3. ‘Born to do this work’: Douglas Pike and the *ADB*, 1962–1973

John D. Calvert¹

His great work as General Editor of the Dictionary of National Biography, organised in its working aspects as a unit in this Research School, will ensure that Professor Pike is remembered as long as there are Australians interested in the history of their country and in particular of its great men.

D. H. Pike obituary, Minutes of the Faculty of the Research School of Social Sciences, 12 June 1974²

Douglas Pike was an enthusiast for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* project from the outset. At the conference on Australian history, held at the ANU in 1957, he supported the call for a biographical dictionary. When Ann Mozley travelled to Adelaide to gauge support for the dictionary project in August 1959, she reported that ‘Dr Douglas Pike is a strong advocate of the Dictionary plan and supports our ideas of centralization in Canberra and an Advisory Committee consisting of one representative from each University to act in a consultative capacity’, and he was the ‘obvious choice’ to chair the SA Working Party.³

Three years later, Pike was appointed the dictionary’s first general editor. The vice-chancellor of the University of Tasmania, who was about to lose the newly appointed professor of history at his university to the *ADB*, assured Sir Keith Hancock, the chair of the Editorial Board, that he had made the right decision, for the ‘whole project is very dear to his heart, and if there is anyone able to cajole a group of individualist contributors to work together in harmony as a team, I think that it is he’⁴. Indeed, Hancock came to think of Pike in terms of a saviour, commenting that ‘only just in time, Douglas Pike came to the rescue’.⁵

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2 Staff file 1272, ANUA.
4 Professor Keith Isles, Vice-Chancellor, University of Tasmania, to Sir Keith Hancock (21 March 1962), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Douglas Pike, 1960s

ADB archives
Like a number of others, such as Hancock and Manning Clark, associated with the early years of the ADB, Pike was the son of a parson. Born on 3 November 1908, at Tuhshan, China, he was the second of five children of Douglas Fowler Pike and his wife, Louisa, née Boulter, Australian-born Methodist missionaries with the China Inland Mission. At the age of six, Doug was sent to an English-style mission boarding school at Chefoo, in northern China, hundreds of miles and three months’ journey from Tuhshan. The school had Spartan, puritan and evangelical values; it was four years before the young boy saw his parents again. In 1924 he passed the Oxford senior examination and the next year studied English and Latin at the University of Melbourne as a part-time student. He supported himself financially by teaching at Spring Road State School.6

Lonely, suffering culture shock and grieving for his sister who had died of tuberculosis in China during the year, Pike failed his first-year exams. Rather than sit for the supplementary exams, he ‘went bush’. For the next 12 years, he worked on remote properties in New South Wales.7 He later remarked that he could ‘kill, skin and dress a lamb in a minute forty seconds’, and that he ‘had once held the Australian speed record for skinning a sheep’.8 In 1929, brigands killed his father in China.9 The unhappy episodes of his youth were to have a lasting impact on Pike, and perhaps accounted for his emotionally reserved character.

In 1938, at the age of thirty, Pike applied to study theology at the Churches of Christ College of the Bible in Melbourne.10 His academic marks, this time around, were consistently high.11 Fellow students remember him as very intelligent, exhibiting a strong social conscience and possessing firm ideas, but noted that he was not always easy to get on with.12 In November 1941, he married Olive Hagger, the daughter of his mentor, Reverend Thomas Hagger, and his senior by five years. Two days after their wedding, he was ordained a Churches of Christ minister.13

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7 Pike to La Nauze (20 September 1974), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
10 Student Record, College of the Bible, Melbourne, no. 464. A. Titter, Archives Centre, College of the Bible, Melbourne, to John Calvert (6 March 2002).
11 Pike achieved 88.1 per cent in first year, 88.5 per cent the next year, and 87.4 per cent in his final year. Enrolment Card, Douglas H. Pike, College of the Bible Archives, 1939–41.
12 J. Wright interviewed by John Calvert (23 April 1999), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
13 Pike to La Nauze (20 September 1974), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
The Adelaide years

Pike continued with his studies part-time at the University of Adelaide (BA Hons, 1947; MA, 1951) while ministering to parishes at Colonel Light Gardens and Glenelg in South Australia. G. V. Portus, professor of history and political science, regarded him as ‘the most mature student I had ever taught’.14 In 1948, frustrated with church politics and unsure of his own vocation—he acknowledged that the Scriptures contained much wisdom but came to discount ‘the idea of an entity called God, who could be experienced’—he resigned his ministry.15 Those close to him have suggested that Pike ‘had lost his faith and had nothing to put in its place. He had struggled with this personal crisis but had not been able to resolve it’.16 The historian Geoffrey Blainey observed that Pike was ‘not sure till the end of his life (without telling anyone) whether he should be in the church or the university’.17 Talented and conscientious, he was also shy, with a complicated and independent personality.

The day after resigning his ministry, Pike accepted a part-time lecturing position in the Department of History and Political Science at the University of Adelaide.18 He then taught at the University of Western Australia (1949–50) for two years before returning to Adelaide as a reader (1950–60). In 1953–54 he was commissioned by Cambridge University Press to write a history of Australia for their Commonwealth Series. This was eventually published in 1962 as Australia: The Quiet Continent.19 His doctoral thesis, completed in 1956 (Keith Hancock, at the University of London, was one of his examiners), was published as Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829–1857 in 1957. In 1961 he was appointed to the chair of history at the University of Tasmania.

Pike joins the ADB

The development of an Australian dictionary of biography had been discussed for more than a decade before a general editor was appointed.20 Correspondence with Hancock in early 1959 showed Pike’s enthusiasm for the dictionary: ‘I like the project and your plans for tackling it. So does [Ken] Inglis. We are each willing to keep a candle alight in our own small corners’.21

15 G. Stirling to J. Calvert (27 September 2004), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library. Alf Pike, interviewed by John Calvert (21 June 2002), privately held.
16 N. Meaney to John Calvert (21 February 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
17 Geoffrey Blainey to J. Calvert (10 April 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
18 Pike to La Nauze (20 September 1974), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
20 A. Mozley, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’, Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand, 9, no. 35 (1960), pp. 313–14. Ann Mozley’s article was written before Pike’s appointment and is most pertinent regarding the early history of the ADB.
21 Douglas Pike to Keith Hancock (23 February 1959), box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
At a conference of the ADB’s National Advisory Panel and Editorial Board, held in Canberra in April 1960, the question of appointing a general editor was raised and, while agreed as desirable, ‘there were real difficulties in the way of achieving it’. Put baldly, there was no money to fund a general editor. The plan was to make do with administrative staff and have special editors for each volume. It was not until after the hiatus with Malcolm Ellis that there was real pressure for the appointment of a general editor. In July 1961 Hancock, as chairman of the Editorial Board, produced a five-page report for the National Committee on ‘The Need for a General Editor’. He visualised a general editor taking on three responsibilities: chief administrative officer of the dictionary; secretary to the National Committee; and executive officer to the Editorial Board. Hancock also set down what he considered to be the type of man required for the position: an Australian historian at the forefront of scholarly developments prepared to navigate sensitively a way between traditional and nonconforming trends whose work would ‘stand the test of time’.

In October 1961 Hancock invited John La Nauze of the University of Melbourne to consider becoming general editor. La Nauze declined, saying that he did not have the right temperament for the job and did not wish to uproot his sons, who were in their final years of schooling. Pike, his next choice, also proved reluctant, saying that he had only just taken a new appointment at the University of Tasmania. Hancock discussed other candidates with a number of people, including with Pike, who helped to ‘beat the bush … to ensure that no names have been missed’. Other candidates, however, either were thought to be too junior or also declined the job. Pike informed Hancock, for instance, that Ken Inglis had declined the offer, ‘saying, “Nature made me a contributor rather than an editor, I fear”’. In December 1961 Hancock reminded Pike that he possessed the very qualities sought in a candidate and asked him, for the third time, to take the position. Hancock appealed to Pike’s sense of duty and obligation to take this important position to help raise historical standards in Australia.

He had pursued Pike for a variety of reasons: his academic seniority, his reputation as a fine editor, his specialty in nineteenth-century history and his breadth of knowledge about Australia’s past. There were few colonial historians

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23 W. K. Hancock, ‘The Need for a General Editor’ (July 1961), Agenda and Papers, National Committee meeting [12–13 August 1961], box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
25 K. Hancock to J. La Nauze [27 October 1961]; J. La Nauze to K. Hancock [12 November 1961], box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
26 W. K. Hancock to J. M. Ward [27 November 1961], box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
27 Douglas Pike to W. K. Hancock [7 December 1961], box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
28 W. K. Hancock to Douglas Pike [8 December 1961], box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
in Australia at that time; moreover, Pike saw himself as living in the nineteenth century: ‘I prefer it to the 20th century’, he told Hancock. Pike’s peripatetic academic career also suggested an aptitude to negotiate the provincialism of Australian history: he had studied in Melbourne, taught briefly in Western Australia and spent a decade in Adelaide before moving to Tasmania. Geoffrey Bolton has observed that Pike’s *Paradise of Dissent* taught him that ‘Australian history is best understood as a mosaic of regions rather than as a “monstrous tribe”’.30

Douglass Pike, 1973

Photographer: G. Carpay, ANUA225-981

Pike finally accepted the general editor’s position at the end of January 1962.31 He was granted the status and title of professor within the ANU, at a salary of £4250 per annum.32 For both ethical and financial reasons, however, he delayed his move to the national capital. His terms of appointment in Hobart included

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30 G. Bolton to J. Calvert (11 May 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
31 W. K. Hancock to Pike (26 January 1962); Pike to Hancock (31 January 1962), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
32 ‘General Editor’ File (4 October 1962), box 71, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
a proviso: ‘If the Professor resigns within two years of taking up his duties, he will be required to refund the allowances in full, and if he resigns after two years but within three years, he will be required to refund half the allowances’. It was agreed, then, that he would take up the position part-time and remain in Tasmania until 1964. He would then move to Canberra to work on the project full-time.

Pike began juggling his responsibilities as professor of history in Hobart and general editor in Canberra with frequent travel to the nation’s capital, where he would work in his office in the old hospital building. In August 1962, he published an article on the ADB project. It shed light on the project’s embryonic development and his own increasing involvement in it. His choice of language was succinct: ‘Whether men make history or history makes men is a question for argument, but there can be no debate that biography is a proper study’.

Establishing dictionary systems

Pike did not table a plan at the outset, so his priorities as the inaugural general editor can only be discerned from other evidence. The main problem, as he came to see it, was that many systems had already been put in place by the time he took up his position. In 1970 the Canadian journal Scholarly Publishing included an article by Pike tracing the development of other national dictionaries, in which he contextualised ADB methods and reflected upon dictionary practices. Pike advocated that ‘the first desirable step is to appoint an editor’, an agreed choice of both the ‘sponsor and the management committee, and elected in time to have some share in determining the size of the enterprise, its purposes, and its methods’. He then elaborated his ideas in two sentences that read somewhat ‘tongue-in-cheek’ but were revealing, perhaps, of the challenges he faced:

The ideal editor should be young and healthy enough to survive the whole distance, and endowed with prophetic vision, wide experience, omniscience, infallible memory, the resolution of an autocrat tempered by consideration and apparent reasonableness, skill in mesmerism, the irresistibility of Satan, the patience of Job, wisdom beyond Solomon, legible handwriting, and mastery of detail; he should also be so great a celebrator of life that he blesses even drudgery. Since no such prodigy

33 Hancock sent Pike a telegram reassuring him that his acceptance of appointment would be compatible with postponement for up to two years of his ‘physical transfer’ to Canberra: W. K. Hancock to Douglas Pike (12 December 1961), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
34 G. Walsh to J. Calvert (12 April 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
exists in male form (except in distorted biography), wise electors would do well to turn to the other sex for its renowned grace, sagacity, and happy devotion to little things.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 340.}

The first desirable step for a general editor, in turn, according to Pike, was ‘to start looking and praying for that \textit{rara avis}, a good sub-editor’.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 341.} Pike spoke from experience here, too; he was without a deputy until the appointment of Bede Nairn to the staff in 1966.\footnote{The first discussions about editors and lists for Volumes 3–6 (Period 2) were held in May 1961; in May 1962, the ADB Editorial Board elected Laurie Fitzhardinge, Geoffrey Serle and John Ward as co-editors for Period 3 (1850–90): Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (11 May 1962); Fitzhardinge resigned early in 1965 and Nairn replaced him: Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (4 March 1966), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.}

Pike noted that all dictionary projects were in the same ‘commemorative business’ and shared similar basic systems. Subject lists were compiled and circulated widely, authors commissioned and their work edited. Pike was very aware that the ‘last word in biography, as in history, can never be written, and dictionary space prevents fully exhaustive work’.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 338.} The ‘scholarly performance of contributors’ and the nature of sources were limiting. Nevertheless, good dictionary methods were also critical. Pike’s more specific editorial methods were developed ‘from intercommunication between editors of the postwar dictionaries’.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 335.} He noted that the \textit{ADB} was ‘the smallest project’ internationally and it was heavily indebted to models and methods of the \textit{National Dictionary of Biography} and the \textit{Dictionary of American Biography} but, nevertheless, it had developed some of its own ways in terms of scope and quality, despite its size.

A key feature of the \textit{ADB} was its own ‘information bank’, begun in 1954 as a biographical list, which had developed into a large Biographical Register. On that basis, the \textit{ADB} compiled working lists, which it sent to its working parties to develop and, ‘with faith in provincial rivalry’, produce good lists of subjects for inclusion.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 341.} Chronological rather than a ‘totally alphabetical system’ of work was best and, on this basis, rather than organising subjects by death dates, the \textit{ADB} had developed a \textit{floruit} system that enabled close attention to one particular slab of history at a time.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 336.} A third particular feature of the \textit{ADB} was that it had volunteer section editors ‘renowned for scholarship in the historical slab under review’.\footnote{Pike, ‘The Commemorative Business’, p. 343.}

Pike inherited a number of particular challenges as a result of how the \textit{ADB} was set up from 1958 to 1962 and the fallout from the Ellis dispute; other hurdles
were common to all dictionary projects. The *ADB* solved some of the issues it confronted in a unique way. In his 1970 article, Pike also signalled three issues that were simply intractable: the selection of subjects; editing style; and dictionary resources.

A central and continuing issue for Pike was justification of the selection of names for inclusion in the *ADB*. A recurring explanation appeared in every *ADB* preface written by Pike and continued in Volume 6, under Nairn’s editorship: ‘Many of the names were obviously significant and worthy of inclusion. Others, less notable, were chosen simply as samples of the Australian experience’.\(^{45}\) This explanation echoes the themes of Pike’s earlier writing, in which he gave prominence not only to convicts, colonial identities and notable personalities, but also to the ‘smallholders’ of the land. In ‘Making a Biographic Dictionary’ (1973), Pike surveyed the earlier dictionary editors and observed that they had not evolved definite selection principles apart from the exclusion of living subjects.\(^{46}\) Leslie Stephen, editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, for example, regarded worthy subjects as those whose literary works were catalogued in the British Museum. The *Dictionary of American Biography* sought to ‘re-create the makers of American life and culture’. James Nicholson prescribed that the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* should include ‘all noteworthy inhabitants’. W. J. de Kock aimed for those who made a positive contribution to South African events and also ‘minor personalities who through the vicissitudes of chance have remained obscure’. Despite all this, Pike was inclined to prick the bubble of innovation, pointing out that prosaic constraints lie in limited space and the search for appropriate authors:

> In practice these prescriptions had little relevance. First of all a biographical dictionary must be a work of reference and, however bigger or better, capable of achievement. Readers will expect many categories to be represented and conventional leaders in government, church, law, education, business, medicine, literature, science, sport and exploration must therefore be included. Little space is left for worthy but lesser known samples of the Australian experience.\(^{47}\)

The publisher placed restrictions on the size of the manuscript but an efficient and concise writing style in *ADB* entries suited Pike’s temperament exactly. According to Nairn, Pike ‘more than once claimed that when a minister he could always reduce his sermons to one sentence as he ascended the pulpit’. Although he did not expect his authors to do likewise, he ‘often gave the impression

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46 D. Pike, ‘Making a Biographic Dictionary’, in David Duffy, Grant Harman and Keith Swan (eds), *Historians at Work: Investigating & Recreating the Past* (Sydney: Hicks Smith & Sons, 1973), pp. 139–46. This was first delivered as the Eldershaw Memorial Lecture (3 August 1972), RSSS, ANU.
that he wanted something like it'. Claiming that there were no adjectives or adverbs in the Old Testament book of Psalms, Pike advocated their non-use in ADB contributions, and instead advised a stronger use of ‘verbs’. In the Canberra Times in 1969, Pike was described as ‘a small, slow and quietly spoken man, whose pencil is forever poised to strike out unnecessary adjectives in the biographies of Australia’s famous and infamous sons’. He believed that condensation was a ‘cardinal virtue’ above all others.

In 1958 Pike had given Jack Cross, a postgraduate student at the University of Adelaide, some guidance on writing, which Cross later published. The advice suggested that students ought to cover all possible sources, try to develop an individualistic approach, write for publication, a book, not a thesis, write as if an observer, keep a close contact with ordinary people and work full-time because ‘part-time research and writing is the bane of Australian historiography’. He also stressed: ‘Put a lot of thought into the actual writing. Each part should be re-written at least ten or twelve times over’. He believed the hardest test of prose was to read it aloud to an ‘informed critic’. As general editor, Pike followed his own advice.

Editorial burden

Following Pike’s move to Canberra in 1964 as full-time general editor, momentum built for the publication of the first ADB volume and exposed the lack of resources at the ADB. News of hectic schedules reached Hancock, who wrote to Pike from Cambridge, where he was on leave: ‘Fitz [L. F. Fitzhardinge] tells me that you have been getting disappointing support … we must try and improve the situation’. Hancock also wrote to Fitzhardinge so that he and Pike could discuss changes to procedures and the employment of extra staff. A few months later Pike wrote to Hancock that ‘the interminable details of production, endless checking, explaining, encouraging, planning and writing of unwanted articles—makes me feel sometimes like the lonely Elijah or the spectre ridden Ezekiel, when there is any time to feel at all’.

49 Martha Campbell interviewed by John Calvert (14 July 2004); and Gerald Walsh to John Calvert (26 June 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
54 W. K. Hancock to Douglas Pike (29 September 1964), box 71, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
55 Douglas Pike to W. K. Hancock, undated reply to Hancock’s letter (18 March 1965), box 71, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Besides the heavy editorial burden Pike was still a relative newcomer at the ANU and may have experienced a sense of isolation in Canberra. His letters to Hancock illustrate the continuing tension he was internalising. In July 1965 Hancock recorded his concern about Pike’s intense concentration on his work and the strain he was imposing on himself, suggesting ‘he would be wise to give himself some let-up’.\textsuperscript{56} A trip to New Zealand for both a holiday and to discuss dictionary matters with that country’s contributors was organised.

As already observed, Pike had inherited the fallout from the conflict involved in the early planning of the infant \textit{ADB}, in particular, that caused by the Sydney journalist Malcolm Ellis—‘a wrecker from outside the academy’—plus the (unspecified) medical concerns that affected the involvement of Manning Clark (a section editor with A. G. L. Shaw for Volume 1).\textsuperscript{57} There is no doubt that Hancock fully supported Pike, for they were good friends, but Pike had entered from outside into an entrenched ‘small world of god-professors’. There were times when he was ‘very disheartened’. An ‘orderly, probing editor’, he worked long hours and focused on his editorial tasks, setting high standards and persevering despite some personal criticism and jealousy.\textsuperscript{58}

\textbf{‘Bowing the knee to Baal’}

Members of the National Committee, Editorial Board and working parties performed their tasks on a voluntary basis, as did most authors. A key word here was ‘national’, for the \textit{ADB} was an Australia-wide project. It also involved various overseas links, with inevitable delays in communication in an era before fax machines, computers and email. The blurb on the dust jacket of Volume 1 gives an idea of the human involvement and the extent of administrative contact that was crucial in meeting publishing deadlines: ‘In this volume, the 535 entries have been written by some 250 authors’. Apart from Australia, contributors came from Britain, the Netherlands and the United States, and included a wide range of backgrounds and writing abilities.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{56} Chairman’s Note, Minutes, \textit{ADB} Editorial Board meeting (16 July 1965), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
\textsuperscript{57} Douglas Pike to A. G. L. Shaw and Nan Phillips (23 March 1962), box 71, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
\textsuperscript{58} Geoffrey Bolton to J. Calvert (11 May 2002); Wendy Birman to J. Calvert (30 October 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
\textsuperscript{59} D. Pike (ed.), \textit{ADB}, vol. 1, inside cover.
The ADB’s Story

*ADB* author Archibald Grenfell Price refused to ‘bow the knee to Baal’ in 1964

National Library of Australia, 1940s, an23355934
Pike established a routine for editing entries, setting aside Friday afternoons for rewriting unsuitable articles, which were then returned to their original author with an invitation to append their name. Authors’ responses to his editorial ‘improvements’ varied. One appreciative author commented when returning his proofs: ‘Dear Professor Pike, not a word of this is mine, and I am proud to put my name to it’. Another commented that Pike’s spare style made ‘history dull.’ Pike remained firm in his approach to editing, occasionally at the cost of friendships. His confrontation with the historical geographer Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, was particularly difficult for Pike as they had been friends in Adelaide. Price had launched Pike’s *Paradise of Dissent* at the University of Adelaide in 1957 and was a member of the SA Working Party. Within three years of Pike’s appointment however, ‘an acrimonious correspondence’ had developed between the two men over Price’s *ADB* entries on George Fife Angas, Charles Sturt and John Hindmarsh. Price’s articles, despite attempts at revision, were regarded by Pike as not meeting ‘*ADB* style’ and were considered unsuitable for inclusion. A heated exchange of letters fuelled the dispute and Price resigned from the working party. The Editorial Board supported Pike but hoped that Price would withdraw his resignation. He did, and his name was included in Volume 1 as a member of the SA Working Party, but he had no further involvement with the *ADB*.

Price was not the only rejected author, as extracts from Pike’s ‘conciliatory letter’ to Price, reveal. ‘Yours is by no means an isolated case, but out of some 200 authors who have already “bowed the knee to Baal”, you are the first to protest and decline authorship’. It was a biblical expression from the Old Testament account of Elijah, which Price would have understood both from his schooldays and other religious connections—hence his reply, denying that he would ‘bow the knee to Baal’ even if he were ‘the only Elijah against 450 prophets’. Price offered to ‘clean up Angas’ and to submit the article anonymously, handing Pike an olive branch. According to Colin Kerr, who wrote a biography of Price, Pike accepted the redrafted article on Angas, invited Price to lunch at his Canberra home, then wrote formally to Price in January 1965 advising that both the Angas and Hindmarsh articles were ‘out of harmony in general style’ with *ADB* requirements. In the end, the entries were published in Volume 1 unsigned. The entry on Charles Sturt, in Volume 2, was written by Jim Gibbney, an *ADB* staffer. The drawn-out saga between the two men demonstrates two aspects of an
ADB editor’s responsibilities. From one perspective, it depicted Pike’s personal involvement with contributors, many of whom he knew, and the emotional strain it generated. Parallel with this was his responsibility in establishing and maintaining an ADB style and standard that would guarantee the first volume’s acceptance with a critical readership. If for Hancock the ‘cross’ to bear was Ellis, for Pike it was Sir Archibald Grenfell Price.

ADB staff, 1971. Left to right: Margaret Crago, Sue Edgar, Sally O’Neill, Martha Campbell, Nan Phillips, Dorothy Smith

ADB archives

By the early 1970s Pike had assembled an impressive editorial team that included Bede Nairn (senior fellow), Jim Gibbney (research officer), research assistants Martha Campbell, Suzanne Edgar and Sally O’Neill, the war historians Gavin Long and Arthur Bazley, and Nan Phillips, the ‘super-efficient’ secretary and office manager. Outside Canberra there were part-time research assistants in each capital city and in Wellington and London. According to Campbell, Pike could be ruthless with authors who did not meet his strict standards or ignored his demands to adhere to strict word limits. In the 1960s Campbell, Edgar and O’Neill

65 General Editor, ‘Australian Dictionary of Biography’ (13 July 1973), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
were frequently given an article and told to rewrite it, which meant beginning again from scratch, researching it and then rewriting it. If an author who had submitted a shoddy article objected to this draconian editing they were given very short shrift. If they accepted or thanked him for improving it, they signed it.66

Edgar recollected: ‘As an editor he put the style and content of the ADB ahead of contributor’s/author’s delicate feelings’.67 O’Neill, who confirmed these opinions, regarded Pike as a brilliant editor, who ‘established the ADB as a first-class resource for both academics and amateurs. As editor rather than prolific author he is undeservedly unrecognised—a shadowy figure in Australian historiography’.68 These comments reveal the high regard in which Pike was held by his staff, and show a different side to the writing standard required by the ADB. In each of the five volumes that Pike edited, the preface contained the sentence: ‘Most of the unsigned entries were prepared in the Dictionary office’.69 Any attempt to be more specific in discovering particular authors is virtually impossible.70

The ADB in print, and travel abroad

On 4 March 1966, a formal dinner to launch Volume 1 of the ADB was held at the ANU, presided over by the recently retired prime minister, Sir Robert Menzies.71 The event was a pinnacle in Australian historical scholarship and the culmination of long periods of organisation, writing, meetings and hard work. The ADB was described as ‘the basic reference for research into Australia’s past’, and ‘the largest project in the Social Sciences ever undertaken in Australia’.72 The ‘Acknowledgments’ page recognised the financial backing of the Bushell Trust and the Myer Foundation and the privileges extended by Australian universities, followed by a series of people, local and overseas.

66 Campbell, interviewed by Calvert (14 July 2004).
67 Suzanne Edgar to John Calvert (10 October 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
68 Sally O’Neill to John Calvert (11 October 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library. O’Neill (née Burnard), a former student of Pike’s in Adelaide, was employed by Pike as a research assistant in the ADB office in the 1960s.
69 Pike, ‘Preface’, p. v. See also ADB, vols 3, 4 and 5.
70 A detailed scan of the files and card system of the ADB held at the ANU Archives would reveal the names of authors but I have not undertaken this task.
71 G. Fischer to J. Calvert (14 April 2002); B. Nairn to J. Calvert (10 September 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library. The invitation prescribed ‘dinner jacket’ but not all guests were so attired: see P. Ryan, ‘Manning Clark’, Quadrant, 37, no. 9 (1993), p 18. See also Sydney Morning Herald (2 March 1966), p. 14, and (3 March 1966), p. 2.
Volume 2 was published in 1967. It contained 581 entries and completed the years up to 1850. Pike’s staff continued to compile contributions for Volume 3 (the authors’ deadline for submissions for Volume 3 was 1 June 1967, Easter 1968 for Volume 4, Easter 1969 for Volume 5 and Easter 1970 for Volume 6). Meanwhile, Pike combined his own editorial tasks with a title in the Oxford University Press series ‘Great Australians’, a 30-page work on the South Australian soldier, politician and pastoralist Charles Hawker, published in 1968. Pike’s concluding sentences, describing Hawker, show his concise expertise with descriptive expressions:

Deeply religious, he never allowed church-going to become a habit that might blunt his sense of God. He won trust and affection by his high ideals of ‘living right’. He loved fun and wit but found his best satisfaction in serving his country as soldier and citizen, statesman and patriot.

Pike’s working practice was that once he had checked page proofs for publication, he diverted his mind from the published volume to concentrate on the next production. He was known to possess a ‘remarkable memory’ that enabled him ‘to recall surprising details about the hundreds of personalities being recorded’, but claimed with mock modesty that he could ‘only keep the details of five hundred personalities’ in his head at one time.

As work began on Volume 3, it was suggested that Pike should combine study leave with a holiday abroad. The Pikes had been overseas separately but never together. Hancock sought to arrange a visiting fellowship at Cambridge University or on the campus of an American university. The chair of the ADB’s Editorial Board, John La Nauze, estimated that the costs to the university of the trip would be about $1000, which he estimated as ‘chicken feed compared with our regular sending of a scholar to India to write a thesis which will be forgotten’. Ross Hohnen, the ANU registrar and ADB Editorial Board member, writing to the Carnegie Corporation of New York regarding the possibility of a grant to supplement the ANU’s travel contribution, also mentioned Pike’s ‘gentle nature’. In the end, invitations from various dictionary projects in Canada, the United States and France resulted in arrangements for research, combining study leave and dictionary business, with a grant of $2750 to meet all costs.

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74 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (28 February 1967), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
77 J. La Nauze to R. Hohnen (7 December 1968), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
78 R. Hohnen to S. Stackpole, Carnegie Corporation (18 December 1968), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
79 R. Hohnen to ANU Vice-Chancellor (10 March 1969), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Before setting off, Pike completed two more tasks. First, he wrote a two-page review of the ‘collected works’ of E. G. Wakefield, advocate of systematic colonisation, with an introduction designed to facilitate ‘a fuller assessment of his worth’.80 His other responsibility was the editorial oversight of Volume 3, published in 1969.81 A few weeks after he and his wife set out in October 1969 it was announced that he had been awarded the biannual $500 Ernest Scott Prize by the University of Melbourne for his general editorship of Volumes 1 and 2.82 Apart from three weeks in Canada and the United States, Pike was based in Cambridge, where he was elected Commonwealth Fellow for 1969–70 by St John’s College, entitling him to furnished rooms and dining rights in the college occupancy at Merton House.83 Returning home in July 1970, Pike resumed his ADB duties and continued the task of preparing Volume 4 for publication.

Volumes 1–12 originally had plain, cream dust jackets. In 1993 John Ritchie suggested to MUP that they be replaced with the more colourful gold and blue covers

ADB archives

82 H. G. Helms, University of Melbourne, to D. Pike (24 November 1969), box 1, MS 6869, Douglas Pike Papers, NLA. The Canberra Times (6 December 1969), p. 10. The award recognised the most distinguished work on Australian or New Zealand history published in the period by a resident in either country, and was individual not collective.
83 The Master, St John’s College, Cambridge, to D. Pike (16 May 1969), box 7, MS 6869, Douglas Pike Papers, NLA. F. Colbert, Archivist, St John’s College, Cambridge, to J. Calvert (12 September 2003), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
Bowing out

Throughout his time with the ADB, Pike showed little concern for his own wellbeing. His hard-work ethic, in which he pushed himself mentally and physically for years, was combined with internalising personal doubts. For him the biggest sin was ‘scamped work or failure to fulfil obligations voluntarily undertaken’. After suffering two heart attacks late in 1954 in Adelaide, he had been off work for three months. Hugh Stretton remembered that Pike ‘recovered from [the heart attacks] with a reckless determination to get fit or die, running well ahead of his doctors’ schedules of exercise and return to work’, but he did not stop smoking. Robin Gollan recollected Pike wandering into his (Gollan’s) study in the 1960s, ‘puffing his pipe and starting in the middle of a sentence—the first part of which I had not heard’.

In 1972, while Pike was involved with his staff in preparing material for Volumes 5 and 6, the Editorial Board prepared for his retirement at the end of 1973, after a last period of leave, by appointing a committee to search for his replacement. In August 1973, the acting chairman of the Editorial Board, Robin Gollan, forwarded a memorandum to the acting director of the RSSS outlining his preferred option to retain Pike’s services for some additional years. He referred to a meeting 10 months previously when he and three others had agreed ‘that after retirement from the university, Professor Pike should be given a contract at a suitable fee to enable him to complete to publication, Volume 6 of the Dictionary, the fee to be underwritten by the University’. The figure suggested was $10 000.

Less than two weeks after Pike’s birthday, a letter from the ANU registrar offered him an appointment as visiting fellow in the Department of History (ADB) from 1 January 1974 in order to work towards completing the fifth and sixth volumes. Having worked in close association with Pike for the past several years, Nairn had noticed that Pike’s health was ‘suffering, at least partly from his intense editorial efforts’. La Nauze, chairman of the Editorial Board, was also aware that Pike worked too hard and ‘never relaxed’.

Within days of his birthday, while mowing his lawn, Pike suffered a cerebral thrombosis, and was taken to Canberra Hospital. By the end of November it

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87 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (26 October 1972), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
88 ‘Negotiations Over the Retirement of Professor Pike’, box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
89 Letter to D. Pike from D. K. R. Hodgkin, Registrar, ANU (15 November 1973), box 6, MS 6869, Douglas Pike Papers, NLA.
90 Nairn, ‘The Foundation General Editor’, p. xii.
91 La Nauze, ‘Obituary’.
was obvious that he would not recover sufficiently to return to his desk. Nairn was appointed acting general editor until the end of 1973, but, in the light of Pike's medical condition, he continued in the post while steps were taken to appoint a new general editor. In March 1974, the ANU honoured Pike by conferring the title emeritus professor on him.

Pike died in hospital on 19 May 1974. A private, non-religious funeral service, followed by cremation, was conducted at the Canberra cemetery two days later. The *ADB* entry on Pike stated that the service was conducted with 'Presbyterian forms', but Pike had not professed religion following his resignation from the ministry. Rather he had embraced humanist ideas, believing that all religions should be grouped together, not separated into denominations. Volume 5 of the *ADB*, including Pike's preface, was published the year he died. The final paragraph of 'Acknowledgments' mentioned his illness, adding that a tribute to his service would be included in the following volume.

Paving courtyards and building stone walls had been Pike's relaxation from his time in Western Australia in the late 1940s; during his first five years in Canberra, 'he used about ten tons of stone', creating a stone wall at his house. La Nauze noted in his obituary that 'he built them soundly and expertly so that they would stand for a hundred years, like the volumes of the *Dictionary* he edited'. Appointed as general editor by Hancock, who had declared that 'he was born to do this work', Pike had gathered together an editorial team and established the systems that set the style and tone for the *ADB*, and yet, reluctant to delegate, he did much of the editing himself. His meticulous concern to eliminate scholarly error left minimal time for writing, beyond talks and a few journal articles that originated from his own research. He effectively wrote the job specification for the post later filled by Nairn, Serle, John Ritchie and Diane Langmore.

John Calvert, a postgraduate of the University of Adelaide, lectures in church history at the Bible College of South Australia.
Nan Phillips joined the ANU as a departmental assistant in the history department in 1961. She began working on the ADB after Douglas Pike’s appointment as general editor in 1962. During the next two years, Pike worked part-time while fulfilling obligations to the University of Tasmania. Phillips’ letters kept him up to date on gossip and doings: in July 1962, for example, she told him that ‘Professor Hancock is in Brisbane’, flooded in, and Mr Fitzhardinge was ‘a little off colour’. She observed when she sent him the minutes of a meeting that, in her ‘sad experience’, it was ‘unwise to issue a draft too far in advance of the next performance; with all due respect to academics, they have a wonderful habit of forgetting where things are and then there is a frantic rush to produce more copies’, adding ‘(Present copy excepted, of course!)’.

The ADB and writing history became ‘the vocation of her maturity’. As the office administrator, she was responsible for writing the ADB’s first style manual. Geoffrey Serle (general editor, 1975–87) described her as the ADB’s ‘heart and soul’; Ken Inglis (chair of the Editorial Board) said, ‘[a]part from the editors … nobody has contributed so richly to the achievement of the dictionary as Nan Phillips’; while a research editor, Sue Edgar, said that she was reassured by having Nan as a role model.

Like many ADB staff, Phillips contributed entries to the dictionary. She was also one of the few women who regularly worked in the Petherick Reading Room at the National Library of Australia, where she checked the accuracy of the items in the bibliographies of ADB entries. Edgar and Martha Campbell have noted that with ‘her patience and persistent care in compiling bibliographies she developed a masterly system of abbreviations and thereby helped to build the Dictionary’s high reputation for accuracy’. She also helped to build up the ADB’s library by her personal and avid collecting. Keith Phillips donated 830 books to the ADB in memory of his wife in 1984, a gift estimated to be worth more than $4000.

Phillips retired from the ADB in 1980. In the following year, the ANU recognised her ‘outstanding achievements’ by conferring upon her the degree of Master of Arts, honoris causa, for ‘outstanding service to scholarship’—which Phillips cherished because she had not had the opportunity to pursue tertiary study.
3. ‘Born to do this work’: Douglas Pike and the ADB, 1962–1973


Nan Phillips, n.d.

By courtesy of the Canberra and District Historical Society
Profile

Jim Gibbney (1922–1989)

Jim Gibbney was a research officer and editor with the ADB from 1965 to 1983. After war service, he graduated from the University of Western Australia (BA Hons, 1949) and trained as a librarian at the Commonwealth National Library in Canberra. He then transferred to the library’s archives division before taking up his appointment at the ADB. Like other early members of the ADB’s staff, he had been known to key ADB personnel before his appointment: Douglas Pike had taught him at the University of Western Australia.

Gibbney wrote 81 entries for the ADB and worked on countless others as research editor of the Queensland desk. With Ann Smith, he also prepared 10 000 short biographical records, with citations, for the two-volume *A Biographical Register, 1788–1939* (1987).

While working at the ADB, Gibbney completed an MA thesis (ANU, 1969): a biography of the journalist and Labor politician Hugh Mahon. His independent research centred on Canberra. He was chosen to write one of three volumes on the history of Canberra, *Canberra 1913–1953* (1988), for the Australian Bicentenary. The book was submitted as a PhD thesis that was awarded in 1988.

In 1968 Gibbney, a frequent user of the National Library’s collections, was given ticket no. 1 for readers in the library’s Advanced Studies Reading Room (later Petherick Room). This room was reserved for highly qualified researchers who were given privileges and were helped in their work by a small group of reference librarians. Manning Clark once said that Jim Gibbney ‘standing on the steps of the Library in the early morning was like a man anxiously waiting to meet his lover’.

3. ‘Born to do this work’: Douglas Pike and the ADB, 1962–1973

Jim Gibbney, 1983

By courtesy of Sue Edgar
Jim Gibbney, like many ADB staff, liked to write ditties. He sent this one to ADB staff after his retirement in 1984. His sentiments about the writing, editing and research skills learnt at the ADB would be echoed by all former and present ADB staff.

Box 58, Q31, ADBA, ANUA
Profiles

Sally (b. 1940) and Bob (b. 1936) O’Neill

When Douglas Pike set out in 1964 to build up a staff, he turned to people he knew and trusted. He had taught Sally Burnard at the University of Adelaide in the late 1950s (Ken Inglis supervised her honours thesis in 1961) and, when she came to Canberra in 1967 with her husband, Robert O’Neill, he appointed her as a part-time research assistant. In 1969 he made her full-time, responsible for the Victorian desk. A graduate of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, Bob O’Neill had been a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford (DPhil, 1965) before serving in Vietnam as an infantry captain (1966–67); he had then taken up a teaching post at Duntroon. He left the Army in 1968, and in 1969 was appointed a senior fellow in international relations at the ANU. In 1971 he was appointed head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the ANU. Pike sought his help in creating an armed services group list and appointed him section editor of armed services entries and a member of the Editorial Board.

The O’Neills moved to Britain in 1982 when Bob became director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, based in London. From 1987 to 2001, he was Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford. For 18 years from 1983, until their return to Australia, Sally worked for the ADB, gathering English certificates, probate records and dealing with research queries. In addition, she has written 49 entries for the ADB. Bob continued seamlessly as section editor of armed forces entries from 1971 to 2001.

3. ‘Born to do this work’: Douglas Pike and the ADB, 1962–1973

Bob O’Neill, 2013

ADB archives
Profile

Ruth Frappell (née Teale) (1942–2011)

Ruth Teale graduated with honours in history from the University of Sydney in 1963. She began her ADB career while working as a research assistant to Norman Cowper, helping him to compile an article (on Sir George Wigram Allen) that became a joint entry. Recruited then as an author in her own right, she contributed eight articles to Volume 3. In 1970 she was offered a PhD scholarship at the ANU but chose instead to marry a fellow historian, Leighton Frappell. An expert in the resources of the Mitchell Library, the State Archives and the NSW Probate Office, she was employed as the dictionary’s Sydney research assistant from 1977 to 1984. In 1978 she published, as Ruth Teale, the groundbreaking Colonial Eve: Sources on Women in Australia, 1788–1914. Over the years, under both her maiden and her married names, she wrote 56 articles for the ADB.

Active in the Anglican Church, Ruth Frappell extensively researched its history in Australia, collaborated on Anglicans in the Antipodes: An Indexed Calendar of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 1788–1961, Relating to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific (1999), wrote a parish history and contributed many articles and book chapters. In 1992 the University of Sydney awarded her a PhD for a thesis on rural Anglicism in which she compared the work of Bush Church Aid with that of the Bush Brotherhood. President (1998–2002) of the Royal Australian Historical Society, she was involved in many historical and academic associations as well as church organisations and groups.

Ruth Frappell, n.d.

By courtesy of Leighton Frappell