives is revealed by author Mary Cadogan, who read her brother's copy of the *Magnet*, and identified with the characters in spirit.[504] Other sources also identify Hamilton's wide popularity among older readers. Wright, for example, confirms that during the early days of World War Two before the *Magnet* ceased publication a cleric was asked to read aloud an instalment of a story by Hamilton to a dying young soldier.[505]

During the first half of the twentieth century Hamilton remained the most widely-read author of boarding-school fiction until the Second World War.[506] The *Gem* boys' weekly was first published

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[501] For example, the author Simon Raven recalls reading both the *Magnet* and the *Gem* at his preparatory school prior to entering Charterhouse School in the 1930s. See Simon Raven, *The Old School: A Study in the Oddities of the English Public School System.* London: Hamish Hamilton (1986).

[502] Stray (1998), 41.

[503] The endpapers and inside cover/first page of *Greyfriars for Grown Ups* (1980) incorporate confirmation of sons of profession al men who grew up in the interwar period had read Hamilton's fiction. See Sutton (1980), endpapers. Many became professional men themselves. See Laurence Sutton, *Greyfriars for Grown Ups.* London: Howard Baker (1980). See also Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction.* Manchester: Manchester University Press (1988), 282n42; 282n43 & n44; 291n76 at 296.

[504] Mary Cadogan, 'Preface: Still Hooked on Hamilton' in Lawrence Sutton, *Greyfriars for Grown-ups.* London: Howard Baker (1980), pp. 9-14 at pp.10-11. She found in the 'charismatic boy chums' friends she lacked in reality. Commercial advertisements target young women as well as young men. Large, illustrated advertisements appear for 'Harlene Hair-Drill Outfits' which would give women 'unique hair health'. See for example *Gem* (461), 21; *Gem* (681), 19. The *Gem* responded in its pages to female readers and published *Joy's Gossip* such as in *Gem* 681 (1921), 14 which ostensibly discussing the stories from a female perspective. However, although the *Magnet* published pen friend requests from girls, it was late in formally acknowledging a female readership. Only on April 6, 1935 did the paper publish 'Come into the Office Boys – And Girls!', together with an apology to female readers for failing to acknowledge them until that date. See *Magnet*, 1416 (1935), 2. A. J. Jenkinson's survey, in *What Do Boys and Girls Read* was an admittedly small sample group, during the late 1930s. This identifies schoolgirls reading the *Magnet* (in Secondary schools he identifies 11 out of 171 aged twelve plus, and 9 out of 188 aged fourteen plus and 6 out of 158 aged fifteen plus. He identifies none in Senior schools. See (A. J. Jenkinson *What Do Boys and Girls Read*. London: Methuen & Co. London: Methuen (1940), pp. 214, 215.

[505] Wright (2006), 122.

[506] Wright (2006), 206, 207. Paper rationing at the commencement of the Second World War led to the closure of most weekly papers.

on 16 March, 1907, with Hamilton's first boarding-school story, 'Tom Merry's Schooldays' appearing in the issue published during the week ending 30 March, 1907, in issue number 3.[507] The *Magnet* first appeared week ending 15 February, 1908, incorporating Hamilton's story 'The Making of Harry Wharton'.[508] As George Samways (Hamilton's sub-editor at the *Magnet*) comments in his autobiography *The Road to Greyfriars* (1984), readers' responses to Hamilton's narratives were enthusiastic from the beginning.[509] The social historian and teacher Robert Roberts reveals how, in his childhood before the Great War, groups of enthusiastic readers met in the streets of Manchester to exchange opinions about the texts,[510] and the working-class schoolboy Edward Ezard was an enthusiastic reader during the interwar years.[511] Hamilton's influence, therefore, was extensive and included male and female readers across a broad social spectrum throughout the Empire, making Hamilton a significant influence, particularly among young working-class readers throughout Britain and the Empire, throughout the interwar period.

Hamilton's writing clearly enthused a wide range of readers, and any influence was long-lived. After Hamilton's death such enthusiastic readers began what Jeffrey Richards identifies as an 'industry' when Hamilton's creations, especially Billy Bunter, became part of the national consciousness.[512] Adults who had read Hamilton in their youth became contributors to small-circulation amateur journals, and published hardback biographies, anthologies, and memorabilia. In England these included *Collectors' Digest* (1946-1959) whose editors included Eric Fayne, headmaster of the Modern School at Surbiton. Seven editions of *Golden Hours* appeared in Australia intermittently between 1960 and 1964. In Canada *The Story Paper Collector* was published 1941-1966.

Little research has been carried out on Hamilton's fiction, however, and much, if not all, has been by cultural or literary historians. One reason is the criticism of children's literature in general identified in the Introduction to this enquiry, A further probable reason for such minimal research is that Hamilton's work was published in ephemeral boys' weekly story papers, printed on cheap paper.

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[507] Written under the name Martin Clifford.

[508] Written under the name Frank Richards. Such references are here cited as 'F. Richards' to avoid confusion with the social historian Jeffrey Richards.

[509] George R. Samways, *The Road To Greyfriars: An Autobiography.* London: Howard Baker (1984), p. 32. Samways was Hamilton's sub-editor at the *Magnet* boys' weekly paper and recalls their popularity in his charity school where boys possessing copies of the paper would read stories to those who did not.

[510] Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*: *Life in the First Quarter of the Century.* London: Penguin (1973), p. 160.

[511] Ezard read Hamilton's fiction when he attended his local Council school during the interwar period. See Edward Ezard *Battersea Boy.* London: W. Kimber (1979).

[512] Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction.* Manchester, Manchester University Press. (1988), 266. To avoid confusion with 'Frank Richards' he will be cited as 'J. Richards'.

These papers were not intended for a long life and for many years were not considered by critics or researchers. Any influence created by Hamilton's narratives had clearly extended across the white settled Dominions, so that any discovery of connections between Classics and Empire in his fiction would be significant for future research.

Samways confirms the popularity of Hamilton's work required a full-time employee to respond to readers' letters.[513] At the end of the interwar period this popularity was sufficiently widespread to attract the attention of the novelist and critic George Orwell. In his essay 'Boys Weeklies' Orwell examines ten contemporary weeklies, five owned by Amalgamated Press and five by the rival publishers D.C. Thomson,[514] but reserves his greatest criticism for Hamilton's 'Greyfriars School' narratives published by Amalgamated Press in the *Magnet* under the name 'Frank Richards'. In his opinion, these texts were not penned by a single individual but by a consortium of authors who, together, consciously portray dated elitist political views. For Orwell, therefore, the language 'in both the *Gem* or the *Magnet* appear[s] to be at least thirty years out-of-date'.[515] He identifies the political stance of both these weeklies during the inter-war years as not merely Conservative, but expressing a dated Conservatism which is pre-1914 in outlook.[516] The Britain depicted in these weeklies is a nation which is secure, with everything 'safe, solid and unquestionable', because 'the clock has stopped at 1910', the British Navy secures the Channel, and 'Britannia rules the waves'.[517] Meanwhile, in the outposts of Empire 'the monocled Englishman holds the nigger at bay'. Consequently, Orwell argues, the readers of such weekly papers were 'absorbing a set of beliefs which would be regarded as hopelessly out of date in the Central Office of the Conservative Party'.[518] Such beliefs, Orwell holds, pandered to snobbery.[519] so that 'the supposed "glamour" of public-school life is played for all it is worth' and that the 'snob appeal' is 'completely shameless'. His schoolboys are clearly wealthy, inhabit 'a mystic world of quadrangles', and their names and titles indicate they are from the ruling elite. Working-class readers, he concludes, are able to 'yearn after it, dream about it, [and] live mentally in it for hours at a stretch.'[520]

He concludes:

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[513] Samways (1984), 93.

[514] The boys' weeklies concerned are *Gem, Magnet, Modern Boy, Triumph* and *Champion* by Amalgamated Press), and *Wizard, Rover, Wizard, Hotspur* and *Adventure* by D.C. Thomson (Orwell, 1968: 461).

[515] Orwell (1968) 470.

[516] Orwell (1968), 471.

[517] Orwell (1968), 479.

[518] Orwell (1968), 473.

[519] Orwell (1968), 466-467.

[520] Orwell (1968), 466.

> All fiction from the novels in the mushroom libraries downwards is censored in the interests of the ruling class. And boys' fiction above all, the blood-and-thunder stuff which nearly every boy devours at some time or other, is sodden in the worst illusions of 1910. The fact is only unimportant if one believes that what is read in childhood leaves no impression behind. Lord Camrose and his colleagues evidently believe nothing of the kind, and, after all, Lord Camrose ought to know.[521]

Lord Northcliffe, founder of Amalgamated Press, died in 1922 and in 1940 Viscount Camrose was then the sole proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* and *Financial Times.* His brother, Viscount Kemsley, now owned both Amalgamated Press and the *Sunday Times*. Implicit in Orwell's final statement is the accusation that through the creation of 'Frank Richards' Camrose and Kemsley were surreptitiously conspiring to implant archaic, outdated Conservative imperialist views into the minds of their young readers through indirect means.

The Britain which Camrose and Kemsley depict, Orwell argues, is a fictional world in which current social problems did not exist, *laissez-faire* capitalism was acceptable, and the British Empire functioned as a paternalistic 'charity concern'. Above all, the working class were depicted as subservient to an imperialist elite.[522] Implicit in Orwell's final paragraph of 'Boys' Weeklies' is his conviction that such influence was the publisher's deliberate intention. This conviction that leisure reading influences the ideas of readers reveals Orwell's acceptance of the notion that what young people read influenced their ideas and actions.

The critic Peter Hunt acknowledges that populist texts are important when investigating social and political stability[523] and, noted in the Introduction to this enquiry the late-twentieth century literary critics Kelly Boyd and Helen Fairlie discuss the impact of boys' story papers on young readers. However, modern cultural historians have disagreed concerning the significance of Hamilton's narratives. P.W. Musgrave, agrees with Orwell,[524] and considers the influence of the *Magnet* and *Gem* as they are not merely imperialist but incorporate the worst examples of standardisation,[525] Isabel Quigly considers Hamilton created a 'cloud cuckooland'.[526] However,

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[521] Orwell (1968), 484.

[522] Orwell (1968), 482. Orwell identifies Hamilton's working classes as stereotypically comic or semi-villainous characters, while Europeans are identified as dated stereotypical 'foreigners'. See Orwell (1968), 472.

[523] Peter Hunt, *An Introduction to Children's Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1994), p. 35.

[524] Peter W. Musgrave, *From Brown to Bunter: The Life and Death of the School Story.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (1985).

[525] Musgrave (1985), 223-235.

[526] Isabel Quigly, in *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story.* London: Chatto & Windus. (1981), p. 249.

Jeffrey Richards rejects Orwell's identification of Hamilton's fictional schoolboys as 'stereotypes', and identifies them as archetypes[527] within a public school myth so that together Hamilton's schools and schoolboys represent a definitive, universal ideal.[528] He identifies the function of Hamilton's boarding school stories as representative of the public-school myth.[529] Jeffrey Richards (1945-2013), however, did not consider the role of Classics within Hamilton's fictional world. Before considering the imperialist nature of texts and how they depict the nostalgic, dated world identified by Orwell, it is necessary to consider Hamilton's engagement with the ancient world. This was especially influenced by George Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient* Rome, but also became conflated with a personal morality founded on his Christian upbringing. This influence is clearly identifiable within Hamilton's texts, which indicate Orwell was correct in his identification of Hamilton's fictional world as an imperialist one resembling the world of 1910. Hamilton's response to Orwell, read alongside family correspondence quoted by Wright, however, reveals Orwell was incorrect in accusing Camrose and his brother Kemsley of consciously creating this dated world. Hamilton himself was doing so.

1.2 Identifying the Texts to Discuss

As Hamilton created twenty-eight different pseudonyms,[530] before discussing Hamilton's engagement with Classics, we first consider which of his many narratives to examine. From 1907 until the outbreak of the Second World War, when paper rationing closed most boys' weeklies, Hamilton worked for Amalgamated Press, and specialised in boarding-school stories with a target audience of boys and young men,[531] In that time, Hamilton created ninety-two fictional schools.[532]

Three factors must be taken into consideration when deciding which of Hamilton's boarding-school narratives merit investigation. First, is the identification of which texts to include which were printed under Hamilton's pseudonym but were not, in fact, created by him. Across a range of papers new and republished stories attracted half a million readers each week.[533] Consequently, Hamilton

[527] Stereotypes reproduce standardised tropes, whilst archetypes identify representations of an ideal.

[528] J. Richards (1988), 282, 273. Jeffrey Richards considers Hamilton's stylised language, criticised by Orwell, to be the regular re-creation of the familiar school year. Its interesting interruptions and ritualised events, he argues, form the foundation of a public-school myth.

[529] J. Richards (1988), 273.

[530] Wright reveals that within these narratives Hamilton created ninety-two different schools. See Wright (2006), 276-278.

[531] J. Richards (1988), 267. though he also created the six of the first ten Cliff House School stories for a new girls' weekly the *School Friend,* published by Amalgamated Press in 1919.

[532] Wright (2006), 276-278

[533] Wright (2008), 125.

undertook an increasing workload.[534] When Hamilton was taken ill, or went abroad and could not be contacted, his editors hired substitute writers to create narratives under Hamilton's pseudonyms.[535]

Of particular importance are 'substitute' narratives created during the Great War by the temporary wartime editor, John Nix Pentelow, which incorporate patriotic messages. For example, Pentelow, writing under Hamilton's pseudonym, reassures readers that the Boers, once enemies during the Boer War, they were now fighting for the Empire against the Germans.[536] Such narratives must therefore be taken into account as they promote an imperialist message in narratives which privilege Classics. Second, is the selection of Hamilton's own narratives for discussion. Hamilton himself identifies the most personally significant texts as those written as the 'St Jim's' stories created as Martin Clifford for the *Gem,*[537] the 'Greyfriars' stories written as Frank Richards for the *Magnet,*[538] and the 'Rookwood' stories created as Owen Conquest created for *Boys' Friend*.[539] These were his most popular boarding-school narratives and the publisher, wishing to promote the most popular of his stories, reprinted them in the *Schoolboys Own Library*.

As the Hamilton enthusiast Roger Jenkins confirms, such republication provides a useful guide in confirming the popularity of these narratives. 'Greyfriars' merited 184 stories, 'St Jim's' 81 and 'Rookwood' 54.[540] The 'Greyfriars' stories in the *Magnet*, were clearly more popular than the 'St Jim's' stories in the *Gem*, with both more popular than 'Rookwood'. Together, they comprise the most popular of Hamilton's boarding-school series, accounting for 229 the 411 issues of *Schoolboys' Own Library* between 1925 and 1940.[541] The most popular stories were also reprinted in other weekly papers. Samways confirms that the contents of the *Penny Popular* boys' weekly were mainly reprints of early 'Greyfriars' and 'St Jim's' stories, edited to the correct size and brought up to date.[542]

Finally, the enquiry must consider the time-frame of these weeklies. Hamilton's work was 'swapped' by enthusiastic friends but a brisk market in second-hand copies existed through the

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[534] Wright (2008), 67.

[535] Wright (2008), 123-126, 129.

[536] *Magnet* 432 (1916), 1-19.

[537] These narratives concern a group of friends led by form Captain Tom Merry.

[538] These narratives concern a group of friends led by form Captain Harry Wharton.

[539] Hamilton's biography, authored as Frank Richards (1962), 18. This biography will be cited as F. Richards.

[540] Roger Jenkins, 'Early Schoolboys Own Library, St Frank's Stories', *Story Paper Collector* Transconia, Manitoba: Wm. H. Gander. (July 1951), pp 227-212 at 227. Jenkins is one of the enthusiasts who collected the *Magnet* and *Gem* for the pleasure of re-reading Hamilton's work, and this enthusiasm fuelled comment to other collectors.

[541] Publication was then suspended with the outbreak of World War Two.

[542] Samways (1984), 93.

'wanted' column of the *Magnet*.[543] Consequently, any enquiry concerning the reading material of young people between the wars must include such second-hand copies, and the entire range Hamilton's narratives published in weekly papers is considered. The most popular fictional worlds created by Hamilton may thus be confirmed as all the 'Greyfriars', 'St Jim's' and 'Rookwood' narratives published in the Amalgamated Press companion papers.[544]

In addition to relevant primary texts published by Amalgamated Press, a range of other primary and secondary sources are examined which reveal how Hamilton's perceptions of the modern world inform his views. The most significant are George Orwell's article 'Boys' Weeklies' published in *Horizon* (March, 1940) which identifies the imperialist tone of Hamilton's texts, Hamilton's response was also published in *Horizon* (May 1940). The only biography of Hamilton remains *The Far Side of Billy Bunter: The Biography of Charles Hamilton* (2006), created by his niece, Una Hamilton Wright. Hamilton's own autobiography, *The Autobiography of Frank Richards* (1962), published under his most popular pseudonym, reveals his perceptions of modern Rome points to a romantic interpretation of the ancient city and its heroes. Otherwise, however, it is largely uninformative. The Chapter 'Paradise Regained' in Jeffrey Richards' text *Happiest Days* (1988) discusses the way Hamilton created a public-school myth peopled by archetypes of the schoolboy ideal, whose words and deeds reproduce the Republican ideal indicated by Charles Babbington Macaulay in his *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1841). It also discusses archetypes of their counterexamples. Other secondary sources are introduced as appropriate.

2. The Formation of the Values of an Imagined World

This section identifies Hamilton's Classical education as 'attenuated' in the manner discussed by Christopher Stray in *Classics Transformed* (1998). The awakening of an enthusiasm for the Classics, it reveals, began with his enthusiastic response to Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, especially 'Horatius at the Bridge'. It discusses the Roman quality of *virtus* revealed in Macaulay's verse, and reveals how this quality, and its reverse, may be found reflected in Hamilton's schoolboys. It then

[543] *Magnet* 601 (1919), 16 provides examples of such advertisements.

[544] Companion papers shared the same editor and the same editorial team. In each companion paper, the fictional characters visit each other's fictional schools for sports fixtures, and would visit each other during the holidays. Percy Griffith was the first editor of the companion papers, followed by Herbert A Hinton, who held the position until 1916 when John Nix Pentelow was appointed temporary editor. Hinton resumed editorship in 1919 until succeeded by Maurice Down in 1921, who remained until 1940. The serial numbers of companion papers were kept in step. For example, when the *Magnet* was published and became the companion paper to the *Gem,* the *Gem* numbering changed on 15 February 1908 to volume 2, number 1.

considers a second moral influence in Hamilton's religious upbringing, and how this became conflated with Classics in Hamilton's ideas.

2.1 The Conflation of Hamilton's Morality and Classics

Although he is best known as a writer of public-school fiction, Hamilton did not attend a public school. He was raised in London's Ealing by lower-middle-class parents. His father, an alcoholic, died when Hamilton was seven, leaving the family in straitened circumstances,[545] and he was subsequently educated at a 'local grammar school' paid for by a relative.[546] This school has been identified as possibly Thorn House in Ealing, 'a school for young gentlemen' which taught French, German, Latin and Greek.[547] Hamilton's lower-middle-class mother considered that to receive the free state education offered at the local Board school was a dereliction of parental duty and was the equivalent of eating one's meals from a soup kitchen.[548] As Orwell points out, in the twentieth century, with free secondary education, such parents considered Council schools 'common'.[549] Hamilton's mother may therefore be identified as representative of those parents revealed by Christopher Stray who identified Classics as a status marker, in which even a small local private school charging modest fees, such as Thorn House, offered Latin and Greek. Despite the proffered Greek, however, the Classics offered at Thorn House was clearly attenuated. Hamilton, in later life, stated he considered his formal education 'Dickensian', and that he 'loved Latin more than the Latin master'.[550]

Although his Classical education was not extensive, being an erudite boy Hamilton read widely at home. He developed an early taste for philosophy, enjoying works by Plato, Aristotle and also Schopenhauer.[551] Wright records the teenage Hamilton also read most of Scott, as well as works by Fenimore Cooper, Marryat, Baines Reed, Charles Read and Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* Light fiction included modern popular imperialist adventure tales and older 'classic' adventure stories.[552]

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[545] Wright (2006), 17-22.

[546] Wright (2006), 44.

[547] W.O.G Lofts & D.J. Adley, *The World of Frank Richards.* London: Howard Baker. (1975), p. 19. Lofts & Adley identify the fees at Thorn House as three guineas per term for a Day Scholar and five guineas for attending the Upper School. See Lofts & Adley (1975), 19.

[548] Wright (2006), 44.

[549] Orwell (1968), 467.

[550] Wright (2006), 44.

[551] Wright (2006), 39. Wright does not indicate which are works by Aristotle that Hamilton read.

[552] Wright (2006), 39-43.

A significant influence on Hamilton's perception of Classics was his early enthusiasm for Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1851).[553] As Catherine Edwards reveals, Macaulay identified with multiple 'Romes', and also with 'Roman Britain'.[554] This case study confines its investigation to Macaulay's perception of Republican Rome identified in his *Lays* and the influence of these poems on Hamilton's boarding-school narratives. Quoting from Hamilton's letter to her, Wright confirms that:

> I [Hamilton] used to read from Macaulay so much when I was a boy, that I know him almost by heart now. I did learn *Horatius* by heart when I was about ten.[555]

Horatius, as Catherine Edwards points out, demonstrates 'resolute Republican heroism'.[556] In Livy's *History,* the figure of Horatius, from whom Macaulay took his inspiration, appears in the distant Roman Republican past which Macaulay admired, (Liv. *Hist*, 8.10).[557]

As Owen Dudley Edwards confirms, in the United Kingdom *Lays* sold twenty-three thousand copies in its first twelve years and was published in sixty-three editions between 1842 and 1949, including many intended for schools.[558] It is therefore unsurprising that Hamilton should have read the text so intensively, and memorised 'Horatius at the Bridge'. The significance of *Lays* is to be found in its inspirational qualities, and this narrative offered many people their first significant encounter with ancient Rome. As Wright reveals, these verses had a major impact on Hamilton's narratives, and the qualities of character of the heroes in Macaulay's *Lays* 'appear again and again in his stories'.[559] For example, Wright links Valerius with Harry Wharton of Greyfriars School (one of Hamilton's most

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[553] Thomas Babbington Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome: With 'Ivry' and 'The Armada'.* Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. (1880) Reprint of 1841 edition.

[554] Catherine Edwards 'Translating Empire? Macaulay's Rome' in Catherine Edwards (ed) *Roman Presences: Receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1999), pp. 70-87. To avoid confusion with the modern historian O.D. Edwards she is cited here at C. Edwards.

[555] Wright (2006), 39. Wright's italics. The poems within *Lays of Ancient Rome* are cited in this case study with quotation marks.

[556] C. Edwards (1999), 3.

[557] Macaulay employed Horatius in the first of his *Lays* as an *exemplum* of the quality of moral and physical courage found in *virtus,* with Horatius displaying physical courage defending the bridge to the death against Porcena's army (*Grata erga tantam virtutem fuit*) (Liv. 2.10). See C. Edwards (1999), 3.

[558] Owen Dudley Edwards, *Macaulay*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. (1988), pp. 54-55. 'Cf. C. Edwards (1999), 70. In order to differentiate between these writers both are referred to by name and cited by their initials.

[559] Wright (2006), 43. The story relates how, early in Rome's history, Horatius and two friends held a bridge against an Etruscan incursion whilst behind them their compatriots demolished the bridge so the Etruscans could not march on Rome. They then swam to safety.

popular fictional schoolboys). In a quote from the 'Battle of Regillus',[560] Wright comments that the battles fought by Macaulay's heroes:

> Are echoed in the school stories, which are in reality epic battles and epic heroes scaled down to schoolboy size with their emphasis on physical courage and loyalty.[561]

Wright contrasts lines from the 'Battle of Regillus'

> And when at last he opened
> His swimming eyes to light
> They say, the earliest word he spake
> Was 'Friends, how goes the fight?[562]

with descriptions of battles in the Greyfriars' Remove,[563] while in lines such as:

> For aye Valerius loathed the wrong
> And aye upheld the right.[564]

Hamilton's readers, Wright concludes, may therefore 'substitute the name of Harry Wharton the Captain of the Remove', as the representative of the ideal Hamilton schoolboy hero:

> How can man die better
> Than facing fearful odds.[565]

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[560] Wright (2006), 43.

[561] Wright (2006), 43.

[562] Macaulay (1851), 177. 'Battle of Regillus', xvi. Cf. Wright (2006), 43.

[563] Hamilton's fictional schoolboys engage in friendly pranks resulting in friendly fisticuffs. See *Magnet* 2 (1908), pat 4-5; *Magnet* 432 (1916), 4-5. At Rookwood Jimmy Silver and his close friends are called 'the Fistical Four' as they do not fear a fight and there are there are frequent study rags involving pushing, shoving and 'bumping' other boys. See *Boys' Friend*, 2/718 (1915), 659. There are also violent outbursts of fighting when boys feel insulted. See *Popular*, 2/058 (1920), 17; *Gem* 518 (1918), 4. The 'no sneaking' rule means the junior schoolboys police themselves informally, administering informal punishments, and formal physical encounters defend honour in a 'mill' in the boxing ring or in a quiet corner of the grounds without them. See *Magnet* 04 (1908), 8-10; *Magnet* 432 (1916), 16-18.

[564] Wright (2006), 43, 43n31. Quoting from Macaulay's 'The Battle of Lake Regillus', ii.xviii.

[565] Wright (2006), 43 n32. Quoting from Macaulay's 'Horatius', xxvii. Horatius and comrades defended the bridge against the advance on Rome of Lars Porsena's Etruscan army, so that the bridge behind them could be demolished.

The heroes in Macaulay's verses display great physical courage in the face of overwhelming odds, refusing to surrender. They are loyal to their friends and to Rome, and are willing to sacrifice their lives for their country and countrymen, and thus face the finest of deaths:

> For Romans, in Rome's quarrel
> Spared neither land nor gold,
> Nor son, nor wife, nor limb, nor life
> In the brave days of old.[566]

As Wright points out, 'Macaulay made a great impression on Hamilton.[567] As she reveals, he was so inspired by Macaulay's perception of the actions of ancient Roman heroes that he created his own stories 'which are in reality epic battles and epic heroes scaled down to schoolboy size … with their emphasis on physical courage and loyalty.'[568] Wright confirms that Hamilton's narratives, deeply influenced by Macaulay's *Lays*, are filled with fictional schoolboys possessing the 'heroic standards of conduct in the ancient epics'.[569]

Hamilton may have lacked Macaulay's higher education in Classics,[570] but Macaulay's influence ensured that Hamilton also read Classics as a leisure activity. Despite Hamilton's contempt

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[566] Macaulay (1851), 59. 'Horatius at the Bridge'*,* xxxi

[567] Wright (2006), 43.

[568] Wright (2006), 43.

[569] Wright (2006), 43.

[570] Catherine Hall reveals how, at school, Macaulay was homesick and found escape in voracious reading, particularly the activities of great men, including Caesar and Cicero in the Roman Empire, and Pitt and Wellington in the British Empire. This continued when he began studying Classics at Trinity College, Oxford in 1817. See Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press (2012), pp. 107-108. As Catherine Edwards confirms, Macaulay was such a voracious reader of Greek and Latin literature, that it gave him an exceptional command of the Greek and Latin language, especially during his period in India, where he read a 'staggering' amount of Classical literature over periods extending to four or five hours a day. Although Macaulay was, in fact, a Hellenophile, among the many authors he studied were not only Greek authors such as Thucydides and Homer but also Roman writers such as Cicero and Lucretius. Such wide reading, Catherine Edwards emphasises, was not typical of his generation, and it had a marked effect on his perceptions of Rome and for Macaulay there were multiple Romes. See C. Edwards (1999), 73-74. Catherine Edwards reminds us, for example, of the conquerors who created the Empire (and conquered Britain), and of the Catholic Church centred on Rome. See C. Edwards (1999), 73. Macaulay's journal reveals that the ancient Rome of Macaulay's imagination was not imperial Rome but the early Republic and works written under the Republic rather than the Empire were of greater interest to him. See T.B. Macaulay, *Letters*, *1794-81* (ed Thomas Pinney), 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, letters to T.F. Ellis, 15 December 1834, 29 May, 1835, 25 August 1835, 30 December 1835. Cf. C. Edwards (1999), 74. Catherine Edwards considers this

for his formal Classical education, family correspondence reveals that the Classics he learned at his school, together with an enthusiastic response to Macaulay's *Lays,* created a lifelong passion for Classics.[571] As a young man Hamilton was fortunate to find a private Classics tutor. Together they discussed Classical philosophy and literature for many years, with Hamilton finding 'a companion who shared his enthusiasm in a way no schoolmaster had ever done'.[572] Horace was always Hamilton's favourite poet and after the Second World War, he hoped to publish a new, and what he referred to as a 'definitive', translation of Horace's poetry. His *Autobiography* had to be cut drastically as Horace threatened to take it over.[573] In old age, with the aid of a further tutor, Hamilton re-read the Classical texts which he considered the most valuable. While there is no indication that Hamilton read, or re-read, Livy,[574] in old age his tutor comments on his love of, and re-reading of, the poetry of Horace and the philosophical texts of Lucretius, as well as 'much of Cicero'.[575]

The qualities of character in the heroes of Macaulay's *Lays* which excited Hamilton are those of immense physical courage in the face of death, and loyalty to Rome and to comrades. For Cicero, (106 B.C.E. - 43A.D.), such loyalty, courage and contempt for death are the central quality of character of *virtus*, (that is, of 'manliness'). Cicero identifies the origin of the word '*virtus*' as being

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is because Macaulay identified the qualities within such literature (vigour, imagination and originality) with Greece rather than Rome. She considers the significant element in this preference in *Lays* to be his enthusiasm for Celtic ballads. See Catherine Edwards (1999), 75. Owen Dudley Edwards reveals an intention to emulate, within the English language, the work of the Celtic bards. (O.D. Edwards (1988), 71-74. To distinguish between Catherine Edwards and Owen Dudley Edwards they are referred to with their names and cited with their initials.

[571] Wright comments that Hamilton may have lacked respect for his teachers but indicates he 'loved Latin'. See Wright (2006), 44. The theme of not merely the quality of Latin literature but its usefulness appeared frequently in Hamilton's letters to his niece, particularly when he learned she wished to give up academic study of the subject at the end of the interwar period. See Wright (2006), 200-201.

[572] Wright (2006), 51.

[573] Wright (2006), 236. Hamilton had unorthodox views on Horace's origins and was convinced that 'there was not a drop of Latin blood in him'. This conviction partly lay in his conviction that evidence lay in Horace's concise use of language. He believed 'it is a physical impossibility for any Latin writers to be anything but longwinded', and that 'in Horace there is not only not a word, but not a syllable, too many'. See Wright (2008), 237-8.

[574] Catherine Edwards reveals how Macaulay's *Lays* are taken largely from Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Macaulay, she points out, believed the stories to be largely fictitious and his main concern lay in the contexts within which they originally circulated. As Catherine Edwards here points out, the individual *Lays* are framed and qualified by a scholarly Preface and Introductions to each poem, and that Macaulay's interest in the early Republic is central to his depiction of the characters in the *Lays*. See C. Edwards (1999), 70-71.

[575] A. D. Newman, 'On Meeting Charles Hamilton', in John Wernham (ed) *The Charles Hamilton Companion, Vol 3: Centenary Edition.* Maidstone, Kent: Museum Press (1976), pp. 201-2.

derived from the word for 'man'. He adds that the traditional significant quality of virtue in a man is fortitude, identifiable through its attributes of scorn of death and scorn of pain (Cic. *Tusc Disp* 2.43).[576] 'Brave men do not feel the pain of battle, or [do] feel them but prefer death rather than move a step from the post that honour has appointed (Cic. *Tusc Disp* 2.58).[577] In Rome, such physical courage was a vital quality of 'manliness' as, for Rome, as war was ever-present in its history. The priority of the ancient heroes of the early Republic admired by Hamilton was always the welfare of Rome, and this quality of 'manliness', or *virtus*, was the attribute demanded of a soldier. *Virtus*, therefore, became identified as **the** fundamental Roman quality of character.[578] Courage and fortitude in battle was the traditional foundation of *virtus* as a duty, and remained central elements of manliness throughout the republican period and into the Empire. In his *History of Rome* Livy places the core qualities of physical bravery at the centre of Roman character,[579] and these are the qualities of the Roman character which Hamilton perceived in Macaulay's *Lays.*

In Liv.pr.10, Livy reveals his intention to provide *exempla* to his readers so they may draw lessons from them, helping readers emulate the behaviour of Romans in the past, encouraging fidelity to the *mores maiorum* through *exempla*:[580]

> What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate. From these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result.[581]

Livy consciously promotes the concept of *virtus* as an *exemplum* for his readers to learn from, and then emulate.[582] As Catalina Balmaceda points out, Livy's preface employs the verb 'behold' in the second person singular, as part of an accusative and infinitive construction with the second person

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[576] Summarised by Balmaceda. *Atiqui vide ne, cum omnes rectae animi adfectiones virtutes appellentur, non sit hoc proprium nomen omnium, sed ab ea, quae una ceteris excellebat, omnes nominatae sint. Appellata est enim ex viro virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitude, cuius munera duo sunt maxima mortis dolorisque contemptio.* (Cited by Balmaceda in her text *Virtus Romana: Politics and Morality in the Roman Historians.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. (2017), p. 16.

[577] *Non sentient viri fortes in acie vulnera, vel sentient, sed mori malunt quam tantum modo de dignitatis gradu demoveri.* Trans. Balmaceda.

[578] Balmaceda (2017), 93.

[579] Balmaceda (2017), 16, 93.

[580] Balmaceda (2017), 10.

[581] Trans. Balmaceda (2017), 6.

[582] Balmaceda (2017), 10. This, as Balmaceda points out, was because of the turmoil preceding Augustan Rome, and the perceived need for Roman men to learn from the past in order to create a Roman future.

singular pronoun (*te … intueri*). This is an instruction to an external audience of readers to learn from the lessons of the past and modify their behaviour in the present.[583] Livy's identification of the attributes he wishes his readers to emulate may be found in books 21-30 of his *History*, where Livy recounts the war against Hannibal. This war culminated in the reaction of Rome to the disastrous battle of Cannae,[584] recounted in Book 22 of Livy's *History*, and as Jane Chaplin comments, Livy's account provides his ancient readers with specific narrative voices through which readers may identify the attributes found in his *exempla*.[585] This influence, however, would also pertain to modern readers such as Macaulay, and to those authors influenced by him, such as Hamilton.

Any soldier described by Livy as an *exemplum*,[586] such as Horatius or Valerius, will always perform his duty to Rome, even in the direst of situations, and risk death to do so. When making Horatius the *exemplum* of physical bravery, Macaulay would have understood that Livy praises a range of early Roman leaders for their physical bravery. Camillus, for example, is praised for his role in the war against the Volsci (Liv. 6.27.1).[587] The strongest reproach for a Roman general was cowardice, including both the moral courage to choose to stand firm and the physical courage to do so in the face of pain, or scorn. Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator displayed both courage and leadership in holding firm to his judgement and delaying battle with Hannibal when his subordinate Minucius, in an act of indiscipline and disrespect,[588] described his caution as 'cowardly' (*timidus*) (Liv. 22.12.12) and urged the troops into battle to 'fight the Roman way' by daring and action (*audendio atque agendo*) (Liv. 22.14.14). Livy's depiction of Hannibal's recognition of Fabius' *prudential* and *constantia* (Liv. 22.12.6), and his imitation of Fabius' strategy of inaction and delay (*artibus Fabi sedendo et cuntando*), (Liv. 22.24.10) therefore recognises the error of Minucius' approach.

As Wright points out, Hamilton was enthused by the manner in which the heroes in Macaulay's verses display great physical courage in the face of overwhelming odds, the refusal to surrender, and the willingness of the soldier to face the finest of deaths for his country and his countrymen. Horatius and his comrades stand 'calm and silent'.[589] When Horatius stands alone he

[583] Balmaceda (2017), 85.

[584] These Books recount the battles against Hannibal during the Second Punic War against Carthage.

[585] Jane D. Chaplin, *Livy's Exemplary History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (2000), pp. 50-51.

[586] In Books 15-45, concerning the Macedonian wars, Livy identifies *virtus* in individual soldiers but also denounces their *vitia*. See Balmaceda (2017), 96.

[587] 'Camillus distinguished himself for his skill and courage in the Volscian war (*Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volsco bello … insignis*). For further instances of his *virtus* see Liv. 5.26.8; 5.26.10; 5.27.8;

[588] Balmaceda (2017), 98.

[589] Macaulay (1851), 61. 'Horatius at the Bridge', xxxvi.

refuses to surrender but fights on until the bridge is demolished. He then plunges into the Tiber.[590] For Hamilton, Macaulay's *Lays* provide the *exemplum* of the original quality of *virtus* as defined by Cicero, of physical courage and the moral courage this required, loyalty to friends and country, and the courageous fortitude to face honourable death rather than dishonourable surrender.

An example of Hamilton's contrast between courageous fortitude in the face of death, and moral and physical cowardice, may be found in *Gem* 564. The story *Brought to Light* employs the popular trope of the kidnapped schoolboy to contrast the qualities of courage, and death before dishonour with moral cowardice. Talbot, a St Jim's schoolboy, is a reformed thief who has chosen to live an honourable life. When his former vicious criminal associates kidnap him and threaten to kill him unless he returns to his old life, the boy replies 'I'd rather die first'. Hamilton's narrative tells his audience 'his spirit was still unbroken. His pale face was quiet and firm', and he tells them 'nothing will make me alter my mind.' Hamilton writes:

> even if death itself came, his resolution would never falter – Talbot of St Jim's would never become [a thief] again.[591]

By contrast, his cowardly cousin whose spiteful act was responsible for his predicament shows no such moral or physical courage and a lack of loyalty to a blood relation: '

> with faltering steps he walked home to the school, a prey to terror and remorse. The terror outweighed the remorse, however, and the remorse would have vanished entirely if the terror could have been quite banished.[592]

In this way, Hamilton created the immense physical and moral courage and loyalty in his schoolboy heroes, even in the face of death. Similarly, he also created their opposites, whose statements and actions reveal the absence of physical and moral courage and loyalty. In this way, inspired by Macaulay and his own love of Classics, Hamilton created schoolboys whose actions reflect the courage which may be found in the Roman heroes narrated in Livy's *History* and replicated in Macaulay's *Lays.* Hamilton's enthusiasm for the heroes of Republican Rome may be found in family correspondence quoted by Wright. Here, he comments that interesting, even exciting, incidents do happen in life, but they are disconnected from the normal lives ordinary people live. Tales about normal life, he complains, are not sufficiently exciting to enthuse readers. Hamilton reveals that he

[590] Macaulay (1851), 74: 'Horatius at the Bridge', lix.

[591] *Gem* 564 (1918), 4-5.

[592] *Gem* 564 (1918), 8.

had read Buchan's posthumously-published memoire *Memory Hold-the-Door* and declares that 'Buchan was truthful: and his memoires make you yawn your head off.[593]

Hamilton's enthusiastic and imaginative response to the Roman heroes depicted in Macaulay's *Lays* may be identified in his *Autobiography*. As Wright comments, this was written under the pseudonym 'Frank Richards'. As Hamilton wrote to his niece:

> I am thinking of writing the *Autobiography* in the third person, like Caesar in his Gallic War.[594]

His *Autobiography* contrasts his excitement about ancient Rome with his personal reaction to the modern city. His subsequent studies of the Classical texts with his tutor clearly filled his imagination with images of a glorious Classical Rome which conflicted with the disappointing contemporary city he encountered in 1912. Hamilton records the visit in his autobiography. Hamilton records that he spent the winter and spring of 1911-1912 in Switzerland and Italy, including six weeks spent in Rome.[595] He had 'been often in Rome'[596] and always 'approached the city with his mind full of Classical reminiscences'. On his arrival, however, he invariably found that his imaginative ideas about Rome and its history 'evaporated'.[597]

Whilst the Rome of Hamilton's imagination found a 'deep appeal' in the past he studied, the modern Rome he encountered shocked him as, he declares, Roman citizens 'did not care for the 'grandeur that was Rome'.[598] For centuries they had, instead, treated Rome as a quarry and carted away 'priceless relics of the past' to strengthen an 'ugly modern Rome', or 'patch [a] hovel with priceless marbles'.[599] Hamilton particularly disliked the Palazzo di Venezia because it 'was erected by dragging away whole sections of the Colosseum'.[600] He declined to 'do' Rome aided by guide books such as Baedeker or Murray. Instead, guided by his imagination he 'wandered in the Colosseum by

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[593] Wright (2006), 206.

[594] Wright (2006), 205. Cf. Hamilton's autobiography: Frank Richards, *The Autobiography of Frank Richards.* London: Charles Skilton Ltd. (. Memorial edition.He refers to himself in the third person throughout. Wright (2006), 47. To avoid confusion with his fictional events created under this pseudonym I cite to him as the author of his autobiography, as 'Hamilton', and cross reference the bibliography.

[595] Wright (2006), 81-82; and Hamilton (1962), 100-12, where Hamilton records that the visit to Italy had also included excursions to Capri, Naples, Vesuvius and Pompei.

[596] Hamilton (1962), 108.

[597] Hamilton (1962), 108

[598] Hamilton (1962), 108. The reference is to the title of Stobart's popular text (See the Introduction to this enquiry).

[599] Hamilton (1962), 110. This had been a common practice until the eighteenth century.

[600] Hamilton (1962), 108-109. This Palazzo was appropriated by Mussolini, who located his office there.

moonlight' and 'pictured the past in his romantic mind'.[601] It was Hamilton's nostalgic, inner vision of Rome and its ancient heroes which finds expression in his boarding-school fiction.

Before identifying Hamilton's precise intentions in creating his fictional world, it is necessary to consider how his perception of the ancient world was also influenced by his religious upbringing, and personal morality. The words and deeds of Livy's *exempla*, were interpreted by Hamilton in the light of his moral principles, founded on his Christian upbringing. Wright confirms that a 'non-material element which exerted a great influence on [Hamilton's] early life [was] the influence on the family of his parents' religion,' as both his parents 'came from devout religious families'.[602] A significant part of Hamilton's cultural ambiance, consequently, was the Christian morality dominating the family life of his childhood. The Christian ethic of his parents 'exerted a great influence' on Hamilton's early life. Sundays were given over to 'religious instruction and moral improvement', and work, letter writing, hobbies, and the reading of entertaining books was forbidden.[603] The 'standards of behaviour demanded in Hamilton's childhood home and outside it were those of the Christian culture.' As Wright reveals, Hamilton's attitudes were 'puritanical' and he believed that his young siblings 'should be exposed only to good influences.'[604] This reveals Hamilton as believing, like Orwell, in the notion discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry that young people were influenced by the narratives they read.

The Christian values which formed part of Hamilton's upbringing, Wright confirms, also formed part of his imagined world:

> Greyfriars and St Jim's and other schools operated by the standards of the Hamilton home. [Hamilton's] … stories disseminated Christian virtues and moral standards so that they reached millions of British homes. Countless boys thought and reacted in ways laid down by [his parents].[605]

In his article 'Boys' Writer' published in the *Saturday Book* (1945), Hamilton reveals his rejection of the overt promotion of Christianity in the fiction he read as a youth. He considered such stories to be boring, but also disliked '[seeing] it mixed up with football and cricket and practical jokes'. He comments: 'to pray oneself and to have the deep conviction that one's prayers have been answered:

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[601] Hamilton (1962), 109.

[602] Wright (2006), 29. Wright reveals Hamilton's father belonged to the Church of England and his mother the Congregational Church.

[603] Wright (2006), 29.

[604] Wright (2006), 37. Wright confirms he was especially particular regarding his choice of subjects for humour, and if his brother Dick told risqué jokes he would 'freeze him with a glassy stare'.

[605] Wright (2006), 30.

but to make a fictitious character do so with a like result seems to me utterly irreverent.' He concludes: 'All the more because I am a religious man, I carefully avoided putting religion into a boy's story'.[606]

Nevertheless, Hamilton did incorporate a moral message into his narratives, and his love of Classics, particularly Latin, enabled him to do so by giving to his schoolboy heroes the attributes of the heroes of Republican Rome he read about in *Lays.* As noted above, all Hamilton's fictional schoolboys are morally and physically honest and courageous, and loyal to their friends and school in the same way that the Republican heroes depicted by Macaulay.

3. Classics and Class in Hamilton's Fictional World

This section discusses the centrality of Classics in the lives of Hamilton's fictional schoolboys and examines the role of Class in his fictional world. This reveals that Orwell was correct in his conclusion that this world is dated and resembles 1910 rather than the interwar period (see Section 1.1). It then considers two groups of schoolboys as archetypes: the 'right'uns' who display heroic behaviour and the 'wrong'uns' who do not.

3.1 The Role of Classics in Hamilton's Fictional World

As Orwell points out, the ambiance of Hamilton's fictional world is that of 1910. However, despite real-world responses to challenges to Classics, at the most important of Hamilton's fictional schools (Greyfriars, St Jim's and Rookwood) Classics is still foregrounded. Although there are indications of a broadening of the curricula, within his fictional schools Classics continues to dominate.[607] Classics, for example, forms the major contribution to both the educational background and the interests of Hamilton's fictional Headmasters and their senior staff, who also possess a superior Classical

[606] Hamilton (1945), 83-84. Again, this non-fiction article, 'Boys' Writer' was written as Frank Richards, 'Boys' Writer', *The Saturday Book.* London: Hutchinson (1945), pp. 75-85. It is here cited as Hamilton.

[607] Mathematics, Geography, French, German, Drawing, Music and Science are identified as part of the curriculum at St Jim's. See *Gem* 518 (1918), 8, reprinted *Gem* 1615 (1939), 14. At Greyfriars, Linley studies for an examination which includes a German paper, see *Magnet* 308 (1914), 2, and French is taught for two hours per week, Magnet 289 (1913), 16. At Rookwood, 'Sides' offer boys the choice between an emphasis on a broader Modern curriculum, and a Classical curriculum incorporating Greek in the lower school. Hamilton's fictional schools also have extra-curricula societies such as dramatic societies *Magnet* 960 (1926), 3 and debating societies, see *Gem* 1267 (1932), 2-25. Boys are accomplished performers as the result of music lessons See *Magnet* 15 (1908), 1-14. It is only at Rookwood where, on the Modern Side, Classics is not foregrounded.

education. This is exemplified in Hamilton's depictions of Dr Locke, Headmaster of Greyfriars, and of Mr Henry Quelch, M.A., the most senior of his schoolmasters who, as the 'Greyfriars Gallery' pen portrait of Dr Locke notes, is the old friend on whom the headmaster 'is apt to lean on pretty heavily in times of trouble'.[608] Dr Locke can 'elucidate what Aeschylus meant when he was most Aeschylean, and what Sophocles implied in his most Sophoclean moments'.[609] Outside the classroom his thoughts are permanently occupied with the ancient world.[610] Despite indications that Dr Locke speaks several modern languages,[611] it is Dr Locke's academic gifts in Classics which are emphasised. Hamilton writes: 'The Classical languages were child's play to him … Latin and Greek were as familiar to him as his mother tongue.'[612] Dr Locke is preparing a new edition of the works of Aeschylus which he hopes will be well received at Oxford.[613] Mr Quelch shares Dr Locke's tastes for Classics,[614] and together they share 'happy enjoyable discussions of some obscure passage.[615] Their only differences of opinion are reserved for 'their rendering of certain obscure passages in Sophocles',[616] and when it is raining Quelch has no hesitation in cancelling a prior engagement to spend a wet afternoon with Dr Locke and 'dear old Sophocles'.[617] Dr Locke and Mr Quelch spend their free time discussing Greek tragedy rather than discussing Shakespeare or other English authors.

As with the Headmasters and senior masters, within Greyfriars and St Jim's fictional schools it is Classics, particularly Latin, which dominates the lives and thoughts of junior schoolboys. Nevertheless, Hamilton also accurately depicts the inappropriateness of an education foregrounding

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[608] *Magnet* 489 (1917), 14. For the pen portrait of Dr Locke see *Magnet* 496 (1917), 30.

[609] *Magnet* 1086 (1928), 22.

[610] *Magnet* 1009 (1928), 2. This does not necessarily imply a reasonably high familiarity with Classical scholarship among Hamilton's readership. Orwell reveals a substantial working-class readership. See Orwell (1968), 460-461. The social historian Roberts, concurs. See Roberts (1993), 160-161. Hamilton's description of this headmaster indicates that his fictional schoolmasters are irrelevant to the real world in which his audience lived.

[611] 'French, German, Spanish and Italian he took in his stride'. His concentration on the ancient world, however, results in difficulties coping with the modern world. He cannot readily understand contemporary idioms, and when informed that a sovereign has been 'pinched', he believes that it has somehow become mis-shapen. See *Magnet* 1263 (1932), 10.

[612] *Magnet* 1263 (1932), 10.

[613] *Magnet* 145 (1910), 5. Similarly Dr Holmes, Headmaster of St Jim's, is preparing a new edition of Aeschylus, and as he walks through the country lanes his thoughts are absorbed in the *Suppliants* and the *Libation Bearers*. See *Gem* 334 (1914), 6.

[614] *Magnet* 1672 (1940), 9. He particularly admires Euripides, Sophocles and Aristophanes

[615] *Magnet* 1288 (1932), 8.

[616] *Magnet* 1086 (1928), 22.

[617] *Magnet* 1288 (1932), 8. See also *Magnet*,1115 (1929), 6.

Classics for the majority of schoolboys. Latin at Greyfriars and St Jim's is compulsory regardless of ability or inclination, with all junior schoolboys studying Caesar's *Gallic Wars*.[618] Few are keen on Latin or have an aptitude for the subject. Wharton's friend Bob Cherry, though hard working, dislikes Latin and finds it 'tough',[619] whilst Bunter (Hamilton's major negative role model), not only lacks application but also the necessary intelligence to study the subject**.**

Latin is also a dominant theme inside and outside the classroom. The major non-physical punishment is the imposition of the copying of lines from the Classics. This frequently means copying out Virgil,[620] such as lines from the *Aeneid,*[621] or the *Georgics,*[622] and when Wharton is punished with detention, he is instructed to study Latin irregular verbs rather than French ones.[623]

Hamilton's narrative 'The Nut of Greyfriars' (1913)[624] acknowledges how the majority fail to benefit academically from this regime. He shows great understanding for the viewpoint of the majority, possibly gained from personal experience attending a school teaching an attenuated form of Classics as a social marker to boys who were ill-equipped to benefit from it:

> To write out hundreds of lines in a language they only half understood, and that most of them did not care to understand, was a heavy infliction (sic) … There were a few who did not mind. Mark Linley and Penfold, the two scholarship boys, were not sorry to grind on through the *Aeneid* in that way. Harry Wharton, too, who had a taste for Virgil, wrote on contentedly. But the rest groaned under their breath, and yawned, and grumbled.[625]

Nevertheless, although Hamilton expresses sympathy with the plight of the majority, Classics remains central to the thoughts and lives of his fictional schoolboys. In prep, boys are seen to struggle with Latin translations[626] or Latin deponent verbs,[627] not with English grammar or even scientific theory. Classics is valued above all other subjects. and all school prizes concern Latin or Greek, rather than Science or English literature. At St Jim's the Founders' Prize for senior boys is for Latin.[628] At

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[618] *Magnet* 289 (1913), 17; *Gem* 777 (1922), 17.

[619] *Magnet* 1116 (1929), 3.

[620] *Gem* 715 (1921), 3.

[621] *Magnet* 04 (1908), 3, 5.

[622] *Magnet* 05 (1908), 2.

[623] *Magnet* 1288 (1932), 8.

[624] *Magnet* 289 (1913), 1-23.

[625] *Magnet* 289 (1913), 4.

[626] Hamilton enjoys depicting humorous mistranslations in class, as depicted below.

[627] *Magnet* 05 (1908), 4.

[628] *Gem* 737 (1922), 3.

Greyfriars the Seaton-D'Arcy prize is awarded to the best Latin scholar in the Remove,[629] while it is Linley's skill at Greek translation which wins him the Founder's Prize.[630] The 'handsomest prize of the term' at Rookwood is gained by studying Xenophon's *Anabasis*.[631]

At Greyfriars, if a new boy's education is found wanting it is the poor quality of his Latin, not his English, which Hamilton stresses.[632] Hamilton inserts jokes concerning Latin mistranslations in class, and the task of construing Latin texts provides opportunities for amusement. Bunter, who invariably struggles and fails to do his 'prep' before lessons, is 'celebrated at Greyfriars for having rendered *arma virumque cano* into "the armed man to the dog!"'.[633] In 'The Nut of Greyfriars', bored and mischievous schoolboys mistranslate Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, so that *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres* is construed as 'Gaul was anciently thickly covered with trees'. *Quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani* is construed as 'where there were heaps of monkeys and elephants'.[634] Bunter's idleness means he is equally poor in his attempts as Latin prose, and his attempts to translate a page of Latin into English results in 'a variety of Latin that would have made Quintilian stare and gasp!'.[635]

Latin also dominates the lives of Hamilton's schoolboys outside the classroom, and a humorous use of Latin quotations frequently dominates the conversations of Hamilton's schoolboys in their leisure time. For example, when a prefect fails to send a group of schoolboys to their dormitory

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[629] *Magnet* 02 (1908), 2.

[630] *Magnet* 180 (1911), 2.

[631] Boys' Friend 776 (1916) reprinted in *Popular* 2/55 (1920), 13.

[632] *Magnet* 471 (1917), 8. Bunter incorrectly identifies Aeschylus 'one of those Roman johnnies'. See *Magnet* 289 (1913), 6.

[633] *Magnet* 518 (1918), 2. Wright employs the same joke in the biography, providing the common translation howler as 'The Army, A Man and a Dog' – see Wright (2006), 103 - giving the translation as 'I tell of the man and his arms' and identifies another common 'howler' as 'I sing of the man and his dog'. See Wright (2006), 103, n76)

[634] *Magnet* 289 (1913), 17. When a wild young man who is masquerading as a temporary tutor to the Remove form at Greyfriars suggests the class begin *Gallic* Wars from the beginning, the schoolboys soon realise his knowledge of Latin is scant, and enjoy mistranslating these texts. The correct translation is 'All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the *Aquitani* another …' Wharton, has a taste for Latin, and construed his prepared text correctly, commenting that 'he didn't want to pull the man's leg' and so implying that the boys' previous answers had intended to do so. See *Magnet* 289 (1913), 17.

[635] Magnet 1588 (1938), 3. The reference to Quintilian implies, as above, that at least some of Hamilton's readers were sufficiently familiar with Classics to identify this reference to an author who was not extensively studied within a school Classics curriculum.

because he is studying Horace for the Founders' Prize, the boys discuss whether to remind him of his duties or continue their chess game:

> 'It's a case of '*quis custodiet ipsos custodes*'! remarked Monty Lowther. That's Latin, and Classical and fits the case…. It means who peels the peelers.'[636]

The Latin tag is Juvenal's *Satire* 6.437.[637] Such jokes highlight Hamilton's enjoyment at playing with language, especially the Latin language. His use of Classical quotations contains analogies and metaphors based on Classics.

Much of the humour Hamilton considers his readers would find entertaining is created by his use of Classics to create jokes, allusions and metaphors. For example, when the schoolboy Tom Merry and his friends barricade themselves into a building and an analogy is created to the siege of Troy.[638] Arthur Augustus D'Arcy is almost dragged through a window.

> Seven or eight juniors were dragging at the swell of St Jim's now from within, … he felt a good deal as if he were coming to pieces. The struggle for Arthur Augustus resembled that for the body of Patroclus of old. Patroclus, in similar circumstances, was dead, and did not worry; but Arthur Augustus was very much alive.[639]

The skirmish is likened to the fight for the body of Patroclus in the *Iliad,* Book 17, lines 735-761. The analogy is later re-emphasised:

> 'We must not let Tom Merry fall into the enemies' hands … We're not letting you outside the house, Tom. You're the giddy Palladium, you know.'[640]

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[636] *Gem* 737 (1922), 3.

[637] This refers to the frequently quoted line 'who watches the watchmen', or 'who will police the policemen.'. In this case it enquires who will remind the duty prefect of his duties and references the original use of 'peeler' for a policeman following Sir Robert Peel's creation in 1839 of the London Metropolitan Police Force based at Scotland Yard. Written in connection with marital infidelity Juvenal's quotation is now referred to in connection with abuse of power, and who would control those who control such abuse of power.

[638] *Gem* 776-784 (1922-1923).

[639] *Gem* 778 (1923), 7.

[640] *Gem* 779 (1923), 7.

The theft from Troy of the Palladium statue of Athena by Odysseus[641] results in the loss of the support of the goddess, leading to the end of the siege of Troy, and its fall. Tom Merry, as a symbolic Palladium, must be kept safe.

During 'prep' before lessons, if anyone hurls a book at another boy in frustration it is usually a Latin grammar book[642] or dictionary.[643] When a schoolboy completes his punishment of copying Latin lines from Eutropius' *Breviarium* 7.13).[644]

> Successit huic Nero, Caligulae avunculo suo …[645]

An impatient friend asks why, when their House football team requires their support as spectators, he is dawdling in the same way as Nero fiddled as Rome burned.[646] Through such constant reference to Classics, Hamilton created boarding-school worlds which reveal an idealised version of the real-world public schools.[647]

Compulsory Greek ended after the Great War, although compulsory Latin continued.[648] In schools in the real world, reforms gradually made. Shane Leslie's novel *The Oppidan* (1924), for example, identifies Eton College's recognition of the need for the introduction of other curriculum subjects early in the twentieth century. Consequently, by the interwar years challenges to Classics had

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[641] The Palladium was a small image of Pallas Athena, kept in the *penetralia* of the Temple of Vesta and said to provide protection for the place in which it was kept. Its loss would make Troy vulnerable, and so it was stolen from Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes prior to the city's fall at the end of the Trojan War. The story is reported in the *Ilias parua* ascribed to Lesches, reputed author of the Little Iliad. (*Ilias parua, argum.* 1.17-18, 2. 202).

[642] *Magnet* 1147 (1930) 4; *Gem* 878 (1924), 27.

[643] *Gem* 454 (1916), 8; *Magnet* 1147 (1930), 4.

[644] To Him succeeded Nero, who greatly resembled his uncle Caligula. [*Successit huic Nero, Caligulae, avunculo suo*].

[645] This is the *Breviarium Historiae Romanae,* or Summary of Roman History, by Eutropius (A.D. 363-387). It comprises a compressed ten-chapter account of Roman history from Rome's foundation until the reign of Jovian. This is an interesting selection by Hamilton and would have been an unusual text to have been set in a school. Hamilton may, perhaps, have been recalling his own schooling at the modest, private establishment he attended.

[646] *Pluck* 110 (1906), 1.

[647] Such a view influenced the author Simon Raven. He was so entranced by the picture created of public school life that, contemplating his future at Charterhouse, he wondered if it would be similar, and writes: 'I could hardly wait to find out,' but records his inevitable disappointment. See Raven (1986), 6-7.

[648] By January 1919, when compulsory Greek ended, it had already become optional at both Oxford and Cambridge. Latin, however, continued to be a compulsory requirement there until the end of the 1950s. See Stray (1998), 267-269.

brought about curriculum changes in most real-world public schools. Latin remained an important part of public-school curricula, but with less emphasis than previously.[649]

Within Hamilton's fictional world, there is little engagement within his narratives concerning challenges to the dominance of Classics. At Rookwood school is there some recognition of the Modern Side, but at Hamilton's other fictional schools there is not, and Classics continues to dominate the curriculum and leisure activities in all of his major fictional schools.[650] In Hamilton's fictional world, despite the end of compulsory Greek in 1919 there is little indication in his stories concerning debates regarding the challenges to Classics. Only at Rookwood school is there an indication of the challenges to Classics.

Hamilton created Rookwood school in 1914, following discussions with the Editor of *Boys' Friend*. [651] Rookwood is divided between a 'Classical Side' and a 'Modern Side'. Despite Hamilton's inclusion of a Modern Side in his fictional school, his narratives rarely reflect challenges to Classics, and the creation of the Modern Sides found in the real world. His schoolboy heroes all study on the Rookwood Classical Side, where Greek is compulsory in the junior school.

A partial level of engagement with the Challenges to Classics is found in the 1916 *Boy's Friend* text 'Jimmy Silver's Sacrifice'[652] created when the challenge to compulsory Greek was at its height. It was reprinted in the *Popular* in 1920 as 'A Helping Hand' shortly after compulsory Greek ended, In this 1916/1920 text, Rookwood's 'Modern Side' is identified as having been established

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[649] Ellesmere College, a minor public school in Shrophire, modernised its curriculum and improved its examination results sufficiently to join the Headmasters' Conference in 1932. See P.A. Hall *Fifty Years of Ellesmere: 1884-1934.* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. (1934), p. 158. A major contributor to this improvement was the creation of a thriving Classical Society and lunchtime 'voluntary' classes in Latin and Greek. See P.A. Hall (1934), 124; 127; See also C. Heward, *Making a Man of Him: Parents and Their Sons' Education at an English Public School 1929-50.* London: Routledge. (1988), p.45. Nevertheless, other subjects were demanded by parents so that their sons could study for the School Certificate curricula and progress to the professional examinations required for a career. See Heward (1988), 2-3.

[650] The Clarendon Commission (1861), was charged with investigating educational reform. See Stray (1998), 56, 86. Following its Report, for example, Merchant Taylors School in Crosby, Liverpool set out to transform from 'a small and unimportant grammar school into a large and significant public school' by 'adhering to Arnold's ideal of "religious and moral principles, gentlemanly conduct and intellectual ability",' Its broad curriculum comprised Latin and Greek but also divinity, history, geography, English, Mathematics, elementary science, drawing, music and singing. See H. M. Luft, *A History of Merchant Taylor's School, Crosby, 1620-1970.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. (1970), pp. 192-194.

[651] Wright (2007), 112.

[652] *Popular* 2/55 (1920), 13-18, 20. Reprint of *Boys' Friend* 2/776 (1916)

only within the previous fifteen or twenty years.[653] Shortly after, an Old Boy had founded a prize of twenty guineas for a Greek examination to encourage the continuation of 'the old Classical studies'.[654] The Rookwood Board of Governors appear to have introduced a 'Modern' Side, but then met with some concern, and possibly some opposition, among its Classically-educated 'old boys' who wished to ensure the study of Greek continued. The narrative itself, however, does not concern the challenges to compulsory Greek, but rather the battle of a scholarship boy to gain a Greek prize as his family is in straitened circumstances and cannot send him any money.

This general lack of engagement with the real-world challenges to Classics results in a sense in which Hamilton's fictional world remains firmly entrenched in the late nineteenth-century world of his childhood, and remote from the challenges to Classics within the curriculum. Rookwood is the only fictional school where, Greek is compulsory on its Classical Side, so that narratives such as the 1915/1920 stories concerning this school would be appropriate vehicles for the discussion of this topic, yet there is no further discussion of the challenge to compulsory Greek before or after compulsory Greek ended.

3.2 Hamilton's Implicit Moral Message

Hamilton did not wish to incorporate religious debates into his texts (See Section 2). However, an examination of Orwell's criticism, together with Hamilton's response and family correspondence quoted by Wright reveal Hamilton's implicit moral message.

As discussed above, Orwell's article 'Boys Weeklies'[655] critiques these weekly papers, but the narratives of 'Frank Richards'. For Orwell, therefore, the language and 'everything else in both the *Gem* or the *Magnet* appear to be at least thirty years out-of-date', with the political stance being an imperialist and pre-1914 outlook (see section 1.2).

This depiction, Orwell feared, would encourage lifelong subservience to the governing elite and a continuing acceptance of the status quo. 'Frank Richards', in Orwell's view, depicts a working class, which is subservient to an imperialist elite in even the most recently created boys' weeklies,[656]

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[653] This was presumably an effort to increase the numbers on the school roll and ensure the continuation of Classics as a subject option within the school.

[654] *Popular* 2/55 (1920) 15-16. This is a reprint of the 1917 *Boys Friend* vol XV no 776. These weeklies were traditionally perceived as ephemeral. Many of the original *Boys' Friend* papers are available only as reprints in *Popular* or *Schoolboys' Own Library*.

[655] First published in *Horizon* in March, 1940.

[656] *Modern Boy* (1928-1939) published by Amalgamated Press was the most recently-created boys' weekly paper examined by Orwell. The first issue of *Triumph* (6 January, 1940) followed the closure of the *Gem*. This

He considered that the Britain depicted by Amalgamated Press was a nation where none of the modern problems created by *laissez-faire* capitalism existed, and where the British Empire functioned as a paternalistic 'charity concern'.[657] This failure is reinforced by the description of the working classes as stereotypically comic or semi-villainous characters, while other Europeans are identified as dated stereotypical 'foreigners'.[658]

Orwell was concerned that readers of Amalgamated Press weeklies were absorbing outdated beliefs. An implicit message, conveyed through indirect means, was that current social problems did not exist and that *laissez-faire* capitalism was acceptable.[659] Implicit in Orwell's final paragraph of 'Boys' Weeklies' is his conviction that such influence was the publisher's deliberate intention. He concludes that both Viscount Camrose, then the sole proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph* and *Financial Times,* and his brother Viscount Kemsley, now owner of Amalgamated Press and the *Sunday Times*, were surreptitiously conspiring to implant archaic, outdated Conservative imperialist views into the minds of their young readers.[660]

Hamilton's response to Orwell's article, 'Frank Richards Replies to George Orwell' was published in *Horizon* (May 1940). Hamilton responds as 'Frank Richards'[661] and in a response which admits that his world consciously resembles that of 1910, he responds:

> I can tell him that the world went on very well then. It has not been improved by the Great War, the General Strike, the outbreak of sex-chatter by make-up, or lipstick, [or] by the present discontents …[662]

Wright confirms Hamilton's pre-Great War mental attitude when she reveals how his dated literary tastes indicate a Victorian outlook.'[663]

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was the continuation of a paper first published in 1924.

[657] Orwell (1968), 482.

[658] Orwell (1968), 472.

[659] Orwell (1968), 482.

[660] Orwell (1968), 484.

[661] He does not acknowledge that some texts published under that pseudonym were created by other writers. He is here cited as Hamilton, with a cross reference provided in the bibliography.

[662] Hamilton (1968), 485. 'Frank Richards Replies to George Orwell', in Ian Angus, and S. Orwell (eds) *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell,* vol. 1: *An Age Like This* (*1920-1940*). London: Secker and Warburg Ltd (1968), pp. 485-493. Hamilton's response was written as 'Frank Richards' but cited here as Hamilton.

[663] Wright (2006), 249-250. Wright comments that Hamilton regarded modern novels with contempt and asked that she should not send him to read.

Hamilton also emphasises an intention to transmit old-fashioned notions of moral principles rather than political ideas:

> …the higher up you go on the social scale the better you find the manners, and the more fixed the principles … Is it because Sir George up at the hall is superior to Mr Thompson from the City – or otherwise? Indeed, Mr Thompson himself is improved by being made a lord. Is it not a fact that when a title is bestowed on some hard man of business it has an ameliorating effect on him … [He] becomes rather less of a Gradgrind, rather more of a man with a sense of his social responsibilities … [and] follows, at a distance, in the footsteps of old families…[664]

That Hamilton's didactic intention was to transmit an implicit moral message mediated through Classics, is stressed in family correspondence:

> To the untutored mind LATIN is LEARNING.[665] French is merely what they speak in France, and German what they speak in Germany: but Latin is LATIN. Also, my love, there is a pill in the jam. The idea is to put a taste for the Classics into the young readers' mind…[666]

The reference to the pill in the jam is an analogy taken from Lucretius' *de Rerum Natura*, (Luc 1.933-949), in which Lucretius draws the analogy between placing honey around the edge of a child's medicine cup containing bitter wormwood, and his philosophical doctrines expressed in attractive language. Lucretius thus seeks to use his verses to attract the reader's attention and interest.[667] Hamilton believed that a young person's reading influenced their character and actions and that reading materials influenced the readers (see Section 2.2). Like Lucretius, he hopes his readers might 'see' the truth behind his entertaining narratives. Hamilton appears familiar with the work.[668]

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[664] Hamilton (1968), 488-489.

[665] Hamilton's own capitalisation.

[666] Wright (2006), 235.

[667] See Titus Lucretius Carus (Lucretius). *De Rerum Natura*. (trans. W.H.D. Rouse. Rouse & Smith (1975), 78-79 with Introduction, notes and index by Martin Ferguson Smith. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Loeb Classical Library. (1975).

[668] Gale comments that the sweetness of Lucretius' verse covers the bitter doctrine within it so that the reader might swallow it. This sweetness, however, is not superficial. Not only does it reflect the sweetness of his Epicurean teaching but is 'also the lucid medium which enables the reader to "see" the workings of nature'. See M.R. Gale *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1994), 2, 150.

Newman, Hamilton's private tutor in old age, assisted him with re-reading his favourite Classical authors, including 'most of Lucretius'.[669]

Taken together, Hamilton's response to Orwell, when read alongside Wright's record of family correspondence and family recollections (see Section 2.1), would indicate that Hamilton identified himself with a moral world of the pre-war period of 1910 which parallels his Christian moral values, and that he had a didactic intention of transmitting such a moral message. These values are transmitted through a world which privileges a perception of Classics deeply influenced by Macaulay's *Lays* and the attributes of Macaulay's Roman Republican heroes.

3.3 The Function of Class in Hamilton's Fictional World

As Orwell comments, in Hamilton's fictional world 'the characters are so carefully graded as to give almost every type of reader a character he can identify himself with.'[670] These include working-class schoolboys, so that 'boys from very poor homes [may] project themselves into the public-school atmosphere.'[671] 'Class' plays a significant role in these fictional schools, and within the strata of social classes in Hamilton's fictional world, working-class boys must find their place. The function of 'class' within this fictional world, however, is complex.

Working class schoolboys enter Hamilton's schools by gaining scholarships which privilege Classics. To do so they have studied Classics in their leisure time in order gain the requisite skills to pass the scholarship examinations. For example, Tom Redwing, the son of a local fisherman, meets Vernon Smith, who is surprised to find Redwing is reading a Latin text in his leisure time. Vernon-Smith says 'we grind that stuff at school, and we're not so keen on it.' This answer amuses Redwing, who comments that he likes Latin but doesn't receive it as part of his education, whilst Vernon-Smith clearly receives an expensive education but dislikes Latin. He adds:

> I grind over this stuff by candlelight in a little cabin, and you can study it much as you like and don't want it. You'd laugh at the way I pronounce Latin, I expect, but I can read it quite easily.'[672]

Some days later he meets a schoolboy named Clavering who is amazed not only to find that is Redwing reading from 'his pocket Horace' with the aid of the accompanying notes, but that he enjoys

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[669] Newman (1976), 201. Between 1951 and 1960 Hamilton employed Newman, a new private tutor, to help him continue his study of his favoured Latin texts.

[670] Orwell (1968), 469.

[671] Orwell (1968), 471-472

[672] *Magnet* 517 (1918), 2-13 at 5-6.

the experience. Redwing also reveals he can not only construe Horace but 'read Caesar as easily as English'. Clavering, by contrast, dislikes Latin.[673] When Redwing first attends Greyfriars,[674] on his first day in class, when asked by Quelch, his form master, to construe the Latin studied in that lesson he is able to do so with ease.[675]

The regular entrance examinations for scholarships to Hamilton's fictional schools include examination papers in Classics as well as mathematics and other topics. It is their Classical skills which enable working-class scholarship boys to study at Hamilton's schools. Redwing passed the scholarship paper only because he had read Classics as an interest. Also, at Greyfriars the working-class boy Mark Linley enters the school on a scholarship 'to help poor boys to the benefits of a college education'. Linley is the son of a Lancashire mill hand who has, himself, also worked at the mill as a factory hand whilst studying Classics with the local curate in the evenings in order to reach the requisite scholarship standard.[676] The other working-class scholarship boy at Greyfriars is Dick Penfold, the son of the local village cobbler. He also had studied in his leisure time to reach the required standard in the entrance examination.[677]

As noted in the Introduction to this enquiry, Edith Hall and Henry Stead reveal that ordinary working people were still interested in the ancient world and aspired to learn about it.[678] Christopher Stray has also identified how Classics became a status marker between the classes, with even small private schools including some level of Classics within their curricula. (See Section 2 of the Introduction to this enquiry). With the dominance of Classics in formal education, particularly with the requirement of a competence in Latin in order to enter university, it is therefore not unexpected that intelligent young men wishing to better themselves would wish to learn to read Roman texts in Latin. Nor is it unexpected that local teachers or clergymen would encourage and help them. Within the social hierarchies of the school, such working-class boys who had worked hard to better

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[673] *Magnet* 517 (1918), 9.

[674] Redwing ultimately gains a scholarship donated by Vernon-Smith's father, but first he successfully attends Greyfriars for a short time.

[675] *Magnet* 518 (1918), 2.

[676] *Magnet* 45 (1908), 1-2.

[677] *Magnet* 194 (1911), 1-24

[678] As noted in the Arthur Mee case study, Mee attended his local state school where he received no Classical education. Nevertheless, as the case study reveals, Mee developed strong opinions concerning the role of the ancient world in both the history of Britain and in the history of mankind. For discussions on Classics and the working classes see Henry Stead, 'Classics Among the Miners' in E. Richardson (ed), *Classics in Extremis: The Edges of Classical Reception*, London: Bloomsbury (2019), pp. 460-475. See also Hall, E. & Stead, H. *A People's History of Classics: Class and Greco-Roman Antiquity in Britain and Ireland, 1689-1939*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (2020).

themselves must find their place. Penfold, as the son of the local cobbler, gained the Town scholarship in the face of competition from other local schools, including local grammar schools where Classics was formally taught. Both his father and Dr Locke, the Greyfriars headmaster, are concerned that Penfold would be 'out of place' in the school. His father is concerned it would be 'above his station'; as Dr Locke comments, it was possible he would 'find the new surroundings somewhat uncomfortable.'[679]

This 1911 text reveals the elitist attitude Orwell identifies in Hamilton's narratives. As many second-hand copies the boys' weeklies were traded formally and informally, many attitudes within the early narratives would have been extremely dated when read in 1940. Furthermore, as Jeffrey Richards comments, each academic year the boys return to Hamilton's fictional schools at the same age as they left for their summer holidays at the end of the previous academic year.[680] Not only do Hamilton's schoolboys not age over time but, as Orwell comments, neither does their speech so that 'you would find something like [certain patterns of speech] in almost every chapter of every number, today or twenty-five years ago'.[681] This lack of change of time is consistent with Hamilton's moral perception as being grounded in the period of 1910.

Schoolboys of every class are found within each of Hamilton's fictional schools. Into this mix, his working-class scholarship boys must find a social space. In the *Gem*, the schoolboy Arthur Augustus D'Arcy represents everything Orwell disliked about Hamilton's fictional world. He comments that readers are constantly being reminded that Honorable Arthur A. D'Arcy, 'is the [younger] son of Lord Eastwood'.[682] For Hamilton, however, D'Arcy represents the qualities of the best of the old aristocratic families he admires and wishes his audience to emulate. As D'Arcy's *Gem* editorial pen portrait reveals, he has 'pluck, loyalty, abounding generosity, [and] honour.'[683] D'Arcy displays incredible politeness to all regardless of the class or the manners of the other person, and is infinitely tolerant of others. For example, when two unpleasant schoolboys suborn a tramp to impersonate his Canadian cousin, the man's behaviour embarrasses him, but he bears it with grace.[684]

Several boys within Hamilton's narratives are related to members of the military. The most significant is Harry Wharton in the *Magnet* narratives. His father died serving on the Indian frontier.[685] His uncle and guardian, Colonel Wharton has recently returned from extensive service in

[679] *Magnet* 194 (1911), 4.

[680] J. Richards (1988), 274-275.

[681] Orwell (1968), 464.

[682] Orwell (1968), 466.

[683] *Gem* 519 (1918) 14.

[684] *Gem* 224 (1912), 1-20.

[685] *Magnet* 42 (1908), 13.

India.[686] Many of the boys in Hamilton's fictional schools are the sons of middle-class professional men of the type who, during the interwar years, were sending their sons to minor public schools to ensure they gained the education required to enter the professions. The parents of these middle-class fictional schoolboys, though affluent, are not wealthy. At Greyfriars, Peter Todd is the son of a middle-class solicitor. Bunter is the son of an affluent stockbroker. As his 'Greyfriars Gallery' pen portrait reveals, Todd is as honest as he is shrewd, and kindly so that 'there is something of the grown-up man' in him. He is clearly destined to follow in his father's footsteps, and his pen portrait comments on the fact he studies law, his father's profession, in his spare time.[687] The Greyfriars schoolboy Vernon-Smith is the son of a millionaire businessman who assists the boys in visiting the South Seas in in the second of their South Seas adventures.[688] In an earlier South Seas adventure, he reveals the reason for his visits to the South Seas is that he has investments in rubber plantations in the far east.[689] In the *Gem,* Aubrey Racke's father earned his fortune as a 'war profiteer', and now wishes his son to have 'a slap-up education'[690] as the form of cultural capital identified by Stray in the Introduction to this enquiry.

Hamilton's fictional world also incorporates non-Europeans, and as noted in the Introduction to this enquiry Said has remarked that imperialism depends upon the unquestioned assumptions of difference, and de Groot has revealed ways in which physical descriptions of such native, validated by 'experts' in the new emerging Victorian sciences, served to differentiate them from white Europeans so that they became the Other (see Section 3 of the Introduction to this enquiry). Orwell particularly identifies the Chinese boy Wun Lung as the 'typical pantomime Chinaman, with saucer-shaped hat, pigtail and pidgin-English'.[691]

Nevertheless, Wun Lung, from Yangtse-Kiang[692] has received a competent Classical education in China and he construes, reads, and writes Latin texts in a way which is 'up to the form average'. Hamilton, however, finds humour in his pronunciation, commenting that it 'had the effect of turning [Virgil 's Aeneid] into a humourist', and making the other schoolboys laugh:

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[686] *Magnet* 01 (1908), 1.

[687] *Magnet* 471 (1917), 16.

[688] See *Magnet* 1589-1598 (1938).

[689] See *Magnet* (1927) 1017-1026 in *Magnet* 1019 (1927), 12-13.

[690] *Gem* 440 (1916), 2.

[691] Orwell (1968), 471.

[692] The Yangtze-Kiang is the longest river in Asia, flowing from Tibet and into the East China Sea near Shanghai

"Tles notusee ableptasee in saxa latentiaee tolquetee—
Saxa vocantee Italee, mediisee quae in flustibusee, Alas,
Dolsum immance malee sumine.' [693]

As noted in the Introduction to this enquiry, James Loudon, President of the University of Toronto, reveals that British Classicists had assisted in the establishment of higher education in Canada, so that the academic culture of Classics had resulted in a lack of research skills in Canada (see Section 3 of the Introduction to this enquiry). This emphasises how, in Hamilton's fictional world, formal, academic study of the Classical world had permeated the culture of the far East.

Although Wun Lung's Latin is competent, however, Hamilton's orientalist language identifies him as the Other. Orwell's criticism of Hamilton's depiction of a 'pantomime Chinaman' is accurate. On his arrival Wun Lung does not wear the Greyfriars' school uniform but 'the loose garb of his native country, of a rich silken material, adorned with borders of strange characters'. The other boys in his form describe him 'as if he had just hopped off a tea-caddy'.[694] The boy is also differentiated by his 'pigtail',[695] and just as Singh's English is used to create 'humour', Wun Lung's English resembles the stereotypical Chinese of popular culture, in which the grammar is fractured. When asked 'where did you spring from', he therefore answers 'Me not splingee. Me walkee.'[696] Wun Lung is also depicted as deceitful and cunning. As the story 'The Greyfriars Chinee'[697] reveals, he adopts an air of innocence, saying 'no savvy', then does as he wishes. For example, he invites himself into Wharton's study to share his tea, and when told to leave feigns ignorance.[698] Hamilton has presented his audience with their unquestioned assumptions about foreigners, and verifies all Edward Said's criticisms of unquestioned imperialist assumptions.

Into this social mix, working-class scholarship boys must find their place. This, however, is not as precise as taking their place on the lowest rung of a school's social ladder. On to this class hierarchy Hamilton superimposes a moral structure. This he achieves this by dividing his fictional schoolboys into two distinct categories: those who possess the right moral virtues and those who do not. All his working-class scholarship boys are revealed as possessing the right moral code. As a

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[693] *Magnet* 37 (1908), 1-14 at 8. Wun Lung is reading from Virgil's Aeneid, 1.108. *tris Notus abreptas in saxa latientia torquet saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras, dorsum immane mari summo.* (The South wind snatched up and hurled three ships onto the rocks hiding in midocean, the rocks which the Italians call Altars, a huge spine on the surface of the sea.)

[694] *Magnet* 36 (1908),14.

[695] *Magnet* 36: (1908), 14.

[696] *Magnet* 36 (1908), 14.

[697] See *Magnet* 37 (1908), 1-12.

[698] *Magnet* 37 (1908), 2.

Rookwood schoolboy tells a newcomer, 'There's all sorts in a school, same as everywhere else. "Right'uns", and "wrong'uns"'.[699] At Greyfriars, St Jim's and Rookwood, Hamilton's 'right'uns' are archetypes and *exempla* of the schoolboy ideal, who possesses moral virtue. The 'wrong'uns' provide examples of those boys lacking moral virtue. As noted above, this is consistent with the *exempla* of Roman virtue which Macaulay incorporated into his *Lays,* and which inspired Hamilton in the creation of his 'right'uns' and 'wrong'uns'. (See Section 3.2).

In Hamilton's fictional world the 'right'uns' form one social group, whilst the 'wrong'uns' form another, and these two groups never interact socially, as they despise one other. Racke's pen portrait, for example, describes him as proud;[700] 'he has never made a friend among decent fellows, and he never will,' as he is 'a gambler, a cheat, spiteful and treacherous, snobbish and mean.'[701] In a fight he is cowardly, and rather than fighting without surrender, '[drops] his hands and [jumps] back' saying 'I give in'.[702]. The 'right'uns' reject him, and Racke enters the social circle of the school bullies.

For the archetypes of the 'right'uns' it is 'decency' and virtue, not class, which underlies their social structure and if a member of a the 'right'uns' social group should lapse into unacceptable behaviour, such as smoking, drinking or gambling, he will be rejected by the group. For example, when the friends of D'Arcy of St Jim's mistakenly believe he is betting on horses they reject him socially and refuse to speak to him.[703] In this social group a schoolboy's 'class' is irrelevant as these boys define themselves by their moral code, and regard themselves as equals. At Greyfriars, this group of 'right'uns' includes Lord Mauleverer, an earl, Wharton, son of a military officer and the scholarship boys, Linley,[704] Penfold,[705] and Redwing.[706] Such an attitude indicates that all boys within it are considered social equals. In a world which privileges Classics hard work is part of the moral code and members of this group work hard at their studies. Some boys enjoy Classics, such as Redwing. Others, such as the schoolboy hero Bob Cherry Wharton's friend, work hard even though they dislike Latin and find it 'tough'.[707]

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[699] *Schoolboys' Own Library*, 220 (1934) 24. Reprint of *Boys' Friend* 831, 833-937 (1917).

[700] *Gem* 525 (1918), 14.

[701] *Gem* 440 (1916), inside cover, 2-17.

[702] *Gem* 456 (1916), 5.

[703] *Gem* 456 (1916), 1-20

[704] Introduced in *Magnet* 045 (1908), 1-14.

[705] Introduced in *Magnet* 194 (1911), 1-24.

[706] Introduced in *Magnet* 517 (1918), 2-13.

[707] *Magnet* 1116 (1929), 3.

By contrast, the archetypes for the 'wrong'uns' emphasise social status. They have neither concern for morality nor an interest in Classics. They are 'slackers' and not only do not work hard but have no respect for the scholarship boys' hard work and ability in the study of Classics. They accept or reject individuals based on their wealth and social status. The behavioural marker for this group is a propensity for smoking, drinking, gambling, and dishonesty. At Rookwood, for example, when wealthy 'wrong'un' Mornington is rejected by the 'right'uns' he is admitted to the 'wrong'uns' social group. Soon, stories include how he lies to his form master, visits a local race-course and then, on their way back to school, visits a public house.[708] As social class and social status remain the criteria for acceptance to the affluent social group of 'wrong'uns', this group reject working-class boys and considers they have no right to be educated alongside the sons of the aristocracy, military officers, professional men and wealthy businessmen. At Rookwood, for example, despise the scholarship boy Tom Rawson as a 'filthy outsider' who is 'shoving himself in among gentlemen'. Rawson, however, stands up to them and is accepted by the rest of his form and finds his place in their social set as an equal.[709]

However, Harry Wharton's arrival at Greyfriars[710] reveals that not all 'wrong'uns' are irredeemable, and the acceptance of discipline and a virtuous life is a matter of choice. (See Section 3.1). Unusual friendships are often formed as the result of heroic acts by a boy previously identified as a 'wrong'un'. Usually such acts involve saving the life of the boy who is a 'right'un'. As a result, unusual friendships form between a 'right'un' and a 'wrong'un' frequently involve a change of character in the boy lacking moral virtue.

In Hamilton's fictional world, such friendships between boys who do, and do not, possess moral virtue create the means to cross the social threshold. The actions of moral boys provide *exempla* to boys with the potential for change. In this way, such a boy becomes an internal audience to an *exemplum*, and Hamilton's external audience may watch his progress as he changes. It is the working-class schoolboys who frequently act as the conduit for *exempla,* and each of Hamilton's fictional schools provides an example of such change brought about by the active examples of working-class boys.

At Jim's, Talbot is a thief who was raised in London's slums and placed in St Jim's by his father to assist the theft of the school's valuables.[711] Accepted as a friend by Tom Merry and subject

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[708] *Boys' Friend* 2/774 (1916) and *Boys'* Friend, 2/775 (1916) reprinted in *Popular*, 2/54 (1920), 13-18 and 20, and in *Popular* 2/55 (1920), 13-18.

[709] *Boys' Friend* 769 (1916), republished in *Popular,* 2/50 (1920) pp 14-19 at 14.

[710] See *Magnet* 1-10 (1908).

[711] *Gem* 334 (1914), 1-21.

to his influence he becomes increasingly ashamed. As he explains to the headmaster, it was Tom Merry's example which changed him.[712] Talbot returns to the school on a scholarship.[713] Here, Talbot then becomes an *exemplum* to the affluent but wild schoolboy Levison whose other friends are 'wrong'uns who, like himself, smoke, drink and gamble. Talbot, becomes 'the only fellow at St Jim's for whose good opinion Levison cared a straw'.[714] Hamilton's authorial voice indicates that this friendship will slowly change Levison:

> Levison … was not likely to change his character in a hurry … [and] he would always have a friend in the junior [school] …[715]

Later Hamilton comments:

> It was not impossible that under Talbot's influence [Levison's] peculiar nature, so strangely compounded of good and evil, might be induced to run straight at last.[716]

Levison eventually breaks with the 'wrong'uns' he had been mixing with socially.[717] Through the friendship of a boy raised in the slums, Levison makes the moral choice to reform.

At Greyfriars Vernon-Smith, son of a millionaire, is a 'wrong'un' befriended by working-class boy Redwing, whose behaviour improves with the contact between them.[718] Similarly, at Rookwood, the 'wrong'un' Mornington is befriended by Kit Errol, who had been raised in the slums.[719] He gradually reforms when he becomes an internal audience to Errol's moral attributes. After his reform he rejects his former friends and is invited, with Errol, to the home of the Fourth Form Captain at Rookwood for Christmas.[720]

In this way the class structures at Hamilton's fictional schools are revealed to be complex. In the 'right'uns' group, working class schoolboys do not merely passively accept friendship but become active *exempla* to the internal audience of a 'wrong'un' with the potential to change.

Hamilton's response to Orwell reveals his conscious choice to create a dated fictional world confirming Orwell's judgement that this fictional world represents a world closer to 1910, when

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[712] *Gem* 337 (1914), 1-22 at 22.

[713] *Gem* 353 (1914), 2-19.

[714] *Gem* 385 (1915), 13.

[715] *Gem* 353 (1914), 1-20 at 20.

[716] *Gem* 385 (1915), 1-21 at 21.

[717] *Gem* 451 (1916), 1-17 at 14.

[718] *Magnet* 517 (1918) 3-4; and *Magnet* 1017 (1927) 3-7.

[719] *Boys' Friend* 2/833-837 (1917). Reprinted as 'Son of a Cracksman' in *Schoolboys' Own Library* 220 (1934)

[720] *Boys' Friend* 2/0863 (1917), 297-300.

Classics was privileged, rather than to the interwar period when his texts were incredibly popular. Hamilton's fictional world becomes entangled with a Victorian-era imperialist vision. Orwell is therefore correct in identifying his fictional schools as imperialist institutions which resemble the world of 1910.

4. Classics and Class in Hamilton's Relationship with his Readership

This section examines how class plays out between Hamilton's imagined world and that of the author and reader. Two groups of material around his narratives must be considered. First is the additional editorial content created by the publishers themselves, through which the publishers became a threshold between the reader and the author. This provided a means by which Hamilton could judge readers' responses to his narratives and respond with further material. Second are the advertisements placed in the weeklies. These provide a strong indication of the social classes of the readership with which Hamilton had such a relationship.

4.1 The Creation of the Author/Reader Relationship

As Benedict Anderson points out concerning the growth of nationalism, the first cheap, vernacular published texts enabled a broad range of readers to experience the same texts, and to share their reading experiences. This created an 'imagined community' of disparate individuals who could read, and share, the same ideas.[721] Similarly, throughout the Empire and the English-speaking world Hamilton created an Empire-wide enthusiastic audience for his narratives. Just as the readers of the first printed texts, identified by Anderson, were able to read about shared ideas, this Empire-wide readership shared enthusiasms for Hamilton's narratives in twentieth-century boys' weeklies. This created an 'imagined community' of Hamilton enthusiasts. As noted above, small groups of these enthusiastic readers met to exchange papers and opinions about the texts, (see Section 1.1), creating smaller, local 'real' communities of enthusiasts in the real world. Roberts confirms that some of his friends had their favourite characters and were influenced by them.[722]

As Laura Jansen points out, however, the materials surrounding a text can also influence readers, who perceive such additional material through the original texts. At the same time, the central

[721] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso. (2006) (Revised edition), p. 40.

[722] Roberts (1990), 160.

texts themselves influence the way the surrounding material is perceived.[723] The other materials printed in addition to Hamilton's narratives would thus act as a 'threshold' between Hamilton's text and any messages which readers identify in the surrounding material. Such 'thresholds' invite readers to conflate messages found within and around the texts.[724] In this way, as Gérard Genette points out, that they become identifiable with, and legitimated by, the author.[725] When Amalgamated Press began publishing the *Gem* and the *Magnet* only advertisements appeared in addition to the stories. Nevertheless, from an early date readers' letters not only helped identify what was currently popular but what would be popular in the future. As Samways records:

> Letters from all parts of the world flowed into the *Magnet* office – in a steady stream normally, but in a veritable tidal wave when a particularly outstanding story appeared or when a big controversial issue was raised.[726]

The editors' letters pages provided the first instance of a threshold between the author and the reader. This permitted the editors to maintain a 'friendly and intimate contact' with readers' whom they never met and who never met either them or each other.[727] It also, however, provided a means by which Hamilton, as an author, could learn what pleased his readers. In *Gem* issue 180 (1911) a 'This Week's Chat' page was introduced in response to 'letters from my readers and chums from all over the world,' inviting readers to contribute material.[728] By the end of the year this included a brief correspondence exchange.[729] On November 25 of that year, the *Magnet* introduced a 'My Readers' column which featured a correspondence exchange.[730]

Amalgamated Press quickly realised the 'letters to the editor' pages influenced circulation, and Hamilton's sub-editor Samways confirms that readers believed in the reality of the schools and the schoolboys.[731] The illusion was not always dispelled. For example, in 1919 when Hinton returned as Editor, following his war service, he wrote a series of articles in which he refers to 'Frank

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[723] Laura Jansen, 'Introduction: Approaches to Roman Paratextuality', in Jansen, L. (ed.) *The Roman Paratext*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2014) pp. 1-18.

[724] Jansen (2014), 7.

[725] Gérard Genette *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation.* Translated from the French by J.E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (1997), pp. 1-2. Cf. Jansen (2014), 7.

[726] Samways (1984), 181.

[727] Samways (1984), 181.

[728] *Gem* 180 (1911), 28.

[729] See *Gem* 200-202 (1911), page 28 in each instance.

[730] *Magnet* 198 (1911), 28.

[731] Samways (1984), 94.

Richards' and 'Owen Conquest' in terms which create the illusion of reality.[732] By the end of the Great War the 'Editor's Chat' page of the *Magnet* [733] broadened the expanding reader/reader dynamic. This expanded into the *Magnet*'s 'Come into the Office, Boys' which, by 1929, had expanded to two pages.[734] It published answers to readers' queries, jokes and limericks, further widening the range of editorial material of interest to readers.[735] The corresponding issue of the *Gem* includes an 'Ask the Oracle' page[736] answering readers' questions. In this way the editorial staff also learned a great deal about social position of their readers from their addresses, or unpublished comments.

The editors reinforced their connections with the readers by editorial content which emphasised interests which many readers had in common. These included cricket-themed competitions,[737] or sporting articles describing famous football clubs,[738] tips on soccer playing.[739] An extensive series of articles, 'Harry Wharton's Cricket Supplement',[740] associated the England cricket team with Hamilton's fictional world. Free gifts[741] connected with such journalistic articles reinforced the perception of shared interests among readers. Such activities enabled not only the publisher but also the author to be aware of what interested readers, with the publishers acting as an intermediary between the author and the reader, enabling the author to transmit back to his readers what was of interest to them. Such editorial content continued to provide a threshold between the author and the reader, and the publishing editor was able to learn of the preferences of Hamilton's readers. In turn, Hamilton could learn what pleased them and provide further stories which would encourage them to continue to read his fiction.

The publisher's illustrations accompanying Hamilton's narratives, however, reveal a tension between the intentions of the publisher – to sell as many papers as possible to as wide an audience as

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[732] *Gem* 601 (1919), 14-15.

[733] See for example *Magnet* 601 (1919), 15.

[734] *Magnet* 1115 (1929), 2, 28.

[735] For example, it published readers' limericks. See *Magnet* 1115 (1929), 2.

[736] *Gem* 1115 (1929), 13. Those queries not published were answered by post, with a member of staff employed solely for that task. See Samways (1984), 171.

[737] *Magnet* 960 (1926), 2.

[738] *Magnet* 1024-1033 (1927), page 2 in each instance.

[739] See *Magnet* 1299 (1933), 17.

[740] *Magnet* 960 (1926), 13-16.

[741] Sporting articles were regularly featured at times of major sporting competitions, such as the stand-up free gifts given away in the *Magnet* during the cricket Ashes tour. See stories and front covers in *Magnet* 960-967 (1926). A range of articles about football were always popular. See for example 'Our Footer Fans' Feature', *Magnet* 1414 (1935), 17. 'Our Famous Footer Clubs' are featured in *Magnet* 1024-1033 (1927). Football advice is given in the soccer tips feature 'Linesman Calling'. See for example *Magnet* 1299 (1933), 17.

possible – and Hamilton's expressed wish to depict a nostalgic world of 1910 which privileged Classics. As discussed in the Arthur Mee Case Study an image may be considered a text. Just as Jansen identifies the way in which a Trojan War text and the *tabula Iliaca Capitolina* marbles depicting that War inform each other,[742] the same process occurs with the illustrations accompanying Hamilton's narratives. Readers see the illustrations immediately, before the text is read. The illustrations accompanying Hamilton's narratives depict significant moments in the stories, but when interpreting them readers draw on their own real-world experience and guide readers' interpretations. They do not, however, control these interpretations. These, as Jansen points out, derived from individual experience. Popular leisure activities are depicted which are enjoyed by Hamilton's fictional schoolboys and many front-page illustrations reinforce an identification between readers' interests and those of Hamilton's fictional characters.[743]

The illustrations associated with Hamilton's narratives gradually evolved over time and increasingly depicted boys who visually resembled the readership.[744] A striking representation of this change is found in the 1930 *Gem* story 'Goodbye to Etons',[745] in which the pre-war 'old fashioned' Eton suit was to be exchanged for modern dress. The illustration which appears beside the story title is of a boy dressed in 'Etons',[746] with a later image depicting boys mocking a boy dressed in 'Etons'.[747] Although Hamilton created this narrative of change, however, his stories continued to depict a world consistent with 1910.

Furthermore, within the *Magnet,* rather than a narrative which depicts sudden change the images during the interwar period had gradually changed, and by so doing reflected readers' own experiences rather than the Classical world depicted by Hamilton. The front cover of *Magnet* 1155,

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[742] Jansen (2014), 3.

[743] For example, in 1922, cover illustrations by the *Gem* depict Boy Scouts, boxing and cricket once. See front covers of *Gem* 727, 733, and 754 (1922). Football is depicted eight times on the front covers of *Gem* 726, 741, 742, 768, 769, 770, 771 and 772 (1922). The *Magnet*, during 1926, depicts skating on a pond once – see *Magnet* 935, front cover - football and the circus twice – see front covers of *Magnet* 943 and 973 and 945 and 947. Cricket, associated with the free gift, is featured on the front covers of *Magnet* 960-967 (1926).

[744] Orwell identifies letters in which boys wrote to the editors giving their height, weight and other physical descriptions, and asking which of the schoolboys attending Greyfriars, or St Jim's, they resembled. Other paratexts, discussed in this section, include photographs of readers which were published in the weekly papers. The editor could therefore instruct illustrators about the physical appearance of characters depicted in paratexts.

[745] *Gem,* 1155 (1930), 2-23, 28. The front cover illustrates boys dressed in modern blazers burning their old school clothing.

[746] *Gem* 1155 (1930), 2.

[747] *Gem* 1155 (1930), 19. The schoolboy mocked is D'Arcy, who identifies the old-style clothing with old-style values.

appearing at same week as *Gem* 1155,[748] depicts a schoolboy wearing a school blazer, cap, tie, and jumper. Such images raise expectations in the audience's mind before the text itself is read, and guide readers in their attitudes to events in the story. Although Orwell correctly identifies 'posh' schoolboys in Hamilton's narratives both before the Great War and throughout the interwar period, this gradual evolution in visual style signalled to readers that the characters in the narratives are modern young people like themselves. Despite this tension, however, Hamilton continued to create the nostalgic, dated world of privilege identified by Orwell so that his implicit moral message could continue to be incorporated into his narratives.

4.2 Class and Hamilton's Readership

The editorial content reveals how the editorial content created a bridge between the author and reader through the creation first of imagined communities, and then small communities in the real world. It does little, however, to indicate the class structure of the readership to which Hamilton responded. The major indication of the social class of Hamilton's audience is indicated by the weekly papers' advertisements.

The popularity of the Amalgamated Press weeklies rapidly attracted a broad range of commercial advertisements which indicate not only the interests of Hamilton's audience but also its spending power. Orwell judges his audience in Britain to be largely working-class, as revealed by the many boys' weeklies found in newsagents in the poorer areas of towns and cities of England.[749] An analysis of the advertisements within the weeklies reveals a broad social range. Of this, the working class, while only a part, was a significant one. Early advertisements identified cycling as a popular pastime.[750] Later commercial advertisers targeted a wide range of hobbyists. These include expensive items such as Meccano, Hornby clockwork trains, fretwork and cameras.[751] Model yacht enthusiasts could purchase the 'Ace Yacht', and music lovers were invited to purchase musical instruments such

[748] As discussed above 'companion papers', while they are published on different days, share issue and volume numbers.

[749] Orwell (1968), 460-461

[750] See the inside cover of *Magnet* 120 (1910). This contains bicycle advertisements by four different companies, including bicycles for female readers. See also *Magnet* 133 (1910), inside cover for bicycle advertisement. In Lancaster, before 1920 almost half the population walked to work, but bicycle use increased rapidly from about 1910. See, for example, C. Pooley & J. Turnbull, 'Modal choice and modal change: the journey to work in Britain since 1890', in *Journal of Transport Geography*, 13 (2000), pp. 11-24 at 14). In 1910, The Cyclists' Touring Club had begun to produce maps for leisure cyclists and King George V was its patron. Hamilton himself was a keen leisure cyclist. See Wright (2006), 52-53.

[751] See *Gem* 1033 (1927), 21, 23; 1029 (1927), 21; 1165 (1930), 19.

as piano accordions or even portable gramophones.[752] On a more affordable level, stamp collectors could purchase stamps.[753] Orwell identifies such advertisements. There are, for example, advertisements with a juvenile appeal, such as potato and pea pistols, blushing cured, and home conjuring tricks.[754] Such advertisements would have Empire-wide appeal.[755]

Orwell, however, also identifies job advertisements placed by the Admiralty for boys to serve in the Royal Navy.[756] These advertisements also confirm that the target class of the reader of such advertisements was working-class.[757] The advertisement in the *Magnet* 885 (1925), for example, are for boys between fifteen and seventeen to join the Royal Navy at 'Seaman Class' with future training, and for young men up to the age of twenty-five to become Stokers and up to the age of twenty-three to join the Royal Marines.[758] In 1938, at the end of an economically challenging decade and the possibility of another major European war causing concerning within Government, the Naval Recruiting Office placed an advertisement seeking recruits in the same issue of the *Magnet* in which Hamilton's narratives concerning the second adventures in the South Pacific of Greyfriars Schoolboys.[759] This particular block of advertisements again sought young working-class men aged between fifteen and seventeen and a half. In January and February 1939 further advertisements were placed in the *Magnet*,[760] seeking young men aged between seventeen and a half and twenty-two to enter as 'Seamen for the Special Service for seven years in the Fleet and for five years in the Reserve'.

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[752] *Magnet* 960 (1926), 28; *Magnet* 781 (1923), 28. *Gem* 1090 (1929), 27.

[753] *Magnet* 1404 (1935), 28.

[754] Orwell (1968), 468. For example, a potato gun and a pea guns are advertised in the *Magnet* at one shilling and two shillings respectively alongside an advertisement for triangular stamps. See *Magnet* 1115 (1929), 28. An advertisement in the previous week's *Magnet* includes 'magic' sets costing two shilling and sixpence or five shillings and sixpence alongside an advertisement for three hundred stamps costing sixpence. See *Magnet* 1114 (1929), 28. Similarly, an advertisement in the *Gem* for parts for home cinema kits costing between approximately three shillings and twelve shillings appears beside advertisement for instructions on becoming a ventriloquist costing sixpence and cheap cures for blushing and shyness. See *Gem* 885 (1925), 28.

[755] Noting the general range of these advertisements Orwell concludes this indicates a readership age of about fourteen.

[756] Orwell (1968), 468.

[757] These advertisements also confirm that the readership of boys' weeklies was not confined to young people, although they could also indicate that readers might draw the attention of family members to the advertisements.

[758] *Magnet* 885 (1925), 28.

[759] *Magnet* 1597 (1938), 28; 1598 (1938), 28.

[760] *Magnet* 1612 (1939), 28; 1614 (1939), 28; 1615 (1939), 28; 1616 (1939), 28.

An interesting group of advertisements implies a possible collaboration between the publisher and the government. In 1924 the Department of Naval Recruiting began a series of advertisements appearing in the *Magnet*, commencing on October 11 1924.[761] They were published in almost every issue until October 29, 1927.[762] Shortly after the first advertisement, on October 25 1924, the *Magnet's* 'To and From Your Editor' editorial column announced forthcoming articles, pictures and free gifts of photogravure plates of 'Our Fighting Fleet'.[763] The first picture (H.M.S. Hood) was to be included the following week on the front cover of *Magnet* 873 together with an article describing the ship and introducing the following week's gift.[764] The 'India Series' of narratives[765] and the first 'South Seas' narratives,[766] both involving Greyfriars boys' visits to exciting but distant parts of the Empire, coincided with the British Navy's extended series of advertisements. Further advertisements were subsequently placed by the British Government. In 1938, for example, the Naval Recruiting Office placed an advertisement seeking recruits in the same issue of the *Magnet*[767] in which Hamilton's narratives concern the second adventures in the South Pacific of Greyfriars Schoolboys. The advertisement sought young men aged between fifteen and seventeen and a half. As noted above, in January and February 1939 further advertisements were placed in the *Magnet*, prior to the outbreak of war.[768]

A third group of advertisements were placed by Dominion governments and by the Salvation Army in Britain seeking working class readers seeking work to emigrate to the Dominions. The Salvation Army advertised for youths aged fourteen to nineteen to emigrate to farms on the Dominions with comments such as assisted passage 'repayable by easy instalments when in work overseas', and 'free farm training' at the end of the journey.[769] Similar advertisements were placed by the Government of Ontario, Canada. 'Boy Farm Learners' aged fifteen to seventeen were offered 'free passage, wages, board, and lodging', with 'selected farmers' which included 'supervision and after-

[761] *Magnet* 870 (1924), 28.

[762] *Magnet* 1028 (1927), 28.

[763] *Magnet* 872 (1924), 2.

[764] *Magnet* 873 (1924), 2. The free gift the following week was HMS *Queen Elizabeth.* The final free photogravure of a naval vessel, HMS *Erebus*, was given free with *Magnet* 884, January 17, 1925.

[765] *Magnet* 960-970 (1926).

[766] *Magnet* 1017-1026 (1927).

[767] *Magnet* 1597 (1938), 28; 1598 (1938), 28. See *Magnet* 1589-1598 (1938) for the associated series of stories.

[768] *Magnet* 1612 (1938), 28; 1614 (1938), 28; 1615 (1938), 28; 1616 (1938), 28.

[769] *Magnet* 966 (1926), 28; 970 (1926), 28; 1037 (1927), 27.

care by the Government for three years'.[770] Advertisements also appeared seeking young women for domestic service in Australia.[771]

The commercial and government advertisements considered together indicate a mixed readership but confirms Orwell's judgement that while boys from public schools and cheap private schools read Hamilton's narratives they were read by large numbers of working-class youth.[772]. The editorial content which formed an author/reader relationship between Hamilton and his readers in which the editorial staff acted as a 'threshold' which facilitated communication between Hamilton and his readers. The advertisements provide an indication of the class of this readership. Whilst the commercial advertisements include expensive items enjoyed by more affluent readers, an extensive range of advertisements, both commercial and non-commercial, indicate a broad social range within that readership. This enabled Hamilton to craft his narratives so that, as Orwell comments, every reader found a character with whom they could identify. The advertisements, and Hamilton's own words also validate Orwell's judgement that much of this readership was working-class. That readership, as he points out, was reading about an elitist, imperialist institution.

5. Conclusion

This case study reveals Hamilton to be the most popular author of boarding-school narratives. His work was published in the Amalgamated Press boys' weeklies. Hamilton's narratives were read by millions of young people across the Empire, male and female, during the interwar period. George Orwell, in 'Boys Weeklies' (March 1940) argues that in order to induce working-class subservience to a British imperialist elite Hamilton depicts a snobbish, imperialist world resembling that of 1910.

Hamilton received a modest Classical education in a small, private school of the type identified by Christopher Stray which imparted a Classical education as cultural capital. This education, together with a love of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome,* gave Hamilton both a lifelong love of Classics and the conviction that a knowledge of Latin culture was beneficial. In her biography, his niece Una Hamilton Wright states Hamilton hoped his enjoyable stories would give his readers a 'taste for Classics' like 'a pill in the jam'. Wright also points out that the qualities possessed by

[770] *Magnet* 966 (1926), 28; 967 (1926), 28; 968 (1926), 28. *Magnet* 966 (1926) contained advertisements from both the Ontario Government and the Salvation Army.

[771] *Gem* 1066 (1928), 28. *Gem* 1067 (1928), 28.

[772] Orwell (1968), 467.

Hamilton's schoolboy heroes are the same as those revealed in the heroism of the ancient Roman Republican heroes in Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

Orwell is correct in his criticism of Hamilton's fictional world as being dated, and representative of a world more in keeping with the pre-Great War ambiance of 1910. That world, as Orwell points out, is filled with the sons of affluent aristocrats, rich businessmen and affluent middle-class professional men and military officers. However, Hamilton also includes working-class scholarship boys, in his fictional world. Such boys are always presented as honourable people, and they occupy the social circles formed by other honourable, moral boys. A separate circle is formed of boys who are depicted as lacking such morality. The two circles never interact and working-class schoolboys are regarded as social inferiors by this group. Morality, not class, is the criterion for social acceptance within moral groups in Hamilton's fictional world.

Hamilton's working-class scholarship boys, however, are only 'token' representatives of working-class schoolboys in a privileged world. There are few of them, and schoolboys such as Linley or Redwing are only able to access an education which privileges Classics because they have successfully acquired, through choice or hard work, a knowledge of ancient languages and culture before they enter the school. The limited number of scholarships at Hamilton's fictional schools means that other equally able candidates are excluded. Furthermore, other boys are also excluded because although they might be intellectually able, they lack the requisite skills in Classics to be considered for admission. This is in contrast to some boys of wealthy parents who are able to enter Hamilton's schools even though they lack the intellect or interest to benefit from a Classical education. Furthermore, the minimal acknowledgement of the challenges to Classics in Hamilton's fictional world, and the resulting dominance of Classics, excludes all young people who lack the means to pay for their education and who are unable to learn Classics

Orwell identifies Hamilton's work as being intended to encourage the status quo and ensure the continued subservience of the working class to a political elite. Hamilton's response, published as 'Frank Richards responds to George Orwell' (*Horizon,* May 1940), concedes that his narratives do depict a world of 1910. He explains his belief that morals had been better at that time, and that in the post-Great War world the manners and morals of the newly ennobled members of the British peerage might be improved by contact with the best of the old British aristocracy. This concept that those with good moral values may influence those lacking such values is frequently depicted in Hamilton's stories. The schoolboys depicted as providing such a threshold for change, however, are frequently working-class boys aiding the elite, rather than the reverse.

Hamilton's greatest enthusiasm was for the Macaulay's' *Lays of Ancient Rome,* depicting the exceptional loyalty and moral and physical courage of Rome's early Republican heroes. Orwell identifies Hamilton's characters as 'stereotypes', who are standardised and oversimplified

representations of popular tropes. The modern cultural historian Jeffrey Richards, however, identifies them as 'archetypes' who are representative of recognisable, fundamental character types.

As Wright comments, the qualities Hamilton identified in Macaulay's characters were incorporated into his narratives in such a way that the names of the heroes could be substituted with those of Hamilton's fictional schoolboys. Furthermore, Wright declares, the heroic deeds of Macaulay's heroes parallel actions of Hamilton's fictional schoolboys. Although there is no direct evidence that Hamilton read Livy's account of ancient Rome, he was so enthused by Macaulay's verse that he studied Classics privately with a tutor and read Latin texts in his leisure time. In old age he re-read the texts he regarded as significant including works by Lucretius and Cicero. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the courageous acts of Hamilton's schoolboy heroes represent his perception of the moral frame of reference found in Macaulay's *Lays.*

Greyfriars, St Jim's and Rookwood have major characters who act as thresholds enabling moral change. All are working-class boys who have experienced hardship themselves, and who recognise the courage and potential for change in the boys they befriend. In this way, rather than undertaking passive roles in the social structure of their groups by finding acceptance within it, they are active participants in the development of the social structures of this socially mixed social group. There is uncertain whether Hamilton's depiction of working-class boys arises from genuine belief or whether it was driven by an awareness of the high levels of his working-class readership. As he says in response to Orwell, the greater part of his audience is working class in virtue of the fact that nine-tenths of the population is working class.[773]

Samways, Hamilton's sub-editor, confirms that correspondence from readers informed the publisher of their preferences and responses to stories, and that after a particularly dramatic series of narratives correspondence increased. The creation of letters pages and invitations to find pen friends increased that correspondence and created an 'imagined community' of readers who rarely met other readers, but they nevertheless shared an enthusiasm for his texts. In this way a publisher/author/reader dynamic was formed, with the publisher acting as a 'bridge' between the reader and the author, enabling Hamilton to receive feedback from his audience on their tastes and attitudes and then create new narratives which reinforced these attitudes. Hamilton was attempting to create the moral world of 1910. This provides an indication that Orwell was correct in identifying Hamilton's fictional world as elitist and imperialist. It is a world where Classics is privileged and its dominance is not questioned, so that although there is some acknowledgement of change, with the introduction of a Modern Side in his Rookwood stories, there is little discussion of the challenges to Classics in Education.

[773] Hamilton (1968), 489.

In conclusion, as Orwell comments, Hamilton's fictional world is imperialist in nature and presents a dated, elitist imperialism to his readers. This conflates Classics and imperialism in the same manner which, as noted in the Introduction to this enquiry, was a common practise at the beginning of the twentieth century. Whatever Hamilton's intentions concerning the fictional world he creates, Jeffrey Richards points out, as the schoolboys never age, and use unchanging language and customs, the narratives create a public-school myth. This very lack of change between 1907 and 1940 means that Hamilton's fictional world continues to resemble 1910 in a way which Hamilton intended. This includes the dominance of Classics in the curriculum within an imperialist institution. In this way, Classics becomes complicit in an elitist imperialism in narratives which were read across a broad social, many of whom were working class, throughout large areas of the British Empire.

ARTHUR MEE (1875-1943): conflation of ancient worlds and the British Empire in the 1922 revision of the Children's Encyclopedia

1. The Significance of the 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia*

This Chapter discusses the ten-volume 1922 Children's Encyclopedia, edited by Arthur Mee and published by Amalgamated Press, which superseded Mee's earlier, eight-volume 1910 *Children's Encyclopaedia*. Within the 1922 version a didactic message may be identified. This informs Mee's young readers that all humanity has, from its earliest days, been involved in a spiritual journey from barbarism towards an increasingly closer relationship with God. The next step in this journey, Mee states, would be world peace. His narrative guides readers in an understanding of humanity's spiritual journey up to the twentieth century, and the behaviour required in the future. Mee encourages his readers to form a moral world-wide community so that all nations might support the work of the League of Nations which, under the guidance of the British Empire, would bring about the world peace necessary for humanity to live moral lives and grow closer to God. Two aspects of Mee's narratives are significant in this investigation. First is the way his texts may be identified as an exemplar of the imperialist structures of attitude and reference discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. Second is Mee's appropriation of the ancient world within his didactic religious message so that the ancient world becomes conflated with imperialism.

Today, as the social historian Christopher Kelen emphasises, the certainties, prejudices and assumptions of race, culture and religion expressed in Mee's texts are dated and unacceptable.[774] Nevertheless, Mee's use of language identifies ways in which the 1922 *Encyclopedia* and its subsequent editions mediated between the ancient and modern worlds for millions of readers throughout the world. Although we cannot subscribe to Mee's ideas,

[774] Christopher Kelen, 'Empire and Nation in the Life Work of Arthur Mee' in Kelen, C. and Sundmark, B. (eds) *The Nation in Children's Literature: Nations of Childhood.* Abingdon: Routledge. (2015), pp. 175-192 at 177.

his writings were so widely distributed during the early twentieth century that they are worthy of attention by researchers.

As Mee's most recent biographer Keith Crawford reveals in his biography, the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* and the 1922 *Encyclopedia* made Mee 'a household name and a major publishing brand' during the interwar years,[775] yet today he is forgotten. One major reason for considering Mee's 1922 *Encyclopedia* in this enquiry is that, as noted in the Introduction to this investigation, much of the research into the reception of the ancient world found within early twentieth century texts for children concerns the reception of the ancient world in 'highbrow' literature,[776] or 'classic' children's texts.[777] Depictions of the ancient world created in the highly popular non-fiction of Arthur Mee, have not yet been examined.

This case study considers the ten-volume 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia,* published during the interwar period by Amalgamated Press and edited by Mee. This comprises an extended edition of the earlier eight-volume *Children's Encyclopaedia*, first published in 1910, with a digraph 'ae' in the title. This 1910 *Encyclopaedia* was the first multi-volume work created specifically for young people,[778] and Professor Hugh Cunningham describes it as 'a kind of Encyclopaedia Britannica for children'.[779] The original 1910 text was published in fortnightly parts between 1908 and 1910. It was then re-published as an eight-volume hardback edition (1910). The ten-volume 1922 *Encyclopedia*'s structure emulates that of the 1910 edition, with the 'a' removed from the digraph 'ae' to differentiate the two versions.

While it retained the structure of the 1910 text, the 1922 *Encyclopedia* was rewritten and extended, with improved images and layout. As with the 1910 *Encyclopaedia,* the 1922 version was first produced as a part-work. As Roger Paulin points out, sales of both the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* and 1922 *Encyclopedia* were remarkable,[780] and the 1910 and 1922 versions

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[775] See Keith Crawford, Crawford, *Arthur Mee: A Biography*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press. (2016), xiv.

[776] Rudyard Kipling' stories which conflate the modern and ancient worlds are an example. See H. J. Booth (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2011).

[777] See, for example, Lisa Maurice (2015), Elizabeth Hale (2015), Joanna Paul (2015). Holly Blackford (2018) as noted in the Introduction to this enquiry.

[778] *Junior Britannica* later renamed *Britannica Junior Encyclopedia* was first published in 1934.

[779] Hugh Cunningham, 'Introduction' in *The World of the Edwardian Child as seen in Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopedia 1908-1910.* York, England, Hermitage Press. pp. ix-x. at p. ix.

[780] Up to 1946, and the publication of Hammerton's biography of Mee, *Child of Wonder,* the expanded *Encyclopedia* sold one and a half million sets in the British Empire, and three and a half million sets in the

went, respectively, through twenty-six and fourteen editions up to 1940.[781] Other than some updated data, such as historical and geographical information, there are few major changes between the 1922 and the 1940 editions.[782] This consistency of presentation, and the volume of sales, indicate that narratives conflating Classics and Empire would reach a large group of young people over a long period of time. At a time when working-class and many lower-middle class children received little or no Classical education in the new State secondary schools, the 1910 *Encyclopaedia,* provided narratives on such topics as Greek myths, and Greek and Roman history.

Section 2 of this case study discusses the influences on Arthur Mee during his formative years. It reveals that within his home environment he absorbed his father's Non-conformist religious and political convictions, whilst at school he became imbued with a fervent patriotism for the British Empire. It then discusses the way in which Mee created the 1910, and how this differed from the alphabetic structure which formed the standard encyclopedic works for adults. Examples from his accounts of Rome's ancient history, especially the story of Regulus, reveal how this *Encyclopaedia* was conceived as an informative, factual work for young people, and written in an informative, journalistic, style which presented facts about the ancient world in an interesting way a story providing information about the ancient world.

Section 3 continues with a discussion on the making of the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, and its structure. It reveals Mee's intention to depict topics such as the ancient world in an exciting and interesting way and in a manner that facilitates cross referencing, so that a reader attracted to a particular area of the ancient world which they would not encounter in formal

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United States as *The Book of Knowledge*. Sales estimated by 1943 totalled three and a half million sets. See John Hammerton, *Child of Wonder: An Intimate Biography of Arthur Mee.* London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd (1946), pp. 129-130. Translations were also negotiated for editions in French, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, and in Portuguese See Hammerton (1946), 128,135-6; Crawford (2016), xiv.

[781] Roger Paulin (2002) 'Heroes and Villains: The Case of Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopedia' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 84 (3). Manchester: John Rylands Research Institute and Library, Manchester University. (2002), pp. 161-170 at 162. Paulin was Schröder Professor of German at Trinity College, Cambridge between 1989 and 2005.

[782] Connecting Britain and 'civilisation,' the 1940 edition identifies the World War Two *Blitzkrieg* then ongoing, and states: 'Nazi Germany, indeed, as we write these words is waging war on civilisation itself, … This will not happen, for, led by Britain, the millions who love Freedom will fight on...' See *C.E.* (1940), 4304.

education might pursue that interest elsewhere in the *Encyclopedia.* New editions of the 1922 version updated scientific, historical, and geographical data, and some re-ordering of page numbers occurred to accommodate these updates. With the onset of World War 2, however, one change is the replacement of the article 'Retribution', with 'Liberalism. The former invokes Nemesis the Greek goddess of Retribution to discuss the political defeat of the German Empire by Britain and its allies. The latter indicates that the British Empire and America, its former colony were the natural successors to the ancient world. Together they indicate that Mee had moved from narrating 'informative' texts to employing the ancient world in order to invoke an implicit moral message. The story of Regulus is presented differently in 1922 and may be interpreted in the light of such a message. Section 3 also reveals how the many attractive images in the encyclopedia also carry messages to the reader.

Section 4 reveals how the tone of the 1922 revised *Encyclopedia* transmits an implicit Christian moral message with imperialist overtones, in which ancient world forms an important part. In it, Mee identifies Greece and Rome as the foundation of modern thinking in mankind's journey from 'barbarism' to world peace. This would be achieved through the actions of the League of Nations and guided by the British Empire, and the story of Regulus in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* may be interpreted as conveying a particular message. Section Four then discusses that message in some detail, noting especially the central role of Greece and Rome within Mee's message, and the role for mankind's spiritual future which Mee perceived in the work of League of Nations, as guided by the British Empire.

The texts examined in this case study discuss the depictions of the ancient world in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* and the 1922 and 1940 editions of the revised *Encyclopedia*. The earliest biography *Child of Wonder* (1946) was written by his close friend and collaborator John Hammerton. The critic Michael Tracy judges all this, and other biographical sketches to be laudatory, and containing little or no critical analysis.[783] A second recent, and more

[783] The critic Michael Tracy discusses Hammerton, *Child of Wonder: An Intimate Biography of Arthur Mee*, London: Hodder & Stoughton (1946); Maisie Robson's *Arthur Mee's Dream of England*, Rotherham, England: The King's England Press (2003). Reprint of 2002 edition. This draws largely on Hammerton's narrative and Tracy considers this adds nothing new to the discussion. Gillian Elias's *Arthur Mee: Journalist in Chief to British Youth*. Nottingham, England: Nottingham County Council Leisure Services (1993) was created for Nottinghamshire County Council Library Services as an information pamphlet concerning Mee's status as a local historical figure. Tracy judges it has the 'slight merit' of including some information from family archives in Nottinghamshire. On the frontispiece, Elias thanks Arthur Mee's nephew, Alan Arthur Mee, for granting

critical, full-length biography, *Arthur Mee: A Biography* (2018), is a re-evaluation of Mee's life and his approach to Mee's work, including the 1922 *Encyclopedia* by Keith Crawford of Macquarie University, Australia. With regard to Mee's concerns regarding the work of the League of Nations the case study draws comparisons with the work of Gilbert Murray, discussed in Christopher Stray's edited volume *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics* (2007). The case study also incorporates image texts from the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* and the 1922 *Encyclopedia,* and these are discussed as they are encountered. Other written texts are introduced as appropriate.

2. Arthur Mee

This section reveals Mee's working-class origins and identifies him as an autodidact with no Classical education. It considers the influences of his home life and education on his adult ideas. These include the political and religious ideas acquired from his family and religious community, and the imperialist ideas gained from the teacher at his Board School.

2.1 The Influence of Mee's Home and School Environments

As identified in the Introduction to this enquiry Simon Goldhill reveals that an author is also a reader. As such, authors are receivers of ancient texts and form receptions of the ancient world as they read. When such an author creates a new cultural product following such readings, the adaptation and transformation of a text when writing is also a reception.[784] This is especially so when that author is an autodidact such as Mee, who is transmitting what he gleaned informally.

Mee, like Buchan and Hamilton, was born in the 1870s and was thus open to the influences and public debates of the late Victorian era discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. Mee, however, did not receive a Classical education at either a private school or university. He was educated in a State school at the very beginning of the period when the State became involved in the educational process. His knowledge came from reading,

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access to the family archive. See Michael Tracy, *The World of the Edwardian Child: As Seen in Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopaedia 1908-1910.* York, England: Hermitage Press (2008), p. 238.

[784] Goldhill (2010) 67.

discussions with friends and from the received interpretations of the ancient and modern worlds transmitted by his Baptist ministers.

His friend and biographer John Hammerton reveals that Mee was the second of ten children.[785] He was born on 21 July 1875 in Stapleford, Nottinghamshire, to working-class parents.[786] His father, Henry Mee, was a mechanical engineer who had worked on the railways and then in the Nottingham lace mills. Their neighbours were lace makers, railway workers and unskilled labourers.[787] Two significant formative influences in Mee's early home life can be identified. Both were influential not only during his early life but also the interwar period following the Great War. The first comprises the influence of Mee family. Their deep religious, proselytising faith, Non-conformist views, and uncompromising liberal principles were transmitted to Arthur Mee by Henry Mee, his father.[788] The second is the influence of imperialism transmitted by Mee's schoolmaster, George Byford.

Henry Mee was a radical and a liberal with a strong social conscience. As Non-conformists who were 'divorced from the religious and political establishment' the Mee family, like other Non-conformists, 'worshipped together, lived side by side, did business together and married into each other's families'.[789] Mee's father was also a deacon at their local chapel and a significant member of the local Baptist community. This environment was influential in forming Mee's character. At the heart of non-conformity lay a powerful sense of community with a communal strong sense of justice and ethics, a commitment to hard work, a sense of duty to family and community, and a religiously inspired commitment to political and social reform.

A corresponding sense of individuality committed its members to self-improvement.[790] That the local Non-conformist community was politically active and concerned is evinced by Mee's reading the newspaper parliamentary reports to the local baker each evening as the man worked, and in consequence Mee retained a lifelong interest in

[785] Hammerton (1946), 22-23; Cf. Crawford (2018), 2.

[786] Crawford (2016), 1.

[787] Crawford (2016), 1-2.

[788] Crawford (2016), 6.

[789] Crawford (2016), 2.

[790] Crawford (2016), 3.

politics.[791] Hammerton quotes an unnamed acquaintance of Mee's who claimed that, for Mee, the Bible and politics were 'almost interchangeable terms' and that together they formed 'his intellectual and spiritual staple.'[792] As Hamilton confirms, Mee had firm, openly-expressed political opinions, and large tracts of his writing could, with minimal alternation, be converted into sermons.[793]

Hammerton identifies the conflation of Mee's political fervour and religious conviction in Mee's article, 'Thoughts at Twenty-one: Impressions of Manhood's First Hour' first published in the 1903 edition of *Our Young Men,* edited by Hammerton.[794] In it, Hammerton judges, Mee 'looks forward to civilisation advancing into righteousness, Christianity into Christlikeness, with the proviso that as we are the mainsprings of human progress it all "depends upon us each".'[795] In this Hammerton considers Mee to have anticipated Archbishop Lang's exhortation to the public during World War 2.[796] Mee wrote:

> We are none of us indispensable in God's programme, but abdication means cowardice. What would have happened to the world if twenty of its heroes had abdicated.? … They were only one, each of these, such others as you and I; but they set their aim before them and established the victory … We hold too narrow views of our responsibility. We limit our conception of duty by geographical boundaries. We gauge our relation to the human race by the distance in miles by which we are removed from our fellow beings. We convince ourselves that we owe no duty to the Chinaman because he is far away, while we acknowledge a brotherhood with the citizens of other foreign countries near our own. … this [is a] cramped, isolating view of brotherhood, but it runs through our moral code from beginning to end. We are

[791] Elias (1993), 4.

[792] Hammerton (1946), 32.

[793] Hammerton (1946), 25.

[794]Hammerton (1946), 64. This was submitted by 'A.M.'. Hammerton judges it to be the of a talk to the Literary Society of the Woodborough Road Baptist Chapel, Nottingham on the eve of Mee's twenty-first birthday, in 1896. Hammerton identifies the sentiments and the writing style as belonging to Mee and has no hesitation in ascribing authorship to him.

[795] Hammerton (1946), 65.

[796] Lang broadcast to the nation during the Battle of Britain. In these talks he 'sought to help his listeners with the slogan "It all depends on me, and I depend on God"'. See Robert Beakon, *Cosmo Lang: Archbishop in War and Crisis.* London: I. B. Tauris. (2012), 191.

> moved to heartbreaking (sic)[797] by disaster at home such as we view with stoic calm when the afflicted are without our little world … it gives us a mean conception of mankind that Christianity cannot recognise.[798]

For Hammerton, this reveals that from Mee's earliest days he had felt he had a 'mission' to transmit the importance of a wider view of human responsibility and that these expressions reveal the consistency of his principles throughout his life.[799] Mee concludes:

> You are only one, but the world is a vast collection of ones … it is a simple truth that you cannot exaggerate the power of a single man with a great purpose. Nothing is so contagious as real, thorough, honest Christianity.[800]

This sense of 'mission' is the same implicit moral message found in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* narrative text 'Distance'.[801] Here, Mee does not discuss geographical distance, but moral distance. This recalls his earlier narrative. Mee argues that rather than fearing and rejecting the German people following the Great War, the French should offer sympathy and friendship, adding '[this] is the inspiration of those who believe in the League of Nations'. This invokes the League as a means by which the French and German peoples could learn to live in friendship. 'Wars' he concludes, 'are made by nations living at great moral distance from each other'.[802] Similarly, the narrative text 'Direction'[803] does not discuss geographical movement but moral development, as movement, towards increased morality. This text reinforces the narrative 'Distance, discussed above, by advocating movement away from selfishness and towards co-operation. By advocating moral development from 'badness' to 'goodness',[804] Mee identifies 'direction' as a moral force, reminding his audience that human morality is the wish of the Mind which created the universe, that is, God's wish.[805]

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[797] Mee was not a concise writer even in youth and employs the term 'heartbreaking' rather than 'heartbreak'.

[798] Cited in Hammerton (1946), 65-66.

[799] Hammerton (1946). 64.

[800] Hammerton (1946), 67.

[801] *C.E.* (1922), 743-745.

[802] *C.E.* (1922), 744

[803] *C.E.* (1922), 617-619.

[804] These are Mee's own terms.

[805] *C.E.* (1922), 619.

Hammerton reveals Mee's moral core, and how Mee, even as a youth, conflated Christianity with morality and moral personal and political action.

A second significant influence on a young person is their educational environment. Beyond the family, Mee was educated at Church Street Board School, in Stapleford,[806] where Mee's uncle, William Fletcher, was a member of the school board.[807] Here, Mee was taught by his village schoolmaster, George Byford, who became the second major influence upon Mee's view of the world. Byford, in contrast with Mee's parents, was 'both High Church and High Tory',[808] a committed Conservative whose political views contrasted sharply with those of Arthur Mee's father.[809] His conventional and patriotic conservative views introduced Arthur Mee to examine a view of the world beyond the political and religious influences of the non-conformist community.[810] Under Byford's guidance Mee developed a life-long love of England and its Empire. As the modern historian John Mackenzie comments, working class autobiographies, memoirs and oral evidence show that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the British population, including schoolchildren, continued to be enthusiastic about the British Empire and the sense that the British had a mission in the world as a force for good.[811] Hammerton confirms that this includes Arthur Mee, who 'never wavered in his admiration for the British Empire, to which in later years so much of his eloquence was devoted'.[812]

Mee's school curriculum was that of the typical Victorian elementary school and 'based on the principles of working-class character formation and preparation for a life of

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[806] This was established by the 1870 Education Act which provided compulsory elementary education for all children up to the age of ten. Later renamed 'Stapleford School, it is now the Arthur Mee Centre. See Elias (1993), 3.

[807] Crawford (2016), 6.

[808] Elias (1993), 3.

[809] Crawford (2016), 6.

[810] Elias (1993), 3. See also Crawford (2016), 6.

[811] John Mackenzie in John Mackenzie (ed) *Imperialism and Popular Culture.* Manchester: Manchester University Press (1986), 5-7.

[812] Hammerton (1946), 27, 65. That Byford should hold and induce such views in his pupils is unsurprising. Mee's years at his elementary school coincided with the period of New Imperialism, and Germany's rise as an imperial power. At the Berlin Conference, 1884-5, the British Empire was negotiating with Germany and the European powers so that the so-called Scramble for Africa could be formalised. The rise of the European Empires, as noted in the Introduction to this enquiry, formed a significant challenge to the British Empire.

duty, loyalty and sacrifice'. Teachers came from the working class, including Byford,[813] and Mee's formal education was 'an education of the ordinary people',[814] who transmitted routines and habits of reliability, self-discipline and compliance and hard work which would benefit them in the labour market.[815] To Mee's Non-conformist principles and his belief in the importance of conscience and character, therefore, were added 'a passionate devotion to England and the conviction that the British Empire was a universal force for good.'[816]

2.2 Developing the Idea for the 1910 *Children's Encyclopaedia*

At the age of fourteen, Mee left school to begin work,[817] and found an entry-level position at the *Nottingham Daily Guardian* and *Nottingham Evening Post*.[818] In 1891, aged sixteen, he obtained a journalism apprenticeship at the *Nottingham Daily Express*, a radical liberal newspaper which reflected Mee's own political views and offered him the opportunity to express them. Identifying the need for shorthand, Mee taught himself the skill, taking down the sermons at the local Baptist Chapel.[819] In these early years, Mee met a number of individuals with whom he would later work on the *Encyclopedia.* At the *Express*, he served under its editor, the Non-conformist John Derry,[820] reporting on the political, religious, and social life of the city.[821] Before his apprenticeship ended, Mee had become the editor of the evening edition of the *Express,* the *Nottingham Evening News.* After his apprenticeship ended, he continued editing the *Evening News* whilst simultaneously gaining a wide

[813] Crawford (2016), 6.

[814] Hammerton (1946), 65.

[815] Crawford (2016), 6. Crawford notes that other topics such as singing, grammar, geography and history might also have been added if requested.

[816] Crawford (2016), 6. n18 indicates Crawford is citing Hammerton, but does not provide the page number.

[817] Crawford (2016), 8.

[818] Crawford (2016), 7; Elias (1993), 5. The papers formed a group, with one published for the morning and one for the evening. This 'entry level post' was as a copy holder. See Elias (1993), 5). A newspaper's print was set-up using metal type by the compositor in long metal trays called 'galleys', and 'galley-proofs' were printed from this. The newspaper's proof-reader would check these 'galley-proofs'. The copy-holder would read the copy (that is, the galley-proofs) aloud to the proof reader, who checked each word as it was read to him to ensure there were no errors. Hammerton (1946), 37-38.

[819] Elias (1993), 6.

[820] Derry later qualified as a teacher and his educational insights proved useful in creating the *Encyclopedia.*

[821] Crawford (2016), 8-9. The work was varied, and Mee's seven-day week included reports on police courts, inquests, public meetings, concerts, weddings, and parades See Elias (1993), 7.

experience writing for other publications.[822] Mee eventually moved to London, working at a variety of publications as writer and editor.[823] He then accepted the post of features editor on the *Daily Mail*, owned by Lord Northcliffe. Prior to his departure, the journalist John Hammerton replaced Derry as editor of the *Express* in 1895,[824] and Mee, Hammerton, Derry, and Ernest Bryant[825] became lifelong friends who worked closely together on the *Encyclopedia*.[826]

At the turn of the century Mee was working as a journalist, and Hammerton was editing a group of religious and temperance magazines published by S.W. Partridge. Together, in 1903, they submitted an idea for a new magazine to the publisher Lord Northcliffe.[827] He rejected the idea but offered Mee employment on the *Daily Mail*, so that, as Hammerton describes it, he was 'caught up in the Harmsworth web in which he … remained a more or less willing prisoner'.[828] In 1905, Northcliffe accepted Mee's idea for a new type of populist magazine, *The Harmsworth Self-Educator: A Golden Key to Success in Life,*[829] and Hammerton joined Northcliffe's organisation to work alongside Mee.[830] In a style he was to later repeat with the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* Mee divided the *Self Educator* into sections including, in addition to those on such topics as science and technology and history and geography, guidance on a series of trades and industries. It was published in forty-eight fortnightly parts between 1905 and 1907, and other part-works followed.[831]

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[822] Crawford (2016), 11-13.

[823] Crawford (2016), 13-16.

[824] Crawford (2016), 12.

[825] Bryant also worked with Mee at the *Express*.

[826] Crawford (2016), 11-12.

[827] John Hammerton, *With Northcliffe in Fleet Street.* London: Hutchinson & Co. (1932), 124. It was to be 'a weekly budget of personal gossip, very popular at that time.'

[828] Hammerton (1932), 124. Crawford takes this phrase as the title for Chapter 2 of his biography.

[829] This was based upon Cassell's *Popular Educator*. Northcliffe's decision followed the great success of the Harmsworth organisation's *The Harmsworth Encyclopedia*. This had been produced in fortnightly parts at 7d by Nelsons, the Edinburgh publishers, with the backing of Harmsworth organisation, and had sold 'hundreds of thousands'. See Hammerton (1932), 125-126.

[830] Hammerton (1932), 127.

[831] Crawford (2016), 23-24.

The *Self Educator* was responding to increased working-class and lower-middle class aspirations. The 1902 Education Act led to increasing rates of literacy in young people,[832] leading, in turn, to increased aspirations by parents for their children. As Crawford notes, systems of education for children came to be perceived as active, not passive, with educational theory positing that should be child-centred, and focussed on how they grew intellectually, socially and emotionally.[833] Within this ambiance, Gillian Elias reports that it was Mee's seven-year-old daughter's curiosity and regular questions which inspired him to create the 1908-1910 part-work for a juvenile readership.[834] Entitled the *Children's Encyclopaedia*, demand reversed the usual trend for part-work by increasing with each issue. This necessitated the reprint of earlier issues. Consequently, the 1910 eight-volume hardback edition of the *Encyclopaedia* was published before the final issues of the part-works, which had sold 'by the thousands'.[835]

In this way, a large number of young people gained access to information about the ancient world, but the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* narrates stories from the ancient world in the straightforward, factual manner in which Mee was trained to write as a journalist. His pre-war biographical sketches of Joseph Chamberlain and King Edward VII[836] are written in this vein, with constant reference to, and presentation of, 'facts'. For example, in *Joseph Chamberlain*) Mee emphasises it being that '[it is] public knowledge [Chamberlain] is one of the first of the Home Rulers. He has told us so himself'.[837] Mee then proceeds to detail the public documents and statements as evidence. Mee's narrative is replete with quotations verifying his claims. Similarly, in *King and Emperor*, when Mee discusses the King's wealth, he itemises the King's income. Only after itemising and totalling the King's income in detail from Cornwall, grants from Parliament, the rents from his Sandringham Estate and the income gained from

[832] Crawford (2016), 40. Northcliffe also responded to this rise in literacy by creating a wide range of weekly papers, including the *Gem,* the *Magnet*, *Pluck,* and *Boys' Friend*, as discussed in the Charles Hamilton case study.

[833] Crawford (2016), 35.

[834] Gillian Elias *Arthur Mee, 1875-1943: Journalist in Chief to British Youth.* Nottingham: Nottingham County Council Leisure Services. (1993), 15. This brief biographical sketch has the advantage of input from the family, and Elias reports the family myth that Mee's wife exclaimed 'Oh for a book that answered all those questions'.

[835] Elias (1993), 16-18.

[836] See Arthur Mee, *Joseph Chamberlain: A Romance of Modern Politics*. London: S.W. Partridge & Co. (1901a) and *King and Emperor: The Life-History of Edward VII.* London: S.W. Partridge & Co. (1901b)..

[837] Mee (1901a), 98.

the racetrack through his racehorses, and then itemising his expenditure does he then declare the King to be 'rich'.[838]

It is such precision of facts he employs in such narratives within the 1910 *Encyclopaedia.* 'How Regulus Went Back to Die'[839] provides an example. This is found in the section 'The Child's Book of Men and Women,' in the chapter 'The First Great Men of Rome'.[840] Mee's text commences with the foundation of Rome and ends with Octavian assuming power. The narrative is told as a gripping story about heroes, but there is no moralising element. The section headings are descriptive, including 'Regulus Who Gave Up His Life For Rome',[841] and 'Scipio, the Young Hero who Won Spain and Africa for Rome'.[842] The section heading 'Cato the Censor, Who was Famous for the Roman Virtues'[843] discusses 'what men call the old Roman virtues, for he proved himself a warrior reckless of his own danger, yet shrewd and wary and one who held with firm doggedness to every purpose he set before himself and to every rule of life he laid down'. Cato, however,

> … scorned all manner of easy living and would have had all men to live as carefully as himself. But Cato was hard and harsh, not fearing pain himself and careless whether others suffered …And so, because Scipio was not of a like ungracious temper Cato was very ready to think ill of him.[844]

The narrative ends:

> So, by land and sea, Antony was defeated and when he saw that all hope of victory was gone he slew himself; and there was none left to stand between Octavian and the lordship of the Roman world.[845]

Mee's account of the story of Regulus relates the steps by which a heroic patriot died for his country. During the Punic Wars Regulus, captured by the Carthaginians, accompanied an

[838] Mee (1901b), 73-85.

[839] *C.E.* (1910), 5303-5306.

[840] *C.E.* (1910), 399-407.

[841] *C.E.* (1910), 400.

[842] *C.E.* (1910), 402.

[843] *C.E.* (1910), 402.

[844] *C.E.* (1910), 402.

[845] *C.E.* (1910), 407.

Embassy to Rome with terms of surrender on the understanding he returned. Regulus successfully advised the Senate not to surrender. Afterwards:

> The unsuccessful embassy [then] returned home, and with them true to his word of honour, went back the bold, resolute patriot, though he knew that he would receive little mercy at the hands of his captors, whose hopes of peace and returned prosperity he had so stubbornly overthrown … And so Regulus entered Carthage once more, and his counsel repeated to the cruel Carthaginians. They had not enough nobility of spirit to reverence a brave patriot and they devised horrible tortures and put him to a most cruel death.[846]

A monochrome painting which depicts Regulus boarding his ship to return to Carthage is among the images accompanying the narrative text 'The First Great Men of Rome'.[847]

The story of the Roman Invasion of England is told in the section 'The Child's Book of All Countries' entitled 'England in the Long Ago',[848] as part of the overall history of Britain from 'cave men' to the fall of Rome and the Roman's departing Britain. Illustrations include not only Romans facing opposition from the Britons, as they wade ashore but also monochrome illustrations of life, the construction of Hadrian's wall and depictions of Boadicea and Caractacus, but also of life 'When Grandmother Was a Girl'.[849] Subsections include 'What Was Happening in our Homeland 2000 Years Ago', and discussions on 'The First Tools that the First Workmen Used' and 'Necklaces That Were Worn in England Thousands of Years Ago.[850] Mee's theme of the virtues of early ancient Rome is a narrative of heroic and unheroic behaviour resulting from either the virtue of physical courage or the way such virtues are distorted. Such physical courage is exemplified in Macaulay's narrative 'How Horatius Kept the Bridge' and Mee includes a slightly abridged version in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia.*[851]

Other narratives concerning the ancient world in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* include the story of the Trojan War in a section 'The Child's Story of Famous Books'. The 'War for a

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[846] *C.E.* (1910), 2133.

[847] *C.E.* (1910), 399-407.

[848] *C.E.* (1910), 345-354.

[849] *C.E.* (1910), 349, 353, 351, 347.

[850] *C.E.* (1910), 347-348.

[851] *C.E.* (1910), 1395. This narrative is republished unchanged in the 1922 edition, on pages 6887-6890.

Stolen Queen'[852] relates the major Homeric Greek myth of the Siege of Troy in a factual way. It is accompanied by the story 'The Victory of the Wooden Horse: The Story of the Aeneid'.[853] This again provides a straightforward factual account of the fall of Troy together

FIGURE 1

The Strange Wooden Horse of Troy.

C.E. (1910), 543

With Aeneas's journey to found Rome. Both stories incorporate line drawings, including a full-page depiction of 'The Strange Wooden Horse of Troy'[854] (see Figure 1 above). The information provided for readers is straightforward and factual, detailing events. Figure 1 also reveals the basic quality of the images produced in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia.* The 1922 edition, thanks to improved imaging techniques in the printing industry, is able to reproduce paintings to a higher visual standard than the 1910 edition only twelve years earlier.

[852] *C.E.* (1910), 539-542.

[853] *C.E.* (1910), 542-544.

[854] *C.E.* (1910), 543.

FIGURE 2

The Beautiful Helen of Troy.

C.E. (1922), 5305

As Figure 2 above reveals, imaging techniques in the printing industry had improved when the 1922 edition was published, and the later version is able to reproduce paintings to a higher visual standard than the 1910 edition only twelve years earlier. to Homer's story of Siege of Troy' related in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia.* In the 1922 *Encyclopedia* improved illustrations accompany the original texts taken from the 1910 *Encyclopaedia*, which are reproduced and re-titled 'The Story of Homer's Iliad' in the 1922 *Encyclopedia,* where it is followed by 'The Story of Homer's Odyssey'.[855] The Great War, and its aftermath, led to material and aesthetic change in post-war England and created differing forms of public and private morality, and this also led to a marked change in narrative style in the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, so that it differed from the 1910 *Encyclopaedia.*

3. The Making of the 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia*

This section discusses the improved structure and images of the revised 1922 *Encyclopedia*, its accessibility, and the ease of finding interconnections between various texts within the different volumes. It also reveals a moral message which occurred as Mee's response as a Christian to the events of Great War and its aftermath.

[855] *C.E.* (1922), 5303-5306.

The aftermath of the Great War made many people, including Mee, uneasy and it resulted in 'a resurgent Victorianism'.[856] As Crawford notes, Mee found it difficult to accept that following the trauma of the Great War British society had not created a world free from the ills he had always vehemently argued against: inequality, poverty, ignorance, and violence. Mee's disappointment took the form of a 'civilising and moralising mission'.[857] Crawford discusses a number of Mee's subsequent actions as a vehicle for his concerns, including the use of the *Children's Newspaper*, of which he was editor. Such a change of tone elsewhere in Mee's work is also revealed in the change of tone between the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* and the new, enlarged ten-volume version, with improved images.

3.1 Mee's Approach to Creating the 1922 *Encyclopedia*

Mee had firm ideas of what he wished to say to his readers, and the strength of personality to ensure his wishes were carried out. When Mee created the 1908-10 part-work, rather than commissioning a large group of individuals, each of whom would each produce a limited number of articles, he assembled a small team of friends and trusted collaborators to create large sections of the text. His core team comprised John Derry, Ernest Bryant, Harold Begbie and John Hammerton, and all contributed widely to both the writing and the editing.[858] Some members of the ensemble team had specific skills. Before becoming a journalist, Hammerton claims to have written 400,000 words of original matter, and he edited the entire section entitled 'Poetry' in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia*.[859] Bryant was a student of nature, particularly bird life,[860] and animal life.[861] Begbie wrote about evolution, biology and Bible.[862] The skills

[856] Crawford (2016), 125. Cf. Susan Pederson & Peter Mandler (eds), *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain: Essays in Memory of John Clive.* London, Psychology Press (1994), p.10. Pederson & Mandler refer to 'a resurgent Victorianism, taking the form of a reassertion of the civilizing or moralizing mission, often still within a recognizably political framework'. As noted above, Hammerton comments that Mee considered he had a mission, and that Mee's moral centre was closely associated with his political beliefs.

[857] Crawford (2016), 125.

[858] Crawford (2015), 43-44.

[859] Hammerton (1946), 205. This is cited in Crawford (44n61) – though Crawford cites page 204 not 205).

[860] Hammerton (1946), 96.

[861] Crawford (2015), 44.

[862] Crawford (2015), 44.

of others, however, comprised merely the ability to write and communicate clearly.[863] Mee's letter to Derry dated 11 December 1929[864] reveals the importance of Derry's editing role in both the first *Encyclopaedia* and the second, extended, *Encyclopedia*. He had been the head teacher at a Board School and active member of the Liberal Party, concerned with the condition of the poor.[865] Derry not only worked on the text and editing, and sent out standard letters to readers, but also deputised for Mee as required and wrote personal replies to contentious letters among Mee's vast correspondence.[866]

A close working relationship within such a small group enabled Mee to exert strict editorial control. His standards were exacting and uncompromising. He was 'obdurate and pedantic' about not only professional but also personal standards, and he 'hated inefficiency'. Mee knew both which tone he wished to evoke and which messages to his readers he wished to include, and he worked to ensure that both were successful. Mee took a 'forensic interest' in reading, commenting on and returning thousands of entries,[867] and his letter to Derry dated 12 October 1909 identifies his impatience when contributors disregarded his instruction or failed to focus upon a theme he was anxious to pursue.[868]

Mee's tight control of his team enabled him to create a particular tone for the text. The serial form of the initial publications of the both the original 1910 *Encyclopaedia* and the extended 1922 *Encyclopedia* enabled Mee to connect with his readers. In the manner of other children's publications produced by Amalgamated Press, Mee wrote editorials, ran competitions, and had correspondence columns, and attempted to connect with his readers.[869] Mee particularly connected with them emotionally by reminding them that he too had once been a child and understood their problems.[870] Mee's advice to Derry in a letter dated 8 December 1909 reveals some literary techniques Mee used to establish a relationship with readers. Texts, he demanded, must be in plain accessible English which children use every

[863] Crawford (2015), 43.

[864] This is cited in Crawford (2015), 44 referencing footnote 62.

[865] Crawford (2015), 10, 43.

[866] Crawford (2015), 44.

[867] Crawford (2015), 44.

[868] This letter is cited in Crawford (p.44n68).

[869] The Hamilton case study provides an example of editorial contacts at Amalgamated Press between the reader and the editor

[870] Crawford (2015), 47.

day: a spade is a spade not an agricultural implement, for example. Their text must not talk down to children as though they were ignorant young people requiring teaching. Instead, his authors must use terms such as 'us' and 'we' rather than 'you'.[871]

During the period when the 1910 and 1922 versions were still part-works, Mee could respond to readers' questions personally, and incorporate these enquiries into his narratives in a group of texts entitled 'Wonder'. For example, 'Wonder', answers the question 'who were the old-world gods', with an illustration above the heading of 'The Furies' by Edward Byrne-Jones. The extensive article provides brief descriptions of 'The Gods of Greece and Rome', illustration of 'The Temple of Pallas Athene' in Athens, and a range of 'Pictures of the Old-World Gods' by Byrne-Jones and other modern artists such as J.W. Waterhouse.[872] The ability of readers to communicate a concern or question and receive a reply contributed to his popularity. The care taken with the creation of the 1922 *Encyclopedia* resulted in a work which was visually attractive, accessible, and which encouraged active browsing. This was especially so as, through his work with Derry who was a former State school headteacher,[873] Mee would have been aware of the 1905 Board of Education's advice to teachers to encourage active education.

3.2 The Structure of the 1922 *Children's Encyclopedia*

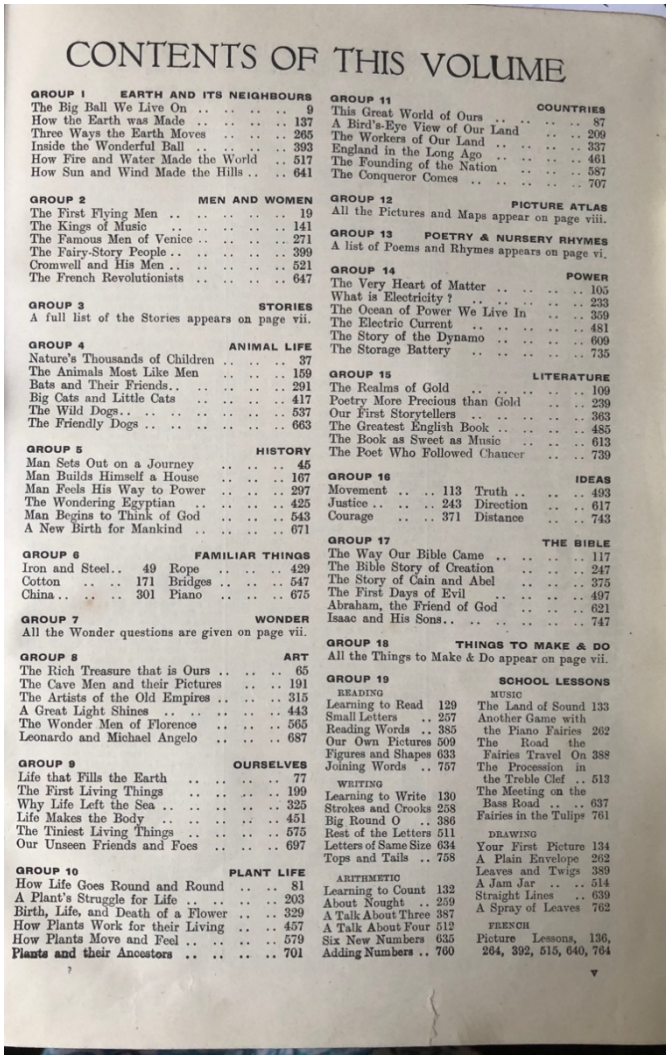
The 1922 *Encyclopedia'*s structure creates of spheres of knowledge which encourages active browsing and contains a range of 'groups' including natural history and scientific spheres, literary spheres, history and geography and the stories of the lives of significant individuals living in those countries throughout history. As Section 3 below reveals, each 'group' is divided into chapters, with the chapters for each group presented together, rather than with the chapters for each topic following each other consecutively. Consequently, for example, History Chapter 9, 'Pythagoras Makes a Guess' follows Chapter 9 of 'Animal Life'. This would encourage children to read the first chapter of another topic before progressing to the second chapter of the chosen topic of reading. An innovative feature of its content is the inclusion of two sections of entertaining reading. 'Wonder' answers a broad range of questions a child might ask about the world, and as noted above the questions themselves were provided by readers during the period when the *Encyclopedia* was sold in the form of

[871] Crawford (2015), 47-48.

[872] *C.E.* (1922), 3513-3527.

[873] Crawford (2015), 10, 36.

'part-works' (see Section 3.1). 'Things to Make and Do' aims to equip children with the means to provide their own entertainment, and includes making boxes and models, sewing, carpentry and recycling objects into exciting new toys. There is also a series of school lessons teaching very young children reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing and music. While there are French lessons, however, there are no lessons in Latin or Greek.



CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME

FIGURE 3

A Typical Contents page

C.E. (1922), vol. 1: Contents

As Figure 3 above reveals, each volume contains a clear table of contents which clearly lays out the different subject groups and guides readers. The result is a mix that was designed to be entertaining as well as educational, where young people might:

> … experience the pageant of the world's myriad activities and the magic of how the world works.[874]

and:

> …. its pages and pictures are so intensely interesting that while being delightfully entertained the children are unconsciously absorbing the most valuable information.[875]

The chapters are short, easily read, and usually comprise only three or four pages divided into short, well signposted sections. Together with Mee's unique and original voice, with its emphasis on language suited to young readers, the written texts of both the 1910 *Encyclopedia* and its successor the 1922 *Encyclopedia* create an enjoyable active reading experience.[876] Browsing is facilitated by an extensive index of approximately four hundred paged occupying half of volume 10, between pages 7055 and 7410. In the 1922 *Encyclopedia,* a reader interested in the story of Regulus would be redirected to four different locations. Reference to the League of Nations re-directs readers to eight other locations. A second factor in the success of the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, after its structure, were the lavish illustrations associated with each article. Even the index has photographs, such as pictures illustrating 'Portraits on the Albert Memorial', including ancient figures such as the Greek architect Ictinus and the Greek artists Phidias and Praxiteles.[877]

Although there is no Latin or Greek language instruction, there are connections with the ancient world in many sections within the written narratives. 'Stories' not only relate British tales such as Dick Whittington but also include a large number of Aesop's tales, such as 'The Ant and the Grasshopper',[878] Classic epic poetry is retold in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,[879] the *Aeneid*,[880] and 'Oedipus and Sad Antigone'.[881] Illustration to the stories

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[874] Kelen (2013), 177.

[875] Kelen (2013), 177, Kelen is citing the publicity for the American edition of the 1908-10 edition of *Encyclopedia,* the *Book of Knowledge*

[876] In the United States the *Encyclopedia*'s unique voice was gradually lost. The original text was gradually Americanised under American editorship. See Hammerton (1946), 132.

[877] *C.E.* 1922, 7092-7095 at 7095.

[878] *C.E.* (1922), 3990.

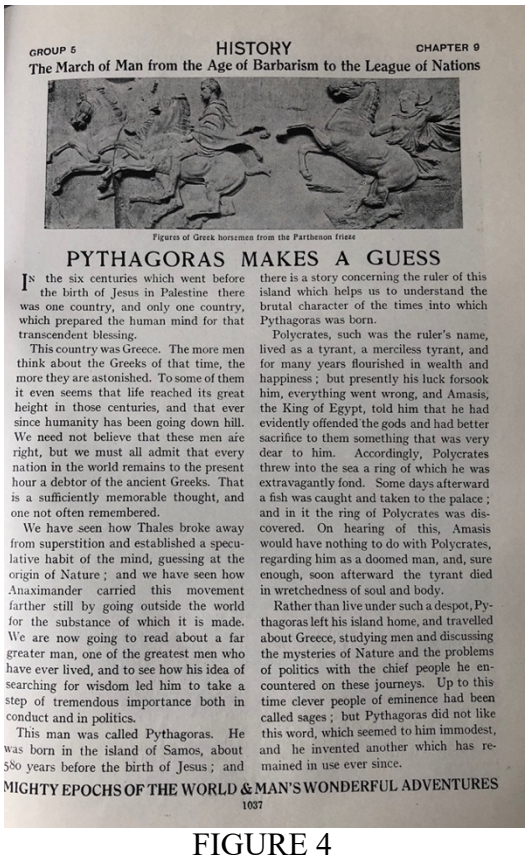
[879] *C.E.* (1922), 5303-5306.

[880] *C.E.* (1922), 5553.

[881] *C.E.* (1922), 6691.

include those such as Helen of Troy, as in Figure 2 above. 'Art', as discussed below, reveals images of the ruins of the ancient world, together with ancient artifacts, whilst 'History' and 'Geography discuss the ancient world extensively, with many illustrations (see Section 3.3 below). The illustrations in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* form a second powerful impression on readers. As Kelen notes, Mee's innovation in the 1910 edition, repeated in the 1922 edition, was to create a lavishly illustrated work for young people, with many of these illustrations containing exhaustive explanations.[882]

3.3 The Visual Appeal of the 1922 *Encyclopedia*



GROUP 5 HISTORY CHAPTER 9

The March of Man from the Age of Barbarism to the League of Nations

Figures of Greek horsemen from the Parthenon frieze

PYTHAGORAS MAKES A GUESS

IN the six centuries which went before the birth of Jesus in Palestine there was one country, and only one country, which prepared the human mind for that transcendent blessing.

This country was Greece. The more men think about the Greeks of that time, the more they are astonished. To some of them it even seems that life reached its great height in those centuries, and that ever since humanity has been going down hill. We need not believe that these men are right, but we must all admit that every nation in the world remains to the present hour a debtor of the ancient Greeks. That is a sufficiently memorable thought, and one not often remembered.

We have seen how Thales broke away from superstition and established a speculative habit of the mind, guessing at the origin of Nature; and we have seen how Anaximander carried this movement farther still by going outside the world for the substance of which it is made. We are now going to read about a far greater man, one of the greatest men who have ever lived, and to see how his idea of searching for wisdom led him to take a step of tremendous importance both in conduct and in politics.

This man was called Pythagoras. He was born in the island of Samos, about 580 years before the birth of Jesus; and there is a story concerning the ruler of this island which helps us to understand the brutal character of the times into which Pythagoras was born.

Polycrates, such was the ruler's name, lived as a tyrant, a merciless tyrant, and for many years flourished in wealth and happiness; but presently his luck forsook him, everything went wrong, and Amasis, the King of Egypt, told him that he had evidently offended the gods and had better sacrifice to them something that was very dear to him. Accordingly, Polycrates threw into the sea a ring of which he was extravagantly fond. Some days afterward a fish was caught and taken to the palace; and in it the ring of Polycrates was discovered. On hearing of this, Amasis would have nothing to do with Polycrates, regarding him as a doomed man, and, sure enough, soon afterward the tyrant died in wretchedness of soul and body.

Rather than live under such a despot, Pythagoras left his island home, and travelled about Greece, studying men and discussing the mysteries of Nature and the problems of politics with the chief people he encountered on these journeys. Up to this time clever people of eminence had been called sages; but Pythagoras did not like this word, which seemed to him immodest, and he invented another which has remained in use ever since.

MIGHTY EPOCHS OF THE WORLD & MAN'S WONDERFUL ADVENTURES

1037

FIGURE 4

The Clarity of the presentation of print in the Children's Encyclopedia.

'Pythagoras Makes a Guess'

C.E. (1922), 1037

[882] Kelen (2015), 177.

Visually, as Figure 4 above reveals, the 1922 *Encyclopedia* is accessible, and perceived to be attractive and alluring from the moment a volume is opened.[883] Each volume contains a clear table of contents which clearly lays out the different subject groups and guides readers, as depicted in Figure 3 above. The 1922 *Encyclopedia* is accessible and perceived to be attractive and alluring from the moment a volume is opened.[884] Visually, as may be seen in Figure 4, each page is visually appealing with large, well-kerned text,[885] which is presented in two short columns rather than occupying the width of the page. These features make it easy and enjoyable for young people to read. The texts are divided into numbered groups, such as Animal Life, Art, History or Countries. Each group has a strapline which identifies its function and each Chapter within a group has a clear chapter heading. As Figure 4 illustrates, the History Chapter 'Pythagoras Makes a Guess' indicates that History is concerned with 'The March of Man from the Age of Barbarism to the League of Nations.'

An important feature in the visual appeal of the 1922 *Encyclopedia* are the large numbers of eye-catching illustrations, and each Chapter within a Group is preceded with an attractive image. Recent advances in technology meant that images in the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, such as the Chapter heading 'Pythagoras Makes a Guess' (see Figure 4, above), had improved greatly since those included in the 1910 version.

[883] Between the ages of about eight and eleven I found Arthur Mee *Children's Encyclopedia* easy and enjoyable to read. This was my first encounter with the ancient world, and I especially enjoyed reading Mee's narrative telling the stories of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and looking at the wide range of photographs of Greek and Roman artifacts, which encouraged me to read when I was older to popular non-fiction narratives about Greece such as Leonard Cottrell's *The Bull of Minos: the Great Discoveries of Ancient Greece.* London: Taurus Parke (1962). Reprint of the 1953 edition, *The Bull of Minos: The Discoveries of Schliemann and Evans.* See also *The Lion Gate: A Journey in Search of the Mycenaeans.* London: Taurus Parke. Reprint of the 1963 edition.

[884] Between the ages of about eight and eleven I found Arthur Mee *Children's Encyclopedia* easy and enjoyable to read. This was my first encounter with the ancient world, and I especially enjoyed reading Mee's narrative telling the stories of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and looking at the wide range of photographs of Greek and Roman artifacts, which encouraged me to read when I was older to popular non-fiction narratives about Greece such as Leonard Cottrell's *The Bull of Minos* and *The Lion Gate.*

[885] Kerning concerns the spaces between the letters in a proportional font to achieve an easily read, visually pleasing text.

FIGURE 5

Buildings of the Old World *C.E.* (1922), 5381

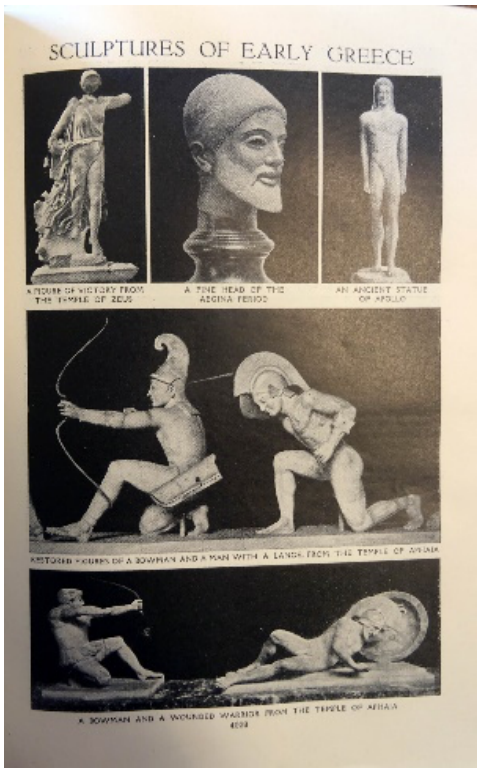


FIGURE 6

Sculptures of Early Greece.

C.E. (1922), 4029

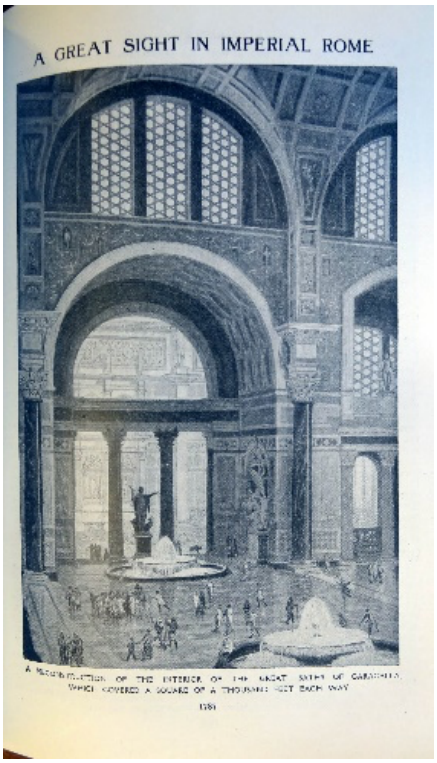


FIGURE 7

A Great Sight in Imperial Rome

C.E. (1922), 1787

As may be seen in Figures 5, 6 and 7, above, the monochrome images found on almost every page are of a higher quality. Many contain extensive written textual annotations encouraging readers to explore the written text. As Figures 5, 6 and 7 reveal, young readers were encouraged to visualise the ancient world's architecture and artifacts, and the images are designed to draw the attention of Mee's audience to the associated Chapter in an active manner. These illustrations encourage readers to examine the written texts in the associated Chapters to find out more about the world in which they live.

One reason why young people might have been inspired to seek out knowledge of the ancient world as well as the modern one they experienced was the extensive publicity following the discovery by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon of King Tutankhamun's tomb and its contents in November 1922. This led to an enthusiastic public response, dubbed 'Tutmania'. The cultural impact of the discovery was enormous. The families of young readers of the 1922 *Encyclopedia* would have read about such events in either the *Times* or

another newspaper such as the *Daily Mail.*[886] They might also have heard about Carter's discoveries through the new medium of radio and seen them depicted in newsreels. As the art critic Ronald H. Fritze comments, the event was recorded in a popular book by Carter in his narrative *The Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (1923). The official opening of the antechamber was recorded in the first press report in the *Times* the following day, 30 November, 1922.[887] The public was enthralled by the discovery and on 10 January 1924 Lord Carnarvon granted the *Times* exclusive rights to news about the excavation and the archaeological work at the tomb.[888]

When Lord Carnarvon died suddenly shortly afterwards, the general public, already familiar with the notion of a mummy's curse through Bram Stoker's *the Jewel of the Seven Stars* (1903), accepted this death as 'sinister'.[889] This added to their fascination with all things Egyptian, but also led to the conviction that to interfere with an ancient tomb brought bad luck. The exclusive rights given to the *Times* led to other journalists seeking gossip and making unwarranted speculations in their own newspapers, with the result that public fascination lay not only with the artefacts and art from the tomb but also with the events, real and imagined, around it.[890] Egypt, in consequence, became one of the most fascinating points of discussion of the day. The 'curse of the mummy' trope entered popular culture with stories such as H.P. Lovecraft's ghost story 'Imprisoned with the Pharaohs' (1924) appearing in the May-`July 1924 issue of the popular magazine *Weird Tales.*[891]

Such an enthusiastic public response was partly a consequence of earlier interest in ancient Egypt. As the art critic James Stevens Curl comments, Egyptianism in design had continued throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.[892] There had already been

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[886] R.H. Fritze, *Egyptomania: A History of Fascination, Obsession and Fantasy.* London: Routledge. (2005), p. 235. Fritze reveals, for example, that the *Daily Mail* informed its readers that the lights of Cairo had been dimmed or extinguished at the moment of Carnarvon's death.

[887] Fritze (2005), 224-225.

[888] Fritze (2005), 226.

[889] Fritze (2005), 227. As Fritze points out Carnarvon, who already suffered from poor health, died of an infected mosquito bite.

[890] Fritze (2005), 235.

[891] Fritze (2005), 236.

[892] J. S. Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as an Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West.* London: Routledge. (2005), p. 238.

an existing interest in Egyptian art within elite circles with the fan shape, absorbed from Egyptian art, a particularly popular element of design. On the walls of a room at 7 Marble Arch, for example, the designer Bugatti had incorporated a fan-shape feature between two mirrors which recalled the lotus flower found in Egyptian art.[893] The Arcadia Works Building of Carreras Ltd, constructed after the discovering of Tutankhamun's tomb, remains 'a spectacular example of [a façade in] the Egyptian Revival of the 1920s'.[894]

During the interwar period, however, the extensive reporting of Carter's discovery, and the bright, bold colours found by Carter in the tomb of Tutankhamun, brought the vividness of Egyptian art to the attention of the general public. This, in turn, had a significant impact on British art and led to an explosion of Egyptomania which gripped the imagination of not only the elite but also the wider public. A vast range of objects were decorated with design elements taken from the Egyptian wall paintings. As Curl reveals, Egyptian motifs were already included in the decoration of luxury furnishings and carpets. The Liberty Company of London, for example, created Egyptian furniture.[895] Curl notes that the massive publicity regarding the furnishings, treasures and other precious objects discovered by Carter led almost overnight to a new phase of Egyptianising referred to as the 'Nile Style'.[896]

Previous revivals had been elitist phenomena, involving large sums paid for rare manuscripts or books which were in fashion. By contrast, the revival of the 1920s 'was a phenomenon of mass culture spurred by the relatively new mass media of newspapers, photography and motion pictures and sustained by the mass production of Egyptian bric-a-brac.'[897] As Fritze sharply comments, 'Tutmania', following the *Times* report, 'soon became an industry in itself', with popular consumption of a wide range of artistic items inspired by Carter's discoveries. As well as architecture and interior design it included jewellery and fashion, and a wide variety of goods were produced and 'Egyptian-sounding names were merely slapped on them', such as 'Pharoah's Sandals'.[898] Modern publicity ensured a widespread following for Nilotic fashion. Affordable jewellery included 'Cleopatra' earrings, and Egyptian motifs appeared on a vast range of objects, from small objects such as ash trays

[893] Curl (2005), 348, and Plate 205, p. 365. This was the London residence of Lord Battersea.

[894] Curl (2005), 381, Plate 211. This is located between Hampstead Road and Mornington Crescent

[895] Curl (2005), 348.

[896] Curl (2005), 373.

[897] Fritze (2005), 238.

[898] Fritze (2005), 238-9.

and jewellery to larger objects such as furniture. Egyptian motifs such as the fan shape depicted at the top of the pillars in the imagined reconstruction in Figure 5, above, became essential components of the Art Deco style.[899] The passion for all things Egypt even extended to the nascent motion picture industry. Cecil B. DeMille, seizing on the popularity of Egypt in general, created a highly popular silent film about Moses and the Exodus, *The Ten Commandments,* and it was debuted in December 1923.[900]

Carter's discovery occurred just as the first hardback edition of the 1922 *Encyclopedia* was being prepared and its impact ensured a rapid revision to incorporate references to this event. Figure 5, above, reveals the way a Chapter on Art encouraged readers to imagine the use of the fan motif of the 'Central Columns of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as they probably appeared in the days of the Pharaohs'. This imaginative reconstruction for a wide readership resembles the ornate fan-shaped ornamentation already present in architecture. They especially reflect the fan shapes at the top of the pillars of the Egyptian Court (1850) in Berlin and the Egyptian Temple in Antwerp Zoo (1856), illustrated in Plate 35 and 36 of J.S Curl's *The Egyptian Revival* (2005).[901] Figure 5 above forms the beginning of the 'Art Gallery' contained in Chapter 44, 'The Buildings of the Old World',[902] in the 'Art' group. Part of a block of images within 'Buildings of the Ancient World', it is followed by a series of photographs of ancient Egyptian buildings which, with their accompanying written narratives, would help a young reader understand the significance of Carter's finds. Mee's depiction of Egypt in both the 'History' group and the group on 'Art' was intended for a broad audience. The Chapter on 'Buildings of the Old World' incorporates a series of twenty-two images in a 'Gallery of Art', and depicts Egyptian artefacts at Karnak and Luxor, the Great Pyramid, and the Sphinx.[903] In Chapter 56 of 'Countries', readers might then read about 'Egypt and its 100 Centuries' and read about the archaeological discoveries found in Tutankhamun's tomb. This would encourage readers to seek further information about the recent discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, and perhaps to read the chapter in the Art group 'Digging up the Old World, part

[899] Curl (2005), 374.

[900] Fritze (2005), 238.

[901] Curl (2005), 358.

[902] *C.E.* (1922), 5375-5380.

[903] *C.E.* (1922), 5381-5388.

1: Egypt and Mesopotamia,'[904] and its associated Gallery of Art 'Relics of Early Civilisations'.[905]

Photographs of artifacts from other ancient cultures in the *Encyclopedia* have the potential to inspire active browsing about the wider ancient world. As Figures 6 and 7 above reveal, Mee's audience was also introduced to artifacts from ancient Greece and Rome. In addition to Egyptian architecture, 'Buildings of the Old World' not only describes those of Egypt but also structures to be found in Babylon and Greece, and the Art Gallery, and introduces readers to the concept of archaeology. Readers attracted to Mee's descriptions and depictions of modern archaeology could seek out further images and articles which would draw them into discoveries concerning other ancient civilisations.

Figure 6 for example, depicting 'Sculptures of Early Greece', forms the first page of twenty-three images in the Gallery of Art illustrating the art of ancient Greece,[906] and follows the written narrative of the Chapter on Art entitled 'The Early Days of Greece'.[907] Here, the sub-section 'The Rich Treasure-cities that Lay Buried for Centuries'[908] informs readers of the excavations at Mycenae, Tiryns and Knossos. The following 'Art' Chapter, 'The Golden years of Greece[909] and its associated Gallery of Art identifying ten 'Great Sculptures of Old Greece',[910] informs readers of the rise of Classical Athens and the beauty of its sculpture. Readers who, elsewhere, had read about 'Beauty'[911] in the Group 'Ideas' would have read about Gilbert Murray's comments on Greek Beauty and be encouraged to seek out this article. Mee's article 'Beauty' is considered further below (see Section 4.3).

Readers enthused by Mee's descriptions and photographs of ancient Greece may have heard elsewhere about the work of Arthur Evans at Knossos. A search through the Index for Evans' name guides readers to pages 322, 4032 and 6981. The latter page reference in the *Encyclopedia* index guides readers to the section 'Art', and the Chapter 'Digging up the Old

[904] *C.E.* (1922), 6849-6850/6856-6860.

[905] *C.E.* (1922), 6851-6855.

[906] *C.E.* (1922), 4029-4032.

[907] *C.E.* (1922), 4023-4028.

[908] *C.E.* (1922), 4024.

[909] *C.E.* (1922), 4137-4144.

[910] *C.E.* (1922), 4145-4148.

[911] *C.E.* (1922) 1483-1485.

World, part 2: Crete, Italy, Syria, America and the East.'[912] Here, readers will learn about the work of Arthur Evans at Knossos just before the Great War. They will also read about Schliemann's excavations at Troy and the work of other earlier archaeologists such as Flinders Petrie, together with information on the foundation of the School for Hellenic Studies and the Egyptian Exploration Fund.

Such wide exploration would lead young readers to discover information on Rome, and in the Chapter 'Digging up the Old World, part 2' readers could see a photograph of the excavations at Pompeii. This Chapter is followed by a Gallery of Art entitled 'Links with Days Long Past'[913] depicting ruins and artifacts discovered at Pompeii, Troy, and other places. As revealed by Figure 7, above, Mee also encourages his readers to imagine ancient Roman buildings as they once were. Figure 7 depicts 'a reconstruction of the interior of the Great Baths of Caracalla' and forms part of the text of Chapter 15 of the group 'History' entitled 'An Empire Goes and an Empire Comes,' which relates the end of the Roman Empire, and the rise of Christianity.[914] This chapter is preceded by a gallery of 'History Pictures' depicting 'Fallen Rome as it is Today' and illustrates twenty-two monuments and works of art.[915]

When reimagining the past, readers' imaginations would be stimulated by the Neoclassical references which, as identified in the Introduction to this enquiry, surrounded them. Consequently, readers could associate the ancient world they read about with modern world in which they lived (see Section 5 of the Introduction to this dissertation for typical examples of Neoclassical art). For example, the Roman arches and pillars depicted in Figure 7, the Roman Baths at Caracalla as they might have appeared in the past, can be found in much Neoclassical architecture. The deep arch is reminiscent of features found in the architecture of the British Museum. Similarly, the Classical figures and poses found in Figure 6 above, Sculptures of Ancient Greece, may be identified in modern, Neoclassical statuary. Readers inspired by contrasting such images within the 1922 *Encyclopedia* with Neoclassical

[912] *C.E.* (1922), 6981-6986. Interested readers could find the associated Chapter 'Digging up the Old World, part 1: Egypt and Mesopotamia' at *C.E.* (1922), 6849-6860.

[913] *C.E.* (1922), 6987-6991.

[914] *C.E.* (1922), 1785-1788.

[915] *C.E.*. (1922), 1777-1794.

architecture within their local area resulting from the Neoclassical revival might then seek out other narratives concerning Greece and Rome.

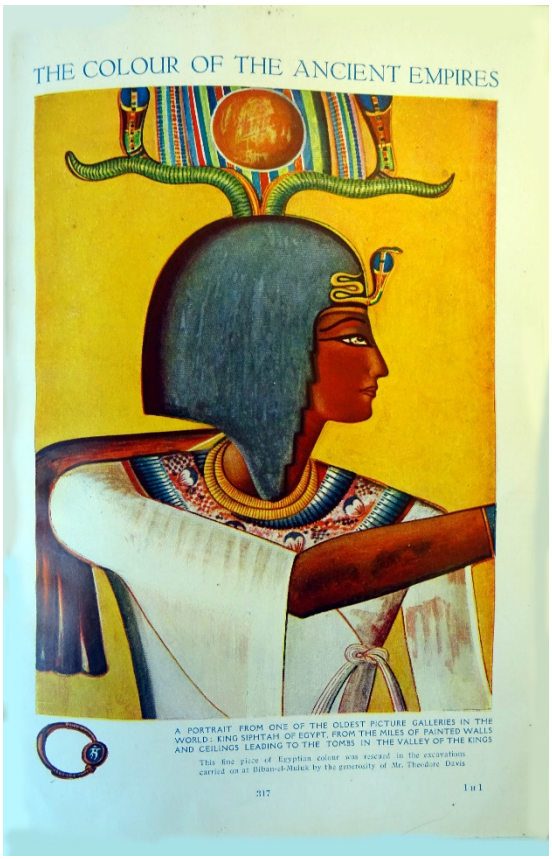

FIGURE 8

The Colour of the Ancient Empires

C.E, (1922), 317

FIGURE 9

The Art of Ancient Egypt: 1 and 2

C.E. (1922), 319

FIGURE 10

The Art of Ancient Egypt: 1 and 2

C.E. (1922), 319

Especially enticing within the 1922 *Encyclopedia* are the highly coloured pictures, especially those concerning ancient Egypt such as Figures 8, 9 and 10 above. At a time when Egyptomania followed the discovered of the tomb of Tutankhamun and its treasures, the group of vivid colour images of Figures 8, 9, 10, above, would draw in reader and urge them to seek out narratives on the ancient world. These images are found in the first volume and Figures 8, 9 and 10 might attract the early explorer of the 1922 *Encycopedia* and create interest in Egypt's history, geography and ancient art and culture.

Figures 8-10 form part of Chapter 3 of the Group 'Art' narrating the story of 'The Artists of the old Empires'. Here, the subsection 'The Two Thousand Strange Gods of Old Egypt'[916] considers ancient Egyptian superstition. Such images would encourage readers to seek other articles in the *Encyclopedia*, and then perhaps follow the stories of such excavations elsewhere. In the text accompanying Figure 8, a portrait of King Siphtah of Egypt, readers are informed it forms part of 'the miles of painted walls and ceilings leading to the tomb in the Valley of the Kings'. Such a colourful image would enable readers to share the excitement of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb, and appreciate the remarkably vivid

[916] *C.E.* (1922), 315-324.

colours with which Carter was faced. As Figures 9 and 10 above demonstrate, the colours of Egyptian art are vivid, and provide an excellent introduction for readers to the density of colour and imagery of Egyptian art. Two further images of the bright colours found in Egyptian art are found in Figure 9. This depicts 'A Page from the Book of the Dead Left in the Tombs of Egypt for the Dead to Read', while Figure 10 depicts an additional example of wall painting in 'The Painted Walls of a Tomb at Gizeh on the Nile'.

FIGURE 11

The King's Palace at Syria at the Time of Nineveh

C.E. (1922), 316

The Chapter on 'Arts of the Old Empires also provides a first introduction to other ancient civilisations with the depiction of a King's Palace in Assyria at the time of Nineveh in Figure 11, above.

Mee's monochrome and colour images are also linked elsewhere in the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, which employs a broad range of images connecting the ancient and modern worlds in a wide variety of ways. For example, the group 'Familiar Things', which carries the strapline 'Industries: how things are made; where they come from' incorporates a group of annotated connected images entitled 'Picture Stories to tell a single story. This 'picture story', in turn, forms an intertext with a written narrative which expands on the narrative of the 'picture story' preceding it. For instance, the 'The Picture Story of a Fountain Pen'[917] follows

[917] Mee's 'Picture Stories comprise a large number of picture texts, with detailed explanatory texts under each image, found in the group 'Familiar Things', which carries the banner 'industries: how things are made; where they come from'. Such picture stories these are connected to one of the section groups. The 'Picture Story of the

the creation of the modern fountain pen and its nib. It is preceded by a written narrative concerning ancient writing materials (clay tablets and papyrus) and illustrated with a clay tablet described as '[h]ow men used to write – a history book from ancient Nineveh.'[918] Searching through the index a reader could then discover the page of photographs with explanatory text on 'How Men Wrote in the Days Before Paper' in the group Wonder.'[919] This includes photographs of a papyrus plant, a sheet of papyrus with its hieroglyphs, a clay tablet and the Rosetta Stone. Such images would enable readers of the 1922 *Encyclopedia* to envisage the ancient world's architecture and artifacts and gain an insight into the culture of a range of ancient civilisations.

However, the illustrations in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* should not be considered as neutral images. As noted by Roland Barthes in *Mythologies* (1957) images immediately signify meaning, including imperialist meanings,[920] and many of the images in the *Encyclopedia*, together with their associated texts, reveal how Mee had imbibed the imperialist values discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. As discussed above, a significant influence on Mee in his youth was his schoolmaster, George Byford, who imbued Mee with a love and admiration for the British Empire (see Section 2.1).

Newspaper', for example, is found in the chapter 'The Newspaper', which details how the *Encyclopedia* is published. See *C.E.* (1922), 6961-6968; 6959-6960.

[918] *C.E.* (1922), 2033-2034 at 2033.

[919] *C.E.* (1922), 681-868 at 685.

[920] Roland Barthes *Mythologies.* (trans. Jonathan Cape Ltd 1972). London: Vintage. (1993), pp. 114-115. Reprint of the article of 1957. Barthes' famous example is of a uniformed, black soldier saluting the French flag, which conveys the meaning that France is an empire without colour discrimination.

FIGURE 12

Picture Atlas Introduction – Atlas holding up the World

C.E. (1922), 217

The most conspicuous examples of the influence Mee's imperialism within his illustrations are found in the extensive 'Picture Atlas' comprising 'Illustrated maps of all countries with thousands of pictures'. These maps are associated with the group 'Countries', and each map contains extensive drawings. The first Picture Atlas is preceded by an illustration of Atlas holding up the World (see Figure 12, above). The Picture Atlas depicts modern and historical imperial figures, together with illustrated maps depicting physical geography, history, economic geography, and natural history maps.

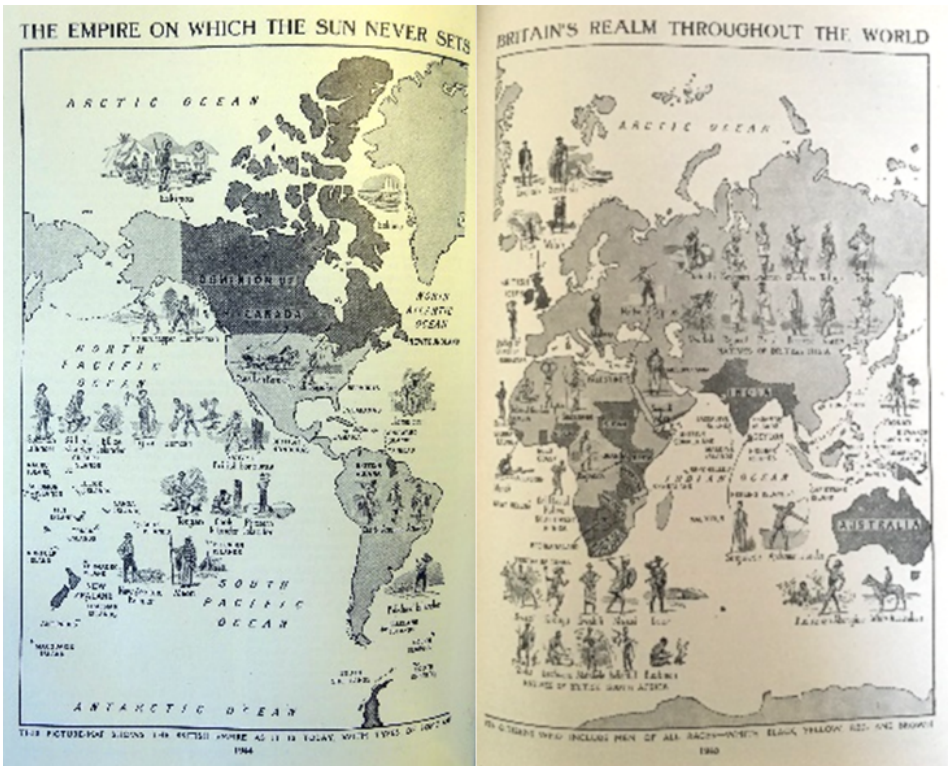

FIGURE 13

The Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets: Britain's Realm Throughout the World

C.E. (1922), 1944-1945

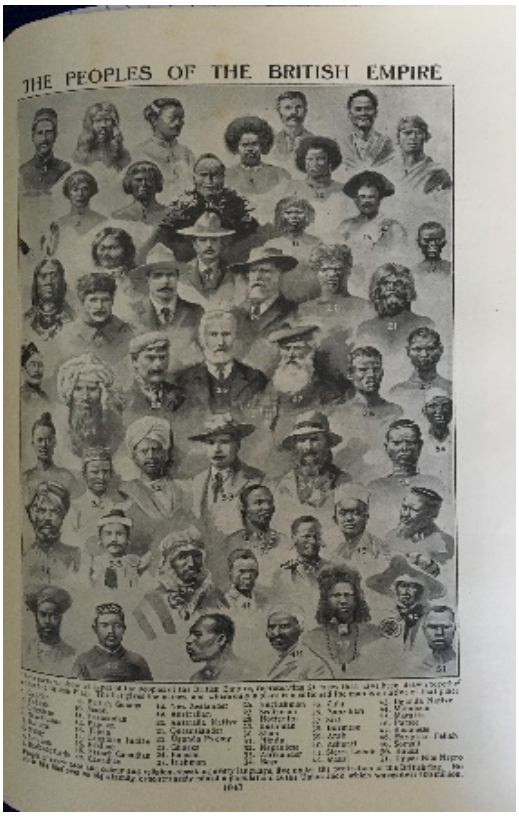

FIGURE 14

Peoples of the Empire

C.E. (1922), 1947; 1949

Examples may be seen in Figures 13 and 14 above. Significantly, Mee's imperialist assumptions and prejudices, many of them shared by the parents of his readers, can be identified in these maps. Imperialism is openly lauded in Figure 13, which reveals the popular phrase 'the Empire on which the sun never sets'. As Figure 13 reveals, the map incorporates racial stereotypes commonly accepted among Mee's English-speaking readers. The well-dressed Caucasian English farmer is contrasted with the Welsh miner carrying his pick and the bonneted, kilted Scotsman. In Australia the clothed white farmer rides a horse while the naked Aborigines crouch in the undergrowth or throw a boomerang. The conventionally dressed New Zealand farmer is contrasted with the robed and feathered Maori, and the fur-clad French-Canadian trapper and the farmer with his plough and horses are compared to the hooded Eskimo. All around the world, well-recognised stereotypes are perpetuated in this map. They would not be unexpected or unusual. As Sadiah Qureshi points out in *Peoples on Parade* (2011), from the mid-nineteenth century 'educational' exhibitions had presented

human exhibits as entertainment to a wide social spectrum,[921] and it can be argued such exhibitions perpetuated racial stereotypes together with 'Western, usually imperial, notions of superiority'.[922] For example, the American Indian warriors enacting confrontations between Indians and frontiers people in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in London in 1887 were genuine Native Americans, and the grandparents of many of Mee's readers would have remembered them.

The 'Japanese Village' in Knightsbridge London Exhibition, located in Humphreys' Hall between January 1885 and June 1887, also included Japanese individuals as living exhibits. This allegedly inspired elements of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*, which ran at the Savoy Theatre, London between 14 March 1885 and 19 January 1887. As noted in the Introduction to this enquiry, during the mid-nineteenth century intellectuals validated the redefinition of human variety through science, and Qureshi reminds us that such exhibitions claimed to be 'educational' as 'scholars [had] redefined the social, political and physical criteria used to classify humans.'[923] The images in this Picture Atlas reflect such differentiations. They not merely emphasise the perceived superiority of the British Empire during the interwar years but also recall implicit messages created within the *Encyclopedia* that the British Empire, as the greatest Empire since Rome, was the natural successor to Rome (see Section 4).

Figure 14 provides an example of the sharp differentiation made between the Caucasian Europeans and their native colonial subjects. These perceptions, validated by the 'scientific' explanations of differences between nations based on their skin colour, are discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry. As Figure 14 reveals**, t**he Englishman and Scotsman at the centre of the image (nos. 26 and 27 in the picture-map), and the Afrikaaner below (no. 33) may be contrasted with such representations as the poorly dressed Irishman (no. 25), the roughly dressed Boer (no. 34) the 'exotically'[924] dressed Nepalese, Sikh, or Canadian Indian (nos. 32, 37, 14), and the almost naked Ashanti, Sudanese Zulu Tasmanian and Papuan (numbers 40. 47, 35, 11, 12). As the picture-map depicted in Figure 14 identifies,

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[921] Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth Century Britain.* Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press. (2011)

Qureshi (2011), 2-3.

[922] Qureshi (2011), 4.

[923] Qureshi (2011), 5-6.

[924] The Term is Arthur's Mees own turn of phrase.

the colonial native peoples are presented as primitive and undeveloped thus emphasising Western superiority and visually reinforcing Mee's many written statements elsewhere. Mee explicitly expresses this view in *The Book of the Flag* (1941), written at the beginning of the Second World War:

> Out of the Island have gone into the far corners of the world the great ideas of civilisation and ordered life … we can sit in the hall where the first Parliament sat … we gave the world Democracy … the idea of Education to make it all worthwhile, and the idea of free trade to share the good things of the world with all.[925]

This identifies the native peoples of the Empire as benefitting from British democracy and education and reveals Mee's notion of the Empire as a 'civilising mission'.

Mee's copiously illustrated Picture Atlas provides readers with information as diverse as the locations of historical events, plant life, geographic features throughout the world. It is accompanied by photographs and paintings which provide readers with images and the locations of great historic events and peoples. These illustrations include great art, sculpture, and architecture, with examples both from the ancient world, and include eye-catching colour images featuring topics such as butterflies, fish, plants, and birds. The illustrations within the *Encyclopedia,* however, also reinforce both Mee's prejudices and incorporate subtle imperialist messages consistent with his didactic intentions.

This is particularly evident in the frontispieces to each volume which depict men who, in Mee's estimation, might be considered great men of the world. The identification of Mee's imperialism within these images, however, means that one must carefully examine his illustrations depicting the ancient world, and identify the implicit messages which reflect his Eurocentric views concerning both the ancient world and race. Of particular interest for this enquiry are Figures 15 and 16, below, forming the frontispiece pictures for volumes 4 and 5.

[925] Arthur Mee, *The Book of the Flag.* London: Amalgamated Press (1941), pp.19-20

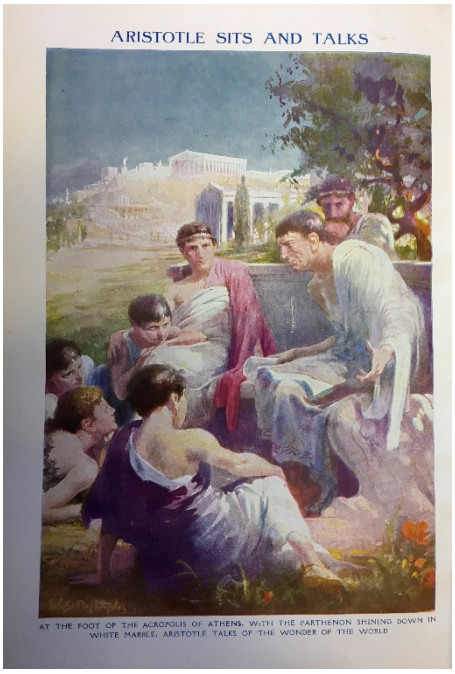

FIGURE 15

Aristotle Sits and Talks

C.E. (1922), vol. 4 frontispiece

As seen in Figure 15 above, – depicting Aristotle instructing a group of attentive young men amid the splendid and beautiful buildings of ancient Greece – Mee's readers form the impression that Greek knowledge was respected and highly prized in the ancient world, and that its transmission to the younger generation was a matter of importance. Such knowledge, the reader is informed, must therefore be respected and prized in the modern world. As identified below (see Section 4.1) Arthur Mee had a specific view of the history of mankind, in which humanity is on a journey from 'barbarism' to a closer union with God, and that the formation of the League of Nations had provided the opportunity humanity's next step in this journey. A major step in that journey had been the development of scientific thinking in Greece. This had laid the foundations for both the abandonment of 'superstition' and the development of the west's rational thinking (see Section 4.2 below).

FIGURE 16

Julius Caesar arrives in Britain

C.E. (1922), vol. 5 frontispiece

Figure 16, above, depicts Julius Caesar as he arrives in England.[926] As may be seen, this Figure depicts a nation at peace rather than a nation living under a conquering army. Caesar stands unopposed, viewing an unthreatening countryside. He is not battle-stained, and behind him stand members of his army, in a relaxed pose. In the background is their undefended army camp. Such a depiction is consistent with Mee's narrative identifying ancient Rome as a benefactor to western civilisation, bringing peace, justice and the technical advances made by applying Greek scientific thought. This is further discussed below (see Section 4).

Crawford confirms that Mee's enormous popularity led to him becoming 'a brand' to be marketed and following the *Encyclopedia's* popularity he published a wide range of other

[926] The remaining frontispieces are as follows: Vol 1: Shakespeare reading a new rhyme to Ann Hathaway in a peaceful England; vol 2: Michelangelo creating the statue of Moses; vol 3: Cromwell calling on God in his hour of trouble; vol 6: Columbus sights the New World; vol 7: Abraham Lincoln and his little son await news of the end of the Civil War; vol 8: Sir Francis Drake calls on the Spanish ladies of Panama; Handel sits at his organ, thinking about the *Messiah;* vol 10: John Wesley preaches on a village green.

narratives.[927] |To this readership, Mee then reinforces the tacit messages in Figure 16 above. In Volume 1 of his text *Arthur Mee's 1000 Heroes* (1933), for example, the title of his biographical note identifies Julius Caesar as 'The Foremost Man of All This World'.[928] As Mee notes, Caesar did not conquer Britain but made two short forays into the country in 55 and 54 B.C. Caesar, Mee declares, was not seeking to conquer an island but to conquer Rome and 'to win her from corruption, vice and crime of every sort; to establish a reign of law and order, of justice and mercy, peace and prosperity, in his own land as well as in every land over which Roman eagles flew'. In Mee's estimation Caesar was not merely a great general, but 'also one of the great crusaders, one of the towering reformers, of all time.'[929] Britain, for Caesar was therefore 'a tiny unit in the structure of law and righteousness which he aspired to set up.'[930] This depiction of Julius Caesar, as the man whose courage enabled future peace and prosperity, mercy, law and justice to reach Britain, influences any reading of Figure 16 by children who have read his account of Caesar in *Arthur Mee's 1000 Heroes.*

In the 1922 *Encyclopedia'*s History chapter 'The Roman Comes to Britain', Mee relates Caesar's failed landings in Britain. The great general 'had *come,* had *seen* but had not *conquered,* '[931] so that it was Claudius' expedition which was ultimately successful.[932] In the *Encyclopedia*, it is Agricola who Mee claims to be the first Roman general to bring peace and civilisation to Britain, and Mee recounts how Agricola 'built a line of forts between the Forth and the Clyde to keep out the wild mountaineers of the north'.[933] In a conflation of his Christianity and his conviction of Britain as the successor to Rome's peace, mercy and justice, Mee proposes that 'it seems probably that in less than fifty years after Christ... [it was] Roman soldiers [who first] brought the Christian faith to [Britain].[934]

This conflation of Christianity with Rome as the precursor to Britain's own imperial law and justice is referenced again in *Arthur Mee's 1000 Heroes*, in the title of this biographical note on Agricola. Here, Agricola is identified to Mee's readers as 'Our First

[927] See Crawford (2016), 35-57 in the chapter 'Manufacturing a Brand'.

[928] Arthur Mee, *Arthur Mee's 1000 Heroes.* London: Amalgamated Press (1933), 259-264.

[929] Mee (1933), 259.

[930] Mee (1933), 260.

[931] *C.E.* (1922), 2397-2400 at 2399.

[932] *C.E.* (1922), 2400.

[933] *C.E.* (1922), 466.

[934] *C.E.* (1922), 6918.

Good Ruler', by his actions of changing the Roman tax gathering practices, so that 'for the first time the Briton saw with surprise that Roman justice was not merely a fable'. Subsequently, in Mee's account, it was Agricola who 'civilised' the British by encouraging education, civilised standards of bathing and dress, education and courts of justice and the adoption of the Latin language and Roman ways. When Agricola left Britain, he left 'a land transformed, conquered as much by kindness, justice and enlightened example.' Because of Agricola 'culture was encouraged and learning was sought by all', so that in the twentieth century 'his spirit, his ideals, his aims, his hopes inspire us'. He had, in Mee's estimation, given the British 'the very soul of our English-speaking race'.[935] As Mee describes it in the *Encyclopedia*, 'numbers of Britons settled down, as time went on, among their Roman masters, from whom they learnt many things'. The examples Mee gives include draining marshes and laying roads.[936]

This 'civilising' influence of Rome on Britain also incorporates Mee's religious convictions. As Julia Stapleton has commented,[937] Mee 'regarded English religion and patriotism as a seamless whole'.[938] When he 'hitched his Liberalism firmly to religious faith' he conflated his political beliefs and Christian faith with his vision of Britain.[939] This is apparent in his conflation of the ancient and modern worlds. He recounts elsewhere the story elsewhere in the *Encyclopedia* of the fair-haired English boys in Rome's slave market who inspired a wealthy, influential Roman to send Augustine to Britain to convert its people to Christianity.[940] Despite this, as noted above, Mee considered it probable that Roman soldiers first brought Christianity to Britain.

The lavish illustrations in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* create an enticing text drawing in readers. The images, however, convey subtle imperialist messages which are amplified by

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[935] Mee (1933), 323-326.

[936] *C.E.* (1922), 466.

[937] Julia Stapleton, 'Faith People and Place: the English Union in the Writings of Arthur Mee and G.K. Chesterton' in Arthur Aughey and Christine Berberich's (ed) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester: Manchester University Press (2011), 217-235.

[938] Stapleton (2011), 218.

[939] Stapleton (2011), 224.

[940] *C.E.* (1922), 2278. Mee recounts the story of this unnamed Christianised Roman seeing these boys and saying they were 'Angels, not Angles'. Mee relates St Augustine's missionary work at the end of the sixth century at *C.E.* 588.

other comments by Mee in other works. These, because Mee had become a 'brand', were widely read by those who also read the *Encyclopedia.* Of particular interest to this enquiry are those which connect his Christian faith with a conviction that the Roman Empire was the precursor to the British Empire. Together, Mee's Christian faith and his conviction that the British Empire was the successor to Rome formed the backbone of a didactic Christian message concerning a history, and future, of humanity in which Egypt, Greece and Rome played an important part.

4. Arthur Mee's Implicit Message

That Mee should have an agenda when re-creating his *Encyclopedia* is not unusual. As Jason König and Greg Woolf have suggested in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (2013) 'works of encyclopaedic compilation have the capacity to project very distinctive visions of the world and its structures'. As they note, the different agendas and idiosyncrasies of different authors have always included specific visions of both human society and the divine power lying behind it.[941] Mee's agenda was driven by a conflation of Christian morality, political ideas and his love of the British Empire revealed above (See Section 2.1). This section discusses Mee's implicit message to his readers that humanity was on a spiritual journey from 'barbarism' and 'superstition' towards a Christian ethic, democracy, and world peace through the work of the League of Nations. This would bring humanity into a closer relationship with God. Within this notion, ancient Greece is depicted as breaking with superstition by developing scientific thinking. Rome then applied these ideas, beginning the west's technological advancement. The British Empire, as Rome's natural successor, is claimed to have absorbed the finest of Roman values so that it would be the natural guide to the League of Nations as it worked for world peace.

4.1 Mee's Concept of Humanity's Progress

In the 1922 *Encyclopedia,* within the group 'Ideas' the chapter on 'Retribution', published in the first edition,[942] was replaced with 'Liberalism' in the 1940 edition, as the Battle of Britain

[941] Jason König and Greg Woolf, in Jason König and Greg Woolf (eds), 'Introduction', *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (2013) pp. 13-14.
[942] *C.E.* (1922), 3834.

was under way.[943] Examined together they indicate the conflation of Mee's imperialism, Christian morality and his perception of humanity's history. 'Retribution'[944] concerns Nemesis, the Greek goddess of retribution, and discusses Mee's view of the retribution Germany brought upon itself in bringing about the Great War.

FIGURE 17

Nemesis: Retribution on the Rhine.

C.E. (1922), 3834

Mee's narrative is accompanied by a powerful full-page image, headed 'Retribution on the Rhine' (see Figure 17 above) As may be seen from this picture, Mee symbolises the German nation as a despairing and defeated warrior from German myth. This image incorporates the subtitle '…. a feeling of infinite pathos at the spectacle of a nation stricken by its own evil powers,'[945] and a second block of written text printed above the chapter title, quotes the story of Cain and Abel, from Genesis 6:13,[946] which ended in Cain's punishment being identified as 'greater than I can bear'.[947] In this way Mee's narrative connects Nemesis, the ancient Greek goddess of Retribution, with the victory of the British Empire and its allies over the German Empire. Together the written and visual texts refer to the financial suffering imposed

[943] *C.E.* 1940), 3832.

[944] *C E.* (1922), 3835-3837.

[945] *C.E.* (1922), 3834.

[946] Cain killed his brother Abel and was banished to be 'a fugitive and a vagabond'. Genesis 6:8; 6:12.

[947] *C.E.* (1922), 3835.

on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles (1919)[948] and the London Schedule of Payments (1921) requiring that Germany should make financial reparation for civilian damage caused during the Great War.[949]

The narrative text 'Retribution' which accompanies Figure 17 provides an indication of the influence of Mee's religious convictions on his perception of the ancient world. Mee first describes early man's superstitious belief in the need to appease metaphysical deities, then discusses how mankind's progress means in the twentieth century the West has left behind the superstitious belief in divinities such as Nemesis:

> [T]he leaders of mankind have broken free from this superstition. They no longer charge God with the misfortunes of the human race. They teach that there is indeed a grievous retribution for all evil-doing but they welcome that retribution, declare that it is for the good of the human race and ascribe it not to God, but to those merciful laws which God has decreed for the happiness of mankind.[950]

Mee expresses such social Darwinist ideas in the language of the Christian preacher. His article 'Retribution' points to Mee's conviction that an individual's activities have consequences, and his belief that Germany, as a proud and boastful nation, had brought about its own downfall. Mee's narrative interprets the word 'retribution' as meaning 'giving back', and he declares that 'it can be applied to goodness as well as to evil'. In Mee's religious convictions, God's will is that those living a good life become good people to whom good things happen. However, the German military leaders became arrogant, so that they were 'treading the path of Egypt, Carthage or Rome'. Such nations, Mee believed, would suffer defeat and ruin. Mee's text ends with the sub-title 'What a man sows that shall he also reap', referencing Galatians 6:7, where Mee then urges young readers to 'understand God's mighty plan'.[951] In this way Greek goddess 'Nemesis' is appropriated to convey Mee's personal interpretation of justice in human history.

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[948] See Margaret Macmillan, *Paris, 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*. London: John Murray (2001).

[949] The image does not refer to the German experience of hyperinflation within the Weimar Republic, which occurred primarily in 1923.

[950] *C.E.* (1922), 3836.

[951] *C.E.* (1922), 3837.

FIGURE 18

Two Great Champions of Liberty.

C.E. (1940), 3832

The replacement of 'Retribution' with 'Liberalism' which may be found in the *Encyclopedia* at the outbreak of World War 2, exemplify the concerns of democratic states with the threats to the concept of Liberty, as upheld by democratic nations.[952] As Figure 18 above indicates, Mee invokes the persona of Britannia and the Statue of Liberty. Symbols of the ancient world are incorporated into these characterisations, where Britannia symbolises the British Empire and the Statue of Liberty represents the USA. The images in Figure 18 of Britannia and the Statue of Liberty are depicted standing together on a single page, side by side, and are symbols which Mee's readers would recognise from images in magazines, newsreels, films, and book illustrations.

As may be identified in Figure 18, Britannia and the Statue of Liberty are, respectively, dressed in Grecian and Roman garments, with Britannia carrying Neptune's trident. This identifies the English-speaking nations, including both those of the British Empire and Britain's former American colony, as the natural successors to the ancient world, and the accompanying text identifies them as 'symbolical figures of the English-speaking peoples whose continued existence is the hope of the world.'[953] The British Empire and the USA are declared to be joint champions of Liberty in the face of threats to that Liberty.

[952] *C.E.* (1940), 3833-3837.

[953] *C.E.* (1940), 3832.

Connecting both the ancient and modern worlds with 'liberty', Mee identifies the Liberalism both represent as:

> The spirit of generosity and sympathy in the government of the world and in our own lives. It was the spirit of Liberalism that destroyed the old autocracies which ruled the world, which brought down tyranny and set up what we call Democracy.[954]

As the associated visual images in Figure 18 indicate, Liberalism and Democracy in the English-speaking world were the natural consequence of Britain and its Empire as the successor to Greece and Rome, and that Britain desired America, its former colony, to join it in defending the modern Liberalism:

> … without freedom there is no future for our race or for mankind. It is the spirit of Liberalism that has made the British Empire the greatest factor for peace that the world has ever known. – so great that we must keep it though our backs break with the cost of it. [955]

In this way, with a combination of a narrative accompanied by the powerful depictions of Britain and the USA seen in Figure 18, Mee informs his audience that Britain and its Empire, together with the United States, were the true successors to the Liberalism they inherited from the ancient world, and that they must defend that liberty. His narrative ends by calling on the duty of the British Parliament to save itself from autocracies and for the British people to 'hold fast to Parliament, and to increase its efficiency, to keep small men out and put great men in, whatever they believe, if only they are true to the highest within them, pursing the Kingdom of God.'[956] Taken together these texts reveal Mee's Christian conviction that humanity is journeying from 'superstition' to modern scientific interpretations of events and political democracy, and indicates a conviction that the modern British Empire and its former colony the United States, as the successors to ancient Greece and Rome, and are the defenders of that achievement.

In this way the images presented by Mee not only entice readers into reading his narratives but also convey powerful messages. The group 'History' in the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, together with texts and images found in the chapters 'Art' and 'Ideas', identify the central

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[954] *C.E.* (1940), 3833.

[955] *C.E.* (1940), 3837.

[956] *C.E.* (1940), 3837.

tenets of Mee's narrative as concerning human progress from innocence to superstition, and then to rational thinking and civilisation created by the peoples of ancient Greece and Rome. In the twentieth century, the foundation of the League of Nations, for Mee, had created the possibility of world peace as humanity's next step on mankind's spiritual journey.

4.2 The Centrality of Greece and Rome in Mee's Concept of Human Progress

As Edward Said reveals 'what appeared to be detached and apolitical cultural disciplines [depend] upon a quite sordid history of imperialist ideology and colonial practice.[957] Mee's interpretation of the centrality of role of Greece and Rome in his concept of human progress reveals an unquestioning imperialist ideology. As Said comments, 'the enterprise of Empire depends upon the idea of having an empire',[958] and Mee does not question the validity of the British Empire. Those accepting the idea of Empire develop, as Said notes, an unquestioned 'structure of attitude and reference'[959] Mee may be identified as representative of this type of Victorian Eurocentric thinking, and his language especially reflects the Victorian ideas of Social Darwinism. It also entangles Classics within his ideas and his Eurocentric language.

The group of chapters entitled 'History' has the subtitle 'The March of Man from the Age of Barbarism to the League of Nations', with the chapter on the League of Nations as the final chapter in the history section. Mee declares humanity's 'journey' in the title 'Man Sets Out on a Journey' in Chapter 1 of his group 'History,[960] in which primitive man discovers he has a 'mind'. Chapter 2 of 'Art' 'The Cave Men and their Pictures' identifies the 'artless' nature of early human art as 'free from conscious construction.'[961] As primitive humanity developed the ability to reflect on the world around them, Mee declares, humanity lost its innocence and developed superstition.[962] The chapter 'The Wondering Egyptian' describes Egypt's foundation of the first civilised society which, in Mee's view was only the first step in humanity's journey 'in the human soul which carried humanity away from the savage and some distance at least towards the divine'. Egypt's civilisation failed, Mee argues, because

[957] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism.* London: Random House (1994), 47.

[958] Said (1994), 11.

[959] Said (1994), xxiv.

[960] C.E. (1922), 45-48.

[961] *C.E.* (1922), 191-198 at 196. The first cave paintings were found in 1870 in Altamira, Spain. They were painted by the Magdalenian people between 16,000-9,000 BC.

[962] *C.E.* (1922), 167-170 at 168.

although it had achieved great things in architecture, navigation, and the arts and science, it was a cruel society in thrall to the superstition instilled by its priests.[963] This is further emphasised in the chapter 'The Artists of the Old Empires' in the group 'Art'. This contrasts Egyptian paintings with the 'artless' cave art. As Mee comment in the chapter 'Retribution', discussed above, humanity's technological progress was closely connected with the abandonment of convoluted thinking about the eternal which was grounded in superstition. For Mee:

> Egyptian art … was inspired by a definite system of religious thought … it was the next big thing, in time, to the work of the Reindeer hunters that … was warm and natural and beautiful, and was the work of men who had thought very little; while Egyptian art was cold and unnatural and beautiful, the work of men who had thought a very great deal.[964]

In the 1922 *Encyclopedia* Mee's vision of the Minoan civilisation, excavated by Arthur Evans only a quarter of a century before, is of a nation which had almost succeeded in bringing about peace. It was, he declares, a 'country inhabited by men and women who had no fear of war', who dreamed of flying, and studied the beauty and nobility of life until it was 'wiped out'.[965] Readers during the interwar years might have watched the newsreels or listened on the new medium of radio in order to follow the reconstructions which took place after 1925, and those from more affluent families might perhaps have visited the site.

Mee expresses the opinion that it was long after the Minoan period, in mainland Greece, that superstition was, for the first time, replaced with reason and the scientific method Mee describes the early ancient Greeks as 'standing midway between the darkness of barbarism and the first glittering dawn of civilisation.'[966] Thales made the first break with superstition when he did not accept all he heard without question.[967] Anaximander sought the truth about physical world in which he lived so that his soul, in Mee's opinion, was anchored to 'Moral Law'.[968] It is in Pythagoras that Mee first identifies both a scientist and a

[963] *C.E.* (1940), 425-428 at 426, 428.

[964] *C.E.* (1922), 315-324 at 316.

[965] *C.E.* (1922), 795-797.

[966] *C.E.* (1922), 671-674 at 672.

[967] *C.E.* (1922), 672.

[968] *C.E.* (1922), 914.

philosopher.[969] Subsequently, Socrates' message to humanity, Mee insists, was spiritual, as he held that 'behind everything you see with your eyes is a reality which is invisible … You 'are not flesh and blood … you are spirit [and] your real life is the inward reality that says "I"'. Socrates' message, Mee assures his readers, is that they must 'take care of their souls' by '[desiring] only those things which enrich your soul, invisible things, the great virtues.' This, he concludes, is the 'enormous influence of Socrates on the mind of man'.[970], Mee insists that in this way Greece was 'preparing the whole future of civilisation, the whole future of our modern world.'[971] He continues to emphasise a Eurocentric view of human history when he identifies Plato and Aristotle as creating western philosophy and western science. In his opinion, Plato's teachings emphasised religious faith and enriched Christianity, whilst Aristotle emphasised the material world and 'became the inspiration for modern science.'[972] Plato 'set men thinking of a Divinity, that was pure Wisdom, Beauty and Virtue' whilst Aristotle freed men from 'the magician' so that 'history was swept suddenly into a new channel' and, he informs his readers, the future of civilisation lay in the west.

In a judgement which was dated even when he was editing the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, Mee speaks of the degeneracy of the East, and the natural requirement that the West should be the successor to Greece. This is openly expressed in his conclusion that, after the cultural developments of ancient Greece, future progress was impossible. Mee identifies, in the Victorian manner, that Greece was part of the 'east', and the 'east' was 'exhausted'. In the History chapter 'The Rise of the West' Mee identifies Rome as the western successor to eastern civilisation and that when Rome defeated Carthage 'for the first time in history the west revealed itself to the east as the heir of ages.'[973] In a passage which further reflects his dated social Darwinist views, he adds:

> Life … does not regard itself as the curator of a museum. Glorious might have been the vanished civilisation of the east, but as they perished life had nothing more to do with them … their disappearance proved that Life[974] had weighed them in the scales of judgement and flung them aside as useless to the purpose of evolution. The east

[969] *C.E.* (1922), 1037-1040 at 1040.

[970] *C.E.* (1922), 1164.

[971] *C.E.* (1922), 1163.

[972] *C.E.* (1922), 1288.

[973] *C.E.* (1922), 1406

[974] Mee's capitalisation.

> was old and feeble; the west was young and strong. Life turned from the east, turned even from Athens, and pushed its immortal fortunes on the banks of the Tiber.[975]

The use of the term 'even Athens' is problematic. Greece lies within Europe. Nor can ancient Greece be conflated with other ancient, vanished empires which can be regarded as of the East' such as Mesopotamia. Far from having vanished, Athens became a cultural inspiration for Rome. As Mee himself points out in the chapter of the group Wonder entitled 'Who Were the Old World Gods':

> The Greeks dramatized their universe through their hierarchy of gods. The Romans did the same when the time came but presently Greek ideas, and especially Greek art, dominated the Roman mind, and then came a fusion of the mythologies of the two races – the Greeks and the Latins.[976]

Mee appears to be attempting to craft an argument which fits his religious and political preconceptions, and what he wishes to argue, rather than examining the facts of history and making reasoned judgements about them. He is an example of an individual holding without question what Said expresses as 'a structure of attitude and reference' which colours his judgement. In this way, Mee reveals his erroneous conviction that Rome, intellectually and morally, was in the West and ancient Greece was by extension to be affiliated with the East. Mee therefore accepted without question that Greece, having developed the first break with superstition, was incapable of further progress.

Mee reflects a similar attitude of structure and reference elsewhere when he informs his readers of his 'knowledge', in statements such as:

> while the Kings of the East were … enriching with gaudy splendour their barbaric palaces and planning farther and bolder invasions of foreign territory for the sole purpose of adding to what they called their glory…[977]

For Mee, with his Eurocentric view, the future of 'civilisation' must, by definition, lie in the west. Mee identifies the lack of eastern progress as its 'mental atmosphere'. For Mee, eastern aestheticism teaches that life is a curse, rather than a blessing. Recalling early man's

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[975] *C.E.* (1922), 1405-1408 at 1405.

[976] *C.E.* (1922), 3513-3532 at 3513.

[977] *C.E.* (1922), 1287.

adherence to superstition, Mee instructs his audience that eastern peoples that believe that the ills that befall individuals were a punishment from the gods. He views Buddha as a man 'oppressed by this world's sorrows' and he comments on both 'the great wisdom of Buddhism' but also 'the pity of it', as 'such a teaching paralyses the mind'.[978] In the History chapter 'The Ancient East', the chapter section titles 'The Great Wisdom of Buddhism and the Great Pity of it' together with the section title 'The Multitude of People Who Follow a Sad and Hopeless Teaching' emphasise his view that such mental atmospheres are 'destructive and 'strangle the soul's noble and most creative aspirations'.[979] Ancient Greece cannot in any respect be identified with such visions of the 'East'. Mee, in fact, is revealing his own Eurocentric 'mental atmosphere'.

As Mee's narrative interprets history, in the east there were no civilisations to continue mankind's march towards peace, civilisation and a closer union with a (Christian) God, as 'the east' had fallen into 'a slumberous muse of inactivity under the Asian sky'.[980] This turn of phrase indicates how, for Mee, a further cause of the lack of progress in the east was a soporific climate, as contrasted with the invigorating climate of the west:

> Easier is it for a man[981] to master the rigours of an Arctic climate than to withstand the depressing influences of a soft climate. In the north he must fight the cold or be killed by it; so his inventive powers are aroused and he works hard if only to keep himself warm; but in the East there is no defence against a burning sun, … where to work is to become exhausted, it is easier to fall asleep than to keep awake.[982]

In a passage which reflects the peaceful ambiance of the colourful image, in Figure 16, of Caesar's arrival above (see Section 3.3) Mee writes of the Italian people that:

> Rome had 'beaten the Italians into submission but they had also won them, by fairness and justice, into co-operation … this method of dealing with other people was destined to have the most powerful consequences in the history of mankind. To us, in

[978] *C.E.* (1922), 2030.

[979] *C.E.* (1922), 2029-2034 at 2030.

[980] *C.E.* (1922), 2029. Mee's attitude of structure and reference was so unquestioning he did not identify the anomaly between discussing the East as 'Asian' and then identifying Athens as 'Eastern'.

[981] Mee's turn of phrase, as Hammerton comments, sometimes results in his language sounding as if he is giving a sermon.

[982] *C.E.* (1922), 2029.

> England, the Roman method makes a particular appeal … because we have inherited it, extended it, and applied it successfully to a vast empire greater than the Romans dreamed.[983]

Discussing the fall of Carthage Mee then adds:

> For the first time in history the west revealed itself to the east as the heir of the ages.[984]

As noted above, Mee identifies Greece with the east, and in this way Mee emphasises his conviction that Greece, as 'eastern' and thus unable to take humanity on to its next step in its journey through history. Mee therefore identifies Rome as the successor to Greece, with early Rome a 'fair and just ruler' of the peoples in its Empire. Mee then identifies the British tradition as one inherited from Rome, which had brought not only law and justice to the west but also technology founded on Greek thinking.

As Julia Stapleton comments in 'Faith, People and Place' (2011),[985] Mee's Nonconformist Liberalism had 'absorbed the great store which that creed set by science on the one hand, and a religion based on biblical truth on the other. [986] The 1922 *Encyclopedia* reveals that Rome had created its technology by transforming the abstract scientific ideas of Greece into a tangible technological infrastructure which grew into a western science which enriched the nations it conquered. This the east could not emulate:

> [W]here the Romans went, peace descended, order reigned, laws were just, and the conditions of life improved. A road made by the Romans was revelatory to the east … [as were Roman] drains, aqueducts, bridges. [Their conquests were] an advantage even to the people they conquered. The *Pax Romana* became more than a high-sounding phrase … Buddha in India and Confucius in China may be making many amiable guesses as to the mystery of human existence, but these barbarians from the west were at least extremely useful in smoothing the way of daily life. [987]

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[983] *C.E.* (1922), 1405-6.

[984] *C.E.* (1922), 1406).

[985] Stapleton (2011), 217-235, in Arthur Aughey and Christine Berberich (eds) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

[986] Stapleton (2011), 219.

[987] *C.E.* (1922), 1406.

This success Mee puts down to the character of the early Roman people and their gods, appropriated from Greece. These gods 'took an active interest in the home, the fields, and lent their heavenly patronage to men who were fearless and law-abiding'. In the 1922 *Encyclopedia*, Mee uses the story of Regulus to inform his readers of 'the difference between the Roman and all the people of the East'. The Greeks were 'curious' but 'uncertain', the Egyptians, Indians and Chinese 'regarded life as a thing to be suffered and endured'.[988] The Carthaginian was 'a materialist, a man who believed in trade, money and luxury, caring little for the things of the mind and nothing at all for the things of the spirit'.[989] Mee, as a journalist, had created biographies of Joseph Chamberlain and Edward VII in a factual manner, as noted above. Similarly, in the 1910 *Encyclopaedia* the story of Regulus had been told in a factual way. (See 2.2). In the 1922 *Encyclopedia* Mee has a Eurocentric message to transmit to his readers, so that Regulus is openly contrasted with the materialistic Carthaginian, as 'the heroic stuff of which the best Romans were made. A man's word was his bond. All pain could be endured. Death was better than dishonour.'[990] The phrase 'a man's word was his bond', a phrase frequently used among British 'gentlemen' in the context of verbal contracts, and indicates that Mee, like Buchan, projects his vision of the British Empire on to Rome. This narrative again reveals an unquestioning language which is blind to the contradictions within the 'knowledge' he is transmitting.

Mee's personal emphasis on Roman peace and justice, and its benefit to Britain when it was conquered by Rome, indicate his projection of his vision of Rome on to the British Empire. This may be visualised through the message of liberalism, that a 'spirit of generosity and sympathy in government', transmitted in the images of Britannia and the Statue of Liberty in Figure 18 above. The appropriation of Greek and Roman costume assumes the west to be the successor to these values. Together with Mee's declaration in 'The Rise of Europe,' Figure 18 this confirms Mee's conviction that the west had inherited Rome's justice and fairness, politics, and laws, together with its roads and practical engineering.[991] It is also consistent with his depiction of Julius Caesar's arrival in Britain, in Figure 16, above, which depicts a peaceful scene in which Caesar and his army are calm, and unopposed, bringing a *Pax Romana* to Britain (see Section 3.3 above). Julius Caesar, as depicted by Mee, was

[988] *C.E.* (1922), 1408.

[989] *C.E.* (1922), 1408.

[990] *C.E.* (1922), 1408.

[991] *C.E.* (1922), 1408.

Rome's 'man of genius' whose creative statesmanship unified and codified Roman law to bring about the ultimate rise of Europe.

In 'The Rise of Europe', a chapter subtitle identifies the city of Rome's trajectory after the days of the early Republic as a city which 'Rose in Simplicity and Perished in Luxury'.[992] Mee identifies the cause as a change in the Roman character. In Mee's narrative, the simple virtues of the first agricultural Romans became corrupted through eastern superstition and luxury so that for Roman men and women 'sport' became identified with gladiatorial combat or battles between wild animals.[993] After Caesar's death, Mee comments:

> It seemed that Rome was still travelling on the road to glory. Augustus boasted that he found Rome a city of brick and had left it a city of marble. But in all this splendid architecture, borrowed from the Greeks, there was present a spirit of what we call *megalomania* – that is a spirit that loves size rather than quality, which aims to make people exclaim rather than to feel'. [994]

The fall of Rome was, for Mee inevitable owing to the existence of slavery and poverty which lay behind the fine architecture, sculpture, and engineering. He declares that spirit of earlier men praised by Macaulay, such as Horatius, had vanished, as had the earlier moral core of the simple agricultural earlier Romans who created the Republic. Late Rome was a violent place filled with greedy individuals. In a statement which reflects Mee's comment concerning the Carthaginians, Mee declares:

> Rome never produced a Socrates, a Plato, an Aristotle … Her greatest men were soldiers. Her most honoured citizens were those who increased her wealth. She was an empire of materialism.[995]

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[992] *C.E.* (1922), 1408.

[993] *C.E.* (1922), 1536.

[994] *C.E.* (1922), 1538. Sallust's writings encapsulate the mood that the Roman character had been weakened by luxury. See e.g. *Bellum Catilinae* 10-13 which expresses concern about Rome's moral decline. Mee dismisses Sallust, however, with the cursory statement that Sallust was an 'interesting' writer who 'contributed little new to literature, and need not detain us in this brief summary'. See 'The Literature of Rome', *C.E.* (1922), 5425-5432 at 5430. A small portrait of Sallust appears with other Latin authors at the beginning of that chapter.

[995] *C.E.* (1922), 1786.

Mee identifies Augustus' statement 'I found Rome in brick and left it in marble' representative of Roman moral decline and continued decadence resulting from eastern influences.

It is Mee's projection of his Christian values on to Rome which reveal his conception of the virtues of the British Empire. Citing *Arthur Mee's Book of the Flag* (1941), Crawford expresses the opinion that Mee believed that God had 'a particular affection for the English',[996] and that more than anything the Bible had shaped English identity and language.[997] In *The Book of the Flag*, Crawford points out, Mee merely identifies the development of the English language through the development of the written word. Although Mee cites Chaucer, Shakespeare and other poets, much of his emphasis is upon Wycliffe and Tyndale's translations of the Bible, and Cranmer's compilation of the Book of Common Prayer, and upon Caxton's printing skills which disseminated these texts.[998] Mee's purpose in identifying Rome's degeneracy is to emphasise the rise of Christianity in Rome and the Christian messages of salvation, and the moral behaviour required to ensure the rejuvenation of Rome's original Republican values through the Western Christian faith.

It is in Mee's conviction that through such Christian Faith Britain and its Empire became Rome's successor, when the values of Christian Rome disseminated throughout the west. Crawford expresses the opinion that, Mee 'was convinced that within the British psyche and temperament was an awareness that God had bestowed upon them [the English] the role of liberating and civilising the world.[999] As Mee's strapline for his History chapters declares, he is relating 'The March of Man from the Age of Barbarism to the League of Nations', in his perceptions it would be the British Empire, which had brought peace to a quarter of the earth, which would guide the League of Nations towards humanity's next moral and spiritual development: a closer affinity with God expressed in world peace.

4.3 Mee, Murray, and the League of Nations

Mee's conviction of Britain's influence in the world is expressed the 1922 *Encyclopedia* in his description of the work of Sir John Seeley. In the 'Literature' group's chapter 'Prose

[996] Crawford (2016), 75.

[997] Crawford (2016), 75. Cf. Mee (1941), 316.

[998] Arthur Mee, *The Book of the Flag.* London: Amalgamated Press (1941), p. 316.

[999] Crawford (2016).

Writers of our Time' Mee expresses the opinion that Sir John Seeley's *The Expansion of England* 'made the average reader realise the great part his country has been playing in the world, and its influence on mankind through its colonising power'.[1000] In the group 'Ourselves', in the chapter 'The Wealth of the Empire', Mee extends the notion of the *Pax Romana* to the Dominions by his acceptance of Seeley's notion of a Greater Britain. Speaking of the Empire's immense resources, Mee states:

> The little British Isles are rich in iron but poor in all other metals. We produce copper, zinc, tin, lead, gold and silver in small or negligible quantities … [By contrast] Greater Britain, as the Dominions overseas are sometimes called, produces very large quantities of these metals and it is also rich, as we are poor in lead and tin. Greater Britain also produces about one-half of the world's gold and about one fifth of the world's silver. With regard to coal and iron, Greater Britain does not appear to have the exceptional resources of the United States or China; nevertheless, it has a great and increasing production of both of these valuable products.[1001]

In the subheading 'The Colossal Power of the Rivers Waiting to be Developed' Mee writes:

> [A] way to produce mechanical power is to utilise waterfalls. … we have poor water power resources, but in Greater Britain, especially in Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, there is enormous water power to develop. [1002]

Identifying such wealth and prosperity as being for the benefit of the white settlers, he writes that 'this means that they will become the home of hundreds of millions of white people, working happily and prosperously …[1003]

Under the sub-heading 'The Food that Comes into the Mother Country from Abroad' Britain itself is identified as the 'Mother Country' '[f]ood producing is the first essential of the Empire's existence and here again we see how much the Mother Country differs from its Dominions',[1004] and under the subheading 'The Great Production of Food in Britain Overseas' he identifies the value of 'Britain Overseas' – that is, Greater Britain – to Britain

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[1000] *C.E.* (1922), 3829-3833 at 3833. Mee, however, does not discuss the work of Dilke, Lucas, or Bryce.

[1001] *C.E.* (1922), 6003-6006 at 6004.

[1002] *C.E.* (1922), 6004.

[1003] *C.E.* (1922), 6004.

[1004] *C.E.* (1922), 6004. (Mee's capitalisation)

itself. He comments '[w]hile the British Isles import food, Greater Britain exports food … [as] Greater Britain produces ten or fifteen times as much as the British Isles.'[1005] Concerning Australasia he informs his audience that '[f]ortunately Greater Britain is as rich in wool as the British Isles are poor.[1006]

Significantly, for Mee it is the white population which produces such prosperity and consumes the benefits from such exports. In a comment concerning the Australian aboriginal peoples in the chapter 'Australia, the Wonderful Land' in the 'Countries' group, in a statement which reflects the views of those Victorians discussed in the Introduction to this enquiry who argued that certain native peoples were very low down on a 'ladder' of human development and would not easily, if ever, gain self-autonomy, Mee states:

> The people who lived [in Australia and Tasmania] when white men arrived, the aborigines, were of such a primitive type so few and scattered and migratory from place to place that … no-one could say they really occupied the land. They do not number 100,000 scattered over a continent larger than the United States of America. They were, and are, too backward either to help or to be in the way of [making] progress … [they are] a remnant of the very early mankind …[1007]

After discussing the prosperity of the Dominions which form Greater Britain, under the sub-heading 'One Quarter of the World at Peace with one another he then makes his claim that Britain could guide the League of Nations in the search for world peace, writing:

> [B]etween these small nations growing into big ones the possibility of serious differences arising does not exist. *One fourth of the world's people, at least, are at peace with one another.* The growth of the British daughter nations is thus seen to be one of the biggest factors making for the peace of the world. It is all for good that we can see in the Constitution of the British Empire how States great and small … [join] with each other in common respect, in mutual aid, in common pride of unity. The British Empire is really a Commonwealth of Nations, some of which are entirely self-governing, and others advancing to self-government with all that involves.[1008]

[1005] *C.E.* (1922), 6004.

[1006] *C.E.* (1922), 6005.

[1007] *C.E.* (1922), 2146.

[1008] *C.E.* (1922), 6006. The italics are Mee's own.

In the history chapter 'The Rise of Europe', Mee's identification of how Britain inherited, extended, and applied the 'Roman method' of fairness and justice into a vast empire (see Section 4.2 and Figure 16), is repeated in the sub-section entitled 'The Fall of the Roman Empire: A Lesson to the League of Nations' in which he declares:

> [W]e see in the spirit and inspiration of that method our best hope of realising the glorious ideal of a League of Nations that shall be world-wide and powerful for good.[1009]

Here, he discusses the Roman characteristics which western civilisation might emulate:

> There are men who look back at the Roman Empire as the greatest experiment in human history, deploring its fall as the most terrible blow … and in those causes of downfall discern a lesson of infinite importance for the world at a time when we are seeking to build up the League of Nations.[1010]

Mee's integration of a just and fair Roman government with the rise of the Christian west identifies the British Empire as having created a larger Empire than Rome had ever conceived. It is this western civilisation, he declares, and not the peoples of the east, which had created the League of Nations and structured it so that it was governed in the same manner as Rome,[1011] and formed the greatest hope for world peace.

As Mee points out in his penultimate History Chapter 'The Hope of the World', no-one can point to war as a promoter of the welfare of mankind' as war always leaves behind it 'the germs of another war' and the important question is how war can be ended. Invoking Rome, Mee identifies a moment when universal peace seemed possible under Augustus but concludes that the world beyond Rome was not yet ready for such as step, as many of Rome's enemies '[were] still in love with war'[1012] and, as Rome's virtues faded, Rome was conquered by war. For Mee, subsequently the organised religion of the Christian church became divided into rival faiths, who fought against each other.[1013] As noted above, Mee had castigated the over-thinking of ideas in ancient Egypt as contrasted with the simplicity of 'cave men' before

[1009] *C.E.* (1922), 1406.

[1010] *C.E.* (1922), 1408.

[1011] *C.E. (*1922), 1406.

[1012] *C.E.* (1922), 4747.

[1013] *C.E.* (1922), 4748.

an age of superstition (see Section 4.2). Similarly, he criticised the over complexity of organised religions. However, he hoped that the Great War, with its twenty million dead, had brought the possibility of change.

In a sub-section entitled 'The Long, Long Trail that Led to the League of Nations', he hopes that the warring nations which had populated history in the past might, through the work of the League of Nations, be 'drawn together in calmness of mind to a common meeting place of reconciliation and mutual understanding'.[1014] He argues that whilst traditional diplomacy results in some nations seeking advantage over others, while its opponents continue to seek selfish advantage, at the League of Nations its fifty members meet as equals.[1015] Inspired by the Roman method of government emphasising a fairness, justice which created co-operation,[1016] the final sub-section of 'The Hope of the World, entitled 'The League that Leads us on to the Brotherhood of Man', informs Mee's readers that the League is 'establishing a world-wide conscience which will judge any offenders who return to the barbarism of war' so that those outside the League of Nations would ultimately 'share the great effort to kill war.'[1017]

As Crawford reveals Mee followed the work of the League of Nations closely and he constantly gave talks to schools and a wide range of organisations emphasising his message. It was only pressure of work, giving talks to schools and other organisations, which led to his refusal to plant a tree of peace by the Hastings and St Leonard's branch of the League of Nations Union.[1018] One other publication in which he regularly promoted his message of peace was in editorials, in his role as editor of the *Children's Newspaper.*[1019] A letter to Derry reveals that Mee not only hoped that the League of Nations would be guided by Britain, but that ultimately the League might become 'the foundation stone of the United States of Europe'.[1020] The League's stance concerning peace was one which promoted disarmament and some accused such a stance to be the dangerous views of a pacifist organisation

[1014] *C.E.* (1927), 4748.

[1015] *C.E.* (1927), 4748.

[1016] *C.E.* (1927), 1406.

[1017] *C.E.* (1927), 4749.

[1018] Crawford (2016), 30.

[1019] Crawford (2016), 49-57.

[1020] Letter to Derry 25 December 1925 cited in Crawford (2012), 143.

dominated by the politics of the left.[1021] Mee, however, continued to campaign for the Leagues aims, even when the emergence of German National Socialism in the 1920s followed by rearmament, led to the disappointment of his hopes.[1022]

The foundation of Mee's political stance was the 'liberalism' Mee learned from his father, which, as Crawford notes, meant that in adult life 'his faith and politics were closely integrated' so that 'in any discussion of social values and beliefs it was impossible to separate the two.'[1023] For Mee the aim of such 'liberalism' was 'to remove obstacles to individual liberties' through an 'effort, struggle and growth' through the efforts of specific individuals.[1024] The individual and society should never be in competition and, in a view similar to Buchan's concerning human progress should be slow and developmental, and thus 'evolutionary' not 'revolutionary'.[1025] This meant that for Mee the League of Nations should work together in harmony, debate serious issues, reach compromises and settle disagreements peacefully. By such means steady progress by committed individuals would steadily improve relations between nations.

Gilbert Murray, like Mee was a Liberal. As Julia Stapleton reveals, the Liberalism with which Mee aligned himself paralleled that of Murray.[1026] Both, Stapleton notes, held to a conception of Liberalism which acted 'primarily through the "few" whose role it was to "urge on" the "average" people.[1027] This included the work of the League of Nations and, as Christopher Stray reveals in his introduction to his edited volume Murray was not merely a Classical scholar but also a political activist.[1028] Mee conflated his own liberal political views

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[1021] 'Letters to the Editor, League of Nations Union', *The Times*, 17 December 1929, 10. Cf. Crawford (2016), 143,n10.

[1022] Crawford (2016), 143.

[1023] Crawford (2016), 102.

[1024] See Editorial 'Work Hard and Play Hard' published in the *Children's Newspape*r, 11 March 1922, p. 6. Cf. Crawford (2012), 102.

[1025] Crawford (2016), 108-109.

[1026] Julia Stapleton, 'Classics and the Liberal Intellectual: Gilbert Murray and Alfred Ackhard Zimmerman' in Christopher Stray (ed), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 262-290. (2011), p. 224. As Stapleton acknowledges, Mee also associated his Liberalism with a religious faith whilst Murray did not.

[1027] Stapleton (20111), 224.

[1028] Christopher Stray, 'Introduction' in Christopher Stray (ed) *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (2007), pp. 1-16 at 11.

with Christianity and with Rome, and constantly thought about peace. Murray, Stray reveals, identified himself and his 'liberalism' with both 'Hellenic genius' and the 'modern Western genius.'[1029] As Stray points out, Murray began his career as a scholar at the time when 'a longstanding tradition which saw ancient Greece as a source of eternal value was challenged by a historicizing vision'.[1030] This, Stray explains, created a dichotomy in which ancient art and literature became '(re)located firmly in their time, place and social context which Murray could overcome by seeing Hellenism as a 'process' which the Classicist Frank Turner labels 'evolutionary humanistic Hellenism',[1031] which gave him a 'reforming and educative mission' to transmit this vision of Hellenism to the public.[1032]

Mee had learned from liberalism through his father's Non-conformist views As Stray points out, Murray had studied at Oxford 'during the zenith of Greats' when young men who studied 'Greats' were inspired to 'take their idealism into an imperfect world in order it make it a better one',[1033] and Murray was an important participant in both national life and international politics.[1034] In his work for peace Murray, like Mee, was also deeply committed to the League of Nation,[1035] and Murray's granddaughter Ann Paludan comments that Murray's view of the purpose of the League of Nations was 'that there should never be another war.[1036] Murray actively promoted the League's aims. Like Mee, who promoted the League of Nations and peace in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* and in other writings, Murray's efforts for the league and for peace was 'heavy'.[1037] By Murray had worked for two decades

[1029] Stray (2007), 2.

[1030] Stray (2007), 3.

[1031] F. M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press. (1981), 61. Cf. Stray (1998), 222-225; (2007), 3.

[1032] Stray (2007), 3.

[1033] Stray (2007), 10.

[1034] Stray (2007), 11.

[1035] Stray (2007), 5.

[1036] Ann Paludan, 'Remembering Our Grandfather I', in Christopher Stray (ed), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007) pp 17-23 at 20.

[1037] Christopher Collard, 'Gilbert Murray's Greek Editions' in (ed) Christopher Stray *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (2007), pp. 103-131 at 123.

Collard (2007), 123.

in leadership roles within the League of Nations Union and its predecessor organisations,[1038] chairing 'endless committees' for the League of Nations Union.[1039] Like Mee, Murray believed in gradual change, holding that vigorous diplomacy rather through institutions achieved greater results than a search for rapid change through aggression.[1040]

Both Mee and Murray were active members of the Liberal party. Before the Great War Mee had been an active member of the Dartford Liberal Association,[1041] although 'he was always more committed to the politics of liberalism than to the politics of the Liberal party',[1042] and during the interwar years Mee was disappointed in the party's decline.[1043] Murray, however, remained a member of the Liberal party for all his adult life and an active supporter throughout the interwar years.[1044]

Mee and Murray as Stapleton points out, shared the same Liberal political values and convictions, including the belief that the League of Nations held the potential as a vehicle for peace through diplomacy and gradual improvement in world relations. Crawford and Stray reveal that both actively campaigned for the work of the League of Nations in order to support peace. As Stapleton also points out, however, despite the fame he achieved in his lifetime Mee's writing was channelled through 'Harmsworth's "yellow press" empire', whilst his narrative style was filled with 'shallowness and sentimentalism'.[1045] Consequently, Mee has generated little academic interest, and little is known about his work for the League of Nations.

Mee wrote extensively about the work of the League of Nations in the *Encyclopedia*. 'The Hope of the World' is the chapter which concludes Mee's 'History' group in which Mee

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[1038] William Bruneau, 'Gilbert Murray, Bertrand Russell, and the Theory and Practise of Politics, in Christopher Stray (ed), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007) pp. 201-239 at 214.

[1039] Martin Ceadel, 'Gilbert Murray and International Politics' in Christopher Stray (ed) *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre and International Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007), pp. 217-238 at 219.

[1040] Bruneau (2007), 208.

[1041] Crawford (2016), 26.

[1042] Crawford (2016), 102.

[1043] Crawford (2016), 110.

[1044] Bruneau (2007), 102. 203.

[1045] Stapleton (2011), 218.

reveals the League was set up and will lead to the Brotherhood of Man.[1046] Mee was very well informed of the work of the League and in the group 'Ourselves' the chapter 'The League of Nations and its Wonderful Work' provides extensive information about the League, including a major section entitled 'Guarding the Peace of the World' and extensive lists of its achievements.[1047] Similarly, Murray campaigned extensively for both the League and peace.

There is no evidence that Mee and Murray ever met. However, as Amanda Wrigley reveals, Murray was one of the major publicists of 'highbrow' texts of the ancient world during the interwar period and worked hard to encourage ordinary people to appreciate Greek drama. Murray's dramatisations of Greek tragedy during the interwar period incorporated written and oral texts, and his introductory talks and articles in the *Radio Times*, assisted in 'the BBC's Reithian project to broadcast the nation's cultural wealth.[1048] It is unsurprising, therefore, that Gilbert Murray's promotion of ancient Greece should have attracted Mee's attention and that Murray's work should have been quoted, if perhaps not accurately cited, in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* in support of his implicit message about man's journey from 'barbarism' to 'the League of Nations'.

5. Hellenism and Mee's Implicit Message in the 1922 *Encyclopedia*

For Mee the replacement of superstition with reasoned thinking began in ancient Greece. Led by Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato this grew into scientific thinking and a sense of morality and spirituality which perceives the truth about that world (see Section 4.2 above). For Mee, this connection between Greece's break with superstition and the search for moral truth and a true perception of God is found in the greatest of Greek literature, as a development of the moral thinking of Socrates and Plato and this section discusses Mee's appropriation of the ideas of Gilbert Murray to promote his own individual message to his readers.

[1046] *C.E.* (1922), 4747-4749.

[1047] *C.E.* (1922), 6477-7488.

[1048] Amanda Wrigley, in *Greece On Air: Engagements with Ancient Greece on BBC Radio, 1920s-1960s.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2016), p. 12.

5.1 Gilbert Murray, Hellenism, and Mee's Implicit Message

As discussed above, Mee's liberalism involved an individual's self-efforts in improving their characters in order to improve the morality of the world in which they lived. This, he hoped, would lead to world peace through the work of the League of Nations supported by the British Empire (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3 above). To reinforce his message encouraging his readers to develop their moral sense, the chapters in the group 'Ideas' provided advice of various topics which are 'sermons' in tone. As noted above, for example, the subject 'Distance' speaks of 'moral distance' and urges readers to extend the hand of friendship to former enemies (see Section 2.1). This idea, Mee declares:

> is the idea of those who believe in the League of Nations. We say that wars are made by nations living at great moral distances from each other, and if those distances can be destroyed, we shall. Have peace on Earth, goodwill among men … [Just as modern communications] destroy geographical distance, so the spiritual nature of man, if it is developed, can destroy the moral distances which imperil the world's peace…[1049]

The chapter entitled 'Movement' begins with physical movement from one space to another, then leads to the universe to discuss how, out of 'silence and stillness and darkness' the universe came alive. Readers, he says, should consider the cause of such an event and whether 'Will' created this movement. He asks 'did Mind come first, or Matter. Expressing his Christian belief, he argues God created the movement and that the human mind must seek calm and stillness to apprehend the 'First Will of Creative Evolution.'[1050]

Similarly, the chapter on 'Vision' within the group 'Ideas' urges readers not to be 'fettered and imprisoned by their bodily senses' so that they might perceive not with the eyes but with the soul.[1051] Mee's personal conflation of religion and the ancient world, together with the notion of an inner 'soul' which might perceive God, leads to his ideas expressed in the chapter 'Beauty' within the group 'Ideas',[1052] which appropriates the ideas of Gilbert Murray. In the sub-section 'It is not the Eye but the Soul that Sees' Mee urges his readers to

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[1049] *C.E.* (1922), 743-745 at 744.

[1050] *C.E.* (1922), 114, 115.

[1051] *C.E.* (1922), 1359-1361.

[1052] *C.E.* (1922), 1483-1485.

consider 'beautiful things' with an 'inner eye'.[1053] Within this chapter Mee draws on Murray's teachings on the 'beauty' of artifacts from ancient Greece, and in reported speech Mee transmits his perception of Murray's teaching:

> Professor Gilbert Murray has told us in simple language what the Greeks meant when they spoke of beauty. It did not mean anything in the way of ornament or decoration. It meant a beauty of structure, of form, of proportion. 'a beauty of rightness and simplicity'. Mr Murray bids us compare an athlete in flannels playing tennis and a stout dignitary smothered in gold robes.[1054]

Mee then quotes Murray directly:

> Or compare a good modern yacht, swift, lithe, and plain, with a lumbering, heavily-gilded sixteenth century galleon or even with a Chinese state junk. The yacht is far more beautiful though she has not a hundredth part of the ornament. It is she herself that is beautiful. The others are essentially clumsy, and therefore ugly things, dabbed over with gold and paint.[1055]

Mee's books are for primary school-age children and he does not cite his source. That source is Murray's essay 'The Value of Greece to the Future of the World' (1921),[1056] and Mee has appropriated Murray's text to promote his own implicit message that his reader should participate in humanity's journey towards a closer union with God, and thus contribute towards mankind's journey to world peace, by developing their soul's inner eye for beauty. This is not the only narrative by Murray which Mee appropriates for his message.

Mee again draws on Murray when discussing Greek literature in the chapter 'The Literature of Greece'[1057] in the group 'Literature'. Here, following a brief discussion of the identity of Homer in the sub-section 'The Mystery Which Surrounds the Life of Homer', he quotes Goethe's phrase 'beside the great Attic poets like Aeschylus and Sophocles I am

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[1053] *C.E.* (1922), 1485.

[1054] *C.E.* (1922), 1484. Mee is drawing on Gilbert Murray's discussions on 'beauty' expressed in his essay 'The Value of Greece to the Future of the World' in R.W. Livingstone (ed) *The Legacy of Greece: Essays by G. Murray (and Others)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (1921), pp 1-23.

[1055] *C.E.* (1922), 1484. Cf. Murray (1921), 9.

[1056] See Murray (1921), 3-23.

[1057] *C.E.* (1922), 5199-5185.

absolutely nothing'. With this quotation, Mee validates the view that we have a great debt to the ancient Greeks.[1058] Again quoting Goethe, Mee agrees that Greek literature is:

> marked by grandeur, excellence, sanity, complete humanity, a high philosophy of life, a lofty way of thinking, a powerful intuition.[1059]

Mee first discusses *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice.* This, he points out, is a parody of the battles related within the *Iliad* but was founded on Homer's realisation of 'the folly of war'. Such parodies, Mee argues, show how their author, perhaps Homer himself:

> resented the eminence given to the warrior and desired to turn men's minds away from Hector and Ajax, Ulysses and Menelaus, to thoughts and ideas less dangerous to the peace of the world and the happiness of the human heart.[1060]

Mee then comments 'we take this and many other passages from that great Greek scholar Professor Gilbert Murray' and relates a highly abridged quotation of *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Following this, in the sub-section 'The Writers of Old Greece Who Ridiculed the Idea of War' Mee informs his readers of his opinion that the parodist had endeavoured to 'make men see that all their grand wars, which were supposed to interest the gods, had their origin in absurdity'. After identifying, but not discussing other comic parodies,[1061] Mee draws the conclusion that:

> early in their astounding history did the Greeks perceive the danger of the warlike epic and so proceeded to make fun even of the noblest of their possessions, the great Homeric saga.[1062]

Mee continues to draw on Greek myth and drama to emphasise his implicit message of an end to war and the need for humanity to progress to a greater spirituality which, in turn, would bring about world peace. He declares that Hesiod began writing about 'the virtues of industry' as a means of turning from war and romance,' Again, Mee cites Murray, commenting that:

[1058] *C.E.* (1922), 5180.

[1059] *C.E.* (1922), 5180.

[1060] *C.E.* (1922), 5181.

[1061] Mee identifies a Spider Fight, a Crane Fight, and a poem about Fieldfares.

[1062] *C.E.* (1922), 5181.

> Professor Gilbert Murray thinks that Hesiod represents a peasant's wisdom, and that his works are a collection of a very old peasant poetry in Boeotia.[1063]

Mee than quotes some of Hesiod's sayings from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and an extended description from the Agrarian Calendar in *Works and Days* (lines 504ff.). Revealing his faith in Murray as a reliable authority for Greek literature and thought Mee states that Murray 'thinks that Hesiod represents the peasant's wisdom, and that his works are a collection of very old peasant poetry in Boeotia.'[1064]

Discussing Greek religion, in the sub-section 'How Xenophanes Influenced for ever the Current of Man's Thought' Mee identifies Xenophanes as the first Greek to discover a truth about how the inner soul can perceive God. Mee describes Xenophanes' efforts to tell the Greek people that the gods they worshipped were reflections of their own shameful acts and that 'men [had] made God in their own image … [and that] if oxen and lions could paint they would make gods like oxen and lions'.[1065] Xenophanes, Mee declares:

> realised that 'there is one God most high over men and gods' and declaring of this Supreme Power that 'all of him sees, thinks and hears; he has no parts; he is not man-like in either in man or body.'[1066]

Xenophanes, Mee claims, 'influenced forever the current of men's thoughts.'[1067]

Co-opting Murray's *Five Stages of Greek Religion* into his message, Mee quotes him concerning the Greek god Dionysus, whom Mee describes as:

> [a] lovely god of ecstasy … who represents that mysterious force in human nature which we recognise to be higher than reason – impulse, intuition, and the inspiration which, as Wordsworth felt, flashes into the soul the certainty of its divine origin. 'Dionysus', says Professor Murray, 'is the god within, the spirit of worship and

[1063] *C.E.* (1922), 5181.

[1064] *C.E.* (1922), 5181.

[1065] *C.E.* (1922), 5182. Although he does not cite Murray, Mee has clearly taken this statement from Murray's *Five Stages of Greek Religion,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (1925), p. 13.

[1066] *C.E.* (1922), 5182. This is not taken from Murray's Five Stages of Greek Religion.

[1067] *C.E.* (1922), 5182. Cf. Murray (1925), 91.

> inexplicable joy: he appears best in communion with pure souls and the wild things of nature in the solitary mountains under the stars.'[1068]

Mee expresses his opinion concerning the simplicity of the art of the 'cave men' before they became subject to superstition, and the over-complexity of Egyptian art which reflects the over-complex thinking behind Egyptian superstition (See section 4.3), In the sub-section 'The Intimate Simplicity and Charm of Greek Writing' Mee reveals his identification of Greek drama with the insights gained from the simplicity of spiritual insight, calling the simplicity of Greek literature 'one of [its] great charms.'[1069] That simplicity Mee again draws into his personal interpretation of the human soul, commenting that 'in dealing with Greek literature pure and simple we shall find the influence of Xenophanes and all the first bold thinkers and undaunted explorers of Hellas'.[1070]

Mee refers to Murray's *Ancient Greek Literature* Mee also cites Murray's identification of *Antigone* as the most celebrated drama in Greek literature and reveals Murray as a modern translator of Greek drama.[1071] In the sub-section Why Greek Literature Belongs to all the World' it is Greek poetry, Mee declares, which is 'Greek literature' for most people, and Mee briefly identifies the major Greek dramatists: Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and, Aristophanes. However, after quoting and paraphrasing Murray extensively elsewhere, and praising Murray as a translator, Mee does not accurately reflect Murray's identification of Aeschylus' Oresteia as the 'the highest achievement of Aeschylus and probably of all Greek drama' in *The Literature of Ancient Greece* (1956).[1072] Instead, he extensively discusses Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound.*

Murray identifies Prometheus as:

> the champion of man against the Tyrant Power that sways the world. He has saved man from the destruction Zeus meant for him, taught him the arts of civilisation and, type of all else, given him fire which was formerly a divine thing stored in heaven.

[1068] *C.E.* (1922), 5181-5182.

[1069] *C.E.* (1922), 5181.

[1070] *C.E.* (1922), 5182.

[1071] *C.E.* (1922), 5184, 5185

[1072] Gilbert Murray, *The Literature of Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1956) Reprint of 1897 edition, p. 221.

> For this rebellious love of mankind he is nailed to a storm-driven rock … but he is not conquered …[1073]

For Mee, the culmination of the blessings given to mankind is to be world peace, which can never occur when there are warlike tyrants. Mee's interpretation of *Prometheus Bound* emphasises the suffering of Prometheus at the hands of tyrannical power, noting that Aeschylus 'likes a conquering king no better than he likes a political despot'. A quotation follows, but a subtle but powerful misquotation changes the entire meaning of the play.

> Both Murray and Mee[1074] cite lines which begin as follows:
>
> There is a cry in the waves of the sea as they fall together, and groaning in the deep; a wail comes up from the cavern realm of Death …

Murray completes these lines of text from the play: '… and the springs of the holy rivers sob with the anguish of pity,' which emphasises Murray's interpretation of Aeschylus as concerned with the human condition. With the omission of three words, however, Mee subtly changes the meaning of the text. Mee concludes the lines: '… and the springs of the holy rivers with anguish.' Aeschylus' reference to the 'anguish of pity'. Aeschylus emphasises pity, and in this passage, as Murray expresses it 'the whole earth is in travail as Prometheus suffers. Mee, however, emphasises the anguish, and discussing the suffering of man at the hands of warlike tyrants redefines Aeschylus' intentions:

> And not only Nature suffers but Man. The glory that shines round about a conqueror has no attraction for this soldier of Marathon. He likes a conquering king no better than he likes a political despot. One passion alone fills him with fire, it is the passion for human freedom. Of only one conqueror can he bring himself to speak, God, whose will is everywhere, from whose justice no man may escape. God, he says, made man for the road to thought, and established one abiding law: Learn by suffering.[1075]

Mee, after invoking Murray's name, does not concur with Murray's judgement concerning the greatest Aeschylus' tragedies or the emphasis on pity rather than suffering in the passage quoted. After extensively citing Murray, however, Mee's narrative leaves the impression that

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[1073] Murray (1956) 219.

[1074] Murray (1956) 220; *C.E.*, 1922: 5184.

[1075] *C.E.* (1922), 5184.

Murray does agree. Mee, in this way, prioritises his message over an accurate interpretation of Greek drama.

6. Conclusion

Mee's upbringing was as a member of a Non-conformist Christian community which held liberal values which conflated Christian faith with Christian works and a political awareness. Mee's biographer, John Hammerton, reveals that from an early age Mee felt that he had a mission to both live a Christian life himself and encourage Christian thinking in others so that he and those with whom he interacted might grow closer to God. Mee is best known for his ten-volume 1922 *Encyclopedia*, which was an extension and development of his earlier eight-volume 1910 *Encyclopaedia.* The 1910 *Encyclopaedia* informs his audience about the ancient world in the narrative style Mee developed in his training as a journalist. This may be identified as a style which delivers the facts in the same manner as Mee's biographies of Joseph Chamberlain and King Edward VII.

As Mee's latest biographer Keith Crawford reveals, after the Great War Arthur Mee was deeply disappointed in the lack of progress towards a peaceful world, and an implicit message may be identified in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* which charts human history as a journey through history from the innocence of primitive man, the development of superstition and the end of superstition. This led to rational, scientific thought, the growth of human morality and a greater knowledge of God through the development of that moral thinking. The end of humanity's journey would be closer union with God, and the achievement of world peace. The Great War presented an opportunity to make that next step in humanity's spiritual development through the work of the League of Nations.

Mee identifies Rome and the West as the successor to Greece, as the East was 'exhausted'. As discussed above Mee's Eurocentric view occasionally contradicts itself and reveals indications that Mee's thinking provides an exemplar of the thinking identified by Said in which what is identified as 'knowledge' reflects an attitude of 'structure and reference' which is unquestioned (see Section 4.2 and the Introduction to this enquiry).

In Mee's estimation, Rome achieved the values of justice and fairness, and brought peace to its Empire Following the invasion of Britain by Rome, over time the British, as the

successor to Rome, developed their own even greater Empire. Drawing on John Seeley's identification of the white settled colonies as Great Britain, Mee reveals how one quarter of the British Empire was already living in peace and unity, so that it would be the ideal guide for the League of Nations.

Mee also examines the scholarship in the twentieth century of Gilbert Murray and appropriates Murray's analysis of Hellenism to validate his own implicit message. Mee informs his readership of both Homer's conception of the horrors of war in the *Iliad* and then discusses parodies of the *Iliad,* particularly Murray's account of the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Drawing on Murray's *Five Stages of Greek Religion* Mee comments on how ancient Greek gods were appropriated by Rome and praises the Greek god Dionysus as representing the human spirit and its ability to perceive God.

Mee also draws on Murray's essay 'The Value of Greece to the Future of the World' to discuss the Greek conception of 'beauty'. Mee's own *Encyclopedia* entry 'Beauty' in the group entitled 'Ideas' reveals his conviction that while the human eye perceives beautiful objects it is the inner human soul which perceives the nature of that beauty. Murray's views on Hellenism are, in this way, incorporated into Mee's implicit message. Mee also appropriates Murray's discussions on Greek literature to emphasise his implicit message, particularly concerning the moral ideas Mee finds vividly expressed in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. This interpretation, however, departs from Murray's narrative which reveals the way Aeschylus discusses pity and the human condition. Instead, by removing three words from a line of text, Mee implies that Aeschylus's text supports his own ideas that Aeschylus reveals how God made man for suffering, and to learn by suffering. Mee informs his audience that Aeschylus emphasises the human anguish, and the suffering of man at the hands of warlike tyrants. In this way he redefines Murray' interpretation of Aeschylus' text.

As Crawford confirms, Mee's writing is 'drenched in the ideology of imperialism and colonisation'. In Mee's view the British Empire was 'a wondrous thing … and nothing that humankind could ever create would be able to match it'. For Mee, 'the uncivilised world could consider itself fortunate that the English were there to tame it' through the activities of 'England's immortal heroes who had sacrificed themselves to bring peace and freedom to the world.'[1076] As Crawford points out, in Mee's opinion the Bible as the basis of British imperial

[1076] Crawford (2016), 87.

principles and that everything important, including its values, flowed from England to the Empire.[1077] For Mee 'with the responsibility of Empire came the paternalistic obligation of ensuring that the English managed it responsibly' and that 'justice and liberty [were] the foundation of British imperial expansion'. Mee accepted without question the obligations implied in Kipling's poem 'The White Man's Burden' (1899).[1078] This reveals that, for Mee, the values Britain inherited from Rome, and then transmitted to the colonies of the Empire, were beneficial. As Crawford reminds us, the theme of a 'benevolent imperialism' had been generally accepted at the end of the nineteenth century.[1079] It was the vision of the British Empire transmitted to Mee by his schoolmaster, George Byford (see Section 2.1). It remained unchanged in Mee's thinking. Mee's judgements concerning Empire, and its entanglement with Classics, must be considered dated, so that he was transmitting Victorian ideals to his twentieth century audience.

Mee appropriates the ancient world to further his own implicit message, but that message centres around the British Empire as Rome's successor, and its suitability for guiding the League of Nations. Mee's texts, both written and visual, reveal a Eurocentric view of the twentieth-century world. In Mee's 1922 *Encyclopedia*, therefore, Classics becomes complicit in the encouragement of such Eurocentric views of the imperialism of the British Empire.

[1077] Crawford (2016), 88.

[1078] Crawford (2016), 88.

[1079] Crawford (2016), 88.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation reveals the relationship between Classics and empire in didactic popular literature read by a vast, diverse audience during the interwar years. Such literature has not been examined in the context of its reception of Classical material, but the case studies discussing the work of John Buchan, Charles Hamilton and Arthur Mee reveal the merit of examining texts in which the themes of Classics and Empire interact within the same narratives.

Before examining these authors' texts, the dissertation considered the formative influences on these authors. They lived in an environment where Classics had been co-opted by the imperialist elite to support the Empire. Architecture and public art created a common visual language in which the Classical world was suborned in support of Empire. The verbal language employed by the British elite also created divisions between the British people and the native peoples of the Empire. Edward Said has pointed to how the resulting imperialist ideas, which continued during the interwar period, created unquestioned structures of attitude and reference resulting in the perception of colonial peoples as the 'Other'.

Within this context the dissertation examined two ongoing challenges to Classics and to the Empire. These challenges had begun during the late Victorian period and continued after the Great War. In higher education there were ongoing demands for greater access to a university education and curricula more relevant to the contemporary world, especially concerning the requirement of competence in Greek and Latin before commencing a degree. Of especial concern to those challenging the status quo was the question of whether Classics should stress narrow linguistic skills or emphasise the wider cultural achievements of the ancient world. Before and after the Great War Gilbert Murray urged curricula reforms and encouraged the British people to appreciate the broader culture of ancient Greece and Rome. At secondary level there was the demand for other subjects to be placed on the classroom curricula. Following the 1902 Education Act, in November 1902 John Percival Postgate called for a strong response and in 1903 the Classical Association of England and Wales was formed. Simultaneously, the Empire faced economic challenges from the rising European powers, and these challenges continued throughout the interwar period. Politically, there was the further challenge posed by the rise of Fascism. It was in the context of these public debates that Buchan, Hamilton and Mee addressed their various didactic messages to their audiences. Although they were born within two or three years of each other, and were united

by the popularity of their work, these three authors were drawn from sharply different social backgrounds. Each wrote in a different genre, and each employed Classics to transmit very different didactic messages to wide-ranging audiences which, nevertheless, also encouraged support for the British Empire.

The author John Buchan received an elitist, Classical education before becoming a lawyer, a civil servant, an MP and, ultimately, Governor General of Canada. Buchan's early life was grounded in the Christian values taught to him by his Calvinist father. Later he learned to appreciate the values he found in Classics, and, as his memoir reveals, these values contributed to his thought as he formed his own distinctive reception of the ancient world. *Augustus* emphasises Buchan's attempt to attribute democratic intentions to Augustus. Buchan identifies him as a moral and spiritual Great Captain of history who restructured the Roman Constitution and Senate and created a 'civil service' to administer the new Empire,[1080] as if to emphasise similarities with British imperial rule overseas. In Buchan's analysis Augustus then attempted to create an electoral system in which all Roman citizens would reflect on political matters as individuals, form opinions and then elect a Representative to speak for them to represent their concerns. This dovetailed with Augustus's efforts in the moral and spiritual regeneration of Rome. Buchan's account of Augustus's successes and failures in these matters, and his judgement of Augustus's character, reflect his own views and frustrations concerning the British government and the British Empire. *Augustus*, reinforced by Buchan's public addresses in Canada, urges his audience to reflect on political events as individuals, support democracy and oppose the mass ideas of Fascism, again reflecting his own view that Rome was the precursor to a democratic British Empire. This occurs to such an extent that Susan Treggiari draws parallels between Augustus and a constitutional monarch, such as King George VI (the monarch at the time *Augustus* was written and published).[1081] In this way, *Augustus* carries the political message that western democracy, exemplified by the British |Empire, was the natural successor to Augustan Rome and not Fascism, as claimed by Mussolini.

Charles Hamilton attended one of what Christopher Stray identifies as the thousands of private schools which provided some level of Classical education as a form of cultural

[1080] Buchan consistently employs the term 'civil service concerning Augustus's administrative reforms. See Buchan (1937), 33, 83, 157, 177, 219, 221.

[1081] See Treggiari, S. (1975), 149-164 at 151.Cf. Garcia Vivas (2014), 100n47.

capital. Hamilton's boarding school stories appeared under a range of pseudonyms in a range of boys' weekly papers, the most significant of which were the *Magnet*, the *Gem* and the *Boys' Friend*; his narratives were incredibly popular and sold in millions of copies. In these papers Hamilton created a range of schoolboy heroes with the aim of providing moral role models for his readers. Hamilton's personal moral values were founded on his Christian upbringing, and in Thomas Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* he identified the same moral values in the actions of the Roman heroes Horatius and Valerius. The attributes of these heroes are physical courage in the face of death, loyalty to friends and to country, and a willingness to die for both rather than surrender. These values form the foundation of Roman *virtus* and became conflated with Hamilton's Christian moral values in his fictional world. His fictional schools were imperialist institutions where Classics was emphasised, and here his fictional schoolboy heroes become exemplars of moral values. The novelist and critic George Orwell, in his essay 'Boys' Weeklies', criticised this fictional world as one which resembled the imperialist world of 1910. In response, Hamilton comments that the world of 1910 was a more moral one than that of the interwar period.

Arthur Mee was educated at his local state school, where he received no Classical education. He may be regarded as the *exemplum* of the individual whose structure of attitude and reference had been absorbed without question from the conflation of Classics and the imperialism with which he was surrounded in daily life. Mee's parents were non-conformist liberal activists with strong moral principles which they transmitted to Mee, whilst outside the home his village schoolmaster instilled in him a love of the British Empire. Working for Amalgamated Press, Mee was the driving force behind the creation of the informative 1910 *Children's Encyclopaedia,* the first such encyclopedia written specifically for children. After the Great War this was expanded and revised to incorporate a spiritual message to his readers. Mee believed that throughout history humanity had been journeying towards a closer relationship with God, travelling from unthinking barbarism, superstition, exemplified by ancient Egypt, to the break with superstition by Greece and the development of Greek scientific ideas by Rome. The next step in that spiritual journey would be world peace gained through the work of the League of Nations. This would allow humanity to take the next step in its spiritual development. Lisa Maurice points out that childhood reading is frequently an individual's first encounter with the ancient world,[1082] and over the next forty years the 1922

[1082] Maurice (2015), 1-14.

Encyclopedia became the first experience of the ancient world for millions of young readers throughout the Empire. Like its predecessor, it was designed to be accessible, visually appealing and exciting, and it achieved world-wide sales of many millions. A significant part of that appeal were the extensive and informative illustrations and photographs. These images, however, also carry subtle imperialist messages which reinforce Mee's written textual message that the British Empire was founded on the achievements of ancient Rome, making the British Empire the natural successor to Rome. As such, Mee asserted, Britain was the natural world leader to guide to the League of Nations in its quest for world peace.

At a time of rapid change, when both Classics and Empire were responding to serious challenges, these authors had specific didactic messages they wished to transmit to their audiences, and in all cases their models of the Classical past were critical. This dissertation reveals number of significant points concerning the authors, their readers, and their publishers. In this context of historical change these case studies, together, reveal aspects of society which changed dramatically and others which did not. One major change may be found in the audiences for these authors. As Edith Hall and Henry Stead have revealed, the British working class had always been interested in Classics. The 1902 Education Act which provided free access to secondary education created a literate audience during the 1920s who were eager to discover interesting things to read. It was, after all, what their cultural environment and the public debates in which Gilbert Murray participated had taught them was their cultural heritage.

While formal state education continued to emphasise Latin language for a minority of school students, popular narratives enthused an increasingly wider audience which accessed Classics informally. Stobart's narratives, for example, remained in print throughout the interwar period and ultimately reached four editions. Hamilton had no difficulty enthusing his audiences to appreciate a fictional world grounded in Classics and Mee's accessible 1922 *Encyclopedia* made the ancient world and its myths and legends accessible to even the youngest readers. The new audio-visual media of radio and film diversified that access, with dramatisations and adaptations of Greek drama on radio, and new dramas presented first in silent film, accompanied by evocative music, and later in 'talkies'. Change may also be identified in formal higher education. The creation of the new civic universities increased access to degree-level study in the provinces, and the abandonment of the requirement of a high standard of Greek language prior to entering Oxford and Cambridge broadened the access to the ancient universities. While increasingly large numbers of readers accessed

Classics informally, a rising number of students were able to study Classics at degree level. At the same time wider curricula, particularly in the new civic universities, meant that those gaining entry could also study subjects appropriate for their future careers and, if they wished, they had no difficulty in accessing Classics informally

This dissertation also reveals how publishers, too, were embracing change. The technical developments in printing are revealed in the improvements which took place between the publications of Mee's 1910 *Encyclopedia* and the 1922 *Encyclopedia*. Such improvements meant that attractive images, and the narratives accompanying them, invited young people to learn about the Classics. Furthermore, as the Hamilton case study especially reveals, publishers were developing new ways to discover what their audiences wished to read, so that they could then meet that demand. This is also true of Mee's 1922 *Encyclopedia*. This was first published in separate parts, enabling him to receive, and respond to, his audience. The Section 'Wonder' in the 1922 *Encyclopedia* results from these enquiries. Buchan, as an established author of thrillers, already had such a strong audience base so that reviewers of *Augustus*, noting his accessible style, were hopeful that his popularity would lead to his biographies of Julius Caesar and Augustus attracting new readers to the Classics. That *Augustus* has never been out of print indicates that Buchan's reviewers were correct.

Nevertheless, the images found in Mee's 1922 *Encyclopedia*, draw attention to one instance where change has not occurred. The images in Mee's 1922 *Encyclopedia* reveal messages which reinforce a narrative in which Classics continued to be entangled with imperialism, and this continuation merits further consideration. One consequence of the Great War was the loss of a large part of the rising generation of potential new authors. As Simon Goldhill points out in *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity* (2011),[1083] authors form their creative ideas over time, and Buchan, Hamilton and Mee all reinforced their religious and moral ideas in their youth. Their interaction with Classics also occurred early in their careers. Buchan and Hamilton had different, but formal, Classical educations. Mee did not but, as this dissertation notes, he, like Buchan and Hamilton, was surrounded by Neoclassical art and architecture which conflated Classics and empire, and this would reinforce his belief that Britain and its Empire, was the natural successor to Rome. In adult life Buchan, Hamilton and Mee are examples of Victorians who formed their ideas as they engaged with the public debates of the late Victorian era. Each found an enthusiasm for Classics which then became

[1083] Goldhill (2011), 56-62.

conflated with their moral codes, enabling them to use Classics to promote specific didactic messages in response to those debates. Each, however, remained attached to late Victorian views of Empire which then became conflated with receptions of the ancient world which began in childhood. In consequence, the messages transmitted to their audiences by all three authors emphasised the dated, elitist status quo criticised by Orwell.

Orwell was not only correct in identifying Hamilton's fictional world as founded on a dated imperialism. His analysis of boys' weekly papers may be applied equally, perhaps, to the narratives of Buchan and Mee. With the widening of access to Classics to an increasingly literate audience, Classics and imperialism continued to be as entangled as they had been during the Victorian era, but on a wider scale.

The case studies considered in this dissertation examine the work of three popular authors writing in different genres during the interwar period. The continuing conflation of Classics and Empire at this time indicates that it would be advantageous to examine a wider range of popular texts created during the interwar period which also conflate Classics and imperialism but with a different political orientation .[1084] One such example might be James Hilton's *Goodbye Mr Chips* (1934),[1085] which relates the life of fictional schoolmaster Mr Chipping, a Classics master at a public school: a striking tension may be identified in Hilton's text between Mr Chipping's pacifism and the desire to support the parents and former pupils who fight and die in that War. In 1939 and 1969 the narrative was adapted for the cinema and comparisons between the original text and the films, especially the 1969 post-World War Two when the British Empire was collapsing, could reveal how the adaptations themselves created interesting receptions of the ancient world. Hilton's pacifist theme is also found in *Lost Horizon* (1933), Hilton's earlier major narrative of the period, and if read alongside *Goodbye Mr Chips* might provide revealing insights.

[1084] Victorian texts continued to be read in the early twentieth century. An example of the conflation of Classics and imperialism in such fiction may be found in the boarding school stories of Talbot Baines Reed (1954-1893). His narratives were first published in the *Boys' Own Paper* and then in hardback form, and his works continued to be accessible in the early twentieth century. Reed had received a Classical education at the City of London school just two years after Seeley left as a lecturer there, and eighteen years after Seeley had been a student there.

[1085] James Hilton, *Goodbye Mr Chips*. London: Hodder Paperbacks (2016). Reprint of 1934 edition.

Future research might also look at the development of these themes in the period after the Second World War, when the challenge to the British Empire was at its height, and the Empire and imperialist ideas began to fail. It might, for example, encompass authors whose education and formative influences took place during the interwar period and whose narratives respond to the end of the Empire. One example is the Terence Rattigan's play *The Browning Version* (1948) in which, a Classics teacher Crocker-Harris is prompted, by the gift of Robert Browning's translation of the *Agamemnon*, to examine his life.[1086] In 1951 and in 1994 this text was adapted for the cinema, and an examination of the contrast between the play and its adaption for cinema release might also prove revealing. In 1951 King George VI was still both Britain's monarch and although he had recently relinquished the title Emperor of India Britain still clung to its Empire. By 1994 this Empire had vanished, and comparisons between the two films, in the context of the original text, would provide interesting insights into the connections between the reception of the ancient world in 1948 when the original narrative was created and 1951, which immediately followed the independence of India. Both might be usefully contrasted with the 1994 version when the Empire had long since been lost.

Finally, further research might examine children's literature targeted specifically at girls in the girls' weekly papers of the 1950s. These included a modern version of Amalgamated Press's *School Friend,* originally published between 1919 and 1929. Hamilton created the fictional girls' boarding school Cliff House for this paper and wrote six of the first stories under the pseudonym of Hilda Richards. Throughout its publication its fictional schoolgirls interacted with Hamilton's fictional schoolboys in both the weekly papers and in Annuals, which were published until 1940, which feature narratives written by Hamilton. The *School Friend* was subsequently reinvented and published from 1950-1965. As well as incorporating tales set in girls' boarding schools resembling those in the earlier weekly paper, this later version of *School Friend* also included tales set in a dated, fictional imperialist nation resembling Antony Hope's Ruritania and a young female 'Jill Crusoe' marooned on a desert island together with her own native 'Girl Friday'. In common with many post-World War Two narratives, it is representative of the continuation of the dated imperialism criticised by Orwell, including the unquestioned racist tropes of the interwar period. As that ethos faded, the paper lost readers, merged with other weeklies, and eventually ceased publication.

[1086] Terence Rattigan, *The Browning Version* in Terence Rattigan, *Plays – One: French Without Tears, The Winslow Boy, The Browning Version, Harlequinade.* London: Methuen (1982). Reprint of 1948 text.

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JOHN BUCHAN

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CHARLES HAMILTON

Primary texts by Hamilton are listed in Section 1 Hamilton’s ‘Fiction’. For his non-fiction (works published by Hamilton under his pseudonym Frank Richards see Section 2. These include his autobiography, articles on his writing and his response to George Orwell’s article ‘Boys Weeklies’. Associated with these primary texts are paratexts comprising editorials, art work, commercial advertisements and non-commercial advertisements. See Section 3 below.

1. Hamilton’s Fiction

‘Fiction’ lists narratives created under the pen names of Martin Clifford, Owen Conquest, Frank Richards and his own name, Charles Hamilton. All fictional narratives are listed in

chronological order. Many stories were split across different pages. All such divisions are indicated below. ‘Non-fiction’

Where original copies are unavailable, reprinted material is cited with the original texts.

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1.3 Charles Hamilton

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Richards, F. (1918) ‘Sir Jimmy of Greyfriars!’, *Magnet* 524 (17 February 1918), pp. 2-15.

Richards, F. (1926) ‘The Japer of Greyfriars!’, *Magnet* 960 (10 July 1926), pp. 3-12, 17-21.

Richards, F. (1926) ‘The Nabob’s Double’, *Magnet* 961 (17 July 1926), pp. 3-12, 17-22, 28.

Richards, F. (1926) ‘The Peril of the Night’, *Magnet* 962 (24 July 1926), pp. 3-12, 17-22.

Richards, F. (1926) ‘Outward Bound’, *Magnet* 963 (31 July 1926) pp. 3-12, 17-21, 27.

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Richards, F. (1926) ‘Harry Wharton & Co. in India’, *Magnet* 965 (14 August 1926), pp. 3-12, 17-22, 28.

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Richards, F. (1926) ‘The Terror of the Jungle’, *Magnet* 968 (4 September 1926), pp. 3-12, 17-22, 28.

Richards, F. (1926) ‘The Nabob’s Rival’, *Magnet* 969 (11 September 1926), pp. 3-12, 17-23.

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Richards, F. (1927) ‘The Man from the South Seas’, *Magnet* 1017 (13 August 1927), pp. 2-23, 26.

Richards, F. (1927) ‘The Treasure Chart’, *Magnet* 1018 (20 August 1927), pp. 2-13, 16-24.

Richards, F. (1927) ‘Tom Redwing’s Quest’, *Magnet* 1019 (27 August 1927), pp. 2-24.

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Richards, F. (1938), ‘The Beachcomber’s Secret’ *Magnet* 1592 (20 August 1938), pp. 3-26, 28.

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Richards, F. (1938) ‘Saved by a Foe!’, *Magnet* 1598 (1 October 1938), pp. 3-28).

Richards, F. (1940) ‘The Eleventh Hour’, *Magnet* 1672 (2 March 1940), pp. 3-24.

2. Hamilton’s Non-Fiction

2.1 Charles Hamilton

Hamilton C. (1945) ‘Boys’ Writer’ in *The Saturday Book.* London: Hutchinson, pp. 75-85..See under ‘Frank Richards’.

Hamilton, C. (1962) *The Autobiography of Frank Richards.* London: Charles Skilton Ltd. (Memorial edition of 1951 edition). under Frank Richards.

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2.2 Frank Richards

Richards, F. (1945) ‘Boys’ Writer’ in *The Saturday Book.* London: Hutchinson. See under Hamilton, C.

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3. Paratexts:

3.1 Commercial Advertisements

Advertisements placed by commercial businesses.

Gem 461 (1916), Harlene Hair Drill Outfits (9 December 1916), p. 21.

Gem 681 (1921), Harlene Hair Drill Outfits (26 February 1921), p. 19.

Gem 885 (1925) Home Cinema items, cure for blushing and ventriloquism lessons (24 January 1925), p. 2

Gem 1029 (1927) Fretwork Outfits (5 November 1927, p. 21.

Gem 1033 (1927) Meccano, Hornby Trains (3 December 1927), p. 21, p. 23.

Gem 1090 (1929) Record player; Hornby Trains, Fretwork (5 January 1929), p. 27.

Gem 1165 (1930) Hawkeye Camera, Nestle Chocolates: Kingsway Assortment (14 June, 1930), p19.

Magnet 120 (1910) Miscellaneous, including 4 for bicycles (26 May 1910), inside cover.

Magnet 133 (1910) Miscellaneous, including bicycle (27 August 1910), inside cover.

Magnet 781 (1923), Piano Accordion (28 January 1923), p. 29.

Magnet 960 (1926) Model yacht, Boots, Bicycles, together with Miscellaneous cheaper items. (10 July 1926), p. 28.

Magnet 1114 (1929) advertisements for magic tricks, triangular postage stamps (June 22, 1929), p. 28.

Magnet 1115 (1929) advertisements for pea gun, potato gun and triangular postage stamps. (29 June 1929), p. 28.

Magnet 1404 (1935) Piano accordion, miscellaneous cheap items including stamps. (12 January 1935), p. 28

3.2 Non-Commercial Advertisements

Advertisements placed by non-commercial organisations including Salvation Army, British and Dominion governmental agencies, and the British Navy.

Gem 1066 (1928) Agency advertisement for young women domestic workers for Australia and also for boys to train as farm workers (21 July 1928), p. 28.

Gem 1067 (1928) Agency advertisement for both boys to train as farm workers and for young women domestic workers for Australia (28 July 1928), p. 28.

Magnet 870 (1924) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for Seamen (11 October 1924), p. 28

Magnet 885 (1925) Naval Recruitment Advertisement (3 January 1925), p. 28.

Magnet 966 (1926) 'Boy Farm Learners': Ontario Government advertisement, for boys aged 15-17 to work on farms in Ontario, Canada, (21 August 1926), p. 28.

Magnet 966 (1926) Salvation Army advertisement: Boys 14-19 to work on farms in Australia, Canada and New Zealand (21 August 1926), p. 28.

Magnet 967 (1926) 'Boy Farm Learners': Ontario Government advertisement, for boys aged 15-17 to work on farms in Ontario, Canada, (28 August 1926), p. 28.

Magnet 968 (1926) 'Boy Farm Learners': Ontario Government advertisement, for boys aged 15-17 to work on farms in Ontario, Canada, (4 September 1926), p. 28.

Magnet 970 (1926) Salvation Army advertisement: Boys 14-18 to work on farms in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. (18 September 1926), p. 28.

Magnet 1028 (1927) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for Seamen (29 October 1927), p. 28.

Magnet 1037 (1927) Salvation Army advertisement: Boys 14-18 to work on farms in Australia, Canada and New Zealand (31 December 1927), p. 28.

Magnet 1597 (1938) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for young men between fifteen and seventeen-and-a-half (24 September 1938), p. 28.

Magnet 1598 (1938) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for young men between fifteen and seventeen-and-a-half, (1 October 1938), p. 28.

Magnet 1612 (1939) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for Seamen (7 January 1939), p. 28.

Magnet 1614 (1939) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for Seamen (21 January 1939), p. 28.

Magnet 1615 (1939) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for Seamen (28 January 1939), p. 28.

Magnet 1616 (1939) Naval Recruitment Advertisement for Seamen (4 February 1939), p. 28.

3.3 Editorial Material

These include Editors' chat and information pages, straplines identifying copyright information and details of Agents for Amalgamated Press within the Dominions, readers' letters, correspondence exchanges (including requests for pen friends), non-fiction articles on topics of interest to readers such as cricket and football articles, and pen portraits of fictional characters Papers are listed in chronological order.

Gem 180 (1911) 'This Week's Chat: Our New Feature' (22 July 1911), p. 28

Gem 200 (1911) 'This Week's Chat: Our Correspondence Exchange' (9 December 1911), p. 28.

Gem 201 (1911) 'This Week's Chat: Our Correspondence Exchange' (18 December 1911), p. 28.

Gem 202 (1911) 'This Week's Chat: Our Correspondence Exchange' (26 December 1911), p. 28.

Gem 519 (1918) 'The St Jim's Gallery, no. 2: The Honourable Arthur Augustus D'Arcy (19 January 1918), 14.

Gem 525 (1918) 'The St. Jim's Gallery, no. 6: Aubrey Racke (2 March 1918), p. 14.

Gem 601 (1919) ‘Personal Recollections’ by the Editor of the Companion Papers (16 August, 1919) pp. 14-15.

Gem 681 (1921) ‘Joy’s Gossip’ (28 February 1921), p. 14.

Gem 1115 (1929) ‘Ask the Oracle’ (29 June 1929), p. 13.

Magnet 198 (1911) ‘My Reader’s Column’ (25 November 1911), p 28.

Magnet 471 (1917) ‘The Greyfriars Gallery’, no. 17: Peter Todd (17 February 1917), p. 16.

Magnet 489 (1917) ‘The Greyfriars Gallery’ no 25: Mr Quelch (23 June 1917), p. 14.

Magnet 496 (1917) ‘The Greyfriars Gallery, no 32: The Head (the Rev. Herbert Henry Locke D.D. (11 August 1917) p. 14.

Magnet 601 (1919) ‘The Editor’s Chat’ (16 August 1919), pp. 14-15.

Magnet 601 (1919) ‘Notices: Back Numbers Wanted’ (16 August 1919), p. 16.

Magnet 621 (1920) Editorial Straplines: U.S. copyright information and agency circulation within the Dominions (3 January 1920), 2, 18.

Magnet 872 (1924) Editor’s Announcement – ‘To and From Your Editor: Our Fighting Fleet’ – announcing forthcoming articles. (25 October 1924), p. 2.

Magnet 873 (1924) Editor’s Announcement – ‘To and From Your Editor: ‘Our Fighting Fleet - H.M.S. Hood’ (1 November 1924), p. 2 (together with illustration on front cover).

Magnet 884 (1925) Editor’s advertisement announcement: final free gift in ‘Our Fighting Fleet Series’: H.M.S. Erebus. (10 January 1925), p. 17.

Magnet 960 (1926) ‘To and From Your Editor: Grand New Limerick Competition! And “Boundaries”’ (10 July 1926), p. 2.

Magnet 960 (1926) ‘Harry Wharton’s Cricket Supplement’ (10 July, 1926), pp. 13-16.

Magnet 1024 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Cardiff City’, (1 October 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1025 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Arsenal’, (8 October 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1026 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Middlesbrough, (15 October 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1027 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Portsmouth’, (22 October 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1028 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Chelsea (29 October 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1029 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Huddersfield Town (5 November 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1030 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Manchester United (12 November 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1031 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Bury (19 November 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1032 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Bolton Wanderers (26 November 1927), p. 2.

Magnet 1033 (1927) ‘Famous Footer Clubs: Manchester City (3 December 1927), p. 2

Magnet 1115 (1929) ‘Come into the Office, Boys!’ (29 June 1929), p. 2, 28.

Magnet 1115 (1929) ‘Come Into the Office Boys’ – published limerick, (29 June 1929), p. 2.

Magnet 1299 (1933) Soccer Tips Feature: ‘Linesman Calling’ (7 January 1933), p. 17.

Magnet 1414 (1935) ‘Our Footer Fans’ Feature’ (23 March 1935), p. 17.

Magnet 1416 (1935) ‘Come into the Office Boys – And Girls!’ (6 April 1935), p. 2.

3.4. Art Work

The front covers of the weekly papers depict scenes from the stories within the papers and promote free gifts inside. Illustrations within the papers also depict incidents in the published stories. The illustrations are listed chronologically for each paper. The front covers are full page illustrations unless ‘box insert’ indicates they are inserts within other front cover illustrations.

Gem 726 (1922) Illustration: ‘Football’ (7 January 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 727 (1922) Illustration: ‘Scouts’ (14 January 1922). Front Cover.

Gem 733 (1922) Illustration: ‘Boxing’ (25 February 1922). Front Cover.

Gem 741 (1922) Illustration: ‘Football’ (22 April 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 742 (1922) Illustration: ‘Football’ (29 April 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 748 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer - associated with enclosed free gift. (10 June 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 749 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer - associated with enclosed free gift. (17 June 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 750 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer - associated with enclosed free gift. (24 June 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 751 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer – associated with enclosed free gift. (1 July 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 752 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer - associated with enclosed free gift. (8 July 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 753 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer - associated with enclosed free gift. (15 July 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 754 (1922) Illustration: 'Cricket' (22 July 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 754 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer (22 July 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 755 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer (29 July 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 756 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer (5 August 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 757 (1922) Front Cover, Box Insert: illustration of famous footballer (12 August 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 768 (1922) Illustration: 'Football' (28 October 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 769 (1922) Illustration: 'Football' (4 November 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 770 (1922) Illustration: 'Football' (11 November 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 771 (1922) Illustration: 'Football' (18 November 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 772 (1922) Illustration: 'Football' (25 November 1922), Front Cover.

Gem 1155 (1930) Illustration: ‘Goodbye to Etons’ (5 April 1930), Front cover, and associated inside illustrations, pp. 2, 19.

Magnet 873 (1924) Illustration: ‘H.M.S. Hood’ (1 November 1924), front cover (and associated article page 2).

Magnet 873 (1924) Illustration: ‘H.M.S. Hood’ (1 November 1924), front cover and associated article page 2.

Magnet 935 (1926) Illustration: ‘Skating on Pond’ (9 January 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 943 (1926) Illustration: ‘Football’ (6 March 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 945 (1926) Illustration: ‘Circus’ (20 March 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 947 (1926) Illustration: ‘Circus’ (3 April 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 960 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (10 July 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 961 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (17 July 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 962 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (24 July 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 963 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (31 July 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 964 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (7 August 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 965 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (14 August 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 966 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (21 August 1926), Front Cover.

Magnet 967 (1926) Illustration: ‘Cricket’. Associated with enclosed free gift. (28 August 1926), Front Cover.

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ARTHUR MEE

1. *The Children's Newspaper* edited by Arthur Mee (ed)

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