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This is a pre-peer-review copy of the following book-chapter:

- Fotheringham, L.S. (2017), 'Framing Cicero's *Lives*: production-values and paratext in nineteenth-century biographies', in G. Manuwald, ed., *The Afterlife of Cicero*, London, Institute of Classical Studies (*BICS Supplement* 135).

### *Overview*

This paper provides a very preliminary survey of biographies of Cicero in English before 1900; most of these belong to the nineteenth century. The first English-language biography, Middleton's monumental work of 1741, was followed by a gap of almost a century in which technological and social changes combined to create the beginnings of a mass market for books.<sup>1</sup> Three of the six biographies published between 1835 and 1894 belonged to series aiming to include readers who had not received a Classical education; a fourth was by a popular novelist whose relationship with the traditional education system was vexed. An article by Rosner, focused primarily on attitudes to oratory and rhetoric in the nineteenth-century works, notes the wealth of biographies providing evidence for these attitudes in a period when the study of the Classics was losing its dominance in education.<sup>2</sup> Here I will focus on the way the books themselves are presented to potential readers, through physical characteristics and paratexts as well as through the identification of the author. These often forgotten aspects of books as physical and commercial objects provide an important context for subsequent re-examination of the contents and of the relationship to other contemporary literature (see end of paper for possible directions of future exploration).

Restricting the study to biographies in English is justifiable in the light of a focus on the (potential) popular audience, as such works are accessible to a wider range of native speakers than either more scholarly works or works in other languages. The use of the English language, however, can mask a sometimes important difference in nationality. Six of our seven biographies were by British authors, one by an American. One was published in America only, one by an American firm with offices in both New York and London; the

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<sup>1</sup> For technological developments of this period (e.g. mechanised presses, stereo- and electrotyping) and their context, see F. G. Kilgour, *The evolution of the book* (New York 1998) 98–113; J. Raven, 'The industrial revolution of the book', in *The Cambridge companion to the history of the book*, ed. L. Howsam (Cambridge 2014) 143–61.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rosner, 'Reflections on Cicero in nineteenth-century England and America', *Rhetorica* 4 (1986) 153–82. For nineteenth-century views on Cicero, see also N. P. Cole, 'Nineteenth-century Ciceros', in *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. C. Steel (Cambridge 2013) 337–61.

other five were published in Britain, with American editions following a year or two later in the case of three, all before the establishment of international copyright regulations. It is difficult to read much into these figures without further research, but it may be worth mentioning here Rahe's discussion of the relatively rare references to Cicero by the eighteenth century Founding Fathers, which concludes that, although his eloquence 'was a benchmark by which American statesmen measured their own efforts,' they were suspicious of his (and other Romans') oft-stated desire for personal glory, following in a tradition of critique begun with Montaigne.<sup>3</sup>

There is room for debate as to what counts as a biography; a broader look at nineteenth-century Ciceronian life-writing would have to include a wider range of material including reviews, chapters introductory to editions of Ciceronian texts, histories of Rome including the late Republic, and so on. I here focus on book-length works that present themselves as primarily biographical in focus. Before Middleton, I exclude Kelly's 1725 translation of Morabin's book on Cicero's exile, and Lyttelton's 1733 *Observations on the Life of Cicero* as too short or too narrowly focused. Three nineteenth-century contenders are discussed in more detail below. The seven works discussed here are:

1741: Conyers Middleton, *The History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London: printed for the author.

1835: John Stricker, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Marcus Tullius Cicero*. Baltimore: printed for the author.

1839: J. F. (John Francis) Hollings, *The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London: Thomas Tegg. Series: The Family Library.

1864: William Forsyth, *Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London: John Murray. (American edition, New York: Charles Scribner and Company 1865.)

1871: W. (William) Lucas Collins, *Cicero*, Edinburgh/London: William Blackwood and Sons. Series: Ancient Classics for English Readers. (American edition, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company 1873.)

1880: Anthony Trollope, *The Life of Cicero*, London: Chapman and Hall. (American edition, New York: Harper and Brother 1881.)

1894: J. L. (James Leigh) Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, New York/London: G. P. Putnam's sons. Series: Heroes of the Nations.

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<sup>3</sup> P. A. Rahe, 'Cicero and the Republican legacy in America', in *Thomas Jefferson, the classical world, and early America*, ed. P. S. Onuf and N. P. Cole (Charlottesville 2011) 248–64, quotation on 250.

Of these works, counting Collins' *Cicero* as a biography is perhaps the most debatable decision. The title of Strachan-Davidson's work might suggest a more than purely biographical focus, but the series-title suggests a focus on individuals and the publisher's advertisement describes it as 'A Series of Biographical Studies'. Collins, on the other hand, belongs to a series whose focus was not primarily biographical but literary, aiming to bring 'the great *writers* of Greece and Rome ... to those who have not received a classical education' (my italics).<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, six of Collins' twelve Chapters are labelled 'Biographical' (followed by a summary of the events of the period covered, e.g., 'Public career – Impeachment of Verres', ...); of the remaining six only three are focused primarily on texts, with the others covering 'Character as a politician and orator', 'Minor characteristics' and 'Cicero's religion'. *Chart 1* shows that Collins' inclusion of non-narrative chapters is not out of line with standard biographical practice, even if they take up more of the book (55.3% in terms of pages). Trollope's final four provide an interesting comparison: 'Cicero's rhetoric', 'Cicero's philosophy', 'Cicero's moral essays' and 'Cicero's religion'. Many of the *Ancient Classics* volumes include a biographical section; even Homer is given a life-story. These works were published before the early twentieth-century rebellions against the strong biographical tendency in literary criticism and literary history; it is particularly unsurprising that in the case of Cicero, where so much is known about his life and so many of his writings are tied directly to his life-experience, the biographical element should have expanded to fill almost half the book. It might be said that Collins' *Cicero* is or contains more than a biography, but equally a case can be made that it is or contains a biography.

[CHART 1 NEAR HERE]

The following nineteenth-century works are excluded:

1854: Bernhard Rudolf Abeken, trans./ed. Charles Merivale, *An Account of the Life and Letters of Cicero*, London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans (originally published as *Cicero in seinen Briefen. Ein Leitfaden durch dieselben, mit Hinweisung auf die Zeiten, in denen sie geschrieben wurden*, Hannover 1835).

1883: J. H. (John Henry) Muirhead, *M. Tullius Cicero. A chapter introductory to the study of his life and works*, Glasgow: James MacLehose and sons.

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<sup>4</sup> W. L. Collins, *Homer. The Iliad* (Edinburgh 1870) v.

1897: Gaston Boissier, trans. A. D. Jones, *Cicero and his Friends. A study of Roman society in the time of Caesar*, London: A. D. Innes & Company (originally published as *Cicéron et ses amis. Étude sur la société romaine du temps de César*, Paris 1865).

Of these, the exclusion of Boissier is easiest to defend. The book's structure is not biographical: the narrative of Cicero's political career is completed in less than 20% of the main text, while an account of him 'as a private man' still brings the total up to only 26%. The remainder of the work is taken up by chapters on Atticus, Caelius, Caesar, Brutus and Octavius; even if these figures are seen through the lens of Cicero's letters, the book takes a different approach to the straightforwardly biographical.

Muirhead's work is excluded primarily on the grounds of length: at only 48 pages, it cannot provide a detailed treatment. It was republished verbatim in Muirhead's 1885 edition of selected letters in Latin (with the addition of footnotes referring forward to individual letters), and can be compared to other similar introductions such as that to Tyrrell's 1891 *Cicero in his Letters* (London: Macmillan). The title-page of the 1883 work identifies MacLehose as 'Publishers to the University' and Muirhead as 'Assistant to the Professor of Humanity, University of Glasgow'; it will have been intended for purchase by Glasgow undergraduates while the edition was in preparation – another reason to place it in a different category from the biographies. It is not impossible that a more general reader may have picked up Muirhead's book, although the compression of the narrative may be more suited to readers with some prior background knowledge.

Merivale's adaptation of Abeken, on the other hand, cannot be excluded on the grounds of overall structure (which follows Cicero's life in chronological order) or of small size (xii + 484 pages). Abeken intended the work for use by *Gymnasium*-teachers ('teachers of higher classes in schools', in Merivale's translation) and in his Vorwort he discusses this use in some detail, much of which is trimmed by Merivale. As with Muirhead, however, the intended audience and the actual audience need not have been identical. The principal difference between Abeken/Merivale and the works here treated as biographies is the former's focus on Cicero's letters. These are also important for the biographies; note, for example, the amount of space devoted to the period of Cicero's opposition to Antony – itself not much more than a year, but amply attested in the letters – in (especially) Middleton, Hollings, and Forsyth (*Chart 1*). But the letters dominate the structure of Abeken/Merivale to a greater extent. There is no chapter/section devoted to Cicero's year as consul either here or in Muirhead's summary; the other seven works all focus at least one on this key period in

Cicero's life (*Chart 1*). Muirhead may have felt that in only 48 pages, there was no justification for singling out any individual year, even one as important as 63, while Abeken/Merivale, focused on the letters, could hardly devote an entire section to a year from which no letters survive.

Abeken/Merivale stands somewhere between the more generically straightforward biographies and editions of the letters such as Muirhead 1885 or Tyrrell 1891. The letters are not given in full or in Latin, but summarised, paraphrased, or quoted from in translation, with plenty of explanatory detail on the Roman political scene. The goal is not simply to tell the story, but to equip teachers with the necessary background to understand and explicate political and personal references in other Ciceronian texts read in the classroom. Nevertheless a case could be made for treating this work as a biography, and it should be included in future discussions of the genre if only as a comparandum. Some features of the paratext that mark out Abeken/Merivale from the biographies will be mentioned below.

The original authors of these three outlying works, Abeken, Muirhead and Boissier, were all full-time educators; Merivale was a known scholar as well as Dean of Ely.<sup>5</sup> But these authorial credentials do not necessarily mark out their works from the other seven. Stricker and Forsyth were lawyers, Trollope a novelist, Collins a clergyman (and, like Forsyth, a known man of letters). But two of the more explicitly popularising biographies were contributed by full-time educators/scholars, school-teacher Hollings and Oxford don Strachan-Davidson; Middleton, like Merivale, was a clergyman and known scholar. Only towards the end of the period are the career-trajectories of any of these writers (Boissier, Muirhead and Strachan-Davidson) comparable to that of a modern academic; only Merivale, Boissier and Strachan-Davidson can be said to have been primarily occupied with the Classics. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that Ciceronian biography was to become the almost exclusive preserve of 'professional Classicists'.<sup>6</sup>

[TABLE 1 NEAR HERE]

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<sup>5</sup> See variously: J. W. Goetz, 'Abeken, Bernhard Rudolf', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin 1953), online available at <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116001097.html> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016); C. G. Robertson (rev. P. P. Nicholson), 'Muirhead, John Henry (1855-1940)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), online available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35145> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016); P. Leguay, 'Boissier (Marie-Louis-Antoine-Gaston)', *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* 6 (Paris 1954) 846-47; J. M. Rigg (rev. J. D. Pickles), 'Merivale, Charles (1808-1893)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) online available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18592> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016).

<sup>6</sup> See L. S. Fotheringham, 'Twentieth/twenty-first century Cicero(s)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. C. Steel (Cambridge 2013) 362-66.

Turning to the books themselves, an important initial question is the relative expense of producing the different works. *Table 1* shows some of the physical characteristics that provide clues on this issue as well as sterling prices, taken from the relevant volumes of the *English Catalogue of Books*, for all the nineteenth-century works except Stricker.<sup>7</sup> As the period of publication covers more than fifty years, inflation is a complicating factor as well as the fact that production-costs are likely to have become cheaper over the decades. Nevertheless it seems safe to argue that the three single-volume biographies belonging to ‘popular’ series are at the cheaper end of the scale, in contrast to the two-volume works by Forsyth and Trollope. If production-costs were getting cheaper, the differential between these two (18 shillings in 1864 and 24 shillings in 1880) is perhaps indicative of what could be charged for a work by Anthony Trollope.<sup>8</sup>

Middleton’s first edition will have been the most costly to produce; Stricker’s little volume, with its rough paper and careless editing, was probably the cheapest. All the nineteenth-century works are dwarfed by Middleton’s first edition, although it should be borne in mind that most readers will not have encountered this work in such a lavish format. The physical characteristics of the books do not correlate uniformly with their positions at one end or the other of the price-scale. Trollope’s biography is plainly presented, while Strachan-Davidson’s is lavishly decorated. Hollings includes a frontispiece, whereas Trollope, like the lower-quality/cheaper works of Stricker and Collins, does not. Stricker and Hollings have the narrowest margins, but Collins and especially Strachan-Davidson have relatively generous ones. The pages of all the lower-quality works are neatly trimmed, whereas the quires in Forsyth and Trollope are more roughly assembled, with page-size varying by up to two millimetres.

The inclusion or omission of any particular paratextual element (with the possible exception of Appendices/Index) appears to be similarly unrelated either to position on the price-scale or to the fame or scholarly credentials of the author. Paratext, as defined by Genette, consists of those elements of a book which are not part of the text proper but which surround it and present it to the reader.<sup>9</sup> In addition to title-page, page-headers and footnotes, which are present in all seven works, the following paratextual elements are found in one or more (for illustrations, see *Table 1*):

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<sup>7</sup> For the price of Hollings, see below.

<sup>8</sup> According to M. Sadleir, *Trollope. A bibliography* (London 1964 [1928]) 177, the novel *The Duke’s Children*, last of the popular ‘Paliser’ series, published in the same year as the *Cicero* and with rather more pages, cost 31s. 6d.

<sup>9</sup> G. Genette (tr. J. E. Lewin), *Paratexts. Thresholds of interpretation* (Cambridge 1997).

Half-title: Hollings, Collins, Trollope, Strachan-Davidson

Dedication: Middleton, Stricker, Hollings, Forsyth

List of subscribers: Middleton

Preface: Middleton, Hollings, Forsyth, (Collins,) Strachan-Davidson

Table of Contents: Hollings, Forsyth, Collins, Trollope, Strachan-Davidson

List of Illustrations: Forsyth, Strachan-Davidson

Appendices: Forsyth, Trollope

Index: Middleton,<sup>10</sup> Forsyth, Trollope, Strachan-Davidson

Map: Strachan-Davidson

*Errata*: Stricker

Information about the series: Hollings, Collins, Strachan-Davidson

Instead of a standard half-title and title-page, Middleton has a title-page for the work as a whole and then one for each volume. The half-title can contain as little as the book's title but may also contain series-information or the volume-number. The main title-page usually gives the title, volume-information, name of author and identifying features, city, publisher, and date; in Middleton these items are distributed between the two title-pages. The printer's imprint is given on the verso in four cases, on the title-page in one. Forsyth's title-page is by far the most decorative.

Authors are identified as follows:

By CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D. | Principal Library-keeper of the University of  
*Cambridge*

BY JOHN STRICKER, | OF THE BALTIMORE BAR.

BY | J. F. HOLLINGS, | AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

BY WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A., Q.C., | AUTHOR OF 'HORTENSIVS,' 'NAPOLEON AT ST.  
HELENA AND SIR HUDSON LOWE,' | 'HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY,' ETC., | AND LATE  
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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<sup>10</sup> The first edition of Middleton has an Index at the end of each volume; these were later combined.



BY THE | REV. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. | AUTHOR OF | ‘ETONIANA,’ ‘THE PUBLIC  
SCHOOLS,’ ETC.

BY | ANTHONY TROLLOPE

BY | J. L. STRACHAN-DAVIDSON, M.A. | FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

Anthony Trollope presumably needed no further identification. For the others, University connections and other published works (except Strachan-Davidson’s more scholarly 1888 *Selections from Polybius*) are mentioned where possible; the reader seems to be expected to have respect for academic credentials and perhaps to recognise (or at least respect) an author’s previous publications. Forsyth and Collins, as the most successful literary figures in this list after Trollope, have more than one previous work to their name. It is interesting to speculate whether John Stricker intended to claim an affinity with Cicero through his profession as a lawyer.

In three works there are Latin quotations on half-title or title-page: Middleton, Stricker, and Strachan-Davidson. The title-page quotation is a familiar publisher’s convention and may be provided by the publisher/editor rather than by the actual author; in the case of Strachan-Davidson the same quotation (from Ovid, about the lasting nature of fame) appears on the half-title in all the *Heroes of the Nation* biographies. Only this quotation is provided with a translation, indicating more thought being taken for the ‘general’ reader; all three are referenced (although Stricker’s only by author’s name). It may be questioned whether the untranslated quotation indicates an expectation of understanding from the reader or simply an attempt to impress. Middleton’s quotation is from Quintilian, to the effect that a preference for Cicero is a sign of literary maturity. This is the most directly relevant to the subject-matter and perhaps flags his positive attitude to Cicero; he seems to allude again to the passage in his Dedication (iv). Stricker’s quotation is Ennius’ description of Cethegus’ oratory (*Ann.* 304–08 Skutsch, quoted by Cicero at *Brutus* 57–59). As the first biographer to write after Middleton, and consciously looking back to him, Stricker may here be modelling himself on his predecessor; he even outdoes Middleton in allusiveness, since Middleton’s quotation from Quintilian is about Cicero and explicitly names him, whereas Stricker’s must be applied to him.

Only the four earliest works have a Dedication: Middleton 1741, Stricker 1835, Hollings 1839 and Forsyth 1864. All are to politicians except Hollings’, which is to a fellow-author. The nineteenth-century Dedications take up less than a page in contrast to Middleton’s fourteen pages. Both Stricker and Forsyth use the *topos* employed by Middleton of

comparing the dedicatee to the subject of the work. Their invoking of political connections may be seen as harking back to the customs of an earlier period, but there is no indication that either of the dedicatees was a patron of the work in the way that Lord Hervey was a patron of Middleton's.

Although Stricker, Collins and Trollope do not include anything explicitly labeled 'Preface', Collins does have an untitled short note. Stricker's Dedication has Preface-like features and Trollope includes much of the material you might expect to find in a Preface in the first chapter ('Introduction'). In those works with a separate Preface, the length of this element appears to decrease with time, from 24 pages in Middleton to four in Hollings and Forsyth, to one in Collins and Strachan-Davidson. But since the downward trend may be due to the personal preferences of the individual authors, it is impossible to be sure whether the eight-page Preface in Abeken/Merivale (published between Hollings and Forsyth) is a sign of a more academic work in this period.

From 1839 onwards all the biographies have a table of Contents; Abeken/Merivale, rather oddly, does not. Middleton and Stricker are divided into numbered Sections; from Hollings on the word used is 'Chapters', and from Forsyth on the Chapters have titles. (Abeken/Merivale is again an exception, being divided into 'Books' – *Abschnitte* in the original German – after an Introduction.) Hollings' sub-divisions are provided with summaries rather than titles, repeated at the head of each Chapter in a style similar to that used in some nineteenth-century novels such as Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1838).

Only two of the biographies have Appendices. Forsyth has two lists: 'Cicero's orations' and 'Roman Consuls during Cicero's Life'. Trollope is much more expansive: vol. 1 has five Appendices (A–E) and vol. 2 has one. These pick up on specific points in the main text, like extended footnotes; several involve extended quotations either in English or in parallel text. They vary in length from two pages to five and cover: Cicero's reputation as a poet; the state of Roman oratory on his return from Greece; the Romans' conflicting feelings on Greek culture; the beauty of Cicero's style; the character of the first triumvirate; the Dream of Scipio. Trollope is an expansive writer, and it is easy to read these Appendices as digressions that he could not resist; Forsyth's lists are more similar to the Appendix in the more scholarly Abeken/Merivale ('Comparative Table of Cicero's Letters'). The inclusion of Appendices may be a sign of the seriousness with which Forsyth nor Trollope hoped their work would be taken, or of the publisher's willingness to spend extra time on the preparation of supplementary features. It may not be coincidence that these two works and the two which were written by the most eminent scholars, Middleton and Strachan-Davidson, are the ones to

contain an Index, an element which requires a considerable investment of time by somebody and which may give a scholarly appearance to a book. In this connection it is worth mentioning the particular care with which Forsyth's Index – and indeed all Forsyth's pages – are laid out (see below).

All of the works have footnotes. The latter vary in terms of both number and presentation, identified by letters of the alphabet (Middleton), a sequence of symbols (\*, †, ‡, §, ¶: Stricker, Hollings, Collins, Strachan-Davidson), or superscript numbers (Forsyth, Trollope). One sign of the more scholarly character of Abeken/Merivale is a more elaborate system of notes: in addition to the footnotes (marked by the sequence of symbols), taken from Abeken with occasional additions by Merivale included in square brackets, Merivale also uses superscript numbers to alert the reader to the presence of a marginal note. These marginal notes consist purely of references to the ancient text, which Abeken originally included in his main text in round brackets. It is unsurprising that none of the more popularising works adopts such a complex system of notes.

### *The biographies*

#### *Middleton 1741*

Conyers Middleton (1683–1750) had been fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and remained connected to the University after his first marriage (of three) in 1711, when he took up the first of a series of clerical appointments.<sup>11</sup> This marriage brought him some wealth. He had a series of aristocratic patrons (all Whig), and was to some extent a controversial figure. After a series of pamphlets attacking Bentley in 1719–21, he was ultimately condemned for libel. His *Letter to Dr. Waterland* (1731), on the interpretation of Biblical miracle-narratives, led to his being accused of non-conformist views, to a long sequence of further exchanges in print, and perhaps to the loss of some of his wealthy patrons. After a sojourn in Rome in 1723–24, he published on the social status of ancient doctors (1726), on supposed continuities between ancient pagan rituals and Roman Catholicism (1729); after the *Life* he wrote on German material remains illustrative of Roman religious practices (1745) and published correspondence with his patron, Lord Hervey, on the Roman senate (1747). It will have been to Lord Hervey's support that he owed the number and quality of the subscribers to his *Life of*

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<sup>11</sup> Biographical details come from J. A. Dussinger, 'Middleton, Conyers (1683–1750)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), online available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18669> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016).

*Cicero*, in spite of the suspicion of non-conformist views that continued to attach to him; the list includes princesses, dukes and earls. Later editions were financially successful, bringing Middleton further wealth. Some people in literary circles in the 1740s and 50s may have purchased the work as much out of curiosity concerning its author as out of interest in Cicero or Rome.

*The History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* was published by subscription in 1741, in two quarto volumes; the measurements in *Table 1* are taken from the large-paper version produced for the subscribers who committed more money. The pages are a good thick paper in which the weave is visible; the substantial margins take up over half the page-area. The work is illustrated throughout with engravings: a bust of Cicero on the title-page for each volume; Lord Hervey's coat of arms at the start of the Dedication; one image at beginning and end of the Preface and of each of the twelve numbered Sections. In the first Section of each volume, the initial capital letter is elaborately decorated. On almost every page from volume 1 page 234 (second page of Section IV), the date of the events being narrated appears in the outer margin in three formats: the year since Rome's foundation, Cicero's age, and the names of the consuls (e.g., 'A. Urb. 691./Cic. 45./Coss./D. JUNIUS SILANUS,/L. LICINIUS MURENA'). No explanation of these dating systems is provided. They appear to the outside of the text immediately below the illustration on the first page of a section, but seem to have been forgotten about between pages 1 and 234; they are present in the second volume.

Some of these features, indicating a particularly expensive and painstakingly-produced work, did not survive the first edition. The *Life* was immediately reprinted (by publishers Innys & Manby) in 1741 and again in 1742; further editions continued to be published until at least 1842.<sup>12</sup> The list of subscribers and – probably more significantly in terms of the effect created – the lavish engravings are already gone from the second edition, although down to the sixth edition in 1757, the bust of Cicero continued to appear on one of the title-pages. From 1840 onwards the work appeared frequently in a vast *Life and Letters* volume (pages measuring 23 x 15.5 cm), alongside Melmoth's translation of the *Ad familiares* and Heberden's of the *Ad Atticum*.<sup>13</sup> Here the text is squeezed into only 316 pages by use of a very small point-size (printed in two tall columns per page), with tiny margins. In the eighteenth-century editions the title-pages continued to give the Latin quotation and identify

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<sup>12</sup> There was a Dublin edition in 1741 (Smith & Bradley); the earliest American edition I have found dates to 1818 (Boston: Wells & Lily).

<sup>13</sup> The first edition I have found in online catalogues is from 1840, the last from 1887. The four editions I have seen (Chatto & Windus 1854; Bohn 1868; Nimmo 1880; Nimmo, Hay & Mitchell 1887) seem to have used the same plates except for a second title-page unique to each publication.

Middleton's position vis-à-vis the Cambridge University Library. These elements are gone from the *Life and Letters* volume, but the Dedication 'To the Right Honorable John Lord Hervey, Lord Keeper of His Majesty's Privy Seal', impressing Middleton's grand connections even on readers who skipped the actual text, continued to be printed.

The *Life of Cicero* was quickly criticised, in two anonymous works published in 1741 and 1744 and by Cibber in 1747;<sup>14</sup> Ward and Fox set this criticism in the context of attitudes to Cicero more generally in the eighteenth century, many of which were more critical than Middleton's.<sup>15</sup> He was early and continuously accused of excessive partiality for Cicero, including by Stricker, Hollings and Forsyth. He was also accused of plagiarising the form of his *Life* from a 1634 work by William Bellenden, *De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*, although Bellenden was not writing biography but putting together a sequential history of Rome using passages of Cicero. The point that the two works had in common was their technique of letting substantial quotations from Cicero himself dominate the text; a great deal of the long time Middleton took to produce his *Life* was taken up with reading Cicero's works and selecting passages. Clarke has compared Middleton's *Life* with Bellenden's book and concluded that the accusation of plagiarism (which he traces back to at least 1782 and attributes to contemporary prejudice against Middleton) is unfounded.<sup>16</sup>

The long gap before any further biographies were published in English, and the continuing republication of Middleton's *Life* into the nineteenth century even after this point, indicates its on-going success despite on-going criticism. It is easy to imagine that Middleton's enormous work will have seemed a hard act to follow or replace; its style appears to have been widely admired. At least one biography appeared in another language during this period: Jacques Morabin, whose shorter work on the exile had been translated into English in 1725, published a quarto *Histoire de Cicéron avec des remarques historiques et critiques* in three parts in 1745, but I have found no evidence of an English translation. For scholars of the ancient world, there was enough other work to do that replacing Middleton may not have seemed much of a priority; a critic of Middleton such as Melmoth was content to allow his more negative views of Cicero to be expressed in comments on his translation of the *Ad*

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<sup>14</sup> 'Oxford Scholar', *The Death of M-l-n in the Life of Cicero: a proper criticism* (London 1741); anon., 'An extract from a letter to a friend, containing some remarks on Cicero, and Dr. Middleton's account of him', *The Norfolk Poetical Miscellany* (London 1744) 322–29; C. Cibber, *The Character and Conduct of Cicero, considered, from the History of his Life, by the Reverend Dr. Middleton* (London 1747).

<sup>15</sup> A. Ward, 'The Tory view of Roman history', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature, 1500–1900* 4 (1964) 413–36; M. Fox, 'Cicero during the Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. C. Steel (Cambridge 2013) 318–36.

<sup>16</sup> M. L. Clarke, 'Conyers Middleton's alleged plagiarism', *Notes and Queries* 228 (1983) 44–46.

*Familiares*. There may be room for doubt as to whether all the late nineteenth-century purchasers who wanted to have the impressive *Life and Letters* volume on their shelves actually took the time to read the entire thing; it is interesting to speculate on how those who did so responded to the very different attitudes to Cicero put forward by Middleton and Melmoth.

The *English Catalogue of Books* provides some price comparisons: along with Hollings 1839 (3s. 6d.), the volume for 1835-1863 lists two editions of Middleton's *Life* alone: an octavo edition by Rivington, 1837, priced 14 shillings; a royal octavo edition by Moxon, 1842, priced 9 shillings. A royal octavo *Life and Letters* attributed to Middleton and Melmoth, published by Moxon in 1854, is priced 16 shillings. Finally, for comparison, a work described as *Life and Writings of Cicero*, 'by C. Merivale, from the German of Abeken, 12mo', is priced 9s. 6d. In subsequent issues of the *Catalogue* there is no mention of Middleton, although the *Life and Letters* volume continued to be republished.

#### *Stricker 1835*

It would be difficult to imagine a starker physical contrast than that between the imposing volumes of Middleton's first edition and the next English biography of Cicero (that I have found), modestly entitled *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by one John Stricker. Both the book and its author are obscure: none of the subsequent biographies mention them, and neither does Rosner. A catalogue of documents held by the Maryland Historical Society indicates that this John Stricker was the son of General John Stricker (1758–1825) and gives his own dates as 1800–1837.<sup>17</sup> Any further attempt at a literary career will therefore have been cut off by a relatively early death. The documents in question constitute notes on his father's life, some of them written on a copy of the Cicero book; these were eventually published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in 1914.

The dedication to Edward Everett (1794–1865) may provide an indication of Stricker's politics. Everett was a Whig politician who had received a doctorate from Göttingen and held a chair of Greek at Harvard before being elected to congress in 1824. By the year the *Life* was published he was Governor of Massachusetts and was Secretary of State under Millard Fillmore in 1852. He is described by Stricker as an appropriate dedicatee because he is 'distinguished as a statesman, and of eminent scholarship'. He was also renowned as an

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<sup>17</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 'Files M-S' (Baltimore 2015), online available at <https://www.mdhs.org/sites/default/files/m-s.pdf> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016).

orator, which made him an even more suitable dedicatee for a biography of Cicero; he is best remembered today for having delivered an oration at Gettysburg immediately before Lincoln in 1863.<sup>18</sup>

The little book is not a high-quality product: the paper, although thinner than eighteenth-century paper, is fairly coarse; there is no frontispiece; there is some carelessness in the typesetting (*e.g.*, variation between ‘latin’ and ‘Latin’; ‘mithridalick’ for ‘Mithridatick’). A brief page of *Errata* at the end indicates that someone had noticed, *e.g.*, the variation between ‘quæstor’ and ‘questor’, but various other errors are not picked up. Bindings appear to vary, but are devoid of printed or stamped detail; a paper label fixed to the spine identifies the work. The text is in 12-page quires, with the main narrative starting on a new quire. This is presumably why the first page-number to appear, on the second page of Section I, is ‘14’; in fact, none of the three copies I have been able to examine have a full twelve pages preceding this point.

In addition to title, author-information and the Latin quotation discussed above, the title-page states that the work was ‘printed for the author’. Whereas in the case of Middleton’s work the expense of the printing was supplied by the lengthy list of subscribers, here it seems more likely to indicate that no financial backing other than personal could be found. More work would need to be done to contextualise this little book in its time and place.

### *Hollings 1839*

The Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society website gives a brief biography of James Francis Hollings (President of the Society in 1846–47, 1853–54, and 1858–59).<sup>19</sup> He came to Leicester in 1837 ‘as the second master and a tutor in science and Latin at the new Proprietary school’, a non-conformist venture which failed within ten years.<sup>20</sup> Hollings married into a wealthy local family and was an enthusiastic historian of the town; he committed suicide after his wife’s death in 1862. In addition to the *Life of Cicero* and another biography written for the *Family Library* series, Hollings published three of his lectures: *The history of Leicester during the great civil war* (1840), *Roman Leicester* (1855), and *Lord*

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<sup>18</sup> J. Mauck, ‘Edward Everett (1794–1865)’, in *American statesmen. Secretaries of State from John Jay to Colin Powell*, ed. E. S. Mihalkanin (Westport 2004) 188–90.

<sup>19</sup> Leicestershire Literary & Philosophical Society, ‘1847. James Francis Hollings 1846–47 1853–54 1858–59’ (Leicester 2014), online available at <http://www2.le.ac.uk/hosted/litandphil/presidents/president-profiles/1847-james-francis-hollings-1846-47-1853-54-1858-59> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016).

<sup>20</sup> ‘The City of Leicester: Primary and secondary education’, in R. A. McKinley, ed. *A History of the County of Leicester: Volume 4, the City of Leicester* (London 1958) 328–35.

*Macaulay* (1860; Macaulay, a native of Leicestershire, had been raised to the peerage in 1857).

*The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* has smaller pages than Stricker's, but is longer; it is in 16-page quires, as are all remaining books under consideration. The paper and the type are both finer, and there are few noticeable errors. The frontispiece, on slightly thicker paper, shows a delicate engraving of a bust of Cicero. Space is conserved by narrow margins and by starting new chapters on the same page on which the previous chapter ends where possible. There is no mention of the *Family Library* inside the book, but the other work with which Hollings is associated on the title-page, the *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, had been published as no. 65 in the series in 1838. The dedication is to Cyrus R. Edmonds, who had published *The Life and Times of General Washington* in two volumes in 1835–36 (*Family Library* 53–54). Edmonds published more books for other publishers, including translations of Livy (1849) and Cicero (1850), a biography of Milton (1851), and a new edition of Andrew Bell's *History of Feudalism* (1863), 'with examination questions and introductory essay'. This and the translations may suggest an on-going educational focus; like Hollings he may have been a teacher of both Classical and non-Classical subjects.

Like Stricker's work, Hollings' *Life* was ignored by subsequent biographers, but was noticed by Rosner. It exemplifies the early nineteenth-century turn to publishing for the masses, being produced by the infamous Cheapside publisher, Thomas Tegg, although in a series (the *Family Library*) originating with the more upmarket John Murray. The *Family Library* was published in uniform covers on the cloth of which was printed information about both the individual book and the series (*Figure 1*). The series had been established by John Murray in 1829 as a cheap but good-quality series of new non-fiction works, aimed at the aspiring working and lower middle classes. Bennett situates the enterprise firmly in the category of attempts by the establishment to influence what the lower classes were reading (competing with the more populist presses), 'to speak to the common reader in such a way as to heal the fundamental divisions created by the emerging industrial order'; he also stresses the remarkable nature of Murray's attempt to ensure the quality of the product, his 'recognition that if books could serve this purpose at all, then only the best books would do for the common reader.'<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately for Murray, monthly publication of such a quality product turned out not to be sustainable at the time, and he was compelled first to lower his standards by printing works to which he already held the copyright, allowing the publication

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<sup>21</sup> S. Bennett, 'John Murray's Family Library and the cheapening of books in early nineteenth-century Britain', *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976) 139–66, quotations from 141, 162.



schedule to slip to bi-monthly, and finally to sell the remainder of the unsold stock, along with the *Family Library* name, to Thomas Tegg in 1834.

Tegg was known for his reliance on expired copyrights and remaindering as means of producing and selling books at a cheaper rate than some of his longer established and more respected competitors. Barnes & Barnes have recently published a re-evaluation of his career and reputation, pointing out the number of serious works he published and the good relations he maintained with colleagues like John Murray, whose unsold stock he purchased.<sup>22</sup> He had already relieved Murray of some embarrassing failures before 1834 when the deal was done on the complete *Family Library*; he apparently planned to sell the books at 3s. 6d., and this is the price given in the *English Catalogue of Books*, but the 1839 *Life of Cicero* is still advertising Murray's 5 shillings as the standard price for Library volumes. Tegg also agreed to Murray's stipulation that quality of production be maintained (see esp. Barnes and Barnes, n. 26); all the volumes I have seen include a frontispiece, an expense that might perhaps have been foregone. Tegg continued publishing new volumes in the *Family Library* until the desired total of eighty was reached in 1842; although the first one he published was an out-of-copyright work (Defoe's 1722 *History of the Plague Year*), he also commissioned new material including the biographies by Edmonds and Hollings.

Whether under the supervision of Murray or Tegg, the *Family Library* can be seen as part of the democratisation of publishing that was taking place at this time, although we cannot rate the success of individual volumes; we do not even know whether the Library as a whole made a profit for Tegg (Barnes & Barnes, 54). Rosner identifies no reviews of Hollings' *Life of Cicero*, and the next biographer, Forsyth, states that Middleton's work 'has exclusively occupied the field in this country as the Biography of Cicero' (v). The *Family Library* may have been beneath Forsyth's notice, or Hollings' biography may not have been much noticed by anybody. The *Ancient Classics for English Readers* and *Heroes of the Nations* series that appeared later in the century seem to have been more successful.

#### *Forsyth 1864*

William Forsyth (1812–99) was an eminent lawyer, having been called to the bar in 1839, made senior barrister and bencher of the Inner Temple in 1857, and standing counsel to the

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<sup>22</sup> J. J. Barnes and P. P. Barnes, 'Reassessing the reputation of Thomas Tegg, London publisher, 1776–1846', *Book History* 3 (2000) 45–60.

Secretary of State for India in 1859.<sup>23</sup> Of the works listed on the title-page, *Hortensius* (1849) and the three-volume *Napoleon at St Helena* (1853) were both published by John Murray, with whom Forsyth clearly had a good relationship. *Hortensius* described in the Preface as desiring ‘to present in a popular form an historical sketch of the office and functions of an Advocate’, sufficiently ‘popular’ for a second edition to be published in 1874; in the Preface to *Napoleon* he says that Murray had given him Sir Hudson Lowe’s papers in the hope that he might write the work.

The *Life of Cicero* was Forsyth’s next book-length work, and was successful enough for a second edition to be published in 1867 and a third in 1869. He would also have been known to the *literati* as the editor of the *Annual Register* and probably as contributor to various other prominent periodicals, even if his contributions were officially anonymous. His interest in Rome and Roman history were confirmed by *Rome and its Ruins* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1865) and a five-act verse drama, *Hannibal in Italy* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1872). His other interests and on-going good relationship with John Murray are attested by the latter’s publication of *Novels and Novelists of the Eighteenth Century* (1871) and *The Slavonic Provinces South of the Danube* (1876). In addition to all this literary work, Forsyth was later to be Conservative MP for Marylebone from 1874–80.

The single-page Dedication is to Lord Brougham, ‘whose Eloquence and other splendid intellectual gifts ... vividly recall to the minds of his countrymen the great Orator, Statesman, and Philosopher of ancient Rome’; an untranslated quotation in Latin follows, which Forsyth and Brougham are presumably supposed to be familiar with, or at least able to read, even if the reader is not. The text is from Quintilian 10.1.104, and refers to an unnamed historical writer whose talent illuminates both the present and the future. Brougham (1778–1868) was a well-known and sometimes popular Whig politician, who had been Lord Chancellor in 1830–34 – and had also, incidentally, been a champion of book-production for the masses, founding the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1825. In contrast to Stricker, who describes himself as Edward Everett’s ‘obedient, humble servant’, Forsyth claims ‘friendship’ with Lord Brougham (despite twenty-four years difference in their ages). The much higher production values evident in his *Life of Cicero* probably reflect the high status of the man himself both as an author and in other walks of life.

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<sup>23</sup> Biographical details come from T. Seccombe (rev. S. R. J. Baudry), ‘Forsyth, William (1812–1899)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), online available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9935> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016).

The two-volume *Life* is bound in dark brown/purple cloth imitating morocco leather, with gilt lettering and decorative borders on the spines, a reproduction of a supposed Greek ‘medal’ of Cicero in gilt on the front covers, and the same image blind-stamped on the back covers (*Figure 2*). The paper is fine; the frontispiece and further inset plates are on china clay-coated stock. The title-pages have decorative elements including varying fonts, use of red, a decorative border and a grouping of palmettes in the centre.

One small indicator of the extra care taken over the publication of this work is provided by the page-headers. In the three earlier works, these are simple and repetitive, with page-numbers just within the text block or intruding into the outer margins. Middleton has ‘THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE’ (left) and ‘OF *M. TULLIUS CICERO*’ (right); Stricker has ‘SKETCH OF THE’ (left) and ‘LIFE OF CICERO’ (right); Hollings has ‘THE LIFE OF CICERO’ (both left and right). In Forsyth, the page-headers consist of the title of the current chapter on the left, *e.g.*, ‘THE STUDENT’ (Ch. II), and a phrase summarising the content of this double-page spread on the right, *e.g.*, ‘ATTENDANCE ON ORATORS.’ (p. 17), ‘MILITARY EDUCATION.’ (p. 19), ‘ATTENDS LECTURES IN RHETORIC.’ (p. 21). Page-numbers are printed on the outside and date information on the inside, with Cicero’s age on the left-hand page (*e.g.*, ‘Æt. 17–25’) and the common reckoning on the right (*e.g.*, ‘B.C. 90–82’). These content-specific headers indicate a greater amount of work undertaken at the type-setting stage; although the content of the right-hand headers may have been guessable beforehand, the final decision can only have been confirmed after the rest of the pages had been type-set. The Index evidences similar care; it is printed in two columns, with a repetition of the first entry on the page at the top of the left-hand column, of the last entry on the page at the top of the right.

The illustrations also indicate a degree of expense not seen since Middleton’s first edition. The frontispiece of vol. I shows a line drawing of the medal seen on the covers, that of vol. II an engraving entitled ‘THE TOMB OF CICERO’ (below) as ‘sketched by Ainslie’ (to the left, written in a curve); the engraver, J. W. Whymper, is identified to the right. Seven of the twelve additional plates also represent the present state or current state of such places as ‘Arpino, where Cicero was born’ or ‘Cicero’s villa at Formiae’, three are reconstructions of ancient buildings, and the remaining two are profile images represented as being taken from coins (of Pompey and Caesar). The images of places and buildings involve extremely fine detail, the reproduction of which would have required skilled labour and high-quality equipment.

*Collins 1871*

William Lucas Collins (1815–87) was general editor of the series *Ancient Classics for English Readers*, an idea of Edinburgh publisher John Blackwood.<sup>24</sup> He was a long-established contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*: his other works mentioned on the title-page, on the 'history and traditions' of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Harrow, and Rugby, totalling over 600 pages between them, had originally been published piecemeal in *Blackwood's*; he was also a prolific reviewer. The series was launched in 1870 with the publication of three volumes by Collins (*Homer: The Iliad*; *Homer: The Odyssey*; *Virgil*) and four by other authors (*Herodotus*, George C. Swayne; *The Commentaries of Caesar*, Anthony Trollope; *Horace*, Theodore Martin; *Aeschylus*, Reginald S. Copleston). The first two volumes advertised that further volumes would be published monthly; the next four that there would be one 'on the 1st of every alternate month'; by the appearance of *Aeschylus* the estimate was 'Quarterly'. The price remained steady at 2s. 6d. Only three volumes appeared in 1871, of which *Cicero* was one; four appeared in each of 1872 and 1873, and two in 1874. This brought the total to twenty and the series was declared closed, but a supplementary series was begun in 1877 – supposedly by popular demand – with Collins' *Livy*. The series was extremely successful; many of the volumes went through multiple reprints, and in later years they could be purchased in portmanteau volumes containing two of the originals; the distinction between the first and supplementary series was not consistently maintained.

Collins himself had had a traditional Classical education at Rugby and gained a second-class degree at Oxford before being ordained in 1840; he held livings in Glamorgan and Northamptonshire, and an honorary canonry at Peterborough from 1870.<sup>25</sup> In addition to Homer, Virgil, and Cicero, he also contributed volumes on Aristophanes, Plautus & Terence, and Lucian to the first series and wrote on Thucydides as well as Livy for the supplementary series. Nor should his work as an editor be forgotten; the number of volumes the series ran to and the repeated reprinting of many of them indicate how successful Collins was as a populariser of Classical literature. His own contributions cover Latin and Greek authors, prose and verse, humorous and serious works; further evidence of his versatility and wide reading is supplied by his later contributing *Montaigne* (1879) and *La Fontaine and other*

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<sup>24</sup> Correspondence relating to the series was published by Blackwood's daughter: M. Porter, *Annals of a publishing house. John Blackwood. The third volume of William Blackwood and his Sons, their magazine and friends* (Edinburgh and London 1898) 400–04.

<sup>25</sup> M. C. Curthoys, 'Collins, William Lucas (1815–1887)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), online available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5960> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016).

*French fabulists* (1882) to *Foreign Classics for English Readers* (edited by Mrs Oliphant), and *Butler* (1881) to *Philosophical Classics for English Readers* (edited by William Knight).

The books are small but beautifully presented, in a uniform printed cloth binding with a reddish-brown background (*Figure 3*). The front-covers bear the name of the series within an elaborate design; the back-covers have a simpler one. There is a small amount of gilt on the spines. The verso of the half-title lists existing and forthcoming volumes in the series and states the current publication schedule and price. The amount of paratext following the title-pages varies: some volumes have nothing except a ‘Contents’ page listing the titles of the chapters. Frequently there is a short piece of text (half a page or less) consisting largely of acknowledgements including for the use of translations; this can be untitled or headed ‘Advertisement’ or ‘Note’. Some volumes have a longer piece of introductory text (two/three pages), entitled ‘Advertisement’, ‘Preface,’ or ‘Introductory Note’; none contains a Dedication.

The volume which interests us is titled simply *Cicero*; the paper is very smooth, the margins generous for the size of the page. In the main text, the page-headers consist of the title of the current chapter or part of it on the left, *e.g.*, the pages of Ch. II are divided between ‘*PUBLIC CAREER*’ and ‘*IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES*’, and a phrase summarising the content of this double-page spread on the right, *e.g.*, ‘*QUÆSTORSHIP IN SICILY*’ (p. 15) and ‘*THE ROMAN LAW-COURTS*’ (p. 17); page-numbers appear at the outside. As with Forsyth’s *Life*, these headers are a sign of additional care being taken at the type-setting stage. Despite the low price of these books, few corners were cut in the course of producing them.

### *Trollope 1880*

By the time Anthony Trollope (1815–82) published *The Life of Cicero* in 1880, his career as a successful novelist was of long standing, having published his first novel in 1847 and achieving success in 1855 with *The Warden*; he published more than three dozen novels during his lifetime. The majority of his non-fiction was travel-writing, but as already mentioned, he contributed a volume on *The Commentaries of Caesar* to the series ‘Ancient Classics for English Readers’ ten years before his *Cicero*. The latter, however, was a much

more substantial work. He also wrote other works with a biographical slant, on Thackeray and Palmerston as well as on himself.<sup>26</sup>

Scholarship on Trollope has touched on the question of his relationship with the Classics and with the *Life of Cicero* in particular, assisted by his own generally forthcoming attitude in, for example, the Preface to the *Life* and in his own *Autobiography*, which he left to be published after his death. He attended Harrow and Winchester, but was not a good scholar; unlike his elder brother Thomas, he did not go on to University. He complains in the *Autobiography* that he learned next to nothing at school, attributing his later familiarity with the Latin authors to his own efforts as an adult. Tracy points out the possibility that there is some exaggeration in the account, which he describes as ‘a carefully drawn picture of a self-made man who triumphed over a neglected and impoverished childhood’, noting that even Trollope acknowledged that his schooling will have given him a ‘groundwork’ in Latin.<sup>27</sup> We should not imagine that he was in the position of a modern-day adult learner with no previous exposure to the language. Trollope will have been comparing himself to those who acquired a thorough mastery of the ancient languages at school, such as Charles Merivale, the brother of a friend.<sup>28</sup> What school did give him was contacts – and perhaps a desire to belong, which he worked hard in later life to achieve, by improving his Latin as well as by achieving wealth and success through his writing. He seems to have wanted both to claim and demonstrate the Classical knowledge that was the mark of the educated gentleman and to be given the credit for acquiring it through his own efforts.

His first publications on the Classics were two reviews, appearing in 1851 and 1856, of volumes in Merivale’s *History of the Romans under the Empire* (1850–62); the first focuses on Julius Caesar, the second on Augustus.<sup>29</sup> According to Trollope’s own account in the *Life of Cicero* (1–2), an ‘apology for the character of Cicero’ had to be excluded from the first of these articles on the grounds of length and formed the seed from which the biography later grew. West traces a chronological development in Trollope’s attitude to Caesar and

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<sup>26</sup> See V. Glendinning, ‘Trollope as autobiographer and biographer’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Anthony Trollope*, ed. C. Dever and L. Niles (Cambridge 2011) 17–30.

<sup>27</sup> R. Tracy, ‘*Lana medicata fuco*: Trollope’s Classicism’, in *Trollope Centenary Essays*, ed. J. Halperin (London 1982) 1–23; with particular reference to chapter 1 of the *Autobiography* (first published 1883; available in multiple editions). Tracy also discusses Trollope’s slightly more positive description of the education system in his article ‘Public Schools’ (*Fortnightly Review* 1 [1 Oct. 1865] 476–87).

<sup>28</sup> Merivale is believed to be the ‘old and learned friend’ whose comment on ‘your comic Caesar’ Trollope describes in his autobiography as cutting him to the quick. R. H. Super, *The Chronicler of Bassetshire. A life of Anthony Trollope* (Ann Arbor 1988) 279, suggests that Trollope may have misread Merivale’s ‘Com<sup>ies</sup> [i.e. ‘Commentaries’] Caesar’.

<sup>29</sup> Both articles were entitled ‘Merivale’s History of the Romans’ and appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine* 37 (May 1851) 611–24; 48 (July 1856) 30–47.

Augustus, noting that the more positive attitude in the reviews of Merivale, not unmixed with criticism of their morality, may be due to ‘a desire to speak well of Merivale’s work’ (145).<sup>30</sup> After his contribution to the *Ancient Classics* series on Caesar’s *Commentaries* in 1870, Trollope turned his attention more fully to the man he had by now decided was preferable as a role-model. Two articles on ‘Cicero as a man of letters’ and ‘Cicero as a politician’ appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1877, three years before the full biography in 1880.<sup>31</sup> Also published in 1880 was the novel *The Duke’s Children* featuring the last appearance of Plantagenet Palliser, who is argued by West to be a parallel to Trollope’s vision of Cicero: both men are presented as heroes in spite of their political failures, because of their genuine patriotism, their morality and their humanity: ‘Trollope was perfectly capable of backing a loser ... if the loser was morally right’ (148–49). There were limits to Trollope’s praise of Cicero, however: as Rosner points out, he could not overcome an aversion to the ancient practice of rhetoric, with its preference for successful rather than truthful argumentation.<sup>32</sup>

The publisher of the *Life* was Chapman & Hall, who published the majority of Trollope’s books, both fiction and non-fiction, in the years 1858–66 and 1873–82. The volumes are bound in maroon cloth, very plainly, with a small amount of gilt lettering and horizontal bands on the spine, and only blind-stamping on the covers (plain frame on the front, Chapman & Hall monograph on the back). Most of Chapman & Hall’s Trollope-publications in this period were at least a little more elaborate, with the front-covers bearing patterns either printed in black or blind-stamped. The volumes of the *Life* are also plain on the inside, with no illustrations, but the paper is of high quality and there is plenty of it. Although the margins are not particularly generous for the page-size, the line-spacing is generous. A page without footnotes containing 29 lines of text in 16 cm, compared with 34 in Forsyth’s text (15½ cm), 38 in Stricker (15½ cm), 37 in Hollings (13 cm), 31 in Collins (13½ cm), and 32 in Strachan-Davidson (14½ cm). This generosity in terms of page-space in a way matches Trollope’s expansive, leisurely style.

#### *Strachan-Davidson 1894*

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<sup>30</sup> W. A. West, ‘Trollope’s Cicero’, *Mosaic* 4 (1971) 143–52.

<sup>31</sup> *Fortnightly Review* 21 (1 Apr. 1877) 495–515, 22 (1 Sept. 1877) 401–22.

<sup>32</sup> M. Rosner, ‘The two faces of Cicero: Trollope’s *Life* in the nineteenth century’, *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 18 (1988) 251–58. Rosner lists several reviews of the *Life*.

James Leigh Strachan-Davidson (1843–1916), was a fellow of Balliol and also held the post of Senior Dean; he would be elected as Master of the college in 1907.<sup>33</sup> The British Library lists three books by him in addition to the Cicero biography: *Selections from Polybius* (Oxford 1888); *Appian. Civil Wars Book 1* (Oxford 1902); *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law* (Oxford 1912). The last work was explicitly a counter to Mommsen's *Römisches Strafrecht* (1899) and earned him the degree of DCL in 1916. He also contributed a 40-page chapter on Polybius to Abbott's *Hellenica* (London 1880), wrote several articles on Roman Law for the *English Historical Review*, and some reviews for the *Classical Review*. None of these other works are popularising. Putnam's, the publisher of the *Heroes of the Nations* series made a point of claiming that the books in the series 'are the work of writers who are recognised authorities on their several subjects', and many were written by scholars although not all.<sup>34</sup>

The *Heroes of the Nations* series consisted of fifty volumes appearing between 1890 and 1914. The series editor for most of this period was the Classicist Evelyn Abbott, a colleague of Strachan-Davidson's at Balliol, who contributed a life of Pericles to the series; after his death in 1901 the last few volumes were seen to publication by H. W. Carless Davis, a mediaeval historian from All Souls. The majority of the books in the series were by British writers. In addition to Cicero, nine other figures from the Classical world were included: Pericles (Evelyn Abbott, 1891), Demosthenes (A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, 1914), Alexander (Benjamin Ide Wheeler, 1900), Hannibal (William O'Connor Morris, 1897), Julius Caesar (W. Warde Fowler, 1892), Augustus (John B. Firth, 1903), Constantine (John B. Firth, 1905), Julian (Alice Gardner, 1895), and Theodoric (Thomas Hodgkin, 1891). Also included were British figures from William the Conqueror to William Pitt, a wide range of European figures including Canute, Cortes, and Cavour, four Americans (Washington, Lincoln, Grant, and Lee), and two Oriental figures (Saladin and Mohammed). The titles uniformly gave some indication of the reason for the individual's importance in the history of a particular nation, e.g., *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens* or *Julius Caesar and the Foundation of the Roman Imperial System*. The publisher's description of the series claimed that they would both be 'thoroughly trustworthy as history' and present 'picturesque and dramatic "stories" of the Men and of the events connected with them.'

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<sup>33</sup> H. W. C. Davis (rev. R. Smail), 'Davidson, James Leigh Strachan- (1843–1916)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), online available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36333> (last accessed 20 Feb. 2016). A memoir of Strachan-Davidson was published by J. W. Mackail in 1925.

<sup>34</sup> The life of Jeanne d'Arc was by Mrs Oliphant, that of Christopher Columbus by Washington Irving.



The books shared a uniform maroon cloth binding and some interior elements such as the Latin quotation on the half-title discussed above. There is a considerable amount of gilt on the covers, and numerous decorative elements (*Figure 4*). The paper is fine; the frontispiece and plates are on coated stock; the map is on thinner paper with four folds. The frontispiece shows a bust of Cicero and is either a photograph or a very detailed drawing done with close reference to the original (identified as being ‘in the Royal Gallery in Madrid’) or a photograph of it. Of the remaining twenty-one plates there are three of similar quality showing sculptures (of Hortensius, Caesar, and Augustus) and one appears to include a photograph of a coin; the rest are engravings or line-drawings (*e.g.*, of statues, coins, places). It seems likely that the photographic reproduction, which involves a half-tone screening process to capture the range of shades of grey, will have been slightly more expensive, and this is the reason that it is used so sparingly.

In addition to the plates, the book is extravagantly provided with decorative bands, illuminated capitals, and so on. The page-headers are as complex as in Forsyth, or more so: page-numbers appear at the outside and the date of the current narrative at the inside (expressed as ‘B.C.’ both left and right) – the latter is dropped where the text moves into background explanation; the text of the header varies continuously, sometimes reflecting the title of the Chapter, but often giving more specific information about the current page’s contents. A horizontal line divides the header from the main text. All of the features discussed in this paragraph combine to require more effort when the pages are being set up for print. If Blackwood were cutting very few corners in the production of the *Ancient Classics*, Putnam’s seem to have gone out of their way to add some additional features.

### *Next steps*

There are more modern English-language biographies of Cicero than of any other ancient Roman figure. This itself is unsurprising given that Cicero is the ancient personage about whom we know the most – due largely to the survival of so much of his correspondence; nevertheless, the result is a corpus of closely comparable texts produced over a lengthy period of time, the study of which may afford interesting insights into the changing reception of the great orator (and of the Roman Republic more generally), especially that available to a popular audience, over the course of the last two-and-a-half centuries.

It will also be important to contextualise the biographies against other works dealing with the period, whether aimed at a popular or a scholarly audience, and including works

published in other languages. As suggested above, interesting comparative life-writing may be found in editions of Ciceronian texts published for students. The importance of Cicero's correspondence for constructing a narrative of his life means that the work being done on the letters in the nineteenth century forms a particularly important context for the biographies; in addition to the publication of numerous selections in Latin or English, the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the appearance of the seven volumes of Tyrrell & Purser's chronological arrangement of the complete corpus (1879-1900).<sup>35</sup> There is also a network of reviews of the biographies themselves and of other relevant works produced in a contemporary timeframe, many of them in periodicals that were not aimed only at the scholarly community, which could be usefully considered.

Ultimately, works in other languages must not be neglected; these may have had an influence on the English-language material, or may provide insight into the different attitudes espoused by writers of different nations. Interesting comparisons may also emerge with Ciceronian biography of other periods; the publication rate only increased in the twentieth century.<sup>36</sup> A quick glance at the titles alone shows a move away from simply calling a biography a '*Life*' in this period, with the most outré examples coming from the non-Classicists writing in the first half of the century: Witley's *The Tremulous Hero* (1937), Haskell's *This was Cicero. Modern politics in a Roman toga* (1942) and Wilkin's *Eternal Lawyer* (1947).

An important next step is to consider each writer's projection of his relationship with the ancient sources and published scholarly works. The Prefaces (and parallel elements) already indicate attitudes to predecessors, with Middleton fading from sight after Forsyth, Forsyth himself cited by Collins and Trollope, but not by the more scholarly Strachan-Davidson, who instead refers to Drumann, Mommsen, Tyrrell & Purser, Boissier, and Watson's edition of the *Letters*. Other writers also demonstrate engagement with existing scholarship; Hollings, for example, refers in his Preface to Fabricius and the *Fasti Hellenici*, to manuscripts recently discovered by Mai and to disputes over the authenticity of some of the speeches. Preliminary examination of these seven biographies suggests a hypothesis to be tested: that the need to display detailed credentials of this kind faded over the course of the nineteenth century, as popularising books became a more familiar phenomenon. But the need for occasional

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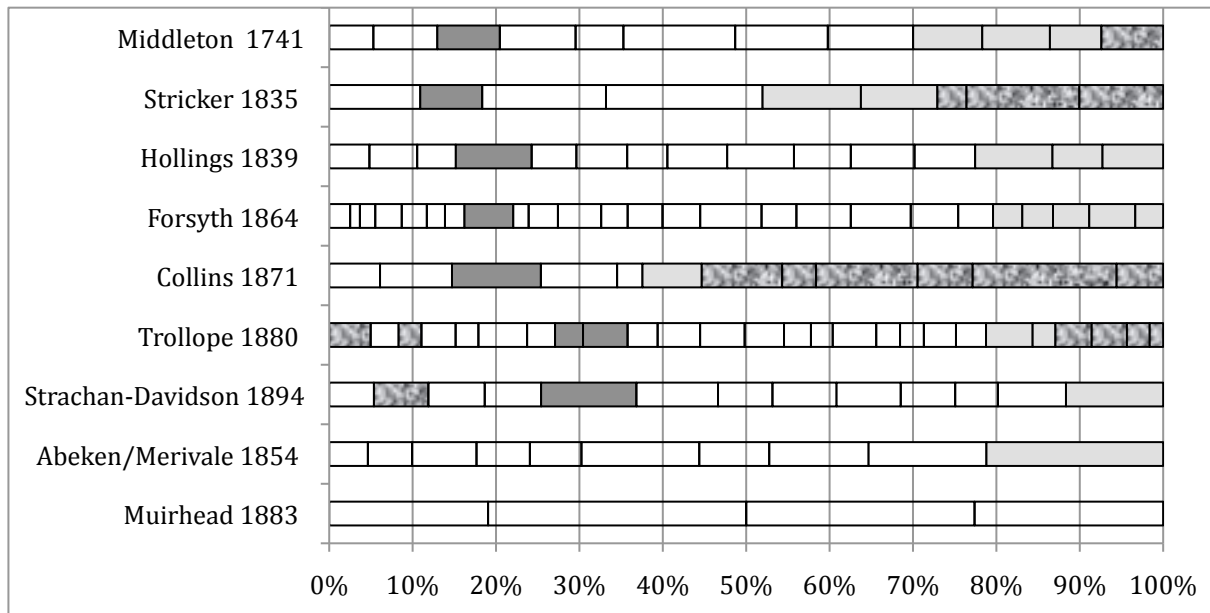
<sup>35</sup> The revolutionary aspects of Tyrrell & Purser's work are discussed in M. Beard, 'Ciceronian correspondences: making a book out of the letters', in T. P. Wiseman, ed., *Classics in Progress. Essays on ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2002) 103-144.

<sup>36</sup> For some preliminary observations on the twentieth-century biographies, see Fotheringham 2013 (n. 6 above).

references to ancient sources and modern scholarship, though presented in a manner less suggestive of anxiety on the part of the author, may still provide information about the attitudes to ancient history and scholarship presumed on the part of the readership, even if not to the pre-existing cultural knowledge of individual readers.

The nineteenth century is a key period in the development of the world of modern popular publishing as well as one in which the foundations for contemporary scholarship were laid. The biographies of Cicero deserve a place in the exploration of both.

Chart 1: Structure by Sections/Chapters (represented as percentages of the main text)



Key:

dark grey: chapter on Cicero's consulship

light grey: chapter on Cicero's opposition to Antony

marble: non-narrative chapter

Table 1: Some indicators of expense (measurements are rounded to the nearest half-centimetre)

Author	Date	Vols.	Page-size	Margins*	No. of pages†	Illustrations	Price
Middleton	1741	2	quarto (30 x 23.5 cm)	66.0‡	1242	on same pages as print	
Stricker	1835	1	18.5 x 11	35.3	242	none	
Hollings	1839	1	18mo (15 x 10 cm)	35.0	574	frontispiece	3s 6d
Forsyth	1864	2	octavo (19 x 12.5 cm)	44.5	696	frontispieces, 12 plates	18s
Collins	1871	1	12mo (17 x 11 cm)	45.9	228	none	2s 6d
Trollope	1880	2	octavo (20.5 x 13 cm)	43.0	868	none	24s
Strachan-Davidson	1894	1	octavo (19 x 13 cm)	50.1	512	frontispiece, 21 plates, 1 map, decorative elements on same pages as print	5s (UK)

\* Calculated as percentage of the page-size.

† Including end-papers, plates, advertisements.

‡ The calculation here ignores the fact that page-numbers and date-information are included in the outer margin at the top, 5.0 cm from the page-edge; for the bulk of the page there are 6.5 cm of clear space on the outside.

### Illustrations

All photographs are of books in the collection of the author and are © 2016 Matt Brooker.

Figure 1: J. F. Hollings, *The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London: Thomas Tegg 1839.

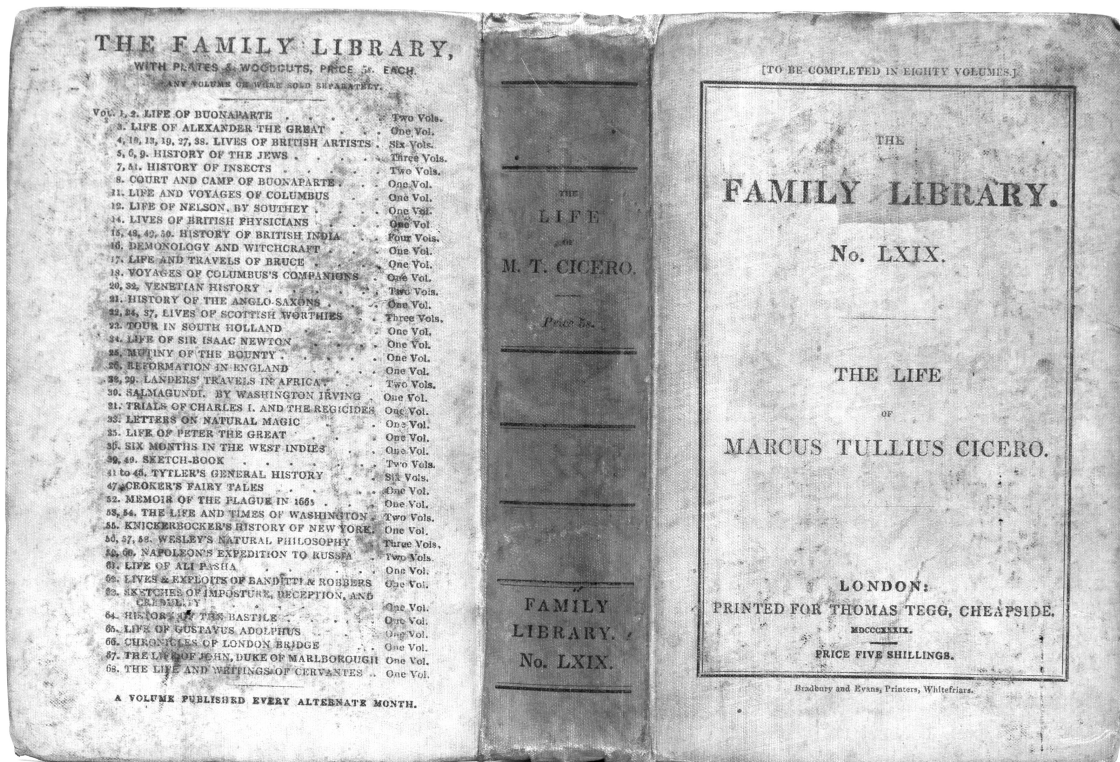


Figure 2: William Forsyth, *Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London: John Murray 1864 (vol. II).

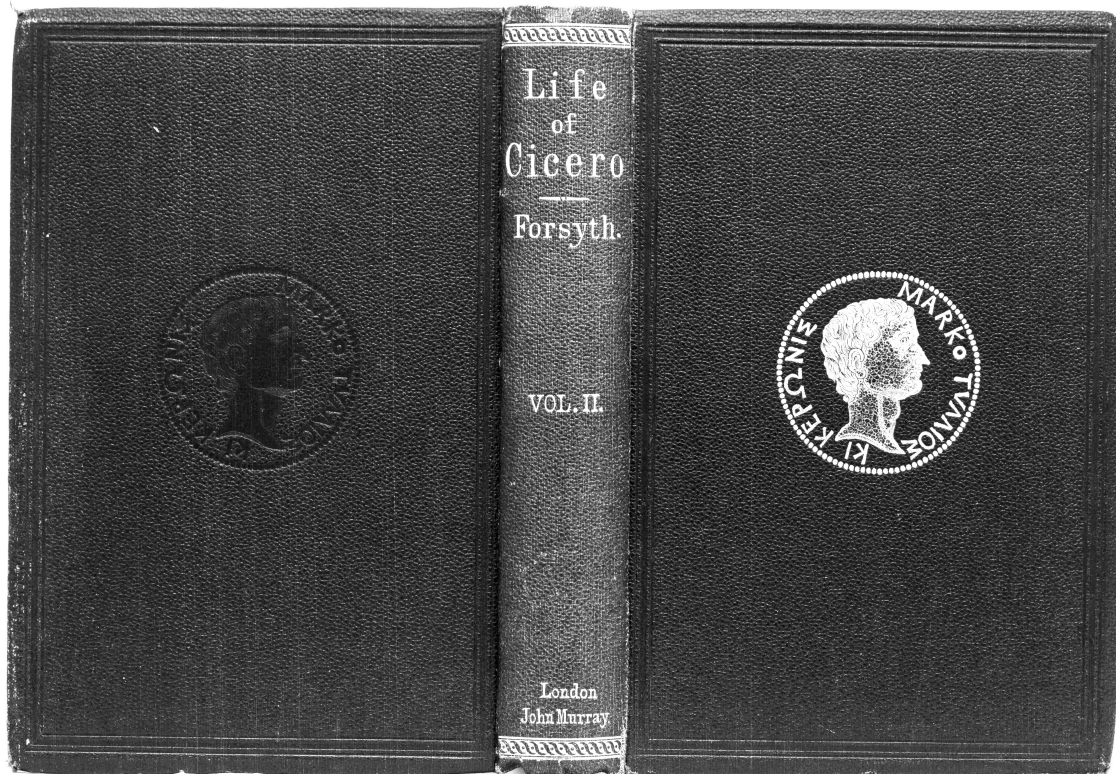


Figure 3: W. Lucas Collins, *Cicero*, Edinburgh/London: William Blackwood and Sons 1871.

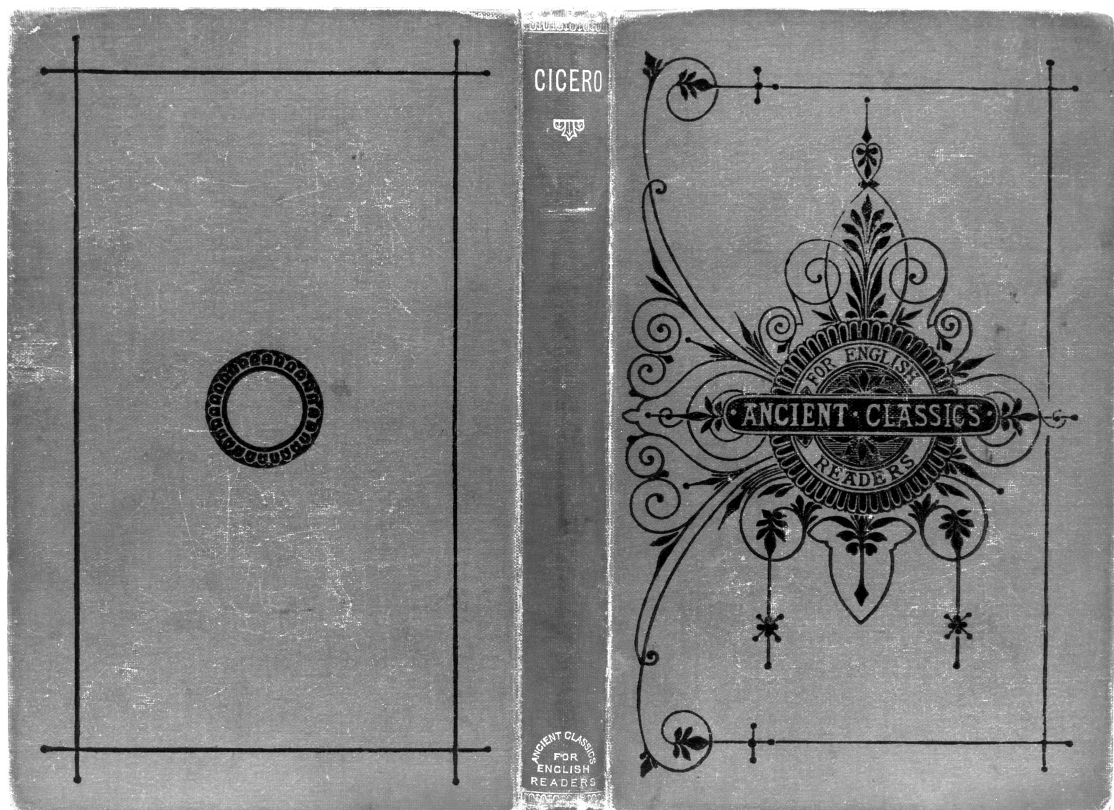


Figure 4: J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, New York/London: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1894.

