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TOWARDS A RUTLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Study of the Concept, Practice and Purpose of County Bibliographies with Specific Reference to Research for a Rutland Bibliography

Shaun Tyas

A doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology, 1997

Supervisor: Professor Margaret Evans,
Department of Information and Library Studies

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SYNOPSIS

The thesis has grown out of an extensive survey of the literature pertaining to the county of Rutland. The survey was an original idea to produce a county bibliography which had both a short-title catalogue of conventional references and full physical descriptions of the books of the county. Two types of bibliography, analytical and systematic, are combined in one survey. The thesis is an account of this project together with a rigorous review of the theoretical background against which it was conducted.

The practice of bibliography, and specifically of bibliographies of counties, is reviewed. A new definition of county bibliography is offered, together with its appropriate objects of study (book, pamphlet, leaflet, ephemera and publication are some of the specific concepts defined here).

The research methods employed for the Rutland project are described and a plan outlined showing how a comprehensive survey of any English county's literature could be achieved. Especially important here are the lessons learned from on-line searching. There is a detailed discussion of inclusion and exclusion policies appropriate for a county bibliography, and an account of how this material should be presented and described. A new classification system for a county bibliography is outlined, and older solutions to the classification problem reviewed.

The lessons of the Rutland project are discussed, including presentation of a statistical breakdown of the Rutland material, and whether the way in which the Rutland project was conducted could be copied for other counties. The Rutland statistics are contrasted with those for other counties.

Several appendices present bibliographical information, lists of categories of literature encountered and samples from the Rutland survey.
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PREFACE

Several professional 'book' people of Rutland and Stamford have been very helpful during the research both for the bibliography and for the theoretical paradigm which is the present thesis. It is not appropriate to take up considerable space in a thesis in mentioning them all, but thanks should be given to booksellers and collectors Edward Baines, Hazel Bratton, Hilary Crowden, Mike Goldmark, Martin Hamlyn, Trevor Hickman, Robert Humm, Barry Ketchum, Philip Riley, Brenda Ripley, Stephen Robinson Brown and the late Angela Winn. They have brought material to my attention, shown me their collections, discussed ideas and often lent material for study at home. Mike Goldmark even helped with the early fees for the registration and Hazel Bratton gave an early version of the text a proof-read.

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For more personal support and encouragement I thank Trevor Bending, Marion Cutforth, Mark English, John Field, Dr Trevor Foulds, Professor Don Mackenzie, Ishobel Macnab, the Rev. Lesley Mathias, Dr David Roffe, Nicholas Rogers, John Smith, Martin Smith, Dr Benjamin Thompson, Dr Beatrice Vale, Pauline Walker and Anne Wilkins. Finally, thanks to Paul Watkins for always maintaining a benign indifference to everything I do, but always being there.
Future enquiries about the publishing of the Rutland survey may be addressed to me at Paul Watkins Publishing, 18 Adelaide Street, Stamford, Lincolnshire, PE9 2EN.

Shaun Tyas.
For my Three Brothers
Andrew, Ian and Christopher
INTRODUCTION

General
A hundred years ago the authors of The Bibliographer’s Manual of Gloucestershire Literature began their introduction with the comment ‘The precise form which a County Bibliography should take – both as regards its contents and arrangement – is a matter on which there is room for much diversity of opinion.’ It remains true today that every county bibliography has its own conceptual approach: there is considerable diversity in inclusion and exclusion policies, the amount of detail in each reference, the order in which the material is presented and even in the style of presentation. There is little theoretical writing on the subject. Moreover, although every county has some sort of bibliography, some still await the publication of their first major survey: the diversity is one of coverage as well as approach.

The ultimate aim of the research undertaken by the present writer has been to produce a bibliography for the county of Rutland. The aim of the present thesis is, however, not only to render an account of that research programme but also to provide the extensive theoretical study of county bibliography methodologies which is currently lacking in bibliographical literature. There are, thus, two levels of methodological analysis presented in the thesis: that used in the wider investigation of county bibliographies and that which was developed as a result of this study, to produce the entries for the Rutland bibliography. In pursuing the first level of analysis, it was found that although there are bibliographies of many English counties with which the Rutland survey can be contrasted, none of these have been produced on a conceptual basis: their inclusion and exclusion policies rest on little more than the whim of the compilers; and although there is a considerable literature on bibliographical theory and method, there are no detailed theoretical discussions

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available as to what constitutes a county bibliography, what its exclusion and inclusion policies should be, and whose needs the survey should attempt to meet. The few previous discussions of the subject available have been descriptive rather than theoretical.

For the second level of analysis, the approach of the present writer in developing the methodology for the Rutland bibliography has been to aim for comprehensiveness of information capture within, of course, defined frontiers; and to provide also the best possible quality of information in bibliographical entries. This entailed the construction of definitions which would delimit the borders of the survey and the range of information to be gathered within those borders. It entailed the construction of a methodology to test the conclusions of the theoretical analysis of county bibliographies, which is again a unique aspect of the present thesis.

The research project, with its two related methodological approaches, has gone through a long process of evolution. Conceptually, it evolved from a considered investigation of the role and purpose of county bibliography. The findings were tested in a bibliographical experiment which combined the highest standards of comprehensiveness with the fullest standards of bibliographical description. This entailed the combination of a standard short-title catalogue of Rutland references with a set of full bibliographical descriptions of the separately-published books and pamphlets pertaining to the county. These two categories of bibliography are separated as Part One and Part Two of the survey, the first part arranged in a systematic order by subject, the second in a simple alphabetical sequence by author. The Rutland bibliography is well advanced and is nearing completion.

Another aspect of the research was to develop a universal system of description for books, so that books from the period of the hand-press and modern paperbacks would have exactly the same standard of description applied to them. As the research proceeded the author's confidence grew that it was possible to approach ancient and modern books in the same way. The only difficulty for modern books is that the printing format is rarely recoverable from the physical evidence of the book itself, but the same standard of description can and should be applied to all.

An evolutionary change has been the steady refinement of inclusion and exclusion policies while still honouring the principle of comprehensibility. The approach should never be simply to catalogue everything, because the seamless web
INTRODUCTION

of human experience would eventually demand that all printed matter since the
invention of printing should be included, but to define clearly what the borders of
the survey are and to apply those definitions rigidly so that everything within the
borders is included and everything beyond them is excluded.

At the time of writing the systematic bibliography of Rutland exceeds 7058
references (Part One) and the catalogue of 'separate publications' runs to 1512 entries
(Part Two). Rutland is a very small county, but the methods which resulted from the
study of bibliographical methodologies in this thesis have already produced a survey
larger than that of many other county bibliographies. The distinction, however,
which this research enjoys amongst county bibliographies is the level of
comprehensibility which has been achieved and the degree to which the compilation
has been conducted on a conceptual rather than an arbitrary basis. Confirmation of
the comprehensibility can only be demonstrated when the bibliography itself is
published, but the thesis illustrates and quantifies the scale of the achievement as it
stands at present. The conceptual basis of the research is the main subject of the
present thesis.

Research Methodology

The first level of analysis underpins the whole investigation and can be summarised
under four main headings. This has been undertaken on several frontiers and over an
extensive time scale.

1. Literature Analysis: Theoretical Approaches

The theoretical literature was extensively searched. There is a considerable literature
on the general nature of bibliography. It is often disparate and unconnected, but
some of the controversies examined in this thesis have been reviewed before, though
hardly at all in the context of local or county bibliography, a context with special
needs which demand answers. Controversies over matters such as the inclusion of
manuscripts, non-book media and ephemera or descriptive standards, or even the
whole purpose of bibliography, can be applied to a local context in which there is not
only a considerable body of material, but it is material which spans the whole range
of printing technologies and formats since the invention of printing. Some of the
literature on the theory and nature of local history is also relevant to the subject of a
local bibliography because it addresses the phenomenon of the subject of the survey. It is the conceptual literature in both areas which is the most relevant, however. Discussions on the management of local history materials in a local studies library, and on research methods for local history, are relevant, but less central to the present concern because of their preoccupation with practicalities.

The first chapter examines the activity of producing a bibliography against the theoretical development of the subject, but there is little general agreement in the literature as to what a bibliography is and what its limits are. It is particularly important to specify how a bibliography is different from a catalogue or a readers' guide and what categories of texts might be included in it or excluded from it. The basic definitions of key words such as 'bibliography', 'catalogue', 'book', 'pamphlet', 'leaflet', 'ephemera' and 'publication' are crucial because the content of any bibliography depends on how these words are defined conceptually. Against the conclusions of that chapter, a review and definition of county bibliography is offered in chapter 2.

Some notice was also taken of the literature on general research methodology, though the best of this was written before the computer age and is not specific to the problems of generating a bibliography.²

2. Testing of Theoretical Approaches

It would have been foolish to attempt a theoretical paradigm about a practical project without having also undertaken a practical exercise. Abstract theories have been tried, tested and refined for the present thesis against the construction of an actual county bibliography. Rather than positing a purely abstract theory, the whole exercise has been regularly involved with practical challenges. This not only brought practicalities to the theory (obliging the compiler to ask certain questions and find certain answers) but also a conceptual rigour to the practicalities (at every stage items were considered for inclusion or exclusion according to an evolving policy). Each text

² For example, the Introduction (by the three editors) in William O. Aydelotte, Allan G. Bogue and Robert William Fogel (eds), The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), though not a methodological discussion as such, explores the significance of different research methods (pp. 3-55); and Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, The Modern Researcher, new edition (London: Harcourt Brace & Co Ltd, 1992) updates a work from the 1970s.
INTRODUCTION

encountered came to be seen as a phenomenon requiring explanation rather than just something to be processed, almost unconsciously, into a catalogue; and throughout the present thesis, especially in the last chapter, it will be apparent just how interesting a category of phenomena local-interest texts are.

3. Literature Analysis: Previous County Bibliographies

The third research method has been an extensive examination of previous county bibliographies, particularly to seek out rare theoretical reflections and models of practice. It was found that there was virtually no theoretical writing on the subject (there is, of course, some) and that all county bibliographies have been compiled on a piecemeal, unco-ordinated basis with arbitrary research methods, arrangement and, above all, inclusion and exclusion policies. An analytical study of county bibliographies was therefore undertaken and examples of good and bad practice are frequently referred to in the thesis. Chapter 2 places the Rutland bibliography in its county-bibliography context and Chapter 6 contrasts many alternative classification systems. At least one survey for each English county was examined, of which 38 are drawn upon for discussion in the thesis.

4. Consultation

Finally, as with the research for the Rutland bibliography itself, consultations with experts in the field have been undertaken: both with practitioners of bibliography, library science and local and national history, and with proposed users of the bibliography, so that the model here presented is one which is designed to meet the needs and expected standards of as large a number of scholars as possible. These consultations were particularly relevant to research methods and, especially, to the inclusion and exclusion policies. It was not possible to meet every requirement exactly because opinions were often contradictory, but alternative views are often referred to. As thesis and anti-thesis, they often constituted the means of developing a synthesis.

Rutland Bibliography: Research Methods

Research methods for the production of the Rutland bibliography, the second level of analysis, are reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4. Particularly important here was the use
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of new technology (chapter 3), but the need for other methods is also undeniable. On
the whole, each research method (eleven are listed) yields different results, so a
comprehensive survey can only be attempted by utilising all possible methods of
research. To exclude any particular method would simply limit the content of the
survey. There is a low standard of bibliographical control over materials with a local
bias. Of the large number of titles which are listed in on-line sources many are
frequently found to be mentioned in only one of those sources.

The Editing of Material for a County Bibliography

Establishing research methods and an intellectual underpinning for the survey
nevertheless threw up those challenges over inclusion and exclusion which are so
much a feature of the study of county bibliography. These are reviewed in detail in
Chapter 5. Much here depends on whether an item should be classed as ephemera or
not. The conceptual definitions of the first two chapters argue for the exclusion of
ephemera from a bibliography, but the application of that principle requires an
understanding of the nature of the individual publication under review (is this item
ephemera or not?). The chapter discusses specific examples and how they should be
treated.

Arrangement of the material which has been accepted for inclusion is another
conceptual problem rarely discussed in the literature but which is addressed in
Chapter 6 of the thesis. Although there are many discussions in print on the problem
of library classification for local history, the classification system for a bibliography is
different and has been neglected. The proposed classification system is intended as a
model for any county survey and the chapter makes many comparative observations
with other county bibliographies.

In Chapter 7 the standards of description in the proposed Rutland
bibliography are reviewed. Although there is some disagreement with the proposals
of Bowers here, the chapter also disagrees with some recent attempts to dismiss his
approach as invalid.

In Chapter 8 the concepts of edition, impression, issue and state are briefly
reviewed: although necessary for the establishment of priority in any sequential
presentation of material, it was found that previous discussions of the difficulty were
adequate for the local material discovered.
Conclusions

The last full chapter of the thesis is one of conclusion. It reviews the lessons of the Rutland project in the light of the analysis of theoretical approaches and how those lessons might be applied to surveys of other counties. Some of the conclusions which can be drawn from discerned patterns in the material in the bibliography are also explored, and a statistical breakdown of the material gathered is presented and contrasted with that in other county bibliographies. The phenomenon of local-interest publications and the opportunities they offer for establishing a profile of their locality is a theme of this chapter.

The thesis closes with a conclusion which reviews the philosophy of knowledge in which the research has been conducted, and how 'the new bibliographical way' might affect the development of research in any of the humanities in the future. The closing remarks look to the future publication of the research and the issues raised by the proposed simultaneous publication in both printed and electronic formats.

The thesis also offers several tables and appendices. Some of the tables summarise the results of on-line searching in 65 databases and are in chapter 3. Others combine these results with other search methods to illustrate the relative importance of each. The appendices begin with a selection of printed bibliographies which should also be consulted. The second appendix is a list of the types of publication included in the Rutland bibliography, followed by the third which lists categories of ephemeral publications encountered during the research but excluded from the survey. The fourth is a copy of the classification system discussed in chapter 5. The fifth and sixth appendices offer extracts from the Rutland bibliography and the last is a list of titles which have contributed to the present thesis. As with the discussion throughout the thesis, the tables and appendices are intended to be useful guides for anyone undertaking a research programme in the bibliography of another locality, for it is one of the unique features of the Rutland project that it not only satisfies a need in the study of one locality, it also provides, for the first time, a theoretical paradigm which can be used in similar research elsewhere.
1. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

Bibliography and the Principle of Comprehensiveness

The word 'bibliography' has a diversity of meanings ranging from the vague 'the study of books' (an activity) to more specific procedures for analysing the texts of literature (which are methods of carrying out an activity). The word has come to mean almost exclusively the listing or systematic cataloguing of printed materials and is also usually applied (as a noun) to the finished product. Unfortunately, the word began life as conveying a different meaning ('the writing of books') but attempts to replace it with the more accurate 'bibliology' have never been widely accepted. Changes of meaning are not uncommon and the modern senses of the word are here to stay. The word 'bibliography' refers both to the finished product and to the activity which went into producing it.

There are two main categories of bibliography: systematic (or enumerative) and analytical (or critical). As discussed below, the terms are ambiguous, so it is

---

3 This and the following chapter will inevitably entail some retreading of old ground, but this is necessary in order to construct a paradigm. When the model is constructed, the reality can be tested against it. The testing of that theory is partly conducted in the Rutland bibliography itself but more specifically in this thesis in chapter five, in which the challenges which specific categories of literature pose to the theoretical inclusion and exclusion policies are reviewed.


5 Fredson Bowers was apparently the first to use these expressions, quoted by Roy Stokes, The Function of Bibliography, p. 6, but there is some uncertainty as to their origin. The first paragraph of Theodore Besterman's The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography reads 'Bibliography falls into two distinct and well-recognized classes: the enumeration and classification of books, and the comparative and historical study of their make-up. The former of these two divisions has been happily named "systematic bibliography" by Dr. Greg, as contrasted with the second class, which he named "critical bibliography".' [op. cit., 2nd edition (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968),
proposed to use the terms 'short-title' (or 'subject-based') and 'physical' to distinguish them.

In systematic (or enumerative) bibliography the literature on a specified subject is studied and a list of published texts on the subject produced, presented in a systematic order in a catalogue. There is often some evaluation of the content value of the books studied, either by way of specific critical comments or, less openly, in the selection process. Theoretically the bibliographer should not evaluate the works he is discussing, but in practice most have done so, if only to make their subject of manageable proportions. There is a considerable literature on this issue which is discussed in more detail below.

The other branch of bibliography is often called analytical (or critical) bibliography ('descriptive bibliography' is yet another term used, though often as an expression for the finished product rather than the activity). It focuses not on the abstract content of the item but on its physical properties. It is a study of the vehicle of the information, as an artefact, rather than what it contains as information. A physical bibliography, therefore, will offer a catalogue of its material with full physical descriptions, allowing the researcher to check a copy of a work against the description in order to establish its bibliographical status and whether it is complete.

p. 1 [The word 'enumeration' simply means 'numbering' and the sense of 'evaluation' is only very rarely implied in the use of the word. Unfortunately this is not always clear: R. M. Nicholas and A. E. Stanley in the Basic Bibliography Book (Kings Ripton: ELM Publications, 1984) accidentally quote a bibliographer's remark which implies evaluation (p. 2).

For example the recent extensive survey of literature on place-names deliberately excluded works considered to be of no merit. The work is: Jeffrey Spittal and John Field, A Reader's Guide to the Place-Names of the United Kingdom... (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1990). This survey is also a good example of one compiled by a partnership between a specialist in the subject and a specialist in bibliography. The work is accurate in not calling itself a bibliography because it excludes works which are considered to be of poor quality.

' Bibliographical status' refers to how the item sits in a context relative to other publications, either different editions or issues of the same item or different publications on a similar theme. 'Bibliographical context' would be a good alternative expression. Although he did not use this term, Bowers had the same concept in mind when he wrote that a bibliography should 'provide sufficient evidence for readers to identify books in their possession as being members of the precise state, issue,
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

Rather than simply recording the existence of a work, physical bibliography seeks to establish a means of defining its text.\(^8\) Put another way, the difference between short-title and physical bibliography is that one considers the functions of a book as a text and the other considers its archaeology.\(^9\)

There has been much discussion on the respective names of these two types of bibliography. Unfortunately the terms 'systematic', 'enumerative', 'descriptive', 'critical' and 'analytical' are ambiguous and do not convey the precise sense of the activity so labelled. Each word could just as easily be said to apply to the other activity. A frequently-cited article in the *Encyclopaedia Americana* proposed instead the use of only the two terms 'intellectual' and 'material' bibliography, but these are also ambiguous expressions because both activities are clearly intellectual and both are clearly concerned with the study of materials. It is proposed instead that 'short-title' (or 'subject-based') and 'physical' bibliography are the nearest to self-explanatory terms for the activities.\(^10\) 'Short-title' implies that the longer titles impression, and edition of the “ideal copy” listed, or as being unrecorded variants requiring further bibliographical investigation'; *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 23.

\(^8\) The subject is further complicated by the use of the term 'textual bibliography' for this specialised concentration on the text. This is not the same as textual criticism (which is evaluative and artistic) for it aims only to specify the ideal text aimed at by the work's printer (or author, depending on the context). Like it or not, there is a sense of evaluation in accepting printers' corrections as corrections rather than as merely mistakes caused by an author's or printer's sudden loss of confidence. Variant versions of some works are deliberately preserved not only because of their historical importance but because critics can prefer either. This is especially the case in variant versions of great works of music: the Bruckner symphonies, for example, or the Paris and Dresden versions of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*.

\(^9\) An Anglo-Saxon belt buckle was created as an article of clothing. Modern archaeology instead examines its physical properties, its artistic properties, its potential as evidence for social migration, and even the evidence it represents for clothing: almost anything but wearing it. It is not irrelevant to point out that the archaeologist may also regard the modern reproduction of the belt buckle to be sold as an article of clothing in souvenir shops as an eccentric use of an artefact, but both approaches are human and are equally valid intellectually. To a greater or lesser extent all subjects contain these variant approaches: history for example is not just history but also historiography.

\(^10\) A rigorous review of the definitions of bibliography and the relations between its
have been abbreviated, which may not be the case, but at least it emphasises the title against the artefact. Although all forms of physical bibliography have a subject linking the books, that subject is more likely to be the work of a printer, city or period rather than the subject-content of the books.

A further contention within the discipline is which activity constitutes 'bibliography'. Some reject physical bibliography as mere dilettante bibliophilist, while exponents of physical bibliography have often rejected subject-based studies, expressed as short-title catalogues, as nothing to do with bibliography. These latter insist, arbitrarily, that bibliography must be defined as the physical study of books. It

__branches is offered by Ross Atkinson, 'An Application of Semiotics to the Definition of Bibliography', Studies in Bibliography 33 (1980), [54]-73. His explorations of the semantics of the word are taken further in 'The Role of Abstraction in Bibliography and Collection Development', Libri 39 (1989), 201-16. Atkinson's articles further list the expressions physical, reference, literary, typographical, historical and representational bibliography. Bowers adds 'compilative bibliography' as another synonym of enumerative bibliography: 'Bibliography, Pure Bibliography and Literary Studies', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 46 (1952), 186-208. Ross Atkinson makes the point that if the bibliographer is defined as a scribe or copyist 'so that to define certain forms of bibliography in terms of their function of reproducing all or part of selected texts', the original meaning of the word is restored ('Semiotics', p. 69): the bibliographer writes books reproducing the writings in other books.

This expression refers to the famous criticism by J. D. Brown, made in 1903. It is reprinted in Roy Stokes' The Function of Bibliography (pp. [157]-161) together with the reply by A. W. Pollard ([163]-169). In another context the same attitude would reject the whole of archaeology in preference to putting freshly discovered artefacts to practical use. Another bibliographer who has responded to the charge of bibliography being an 'effete and dilettantish preoccupation' is G. Thomas Tanselle, The History of Books as a Field of Study (Chapel Hill: Hanes Foundation, 1981), p. 3.

Sir Walter Greg, in 'Bibliography - a Retrospect', asserted that 'bibliography has nothing whatever to do with the subject or literary content of the book' (p. 24). He enlarged on this theme with the analogy 'We habitually use the word “book” in two completely different senses. If I threaten literally to throw a book at the head of an obstinate heretic, I mean by “book” something quite different from what I do if I refer him to some book in order to effect his conversion. It is also I think true that the former sense of the word is the earlier, just as my reaction associated with it is the more primitive' (ibid.). But his argument is a non sequitur: there are two different meanings for the word book, just as there are for bibliography, and both are valid. He continued, in this essay and other writings, to use both meanings simultaneously: 'one of the first tasks of bibliography is enumeration. Enumeration involves

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seems unnecessarily pedantic and exclusive to dismiss either usage, when the term comfortably embraces both activities and the products of those activities. Bibliography is therefore defined as the general study of books, and both types of activity are subdivisions of the broader category.\(^{13}\)

Classic examples of both types of survey are Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* for subject-based, and Hinman's work on the First Folio of Shakespeare for description, and description involves intensive study of the books described. Thus enumeration and description are at least historically the main foundations of bibliography.' Theodore Besterman pointed out that Greg's exclusivity was a new doctrine in contrast with Greg's own earlier usage (*Beginnings*, p. 1, note 1). Fredson Bowers, in *Principles*, was just as assertive that short-title research was not bibliography. He proposed 'bibliographical catalogue' as a term that could be used, but his argument can also be called incoherent here. If the word 'bibliography' has a specific meaning as a noun, then the adjective formed from it cannot be used as a description of an activity previously rejected as not being bibliography: *Principles*, pp. 16–17. In computer science there is also a distinction between 'hardware' and 'software', which is similar to the contrast between the two branches of bibliography, but there is no controversy as to whether the word 'computer' is appropriate in both contexts.

\(^{13}\) A. W. Pollard wrote in 1932 that he preferred the idea of 'a big umbrella' definition of the subject, which would encompass both activities as subdivisions of the one (quoted by Stokes, *The Function of Bibliography*, p. 15. The original location of the much-quoted expression is at the end of the discussions appended to an article by Stephen Gaselee, 'The Aims of Bibliography', *The Library*, 4th series, 13 (1932), [225]–[258]). Although similar debates run in other disciplines (e.g., is history an art or a science? and is archaeology a branch of history or sui generis?) it would be a brave philosopher who contended that the only discipline that should be called "history," is that of editing medieval texts, the writing of history books is mere journalism'. There is a substantial number of essays questioning whether bibliography is a science or, for example, a branch of history. In part the claim for its being a science has been motivated by a desire to escape the charge of dilettantism. The literature is reviewed by G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Bibliography and Science', *Studies in Bibliography* 27 (1974), 55–89. Such debates, while interesting, belong to philosophy rather than the discipline under discussion. To compare bibliography and science is not easy because of the huge diversity of activities in both categories. Tanselle preferred to regard it as a branch of history but concluded that 'it seems best to get on with the work and to define the work by doing it' (p. 89). One of the experiments of the Rutland bibliography is to combine both 'types' of bibliography in one survey.
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physical bibliography. In his 'Semiotics' article Atkinson points out that the physical and the short-title bibliographer approach the same evidence in a different way, and read the same signs differently. He suggests, though without a firm conclusion, that the completely different relationship each has to the book indicates that they are different disciplines. However, the purpose of physical bibliography is the definition of a text. The text, therefore, is the focus and concern of both bibliographers. The physical bibliographer analyses its physical form in order to reconstruct the processes that went into its production, an essential procedure for the construction of a modern critical edition. The short-title bibliographer will place that text in a broader context: other editions of the same work and other related texts. The text is the ultimate concern of all forms of bibliography. If we refer to another idea, that the purpose of


These examples are used because they are popular examples within the literature (e.g., in Roy Stokes, The Function of Bibliography, passim). Because the series of short-title catalogues have elements of 'catalogue' as their conceptual basis, however, it would be possible to argue that Pollard and Redgrave's work is not a bibliography (see below for a discussion of the difference, pp. 18–23). The volumes of the series represent a unique case which incorporates elements of both categories. There is a problem, however, in finding an example of a short-title bibliography, because no such work seems to exist which meets the criteria here outlined. All bibliographies appear to be reader's guides with arbitrary and unsupportable exclusion and inclusion policies. The lack of an example does not impede the development of a definition, however. Another classic of physical bibliography is Walter W. Greg's A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, 4 vols (London: the Bibliographical Society, 1962).

'Semiotics', 70ff. and passim. The author wisely comments that 'the time eventually comes when categories introduced with the best of didactic or polemical intentions outlive their usefulness and begin to impede the progress of the discipline they were originally designed to promote. When that point is reached, such categories must be
bibliography is to locate texts, the distinction between the two categories becomes even less pronounced. They cannot be two different subjects.\footnote{7}

To many, physical bibliography may appear unnecessarily detailed, but unless it is possible to specify the form which is \textit{this} particular text and the form which is \textit{that}, a very vague situation exists which does not satisfy the demands of scholarship. Instead of referring to ‘Shakespeare’s \textit{Hamlet}’, we need to say ‘Version 59 of \textit{Hamlet}’, referring to a catalogue in which all the known varieties and their differences are specified.\footnote{8} The non-bibliographical researcher will take the conclusions of physical bibliography as given and proceed to locate the text in the recommended edition, but although the conclusions are readily assimilated and simple, the procedure for establishing them is complex, time-consuming and highly skilled, just as is the procedure for establishing the text of a medieval work, edited from a large number of surviving manuscripts.

Physical bibliography is a particularly crucial exercise when a work dates from the early period of printing, for it was usual then for corrections to be made as the work was being printed; hence a single edition could contain a great many variations within it. The work of Hinman and other scholars on the text of Shakespeare is well discarded and replaced by others more reflective of actual conditions’ (67–8).

\footnote{7}‘Bibliography locates books’ is the definition of Paul S. Dunkin, in his \textit{Bibliography: Tiger or Fat Cat?} (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1975), p. 8. The title refers to an expression by Fredson Bowers in ‘Bibliography, Pure Bibliography and Literary Studies’. The opening page [7] of Dunkin’s book mentions that in 1950 Percy Freer listed fifty different definitions of the word since 1678, most of which had appeared since 1900. Bowers, in his original use of a cat metaphor, might have unconsciously echoed an expression of A. W. Pollard: ‘I was far from forging chains for bibliography, but demanding for it the cat’s freedom to walk by itself’ (p. 257 of Gaselee’s ‘The Aims of Bibliography’). The archaeological metaphor also works here: both the archaeologist and the treasure-hunter are concerned with the same artefacts, and although there are differences between them, an exclusive definition simply denies the historical connections between the two. Both the private coin collector and the museum numismatist are concerned with the same objects and both bring scholarship or a lack of it to their activities.

\footnote{8}This method is not only useful for clarifying the text in question for academic purposes, it also has commercial applications. The more scholarly antiquarian booksellers frequently clarify the edition of a book which is for sale by reference to a standard bibliography, which in turn allows the purchasing librarian to make an informed decision.
known and its value acknowledged. It is now well-known that the First Folio is the work of several compositors who had varying standards of work. The sources they used were also varied and the corrections in the First Folio were made on so many different occasions that every copy is a different anthology of different stages in the development of the edition. If a reliable text of the works of the greatest English playwright is desirable, then the labour that went into its achievement must be respectable, but analytical bibliography also has a role to play in more modern publications. It has been necessary to undertake research in physical bibliography in order to establish, for example, the sequence of the publication of Dickens’s novels, which were issued in many different forms soon after writing, but which are rarely acknowledged within themselves as first or second editions, and which frequently underwent subsequent editing and alteration after their first printing. Even in modern books, which are printed at great speed (4500 sheets an hour is now the figure for ‘old machines’; a modern machine can manage 10,000–12,000 copies an hour), variations can occur, particularly when tipped-in material is added to the folded sections or when a section is reprinted but some copies of the rejected version are accidentally released by the printer or preserved as samples by the publisher. Only painstaking physical bibliography can establish the sequence of a text through various forms.

Because no form of bibliography actually transcribes the complete text of a work, and a variation could easily be missed even by a conscientious bibliographer,

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19 Figures from Christopher Ferret at Woolnough Bookbinding Ltd., Irthlingborough.

20 There are many examples of the benefits of this sort of bibliography cited in Roy Stokes, The Function of Bibliography, especially chapters 3 and 6. Another contribution which physical bibliography can make in the study of modern publications is the isolation of anonymous reprints or issues which may contain textual variants despite an identical ‘outside’ appearance. Such phenomena were frequently encountered during the research for the Rutland bibliography and scholars need to know that some texts exist in different editions with, for instance, different illustrations in them. The library catalogue is unlikely to announce the difference because the compiler will only have studied the one sample.

21 Bowers mentions ‘Percy Muir’s rueful statement that in compiling an account of Anthony Hope’s Prisoner of Zenda he personally examined over a hundred copies but found none with a particular variant which then cropped up in a number of the next lot...’, Principles, p. 360, n. 7. The intractable problem of specifying how many copies

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the noting of apparently trivial differences between versions of a single text can help to locate other changes. For example, an awareness that the printer of Wright's *Rutland* (1684) produced a variant during the printing of the single edition (a spelling mistake on the dedication page, corrected in most copies) alerts the researcher to the possibility that other changes may have been made which have escaped the bibliographer's attention (even with a collating machine chance must play some role in human observation). Where a particular statement is crucial to a particular argument, the knowledge that there are different versions of the work alerts the researcher to the need to check that all are identically worded. The variation might therefore suggest the need for further textual scrutiny.22

The wider study of the arts of the book and the development of book production is often called 'historical bibliography'. It includes the study of paper manufacture, printing types, methods of reproducing illustrations, binding materials and printing formats. Like physical bibliography, it focuses upon the physical properties of the artefact rather than the information within it, and offers expertise in dating texts which are undated or in specifying where they were produced; but it is also of great interest to anyone actively involved in any aspect of the book trade, from writing to printing and from production to collection and cataloguing, to understand the whole process of book production and the wide range of possibilities within it.23

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22 Stokes cites a famous and amusing example of a mistake in Melville's *White-Jacket*, where a printer's error was accorded great critical acclaim before 'soiled' was corrected to 'coiled', *The Function of Bibliography*, 119–20. The same writer clearly states 'the concern with printed books as physical objects is in order that the text contained within them may be more effectively understood', p. 5.

23 Stokes, *The Function of Bibliography*, chapter 7. It is worthwhile observing that virtually every subject, if collected or studied thoroughly, will find within it representative samples of virtually every type of book. Certainly, the compiler of a county bibliography must have an understanding of the great diversity of printed
There remains an extraordinary prejudice amongst scholars that bibliography is either useless or unoriginal – the ghost of James Duff Brown still haunts us – but this is a remarkable snobbery towards a science without which the other disciplines could not operate. It is necessary to affirm the importance of bibliography as a discipline. A comprehensive survey of the literature on any topic is a landmark which not only provides a general review of what has been achieved, but also pin-points the need for further work by revealing inadequacies in the previous research. A sound bibliography, once published, becomes pivotal in the future development of the discipline it surveys. Bibliography might be an ancillary science, providing a service to other disciplines, but it is equally true that the conclusions of much research are only made useful or meaningful when they are related to other areas of study or matter. The bibliographer of a subject does seem to need a considerable range of knowledge.

Ross Atkinson understated this: ‘...the creative aspects of enumerative bibliography are invisible to many scholars, which is one reason why enumerative bibliographers seldom receive the recognition they deserve’ ('Semiotics', p. 65). In his later article he wrote that bibliography ‘may not fully qualify as a legitimate academic discipline, that there may be something defective about it ... professional practitioners of bibliography ... are understandably susceptible to a sense of deficiency, fragmentation, illegitimacy, and estrangement' ('Abstraction', p. 213).

The attitude is remarkable. Tanselle, History of Books, expressed it in stronger terms: 'The naïveté of this position [that content and textual matters are somehow separate] is astounding; the position shows so little understanding of the nature of reading and of written communication that one is constantly amazed at the number of seemingly sophisticated people who believe it...' (p. 8)

James Duff Brown, however, was also keen to stress the importance of bibliography. He is quoted by Tanselle ('Bibliography and Science', pp. 61–2) as writing 'bibliography is really the index and guide to all past and existing knowledge', before moving on to decry what he felt were its present conditions.

For example, the production of Spittal and Field's place-name bibliography in 1990 revealed the complete absence of any general book on street names. One was therefore commissioned by the same publisher, from Adrian Room, and published in 1992 as The Street Names of England.

Rather exaggerated claims on these lines are made by Lester Condit, A Pamphlet about Pamphlets (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 80–1, e.g. 'Before Paul Brockett brought out his Bibliography of Aeronautics, there were no transatlantic flights', but the exaggeration does not deprive the claim of its essential truth.
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activity; i.e. all activities, in all disciplines, are ancillary to one another.29

The Difference between a Bibliography and a Catalogue

Although bibliography has been defined as a general umbrella term for all types of 'book study', this relates to the activity of research. The finished product, a bibliography, is something more specific, just as a finished history of a subject has a more specific meaning than the same word used for the general discipline.30 Although they all come under the umbrella of the discipline of bibliography, there is a meaningful difference between 'a bibliography', 'a catalogue', 'a literature guide' and 'a reading list'.

29 One writer who happily accepted the ancillary description was Edwin Elliott Willoughby: 'Bibliography, in my opinion, is an ancillary science. It serves its true function when it is an efficient tool to solve problems in history, literature or some other subject', The Uses of Bibliography to the Students of Literature and History (Hamden, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1957), p. 17. Bowers began his Principles with the argument that descriptive bibliography was a 'pure' science, but without defining what he meant. The concept of pure research, often quoted, is elusive because the term implies both that considerable importance should be attached to the activity and that it carries with it a degree of abstraction which suggests an absence of practical use (Principles, [3]). Bowers elaborated this idea in 'Bibliography, Pure Bibliography and Literary Studies'. He argued that bibliography should be entitled to develop its own way, engaging in pure, detached research irrespective of whether any literary critics wished to make use of it, because in the end its conclusions will be used and appreciated by the broader world in ways which cannot be anticipated; see also Bowers' Bibliography and Textual Criticism. The Lyell Lectures... 1959 (Oxford, 1964; reprinted 1966). A. M. Lewin Robinson is one writer who emphasises the need for bibliographies to be of practical service to others (Systematic Bibliography. A Practical Guide to the Work of Compilation, 4th edition (London: Clive Bingley, 1979), passim but concluded on p. 81). The latter work is another standard text book which makes use of the expression 'systematic bibliography' as a synonym for 'enumerative'.

30 For other subjects a large umbrella definition was also considered more appropriate than an exclusive one (notes 9, 12 and 13, above), but there are real differences which become acute when classifying the products of those activities. It is perhaps unfortunate that the same word can apply in different contexts to both activities and products, but the lack of a noun to distinguish archaeology from an archaeological report means that the subtlety has to be accepted.
Besterman argued for the definition 'a list of books arranged according to some permanent principle'. He explained that 'book' in this context meant 'any sort of written matter or any printed from type, directly or indirectly', but could only define 'permanent principle' by example. He meant of course that the common theme is an abstract idea: something which is true by definition so that the content of the bibliography will be clear and undeniable. A catalogue also has this element of exactitude but the content of a catalogue is not defined by an abstract idea but by arbitrary, physical limits. A survey of the contents of a single collection is therefore a catalogue whether there is a single subject linking the books of the collection or not. The catalogue of Oxford University Press has a similar arbitrary limitation: books published by that press currently available. The short-title catalogues also have arbitrary frontiers. Time is a physical rather than an abstract frontier, so the Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue will contain the work of an author published in 1799 but not the same author's work published in 1801, and 'catalogue' is therefore the appropriate description.

Another distinction between a catalogue and a bibliography is the type of all-inclusiveness. Although both must aim to be comprehensive, a catalogue should properly contain every single item within the collection, however absurd, ephemeral or apparently irrelevant. A bibliography is instead conceptually-based and reflects a

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31 Beginnings, p. 2.

32 The North American Union Catalogue and the British Library Catalogue of Printed Books are undisputedly catalogues despite the fact that the size of the collections involved make them as close as anything can be to comprehensive surveys of the entirety of human published literature (the actual achievement of such a survey would of course be many times larger even than these catalogues). The word 'census' could also be used for the Union Catalogue and the volumes of the Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue.

33 A bibliography of eighteenth-century literature, for example, would be expected to contain both later editions of eighteenth-century literature and modern critical studies of the period. Although the short-title catalogues have some inclusion and exclusion policies, which means they have a conceptual basis, the policies have a degree of arbitrariness which also places them in the catalogue camp. For example, the exclusion of books which are printed abroad, but not in English, means that many books about Britain are not included. One example is Hector Boece's Scotorum Historiae..., the second earliest printed history of Scotland, but one published in Latin in Paris in 1526.
rigidly-defined inclusion and exclusion policy. The two can, of course, overlap. A bibliography might have an arbitrary cut-off date, but it is no less bibliographical for that. A catalogue of a collection may confine itself to the items on a particular subject, but it is no less a catalogue for that.\textsuperscript{34} A ‘bibliography’ which confines itself only to the contents of one collection or presents uncritically every reference thrown up by a particular research method, is not a bibliography and is misnamed.\textsuperscript{35}

The scientific analogy works well for this distinction. There is a difference between a list of the insect specimens in a particular museum and a comprehensive survey of the insects of a particular island or geological age. Both have a need for exact definition (for example, the exclusion of all spiders), and both may have their degree of arbitrariness in their limits, but the catalogue is physical in its limitations and the scientific survey is abstract. The latter survey does not seem to have a name; perhaps a ‘biology’ would be appropriate: like history and bibliography there is common usage of the term for both the discipline and the finished product. As with bibliography, a biology of the insects of Madagascar would be misnamed if it was in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item A degree of selectivity in a catalogue may reflect the purpose for which it was written. For example, a catalogue of the contents of a particular journal or group of journals might be intended as a guide to the range of articles written, so only the articles will be listed, and some of the titles might even be abbreviated, but if the catalogue is also intended to supplement the original for the purpose of referencing, it would be expected both to list titles accurately and also to list material such as preliminary pages, blank pages and advertisements, so that users might cite page references from it with confidence. Two examples of this approach are the present author’s \textit{A Catalogue of the Contents of Nomina. Volumes 1 to 16 (1977–1993)} and \textit{A Catalogue of the Contents of the Harlaxton Medieval Symposium 1984–1993} (both Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995). These are correctly called catalogues because of their arbitrary, non-abstract contents. A catalogue by the same writer which seeks to offer some further bibliographical context, and which therefore has a different name, is \textit{A Bibliographical Guide to Bohn’s Antiquarian Library} (Stamford, 1996). The latter begins with an accurate catalogue of a particular series, but also adds bibliographical discussion on the context of each text in the broader history of its subject and an analysis of the contents of each book.
\item For example, if the Rutland bibliography were to confine itself to listing the entries gathered by accessing on-line databases, the result would not be a bibliography but a catalogue of the entries in a number of other catalogues which could be accessed by key-words such as ‘Rutland’.
\end{enumerate}
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any way selective on grounds other than relevance and definition.\textsuperscript{36}

There are two further distinctions between a catalogue and a bibliography. In the former the condition of the sample in the collection needs to be mentioned, whereas in a bibliography the wear-and-tear condition of any one copy, or the quality of its individual binding, is irrelevant. Another distinction is that in a catalogue each item may only be mentioned once. To repeat references in a different context misleads the user into thinking that there are more items than there really are. The 'best' location for the single copy therefore becomes an issue of classification in the same way as it does in library classification; but in a bibliography it is acceptable to repeat entries in different contexts and to cross-refer: the issues of classification are less crucial as far as the location of an individual entry is concerned.\textsuperscript{37}

Both bibliographies and catalogues aim for completeness within their defined limits, but a 'reading-list' (or 'hand-list') does not. It is a short list of highly selective titles on a subject, intended only as a simple, and often arbitrary, guide to the beginner or as a list purely of works which have been read by a student for a particular programme of research. A substantial guide to the literature of a subject, compiled with helpful annotations and the exercise of critical judgement to exclude on the grounds of merit, is correctly not called a bibliography because it does not aim for a complete survey of the subject. A 'reader's guide' is a better description. There is also a scientific analogy for the latter: the appropriate comparison is the 'field guide': the specimens most likely to be encountered are listed and illustrated, but

\textsuperscript{36} Like the example of Bohn's Antiquarian Library (above, note 34), a catalogue of the insects in a particular collection which attempted to place particular samples within a broader context occupies a half-way position. An appropriate title for such a survey might be \textit{An Etymological Guide to the Insect Specimens of...} If obliged to decide whether the work was a catalogue or not, the decision would have to be that it was a catalogue and not the broader survey called a bibliography or a biology, because its point of departure remains the arbitrary limits of a specific collection.

\textsuperscript{37} The author's recent work \textit{Anglo-Saxon England, being a Catalogue of the Shaun Tyas Library} (Stamford: privately printed, 1996) proved to be an exacting exercise because of the need to make decisions as to the ideal location for 7,535 entries and the difficulty in avoiding repetition when a book was relevant to more than one section. It is not in dispute whether a bibliography is 'superior' to, or more difficult to compile than, a catalogue, only that it is conceptually different.
not every species variant, or the rarer species, will be noted.\textsuperscript{38}

The justification for all-inclusiveness in true bibliography is partly the need for scientifically-based boundaries (i.e., accuracy), partly the nature of bibliography. The bibliographer and librarian must remain detached from their objects of study. As intermediaries between original texts and their users it is essential that they do not interfere with the meanings that can be brought to the texts by the users. If the bibliographer or librarian censors the material he gathers in any unscientific way he distorts the meaning or potential of that material, even the potential of the material which remains. It is for the user of both the library and the bibliography to create meaning from his or her own selection and experience of the collection on offer.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{38} The vast majority of published ‘bibliographies’, at least of subjects, are more accurately described as reader’s guides. Comparison with the field guide has some validity, but the majority of reader’s guides exclude on evaluation rather than scarcity grounds. This is as dishonest as excluding specimens from a scientific survey because they do not fit with a particular theory of taxonomy. A bibliography should represent all schools of thought as a matter of deliberate policy.

\textsuperscript{39} This is the theme of the closing pages of Ross Atkinson’s ‘Abstraction’ and touches on a standard idea in the literature on library science, that a library should try to be apolitical or non-partisan. The thesis returns to this controversy at many locations below. It has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere, in the introduction to the catalogue mentioned in note 37, above. The library which formed the subject of that catalogue was compiled entirely on the principle of defined relevance rather than one of evaluation. That collection of Anglo-Saxon historiography therefore includes many items of a popular or mythological or dubious nature the existence of which is frequently ignored by conventional scholarship, but if students were deliberately seeking unusual material because their subject of research was historiography rather than history, and they wished to contrast the scholarly tradition with the popular, or the different use which different groups made of the same evidence, or even the extent to which scholarly conclusions were disseminated in Victorian educational materials, a ‘scholarly’ bibliography of Anglo-Saxon England would offer no guidance because the compiler had simply omitted all the material they needed. It is difficult to see what justification there can be for this arbitrary approach other than the personal opinion that one book is a good book and the other is rubbish. Bibliographies which have this approach are Wilfrid Bonser, Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Bibliography (450–1087), 2 volumes (Oxford, 1957); Edgar B. Graves, A Bibliography of English History to 1485 (Oxford, 1975) and the annual listing in Anglo-Saxon England, I (and annually) (Cambridge, 1972). The pseudo-concept of ‘rubbish’ is further discussed below, pp. 61–4.
Bibliographers must bear in mind not only the broad context and diversity of their chosen subject but also the context in which their research will be used. For better or worse, they must tell the truth. The criticism they bring to their research is not a matter of deciding whether a book contains embarrassing ideas, which 'should' therefore be hidden from public view, but a matter of deciding whether the material should be included because of its defined relevance to the subject in hand.

The Contents of a Bibliography: Texts

Texts exist in many forms but bibliography has usually been confined to the study of (a) free-standing, or separately-issued, books and pamphlets on a subject, treated equally irrespective of the size of the publication, and (b) articles within other printed publications such as journals, newspapers or as sections of books (that is, material that is not issued separately in its own right).

Literature is categorised by the physical form that it takes, and bibliography is concerned only with one group of forms. Other forms of texts, such as unprinted manuscripts, photographic film (microfiches or microfilm), video tapes, computerised texts or databases (either as magnetic discs or as laser-read compact discs), or recorded sound, are excluded from bibliography because they are not in the medium of printed matter on paper. The study of these media are separate disciplines, such as papyrology or palaeography. There can, of course, be considerable overlap between them. A printed book can be issued simultaneously as a sound recording. Whitaker's Books in Print is published as an annual printed book, as a monthly microfiche and as a database but the filmed version is only relevant to bibliography if the text is under detailed scrutiny. The focus of bibliography is not the totality of the world of texts but their expression in one particular medium. Bibliography is not a synonym for

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40 We do not yet seem to have a word for the study of recorded sound but the term 'discography' is well-known for a catalogue of recordings. 'Filmology' is beginning to gain credibility as a subject. 'Filmography' appears in the second volume of The International Film Index 1895–1990, ed. Alan Goble, 2 vols (London: Bowker–Saur, 1990), for a catalogue of films arranged in alphabetical order by each director's surname. All computer studies seem to come under the umbrella term 'computer science' or under the broader 'information science' (or technology). It is not irrelevant to point out that Trevor Croucher's Early Music Discography..., 2 vols (London: the Library Association, 1981) made no attempt to call itself a bibliography and did not in fact include any books.
information science but something more specialised. In part, the problem lies in the lack of a word to describe the more generalised survey of the world of texts in all forms: 'textology' or 'textography' would be useful expressions if they gained acceptance, but the lack of acceptance has meant that the word 'bibliography' has been frequently used instead. The word is acknowledged to embrace two main areas of activity, but is frequently used without clarification to mean anything from a short reading list to the whole discipline of library science.

One solution is to adopt the wise counsel of writers who advocate defining the activity by doing it, leaving the semantic controversies to philosophers and linguists, but another solution is to emphasise the distinction between bibliography, the discipline, and a bibliography, the finished product. A general definition is offered for the former, a specific one for the latter.

In the field of history, a great many research activities would be regarded as legitimate areas of enquiry for historians: editing source texts, engaging in archaeological digs, studying medieval sculpture or architecture, compiling population statistics and engaging in onomastical and genealogical studies. Nobody argues that these are not historical fields of enquiry. Likewise, bibliography as a discipline may have the cat's freedom to walk where it will. Nobody will say that the professor of library studies who is interested in the classification of films is breaking his or her job description, but it is a different matter when one writes 'a bibliography', just as 'a history' of Rutland is something different to a set of population tables for nineteenth-century Rutland. 43

41 The sound recordings of the Rutland Sinfonia orchestra and the recent CD of recordings from the Stamford Shakespeare Festival (at Tolethorpe in Rutland) are not included in the Rutland bibliography. Although they are publications, they are not printed. See below for a discussion of the special case of electronic journals, pp. 26-7.

42 For example John Feather writes in his A Dictionary of Book History (London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986): 'Arguments about the meaning of the word 'bibliography' can be somewhat sterile, for what is important is the study of the subject itself. If a definition must be offered, perhaps it had better be that bibliography is what bibliographers do. What do bibliographers do? They study books. And that is what bibliography is: the study of books.' (p. 30). See also the similar comments by Tanselle and Atkinson cited above in notes 13 and 16.

43 This distinction further confirms the difference between a catalogue and a
In practice all bibliographers have confined themselves to printed matter when producing bibliographies, even those who have advocated in their theoretical writings that the subject should embrace the whole world of texts, and this seems appropriate.\textsuperscript{44} The subject in hand, the Rutland bibliography, has been confined to printed matter from the outset. If a researcher wished to embark on a survey of all texts relating to all aspects of Rutland, and had the resources to undertake such a project, the result would be extremely worthwhile but it would not be a bibliography. It could be called either a textology or an index of information resources; and within such a survey there would be subdivisions for each medium: bibliography, discography, filmography, inscriptions, postcards, etc. It would be difficult to envisage just how large such a survey would be, even for a county the size of Rutland. The number of published postcards would exceed that of printed books. The number of manuscripts in the local public record office and private collections would increase the size of the survey many times. If advertising ephemera were to be included the survey would increase in size by perhaps a thousand items a year (the figure is little more than a guess based on a survey of advertising literature received through doorways in Nottingham).\textsuperscript{45} Even material objects such as horse brasses, gravestones, packaging material, souvenir cutlery and pottery, ploughs and motor cars bibliography discussed above. A catalogue must cover the entire contents of a collection, including videos or framed pictures if they are part of it. A bibliography instead has an abstract concept governing its inclusion and exclusion policies.

\textsuperscript{44} W. W. Greg (in ‘Bibliography – a retrospect’, pp. 23–31), considered that other media were worthy of inclusion in bibliography (p. 25, note *), but took it no further in his own researches. His bibliography of the English drama includes no films or sound recordings. An advocate of a broadened approach for bibliography is D. F. McKenzie, whose \textit{Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts. The Panizzi Lectures} (London: the British Library, 1986) rekindled the controversy, but on the whole was not well received by bibliographers. McKenzie also accepts that a broad-based survey of texts would not be called a bibliography but would have a bibliography section within it: \textit{pers. comm.}, 22 June 1994: ‘I have no rooted objection to “textography” as being an umbrella word truer to the range of artefacts while allowing for a more exclusively book-based sub-division, along with the others, beneath it.’ I am grateful to Professor McKenzie for taking the trouble to discuss this issue with me, and for sending me proofs of the second edition of his book in advance of publication. His book advocates the use of the expression ‘sociology of texts’ for a multi-media survey (p. 31).

\textsuperscript{45} Cited in note 188, p. 123, below.
could conceivably be classed as texts containing information and therefore would have to be included.\textsuperscript{46} There could be no possible conclusion to the labour of undertaking such a survey. It is, regrettably, something that could never be achieved, however desirable its production would be. The idea is therefore conceptually flawed.

More debateable is whether bibliography should also include the study of some non-book forms, such as manuscript or electronic material, but not all categories. The present writer believes that manuscripts are not an area for bibliography unless the material has been printed and the study of the manuscript would therefore have a bearing on the understanding of the printed text. Even then, manuscripts should properly be considered only in footnotes or appendices rather than side-by-side with the printed books.

Electronic journals, and other computerised publications such as CD titles are becoming increasingly important in library science because many titles exist only in electronic format. Some of the issues for library management are reviewed by Hazel Woodward and Cliff McKnight,\textsuperscript{47} but the question of bibliographical coverage again raises the difficulty of defining the word `bibliography' in a rigorous way. A library

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\textsuperscript{46} McKenzie points out that in Australian aboriginal culture the landscape itself is a text containing folk tales ("totemic topography"). A researcher studying aboriginal folklore would have to take notice of this form; but if one were writing a bibliography of aboriginal folklore, it is difficult to see how the landscape texts could be included: mentioned in a note perhaps but certainly not catalogued as equal entries to the books and articles, because such an approach would not be helpful to the user. Such a text (and it cannot be disputed that it \textit{is} a text) is in a form which bibliography is inadequate to cope with: 'The Broken Phial: Non-Book Texts', \textit{Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts}, pp. 23-43 (especially 31-3). The English landscape also contains texts: place-names. Another form of text which is undoubtedly important because of its influence is gossip, but bibliography is again incapable of recording the existence, or location, of that medium (McKenzie, \textit{pers. comm.}). This is not a failure on the part of bibliography because the subject was not designed to cover texts in these unprinted forms. Even the earliest, medieval practitioners of the discipline made no attempt to catalogue the texts they must have known to exist in oral tradition, until they were written down.

\textsuperscript{47} Hazel Woodward and Cliff McKnight, 'Electronic Journals: Issues of Access and Bibliographical Control', \textit{Serials Review} (1995), 71-8. The discussion does point out that articles in electronic journals are frequently incomplete versions of ones printed conventionally in full (p. 72).
catalogue will automatically seek to cover the entirety of a collection, whatever the format of the artefacts, a bibliography should confine itself to books, just as the volumes of the *Gale Directory of Databases* are confined to the coverage of material in the titles. A bibliographer who was not interested in a conceptual approach (it is not, of course, compulsory) may choose to blur the boundaries and include ‘relevant’ non-book publications. A confinement to certain categories (videos, audio tapes, CDs and electronic journals) would certainly not present the compiler with an insuperable task, but the survey would more correctly be called an ‘index of published texts’. Placing them in an appendix to a bibliography, of course, would also be a perfectly acceptable solution. Rutland examples include the audio cassettes *Choral Music from Uppingham School* (Priory Records, PRC 402, 1992) and *Rutland Villages. A Guide to the History, People, Customs and Tales of Rural Rutland* (Oakham: Whyte Rider Publications, 1995), the *Uppingham School* promotional video and the recent celebration of *Ketton* as a commercial video.

In bibliography, inquiries are begun by focusing on the finished printed products. If we keep in mind the simplified definition of bibliography as ‘book-study’, the question of including video tapes does not arise. The controversy over including non-book media, therefore, is something which has appeared occasionally within the theoretical discussion of the discipline, but it is not an approach which has ever been practised, even by those who advocate it.

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48 Woodward and McKnight illustrate how Online Public Access Catalogues (OPACs) are frequently now providing access to electronic journals available from distant locations (p. 75). The philosophy, however, is the same: the catalogue provides information on everything available at this location, by whatever means it is available.

49 Another illustration of the difficulties of including ‘non-book’ texts is posed by merchandised material related to published books. Should a bibliography of Maurice Sendak include the toys based on the creatures in *Where the Wild Things Are*? They are undoubtedly artefacts related to the printed text. They could even be said to be illustrations of aspects of that text, or variant, three-dimensional editions of the illustrations in the book, but they do not belong in a bibliography.

50 Such surveys are occasionally produced for limited sources of information such as the contents of a specific collection. The ‘Rutland Strategy Education Committee’ published the diminutive *A Register of Rutland Resources* in 1975, reprinted in 1978, based on a small number of public collections. It covered published texts and manuscripts.
The Contents of a Bibliography: Books, Pamphlets and Leaflets

A bibliography, therefore, is a comprehensive survey of printed texts, the subject areas of which lie within tightly defined limits, and which take the form of one of three main categories. They will be separately published books, pamphlets or leaflets. They may be periodicals. Or they may be articles or sections within those separate publications or periodicals. It seems appropriate to define these terms also.

Books

Established definitions, even in bibliographical reference works, have failed to differentiate precisely between book, pamphlet or leaflet, especially between book and pamphlet. It is necessary to offer definitions so that when a work is described the reader can grasp its primary physical characteristics from a single, unambiguous expression.

The modern form of the book in gathered sections derives from the manuscript codex, thus called to distinguish it from the rolls of papyrus (used in Ancient Egypt) or vellum (used in medieval administration). A roll is not classified as a book unless the term is used in a particular context (and in fact its original context) to refer to the text rather than the finished product. The first characteristic, then, is that a book is a codex. It may be printed, manuscript or blank, but for inclusion in a bibliography it should be printed.

A codex is subdivided into sections and then further into leaves or pages (one side of a leaf). In a manuscript codex the leaves are called folios, the 'pages' being called the recto or verso of a folio. Recto and verso might also be used for a printed page. A roll on the other hand is divided into membranes: the pieces of parchment or leather which when joined to others make a roll: see the present writer's Style Book for Medieval Studies (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), p. 13. The word 'folio', like many bibliographical words, also has other, completely different, meanings (see below, p. 31).

A case might be made for including in a bibliography a publication issued as a roll, such as a novelty translation of Magna Carta or a facsimile of the Bayeux Tapestry. In practice, however, even the items ideally suited to publication as rolls have rarely been issued as such, so the question is not likely to arise very often. The case is so borderline that the bibliographer would be entitled to make up his or her own mind whether to include it or not. See below for another discussion of eccentric formats, that posed by The Pickworth Fragment (p. 34).
Some established definitions of book are insufficiently precise for the present purpose. Encyclopaedia Britannica offers 'published work of literature or scholarship; the term has been defined by UNESCO for statistical purposes as a "non-periodical printed publication of at least 49 pages excluding covers," but no strict definition satisfactorily covers the variety of publications so identified'. The number of pages (actually one which is virtually impossible in printing; 'over 32 or 48 pages' would have made more sense) is arbitrary. It makes no reference to the amount of text on them or to gatherings, though the non-periodical observation is important. A book might also be a manuscript and it might not necessarily be intended for public circulation.

After reviewing the original Old English meanings the Oxford English Dictionary is extremely vague: 'A written or printed treatise or series of treatises, occupying several sheets of paper or other substance fastened together so as to compose a material whole', a definition which does not allow for the blank book.

The definition must distinguish book from pamphlet, and the sought-for criterion lies in the way the pages are gathered.

Printed pages derive from the foldings of large sheets of paper. A page in an octavo book derives from a piece of paper which has been folded three times, to produce a section, or gathering, of 8 leaves (that is, 16 pages) after one edge has been shaved clean (it is the same whether it remains uncut or not). A page is defined as one side of the resulting smaller leaf, after folding.

A book is defined as a collection of two or more of these gatherings when issued as an individual entity. These gatherings can vary considerably in shape, quantity and size. Sometimes it is difficult to identify the number of gatherings because of the way the book has been bound. The sections might well be a creation of the binding rather than the printing stage, but the definition refers to the assembly of the finished product, rather than to its size or method of creation.

A problem immediately becomes apparent with the so-called 'perfect-bound' books which no longer have gatherings. For clarity, all of these should be called

The same source defines pamphlet as 'brief booklet; in the UNESCO definition, it is an unbound publication that is not a periodical and contains no fewer than 5 and no more than 48 pages, exclusive of any cover'.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

'perfect-bound books' irrespective of their size. The leaves in a perfect binding can
be said to assume the status of sections.

Similarly, a modern casually-made book of individual leaves secured by
staples (also called wire stitching) or a spring spine (also called a comb spine) can be
called a book but a qualifying remark is needed to avoid confusing the reader, for
example 'book of 20 stapled leaves within wrappers' or 'book of 20 leaves secured by
a plastic comb spine'.

Pamphlets

A pamphlet, on the other hand, is a single section, with one fold, issued as a separate
item. Some modern books are issued in formats which throw convention and practical
considerations aside and present a very large number of pages in one fat section.
Should this stretch to 96 or 128 pages, if it remains in one section, it ought still to be
defined as a pamphlet. The ambiguous term 'booklet', as a sort of 'very large
pamphlet', should not be used.54

Two objections might present themselves with this definition. One is that the
word 'pamphlet' has long been used to mean 'little book', irrespective of the number
of gatherings it might have, as in the term 'pamphleteers' for the writers of short
polemical tracts, and in 'pamphlet wars'.55 The second is that pamphlet implies

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54 Sometimes the sheer size of a single-section publication like Bryan Waites' Rutland
Alphabet (Stamford: Peter Spieg & Co., 1985), in 104 pages, makes it tempting to
describe it with some other term, but this should be avoided. In dictionary
definitions there are no distinctions between pamphlet and booklet.

55 This was still the essential meaning of pamphlet in the writings of George Orwell,
but he equated the physical form with the ambiguous term 'booklet': 'A pamphlet is
a short piece of polemical writing, printed in the form of a booklet and aimed at a
large public... Probably a true pamphlet will always be somewhere between five
hundred and ten thousand words, and it will always be unbound and obtainable for a
few pence', British Pamphleteers, vol. 1, ed. George Orwell and Reginald Reynolds
(London, 1948), p. 7. The disbound feature is not relevant bibliographically; most
desirable pamphlets are in any case bound by librarians. The number of words must
also be dismissed as irrelevant. The political purpose cannot be accepted as part of
the definition because it excludes local-interest 'pamphlets' like church guides. The
price cannot be part of the definition because many pamphlets will have been issued
free and many have become valuable. Benjamin Disraeli offered some false
etymologies of the word but no real attempt at a definition: 'Pamphlets', in Curiosities
triviality or ephemeral controversy, although the publication might be of permanent importance. These objections arise, however, because of the inexactitude with which the term has been used and defined before. A line must be drawn for the purpose of clarity, and if a better term is available debate will probably produce it.

Another objection is that a single-section publication might be called a folio, but that word has other, specific meanings. It can be a measure of the size of a book (meaning the number of leaves in a section, i.e. two, each section consisting of a single sheet folded once), traditionally the word also refers to the leaves of a manuscript (both the recto and verso pages together) and it is sometimes used to mean the page number in a printed book: a book without page numbers might be described as 'unfoliated'. Several folios quired together would certainly be called a pamphlet on the 'little book' definition, but so would several sections of octavo foldings. A single folio (4 pages only, folded once with no separation), separately published as an independent title, would here be called a leaflet (see below). 'Pamphlet' on the above definition is a section which stands on its own as a separate publication.

Sometimes the lack of a binding has been brought into the definition of pamphlet, but this is not helpful. Books are frequently unbound or rebound, as are pamphlets. The binding is not an element peculiar to either form.

The origin of the word is very obscure and no satisfactory etymology has been ascribed. It is certainly medieval, for panfletus appears as early as 1344. The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology makes no attempt to propose an origin. The Victorian Dictionary of Phrase and Fable by E. Cobham Brewer offers three alternatives, though

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56 The situation is not helped by the failure of the vast majority of bibliographical dictionaries even to include the word. Roy Stokes' A Bibliographical Companion (Metuchen, New Jersey and London: Scarecrow Press, 1989) ignores it, as does John Feather's A Dictionary of Book History. The Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, 52 vols (London, 1968–93) admits 'There is no firm definition of pamphlets in a library context' (vol. 21, p. 299).

57 Not everyone would agree: John Cook Wyllie, in 'Pamphlets, Broadsides, Clippings and Posters', Library Trends 4 (1955), 195–202, states '...everyone will agree [sic] that a multipaged, single-sheet, center-stapled or stitched non-serial is a pamphlet as long as it has a paper cover. The minute one of these gets a hard binding or a slipcase, however, it too is a book' (p. 198). There seems no reason why a pamphlet should not be bound by the library but still remain a pamphlet.
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none satisfactory. An attractive theory is that it somehow refers to the twelfth-century erotic poem ‘Pamphilus’, notorious for having distracted medieval monks. A pamphlet is therefore a short, reputedly scurrilous work whose name literally means ‘lover of everything’ or ‘Pan-lover’, and a pamphleteer is ‘a writer of things like Pamphilus’. This rather bizarre origin at least has the merit of confirming the reputation of the pamphlet as being an underground political tract, and one of universal appeal, almost exactly George Orwell’s definition.58

For the purpose of bibliography, however, the new definition offered is the only one which provides a specific meaning and boundary for the physical form.59

A word which ought to command at least as much respect as ‘booklet’ is ‘bookie’, but its use in a bibliographical sense seems to have dropped from favour, probably because it sounds rather childish rather than through any association with gambling. Dibdin considered it a good translation of the Latin libellus,60 and Sir Walter Scott was also familiar with the word.61 It has even appeared in modern speech as an adjective62 (for ‘bookish’), but to use the term in a bibliography would invite ambiguity.

58 Most bibliographical dictionaries avoid defining pamphlet, and etymological dictionaries that offer definitions are inconclusive. Only one source was found which was prepared to be assertive: the World Book Encyclopedia, 21 vols (World Book Inc., 1993) states without authority ‘The word pamphlet comes from Pamphilus, seu de Amore, a Latin poem published in this form in the 1100’s.’

59 The most detailed review of the definition of ‘pamphlet’ is by Lester Condit, A Pamphlet about Pamphlets (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). Most of this book (it is not a pamphlet) is about the treatment of the pamphlet in the library service. The author declines to offer his own definition (pp. 1-9) and seems to use the word to mean anything that is bound in a flimsy way. At the time of his writing, paperbacks were less common than they are now, and he seems to regard paperbacks and pamphlets as synonymous. His own work is a stitched volume of 104 pages in sections of sixteen pages.

60 Thomas Frognall Dibdin, Reminiscences of a Literary Life (London: John Major, 1836), 2, p. 888 (‘The Bookie ... has amused me much’) and Ibid., 2, p. 890 (‘...a good translation of the Libellus of the Romans’); I owe these references to Mark English. The earliest OED reference to this word is 1860.

61 The Fortunes of Nigel, chapter 2 (‘...scribbling on his bit bookie, as if he were demented...’).

Another relevant word is 'brochure'. This at least has a known etymology, but its meaning is synonymous with pamphlet and booklet. Its origin lies in its stitching: it is 'a short printed work, of a few leaves merely stitched together' (OED). Nowadays the word has come to mean almost exclusively commercial pamphlets, such as estate agents' particulars or literature for a travel agent's holiday promotion. For the purpose of a bibliography the word is best avoided. 63

Leaflets

A leaflet is a single piece of paper, either folded or left unfolded, forming a separate publication in its own right. A possible objection to this definition is, as has already been pointed out, that a section begins life as a single sheet of paper: is it therefore not a folded and guillotined leaflet? Moreover, is a poster a leaflet? Is there a limit to the size of a leaflet?

It seems best to accept that as paper is transferred from one form to another it can be defined differently according to its current status. A section may begin as a very large leaflet, but its design, arrangement and purpose transform it into a pamphlet. Combined with other pamphlets the result becomes a book. The size question is more serious. It is possible to limit the definition of leaflet to sheets of paper which would be acceptable sizes for the pages of books (the name implies that they are isolated leaves), but the objection of a very large book then arises. 64 Better to leave the size of leaflets unrestricted. The purpose of the leaflet might also be brought in as a defining factor, separating leaflet from poster in that one is intended for handing around and the other for pasting on a wall. What then of the large-scale poster made of different sheets of paper joined together? A solution is to see poster as a functional term rather than one which defines the physical characteristics of the paper. A poster can therefore be either a single leaflet

63 A few writers do attempt to derive pamphlet from the same source, not least Dr Johnson, who is quoted by Brewer as suggesting par-un-filet ('by a thread') as an etymology. The early spellings, however, would not support this.

64 In 1660 the merchants of Amsterdam presented King Charles II of England with a giant atlas of the world. It stands five feet ten inches high and three feet six inches wide, running on wheels when opened. How can this not be called a book? There is a photograph of it in Gerald Donaldson's Books (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981), p. 43.
or a collection of leaflets designed to be joined together for one use.\footnote{Posters are included here for discussion purposes, but most of them will be excluded from a bibliography because they are usually classed as ephemera, on which there is a more extensive discussion in the section on inclusion and exclusion policies. An A4 sheet frequently performs the function of a poster, so the distinction between poster and leaflet has to be one of function rather than form.}

Finally, the definition of a composite poster suggests a flaw in the use of ‘book’ to describe perfect-bound publications, for these are in effect collections of leaflets. Most, however, will originate as folded gatherings and it is the appearance of the finished product with which we are concerned. It would be unrealistic to make distinctions between a perfect-bound book deriving from 32-page sections and one the same size derived from sheets of A4 printed on a photocopy machine. The two may be completely indistinguishable in their appearance.

Another type of poster is the ‘broadside’, a name used since the sixteenth century for a publication consisting of a single piece of paper printed on one side only, often containing satirical or illustrated matter intended to be displayed. It is similar to ‘broadsheet’, except that that term implies a whole sheet of paper, and both are leaflets on the definition adopted here.

\textit{Other formats}

An isolated problem, and one which cannot be allowed to intrude too much, is how to deal with eccentric formats. These can be referred to as ‘art books’, not because they are about art but because they are a form of sculpture. Such productions are a favourite of the private presses, and they need to be mentioned because the local bibliographer is likely to encounter some examples. The Rutland bibliography offers Rigby Graham’s \textit{The Pickworth Fragment} (Wymondham: Brewhouse Press, 1966) for consideration. To quote the book itself, it has a ‘whirlwind binding, a bastard form of \textit{sempu-yo’}. It is a concertina in a continuous sequence: the reader (or viewer) eventually ends up where he or she started and the verso, if such a word can be used, of each page never appears. The solution is not to ignore this isolated and delightful anomaly but to include it with an explanation of its format.

With the addition of articles within other publications (if appropriate), a bibliography should offer a study or catalogue of \textit{all} the relevant material of book, pamphlet and leaflet format which has a specified common theme, usually the
subject-content of the material, but it might also be the output of one author, printer, publisher, designer, location, period, or group of these, where the common theme is not necessarily the information content of the publications.

The Contents of a Bibliography: Non-Ephemeral Publications

Two other definitions limit the content of a bibliography of a subject (though not of a printer or designer). The bibliography must be confined not only to printed `book-format' material but also to material which is published and non-ephemeral.

The definition of 'publication' is a difficult question, and one which has largely been avoided by bibliographers. Yet it is essential to find effective criteria for deciding, for example, whether the printings of a social club (including book clubs) or unusual items such as university theses should be included in a bibliography.

Publication clearly means that a piece of writing is intended for public consumption. The UNESCO definition as 'recorded information issued for public use' stresses the availability-to-the-public aspect of publication above any other criteria. A medieval manuscript can be said to have been published when its author released it for others to read, even though it was never printed until modern times. Each copy was handmade, like copies of a university thesis. For inclusion in a bibliography, however, a piece of writing must be both published and printed (electronic databases and other media have been excluded by definition).

In Principles of Bibliographical Description, Bowers attempts to define publication, albeit in the context of a difficult debate about 'issue' and in a spirit of antagonism towards first edition collectors. He concludes (p. 398, n. 26): 'by "publication" I always mean the issue of books to the booksellers and the general public'. Bowers pointed out that a book might be released by a publisher in a trial binding in advance of public release, for the purpose of trade inspection and review reading. He dismisses the idea that this is the first 'issue' of the book. Nevertheless the book can be said to have been 'issued' by the publisher for a specific purpose to a select group, and often in quite a large 'edition', by this method. The first edition collectors, searching for rarity and value, would like to regard this variant as the true

first edition. Others go even further and argue that the proof copy is the first edition. A proof, however, was never intended for any broader readership than that of its authors, editors and proof-readers. It cannot be said to have been an issue to the public, however narrow a sample. A book can also be published which is never available to the book trade, such as the publications of the Folio Society which only issues copies to its members. Bowers' logic would define a Folio Society book as unpublished.

The private press must be brought in to the definition of publication or a great many worthwhile titles will be excluded from bibliography even if they are not necessarily excluded from copyright receipt.67

'Publication' must be defined as any material intended for public consumption or for the private or semi-private consumption of a group of people gathered together as a club. This allows the inclusion of all private press and society issues but excludes administrative matter such as the annual accounts of a business, however large the number of directors, because they are not gathered together as a club but as a business. A house magazine for employees of a business, or for members of a college, would count as a publication because of the broad social range of the group for whom it was produced. Such publications also frequently attract external advertising and are designed to display the abilities of the club to the outside world. The business magazine would almost certainly be shown to friends and partners of the employees outside the working environment. The university thesis still resides inside the definition, if perhaps a little uncomfortably, because copies are stored in the university library and are available through inter-library loan. All members of the university society can inspect them. Unfortunately, however, Bowers' example of a work released in a trial binding for distribution or review purposes must count as a publication by this definition, and thus the theoretical first issue of the book, because

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67 Some private press issues are produced in very small quantities and are never put on sale. That they are circulated amongst friends offers an interesting idea, that issue to a club, being a small society, is issue to 'a public'. In 1974, when the Brewhouse private press issued Leicester Broadsheets in an edition of two copies only, the press was obliged, against its will, to produce bound photocopies for the copyright libraries. Nevertheless, Leicester Broadsheets appears in the Brewhouse Press official list of productions where it is specifically called a publication: Christine Battrye, The Brewhouse Private Press 1963–1983 (Wymondham: Sycamore Press, 1984), pp. 64–5.
it is freely available to all members of the trade at a particular moment and there is no bar to joining that trade. The purpose for which that issue is made—reading and assessment—is a public purpose concerning the publishing company's relations with the outside world. 68

The difficulties of acquiring publications which are issued for the consumption of a very small group has led some librarians or bibliographers, such as Sturges and Dixon, 69 to divide printed material into three strata: formal or professionally published material at the top, ephemera at the bottom, and a grey area of ambiguous material in the middle. It is given different names in different countries, such as 'grey literature' in Germany, 70 'minor publications' in Britain (though grey has become common here also), 'small print' (smätryk) in Scandinavia, and 'littérature sauvage' (wild literature) in France. These descriptions, however, take no note of the physical form or merit of the literature but rather the characteristics of its producers. The meaningful distinction between a short-run pamphlet issued on a specialised subject by a well-established commercial publisher, and a similar pamphlet issued independently by its author, is simply that the latter is

68 This broad-based definition of publication also fits (just) with the legal definition of 'to publish a libel', e.g., by pasting a single copy of a libellous remark on a notice board: to make it public.


70 Theoretical librarians on the continent have published a substantial number of discussions on European 'grey literature'. There the definition appears to be not quite the same as the English 'minor publications', for it connotes 'political' or 'underground', especially in writings from the former communist states. In his article in *Libri*, Dieter Schmidmaier talks of the people's 'fear of grey literature', but his attempted list of examples include both ephemeral items like posters and even standard items such as 'official publications', 'magazines' and 'translations'. The main criteria would appear to be publications which librarians have difficulty in acquiring, which, before the removal of the Iron Curtain, must have included most of the output of western Europe and locally-produced material which was embarrassing for the library to hold. Because there is no common denominator to grey literature, it is unrealistic to attempt to make a list of it: Dieter Schmidmaier, 'Ask No Questions and You'll Be Told No Lies: or, How we can Remove People's Fear of “Grey Literature”', *Libri* 36 (1986), 98–112. There are many references to other articles on grey literature cited. Part of the oddness of this article stems from its poor translation.
difficult to locate.\textsuperscript{71} It is ‘wild’ because it is outside bibliographical control, but this should not influence the location of a work within a bibliography, or how a work is catalogued by a library once it is caught. This area of publishing, however, is of great interest to local bibliographers because a substantial proportion of local productions are ‘grey’.

Although ‘grey literature’ has become the widely-accepted term in English-speaking countries for such material, the expression does not easily admit the shades of meaning which the French littérature sauvage allows; neither does the other common expression ‘minor publications’. The use of the word ‘grey’ is unfortunate because it suggests that there is something ambiguous about the material itself, it begs the question as to what colours should be used to describe other categories of literature (and why) and it invites ambiguity in its use. The only common feature of such literature is the difficulty of acquiring it from a librarian’s perspective. Sometimes, however, the expression might be used to suggest material which actually is ‘ambiguous’ from a librarianship perspective, i.e., material which is not easy to manage in the library as well as material which is difficult to acquire: posters, leaflets and pamphlets, for example, can be difficult to store, retrieve and catalogue (an anonymous short text without a heading is not easy to list without resorting to transcribing the opening sentences, which may not convey the full importance of the text). The ambiguity implied in the words ‘grey literature’ can reflect the uncertainty which the library profession feels towards it, but because the words can be so elastic in their use, it is often difficult for theoretical writers to establish consistency.\textsuperscript{72} The French expression ‘wild literature’ is a much more

\textsuperscript{71} Peter Auger expressed it as “material which is not issued through the normal commercial publishing channels, and which is therefore in many cases difficult to access”: ‘Non-Conventional Literature: Chairman’s Introduction’, \textit{Aslib Proceedings} 34 (1982), 457–8 (p. 457). The same author’s \textit{Information Sources in Grey Literature}, 3rd edition (London: Bowker Saur, 1994) is another useful discussion of this difficult area of library science.

\textsuperscript{72} Sometimes the same writer can use the term differently in different contexts. Paul Sturges uses it more in the ‘acquisition’ sense in \textit{An Investigation of Local Publications}, but more in the ‘ambiguity’ sense in a recent article which nevertheless clearly establishes the importance of ‘grey literature’ for both third-world development and for library studies: ‘Using Grey Literature in Informal Information services in Africa’, \textit{Journal of Documentation} 50.4 (1994), 273–90. The distinction between these two
self-explanatory term, which clearly confines itself in its meaning to the problem of acquisition, but in translation it also has an unfortunate double-meaning because it suggests ‘eccentric’, which the material itself is not. Translating *sauvage* in other ways does not help. 73 This is, therefore, a category of literature for which it is difficult to find a satisfactory name. In this thesis the words are used entirely in the context of ‘acquisition’.

As far as the bibliographer is concerned, there is no such thing as grey literature: the content of a bibliography is decided by what exists and how the material which exists fits into the definitions of inclusion and exclusion policies, not whether that material is easy or difficult to locate. A bibliography that excludes material which presents the compiler with a practical challenge is a bibliography that has lost its conceptual basis.

Not all publications will be included in the remit of bibliography because some will not be in the format of printed matter, and not all printed publications will be included because some will be classed as *ephemera*. 74

There is a more extensive discussion of the borders of ephemera in chapter 5. The ephemerists have suggested working definitions of this concept, but the problem is more one of specifying what type of production is ephemeral and what is not. A literal definition of the word ‘ephemera’ is any material intended to be used only for a day, but the concept has a broader base than ‘use for one day’. It concerns material which is issued for a specific purpose, to be used during a very limited time scale, and which has no intended use outside that time scale. A good example is an advertising leaflet inserted in a local newspaper which announces a forthcoming commercial sale. The idea of potential reuse is the main criterion which must be employed, but because ephemera has potential to be used by the collector or the art historian (and many other academics), the idea of reuse must be applied only to its

usages is rarely clear in any of the discussions of the subject.

73 ‘Free’ has dignity but also means ‘given away’; ‘beyond the pale’ implies intolerance; ‘savage’ implies ‘rough’; ‘untamed’ hints at both rebellion as well as a secret nobility; ‘errant’ is close enough to the French meaning but in English suggests ‘aberrant’; ‘fugitive’ implies illegality; ‘loose’ implies sexual impropriety and ‘free-range’ is laughable, though all these words could translate *sauvage* in different contexts.

74 Though technically a plural, the word offers no distinction between plural or singular forms in English and is here usually used as a collective noun.

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original purpose as intended by its creator. Moreover, it is only the function of the publication which is relevant rather than its format. Some ephemerists argue that all leaflets are ephemera, but this is not acceptable to the bibliographer, as will become clear in the more detailed discussions under 'exclusions and inclusions'. It seems appropriate to establish here only the principle that ephemera should be excluded from a bibliography. The more difficult question of deciding whether particular items should be classed as ephemera or not will be reserved to the detailed discussion on exclusion and inclusion policies, in chapter 5.\textsuperscript{75}

Because this approach seems to contradict the comprehensive principle, it needs to be emphasised that the exclusion of ephemera must have a conceptual rather than simply a practical justification, though the two overlap. It is argued in chapter 5 that certain activities or subjects within the county might be best treated to a separate survey: Shakespeare, for example, cannot be adequately treated in a Warwickshire bibliography. The scale of the literature would seriously imbalance the survey and it would not deliver to the user of a Warwickshire bibliography what it would be reasonable for that user to expect. A researcher seeking guidance on Shakespeare would expect to find it in a bibliography devoted entirely to him. The problem is not necessarily one of relevance but of scale. As already stated, printed ephemera is created at a substantial, daily rate within any county. It would require a team of full-time cataloguers to attempt to survey it comprehensively and they would fail to do so because institutions which produced it would not welcome the regular, intrusive enquiries. The treatment of ephemera in a bibliography demands a compromise, and the one illustrated in chapter 5 by reference to examples is one which offers principles which are both logical and practical (achievable). The principle of 'include everything you encounter irrespective of any definition' is not logical and the result will be one of disproportionate coverage based on chance encounter. The principle of 'include everything irrespective of any definitions or the effort involved' is not achievable, and if it were it would not be attractive because the

\textsuperscript{75} Interestingly, Woodward and McKnight also point out the existence of a new type of ephemera, which they call 'ethererma': ether-based ephemera, called by another writer 'skywriting' (p. 73 and notes 7 & 8). The bibliographical control of such material is likely to become a major problem in the library science of the future. Current ephemera is almost always ignored by library professionals: only when it is no longer available does its archiving attract attention.
survey would be 95% advertising ephemera and 5% scholarly studies of all other subjects. Nevertheless, there is a certain tension in the conceptualisation of this which can be illustrated visually. The following diagram illustrates how the area with which bibliography is concerned (A) does not occupy the natural centre of the overlapping concepts of printed matter, published matter and ephemeral matter but one which is off-centre; hence the need for a careful analysis of what constitutes the appropriate bibliographical frontier between fields A and B.

Figure 1: The Conceptual Frontier of Bibliography.

A represents the appropriate area of concern for bibliography (printed and published items), but its frontier with B, which represents the area of printed ephemera, is indistinct. C represents material which is printed and ephemeral but not circulated, such as private photocopying or management reports. D represents material which is published but ephemeral because it is not recorded, such as a public speech or a live radio broadcast.
In conclusion, a bibliography is a work which seeks to be a comprehensive survey of the literature on a particular subject which exists in published, non-ephemeral and printed, ‘book’ formats.\textsuperscript{76}

The broad definition of bibliography and the items which come under its scrutiny have been reviewed. Attention must now be given to the more specific idea of county bibliography so that the implications of the conclusions can be examined for the current research on Rutland or any other local context.

\textsuperscript{76} At the risk of blurring this conclusion, it should be mentioned that a bibliography which is not subject-based, such as a study of the productions of a particular printer, would seek to include all the known output of that printer irrespective of its format or function. An example, the contents of which are clear from the title, is George Mackie’s \textit{Books, mostly Scholarly, and some Ephemera, designed by George Mackie. An Exhibition at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and at the Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire} (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1991).
The General Practice of County Bibliography

The previous chapter offered a general definition of bibliography which would suggest that only a survey which attempted to record the existence of all the non-ephemeral, published, printed, book-format literature which pertains to all aspects of a county may be entitled to be described as a bibliography of the county. This rather exacting standard would suggest that no county bibliography at present exists, even though each county can boast the existence of some survey or other.

There have been previous surveys of county bibliographies, the most recent being a 1984 MA thesis by Linda Julian. Her thesis was based mainly on replies to enquiries made of the county library services, which varied in information quality, but she provided a useful checklist of many of the surveys and analysed something of their typology. She divided county bibliographies into three types: retrospective, retrospective, retrospective.


77 She omitted some of the retrospective surveys and made no reference to Humphreys' previous survey. Her claim that Berkshire and Cumbria had no bibliography was inaccurate, though neither have examples worthy of the name. The Berkshire bibliography is Reading Public Library's Local Collection Catalogue of Books and Maps Relating to Berkshire (Reading: Central Public Library, 1958) which has all the limitations of being a collection catalogue. The Cumbrian is even more disproportionate in its coverage: Hodgson, Henry W. (ed.), A Bibliography of the History of Cumberland and Westmorland, Record Office Publication No. 1 (Carlisle: Joint Archives Committee for Cumberland, Westmorland and Carlisle, 1968).
current and new. By ‘retrospective’ she meant older surveys rather than simply ones which reviewed the past, ‘new’ being recently-published retrospective bibliographies. A current bibliography is one which lists only recent literature.

The diverse origins of the projects is another variant. Before 1949 they were mostly compiled by individuals on a voluntary, ‘local enthusiasm’ basis. After 1950 they have mostly been compiled by organisations. Most of the new projects are also controlled by organisations, with the exception of that for Hertfordshire which is the brain-child of an individual (p. 24). The current bibliographies are mostly compiled by local branches of the Library Association, with the exception of that for Cleveland (p. 23), which was based at Teesside Polytechnic, now the University of Teesside, Middlesbrough.

In part, therefore, the disparity in approaches relates to the diverse origins of the surveys, but equal weight must be given to the uniqueness of each place and the independence of the local compilers. Even in the related publications East Midlands Bibliography and Northern Bibliography the contents lists are completely different (Julian, pp. 80–1). The former is arranged by locality, the latter by subject matter, but both are projects of the Library Association and both rely heavily on received contributions from local librarians. The variance in approaches is not necessarily unhealthy because each place has its own bibliographical needs and the survey is intended mainly for local use. The limitation of the diverse approach, however, is the difficulty in contrasting material from one county with another.

The state of bibliographical control indeed varies considerably from county to county. Some counties, such as Staffordshire, have ancient antiquarian bibliographies of little practical use because of their eccentric approach, and others, such as Suffolk, have modern surveys of considerable merit (but which are also interesting for their limitations). Simms’ Bibliotheca Staffordiensis is extraordinary in its scale but practically useless due to the fact that it is in alphabetical order by author throughout and because most of the entries are of the ‘local author’ type (i.e., have

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79 Very few, however, seem to have anonymous editors. One suspects that the projects, although published under the aegis of an institution, were largely the results of personal effort.

80 Regular updates on current literature on a new county, of course, do not have quite the same problem as retrospective bibliographies for the same area.

81 Rupert Simms, Bibliotheca Staffordiensis... (Lichfield, 1894).
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no bearing whatsoever on the county of Staffordshire). Another work of this type is that by Boase and Courtney for Cornwall. 82

Some of the older surveys were in fact based upon collections, with all the limitations for unrepresentative inclusions and exclusions which that implies. These included the early surveys of Norfolk 83 and Cambridgeshire. 84 There is even an example of a general collection of English topography for which the owner commissioned the printing of an impressive catalogue: A Bibliographical Account of Works relating to English Topography in the Library of John Tricks Spalding, J.P. Nottingham, 5 vols (Exeter: privately printed, 1912–13), but this does not constitute a bibliography of English local studies.

Early attempts to place the subject on a systematic basis were conducted by individuals working on their own county alone. These efforts include the first county bibliography published: John Russell Smith's Bibliotheca Cantiana... (London: the author, 1837) as well as the later Victorian works on Dorset 85 and Gloucestershire. 86 These three early works are particularly noteworthy for their classification systems (on which see chapter 6), which contrast with the meaningless alphabetical order by author which plagued many early bibliographies, and for a reaction against the equally meaningless lists of local authors which plague the early bibliographies of Cornwall, Norfolk and Staffordshire. 87

High standards of bibliographical description were set for a local survey by Falconer Madan at the end of the nineteenth century. Oxford Books is annalistic 88 in

82 George Clement Boase and William Prideaux Courtney, Bibliotheca Cornubiensis..., 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1874–82)
83 [John Quinton], Bibliotheca Norfolciensis. A Catalogue of the Writings of Norfolk Men... (Norwich: privately printed, 1896).
84 A. T. Bartholomew, Catalogue of Books and Papers... relating to... the County of Cambridge... (Cambridge: CUP, 1912).
85 Charles Herbert Mayo, Bibliotheca Dorsetiensis... (London: privately printed, 1885).
86 Cited in note 1, p. I.
87 The Gloucestershire survey began by excluding them but eventually surveyed local writers (and local biographies) in two large supplementary volumes.
88 In bibliography annalistic means presented in order of publication, whereas chronological means in order of the subject's treatment within the listed books. There is an explanation of the difference in Robinson, Systematic Bibliography, p. 51.
approach and attempts to offer full collations of works listed, though only the ones considered to be of major importance by the author, the minor titles receiving far less coverage. It has a high standard of description, covering the whole of the literature pertaining to the city (only), but is confined to the early period of printing.

In the twentieth century there have been attempts to place the subject of county bibliography on a nationwide and consistent footing, but on the whole the diverse patterns set in the last century have simply continued and the high standards of some of the early pioneers have not been particularly influential.

A Suffolk Bibliography90 is a modern, respected survey but one which openly acknowledges the fact that it is arbitrarily selective. Local sermons and acts of Parliament are treated selectively; subjects such as botany and zoology are omitted altogether. 8123 items are listed but 'The need to observe reasonable limits in size and cost has resulted in a series of compromises and some degree of arbitrariness in the final selection both of subjects and entries' (p. ix). It was designed to harmonise with the earlier A Bibliography of Norfolk History, but has a different approach on many subjects.91 Another worthy survey is the two volumes of the Essex bibliography, issued as part of the Victoria County History series. These volumes closely follow the subjects covered in the Victoria History, however, so they have slightly unusual arrangements and are biased towards historical subjects.92

The publication of collection catalogues, useful as partial contributions towards the eventual production of a bibliography, nevertheless demonstrate the continuing absence of a good county survey. Examples include the Berkshire list already mentioned and W. E. Dring, The Fen and the Furrow. Books on South

91 Elizabeth Darroch and Barry Taylor, A Bibliography of Norfolk History (Norwich: University of East Anglia Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1975); it also excludes both local authors and works on flora and fauna.
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Cambridgeshire and the Fenland in the County Library (Cambridge: Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely County Library, 1974).

An attempt at a full survey of Oxfordshire is impressive for its classification system, but fails to survey the subject adequately because it is also based largely on the holdings of the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries. Like the other catalogues, it therefore has both unusual inclusions as well as exclusions. The Bodleian can be shown from the Rutland evidence to be weak on local studies (see next chapter). The Oxfordshire county library service, if at all similar to Leicestershire, is likely to hold less than a third of the relevant material. Another example of this type is the recent survey of the city of Lincoln, which 'is based as far as possible on the collections of Lincoln Central Library'.

Dobbin's Nottinghamshire History and Topography seems to follow Oxford Books in its annalistic and descriptive approach, but is highly selective, poor in the quality of its descriptions, makes a broad chronological survey (to 1980) but only of historical and topographical subject matter.

Crude alphabetical approaches to county bibliography also survive in the twentieth century, the most unwieldy example of which is probably The Kent Bibliography, which arranges its contents according to a bewildering range of subject headings in alphabetical order. The Cumberland and Westmorland survey, already


95 Michael Dobbin, Nottinghamshire History and Topography... (Nottingham: the author, 1983). This latter work is also notable for excluding all article literature.

96 George Bennett, Wyn Bergess and Carleton Earl (eds), The Kent Bibliography. A Finding List of Kent Material in the Public Libraries of the County and of the Adjoining London Boroughs (London: Library Association London and Home Counties branch, 1977) and Wyn Bergess (ed.), The Kent Bibliography. Supplement (same place and
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mentioned, is also alphabetical by subject and is only less confusing to use because there is so little in it.

Each county bibliography continues to have its own policy on inclusion and exclusion, which again makes comparisons between surveys difficult. Julian reviewed in her 1984 thesis some of the diversity of approaches for exclusion and inclusion. The Bedfordshire survey, for instance, excludes manuscripts, maps, Acts of Parliament, publications of the local authority, reports of institutions, sales catalogues, parish magazines, prospectuses and leaflets from societies, doctrinal material and fiction. The Lancashire survey also excludes most of these, but does include Acts of Parliament, local authority titles and sales catalogues. The Bedfordshire bibliography examines materials held in libraries outside the county, the Lancashire only includes material held within the county.\(^97\) Some surveys include local writers, others exclude them. Some include maps and natural history, others not.\(^98\) None of the examined bibliographies seems keen to include local humour or children’s books. Some only include books and pamphlets, ignoring articles in journals. There remains no commonly followed classification system or subject headings and no consistency in information quality or style between one area and another.

The purpose of this general overview is simply to highlight the diversity of approaches which are still current and even the diversity of coverage throughout the country. Some areas still await the publication of their first county bibliography, although there are catalogues which temporarily provide some working lists. Included here are the large counties of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire.

The earliest attempt to establish a national network to co-ordinate the production of county bibliographies according to general standards is recorded in a publisher, 1981). The limitation of sticking to the contents of the county’s ‘official’ library collections is also immediately apparent.

\(^97\) Julian, An Assessment of Local and Regional Bibliographies..., p. 44.

\(^98\) The modern Norfolk and Suffolk bibliographies exclude natural history (other than landscape); the Worcestershire survey made flora a whole volume: John Humphreys (ed.), Bibliography of Works Relating to the Botany of Worcestershire (Oxford: for the Worcestershire Historical Society, 1907) [Volume III of the Bibliography of Worcestershire]. The large-scale Worcestershire project from the turn of the century was never completed.
publication which sounds more important from its name than its content allows: The National Council of Social Services, *The Compilation of County Bibliographies* (London. 1948). In three brief paragraphs the pamphlet calls for the establishment in each county of a Local History Committee to 'provide a “clearing house” through and in support of which the Central Committee may work' (p. 3). The rest of this pamphlet is a useful proposal for a classification scheme. Nothing seems to have come of it except that its authors, Merry and Cordeaux, went on to produce the volumes of the Oxfordshire bibliography, refining their proposed classification scheme in the light of experience.

Amongst the many recommendations made by Sturges and Dixon was their call for more co-ordination in the compiling of county and regional bibliographies. The basic proposal was that there should be a national co-ordinating centre for local studies bibliography, building a database of entries received from the localities. This national centre would establish consistent guidelines for the recording of information and provide an information service for enquiries. The information could be printed out by locality or region or subject-matter (i.e., it would have standard database flexibility). It would require considerable co-operation from librarians throughout the country and considerable funding for the central base. The proposed county boundaries were the pre-1974 ones. The great advantage would be the ability to contrast specialised work on one area with that in another. Another advantage might also be a general improvement in standards of recording.

99 Sturges supplemented the main report with an article 'Local and Regional Bibliographies: a State of the Art Report', in *Local Studies Librarian* 2.2 (1983), 3–6. The editorial introduction to that issue (p. 2) neatly summarised the situation: 'The recording of locally published material has always been a problem. The British National Bibliography is notably unhelpful for various reasons - much of this type of material does not fall within its scope, much relevant material is not deposited, the BNB itself is selective to some extent and there is also the question of late listing.' See also Sturges's 'Bibliographic Control', in *A Manual of Local Studies Librarianship* ed. Michael Dewe (Aldershot: Gower, 1987), 168-80, for another general review.

100 Contrasts are likely to be needed by those researching topics which are not contained within a county, such as the trawling industry on the east coast of England, or regional styles and building materials in church architecture. A book reviewer might also seek information on books published in a different historiographical tradition for comparative purposes.
This ambitious project was begun when York University undertook a pilot scheme in the year the report was published (1983), to study the possibility of establishing a national computerised database of local bibliography at York. The scheme produced a survey of the City of York and the county of Warwick, but unfortunately the experiment was discontinued owing to lack of resources. If it had continued, however, it might well have foundered on the difficulties of establishing consistency in information quality and quantity, a problem already apparent in the two regional bibliographies mentioned and one which was also acknowledged in 1990 to be a problem in Scottish local studies. The problem of recording 'grey literature' (see above, pp. 37-9, and below, pp. 53-60) would exist whether there was a national centre or not. To some extent the British Library already provides a national centre for all bibliographical work, and the local library services also co-ordinate information on local titles from a local perspective. The existence of a third public body examining local material would be unlikely to produce any greater quantity of information on local books because they would be dependent on the other bodies for the information.

It would also have been extremely difficult for contributors in one area to know what might be of interest in another. Hidden within one book or article are many 'thought units' on different subjects, and these would not be highlighted in a national bibliographical database unless they were specifically mentioned by the reporting librarian. Each item would require a formidable range of key words to be

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101 There is an account of the York project by its leader, Margaret Evans, 'A National Information Resource for Local Studies: the York University Local Bibliographic Project', *Local Studies Librarian* 3.1 (Summer, 1984), 19-21. £200,000 was needed to secure the project through the first two stages over five years. Stage 1 was the pilot scheme, which was completed, stage 2 the expansion to 6 other counties, and stage 3 the ultimate expansion to the whole of England. The initial funding was only £2,750 from York and £36,000 from the Manpower Services Commission. Julian identifies funding as the prime challenge facing the compilation of county bibliographies.

102 'There is, however, no suitable set of standard subject descriptors for Scottish local studies; those lists already published or proposed are not comprehensive or detailed enough to take full advantage of the thesaurus approach', Gordon Dunsire, 'SCOTLOC – Automation for Local Studies', *Local Studies Librarian* 9.2 (1990), 4-8 (p. 7). It is the problem of forcing too many entries into categories unsuited for them, and the difficulties of merging records from one source with those of another.
tagged to its entry for even a proportion of its potential use to be realised. Moreover, the selection of key words would be personal rather than factual, and unlikely to be consistent with the choices of the librarian's counterpart in another county.103

The York project was innovative for several reasons other than its ambitious geographical scope. Despite the problems of finding the right key words, its standardisation for coverage, style of entry, subject arrangement and indexing would have allowed for very sophisticated searching to take place. Its plan to list up to 99 locations where a copy could be found for any one entry would have been immensely useful as a research tool.104 The ability to contrast material was considered important by members of the project, but the real breakthrough would probably have been the service it could have offered researchers on a particular locality: by presenting them with an effective on-line service constructed entirely with the needs of local historians in mind, the difficulties encountered in on-line searching discussed in the next chapter would have been minimised. The actual quantity of references in the database might, originally at least, have been inadequate, but the high standard of analysis allowing easy access to those references would have compensated for that.

Hull University has produced a computerised bibliography of East Yorkshire material. They modelled their criteria and database on the York model. The project to compile the initial survey lasted a full year and employed fourteen researchers (funded by the Manpower Services Commission). Only three large collections were surveyed, but the result was a catalogue of 11,000 items. Search of the finished product is possible by author, title or keyword. Three keywords can be combined in a single search. The directors of the survey freely acknowledged that 'to standardise keywords seems very difficult, while it is also the most important field on which searches are being conducted'.105 The compilers followed the York model but were frustrated by the necessity of forcing so many works on fishing into categories unsuited for them. No doubt if the York project had continued, more flexibility in

103 The project also had an exclusion policy (e.g., some ephemera, house journals and 'trivia', p. 66), but the entries were to be edited by the York centre, which might not necessarily have been able to judge the importance of something which was local.


subject headings would have been introduced to deal with the special needs of very different counties.\textsuperscript{106}

Leicester University is noted for its Centre for Urban History which has begun a project to produce a bibliography of small towns between 1600 and 1850. This has taken advantage of the enthusiasm of M.A. students, who have researched material on Essex and Northamptonshire small towns\textsuperscript{107} and many more are planned. These are not county bibliographies but surveys of a specialised topic within each county, and, since they are subject bibliographies intended for a specific academic use, the degree of comprehensiveness aimed for is not high. Works which are related to the topic, but of limited academic value, are excluded. They should therefore be called ‘reader’s guides’ instead.

Attempts to co-ordinate the achievements of local bibliographies seem to have been conducted without a realisation of the scale of the problem, or any awareness that the material in one particular library is likely to be unrepresentative.\textsuperscript{108} This is mainly because the published bibliographies are inadequate but not obviously so, and librarians tend to have intimate knowledge of only a few collections. The modern Oxfordshire bibliography and its 1981 supplement together list only 5942 items (the city of Oxford is treated separately and offers a further 3890 entries). 7304 items are in the Norfolk survey, which is acknowledged to be selective. The Suffolk survey includes 8123 entries. These figures seem to suggest that even the large counties will be adequately surveyed with under 10,000 entries. The Rutland

\textsuperscript{106} A very extensive list of subject headings is that used for the Sussex project, reproduced in the appendix to Julian’s thesis (p. 82). There are 100 headings here, which includes Buddhism but not Islam or Judaism, presumably because of the Buddhist temple in Sussex. There are more detailed comments on classification schemes in chapter 5, below.


\textsuperscript{108} It was discovered in the on-line searches for Rutland (next chapter) that virtually every source of information held something unique in it which was not duplicated in the other sources.
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project, however, has already produced a similar number of references for an area and population a fraction the size of these large counties. It is difficult to believe that all English counties will have a similar quantity of literature irrespective of their size. The implication, but one which is impossible to quantify without very extensive research in several counties, is that an area the size of Suffolk, which is ten times the size of Rutland, ought rather to have a bibliography in proportion.

Further comparative references to other county bibliographies will be made in the context of discussions on classification systems, the inclusion and exclusion policies and the statistical review of the Rutland bibliography. The main point of this section is to stress that every county has some sort of bibliographical survey. Their standards, arrangement and degree of comprehensiveness, however, are remarkably diverse. There is no satisfactory model that the student might emulate for his or her own county. The compiler of a local bibliography has a completely different problem from that of the compiler of a survey of a scientific discipline, where the majority of material might be located in a single large academic library and where there is a high standard of bibliographical control in on-line sources. This difficulty may be called 'the problem of grey literature', to which subject the discussion now turns.

The Problem of Grey Literature

An understanding of the nature and scale of this problem is necessary because it will influence the choice of procedures for research. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, literature may be termed grey or 'wild' when it is outside bibliographical control, but there are two main categories of such literature relevant to a local bibliography. One is the locally-produced material which rarely enters the local, let alone the national, library systems: one could call this 'fully wild'. The other may be called the 'semi-wild' material: titles which may be known to some librarians but not others, which may be available in the library system, but which nevertheless may be difficult for the bibliographer of the locality to access. Some books might even be born in captivity but become 'feral' later.109

109 I.e., a formally published book might enter the library system and then be lost. Leicestershire Libraries catalogue records several items — unfortunately including some mysteries — which are described as unavailable: books which are lost or stolen. An example is J. L. Carr, The County of Rutland (Kettering: J. L. Carr, 1972). The series of small pamphlets published by Carr is known to the present writer but not
A great deal of the 'fully-wild' material produced in and for a locality is amateur in its standards of production and editing, and borders on the ephemeral. Sturges and Dixon (p. 44) measured the extent to which the literature they discovered appeared in the British National Bibliography (BNB). Their survey showed that only 22% of Leicester City titles and 10% of titles from Shropshire appeared in the BNB. The latter figure is more representative because the Leicester survey includes the work of some professional publishers, such as the Dryad Press.

A great many local publications, therefore, escape the net of the British Library's BNB, almost entirely because many local publications are not sent to the copyright agents by their publishers.

The problem can be illustrated from the Rutland study also. Two alternative measures can be used, both of which suggest that the situation has improved since the Sturges & Dixon report, though the proportion of BNB coverage remains slight. Using the main list of 1512 titles generated from both on-line and local searching, but contrasting only the titles produced from 1950 onwards with the 165 non-periodical titles listed in BNB 1950–95, the figures for each decade are:

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10 This work. Now that this reference has been found, procedures can be put in hand to ensure the work's eventual capture. Often, of course, mysteries prove to be explicable when located: libraries often catalogue a photocopied or off-print article from a journal as if it were a book and Carr's The County of Rutland could well be a map.

110 [British Library], The British National Bibliography (from 1951). Two volumes are published for each year, a subject listing and an index. The CD version, currently on three discs, is easier to use than the printed versions.

111 Although the report is now over 25 years old, Philip Henry Jones showed in 1969 that the unrepresentative nature of BNB extended to many subjects. He found that the Leicestershire County Library bought 14,918 titles in 1967–68, of which only 5,888 appeared in BNB: Books in Leicest[shire] and Rutland: a Research Report on the Holdings of Academic and Public Libraries in Two Midland Counties (Aberystwyth: College of Librarianship and Leicester, Leicestershire County Library, 1969), p. 1. Looked at from the perspective of BNB, 71% of titles listed were bought by the libraries the author studied (p. 7). No part of the study looked at the issue of local 'grey' literature, and probably a greater number of the titles bought which were not in BNB did appear in later volumes. The problem of late listing has almost certainly reduced the realism of the figures.
Table 1: BNB Capture of Rutland Material

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Total titles</th>
<th>BNB</th>
<th>BNB %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>17.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, however, one uses a different measure – the proportion of titles which carry an ISBN – a much higher proportion is achieved. Two hundred and twenty-five titles included in the Rutland bibliography carry an ISBN, which is 29.26% of the 769 titles published 1971–96. This suggests that nearly 30% of local publications are subject to some degree of formal bibliographical control. Three factors explain the 11.65% difference between the ISBN (29.26%) and BNB (17.61%) figures. One is certainly that many publishers will have taken advantage of the free service for listing in *Books in Print*, which usually means an ISBN is automatically allocated to the book, but who are still copyright rebels as far as donating free copies to the state are concerned (i.e., this 11.65% represents mostly the ‘semi-wild’ category mentioned above). Another factor is certainly late listing: many of the 1990s titles will have appeared locally but not been sent to the British Library yet, or possibly they have been received but not listed yet. Finally, the ISBN figure is based on examination of the actual books and will contain many items found in local sources which did not appear as a result of key word searches because of the problems discussed in the next chapter. There is no simple way of improving the figure, however, because a great many of the ‘Leicestershire’ titles which were relevant also appeared in the ‘Rutland’ searches, but it can be demonstrated that only between 17.61% and 29.26% of new local titles are subject to this formal control.

It is apparent that the compilers of BNB are making more conscientious efforts, because more minor literature is being listed, but at the same time considerably more material is being produced and not being sent to the British Library. The relatively high percentage for the 1950s is caused by a large number of town guides for Oakham and Uppingham being deposited.
It is clear that the main explanation for the omissions lies in the behaviour of the publishers in not sending copies to the copyright libraries or even to *Books in Print*, either because of their deliberate refusal or because of their passive indifference. One major series of Rutland titles, the Spiegl Press 'In Rutland' series, does not appear in any of the lists produced by the copyright libraries but most of the volumes are in *Books in Print* and have been bought by many of the libraries whose catalogues were accessed on-line. This must therefore be a case of deliberate refusal, though, because the series appears in the local libraries but not the national, it can be said to be only 'semi-wild'.

Items such as Bob Steele's *My Boyhood Memories*, Stamford Museum's *Catalogue of the Blackstone Collection* and Hooson's *A History of Tolethorpe* are better produced than some of the items recorded in BNB, but their publishers do not perhaps consider them important enough to display to the wider world even for the promotion of sales: they are not even in *Books in Print*. These may be cases of passive negligence but they represent the truly 'wild' category.

Bob Steele's *My Boyhood Memories* is a particularly good example of this grey literature. Published by the author's widow in Stamford in 1993, this pamphlet of 32 pages contains memories of North Luffenham in the first decade of the twentieth century. There are many details of life at the time and the author's prose preserves many features of local dialect. The publisher merely had a few copies printed and sold them in aid of her local church bookstall and to a few friends and relatives. They were not even put on sale in Rutland. When asked, not one of the librarians or collectors of Rutland material known to the author had heard of it, but the publication is central to several aspects of the Rutland bibliography: biography, dialect, rural life and the history of North Luffenham parish.

Virtually every parish church publishes a parish magazine or church guide which shares the same fate. If the publishers of such material promoted them more actively, however, they would enjoy a broader audience. The reason for their neglect lies in the passive indifference of the publishers rather than in their resentment towards collection or the desire of the BNB to exclude them. On the other hand, deliberate concealment from the outside world lies behind the failure of local freemasonry publications to appear in public sources: no database offered to this researcher W. H. Russell's *The Rutland Lodge. No. 1130. Centenary Festival 1866–1966*...
Some Notes on the Formation and Consecration of the Lodge... (Melton Mowbray: the Rutland Lodge, 1966) and other groups, such as the creators of commissioned reports, may specifically prefer their titles not to be widely known.

Minor publications which are given ISBNs and reported to Whitaker's for Books in Print are usually collected and tend also to be listed in BNB regardless of quality. Enquiry was made to the copyright agent as to his main source of information. It was confirmed that it is Books in Print. Every month a database of BIP is received from Whitakers and a computerised check is made against this for books which have not been received or requested. All unknown publications are requested irrespective of merit or expense. All are passed to the libraries who then decide whether to keep them or not. There is no returns procedure. The system is not efficient: reprints might be requested in error, because they are listed as new publications by Whitaker's, and a proportion of titles are inexplicably missed (i.e., listed but never asked for). The copyright agent does not prosecute publishers who refuse to send copies. The most that the publisher need fear is a couple of reminders.

Because local items are produced and sold locally, they do not require the assistance of a marketing or distribution strategy that would automatically bring them to the attention of the copyright agent. They are simply walked round the corner and put on sale at the local shop. They do not even need to be widely promoted to ensure reasonable sales and their producers are probably not aware of their obligations.

It is the responsibility of the publisher alone to furnish copyright copies. The printer has no such responsibility (in France both publisher and printer share it), nor does the author. The ISBN feature is a free service financed by J. Whitaker & Sons Ltd., the publishers of Books in Print, but it is not a compulsory feature of publishing. Inclusion in Books in Print is also entirely voluntary. Even if it were compulsory it would still be ignored by many small publishers and enforcement would be impractical.

Sturges and Dixon reviewed the possibilities of stricter enforcement of copyright laws (pp. 44, 49–51, 56, etc.) and concluded that it would not only be

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112 An example is the 1990 Stamford Mockery, a piece of amateur, humorous satire aimed at The Rutland and Stamford Mercury and sold for charity. It was not bought by Lincolnshire Libraries, but because of its appearance in Books in Print with an ISBN it was ordered by the copyright agent.
impractical (not least because the system can hardly cope with what it receives already), but its enforcement would be unpopular and lead to further, more deliberate avoidance by small publishers. The reason why some small publishers seek to avoid copyright receipt is that they see it as a form of taxation which offers them no benefit. This will always be a problem but a great deal could be done to change their attitudes if the copyright libraries could extend to publishers the message that their productions were genuinely wanted. The formal listing of all received items should be a matter of course and the copyright libraries could offer helpful reciprocal services to publishers so that they would feel they were getting a *quid pro quo*. At present many of the large libraries have policies of generously-reduced reproduction fees for individuals, who may nevertheless enjoy large salaries, but excessively large fees for publishers, who may be financially desperate. The copyright libraries could also offer research facilities to publishers who donate their titles as a matter of course. If the copyright libraries could extend the message to publishers that their efforts and productions were respected, then a tighter enforcement of copyright receipt would not only be justified but would probably be met with passive acceptance by publishers. This is a serious point in any consideration of the problem of grey literature.¹¹³

Another important source of local-interest grey literature is the local authority. Local authority publications have long been recognised as an area posing problems to any collector of the material.¹¹⁴ In the draft list of 1512 titles for the Rutland bibliography 115 have the word ‘Council’ in them, of which only 18 (15.65%) also appear in BNB.¹¹⁵ It is also surprising how many titles listed in *UK Official Publications on CD-ROM* do not appear in BNB: the central government is equally negligent in providing for copyright receipt, and any campaign to extend collecting should

¹¹³ One ‘rebellious publisher’ was asked why he had donated a single copy of his *The Story of Stamford* to the British Library (hence its appearance in BNB), but had refused to send the other five copies. It was because Cambridge University Library had twice refused his request for access for what were educational purposes.


¹¹⁵ 177 of the 1512 titles were issued by a local authority in total but this larger figure includes ones published before the advent of ISBN or BNB.
appropriately start amongst the agencies of the state.\textsuperscript{116}

From a local librarian's perspective, grey literature has a different political problem. In their 1979 survey, Sturges and Dixon enquired of the local librarians they interviewed as to their selection policy. It was concluded that local librarians made an effort to locate items which were considered to be of good quality and with a clear potential use. Less interesting items were acquired only when it was comparatively easy so to do. The point is that much rested on convenience and qualitative judgements about material which may have come to their attention in a haphazard manner. The authors also made the point that enthusiasm for local collecting had declined since the local government reorganisation in 1974: 'The difference between an active Borough Local Studies Library, collecting material for its own use and pride, and a district library, acting as a subsidiary of the central Local Studies Library, is often quite considerable.'\textsuperscript{117}

That local studies collections do not collect comprehensively the material that is produced on their subject raises an issue which was not discussed by Sturges and Dixon because it was less apparent in 1979 than it is today. Most county library services are underfunded and cannot afford to buy anything like all the material that they wish, even if it has been brought to their attention by the publisher (i.e., supply is convenient), and to allocate more substantial resources to the library services specifically to allow for more active local collecting would be politically unpopular, if not impossible, in the present economic circumstances. This important consideration is another reminder that the county bibliographer must be prepared to search far and wide even to net items of standard interest, and that criticism of librarians for failing to stock some items must be restrained.\textsuperscript{118} The problem of funding has been even

\textsuperscript{116} The reason for institutional neglect must not, of course, be resentment, but that no member of the institution has been given the responsibility of ensuring that the publications are sent. There is, however, not just a principle of fairness at stake here, for Owen has demonstrated just how useful and interesting local authority titles can be when properly organised and made available for others: Tim Owen, 'Grey Literature Online: the GLC Experience', \textit{ASLIB Proceedings} 34.11 (1982), 480–6. It is absurdly wasteful that every local authority should write and publish its own pamphlet on subjects such as \textit{Safe Newspaper Deliveries} (Grantham: SKDC, 1995) when the first such title can be circulated and distributed by many authorities.

\textsuperscript{117} Sturges and Dixon, pp. 47–9, quotation p. 48; also p. 59.

\textsuperscript{118} Criticism, however, is sometimes appropriate. In the 1970s Lincoln Cathedral Library
more apparent since the introduction of new methods of local authority finance. It is sometimes easier to persuade a library to stock a new book for resale purposes than it is to persuade it to buy for the local collection. Museums and libraries are under pressure to generate income from their users.

There has been a survey of budget proportions that county libraries spend on local material. This demonstrated that English and Welsh county councils spend 1.36% of library acquisition on local studies. In Scotland and Northern Ireland there is a stronger sense of local identity, producing a figure of 4.6% for the latter.\(^{119}\)

This problem of funding is likely to increase as new library authorities are created in the latest round of local government reorganisation. The Cleveland library authority, for example, has been broken into four independent bodies. The county bibliography, however, can help minimise the effect of low resources. When new authorities lack the resources and expertise to collect local materials comprehensively (and at present Leicestershire Libraries appear to have purchased only 471 (or 31%) of the 1512 'Rutland' items mentioned above), the bibliography, listing the location of available titles elsewhere, will play a pivotal role in local studies.

\(^{119}\) Diana Winterbotham, 'The Local Studies Statistical Survey', *Local Studies Librarian* 9.1 (Spring, 1990), 3–6. The acquisitions policies of local library services for the local collection has been the subject of a thesis: G. M. Sippings, *Local History Materials in Public Libraries: the Framework of an Acquisitions Policy*, unpublished M. Lib. thesis (Aberystwyth, University of Wales, 1986). Amongst the author's many interesting conclusions is that local studies librarians should use the 'local grapevine' to learn of new publications, and that budget pressures can be minimised by ensuring that different collections in the same locality should share copies of books between them (i.e., avoid buying two copies where one will suffice). This was not a new suggestion, of course: Condit made the same point in 1939, throughout his *A Pamphlet about Pamphlets*. These and some other issues are also reviewed in a recent article for the East Midlands: John Feather, Graham Matthews and Carolyn Pritchett, 'The Management and Use of Reserve and Special Collections in Public Libraries: a Study of the East Midlands', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 27 (1995), 89–97.
The Needs of the User and the Aim of Comprehensiveness

Before moving to consider the concept of 'the county', and Rutland in particular, this seems an appropriate point to reconsider briefly the needs of the users of the proposed county bibliography of Rutland, because meeting those needs will affect the content and presentation of the survey.

The potential readership of a local bibliography is diverse. It includes (i) students of the many subjects of local studies (at all levels of scholarship from primary school to university); (ii) librarians, booksellers and book collectors active in the locality; and (iii) students of general subjects who wish to know what relevant material exists at a local level.120

Because a bibliography is non-partisan, the needs of all three categories of users must be addressed. Primarily all three categories will first wish to have the answer to 'What has been written?' Is that need best met by an attempt at comprehensibility or by making neat selections of material, such as listing only the material which is easily available locally?

L. Stanley Jast followed Brown in his sympathies when he wrote:

[bibliography] amounts to little more than a census of paper spoiled by being printed on. What has been called the dream of bibliography [i.e., of universal bibliography] is in reality a nightmare. Its accomplishment would add to the world's burden, not lighten it, for to record rubbish is only less a crime than to publish it.

and he called for 'selective bibliography on the principle, not of inclusion but of exclusion'.121

Jast's charge appears to be a reasonable one, but it is fundamentally flawed even if we concede the existence of 'rubbish'. For, while claiming to represent the needs of the users, it actually denies their needs, or at least does so in the context of broad-based local studies.

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120 Sturges and Dixon draw a distinction between the thematic approach to minor literature and the local approach (pp. 12-14): much that is incidentally both minor and local may also have a specialised interest for researchers and librarians of subject specialisations from outside the county; for example a Rutland church guide can be of interest to a London-based architectural historian. The county bibliography will certainly be consulted be these 'outsiders' and it should respect their needs.

COUNTY BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE RUTLAND PROJECT

It is not the role of the bibliographer to form value-judgements on whether one subject is more important or valid than another, for example taking more care to catalogue items relating to a public school than to the local football club. Both are activities within the county of interest to many inhabitants, and if they produce printed publications then both should be included in the bibliography.  

The first point, therefore, is that the question of censorship raises the issue of ‘Who decides and on what grounds?’ If the criteria are scientific, they will come into the definition of the scope of the project; if they are not scientific, they will not be in the survey’s specification and they will rest on little more than prejudice against the value of certain subjects or activities. Exclusions mean that some of the potential users of the bibliography were regarded by the compiler as unimportant.

The second point against exclusions is that it illustrates the bibliographer’s failure to see the potential in his or her material. Several Rutland publications exist which might appear absurd. One is the Edwardian pamphlet Ten Little Rhymes of Uppingham Town. This is particularly trite poetry, has a pitiful standard of book production and is bibliographically irritating for having no imprint. However, it is considered to have been written by R. Sterndale Bennett, an Uppingham schoolmaster of note from the turn of the century, so it has a biographical importance (perhaps even a psychological one). It also contains subtle references to many Uppingham personalities of the period (hidden as puns), so in fact it is a historical document deserving attention for its satirical content. As an example of bad local poetry, it is even of interest to anyone studying the standards or sources of inspiration of local poetry in the twentieth century. Finally, such is the notoriety of the work that it has even entered local folklore and been quoted in print several times. Identification of the source of these rhymes is just the sort of enquiry likely to be

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122 Sturges and Dixon also sympathise strongly with the idea that minor publications can be of great interest, and offer research potential to the social scientists of tomorrow (p. 40). Something on the lines of an idea that ‘every book has a reader’ lies behind the expression ‘it would be a considerable waste if they [the books] were denied the possibility of being useful because they were not held in any library or listed in any bibliography’ (p. 47).

123 One of the poems has also been issued on a commemorative mug. As discussed in the first chapter, such a publication might be mentioned in a note, but should not be catalogued alongside the book version as an equal because it is a different category of artefact.
made by a user of the bibliography and there is no justification for calling such an enquiry unreasonable. Neither should bibliographers feel embarrassed at including it: they have not written the rhymes themselves.

Another example will also serve the point. A large number of the recent Rutland publications were those issued by the Rutland Local History Society in association with the Stamford-based Spiegl Press. The first of these was *South Luffenham in Rutland*, issued by the Society in 1975 and subsequently reprinted by Spiegl Press in 1977. The publications are not of a high standard because they are not edited to any specification and are printed to a very poor quality, especially their photographs. It is unfortunate, however, for the scholar who would wish to blast them out of existence, that they often represent the only publication on a particular village or aspect of Rutland; they frequently include photographs of great interest, even if they are badly reproduced; and, despite the incoherent jumble of their texts, they frequently record interesting recollections for the local historian. Even worse, for the bibliographer, is that they have gone through different editions (with unacknowledged alterations) and this makes them difficult to catalogue, but because the selection of photographs may change from one printing to another, it is important to record each version for the benefit of those searching for photographic evidence. The bibliographer, therefore, has no choice but to include them, and to record their variant forms, because failure to do so will diminish the value of the bibliography.

The cautionary points here are that, however bad a work may be, there is usually something of merit within it which could be of use, or inspiration, to other minds; and that, when dealing with a subject as broad as the literature of a whole county, it is well to remember that most specialised sections within the survey are small, and that it is these specialised sections which most users of the bibliography are seeking, a point also made by Hyett and Bazeley in their introduction to the Gloucestershire bibliography.124

It might, of course, be argued that bibliographers would serve their readers better if they presented their material according to a hierarchy, emphasising the importance of one title before another but including both, but such a presentation might mislead the reader who was deliberately seeking material with which to make contrasts, or seeking ideas on something very specific which is only found within a

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work of poor scholarship.\textsuperscript{125}

The point of only listing items which are easily available has more force to it, but it would reduce the importance of the survey substantially. Researchers into nineteenth-century friendly societies, or histories of particular churches or the history of non-conformism would have fewer entries to explore because these subjects are preserved in a higher proportion of ‘grey’ literature than is the case with, for example, medieval Rutland; but even mainstream items such as Acts of Parliament and poll books can be very difficult to locate. A bibliography compiled on the principle of ease would be superficial indeed.\textsuperscript{126}

The needs of the user are met more effectively by attempts at comprehensiveness and by easily-understood, consistently rational classification systems.

The classification of the material is discussed in chapter 6 (pp. 167–206) but the point can be made here that the presentation should allow users immediate access to the few entries they require. Some specialists require equally specialist categories. Local historians may look for sections on urban history, kinship and

\textsuperscript{125} It is not inconceivable that a researcher will use the bibliography to assess both the quality and the quantity of local publishing over a given period. The inclusions will be very misleading if a great deal has been omitted or misrepresented according to principles irrelevant to the researcher’s needs. This, of course, is a similar point to the one made by Ross Atkinson discussed under the broader definition of bibliography, above, p. 22, n. 39.

\textsuperscript{126} Failing to achieve an ideal, of course, is human and projects which fall short are still useful contributions to knowledge. Even Bowers, whose Principles has attracted criticism (e.g. by Donald Gallup) for its apparently elitist or extremist insistence on the highest standards, was willing to offer a degree of acceptance to works which fell short of his criteria: ‘Better a good checklist with all its deficiencies than an overambitious bibliography which is incomplete in its listing and scamped in its analysis and description’; Principles, p. 21. Rather, criticism should be reserved for projects which do not even attempt to meet reasonable standards. Bowers’ observation that ‘No matter how poor a work, the simple fact of publishing usually inhibits the production of a proper book on the same subject by another writer’, however, is particularly pertinent to local publishing, where there are so many amateur productions spoiling the market for better ones. There is a review of attitudes to Bowers by G. Thomas Tanselle, ‘Issues in Bibliographical Studies since 1942’, The Book Encompassed. Studies in Twentieth Century Bibliography, ed. Peter Davison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 24–36.
demography in addition to their more traditional lines of enquiry. The biologist will require local literature to be organised on taxonomic divisions because he or she is likely to seek material on only some life forms. The family historian will certainly require instant access to references on only one surname at a time.

The library and booktrade professionals, and the private collectors, not only require to know what has been written, but also need practical collations of books as artefacts, in order to confirm the status of a copy which they have beside them. For this reason the Rutland bibliography also offers physical descriptions, but the information contained in those entries (see below, chapter 7) is likely also to be of interest to the more subject-based enquirer who wishes to know more about the book before taking the trouble to locate a copy.

The needs of the majority of local users are also more likely to be met by the issue of a printed bibliography, simply because the technology and skills to exploit the potential of an on-line service are less likely to be present in provincial libraries and homes than they are in a university library. The situation is rapidly changing, however, and the technology is now readily available to allow the bibliography to be issued in an electronic format simultaneously. This would meet the needs of users in many unanticipated ways by allowing sophisticated searches through the entire text for key words, and also allowing references to be gathered together from many locations in the survey and printed out together to a specific prescription. Such a service is likely, at present, to appeal mainly to university researchers, but the technology is increasingly popular at retail, school and domestic levels and may even become the only practical method of publishing in the future (given the needs of the market and the high costs of traditional printing). Further issues relating to the publication of the Rutland bibliography in electronic format are reviewed in the last chapter.

At this stage it has been established that high standards of bibliography will meet the needs of users effectively, but the present state of bibliography for local studies is inadequate, primarily because the problem of 'grey' literature makes the production of a county bibliography such a difficult and expensive task. Before moving to discuss the methods necessary to overcome these difficulties, one final conceptual problem needs to be addressed: what is a county bibliography actually about?
The Concept of a County

There are three reasons why the county is a meaningful unit for the study of localities, which are discussed below. There are, of course, alternative units: towns and parishes, districts within counties, regions containing counties, or even subjects separately treated nationally. The main justification for continuing with the county as a unit is that it still fits the subject remarkably well.

(1) The first reason is that the people who live in a county have a sense of their own identity, distinct from that of neighbours in other counties. This feeling was certainly stronger in the past than the present, but it is still a force in local politics and culture.

In 1974 the United Kingdom revised its county boundaries on radical lines. There had been previous revisions of borders, removing enclaves of one county surrounded by another which had survived from the vagaries of medieval administration (e.g., the 1832 changes), but nothing on the scale of the 1974 revisions had ever been attempted before. Several counties disappeared (including Rutland) and many new ones were created. Others, such as Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire, took on radically new borders.

The revision was designed to rationalise local administration by making counties into discrete units covering areas of similar economies, and ensuring that each division had sufficient resources to meet a standard quality of public service. There was considerable enthusiasm for the changes on the part of public employees in many counties but often considerable resentment amongst the population of the counties which disappeared. Rutland had already successfully opposed previous attempts to dismember it but this time failed to avoid its absorption into Leicestershire. Unlike the example of the new county of Hereford and Worcester, it even lost its name.

The new divisions were never popular with the public, and after twenty years some of the boundaries have been revised again. Rutland will be restored on 1 April 1997. Cleveland, never particularly popular with its people, has now been


128 These political actions are featured in the bibliography because of the publications they generated. An example is The Case for Rutland (1962).
dismembered into four new authorities, which are even less popular. The experience reveals that there is a powerful consciousness within localities which believes that the county boundary makes sense. This may be irrational (as far as London administrators are concerned) and it may be difficult to measure, but it certainly exists, just as it does in the case of nationalism in an independent state. Twentieth-century European nationalism illustrates that communities everywhere have their own sense of identity which should be respected by administrative powers often alien to the locality. An attempt to measure this by opinion polls and appeals for written submissions was made during the local government review in the 1990s. The published reports concerning the restoration of Rutland confirm the popularity of the decision with the people who live there, despite government warnings that it might lead to increases in local taxation.129

In a recent review of the spatial concepts which local historians should use for the study of local history, Phythian-Adams demonstrated how loyalty to the county manifested itself in evidence such as marriages and births recorded in the earliest detailed census (1841). People living in isolated communities close to a county border often showed a marked preference for marrying members of villages in the same county, even if they were some distance away, than members of a closer village just over the county border. Although the border was artificial, it made a real impact on the behaviour patterns of people living near it.130 Such a phenomenon is all the more interesting in that it seems to have been very pronounced along some borders but not along others.131 The traditional county boundaries have meaning because the people within them regard themselves as a community.

(2) All county boundaries are of course arbitrary and contain anomalies, but they have another meaningful aspect in that they are old. This of course is why they are also popular, but if an administrative unit has existed for several hundred years, it is a real entity which has a continuity and character of its own. Many of the unique features of English counties (such as the different administrative divisions: lathes,

131 Ibid., pp. 35–6.
hundreds and wapentakes) are there because of a unique history. The lathes of Kent express that area's distant Jutish character, setting Kent apart from its neighbouring Saxon counties. The wapentakes in Northern and Eastern England record the Danish settlements of those areas in the ninth and tenth centuries. So the county boundary often preserves a real historical difference. Rutland, which is divided into hundreds, is on the edge of the English wapentake/hundred divide. Neighbouring Stamford is in the Lincolnshire Wapentake of Ness. Because the county has a real existence, it is therefore an appropriate unit for the study of an area by local historians. A large proportion of the material in a county bibliography will be concerned in any case with some aspect of the historical administrative divisions, bringing subject and treatment comfortably in line with one another.

The reality of this unit, although essentially an abstract boundary, is further expressed in the administrative records of each area. From Domesday Book to the modern census reports, an enormous amount of administrative material, both from the central and the local authorities, has been arranged geographically by county. It was the administrative records which first motivated earlier historians (e.g. K. B. McFarlane and J. E. A. Jolliffe) to address the concept of just what the county was.132

(3) The historical and chauvinistic differences combine to produce another relevant phenomenon: the unique historiography of each county. Because each county has its own tradition of literature, in which writers research one county only and pass on their ideas and discoveries to other writers who also only write on the one county, and all of this material is produced largely for local consumption, we have a bibliographical phenomenon which it makes sense to study as a unit. One of the difficulties encountered in attempts to research material on a new county is the difficulty in combining different traditions of historiography. A long-term project recently published by the writer's company has been the compilation of a collection

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132 A point recently made by Anthony Gross in his forthcoming introduction to Peter Fleming, Anthony Gross and J. R. Lander (eds), Regionalism and Revision: the Crown and its Provinces in England 1250–1650 (London: Hambledon Press, forthcoming, 1997). I am grateful to Dr Gross for the opportunity to see his draft introduction to this volume before publication. This essay traces some of the disillusionment with the county idea amongst some early modern historians and illustrates the complexity of the concept in medieval studies. Counties were both the creation of the central state and became a focus of local feeling.
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of 24 academic essays on the churches of the new county of Cambridgeshire. The diversity of approach in the 24 contributions has been a major problem in the production of a coherent volume and is a direct result of the fact that the new county is an amalagamation of old Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough, which used to be in Northamptonshire. Historiography has a tradition of its own and the difficulty of producing a bibliography of a new county is almost as great as that which would be encountered in compiling a bibliography of the Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands together. The county boundary makes bibliographical sense because most of the material being catalogued will have the same focus.

**Smaller Units**

A bibliography of a town, parish or district is a perfectly viable and meaningful proposition, and one already suggested as an alternative research programme should a county bibliography prove too large an undertaking. A smaller project, however, does encounter the same problem in accessing material which has been encountered for Rutland's current status as a district of Leicestershire. One needs to search for entries in works covering a much larger area, which has a different name, and the desired content is usually only identifiable by examination of the actual work. For example, a study of Oakham would require analysis of all general books on the county of Rutland in order to find those which had an Oakham section. This is feasible, but it

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133 Carola Hicks (ed.), *Cambridgeshire Churches* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1996).

134 A recent guide to the historiographical traditions in each county is C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis (eds), *English County Histories. A Guide* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), which contains a different essay on each county, prefaced by a general account. The historiographical traditions are also mirrored by the traditions of librarianship, and archive and museum curatorship, in each county. The disruption to that tradition in 1974 and its effects on local studies has been noted by Paul Sturges (see above, p. 59) and Michael Reed: 'International Local History - Paradox or Prospect?', *Libri* 26 (1976), 231-42 (pp. 235, 237). It is interesting to observe that virtually all historical writing and bibliography since 1974 makes reference to the old county boundaries, totally ignoring the reality of the new (including the York Local Studies Project; see above, pp. 49-52). The bibliographical tradition has a potency to it which no one could have anticipated in 1974.
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does not reduce enormously the work which would be spent on covering the whole county anyway. The actual material is largely accessible through the county name.

**Regions**

Some material, of course, might make more sense to study on a regional basis. Geological and other natural history phenomena defy the county boundary in reality even if their publication history may not do so. There are regional institutions such as the European constituencies or the electricity, gas and water boards which embrace many counties, but most of these entities have a recent life, the county may still have some administrative purpose within them, or their subject may, as in natural history publications, still be subject to treatment by county in the literature. Some regions such as the Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire fens or the Lancashire and Yorkshire Pennines have a pan-county character which may make for an interesting regional bibliography. Regions drained by a single river system may display evidence of common characteristics which cut across county boundaries. Cultural phenomena such as dialect might be best studied at this geological-regional level, but not necessarily broad-based local studies which concern so many other subjects.

The region has been the subject of much attention recently by historians, in for example the regional histories of early Britain published by Leicester University Press, and a bibliography of regional literature would also make an interesting research programme. The main problem it might come across is that, although there are many worthy regional studies, a great many subjects will only be studied in a

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135 This is the theme of Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Introduction: an Agenda for English Local History', in Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580–1850. Cultural Provinces and English Local History, ed. Charles Phythian-Adams (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 1–23, and of the other essays in this volume. It is appropriate to mention that the cultural provinces in this volume (in which Rutland is associated with Lincolnshire) all consist of groups of counties because 'the cultural element ... must always be given precedence over the geographical' (p. 14). Elsewhere the article mentions 'the long cultural history behind the emergence of each English county as an entity, with its own customary identity, its own administrative reality, its own particular spatial distribution and hierarchy of settlement, and its own territory to be defended specifically by its own inhabitants for much of its past...' (pp. 18–19).

136 An example relevant to Rutland is Pauline Stafford's The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985).
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county context, so a regional bibliography would not make bibliographical sense because of its failure to adopt a division which reflected the concerns of the bulk of the literature: the section on Anglo-Saxon history or dialect, for example, could include only a handful of books which covered the region as a whole: the bulk of the entries would still have a more specific focus.  

Other subjects will be best studied at a more localised level because they are unique. Rutland Water is a subject in its own right, for example. But these phenomena deserve either discrete sections within a county bibliography, or, if their literature has grown to a very substantial proportion, their own bibliography.

The common characteristic of these observations is that the county is a unit which has experienced its own organic growth, and any entity that has an organic continuity of its own deserves study as a single phenomenon. The railways and water boards and new counties cut across this organic growth but they do not sever its continuity and have frequently failed to develop their own organic tradition.

Rutland

Rutland is defined as the area of the old county of that name, which formed a county in its own right until local government reorganisation in 1974. It survived as an administrative district within the new county of Leicestershire but is set to be restored to county status on 1 April 1997.

The choice of Rutland for the research had three advantages.

137 The literary tradition is no less an element in other subjects. Although all scholars see the need for continuity studies between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England, and between the latter and what is now called 'Anglo-Norman Britain', the bulk of the historiography continues to respect the traditional divisions, and a bibliography which attempted to cross the bridge would produce a catalogue which at many points appeared unbalanced. If a balance was imposed artificially, by comprehensive treatment of some areas but not of others, the tidy arrangement in the text would defy the reality of the literature it was supposed to be recording. Sometimes a tradition in literature can defy rationality, but it is no less tangible for that.

138 Another contrast with the county unit is the post code, which as far as addressing letters is concerned is certainly a more important piece of information than the county name. But post codes do not impact on the public imagination. Although Boston is in the Peterborough code area, it does not have any other sense of 'belonging' to Peterborough.
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First, it has not yet had a comprehensive county bibliography issued for it. There have been previous 'bibliographies' of the county, but none of these are substantial surveys. They are typescript publications issued by Oakham Library and short notices relating to recent literature in periodicals such as Rutland Record (the first section of the Rutland bibliography is a survey of these previous listings). The choice therefore offered the opportunity to undertake original research to describe an area of knowledge which had not been surveyed before, and which would meet a demand as an eventual publication.

Second, Rutland is a small county of manageable proportions for a single researcher. The size of the county offered an opportunity to explore in depth the literature of a single location. An assessment of the range and number of publications produced at local level (and the problems of locating and cataloguing them) would allow an illustrative exercise in county bibliography to be performed, potentially useful for comparative purposes in the study of any county. The Rutland research provides the opportunity for the creation of a theoretical paradigm for county bibliography.

Third, a personal advantage was that the county is local to the place of work and residence of the researcher. This does not reflect the academic content as such, but it is inconceivable that a county bibliography should be attempted by anyone who does not live in the locality during the research. Moreover, this advantage also extended to the employment of the researcher, first as a manager of a Rutland second-hand bookshop and then as a self-employed academic publisher, which offered and continues to offer practical experiences relevant to the bibliography and this thesis.

The uniqueness of Rutland as a small county does suggest two drawbacks to the bibliographer.

One is that a considerable amount of the literature on it is to be found either within the publications devoted to other counties or treated alongside a neighbouring county with full acknowledgement in the book's title. For example, a great many of the volumes in series publications treat Rutland in this way: both Pevsner's 'Buildings of England' series and Arthur Mee's 'King's England' series combine Rutland with Leicestershire. Macmillan's 'Highways and Byways' series combines it with Northamptonshire and other publications link the county to Stamford in
Lincolnshire; but many recent publications simply subsume Rutland under Leicestershire, and often survey the county superficially in contrast to its neighbour.

Rutland is linked ecclesiastically with Northamptonshire (the Peterborough Diocese). It is currently fully combined as a single county with its neighbour Leicestershire, but even before amalgamation many of Rutland's services had a link with those of Leicestershire, for example the police service and library service.\(^{139}\)

Similarly, Rutland has had close links with Stamford in Lincolnshire. Many services, and many voluntary societies, for Rutland have long been based at Stamford.

The survey therefore included a considerable amount of literature in which Rutland is treated alongside another county. This of course does not impair the representative nature of the material, but at times it causes a problem in accessing on-line references (see next chapter) and sometimes the Rutland content of a work proved to be slight on examination.

The other drawback to the size of the county, however, is that some specialised categories of literature are absent, although this challenge would be present when contrasting the bibliography of any two counties and enough does exist to form a comparison.

The county is largely rural, so the range of specialised services and activities in cities is absent. For example, there is no Rutland University, or even a college of further education above A-level standard, so the whole of the type of literature produced by a university is absent, whereas it is present in most counties and is obviously of local interest because of the role of the university in the local economy and society.\(^{140}\) On the other hand, Rutland does have two substantial and long-established public schools at Uppingham and Oakham, which produce a not

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\(^{140}\) The survey of literature available from the City of Leicester in 1979, by Sturges and Dixon, revealed that Leicester University had generated 64 publications, all of which were available during that year. The authors failed to specify what proportion of the 64 were actually published in that year or were still in print from previous years. Their own report was a Loughborough University publication of 1983, but was still listed as being in print in 1996; other criticisms of the figure are that the report does not specify whether a periodical counts as one item or, if it was a monthly issue, twelve, and that there is no break-down of the range of items within this figure of 64; Sturges and Dixon, p. 35.
dissimilar range of literature on the lines of periodicals, prospectuses, annual reports, appeals, house histories and biographies and autobiographies of teachers and former students. Similarly, although there is little large-scale industry in the county there are two substantial industries in Ruddles Brewery at Langham and Castle Cement at Ketton, both of whose output is of national importance, both of which have their own literature and both of which are representative for the purposes of sampling business publications.

Another element lacking in Rutland is that of a cathedral or important medieval monastery. Since the Reformation, Rutland has been within Peterborough Diocese, and several diocesan titles are relevant to the Rutland bibliography, but obviously nothing about the cathedral itself can be considered relevant. Before the Reformation, Rutland was part of Lincoln Diocese. Also, although there were a few monastic institutions in Rutland in the middle ages, such as Brooke Priory, none of them were very substantial. There are no medieval chroniclers of Rutland. One Rutland cleric, Simon de Langham, did figure in 14th-century national politics because he became Archbishop of Canterbury, but he has not yet attracted the attention of a biographer. 141

On the other hand, Rutland does have some unique features, not least the possession of Rutland Water, said to be the largest man-made lake in Western Europe, which introduces a range of scientific literature to the bibliography as well as the more obvious tourist material. The features which are absent are more than compensated for by the special features which do exist, especially when the small population and area of the county is considered, and all the standard items expected in an English county are there: a range of economic and social activities, all modes of transport, a prison, a castle, a medieval bishop's palace (Lyddington Bede House), folklore, customs, poverty, the A1, etc.

The size of the county offers another unique bibliographical advantage. Because Rutland enjoys a considerable amount of local chauvinism, there is more interest in local publications within that small area than there is in neighbouring

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141 There is an article by J. A. Robinson, 'Simon Langham, Abbot of Westminster', *Church Quarterly Review*, 66 (1908), 339-66, and a biography by Brenda Tew is apparently under preparation. The neighbouring town of Stamford had many monastic institutions: John S. Harley and Alan Rogers, *The Religious Foundations of Medieval Stamford* (Nottingham: the University, 1974).
Lincolnshire. There are therefore several private collectors of Rutland material whose aim is to collect every single Rutland publication ever produced. This is in quite remarkable contrast with Lincolnshire, where none of the private collectors, however determined, have adopted an all-encompassing brief. 142 If access to these collections can be obtained, the advantages to the county bibliographer are obvious (the use of private collections is discussed in chapter 4: below, pp. 109–11).

Every county is unique and offers advantages and disadvantages when suggested as a model for contrast with other counties. In the case of Rutland for the purposes of this survey the advantages far outweighed the disadvantages.

As far as the theoretical model aspect of the survey is concerned, the absence of a city is not a serious omission because many counties lack a major city (e.g., North Yorkshire, Shropshire). 143 The absence of small towns, other than Oakham and Uppingham (which are still very small), however, is a serious defect. For the purpose of the illustrative exercise, therefore, and certainly for the needs of the proposed classification system, the net has been broadened to include the town of Stamford. This makes some sense ideologically, because of Stamford’s almost tangible sense of independence, 144 and historically because of close links between Stamford and Rutland throughout their history. Parts of the Borough have, in fact, been at times in both counties. 145 Even bibliographically, much of Rutland’s literature was produced in Stamford. An association between Stamford and Rutland in the present thesis and

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142 Such a fact is difficult to quantify but it has been observed by the writer as a result of contacts with collectors in both areas. The explanation is simply that Lincolnshire is too big for a single collector to cope with.

143 The comparison between rural Shropshire and urban Leicester, in Sturges and Dixon, revealed a considerable degree of similarity, both in the range as well as the quantity, of locally-produced literature (pp. 30ff.).

144 The town enjoyed borough status until 1974. The feeling of independence within the town has the same specific historical cause as that for Rutland: it enjoyed local control until 1974 when it was joined to a larger unit which has different characteristics.

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in many aspects of the final bibliography will respect the nature of the organic growth of Rutland as a political unit.

Terminus ante Quem

During the course of the research, criteria for inclusion or exclusion may well present themselves. These must be sharply defined so that the eventual user of the bibliography is able to understand and sympathise with the editorial decisions that have led to its compilation, but the criteria are best arrived at after the bibliographer has established an understanding of the range and diversity of the material in hand. Chapter 5, below, establishes inclusion and exclusion policies for the Rutland project.146

The imposition of a cut-off date is an acceptable method of reducing the scope of the bibliography if resources to create it are limited. At present the Rutland bibliography has no such termination, but as completion approaches the final editing of material will necessitate an end to further acquisition. Three alternatives present themselves. One is the end of 1996 which has the advantage of proximity and confinement to an easily understood specification. It would also be attractive, however, to take the bibliography to the time of Rutland's restoration to county status. Taking the story to the start of the new era in Rutland's history would make considerable cultural and bibliographical sense because it would close a period in which the identification of Rutland material is bibliographically difficult, leaving a much easier task ahead for the writer of the next Rutland bibliography.

Having set rather exacting standards, the thesis now turns to the question of research methods appropriate to their achievement.

146 Bibliographical textbooks frequently cite the opinion that criteria present themselves as the work progresses, and that it is healthy to begin with a very open-minded attitude. For example A. M. Lewin Robinson wrote 'a final decision [as to limitation] may not be possible before one has already advanced some way in the compilation and knows what one is up against', in Systematic Bibliography, 19.
3. RESEARCH METHODS:
ON-LINE SEARCHING

The advice which Hoskins offered his students and colleagues, that they should not be afraid of getting their feet wet,\(^\text{147}\) is just as relevant to the local bibliographer as to the local historian. It is perhaps rather bizarre to suggest that bibliographers should need as good a pair of boots as writing materials, but, because the materials upon which their attentions are focused are spread far and wide, they must be prepared to travel far and wide to describe them. The bibliographer’s task is not unlike that of the cartographer: he or she must go ‘out there’ and bring the facts ‘home’.

There are eleven major research methods which must be followed by the compiler of a local bibliography. Each yields different results and each has its strengths and weaknesses. Because most sources of information produce something which is not present in other sources, each must be exploited: 301 of the separately-published titles listed on-line were found to be included in one only of the 65 sources exploited.

The method likely to yield the largest number of references in a single stage is that of on-line searching: accessing databases and extracting from them the results of key-word enquiries. Some 16,618 references were initially gathered in this way, but there are considerable difficulties not only in gathering the references but in making sense of them: removing, for example, irrelevancies and duplicates.

Some 65 databases were searched for the Rutland project, and the main results are tabulated as tables 1 and 2. These sources would be useful for many other county bibliographies, but some of the groups of sources also have the option to consult index programmes which will identify sources in which a required key word appears: BLAISE has a service called Dialindex, the ‘Internet’ has several search tools (which of course throw up more than just bibliographical entries: a guide to these by Jian Liu is available at http://www.indiana.edu/~libresd/search) and some

university library catalogues are available as union lists (e.g., ‘CURL’, the Consortium of University Research Libraries launched on 30 April 1996). The problems encountered can be summarised under five headings.

1. Other Uses of the Word ‘Rutland’

All searching is conducted by applying a ‘key word’ and gathering together the references which contain that word. Some databases (e.g. the Bodleian on-line catalogue) allow only the separate search of specific ‘fields’, such as author, title or subject categories, but the best search option is one which will look for the occurrence of the same word simultaneously throughout all fields of the database. Entries as diverse as the three following examples can therefore be gathered in one step:


Maximising the ‘capture’ of data, however, means that there will be inevitable encounters with different uses of the same word. Over sixty different uses of the word ‘Rutland’ were encountered in bibliographical databases. Rutland, Vermont; Rutland, Massachusetts (and Oakham in that state); Rutland Square, Dublin; the Rutland Gallery, London; the Rutland Press, Edinburgh; Rutland Plains in Queensland; the composer Rutland Boughton; the surname Rutland; and the title of the Duke of Rutland were all regular appearances which can only be effectively filtered out if the compiler of the database has anticipated the problem and tagged the entries in some way. The information that appears is therefore usually flooded with unwanted references (this is 80% – 13,296 references out of 16,618 – of the material presented in the two tables: the proportion would be higher if all the search results were tabulated here).

On the other hand, various methods can be used to reduce the cascade of irrelevance. The largest number of irrelevancies were encountered in the search for references to place-names within Rutland: Barrow, Brooke and Preston are very common names, producing 5420 references between them in the pre-1975 British Library Catalogue. This number was effectively reduced to just one entry by limiting the searches to references which included both the place-name and the word.
### Table 2 (a): Databases Search for 'Rutland'

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*continued overleaf*
TABLE 2 (b): DATABASES SEARCHED FOR ‘RUTLAND’

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‘Rutland’. When this exercise was repeated for other parishes, some results suggested that it could be an extremely accurate method of removing unwanted data (e.g. ‘Ketton’ was reduced from 31 entries to 2, and examination of the whole 31 revealed that only 2 of them had been relevant to Rutland, 28 alone being a surname), but equally some cases suggested that genuine Rutland data could be deleted in this way (e.g., ‘Oakham’ which this method reduced from 56 to 10 entries, but study of all 56 showed that in fact as many as 55 of them were relevant). Rather than attempt to filter the unwanted references electronically, therefore, it seems best to leave them for human sorting except in cases of an intolerably large number. Rutland, being also a surname, is perhaps a special case, but the same problem would be encountered for Cornwall, Kent, Essex, Warwick, York and even Derbyshire. Furthermore, the names of English counties are transferred abroad, as the names of administrative districts as well as settlement names, throughout the English-speaking world, and a great many English localities have been used in the names of ships, some of which, like HMS Cornwall, are famous, and therefore the subject of much literature. (Rutland names can offer HMS Cottesmore, and search of the Lincolnshire Libraries catalogue

\[\text{A guide to the literature on these is ‘Appendix 2. British Place-Names Transferred Abroad’, in Spittal & Field’s A Reader’s Guide to the Place-Names of the United Kingdom, pp. 288–9.}\]
did produce a publication on the ship.) The Boolean expressions vary from one database to another but are usually simple words such as AND (\&, and, "and"), OR, or BUT NOT.

Some databases which are electronic versions of printed texts (such as the compact disc version of the pre-1975 British Library catalogue) also generate cross-references or author-information entries when searched on a key word, so a search may generate entries which are not even publications: some 113 of the 535 entries gathered from this source were in fact simply cross-references and are included amongst the 138 entries in the 'other' category in Table 2. Duplications are common in the 'World Catalogue', because this source is a union list and different libraries frequently classify the same book in different ways. The 514 uses of the word 'Rutland' in the catalogue of Leicestershire Libraries reduces to 471 uses when the duplicates are removed (Leicestershire even includes in the main catalogue items which are held for sale, thus duplicating entries for the same item when held in the collection).

Another problem with the key word search is that of imprint. Although most Rutland imprints are also of relevance to a Rutland bibliography, the existence of a large town or city within the county will immediately bring national publications into the catchment. Loughborough, for example, is where Ladybird books are published and Leicester is the home of the Dryad Press. Many of the collected Rutland entries, even many from the British National Bibliography, are of books which are simply originally published in Rutland, Vermont.

Not dissimilar to imprint is the question of origin or ownership of the copy used by the compiler of the database. The pre-1975 British Library catalogue generates some 130 references to the Duke of Rutland, but a great many of these are not actually about the aristocrat but are references to photocopies of rare books '[from] an original in the possession of the Duke of Rutland'. The key word search gathers and presents these entries on an equal basis to the others.

As already stated, allowing the computer to exclude entries which may be thrown up by a key word is dangerous. The Loughborough imprint might be the only local connection which the computer recognised, if the book happened to have an ambiguous title. A book connected with the Duke of Rutland might also be concerned with the county, and the bibliographer must be the one who decides
whether to include it or not. Search limitations should be used only when the cascade of entries is impossibly large.

Limitations can be employed either exclusively or inclusively. Some 'engines' can exclude any entry which includes words such as 'duke' and 'Vermont'. Others might equally limit the search the other way round, by including only those entries which contain two key words. But limitations risk the removal of wanted material. A theoretical title, The Duke of Westminster's tour through Rutland, might be excluded along with the Duke of Rutland's material if a sophisticated Boolean, such as 'not duke (2w) rutland', is not used. A search of the British Library catalogue on BLAISE, conducted by library staff at Loughborough who attempted exclusions, produced 273 uses of 'Rutland' which reduced to 139 about the county when the entries were examined. Search of the same source by the author, using the CD version, with no attempt at exclusion, produced 535 entries which reduced to 150 on examination: 11 'wanted' entries had apparently been deleted by the attempt to limit the search electronically.

Limitations will not be totally efficient. Many uses of 'Vt' (the standard abbreviation for Vermont) still appeared despite the attempt to exclude them during the searches on BLAISE and the aristocratic title can similarly appear in the context of the words countess, duchess, lord or earl as well as duke. The attempt at limitation removed 262 entries, but still left in 134 entries which were rejected on examination. There are also methods of removing duplicate entries from searches conducted on BLAISE, but these methods will only remove entries which are identical: duplication is often caused by the same item being catalogued in different ways rather than by the same entry being 'hit' twice when the same key word appears in different fields.

This ability of databases to generate different uses of the same word, however, does offer research opportunities for the onomastician, who may be specifically searching for alternative uses of a particular name, and bibliographers must also explore the diverse uses of the word so that they can guard against possible misinterpretations: knowing that there is a city called Rutland in Vermont allows for the easy identification of The Rutland Railroad as an American publication, and the odd expression "given at Rutland", appearing in the title of a printed sermon, is another reliable clue that the entry refers to the city, not the county.
The more local the library to the area under study, the fewer the number of irrelevant uses of the same word which are likely to appear: Leicestershire Libraries only offered 17 cases of unwanted uses of 'Rutland' but the World Catalogue offered 1454, largely because of the American origin and bias of the latter database.

After gathering these entries, therefore, the bibliographer is still faced with the task of distinguishing between the items which are genuinely desired and those which came along for the ride. 149

2. Rutland without 'Rutland'

A worse problem is that not all relevant material has the word 'Rutland' in the title, so the searcher must use a range of key words to maximise the data capture, further increasing the cascade of unwanted material. Key word searches should also be conducted for at least the names of leading towns (Uppingham, Oakham) and preferably also for each parish and alternative names for the county or district or region. Many more references were gathered by searching exhaustively for every parish name in a select number of sources. As with the county name, of course, the localities threw up alternative uses of the same word, because of the widespread use of English place-names abroad, their common duplication as surnames and their common duplication as place-names elsewhere in England (see table 3 which records 42 alternative uses of Rutland place-names as other English place-names and 223 uses as personal names in a single source). It is impractical to conduct searches on each database for references to each of the thousands of place-names within a county.150 Even a confinement to parish names (69 were used in the Rutland

\[149\] Much of the literature about on-line searching and ways to improve subject-access actually explore ways of reducing the number of entries 'hit' as a priority. This is because most users of the systems are researchers and students searching for, say, 10 titles for background reading for an essay: the last thing they want is a cascade of 500 titles and their needs are different to the bibliographer's. See John C. Crawford, Linda C. Thom and John A. Powles, 'A Survey of Subject Access to Academic Library Catalogues in Great Britain', Journal of Librarianship and Information Science 25.2 (1993), 85-93.

\[150\] The English Place-Name Society volume for Rutland contains many thousands of names: Barrie Cox (ed.), The Place-Names of Rutland, EPNS volumes LXVII-LXIX [in one] (Nottingham, 1994), but Rutland is not only a small county, it has a low density of population.
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*Continued overleaf*
TABLE 3 (b): SEARCH OF THE PRE-1975 BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUE FOR PLACE-NAMES WITHIN RUTLAND

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<th>gross total</th>
<th>&amp; Rutland</th>
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<th>personal n.</th>
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</table>

searches: the number includes some alternative spellings) would offer insuperable difficulties for a large county. Nevertheless, if searches are only conducted on the county name, many important parochial publications will be missed.

Some databases offer a search engine which recognises apparently plural forms as the same required word, but most are rigidly accurate and only produce uses of the exact form of the word specified. A flexible engine can sometimes produce more anomalies, of course. One database produced Wings over Rutland (the aviation book) in response to a request for the village of Wing (an unhelpful 461 uses of the word was narrowed to 3 entries on ‘Wing and Rutland’, which included the latter work).
On the other hand, the same source (Leicestershire Libraries) was unable to combine Lyddington with Liddington.\(^{151}\)

Nottingham University Library offered the best results from the key-word facility of all the databases searched: many works which do not have ‘Rutland’ in the title were nevertheless thrown up in a single search because the librarians had made a point of tagging them in the subject fields of the entries. This is the only method of by-passing the problem caused by the failure of the publisher to put ‘Rutland’ in the title of the book but there are too many limits on staff time in most libraries to expect this to have been done during the cataloguing process. ‘Rutland’ is not available at all as a subject in the Leicestershire Libraries catalogue and in the Lincolnshire catalogue it is only available as a subject when it is used as a personal name (as in Rutland Boughton the composer).

The new counties cause considerable barriers to the effectiveness of on-line searching, given that searching might need to be conducted under several county names let alone place-names. A survey of modern Cambridgeshire will need searching to be conducted under Cambridgeshire, Cambs[,], Cambridge, Huntingdonshire, Hunts[,], Huntingdon, Northamptonshire, Northants[,], Northampton, [Soke of] Peterborough and also fens, fenland and Isle of Ely. An on-line search for Humberside will present the appalling necessity of extracting the entirety of literature for the two largest counties of England (Yorkshire and Lincolnshire), before the process of deletion can begin (confinement to post-1974 titles would be one option for reducing the number, but this would mean losing older literature about localities moved into Humberside in that year and it would still encounter the problem that much of the literature ignores the break in the historiographical tradition and continues to use the old boundaries).

For Rutland the main problem in this category is that many titles are now accessed under the name Leicestershire, though most titles which covered the county in association with another county before the combination with Leicestershire do include Rutland in the title. ‘Leicestershire’ is a difficult key word for Rutland searches because a great many titles are relevant but many are more localised: most titles about the city of Leicester, for example, are not relevant to Rutland. The

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\(^{151}\) Crawford, Thom and Powles, ‘Survey of Subject Access...’ use the expression ‘fuzzy matching’ for this, but only 5 of the 86 libraries they surveyed had this facility (p. 92).
searches must be conducted on as many words as necessary and the compiler must then delete titles which are obviously irrelevant (such as a history of Melton Mowbray) and examine the actual publications to test any of which the relevancy is uncertain. It should be emphasised that this problem only concerns the period 1974–97.

Search for Rutland is not complicated by the existence of a frequently-used abbreviation, but some authors, in error, have called the county Rutlandshire. These include the county volume of the Ordnance Survey edition of the facsimile of Domesday Book published in 1862–4, Laird's *Rutlandshire* of 1818 (dates of issue vary for that work) and the extracts from the 1695 English edition of Camden's *Britannia*, amongst many others. Similar problems of course exist for other counties, such as Shropshire/Salop and Northumberland/Northumbria. For some counties the original name can be synonymous with the modern (East Saxons/East Saxony/Essex) and many older works have the title in Latin (with nominative, genitive, singular and plural forms). The pre-1975 British Library catalogue was searched for the word 'Rutlandshire', producing an extra 17 references, reduced to 11 after study. Leicestershire Libraries offers 25 uses of 'Rutlandshire' (most of which are maps) and Lincolnshire Libraries offers 7.

Variant spellings of parish names might be a further barrier to effective data capture, but (see Table 3) searches on some variant spellings for Rutland names did not produce many extra entries (they were conducted in more than one source but Table 3 illustrates the results from only one source).

None of the searches on 'Rutland' produced 'Rutlandshire' entries unless there was an explicit tag introduced by the cataloguer (as in many of the British Library entries). Some of the place-name problems are coped with by MARC (MACHINE READABLE CATALOGUING) by providing both a standard name and the name as used in the original book, and the problem is no new one, especially in the treatment of incunabula. Local bibliographies, however, being new surveys, are likely to encounter onomastic problems not already solved by librarians. For an early discussion of these issues, see Robin Alston, 'The History and Description of Books', *Searching the Eighteenth Century*. Papers Presented at the Symposium on the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue in July 1982, ed. M. Crump and M. Harriss (London: the British Library, 1983), 15–27. 'Rutlandia' is both the name of a modern publishing company and the title used on some of the older county maps.
Relevance to the county is often present without any local connection being acknowledged. An example is James Buchan's *Thatched Village* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983), which is about the village of Exton, but this appears under a different name in the book. Many of the libraries whose catalogues were searched did have this book, but only Nottingham University's catalogue had tagged it with the subject label 'Rutland'. Normally it is not possible for on-line searches to capture such references.

Where open-access to a database was allowed, supplementary searches were conducted on as many key words as possible: Rutland parish and river names, the town of Stamford, Rutlandshire and Leicestershire, but many works known to be in the database (because they were on the library shelf) were still not captured.

The uncaptured material (that is material which is known to exist but which did not appear in the on-line searches) seemed to belong, though not exclusively, in three main categories. The largest proportion was missing because it consisted of items which were not on the databases at all (the problem of 'grey' literature). Another large group were items which had the word 'Leicestershire' in the title, it not always being possible to conduct as many searches as one would have wished because of limited access (a problem also discussed further below). Finally, a large number of items did not appear in the searches because they were biographies, autobiographies or family histories with a local connection only apparent on examination. For example, no database offered Philpot's *Memoir of the Late William Tiptaft* (1867), Sharman's *The Roll Baronetcy and Certain Sharman Families*, Malloch's *Finch and Baines* (1917), or Royden's *Threefold Cord* (1947) in response to 'Rutland' enquiries, but these are important items for the bibliography. Very few of the works about the Reverend Edward Thring appeared, even on the key word 'Uppingham'. Given the importance of family history, it is regrettable that such a large proportion of the biographical material was not generated by the searches, but it is unrealistic to expect the compilers of the databases to be able to tag the entries on each biography with the names of places relevant to it. Biography is the only subject which failed to appear in any considerable degree. The Biography Index database was also searched, but it only produced 2 Rutland entries in contrast to the 772 books and articles which are currently listed in the biography section of the Rutland bibliography. The Biography Index holds virtually no reference to Edward Thring. Without knowing
whose names to search for beforehand, the databases are unlikely to produce references from queries based on place-names.

A list of the 65 databases searched, most of which would also be relevant for other English counties, appears in Table 2. It is important for the compiler to use his or her imagination in selecting databases to search. The existence of Rutland Water in Rutland means that scientific literature is also worth searching. The incidence of a localised illness (such as the algae poisoning in Rutland Water), or an illness related to an industry which is present in the county (nuclear power in Cumbria is likely to feature in literature on leukemia whether the connection is proven or not), will necessitate a search of the medical literature.153

The bibliographer therefore needs to have more than technical skills. He or she must cultivate an in-depth knowledge of the area and its special features so that the right questions can be asked during the searches and so that irrelevant material can be recognised. In this respect ‘networking’ can mean more than just the sharing of electronic messages. The bibliographer should seek out specialists and canvass their advice and support.154

3. ‘Wild’ Rutlandiana

A problem which is far worse than the difficulties in identifying the right access points to gather material which is in the database is that of locating material which is not listed at all. There are two main categories of material missing in this respect: items which are not catalogued because the catalogue is still incomplete and items which are not known to exist by the compilers because they are ‘wild’. In the former

153 Medline only yielded 3 entries for the county of Rutland, but the area is both rural and small. Medline does offer many potential ‘subject’ words but the emphasis is inevitably on science rather than locality, and the county name rarely features in the title of medical articles.

154 This latter step is reviewed as a research method below, pp. 112-13. Crawford, Thom and Powles, ‘A Survey of Subject Access...’ identify improved subject tagging as a priority to improved access but admit that the costs are extremely high because they are labour-intensive. A priority might be for libraries to subject-tag items which are relevant to their own region (as Nottingham University has done). The problems of using appropriate thesauri are also explored by this article, which draws heavily on earlier literature on the subject. The authors achieved an average ‘hit rate’ of only 57% on their experimental searches (p. 89).
category the backlog of work is being steadily reduced by the library profession. The Bodleian Library, for example, has issued a CD of its pre-1920 holdings. The more recent on-line catalogue is claimed to be complete back to the mid 1980s, with the number of missing entries for the period between 1920 and the 1980s steadily being reduced. Cambridge University Library has a worse backlog: it is comprehensive back to 1978 but only 5% of the earlier material has so far been listed electronically. Stamford Library has a local collection which is not listed in the main Lincolnshire Libraries catalogue, and the Phillips collection at Stamford Town Hall is outside the remit of the county library service. The catalogue of Leicestershire Libraries does not cover the holdings of the county Record Office (who have no on-line catalogue of their own). This is a temporary problem with the workload necessary to catch up with the technology but it is not a permanent one. The researcher must, however, be aware of it.

The existence of 'grey' or 'wild' literature has already been identified as the biggest problem facing the compiler of a local bibliography. The on-line databases contain material which is, by definition, already within bibliographical control, and the local publications are frequently missing from national collections. Some omissions are more explicable than others. The British Library pre-1975 catalogue does not contain the short-lived *Leicestershire and Rutland Magazine*, presumably because the publisher, Edgar Backus Ltd., neglected to send copies, but the same catalogue also lacks all the county census reports for the locality, such as the 1951 *Lincolnshire and Rutland* report, omissions which are inexplicable.

To some extent the use of local library resources will reduce the impact of this problem. For example, the catalogue of Leicestershire Libraries records 514 uses of the word Rutland and that for Nottingham University Library 338 uses of which 333 were relevant to the county. Other sources which reduce the impact of the problem are the short-title catalogues for the periods before 1800, because a conscientious attempt was made during the compilation of these surveys to be comprehensive and to search for relevant items in an enormous number of local, national and international libraries, and also less conventional sources such as museums or private collections. The volumes of the *Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue*, however, are being compiled on a less conscientious basis: they are union lists based on the holdings of certain libraries and, substantial though their catchment may prove to be,
they are likely to miss a great deal of local material. The collation of all records gathered on-line with those gathered from local 'physical' searching suggests that only about half the material which exists can currently be located in on-line sources (about two-thirds of the books and pamphlets but only about an eighth of the periodicals: see below, pp. 97-9).

Another problem of non-availability is the absence from most of the databases of any analysis of the content of the books. Many of the databases are primarily collection catalogues, so articles within journals or essays within volumes are not covered. Some specialised databases such as Biosis and Medline obviously do cover periodicals, but not many Rutland articles appeared from the searches, and there were many repetitions between and within the sources: the articles within the science volume *Rutland Water - Decade of Change*, for example, appeared many times in the scientific databases.

A large category of material missing from the on-line sources is that of periodicals in general. Some 262 periodicals have so far been catalogued for the Rutland bibliography, but only 36 of these (13.74%) appeared in the databases searched. The reasons are certainly similar to those explaining the absence of certain books: many lack a useful word in the title which would bring it easily to the attention of the researcher (e.g. *Quarter*), but because many periodicals are more 'ephemeral' than books, there is a greater proportion of 'wild' material in this category. Parish magazines and society newsletters are rarely preserved by any library. A further impediment to the collection of periodicals, however, is that they are often the subject of separate catalogues. At Nottingham University Library, for instance, they are recorded in a separate catalogue which, unlike the main catalogue, has no key word function. That particular library holds a rare bound run of *The Oakham, Langham, Barleythorpe, Egleton and Brooke Parish Magazine* (1895–1905) but it is not easy to locate this in the catalogue without knowing beforehand that is there.

Nevertheless it is important to recognise that the on-line sources do contain a great deal of material which is not known locally: material that is in a sense 'grey' from the local as opposed to the national perspective. The British Library holds

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155 The general development of these and other large-scale projects has been recently reviewed by John R. Turner, 'Developments in Retrospective Bibliography since 1975', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science* 23 (1991), 147–52 (esp. p. 150).
many, but by no means all, of the older locally produced sermons. Virtually the whole of this category of literature, at least from before the mid eighteenth century, is unobtainable locally. The samples in the Phillips Collection at Stamford are mostly of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Early Acts of Parliament are another important category which is more likely to be represented in national rather than local sources, and the national sources are by no means confined to works which were formally published and widely distributed. Intriguing titles in the British Library, unknown to the present compiler before the BL catalogue was searched, include G. W. Gregory's *The Uppingham Twelve Inch Tunnel* (Leicester: Harborough Publishing, 1946); Henry Louis Noel's *Ritualism in Rutland* (London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1867); William Dalby's *A True History of the Base and Unnatural Murther of a Man by his Own Son near Uppingham* (London, 1709?!) and *An Account of a Newly Invented Beautiful Green Paint, Lasting in the Open Air, and Daily Improving in the Winds, Sunshine and Rains. Prepared by Francis Armstrong, M.D. Oakham, Rutland...* (London, 1783). Despite the greater tendency for periodicals to be 'grey', the 36 periodicals found in electronic sources also included some rare and unusual material: early almanacks not known from local collections, for example, and Edwardian issues of *The Leicestershire and Rutland Sunday School Union Journal* in the British Library.

4. Access

The fourth problem of on-line searching is that access to the databases can be limited or costly. On the other hand, methods were found to reduce the impact of, or to by-pass altogether, the impediments. In the end each database which was identified as a useful potential source was searched at least once.

Subscription to on-line information services can be expensive, so libraries may seek to recover some of the cost by charging their clients for use of the service. Unfortunately, this can be both extremely expensive, if a large amount of material is being gathered, and extremely frustrating to the researcher because the searches will be conducted second-hand by an employee of the library rather than direct by the student. This is because the library needs to reduce connect-time and to ensure that a substantial charge to the library by the information provider is not generated unwittingly. The lowest charge quoted to the present researcher by the Pilkington Library at Loughborough was 23 pence an entry; the highest was 71 pence (both plus
connect time and VAT). The Rutland bibliography contains, so far, over 8570 references. If all the references were available on the databases, the list could theoretically cost nearly £5,000 to print or write to disk, but, as demonstrated by the final statistics, the desired references might constitute less than 20% of the total entries gathered, and in the relevant entries there would remain a degree of repetition which would still be charged for (i.e., assuming that everything was listed, one might have to pay for 5 times as many entries in order to extract the 8570 desired number). Alternative strategies therefore become essential. Rather than paying for a professional service from someone who knows more about the subject than the client, the client often has to pay for a complicated search to be conducted by someone who knows the technology but not the subject.

Another impediment is that some university libraries will only allow employees of the university, or full-time or fully-registered students, access to the library's collection of compact discs, mainly because some of these discs are very expensive (the British National Bibliography set of three discs costs £2,000 to purchase the first two, 1950 to 1985, and a further £950 per annum to receive the monthly up-date, which currently covers the decade from 1986; the British Library pre-1975 catalogue on five discs costs £10,000, from the Chadwyck-Healey company). Possession of a reader's ticket will not therefore necessarily allow access to the full range of electronic sources.

Policies, however, vary from one institution to another, and towards one type of member of an institution and another. The Pilkington compact discs were accessed from within the Department of Information and Library Studies, so that the results of searches could be saved without charge. The BNB discs were read on a stand-alone machine which has a 'free' printer attached.

The opportunity to search the BLAISE databases for single-line entries rather than full entries, for only a modest charge, was exploited, allowing full entries to be identified by reference to printed versions or by making specific queries separately from the bulk of the survey. Needless to say, some of the shortened references which were gathered were particularly obscure until a further enquiry could be made. The

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156 Prices can be reduced by negotiation or by using formal offers of 'bulk discounts'. BLAISE, for example, offers a Fixed Price Service of 500 'full' records and 5 hours connect time for £195, though it can still add up to a considerable charge. Access still has to be through the subscribers.
least illuminating of all was one from the British Library which read: 'Rutland'. Zoological Record Online also offered unhelpful charged-for entries which read '(Newsletter.)', 'Birds.', '(Annual Report.)' and 'Readers Letter Page' but their context in the printout suggested some possible identifications.

Access to the compact discs of the pre-1975 British Library Catalogue was made courtesy of Aberdeen University Library free of charge. The results had to be handwritten, but unlimited access was available at that institution. The Bodleian Library refused to allow this researcher a print-out from the CD edition of the pre-1920 catalogue (letter of 8 May 1996), even though payment was offered, so it was made free-of-charge by a friend who lectures at Oxford University.

A great many databases were also successfully searched on the 'Internet'. University libraries using the Libertas system can be accessed from any library within the system or from any computer attached to a modem outside it. The interface between the customer and the database can vary a great deal between one institution and another, so some catalogues are more easily accessible than others, and the particular Baud rate used by the source is often a cause of slow performance, but the great advantage of using the Internet from a personal computer is that the results can be captured, which is rarely the case within the library itself. Unfortunately many of the more powerful databases are not accessible in this way.

The problem of limited access was encountered many times during the research, largely because no one institution can offer all the sources of information, but researchers are unlikely to be members of more than one institution. Access to printed materials is rarely difficult for the purposes of serious research, but electronic sources are frequently reserved, and requests to print or down-load extracts from those sources are sometimes treated with suspicion, sometimes refused and often turned down simply because there are no facilities to copy data. Many electronic searches had to be recorded in handwriting.

157 As electronic facilities are used more frequently, even the most generous library may have to start charging for them in the future. Woodward and McKnight, op. cit., consider this as one of their issues regarding access to electronic journals (pp. 76–7).

158 A practical problem encountered with this is that entries are rarely presented on screen in any explicable order: most databases seem to generate their references in the order in which they were originally keyed in. This means that it was considerably quicker to write each one down by hand than it was to search through a printed list to
5. Practicalities

Making sense of the material gathered can be a laborious task. First, it requires editing: unwanted references and the verbiage of the interface need to be deleted; and then duplicates removed from the remaining relevant entries. Some databases are designed to make down-loading easy (e.g. Global Books in Print) but most are designed to limit the researcher's ability to extract material for copyright reasons. BLAISE has a built-in limit to the number of entries which can be taken at one time and some databases have no extraction facility at all, meaning that the data can only be copied by introducing facilities outside the original software. For example, it might be possible to print by using the keyboard's 'Print Screen' key (one page at a time) or to down-load by reading the database from within Windows, having first opened a 'Continuous Capture' file. Both these methods mean, however, that the bulk of the material which is saved will not be the entries but the interface. The following figure (next page) is an extract from the Bodleian on-line catalogue saved through the Internet. As one can see, most of the text is the user interface but there is no mechanism to save only the entries from this particular source. Why some words should be broken up is a mystery. This particular catalogue also has no key word function: searches must be conducted on a subject basis and the subject 'Rutland' is divided into many categories which have to be run separately. Most categories contain only one or two items, so progress is slow. The Bodleian pre-1920 catalogue on CD performs differently: a key word function is available, short entries appear on the screen and the full entry can be printed in seconds on a single command.

The material is usually exported from the database as an ASCII file rather than as a database, because this is usually the only option but it is also the one least likely to introduce compatibility problems between systems. The lack of database import is not a problem for editing because most word-processing systems have 'sort' engines and the entries will need to be rewritten for the purpose of standardisation in any case. By tagging each of the 1798 references captured from the 'World Catalogue' with an abbreviation such as V (for Vermont) or R (Rutland), it was possible to sort the list electronically so that the references to the English Rutland could be separated from the others (despite the number it did not take long). Although 344 references were thus isolated, 68 of them were soon found to be duplicate entries.


find the item and mark it as found in that particular source.
Entries from all sources need to be combined into a single list (removing further duplications between lists), and edited into a consistent style of presentation (each source has its own style). Some entries will begin by author, others by title (some by the first noun, others by the definite or indefinite article) and others by an entry number. Making the style consistent will demonstrate further anomalies: duplications and apparent contradictions which can only be reconciled by examination of the actual books. It was found that some items were badly described in the source: titles might be abbreviated (even in the full entry) and there can be typing errors, dating errors and ambiguity. Serial works such as the editions of the C. N. Wright county directories are particularly difficult to identify in on-line sources,

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**Figure 2:** extract from the Bodleian Library on-line catalogue when saved to disc
some of which list several versions in one entry, concluding with 'etc.', rather than listing each separately.

Conclusions

On-line searching of 65 sources on a variety of key words eventually produced 16,618 references. Of these, 13,296 were irrelevant because of the same key word being used for different subjects. After further editing of the lists to remove items such as articles from journals, videos, maps and periodicals, and, above all, duplicates, so that a direct comparison could be made between local and electronic sources of information, a total of 932 references were produced in one list which was combined with material discovered in non-electronic sources. A core list of 1512 separately-published, non-periodical Rutland titles was thus generated.

Of the 1512 titles in this list, 1185 can be said to have been found in local sources (that is, the non-electronic sources discussed in the next chapter and the holdings of local libraries which are of course also on-line), leaving 327 items encountered only in national or international electronic sources.

The electronic sources contained 3322 references which condensed into 932 after the editing of duplicates (works mentioned in more than one source). The balance of 580 titles represents material which was found in local sources not on-line (i.e., neither in the local public libraries or the national sources). This latter figure suggests that about a third of the non-periodical material appropriate to a county bibliographer is 'grey' literature, and this figure of 580 titles does contain many important, even scholarly, items as well as items which some might class as trivial. On the other hand, it does also contain material which is included in the electronic sources but which failed to be captured because of the limitations of key word searching. Put another way, nearly two-thirds of the material known to exist was found to be mentioned on-line.

Three hundred and one of the items gathered electronically were only listed in one of the 65 sources of information, a figure which further illustrates how slight is the bibliographical control of local-interest materials. If, theoretically, each of these 301 items had not been preserved in the one database, but had been discovered in private collections locally, the proportion of 'wild' to 'captured' literature in the run of 1512 titles would increase from 580 (38.36%) to 881 (58.27%). The databases
which produced these unique references were, nationally: the Bodleian pre-1920 list on CD (12 unique entries), the pre-1975 British Library catalogue (62), BNB (8), the Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue (36), UK Official Publications (6) and the World Catalogue (31); and, locally, the four university libraries of De Montfort (10), Leicester (10), Loughborough (4) and Nottingham (42) and the county libraries of Leicestershire (61), Lincolnshire (16) and Northamptonshire (3). The national ones are obviously key sources for anyone compiling a localised bibliography. The fact that seven major libraries in the locality of the survey also contain unique entries only further highlights the superficial collection of this literature: the public library service of Leicestershire holds less than a third of the available books and pamphlets on Rutland. Neither the Bodleian nor Cambridge University Library produced anything unique in their still-incomplete on-line catalogues, which perhaps illustrates their relative dependence on passive receipt of local material from the copyright agent.

There were, inevitably, a large number of titles which were mentioned frequently. These titles can be said to enjoy efficient bibliographical control. They are mostly formally published items from British publishers who do not engage in copyright rebellion (Messenger's Flora of Rutland seems to be the most frequently mentioned, appearing in 15 of the 65 sources). Counts of 7 or 9 mentions, however, were regularly achieved for some of the products of small presses such as Spiegl, Sycamore or Heart of Albion. There seemed to be no great difference in the distribution of titles which included the national sources and those which did not. For example, Healy's The Last Days of Steam in Leicestershire and Rutland (1989) appears in 8 sources, including BNB, but Traylen's Railways in Rutland (1982) manages 7 mentions despite the publisher's rebellion over copyright receipt. This perhaps suggests that BNB does not play a huge role in the marketing of books; but titles from the same author and publisher which have somehow escaped a mention in Books in Print, such as Old Motors, Motorcycles and Garages of Rutland (1990), Life of the Gentry from Rutland (1992) or Old Trucks and Buses of Rutland (1993), were mentioned in the databases far less often. The first two have only each appeared in the databases twice. The last does not seem to have been listed anywhere yet. The majority of the sales of local titles are of course to private buyers, but the distribution of a title through the public library system does allow the bibliographer to gauge something of
RESEARCH METHODS: ON-LINE SEARCHING

a book’s cultural impact, even if its wider commercial fate is known only to its publisher and author.

The uncritical aspect of on-line searching which is the cause of the first two problem areas discussed above does have a beneficial aspect, which may rescue ‘grey’ titles from cultural oblivion. Printed sources of information tend to have an undisclosed, evaluative policy underlying their compilation. With the best of intentions items of ‘limited merit’ are often excluded, but the local bibliographer will be seeking those items and will wish to make up his or her own mind on their relevance. On-line searching gives just this uncritical capture of everything on a database containing a specific key word, presenting the bibliographer with a major opportunity for unprejudiced research. Printed indexes and cross-references are also rarely completely comprehensive, but using electronic media allows the whole body of a text to be searched. Publishers, therefore, who care for the cultural as well as the commercial fate of their productions should honour the copyright obligation.

A further advantage which on-line searching provides, if conducted first, is that the compiler will be able to form an impression of the scale of the task ahead. A more specific research programme than a county (such as a bibliography of a town), or an opportunity for an exclusion policy based on a definition (such as an early cut-off date), might well present itself at a labour-saving early stage in the project. The amount of time involved in accessing each database is slight. Combining these into a single collated list will take a lot longer but the result will constitute a working list of probably nearly two-thirds of the separately-printed items and at least an eighth of the periodical titles. There then begins the more laborious task of extending the research through the other methods (discussed in the next chapter), locating and examining every single item and making a decision as to how to treat it within the bibliography as a whole.

For example, the printed version of Pollard and Redgrave’s Short-Title Catalogue suggests Deacon’s 1586 sermon as the earliest Rutland item, because the index does not reference under Rutland the two earlier examples: Anthonie Anderson’s A Sermon of Sure Comfort, Preached at the Funerall of Master Robert Keyley Esquire, at Exton in Rutland, the 18. of Marche 1580... (London, 1581) and Thomas Gibson’s A Fruitful Sermon Preached at Occham, in the countie of Rutland, the second of November, 1583 (London, 1584), even though there were two editions of the latter in that year.
4. RESEARCH METHODS: OTHER SEARCHING

The ten further research methods which follow will need to be conducted if anything like a comprehensive survey is to be achieved. This second-stage methodology was also followed for the Rutland research.

1. Catalogue the contents of a single substantial collection.

2. Visit all the other public libraries within the county and study the contents of their local studies collections.

3. Visit substantial or relevant libraries outside the county for the same purpose.

4. While in these libraries, consult also the major printed bibliographies which may be of relevance (see Appendix 1) and extract relevant references.

5. Visit every parish within the county and record the literature on display in places such as the local shop, the pub and the church.

6. Write to every voluntary or professional society within the county to enquire about their publications.

7. Similarly, all substantial industries, businesses and institutions must be written to or visited for the same purpose. This includes the local authority.

8. Visit regularly throughout the research all bookshops and newsagents within the county or close to its borders.

9. Through the booksellers and librarians, establish contact with the private collectors of local material and make arrangements to view their collections.

10. Towards the end of the research, consult experts in specialised fields, and ask for their comments on parts of the finished bibliography.

These ten steps add up to a considerable amount of work, especially if the county is large. It is presumed that the researcher is aiming for a comprehensive survey of literature both past and present. If an early cut-off date has already been imposed, then it would not be relevant to make so many postal enquiries of current institutions, societies and individuals. Even the new bookshops could be dispensed with, but not the antiquarian booksellers. It is immediately apparent that a county
RESEARCH METHODS: OTHER SEARCHING

Bibliography is unlikely to be a practical proposition for anyone living outside the locality or who is reluctant to work outside the walls of a particular library. All these steps, with their advantages and difficulties, are discussed in more detail below.

1. An obvious choice of a collection with which to begin the research is the local studies collection of the county library service, which will always offer a broad-based attempt to include everything of relevance within a single building. Unfortunately, however, no single collection will ever include everything, not even everything of importance, so other collections must be located and consulted. If bibliographers assume that every collection, whether public or private, includes something unique or previously unknown, they will not only be close to the truth but stand a good chance of catching all relevant items within their net. If the on-line searches have included the county library service's local studies collection, it is still necessary to undertake the systematic survey of the actual books, because the contents of those books need to be checked and there will be subsections within many of them which require separate listing. Although it is an ideal that all the collections which are searched are searched systematically, in practice a book might be skipped once it has been noted. A methodical search through the entirety of a large collection will ensure that the survey has produced reliable results, or at least will minimise the chance of missing something.

The collection first consulted for the Rutland project was that put together by Rutland bookseller Michael Goldmark, in Uppingham. This was a large collection of 'Rutlandiana', filling two bays of shelving: seven shelves in each bay, and each shelf some three feet long. It was possible to describe these books in detail by borrowing them overnight. It was also possible to borrow them for the purpose of comparing the Goldmark copy with that in another collection. Placing two copies side by side made possible the identification of different editions or issues even if the difference was not clearly acknowledged in the books themselves. For example, the different editions of Pearl Finch's *Oakham Castle* (Oakham: Charles Matkin, 1903) were identified in this way. Very few of the new editions of the books issued by the Spieg Press and the Rutland Local History Society are acknowledged in their imprint, and only a detailed side-by-side comparison of different copies of the same work can identify them. Another method of identifying different, 'anonymous' editions, of
course, is to keep a very detailed description of each book and check it against other copies. This is almost as effective as side-by-side comparison, and was also regularly used as a method. The detailed description, however, might not identify the substitution of one photograph for another, which frequently happens in the different editions of the ‘In Rutland’ series.

In 1988 the Goldmark collection was sold to a private purchaser, Stephen Robinson Brown, who added it to his own Rutland collection. This enlarged collection was in turn sold in 1991, but this time by auction so that it has now been dispersed. An auction catalogue exists, in addition to the more detailed catalogue within the bibliography. The dispersal is not a total tragedy, because it has meant that other Rutland collections in private hands have been enhanced. The leading private collection in the county is now that of Rutland bookseller Edward Baines, who purchased many of the items auctioned in 1991. The leading general public collection is easily that of the Rutland Library at Oakham. The leading public collection of rare and obscure material is that called the Phillips Collection at Stamford Town Hall. Another private collection consulted, which contains a surprising amount of administrative and semi-ephemeral material, is that of Hilary Crowden, manager of the Uppingham Bookshop.

The advantage of starting the second stage with a substantial single collection is that, as other collections are studied, new material can be fitted into a context and approached in a critical, informed way but the results of the on-line searching demonstrate that browsing the actual shelves is the only way to find items (which may be quite common, like Thatched Village) which key word searches have failed to locate. The Rutland project began with a private collection simply because it was convenient to do so at the time. To begin with the county library service local collection would have been neither a better nor a worse decision.\(^ {160} \)

2. The second stage is to expand the survey to include the contents of all local public collections to compare descriptions and to add new items. For Rutland these include the contents of Ketton, Leicester, Oakham, Ryhall, Stamford and Uppingham public libraries; the collections of Leicester, Oakham and Stamford.

\(^ {160} \) Hyett and Bazeley, in *The Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, also acknowledged the help they received from some local collectors, which was ‘of great service to us’, I, xii.
Museums; the collection in the Leicester Record Office; the collections in the libraries of the Universities of Leicester, Loughborough and De Montfort; the important Phillips Collection at Stamford Town Hall and the libraries and archives of Oakham and Uppingham public schools.\textsuperscript{161}

It is important to check the description of each item against as many fresh copies of the work as are encountered, irrespective of the age of the publication, because a great many variant versions of works can be discovered which have no open acknowledgment in them of their reprint status. If the bibliographer assumes from a casual glance at the spine of the book that this item has been already covered, many different editions will be missed. There is considerable labour here, but there is little alternative but to just keep at it. Several different editions of Rutland books were identified simply by taking the trouble to check the old description against a new copy.

The libraries which have an on-line service may already have had their catalogues scrutinised by the bibliographer. Targeting only the smaller number of 'unique' items in each library can be a labour-saving option.

3. Visits should be made to important collections outside the county for the same purpose. In addition to the few extra-Rutland collections listed above, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the libraries of Cambridge and Nottingham Universities, the British Library in London and the library of the Society of Antiquaries in London are appropriate institutions to consult. The last has an extremely useful card index which lists articles in academic journals by county as well as by author. The amount of material for Rutland in that index is considerably larger than that listed in Mullins' \textit{A Guide to the Historical and Archaeological Publications of Societies in England and Wales, 1901–1933...} (London: University of London, 1968). For several years now the Society has accessioned new material into a computer database instead. Some of the

\textsuperscript{161} The directors of the East Yorkshire bibliography project began with the Brynmor Jones Library at the University of Hull, though their project only embraced the contents of three public collections. The decision was made to describe each item anew in each of the three collections surveyed. This resulted in the need to edit the entries but also allowed for a very effective double-check. There is no discussion in the report as to the problems caused by variant editions: Barbara English, 'An East Yorkshire Bibliography', 4.
larger libraries prohibit browsing, so the more that can be done by accessing the catalogue in advance, the less time will be wasted on the days of the visits.

Other specialist libraries should be consulted if relevant to the county. The library of the Cement Society, Slough, for example, would be relevant to Rutland because of the existence of Castle Cement at Ketton. Antiquarian libraries held by parish churches may also be a source of rare material. The Oakham Parish Library, a collection bequeathed to the parish of Oakham by Lady Anne Harington of Exton in 1616, part of which is now housed at Nottingham University library, is another obvious local collection to consult. 162

4. Most of the library work has consisted so far of systematically working through anything pertaining to the county, but in addition to the databases discussed in the previous chapter, there are many printed bibliographies likely to yield a considerable number of references. In addition to such sources, journals such as Agricultural History, Nomina, Urban History and the annual Anglo-Saxon England carry regular lists of new publications. This last is particularly noted for its attempts to provide a comprehensive listing of the previous year’s work. Formal literature searches should be conducted with these sources while they are close to hand. A list of some suitable bibliographical and periodical titles which would apply equally to any English county is included as Appendix 1. The main criterion for inclusion in this list is that items

162 142 volumes were bequeathed to the parish in 1616. A partial catalogue is that by Anne Louise Herbert, A Catalogue of Oakham Parish Library. A Study Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Librarianship at the University of Sheffield (September, 1978), which contains 92 entries. A copy is held with the Nottingham collection. Part of the original hoard also passed to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge: the keeper of muniments there, Nicholas Rogers, has managed to generate a list of most of the volumes although they have not been kept together. The parish also gave to Nottingham its bound run of Oakham, Langham, Barleythorpe, Egleton and Brooke Parish Magazine, issues 1-132 (1895-1905), but this is omitted from the catalogue because it is not part of the original. See also Anne L. Herbert’s ‘The Harington Collection’, Library History 6.1 (1982), 1-11. Many such libraries, such as the Stamford St Mary’s parish library, await scholarly appraisal. A guide to these is The Parochial Libraries of the Church of England. Report of the Committee Appointed by the Central Council for the Care of Churches to Investigate the Number and Condition of Parochial Libraries belonging to the Church of England (London: College of the Faith and The Faith Press Ltd., 1959) (Stamford, p. 99; Oakham, p. 94).
can be accessed under the county name, or were found to offer Rutland references in practice.

Because standards of description can vary so much between one bibliographer and another, it is very unrealistic to rely on second-hand references. Not only can they contain unexplained abbreviations, but actual errors in dates, volume and page numbers, and even titles are commonplace. A frequent practice is to abbreviate a very long title, but this is as often as not not acknowledged. Another frequent source of error is to take page numbers from contents lists, so that the real beginning and end of an article can be inaccurately cited.

If the first four steps have been carried out methodically, the bulk of the survey should have already been completed, but other steps serve further to double-check descriptions against new copies and also to provide missing items. Because the collections already covered are likely to have been public collections, much material of interest will not be present within them (because of the problem of local ‘grey’ literature previously discussed). It would be foolish not to make enquiries elsewhere.

5. Every parish within the county needs to be visited. There are several reasons for this. One is to explore the literature on show in the church and the local shop. Another is to enable the bibliographer to form an understanding of the nature of the places he is studying. It must be remembered that local publications are mostly produced in their locality and intended for local consumption. A visit to the place will help the bibliographer to grasp a ‘sense of place’. Such an understanding might well guide him or her to look for references in previously unconsidered locations. For example, the existence of the prehistoric turf maze at Wing, Rutland, alerts the researcher to consider looking for references in general literature on mazes. There may be notices displayed in the locality recording an association with some famous person, or the date the village was host to a particular event. A poster might record the forthcoming meeting of a society. A street name not recorded on the large scale street plan might be noticed. Not least, a chance meeting with an informative local person might reveal any amount of previously unlisted material.

The vast majority of these visits produced some new revelation, such as the existence of a church guide, a locally-produced pamphlet of poetry or even a full village history, and parish newsletters. Most of this sort of material escapes the net of
local librarians. There is no procedure for collecting parish magazines other than to subscribe to each one individually. Parish magazines are in fact deliberately omitted from most bibliographies as a matter of policy, but they often contain items of interest. In Rutland the *Barrowden and Wakerley Parish Magazine*, although an unimpressive duplicated typescript in appearance, nevertheless contains interesting articles and book reviews. An anthology of extracts has been published by the parish as a book: *Across the Welland* (1988). It may be easier to write to the parish instead of visiting, but bibliographers should try to look for themselves instead of being dependent on others' interpretations of their needs.

During the summer of 1996 a systematic visit or revisit was made to every parish in Rutland. The only barrier to collection which was encountered was that of locked churches which displayed no information as to where a key could be located, but about two-thirds were found to be already open and only one church (Thistleton) did not have some literature on display. In many (Uppingham, Ketton) the range of material was simply astonishing. Meetings with key holders are often the occasion of new discoveries when the purpose for the visit is explained. The Friends of Pilton, for example, produce an annual newsletter which proved to be an important addition to the bibliography.

6. Enquiries must be made of every voluntary or professional society within the county as to their publications. A great many societies (for example the Northants and Rutland Mission to the Deaf) produce regular newsletters, annual reports or prospectuses for members which rarely come to the attention of non-members. Some societies (e.g. the freemasons) have substantial libraries or archives. If access is possible, they should be consulted. Leicestershire and Rutland masonic lodges include the Lodge of Research, a lodge specifically devoted to academic research on all masonic matters. Its library is in Leicester and it issues an annual volume of *Transactions*. Its interest to the Rutland bibliographer is obvious, although only a few relevant articles within it were found when a run was examined.

A list of voluntary societies is usually held by the county library service. In larger counties it may be necessary to consult district and town libraries. The annual *Directory of British Associations* published by CBD Research Ltd. at Beckenham, Kent, is only a selective listing of these groups, which it presents in alphabetical order by name, with a subject index, but no locality index.
7. Similarly, all principal industries, businesses and institutions must be written to for the same purpose. In Rutland there are two substantial industries: Ruddles Brewery at Langharn and Castle Cement at Ketton, each of which has produced a range of publications, or has been the subject of study by specialised researchers outside the county, the results of which appear in specialised journals of a non-local nature, e.g., *Cement News*. Both these businesses are also the subject of ideological literature by groups outside their walls: the brewery is covered by the publications of the Campaign for Real Ale (which issues a local monthly magazine distributed free in pubs: *Beer Around 'Ere*) and the cement works have been the subject of controversy because of the recent introduction of a process to generate energy from the burning of waste ('Cemfuel'), which is the target of a local pressure group and the subject of reports both from the local council and the central government. Because pressure groups exist for the specific purpose of persuading the public, they are more likely to generate interesting literature than formal societies. Political parties also generate local publications.

The majority of businesses within the county will not publish anything other than an occasional catalogue or advertising sheet which can be excluded on the grounds of it being ephemera, but if the bibliographer thinks that there is the slightest chance of a publication existing, enquiries should be made. Where the range of literature is extensive, a visit is to be preferred, both to ensure accuracy of description and also to save on the good will of the organisation that has replied.

A substantial institution in any county is of course the local authority. This often takes the form of a county authority with separate district authorities. Sturges and Dixon were disappointed with their catchment rate for local authority publishing and mentioned that they encountered a reluctance to supply material and a frequent inability to reply to letters. Sometimes there is little chance for recording unless the bibliographer is prepared to make frequent visits and even become a nuisance. It is worth persevering. Sturges and Dixon found that in Shropshire 33% of the total number of publications they discovered were from the local authority, compared with 24% in Leicester.

\[163\] Sturges and Dixon obtained a 40% reply rate to their letters in Leicester, but the 158 replies each contained news of one or more publication (p. 27).

\[164\] Sturges and Dixon, pp. 32–3. The proportion for Rutland separate publications is
Other institutions of note within Rutland are Anglian Water, who manage Rutland Water, the RAF stations at North Luffenham and Cottesmore, the Prison at Ashwell and the Stamford Shakespeare Company based at Tolethorpe Hall. Anglian Water publish regular tourist guides. The algae problem at Rutland Water has been the subject of scientific literature. The RAF stations have a monthly magazine. The prison has an annual report and a society of visitors. The Stamford Shakespeare company publishes annual programmes and has also released a general history of their activities.

8. All bookshops and newsagents within the county or close to its borders must be regularly visited throughout the period of the survey. It is very important to establish contact with the booktrade during that time as booksellers possess extraordinarily detailed knowledge on the publications of their locality, which easily rivals that of local studies librarians. Of particular note are the second-hand or antiquarian booksellers who often bring considerable scholarship to their trade and who regularly buy collections of books from the heirs of local deceased collectors. These collections have often been put together over the course of many decades and contain rare items which are subsequently dispersed through the booksellers to new collectors.

Only rarely do antiquarian booksellers bring discoveries to the attention of local librarians and museum curators because the procedure for purchase by these bodies is often slow and the final decision to purchase rare. When a bookseller knows ten local collectors who will buy a rare item immediately and without questioning the price, there is no incentive to approach the local museum or library who will neither make an immediate decision nor pay promptly. The fault of this lies not with the booktrade, which has always possessed great enthusiasm for local books, but with the inability of local authorities to allow their curators sufficient funding or discretion.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Sturges and Dixon also made the point that booksellers and newsagents were worth frequent visits and commented 'It proved easy to enlist the co-operation of many booksellers when they realised that we wished to purchase the material. Indeed the prospect of sales loosened the tongues of several small booksellers and useful and rewarding contacts were made as a result' (p. 21). Because their interest was in current literature they do not appear to have included the antiquarian book trade in

¹¹·₈%, for items classed as periodicals 1₄·₁₂%. For more on the Rutland statistics, see chapter 9, below.
Bibliographers must assume that there is a great deal of activity in the local booktrade which they need to access, but with which they must make contact on their own initiative.

An interesting example of a bookseller offering an important and unique item to the local museum was when Goldmark Books offered the collection of Rutland Church drawings from c.1800 to Rutland Museum. The curator was very enthusiastic but funds were not available. An application had to be made for a special grant (from the Victoria and Albert Museum) and although the collection was eventually purchased, the process was very time-consuming and it was only the strong desire on the part of the bookseller that the collection should go to the museum which ensured that it was kept available. This observation is not intended as a criticism, because it is difficult to see how the practicalities of uncontrolled public acquisitions could be organised. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the book trade handles a considerable amount of material, some of which never appears in a public collection. This is perhaps truer of local history publications than of any other category of bibliography, for the reasons already discussed in the context of copyright receipt.

9. The non-purchase of much material by the library service, however, does not mean that the bibliographer may conveniently forget it. Through the booksellers (and librarians), contact can be established with the private collectors of local material.

The role of collectors in the history of the book trade has always been recognised, and many great private collections have been recognised to be of importance (especially if they later enter public ownership), but collections are often fluid in character and it seems appropriate to try to use them as much as possible during the course of the research. The academic interest of a rare book is no less because it is held in a private rather than a public collection, but there is the problem their visits. David Foxon, in *Thoughts on the History and Future of Bibliographical Description* (Los Angeles: School of Library Services, 1970), reminded bibliographers that 'Graham Pollard is fond of saying that only by working as a bookseller and having to handle so many books of varying kinds can you acquire the breadth of experience that a bibliographer needs ... the scholarship and industry ... of the good antiquarian bookseller never cease to amaze me...' (p. 30).

166 The collection was subsequently discussed in print: Geoffrey K. Brandwood, 'Some Early Drawings of Rutland Churches', *Rutland Record* 9 (1989), 316–19.
of accessibility and permanence. It is hoped that the bibliography will still be of use fifty years after publication, but the collection may no longer exist. Nevertheless, the irritation to potential future enquirers will be minimised if the bibliographer attempts to locate other copies of items first encountered in a private library, or acknowledges that access may be limited.\textsuperscript{167} There is potential for locating variant copies of rare works in a temporary collection, especially as librarians frequently rebind books and throw away their dustwrappers, and it must be acknowledged that public collections may be no more permanent as repositories of a particular item than are private collections.\textsuperscript{168}

Most collectors will be delighted to have the opportunity to show off their collection and, once trust is established, will open the researcher's eyes in ways he did not dream were possible. In Edward Baines' private collection in Rutland lies the \textit{manuscript} of Wright's \textit{Additions to the History and Antiquities of Rutlandshire} (London: the author, 1687). Somewhere there exists the manuscript of Blore's \textit{Rutland} (including the text of the unpublished material). Its existence was reported in 1903\textsuperscript{169} but its modern whereabouts are unknown. The fact that it is now a public collection, owned by Stamford Town Council, does not alter the fact that the Phillips collection was first put together by a private collector in the nineteenth century. The collection

\textsuperscript{167} The \textit{Basic Bibliography Book} phrased this principle thus: 'Any restrictions on access or availability should be indicated, otherwise waste of time and effort, frustration, and curses upon the head of the bibliographer may result.' (p. 7).

\textsuperscript{168} Not just because of theft or 'de-accession', which are considerable threats. The present writer pointed out to the staff of one local library that their copy of Blore's \textit{The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland}... (Stamford: the author, 1811) was all but unique for having survived in its original printed paper-covered boards, but it has subsequently been rebound. The chance to describe a rare feature must be taken whatever the source because it is not unlikely to disappear. The point should also be made, of course, that just because a collection has been dispersed does not mean that the book no longer exists. It may even have entered a public collection after the death of the collector.

\textsuperscript{169} G. Phillips, 'The Bibliography of Rutland: Thomas Blore', \textit{Rutland Magazine} 2 (1903), 54–61 and \textit{ibid.} 5 (1904), 151. Only a proportion of Blore's proposed \textit{History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland} was published in 1811. Another manuscript related to Wright's \textit{Rutland} exists, that of one of his sources; see Heather E. Broughton, 'Sir Charles Bodenham and "Rutlandshire"', \textit{Rutland Record} 2 (1982), 87–8.
was bequeathed by Joseph Phillips to the town in 1902, but this was a rare and lucky event. The collection contains many unique treasures. 170

One of the advantages which a private collection may have over a public is in its arrangement. A large library has to arrange books according to a classification system, but the literature on a county will be multi-disciplinary and much is unlikely to be accessed by the county name. There is every chance, therefore, that a private collector will be able to bring books to the attention of the bibliographer which he has previously missed, simply because they had been classified as, say, limnology rather than Rutland Water. This is especially crucial for works in which the local connection is invisible. E. W. Hornung's novel *Fathers of Men* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1912) is set at Uppingham School, but not openly so and James Buchan's *Thatched Village* has already been mentioned. The local collector will unhesitatingly place these works in a Rutland collection, but the university librarian is more likely to place them — accurately enough — under novels or English rural life, with no Rutland acknowledgement attached. Another obvious opportunity for discovery in this context is where the collector has included a book because there is an unexpected chapter on the locality. A biography may well contain a chapter on someone's youth in the area, for example. 171

Collections made by general second-hand booksellers are particularly good sources. This is because the dealer handles a great number of books on all subjects and needs to assess them for pricing. As each book, however unpromising, is considered, discoveries of local connections are made and the book placed in the collection rather than on sale. Many of the autobiographies listed in the bibliography

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170 It would be an interesting research project to discover what proportion of the great topographical collections held in public and institutional libraries were in fact begun by individuals and bequeathed to the library, and in what ways the collection changed under institutional care. The Phillips collection, for instance, has been catalogued (as a research project by a volunteer) and well cared for, but there is no active policy of acquisition of new material. All additions are gifts and recent acquisitions are not catalogued. The relationship between collectors and public libraries is one of the themes in Robert H. Taylor's 'Biblothecohimatiourgomachia', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 48 (1954), 230–8; and in John Cook Wylie's 'The Bibliographer and the Collecting of Historical Materials', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 58 (1964), 148–53.

171 See the discussions on biography above, p. 88 and below, pp. 153–4.
were first encountered as a ‘Rutland item’ in this informal way. A bookseller’s
collection, put together over the course of two decades, could well be a selection of
relevant items taken from over a million books. The bibliographer must get access to
this knowledge.

10. When undertaking surveys of literature in a field which embraces many
disciplines, such as a county bibliography, the bibliographer must be prepared to ask
for help from experts in particular areas. Several specialised sections of the Rutland
bibliography were shown to relevant experts, who were asked for their comments. In
addition letters should be sent to the clergy in the county, enclosing copies of the
sections on their parishes (most clergy care for more than one parish), with similar
requests. Clergymen are unlikely to be available for interview when unplanned visits
are made to the parishes, so written enquiries should be made in a methodical way.
Perhaps disturbingly, every time a section was shown to a specialist mention was
made of something which could be added, but the list also informed the specialist of
gaps in his or her own knowledge. On the whole such requests are not a nuisance
because the expert who is approached welcomes a copy of the draft section. The
procedure, however, must be left to a late stage in the survey or too large an
imposition will be made.

Such a set of procedures as outlined above, if performed consistently and
accurately with sufficient resources in time and energy, will produce an effective net
in which to catch the vast majority of locally-produced materials, over the course of
the whole of the county’s history since the introduction of printing. There will be
chance escapes. Many items have perished or may only be known from rare single
copies (leaving the researcher with the nagging feeling that many similar publications
may have been lost). In this respect the large number of unique items in the Phillips
collection demonstrate the need for caution in the claim that all has been catalogued.
Some items may be recorded as ghosts, in that a reference to them has been found
but no copy located, with no certainty whether the reference was a complete fiction
(as was the rumour that the Rutland Magazine reached a sixth volume) or whether a

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172 Sturges and Dixon used some similar methods but did not visit every locality (but
‘There is no doubt that ... the policy of visits proved effective...’ [p. 23]) or make
contact with collectors. They also made appeals for information on the local radio and
in the local press, but were disappointed with the responses (p. 17).

173 This persistent story circulating amongst collectors in Rutland has now been traced
RESEARCH METHODS: OTHER SEARCHING

A final point should be made, which could almost count as an eleventh procedure. Bibliographers, throughout the period of the research, must keep their eyes open wherever they go. Every book which is examined must also be quarried for references to other material. There will be chance encounters with relevant material in unexpected places: magazines in waiting rooms at the vets', doctors' or dentists' surgeries, items on display in pubs, leaflets on display at Tourist Information centres far away from the locality under study. Producing a county bibliography is a commitment. A bibliographer without a sense of vocation will produce an anaemic bibliography.175

Recording Material

Before proceeding with the management of the material, the method of recording it during these procedures should be mentioned.

Methods can vary according to the specifications of the bibliography. The Rutland project began with the concept of producing a 'physical' catalogue of the single copy still exists or not.174 But in the end, the bibliographer can only pursue an ideal of comprehensiveness in a systematic way.

Nevertheless, the knowledge that a book once existed, but no longer survives in a single copy, is useful. Its contribution to the broader spectrum of literature will have been made, just as an extinct life form has made a contribution to general evolution by having been there. Extinct books should still be recorded: there may be a feral copy which will be recaptured one day.

An example of a reference found this way is that of the two articles on Rutland in the April 1992 edition of Cambridgeshire Pride Magazine, a copy of which was found in Papworth hospital during the author's stay there. A locality can often be featured in a general 'coffee-table' type magazine despite the ostensible fact that (for example) a Cambridgeshire magazine would not contain any Rutland articles. Whether such an article should be included or not depends on its content and the defined borders of the survey. One wonders how many tourist articles on Rutland might have appeared in continental magazines.
books, pamphlets and leaflets of Rutland, so it was not practical to record the information on cards because too much space was required. Instead, a simple A4 pad of paper was used, a separate page for each description, and these could be shuffled into alphabetical or subject order as required. Naturally, they incurred some wear and tear during the course of the research, but it would have been very expensive to record the information on A4-size cards, and very cumbersome to have several smaller cards for each entry. Several entries even ran over more than the two sides of one piece of paper.

If the book could be borrowed it was taken to the computer and described direct, but if it had to be examined in situ it was described in handwriting first. This produced occasional problems owing to lack of precision and after a while the researcher became more accurate at distinguishing between spaces and double spaces or specifying whether the underlining (denoting italic) actually extended to the comma following the word or not. After a few false starts, all abbreviations such as the ampersand (&) were abandoned in transcription because when one came to type the material, one had no way of knowing whether the abbreviation had been in the original or not. It was necessary to print out the descriptions for the purpose of comparing them to other copies in other locations.

A lap-top computer enables the bibliographer to describe the book directly into the machine at source. The computer is taken to the book rather than the book to the computer. This type of machine can save the bibliographer a very considerable amount of extra work. It is strongly recommended.¹⁷⁶

If the aim is to produce a short-title catalogue, then a system of card records is very practical, especially if they are previously designed with all anticipated categories (fields) present, because the cards will discipline the compiler into attempting to fill every field. If a computer database is being used to produce the bibliography, it would be practical for the cards to follow the same layout as the fields

¹⁷⁶ The cautionary point should be made that the compiler must regularly (at least every day) copy information compiled on a computer so that sudden system failure does not entail the loss of work. Lap-tops are particularly vulnerable because they can not only be dropped and damaged, but they are easily stolen. Regular back-up will minimise the trauma of loss when it eventually occurs (one day the hard disk will fail).
of the database on the screen. Depending on the amount of detail decided upon, it may be necessary to have different designs of cards for books and articles.

Another method of taking records for a short-title survey is to keep A4 sheets in files arranged by subject. An article such as:


which concerns the discovery of a Civil War coin hoard at Ryhall, should be simultaneously entered into the sections for Stuart Rutland, family history and Ryhall and any other sections considered relevant. This is the equivalent of tagging the card with key words in a database, denoting the different subjects covered by the item. It is important to record page references for the different subjects if they are covered by only a section within the article, and, if the subject content is not obvious from the title, to specify this clearly. For example, in the context of the Stuart Rutland section an annotation must be added that this article concerns a Civil War coin hoard, otherwise the reason for including it is unclear.

When the final copy is made, the article will either be included in each section or cross-referenced, but it is unhelpful to repeat in each section all the other subjects that the article refers to. For example, in the case of:


one should add under Ketton ‘Ketton hoard, pp. 121–4’ but not repeat this detail when mentioning under Langham ‘Langham hoard, p. 128’. To repeat all the references that can be extracted from each article, within all the sections which are relevant to that article, would be as cumbersome as mentioning them out of place in an index. It would also waste a lot of space and make use of the bibliography more difficult. Under the section relating to prehistoric Rutland, however, all the sub-categories should be listed because they are all relevant to the subject in which the

Cards were used by Alison Townsend in her Essex towns survey, and her method was copied by Christopher Eve in his similar project on Northamptonshire towns. There are many database programs which could be used by a bibliographer but two which are specifically designed for personal bibliographical research are Idealist and Papyrus.
If compiling the bibliography on a computer from the outset, it is far better to use a database than word-processing because database flexibility allows for the efficient management and sorting of the material. It will be advisable, however, to print the database for editing purposes at a late stage, because more errors will be noticed when it is printed than when it is on the screen: not necessarily because a printed typeface is superior to a screen font, but because a presentation which is different from the one the compiler has been hitherto used to will ensure that he or she reads the text more carefully.

In the early stages of the project the bibliographer is quite likely to change his or her methods or choice of detail. Although this growth is inevitable and welcome, it means that early work will have to be revised and repeat visits made to collections already covered. It is probably impossible to anticipate all the specifications in advance, but the more that can be worked out at the start, the less alteration will be needed later. An obvious area of evolution is that of a section which only takes on its final form at a late stage in the survey when the quantity of material uncovered has been appraised. As soon as a new section or subsection is created, other titles will also be brought to it. Use of the classification system proposed below may help to minimise the growth or decline in the number of sections as the work proceeds.

It is, of course, practical to follow a tidy and disciplined method such as using cards specifically designed for the survey's requirements, but this does not mean that a bibliography cannot be compiled in a more chaotic fashion if the researcher is sufficiently enthusiastic to make a record whenever a new item is encountered; merely that the risks of error or loss are greater. If researchers keep their eyes open throughout the period of the survey, then much may well be gathered on scraps of paper, by scribbles in diaries or even on beer mats. Whenever something is spotted it should be recorded because the chances of forgetting to return when it is more convenient are great. Even public houses are a potential source of material which should not be forgotten when making evening visits. It is better to risk losing the

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178 Christopher Eve's Northamptonshire towns thesis repeats the entire reference in each context with a long list of abbreviated symbols denoting the subjects covered by the work, but with no page references. Far better, under one town, to omit the references to other towns and use the space to provide page references, respecting the needs of the user of that section of the bibliography.
scrap of paper than to refrain from recording altogether because of the social circumstances or the absence of blank cards.

Conclusions

Although the scale of the task may be intimidating, it is important to stress that each of the research methods discussed in this chapter will produce references not encountered in other ways, so even if the bibliography is confined to a narrower period or a more specific location, it would be unwise to reduce the number of research steps. The scientific nature of the survey is conditioned not by the degree of total catchment (the survey will be out of date as soon as it is published) but by the reliability of the research methods and the honesty with which they are conducted. If a bibliography is the desired product, the work will be exacting.

The importance of each research step can be illustrated statistically. Using the draft list of 1512 'separate' Rutland titles, figures to illustrate the proportional importance of each research method can be suggested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sources</th>
<th>total refs</th>
<th>'unique refs'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All sources together</td>
<td>4317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-line searching (tables 2 &amp; 3 etc.):</td>
<td>3278</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local public libraries:</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local university libraries:</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local private collections:</td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National libraries:</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are so many overlaps in the gross totals that only the last 5 'unique' figures have much validity (473 unique references found on-line is true, but it does include the unique references found in local on-line sources). For periodicals, 262 titles were discovered in total, of which only 36 appeared in on-line sources. Only 8 periodicals were discovered nationally but not locally. A great number of the periodicals were found through site visits as well as in private collections. The figures demonstrate the need for a research programme to be conducted on many different fronts.
Much has been said on the need for bibliographies and catalogues to be comprehensive surveys of the entirety of material within their defined borders. For a bibliography the borders have been defined in abstract as the entirety of published, non-ephemeral, printed literature pertaining to the subject, but this still leaves the question as to what material may be judged as ephemeral (and discarded) and whether there is a size limit to relevant literature: a bibliography is not an index, so a reference made in passing will not be included; but what is the smallest 'bibliographical unit' appropriate for inclusion? To the interesting question of inclusion and exclusion policies we now turn.
5. INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION POLICIES

Introduction

The conceptual problem underlying an inclusion and exclusion policy has led many compilers of local bibliographies to resort to the simple solution of arbitrariness, either in their own decision making or in deciding to limit themselves to the contents of one collection. An example of this approach is the recent work on Lincoln City, which was researched almost exclusively in Lincoln Central Library. It met the specification intended and is a useful research tool for anyone using that collection, but it is not a bibliography and the brief even excluded Lincoln Cathedral. Another example is the Oxfordshire bibliography, which is largely confined to the contents of Oxford libraries. Although both these publications are valuable contributions to local studies, neither can be called a bibliography because of their failure to adopt a conceptual basis for their contents. They are catalogues.

Despite the all-encompassing approach necessary for bibliography, there remains the challenge of establishing the appropriate frontiers by reference to specific problems. These challenges are now addressed. Because the contents of a county bibliography have not been the subject of a conceptual discussion before, and because all compilers of past surveys have admitted their policy of arbitrary selection, there are few opportunities for reference to other discussions on these problems. The types of publication selected for discussion are ones which challenged the present bibliographer to make a decision for exclusion or inclusion based on principles of logic and consistency. References to different solutions in other county bibliographies are made where appropriate, but because those solutions were frequently based on arbitrary reasoning the contrast will be illustrative rather than

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179 For Lincoln and Oxfordshire see notes 93 and 94 on p. 47.

180 This chapter is not a general review of the contents of a local bibliography but a discussion of problems which are encountered on the frontiers of an exclusion and inclusion policy. A general review of local history materials is the thesis by G. M. Sippings, *Local History Materials in Public Libraries: the Framework of an Acquisitions Policy*, unpublished M. Lib. thesis (Aberystwyth, University of Wales, 1986).
INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION POLICIES

The research produced practical problems and the logic applied to those problems is reviewed in each case. The principles to be applied have already been discussed in the first two chapters, but they may be summarised again in table format:

Table 5: Relevant and Irrelevant Criteria for an Inclusion Policy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relevant criteria</th>
<th>Irrelevant criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bibliographical unit or not?</td>
<td>Size of item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication or not?</td>
<td>Rarity or accessibility of item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book format or not?</td>
<td>Quantity of material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-ephemeral or ephemeral?</td>
<td>Personal interests of the compiler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant to the subject or not?</td>
<td>Almost-relevant subject matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of positive answer to all above criteria</td>
<td>Intellectual calibre of item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Production standards of item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taboo subject matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age of the item</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliographical Units

The first challenge is to discuss the definition of the smallest bibliographical unit. A bibliography confines itself to separately-published material and to articles or chapters within that material: that is, it confines itself to items which can be referenced as discrete units; but this still leaves the question as to whether an article which is partly about the subject in hand should be included or not. There is no controversy over whether a reference in passing should be catalogued: a bibliography is not an index, but a case might be made for including an article of twenty pages which contains half a page of relevance. This of course is not a bibliographical unit and it can usually be discarded with a clean conscience; but if the page contains something of real importance which is often cited in the literature, such as a particular annal in a medieval chronicle, the case for inclusion may be strong. If the paragraph has its own heading, this would certainly justify inclusion. Without the

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181 The bulk of material in a particular category may justify the exclusion of the entire category, so long as this is acknowledged, but not the adoption of a selectivist solution.
heading, it might appear permissible to err on the side of inclusion when evaluation suggests importance, but the need to stick to rigorous criteria means that the temptation should be avoided. Inclusion of half a bibliographical unit might be a little like including a spider in a catalogue of insects simply because its colour or lifestyle made for an appropriate comparison with an insect which was included by definition. The appropriate place for such half-relevancies is in a note.

Not dissimilar is the challenge of an article which makes repeated relevant references but which in itself is not about the subject in hand. A work of regional interest but which contains no particular chapter of relevance would be an obvious example of such a contender for inclusion. A study of a settlement just outside the county, such as Stamford or Rockingham, might also be encountered. In this case, some degree of personal evaluation might appear unavoidable, but the subject of the bibliography is not the region but the county. If inclusions are going to be allowed on a personal ad hoc basis, then exclusions might also occur in this way. It is better to stick to defined policy or the accuracy of the survey will be undermined. Erring on the side of inclusion might be justifiable on the grounds that it does no harm, but the presence of the spider in a catalogue of insects, while also harmless, would not be acceptable to biologists. If the bibliographer sees a strong need to mention something, then reference should be made to it outside the catalogue, such as in a note to an entry on the lines of 'see also...'

A bibliographical unit is a separate entity. It must have its own discrete borders, which is usually illustrated by having its own name: a title or heading. Its size is not crucial, its independent existence is.

Ephemera

The largest body of disputable material is that of printed ephemera, which is also the most elusive area of publishing because the state has no interest in collecting it and because there is such a huge amount. The local bibliographer must attempt to

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182 There is a case for creating a particular section for works which set Rutland in a broader context. Regional works are discussed further, below, pp. 157-9.

183 Another case can be made for something which is of relevance but which is not in the format of printed matter, such as a commercially published video or a published database. That these are excluded by definition is indisputable. They may be mentioned only in ways which do not intrude on the sequence of the general entries.
establish rigorous criteria for the treatment of ephemera. The survey must neither become swamped with uninteresting material (which will also be unrepresentative because there is no chance of achieving a complete catalogue), nor must it exclude, arbitrarily, material that is of broader interest.\textsuperscript{184}

‘Ephemera’ is a collective term for material of limited interest and intended to be used only during a limited time scale. Its literal meaning is something which lasts for only a day but a more general time-scale is of course implied. Printed ephemera is extremely interesting and is increasingly becoming the subject of academic study and popular collecting interest. The Ephemera Society and its journal \textit{The Ephemerist} provide one platform for the study of this material. The Society defines ephemera as ‘the minor transient documents of everyday life’.\textsuperscript{185} The local bibliographer will encounter it frequently and he must develop an understanding of it. A definition must be found which allows ephemera to be excluded in a way which makes academic sense. As stated in the first chapter, excluded it must be if only because of the sheer quantity of it (pp. 39–40).

The most important point to make about the class of ephemera is that it is not defined by its physical characteristics but by its original purpose and use. Christopher Makepeace considers that leaflets are ephemera by definition. This is not acceptable

\textsuperscript{184} The scale of the problem is illustrated by the John Johnson collection of ephemera now housed (since 1968) in the Bodleian Library. Collected by an individual before 1939 (i.e., before the modern explosion in quantity), the collection is uncounted but stored in some 2,500 folio filing boxes. It will consist of over a million items. See M. L. Turner, \textit{The John Johnson Collection. Catalogue of an Exhibition. Bodleian Library. Oxford. 1971} (Oxford, 1971).

\textsuperscript{185} Quoted by Michael Dewe, ‘A Collecting Policy for Printed Ephemera: Some Contrasting United Kingdom Approaches’, \textit{Local Studies Librarian} 11.i (1992), 6–11 (p. 6). The paper argues that a local studies collection should collect ‘to an agreed plan’ which ‘should give the contents of a printed ephemera collection greater meaning’ (p. 7). No real policy emerges from the discussion, though the reader is left with the impression that local collecting of local-interest ephemera is more appropriate than national collecting. Part of the difficulty in formulating a policy is that ephemera, grey (wild) literature and ‘standard publications’ are overlapping concepts and have no subject divisions: an ‘essential publication’ for one librarian or scholar or bookseller may be dismissed as ephemeral rubbish by another. The bibliographer begins by treating all material as equal.
INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION POLICIES

to the county bibliographer. 186

A leaflet has been defined as a single piece of paper. Undoubtedly a great many leaflets which are printed are publications and do contain interesting material. Some of these are automatically included in the bibliography because they are publications of a type already included. Church guides, for example, are usually pamphlets of several pages, but are sometimes leaflets, and, despite often being produced to an atrocious standard of printing, are included because they are publications of more than ephemeral interest. A tourist leaflet, on the other hand, which lists bed and breakfast accommodation in Oakham, is not included because, although it is both printed and a publication, it is considered ephemeral.

A bus ticket, a railway timetable, an advertising leaflet from a local shop, a local printed diary, 187 a political poster, a letterhead of a local business, and an invitation to a wedding are examples of local-interest printed ephemera. These are not items which the local bibliographer should seek to net. 188

186 Christopher E. Makepeace, Ephemera. A Book on its Collection, Conservation and Use (Aldershot: Gower, 1985), p. 17. He also argues that all pamphlets are automatically ‘minor publications'; this again cannot be accepted. Are all books therefore ‘major publications'? The author offers an extensive discussion on the confusion between ephemera and minor publications in his chapter ‘What is Ephemera?' (pp. 4–40).

187 Some of the Rutland examples are parish publications (e.g. Great Casterton. 1971). Another is produced annually by the Graham Cumming Group, Ramsgate, Kent. Here a standard small diary is enclosed within a few pages of local information and advertisements, and the cover decorated with an advertiser’s name for free distribution as ‘The Rutland Diary'.

188 Although it is justifiably excluded from the scope of a bibliography, printed ephemera does have an interest from several perspectives, including those of the social scientist, the artist, the economist and the local collector. A local scholar who has made this area of publishing his own, devised methods of cataloguing it and made interesting use of it is Steph Mastoris, based at Market Harborough Museum. While at Nottinghamshire Museums he conducted a survey of advertising material which was delivered through letter-boxes: Steph and Lynne Mastoris, ‘Collecting Contemporary Advertising Ephemera from a Nottingham Suburb', Social History Curators Group Journal 13 (1985–86), 15–28; and: Steph Mastoris, ‘Sneinton Revisited: Further Collections of Contemporary Advertising Ephemera from Nottingham Suburbs', Social History Curators Group Journal 18 (1990–91), 30–7. In addition to the Makepeace book there are several useful books on ephemera, such as Alan Clinton, Printed Ephemera: Collection, Organisation, Access (London: Clive Bingley,
As far as the county bibliographer is concerned, ephemera is published printed matter pertaining to the county which is to be excluded from the bibliography. A negative is unsatisfactory as a general definition, but the borders of ephemera are difficult to define. Makepeace's attempts bring in several factors which are more relevant to the local librarian or museum curator than to the bibliographer.

Of no relevance are format (because bibliography includes all printed formats; arguably there is no such thing as a 'standard book format'); potential interest (because items like bus tickets have their collectors and can be studied for interesting aspects of art and transport history); treatment within the library system (because librarians catalogue everything they hold and nothing they do not hold); the type of publisher (it is the publication that is under consideration not the person who funded it); or the means of production or distribution. The method of printing is irrelevant, and the fact that a publication is given away in a free newspaper does not necessarily mean it is not a suitable item for a bibliography. For example, local councils sometimes distribute their annual reports or propaganda sheets by using the free newspaper distribution system.

Another simple definition of ephemera is that offered by John Feather in his *Dictionary of Book History* (p. 100): 'A generic term used for printed matter other than books, magazines and newspapers', but this definition lacks any explicable conceptual basis, and would embrace all pamphlets, leaflets and articles within books and journals. If ephemera is defined by format rather than function, then there would be no such thing as ephemera. The function characteristic is not only the one workable criterion, it is implied in the meaning of the word.

The difficulty is that classing something as ephemeral or not requires assessment rather than measurement. That evaluation may still be logical, but logic is something which works differently in different people according to their personal priorities. Hence, at least, the need for a discussion illustrated by examples.

There are only two criteria relevant to the definition of ephemera: the purpose of the publication from the producer's point of view (not whether a modern

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1981); Maurice Rickards, *This is Ephemera. Collecting Printed Throwaways* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977); and the same author's *Collecting Printed Ephemera* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988). The Makepeace book includes an impressive and useful checklist of types of ephemera (pp. 220-3), but this should be used with caution by local bibliographers. It includes newspapers and 'leaflets'.
researcher can make use of it in a different way) and whether it is meant for longer use than a limited period (again from the producer's point of view). Ephemeral purposes are usually advertising or entertaining at an event. Ephemeral timescales are certainly daily and weekly but can arguably include monthly or quarterly periods, even perhaps up to a year.

Only two criteria justify the inclusion of an ephemeral item in a bibliography: the concept of re-use (again from the producer's perspective) or if the publication can be classed as a periodical. On the whole, items which are classed as ephemera are automatically excluded from a bibliography unless they can offer evidence that they were intended for reuse after an event or are classed as an issue of a periodical because the periodical as such has a longer life than its individual issues.189

Having decided on criteria, there then comes the challenge of applying them from one example of a publication to another.

Programmes to Events
Programmes to events may be approached in two alternative ways by the county bibliographer. One way is to adopt a deliberate policy of exclusion by a rigidly applied definition. The definition would allow some to be included, as discussed below, but it must be applied rigorously if the scientific nature of the survey is to be preserved. The other approach is to include all programmes to all public events. This latter is the best and most appropriate course of action, but it is a direction which will lead to difficulties for a compiler with limited resources, and there will be the problem that a total survey may not be achievable.

First, the justification for exclusion rests on the fact that the programme to an event is ephemeral. Its purpose is partly to inform the patrons of the event as to what is before them and partly for the organisers to raise further revenue from sales and advertising. Sometimes, however, a programme can include a commentary clearly meant for a long-term readership. An opera programme, for instance, might include an essay on an aspect of the production which would be of permanent interest to anyone studying the opera. There is also the 'souvenir' aspect of the programme

189 A work which appears from its title to be a relevant discussion is Joyce Watson, Bibliography of Ephemeral Community Information Materials. Part 1: A Sources Guide (Leeds: Leeds Polytechnic School of Librarianship, 1979), but this is neither a bibliography nor an analysis but a directory of sample producers of 'ephemera'.

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which might suggest potential for 're-use', deliberately intended by its publishers. Where the programme contains such material, therefore, inclusion is not only justified but expected. An example is the programme for The Official Opening of the New Uppingham Church of England Controlled Primary School by Sir John Wolfenden... (Oakham: Rutland County Council, 1963) which contains a detailed account of the events leading to the foundation and opening of the institution. The essay is of permanent interest and is local.

If a programme contains such an essay, exclusion would still be justified if the content of the essay is about the music or the play rather than an aspect of Rutland's history. If the programme contains an essay on the specific production or the history of the theatre, then that constitutes suitable grounds for inclusion. The essay must be of local interest if it is to be included. If there is no essay or permanent matter, the programme can be excluded by definition. This is a logical criterion which can be applied to such programmes to ensure that important material of local interest is still preserved even if a general decision has been taken to exclude material of that genre. Arguably, it is the essay which is being included rather than the programme. 190

The same criterion applies to exhibition catalogues, such as those produced by local museums or art galleries. The material produced by the Goldmark Gallery in Uppingham is scholarly and well-printed, but because they are monographs on the artist who is the subject of the exhibition, they are not necessarily relevant to the local bibliography. If the museum produces a catalogue for an exhibition of Rutland items, or the gallery exhibits local artists, then inclusion should be automatic. 191

This criterion is suggested as a logical means of coping with the material if the bibliographer is incapable of covering it adequately, either because only a few samples are found or because resources of time and space are limited, or indeed if the sheer quantity of material poses the threat of seriously upsetting the balance of the county bibliography: a bibliography of a large city or a county which contains one

190 An example is A Concert to Honour Robert Johnson (1541-1625), Founder of the Schools at Oakham & Uppingham, given in the Parish Church of St. John the Baptist North Luffenham, Rutland, Sunday May 6th 1984 (Uppingham: the School, 1984).

would pose this risk. It is better, however, to adopt a policy which includes the material for several reasons.

The most obvious justification for inclusion is that a user of the bibliography may be looking for it. A researcher of the history of provincial music or the standards of provincial art exhibitions would find such programmes to be their source material, and no one would wish to argue that their needs should be denied. Another justification is that the concert programme is a souvenir of a public event (inclusion would not necessarily mean that church marriage programmes should also be included) and that other such souvenirs are included when the event is a pageant or a sermon (both discussed below): concert programmes should not be treated differently from other programmes. The final justification is that such material has considerable interest for local history.

A programme to a local event may well contain photographs and profiles of the leading participants, such as actors or musicians. Some of these characters may well be of importance to the bibliographer in other capacities. In addition, actors, musicians, sports men and women all had early careers in which they participated in localised events before they became national figures. The programme to a school sports day is likely to record the early achievements of figures such as Gary Lineker. A school concert may feature the early performances of the violinist Nigel Kennedy. These references would be of interest to biographers as well as being a memorable occasion of local pride.

The range of material which would justify equal treatment is quite considerable: all concert and opera programmes, theatre programmes (Rutland contains the annual Shakespeare festival at Tolethorpe Hall), programmes to communal feasts or fetes, festivals, pageants (also discussed below) and school events such as the annual sports day, carol services, prize-giving, degree days, and services in remembrance of the dead of the two world wars if they were the occasion of printed programmes; and programmes to the opening ceremonies of new institutions. A local institution may also be the host of an annual event of broader interest, such as the medieval studies conference held every year since 1984 at Harlaxton College near Grantham in Lincolnshire. For the latter both the programme and the published proceedings would justify inclusion in a comprehensive Lincolnshire bibliography.
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Sporting fixtures would include the matches of the local football team (though perhaps a case could be made for excluding programmes to 'away' matches).

Church services may be a difficult area. Although most weekly events will not be the subject of a printed programme, each active church is likely to produce some documents for special events such as particular services in the year (for example the annual Oakham service honouring friendship with RAF Cottesmore) or the marriages or funerals of local people. A distinction may be made depending on the public or private nature of the event. The printed funeral pamphlet for a local celebrity, although private, may well be included if the deceased is already featured in the bibliography for other reasons, or if the document includes some writing of more than ephemeral interest. On the whole, however, most church service literature will be rejected on the grounds that the event is of a private nature. The unenthusiastic bibliographer may wish to extend this categorisation to the public services (arguing perhaps that the event is only for church members), but the distinction would not be logical nor its application honest.

The quantity of the material is no justification for an approach which is arbitrarily selective. A defined policy of exclusion, such as the suggestion made above, is the only other option. It may be tempting to confine the list to samples which are preserved in public collections or to impose an early cut-off date, but such policies would be in contrast to those imposed on other material in the bibliography. Another idea might be to reject the larger cities within a county for similar treatment (not an option in Rutland but it would be in Leicestershire), but this would only be justified if the city was excluded generally from the whole bibliography. The fact that bibliographers are unlikely to locate examples of every programme to every event should not deter them from the comprehensive listing of the items which are discovered.

In addition to the option to exclude the majority by definition as ephemera, however, one further policy may allow for an appropriate reduction in the space absorbed by the listings, which is to subsume many programmes under single

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192 Cordeaux and Merry excluded the city of Oxford from the first two volumes of their Oxfordshire bibliography, issuing coverage of the city in an eventual third volume (1976). The University of Oxford was a further problem area (purely because of the quantity of the material) separated for publication as a different volume in 1968. Such an approach is perfectly justified because it is done by definition.

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headings as periodicals. Only an event which was held regularly would justify such treatment, however. This option is further discussed in the context of the next subject.

**Pageants and Shows**

A delightful and popular event in the early years of this century was the town pageant. In this display of local pride the whole community was intended to participate in events such as processions, market stalls and short dramas illustrating local history. The production was frequently accompanied by a well-produced and informative programme or souvenir (often both). Although no Rutland examples came to light during the research, they are common enough for other counties. They were mostly held as one-off events rather than on an annual basis. In 1901 Winchester held a national pageant celebrating the thousandth anniversary of the death of Alfred the Great, subsequently recorded in a substantial cloth-bound book. Preston in Lancashire holds an event every twenty years called the Preston Guild. Although the publications are programmes for a transient event, they are clearly intended both as permanent souvenirs or records and as statements of local pride. They should be included in the bibliography. The best place for them would appear to be alongside other items pertaining to the individual parish in which they were held. They can even enjoy a use broader than local curiosity, for the 'book of words' frequently preserves local poetry or dramas of literary interest. That for the 1907 Oxford pageant contains much material by well-known national writers.

Less permanent in their appeal are the records of slighter events such as the 1982 'Uppingham Feast'. This was little more than a display of stalls on Tod's Piece (the local playing fields) and the programme consists almost entirely of advertisements. It can be excluded if a general policy of exclusion has been adopted for the bibliography (see the previous section) but inclusion is more appropriate for the sake of consistency. Similarly, the souvenir of the 1915 Stamford Fete, although


194 The 1907 Oxford pageant was the occasion of several publications, which are listed as items 227–33 in Cordeaux and Merry's bibliography of the city.
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it is only a pamphlet of advertisements for stall holders, should be included in a Stamford bibliography. The programme is not only a source of information but its listing is a record that the event took place, useful enough as a piece of information even if the user of the bibliography does not wish to locate the listed copy for examination.

An annual festival, however, such as the Oakham Agricultural show, should always have its programme, however slight, listed in the bibliography because it can be classed as a periodical (on which see more below). Another example would be the annual Stamford Festival, an event of pure 'shovehalfpenny-competition' triviality, but one which has become established for over a decade. The Oakham Show has run for over 150 years and surviving programmes suggest that one was issued for every year because they are numbered in sequence. Some very early examples are preserved in the Phillips Collection at Stamford. The listing of regularly produced programmes as periodicals is a logical method of reducing the space allocated to them and also accurately presents their regularly repeated nature.

Auction Catalogues

Related to the programme, in the sense that it is evidence of a particular event which may have broader interest than that, is the catalogue of an auction.

The important Rutland collection which formed the original nucleus of the Rutland survey was auctioned in 1990, and a catalogue was produced by the auction house. The library of the Lincoln historian Sir Francis Hill was purchased by Stanilands, booksellers of Stamford, and subsequently catalogued. The compiler of the Lincoln City bibliography decided to include this latter catalogue in her survey, listing it as the 12th bibliography. Catalogues of this nature have been recognised to be of importance;¹⁹⁵ should they therefore be included in a county bibliography?

It is justifiable to treat the auction catalogue in the same way as other programmes to events, but not in a unique way. If a general policy of exclusion has been adopted, then some will be included and some will not. The first one mentioned can be included, on these terms, not because it is a record of a Rutland event but because its subject content, in this case Rutland books, is appropriate. An

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auction catalogue of a furniture sale would not be included because the furniture is not of Rutland interest. A case might be made for inclusion if the sale was of the contents of an important Rutland institution, such as the contents of a stately home, but there are no grounds for including the auction catalogue of the sale of the contents of one home and not of another, simply because of size, unless there is some broad Rutland appeal to the contents of the auction. A collection of Rutland books is one such case, Rutland maps, prints or paintings might be others. The particulars of the sale of a collection of Rutland entomological specimens might also justify inclusion, as a record of a Rutland natural history survey. A furniture sale would only be relevant if the work of an important local craftsman was featured in the sale. If a more inclusive policy towards programmes has been adopted, however, inclusion would be automatic but the examples produced by an auction house on a regular basis might be subsumed under a single heading as a periodical.

Invitations

Related to the programme to an event is the invitation. Occasionally the same document may even perform both functions, and sometimes an invitation may be an impressive piece of art work. Although often containing important information the invitation should be rejected from a county bibliography because it is a private document (not a publication) in addition to the fact that it performs an undeniably ephemeral function. The only sort of bibliography that should cover such material is that surveying the work of a particular printer or designer.

196 The compilers of A Norfolk Bibliography included a few auction catalogues on a purely subjective basis. Their introduction states that Norwich Public Library holds a collection of over 5000 auction catalogues (p. xiii). The scale of the problem in a large county makes their inclusion impracticable. They deserve a separate survey altogether, in which case a rigid definition should be applied to all auction catalogues in the general county bibliography. A local example is By Direction of the Executor of the Late Victoria Lady Carbery, The Contents of the Mansion known as Glaston House, in the County of Rutland. October 12th, 13th and 14th, 1932 (Oakham: Messrs. Royce, 1932). The freehold was the subject of a separate sale.

197 The invitation to the 1901 Alfred the Great millennium dinner is an impressive folded card leaflet, printed both sides. It is reproduced in the millennium book (see above, note 193, p. 129) and a copy is in the present author's collection. Should it be included in an Alfred the Great bibliography? Rejection can be on the grounds that it is not a publication as well as being ephemera.
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Other Sales Catalogues

The sales particulars of Rutland buildings issued by estate agents, and other sales catalogues, are completely different because they are not records of a public event. These are excluded because they are ephemeral. Some of the larger aristocratic houses, when sold, have been treated to lavish publications. It would, of course, be very attractive for a museum or record office to hold a collection of all the sales particulars that had ever been issued for twentieth-century Rutland buildings. Such an archive would be of great interest to architectural historians, and its analysis would no doubt yield some very interesting statistics for social and economic historians (such as a statistic quantifying the spread of inside toilet facilities to Rutland homes), but each item within the collection would still be an item of printed ephemera. The material itself is not intended by its producers as a permanent record and must be excluded both for the sake of consistency and the sanity of the compiler.

Just as, however, there were two options for the treatment of programmes to events, a general policy of exclusion of trade catalogues could be qualified if something non-ephemeral and of local interest appeared in the publication. The larger country estate sales brochure might justify inclusion not because it is a large building (small buildings being excluded) but because the publication contained maps or a history of the estate or a description which, even though it were in the category of 'sales talk', was considered to be of public interest because the land subsequently became the site of an estate of modern houses. The distinction would be one of public as opposed to private interest, which may on occasion be a difficult one to specify, but which is a necessary distinction to try to make. It is important that the necessary evaluation on the part of the bibliographer is performed on the basis of such a definition rather than just a feeling that the country house brochure should be included because of snobbery.

Other trade catalogues do not normally present any difficulties. Examples, however, might include book catalogues issued by a bookshop. The Rutland Bookshop has issued catalogues on hunting books, Goldmark Books on medieval history, and the Uppingham Bookshop issues one every year as part of a national promotion by the Booksellers Association. In the latter case, a national pamphlet of titles is printed in full colour and inserted in wrappers featuring the individual bookshop. Certainly there is no hint of intended permanence in these publications,
but if an antiquarian bookshop catalogues the contents of an important collection in order to promote its sale, could that count as a bibliography? Also, is the Uppingham Bookshop Christmas Books catalogue an annual, and therefore a periodical?

The answer is yes and no. Sales catalogues are ephemeral productions and not local in their subject matter. Even if they were produced regularly, thus qualifying as periodicals, they would not be included because they did not contain Rutland material. Christmas Books is not even a Rutland publication, because it is issued in London. But if a bookseller issued on a regular basis a sales catalogue of Rutland books, it would be reasonable to classify that as a periodical. No such publication, however, exists.

Similar in function to the sales catalogue is advertising ephemera. These items usually take the form of printed leaflets enclosed within free newspapers or displayed at tourist information centres, the sort of material studied by Steph Mastoris at Nottingham. There are no possible grounds for including them in a local bibliography.

Book Prospectuses

At the risk of qualifying the finality of the above policy for advertising leaflets, it can be challenged by the case of the printed prospectus for a forthcoming book of local interest. There has been a recent example of this type of promotional leaflet in Rutland, a nineteenth-century example for a Rutland book which was never printed is also known, and generally book prospectuses have been studied and their value appreciated by scholars such as John Feather. As a publication, the prospectus is undeniably a piece of advertising ephemera, but so is the auction catalogue and a bibliographical catalogue was considered an item worth including in

198 Encountered for Bryan Waites (ed.), Celebration of Rutland (Oakham, 1994).
199 Encountered for what appears to be a proposal to print the missing second volume of Blore's Rutland (1811). Another early prospectus seen is that for Christopher Markham, The History of the Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia (London: Reeves & Turner, 1924).
defiance of a general policy to exclude. The bibliographical interest of the prospectus is undeniable, particularly as the eventual publication may have undergone considerable evolution when contrasted with the original proposal. Or a poorly designed or badly written prospectus might provide an explanation for a book's poor performance in sales.

The ambiguous nature of the prospectus offers the bibliographer a choice in treatment. They can either be listed separately as publications in their own right, but their location in the bibliography might minimise the value of their inclusion if an alphabetical arrangement has separated their listing from that of the related book; or they can be cited in the form of critical notes to the entry on the book. Even if a decision is made to exclude them from the survey because they are ephemera, their existence should be mentioned in a note to the book.

Related to the prospectus, but not as important, is the publicity leaflet about the book. This would include promotional leaflets sent to members of relevant societies or displayed on shop counters, and the publisher's press release. They may include a lively synopsis of the book and details of pre-publication special offers, but virtually every book published has some sort of promotional leaflet issued by the publisher and they can be satisfactorily rejected on the grounds that they are advertising ephemera. If an interesting detail is noticed in one, it can (and should) be mentioned in a note on the book but the leaflet should not be given its own separate entry.

**Posters**

Like the programme, another indicator of an event is the poster. This may take the form of a large display sheet or simply be an A5 leaflet circulated through doorways and pinned on notice boards. Like the invitation, the same document may perform many functions. The vast majority can be excluded but some might be considered to have more than ephemeral interest. Of special note are election handbills, although the function of this type of publication is to attract votes rather than provide some permanent record of local debate. They are best excluded.

The Phillips collection at Stamford Town Hall contains many Victorian posters, printed large scale in chromolithography to promote events such as the visit to Stamford of a travelling circus or a group of theatrical entertainers. These glorious
productions are undeniably of historical and artistic interest, but they remain items which are inappropriate for inclusion in a local bibliography.

One type of poster must be included, however: the reports of notorious murder or other criminal trials. Despite the rather distressing content and the physical form which shows that they were intended for display, the trial report, being retrospective to the event it describes, comes into the souvenir category. Only one in poster form has so far been discovered for Rutland. Held at Stamford Museum, it is the anonymous Full True and Particular Account of John Perkins, the Unfortunate Man who was Executed at Oakham, on Monday, 25th March, 1833, including the Confession of Wm. Claypole an Accessary (Lincoln: R. E. Leary, 1833). It is a single leaf measuring 380 x 226 mm, and the copy states that it is even a second edition. Not only does it have interest for the historian, but the account is clearly intended by its publisher to have more than ephemeral appeal. There are no grounds to justify any approach other than inclusion.

Guide Books

Church guides may be published as poor-quality typescript leaflets or as superbly produced and researched essays of permanent architectural and historical interest. They should be included as individual publications about the locality, i.e. bibliographically the same as books on that town or village, and the need for a consistent approach to the guidebook necessitates that the badly-produced and the well-produced be classified together. The same applies to guides to stately homes or the important town guides.

Included with more reluctance is the street plan. On its own it may be classed as a map and therefore excluded if maps are generally excluded. Some street plans, however, are rather close to the old town guides, containing a profile of the locality,
directories of local services and local advertisements, often produced as a large folded leaflet between card wrappers. This is too difficult to separate from the more substantial productions and should therefore be included for the sake of a consistent approach to a type of publication.

Some guides can be disregarded on the grounds that they are advertising ephemera rather than profiles of the locality. The pamphlet promoting Aberdeen House Private Residential Home for Older People (Uppingham: Aberdeen House, no date c.1994) can be treated as advertising ephemera for a private business, and excluded, but there might be a case for including similar material which is issued for an institution of a semi-public nature (because it is tourism), such as the leaflet Rutland Farm (a theme park), issued for display in tourist information centres. This latter example has been catalogued by Nottingham University Library for their collection.

Another type of publication related to the guide is the trail. Bryan Waite's Uppingham Town Trail is a folded leaflet highlighting points of interest for visitors as they walk around the town. Slightly larger is the anonymous pamphlet Circuits dans la Ville d’Uppingham (Uppingham: [anon., but probably the Twinning Association], no date, c.1980). There also exist examples for Ketton (badly done) and Oakham (an attractive pamphlet). Amongst the best town trails ever produced are those published in the 1980s by Stamford Museum. Illustrated by the architectural artist Martin Smith and superbly researched and presented, a series of six covers such specialised matters as medieval buildings, Georgian architecture and chimney pots. Although the trail is listed as ephemera by Makepeace, it should undoubtedly be included in the local bibliography as a guide. Another superb recent example is published by Coventry City Council (1993). Printed in colour on a matt laid paper throughout, this 16-page pamphlet could not be ignored by any Warwickshire bibliography, but if this is worthy of inclusion because of its magnificence, so are those which take the form of duplicated typescript leaflets.202 A trail is not ephemeral and should be included without question.

202 Demidowicz, George, Coventry City Centre Trail (Coventry: the Council, 1993). Another good Rutland example is Stamford and District Geological Society's Ketton Geology Trail. Limestones and Clays of the Middle Jurassic (Stamford, 1995), a free pamphlet on a specialised subject.
Ephemeral Periodicals and Directories

Ephemera which is produced on a regular basis may be classed as a periodical and might therefore be included. An example is the termly calendar of events issued by Uppingham School. A pamphlet intended only for internal consumption and for use only during the term in question, it should be listed as a periodical because of its regular appearance. Other examples are the annual prospectuses issued by the Stamford Shakespeare Company based at Tolethorpe Hall in Rutland, the Rutland Sinfonia orchestra and the 'Uppingham Concerts' organisation. Because these are produced regularly every year they count as annuals and should therefore be included in the periodical section of the bibliography.

As already mentioned, the programme to an event which appears regularly may also be classed as a periodical as a space- and temper-saving option.

It would be reasonable to propose a separate classification of 'ephemeral periodicals', but it might in practice be difficult to establish criteria for distinguishing between one and another class of periodicals, and having to make a separate class for them might tempt the bibliographer to exclude them totally. A newspaper, for example, especially a free one composed only of advertisements, might be defined as an ephemeral periodical and therefore excluded, but one would hesitate to omit a paid-for newspaper like The Rutland and Stamford Mercury or the Rutland Herald and Post, which is free but contains news as well. In fact, the content of these two newspapers is very similar despite one being free and the other paid for. The need for consistency has its drawbacks whichever way it is applied. Better to include all newspapers under 'newspapers' than to include a few in periodicals and exclude the others altogether because they are considered more ephemeral.

The parish magazine is another periodical which many disregard. They are difficult to collect and rarely include material other than of passing local or national interest (such as notices of local events or services or comments by the vicar or bishop on a national moral debate). Parish magazines are ephemera which have crossed the border into the periodical category, and should automatically be included.

Occasionally a parish magazine includes important material. The Rutland example of The Barrowden and Wakerley Parish Magazine, the content of which even extends to book reviews, has already been mentioned (pp. 105-6) and no Rutland

203 Two local examples are The County Champion and Look in Local.
bibliography would be complete without it. There are monthly parish magazines for every Rutland parish and there are 19 current titles in Rutland and many more which have terminated (most cover more than one parish so inclusion is not such an insuperable task as it might seem).

There are also other church periodicals which should be included. At least three Rutland parishes issue a weekly: the Ketton Sunday Paper, Welcome to Saint Nicholas Church Cottesmore and Uppingham Weekly Notices. Some issue separate annual accounts (others might include them in the parish magazine) and there are a large number of diocesan journals, many on specialist matters such as People and Work Programme Newsletter and Keynotes. Newsletter of the Advisory Group for Children's Work. These should all be given periodical listing in the survey.

The church is also grouped into deaneries. For Rutland there are two, and the periodicals Barnack Deanery News and Focus on Rutland should not be excluded.

The other churches are also not to be missed. Titles include Stamford Methodist Circuit Calendar, which covers the Rutland area.204

Sometimes a periodical is discontinued after only a few issues. For example the Rutland Review, an A4 anthology of local poems and short stories, went into only two issues in 1977 and the Leicestershire and Rutland Heritage glossy magazine folded after only fifteen. If a journal only appears once, however, it was still intended by its publishers to appear regularly and should therefore be treated by the bibliographer as a short-lived periodical. The single-issue Walker's Oakham Almanack and Compendium (1904) should be classified alongside its long-lived rival Matkins' Oakham Almanack and County Directory.

The Rutland Calendar (first issued 1993) has all the appearance of being intended to be a regular annual publication. There are three options here. It may be classed as ephemera and disregarded because its Rutland content is little more than twelve colour photographs. It is perhaps more ephemeral than a postcard because limited to use during the year. Nevertheless, illustrations are certainly of interest to local historians and artists and a case can be made for including the calendar, but still rejecting the postcard, because the calendar could be classed as a souvenir and is

204 A useful guide for local free church material, but which is mainly manuscript, is Gweth Jones (ed.), The Descent of Dissent. A Guide to the Nonconformist Records at the Leicestershire Record Office, Leicestershire Museums Publication no. 102 (Leicester, 1989).
certainly of book format. It is a publication which sits on the border of ephemera and permanence. If the bibliographer makes the decision to include calendars, however, then all examples which are found must be included, even the ones whose poor production and minimal content stimulates the temptation to reject. The first option is the rejection of all calendars. The second is to list each of them as separate publications. The third is to gather related issues together as periodicals, and perhaps to reject the examples which do not offer the periodical option. Whatever decision is made it must be made consistently.

Another difficult publication to classify is the telephone directory. It is certainly a publication, certainly ephemeral and certainly an annual. If it is arbitrarily excluded (probably only because old issues are difficult to locate), it raises the question as to whether other directories such as Kelly’s should also be excluded. It seems better to argue that the telephone directory should be included, therefore, in order to maintain a consistent approach towards directories.

Telephone directories are interesting as records of the distribution of surnames and can also offer information on the spread of population and economic activity, but they must be used with caution. Not everyone subscribes and some telephone users are ex-directory. Only one surname is put in the directory for each subscription received (there may be several names at the address) and the alphabetical arrangement can hinder as well as aid their use, but telephone directories can be used sensibly to provide interesting material, especially for the distribution of surnames. David Hey is one writer who has used them to good effect.²⁰⁵

It is extremely unlikely that the bibliographer will find a local collection, although Leicester and Nottingham university libraries do have a useful number (though not very old). Despite their substantial physical form they seem to disappear more quickly than other types of ephemeral material, but the vast majority are preserved in British Telecom’s own archive in London.²⁰⁶ One place for them in the bibliography is alongside other directories, but perhaps a more appropriate place

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²⁰⁶ Most are held from 1880, at Telephone House, 2–4 Temple Avenue, London EC4.
would be in the catalogue of periodicals, to reduce the labour of listing individual issues.

A telephone directory of very little local interest is that of the local dialling codes. Before their inclusion in the regional directories, dialling codes were listed in separate pamphlets as local publications. The Oakham issue for 1971 (called issue no. 3 on the cover), held in Hilary Crowden’s collection, is a typical example and is a pamphlet of 20 pages. These can also be listed as periodicals but because they do not contain the names of any subscribers, justifiable grounds exist for not including any of them.

Another common directory on the borders of ephemera is the advertising publication, of the sort issued purely to generate income for the organiser, but having a text or old photographs to give it a wider appeal. Many are published as extra projects by local newspapers. A 1995 example is Rutland and Stamford Mercury Free Mercury Directory. All the Handy Numbers you will Need in your Area (Stamford, 1995). Another feature of this type of publication is that they are neither directories nor guides because they only include the names of those who have paid to be included. Inclusion of such material is recommended, but with a cautionary note explaining its real character.

Most other directories are of undisputed importance and should be classed as books. Editions such as Kelly’s county directories contain substantial essays on the county and individual parishes, taking them out of the ephemera category altogether. The bibliography that is now available also lists locations of copies.\(^{207}\)

Some other publications appear to cross the borders of the ephemera or directory classification, such as transport timetables. It might be possible to reject railway timetables on the grounds that they are not exclusively devoted to the county under study (they would of course appear as periodicals if they were to be included), but bus timetables are more likely to be pertinent, and Rutland District Council on occasion amalgamated all transport services within The Rutland Timetable. Another example is the same body’s Rutland Recycling Directory (Oakham, 1995). Many other councils have published similar titles, and these directories may also guide the

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bibliographer to other publications issued by groups which are listed in them. It seems reasonable to regard timetables that are strictly relevant to the county as worthy of inclusion. They may be classed as periodicals if they appear regularly; if not, as directories of local services.²⁰⁸

Often these directories are the only local publication on a specialist issue, such as The Rutland Young Person's Essential Directory (Great Casterton: Voluntary Action Rutland for the Rutland Youth Forum, no date [1996]); the Rutland Women's Directory, published by the Community Education Office at Uppingham Community College; the 1992 Guide to Services in Rutland for Elderly People, published by a society called the Rutland Elderly Persons Liaison Group; or Your 1992 Guide to Sport in Rutland, issued by Rutland District Council. The latter is the only Rutland publication to present a perspective on all the sporting activities of the county in one volume, but despite the title (which suggests serial publication), it has only been issued once. Inclusion of all these titles in the bibliography is expected.

For inclusion as a periodical an ephemeral publication must appear regularly. Although there can be some flexibility in the definition of regularity, an appropriate limit would be yearly: if the directory is produced less frequently than on an annual basis it becomes classed as a serial book rather than a periodical. Kelly's Directories, therefore, are not periodicals but serial books, and an appropriate place for them in the bibliography would be in a section on directories. This would include both directories which are intermittent and those which are issued at more regular periods.

A publication which appears regularly but changes its format, possibly even its title, every so often, should still be classed as a periodical. An example is the prospectus of Uppingham School. Issued frequently, but not every year, the prospectus exists to attract parents to buy education for their children, its format frequently changing as imaginative attempts are made to attract new business. This change is more a problem for the archivist, librarian or collector who wishes to shelve them in the same place than for the bibliographer. The annual prospectus of an university, issued to attract students to the institution, is more likely both to be updated each year and to maintain a standard (usually A5) format. For some reason

²⁰⁸ Railway timetables, of course, are amongst the most sought-after of collectable publications on railways, which means that some users of the bibliography are likely to be looking for guidance on them. They are not just curiosities but useful historical documents.
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schools and colleges of further education (such as Peterborough Regional College) seem more likely to devote scarce resources to a regular change in the design and content of their prospectus than the universities are.

A change of title is more serious than a change of format. A minor substitution, as that between *The Barrowden and Wakerley Parish Magazine* and *The Wakerley and Barrowden Parish Magazine* may be noted but not justify a separate listing, other than a cross-reference in the alphabetical sequence, but a total alteration, as from *The Uppingham with Ayston Parish Magazine* to *Quartet* in 1975 justifies the bibliographer terminating one entry and beginning another.

Finally, some ephemeral periodicals are controversial candidates for inclusion because they are not publications in the sense of 'intended for public consumption': items such as the annual reports of businesses or clubs, for example. In the case of societies, the annual report should be included because, although issued for the membership of a closed group, it is open to anyone to join who shares the interest of the group or who just wants to receive the literature for collecting purposes. The club newsletter is therefore similar to the parish magazine, a periodical for a small society. An academic society's annual report and transactions would certainly be included because they usually contain essays in addition to the review of the previous year's achievements and finances.

The rules and regulations for governing the business of a society are also candidates for inclusion. In the case of Victorian friendly societies the printing of the constitution is often the only surviving publication. They are often of great interest to the social or economic historian and were clearly intended by their producers both for the guidance of members and for displaying the credibility of the club to the outside world. Even less debateable would be the rules of a public institution such as Oakham Gaol which twice printed its rules, or the byelaws of Uppingham Council, when it was self-governing, but if the pronouncements of these public institutions are included then so should the same type of literature from a more enclosed society. The business magazine or annual report, however, is more problematical.

A business magazine should be included if it is local because it is open to anyone employed by the company and therefore can be regarded as the same as a

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209 Examples are *Edith Weston Benevolent Society Rutland Rules* (1872) and *Great Casterton Friendly Society* [rules] (1805).
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public school magazine: published within the confines of a limited market but of no embarrassment if seen by outsiders. Annual reports or accounts, however, are not open to all eyes and are probably intended only for shareholders, directors and accountants. In the event of the county containing a business which produces such items, the bibliographer may justifiably exclude them on the grounds of their being both ephemeral and intended for private circulation within a very narrow closed group. This is not the same as a private publication, such as a piece of vanity publishing, because the latter is intended by the author-publisher for the readership of friends, relatives and, hopefully, some customers. The private publication would be included if an item of local interest, just like any other publication.

Ephemera: Conclusion

The above discussions demonstrate that what is at issue is not whether ephemera is interesting but whether it can be defined as the sort of publication which comes under the scrutiny of bibliography. In deciding to exclude an item, the bibliographer should be aware of the logical implications of the decision. This is perhaps more crucial if the decision is made to include than to exclude. What else is the bibliographer letting in by this thin edge of the wedge? A list of types of ephemeral items encountered during the Rutland research, but excluded from the bibliography, appears as the third appendix.

210 In theory anyone can become a shareholder. In practice this may not be easy, being dependent on the availability of shares for sale. The availability of shares would be sufficient justification for inclusion if the bibliographer wished to do so (so long as the same rule is applied to other businesses).

211 Trade literature has been studied by theoretical librarians. In addition to being featured in discussions on ‘grey literature’ and ephemera, there is Martin J. Thomson’s Trade Literature. A Review and Survey (London: British Library Science Reference Library, 1977). This analysis divides trade literature into three types: trade directories; company periodicals or house journals; and trade catalogues (the latter is ‘a collective term for such diverse formats as manufacturers’ catalogues, brochures, booklets, pamphlets and data sheets’, p. 6; the definition is tautologous because the three middle words mean the same thing). These categories are all reviewed in this chapter. The 1982 Aslib conference on grey literature includes David King, ‘Market Research Reports, House Journals and Trade Literature’, Aslib Proceedings 34 (1982), 466-72.
Attention must now be given to other, but non-ephemeral, publications which have an arguable status in bibliography.

**University Theses**

A type of ‘publication’ which also sits on the border of private and public is the university research thesis. The primary purpose of these is the assessment of candidates for degrees. As such, their primary readership is only that of the examiners. Their readership is a little more general than the products of closed examination papers, however, because they are kept (usually) by both the author and the examining institution’s library. They are frequently available on inter-library loan to members of other universities and of public libraries, and they are featured in regularly-published bibliographies designed to promote their wider use. But they usually only exist in three copies at the most. This extremely limited edition equates them with manuscripts; their promotion and loan suggests that they are published books. Should a county bibliography include them or not?

Duplication of the thesis by its producer, if only by photocopy for the purpose of binding three copies, transmutes the original typescript into a printed item. The academic content secures its interest to users of the bibliography, and its availability ensures its classification as a publication. The thesis should therefore be included in the county bibliography if it is concerned with matters of local interest. Most academic bibliographies do, in fact, include theses.212

If, however, the bibliography is to include physical descriptions, as the Rutland project does, the thesis stays outside this procedure, and is reserved for short-title listing only. This is because each copy has been assembled as a one-off

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212 Spittal and Field’s place-name bibliography features a great many research theses. An appropriate point at which to begin the search for theses is the volumes of the bibliography *History Theses* mentioned in Appendix 1 or the CD *Index to Theses* (which excludes degrees of MA and lower grades). There are likely to be many: ‘over half of all the theses completed for higher degrees in history at British universities have some kind of local or regional connotation’ (Michael Reed, ‘International Local History – Paradox or Prospect?’, *Libri* 26 (1976), 231–42, p. 231). A publication for Lancashire, revealing 691 relevant theses, is Terry Wyke’s *A Checklist of Theses on the History of Lancashire* (Manchester: Manchester Polytechnic, n.d., c.1979). Lancashire is a large county, but even so the scale of the problem is quite substantial. There are at least 8 Ph.D. theses relevant to Rutland.
duplication of a typescript. It cannot be said to be a printed-published item in the form it takes. The duplications were made for the purpose of simultaneous examination by different examiners, not for the purpose of public distribution. In many European universities Ph.D. theses have to be published as part of the conditions of the degree, so the question of their exclusion from a relevant bibliography would not arise.  

Most of the theses discovered will be on historical subjects, but it must also be remembered that the choice of a local study may be just as attractive to the research student in the sciences. Rutland Water has been the subject of postgraduate research, in both water management and biological contexts. Medical research may concentrate on a localised disease, or be undertaken to confirm or allay public health fears about a local industrial process. A student of librarianship might study an activity practised in one particular library. Sources of information on scientific literature need to be searched for relevant material, and all are relevant for inclusion.

The Contents of Periodicals

Some journals are subject to a detailed catalogue of their contents whilst others are merely listed in the periodicals section. For the contents to come within the scope of the bibliography the periodical must meet three criteria:

(i) it must be a publication, in the broad sense of the word, that is, intended for public consumption rather than the internal readership of a particular institution;

(ii) it must be permanent, in that the contents are not of an ephemeral nature like the ‘first reports’ in newspapers;

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A German thesis on Rutland has been published for this reason: Anne Petry-Eberle’s Adel und Landschaft der Einfluss des englischen Adels auf die Gestaltung der Kulturlandschaft in Rutland (1990). That it is now out of print suggests that it enjoyed an unexpectedly wide sale. It was purchased by both Loughborough University Library and the Bodleian at Oxford.


Publication was defined earlier as material intended for public consumption or for the private or semi-private consumption of members of a club. The club must be a reasonably open one for articles within its periodicals to count as publications.
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(iii) and it must be *academic in style*. This refers to the style of presentation, as discrete articles concentrating on specific subjects (not consisting of short notes or comments), rather than to high intellectual calibre. Another description might be 'it must be in narrative or discursive form'.

Newspapers are a special category of publication and their contents can be excluded from the bibliography because they only meet the criterion of being publications. They are ephemeral in content and not 'academic' in style of presentation. Although an individual article in a newspaper may meet all three criteria, the specifications of the periodical as a whole are the defining factors.

The 'quality' national newspapers are now available as CDs, allowing the bibliographer the opportunity to conduct key word searches throughout the texts of recent years of newspapers like *The Times* or *The Guardian*. This opportunity does allow him to consider including at least recent Rutland items in those newspapers with a minimum of labour. However, the articles are frequently ephemeral in content and, given the way in which national newspapers tend to ignore the 'provinces', the selection will be very unrepresentative.

The compact disc of *Palmer's Index to The Times 1790–1905 on CD-Rom* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, [1995]) was searched for 'Rutland' but only a handful of articles were located, but listing these articles does give the user of the bibliography the opportunity to study how the locality is seen from one particular national perspective; or at least how it is represented in it, because some articles were copies from newspaper reports published in the locality.

The important *Rutland and Stamford Mercury* is being indexed by Stamford Museum, using volunteers and until recently temporary employees of agencies such as the Manpower Services Commission. The index is already considerably larger than the Rutland bibliography even though only three decades of the early nineteenth century have so far been covered, and even though only the town of Stamford and its immediate environs come within its scope.216

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It can be tempting to include references when the local newspaper offers a ‘feature article’. For example the Rutland Times on 7 January 1994 carried a 2-page article on the Rutland Home Guard during the Second World War (pp. 14–15). The bibliographer, however, should keep in mind the need for a consistent approach towards a particular periodical. Including this article sets a precedent for every feature article throughout the life of the Rutland Times. This particular newspaper would not be much of a problem, it having only run to its 293rd issue by this date, but The Rutland and Stamford Mercury would present insuperable difficulties. It seems better to limit the number of periodicals which are treated to contents listing, and to be ruthlessly consistent in this policy, than to include some on a purely personal haphazard basis.

Academic journals such as Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries, The Leicestershire and Rutland Magazine, The Rutland Magazine and Rutland Record undoubtedly meet all three criteria. Their contents are fully catalogued except that any non-Rutland articles are excluded.

More popular journals such as the short-lived Leicestershire and Rutland Heritage and the even shorter-lived Leicestershire and Rutland Life are given the same comprehensive treatment because, although they are not academic journals, they meet the criterion of being so because of their style of presentation. They also meet the criteria of publication and permanence. It seemed, therefore, that a decision to exclude their contents would have been unacceptably arbitrary, especially as the majority of their articles are in any case of some academic interest.

There is a category of periodical which falls between these two requirements, which is the in-house journal, such as the Uppingham School Magazine and the Oakhamian or a magazine for employees of a business. They are often well-produced and largely well-written publications, so it could be argued that they are academic journals. They are largely intended, however, for the internal consumption of the members of their institutions, so they are not full publications even if their interest to ‘old boys’ gives them a broader appeal, and their subject-content tends to be

Grinstead, West Sussex. Most public libraries hold a current copy and there are county indexes. The British Library Newspaper Library is at Colindale Avenue, London. The ‘Newsplan’ project publishes regional guides to the newspaper collection and the East Midlands volume covers Rutland.
ephemeral in interest and style. Accordingly, they should only be listed as periodicals and no attempt made to catalogue their contents.

The question is then raised as to whether the Transactions of the Leicester-based Lodge of Research should be included. There is no doubt that it is an institutional periodical not intended for general public consumption, but on the other hand, the Transactions are both academic in style and designed to be read by members of masonic lodges other than the lodge which produced them. They have, therefore, a wider readership than a school magazine, so they meet the criteria and relevant articles should be catalogued (as they were by Mullins: see p. 103).²¹⁷

Relevant articles on Rutland located in non-Rutland periodicals are included if the periodical meets the three criteria, but the periodicals themselves are not listed as Rutland periodicals.

If the periodical does not meet all three criteria then none of its contents should be catalogued. It is always tempting to make exceptions but these would have the effect of misleading the user of the bibliography and should be avoided. For example, to include one article from The Oakhamian would suggest to the user that this was the only relevant article in the whole run.

Care should be taken, if including an article from an established national journal like Archaeologia, that the entire run has been examined for other relevant articles, or at least that an index has been checked.

Relevant periodicals which have a comprehensive catalogue of their contents should be distinguished from others in the list. For example they could be marked with an asterisk or even the whole of the periodical section separated into items of primary and secondary importance.

There are several names for periodicals (annuals, journals, magazines, newspapers, periodicals, transactions), but these need not be distinguished other than to list newspapers separately.

**Pictorial Books**

The question of including articles from popular 'social' magazines leads to the question of including pictorial books of the type commonly called 'coffee-table

²¹⁷ The Transactions of the Lodge of Research began in 1902 and are still being published.
books'. Because illustrations are so important for local historians, these should undoubtedly be included in a local bibliography. There is a strong case also for including them in general subject bibliographies. The only dispute should be one of defined relevance rather than of assessed quality.

Similarly, humour or children's titles, if about the county (a few will be encountered), should be included without hesitation. Local humour is an aspect of folklore, and children's titles will often contain clearly-expressed ideas as stimulating to adults as to children. Local writers like Bryan Waites have written for both younger and older readers and there seems no justification for including one title but not the other. After all, many of the users of the bibliography will be school children. 218

Local Authors

Some local bibliographies feature the writings of local authors, that is writings which have no relevance to the county other than the fact that their authors lived within it. Some of these have already been mentioned. The inclusion very much reduces the practical value of the bibliography. 219

This category of literature should be excluded. Local writing is of course included if it has some interest for the locality, such as poetry and novels set within the county; but the general writings of, for example, John Field on place-names (he lived at Uppingham until recently) and Alfred Price on aviation (also based in Uppingham) are not included. Similarly, text books on a variety of subjects written by teachers at Uppingham School are omitted but writings which give the locality some importance by way of the title or content, such as John Buchanan's An Oakham Overture to Poetry (Wymondham: Sycamore Press, 1985), or E. W. Hornung's novel 218

The only Rutland title undisputedly for children is Bryan Waites' *Children's Leicestershire* (Leicester: Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service, 1984) but there are a few written by them: the delightful *Reflections* by Edith Weston Primary School (1996) ought to be in every academic education library.

Hyett and Bazeley, in the first volumes of *The Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, decided to omit local authors and made the sensible point 'Those who consult county bibliographies do not generally want to know what has been written by a particular person, but what has been written about a particular place', 1, x. Another local bibliography which excludes all 'imaginative literature', whether about the county or not, is that for Norfolk (p. xiii).
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Fathers of Men, are included. If Rutland had a university, the publications of lecturers would not be included unless their content was of local interest. For example, at Leicester University there is the Department of English Local History. H. P. R. Finberg's The Early Charters of the West Midlands should not appear in a Leicestershire bibliography, but Alan Everitt and Margery Tranter's English Local History at Leicester 1948–1978. A Bibliography of Writings by Members of the Department of English Local History, University of Leicester (Leicester, 1981) should be included because it is a permanent record of a local activity.

A bibliography of Lincolnshire might justifiably exclude the writings of Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Isaac Newton and Alfred Lord Tennyson, not because their work has no bearing on the locality but because to include them would seriously upset the balance of the bibliography. It would be appropriate, however, to include mention of studies relevant to their Lincolnshire backgrounds. A Warwickshire bibliography which sought to give adequate treatment to Shakespeare would also be unrealistic, although the compiler cannot simply ignore the existence of the local celebrity if the user of the survey could reasonably expect some information to be included. Reference to a specialised bibliography, if one existed, or a major biography, would be appropriate. A history of the Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-upon-Avon would have to be included because its focus of attention is the local event rather than the celebrity. The reason for the exclusion is that the subject deserves a separate bibliography of its own, to which the reader must be referred.

Literature which is given a local association but which cannot really be said to have a local content should nevertheless be included as statements of local culture. Good examples of these are local recipe books featuring recipes which may be the favourites of their contributors but which are not necessarily traditional ones in the locality. Examples generated by Uppingham Community College (1978), RAF North Luffenham (1976) and Morcott Parish Church (1990) are examples of 'grey' literature sold for charity, but more widely distributed is Rosemary Ruddle's Rutland Recipes (Leicester: Leicestershire Libraries, 1976).

Polemical Literature and Sermons

In the nineteenth century it was common practice for national issues to be debated energetically at local level and polemical pamphlets published. A substantial number
of these are in the Phillips collection at Stamford Town Hall. They were locally written, usually locally printed and intended for a local readership even if their contents were matters of national concern. This material should be included because it is a record of local matters and debate. Examples are not included, however, if the local origination is not acknowledged clearly or if the work was published for a national market by a national publisher and the author just happened to live locally.

Sermons are similar. These are usually octavo pamphlets and again illustrate the extent of local debate on national or universal issues. Sermons are given their own category and are included if by a local clergyman and delivered in a local church. The occasional sermon by a Rutland clergyman in a church outside the county is therefore excluded from the bibliography because it counts as a piece of 'local writing' and is not a record of a Rutland event. A sermon by a non-Rutland clergyman, but delivered in Rutland, is included because it records a Rutland event in a format which is undoubtedly printed, public and intended to be permanent.\(^{220}\)

Several early pieces of Rutland literature are sermons. Two were mentioned above (p. 99, note 159). Another is John Deacon's *A Very Godlie and Most Necessarie Sermon, ful of Singular Comfort for so Manie as see their Sundry Sinnes; and are Inwardly Afflicted with a Conscience, and a Feeling Thereof. Preached at Ridlington in the Countie of Rutland, and Penned at the Importunate Request of Some Verie Godly Affected* (London: Andrew Maunsel, 1586).\(^{221}\) Some of the Rutland sermons encountered reveal activities otherwise unrecorded, such as the anonymous sermon entitled *A Christmas-Box for the Advocates of Bull-Baiting, particularly Addressed to the Inhabitants of Uppingham* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1809).

\(^{220}\) The bibliographer of Somerset included sermons and justified their inclusion, correctly, with the wry observation: 'Sermons, from the obvious professional necessity of harping ever on a well-worn never-advancing theme, may appear at first thought to many as not worthy of especial record. Examined, however, collectively, as occasional local or political issues, when not printed as religious tracts or for profit, they will be found to be of some historical, sometimes of biographical, value, and good for fairly showing the current thought of their time.' Emanuel Green, *Bibliotheca Somersetensis...*, 3 vols (Raunton: Barnicot and Pearce, 1902), 1, ix.

\(^{221}\) Another early piece is a 1563 document preserved in the Bodleian on *The Seueral Rates and Taxations for Wages, made and set forth by the Justices [of Peace] of the Countie of Rutland*. 151
Sometimes polemical literature appears which is directly concerned with the local scene. An example is John Wight Wickes' *A Letter Addressed to the Right Reverend Spencer, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, in Answer to an Appeal made to the Society for Defending the Civil Rights of the Dissenters,* relative to the Important Question of Church Burial by the Established Clergy (Stamford: J. Drakard, 1808). This document by the rector of Wardley and Belton reveals an important local controversy over the burial of non-conformists by the established clergy. Another, more amusing, example relates to local debate over teetotalism: W. H. Scott of Morcott issued *Tee-totalism Considered, being a Trial, and the Deserved Fate of those who Confess that they have used the Gifts of Nature only to abuse Them* (Stamford: R. Johnson, n.d.). It contains a woodcut of men hanging on the gallows with the bizarre caption 'The justified end of the tee-totaler'. The Reverend S. Peacock, vicar of Barrowden, must have worried his congregation in 1880 with the proclamation *Is the Close of the Present Age to be about 1890?* (Stamford: W. P. Dolby, 1880). Sermons can reveal a lot about local preoccupations. They are always worth including, subject only to the criterion that they were given locally. Polemical literature is more strictly included if it has local content or an acknowledged local source.

In the Rutland bibliography a single exception has been made to this policy in the case of Edward Thring (1821–87), the reforming headmaster of Uppingham School. All his sermons acknowledge his Uppingham post but many of them were presented elsewhere. It was felt that, because the biography of Thring is of such central importance to the history of Uppingham School, it would be unrepresentative to include only those sermons which were delivered in Rutland. They were, after all, printed and published, and no doubt read, in Uppingham and so illustrate local activities and debates.

Any polemical literature which comes within the defined limits of the bibliography should be included. A local notorious industrial dispute (such as the Grunwick's strike); an historical event of broader importance (the Peterloo Massacre); an issue of environmental pollution (Windscale nuclear power or Camelford water poisoning); or even of a matter of international politics (Greenham Common) may have attracted the attention of national pamphleteers which propels the locality into a national or international limelight.
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Biographies

Closely related to the issue of local writing is that of biographies of local celebrities. It has already been mentioned that a case can be made for the arbitrary exclusion of biographical material relating to a very famous person, on the grounds that to include studies of a Shakespeare or a Tennyson would create an imbalance in a county survey. It must be acknowledged, however, that this is both arbitrary and unusual, done simply because the person in question deserves a separate bibliography.

The exclusion is also unusual because most local biographies are not of great celebrities but of minor figures, usually studied in one book only, often an autobiography. Where the subject of the study is clearly of local interest, there is no difficulty in including the literature. Rutland examples are studies of Edward Thring, Thomas Barker or Archdeacon Johnson, but there are also many works in which the local content is slight. Frequent examples are autobiographies by 'achievers' who happened to go to Uppingham School for five years in their youth. It is undeniable that there is local interest in these works, especially if the memories of school life are intense. One author is very critical of the school for its frequent use of corporal punishment, another contrasted Oakham School with Hell. The decision was made to include these works if the Rutland episodes were a substantial proportion of the complete work (this is specifically defined as constituting a separate chapter or chapters within the whole, i.e. a bibliographical unit), but to exclude them if the Rutland period was only mentioned in passing. Boris Karloff, the actor famous for his portrayal of Frankenstein's monster, is therefore not included because his Uppingham sojourn does not feature prominently in any of his biographies.

A similar case is that of Jeremy Taylor, the seventeenth-century clergymen and writer on divinity. His brief period as rector of Uppingham does not feature prominently in biographies of him, although the local publication generated by this connection has been included. The point of this discussion is to emphasise the need for at least one 'bibliographical unit' to be present in the book to justify its conclusion, as discussed in the first section of this chapter (pp. 120–1).

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It is for both these and the former reason that the poet John Clare was also omitted from the Rutland bibliography. His brief sojourn in Rutland does not feature prominently in his biographies. He lived most of his life in Northamptonshire but did visit Rutland and worked there for a time as an agricultural labourer. However, where his Rutland poems are given separate treatment as publications in their own right (e.g., the Brewhouse Press issue of *The Toper’s Rant*), they should be included. This individual publication features an aspect of Rutland and can be separated from his other works.

Biographies are automatically included if the county is featured in the title of the work. This usually also means that there is substantial local interest, but not always. ‘Owen of Uppingham’ was headmaster at Uppingham School but is more famous as the primate of New Zealand. Penelope Jessel’s biography of *Owen of Uppingham* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1965) is included because of the title though the Uppingham content is slight. The reason for including biographies which mention the county in the title is that users of the bibliography will be likely to ask of it ‘What is the local connection of this particular book?’

This policy, however, is not followed in the case of aristocratic titles unless there is a definite county connection. The owners of Burghley House near Stamford frequently carried the title of ‘Earl of Exeter’ but have no place in an Exeter bibliography. The same is true of the Duke of Rutland’s family based at Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire. Although their seat is not far from Rutland, the family’s name is a historical survival irrelevant to the vast majority of the title’s holders, and it is appropriate to exclude them. Because of the original connection, however, this policy should be mentioned, and any writings in which the Rutland connection is prominent should be included. The title of the Duke of Rutland is virtually the equivalent of Rutland as a surname, for which there is no justification for inclusion.

*Material from Cities and Universities*

One factor of the Rutland experience is that the county is so small and rural that it could be said to be unrepresentative of a typical English county. This is certainly true as regards large metropolitan centres and substantial institutions such as universities. However, many larger English counties are also rural. Apart from the proportions and the uniqueness each county enjoys, Rutland has similar
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characteristics to other rural counties with small towns as their centre, such as Buckinghamshire, Cumbria, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire and Shropshire. Material relating to large cities and large institutions must, of course, be included if the county holds them, but a practical solution to the scale of the problem, if resources are limited, might be to adopt the same practice as that of Cordeaux and Merry for Oxfordshire, which is recommended above for substantial specialised areas: separate the large-scale subject for treatment in its own bibliography. The county volumes for Oxfordshire were issued in 1955 and 1981. The city of Oxford was not covered till 1976, and the University in another volume in 1968. Another example is the Lincoln city bibliography which excluded Lincoln Cathedral from its survey. In this way the Rutland project can still provide some service as a model for a 'typical county' (an entity, of course, which does not exist).

Local Printing and Publishing

Not unrelated to the category of local writing is that of local printing or publishing, the question being whether a book published in the county, but which contains no relevant material, should be included as an example of the output of local industry.

This is not a suitable category for inclusion. Not all bibliographies have excluded this area, however. For example, Madan's Oxford Books includes Oxford imprints, but this is no more relevant than, say, pointing out that leather belts are made at a factory in Uppingham. The bibliography is a survey of literature of local interest, not a catalogue of the local economy. Local printings are identical in relevance to local authors who write on a non-local topic.

As an example of how irrelevant the inclusion can be, it can be mentioned that a Stamford bibliography need make no reference to Alan Orr Anderson's Early Sources of Scottish History, AD 500–1286, 2 vols, 2nd edition (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1990). To include this sort of reference would be as ridiculous as cataloguing the books sold in a local bookshop as local books. Sometimes the local bibliographer will encounter famous publishing houses which deserve their own bibliographies, though for the sake of publishing history rather than local bibliography, such as David and Charles at Newton Abbot in Devon or Ladybird Books in Loughborough, Leicestershire.

224 Nevertheless, these local publications are certainly items which the local library and
Although it is not worth a section by itself, however, some users of the bibliography are likely to wish to know when printing began in the county. If the earliest item is not relevant to inclusion, it will need to be mentioned in an introduction. Both local research and the national short-title catalogues suggest that there were no Rutland imprints before c.1820 when Thomas Chalmers' *The Doctrine of the Eleventh Article* was printed at Oakham, or 1822 when the anonymous *Apology for the Practice of Adult Baptism* was printed at Uppingham. All the Rutland items that have been encountered earlier than that date were printed outside the county. The 1722 poll-book was printed in Stamford but many early items were printed at London. The 1789 report on the Rutland murder was printed at Lincoln.

Another, related, topic which users might conceivably expect to find in the county bibliography is some consideration of the origins of the book trade in the county. There is a long tradition in early printing for printers also to be booksellers and even publishers, so the names will not necessarily be different from the first printers. John Hawthorn of Uppingham in the nineteenth century was certainly all three. The Drakards, Johnsons and Newcombes of Stamford were also publishers, printers and booksellers. Matkins of Oakham was largely a printer but also published the Matkins annual almanack and other things, and no doubt retailed them himself. Specialisation, as a general pattern, was an introduction of the industrial revolution, but it was neither entirely unknown before the revolution in printing techniques nor did it entirely remove the phenomenon of the general 'bookman'.

225 The Spiegelmuseum service should collect. The collection should seek to contain anything of local interest irrespective of whether a bibliography would exclude them, for these examples of local industry and economy are of potential interest for future historians. The same is true of ephemera, excluded from the bibliography but collected by the local museum. Michael Reed once argued that as far as the local collection is concerned 'Nothing should be turned away', 'International Local History...', p. 233. Few museum curators or local librarians, however, seem to go out of their way to collect material from non-conventional sources. This is especially true of printed ephemera, even though it is on display in the institution itself for the public to pick up and costs nothing. Staff at both Stamford and Market Harborough museums were asked if they regularly stored copies of the ephemera they received for display. Both stated that they did not keep copies because they did not consider it interesting.

John Feather's *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1985) demonstrates how pioneer booksellers in the provinces were largely distributors of material printed elsewhere. After the introduction of printing to
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Press in Stamford are general printers who also publish the 'In Rutland' series and sell their productions in their own retail office as well as other outlets.

Regional Works

Many books cross county boundaries, because they either cover two or more counties or they present material on a region like the East Midlands. In the case of Rutland, the size of the county means that much Rutland material is combined with that from a neighbouring county and the issue is raised as to how far a book of overlapping interest deserves inclusion.

Included without hesitation are books or pamphlets which combine either a general or a specialised survey of the county with similar treatment of another county. An example of the former is Arthur Mee's 'King's England' series where Rutland is combined with Leicestershire. An example of the latter is Pevsner's 'Buildings of England' series, the Rutland volume of which is again combined with Leicestershire.

A great many books are of regional interest, including Rutland in a survey of, for example, the whole of the East Midlands. It was decided to include only those which offered a Rutland section within the book, which could be presented in the bibliography as an article. An example is the Royal Commission book on Nonconformist meeting houses. This was not an easy policy to follow, for there are a great many regional books of merit, such as Pauline Stafford's The East Midlands in

localities, however, local productions also enter the local historiography, but this was mostly a nineteenth-century development. A more recent account is his 'The Country Trade in Books', Spreading the Word. The Distribution Networks of Print 1550–1850, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 165–83. There is still no general guide to early provincial printers. A recent review of the situation is Peter Isaac and Michael Perkin's 'The British Provincial Book Trade', The Book Encompassed..., ed. Peter Davidson, pp. 176–81. A general survey is Peter Isaac (ed.), Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990). Another largely unexplored area, which might yield helpful information, is the history of provincial paper manufacture. There is a recent review of the state of the study by John Bidwell, 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity', The Book Encompassed, 69–82.

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the Early Middle Ages (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985), and it was clear that a student of Rutland would benefit from a reading of them. It must be remembered, however, that the focus of the bibliography is the county, not the region, and to include regional studies would make it logically necessary to include other broader works, such as a history of the English fire-fighting service, so as to place Rutland's contribution in a setting. To have included these extra-Rutland titles would have used up much space and been unrepresentative because only a few books could have been listed.

However, as discussed elsewhere (above, pp. 70–1), there is no reason why the bibliographer should not include a section of material about the region in which the county exists, so long as an attempt is made to cover the regional studies comprehensively and so long as the different subject there treated is clearly marked. The present writer has a preference for excluding the regional works altogether because the problems of definition and comprehensive treatment may lead to a selective approach. A bibliography of Alfred the Great, for example, might be expected to include a section of books of general studies of Anglo-Saxon England, but one could not list all of them without upsetting the balance and focus of the bibliography, and if one sought to include only the studies which contained separate chapters on Alfred, as a means of limiting the list by definition, would not those chapters be better listed as studies of Alfred? It is best that the bibliography be restricted to its own specific subject, but the bibliographer may need to make his or her own decision on the regional question: the number of books for some regions may not be many. For others the subject of the region will overlap so much with that of the county that their inclusion will be essential (as, for example, in the case of East Anglia).

It is also appropriate to include references to subject bibliographies in the specialised subject sections, so that the user who was dissatisfied with the local material would at least have an indication of the next step to take. The section on Rutland railways therefore begins with the reference to the two volumes of the railways bibliography.  


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Natural history in particular raises difficult questions as to demarcation. The Rutland police force undoubtedly exists only within the county, but the birds of Rutland are largely the same as the birds of Leicestershire. Some even fly in from Siberia or Africa. It was decided to exclude the non-Rutland natural history writings but to include those which touch specifically on the borders of Rutland. For example Jack Otter's *The Birds of East Leicestershire* (Loughborough: the Naturalists' Club, 1965) and the report edited by I. M. Evans on *Launde* (Leicester: Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service, 1977) were included because their natural history content was specific to the borders of Rutland. It could be argued that Rutland touched, even if it did not cross into, the subject areas of these studies, and vice versa. The fact that these books consider only the border area is fully acknowledged in a note on the citation. These are in fact the only two exceptions so far allowed.

Another overlap problem is that of an institution or society which is based outside the county but which includes it in its 'catchment area'. Examples are the Stamford and Rutland Infirmary, based at Stamford, and the Northamptonshire and Rutland Mission to the Deaf, based at Northampton. Because Rutland is included in the title of the institution, these examples are included, as are any based in Leicester but which now automatically include Rutland in their scope, such as the publications of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Natural History Society, whose annual *Transactions* now include articles of Rutland interest.

Maps and Prints

Maps are covered by some county bibliographies and excluded by others. Although a catalogue (preferably with reproductions) of all the printed maps relating to a county is an extremely useful research tool, the study and classification of maps requires the skills of a cartographer rather than a bibliographer. They can be excluded on the grounds that they are a specialised area requiring separate treatment. Published material relating to local maps, of course, should be included.228

If a decision is made to include maps, however, the bibliographer must be prepared to embrace the whole of local cartography. Relevant candidates for

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228 Such as the M. M. Goldmark and A. R. Traylen *Maps of Rutland* (Stamford: Spiegel Press, 1985) or the exhibition catalogue (see p. 126, note 191).
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inclusion would be the pictorial county maps from antiquarian atlases and tourist material, all editions in all scales of the Ordnance Survey editions and local street plans.²²⁹

Few maps are likely to be encountered in on-line searches. Searching for Rutland produced only 40 map titles (which are not included in the control list of 1512 titles). These included 15 of the Ordnance Survey titles and 25 of the older pictorial maps, some of them in modern reproductions. On-line coverage of this area of publishing seems to be extremely poor. The sources which produced these entries were Leicestershire Libraries' catalogue (31 titles), the catalogues of four other local libraries (3 different titles) and the World Catalogue (9 titles), with some overlap between them and some duplications.

Some maps were issued in atlas form, albeit in a style which allowed for their easy separation from the book. Old prints also appeared in books but were often available separately for the purpose of framing, as early advertisements for the books sometimes make clear. The present writer feels that prints are also a specialised area not strictly relevant to a bibliography. Where they appear in a book which is given a full description they must of course be listed, but there should be no separate section for prints any more than there should be for local oil paintings or water colours.²³⁰

²²⁹ There is a considerable literature on maps. A brief review, which also touches on the problem of definition, is Sarah Tyacke's 'Describing Maps', The Book Encompassed..., ed. Peter Davidson, 130–41. 'Cartobibliography' is the name of this specialised study, which has all the difficulties of discerning edition, issue and state for maps which bibliography has for books. Some counties have been treated to scholarly cartobibliographical appraisal, such as by H. Whitaker, Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Northamptonshire..., Northamptonshire Record Society, 14 (1947). The Rutland volume, in the previous note, is an incomplete checklist, with incomplete bibliographical details and out-of-focus photographs.

²³⁰ The ESTC began with the decision to exclude 'engraved material: including maps; music; topographical views and prints; portraits, caricatures, etc...', and the published microfiche version did not include them. The on-line version, however, has broadened the policy of inclusion. For an early account of the ESTC inclusion and exclusion policies, see R. C. Alston and M. J. Jannetta, Bibliography, Machine Readable Cataloguing and the ESTC. A Summary History of Eighteenth Century S.T.C. Working Methods, Cataloguing Rules... (London: the British Library, 1978) (p. 17).
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Administrative Material

The penultimate subject in this discussion of the border between obvious exclusion or inclusion is the complex area of administrative material.

Much stems from the local authority for the purposes of local consultation and information. The Rutland plan for the 1980s generated a great many publications: leaflets and pamphlets promoting the plan and urging the public to send in their comments, several editions of the proposed plan and several short summaries of each stage, the plan as submitted to the central government and the final publication of the finished product. Other counties do not spend as heavily on public consultation as Leicestershire. Neighbouring Lincolnshire produces considerably fewer publications relating to the district plans. Several rounds of planning consultations are featured in the bibliography, variously dated and titled 1959–64, 1975–6, 1980, 1982–7, 1989 and 1996. Some plans concern the whole county, others local areas. Some are published by Leicestershire, others by Rutland.

Planning is only one department of local government and where the county has a two-tier system there will be publications from both the shire centre and the local district council to take into account. Central government also produces material relevant to the locality, such as Acts of Parliament and parliamentary discussion papers.

In general, all administrative material should be included if it is within the already agreed borders of the bibliography: material that is printed and published in book format, is not ephemeral and is relevant to the locality. Some of the Acts of Parliament might be excluded because they only mention the county in passing or because they are early private acts which only survive in manuscript. Some of the local authority’s titles might be classed as ephemera, but the large quantity of administrative material is likely to be a problem to the county bibliographer.

The place to begin is the local library, which is likely to have collected the majority of important publications in order to fulfil the local authority’s obligation to publicise its decisions. It might be possible to reduce the work load by grouping some publications in a series and presenting them as a periodical. If a decision is made to include council minutes, these could easily be classed as a periodical, hence creating a delightfully short reference, but there would be ample grounds for excluding minutes. These are rarely printed in a permanent form. In general there is
no option but to include a great many items, however. The local authority is quite likely to have issued one publication or another on virtually every category of the bibliography, as well as the substantial number which will appear under social services or administration, including some which will not be the subject of any other title. Many will also now be issued by 'quangos' or trusts with ambiguous characteristics on the borders of the state and private worlds. An example is Rutland Housing Services, Council House Allocations in Rutland. An Explanatory Booklet for all who want to be Rehoused by Rutland District Council (no place, imprint or date [c.1995]). The problem of administrative material is not whether it should be included but in coping with the tedious task of surveying such a large quantity of material.

Even more of a challenge is the location of older administrative material. Poll books, for example, are an important source material from the days before universal suffrage and they should be included in their own category, but few examples are likely to be encountered in the local collections consulted because they are very rare. There are checklists available of the poll books in the London Guildhall Library and in the Library of the Society of Genealogists. The Bodleian Library also holds many.

Another related problem area is that of the records of Parliament. Manuscript acts have already been mentioned (and excluded) but printed ones may be difficult to locate. An obvious place of enquiry is the local record office. Another source of

231 E.g., Leicestershire Constabulary: Rutland & Melton Sub Division, Lost & Stray Dogs. Advice and Guidance (Melton Mowbray: Melton Borough Council, no date [c.1995]).


233 The Bodleian examples were referenced by John Sims in A Handlist of British Parliamentary Poll Books, Occasional Publication Number 4 (Leicester: Leicester University Department of History, 1984). In this work Rutland poll books for 1710 and 1841 were cited and it was mentioned that 1722 and 1754 were known of but not traced. In contrast the present author has encountered the 1722 and 1841 poll books, but not yet seen the 1710 or 1754. Only four polls seem to have been printed for Rutland, three of which appeared in on-line sources (1710, 1722 and 1841).

234 Virtually no Acts of Parliament were recorded in local on-line sources but the Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue makes a conscientious attempt to record
texts might be a local magistrates' court or solicitors' office. There is no question as to inclusion, however. An attempt must be made to locate and record them. Many acts will refer to enclosures, but more general-interest matters such as the maintenance of roads or the routeways of new canals and railways will also be represented.

The history of Parliament is currently being written by the long-term History of Parliament project. This will include a history of each constituency in each chronological volume, together with biographies of each member. Each volume as it appears will contain local-interest articles which must be included.

The records of Parliament of local relevance include not only acts but also reports on specific enquiries. The amalgamation of Rutland with Leicestershire initiated several publications. The union of the police forces of the two counties in 1951 stimulated the creation of a report as well as an act. The foundation of Rutland Water, inevitably, was responsible for much government literature. These are too important to be excluded.

Not many Acts of Parliament were encountered for Rutland, but for other counties there are literally thousands. The first volume of Bibliography of Worcestershire was Acts of Parliament relating to the County (Oxford: Worcestershire Historical Society, the ones of that century: some 32 for Rutland are recorded there, most of which relate to enclosures. The British Library does not appear to hold (or at least to have catalogued) many acts of Parliament for Rutland: only 5 appeared in the pre-1975 catalogue despite the exhaustive use of key words for each parish.


Inquiry into the Proposed Compulsory Amalgamation of the County Police Forces of Leicestershire and Rutland: held at the Castle, Oakham, on the 13th & 14th April 1950. Reported by His Honour Judge Tudor Rees.

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1898). The compilers of *A Suffolk Bibliography* gave up on Acts of Parliament altogether. The anonymous *Catalogue of Works added 1900 to 1923 to the Surrey Collection of the Minet Public Library* (no place or publisher, 1923), states that the catalogue of 1900 contained 562 Acts of Parliament, to which 199 were now added (page 90).

The small size of Rutland again means that material can be hidden under that for a neighbouring county. The Stamford Inclosure Act of 1871 includes material relating to Tinwell. A valuer's report commissioned by the borough of Stamford from an Ely valuer in 1875 is a further document of a type difficult to trace. An Act for Repairing the Road between Stamford and Grantham. Anno duodecimo Georgii II. Regis (London, 1739), obviously bridges the same two counties.

Often Parliament made enquiries throughout the country on specific topics, the results of which occasionally appeared in separate county volumes. The Napoleonic period saw the well-known county agricultural reports, but less well-known are the *Abstract of Returns of Charitable Donations (County of Rutland) for Benefit of Poor Persons* (London: House of Commons, 1788); or the even more detailed *Reports of the Commissioners Appointed... to Inquire Concerning Charities and Education of the Poor in England and Wales; Arranged in Counties, with Indexes. Rutland* (London, 1839), a substantial book of 82 pages arranged parish by parish.

Since 1801 there has been an annual census (except for 1941), the results of which, at least since 1921, have been presented in county volumes. Those for Rutland happened to be combined with those for Lincolnshire until 1961 when Rutland achieved its own volume. In 1966 there was a unique mid-term census called the 'Sample Census'. The Rutland volume for this, published in 1967, is 40 pages long. For the 1971 census Rutland was treated to a separate report issued in three volumes in 1972.

However, the point of this discussion is to confirm that these administrative documents are appropriate for inclusion in a county bibliography.239


239 A useful guide to some of the local administrative material (which is more broadly
A final subject for discussion in this section is that of material about an event or place outside the county, but which is somehow relevant to it. A locality with a strong maritime tradition will definitely offer material which raises this question of inclusion or exclusion. Frederick Grossmith's *The Sinking of the Laconia. A Tragedy in the Battle of the Atlantic* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), is about an event which took place in the mid Atlantic in 1942. It is relevant to Newcastle-upon-Tyne (where the ship was built in 1922) and to Liverpool, from where most of the crew came. The book also contains a crew list, so it is of genealogical interest as well as pertaining to Liverpool's general and maritime history in the twentieth century. Without doubt, inclusion in a Liverpool bibliography is appropriate.

Rutland examples of this phenomenon include *The Tithe Payers of Whaplode versus (the Johnson Foundation) Uppingham School: being a Statement of the Case against the Rectors who have destroyed the Ancient Chancel of Whaplode Church: and also an Appeal to the Public to help a Poor and Dispirited Parish to rebuild its Unique and Magnificent Church* (Whaplode, no date, c.1900), which concerns a Lincolnshire parish of which Uppingham School was the rector. It contains an outspoken attack on the School for its failure to maintain the church fabric.

Other examples are J. H. Skrine's *Uppingham by the Sea. A Narrative of the Year at Borth* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1878), which concerns the year in which the entire school moved to mid Wales to escape an outbreak of typhoid fever in the town; and the *Uppingham-Australia 1981-82 Cricket Tour*. It is difficult to anticipate the existence of such material of course, unless the locality has an obvious 'extrovert' tradition. The Uppingham items were seen regularly during the research but the Lincolnshire item was first discovered purely by chance in the curator's office at Stamford Museum. A second copy was only then located in Lincolnshire Libraries collection.

The county may also be the subject of treatment in 'external' titles if it has an industry of national importance. The Rutland quarry industries are often featured in architectural books about other localities. The studies of Oxford and Cambridge
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stone are well-known but Donovan Purcell's *The Stones of Ely Cathedral* (Ely: the Cathedral, no date, c.1980) has sections on Clipsham, Ketton and Casterton stone.

The locations of these extra-county materials in the bibliography should be confined to sections for the local connection (such as 'Uppingham School', 'cricket', 'maritime history') rather than in a section on 'Lincolnshire (Rutland relations with').

It must be unusual to encounter an item which is self-consciously not about Rutland, but which has Rutland in the title, but such is Peter Crowther's *Not the Rutland Dinosaur* (Leicester: Leicestershire Museums, 1986). Although designed to harmonise with the relevant account *The Rutland Dinosaur: Cetiosaurus*, this title is not relevant by definition.

The Rutland project uncovered a great deal of material which was included in the survey. Although it is not possible to list this in the present thesis, the second and third appendices list the types of publication which were encountered, and which should be useful lists for anyone surveying the literature of another locality. Appendix 2 lists types of material which were included and Appendix 3 types of material excluded, concentrating on local publications which were classed as ephemeral.

In making exclusions and inclusions, perhaps it should be borne in mind that a bibliography which offered comprehensive treatment of all the counties in England would not in fact include every piece of printing that has ever been produced in England. Although everything is created in a locality, it is not necessarily relevant to a study of it. Another important consideration to keep in mind is the conceptual basis for the bibliography: it is neither a catalogue with physical frontiers nor a reader's guide with personal evaluation as the deciding element, but a rigidly scientific survey conducted with the principles of consistency and defined relevance.

The next question to consider is how the material that has been retained should be presented to the reader.
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Policy for Parts One and Two

It is proposed to issue the Rutland bibliography as both a short-title catalogue (including references to articles) and as a physical bibliography of the Rutland books and pamphlets. These will be presented as Parts One and Two of the survey. The first will be arranged by subject matter (arranged in alphabetical order by author within each section) and the second in alphabetical order by author in one sequence. The first section is designed to provide a survey of what has been written in each subject area, the second to provide more detail on each of the separately-issued publications. It would also be attractive to issue the bibliography in an electronic format, because this would allow users to make sophisticated searches to suit their own needs more specifically than can be anticipated in a printed index.

In this thesis the 'physical' part of the survey is not discussed in equal detail to the more conceptual issues raised by the short-title catalogue, so this and the next chapter will review the procedures for Part Two in summary fashion only. Nevertheless, the idea that a local bibliography should be presented in this way is offered as an ideal, and one which has now nearly been completed for Rutland.

It was decided at the outset that the same quality of information in the descriptions would be maintained throughout, with only slight differences allowed for books of different periods. For example, early books with separately-printed tipped-in illustrations needed to have lists of their illustrations, whereas modern books with everything printed at the same time on the same paper did not need a separate listing for their plates (some of course still do if the plates are tipped-in). Also, it is realistic to attempt to identify the format of older books, so this should be done. In the case of modern books the appearance often belies the actual format it was printed in, so the format should only be identified where there is some degree of certainty. These slight differences are discussed in the next chapter.

The greater detail offered in Part Two is not only that of the physical attributes of the book, but extends to more detailed transcriptions of the imprint.
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details and contents. It is therefore anticipated that most users of the bibliography will frequently consult both sections. For example, an enquirer may wish to research the history of printing in a locality and need to know which books were printed by which printers. Another enquirer may wish to know if a particular book is worth the effort of locating: short-title listings rarely give an analysis of contents or an indication of size, but these details can be located in Part Two, together with a citation of where the examined copies were found.

It is appropriate to separate the two sections because of the practical difficulties in combining them. The information must be presented in a way which allows it to be assimilated readily by the reader. If a subject section began with a few pages of physical descriptions followed by, or even combined with, listings of articles in alphabetical order by author, it would be extremely difficult to follow and the bibliography would fail to deliver its information content effectively. It is not sufficient to argue that a bibliography is not intended to be read. Its purpose is to deliver the information clearly both to the browser and to the more selective enquirer. It is intended to be read.\(^{240}\) Moreover, the short-title sections inevitably contain references to the same work in different contexts; it would be tedious in the extreme to have to keep repeating the fuller descriptions or refer back to the original, which might lie in a difficult-to-find location. If all the full descriptions are in a separate alphabetical sequence their arrangement is easily understood.

If an alternative solution were adopted, of providing much more detailed information in Part One (but less than that currently in Part Two) and dispensing with Part Two altogether, the listings would still appear unbalanced and difficult to follow, especially if minor pamphlets were given more space than major articles within the \textit{Victoria County History}, simply because they were separate publications or because their amateur production made them difficult to describe. Part One concentrates on the information content of the medium, Part Two offers more detail on that, but also offers details on the physical attributes of the book as an artefact. Each section has an important but different purpose, so they should remain separate. This simple distinction not only makes logical sense but also allows for a practical and elegant presentation on the page.

\(^{240}\) Fredson Bowers wrote: 'a good bibliography can be read as well as consulted'; \textit{Principles}, p. 20.
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All items in Part Two also appear in Part One.

An item is only given a full description in Part Two if it is a separately-published book, pamphlet or leaflet, which contains substantial contributions towards the bibliography of the county. 'Substantial' should be decided on the grounds not of word-length but of meeting any of the following criteria:

(a) The work is devoted exclusively to the county or an aspect of it.
(b) The county appears in the title.
(c) The county is the subject of a specialised section within the book (consisting of at least 10% of the whole).
(d) The county is featured regularly throughout the work on an equal basis with other counties.

The last criterion sounds a little vague. It is there to accommodate recent works which include Rutland in Leicestershire and which cover an aspect of the whole county in an analytical rather than a geographical way. For example, Leicestershire's Lunatics and Leicestershire Archaeology - the Present State of Knowledge. Volume 3. Industrial Archaeology assess their subject by topics rather than regions. These are clearly 'Rutland' items and should be included.

The percentage qualification on reason (c) is arbitrary but necessary in order to avoid the need to catalogue as Rutland books works which contain only one brief paragraph on the county. For example, the references to Rutland in a general topographical dictionary are worth including in Part One, but no user of the bibliography is likely to seek for a full bibliographical description of the dictionary in a Rutland bibliography. A publication such as Encyclopaedia Britannica is another good example. An arbitrary percentage figure such as this gives a strict measure as a more scientific basis for a decision than an elusive feeling.

The Classification of the Material

The bulk of this chapter will now be devoted to a discussion of the classification of material in the proposed 'Part One' of the bibliography. There are two related

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considerations here. The first is what subject-headings should be introduced for the sake of clarity and convenience and the other is in what order the subject-headings should be placed. There is no convention which must be followed, but there are two principles to keep in mind. The result should make logical sense (thus conveying its information with clarity and ease) and there should be a minimum of repetition between sections (while at the same time ensuring that all relevant items are included within each section). Some repetition is of course inevitable.

After reviewing various possible solutions to the classification problem, and acknowledging that each county will require slightly different arrangements, a classification is proposed here which could form the basis for any county. To make this system fit a new bibliography, some sections will be merged, others may disappear and some will be further subdivided so that the final arrangement does not conflict with the quantities of material discovered.

Taking the divisions offered by one county bibliography and duplicating them in another is one solution to the classification problem, but each county has its unique range of books. Some subjects require their own section (such as that for Rutland Water or the life and times of Edward Thring) which are not repeatable in other counties, and some counties would need topics which Rutland does not require. A bibliography of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire or Norfolk would require a specialised section on fenland studies, for example. A Kentish bibliography should offer a section on Canterbury Cathedral separate from Canterbury itself, and a Durham bibliography might require a section on the coal industry. It seems sensible to adopt a simple set of divisions and allow subsections or new divisions to grow as the research progresses, and also to allow some divisions to merge if the material for them is limited. It must be appreciated that there is considerable overlap between subjects such as history, religious history, architecture and topography and the divisions which are eventually chosen must be dictated by the range and number of the publications discovered. The bibliographer might feel that there are so many works relating to the fens in a draft Lincolnshire bibliography that the whole book is eventually arranged as if it were covering two counties, every specialised division being duplicated for Lincolnshire and the Lincolnshire fens, and the specific parishes for each being gathered in their respective departments rather than in a final
alphabetical sequence for the county as a whole. There is nothing unscientific about such a decision.

The order in which the material is gathered is more important than it might appear, because the survey is an examination of a body of literature, the units of which are closely related one to another. Publications do not self-create but depend on their context for their existence, content and meaning. One function of a bibliography is to guide the users to the material they wish to locate, but another function is to specify the context of each work so that its origin, content and broader potential is made manifest. This principle can only be served by placing each work within a classification system which reflects the reality of the body of literature under study.

Occasionally in this thesis biological metaphors have been used to describe the sociology of the books under study (wild, semi-wild and feral for instance). The classification system is also describable in these terms. It is a taxonomy of the literature, just like a biological taxonomy of a particular group of life forms; and because it describes a discrete body of literature it could almost be called an ecology also.\textsuperscript{242} A classification system is an analysis of the whole body of the literature communicated to the user of the survey. To construct this is a challenge because there are few models or theoretical discussions of the subject: virtually all the previous county bibliographies have arbitrary or individualistic solutions, a problem only exacerbated by their arbitrary inclusion and exclusion policies.

\textit{Some Comparative Classifications}

This exercise allows for more comparisons with other county bibliographies, but space is available only for some criticisms of the most interesting schemes that have been proposed. One of the first schemes for a local history classification was that used by John Russell Smith (1810–94), the first English county bibliographer,\textsuperscript{243} in his \textit{Bibliotheca Cantiana} (1837):

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{242} The word ‘almost’ is introduced because the total ecology of Rutland literature would have to include a considerably larger range of national and international titles which will have influenced Rutland writers in complex ways, just as a total ecology of Madagascar would require more than the taxonomy of one group of life forms to explain it.

\textsuperscript{243} The first bibliography of a place smaller than a country is Michele Poccianti’s
\end{quote}
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1. Historians of the county
2. Principal Maps
3. Heraldic Visitations
4. Tracts printed during the Civil War and Commonwealth from 1640 to 1660
5. Acts of Parliament – local, personal and private, from Edward I. to the sixth and seventh of William IV
6. Books relative to the county in general
7. Books relative to particular parishes, seats, families, customs, and historical events, in alphabetical order
8. Additions and corrections
9. Index of places and subjects
10. Index of persons.

Basically this division could be summarised as: history (1–5); general topography (6); specific places (7). It seems unusual to place general topographical works after the more specific historical studies because the principle of moving from the general to the specific allows the introduction of knowledge to the reader in a helpful and logical sequence; but placing particular parishes last is generally accepted. The focus of attention is on one locality (the county) and all matters relating to it before moving to another locality (the specific parish) and matters relating to that. The scheme is all the more remarkable for being pioneer, for the frequent practice of nineteenth-century bibliographers was to give their work a Latin title and then offer everything in alphabetical order by author.244

A more sophisticated division was proposed in 1885 by Charles Herbert Mayo, the bibliographer of Dorset:

Histories and descriptions
Tours
Guide books
Directories
Antiquarian literature


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Historical literature
Political pamphlets
Poll-books
A hoard of election hand-bills
County affairs
Assize, &c., sermons
Ecclesiastical literature
Works illustrating social life
Dorset dialect
Agricultural publications
Natural histories
Almanacs
Newspapers
Acts of Parliament
Maps of Dorset
Works relating to particular parishes
Addenda
The printers of Dorset
Notanda
Index of authors' names.²⁴⁵

Although there are eccentricities (especially the inclusion of 'a hoard of election handbills') it is interesting to observe the effects of the great increase in local writings that has taken place since Smith's work of 1837. The old divisions are simply no longer adequate because the literature has expanded so much. The sequence that presented itself to the author seems to be general (but including general history), political, ecclesiastical, social and then natural history, but after that his order seems to lose its logical sequence. We enter the realm of periodicals, only then to jump to Acts of Parliament, maps and particular parishes. Acts of Parliament are clearly regarded as of largely parish interest: he was probably correct in this as most local-interest acts pertain to a particular site rather than a 'county' issue.

²⁴⁵ Charles Herbert Mayo, Bibliotheca Dorsetiensis... (London: privately printed, 1885).
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The next major local bibliography to appear, in 1895, was Hyett and Bazeley's *The Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*, but this work reverted to a simple arrangement like that of Smith:

Works relating to the county generally:
(I) General literature relating exclusively to the county
   (II) General literature containing references to the county
   (III) Periodicals
   (IV) County administration
   (V) Acts of Parliament

Works relating to the Forest of Dean
(I) General Literature
   (II) Acts of Parliament

Works relating to the city of Gloucester
(I) General literature
   (II) Periodicals
   (III) Acts of Parliament

Works relating to parishes and towns (in vol. 2)

Works relating to the city of Bristol (in vol. 3)
(I) General literature
   (II) Guides
   (III) Periodicals
   (IV) Acts of Parliament
   (V) Chattertoniana
   (VI) Alphabetical list of Bristol printers

Index of authors
Index of subjects

Biographies of inhabitants (in the 2-vol Supplement)

Despite the fact that the authors introduced their bibliography with the sensible statement that the arrangement 'may be either alphabetical under authors' names... or local... We venture to think that for almost every reason the latter arrangement is preferable' (I, x), the arrangement is actually very simplistic and has more to do with the type of publication than its subject content. There is no clear distinction between
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the major and the minor references to the county. The importance of Acts of
Parliament for a local bibliography is very apparent in this scheme.

These three early classification systems are a remarkable improvement on the
meaningless and tedious alphabetical order by author which plagues the early
bibliographies of Cambridgeshire (1912), Cornwall (1874–82), Hampshire (1891), Norfolk (1896), Somerset (1902), and Staffordshire (1894); or the only slightly more useful annalistic order which was used for *Oxford Books* (1895) and the Worcestershire bibliography (1898–1907).

None of these early bibliographers had to deal with the great mass of
literature of the twentieth century and the subsequent demand for information on specialised topics at a local level, and such simplistic divisions are totally inadequate today, even for a county the size of Rutland. Also, despite the last comment, some of the divisions are too detailed for Rutland’s bibliography: Acts of Parliament and Heraldic Visitations would be slight sections indeed, whereas Russell Smith’s section 6 would be unduly loaded with a great mass of general matter (such as Ennis' *Rutland Rides*) and specialised topics (such as North’s *Church Bells of Rutland*) combined. The scheme would render a modern bibliography incapable of conveying its information to the reader easily.

Before discussing some more modern schemes, it seems appropriate to
consider the practice of alphabetical order as employed in some modern bibliographies. L. R. Conisbee adopted a sophisticated alphabetical order for *A Bedfordshire Bibliography*, as did the authors of the modern bibliographies for Cumberland and Westmorland, Essex and Kent. The best of these is that for Bedfordshire, for there is a greater endeavour here to group subdivisions under other entries than in the other three. Conisbee used 25 headings, the first 20 of which referred to the whole county and the last five to specific locations and people:

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246 H. M. Gilbert and G. N. Godwin, *Bibliotheca Hantoniensis...* (Southampton: Ye Olde Boke Shoppe, 1891). The arrangement is books and pamphlets; newspapers; and then natural history and geology are given separate treatment in their own sections. The other works in this list have been cited elsewhere.

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1. Administration
2. Agriculture
3. Architecture
4. Bibliography
5. Communications, transport, aeronautics
6. Crafts, industries, trade
7. Directories
8. Ecclesiastical history and religion
9. Fauna
10. Flora
11. Folklore
12. Geology and palaeontology
13. History, archaeology, records
14. Meteorology
15. Military history
16. Newspapers and periodicals
17. Numismatics
18. Sports and pastimes
19. Topography, guide books, general works, the rivers
20. Words and names
21. Bedford
22. Dunstable
23. Luton
24. Other towns and villages
25. Biography

Each of these headings is further divided along more conventional classification lines. The Flora and Fauna sections, for example, have several of the subdivisions proposed below for the Rutland bibliography. There is something unusual, however, in finding very general works half-way through the book, for Topography is item 19, and it may take the uninitiated time to get used to the author’s particular choice of words. Many enquirers might look for ‘climate’ or ‘weather’ rather than ‘meteorology’, or ‘botany’ rather than ‘flora’. Taking things out of their natural sequence and placing them in an alphabetical one which is totally arbitrary, is always a potential cause of confusion.
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One of the main risks of alphabetical order, which does not apply to the Bedfordshire example because of its systematic subdivisions, is that omissions are disguised. In a subject sequence the gaps become all too readily apparent, forcing the compiler to work harder. In alphabetical sequence, only the occasional enquiry will expose omissions. This particularly applies to the Cumberland and Westmorland bibliography, which superficially appears quite impressive until you come across only one entry under 'Viking antiquities' and only two under 'folklore'. The writer W. G. Collingwood has his own section, but his locally-set historical novels are not included. Many references under a subject are also repeated under an entry for the author, so even this highly selective list includes duplicates.248

The Essex bibliography included as two volumes in the county's Victoria County History is also alphabetical. It introduces more headings than the Bedfordshire volumes, and the headings are close to those employed in the VCH in general. For example, there is an entry for 'forests' far removed from that for 'natural history'. The word 'weather' is used rather than 'climate' or 'meteorology' (not in itself important, but it becomes crucial when an alphabetical arrangement is followed) and the need to group some subjects necessitates 'social services' being placed under 'health', 'travel' under 'transport' (but 'directories' under 'guides' which are inexplicably separate from 'travel'), 'folklore' under 'dialect' (not the other way round; there is also another section for 'witchcraft'), and there are unusual headings for 'American connexions', 'handwriting' and 'earthquake of 1884', topics which appear too specific for such an arrangement. Sensibly, biography is a completely separate section, as is the survey of individual parishes.249

In complete contrast to the sensible alphabetical schemes for Bedfordshire and Essex is that adopted by the compilers of The Kent Bibliography (1977 and

248 Henry W. Hodson, A Bibliography of the History of Cumberland and Westmorland (Carlisle: Joint Archives Committee, 1968). The survey excludes geology, newspapers and Acts of Parliament. The references to articles lack the page numbers so the survey cannot be used to compile references or even to lead one quickly to the article in question.

supplement in 1981). Here the reader is faced with nearly three hundred subject headings, all in alphabetical order, although with some useful cross-references. The problem with having so many sections is that the needs of the reader cannot be anticipated. If readers wanted works on 'Edward, the Black Prince' they would be delighted to find such a section in the Kent bibliography, but there might be many works relevant to their enquiry to be found under 'Canterbury Cathedral' or 'History 901 AD – 1500 AD', and most enquirers will probably look in vain for their specific subject of interest, even with this many headings. Enquirers after nautical matters might be disillusioned by the separation of their subject into 44 headings, all in different locations, but a few cross-referenced, ranging from barges, beaches and bridges to ships and shipping, smuggling, transport, and water sports. Sometimes a subject can be broken up too many times. It is best to face the challenge of putting the material in a logical sequence.

A simple classification scheme was proposed in 1948, compiled by E. H. Cordeaux and D. H. Merry of the Bodleian Library. It is too lengthy to reproduce here in total, but it is divided into two sections 'County in General' and 'Individual Localities (in alphabetical order)'. Each of these sections proceeds in similar sub-divisions, many of which are further divided. Aligning the second headings slightly out of order so that the similarities and differences between the sections are presented, they are as follows:

1. County in General
   A Topography
   B Guide books (and maps)
   C History (and antiquities)
   D County affairs
   E Natural History
   F Social and Economic History
   G Societies
   H Newspapers and Periodicals

2. Individual Localities (towns)
   M Guide books (and plans)
   L History (and antiquities)
   N Administration
   O Social and Economic History
   P Societies
   Q Newspapers and Periodicals

250 'A Scheme of Classification for a County Bibliography compiled by E. H. Cordeaux and D. H. Merry of the Bodleian Library, Oxford', The Compilation of County Bibliographies, 3–8. The same authors went on to publish the first three volumes of the Oxfordshire bibliography, in 1955, 1976 and 1981.
The differences between the sections are interesting. Topography and natural history are not considered relevant at the locality level, but there is a proposal for even more detailed subdivisions at the level of individual churches or streets after that of the town. The system is designed to meet the needs of any county, most of which would contain several large towns. The difficulty might arise of deciding whether a parish was a subdivision of a town or should be presented in the bibliography alongside the town as an equal. Should the hundred or wapentake be used to assemble rural parishes? Far better, for the purpose of ease of use, to present all parishes in a single alphabetical sequence and to cross-reference any that are considered subdivisions of another. Any publications relating to a whole hundred or wapentake (there will not be many) could be assembled in a separate section. Any titles relating specifically to the phenomenon of small towns could also be grouped in a section of their own.251

In this scheme nearly every subject is repeated in the county and in the locality. In practice this again might prove difficult, because a great many specialised studies of a locality will certainly be of interest to anyone researching that subject at a county level. This seems to have been anticipated for natural history but not for religion or politics, which are divisions of social and economic history. Biography is also divided between the two sections, though families and individuals might often be difficult to assign to a particular locality for their whole life. However, as a general plan the scheme is remarkably sensible, and the professional librarianship background of the compilers is apparent. Specialised studies should be cross-referenced or repeated within both sections. Priority is given to the locality in

251 Cordeaux and Merry discussed a problem in the treatment of parishes ignored by most compilers. Their solution is not necessarily useful to the user: "...material about places no longer in Oxfordshire (such as Stokenchurch, Caversham, &c.) has been recorded to the time of their transfer. Villages which are now within the City of Oxford, but which at some time were autonomous, have been treated separately until they were incorporated in the city", A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to Oxfordshire..., p. [vii].

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the specialised studies, for the notes specify 'G–K: These sections should be used for works other than those which emanate from, or are concerned with, specific localities or subjects' (p. 7), but the basic principle of repetition, and in the same order, is a sound one.

Some of the subdivisions appear in odd places. 'Military Matters' appear under 'County Affairs', after 'Public Health', but would be better under 'Social History' because most of the military titles will be historical rather than current. The 'Communications' section (under 'Social History') includes further divisions for railways, rivers and canals, roads and bridges, but not for aviation, yet each county is likely to have an RAF base and possibly a civil airport too. Folklore is included within the 'general' category of 'Social History', but not within the 'culture' division. The inclusion of a whole section for 'Ephemera' is not acceptable. Ephemera should either be excluded or individual items which come within the inclusion policy presented within their relevant section. There can no more be a section for ephemera than there can be for 'Publications with an ISBN' or 'Items which are old'.

The same two authors went on to produce the volumes of the Oxfordshire bibliography, so it is interesting to see if they used the same arrangement in practice. The headings are again too numerous to repeat in detail here, but in the first Oxfordshire volume the main headings are natural history first, with the subdivisions general, geology, botany and zoology (which is further subdivided); then topography (divided only into general and place names); guide books and history. History is subdivided by sources, general and then by periods. Economic history follows with the subdivisions general; communications (further divided); husbandry and farming; industries and trades; and markets. In the Supplement this section was greatly expanded by the inclusion of works on many more different trades than were first featured: not surprisingly because the first volume only mentions the trades of bee-keeping, gloves, paper mills, printing, quarries, textiles and tradesmen's tokens.

Political and military history is the next section, subdivided into general, administration (many further divisions) and military. Social history then appears, subdivided general, dialect, folklore, social services (many headings), societies (many, grouped by type), sport and pastimes and finally town and country planning.

Religion follows with the subdivisions general, religious houses, medieval archdeaconry, diocese and archdeaconry (further headings), dissent and Roman
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Catholicism. The next major heading is 'Biography, genealogy and heraldry', with four subdivisions, followed by 'Architecture and allied arts' (further divided). The system concludes with sections for newspapers; directories and almanacs; and finally individual localities. The Supplement only slightly deviates from this plan, presumably only to accommodate new items not previously encountered.

Attempting to simplify the list, the differences between theory and practice are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1948 theory</th>
<th>1955 practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. County in general</td>
<td>1. County in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Topography</td>
<td>A Natural history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Guide books (and maps)</td>
<td>B Topography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C History (and antiquities)</td>
<td>C Guide books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D County affairs</td>
<td>D History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Natural history</td>
<td>E Economic history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Social and economic history</td>
<td>F Political and military history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Societies</td>
<td>G Social history (includes societies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Newspapers and periodicals</td>
<td>H Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Directories</td>
<td>I Biography, genealogy and heraldry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J Almanacs</td>
<td>J Architecture and applied arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Ephemera</td>
<td>L Directories and almanacs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Individual localities

The two versions are very different. Experience has forced the authors to abandon maps and ephemera, though their omission is not discussed. Many maps are in fact included within relevant sections, and many ephemeral items such as postcards are included because the Bodleian Library happened to possess them (e.g., item 222). Natural history has been placed in a more logical position, though topography has lost its primary place and the unusual separation of guide books from topography is retained: the reasons for the distinction are not apparent in the selection of works in each section. The 'King's England' volume by Arthur Mee is classified as a guide book, but it is really a general popular history. H. A. Evans' *Highways and Byways in Oxford and the Cotswolds* (London, 1905) is classified as a topographical work, but the conceptual difference between Mee and Evans is invisible. The new sections for
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religion, biography and architecture suggests that they were simply forgotten about in the first scheme. On the other hand the published bibliography appears to ignore general periodicals. There is still no place for them in the 1981 Supplement.

The main criticism of this bibliography is not its classification system but the paucity of references within each section because of the authors' selectivist approach. Some sections as a result contain only one reference.\footnote{Another criticism is that the authors followed mostly an annalistic order within each section, but 'occasionally, however, convenience has been preferred to consistency, and the rule has been relaxed', A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to Oxfordshire..., pp. [vii]–viii. The variant approach is unusual.}

The York project established a list of sixteen subject headings which was also followed in the East Yorkshire project.\footnote{Barbara English, 'An East Yorkshire Bibliography', 3.} These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generalia</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Church History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topography</td>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>Language and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>Economics and</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology and Social History</td>
<td>Economic History</td>
<td>Genealogy and Biography</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The East Yorkshire researchers found these categories inadequate, primarily because there was no section for fishing. Trades and industry are presumably subsumed under economics, though agriculture has its own section. Medicine is presumably included under the health service, but the other social services are lost, probably under sociology or government where they would reside rather uncomfortably, given the section title. Transport, an extremely popular subject, also lacks its separate section. It is difficult to understand the difference between generalia and topography. The range of subjects, however, is fairly standard to that found in local bibliographies, and specialised material can be inserted into these categories with a single exception. The York specifications have no room for material relating to individual parishes as such. The system is designed to highlight aspects of local studies which are of interest to researchers outside the locality, but although external
readers are an important category of clients, the majority of the bibliography's users will be local and priority should be given to local needs.

An impressive system is that followed in Steward's *A Suffolk Bibliography*. This has fourteen major divisions, most of which are subdivided further, some extensively, but the order, more-or-less following that in *A Bibliography of Norfolk History*, is at times surprisingly eccentric. Directories and periodicals form the first few categories, followed by geography, guide books, general and political history, economic history and communications, local government, religion, social history and culture, architecture, biography, individual and family biography and finally specific localities.

Placing directories and periodicals first is unusual, and bibliography, usually the first category, appears as the first subdivision of history (there is no bibliography section in the Norfolk survey, only a section on historical aids preceding history). Natural history is excluded from the survey. The order within each subdivision is mostly annalistic (chronological by date of publishing). The degree of subdivision is welcome. Transport is divided into societies (for three items, there is no general transport section), then tracks, roads, bridges, rivers (then each specific river), inland waterways, railways, light railways, buses and trams and postal services. Aviation and maritime history, however, are placed at the end of general history.

The recent bibliography of London history allows for some comparison between a county and an urban survey.254 There are 21,778 entries in this work and the classification system is too large to reproduce here (the contents pages are i–xv of the original). The main divisions, however, are General (1–3706: it includes periodicals, directories and source material before moving to London in General at item 1389, surrounding counties and areas within London); Political, Administrative and Legal History (3707–4868); Economic History (4869–9368); Social History (9369–13047); Religious History (13048–15547); Cultural History (15548–18585); Architectural History (18586–20614); Medicine and Public Health (20615–21315); and Military, Naval and Air Force History (21316–21778). Although not a bibliography of a county but a specialised concentration on historical subjects relating to a capital city only, the range of subdivisions in this classification is substantial, all the more surprising because of the author's confinement to the period before 1939

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(material published up to 1990 is included but only titles about the pre-1939 period) and her selective policy for inclusion. Many of the subdivisions are sharply focused on a small number of entries, allowing easy access to certain subjects: Dentistry has 10 items, Body Snatching has 8, the Orthodox Churches only 2, the Salvation Army 8. There is little explicable order to the delivery of the subjects, however. The sports are listed alphabetically but the 38 industries under Manufacturing appear to be in no particular order at all: even the Metals subdivision runs: general, iron, 'steel, copper, brass and lead', pewter, weapons and armour, bells, gold and silver, where an alphabetical order might have been more explicable. The Transport and Communications section in Economic History is subdivided Bridges, Waterways and Public Transport, the latter being further subdivided General, Railways, Underground Railways, Roads and Air Transport. 'Shipping' appears under Maritime History, a section which follows Transport and Communications. The logical order of each section is broken by attempts to link the section to the next or the previous.

The author's introduction (pp. xix–xxi) makes clear the extreme selectivity which went into its compilation but does not attempt to explain the classification system except with the most general remarks. It is interesting that, although ostensibly confined to historical subjects, the bibliography actually includes all the subjects used in other county bibliographies (including the Rutland one), even natural history, which appears under 'General' and is subdivided Geography, Geology and Climate (872–947) and Natural History (948–69). Although certain sections would be inappropriate in a general county bibliography, such as films and broadcasting or 'London and the Crown', these headings offer a useful analysis of local history subjects. Other counties would need a smaller range of cultural headings for culture but certainly a more extensive treatment for smaller localities within the county: items 1927 to 3706 cover the localities here; 1780 entries is 7.84% of the whole. The latter figure suggests strongly that it is London's capital status which is responsible for the broad range of subjects which the bibliography needs to cover (some 50% of most county bibliographies are about localities).

Another very detailed division is that proposed by J. L. Hobbs in Local History and the Library, which is close to the Dewey decimal system. In effect Hobbs rearranges the whole of human knowledge from a localised perspective, in ten major divisions, each further divided into ten subdivisions. The system is too large to
reproduce here.\textsuperscript{255} There is a certain justification for using the Dewey system in the
context of a library's local collection, both because this will be readily understandable
to the librarians, and because a local collection is specifically designed to contain all
manner of works which might have some local connection. It is, however, unsuitable
for a bibliography because there are too many divisions and the order makes no
logical sense.\textsuperscript{256}

Generally, the greater number of subdivisions the better because this will
facilitate access to material of particular interest but, where there are too many
divisions, works which have an obvious connection will be separated because of
subtleties in how they are classified. Many divisions might end up either empty or
containing only one reference. Moreover, an excess of divisions leads to an excess of
repetition as a bibliography must cross-reference material from one section to
another, whereas a library only needs to provide a single location for the single copy
of the book.

The sheer diversity of the solutions which have been devised, and the
complexity of the problem, is immediately apparent from this brief discussion.
Bibliographers who find the question of classification difficult, however, can take
some reassurance both from the diversity of previous solutions and from the fact that
even Bowers found it difficult: 'One of the most difficult problems facing the writer

\textsuperscript{255} 'A Local Classification System', in J. L. Hobbs's \textit{Local History and the Library}, rev. ed.
by George A. Carter (London: André Deutsch, 1973), 284–303. Another discussion of
local history classification for librarians is Alex J. Philip's \textit{An Outline of a Scheme for the
Classification of Local Collections in Public and Other Libraries and for All Material with a
Topographical Bias} (Wraysbury, Middlesex: the author, 1953). In 56 pages the author
inexplicably omits to offer a classification system: the 'system' consists of English
counties in alphabetical order, and the main towns within each county in an arbitrary
order (not by alphabetical order, geographical location or even by population size)
follow the county name. All subjects are subsumed under county or town headings.
Most of the work is about the development of the local collection from a librarianship
or museum perspective. A similar system (and one which is surprisingly useless, at
least for the present purpose) is followed in the East Midlands Bibliography.

\textsuperscript{256} A simple guide to the Dewey system is Marjorie Chambers, \textit{Introduction to Dewey
Decimal Classification for British Schools}, 2nd ed. (London: School Library Association,
1968). This work is mostly a list of the Dewey divisions with their reference numbers
and an index.
of a bibliography is the decision about the precise arrangement he will employ.\textsuperscript{257} Nevertheless, the taxonomy of the material is an important consideration of information science and the solutions adopted for the Rutland bibliography, offered as a model for other counties, will now be discussed.

\textit{The Rutland Classification}

The divisions adopted for the Rutland bibliography are ones which allow a logical sequence from the most general to the most specific, with new divisions being conceptually related to the previous ones.

The first section is obviously bibliography because it is the most general. The catalogue includes previous general surveys and references to short notices of annual updates.\textsuperscript{258} Because guides to historical records are in a sense bibliographies of manuscript material, and records can be used for many different subjects, they also belong here. Bibliography therefore has a sub-section ‘Guides to Records’ which lists accounts of record material in various archives. Most of these are from the journal \textit{Rutland Record} but there are also some accounts published by the archives or museums themselves.\textsuperscript{259} Studies of particular publications might also be included here: such as a history of a local newspaper or accounts like Jack Simmons’ of James

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{257} \textit{Principles}, p. 383, end of note 13. A further encouragement is offered by Michael Reed: ‘none of the published classification schemes make satisfactory provision for local history, and subject headings are often neither sufficiently specific nor sufficiently detailed. Thus many local history librarians have been compelled to devise their own schemes...’, ‘International Local History’, p. 238.
\item \textsuperscript{258} There are few of these for Rutland. An ‘experimental bibliography’ of Leicestershire history was produced in 1985, but is a good example of how not to compile a bibliography. The experiment was the use of a computer database. There are only 350 titles listed and the Rutland proportion of these is slight. There are incomplete listings of a few articles by journal, but without page numbers and even more imbalanced in selection than the separate publications: Alan McWhirr and Aubrey Stevenson, \textit{Recent Books on the History of Leicestershire. An Experimental Bibliography} (Leicester: Leicester Polytechnic and Leicestershire Libraries, 1985).
\item \textsuperscript{259} For example the works edited by Gwenith Jones (see pp. 138, 164–5, notes 204 & 239). Guides to local research are listed in county bibliographies but few of them have given previous bibliographies their own section, even though very few bibliographies are completely pioneer surveys. An exception is Mary Short’s Lincoln City bibliography.
\end{itemize}

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The next major division is topographical, because these books include every aspect of a county, attempting to provide a general profile of its history, geography and culture. Tourist guides also take in all aspects of a county and they should also be included here. There is a difference of conceptual function between topographical surveys and tourist guides, in that one may be scholarly and the other promotional, which would justify a separation if the bibliographer is able to make the distinction satisfactorily. The word 'guide' in the title of the latter is one criterion, but the difference is not always easy to specify. At the extremes the difference between Wright's *Rutland* of 1684 and the latest East Midlands Tourist Board promotional leaflet is obvious, but Cordeaux and Merry found the difference blurred for more substantial popular works like Arthur Mee’s *King’s England* series. A gazetteer arrangement within the book is no criterion to use. The distinction is even more difficult to apply when the work is ancient, because the tourist element no longer applies to a work like Leland’s sixteenth-century *Itinerary* or Dugdale’s early-nineteenth-century *The New British Traveller*. Associating the two divisions closely, however, will minimise any apparent arbitrariness.\(^{261}\)

The distinction between a guide and a directory can also be difficult because the two words are rarely used in a mutually-exclusive sense. The distinction that a guide has a prose text and a directory has lists of information is probably more helpful a criterion than that one is tourist-orientated and the other is commercial, because a directory is often of social services rather than commercial ones; a guide might also be intended for local customers rather than necessarily tourists; large directories such as the Kelly series contain substantial texts and smaller ones may list tourist accommodation. Definitions which are mutually exclusive cannot easily be applied to guides and directories. To minimise the arbitrary approach, an emphasis can be placed on how the publication describes itself: ‘guide’ and ‘directory’ are often in the titles, and the distinction between a content of prose or of tables should also


\(^{261}\) The London bibliography places ‘Visitors’ Descriptions of London’ (entries 12960–13047) inexplicably between Family Historics and Religious History.
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minimise difficulties in placing a publication in either category. A self-styled directory which contains only tourist information should be classed as a directory. The publication function of a Kelly’s Directory was to provide a list of commercial services: they can comfortably be classed as directories despite the inclusion of the additional prose texts within them.

The third major division is natural history, for this is a section which properly includes man as a subdivision and also embraces the context of life forms. The sequence is general, geology, climate and living things.

The general section is to accommodate broad surveys of the natural history of the county, which will probably contain books with specialised sections which need to be cross-referenced in the other sections, such as in the pamphlet Rutland Natural History Society 1965–1990 (1990).

Although climate is only subject to the most subtle variations between a county and its neighbours, there can be a surprisingly large number of titles on the subject which are relevant to a county bibliography. Rutland has a meteorological tradition because Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall in the eighteenth century kept his own records of the Rutland climate and published scholarly articles on the subject. His work has recently been the subject of modern research.262

The geology may be further divided into various strata, if the county contains such a varied geology that the subdivision is justified. Works relating to floods, drainage and water supply would also be relevant here, if necessarily in their own subsections. Counties with fen topography, of course, may have so many works on drainage that it is worth further subdivision or even the creation of a separate fenland section, so there will be two natural history sections in the survey. So long as the logical sequence of headings is maintained, separation may serve to clarify the common ground of a number of books.

Living things are difficult to classify. There is a huge literature on the taxonomic divisions and the system is controversial, that is, an animal may be moved from one order to another according to the specifications allotted to it by the scientist. New discoveries create new problems. Only the species actually exist (some organisms like dandelions and dogs being divided further into varieties or breeds);

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the other divisions (classes, orders, infraorders, kingdoms etc) are attempts by scientists to group the species into associations of living things with similar characteristics. The system is further complicated by the question of evolution. One taxonomic system may attempt to present a chronological sequence of development, others will present similar species side by side irrespective of the fact that half of them have become recently extinct or lived in the Jurassic period. Taxonomy is a problem for the scientist, however. For local bibliographers the question is one of how to arrange the local literature they find.

For most of the material a greatly simplified arrangement of the three kingdoms of plants, fungi, and animals will suffice. A further loosely-defined 'kingdom' (it would contain several kingdoms) of 'micro-organisms' could be added should there be any local literature on them (there are for Rutland Water). The kingdoms are then further divided, the plants into divisions and the animals into phyla.

The useful divisions for plants are: general; Thallophyta (algae, lichens etc.); Bryophyta (mosses, liverworts etc.); Pteridophyta (ferns etc.); Gymnospermae (conifers etc.); and Angiospermae (flowering plants, deciduous trees and grasses, etc.). The title of the book may not always help the bibliographer to classify the work, but its text is more than likely to display its taxonomic expertise. Despite the technical nature of the names, most of them are likely to be contained in dictionaries. It is worth the effort of identifying the correct location for a reference.

The animal kingdom subdivides into phyla. At a local level the following are likely to be encountered: Protozoa (simple, early organisms); Porifera (sponges etc.); Cnidaria (hydra, jellyfish etc.); Annelida (earthworms, leeches etc.); Platyhelminthes (flatworms etc.); Mollusca (snails and slugs etc.); Arthropoda (crustaceans, spiders and insects etc., probably best separated); Bryozoa ('moss-animals'); Echinodermata (starfish etc.); and Chordata. In the latter the subphylum Vertebrata is the largest and contains most of the classes likely to be encountered: fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals.

In practice nothing has yet been encountered for Bryozoa and Echinodermata in Rutland. Echinodermata are exclusively marine animals, but most English counties do have coastlines. Literature on pollution may well contain accounts of how certain life forms are coping with changing environments, and the pollution scientist may well wish to contrast older accounts with recent surveys.
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Palaeontology, the science of studying ancient life forms from evidence such as fossils, is likely to have generated local publications. The discoveries of palaeontology sit alongside modern living things in taxonomy. The dinosaurs, for example, are creatures within the orders Saurischia and Ornithischia within the subclass Archosauria within the class Reptilia, but for the local bibliographer palaeontological publications are best treated separately as a subsection of natural history, even though palaeontology embraces the entirety of life forms in ancient eco-systems. The material is likely to consist of general discussions on local fossils and the occasional specialised account of discoveries such as the Rutland dinosaur. Users of the bibliography are more likely to want to consult all palaeontological works together rather than have to seek them out from each specialised section. Cross-references will answer the pedant’s criticisms. The existence of a rich local supply of fossils may well necessitate further division of the palaeontological section.

A final subject for Natural History is one of widespread public concern (and therefore likely to be required by users), which is Pollution Studies. In Rutland there has been literature stimulated by the poisonous algae in Rutland Water as well as the controversies over ‘Cemfuel’ at Castle Cement, Ketton, but neither of these would fit neatly into any one of the natural history subdivisions. The algae, for example, is caused by hot weather and by agricultural fertiliser getting into Rutland Water through land drainage and it has caused death to some animals and swimming dogs: it therefore touches on all four of the main subdivisions of natural history so it is best separated into its own section and combined with other pollution matters.

The vast majority of local publications will contain accounts of species from a single group or be general surveys of the whole natural history of the county, but even for a county the size of Rutland many specialised publications exist, especially in article format, which need to be placed in a logical sequence. The specialised articles on marine biology in the conference volume Rutland Water – Decade of Change may present a classification challenge to the local bibliographer, but the above divisions will accommodate those articles. The classification will be inadequate for the taxonomic librarian but should meet the needs of the county bibliographer.

After natural history comes the fourth major division of the bibliography, publications relating to the humanities. There is at this point a slight logical shift in the divisions: arguably all human studies could be placed as a subdivision of the
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mammals section, though this would not seriously be suggested because of the imbalance it would create in the survey. Works relating to the anthropology of man in the district, however, might more logically deserve separation from the other humanities, to be placed in natural history; but as these works will be archaeological in nature and unlikely to be sought by natural historians, the logic can be bent in favour of practicalities (and common sense). Nevertheless, archaeological works may need to be cross-referenced from natural history because of the importance of biological evidence in archaeology, and the evidence archaeology can in turn offer the ecologist.

The most general of the humanities is history, and the most general historical section is the catalogue of editions of local historical source material, so this comes first followed by the general histories of the county. Often these are difficult to separate from topography, especially in the case of the antiquarian histories which usually contain general and natural history information, but either the decision to differentiate them must be made or substantial cross-references must be inserted. Source material is more general than history because it can be used by students of virtually all disciplines. At this point, of course, the bibliographer again encounters the controversy over whether the survey should include manuscript material. As argued earlier, only editions or studies of that manuscript material should be included.

If the amount of edited source material is substantial, further division may be necessary, but it is preferable to keep the sources together rather than, say, separating ecclesiastical sources for the church history section, because source material is employed by many different categories of users. Some of them, such as onomasticians, will need to examine virtually all the source material which exists.

Because the difference between sources and 'secondary works' may sometimes be difficult to specify, and county bibliographies have rarely made the

264 Cordcaux and Merry did so separate their Oxfordshire material, but not clearly. Their section called 'Sources' (items 242–59) is more a list of surveys which could not be contained within other sections. Domesday Book and the Hundred Rolls are in the medieval history section and all ecclesiastical sources are listed within 'Religion' but not in their own subsection. The compilers do not seem to have employed any method for determining what was a source and what was a secondary work.
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distinction, a definition will here be offered. A modern work of scholarship can often assume the status of a source because of its reputation within the literature, or because of its use of material now lost, so the difference can sometimes be subtle.

A secondary work is one which is a modern (i.e., since the invention of printing) account based on contemporary observation (as in a newspaper) or a study of 'primary sources'. The primary sources are works which contain historical evidence. They can be edited and printed, or may remain in manuscript. A source may be contemporary to the period it describes, which may be medieval or modern, or it may be retrospective, based on sources of its own. It may be a document produced in the course of administration (such as a medieval charter or a modern rate book) or it might be a work of literature such as a saint's life or a history like William of Malmesbury's account of Glastonbury Abbey. In the case of a biography or history the distinction between a primary and a secondary source blurs, but one factor does distinguish William of Malmesbury from a twentieth-century historian: printing. In the case of a history, a work which stems from the manuscript period, and was published by its author in manuscript form, is arbitrarily categorised as a source, and a work like Wright's Rutland, which was written during the printing age and seen through the press by its author, is a secondary work.

Another overlap is of course possible, where a modern work of scholarship contains transcriptions of manuscript material. Symon Gunton's account of Peterborough Cathedral is a secondary work, but one which contains transcriptions of source material, so it would be appropriate to place it in both sections of a Peterborough bibliography.

Another distinction which is difficult to make is that between sources and literature. Anglo-Saxon poetry is both source material for the historian, and

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265 General history bibliographies, such as Graves on English medieval history, have usually been very thorough in the application of the distinction. This is something which historians who use the bibliography will expect.

266 Symon Gunton, The History of the Church of Peterburgh..., edited by Symon Patrick (London: Richard Chiswell, 1686). The facsimile reprint (Stamford: Paul Watkins & Peterborough: Peter Clay, 1990) contains a modern introduction by Jack Higham and a comprehensive index by Anne Wilkins. One of the sources within the work is a transcription of the catalogue of the former monastic library (pp. 173–224). The work also transcribes many medieval charters.
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'literature' for the student of English. For some arbitrary reason Beowulf has tended to be classed as literature rather than as a historical source, but a chronicle written in poetry, such as those by Gaimar or Pierre de Langtoft, tends to be categorised as source material. Undoubtedly, these works belong to both categories simultaneously. The difficulty is unlikely to be encountered by the county bibliographer, however, to whom the advice is offered that the distinction between printed and manuscript for the finished form of the text is sufficient distinction between a source and a secondary work. William of Malmesbury finished his work when he allowed it to be copied and circulated. James Wright finished his work when the sheets were bound and sold as a printed book. A modern administrator finishes a census return or rate book when the information is written down and filed. Parish registers are therefore source material even though they originate in the modern world.

On the whole this distinction will allow for the separation of source material from other historical literature, but just occasionally the bibliographer may need to make an evaluative assessment of authorial intention. A manuscript diary, edited for publication, is a source, but some diaries may have been intended for publication by their compilers from the outset. If this were the case, they might be regarded as secondary works, but it might be difficult to judge. All diaries should be classed as sources to be consistent. The 'travelogue' is more difficult: did Thomas Leland or Celia Fiennes intend their travel diaries to be printed? The question requires further information for an answer, but travel diaries might also be treated as diaries and classified as sources for the sake of consistency.

Thomas Leland's Collectanea, edited by Thomas Hearne in the eighteenth century, was a large collection of manuscript notes, often of extracts taken from now lost materials. Such collections of notes lie behind many antiquarian histories, such as Roger Dodsworth's notes which formed the basis of Dugdale's work for Monasticon Anglicanum. James Wright also quarried a similar Rutland collection for material. When edited for publication they may be placed in the sources section of the bibliography.

Source material will certainly need to be subdivided into further categories. This can either be done according to the type of material or by historical period. For the former appropriate main divisions are general, secular, ecclesiastical and administrative material. For the latter option the periods adopted for the histories,
The classification of the material below, can be copied. Material which has stimulated many editions or studies will need its own subsection: Domesday Book will certainly require its own location.\textsuperscript{267} For a small county, one sequence in alphabetical order by the name of the editor is also an option.

After general history in the classification come general accounts of specific periods. The most useful divisions are prehistory (before the visit of Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.), Roman (55 B.C. to A.D. 410), Anglo-Saxon and Viking (410–1066), medieval (1066–1485), Tudor (1485–1603), Stuart (1603–1714), Georgian (1714–1837), Victorian (1837–1901) and twentieth century. Most of the dates are taken from those of the reigns of monarchs. Prehistory is of course difficult to separate from archaeology. At first the Rutland bibliography combined these two, but because archaeology is also important to the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, the resulting section did not contain a coherent body of material. Archaeology deserves its own section with cross-references or repetition of works for particular periods in the other sections.

After historical periods come disciplines which are closely related to history: archaeology, onomastics (place and personal names), biography and family history, and heraldry (as this is a branch of genealogy). Because family history is such a popular subject, this section of the bibliography is likely to be consulted frequently. The bibliographer must try to catalogue all the local genealogies which exist in the larger works as well as the standard biographical items. The arrangement is first general collections, then a catalogue of entries arranged under individual family surnames. There may be a need for much repetition as a single genealogy in an antiquarian book is likely to have several branches with different surnames. Seven hundred and seventy-two entries have so far been catalogued for this section of the Rutland bibliography, arranged under 460 specific surnames.

Heraldry, of course, is also an art form and may be more appropriately placed within, or close to, architecture, but its primary function is not sculptural but dynastic. It belongs in family history.

\textsuperscript{267} David Bates, \textit{A Bibliography of Domesday Book} (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986) lists references by county (for Rutland there are 9 particular entries and a further 13 cross-references).
Onomastics is a science which also touches on many disciplines, but it is best to provide it with its own section rather than separating its variant branches into different parts of the bibliography. Journals like *Nomina* exist to promote onomastics as the general science of the study of names, and the diffusion of onomastic material throughout the bibliography would not meet the needs of the users. The even more diverse applications of archaeology are also best served by allocating that science to its own section.

Other specialised branches of history follow: religious history, military history and economic history; but, conceptually the difference between the past and the present is now blurring because all these subjects are also societal affairs, as relevant to history as to the present. The subjects gathered here, therefore, will contain material both on the historical and the present phenomena in their categories. Religious history is divided pre-Christian, Christian (further divided Church of England, which includes the medieval English church; Roman Catholic; and Non-Conformism), and Other Religions. A large county will probably need subdivisions for specialised material such as studies of monasticism (although most monastic material will be concerned with a specific monastery and will be best gathered under the locality) and diocesan material. Purely architectural studies must be reserved for their own section, later.

Military history is divided into general, then specific regiments. A county with a more substantial military history than Rutland may need divisions for certain periods, which should be arranged according to the same chronology as the general historical works.

Economic history is divided into Husbandry (subdivided Agriculture, Enclosures and Parks, Forestry, and Gardens), Industry and Trade. The last two sections are subdivided into general and specific and most counties will require such treatment. The bibliographer needs to consider whether a particular activity is one of manufacturing something or involves buying and selling something made elsewhere, to fit it into the right sections. Occasionally this may mean defying the title of a book. J. A. Daniell's two works on 'clockmakers' in Leicestershire and Rutland employ a word in their titles which imply industry, but more accurately they belong to trade because the businesses in question assembled clocks which were made elsewhere.
Industrial Archaeology is another appropriate subdivision if the range of material requires it.

Social Studies will follow the Economic but three subjects first need to be introduced which would fit comfortably in either category: Transport and Communications, Urban Studies and Population Studies.

Transport and Communications is subdivided into general, rivers and canals, roads, railways, and aviation. Most county bibliographies place aviation within military affairs, but it seems unrealistic to separate military aviation from both civil aviation and other forms of transport in this way. Cross-references or duplication will solve any tensions which arise. The popularity of transport studies ensures that this section of the bibliography will be consulted frequently, and even Rutland offers a good number of representative publications for each category.

The importance of the town both as a phenomenon in its own right and as a catalyst of broader change has long been appreciated by local and national historians, and has been the subject of a substantial amount of literature in the twentieth century. Much of the early literature concentrated on the problem of definition but the subject became increasingly multi-disciplinary and comparative in its approach with the revelations of archaeology in the 1960s and '70s. Archaeology has illustrated the diversity of continuity between Roman and Anglo-Saxon usage of towns (i.e., there is evidence of renewed or continuous occupation on some urban sites and evidence of disruption on others), and it has defined both the topography.

and economy of many early trading centres, and how their defences were supported by a broader social organisation within the town’s hinterland.\textsuperscript{269} Towns have an economic, social, ecclesiastical,\textsuperscript{270} military and administrative function which gives them a pivotal role in the society of the shire. Moreover the semi-autonomous borough status of towns like Stamford has given each county community an alternative link with the central, royal authority.\textsuperscript{271}

Most counties contain a broad range of settlement sizes, from cities to hamlets, but Rutland is unique in having only two small towns (Oakham and Uppingham), both of a size which elsewhere might be classed as villages; but Stamford, the royal borough on the edge of the county, has performed the role of Rutland’s ‘small town’ for many centuries, albeit in a rather anomalous way because it is not formally part of the county. For this reason it seems appropriate to include a selection of works on Stamford in the Rutland bibliography.\textsuperscript{272}

Gathered into the section on urban studies will be material which considers the phenomenon of small towns in the county generally. Material on specific towns will be cross-referenced to the divisions for the locality. It would also be appropriate to include in this section material which considers other forms of settlement topography in the county: there may well be a survey of villages or socio-economic studies of the relationship between the countryside and the nearest city. There may also be some material published by the planning office which should be referred to

\textsuperscript{269} Many towns owe their formal institution to the need to organise defences against the Viking raiders in the late 8th and early 9th centuries. The Burghal Hidagc document records this relationship: see David Hill, ‘The Burghal Hidage: the Establishment of a Text’, Medieval Archaeology xiii (1969), 84–92.

\textsuperscript{270} Many cities owe their restoration to life, after decline or collapse in the Romano-British period, to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. Sites such as Lincoln, York and Winchester were transformed, probably from ruins, to become seats for bishoprics and monasteries.

\textsuperscript{271} For some comments on the general importance of towns in local history, see Phythian-Adams, Re-Thinking English Local History, passim but e.g. p. 23.

\textsuperscript{272} Many Stamford works emphasise their links with Rutland in their titles by using expressions such as ‘on the borders of Rutland’ (Dolby) or even ‘Stanford ... in Lincoln, Rutland and Northampton Shires’ (Peck).
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This section of the Rutland bibliography is small because there are few towns and those towns also have their own sections.

Population studies, or demography, is another relatively recent development in local history which deserves recognition in the bibliography. Because the national census material is also relevant to population studies, of course, cross-reference to that section is appropriate at this point.

Other social affairs comfortably follow these two socio-economic subjects. This new division is one of the most difficult to classify as so many topics interlock. The Rutland bibliography adopted alphabetical order for the main headings. First came Administration, further divided into Central Government: Acts of Parliament, Census material, and Survey Reports, etc.; and Local Government: Administration and Finance, Local Survey Reports and Planning. Most country bibliographies introduce far more divisions under administration. A Suffolk Bibliography introduces here: general administration (divided by period), finance and taxation (divided by period) and social welfare which includes general, poor law, charities, public health and medical services, emergency services, education, museums, libraries, record offices, public utilities, planning and development, housing and law enforcement (further divided by period). Most of these topics are covered by other sections of the Rutland bibliography as they seem to have a broader scope than 'administration', but even for Rutland the difficulties in specifying exactly what is 'administration' necessitated a short 'Other Local Administration' section to accommodate material not easily placed under the main headings.

Education follows, divided general, Oakham and Uppingham Schools (many publications cover the two institutions together), followed by separate sections for each, then other schools. The Uppingham School section has a specialised sub-section on Edward Thring. In his case we have a subject which is relevant to three sections of the bibliography: biography, education and Uppingham. Care must be taken to avoid too much repetition with subjects like this which overlap many

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None of the previous county bibliographies have included a section for urban history as such, but some almost do so by separating the larger towns from the general alphabetical sequence in the localities section (the Bedfordshire survey does this). The Gloucestershire bibliography makes a gesture in the same direction by separating Gloucester and Bristol from the general sequence.
sections. As every item relating to Thring is relevant to all three, the best solution is simply to have one section with an appropriate cross-reference in the other two.

In alphabetical order the next subject is Law. The Rutland material is not substantial for this section but a larger county might require further division by general, periods, courts, etc. Social services is the next topic; it includes general surveys followed by specialised literature on individual services such as fire, hospitals, police, and postal services.

It seems appropriate then to have a section on societies. Alphabetical order may be employed, but as the material increases other arrangements will present themselves. Cordeaux and Merry in their Oxfordshire bibliography offered the divisions: Cultural Societies and Libraries; Freemasons; Friendly Societies; Political Societies; Savings Associations; Temperance Societies and Women's Institutes. Steward's Suffolk bibliography only offers Freemasonry as a subdivision.

Sport is the next topic, divided as usual into general and then separate sections on each sport encountered, in alphabetical order. Twelve different sports have their own literature in the case of Rutland, compared to 21 in the London bibliography, 11 in Cordeaux and Merry's Oxfordshire survey and just 5 in the Suffolk. Some sports are included in the Kent bibliography but not others: there are many entries under Cricket but football is ignored until one entry is added in the supplementary volume. This cannot be representative of Kentish football. There are a few extra sports in Rutland, such as fencing, which are mentioned in the general publications but have not yet been the subject of a separate publication or article in their own right.

After these 'social-historical' subjects, relating to complex human social relationships both in the past and the present, come the cultural. Culture, of course, is also historical and social, but it includes an abstract element which justifies its location further down the sequence of subjects. It includes museums, folklore, ghost stories, dialect, proverbs, arts and crafts and performing arts. 'Arts and Crafts' is divided cookery, stonemasonry and visual arts and 'Performing Arts' is divided

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274 The London bibliography instead presents most societies within a section called Leisure Amusements (items 11369–11903), subdivided into subjects such as puppet shows, exhibitions, inns, debating societies, rotary clubs, youth clubs and 'Other groups and societies'. 'Scientific and Intellectual Societies' have a separate section far removed from these: entries 17726–18014.
Cinema, Music and Theatre. It could be argued that 'cinema' is more accurately a retail trade but the content of that trade is so similar to the theatre that separation seems inappropriate. In the Rutland bibliography 'folklore' is divided into general and 'some specific topics', but larger counties, or areas with particularly unusual or popular customs, such as Stamford with its (discontinued) bull running tradition, or Hallaton with its annual 'bottle-kicking', will need those topics separating.

Two art forms follow which require their own sections: architecture and literature.

Architecture is divided into general, secular and ecclesiastical. Specialised further divisions for ecclesiastical may be needed, such as church bells, church plate, fonts, graveyards etc. The secular is divided almshouses, castles, houses and halls, inns, schools, watermills and windmills. Some of these subjects are, of course, also relevant to other areas of the bibliography so care must be taken to confine this section to material containing architectural discussions. Guides to individual buildings are best presented in the localities section.

The Suffolk bibliography offers a sophisticated subdivision of churches into general, bells, brasses, church plate, floor tiles, fonts, lych gates, monuments, mural paintings, rood screens, stained glass, towers, and 'other features'. The eleven items in the last section accommodate studies of chandeliers, chests, sculpture, heraldry, acoustic pottery [sic], scratch dials and 'wild men'. All average-sized English counties will require similar divisions. It might also be necessary to subdivide church architecture by period. A considerable proportion of the literature on churches, of course, will be confined to a specific church, and this material will need to be gathered in the localities section. Counties with particular traditions in their church architecture may also need specialised sections, perhaps for brickwork, weather-boarding, pargetting, spires or round towers.

The London bibliography includes the following subdivisions under Architectural History: Town Planning (18586–872); Building and Building Types (18873–20225); Street Furniture (20226–44); Open Spaces, Parks and Gardens (20245–430); and Architects (20431–614); which brings into the section subjects which many would not class as architecture, though the conceptual link in clear.

Literature is divided by general, fiction (subdivided novels and short stories), poetry, sermons and humour. The general category is to accommodate anthologies of
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local writings. The fiction and poetry is intended only for literature which is about
the county, such as a novel with a local setting. Poetry in practice might be more
difficult to discriminate than novels because it could be argued that the landscape or
life of the county has in some way inspired the poetry even if the county is not
mentioned, but only poetry which in some way features the locality should be
included. Everything else is excluded by definition, as discussed in the 'local authors'
section, above, pp. 149-50.

Even for a county the size of Rutland several humorous works were
discovered and the bibliographer should avoid any temptation to delete this material
because it might be considered unworthy. Humour is an aspect of local folklore and
deserves more study as a phenomenon in its own right. The literature section
currently concludes with a provisional 'other writings' sub-section but this will be
jettisoned before publication. It includes a few items of general literature
encountered, a category which it has been argued should be removed from a local
bibliography. If, however, the bibliographer wishes to cover this material, or he or she
discovers items which do not fit easily into the other categories, here is the place for
it.

If a decision has been made to include maps in the survey, cartography is the
next appropriate section before leading to specific parishes. There should in any case
be provision here because there will be literature about the maps even if the maps
themselves are not catalogued. For example there are several 'Rutland in Maps'
articles in Rutland Record as well as the Goldmark and Traylen Maps of Rutland
(Stamford: Spiegl Press, 1985).

Many bibliographies place cartography in an earlier location, and the general
'topographical' content of maps suggests a case for treatment alongside topography.

275 At the time of writing Lancaster University has allocated resources to appoint a
professor of humour, in the context of drama studies. The cultural base of humour is
obvious because of its failure to translate well either from one language to another or
from one generation to another. Its basis is often the juxtaposition of irreconcilable,
but the same procedure in poetry or theology is somehow 'not funny' but
'paradoxical' or 'mystical'. Specifying the frontiers of humour might be seen as a task
which also helps to define the frontiers of 'serious' subjects. The bibliographical
approach to any subject, however, does not allow for rejection on the grounds of
contempt. Some of the interesting aspects of the Rutland humour encountered is
discussed in the concluding chapter, below, pp. 258-9.
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However, because maps are a completely different type of text to the prose texts catalogued in the bibliography, and because it has been argued (above, pp. 159–60) that maps are best excluded altogether, a primary location would seem inappropriate. If, for example, it was decided to include some of the non-book media, it would be expected that they would be gathered in their own locations after the bibliographical division. A case could be made, on the grounds of the different medium, for placing them after the localities section had been concluded, but because their content is usually the whole county, a comfortable location is at the border between works which review the whole county and works which review specific locations within it.

The penultimate section in the survey can often be the largest.²⁷⁶ Up till now all the literature has been about aspects of the whole county. The final section looks in turn at every aspect of each individual locality. First a few works might be listed under the hundreds or wapentakes before a sequence of each parish in alphabetical order. It is better to assemble the locations alphabetically because the hundred or wapentake is a meaningless division nowadays. The district could be used if the county is a large one, but most users of the bibliography will require rapid access to a particular locality. It is best to list every settlement, however small, in one sequence and cross-reference if a particularly small hamlet is treated under the parish in which it rests.

The local section is likely to be one of the most frequently consulted. Care should be taken to try to ensure that all items of local interest which appear in the county section should also be present or cross-referenced under the parish. For example, an account of an archaeological dig will appear in both the archaeology and in the parish sections. As the number of entries under the parish increase, it will be necessary to subdivide them further into subject headings similar to those used in the county bibliography. At the time of writing, Oakham has been subdivided into general, history, All Saints’ Church, Oakham Castle and Museum, Oakham School, miscellaneous topics and local periodicals. The Oakham School entry is now simply a cross-reference to the Oakham School section under Education (the same policy has

²⁷⁶ Virtually every county bibliography has a larger section for the localities than for the county: the Suffolk survey has 3511 entries for the county and 4612 for the localities. The two volumes of the Oxfordshire survey have 1979 entries for the county and 3961 for the localities, but a third volume of another 3890 entries for the city of Oxford (excluding the University).
also been followed for Uppingham School and is only common sense when two sections stand to duplicate a large number of entries). The miscellaneous topics for Oakham, and many of the sections on other parishes, now require further subdivision as they have expanded to so many entries.

A subject which is likely to have many cross-references or repeats between the county and local sections is family history. In the majority of families there will not be many references and repetition is therefore appropriate, but in the case of the Finch and Noel families a decision will need to be made as to which location houses all the entries.

As the Rutland bibliography nears completion and news of its existence spreads, the locality section has been the subject of many requests for provisional print-outs from people studying their own village.

One major class of literature has so far been omitted: the periodical and its related material, the directory (related because it is often an annual). Many bibliographies gather these towards the beginning of the survey because they are general items covering the whole county in a variety of aspects. This is perfectly acceptable, perhaps the best place being between bibliographies and topography, but because periodicals are a completely different category of publication from books and pamphlets, but are not a subject in their own right, they deserve a separate section after the subjects have been listed. The most convenient arrangement for periodicals is alphabetical order by title but newspapers and directories require separation. Periodicals which have a specialised nature, such as a parish magazine, are cross-referenced under the subject heading, in this case the parish.

Periodicals are very difficult to catalogue because sometimes the existence of a periodical may be known only from a single surviving issue, but the catalogue should attempt to list the following information under each periodical heading: frequency of publication, publisher, printer (often difficult if there is a long run), format, the extent of the run, where copies can be found, and notes. The notes should include a short comment explaining what the periodical's function is, although this will be mostly apparent from the title and the frequency description, e.g. 'weekly newspaper' or 'annual report'.

A table of the headings used for the Rutland bibliography appears as the fourth appendix, presented with indents to illustrate how some subjects are
subdivisions of others and with the numbers of entries so far gathered for each heading.

**Order of Entries within Divisions**

Within each subdivision of the bibliography arrangement may be by alphabetical order or annalistic (by date of publication), but alphabetical is to be preferred on several grounds: it is factual (though arbitrary); it is easily understood by the reader; it is accurate and it is not misleading.

Annalistic systems can mislead the reader because they suggest that the earliest entry was the pioneer study, though it may have been an item of only incidental connection or with only a brief discussion, and that the latest entry may be the best. Although the concept is that the arrangement allows for presentation in sequence according to the development of the subject, this is not actually achievable unless a complex (and unrealistic) system of different columns were to be employed, allowing for general and specialised topics to be treated to different visual presentation.

The Suffolk bibliography is annalistic within the section, but the author's names are highlighted in bold, surname first, ambiguously suggesting that alphabetical order has been followed. The same drawback applies to the Oxfordshire bibliography: annalistic systems do not convey the logic of their sequence clearly.

If alphabetical order is decided upon, other issues are raised as to which alphabetical system to employ. Again, there are many discussions on the subject, but this is an issue for cataloguing rather than for bibliography. The main issues of cataloguing are also more crucial in bibliography if, like the authors of *The Kent Bibliography*, a decision has been made to present the whole survey in a single alphabetical sequence by subjects: then one really does come up against the challenge of which words to use and how far subjects would be divided into different entries separated by many letters. 277 As this approach is not recommended here, the main issues are matters such as the titles of periodicals or the different spelling of the Scottish surname 'Mac': should Mac- names be separate from Mc- names or the two placed together? One solution is to follow a readily-accepted system such as that

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outlined in *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules*. On the other hand it is more important to be internally consistent than to follow an accepted convention. One of the challenges encountered in the project was the need to be consistent in the allocation of authorship of anonymous or committee-written items, where the same or a similar item is referred to in different locations. Another difficulty lies in the periodical catalogue. *Rutland Record* is easy to place in the sequence, but do the *Transactions* of a society come under T or under the society's name? How does one decide which is primary if the periodical changes its name? The Anglo-American rules prefer entries like:

Oxford Bibliographical Society

Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers

or:

Rutland County Council. *Education Committee*

Annual report of the Rutland Education Committee

which might entail an entry being worded very differently to how it appears on the title-page of the publication, or an inconsistency of approach between one journal and another. Where the house journal has a memorable name, for instance, it is better to list it under that rather than under the issuing body, e.g.:

*Bowline*

Monthly magazine

rather than:

Royal Air Force, North Luffenham

*Bowline*.

The important point is that whatever decision is made for an individual title, it must be adhered to consistently every time that title is mentioned.

If, of course, the bibliography is only destined to be published electronically, issues of representation within the section hardly apply, and even the general classification problem is of minor importance because searches will always be conducted according to the user's own prescription. Entries need to be tagged with

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278 [Library Association], *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules. British Text* (London: the Library Association, 1967; reprinted 1971). Here several committees which wrote the work are subsumed under a single institution's name as author. In this case it is the British publisher, and the square brackets denote an element of licence in the allocation of authorship.
sufficient key words for their subjects to enable maximum data capture by the user, but the order in which they are entered by the compiler is of no importance.

Issues of classification have now been reviewed but before the discussion can be concluded, the description of material is another matter for consideration.
7. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIAL

Part One

The rigorous nature of the bibliography is not dependent on any particular style of presentation, so long as that style is accurate and is followed consistently. There are very few exemplars worth citing for good practice because it is commonly followed. Bad practice, however, is illustrated in some appropriate places. Inevitably this chapter draws heavily on the work of Bowers – he is, after all, the authority everyone looks to for guidance – but not all his opinions are followed by bibliographers nowadays: his definitions of 'issue' are certainly no longer widely accepted.

Accuracy of style governs such matters as the correct and complete transcription of the title of the works (including subtitles). The full title should be given, even though the prolix titles of some older works, and even of some more modern ones such as Kelly's Directories, makes summary treatment a temptation. Although full transcription has the disadvantage of space, it does offer the user of the bibliography more access points if the survey is to be searched electronically.

The phrasing on the title-page should be respected, even if the title on the binding is different. It is appropriate to amend the punctuation in transcription because the presentation on the title-page will be governed by design considerations rather than by grammatical ones. Some punctuation, therefore, will need to be imposed between the main title and the subtitle if none is offered by the book itself. The least intrusive 'alien' punctuation is a full stop followed by a capital letter for the start of the next sentence. Other bibliographers, however, would prefer to use a comma or colon: it does not particularly matter which is adopted.

The consistency of style is just as important as accuracy: placing some works in alphabetical order by author and others in annalistic order, or describing a work as anonymous in one location and the same work by an attributed author in another, does not help the users of the bibliography.

Another consideration is that the style of typography adopted should be capable of conveying its information to the reader in an effective way, meaning that
the various elements in the entry should be clearly distinguished. Use of the same letter forms throughout the entry does not produce clarity. The worst possible presentation in a bibliography is the use of capitals throughout, which may be illustrated in the following example:


corresponded with:


Both examples contain exactly the same information, but one conveys it to the reader in a way which allows him to understand immediately what the different elements in the entry mean, and how a copy of the book can be located in the library.279

Punctuation (brackets, full stops and commas) should be employed to separate elements, and italics are conventional for titles, even if they are not necessary for the sake of accuracy. Use of such simple typographic devices helps to convey the information to the reader in a clear and unintrusive way.

The extracts from the Rutland bibliography in the Appendices illustrate such points without the need for further discussion. The design of bibliographies has been the subject of a published discussion,280 and style has also been discussed by the present author elsewhere,281 so only these few points need be made here.

Much more pertinent is the need to specify exactly what parts of the work need to be cited in a bibliography.

279 One of the worst bibliographies ever published, in terms of its presentation, is C. E. Pickford and R. W. Last (eds), The Arthurian Bibliography, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1981–3). This work offers a very large catalogue of entries presented in badly designed capital letters throughout. The text is almost as bad as the presentation, because it is merely a catalogue of the entries to be found in eleven other sources of information.


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The author or authors need to be cited in full. Many authors cause bibliographical problems by changing their names. The names should be cited as they are presented in the work in question, but an index of authors can appropriately standardise their expression if the compiler is confident that the authors are the same.

Anonymous works must be given an attributed author. This can either be 'Anon.', or the name of a publication committee, such as 'Rutland Record Society', or an expression based on the content of the work, such as 'Act of Parliament'. Care must be taken to ensure standardisation of attributed authorship. Editors, as opposed to authors, must be specified as such.

The title must be cited in full.

If the work belongs to a series, the series title should be given after the main title and a volume number if appropriate:


If the reference is to an article within another publication, the full title of the host publication and its editors must also be given, and any page numbers:


If the work is in more than one volume, this is recorded between the title and the bracketed imprint details.

If the title is a second edition, or other impression, this appears between the title and the imprint details, after the volume number if relevant.

The imprint details occur within brackets: first the locality of the publication, then the publisher, then the year of issue are given.

If the source of publication is abroad, the country (or the State if American) should be given after the place: '(Rutland, Massachusetts: Rutland Press, 1979)'. If the location is a famous or capital city it is not always necessary to specify the country. The purpose is simply to avoid any ambiguity.

If the pages of the original are not numbered the bibliographer must count them himself and give a reference within square brackets. If the entire work contains no page numbers, these are given as arabic numerals. If the pagination is usually
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there, but not on the specific pages cited, the number in square brackets is presented as either arabic or roman numerals, according to the practice elsewhere in the book.

If the reference is to an article in a journal, the volume number of the journal is given first, then the year follows within brackets. Occasionally it is useful to know more detail, such as the specific month of a monthly journal issued in annual volumes, e.g.: [periodical title], 2.1 (January, 1909), [pages].

If the date of publication is not known, the abbreviation 'n.d.' (no date) is used, followed by an estimated date with the abbreviation 'c.' (for circa, approximately). Estimated dates are based on internal evidence, local knowledge, or other references and some justification for the chosen date should be given in the annotation.

It is not usually necessary to conclude the reference with a note or comment, but where the wording of the title does not clarify the reason for its inclusion and an explanation is needed, or some other comment is appropriate, these should be given in a note on the entry.

Each item in the bibliography should be numbered, preferably in a single sequence.

All variant editions must be noted. Usually it will be sufficient to specify the years of reprints but new versions of the work (as in the example of the revised edition of Pevsner's 'Buildings of England' volume for the county) will need separate entries because they are different texts.

All these principles are achievable by conventional typesetting, but use of a computer will make the compilation much easier. If the bibliography is compiled on a data base, such as Idealist or Papyrus, the different information can be placed in its respective field, and the existence of the fields will discipline the compiler to be consistent.

Part Two

Descriptions in Part Two of the proposed Rutland bibliography are considerably more detailed. Although this is not such a central part of the present thesis, this will now be reviewed (as briefly as possible) because the plan of the Rutland bibliography is offered as an ideal.
The works are listed in alphabetical order by author. There is a short heading consisting of the author's surname, followed by a shortened form of the title and the year of publication, sufficient to allow for recognition. The full description follows, beginning with an exact and full transcription of the title-page.

**Title-Page**

Many bibliographies adopt the convention of transcribing the full contents of the title-page (called the quasi-facsimile method) but only half-heartedly. It must be remembered that the purpose of the exercise is to establish the text's status, in the event of variant editions appearing, so unless the procedure is followed fully and accurately there is no point to it.

Some writers have argued that a better procedure would be to photocopy each title-page and present these in the finished product. Bowers anticipated such a development long before the proliferation of modern photocopies. His main reservation was that blemishes on the original might appear to be a typographic detail on the copy, or vice versa, but much more serious objections should be stated. Although the idea has its attractions, it would make the finished product unpublishable in printed form. The pages would have to be reproduced life-size in order to be accurate facsimiles, so the finished bibliography would be a designer’s nightmare. Moreover, the facsimiles would only repeat information which was presented in the catalogue: even if the catalogue did not employ quasi-facsimile transcription it would still need to quote the text of the page and this would take up the same amount of space as an accurate transcription. Worse, to use facsimile pages would entail a huge amount of wasted paper in the printed book and vastly increase production costs even if typesetting costs would not increase, because it costs the same to print a near-empty page as it does to print one crammed with text. Few bibliographies other than those of private press publications are treated to lavish and spacious design. There is usually so much information that must be included, and the anticipated market for the book so small, that printing space is at a premium. Practical considerations make it absolutely impossible to consider the reproduction of

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*Principles*, 135–7. He also cites J. M. Osborn as a writer who tried to champion photographic reproduction in 1941.
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thousands of title-pages in a published county bibliography. 283

New computer technology, of course, may offer the compiler the opportunity to issue facsimiles of title-pages and even parts of the text. Although these will not be life-sized, they could be issued with measurements. The practical problem is not dissimilar, however: the cost would be prohibitive even if the technology offers the space to cover it.

In Part Two of the Rutland bibliography the title pages are transcribed in full with no exceptions. Distinctions are drawn between upper case and lower case letters and between the three main font categories of roman, italic and gothic. Use should be made of a system which can offer both roman and italic fonts but gothic can be rendered thus if it is not available:

[gothic:] Stamford: I

where the description within the square brackets is not on the title-page but is an editorial comment inserted to describe the layout of what follows, underlined. Words underlined in the original are simply rendered that way without comment.

If a single word appears in red or another colour different to the rest the same system is adopted:

[red:] Stamford: I

The vertical rule denotes the end of the line in the original text.

283 A case can be made for reproducing titles which contain illustration, but these still cannot be processed full-size. A further objection to facsimile might be that it supplants the need for regular proof-reading and double-checking, quite likely to lead to the accidental failure to spot a variant impression. Philip Gaskell made a good case for photographic reproduction for a bibliography of fifty entries, and also suggested tracing as an effective method of finding variants (paper shrinking being one drawback he had encountered): Philip Gaskell, ‘Photographic Reproduction versus Quasi-Facsimile Transcription’, The Library, fifth series, 7 (1952), 135–7. Paul S. Dunkin, Bibliography: Tiger or Fat Cat? (London, 1975), also admitted that photography was too expensive a proposition and, while acknowledging some doubt of the validity of the exercise (‘It is sad to think of men of genius like Greg and Bowers pouring their time and energy into the clerical drudgery of copying out and proof reading long titles in barbaric type’, p. 22), acknowledged that bibliography was a descriptive catalogue: without quasi-facsimile the catalogue would not be describing the formal statement of the book’s title. Don MacKenzie uses the term ‘iconic’ to describe a bibliographical description: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts, p. 58.
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Rules on the title-page are measured in millimetres and are cited within square brackets because the words '[15 mm rule]' do not actually appear on the title-page. Distinctions are made between plain rules, double rules, swelled rules or rules with decoration. Frames are also described.

Decorations or illustrations on the title-page are briefly described, e.g.

a quest for | RUTLAND | [reproduction of a Bewick wood-cut] | Eric Hardy [etc.]

The entire text of the title-page is transcribed with the exception of material which is incidental to the title, such as a table of contents, which sometimes appears on the title-page in badly designed books, or a quotation from another text, but these are always mentioned as present, in an abbreviated form, e.g. '[Biblical quotation on 5 lines].'

The title-page is followed by the transcription of the imprint, so long as that appears on the verso of the title-page. If the imprint appears elsewhere it is given a separate listing. The imprint ('colophon' is another word often used) is also transcribed in full, with the exception of incidental material such as a statement of standard publishing conditions (the number of lines are cited), a table of contents, any text of the book which might begin here (in the wrong place), or an acknowledgement or dedication. It is always acknowledged when a cut has been made in the transcription. The imprint page follows the title-page as a description of its verso. It is rendered after the abbreviation 'v:'. If the imprint lies elsewhere, then the contents of this page are still described at this point, for the sake of consistency, but usually abbreviated if they are not strictly relevant to the imprint or title; for example, an advertisement may be cited as: '[advertisement]'; or if the main text begins clumsily on the verso of the title the entry might read: 'v: [beginning of text].'

In the case of a self-bound pamphlet it is impossible to specify whether the title-page is also the cover. The convention should be adopted of assuming that the cover-title was the title-page and that the work has no wrapper if it is printed on the same paper as the rest of the book. If the title appears on a card wrapper, or some paper different to the rest of the pages, it is regarded as being the wrapper and the work is considered to have no title-page.

Works which have no title-page have their description beginning with the statement 'No title-page' followed by the format statement.
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There follows a brief statement of the book's format, size, construction formula and pagination. Any extra pages, such as inserted plates or folded maps, are cited as extras to the pagination if they are not included in the numerical sequence.

Format

Determination of the format of a book can be one of the most intractable of all bibliographical problems. Discussion regarding the identification and description of format forms the bulk of Bowers' Principles, and although it is basic to bibliography the complexity of the problems make it an area in which firm conclusions are not always possible.

It seems best to state at the outset that statements of the format, size and sections (gatherings) of a book are expressions of completely different facts. They might add up to the same story but they are just as likely to tell a different tale from each other. The description 'octavo book' can be a relatively meaningless term because it might mean a book produced in a traditional way, eight leaves printed in a single instance on a sheet of standard-sized paper; it might mean a book of a certain height and width (that is, of a measurement rather like those of the older books printed in octavo format, irrespective of the number of pages in each section); it might also mean a book bound with sixteen pages (eight leaves) in each section or gathering, irrespective of how it was imposed. Moreover, the label 'octavo' is more than likely to obscure the fact that the book is an anthology of formats, octavo being the format of most sections but not all.

Not only can the words for format be used in an ambiguous way, but the appearance of the book may also be ambiguous as far as the format is concerned. Modern printers frequently impose a book as 64 pages on each sheet (a smaller-page book can even go to 128 pages) but then bind in gatherings of 32 or 16 pages. The size of the book depends both on the size of the original sheets of paper, which of course varies, and on how much has been shaved from the edges during the binding process, which of course is a total mystery without comparison with any unshaved copies. In the case of modern books all copies are likely to be the same size, but modern publishers frequently specify non-standard sizes to their printers, ensuring that the book is printed on a larger sheet than it needs to be with the resulting wide margins substantially trimmed to meet the specification, thus creating the impression
to the paper historian that a certain paper was available in a certain sheet size. This is especially true if the publisher has designed the book as an A5 page size, but wishes to use a paper which is only available in the 'octavo' dimensions. An A5 book in comfortable sections of 32 or 64 pages is just as likely to have been printed on a large machine with a complex imposition as it is to have been produced from single sheets of A4 on a photocopy machine, gathered into sections and stapled by hand. The evidence to identify the format is not there. Finally, in the case of a modern perfect-bound book, there is not even enough information to begin an enquiry as to its format. Here the sections are guillotined on all sides before binding; each page is therefore reduced to a separate piece of paper glued to the spine (or bound by the vertical insertion of sewing or staples in the 'stabbed' position). This is very common today, even in hardbacks. It allows for machines to handle the entire production process quickly without the slower session of sewing between printing and binding. The result is that books that perhaps began life as 'octavo' sections are now composed of a few hundred individual leaves.

Another complexity is that formats may be mixed. The reason for this might be pure whim or it might arise as a result of the whole planning of the book, whereby the total number of pages requires one or two sections to be of different sizes to the rest. This is not just a modern phenomenon; it was quite common in the age of the hand-press for folio books to be bound in gatherings of six or eight leaves, simply because it made practical sense so to do. There is considerably more work for the binder if the gatherings have few pages.

Finally, the same book can be produced in a variety of formats because of cancelled pages and inserts. A section which has had a single leaf removed and a replacement inserted is no longer described satisfactorily as an octavo section. A book which has three sections in 16s, one in 8s and two more in 4s, whatever the reason, is a book of mixed formats. Were the inserted pages imposed as one section from a single sheet, then cut up and inserted within other sections, so that the whole still has the same pattern of imposition, even if the gatherings are in a different pattern, or were they imposed as separate pieces of paper, one at a time? If the book dates from the period of the hand-press there may well be clues in the direction of chain lines in the paper, the position of watermarks, or even the pattern of running headers, to reveal the method of imposition. If the paper is a featureless book-wove
and the compositor made no errors which were corrected during continuous printing, the method of imposition will not be evidenced by the finished product.

The aim of physical bibliography is that the format specified in the description, and the collation formula employed, should describe the ideal copy aimed at by the printer, irrespective of whether this was achieved or not. The result can be that users of the bibliography check their copy against a description which confirms that it is defective, however complete or well-preserved it seems to be. Against this vision of the perfect book, all actual copies are poor ones. The copy described does not exist anywhere.

Theorists, such as Madan and Bowers, have traditionally proposed that books from the hand-press period and books from the machine age, roughly divided at c. 1800, should have a different standard of description. A full-dress bibliography of largely hand-press books should contain all the paraphernalia of Bowers' standards of analytical bibliography. Because so many books from the machine-press period are of an untraditional or unidentifiable format, it is conventional to be less particular about these books (although the same standard of accuracy in the formula should be employed). The problem manifests itself most when a bibliography covers a large number of books from both periods. Bowers states the principle:

A bibliographer chiefly concerned with the eighteenth century but running somewhat into the nineteenth would certainly be advised to continue his established methods of description. Correspondingly, a bibliographer whose major field was in the nineteenth but whose descriptions began late in the eighteenth century would most conveniently begin with the standards he was applying to the bulk of his material.

If, however, the bibliography contains a large number of books from both periods, or has been deliberately designed to meet the needs of as many users as possible, there remains the challenge of presenting the reader with a uniform standard of description

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284 Falconer Madan (in 'Degressive Bibliography', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 9 (1906–8), 53–65) was apparently the first advocate of different approaches for the different periods of books under study. In his *Oxford Books* he practises different approaches for what he considered the major and the minor publications. Such variation was already out of favour when E. W. Padwick wrote his *Bibliographical Method. An Introductory Survey*, Aspects of Librarianship (London: James Clarke & Co., 1969), 19–20, 197.

285 *Principles*, [355].

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throughout. To impose an arbitrary division at 1800 would produce anomalies on both sides because the improvements in printing which came with the industrial revolution were neither introduced altogether nor necessarily in the same places; many presses would have continued to use hand-pulled methods long after the mechanisation introduced by their colleagues.\textsuperscript{286}

So, format identification and the desire to be consistent in style is going to give the county bibliographer a problem, but the formula and other descriptive details may remain similar throughout the survey without causing too much concern (the degree of detail offered in the Rutland survey already far exceeds that of the majority of 'physical' bibliographies). The only real difficulty is that of format identification in modern books, and the solution is the one which Bowers himself suggested: when the format is not identifiable, it is left out:

Since the format is the basis for all bibliographical investigation of the relation of variation to printing, the writer should make every effort to ascertain the true bibliographical format of the books he treats, and in addition ... any variation from standard imposition practice. If the true format can be ascertained, it is provided at the start of the collation line according to the symbols used for early books, as 4°, 8°, 12°, 16°, and so forth. If the format is not known, it is omitted.\textsuperscript{287}

Bowers suggested simple omission, but for the sake of clarity it might be better to replace the format statement with a simple expression such as 'Book, gathered in 8s', which allows the reader to understand immediately that the item under description is neither a pamphlet nor a leaflet and has sections of 8 leaves (that is, 16 pages).

\textsuperscript{286} Bowers summarises (ibid.) the differences succinctly: 'Three major processes separate the later period from the era of the hand-press: printing from plates, such as stereotype, electrotip, or photolithographic; the use of a power press, either flat bed or rotary; and, finally, setting of type by linotype or monotype. To these may be added the introduction of wove paper in extra-large sizes and in rolls. A "machine-printed" book must be taken as one which was printed using any one or more of the above three processes.' To Bowers' list must now be added the revolution in computer-typesetting, laser printing and photocopying techniques, together with the social revolution which has brought 'desktop publishing' to nearly every writer's household. The compiler of a local bibliography must try to understand the processes of book production from the era of Gutenberg to the present day, because representative samples of virtually every process will be encountered.

\textsuperscript{287} Principles, 429.
Although the formula which follows might repeat this information, no great harm is done by the emphasis. By this method local bibliographers will be able to limit their descriptions to statements which are undeniably true, and which therefore remain useful even when they impinge on specialised areas.

The main book from the hand-press era in the Rutland survey is James Wright's *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (1684). It is one of the earliest of the county surveys and a work of bibliographical complexity. The description offered is presented in Appendix 6.288

### Size

After the statement of format, the description of the book continues with the size. Again, there is a difficulty here because early books were issued in an unshaved state by their publishers (the idea being that the owners would bind the book according to their preferred style) and the issue of the book as a finished unit did not become common, in the English-speaking countries, until the introduction of publisher’s book cloth in the 1820s. Bowers would therefore prefer the measurement of the size of the book to be of an average unshaved leaf (the measure may in fact bear little relation to any particular leaf), but after the standardisation of the entire issue of the book in one binding, it does seem more appropriate to measure the entire proportions of the book, treating the artefact as a whole rather than simply the pages. Bowers would not have accepted this idea because there are repeated references in *Principles* to the irrelevance of the binding in bibliographical work. In the case of early books he was certainly correct, but in the case of later books the pages have already been shaved to a standard size by the binder and there is no possibility of recovering their original measurements without access to detailed records made by the printers, 289 which is somewhat unlikely. It is proposed, therefore, that books

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288 Basic methods for the identification of the format of hand-press books appear throughout *Principles* by Bowers, but are more readily accessible in Philip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 84–107. Padwick, in *Bibliographical Method*, also offers a review of them, and other aspects relevant to this chapter, *passim*.

289 Not the publisher as one might expect, because the publisher might have specified a certain size, the printer then using whatever paper happened to be in stock, even if this meant shaving a great deal off the edge, it being cheaper for him to use up old
existing in a publisher's binding should bear the measurements of the book as a whole. In the case of older works, attempts should be made to locate copies in an unshaved state but if this is impossible the measurements should be an approximation made from examination of several copies. This difference from the normal procedure should always be acknowledged. The difference is less real than apparent, for by measuring the binding of the modern book the bibliographer is approximating the measure of the original leaf before shaving.

The measurement is of the height first (from top to bottom), followed by the width (from spine to outer edge). If the spine has a considerable curve to it, it will add to the measurement of the book's width.

It is best to use millimetres. Although the imperial units might have been in use when the book was made, millimetres have an advantage in that they are now more universally used and because they are more accurate. The accuracy lies not just in their greater number of smaller units but in the ways in which the information can be presented: it is clearer and easier to write '222 x 144 mm' than it is to state '8 3/4 x 5 11/16 inches', given that modern software systems do not contain the necessary fractions.

Another complexity, of course, is the extent to which measurements may differ slightly from one copy to another, and there is even the problem of measures on rules and tapes often being different, resulting in slightly different measures when the book is large, and two different rulers or tapes are used on different occasions. This is a problem which could only be solved by the consistent use of one measuring implement throughout the survey, made of a material which does not expand or contract according to temperature. Such a demand is unlikely to be practical and however consistent the bibliographers are, their measurements will probably clash with those of their readers.

The Formula
After the statement of size comes the collational formula. There is certainly insufficient space here to describe fully the system which Bowers outlined in *Principles*, though a great deal of his book was taken up with the discussion of rarely-encountered problems. The essential formula is simple. The formula takes the stock rather than ordering fresh supplies.
signatures used in the book itself. The signature is the symbol placed at the bottom-right-hand corner (usually) of the first few leaves of a section, used to guide the binder in assembling the book correctly. The formula reproduces the symbols used in the book, so if numbers are used these are in the formula, if letters, these are used, distinguishing between lower and upper case as the book does. The alphabet is traditionally the 23-letter system which lacks j, u (or v) and w. If these letters are used in the book, this should be acknowledged. Similar sections are combined in a single hyphenated sequence, but any variation must be presented separately. The statement of the section is followed by a superscript number indicating the number of leaves in each.

A Victorian book such as *Personal and Professional Recollections by the Late Sir George Gilbert Scott* (London: Sampson Low etc., 1879) is gathered in 8-leaf sections labelled A, B etc. The preliminary section is succeeded by an awkward insert of two extra leaves, signed 'a', to take the number of preliminary pages to xx (20). After page 352, with the exhaustion of the 23-letter alphabet, a different sequence of sections labelled Aa (Bb etc) begins, and the final section (Ff) contains only two leaves (four pages). This book therefore collates:

\[ A^8 a^2 B-Z^8 Aa-Ee^8 Ff^2. \]

The pagination (xx + 436 [=456] pages) correlates with this exactly, in that there are 28 sections of 16 pages (= 448) and 2 of 4 (=8). The majority of books encountered will be as simple as this, and the formula can be mastered with little practice. It must be stressed that although the dimensions and gatherings of the book strongly suggest that it has been printed in a traditional octavo imposition, this cannot be confirmed without the strenuous examination of multiple copies (hoping that some minute variants will present themselves, and that these will allow for an interpretation leading to format) or access to printer's records. The work was produced in the machine-press period and the paper is a featureless bookwove. The formula, however, represents the physical properties of the finished product, not how it was put together.

Sections which lack a signature and where the signing cannot be inferred from the sequence in the rest of the book can be signed with the Greek letter \( \pi \) (\pi). If the printer employed a symbol in one place rather than a letter (such as an asterisk [\*]), this should be repeated in the formula. Only sections of identical specifications
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should be linked by a hyphen. Inserts or cancels can be marked with a plus or minus sign, the formula A⁴ (A4 + A5) meaning that there are 4 leaves in the section, but the last leaf has an extra leaf attached (tipped-in) which is labelled A5. If the fourth leaf had instead been deleted it would be represented 'A4 (-A4)'. More difficult to identify are locations where a leaf has been deleted and substituted by a correction (a cancellans replacing a cancellandum). If detected this can be represented by the use of both symbols: 'A4 (±A4)'. Detection, however, will only be possible if some clue has been left, such as a paper detail (chain lines or watermark) or a typographic clue (the running header perhaps), or if the book is sufficiently loosely bound to allow for the conjugations to be examined. Sometimes the detection of a deleted leaf from one section, where a blank page would have been the only option to the printer, might alert the bibliographer to examine carefully for a substituted leaf elsewhere. That is, if the printer took the trouble to remove a blank page, he probably must have needed to use it for some purpose elsewhere in the book.²⁹⁰ Errors made by the printer in the signature sequence should be acknowledged in the formula or in a note.

When the book has no signatures at all (and this will be common for modern titles), they can be invented but the symbols placed within square brackets, e.g. [a]-[e]⁸ [f]⁴.

A useful measure with which to finish the formula is a summary addition of the total number of leaves. Care should be taken to ensure that this correlates exactly with the number in the formula itself. The addition and formula should only be of leaves which are part of the same process of printing. Inserts such as advertisements or plates must be listed separately. The Gilbert Scott book described above, for example, has a tipped-in photographic plate, complete with tissue-guard, which has been added to the book in the binding or sewing stage, and a pamphlet of publisher's advertisements.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Blank leaves are common occurrences, but it is almost as common for binders to remove them. An early book examined in variant copies by the present author for a new edition has this feature: some copies have the blanks, others do not: Robert Powell, The Life of Alfred or Aelred... (London, 1634). See 'Bibliographical Note' in the new edition (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1996), pp. xvi–xvii.

²⁹¹ The work is now the subject of a modern facsimile, edited by Gavin Stamp with substantial new material and an index (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995). The
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Pagination

The pagination statement can be just as complicated as the formula, if not more so, for printers often include pages with no pagination or make errors in the sequence of numbers. Sometimes a commercially-available reprint of an essay originally published elsewhere might preserve the original page numbers, now out of context. Theoretical numbers should be allocated to pages which exist but which are out of sequence. These can be in roman numerals or in italicised arabic figures and should be within square brackets. Also within square brackets are pages where the number is known from context but is not present on the printed page.

The physical makeup of the book has been described in the formula. The purpose of stating the pagination is to allow a double-check against this, or for the use of those unfamiliar with formulae. The Gilbert Scott book described above has the following pagination:

[i]–xx, [1]–436 + plate + bound-in 32-page section of advertisements.

Although some of these pages are unnumbered, it is not necessary to specify every page which has no number. If the sequence is a simple numerical one with no errors, collation can be performed from a statement of the start and finish of the sequence. Bowers has a completely different opinion here. He would prefer (Principles, p. 436) either a full statement of numbers present and missing, or a simplified formula stating all numbers whether actually present or not. For example:

[i–iv] v–x, [1] 2–358 or
i–x, 1–358, but not
[i]–x, [1]–358.

No real justification is given for this, however. It seems that the first case is unnecessarily detailed, and in many books would lead to an excessively long statement; and the second is inaccurate. The third, while summarised, does at least tell the truth. The page numbers which are cited are described as they appear in the book.

Unnumbered pages, if not out of place with the numbered, may be included in the pagination statement without comment unless the statement begins with them, in which case they should appear within square brackets (as above). If a publisher's advertisements section is omitted from the facsimile, it being properly part of the binding rather than the book's leaves.
sequence both begins and ends without a number, but is numbered within the sequence, the following style is appropriate:

[i]–[xx].

If a whole sequence is unnumbered it can be distinguished from the above by the following style:

[i]–xx, [i]–xx, [1]–96, [i]–ii.

It seems more accurate to assume that unnumbered pages at the end of the book are not a continuance of the numeration of the previous pages but a separate leaf or leaves. A blank page on the verso of a numbered page, however, should be labelled within square brackets as the number which would have followed (as in the next example, below).

If unnumbered pages interrupt a sequence, the following style can be used:

[1]–32, [i]–iv, 33–96

It is better to state the sequence rather than the simple total or the reader may be misled into assuming that the inferred numbering is in fact a single leaf with a strange numeration: [i]–iv is clearly four unnumbered pages, whereas ‘[1]–32, [iv], 33–[96]’ might suggest there was an unusual single page labelled ‘iv’, and the arabic numbers continued correctly on the verso of it. Sometimes there is a single-page interruption to the sequence. This should be stated thus:

[1]–8, [i], 9–12, [i], 13–14

which describes a 16-page pamphlet with an interruption in the numeration but no physical disruption of the gathering. It might occur, for example, if an inexperienced publisher did not plan the position of pictures when he or she finalised the text. When it was taken to print, the publisher was asked if he or she wanted a blank leaf at the end, but at the last minute it was decided to include two pictures to take up the space. Such incoherence is frequently encountered in local publications.

If unusual numbering occurs, this should be reproduced with some comment. Often the use of sic will suffice. Some modern books, for example, might label page 1 as the front inner cover, despite the fact that it is on card rather than paper. The pagination is that of the pages not the binding, so the following style can be
employed: '2–41 [sic]', where 1 and 42 appear on the inner covers, and 43 even on the back cover. If this sort of thing happens in a publication which is 'self-wrapped', however, it would be better to assume that it has no binding, in which case it might be stated: '[i], 1–43'.

Some books put their page numbers within brackets. These should not be reproduced in the statement because it will suggest that the original pages are unnumbered.

A perfect-bound book with no pagination presents a considerable problem to the bibliographer. Unfortunately a large one was encountered in the Rutland survey. It is: [North], Rutland, Leicestershire and Some Neighbouring Records, Historical, Biographical and Pictorial (London: Allan North, n.d., c.1880), and consists of 366 leaves, all unnumbered and unsigned, printed on the recto only, and with almost as many photographic plates inserted irregularly throughout. It was decided to describe this with the statement:

Perfect bound book (274 x 210 mm); 366 unnumbered leaves + plates, all printed recto only.

In both the formula and the pagination statements, every page must be recorded.

Contents

After the collation details the description proceeds with the analysis of the work's contents. These are listed from the first page, with page numbers at each location. The contents note in the bibliography is not the same as that in the book, but a statement of how the book is arranged from a bibliographical perspective. Certain parts of the structure of the book are isolated and listed, but not the chapter headings if the text is continuous. Like the pagination note, the purpose is not to provide a study of the academic contents of the text of the book, but to provide a ready means of checking that the work is complete. The contents note, while not a collation in itself, could be described as another collation exercise. Textual matters which are worth separate mention as articles, such as essays by different writers or sections on slightly different subjects, will be listed in Part One of the survey in short-title form. In the contents list in Part Two the text of the work is usually subsumed under the heading TEXT.
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It was decided, in defiance of Bowers, to give the page reference after the entry rather than before. This made for a neater presentation (less punctuation was required) and seemed to make more sense because it followed the arrangement of a normal contents page.

Where the book has a simple structure, the contents note is usually small but in many works, especially those of a more amateur production, there is no clear boundary where the text begins and ends: the Spiegl Press books on Rutland are notorious for the chaotic jumble of their contents. These works inevitably require a more extensive description. Appendices are also listed separately to 'text'.

The Gilbert Scott book mentioned above has the following contents statement on this style:

[Frontispiece]; tp [i]; Preface [iii]–iv; Contents [v]–vii; blank [viii]; Introduction [ix]–xx; TEXT [1]–376; Appendices [377]–436; [32-page pamphlet of publisher's advertisements].

The verso of the title is not mentioned because it has already been described after the transcription of the title. Only the beginning and end of sections are listed. Items which are not part of the structure of the book, such as the plate and the advertisements, are listed where they are encountered, but the collation, pagination and contents statements will make clear that these are extraneous items by the use of square brackets. The purpose of including them is that the user of the bibliography, collating a book before him from the description, is likely to become confused if he encounters an insert which is not mentioned.

The items are separated by semi-colons.

Plates are given a separate listing but where they are encountered between the items listed in sequence they should be mentioned, in the following style:

Tp [i]; [plate]; Preface [iii]–iv; [map]; etc.

After the contents follows a description of any material not already listed in the contents, such as tipped-in plates or folded maps and their location. Because this detailed list follows the main contents, it is not necessary to list the location of every insert in the main contents, but only those which are encountered between items in the list.

Bowers would prefer an item such as a pamphlet of advertisements to be listed as part of the binding. It would undoubtedly have been inserted at the binding
stage, but as it appears within the boards the user of the bibliography is more likely
to expect to find it under the contents list. Variations in the catalogue, of course,
must be watched for, because a different catalogue is a record of a different moment
when sheets were bound for sale.

The final part of the contents is to cite the imprint if this has not appeared in
the conventional place on the back of the title-page. Bowers states (Principles, 439)
that ‘Ordinarily there is little to interest anybody in quoting the present-day
standardized copyright notice complete.’ The present writer feels that the imprint
notice is only of secondary importance to the title-page. If it appears on the verso of
the title, it is transcribed in full at that point. If it lies in an unusual position, it is
given after the Contents statement, in its own paragraph. The only gesture which
should be made to economies of space is the omission of quotations or extraneous
material which should not be present on the imprint page, such as a dedication.
These appear as ‘All rights reserved [etc., publisher’s conditions on 6 lines]’ or
‘CONTENTS [follow on six lines]’ or ‘DEDICATION [follows on three lines]’. The
only alternative to transcribing the imprint page would be to list the details as
separate items, for example mentioning the printer under the heading ‘PRINTER:’
and the publisher under the heading ‘PUBLISHER:’. It seems more appropriate to
let the book speak for itself. It seems unusual that Bowers advocated the editing of
the imprint details, but insisted on a full listing of every page which does not contain
a page number. To quote the master himself: ‘Many facts of interest for the
publishing history, as well as many variant settings, are too often passed over in the
cause of brevity’ (ibid.).

For the majority of books only the binding remains to be described, but some
have unusual details such as coloured edges (e.g. Kelly’s Directories, which even
have text on the edges) or an unusual type of paper for the pages (e.g., Matthews’ The
Book of Rutland). This rare detail is the last type of description offered.

Although the analysis of the paper and typography of books has an undeniable
place in bibliography (without it Pollard and Carter would never have detected the
Wise forgeries), it is not necessary at a local level to record this detail. The vast
majority of the books will be unique, single-printings, which would never attract the
attentions of a master forger because of their relatively low commercial value, or, if
valuable, their small market. In the unlikely event of a forgery being known, of
course, the bibliographer must record the information necessary to identify it. 292

**Binding**

After the contents of the book is a description of the work’s binding, but only if it is a commercial binding issued by the original printer. Books only began to be issued in cloth bindings when a sturdy book cloth was invented in about 1820. Before then the practice was to issue books within paper wrappers or within boards covered in a paper wrapper. The vast majority of these early ‘trade’ bindings have disappeared, and it is even common to find the early cloth bindings replaced by the owner’s preferred leather style, but some survive. One local library had a copy of Blore’s *Rutland* (1808) in its rare original paper-covered-boards binding until the librarians ordered it to be rebound, recently. Even scarcer is the single example seen of Wright’s *Rutland* (1684) in what appears to be an early paper-covered boards binding. In the case of Blore it is undoubtedly the printer’s issue because the paper is printed on with the title, but the Wright example may simply have been the result of an early owner’s attempt to cut costs.

The description proceeds from the upper board to the spine and then to the lower board. Other parts of the binding are then described: the end-papers (upper first) and the head-bands if present.

The description begins with a brief statement of the material and colour of the binding. The description should include the type of cloth grain. There is a convenient illustrated list of these in Gaskell’s *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (pp. 241–[244]). 293 It is not possible to follow Gaskell, however, in the colour specification.

292 There were a few cases of ‘forgery’ discovered in the Rutland survey. These are confined to the production of facsimile or fictitious title-pages for defective copies of books. In effect, they are photocopies printed on old paper. The ‘facsimile’ is always apparent, not only is the paper different, but the type is nearly always a flat photographic stain, in marked contrast to the neighbouring dark letterpress with its palpably physical presence to the touch. An attractive conceit has been to create fictitious title-pages for the Rutland section of a book such as Camden’s *Britannica*, disbound and sold as a local publication. Only the most naive bibliographer would be taken in by this detail, and the page was almost certainly made only for the purpose of making the product attractive rather than for a more sinister attempt to deceive.

He recommended following the United States National Bureau of Standards' ISCC Method of Designating Colors (NBS Circular 553) and its Associated Centroid Color Charts (Standard sample no. 2106) because the publication is virtually unobtainable and would need to be kept by the bibliographer by his or her side throughout the period of the survey. Earlier, Jacob Blanck had explored the possibilities of accurate measurements of colour for the bibliography of nineteenth-century American books, and also resorted to simple impressionistic descriptions. Even the Spectrophotometer proved an unreliable measure. The best that can be achieved realistically is an impressionistic description with expressions such as ‘greenish blue’, ‘bottle green’ or ‘jet black’, which might hide an almost infinite range of subtle shades. Variant bindings, of course, are to be recorded, and sometimes the difference in the shade of colour is the only clue to a different stage of binding up. Two copies will be needed to be placed side by side for identification of the difference, but without extraordinary resources, which would cost more than the value of the information gathered, an exact specification of colour is not possible.

The boards might well contain decoration or a title on the upper. This should be mentioned. The spine is likely to contain the title, author and publisher. This should be transcribed in quasi-facsimile, taking care to specify whether the lettering lies across the spine (left-to-right when the book stands on the shelf) or along the spine from the top to the bottom. ‘Across’ and ‘along’ are the easily-understood, obvious words to use in the description. The binding of the Gilbert Scott book is described as follows:

Dark green diaper grain cloth. On upper a pattern of frames with decorative squares within their corners, in dark green. On lower the same in blind. Across the spine in gold: [double rule, lower thicker] | [dark green rule immediately below the latter] | PERSONAL | AND | PROFESSIONAL | RECOLLECTIONS | BY | SIR GILBERT I SCOTT | [dark green rule] | [dark green decorative square] | [dark green rule] | [decorative square] | [dark green rule] | [thick gold rule] | SAMPSON LOW * C° | [gold rule].

294 Jacob Blanck, ‘A Calendar of Bibliographical Difficulties’, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 49 (1955), 1–18 (pp. 4–6).
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Although this particular binding looks simple to the viewer, the complexity of the spine necessitates a long description. Where the binding contains more details, however, the description can be much longer.

Some modern books are very unconventional in their appearance and their description is often a challenge. Sometimes it can be difficult to separate the binding from the sheets, because the text either begins on the binding or the book is a ‘self-bound’ pamphlet. A decision must be made. In the case of pamphlets it should also be specified whether the work is sewn (‘stitched’) or stapled (‘wire-stitched’). It can be assumed that books are sewn, but if a different process is seen this should be reported. The Gilbert Scott book, for example, is gathered in sections but these are stapled rather than sewn. Mention should also be made of staples which are placed in the ‘stabbed’ (vertical) position rather than through the spines of the sections.

End-papers

The end-papers are examined after the binding. In the majority of cases these will be unprinted and can be easily listed. Many Victorian books used papers coated in colour on one side only, or with a decorative design. These should be described and the comment added ‘with white reverse’ if relevant. If text appears it should be summarised.

A few books use part of the sheets as an end-paper. Some of the Spieg! Press publications do this but it has also been observed in some Victorian Rutland titles. The paste-down is conjugate with one of the pages in the first or last sections. This should be clearly specified when it occurs. Some books also have more than one fly-leaf, and care should be taken to ensure that this is not described as part of the book’s contents.

Head-bands

Head-bands are traditionally the gathered ends of the book’s stitching, appearing at the top and base behind the spine. They are often composed of alternating colours. In modern books, however, the head-band is usually a piece of decoration glued into place. Although it is part of the binding it has no structural purpose. It should be described, however, and the different colours noted.
Dustwrappers

The dustwrapper is also described, as a separate part of the book. It has long been the case amongst collectors that the dustwrapper is considered to be part of the book, and the present writer certainly prefers to regard the book as a total entity. Some bibliographers, however, refer to its original use as a temporary protection against dust, which may have contained an advertisement for the book or other publications, or may even have been unprinted. Often the wrapper has an ambiguous or unproven association with the book. A great number of the larger libraries, including most of the university libraries, immediately throw the wrapper away after accession. The wrapper, however, may well contain information not present in the rest of the book, such as the price, a lively synopsis of the contents, details of other books in the series, and profiles of the author, editor or illustrator. Often they offer an alternative version of the book's title, although the title-page must be considered the final word on the title as it is a formal statement of it.\(^{296}\) It is undoubtedly part of the original issue of the book by the publisher and a book without its dustwrapper must be considered incomplete.\(^{297}\)

The description of the dustwrapper proceeds from the upper wrapper to the spine and then the lower wrapper, followed by the upper inner fold (or front inner)

\(^{296}\) A modern book with a binding and title-page contradiction is Joe Taylor and Charles Cook's *20 Varied Rambles in Rutland, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire* (Cheltenham: Thornhill Press, 1987). On the cover it is called *English Shire Walks*.

\(^{297}\) Arundell Esdaile advised in *A Student's Manual of Bibliography*, ed. Roy Stokes (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 103, that 'end-papers and dust-jackets are not truly parts of the book ... and they can, without undue difficulty, be easily and permanently separated from the book. It is important that, in neither instance, should they contain any matter of importance which is not contained in the book itself. Dust-jackets ... are purely advertising media and should be treated as such.' Nevertheless, even in Esdaile's day, the dustwrapper frequently contained material not in the book itself. By throwing it away he was destroying part of the book which had been donated to the national library by its publisher, just as if he had torn out a tipped-in plate. A librarian who saves dustwrappers is Nicholas Rogers, keeper of the muniment room at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. He stores them in archive boxes, classified in the same way as the books. The entire collection only takes up half a shelf. Nicholas Rogers made the intriguing suggestion to this author that the dustwrapper might owe its origins to the railway: reading material needed to be made both eye-catching and available for immediate use for the station bookstall.
and the lower inner fold (or rear inner). The headings and titles on the wrapper should be transcribed in full. Items such as 'synopsis of the contents' may be summarised. Contrast to the appearance of the book's binding might allow for brevity (i.e., 'spine as on book but in white on blue'), but in practice it was found that the dustwrapper was the most difficult item to describe and brevity was often difficult to achieve. The designs are often informal or cluttered with many details. There are sophisticated uses of colour, and because of the inner folds, there is a lot of detail to cover. Many users of the bibliography, however, will find the entry on the wrapper the most informative. If their copy of the book lacks one, the information could well be a revelation to them. If no dustwrapper has been discovered, but the bibliographer feels that the original must have had one, this should be acknowledged. If the only dustwrapper known is an unprinted piece of cellophane or of 'grease-proof' paper, this should also be stated.\textsuperscript{298}

\textit{Slip-cases}

Some books will also be issued by their publisher in a slip-case. If discovered, this should be described and any variants noted. Several examples were found, such as J. S. Finch's \textit{Game in Season} (Uppingham: the author, 1984) and Rigby Graham's \textit{Leicestershire} (Leicester: Gadsby Gallery, 1980). Some slip-cases might be as difficult to describe as dustwrappers.\textsuperscript{299}

\textsuperscript{298} An account of the history of the dustwrapper is G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Book-Jackets, Blurbs, and Bibliographers', \textit{The Library}, 5th series, 26 (1971), [91]-116 and appendix. The earliest known example is 1832 but they are exceedingly rare before 1875. The author very much preferred the expression book-jacket. Although this is more accurate, the expression dustwrapper seems to have become more popular. The earliest printed Rutland dustwrapper encountered is that on William Seeds Patterson's \textit{Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket} (London: Longmans, 1909).

\textsuperscript{299} A recent Lincolnshire book offers the bibliographer something of a problem in that every copy of its slip-case is different. It is Tyrone Dalby's \textit{A Boston Boyhood} (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993), the special edition of which has a slip-case bound in pieces of denim taken from old jeans (much of the book is about 1960s fashions). For this example a form of words must be found which accommodates the wide variety in colour, texture, brands and parts of the jeans used in the 125 copies thus issued.
Notes

The final part of the account of each work is a note or commentary followed by a reference to where the examined copies were found. The note may include some incidental information on the book's history, such as its scarcity rating or news of how well or otherwise it sold on publication, or details of important reviews, or an explanation for anything unusual in the description, or a comment on its merits or defects as a piece of book design. Where several editions or variants of a work have been isolated, the note might be the only location where a full explanation can be offered. Incidental information taken from advertisements or prospectuses may be included here.

With the exception of any attempt to identify the printing format of early books (and the inevitable absence of publisher's binding to describe) the same standard of description is followed throughout, so no attempt should be made to suggest that a modern work, like Pevsner's 'Buildings of England' series volume for the county, is somehow less worthy of a full description or less important than Wright's Rutland of 1684.

The list of examined copies should be in abbreviated form, ensuring that each abbreviation used appears in a list. If the occasional copy used is defective in some way, it is helpful to state this, to minimise the wasted travel time of the bibliography's user. For example 'SL (rebound)' means that Stamford Library has a copy, but it has been rebound in a library binding.

A final problem needs to be considered, which is that of deciding the priority of texts when variant forms are discovered. This is the challenge of defining edition, impression, issue and state so that variants may be placed in their correct order and their significance clearly understood.
8. EDITION, IMPRESSION, ISSUE and STATE

Because the present writer prefers to regard each different book as a totality, variants must be listed as separate items after the main description. Reprints and new editions must also be listed separately. An essential requirement for this procedure, however, is the identification of which version of the book has primary status.

The production of a book is not a single event but a sequence of many. Moreover, the procedures can be very different in different ages of printing history, but modern production is also a sequence of events which may be disrupted. Although it is not known from the finished product, even the first impression of a modern book might be an anthology of different printings as defective paper or errors that were too embarrassing to ignore were detected in the running sheets.

Bowers, after an extensive discussion, offers definitions of edition, impression, issue and state. The problem is that of variants within a piece of continuous printing. To what extent does a tiny variation such as a spelling mistake corrected in most copies justify the separation of the two versions as different impressions? The problem of issue depends on the history of the sheets after printing: not all are bound at once. Another question is whether one version has priority when a work is simultaneously printed in different locations and theoretically released on the same day? Does failure to meet the official publication date mean that copies 'issued' afterwards should be separately categorised?

In the case of books from the period of the hand-press, few would argue with the master's decisions:

An EDITION is the whole number of copies of a book printed at any time or times from substantially the same setting of type-pages. Edition thus includes all issues and variant states existing within its basic type-setting, as well as all impressions. (Principles, p. 39, his italics).

An ISSUE is the whole number of copies of a form of an edition put on sale at any time or times as a consciously planned printed unit and varying only in relation to the form of an 'ideal copy' of this unit. (Principles, p. 40).
To justify categorisation as a re-issue, the sheets must have been given a different title-page to record their different publishing effort. And finally:

*In its narrowest sense STATE is synonymous with VARIANT, and can be applied to any part of a book exhibiting variation in type-setting, including the addition or deletion of material in some copies, caused by alterations executed in the course of the original printing before public sale. In its broadest sense STATE covers all alterations in a book, even those made after sale has begun, where no change is made to the original title-page by cancellation... (Principles, pp. 41-2.)*

The copies of Wright’s *Rutland* with the spelling mistake on the dedication page are therefore representatives of a state or variant of the first impression of the first edition, and are simultaneously all the same issue. The only reprint of Wright has taken place in modern times. Because this is a facsimile, it could be described as a new issue (it has a new title-page) or a sub-edition of the first. In the case of older works which were only printed once, edition, impression and issue will be synonymous, but there may be variants within that issue. The only difficulty with the divisions is when so much has been corrected within an edition that one feels uncomfortable in regarding all versions as the same edition, but unless there is a different title-page or the whole book has been re-set, the border of a different edition or impression is not crossed.

In the case of modern books, however, there are more difficulties in applying the same words defined in the same way. Bowers accepted a looser definition of issue, to include major alterations to the sheets by way of a conscious publishing effort, but not necessarily of the title-page. The binding he considered irrelevant to the definition of issue (*Principles*, p. 407). State is defined in a similar way, and refers to minor variants that can occur within an impression, arising from alterations of any kind to the sheets (*ibid.*). Impression again refers to the single printing effort from standing type (now including stereotype plates, photographic plates or monotype rolls). Edition includes all copies made from that type, at whatever time they are printed and in however many impressions.

There seems no reason to dispute Bowers’ definitions except in the case of issue. Because Bowers rejected the binding as irrelevant, he denied the classification as different issues of a book that was simultaneously offered on sale by the publisher.

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300 There was a project to publish a new edition of Wright by W. Harrod, a Stamford publisher in 1788–9. Only two parts appeared.
in different bindings or different paper. Even for Rutland this practice was encountered many times.

An example of a kind not discussed by Bowers will serve the point. In 1912 Cambridge University Press published the Rutland volume of its 'County Geographies' series. A few years later (the date is not known) surviving sheets of the book were bound in a limp cloth case, heavily shaved at the margins to reduce the size of the book substantially, and put on sale as a 'pocket edition'. The printed sheets are the same, not even the title-page having been reset, but the size of the book, its external appearance and its publishing history are different. In fact two variant bindings of this 'pocket edition' were made before the publisher went on to have the work reset and reprinted in the genuine second edition of 1922, which was also in pocket format. It does not seem justified to deny the classification of this variant as an issue because it was definitely issued (this is what the word means) to the public in a very different way to the first publishing effort. On Bowers' strict definition it could not even be classed as a variant or a state because the sheets remained the same.

It was argued by James Meriwether and Joseph Katz in 1972 that 'issue' should be redefined to reflect the publishing rather than the printing history of the book. This is more satisfactory. Instead of the classification Edition > Impression > Issue > State, in which each of the former words subsumes those which follow, the classification gives issue to the publishing history and state to the printing. Each book has two histories for the bibliographer to study:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Printing history} & \text{Publishing history} \\
\text{Edition} & \text{Edition} \\
\downarrow & \downarrow \\
\text{Impression} & \text{Impression} \\
\downarrow & \downarrow \\
\text{State} & \text{Issue}
\end{array}
\]

The decision, then, must be made for each book that exists in two or more versions, as to which is primary, and how the other versions are to be classed. In most cases it will be simple because the book itself will acknowledge the facts. In others

some criticism will have to be applied to the evidence and a decision made. Sometimes the presence of errors, corrected in one copy, will suggest that the copy with the errors is first (but not if the work has been reset, as the errors could then be secondary). By and large the version which has the better, improved text is likely to be secondary. But that with the better binding is more likely to have been the first. It might be necessary to place two copies side by side and compare every page to locate changes.

Establishment of the date of publication can be a problem. Books are often reviewed in the press long after publication. Because much local publishing is conducted in an amateur way, the most accurate date might be that of the delivery note from the printer, but it is rare that the bibliographer will have access to that evidence. Sometimes it can be difficult enough to establish the decade let alone the year. The problem only becomes crucial when either a different version of the book exists or the work is part of a series and the sequence of editions needs to be specified. Town guides, for example, rarely specify their date of publication because the publishers liked to create the impression that they were always up to date; in this case the date must be estimated from internal evidence such as population figures or rateable value, or external evidence such as a library accession date recorded in a catalogue.

When a decision is made the first edition is listed first and the others follow. In some cases a variant or state which is a minor detail may be separated from the main discussion and placed under the heading ‘[book’s name]: Variant’, rather than given a completely separate listing. In general the hardback edition will precede the paperback, even if they are known to have been issued (on the new definition) simultaneously. An example of this occurrence is the Pevsner volume on Leicestershire and Rutland. The first edition (1960) exists in both hardback and paperback issues. There is no textual difference to them because the same sheets were bound in different ways.

A limited edition or rarefied version should be given primary status, unless it is known to have been an afterthought. This is not necessarily intended as a gesture of respect to collectors, but because it was clearly the publisher’s intention for this version to be regarded as primary. Only if the paperback is known to have been first should it be listed first. Because these different versions follow the main description,
it is possible to be brief, by stating simply the criteria for identification of the variant. If the work has been re-set, however, another full description should be given. The listing of differences alone can be resorted to if the two editions are very similar.

The problems which Bowers encountered in his discussion on the absurdity of the first edition fetishism are illustrations of the complexity of the problem, especially in the case of twentieth-century popular literature, which requires fast printing, often by different printers, and a sophisticated distribution system allowing for simultaneous release on publication day throughout the market area. These worries are unlikely to be encountered at a local level, however, where the market for the books is small and in a confined area.

Let every book be accurately described as a totality and let the sequence of the presentation of different versions be as they happened.

The purpose of such detailed work has already been reviewed, in the first chapter of this thesis, but it is appropriate to close this discussion of description and sequence with a brief restatement of its philosophy.

Full description of the artefact allows for a particular sample to be checked against the description to establish the extent of its completeness, and many users of the bibliography will need this information because they are librarians, booksellers or collectors, all of them being curators of artefacts. To these categories of users, a collation of the book is a practical requirement.

A second purpose is also served by this amount of detail: it allows for a means of defining the text of the book, because that text only exists in the physical formats recorded by the description. Different editions, certainly, and all minor variants, arguably, have different versions of the text, and even where a publishing variant does not change the text, it is important to be able to confirm this common identity, having first been informed that the variant exists. Only by reference to preserved samples of different recensions of texts can identity or difference be confirmed. Physical bibliography therefore honours the taxonomy of each individual text, as opposed to the taxonomy of relations between different texts. Bibliography is a
science which analyses and describes a physical reality, rather than one which evaluates the quality of that reality according to metaphysical, non-tangible values.

Some of the critics of the descriptive ideals have been mentioned (above, pp. 11, note 11; p. 61 and p. 64, note 126). Another of these critics is David Foxon, author of the bibliography of English verse.\(^{302}\) He adopted for this work a summary style: longer titles are abbreviated, no variants are isolated and the physical-bibliographical details are reduced to a minimum. This has been cited as an example of a preferred approach, but Foxon admits in the introduction to that work ‘Titles are abbreviated more than I would now wish...’ (p. xvi). The final product fails to deliver one of its most important bibliographical functions because of this brevity: different recensions of the texts so catalogued are not identifiable. Rather than being cited as an ideal of description, the work should instead be classed as an excellent product of short-title bibliography.\(^{303}\)

The full description of a book is iconic: the text is its focus in exactly the same way that a religious icon attempts to express or define something which is abstract. Iconography as a subject does not explore the theology of Marian devotion (for example), but explores the ways that perception is expressed, exposing its characteristics in ways which can rarely be perceived by the individual devotee.

The analogy with the icon is particularly pertinent to the book and its text. The most elusive, incoherent or lunatic idea can be recorded in a text which is then produced as an artefact. The mere act of production transmutes the elusive into something tangible: the abstract idea can be catalogued, contrasted with other texts, archived and even bought and sold, such is the advantage of the package offered by the printed medium. Electronic bibliography carries the same characteristic.


\(^{303}\) The idea of shortened entries is also developed in Foxon’s *Thoughts on the History and Future of Bibliographical Description* (Los Angeles: School of Library Services, 1970): ‘a plea for a form of bibliography which lies between the descriptive and the enumerative as they are at present conceived’ (p. 8). *English Verse* achieves this aim, but by the time it was completed (and also towards the end of *Thoughts*) the author seems to have lost faith that the entries contained the appropriate amount of detail. *Thoughts* also contains a useful short review of the origins of the quasi-facsimile method.
Electronic information becomes an object after creative expression: it can be stored, moved and sold in similar ways to printed information. Moreover, in the right context both forms of information can effect physical changes far greater than their tangible format would allow in isolation. 304 All sophisticated human disciplines are dependent on the science of bibliography for their ideas to be organised and disseminated; and a bibliography is not just a useful research tool but a conceptual analysis of a subject’s totality: its range, depth and diversity.

The short-title approach is in no way inferior to the physical, indeed it offers much information that the latter does not offer, such as the recording of the existence of bibliographical units smaller than separate publications and their location in the discipline as a whole. It is simply that both forms of analysis need to be offered for the sake of completeness. If bibliography is allowed to display its full potential, a greater proportion of the needs of the users will be met.

The developments in information technology in the last fifteen years are not really a concern of this thesis per se, but theorists now talk of ‘information rich’ and ‘information poor’ societies, or groups within societies. A recent overview is John Feather’s The Information Society: A Study of Continuity and Change (London: Library Association, 1994). Some of the experiences encountered with reserved access to electronic sources of information is relevant in this context.
9. THE LESSONS OF THE RUTLAND PROJECT

The Range of Publications and a Statistical Breakdown

A glance at the contents list of the bibliography reveals that there is a considerable amount of literature on Rutland and that it is broad-ranging. One could be forgiven for thinking that all the subjects which could be written about have already been covered.

Gaps in the literature do appear, however. Whereas there is a considerable literature on the birds of Rutland, other life forms are not so well surveyed, and for some families of fauna only the articles in the 1908 first volume of the VCH appear to have been written. Nevertheless, some articles have appeared on even obscure life-forms. Rutland Water especially has attracted scientific writings on life-forms such as *Asellus*, a crustacean, and *Diplostomum spathaceum*, a platyhelminth eyefluke (both in *Rutland Water – Decade of Change*).

A subject as sophisticated as onomastics has been well served in Rutland, but there exists no survey of the street names of the county, and this is an important and interesting area of local studies, offering an ideal research project. The recent volume of the English Place-Name Society provides an extensive review of the main names and even attempts to catalogue all the field names in the county, but only examines a small number of the street names, and only of Oakham and Uppingham.305 There have been many studies of specific surnames but no general study of their distribution or identification of the 'authentically Rutland' family names.306 The majority of references to surnames is of genealogical or biographical works rather than onomastic. Nevertheless, there are currently 80 general and 772 specific references in the family history section, which compares well with the 1055 catalogued in *A Suffolk Bibliography*, given that Suffolk is ten times the size of Rutland.


306 Cox does study the presence of personal names within the place-names.
The more ancient period of history has been well surveyed, but the Tudor to modern periods are not so well served. There are 55 references for Anglo-Saxon Rutland (20 in the Suffolk bibliography), but only 25 for the Tudor (8 in Suffolk) and 41 for the Stuart period (a more impressive 70 items are listed for Suffolk). There are few studies of twentieth-century Rutland which could not be classed as superficial or ephemeral or political in interest. Many features of Rutland life still lack major scholarly treatment, although there are short or popular accounts. The Rutland Local History Society produced a large number of Rutland titles, attempting to cover all aspects of Rutland life over the last hundred years, before its merger with the Record Society, but these were badly researched, edited and printed. They have the great merit of recording valuable scraps of evidence, allowing perhaps for future scholarly treatment. Victorian Rutland is very little researched (just 20 entries to date). Many individual parishes do not have their own village histories, and the diverse coverage of subjects extends also to the depth of scholarship: some subjects are studied to the best possible standards (such as place-names), others are subjected to the poorest imaginable standards (such as some of the Rutland Local History Society's village histories).

The total number of entries recorded to date in the Rutland bibliography is 8570. This breaks down as 3580 references for the county in general, 3137 for specific parishes, 262 for periodicals and 79 for directories (the telephone directory has not yet been included), giving a total of 7058 entries for Part One, the short-title catalogue. In Part Two there are 1512 full descriptions of the Rutland 'separate publications', mostly books and pamphlets but including 112 titles in leaflet form. All the titles in Part Two are of course also mentioned in the relevant locations of Part One.

When compared to the totals in A Suffolk Bibliography, a highly-respected survey containing 8123 references, but for a county ten times the size of Rutland, two points suggest themselves. One is that the Rutland survey is likely to be one of the most comprehensive county bibliographies ever achieved. The other is that most published bibliographies of counties are inadequate.

Although there is still a provisional element in the totals, the figures are not expected to change radically unless the bibliography is continued to the end of the century.
Because the descriptions in Part Two are detailed, it is possible to compile some more analytical statistics from them, and some surprising patterns have emerged. For the purpose of making a statistical survey, an attempt was made to ensure that everything that had been gathered was already word-processed and that there were no obvious omissions of important items. The survey was then printed out and annotated with a red pen. All the references were numbered and their characteristics were recorded in columns under various headings. The totals were added at the foot of each column and eventually transferred to a master sheet. The accuracy and detail allowed for any surprising conclusions to be double-checked with the printed catalogue relatively easily. To allow for the statistics to be more accurate, a few titles were first removed from the list, so that, for instance, a minor variant was not duplicating the figures based on one book. Different editions of the same work were, however, allowed to contribute. The statistical sample was taken from 1500 of the 1512 items, so it is not a misleading proportion but virtually the entirety of the catalogue. Another justification for confidence in the statistics is that a previous calculation, made three years ago and based on the 845 titles which had been described by that time, yielded very similar percentages. A similar procedure was also performed for the catalogue of periodicals, but with just a few more titles removed for the purpose of calculating the figures.

Of the 1500 'separate publications' taken from this list, 393 (26.20%) are hardback books, 300 are paperbacks (20%), 695 (46.33%) are pamphlets and 112 (7.47%) are leaflets. The small figure for leaflets reflects the policy of excluding items classed as ephemera. Those that remain are mostly items such as church guides which are included because of their function as publications. The large total for pamphlets illustrates how easy it is to regard many local publications as minor; they are vulnerable literally because they are small. The total for paperbacks includes publications which take the form of loose leaves gathered with a spring spine or held with staples in the vertical stabbed position.

As expected, most items were printed by a photolithographic method: 1024 or 68.27%, but this leaves an impressive proportion (383, 25.5%) produced by traditional letter-press, illustrating partly the high proportion of older items now included in the survey from on-line sources but also how small provincial printers frequently continued to use older methods of printing long after their large city competitors had
modernised. It is worth noting that one Stamford printer still has a letter-press machine available for use today. The remaining 93 titles (6.2%) were produced by a Gestetner or Banda-type printing process (often called cyclostyling). Perhaps this latter figure is surprisingly small, given the 'grey' nature of many of the titles.

Another surprise is the time-scale of the publications. 348 (23.2%) were produced before 1900. The pace of production increased substantially in the next fifty years, 214 (14.27%) being produced between 1901 and 1950, and continued at a slightly-increasing rate for the next two decades: 65 (4.33%) between 1951 and 1960 and 103 (6.87%) in 1961-1970. In the 1970s, however, there is an explosion in publishing activity: another 271 titles (18.07%) by 1980 and a further 316 (21.07%) during the 1980s. In other words, we have to wait for Rutland to disappear as an independent county before this increase in production occurs.

The earlier attempt to calculate these figures suggested a slight decline in activity during the early 1990s (42 titles between 1991 and the end of 1993, which would have given a projected total of about 140 for the decade). However, the actual figures taken to late 1996 are 182 titles (12.13%). If these were divided by 6 and multiplied by 10 to give a projection, it would be 303 titles, suggesting no let-up in the flood of local publishing. A factor in this might be the Rutland independence campaign, stimulating more local nostalgia, or it might simply be the case that the latest figure is more accurate, having been counted after the visits to each parish in Rutland had been conducted.

The figures allow the conclusion that 62.47% (based on 937 of 1500) of all Rutland titles have been issued since 1951. This figure no doubt reflects general trends in English publishing in that period rather than any special characteristics of Rutland.

It is also possible to demonstrate the origin of these books. Six hundred and ninety-seven (46.47%) were commercially published by a professional publisher, a surprisingly large proportion given the small market in Rutland. It may be that many of these productions are only apparently commercial: the authors may have given their publishers an anonymous grant or guaranteed to purchase so many copies, but this information is not recorded.

Four hundred and thirty-nine (29.27%) were published by a society or institution. Only 99 (6.6%) were self-published by an author on his or her own. One
hundred and seventy-seven (11.8%) were published by a local authority, and 88 (5.87%) came from the central government. These last two figures might appear rather low but they are the real proportions in 1500 titles and are based on extensive local as well as national research. It may be that they will increase as a result of further investigation, but probably only in proportion to the increase in other titles (i.e., the percentages will remain similar). It can be suggested that Rutland's uniqueness as a small community is responsible for there being relatively few Acts of Parliament covering the area.

It is interesting to note the location of these publishers. Five hundred and seven items (33.8%) were published within the borders of Rutland. Because of the small size of Rutland it was considered appropriate to count another figure for regional publishers, to separate the large number of titles published in Stamford and Leicester from those originating further afield. Four hundred and thirty-two (28.8%) were issued within the region, giving a proportion of 62.6% of all Rutland books being published within the county or in one of its immediate neighbours.

Five hundred and forty-nine (36.6%), a surprisingly large figure, were published by national publishers, mostly based in London. This suggests a substantial involvement in local publishing by large-scale national publishers. As already mentioned, it may be that many deals made behind the scenes hide the fact that the book had financial support from a local source. A recent title, Rutland Cameos by Josephine Quick, was published in 1993 by a printer-publisher in Devon, Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd. This has been logged as both a national and a commercial production, but it is likely that the author had paid for the publication because 'subsidised publishing' (a much kinder term than 'vanity publishing') is a speciality of that publisher. Many associations are openly acknowledged, but by no means all of them, and they can work both ways. It was common in the 19th century for a local printer to produce a local book with some financial backing from a national publisher.

A remaining 12 titles (0.8%) were published abroad. One of these is the collection of scientific papers on Rutland Water - Decade of Change, most of the others are American publications (all of which are biographical or family-history orientated), but there is also the German book, Petry-Eberle's Adel und Landschaft... which is a technical study of the 19th-century Rutland landscape for a Ph.D. thesis.
Two hundred and twenty-five of all the titles (15%) were found to carry an ISBN, a revelation which has already been discussed in chapter 3. The local authority is one of the worst offenders for publishing some things with an ISBN and others without one: the 1977 *Structure Plan for Rutland* carries an ISBN, but the 1993 pamphlet *A Fresh Look at Local Government*, in which Leicestershire County Council recommends independence for Rutland, does not. There is a tendency for local authorities to regard some of their titles as 'permanent' and some as 'ephemeral'. This, of course, may be appropriate, but the application of the inclusion and exclusion policies discussed in chapter 5 towards these titles produces a far greater number regarded as permanent from the bibliographer's point of view than are so regarded by the various council publication officers.

The main subject areas were also surveyed. Twenty-five (1.67%) were broadly classed as bibliographical. These include a few catalogues from Oakham Library, an auction catalogue and items like Michael Raftery's *Leicestershire Writers* (Leicester: Leicestershire Libraries and Information Service, 1984). Two hundred and twenty-six (15.07%) were classed as general topographical works. Ninety-seven (6.47%) referred to natural history. Six hundred and seventy-seven items (45.13%) were concerned with some branch of the humanities and a further 475 (31.66%) were about a specific location.

It was also interesting to observe something of the commercial success of these titles: 118 (7.87%) of them are known as reprints, which perhaps suggests that a local-interest title has a good chance of being sufficiently commercially successful to go into a second impression.

Finally, it was also interesting to record the sex of the authors. Seven hundred and twenty-four (48.27%) were written by a man, only 75 (5%) by a woman, and 701 (46.73%) were written by committees or by a number of people. Although many women appear in the joint-authorship category, this area obviously also includes a large number of men, so the figure for women is considered to be an accurate proportion. The small number is perhaps surprising, for women are very prominent in the fields of national history and literature. The broader contribution of women to local history in other counties would make a very interesting subject for a research thesis.
The figures will be increased as the work of compilation continues, but the percentages are unlikely to change substantially. It is expected that most additions to the bibliography will be in the area of articles and that not many more separate publications will be encountered.

A statistical analysis was also made of the 262 periodicals.

First the date of foundation was studied. Two (0.76%) were founded before 1800 (one is obviously The Rutland and Stamford Mercury, the other is The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Gazette) and 34 (12.98%) during the nineteenth century. Between 1901 and 1950 a further 17 (6.49%) appeared. In the decades 1951–60 and 1961–70 5 (1.91%) and 13 (4.96%) were founded. Then, as in the case of the separate publications, there is increased activity in the 1970s. Thirty-eight titles appeared in this decade (14.5%), followed by 68 (25.95%) in the 1980s and a further 85 (32.44%) since 1991. One hundred and seventy-three of the total number (66.03%) are regarded as current periodicals. Only 9 (4.74% of those founded since 1971) seem to carry an ISSN, but whether this implies a poor standard of bibliographical control or the ephemeral nature of the periodicals is a matter of opinion.

Many periodicals are indeed short-lived. Thirty-eight (14.5%) folded within their first year. One hundred and forty folded within ten years (53.44%). Fifty-two died at between ten and twenty-five years of age (19.85%). Nine (3.44%) folded at between twenty-five and fifty years. Quite a large number, 23 (8.78%) lasted for over fifty years. Probably a high proportion of the 173 current periodicals will not survive the decade, or even the current year, but will be replaced by new titles. It seems that periodicals are often launched with great enthusiasm by groups or individuals who are incapable of maintaining the momentum necessary to produce the later issues.

Only 2 of the periodicals recorded appeared on a daily basis, both of them newspapers (0.76%). Twenty are weekly periodicals (7.63%), most of which are newspapers but including 4 parish magazines. Fifty-nine (22.52%) are monthly issues. Seventy-one (27.1%) appear at quarterly or bi-monthly or termly intervals, and the largest category, 110 (41.98%), are annuals.

The categories of periodical were also researched. Thirty-seven (14.12%) were classed as local authority items giving out public information: guides to services, directories of societies and addresses, etc. Thirty-three (12.60%) were society newsletters and 39 (14.88%) were society annual reports, year books or prospectuses,
giving a society-published total of 72 (27·48%). Forty-two were parish magazines (16·03%). This figure is less than the number of parishes because of the large number which have always covered more than one parish. Eight are annual almanacks (3·05%), virtually all of which were issued by local printers. Twenty-six of the periodicals are newspapers (9·9%), although this figure includes the free newspapers which carry little or no news. Thirteen are academic journals such as Rutland Record and The Rutland Magazine (4·96%): these particular titles enjoy a high standard of bibliographical control, appearing in many of the sources searched on-line. Thirteen (4·96%) are 'social' journals of the glossy magazine type, such as the short-lived Leicestershire and Rutland Life and the single-issue Rutland – the Magazine. Finally, 51 (19·47%) were 'in-house' journals issued by an institution for the consumption of its members. Prominent here are publications of the two large public schools in the county. Anyone researching a county bibliography who has failed to capture many periodicals may take these statistics as some guide towards identifying areas that require further effort.

The subject-contents of the periodicals were also examined to see if this revealed a similar pattern to the book divisions. Four (1·5%) were bibliographical (such as East Midlands Bibliography and various Leicestershire Libraries items). Thirty-eight (14·5%) were classed as general-interest magazines, therefore 'topographical'. Only 10 (3·8%) were concerned with natural history. One hundred and twenty-three (46·95%) were concerned with the humanities and 87 (33·21%) with a specific location. These percentages are very similar to those for the subject-content of the books. The divisions of Part One of the bibliography were also contrasted with these figures, revealing a not-dissimilar pattern:

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307 Rutland has something of an almanack tradition, given that the Wing family operated from the county in the 17th and 18th centuries, but their productions prove on examination to belong to the 'local author' category of literature. For this important type of periodical see Bernard Capp, Astrology and the Popular Press. English Almanacs 1500–1800 (London: Faber & Faber, 1979), which includes biographical and bibliographical notes as well as an extensive study. Virtually all early works use the spelling 'almanack'.
Table 6: Subject Proportions of the Rutland Bibliography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Part One</th>
<th>Part Two</th>
<th>Periodicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bibliographical</td>
<td>115 ~ 1.69%</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topographical</td>
<td>241 ~ 3.55%</td>
<td>15.07%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural history</td>
<td>308 ~ 4.53%</td>
<td>6.47%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>2995 ~ 44.07%</td>
<td>45.13%</td>
<td>46.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Localities</td>
<td>3137 ~ 46.16%</td>
<td>31.66%</td>
<td>33.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>6796</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For this last exercise the 18 entries on ‘Maps (accounts of)’ were added to the 97 ‘Bibliographical’ entries and the 79 directories were added to the 162 topographical section.) The only major difference is that a much smaller proportion of the references in Part One is classed as topographical than in the other sections. This is probably because most of the article literature is concerned with a specialised branch of the humanities or about a locality; few articles are of general topographical interest for the county as a whole, so most of the topographical entries consist of full-blown books.

The figures for each subdivision of Part One have been added to the contents list in Appendix 4.

To test the reliability of these proportions, analysis was made of the number of entries in three other bibliographies, i.e., surveys which allowed this because they had numbered each item. The two Oxfordshire volumes were added together and contrasted with Norfolk and Suffolk and the 6796 non-periodical references in Part One of Rutland. The figures for the London bibliography were considered for a possible urban comparison but the capital character of the city distorted the figures so much that Oxford was taken instead (the 3rd volume of Cordeaux & Merry excludes the university). Although the divisions for these bibliographies are different, it was possible to regroup them in the same way as the Rutland bibliography. The figures are:

248
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Oxfordshire</th>
<th>Norfolk</th>
<th>Suffolk</th>
<th>Oxford</th>
<th>Rutland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bibliographical</td>
<td>none ~ 0%</td>
<td>none ~ 0%</td>
<td>47 ~ 1%</td>
<td>none ~ 0%</td>
<td>1.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topographical</td>
<td>147 ~ 2%</td>
<td>61 ~ 1%</td>
<td>91 ~ 1%</td>
<td>253 ~ 6%</td>
<td>3.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural history</td>
<td>158 ~ 3%</td>
<td>310 ~ 4%</td>
<td>154 ~ 2%</td>
<td>29 ~ 1%</td>
<td>4.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humanities</td>
<td>1581 ~ 27%</td>
<td>2782 ~ 39%</td>
<td>3023 ~ 38%</td>
<td>2763 ~ 71%</td>
<td>44.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>localities</td>
<td>3963 ~ 68%</td>
<td>3922 ~ 56%</td>
<td>4612 ~ 58%</td>
<td>845 ~ 22%</td>
<td>46.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total refs.</td>
<td>5849</td>
<td>7075</td>
<td>7927</td>
<td>3890</td>
<td>(6796 refs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The totals for Oxfordshire, Norfolk and Suffolk were achieved by subtracting the periodical and directory references from the total number in each survey.) The proportions are only roughly similar but the differences are explicable. The Suffolk bibliography largely excludes natural history, so a lower proportion was inevitable for this division, and because these counties are so much larger than Rutland a larger number of publications on individual localities and family surnames was to be expected. Even so, it is clear that the Oxfordshire volumes are very inadequate surveys. One would expect an Oxfordshire bibliography to contain many times the number of references which the two volumes do contain (4310 in the 1955 volume and 1632 in the 1981 Supplement), especially as this bibliography contains many references to ephemeral material. The Norfolk bibliography does include some previous bibliographies but these are mixed into the history section. The relative lack of urban centres in Rutland is perhaps the best explanation for the reduced proportion in the Rutland bibliography for works about individual localities, because towns clearly stimulate the production of literature.

One interesting question which these statistics pose is whether the Rutland bibliography can be taken as a model for the study of any other English county. If we took the number of references and related it to the population of Rutland, could we find an average figure for a bibliography of a typical English county? In some ways one would automatically expect a larger number of publications when faced with a larger population: more family histories, more parish histories and a larger range of economic and social activities stimulating a greater number of publications. Large centres of population certainly seem to stimulate the publication of more free newspapers than have appeared for Rutland. Many titles, however, are issued in a
series and there is one Pevsner for Rutland just as there is for Suffolk. Moreover, Rutland's associations with its neighbours means that many local societies amalgamate with a similar society in a neighbouring county – there is the Leicestershire and Rutland Women's Institute rather than separate branches for each county – and the number of publications is therefore not necessarily affected by the size of Rutland.

The Rutland population is about 36,900. The 1993 Municipal Year Book (2 vols, London: Municipal Journal Ltd., 1993) records that Suffolk had 467,384 community charge payers. If the population of Suffolk is ten times that of Rutland, should a Suffolk bibliography contain ten times as many entries as a Rutland survey? Probably not, yet the concept of an up-to-date comprehensive bibliography of Suffolk containing some 70580 entries (7058 Rutland 'Part One' references multiplied by ten), does not seem outrageously high. The number of Rutland publications has after all increased considerably in the time since the Suffolk survey was published in 1979; presumably so did the number of Suffolk titles, and even on publication, the authors of the Suffolk survey acknowledged it to be incomplete. However, there is simply not enough information to suggest an average figure for an average county, and the published bibliographies are too varied in their content, approach and date to be used for the production of such a statistic. One conclusion can be drawn, however, namely that a bibliography of an English county is likely to contain a great many entries if it is a comprehensive survey, exceeding 10,000 items in the vast majority of cases.

Another question to consider is whether the method and standard of research outlined for Rutland could be repeated for other counties.

There is no abstract reason why other counties should not be treated the same way, but there might be a practical one. It is impractical to propose a similar standard of bibliography for another county without very substantial resources in finance and personnel being made available, because it is only the unusually small size of Rutland that made this project possible.

There is, of course, no reason why such a broad-ranging survey should not be attempted, nor why it should not prove extremely useful even though being only partially successful. The limitation is simply that it would not be comprehensive. It could nevertheless realistically embrace all that was of practical importance, or
perhaps all that was available in public collections, if the will to carry out such a
painsstaking task was there.

The difficulty in producing a bibliography on such a scale for a large county is
that of the human resources needed to locate, list and describe the works. It would
take a team of researchers several years of full-time work to complete. A simple
short-title catalogue would be more likely to be viable, given the low value which
society attaches to this sort of research. However, if the financial resources were
there, perhaps available from a charity such as the Leverhulme Trust, and the
research was competent, the results would be of immense value to any student of the
county.

Some Further Meanings of the Rutland Bibliography

A local bibliography is a record of a continuous and intimate dialogue between a
particular community of people and a place throughout several centuries. Local
books are usually locally written and locally made (62.6% of all Rutland titles). They
are certainly intended, on the whole, to be locally consumed. The books contain the
results of extremely complex relationships, between books, authors, their subjects of
interest, readers, local printers and publishers (and their house styles) and this
combination of relationships is unique. It is perhaps only the outsider who can
consider this phenomenon in the abstract, but the detailed study of this dialogue
(perhaps it could even be called a structuralist subject), might well reveal hidden
patterns not plain to the county historians.308

Some patterns may have obvious explanations. Many of the books published
about Uppingham School were issued by national publishers in London. Oakham
School is a twin foundation, currently and originally of a not dissimilar size, yet most
of its publications are locally produced. Although some were printed by Cambridge
University Press, the colophon in the book makes clear that this was merely a
printing service. The Uppingham books were frequently published by the national
publishers. The explanation for this is that Uppingham went through a major
transformation in the nineteenth century, from a local grammar school to a major

308 Another danger the localised historian might face is that of presuming that his or her
community is unique in every respect. Michael Reed expressed it thus: '...Local
history may be concerned with the parish. It should never be parochial in outlook...',
'International Local History', pp. 233-4.
public school on the scale of Rugby. When publications about this type of establishment were common, therefore, the two institutions were very different. Oakham went through its transformation in the 1950s and '60s, by which time the large public school had less of an influence over mainstream public opinion. National publishers from the time of Thring to the birth of the welfare state could see a market for items related to the famous school of Uppingham far beyond the confines of the small market town in which it resides, but not nowadays.

Today (because it is run by accountants), a large multi-national publishing company is unlikely to publish a book which has only a small market, so local publishing is almost exclusively the preserve of local enterprise or of a publishing company which specialises in it, such as Phillimore of Chichester, Alan Sutton of Gloucester (now Sutton Publishing of Stroud) or Countryside Books of Newbury (all three of these national publishers are currently involved with Rutland). These national publishers are not large publishers, however, but small enterprises which have found a successful formula, justifying print-runs of two or three thousand copies, and made to a pattern repeatable in several counties. And despite the fact that these are national publishers, they continue to rely on local authors or researchers to produce the books. The first Sutton book on Rutland was edited by T. H. McK. Clough, curator of the Rutland museum. Rutland is now far less likely to attract the attention of Macmillan or Unwin, both publishers of several books on Edward Thring, because these publishers demand either huge print-runs to meet their large overheads, or huge retail prices to justify a small print-run of a thousand copies for the academic library market. Neither of these requirements are met by the local market.

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309 Another small national publisher which found a successful formula for local books was Barracuda Books of Buckingham. They published Bryan Matthews' *The Book of Rutland* in 1978. An interesting subject for a minor research project would be to find out what factors influenced the choice of locations for Barracuda books. Most of them are on large towns, but a village in Cambridgeshire has been the subject of *The Book of Barnack*. Apparently the explanation for this lies in some personal contact between the publisher and the village derived from the Barnack cricket tradition, but this question has not been researched.

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It is interesting to observe these publishers repeating formulas in Rutland which they also practise elsewhere. There have been many titles of old photographs recently, and an even greater number of collections of country walks, the great majority published outside the county. Because they are published to a formula by established, well-organised businesses, these titles are more likely to enter the copyright libraries than many locally-published titles which may have been casually, but also more 'authentically', created.

A recent (1990) book published by Michael Joseph of London, A Place in the Country by Nigel Duckers and Huw Davies, appears to deny this point, but although the book is both unique and exclusively about Rutland it had a broader appeal because of its satirical content. Here a journalist and a photographer deliberately set out to make Rutlanders appear to be nouveau riche and largely ignorant and unpleasant people who had moved into the county from elsewhere. Their intention was to provide a mocking portrait of English rural society in Thatcherite Britain, which gave the book a much broader appeal than the locality. Incidentally, the publishers also attracted some grant aid from local industry and the local arts council; the book was therefore neither as commercial nor as national as it appears. And it was recently remaindered.

A pattern which might be more difficult to discern or explain is the influence which one book has on another. Direct quotation of one book by another might be easy to identify. The influence of design might require personal knowledge. Where one publisher is involved in many titles, a sequence of development might be discerned: contrast the early titles of Leicestershire Museums service with its later output. Criticism of the poor quality of the photographs in many Spiegl Press publications clearly influenced the printer to start using glossy art paper for the titles published since the late 1980s. The difference between the Brewhouse Press Oakham Canal and the Sycamore Press reprint is explained by the fact that Brewhouse was a partnership between the topographical artist Rigby Graham and the printer, bookbinder and historian of the arts of the book, Trevor Hickman.311 Sycamore Press

311 And now author of one of the latest Sutton titles on Rutland: Around Rutland, Britain in Old Photographs series (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996). Virtually all local-interest Sutton titles are anthologies of old photographs.
was run by the latter on his own. The two presses, operating from the same address and with some chronological overlap, have very different house styles.

An observable pattern is a particular printer's or publisher's housestyle. Although subtle meanings in typography are discernible,\textsuperscript{312} it may not be possible to demonstrate the ways in which one style has influenced the development of a subject. The impact of Brewhouse may have affected the development of craft or private press printing elsewhere, but unless there is a blatant attempt to emulate one press by another within the locality's historiography, direct inspiration may not be detectable. General trends in book design, however, may well be represented in the locality. Self-conscious medievalism in book design in the early twentieth century (under the influence of William Morris's Kelmscott Press) can be illustrated in the choice of typeface used for nearly twenty years by Matkins, the printers of Oakham.\textsuperscript{313} It is an unanswerable question, but did this predominant style of presentation help stimulate further historical research or even direct enquiries on nostalgic rather than rigorous lines? In a 'small world' like local studies (meaning simply that there are few practitioners for any one locality, and they know each other), the taste of an individual scholar like George Phillips, editor of the Rutland Magazine, might have far reaching influences.

Another hidden pattern may be the way in which certain subjects are taboo at a local level. For example, general histories of the town of Stamford have been rather timid in criticising the extent and blatancy of the Earl of Exeter's corruption in the nineteenth century. The recent title by Martin Smith, The Story of Stamford (Stamford: the author, 1994), is deliberately outspoken about the Exeter relationship with the town, but the author is a man of socialist sympathies who has moved to the town from Manchester. The different approach is explicable.

A newspaper like the Rutland and Stamford Mercury under one editor may have a policy of only reporting good news, suggesting to the researcher that Rutland was a haven of peace. In a different type of society, such as in a large city like Leicester, the political outlook of the area's media might offer a totally different perspective.

\textsuperscript{312} See Don McKenzie's 'The Book as an Expressive Form', in his Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts..., pp. 1-21.

\textsuperscript{313} The cursive lettering is deliberately 'Celtic' in style. Every issue of The Rutland Magazine and a great many other titles were printed in this type.
An outsider, again, would offer another view. The publication of A Place in the Country is a case in point. Such a publication is at odds with the outlook of a local title such as Dolce Ellingworth’s Little Rutland (Oakham: the author, 1982). A social services report such as The Myth of the Rural Idyll: Poverty in Rural Leicestershire. A Case Study of the Rutland District and its Implications for County Policies, written by Ray Fabes, Marilyn Howard and Lis Worsley and published by Leicester Child Poverty Action Group in 1983, offers a very different view of Rutland life from a perspective with a specialised concern.

This ‘political’ element in local publishing will be present in all localities. Histories of large industrial towns are more likely to concentrate on the social conditions of working class communities than to emphasise genealogy, architectural traditions and picturesque folklore. Subjects like dialect and place-names, however, may receive similar treatment. Communities not only reflect themselves in their own literature, they publish for a market which expects the book to have a certain content. 314

After the large number of eighteenth-century Acts of Parliament establishing enclosures of common land in Rutland, and the national interest in agricultural concerns illustrated by titles such as Crutchley’s General View of the Agriculture in the County of Rutland with Observations on the Means of its Improvement... Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement (1794) it is interesting to see local political debate concentrating on rural poverty. 315 On the whole, however, the publications only demonstrate this concern at a time when it was a major national debate. By the advent of The Rutland Magazine in 1904, the dominant characteristics of Rutland publishing are antiquarianism and nostalgia: not inseparable, of course, from the effects of the industrial revolution, but not self-consciously political.

Few areas of twentieth-century life are the subject of overtly political writing in Rutland. There are works about Rutland’s contribution to the two world wars, but

314 H. J. Perkin, ‘Social History’, Approaches to History, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), 51-82, expressed a similar idea thus: society ‘...has the remarkable property of self regeneration, that is, of reproducing not some other creature in the same form but itself in a great variety of forms’ (p. 62).

315 E.g., as in Finch’s Refutation of the Fallacies and Misrepresentations of the Anti-Corn-Law League (1844) or Baptist Noel’s Corn Laws. Selections from ‘A Plea for the Poor’ from a Rutlandshire Freeholder (London, 1841).
neither George Phillips' *Rutland and the Great War: a Lasting Tribute to a Great and Noble Part* (1920) nor Bryan Matthews' *A Record of the Service; or Old Uppinghamians in the Second World War* (1945) express any anger over the loss of so many young men. In contrast to the nineteenth century, when polemical literature was published locally, the only social or political issue which motivates Rutlanders to put pen to paper nowadays appears to be their independence campaign.

One area of publishing which is totally lacking from the Rutland literature is in the general area of the taboo. A publication like Maureen Sutton’s *We Didn’t Know Aught*. A Study of Sexuality, Superstition and Death in Women’s Lives in Lincolnshire during the 1930s, ’40s and ’50s (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992) fills this gap for Lincolnshire, uncovering an extraordinary range of material for feminist historians and folklorists, all from one locality, but no-one has researched this material for Rutland. The only two publications for Rutland which could be described as feminist are both directories of names and addresses, without any ‘text’ of their own. The explanation is exactly the same as that for the coverage of the other socio-political issues. A book which contains taboo material might also be ignored by the local booksellers, only the larger cities containing radical booksellers being willing to stock it; but the radical booksellers require the needs of their own market to be addressed: the vast majority will not consider stocking an item which is expensive or in hardback. A well-produced but expensive book with a taboo content may never come to the attention of its local market because of this subtle form of censorship.\(^{316}\)

Another ‘modern’ subject (in the sense of its new popularity; its origins are as distant as those of feminist writings) is that of ‘new age’ mythology. Some locations have stimulated a great deal of new folklore since the 1960s, such as Glastonbury, Stonehenge and Avebury in particular; but Rutland has also been touched by this phenomenon, largely because of a specialist publisher, the Heart of Albion Press, operating from nearby Wymeswold. A quarterly magazine, *Mercian Mysteries*, and several titles such as Trubshaw’s *Putting Things Straight: Aligned Sites in Leicestershire*

\(^{316}\) An example is the autobiography by Peter Gamble, *The More We Are Together. Memoirs of a Wayward Life* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993). The author’s account of growing up in Streatham, south London, and experience as a conscientious objector at Exeter Prison, and as a bankrupt private school headmaster in Oxfordshire, have been ignored by the booksellers of those localities because the book is taboo for other reasons.
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and Rutland (1992) have now entered the Rutland bibliography. The most bizarre of these is the self-published work of Andrew Burbidge, Arthur-Offa. Guinevere-Cwenthryth (Gumley, 1993), which attempts (unconvincingly, since the writer lacks any onomastic skill) to argue that the Mercian king, Offa, and the mythical king, Arthur, were the same person; that Gumley in Leicestershire is Camelot and that the River Welland (which flows through Rutland) is so named in honour of Wieland the Smith. Such works are perhaps more poetic even than most writings in ‘astro-archaeology’, but they are certainly inspired by a sense of place. The tradition they express a yearning for may be a modern invention, but it is no less a genuine desire for a sense of belonging for that; and now Rutland is also a part of this movement. The Trubshaw title mentioned above has a foreword by Paul Devereux, author of ‘national’ books on ‘ley lines’ and ‘unidentified flying objects’. The involvement of such an author with Rutland publishing is another illustration of the ‘thematic approach’ to local material observed by Sturges & Dixon.317

E. H. Carr, in What is History?, defined history as a constant dialogue between the present and the past.318 The local bibliographer must keep in mind the similar ever-changing dialogue between a people and a locality as expressed in their literature. The bibliography will reflect the area’s changing characteristics.

One lesson of the Rutland project, therefore, is that each locality is unique and its bibliography will be different. It is not the case that each county is so special that it cannot be compared with another, but that each county thinks of itself as unique and will offer some unique expression of this in its bibliography. We might summarise this concept with the difficult term ‘a sense of place’. In a classic lecture on local history, H. P. R. Finberg discussed the need for local historians to bear in mind the way in which local communities were aware of themselves, believing that anyone from outside the community was a foreigner.319 Perhaps the small size of

317 See above, p. 61, n. 120. ‘New age’ thinking, of course, is not just a nostalgia movement but a new religion. Leicestershire now contains many religious groups and Oakham in Rutland is the British centre for the Bahai faith. A county bibliography will be expected to encounter many languages and traditions, each of which must be included where they have local manifestations.


319 The Local Historian and his Theme... (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1952, 3rd

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Rutland has stimulated the survival, or revival, of this feeling more than in other English counties. Most modern Rutlanders have, after all, moved into the county from outside. The feeling is not even necessarily attractive, but it is there, and the bibliographer should be aware of it if he or she is to chronicle the truth. It would be possible, for example, to create a section of the Rutland bibliography consisting of references to literature on Rutland's self-conscious fight for survival. This is also a theme which appears in surprising places, such as in Bryan Waites's editorials in Rutland Record, an annual academic journal. Indeed, wherever one encounters expressions of Rutland's self-awareness, the same themes of smallness, local democracy and tradition crop up. Much of the humour of the 1970s 'Rutland Weekend Television' series, recorded in book form in Eric Idle's Rutland Dirty Weekend Book (London: Eyre Methuen, 1976), derived from the opportunity to mock exaggerated claims of importance coming from something that was in fact quite tiny. The humour of other English counties, such as Essex jokes in Essex or Larn Yoursel' Geordie coming from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, takes more solid cultural or folklore uniqueness as the basis for mockery. Nevertheless, this emphasis on smallness in Rutland's self-consciousness is certainly unique in English topography.

Another Rutland humour book, Pat Beese's The Rhodmen of Rutland (Castle Bytham: Rhoodbooks, 1982), takes its humour (or perhaps 'affection' would be a better word for this particular work) from the presentation of Rutlanders as small pixie-like creatures who live in mushrooms on the edge of the idyllic Rutland Water, almost as if the author was trying to say that, despite their size, Rutlanders were resourceful (have a successful economy), have the dignity of age (their own traditions) and could rise above all adversity using their skills and knowledge. Such themes are often present in humour, a subject which deserves more serious study.

impression 1965), especially pages 6-7.

The town of Stamford has been well served by historians in the last few decades, but nearly all the literature has been written by newcomers to the town. This is a phenomenon which would also be interesting to study in a broader context: the extent to which enthusiasm for local culture is mainly shown by those who have relatively recently moved to the locality, and why this should be so. A partial explanation will be statistical: a highly mobile population ensures that people with specialised skills need to move to pursue careers; but another must also involve some sense that the newcomer not only belongs to the locality but finds its culture diverting simply because it is fresh.
than its apparent superficiality at first suggests. The serious study of fairy stories and other forms of folklore began in the nineteenth century and illustrated how the apparently trivial may contain the most serious themes. Historical fiction is another neglected area of historiography.

The Eric Idle book is an example of an outsider finding humour at Rutland's expense, though it caused minimal offence in the county. The latter is a local production, and the ability of a community to laugh at itself does suggest self-confidence. The work was popular and went to two editions.

Another, much more subtle, way in which a community may present its self-image in print is perhaps discernible in the actual standards of local publishing. Although the Rutland Local History Society books published by the Spiegl Press of Stamford are notorious for their poor editing, design, research and printing quality, their very rough-and-ready nature not only has a certain charm but is in marked cultural contrast to the more sophisticated productions of the rival Rutland Record Society. Was there here a social tension between different classes, both of whom regarded themselves as part of the same community, and both recording their own culture (perhaps because they felt it was under threat), but one emphasizing rural oral tradition in the villages and the other concentrating entirely on the study of manuscripts? The museum, appropriately, helped, and was helped by, both groups; and the two have now combined to form the Rutland Record and Local History Society.321

Similarly, the oral history of Lincolnshire women by Maureen Sutton, already mentioned, was circulated by the publisher to a small number of friendly critics before it was edited for publication. Although the final product is now organised under appropriate headings (some researched entirely as a result of the editing process which exposed inadequate coverage of some topics) and edited to a formal

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321 A similar divide separated medieval historians from folklorists in the early twentieth century, whereas in the nineteenth the two very much worked together. Bohn's Antiquarian Library contained both history and folklore in the same collection. Charles Phythian-Adams considered that the final break between the two came in 1893, when Maitland attacked Gomme in a bitter review of The English Village Community (Local History and Folklore. A New Framework (London: Standing Conference for Local History, 1975), p. 7). It is an interesting phenomenon of historiography to see this divide operating in one locality.
publication standard, one observer reported to the publisher after publication that the editing had removed something. The early version contained an element of authentic reality to it (the actual words were 'a sense of women talking') which had been lost in the editorial process even though the quotations were not altered in any way. Presenting this material to a broader audience somehow caused the loss of some of its local character.

A Rutland publication which has been noted to contain similar characteristics is Bob Steele's *My Boyhood Memories* (Stamford: privately printed, 1993). In this example the 'authentic' elements are identifiable: the language has dialect forms and the text has rural concerns. If the author had survived to see it into print, these characteristics might have been edited out, creating a text which lost something because of attempts to relate it to a different audience from the one the author had in mind when he wrote. A bibliographer who ignored such productions would be performing a considerable disservice to his or her clients. Students of dialect would be particularly interested to see the unedited form of such texts. Students of psychology and theoretical linguistics might even argue that the 'spelling mistakes' and 'grammatical errors' contained therein actually preserved forms of expression which could be related to other European languages which had influenced the region in earlier centuries, or to ways of thinking deriving from lifestyles not experienced by the modern readership. The case is virtually indisputable, but it does not justify the publication of new books in unedited states. The majority of readers would not understand the reason for the 'authentic' production.

It was mentioned earlier, in the context of a discussion of the concept of the county, that each area had its own historiographical tradition which was a single body of literature and which it made sense to study as a unit. This literature is undisputedly an entity in its own right, but it can be seen that it is a very complex, organic structure, containing both local productions and those originating from outside the locality. Even within the local literature there are different groups with their own concerns, sometimes mutual antagonism and their own traditions.

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322 Reviewers of the work, not having seen the first version, have not noticed this editorial transformation. One of the most enthusiastic was Keith Snell in *The Local Historian* (May, 1993), p. 118.
Another phenomenon of the historiographical tradition is the tenacity with which some ideas continue to appear in print long after scholarly opinion has discounted them. In Northern Irish tradition, some of these ideas may have a sinister element, but it is what a community believes that is important (as an explanation for its behaviour), rather than whether those ideas are true or false. A recent study of the mythology of Stamford revealed that local mythology nearly always has an origin in truth, but one which is misinterpreted or misunderstood within the tradition. The idea that Stamford enjoyed a medieval university takes its origin in the attempts by renegade Oxford scholars to set up their own institution in the town in 1333. The exaggerated claim in Stamford's folklore ignores the fact that the attempt was aborted by King Edward III after only a few months.323 Another Stamford legend, long exposed as a fraudulent claim, is that The Stamford and Rutland Mercury is the oldest newspaper in England, having been founded in 1695.324 No amount of scholarly criticism prevented the newspaper from celebrating its three-hundredth anniversary in 1995. Once an idea enters the historiographical tradition, it may be repeated regularly. The scholarly criticism may completely fail to impact on the imagination of the community in the same way.325 This does not mean that popular historiography should be dismissed; on the contrary it means that it has an interesting sociology of its own which demands to be studied and explained.

None of these observations are anything other than one would expect, for the literature reflects the reality of the county under study. The books A Place in the Country and The Myth of the Rural Idyll, which are written by outsiders, observe some of the tensions both within the county and between it and its neighbours, but they are no less idealist propaganda than the chauvinistic, home-grown material. From the


325 Another myth explored by Martin Smith, and dismissed as fantasy, is that of town tunnels (ibid., pp. [50]–[53]; but the response in the town was to produce photographs of sewers as 'proof' of the existence of tunnels. The myth continues to be believed (as an oral tradition) in blatant defiance of the evidence.
early Rutland sermons of the sixteenth century to the English Place-Name Society study of Rutland toponymy in 1994 and Trevor Hickman's *Around Rutland* in 1996, the tensions, relationships and celebrations of life in an English rural community are also expressed in print.
Throughout this thesis a comparison has frequently been made between 'selectivist' and 'bibliographical' approaches to research. This distinction is worth reviewing as a final statement of the philosophy of the Rutland project and its broader significance.

Two alternative approaches to the study of any subject are possible. Each has its advantages and disadvantages. Each has some validity as a research option and will yield interesting, but different, results. Although all subjects may be approached in either way, some are more appropriately studied by one method than the other. The two alternatives may be labelled the selectivist and the bibliographical approaches.

The selectivist approach is qualitative and evaluative from the outset because it takes what are perceived to be the 'best' or 'major' items of evidence and ignores the existence of the 'minor'. Illustrations of this method, already frequently mentioned, are reader's guides which claim to be bibliographies. In the nineteenth-century volume of the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, Charles Dickens and Charlotte M. Yonge are given serious treatment. Gertrude Hollis is omitted. The criteria that decided which authors were included or excluded are not explained, yet the subject covered by the title of the work has an enormity which is only now beginning to be encompassed by the nineteenth-century short-title catalogue project. Another illustration is the type of literary criticism instanced by Nicholas Rance's *The Historical Novel and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Vision Press, 1975). Here, despite the ambitious title, are six short chapters studying Scott, Dickens, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell and George Meredith. The vast majority of the literature in the remit of the title is ignored.

The selectivist approach might be justified on the grounds that it allows for some general impressions to be drawn about a subject which could not be based on the entirety of the subject because it is of too great a scale for an individual scholar to assess. The approach obviously has an appeal because of the practical impossibility of any other method, but it must be observed that Rance's study is not a study of the
subject in his book's title but a study of six individual authors. Any conclusions which could be drawn from that enquiry would be based on an unrepresentative sample as far as the totality of the subject is concerned. Further, popular politics are more likely to be found in popular literature, which has a more interesting sociology than the 'major' literature adopted for study by the scholar, specifically because it is written to suit the ideological expectations of a contemporary audience, whereas 'great' literature is supposed somehow to transcend its context and be of permanent value. There is nothing wrong with the study of Dickens, but there is something dishonest about the claim that, by studying Dickens, we are studying the nineteenth-century novel. Books written with selectivist approaches are frequently misnamed. They are the scholarly equivalent of claiming to classify the insects of Madagascar, while arbitrarily omitting all the insects one did not find interesting or attractive. The selectivist approach is perfectly valid as a philosophy of enquiry; what is not valid is the claim that it goes further than its limited brief.

The alternative approach is the bibliographical way. It will embrace the entirety of a discipline and subject it to full, exhaustive analysis. The conclusions it offers will be based on a total assessment of that subject's range, depth and diversity. It will place side-by-side the so-called major and minor works and treat them as of equal importance. It will embrace the superficial, the superseded, the popular, the juvenile, the erroneous and the lunatic fringe writings in addition to the accepted scholarly 'authorities' and make no distinction as to the importance of each in the overall development of the subject because any attempt to discriminate would constitute an unacceptable, and dishonest, tampering with the evidence. The bibliographical way will not allow a theory to be imposed on reality, it will let the reality speak for itself. Evaluative analysis can follow only after an accurate and comprehensive description.

Historiography is one subject more suited to the bibliographical approach than history itself. The historian and the historiographer have different focuses: one is studying a particular period of the past, the other is studying the reception of that period in other periods: how ideological interpretations were brought to the study of that period by different generations and how understandings of that period changed from one perspective to another. As far as historiographers are concerned, the popular, the superseded and the unusual (such as historical novels) are their very
source material. The historian in contrast is unlikely to be particularly interested in superseded scholarship or in Victorian popular summaries of that scholarship. The historian may adopt an exhaustivist approach to the primary evidence and perhaps a selectivist approach to his or her reading of secondary commentaries, concentrating almost entirely on recent work. Only the bibliographical approach, however, will illustrate the context in which the historian works and how his or her own ideas and achievements sit in a long tradition of subtly-changing perspectives.

On the whole the approach here labelled the bibliographical has not been practised in the humanities, partly because of the nature of the humanities, which are evaluative and literary and partly because the research tools to provide access to a means of total assessment have not been available. The latter problem is beginning to be overcome through the new opportunities afforded by the computerised management of information. The former is more one of philosophy. A desire to discriminate as a priority may lead the scholar to reject material as unworthy of study, rather than assessing the potential of that material for broader conclusions. Rejection of material as ‘rubbish’ has more naivety about it than the mere act of superficial discernment in itself suggests: it can represent a failure to see the importance of something as a phenomenon. This approach reduces scholarly enquiry and impedes the development of a discipline because it is an arbitrary reduction in the range of material allowed as evidence, yet the observations made in the previous chapter illustrate just how important ‘rubbish’ can be.

Despite the problems encountered in on-line searching, particularly the presence of irrelevant references and the difficulty in locating ‘grey’ literature, it was noted (p. 99) how the abstract, uncritical delivery of data on a particular access point (a key word) offered great potential for the overall assessment of the range of a subject. Allowing an unconscious mechanism to manage information offers the advantage of unprejudiced delivery of anything relevant; while at the same time the uncritical nature of the mechanism offers the disadvantage that the computer is incapable of assessing accurately what the customer really wants. The introduction of more human filters and more comprehensive tagging of references with key words in subject fields offers the advantage of greater data capture, while at the same time offering human intermediaries the opportunity to interfere with the data: not necessarily for sinister political reasons (though that is a potential risk in societies
with nervous governments) but because compilers may regard some material as too trivial to tag with an access point, thus reducing the very objectivity which is the greatest advantage of on-line searching.

On-line searching has another major impact on the development of any subject, in that it regularly brings to the attention of new students material which has been forgotten or neglected. It is the fate of many books to become 'grey' literature, not this time because of the circumstances of their publication, but almost from ill luck. Published at the same time as other studies which commanded greater attention, or published at a time when few were interested in the same subject, some scholarly monographs will always linger in obscurity as 'feral' literature: once 'domesticated' but now 'wild'. Their presence in databases which are frequently consulted by new generations of students, however, gives them repeated opportunities to be rediscovered and to make the contribution to the subject for which their authors hoped. This is the most powerful justification for the retention of copyright receipt by the national libraries and for those libraries to ensure that everything they hold is accessible through the catalogue and included in the British National Bibliography. The selectivist approach should play no role in the compilation of the national database.

Not only does on-line data offer many advantages to the researcher, but this facility can also offer scholars the ability to organise their own observations and evidence more effectively. For example, ideas may flow freely from an inspired mind, but the ability to locate references to support observations can be a tedious and time-consuming exercise, taking energy which might be better spent in further research. Bibliographical database programs such as Idealist or Papyrus offer the researcher the ability to record references and comments as they are experienced and to extract them in an organised fashion when they are needed. These databases can even redistribute the elements of a reference according to the needs of a particular publisher's house style and are fully accessible from within word-processing programs. The easy management of information makes the bibliographical approach to knowledge a more achievable option.

A danger, often commented on in the literature of library science, is that a dependence on computerised information might restrict research in the humanities (in subtle, passive and economic ways), because revelatory discoveries are made by
CONCLUSIONS

browsing, by chance encounter and through the serendipity of fertile discussion. None of this reduces the potential which the computer can offer research in the humanities, it simply means that scholars and bibliographers need to continue to pursue knowledge by exploiting all sources of information, relying exclusively on databases no more than they would rely exclusively on the contents of one library. Both the selectivist and the bibliographical approaches depend for their success on an open-minded quest for evidence and knowledge wherever they may be found.

The purpose in writing this thesis has been to provide a theoretical base for research in county bibliography. The conclusions of that analysis have been mentioned many times: that bibliographies should be comprehensive, that inclusion and exclusion policies should be rigorously applied, that all possible sources of information should be employed in the research, and that the results should be presented in ways which will serve the needs of the greatest possible number of users. The programme of research continues, and it is anticipated that the Rutland bibliography will soon be ready for publication and will represent the achievement of these principles for one county.

An ideal is that the bibliography should be simultaneously issued in both printed and electronic formats. The main issue relating to simultaneous publication is the question of the identity of the two versions. Issues relating to the general publication of an electronic bibliography are questions of format, software and costs.

The two versions should be identical. Some bibliographies (such as the proposed new edition of Graves' bibliography of English medieval history) have different texts for their different editions: complete versions for the electronic edition and a selective version for the printed. This immediately means that the selective edition is subject to all the criticisms of incomplete 'bibliographies' mentioned throughout the thesis, however great the on-line edition is recognised to be. Far from meeting the needs of non-computerate readers, it denies their needs by hiding the whole truth from them: better not to issue a printed version at all than to issue one which drives a wedge between 'information-rich' and 'information-poor' researchers.

It is likely, however, that the two versions of the Rutland bibliography will have some differences, not of content but of presentation. Although it is possible to use software which will present the electronic text in graphic images similar to the
printed versions, a possibility employed for some electronic journals, it is preferable to honour the principle of meeting the needs of a maximum number of customers rather than achieving the highest standards only for those with the right equipment. It might be necessary to publish the electronic version in two different softwares: one a word-processed ASCII version, with the whole text reduced to a large number of files of manageable size, and with specialised letters such as é encoded into readable instructions; and the other a database version in a standard software such as Idealist or Papyrus. It might be necessary to issue adapted versions of the software (under licence) with the text. The more alternative softwares the publisher tries to accommodate, the more complex the program will become and more export or import filters will need to be written to ensure the transfer of specialised letters and the integrity of respective fields of information.

The diversity relates to hardware also. The bibliography could be issued on tape, on discs of several sizes and densities or as a CD. The CD option will normally require the publication of a manufactured edition in multiple copies, but the other discs could be made to order at a negligible cost. Although the cost of publishing on CD is less than conventional printing, most of the expense, as with printing, is incurred at the setting-up stage. The recent development of discs which can be written on by the user offers the potential of reducing the cost of a small edition, just as publishing a bound print-out from a personal computer offers an economical option on a minuscule conventional print-run, but this is still new technology requiring specialised hardware to create the first copy.

Simultaneous publication still means that the publisher incurs two large setting-up costs which need to be recovered by charging a relatively high retail price. Another cost factor is that the publisher must be prepared to issue free replacements of discs which become unreadable, which may happen for no apparent reason and long after the sale has been made. Such a guarantee has to be offered to reassure customers who may be buying a copy-protected product that their long-term needs will be served.

326 Woodward and McKnight, op. cit., p. 72.
327 The music software Sibelius 7, designed for the use of composers, cannot be copied by the user and the manufacturers give this long-term support to their customers. The present author has found some purchased discs to be unusable only a year or two after purchase: the slightest scratch, which may be caused by nothing more than
Another issue of electronic publishing is whether the text should be issued as a purchasable artefact, to be consulted on the equipment of purchasing libraries, or as an on-line service, to be consulted through the telephone. Again, both options are realistic possibilities and both could be simultaneously provided. The only drawback to the on-line service is that it would severely restrict the market potential of the packaged version if it was available free of charge, and charging distant users for the results of single enquiries is rarely a realistic option. Decisions will need to be carefully weighed on these questions before the Rutland bibliography is published. When it is published, however, it will set new standards for local bibliographies and revolutionise the study of one particular county by students at all levels of education and publishing. It will offer the 'bibliographical way' through Rutland.

APPENDIX 1: 
A SELECTION OF PRINTED BIBLIOGRAPHIES WHICH SHOULD BE CONSULTED FOR THE STUDY OF ANY ENGLISH COUNTY


Annual Bibliography of British and Irish History (London: Royal Historical Society).


British Library, *The British National Bibliography* (from 1950) and continuing. Regular issue in two volumes, one arranged by subject and the other an index.


The catalogue down to 1975 is also available as a set of 5 CDs.


*Dissertation Abstracts* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms Inc.).


University of Leicester (Leicester: Leicester University Department of English Local History, 1981).


APPENDIX 1


Poole, William Frederick, *An Index to Periodical Literature, 3rd ed.* (Boston, 1882).


Rodger, Elizabeth M., The Large Scale County Maps of the British Isles 1596–1850. A Union List compiled in the Map Section of the Bodleian Library (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1960) [poor coverage on any individual county]


See also the forthcoming Supplement, ed. John Field (Stamford: Paul Watkins, expected in 1997).

Subject Index of the Modern Works Added to the Library of the British Museum in the years 1881–1900, 3 vols, reprinted (London: H. Pordes, 1966), and subsequent vols.


*Urban History Yearbook.*


*Writings on British History 1901–1933. A Bibliography of Books and Articles on the History of Great Britain from About 400 A.D. to 1914, Published During the Years 1901–1933 Inclusive, with an Appendix Containing a Select List of Publications in These Years on British History Since 1914*, 5 vols in 7 parts (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968–70).


See also the list of on-line sources exploited, in Table 2 (pp. 79–80).
APPENDIX 2:
THE TYPES OF PUBLICATION INCLUDED IN THE RUTLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Included here are types of non-periodical 'separate publications' which were encountered during the Rutland project. Obviously there are many overlaps between some categories, and some might be given alternative names, but it was found that every Rutland title could fit into one or other of these categories. It is to be expected that every county would offer samples of each of these. Where '(some)' qualifies the entry, an argument can be entertained for the inclusion of some samples for specific reasons, as discussed in the thesis.

Abstracts of statistical returns
Acts of Parliament
Almanacks
Annual reports
Antiquarian books
Archaeological reports
Auction catalogues (some)
Autobiographies
Bibliographies
Biographies
Bizarre books
Business histories
Business profiles
Byelaws
Census summaries
Church guides
Climatological literature
Conference proceedings
Country walks

County Council handbooks
Criminal broadsides
Diocesan literature
Directories
Editions of historical source material
Educational literature
Exhibition catalogues (some)
Family histories
Folklore collections
Friendly society literature
Gazetteers
Geography books
Heraldic visitations
Humour / cartoon books
Hymn books
Industrial archaeology
Institutional rules
Lectures
Literary anthologies

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local histories</th>
<th>Regimental histories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Museum handbooks</td>
<td>School histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum publications</td>
<td>School prospectuses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural history literature</td>
<td>School registers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novels</td>
<td>Sermons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offprints (if commercially issued)</td>
<td>Social survey reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral histories</td>
<td>Society rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pageants</td>
<td>Souvenirs of events (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish registers</td>
<td>Sporting literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary reports</td>
<td>Sporting memoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture books / View albums</td>
<td>Street plans (if having a text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning literature</td>
<td>Telephone directories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>Timetables (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemical pamphlets</td>
<td>Topographical literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poll books</td>
<td>Tourist literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer books</td>
<td>Town guides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison rules</td>
<td>Town trails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programmes</td>
<td>Trial reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub guides</td>
<td>University theses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway books</td>
<td>Village histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipe books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3:
EPHEMERAL ITEMS ENCOUNTERED BUT EXCLUDED FROM THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list is intended only as an approximate guide to the type of ephemeral items which might be encountered at a local level, and which can be discarded from a bibliography. Where '(some)' qualifies the entry, an argument can be entertained for the inclusion of some samples for specific reasons, as discussed in the thesis. Many of the items listed here do not appear in the useful list in Makepeace's *Ephemera* (pp. 220-3).

- Advertising leaflets
- Agendas
- Appeal leaflets
- Application forms
- Auction catalogues (some)
- Bags
- Bank notes (of local banks)
- Beermats
- Bus tickets
- Bus timetables
- Business opening times
- Business plans
- Business profiles (some)
- Calendars
- Calling cards
- Catalogues
- Certificates
- Cheques (of local banks)
- Church diaries
- Circulars
- Commemorative items
- Company reports
- Competition entry forms
- Compliment slips
- Diaries
- Educational photocopies
- Election literature
- Envelopes
- Estate agents' sales particulars
- Exhibition catalogues (some)
- Fixture lists
- Franking marks
- Greeting cards
- Invitations
- Invoices
- Job descriptions
- Labels from local products
- Letterheads
### APPENDIX 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lists of addresses</th>
<th>Railway timetables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meeting notices</td>
<td>Ration books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership cards</td>
<td>Receipts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership forms</td>
<td>Rent books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menus</td>
<td>Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minutes of meetings</td>
<td>Sales catalogues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Mission Statements’</td>
<td>Score cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper clippings</td>
<td>Service sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order forms</td>
<td>Share certificates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passports (there is a Rutland one)</td>
<td>Shopping guides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitions</td>
<td>Society advertising leaflets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning notices</td>
<td>Souvenirs of events (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playbills</td>
<td>Stocklists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political leaflets</td>
<td>Street plans (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polythene bags</td>
<td>Sympathy cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postcards</td>
<td>Telegrams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters</td>
<td>Tent cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press releases</td>
<td>Tickets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price lists</td>
<td>Timetables (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price tags</td>
<td>Tourist literature (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed envelopes</td>
<td>Tradecards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programmes (some)</td>
<td>Travel brochures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proof copies</td>
<td>Wage slips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospectuses (some)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4: 
THE RUTLAND CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

A Rutland in general

1. Bibliographical 1-52
   (1.i) Guides to Records 53-97
2. Topographical 98–259
3. Natural History (260–567)
   (3.i) General 260–83
   (3.ii) Geology 284–320
   (3.iii) Climate 321–37
   (3.iv) Living Things
      General 338–57
      (a) Kingdom: Plants
         General 358–71
         Divisions: Thallophyta (algae, lichens etc.) 372–82
         Bryophyta (mosses, liverworts etc.) 383–9
         Pteridiophyta (ferns etc.) 390
         Gymnospermae (conifers etc.) 391–7
         Angiospermae (flowering plants, grasses, etc.) 398–402
      (b) Kingdom: Fungi 403–6
      (c) Kingdom: Animals
         Phyla: Porifera (sponges etc.)
            Cnidaria (hydra, jellyfish etc.)
            Protozoa (simple, early organisms) 407
            Annelida (earthworms, leeches etc.) 408–9
            Platyhelminthes (flatworms etc.) 410
            Mollusca (snails and slugs etc.) 411–12
            Arthropoda
               Crustaceans 413–16
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Spiders and Insects 417–32
Bryozoa (‘moss-animals’)
Echinodermata (starfish etc.)
Chordata: Subphylum Vertebrata:
Fish 433–42
Amphibians 443–50
Reptiles 451–6
Birds 457–525
Mammals 526–39

(d) Kingdoms of ‘Micro-Organisms’ 540–8

(3.v) Palaeontology 549–58
(3.vi) Pollution Studies 559–67

4. Humanities

(4.i) History (568–965)
(a) Editions of Local Source Materials (568–618)
Collections 569–73
Secular 574–5
Ecclesiastical 576–81
Administrative 582–618
(b) General History 619–51
(c) Prehistoric Rutland 652–78
(d) Roman Rutland (55 B.C. to A.D. 410) 679–704
(e) Anglo-Saxon and Viking Rutland (410–1066) 705–59
(f) Medieval Rutland (1066–1485) 760–830
(g) Tudor Rutland (1485–1603) 831–55
(h) Stuart Rutland (1603–1714) 856–96
(i) Georgian Rutland (1714–1837) 897–922
(j) Victorian Rutland (1837–1901) 923–42
(k) Twentieth-Century Rutland 943–65

(4.ii) Archaeology 966–1068

(4.iii) Onomastics: Place-Names 1069–1105
Onomastics: Personal Names 1106–9
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(4.iv) Biography and Family History
   (a) General Collections 1110–79
   (b) Specific Names 1180–951
   (c) Heraldry 1952–61

(4.v) Religious History
   (a) Pre-Christian 1962–4
   (b) Christian
      Church of England (includes Medieval) 1965–93
      Roman Catholic 1994
      Non-Conformism 1995–2012
   (c) Other Religions 2013

(4.vi) Military History
   (a) General 2014–39
   (b) Specific Regiments 2040–53

(4.vii) Economic History
   (a) Husbandry
      Agriculture 2054–87
      Enclosures and Parks 2088–102
      Forestry 2103–8
      Gardens 2109–12
   (b) Industry
      general 2113–25
      brewing 2126–33
      cement 2134–41
      mining / quarrying 2142–62
      textiles 2163–6
   (c) Trade
      general 2167–81
      retailing 2182–91
      clocks and watches 2192–94

(4.viii) Socio-Economic History
   (a) Transport and Communications
      General 2195–202
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Rivers and Canals 2203–23
Roads 2224–45
Railways 2246–90
Aviation 2291–304
(b) Urban Studies 2305–11
See also Oakham, Stamford and Uppingham, below
(c) Population Studies 2312–18
(4.ix) Social History
(a) Administration
Central Government (2319–410)
  Census 2368–91
  Survey Reports 2392–410
Local Government (2411–559)
  Administration and Finance 2411–48
  Local Survey Reports 2449–57
  Planning 2458–552
  Other 2553–9
(b) Education
  General 2560–85
  Oakham and Uppingham Schools 2586–93
  Oakham School 2594–627
  Uppingham School 2628–708
  Edward Thring and his World 2709–32
  Other Schools 2733–47
(c) Law 2748–89
(d) Social Services
  General 2790–93
  Fire Service 2794–6
  Health Services 2797–816
  Police 2817–21
  Postal Services 2822–4
(e) Societies

General 2825-6
Specific Societies 2827-59
Freemasonry 2860-86

(f) Sport

General 2887-96
Boxing 2897-9
Bull-Running 2900
Cricket 2901-9
Cycling 2910-21
Fishing 2922-32
Football 2933-4
Horse Riding and Racing 2935-40
Hunting 2941-77
Rugby 2978-9
Sailing 2980-3
Shooting 2984-5
Walking 2986-3003

(4.x) Culture

(a) Museums 3004-22

(b) Folklore

General Collections 3023-49
Some Specific Topics 3050-88
Ghost Stories 3089-96

(c) Dialect 3097-100

Proverbs 3101-7

(d) Arts and Crafts

Cookery 3108-21
Stonemasonry 3122-3
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(e) Performing Arts

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(f) Architecture

General 3188-211

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Almshouses 3212-13
Castles 3214-32
Houses and Halls 3233-55
Inns 3256-79
Schools 3280-82
Watermills 3283-5
Windmills 3286-9

Ecclesiastical

Churches and Chapels 3290-342
Church Bells 3343-55

(g) Literature

General Collections 3356-9

Fiction

Novels 3360-7
Short Stories 3368-90

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Sermons 3467-536
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Other Writings 3544-62

(5) Maps (accounts of) 3563-80

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General 3581-4

(a) Oakham Soke 3585-8
(b) Martinsley Hundred 3589-92
(c) Alstoe Hundred 3593-7
(d) Wrandike Hundred 3598-601
(e) East Hundred 3602-8
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(f) Little Casterton Hundred 3609-10

2. Specific Parishes and Vills

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<td>Ayston</td>
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<td>Barrow</td>
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<td>Barrowden</td>
<td>3717-45</td>
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<td>Beaumont Chase</td>
<td>3746-51</td>
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<td>Belmesthorpe</td>
<td>3752-76</td>
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<td>Belton (Belton-in-Rutland)</td>
<td>3777-817</td>
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<td>Bisbrooke</td>
<td>3818-42</td>
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<td>Braunston</td>
<td>3843-82</td>
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<td>Brooke</td>
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<td>Burley (Burley-on-the-Hill)</td>
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<td>Caldecott</td>
<td>4029-61</td>
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<td>Casterton, Great</td>
<td>4062-114</td>
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<td>Casterton, Little</td>
<td>4115-46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clipsham</td>
<td>4147-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottesmore</td>
<td>4190-258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edith Weston</td>
<td>4259-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egleton</td>
<td>4296-320</td>
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<tr>
<td>Empingham</td>
<td>4321-76</td>
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<td>Essendine</td>
<td>4377-404</td>
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<td>Exton</td>
<td>4405-86</td>
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<td>Geeston</td>
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<td>4571-614</td>
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<td>Hardwick</td>
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Horn 4621–33
Ingthorpe 4634–43
Kettlethorpe 4644–5
Ketton 4646–725
Kilthorpe (or Kelthorpe) 4726–31
Langham 4732–83
Leighfield 4784–95
Littleworth 4796–7
Luffenham, North 4798–867
Luffenham, South 4868–911
Lyddington 4912–85
Lyndon 4986–5020
Manton 5021–52
Market Overton 5053–107
Martin thorpe 5108–24
Morcott 5125–60
Normanton 5161–204
Newtown 5205–6
Oakham
(a) General 5207–54
(b) History 5255–328
(c) All Saints’ Church 5329–63
(d) Oakham Castle and Museum 5364–430
(e) Oakham School, see under Education
(f) Miscellaneous Topics 5431–81
(g) Periodicals 5482–91
Pickwell 5492–3
Pickworth 5494–519
Pilton 5520–39
Preston 5540–68
Prior’s Coppice 5569–71
Ridlington 5572–609
Ryhall 5610–50
Saint Oswald (fictional) 5651
Seaton 5652–93
Snelston 5694–6
Stamford 5697–992
Stanley (fictional) 5993
Stocken / Stocking 5994–6006
Stoke Dry 6007–41
Stretton 6042–81
Teigh 6082–109
Thistleton 6110–45
Thorpe-by-Water 6146–58
Tickencote 6159–207
Tinwell 6208–48
Tixover 6249–74
Tolethorpe 6275–96
Uppingham 6297–502

Uppingham School, see under Education

Wardley 6503–24
Wenton 6525–6
Whissendine 6527–66
Whitwell 6567–96
Wing 6597–633
Woodhead 6634–7
Woolfox 6638–43

3. Reservoirs
   (a) Eyebrook Reservoir 6644–8
   (b) Rutland Water 6649–6717

C. Periodicals (6718–7058)
   (a) Directories 6718–68
   (b) Kelly's Directories 6769–96
   (c) Almanacks 6797–804
   (d) Newspapers 6805–30
   (e) Journals and Periodicals 6831–7058
APPENDIX 5:
SAMPLE SUBJECT SECTIONS FROM
THE RUTLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) ANGLO-SAXON AND VIKING RUTLAND


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1 The first and second of these extracts contain a few items of regional focus which, it has been argued (pp. 157–9), may be removed from the final survey, but are included here for illustrative purposes.


Detailed catalogue of an exhibition held in 1946.


Edmonds, F. S., 'Lyddington before the Norman Conquest', Rutland Magazine 3 (1907-08), 9-11.


'Hart, Cyril, The Origins of Lincolnshire', 177-203 (frequent references to the early relationship between Stamford and Rutland).


'VI. The Early Charters of Rutland', 107-9. Six Anglo-Saxon charters cover Rutland, of which the editions and commentaries are listed in the historical sources section.

Hart, Cyril, The Hidation of Northamptonshire, Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, 2nd series, no. 3 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970)

XXVIII East Hwicceslea, p. 77; XXIX West Hwicceslea, p. 78.


'Historicus', 'Rutland: an Old Mercian Division? ', Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries 1 (1889-91), 73-6.

Hodge, E. Humfrey V., 'The Human Remains of the Anglo-Saxon Period found in Rutland with Some Remarks on Comparative Osteology', Rutland Magazine 2 (1905-06), 44-52.


Kirby, D. P., 'The Saxon Bishops of Leicester, Lindsey (Syddensis) and Dorchester', Transactions of the Leicestershire Acrhaeological and Historical Society 41 (1965-66), 1-8.

'Leicestershire Gleaner', "'Ing" Place Names', Rutland Magazine 3 (1907-08), 191.
APPENDIX 5


‘Genesis’, 13–18.


Aethelstan’s Village, 11–12 [Ayston]; The Domesday Landscape, 12–13; Gwash Valley Secrets, 14–15 [archaeology prior to Rutland Water]

APPENDIX 5

SAMPLE SUBJECT SECTION (2): RAILWAYS

[Act of Parliament], An Act to Empower the Midland Railway Company to Make a Branch from the Said Railway near Syston in the County of Leicester to the City of Peterborough. 30th June 1845. (London, 1845).


Chapter 3: 'Between Syston and Peterborough', 64–75.


Barrett, D. W., Life and Work Among the Navvies (London: SPCK, 1879; 4th edition, 1884)

Detailed account of the construction of the Seaton Viaduct.


Clark, R. H., A Short History of the Midland and Great Northern Joint Railway (Norwich, 1967).


‘Leicestershire Steam’, 26–43.


Ketton, Luffenham and Morcott.


Includes lines to Seaton, Luffenham, Ketton and Stamford.


Concerns mainly the Midland Railway’s Syston and Peterborough Line reaching Stamford in 1846–8 and general developments to 1853.


Uppingham and Seaton, 25–8; Saxby to Peterborough, 29–36 [for Essendine, Ryhall & Belmesthorpe, and Stamford]

Lee, Joyce and Dean, Jon, *Curiosities of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Seaford: S.B. Publications, 1995)

‘Oakham: a Model Signalbox’, 86; ‘Seaton: Seaton to Harringworth Viaduct’, 90


Leicester Mercury, *Transport Memories of Leicestershire* (Leicester: Leicester Mercury, 1990)

‘Railway Days’, by Horace Gamble, 29–43

295
‘Transport’, 93–107

‘Leicestershire’, 97–113; plate 17, opposite p. 120; Essendine, pp. 198, 203; Manton, pp. 79, 108, 111, 131; Seaton, pp. 108, 203.

Rutland begins at plate 41 and concludes with plate 47, featuring the stations of Ashwell, Oakham, Manton, Luffenham, Ketton, Uppingham and Wakerley & Barrowden.


‘Rutland’, 58–64

[Parliamentary Report], *Select Committee on Group (29) of Rutland of Railway Bills comprising Midland Railway* (London, 1846)


The publication presents a photograph of each item of stock with an account of the item's history.


The Rutland material is 'Peterborough Route', 90-109 [signal boxes at Whissendine, Ashwell, Langham, Oakham, Manton, Luffenham, and Ketton] and 'Manton to Glendon', 110-14 [though the latter does not include any Rutland photographs].


Chapter IX: 'Rutland & South Lincolnshire', 151-81 [further subdivided: (introductory), 151-2; 'Uppingham Quarries (Map R1)', 153-4; 'Pilton Quarries (Map R2)', 154-7 (+ plate opposite p. 184); 'Luffenham Pits (Map R2)', 157-8; 'Cottesmore Mines (Map R3)', 158-62 (+ inserted folded map R3); 'Exton Park Mines (Map R3)', 162-4; 'Burley Quarries (Map R3)', 165-7; 'Market Overton Quarries (Map R4)', 167-70 (+ 2 plates opposite p. 184); 'Thistleton Mines (Map R5)', 173-4 (rest Lincolnshire)]


Introduction, 7-9; Barrowden Quarries, 11-14; Uppingham Quarries, 15-20; Luffenham Quarries, 21-8; Pilton Quarries, 29-50; Cottesmore Quarries, 51-75; Burley Quarries, 76-95; Exton Park Quarries, 96-119; Market Overton Quarries, 120-59. Locomotives and railways throughout.


'Following the Rail Trail', 30-1


'Railway Mania!', 84-5; 'Railway Models', 86; Kathleen McKinnon, 'At Oakham Station', 122 [poem].

A brief essay followed by 60 well-printed photographs.


All Stamford train services crossed Rutland.


‘Bourne–Essendine’, 75; ‘Market Overton and the High Dyke’, 89–91


APPENDIX 5

SAMPLE SUBJECT SECTION (3): LYDDINGTON


[Act of Parliament: proposed], An Abstract of the Claims Delivered to the Commissioners for Dividing and Inclosing the Open Common Fields, Meadows, Pastures, and Other Commonable Lands and Waste Grounds Within the Manor of Bisbrooke in the County of Rutland; and for Dividing a Certain Common, called Liddington Common (London?, 1795).


References to Lyddington, 162, 271.

Barnett, Joseph, ‘Sentence of the Court of High Commissioners in a Cause against Robert Rudd, Clerk, Vicar of Liddington cum Caldecott, Rutland, May 2nd, 1639, Promoted by Peter Woodcock, Grazier’, Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries 3 (1893–95), 137–9.


Concerns ‘A Possible Anglo-Saxon Estate: Lyddington’ [p.16].


Includes Lyddington.


‘Liddington [sic]’, 34.


Old White Hart, 20.


Marquess of Exeter and Old White Hart, 29.


Map on page 62 covers Lyddington and other Rutland parks.

Clarke, Astley V., *Lyddington (Rutland) Some Points in the Village History* (Stamford: Haynes & Son, for the village, 1936).


Evans, Herbert A., Highways and Byways in Northamptonshire and Rutland, with illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs (London: Macmillan and Co., 1918)


Hart, Cyril, The Hidation of Northamptonshire, Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, 2nd series, no. 3 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970)

Hartopp, Henry (ed.), Index to the Wills and Administrations proved and granted in the Archdeaconry Court of Leicester, 1660–1750, and in the Peculiars of St. Margaret, Leicester, and Rothley, and the Rutland Peculiars of Caldecott, Ketton and Tixover, and Liddington prior to 1821, now preserved in the Probate Registry at Leicester, Index Library no. 51 (London: Index Library, 1920).

Hartopp, Henry, 'Robert Hardy, of Lyddington, co. Rutland', Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries 3 (1893–95), 182.

Harvey, Alfred and Crowther-Beynon, V. B., Leicestershire and Rutland, Methuen Little Guides (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1912)

Hickman, Trevor, Around Rutland, Britain in Old Photographs (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996)


Hill, Peter, Rockingham Forest – Then and Now (Great Oakley: Orman Publishing, 1995)

Lyddington extracts, 269–71.

Lyddington', 201–2.

'Lyddington', 94–5.

'Places on the Edge of the Rockingham Forest Area: Lyddington ('settlement on the Hlydc' - river)', 96.
APPENDIX 5


Lyddington, 16.

Hope, Robert Charles, *An Inventory of the Church Plate in Rutland. (With Illustrations)* (London: Bemrose & Sons, 1887)

‘Lyddington.—St. Andrew’ [sic], 24.


‘Lyddington’, 49–51.


Laird, F. C., *Rutlandshire: or, Original Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of That County. The Result of Personal Survey* (London: J. Harris, 1818).

[One issue of several]; Lydington, 144–6.


Lyddington, 115–17.


There were at least two editions of this guide.


‘The Vanished Mills of Rutland’ [157]–167, 207–10 [Lyddington, 160, 208]

Lyddington, 77


Paradise, Thomas, 'Rutland Churches [9].-Lyddington', *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries* 3 (1893–95), 199–204 [with plate].

'Lyddington', 481–4.


General and Manorial, 1–6; Bishops' Palace, 6–8; Church and List of Vicars, 33–40.

'Lyddington', 150–1.

Lyddington, 137

Vol. II: [14]–[15]; vol. III: [32].

Lyddington, St Andrew, 54–5

'Chapter 9: Market Harborough', makes references to Lyddington.


‘Lyddington’, volume II, [51]–[72].


Lyddington, Helyn Hardy, 1486 [2], [5]; Lyddington, Edward Watson, Civilian, and wife, with 5 sons and 10 daughters, 1530, [2], [3].


Place-name, 188; General, 188–91; Manor, 191–2; Church of St Andrew, 192–4; Advowson, 194–5; Charities, 195. The Bede House is covered on pp. 188–91.


Simpson, Justin, ‘Ursula Watson of Liddington, Dau. unto Master Kelham (Kenelme) W., of Liddington, dec.’, *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries* 3 (1893–95), 275–6.


‘Tour 11 South Rutland A Maze and many Amazing Carvings’, 112–17 [covers Lyddington]
Lyddington, 15.

‘12 Lyddington: The Old White Hart (4½ miles)’, 54–7.

‘Langham, Leighfield, Lyddington, Lyndon’, 46–9


‘Bishop’s Eye Trail’, [8]–[11].

Earthwork, 118–19.

Williamson, Lindsay, *Green Shires* (Stamford: Spiegl Press, 1988).
Lyddington, 65–9.


Wright, James, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland...* (London: Bennet Griffin, 1684; reprinted Wakefield, 1975).

Frequent references to Lyddington.

**LYDDINGTON PERIODICALS**

*Magazine for the Parishes of Lyddington, Seaton and Stoke Dry*

*Monthly Magazine*

*Music in Lyddington*

*Newsletter. The Parishes of Lyddington, Seaton and Stoke Dry in the Diocese of Peterborough*

*Three in One*
APPENDIX 6: SOME SAMPLE DESCRIPTIONS

(1) WRIGHT'S RUTLAND OF 1684

WRIGHT, THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF RUTLAND (1684)
THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES Of the COUNTY of RUTLAND: COLLECTED From RECORDS, Ancient MANUSCRIPTS, MONUMENTS on the Place, and other AUTHORITIES, Illustrated with SCULPTURES. By JAMES WRIGHT of the Middle Temple. Barrister at Law. Ne parva averseris, finest sua gratin parvis. London: Printed for Bennet Griffin at the Griffin in the Great Old Bailey, and are to be sold by Christ. Wilkinson at the Black Boy, and by Sam. Keble at the Turks-Head in Fleetstreet, 1684. [the whole title within a double-line frame 271 x 153 mm inner, 281 x 162 outer measurement]
v: blank.

FORMAT: Quarto [dimensions vary, up to 362 x 229 mm]; A4-T4. = 76 leaves
PAGINATION: [viii] + 140 + [iv] pages + map frontispiece [= 152]
CONTENTS: Tp [i]: dedication [iii]; Preface [iv]–[viii]; [Frontispiece map]; TEXT, 1–140; The Table [Index] [i]–[iv]; Errata [at foot of p.[iv]; the book closes with the comment: Literal Mistakes and false Pointings [sic], the Reader is desired to excuse, as common Errors of the Press.]

PLATES: (1) Burley Stables on the East side (page 32)
(2) Exton House, on the South Side (p. 49)
(3) Tumuli Johannis Harington & Alicia uxoris ejus. facies Australis. (54)
(4) Tumulus Iacobi Harington militis, & Lucia uxoris ejus. (55)
(5) Tumulus Roberti Kelwey armigeri, necnon Johannis Domini Harington &c (57)
(6) Tumuli Annae Dominae Bruce, facies Borralia. (59)
(7) [not titled, but showing the tomb of Jacobus Noel at Exton] (61)
(8) Ecclesia Parochialis apud Ketton visus Australis (72)
(9) Martinsthorp House, on the South Side. (90)
(10) NORMANTON HOUSE. on the East side. (94)
(11) Facies Ecclesie parochialis de Okeham \ ab Austro. (99)
(12) [plate of armorial bearings from Oakham] (101)
(13) In the Hall Windows at the Old Hospital. (102)
(14) Aula Comitatus apud Castrum de Okeham (104)
(15) TOLETHORPE \ From the South. (128)

FRONTISPICE: folded and tipped-in map entitled [within a cartouche]:
COMITATUS \ ROTELANDIÆ \ Tabula Nova \ & \ Aucta . The map is probably by
Robert Mordern but is not signed. It is to the scale of one mile to 29 mm and is within a
single-line frame 286 x 359 mm. The map should have the same watermark as the rest of
the book.

All the illustrations except the map are included in the pagination, and the page
number appears on the page which has the plate.

SIGNATURES AND PAGINATION: The printer adopted letters which appear at the
centre-foot of every eighth page with the secondary set (B 2, C 2 etc.) on every ninth
page. Page 1 has in error ‘A’ for ‘B’. ‘I’ is missing from page 57. On page 89 ‘M’ appears
in error for ‘N’. The ‘T’ section contains the last few pages of text as well as the index,
but the signature T 2 is omitted. There is also a pagination error of ‘92’ for ‘90’.

WATERMARKS: The watermark appears at the centre of the page, twice in each section
except for the last two sections. It consists of a crown on top of an extensive patterned
design perhaps representing a face, below which is suspended a maltese-style cross and
the large letters IOONARD. Nowhere is the mark easy to see, the title-page and map
perhaps being the easiest places.

BINDING: A book of this period does not have a ‘trade’ or publisher’s binding. The book
will have been issued in paper-covered boards so that the owner could bind it in his
preferred style. A very poor copy in what appears to be this original state survived in the
SRB collection. The boards were very thick (6mm) and covered in plain brown paper.
The spine was covered in a strip of brown leather, but the paper on the boards originally
covered this too. The leaves were secured by the stabbing method with thick cord or
string. The dimensions of the boards were 365 x 235 mm.

NOTES: The normal reading of the dedication is: [185 mm rule] \ [188 mm rule] \ [145 mm
rule] \ TO THE \ NOBILITY \ AND \ GENTRY, \ Inhabiting within, or otherwise
relating to, \ The COUNTY of \ RUTLAND, \ JAMES WRIGHT \ Presents and
Dedicates \ This WORK. \ [143 mm rule] \ A2 \ THE . However, three copies have now
been examined where the last word reads WORR (those in the SRB and SL collections
and the collection of David Tew, Oakham).
Wright's *History* was the pioneer history of the county and it was an impressive achievement. The first sixteen pages are devoted to the county in general, the remaining 124 to separate accounts of each locality. Wright had a strong debt to a previous manuscript compilation made by Sir Wingfield Bodenham of Ryhall, some of whose manuscripts survive: see Broughton, Heather, 'Sir Wingfield Bodenham and "Rutlandshire"', *Rutland Record* 2 (1981), 87–8. The book is also a bibliographical challenge because of the large number of additions which were printed, and the extreme scarcity of most of the additional material. The facsimile is composed of reproductions from a variety of sources.

The original book, perhaps surprisingly, is not particularly scarce. Copies of the 1684 edition appear on the market more often than copies of the 1973 reprint.

**COPIES:** SRB, SL, DT, EB etc.

**WRIGHT, ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF RUTLAND (1687)**

No title-page.

**FORMAT:** Pamphlet of 12 pages in one section. Quarto [362 x 229 mm]. A6

**CONTENTS:** Blank [1]; frontispiece [2]; TEXT, 3–12; Corrigenda, 12.

**IMPRINT:** At foot of page 12 appears the following note: *Licensed Jan. 4. 1686. | Roger L'Estrange. | LONDON*, Printed for the Author by Edw Jones, 1687.

**PLATES:** (1) *Viro honorabili & praeclaro* [shield] Johanni Noel Armigero | Tabula meritò dicata. [2]; (2) Brooke House on the South side [signed H.D. | I.W.] [6]; (3) Luffenham House On the East side [7]; (4) [Luffenham House] On the South side [7].

**SIGNATURES:** A 2 [page 3]; A 3 [page 5].

**WATERMARKS:** The same mark as in the main book should appear twice within this pamphlet.

**NOTES:** This pamphlet constitutes the author's first addition to Wright's *History*. The preface to the 1973 reprint, by Jack Simmons, states that the Index was issued with this pamphlet (page ix), but it is clear that the Index forms part of the original issue. Although most copies have the Index bound in after the Addition, a few copies survive without the Addition, but which still contain the Index. The Index only includes references to the original work. Two copies examined (SRB and RB) contain the Index bound before the first Addition. The manuscript of this addition survives, together with the author's other notes, in the EB collection.
WRIGHT, FARThER ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF RUTLAND (1714)

Farther ADDITIONS | TO THE | History and Antiquities | OF THE | COUNTY of RUTLAND. | By the same Author.

v: [commencement of text]

FORMAT: Quarto pamphlet of 8 pages in one. A⁴ + plate.

CONTENTS: Tp [1]; TEXT, 2–8; illustration [i]; blank [ii].

PLATE: [Author's illustration of:] BURLEY On the Hill.

IMPRINT: LONDON: Printed for the Author, 1714. (foot of page 8).

NOTES: This addition is extremely scarce and has not been seen. The description is taken from the facsimile, which was taken from a copy in the hands of a now-deceased private collector. Most of it consists of the author's poem on Burley, but it is not just an edition of that poem, for there are additions to the main text also.
(2) SOME MODERN WORKS

BLACK, GUIDE TO LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND (1884)
BLACK’S GUIDE TO THE COUNTIES OF LEICESTER & RUTLAND [drawing of: NEWARKE GATEWAY, AND SPIRE OF ST. MARY’S CHURCH, LEICESTER
EDINBURGH: ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK 1884
v: blank.


CONTENTS: Half-title [i]; frontispiece [Belvoir Castle] [ii]; tp [iii]; TEXT: Leicestershire [1]–165; blank [166]; Half-title [RUTLAND] [167]; blank [168]; TEXT: Rutland [169]–190; [map]; Index [191]–196; imprint, 196; advertisements [not local] [1]–108.

MAP: Folded and tipped-in opposite [191], black and white with pink highlight on the county borders.


BINDING: Green sand grain cloth. On upper a double-rule blind frame around edge. In centre in gold (first word on a crescent): BLACK’S GUIDE TO LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND. Along spine: LEICESTER & RUTLAND. Rest blank.

END-PAPERS: Cream printed in purple ink with series details (Black’s Guide-Books) and, on lower end-papers, other Black’s Travelling Maps and Foreign Guide-Books.

NOTES: Rare tourist guide book from 1884, clearly heavily subsidised by advertising revenue. The second run of signatures is for the advertisement sections.

COPIES: EB, SBS.

BROWNE, THE PARISH AND CHURCH OF ST. MARY, MANTON (1985)

No title-page.

FORMAT: A5 pamphlet (210 x 150 mm); 4 pages within card wrapper.

CONTENTS: TEXT from ‘The Chancel’ to ‘Manton’ [i]–[iv].

BUILDING. On lower inner: Thomas Fryer Almshouses and Acknowledgement. Two staples.

IMPRINT: At foot of lower inner wrapper: Printed by Matkins Printers Ltd., 43 South Street, Oakham.

NOTES: Informative and attractively-printed church guide, still on sale in the church in 1996.

COPIES: HC.

CROCKER & DAWS, SPIDERS OF LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND (1996)

SPIDERS I OF LEICESTERSHIRE & RUTLAND I JOHN CROCKER - JONATHAN DAWS I Illustrations by M J Roberts I [drawing of a bird] I LOUGHBOROUGH NATURALISTS' CLUB I in association with I KAIROS PRESS I Newtown Linford I Leicestershire I 1996


FORMAT: A4 perfect-bound and sewn paperback (291 x 208 mm); [ii] + 248 pages.

CONTENTS: [drawing of] Araneus quadratus [i]; blank [ii]; tp [1]; [sponsor details] [3]; [drawing of] Ballus chalybeius [4]; Contents, 5–6; Foreword, 7; Acknowledgements, 8; TEXT, 9–199; Appendices, 200–239; References, 240–2; Index, 243–7; [drawing of] Alopecosa barpipes [248].

BINDING: Thin card wrappers, laminated and printed mainly black with some yellow and white. On upper: [bird badge] I LOUGHBOROUGH NATURALISTS' CLUB I SPIDERS I OF LEICESTERSHIRE & RUTLAND I [drawing of a spider] I JOHN CROCKER - JONATHAN DAWS . Title and authors along spine. On lower profiles of the two authors, publisher and ISBN. Inners blank.

NOTES: The book is made from direct print-outs from a laser printer. It is perfect-bound but there are stabbed holes near the left edge, through which sewing has been conducted for extra strength. Most of the book consists of distribution maps based on reported sightings of 326 species. There are useful reviews of the history of the local
study of spiders and a bibliography. Some of the maps are there for decoration only (e.g., p. 187). The lack of any photographs is a disappointment: the book cannot easily be used to identify an encountered specimen. Retail price after publication was £14, but there was a subscription offer of £7.

COPIES: HC.
APPENDIX 7
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE THESIS

(Specifically excluded from this list are items mentioned in Appendix 1, a few minor items and material mentioned in the thesis as examples of locally published titles.)

Anon., General Index to the Bills, Reports and Papers... of the House of Commons... 1900 to 1948-9 (London: HMSO, 1960).


APPENDIX 7


Boyne, William, *The Yorkshire Library. A Bibliographical Account of Books on Topography, Tracts of the Seventeenth Century, Biography, Spaws [sic], Geology, Botany, Maps, Views, Portraits, and Miscellaneous Literature, Relating to the County of York, with Collations and Notes on the Books and Authors* (Hull: N. T. Leslie Rare Books, 1974; [reprint of a work of 1869]).

Biblical and Historical Sources


Chidley, John, Discovering Book Collecting (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1982).


Conisbee, L. R., A Bedfordshire Bibliography with some Comments and Biographical Notes (Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1962).


Conisbee, L. R., A Bedfordshire Bibliography with Some Comments and Bibliographical Notes. Second Supplement [for 1965-71] (Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1971).

Cordeaux, E. H., and Merry, D. H., A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to Oxfordshire (Excluding the University and City of Oxford). Supplementary Volume,


D'Israeli, Isaac, 'Pamphlets', *Curiosities of Literature* (London: Routledge, [1866]).


APPENDIX 7


*Encyclopaedia Britannica* [various articles].


APPENDIX 7


Finberg, H. P. R., *The Local Historian and His Theme*, Occasional Papers no. 1 (Leicester: University of Leicester Department of English Local History, 1952; 3rd impression, 1965).


Bibliographies. Selected Nineteenth-Century Sources (Winchester: Barry Shurlock Publishers, 1975)).


Herbert, Anne Louise, A Catalogue of Oakham Parish Library. A Study submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Librarianship at the University of Sheffield (September, 1978).


Hyett, Francis A. and Austin, Roland, *Supplement to the Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature, being a Classified Catalogue of Biographical and Genealogical Literature Relating to Men and Women Connected by Birth, Office, or Many Years' Residence within the County of Gloucester or the City of Bristol, with Descriptive and Explanatory Notes*, 2 vols (Gloucester: John Bellows, 1915–16).


Isaac, Peter (ed.), *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990).


Madan, Falconer, *Oxford Books. A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University and City of Oxford or Printed or Published There. Vol. 1: the Early Oxford Press*


Philip, Alex J., *An Outline of a Scheme for the Classification of Local Collections in Public and Other Libraries and for All Material with a Topographical Bias* (Wraysbury, Middlesex: the author, 1953).


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[Reading Public Library], *Reading Public Libraries Local Collection Catalogue of Books and Maps Relating to Berkshire* (Reading: Central Public Library, 1958).

Reed, Michael, ‘International Local History – Paradox or Prospect?’, *Libri* 26 (1976), 231–42.


Rickards, Maurice, *This is Ephemera. Collecting Printed Throwaways* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1977).


APPENDIX 7


Simms, Rupert, *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis: or, a Bibliographical Account of Books and Other Printed Matter Relating to ... the County of Staffordshire* (Lichfield, 1894).


327


[Surrey], *Catalogue of Works added 1900 to 1923 to the Surrey Collection of the Minet Public Library* (no place or publisher, 1923).


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APPENDIX 7


Whitaker, H., Descriptive List of the Printed Maps of Northamptonshire..., Northamptonshire Record Society, 14 (1947).


World Book Encyclopedia, 21 vols (World Book Inc., 1993) [various articles].

