The father of British indexing: Henry Benjamin Wheatley

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To commemorate the centenary of H. B. Wheatley's How to make an index, facsimile reprints of his two best-known works on indexing have been published. This article looks at the life and work of this very prolific writer.

The republication of Wheatley's two books on indexing (What is an index? (1879) and How to make an index (1902)) provides an opportunity to reassess the place of 'the father of British indexing' in the literary world. Some years ago the writer was asked to add Henry Benjamin Wheatley's life (1838–1917) to the Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), and this is scheduled to appear as the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in 2004. Since the account to appear there is a shortened version, the present occasion offers a chance to redress the balance. Here we look first at Wheatley's life and career and then deal with the indexing side – the reasons for the naming of the Wheatley Medal.

It is remarkable that Wheatley did not appear in the original DNB, unlike his brother Benjamin Robert Wheatley (1819–1884), another bibliographer and indexer and resident librarian of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, of whom H. B. Wheatley wrote an obituary in The Bibliographer. He virtually brought up Henry and wrote a touching poem on his brother's plight. As he stated in a letter supporting his brother's 'considerable experience in libraries and good knowledge of books':

He has been entirely brought up by myself in the ideas and general knowledge as to the management of libraries which I trust, in addition to all other libraries I have had to arrange etc., I may point to our own library in Berners Street, as an exemplification of.

Henry Wheatley was a bookman supreme, virtually from the start, surrounded by books from birth to death. It is appropriate that his bookplate, by John Philips Emslie (1889), shows the subject sitting in his library in Bedford Square, once the home of the actor John Philip Kemble.

Life and career

Henry and Benjamin were the sons of a prominent London book auctioneer, Benjamin Wheatley senior, but Henry was an orphan virtually from the start, his father dying before his birth and his mother soon after. He was a Londoner through and through, living there the whole of his life, and much of his literary output was on London themes. History, bibliography and literature were the other subjects that moved him, together with a strong interest in biography. In 1861 he joined the Royal Society as a clerk, thanks to the recommendation of his brother quoted above, and it is obvious from this that the young Wheatley would be concerned with the library. His interest in libraries was strong, and when the Library Association was founded in 1877, he was a member of its Council for several years. He was also inspector of Cambridge University Library from 1877 to at least 1882. He remained at the Royal Society until 1879, when he moved to the Society of Arts (honoured as the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) in 1908, the year Wheatley left its employ). There he was assistant secretary, the mover and organizer of much of its work. The secretary was Sir Henry Trueman Wood (another absentee from DNB), with whom he was clearly on good terms; it was Wood who wrote the RSA's obituary of Wheatley and the two cooperated in many ways. Wheatley, for instance, wrote a series of articles in 1891 on the Society of Arts, and these were later praised in Wood's standard A History of the Royal Society of Arts (1913).

Although on paper Wheatley's career was comparatively limited – two posts in a working career of nearly fifty years – his real career, and his contribution to knowledge, was in the literary sphere, for he never stopped writing – and presumably indexing. He wrote at least 38 books (irrespective of editions) and edited over 20 more. The number of his articles we shall never know, for much was incorporated anonymously in journals he edited or was much concerned with. It is hoped to publish a list of about a hundred articles in a future issue of The Indexer.

Of Wheatley's personal life not a lot is known, although Evelyn K. Green, his granddaughter, wrote a short, rather impersonal account of him in The Indexer. As far as I know there are no family letters in existence. There are, however, letters in the British Library, mostly to other members of his societies, his correspondents including Henry Bradshaw the bibliographer, J. Halliwell-Philipps the Shakespearean, T. J. Wise the notorious, Richard Garnett the literary figure and G. L. Gomme the historian. He must have been a true workaholic – 'he was a patient and laborious worker, of indefatigable industry', and the comment of an obituarist that his work increased after his wife's death is not really borne out by the evidence; Wheatley had always been busy writing and editing. There is also correspondence in the Lilly Library of Indiana University, with George Charles Williamson, another literary editor, and more in the University of London Library, Edinburgh University Library and Cambridge University Library. It is likely that there are further letters in other repositories.
In 1872 he married Louisa Louise, daughter of Dr George Robins, and they had a family of five, three daughters and two sons. The family lived in various houses over the years, mainly in Hampstead in the later years of his life, and it was there at 96 King Henry's Road (no longer standing) that he died, in 1917. He was buried in Highgate Cemetery. (His wife had died in 1899.) Wheatley had always bought (as well as written) books, and his library was sold in 1918 by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge.\textsuperscript{15} It was particularly strong in bookbindings, one of Wheatley's artistic interests and the subject of two of his papers. His will shows that he left £17,472, which presumably did not include the proceeds from the sale of his library. Unfortunately, the present author does not know the fate of Wheatley's family, apart from that of his granddaughter, Evelyn Kate (b.1905), who was the daughter of Sir Francis Haydn Green, Bt, and Viola Evelyn, Wheatley's daughter.\textsuperscript{14} Sir Francis was a contributor to one of Wheatley's books on Pepys, and Wheatley would have been proud that the name Haydn showed that his son-in-law was the son of the daughter of\textit{Dictionary of dates} Joseph Haydn! None of the Wheatley children carried on his writing habit, as far as I am aware (Dennis Wheatley was not a relation). One hears a little of his elder son Geoffrey, and Dauby Robins, the younger, was a member of the Samuel Pepys Club.

**Literary work**

Wheatley's public life, in contrast, was a gregarious one. He was the acme of the successful man about town, joining societies and clubs (the Garrick was his watering-hole) in some number. When he became Master of Ceremonies in the bibliographical club Sette of Odd Volumes, it was stated that ‘this is a post of honour, the holder of which should be a man of tact, courtesy, and dignified bearing, and these are attributes which Mr Wheatley certainly possesses in an exceptional degree’.\textsuperscript{15}

Wheatley’s interest in history, both national and local, was developed early. One of his most important works, even now universally praised, was \textit{London Past and Present} (3 vols, 1891), but his first work on London was \textit{Round about Piccadilly and Pall Mall} (1870). His first actual published historical work was an edition of William Smith’s \textit{The Particular Description of England} (1879), a book of maps by a now much-respected cartographer and herald. Typically this had a clear and sensible introduction – a feature of many of Wheatley’s works; he understood what he was dealing with and wrote clearly and sensibly about it. He produced several editions of historical memoirs and diaries, like those of Wraxall, Evelyn and Pepys.

In 1875, quite early in his life, he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, an honour of which he was very proud. A number of members of the Index Society were also FSAs. Late in life he was honoured by Durham University with an honorary Doctorate in Civil Law, and the best photograph of this rather handsome old man is one in his doctoral robes.\textsuperscript{16}

If history was always an interest, so was philology, and quite a few of his publications were in this sphere, including the first, an edition of Peter Levins’s \textit{Manipulus vocabulorum} (1867). He was a man who loved words, gloried in peculiar words, and was fascinated by what happened with words – not unhelpful attributes in an indexer. He was a recognized expert on dictionaries, a founder member of the Early English Text Society, and the editor of a number of works for it.\textsuperscript{17} It is apt that the Wheatley Manuscript in the British Library, named after the scholar, is a Middle English religious poem.

A third sphere of activity, parallel with history and philology, was literature, and there were several people in whom Wheatley specialized – Pepys is the example we all think of (he was concerned with two editions of Pepys’s \textit{Diary}, and it was for his achievement in editing the large edition of Pepys that he was honoured by the University of Durham), but Dryden and Samuel Johnson were others. His Dryden material is in the Beinecke Library, Yale University. He also edited plays by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Whilst these versions are not of any particular interest now, it is interesting to see how Wheatley’s mind worked. He includes quite a long account of Jonson’s life, but is not afraid of literary criticism, and is particularly keen on using unusual words. It is also interesting that both plays also have indexes. His editions of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall’s \textit{The Historical and the posthumous memoirs} (1884) and Bishop Thomas Percy’s \textit{Reliques of ancient English poetry} (1876 etc.) remain in use today. The Pepys, if to modern taste a little emasculated, was a considerable edition in its time; it is critically discussed by Latham,\textsuperscript{18} and used before him by Sir Arthur Bryant, who inherited many of Wheatley’s notes. Wheatley himself did publish a life of Pepys, and he was frequently writing articles and giving lectures on him, gaining a national reputation for this work. One can understand why he loved Pepys, a complex man with a strong London connection.

Wheatley was a generous man; as a comparative youngster he had collected material on anonymous authors, to help in their identification, and in 1861 he gave this to Samuel Halkett (d. 1871), who incorporated it into his standard \textit{Dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous literature of Great Britain} (with Laing, 1882–88), a book that Wheatley reviewed in its first volume.\textsuperscript{19}

Above all, Henry was a literary figure, and by no means just a closet indexer; he deserved a \textit{DNB} entry for his literary efforts alone. He was a devotee of clubs and societies, and founder or co-founder of several that still flourish. The most important of these was the Early English Text Society (F. J. Furnivall\textsuperscript{20} was the prime mover), where he was secretary or treasurer for over 50 years. Amongst others with which he was actively concerned were the Philological Society, the Dialect Society, the New Shakespere Society, the Shakespeare Association, the Villon Society, the Samuel Pepys Club,\textsuperscript{21} the London Topographical Society, the Johnson Club, the Ex-Libris Society, the Sette of Odd Volumes, the Bibliographical Society, the Hampstead Antiquarian and Historical Society, and of course the Index Society. This, like the Library Association, was founded in 1877, but was later absorbed into the British Record Society, which had an interest in part of what the Index Society aimed to do. The Society of Indexers has no connection with the Index Society at all (see below).

Henry Wheatley edited \textit{The Bibliographer} for Elliot Stock and a series of 28 books – ‘The book-lover’s library’ – for the
same firm. Both were concerned with a wide range of bibliographical lore and practice. At the Society of Arts, Wheatley appears to have edited the weekly Journal, in a very busy life there. He was, for instance, the British contact for the Chicago Exhibition of 1893, and he coordinated the Samuel Pepys Monument Appeal, which we have to thank for the Pepys monument in St Olave’s church, Hart Street, to which is attached a small memorial plaque to Wheatley. London’s blue plaques scheme is another sphere in which Wheatley worked hard. 

Apart from being a collector of bookbindings, he had other artistic interests. He was actively concerned with the arts as Secretary of the Applied Art section, as can be seen in the Society of Arts minute books. He was not, perhaps surprisingly, an art critic; his writings on art were few and concentrated on the applied arts.

Wheatley played quite a prominent role in the Bibliographical Society, of which he was president from 1911 to 1916; an interesting essay could be written on his part there, as he had a wide range of bibliographical interests – bookbindings, illustrated books, portraits in books, maps, Shakespeare publishing, theatre and indexing. He was particularly keen on author bibliography, and himself was concerned with a few of these – Evelyn, Johnson and Chaucer. He prepared a Domesday bibliography for the Domesday Commemoration of 1886. He had in mind a universal bibliographical index, a chimera that has remained interested in library cataloguing, reviewing the British Museum rules at one point, and writing an account of cataloguing for the Bibliographical Society long after he ceased to be a practising librarian.

Wheatley and indexing

Finally we must look further at the contribution of Henry Wheatley to indexing. As we all know, indexers have not normally been credited for their work, and are still often forgotten and even unable to be named by their publishers. However, we do know about some of Wheatley’s indexing work. He had been taught by his brother Benjamin, who was interested in library cataloguing, reviewing the British Society cooperated on this venture, Benjamin Wheatley being chairman of the group. Henry Wheatley remained interested in library cataloguing, reviewing the British Museum rules at one point, and writing an account of cataloguing for the Bibliographical Society long after he ceased to be a practising librarian.

The foundation of the Index Society in 1877 was a typical Wheatley venture. Its early days can be traced through its minute book, which is in the archives of the Society of Indexers. Wheatley gathered together a set of friends (and Benjamin Wheatley) who were interested in the theory and practice of indexing. As with the early members of the Library Association, not all were practitioners of the trade. Wheatley became the first and only secretary, and undertook some of the publications, notably the Index of obituary notices, which enabled one to find what obituaries had been published two years earlier. Only the three years 1880–2 were covered, and it was unfortunate that this useful service ended. It is only now, through the Internet, that we can again access a good range of obituaries. The Society could not make enough money to finance any further publications, despite a membership of around 200, and in 1891, at Wheatley’s suggestion, its goodwill was passed to the British Record Society, upon the payment of some bills by the BRS. The main difference between the Index Society and the present Society of Indexers is in the wider-ranging ambitions of the former. It had a strong desire to publish indexes, both to previously unindexed books and to completely fresh works. Like the Society of Indexers, it was also interested in standards and practices.

Because of the uncertainty about which books Wheatley did index himself, it is rather as an indexing theorist that he must be judged. The subject of indexing was not one on which there was a great literature, or indeed much literature at all. What is an index? a few notes on indexes and indexers (published by Henry Sotheran, 1878), unindexed, was not strictly a publication of the Index Society, though that body is much mentioned in it, but the second edition of 1879, fully indexed, was Index Society publication number one. The book is a typical Wheatley production in some ways, in that for decades he must have been collecting information on interesting indexes as he came across them in his librarian activities. He packs in all this information, thinks about it, and derives a theoretical position. Wheatley did contribute an article to the 10th edition of The Encyclopaedia Britannica (vol. 12, 1881), which is just a summary of the subject with a list of some important indexes. It has nothing fresh in it.

How to make an index (1902) was a later, slightly larger publication produced by Elliot Stock in its Book-Lover’s Library, for which Wheatley also wrote on book dedications and literary blunders. He remained interested in libraries long after he had stopped being a practising librarian, or being concerned with the Library Association (now the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals, CILIP), and two of the volumes were in this sphere, on forming a library and cataloguing a library.

Although this article is not a review of Wheatley’s publications, a brief summary of what the books contain is worth including. What is an index? starts with the derivation of the word ‘index’ – how typical of Wheatley with his wordy concerns – and goes on to show the development of indexes through the centuries. He is particularly interesting on 19th-century developments, international in scope. He then

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moves on to the principles behind indexing, and even the practices, which reflect the fact that at that time many library catalogues and indexes were printed. Finally there is a list of indexes, which is still useful for those who need older indexes. The book itself is indexed, not without error, so that ‘heirs-at-law’ is alphabetically misplaced, to choose just one example, and there are no references from ‘genealogy’ (an unused term) to ‘pedigrees’ or ‘heraldic visitations’ (which do occur), and no reference from visitations to the latter.

How to make an index is a more practical manual, though Wheatley cannot resist including considerable historical background. There are rules for indexes, particularly on alphabetical arrangement, and plenty on the practicalities of getting the index into print. There are also many examples of how not to make an index. Altogether the book reads like the work of someone who really did indexing. It is a pity he did not say more about his own actual work in preparing indexes.

These two books remained the backbone of the indexing literature until just before the Society of Indexers was founded in 1957. The works by G. V. Carey, Making an index (1951) and Robert L. Collison, Indexes and indexing (1953), showed that there was a need for some guidance on the subject. Although by then the two Wheatley works were probably not widely available, any reference to the literature of indexing had to include them. They are works that are worth reading not just as historical documents; they still show some of the realities of indexing.

On the Wheatley Medal there is no need for much to be added. It was an idea put to the Library Association, and taken up apparently without much discussion of the name. The Publications Committee had a suggestion from J. F. W. Bryon ‘that the Association make an annual award for the work of someone who really did indexing. It is a pity he did not say more about his own actual work in preparing indexes.

Which thus had made us fatherless And left our mother desolate.


5. Reproduced in Ex Libris Journal 8, 1898, 97; discussed by Brian North Lee, London bookplates, 1985, item 250.


8. Engineering, 1891.

9. His books and edited works are listed in the Appendix below.


12. The editor of Catholicon Anglicum in 1881 wished HBW ‘had been able to find time in his busy life to write a longer introduction to this work.’


15. Ex Libris Journal 8, 1893, 97.


17. Such as Merlin, 1865–9 and Catholicon Anglicum, 1881.


22. Minutes of Society of Arts Council, 1880. Blue plaques are fixed on buildings to indicate the former residences of historical figures.

23. See Appendix (below), Arts section.


32. Samuel Pepys, Diary, with Lord Braybrooke’s notes, Bell, 1893–99, 10 vols.


38. Publications include Index of Norfolk topography, 1881; Index of vegetable technology, 1882; Index to Trevlyn’s Life of Macaulay, 1881.


40. Produced as a facsimile reprint by Antony Rowe Ltd in 2002 for the Society of Indexers.

41. The article was reprinted in The Indexer 7(4) Autumn 1971, 176–7.
Appendix

List of books and pamphlets written by H. B. Wheatley

This list is in subject order, alphabetically by title within each subject. Asterisked items are books reprinting earlier articles, usually expanded from the original.

Arts
[Art work] A handbook of art industries in pottery and the precious metals, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1886 (Handbooks of practical art).
Art work in gold and silver – medieval, Sampson Low, 1882 (Handbooks of practical art).
Art work in gold and silver – modern, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1882 (Handbooks of practical art).
Art work in earthenware, Sampson Low, 1882 (Handbooks of practical art).
Art work in porcelain, Sampson Low, 1882 (Handbooks of practical art).

Biography
Historical portraits: some notes on the painted portraits of celebrated characters of England, Scotland and Ireland, Bell, 1897 (Connoisseur series).
Index of obituary notices for the year 1880, Longmans Green for The Index Society, 1882 (vol. 9).
Index of obituary notices for the year 1881, Longmans Green for The Index Society, 1883 (vol. 12).
Index of obituary notices for the year 1882, Longmans Green for The Index Society, 1884 (vol. 14).

Books and bibliography
*Bookbinding considered as a fine art, mechanical art, and manufacture, Elliot Stock, 1882.
The dedication of books to patron and friend, etc. Elliot Stock, 1887 (The book-lover's library).
Prices of books: an inquiry into the changes in the price of books which have occurred in England at different periods, George Allen, 1898 (The Library series, vol. 4).
Remarkable bindings in the British Museum selected for their beauty or historical interest, Sampson Low, 1889.

Indexing
How to make an index, Elliot Stock, 1902 (The book-lover's library).
What is an index? a few notes on indexes and indexers, Henry Sotheran, 1878; 2nd edn Longmans Green for the Index Society, 1879 (Index Society Publication no. 1).

Language
*Chronological notices of the dictionaries of the English language, Asher, for Philological Society, 1865.
Of anagrams: a monograph treating of their history from the earliest ages to the present time; with an introduction containing numerous specimens of Macaronic poetry, punning mottoes, rhopalic, shaped, equivocal . . . verses etc., for the author, by Stephen Austin, sold by Williams and Norgate, 1862 (Nugae literariae).

Libraries
How to catalogue a library, Elliot Stock, 1889, 2nd edn, 1889 (The book-lover's library).
How to form a library, Elliot Stock, 1886, 1887, 1902 (The book-lover's library).

Literature
*Notes on the life of J. P. Collier, with a complete list of his works, and an account of such Shakespeare documents as are believed to be spurious, Elliot Stock, 1884.
Samuel Pepys and his times: syllabus of a lecture to be delivered at the Clothworkers' Hall, February 12, 1897 [cover-title: Samuel Pepys, citizen and clothworker], Clothworkers' Company 1897.
Samuel Pepys, his portrait: a little note . . . presented by The Graphic to the members of the Club, The Graphic, 1910.
Samuel Pepys and the world he lived in, Bickers & Son, 1880; 2nd edn 1880; 3rd edn Swan Sonnenschein, 1889; 5th edn 1907.

London
*The Adelphi and its site, Elliot Stock, 1885.
Gerrard Street and its neighbourhood, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1904.
London past and present: its history, associations and traditions; based upon the Handbook of London by the late Peter Cunningham, Murray, 1891, 3 vols.
Reliques of old London; drawn in lithography by T. R. Way, Bell, 1836.
Later reliques of old London drawn in lithography by T. R. Way, with an introduction and descriptions by H.B.W., Bell, 1897.
Reliques of old London suburbs, north of the Thames, drawn in lithography by T. R. Way, with an introduction and descriptions by H.B.W., Bell, 1898.
Reliques of old London upon the banks of the Thames and in the suburbs south of the river, drawn in lithography by T. R. Way, with an introduction and descriptions by H.B.W., Bell, 1899.
Reliques of old London upon the banks of the Thames and in the suburbs south of the river, drawn in lithography by T. R. Way, with an introduction and descriptions by H.B.W., Bell, 1899.
Round about Piccadilly and Pall Mall; or, A ramble from the Haymarket to Hyde Park, consisting of a retrospect of the various changes that have occurred in the Court End of London, Smith, Elder, 1870.
A short history of Bond Street old and new from the reign of King James II to the Coronation of King George V, also lists of the inhabitants in 1811, 1840 and 1911, and account of the Corona decorations 1911, Fine Art Society, 1911.
The story of London, Dent, 1904 (Mediaeval towns series); 2nd edn, 1905; 3rd edn, 1909.

Miscellanea
The early history of the Royal Society, Stephen Austin & Sons, for the Sette of Odd Volumes, 1905.
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Limited edition facsimile reprints

To celebrate the centenary of the appearance of Henry B. Wheatley’s book How to make an index, the Society of Indexers has published a limited run of facsimile editions of both this book and his earlier work What is an index?

These two books offer pearls of wisdom that are as authentic and useful today as when they were first printed. The Indexer, 1959

...here is the very spirit in which we all work brought to life, illuminated by wit and humour...and packed with reminders of how to do the job well. Sidelights, 2001

What is an index? A few notes on indexes and indexers (first published 1879 by Longmans, Green & Co. for the Index Society). 132 pp. £15.00 (UK), £16.00 (Europe), £17.00 (rest of world)

How to make an index (first published 1902 by Elliot Stock). 236 pp. £18.00 (UK), £19.00 (Europe), £20.00 (rest of world)

Both books for £30.00 (UK), £32.00 (Europe), £34.00 (rest of world). All prices include postage and packing.

Please make cheques payable to Society of Indexers. Credit/debit card payments also accepted.

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tel: +44 (0)114 292 2350
fax: +44 (0)114 292 2351
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Publications order form also available on the SI website: www.indexers.org.uk
Henry Benjamin Wheatley FSA was a British author and indexer. His London Past and Present was described as his most important work and "the standard dictionary of London", he was a posthumous son of Benjamin Wheatley, an auctioneer, his wife Madalina. Wheatley was Assistant Secretary to Royal Society of Arts, 1879-1909. In 1909 he was the President of the Sette of an English bibliophile dining-club. Henry Benjamin Wheatley FSA (1838â€“1917) was a British author, editor, and indexer. His London Past and Present was described as his most important work and "the standard dictionary of London".[1]. YouTube Encyclopedic. 1/3. "The father of British indexing: Henry Benjamin Wheatley" by J. D. Lee. "Wheatley, Henry Benjamin". Who's Who, 1912: p. 2259. CS1 maint: Extra text (link). "Review: The Story of London by Henry B. Wheatley". The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art. 98: 369. Book description. Henry Benjamin Wheatley (1838â€“1917) was a bibliographer and editor with a prodigious output of books and articles to his name. Brought up after the death of both his parents by his brother Benjamin Robert, himself a skilled bibliographer and cataloguer, Henry worked for many years for the Royal Society and the Royal Society of Arts; he was a founder member of the Library Association, and produced an edition of Pepys' diary which was not superseded until the 1970s. This 1879 work is one of two which he produced on the subject of indexing, and which led him to become known