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A Dictionary of Public Figures

Geoff Page

Buried now a second time
by alphabet and golden year
(floreat circa 1880)

the outlines of their lives
are fleshe as again from paper;
their myths persist

or are straigh tened slight ly
by proud great-nieces and
polished by scholars.

Admission here is by committee
with death the first requirement—
this mild St Peter’s gate of three

Will vanish also into the text.
Clergymen, graziers, colonial mayors,
owners of goldmines or morning papers …

their public lives are shown and kept
as notable crustaceans
the white flesh private

underneath. The sum of all these shelves
is what we are
or what they’d have us be,

each row a long sarcophagus or crypt—
the earlier volumes wearing already
the discontinued smell of yellow.

Only the recent flesh to the nose.
Public Figures (1880)
Pressed flat with watchchain and cigar

wince and flinch as
year by year
the sweaty thumbs turn through them.

Geoff Page is a Canberra poet. His wife, Carolyn, worked for the ADB in 1982–84. This poem is reprinted from Collected Lives (Angus & Robertson, 1986) with the author’s permission.
Foreword

Tom Griffiths

When an organisation begins to imagine the next phase of its future, it generally composes a strategic plan. The *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)*, however, writes a history—and one spiced with biographical portraits. Of course, the *ADB* has done the strategic plans too—more than should have been demanded of such an unimpeachable and impressive national enterprise. But the reality of daily life in the *ADB* is that, even after 50 years, it continually has to fight for its future, especially against those within its own university who are driven by corporate competition rather than national collaboration. *The ADB’s Story* reminds us of the foundation vision of cooperative scholarship that brought the *ADB* to life, a vision that the dictionary has realised so superbly and that continues to inspire all who work for it. This book is about a half-century of dedicated work across the nation by good and generous people who are also brilliant scholars. It is about the organic, federal design of the *ADB* and how those structures have coped with and invented change. Knowing this history—in all its biographical and contextual richness—is the best strategic plan an institution could possibly generate.

We learn from this history that when Keith Hancock was establishing the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* in 1959, he assured the ANU vice-chancellor that he thought it ‘unlikely’ that he would ‘need to look for a millionaire’. As Hancock’s current successor as chair of the Editorial Board of the *ADB*, I recently sought help from the ANU vice-chancellor in finding that millionaire. The *ADB* Endowment Fund, wisely established by Professor John Ritchie, has become more important with the years and has been vital to maintaining core functions in straitened times. The Australian National University remains firmly committed to the *ADB*, but its ability to fund this prestigious collaboration is being steadily eroded.

Yet, as Keith Hancock foresaw, the *ADB*—more than any other single enterprise—realises the national mission that is literally at the heart of The Australian National University. In the recent words of the Chancellor of the ANU, Professor the Hon. Gareth Evans AC QC, ‘The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* captures the life and times and culture of this country in an absolutely distinctive and irreplaceable way … I could not be prouder of the ANU’s continuing role as custodian of this crucial part of our national legacy’. The *ADB*—as the largest and most successful cooperative research enterprise in the humanities and social sciences in Australia—is indeed inscribed into the very fabric, identity and rationale of our national university.
Yet to work with the ADB is immediately to become keenly aware of how much it draws on a truly devolved, federal synergy. One is quickly humbled by the range and generosity of its expert volunteer labour, the brilliance and originality of its thousands of unpaid and willing contributors, the enthusiastic support of universities, libraries and museums right around the country, the dedication of its vital working parties and members of the Editorial Board, the skill and devotion of its staff, and the daily dependence on ADB entries by scholars and readers, businesspeople and politicians, lawyers, teachers, journalists, nurses, farmers, cooks, possibly shearers and hopefully millionaires. We now know more than ever before the extraordinary extent of that readership because of the launch of ADB online in 2006 and the 70 million hits the site receives each year.

I am proud not only of the ADB and its vast, dispersed team but also of the fact that The ADB’s Story is a product of the intelligent historical insight that detailed knowledge of the past does indeed enable us to plan wisely for the future. I congratulate the General Editor, Professor Melanie Nolan, and Online Manager, Christine Fernon, for recognising the need for this book and for all their work in bringing it into being, and I thank all the authors for combining scholarship and experience in a perceptive and inspiring portrait of a truly great national institution.

Tom Griffiths FAHA
Chair, Editorial Board, Australian Dictionary of Biography
W. K. Hancock Professor of History, The Australian National University
Obligations and Debts in Writing the ADB’s Story

Melanie Nolan and Christine Fernon

At the beginning of 2009 we decided to write an account of the Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB). Melanie Nolan took up her position as general editor of the ADB in June 2008. While she had been involved in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography as a working party member and author, she was the first general editor of the ADB not to have had experience with the institution. She was, moreover, heading a unit in a state of change: many staff were retiring and there was a pressing need to develop the online version of the ADB further. Nolan believed that an account of the ADB’s past was overdue, not only to preserve institutional memory and to understand why decisions had been made, but also to help locate a path into the future.

Meanwhile Christine Fernon, the ADB’s bibliographer and, from 2009, online manager, was busily arranging, cataloguing and boxing up more than 11,000 of the ADB’s working files for transfer to the ANU Archives. Previous general editors John Ritchie and Di Langmore had sent some ADB administrative records to the archives. All of the working files on subjects in the dictionary, and the unit’s more recent organisational files, however, were held in 44 metal filing cabinets spread throughout the ADB’s offices. Working through the files, Fernon realised that they were rich in information about the ADB’s administrative and editorial processes. She began to use some of the material she was finding for items in our Biography Footnotes newsletter, which she edits. As Michael Piggott has noted elsewhere, the ‘distributed “ADB family” (the thousands of authors that have written for the ADB, and the distinguished members of the Editorial and Working Parties) probably did not realise they were doubly making history as they researched, wrote, argued over inclusions, edited, checked the facts, and conducted correspondence’.1 While the files were important to preserve for posterity, Fernon also believed that a ‘full’ history, based on the files, should be compiled as the broadest and best kind of guide to the records that was possible.

Our common ambition to write a history of the ADB was timely. In 2009 the dictionary celebrated its first half-century. Fiftieth birthdays are a cause also for reflection. Thus, in December 2009 we held a one-day conference on the ADB’s history. Many of those who have been involved with the ADB over the years, including Ann Moyal and Geoffrey Bolton, who were present at its birth, attended the conference. The following day we held a closed workshop on the dictionary’s future directions.

Conferences often lead to edited collections. In the absence of any other contenders, the ADB took it upon itself to coordinate the writing of its own history. It proved more difficult than we expected. Many of the leading figures in the ADB’s history—Keith Hancock, Laurie Fitzhardinge, Douglas Pike, John La Nauze and Geoffrey Serle—are now, themselves, subjects of ADB entries, and full biographies of Hancock, Pike and Serle have been written. These studies, however, have included little on their contributions to the ADB and its development. Indeed those involved in the ADB have shown a marked reluctance to write memoirs.
Historians have traditionally rejected first-person accounts, especially their own memoirs, as subjective and, therefore, unreliable. This is changing. There is increasing interest in historians’ own pasts, their life stories and the institutions with which they were associated as things that help us understand the stories they have written.\(^2\) Accounts of Australian historical enterprises are, as a consequence, appearing.\(^3\) This collection, then, is a companion to understanding the content, character and form of the 18 volumes (plus the supplement volume) of the *ADB*, so far published.

This collection has taken time to assemble and finalise. Presentations to the 2009 conference, which provided the foundation, needed augmentation. New work was commissioned. In the end we had too much and had to omit some material in the interest of space and the demands of the narrative. There are, for instance, 47 short profiles of significant ‘*ADB* personalities’ in this book. What appear here are summaries of longer accounts that will be published on the National Centre of Biography’s web site.

Like the *ADB* itself, this project has been a national collaboration and we have incurred many debts. We wish to thank, above all, the contributors: Darryl Bennet, Geoffrey Bolton, John Calvert, Philip Carter, Chris Cunneen, Russell Doust, Beverley Kingston, Mark McGinness, Ann Moyal, Philip Selth, Jill Roe and Gerry Walsh. Retired *ADB* senior staff—Bennet, Gail Clements and Cunneen; past staff—Paul Arthur, Pam Crichton, Barbara Dawson and Janet Doust; and present staff—Niki Francis, Sam Furphy and Rani Kerin, read and checked particular sections of the text. Of these, Clements’ and Francis’s contributions were substantial. We thank The Australian National University, especially former vice-chancellor, Ian Chubb, and the present one, Ian Young, for their support of the *ADB*. The ANU Archives’ staff—in particular, Maggie Shapley, University Archivist, and Sarah Leithbridge, Senior Archivist—were especially helpful. David Carment, Tom Griffiths, John Nethercote and Philip Selth read the entire manuscript and saved us from making some simple errors. Selth epitomises the nature of the *ADB* family: he was a member of the ANU’s executive, he is an author and he is a second-generation *ADB* supporter. Geoff Page and Suzanne (Sue) Edgar wrote poems about the *ADB*, which are reproduced with their kind permission. Sue Edgar, a long-serving *ADB* staff member, also contributed photographs.

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The ADB’s Story

Staff at ANU E Press, especially Lorena Kanellopoulos and Duncan Beard, and copyeditor Jan Borrie, helped with the publication of the manuscript. The press is, of course, the appropriate host for this publication, which appears digitally and, for those who wish it, in hardcopy.

Every attempt has been made to locate the copyright holders for material quoted in this book. Any person or organisation that may have been overlooked or misattributed may contact the publisher.
1. ‘Insufficiently Engineered’: A Dictionary Designed to Stand the Test of Time?

Melanie Nolan

The *Australian Dictionary of Biography*’s genealogy

In May 1962 Sir Keith Hancock, Professor of History and Director of the Research School of Social Sciences (RSSS), appeared before the ANU Council to put the case for funding the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB). The *ADB* Editorial Board had appointed Douglas Pike as general editor of the dictionary in January 1962 but there was no provision in Hancock’s budget for the position. Boldly, Hancock went to the council to convince it to cover Pike’s appointment. He hoped to also convince council members to release funds for the appointment of research staff.¹

Hancock began by discussing the *ADB*’s ‘prehistory’: how the idea for an Australian dictionary had ‘been in the minds of historians in various parts of Australia for ten years or more’; how Laurie Fitzhardinge had started a National Register (later called the Biographical Register) in the history department in 1954; how a conference of Australian historians, held at The Australian National University (ANU) in 1957, gave their general support for the dictionary project and how, after wide consultation, an editorial board, headed by Hancock, had met for the first time in 1960.²

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¹ W. K. Hancock, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’ (12 April 1962), Minutes, ANU Council meeting (11 May 1962), 567/1962, box 1, series 245, ANU Archives [hereinafter ANUA], p. 3 [reprinted here as Document 1]. Separately, Hancock also had to request the council to make Pike’s a professorial appointment, which then had to be subject to an electoral committee process: Minutes, ANU Council meeting (30 April 1962), 639/1962, box 1, series 245, ANUA.
² Hancock Notes, box 69, Q31, *ADB* archives [hereinafter ADBA], ANUA. Hancock’s prehistory paper has not survived but his speaking notes were comprehensive. The *ADB*’s provisional Editorial Board met for the first time on 19 June 1959; the first *ADB* Editorial Board meeting was held, jointly with the National Advisory Panel meeting, on 23 April 1960.
The ADB’s Story

*ADB* promotional poster, produced by Melbourne University Press, about 1992

Source: *ADB* archives
Hancock was also keen for the ANU Council to be aware that the idea of a national biographical dictionary had ‘deep roots’ in the Western world. A few months earlier he had had a background paper prepared on other national dictionary projects. He also scattered around the council table copies of the British Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), which he referred to as the ‘senior member of the family’. He argued that the genesis for national biographical dictionaries was often associated with the massive wave of biographical writing that occurred in Victorian Britain. The role of the individual in history was emphasised by the great historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle, who, following Georg Hegel’s lead, declared that ‘no great man lives in vain. The history of the world is but the biography of great men’, and that ‘history is the essence of innumerable biographies’. The nineteenth-century era of nationalism witnessed the great national dictionary of biography projects throughout Europe, including the French Biographie Universelle (1811–62) and the German Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (1875–1912). These were massive collaborations that produced series of volumes of concise, alphabetically ordered entries. In their wake, the DNB published 63 volumes between 1885 and 1900 and then decadal supplements. Some have characterised these dictionaries as triumphant ships sailing ‘through the second half of the nineteenth century unshakably confident’ of their ‘values and virtues’, ‘legitimizing unified national identity’. Hancock prosaically employed the language of usefulness: an Australian dictionary of biography would be a useful record for research and a good vehicle for ANU university politics.

The impulse to create a multi-volume collaborative dictionary of biography came later in Australia than in Britain and Europe and made a dictionary project in the 1960s all the more timely. Early Australian dictionaries of biography were neither comprehensive—many required that subjects pay a fee to be included—nor did they involve systematic research: fee-paying subjects tended to write their own biographies. J. Henniker Heaton’s Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time (1879) set the tone, recording the lives of 550 men and eight women. David Blair’s Cyclopaedia of Australasia (1881), Everard Digby’s Australian Men of Mark (1889) and Philip Mennell’s The Dictionary of Australasian Biography

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3 ‘Notes on Dictionaries of National Biography’, Memo, Ann Mozley to Professor Hancock (13 March 1962), and material in box 73, Q31 ADBA, ANUA; and W. K. Hancock, ‘The Family Experience’, in ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
from the Inauguration of Responsible Government (1892) followed. The last, while largely reliable, did not include Arthur Phillip, Lachlan Macquarie or John Macarthur.

Fred Johns began his series of volumes—Johns’s Notable Australians—in 1906, and in 1934 he published An Australian Biographical Dictionary containing about 3000 biographies. The average length of each entry was 90 words. The Australian Encyclopaedia, published in 1925–26, focused on prominent achievers.

Percival Serle was the next to take up the challenge, publishing 1030 biographies in his two-volume Dictionary of Australian Biography in 1949. It was a mammoth task. An accountant by profession, Serle began collecting biographical information about Australians in 1929. Ten years later, and by then in his mid seventies, he decided to compile a dictionary, and during the next five years set himself the task of writing four lives a week; the average article length was 640 words. It was a marvellous accomplishment, though it also showed, as Laurie Fitzhardinge later commented, that ‘[t]his is the best that can be done by one man. It’s better than anything that went before. It makes it clear that this is no longer a one-man job. It’s got to be a team job on the model of the DNB’.

The idea of a collaborative national dictionary of Australia had been taking shape in the minds of a number of prominent Australian historians, Hancock told the ANU Council: ‘Frank Crowley in Western Australia … [Manning] Clark in Canberra and Laurie Fitzhardinge who, although “the last person to claim proprietorship”, was first on Hancock’s list of the dictionary’s direct forebears to be commended.

Fitzhardinge’s love affair with dictionaries of biography was rooted in his schooldays at a boarding school, in the aftermath of World War I, where, on wet Sunday afternoons, students were permitted to read reference books from the school library. Fitzhardinge chose the DNB: ‘I devised games, dodging about in it, opening a volume at random and then following all the cross references and following up the cross references to that and so on’. His love affair continued while working as a reference officer at the Commonwealth National Library (1934–46), where he found himself using Australian dictionaries constantly in his work. At the same time, he was writing a biography of Littleton Groom, the son of a convict who went on to become a long-serving federal politician, and found that, ‘with one or two exceptions, it was very difficult to get even the most elementary background information’ on subjects in Australian history.

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8 Percival Serle, Dictionary of Australian Biography (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1949), Preface.
9 Laurie Fitzhardinge, Interview by Barbara Ross, 4–26 March 1987, TRC 2159, transcript, National Library of Australia [hereinafter NLA], Canberra. See also J. A. La Nauze, Review of P. Serle, Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, 4, no. 16 (1951). It should be noted that, while the DNB was a team effort, just 100 individuals wrote three-quarters, with Stephen Lee writing 820 articles and Leslie Stephen 378.
10 Keith Hancock, ‘Formation of the Australian Dictionary of Biography’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
11 Fitzhardinge interviewed by Ross (1987).
In the late 1940s, when Fitzhardinge was in charge of setting up a press at the University of Sydney, he thought that an Australian biographical dictionary project, based on the DNB, should head its list: ‘I remember discussing it with Syd Butlin for instance, and there was general agreement in principle that this would be a good project for Sydney University Press’. Sent on an apprenticeship to Oxford University Press in 1947, he spent an ‘afternoon with the then editor of the current supplement to the DNB [talking] about methods of compiling and problems’.

Following his appointment as reader in sources of Australian history in the RSSS, in 1951, Fitzhardinge convened a small committee to consider the possibility and desirability of an ANU press, again hoping to make a dictionary of Australian biography a flagship publication. The scientists, however, ‘wouldn’t have a bar of it’: Ernest Titterton declared that scientists had no interest in contributing resources to a press, for they published in journals. Fitzhardinge then discussed the possibility of commissioning authors to write DNB-style articles, which might be circulated ‘in monograph form, like the Law Book publications, in a loose-leaf thing which eventually would be the ADB and would then be made up and printed as volumes’. In the meantime, he employed a series of research assistants to work on a card index. The card index later became the Biographical Register, ‘building up material’ for a biographical dictionary. And he talked enthusiastically about a dictionary to anyone who would listen.

In his turn, Fitzhardinge was clear that the ADB project, as it developed, was without doubt, ‘Hancock’s baby’ and that he (Fitzhardinge) could never have assembled the widespread academic support necessary to launch the project. From time to time, Hancock discussed how the idea for a biographical dictionary grew on him from his involvement with the DNB in wartime Britain and, in particular, when he started to work on a biography of the prominent South African and British Commonwealth statesman Jan Smuts, and ‘found good cause to curse the lack of a South African DNB’. The four volumes of Smuts’ papers involved hundreds of references to individuals; Hancock found himself duty-bound as a good editor ‘to track down these individuals and write brief notes about them’. ‘If a Dictionary had existed’, he noted, ‘I should have been saved two years more of finicky work’.

In October 1947 Max Crawford had suggested to Hancock that the ANU produce an ‘Australian Dictionary of National Biography’. As part of the planning of the ANU in the immediate postwar period, Hancock, who had been invited by the ANU Council to advise it about the establishment of a school of social sciences, invited leading economist Syd Butlin, political scientist Perc Partridge,
legal academic George Paton, psychologist Bill O’Neill, social studies researcher James Cardno and historian Crawford to prepare overview papers on their respective disciplines and their prospects at the ANU. He asked them to consider ‘[w]hat facilities are necessary for the encouragement of research in your field in Australia’. Presciently, Crawford suggested:

There is I believe more work being done now on Australian biography, a field in which we have in the past done relatively little. I do not need to labour the point that biographical studies will teach us about much more than the persons studied. This is work for individual scholars. The role of the National University might be the eventual production of an Australian Dictionary of National Biography.15

Whatever its genesis, by the late 1950s, the dictionary idea was being publicly attributed to Hancock. When he took up his position as professor of history and director of RSSS in 1957, he also took up the dictionary as an important flagship of his professional leadership.

Without any major source of funding, but with the cooperation of historians from all the universities and a belief that authors would willingly write entries, based on original research and without payment, the provisional editorial committee, of what was then called the Dictionary of Australian Biography, met for the first time in Hancock’s office in the old Canberra Community Hospital in June 1959. The committee consisted of Hancock (as chair), Manning Clark, Professor of History in the neighbouring Canberra University College; Jim Davidson, Professor of Pacific History in the Research School of Pacific Studies (RSPS); Robin Gollan, Research Fellow in RSSS; Laurie Fitzhardinge; and Ann Mozley, who had been employed by Hancock in 1958 specifically to work on the dictionary. They defined their objective as the publication of a multi-volume dictionary within 10 years, and set up two working parties to act as pilots for the organisation of the first two volumes on the period of the naval governors, 1788–1809, and a Pacific history group.

Hancock had written to leading historians in Australian universities and outside, inviting them to be involved in the project. He had brought them together to confer and then to join a national committee. Hancock then sent Mozley around the country to proselytise the idea and to encourage the formation of working parties in the States. Travelling to Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart in August and September 1959, she reported that there was general agreement ‘that now was the time to begin’.16

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ANU historian Robin Gollan was a member of the ADB’s Editorial Board from 1960 until 1981, and was acting chairman in 1973

ANU Archives, 225-459, 1975

Hancock emphasised to the ANU Council members in 1962 that, while the Australian dictionary was part of a world family of such projects, and that a dictionary project in Australia was overdue, the ADB was developing in exceptional ways too. It was different from other dictionary projects in the way it was to be funded, designed, operated and managed. The DNB, the Dictionary
of American Biography (DAB) and the Canadian Dictionary of Biography (CDB) were the direct results of substantial private endowments. In 1959 the New Zealand Government had directly funded an encyclopedia project—which had a Biography Advisory Committee and would contain a large number of biographies.\(^{17}\)

Hancock regarded the comparison between the CDB and the ADB to be the closest: ‘Our definitions of the objective and the method of achieving it are, in many respects, very similar’. They were both twentieth-century endeavours, founded in 1959, and situated in universities. But, while the CDB was developed out of the Canadian Biographical Centre at the University of Toronto, the Canadians also ‘took the precaution of discovering a benevolent millionaire’, who died and left a large legacy to establish their project. Hancock assured the ANU vice-chancellor that ‘I think it unlikely that I shall need to look for a millionaire. I believe that we can do this work at least as well as the Canadians and far more economically’.\(^{18}\)

Making a virtue out of necessity, the ADB had been launched in the belief that cooperative scholarship and interest could compensate for the lack of large-scale funds if financial responsibility for editing the publication was accepted by the ANU; Melbourne University Press (MUP) agreed to bear the burden of publication. Hancock noted that the ADB was ahead of the Canadians in the race to produce a dictionary because it had access to Fitzhardinge’s Biographical Register. Australia was following ‘British precedents fairly closely but, of course, after the lapse of more than half a century, we should be able to do better than the British did. I have no doubt’, he told the council, ‘we shall do’.\(^{19}\)

Finally, Hancock reminded the 1962 gathering that the ANU was founded in 1946 with a specific nation-building charter to encourage, and provide facilities for, research and postgraduate study, both generally and in relation to subjects of national importance to Australia.\(^{20}\) He saw an ANU-led national history project as an important realisation of the ANU’s charter. He also repeated to the council the remark of Queensland colleague Gordon Greenwood that ‘[w]e will do nothing for the ANU; but with the ANU there are no limits to what we are willing to do’. Hancock emphasised the absolute necessity that the partners

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\(^{17}\) The New Zealand Cabinet decided in late 1959 to produce an encyclopedia of New Zealand, which included 900 biographies of up to 3000 words. A publication committee was set up, with the parliamentary historian as editor; two editorial staff were appointed; two preliminary advisory committees, one of which was concerned with biography, were established and contributors engaged. It resulted in A. H. McLintock (ed.), An Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 3 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), box 73, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

\(^{18}\) W. K. Hancock to Sir Leslie Melville (22 July 1959), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

\(^{19}\) W. K. Hancock to Sir Leslie Melville (22 July 1959), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

in this significant national historical enterprise should feel that they were not merely instruments of ANU policies and ambitions but that ‘their partnership with us, in this national enterprise, is a real one’.  

Hancock won the council’s approval, and recurrent funding was made available for the *ADB*. Research staff were appointed, lists of subjects were completed, authors commissioned and a schedule for publication drawn up. It was a significant turning point in the project’s history.

**A decentralised collaborative design: The **ADB**’s exceptionalism**

This collection is the first sustained account of the history of the *ADB*. The prefatory pages of the *ADB*’s published volumes, unlike other national biographical dictionary projects, say little about its own history. Those who founded other major national dictionary projects wrote memoirs and/or were themselves the subjects of biographies; in some cases they wrote about their philosophy of biography. The histories of a number of dictionary projects have been analysed, with debates over their design and legacies. Ann Moyal has observed that the lack of a historical account is an interesting and telling omission; the *ADB* ‘appears to be “a Dictionary without a history”’, and ‘stands out as one of the few great biographical ventures that offers no introductory account of the founding impulse, or of those who set it on its route’. Only a couple of the historians involved in the *ADB* have written memoirs: Hancock,

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22 Minutes, *ADB* Editorial Board meeting (7–8 June 1963). While the salaries of all full-time staff at the *ADB* were being paid by the history department, Hancock made provision for the dictionary’s autonomy and ‘symbolise[d] it by giving the Dictionary a budget of its own’ within his history department budget when Pike shifted to Canberra.
the first chair of the Editorial Board (1959–66); and Mozley (later Moyal), the ADB’s first staff member (1958–62). Both passed over the history of the ADB ‘lightly’ because it was really a minor event in their long careers.

Nevertheless, there are some early accounts of the ADB’s history. A biography of Hancock, two full biographies of Manning Clark, one of the two inaugural volume editors, and a number of reconsiderations of Clark’s life and work have recently been published. And there have been accounts of those who had long careers with the ADB: a thesis on Douglas Pike, the first general editor, and another on Geoffrey Serle, the third general editor, subsequently published as a book. A conference on ‘National Biographies and National Identities’, which showcased the ADB, was held in Canberra in 1995. A number of papers considering the dictionary’s history have also begun to appear. Peter Ryan, the director of the ADB’s publisher, Melbourne University Press, from 1962 to 1988, has written fondly of the ADB in his memoirs.

This story of the ADB is in keeping with a more general historiographical tendency by, and of, historians. Australian historians have become more self-reflective and interested in the sociology of knowledge. There has been a wave of interest in historians and editors as authors and ‘makers’ of history, whose backgrounds and ideas are integral to understanding the history that was

35 G. Davison, J. Hirst and S. Macintyre (eds), The Oxford Companion to Australian History (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998). This includes a number of entries on the ADB and its staff.
written. More widely, biography has been resurrected in academic history, after social and Marxist history initially downplayed individuals, with some positing a ‘biographical turn’.36 The ‘biography’ of Australian historical institutions is also gaining attention.37

There is, however, a degree of difficulty involved in writing the ADB’s story because its beginnings were not happy. Moyal has argued that those involved in the early years wished to ‘draw a veil’ over the arguments between Hancock, Clark, John Ward, the chair of the NSW Working Party, and Malcolm Ellis in the early years—to the point of destroying records. Ellis, who, with Clark, was chosen to edit the ADB’s first two volumes, had attacked Clark publicly as a ‘crypto-communist’ and promoter of biographies ‘without facts’.38 By all other accounts, Ellis, who was difficult to work with, nearly brought down the infant dictionary project. Certainly Hancock destroyed at least one of Ellis’s infamous resignation letters and expunged the minutes of a small episode of the dispute.39 But he recorded the missing incidences in other documents. While aspects of the formation of the ADB were a painful personal memory for Hancock, who wrote in 1962, ‘for the present I have no interest in the historical record’, he also noted that the ‘documents have been kept, and some historian 30 years from now may have a go at them. Good luck to him’.40 When, in 1968, Mozley complained to John La Nauze, then chair of the Editorial Board, that in the preface to Volume 1 her contribution to the ADB was not properly recognised (which he conceded) and did not include a history of the ADB’s birth, La Nauze checked with Hancock, who responded that, while he had Ellis in mind and did not wish to antagonise him with his version of events, he also thought not enough time had passed to look at the origins of the ADB and its role dispassionately.41 For its part, the Editorial Board noted that the history of the project ‘was planned for inclusion in a later Index Volume’, although that never eventuated.42

Rather than any orchestrated decision, then, writing the ADB’s history just has not been a priority over the years. The archives, as Hancock indicated, are there.43 Jim Davidson makes clear, too, in his biography of Hancock, that

36 Tom Wengraf, Prue Chamberlayne and Joanna Bornat (eds), The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: Comparative Issues and Examples (London: Routledge, 2002).
39 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (6 February 1962), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
40 Sir Keith Hancock to Malcolm Ellis (June 1962), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
41 Letter, Ann Moyal to John La Nauze (28 May 1968); Letter, Hancock to La Nauze (11 December 1967), box 65, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
42 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (4 April 1968), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
43 Hancock, ‘Formation of the Australian Dictionary of Biography’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Hancock finally ‘accepted paternity’ in 1986 when he launched Volume 10. Nonetheless, the ‘foundational dispute’ has cast a long shadow over the project, not only on its participants. Most publications about the ADB’s early history, such as Gerry Walsh’s account, concentrate upon the disagreements between Hancock, Ellis and Clark. Andrew Moore has written four articles on aspects of the dispute and Ellis’s pioneering role in modern Australian history, arguing that his anticommunism contributed to an early Australian ‘history war’. As is so often the case, dramatic conflicts overshadow more significant and long-lasting developments. The ‘Ellis affair’ needs to be considered but it also needs to be put in its place. Other questions need to be asked of Hancock, Ellis and Clark, and all those associated with the ADB. What, for instance, was the foundational culture they collectively established?

Moyal records in Chapter 2 that Hancock had called a national conference in August 1957 to gauge the state of Australian history and to begin a conversation among Australian historians. Calling, and partly funding, this four-day conference of university historians (and others involved in researching Australian history) from across the nation was one of Hancock’s first acts when he returned from England to take up the inaugural chair of history and directorship of RSSS. As a distinguished Australian historian and biographer, Ellis was invited, along with other non-university historians Brian Fitzpatrick, Archbishop Eris O’Brien and Gavin Long, to discuss how to ‘advance the study of Australian history’. Ellis was one of the few historians of any hue who had published several well-received biographies: on John Macarthur, Lachlan Macquarie and Francis Greenway. He was one of the few historians who thought about biography. Most Australian biographies, Ellis wrote in 1955, were like ‘licking the cold outside of a champagne bottle on a thirsty day’. Hancock was attracted to someone who stressed the facts of a life but also insisted on ‘familiarity with the age in which

44 Keith Hancock, ‘Speech Notes for the Launch of Volume 10 of the ADB’ (1986), box 116, Q31, ADBA, ANUA. [reprinted here as Document 3]
45 Walsh, ‘Recording “the Australian Experience”’, pp. 249–68.
48 M. Ellis, ‘The Writing of Australian Biographies’, Historical Studies, 6, no. 24 (1955), based on his Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS) paper, Canberra, 1954, p. 432.
your victim lived; with its conventions, with its mode of thinking, with the limitations of its thought, with the stage of its civilisation with its sumptuary conditions and with its social climate’.49

At this landmark conference, Australian historians took stock of their profession, assessing its state and plumbing the depths (or shallows) of the ‘soul of Australian history’. They concentrated on four fields: biography, church history, labour history and economic history; there were also sessions on the teaching of Australian history and the state of archives. This last session was characteristic of Hancock, especially influenced by his experience with archives when writing the biography of Smuts. The conference unanimously agreed that ‘one of the badly needed aids to historical research … [was] a Concise Dictionary of Australian Biography’, and acknowledged the start that had been made towards this goal with Fitzhardinge’s Biographical Register.50 It was also agreed that any dictionary project would be a long-term one needing the cooperation of the ANU, State universities and the general public. Gollan, who wrote an account of the conference, regarded the meeting ‘as an index of the growing maturity of Australian history studies’, but also observed that ‘very few decisions were reached’ about actually starting a biographical dictionary.51

It was left to Hancock and Ellis to take up the mantle. While Hancock continued to correspond with historians about the shape and governance of the project, Ellis, with characteristic energy, drew up an organisational plan involving the establishment of a unit based at the ANU to which a managing editor and some research editors would be appointed. There would also be

1. an inclusive ‘National Committee’ (National Advisory Panel) consisting of representatives from every university
2. a small executive Editorial Board to determine the broad lines of strategy and procedural, budget, staffing and publication matters
3. a working party system established through the States and Territories, which would draw up lists of subjects for inclusion and suggest authors for the articles.

50 ‘Excerpt from Statement prepared by Professor Hancock. Formation of the Australian Dictionary of Biography’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Malcolm Ellis’s suggested organisational plan for the *ADB*, 1959. He proposed an Australasian Dictionary of Biography that would include New Zealand and Pacific working parties

*ADB archives*
While this part of Ellis’s structure was almost completely realised, a major difference erupted between Ellis and Hancock on the question of centralisation. Hancock distinguished between two approaches to a big academic venture: the organisational method, with a strong central committee (Ellis’s preference); and the growth method (Hancock’s preference).\(^5^2\) Ellis’s proposal was first to

1. set up a directorate of ‘tycoons’ (political, commercial, industrial, academic leaders) under the chairmanship of the chief justice or someone similar to guide and promote the project
2. obtain money from the government and private benefactors to finance the project
3. establish an office under a managing director, editor or administrator, with ample academic, administrative, secretarial and typing assistance
4. publicise the enterprise
5. draw up lists of subjects
6. commission authors and pay them well
7. and then, expeditiously, send the dictionary to press.\(^5^3\)

Provided there is plenty of money, Hancock said, ‘the organisational method … excludes any possibility of failure’. On the other hand, success may come too easily because there had been ‘so little struggle’ and, in the long run, little collaboration. Hancock’s major objection was that ‘the danger of the organisational method is—to use old fashioned language—that it may give you “a body without a soul”’.\(^5^4\)

There were also differences over principle. Hancock’s growth model had, as its features, decentralisation and national cooperation. He took care to avoid ‘a Canberra stamp or even the appearance of one; the Dictionary had to avoid being “a Canberra racket with an all-Australian façade”’. From the outset, he sought advice and approval from colleagues in the state universities’ and beyond for a ‘consultative constitution’, which he later referred to as a ‘co-operative federalism’.\(^5^5\)

Hancock’s strategy was both practical and political. As Geoffrey Bolton has suggested, until relatively recently, Australian history was best comprehended as six regional histories rather than a simply national one.\(^5^6\) Hancock’s model

\(^{52}\) Walsh makes this point, too, quoting from Hancock’s view on design from Hancock’s ‘The Dictionary; Retrospect and Prospect’ (18 June 1963), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
\(^{53}\) Walsh, ‘Recording “the Australian Experience”’, pp. 249–68.
\(^{54}\) Hancock, ‘The Dictionary; Retrospect and Prospect’ (18 June 1963), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
\(^{55}\) Hancock, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’; Hancock, ‘Speech Notes for the Launch of Volume 10 of the ADB’ (1986), box 116, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
ensured that committees consisted of, as well as academics, librarians, archivists and members of historical societies, among others. A complex system of State and thematic working parties spoke not only to the federal nature of Australian historiography, but also to the logic of doing research in the 1960s.

Hancock’s view prevailed and the ADB evolved under a model of decentralisation and national cooperation. State-based working parties assumed the critical task of choosing subjects and authors for entries. While it was agreed that the ‘final decision on all lists will rest with the Editors’, in fact the general editor has rarely vetoed or changed lists.

The decision about working party autonomy was made at a meeting of the Editorial Board in April 1960. It was agreed that the dictionary should reflect the federal and national character in its presentation, and ‘give a representative picture of all strands of Australian life, observing the varying interests from state to state’. The meeting also accepted that ‘there can be no blueprint for Working Party organisation; each state will face different problems and will seek individual solutions’. Working parties were established in each State (in the early stages New South Wales had three working parties, based in Sydney, Newcastle and Armidale). An armed services working group developed into a working party in 1974, a Commonwealth working group became a working party in 1989 and the Indigenous Working Party was formed in 2005. From the 1970s, working party quotas were based on demographic proportions.

Hancock was aware that this decentralised ‘ad-hoc’ or ‘growth’ method had some dangers. One was that funding of the project was dependent upon continuing university support. While other national dictionary projects, based in universities, have received substantial endowments and grants, the ADB has relied almost solely on funding from the ANU, facilitated by block grants from the Commonwealth Government. The project has been sustained over the past 50 years but it has not had the infusion of large grants that have enabled other dictionary projects to revise their earliest entries or add new features. And it has never had the funding to pay authors.

The second hazard was that Hancock’s method required ‘lots of discussion’—a ‘universal law of editorship in the academic world’. Bill Williams, a friend of Hancock, had indulged in the ‘time-consuming but rewarding processes of academic consultation, which are required in any great venture of co-operative scholarship’, when he edited the decadal volumes (1951–60) of the DNB.

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58 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (18 August 1988), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
59 ‘Personal Notes for Concluding Speech by W. K. H. [December 1961]’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Hancock, as editor of the 28 volumes of the British Civil Histories of the War and member of the Editorial Board of the Economic History Review, swore by this method too. Ellis, however, had not been inducted into this academic culture. He was also adamant that the project needed powerful backers and a large injection of capital. Gollan suggested that, in retrospect, Hancock thought ‘probably correctly, that he had started too small’;60 but he never regretted that the ADB was, as he described it to Mozley in a letter in 1964, ‘insufficiently engineered’.61 We will return to this point—that the ADB is less directed in its shape than other dictionary projects. Its position in a national university, its national collaborative structure and its recurrent university funding continue to distinguish the ADB from other national dictionary projects.

Is insufficient design ideal?

The ADB has been based on autonomous working parties that have never had precise criteria for selecting the people to be included. The ADB avoided the subject of national identity directly, deciding in 1960 that it was not possible to lay down rigid categories for inclusion and selection. It was expected that the criteria would evolve organically. ‘Some offices and ranks may qualify for automatic inclusion e.g. Governors (up to responsible government), Governors-General, Colonial Secretaries, Federal and State Cabinet Ministers, Chief Justices, Archbishops and their nonconformist equivalents, Generals, Admirals, etc’. Working parties were also told to provide a ‘representative picture of all strands of Australian life, politics, religion, the professions, business, commerce, the arts, the services, sport, science, education, entertainment, and, on the precedent of the D.N.B., the historic villain will not be neglected’.62 There was also a discussion about what constitutes an Australian: birth, education, residence of five years, impact on society? This has never been resolved.63 Subjects in the ADB have not been selected on any criteria to do with Australian character. Richard White, in Inventing Australia, critically deconstructs attempts to capture Australia’s ‘essence’ or national identity. He looks at all the attempts, beginning before settlement (when Europeans ‘dreamed’ of terra incognita), and argues that it and all subsequent images are inventions. White describes Russel Ward’s The Australian Legend (1958) as the ‘last great re-statement of

61 Moyal, Breakfast with Beaverbrook, p. 148, citing Hancock to Moyal (June 1964).
63 ‘Notes for Seminar’ (n.d. [1975]), ‘Geoff Serle Correspondence’, box 132, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
the character of Australian type’ or identity.64 Ward was a section editor, from the mid 1960s to 1976, for Volumes 3–6 of the *ADB* but did not impose radical national criteria for subject selection.

Nor did other authors of ‘radical nationalism histories’, such as Gollan and Bede Nairn, who have also been involved in the *ADB* (Nairn as the *ADB’s* second general editor).65 None of them imposed their view of Australian identity on the selection of articles for the *ADB* nor did they manage to manipulate working party subject proportions. As a consequence, the dictionary has survived the test of time, providing material for others to construct their own images of the ‘real’ Australia or the ‘typical Australian’ that have, inevitably, become dated and have been disputed over time. Mark McGinness shows in his review of the reviews of the *ADB* in Chapter 10 that there has been bias in the selections but the range of subjects has been sufficiently broad to support the fracturing, questioning and redefining of any dominant story. Until recently, most *ADB* reviewers have praised its very lack of design, the ‘thousands of little biographies [that] are undefiled by dogmas, theory or interpretation’.66

The *ADB* has prided itself on the inclusion of representative people: since 1966, prefaces to volumes have noted that ‘many of the names were obviously significant and worthy of inclusion. Others, less notable, were chosen simply as samples of the “Australian experience”’.67 Representatives ‘of ethnic and social minorities and of a wider range of occupations, or as innovators, notorieties or eccentrics’ have been included.68 Thus, earlier volumes contain, for instance, a representative shearer, a drover, a rabbiter, a barmaid and a landlady.

In 1996, Chris Cunneen, the *ADB’s* deputy general editor, observed that consideration in selecting entries had been given to subjects

most likely to be looked for in the future … despite this concentration on the famous, a great number of those who would not normally be considered as belonging to the elite are also included. State committees are constantly searching not only for important figures to include but also for representative, ordinary people.69

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1. ‘Insufficiently Engineered’: A Dictionary Designed to Stand the Test of Time?

Hancock, launching Volume 10 of the ADB in 1986, judged that the ADB was an improvement over the DNB because of its more adventurous inclusion of people ‘widely representative of endeavour and achievement on every front of our experience as an emergent nation’. Where else could one find between one set of covers a scholarly essay on Sir John Monash and a rollicking account of the adventures of Herbert Dyce Murphy, who travelled the French railways as a spy in the guise of a woman?70

The most common criticism of the ADB has nevertheless been about representation. There are any number of questions to be asked of biography—about the role of the individual in history and individual human agency as opposed to social structure. What details are appropriate to be included? Is it possible to know the inner life of another? Should that be the goal of concise biography? Is biography an art? These are questions that Samuel Johnson asked, in the eighteenth century, in his two essays on biography.71 Some of these questions have been broached in discussions about particular ADB articles. Should there have been a biography of Azaria Chamberlain, a baby who lived only for a few weeks? Should the ADB have more explicitly discussed Dame Nellie Melba’s facelift as the cause of her death from septicemia? Was James Griffin’s entry on Daniel Mannix fair in describing the archbishop as politically naive, intellectually shallow, hardly an educationalist and not well versed in socioeconomic matters?72 These particular ‘controversies’ pale into insignificance, however, in the face of the main question: ‘Who deserves to have a biography written of them?’

The ADB is hardly representative. It has been estimated that nine million Australians died between 1788 and 1990.73 Given that 12,500 dictionary entries cover this period, any single person has 0.1 per cent chance of ‘getting into’ the ADB. Since the mid 1970s, with the growth in popularity of women’s history and social history, there has been increasing criticism of ‘group omissions’: women, Aborigines, and the working class. There have also been criticisms that certain groups are ‘over-represented’: the elite, the military and people from New South Wales. At the Editorial Board meeting in 1975, as quotas were being decided for volumes covering the period 1891–1939, there was extended debate.

70 Research School of Social Sciences (RSSS), Annual Report (2007). See also Diane Langmore to Sydney Institute (13 November 2007), published as ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography: A National Asset’, Sydney Papers, 20, no. 1 (Summer 2008), pp. 22–30. Herbert Dyce Murphy was also a member of Mawson’s Australasian Antarctic Expedition, a fact that makes his appearance in the volume seem less eccentric perhaps.
The ADB’s Story

about representation. It was decided that weighted population figures obtained from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census were to be regarded as ‘a guide’. The main criterion was to be ‘the importance of the name in Australian history’, while also taking into account the ‘relative development of each State’.74 There was much discussion when the relative proportions were tabled (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Number and Proportion of Entries in Period 3 (1891–1939) Allocated to Each Working Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or theme</th>
<th>Quota of articles</th>
<th>Proportion of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Services</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (29 October 1975), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

Above all, the proportion of armed services entries was questioned. Bob O’Neill, convenor of the Armed Services Working Party, justified the 560 entries allotted to his working party on the basis of the importance of World War I. The involvement of 300,000 Australians in the services in that war was nationally significant. He noted that the armed services subjects came from all States and the intention was to include a good sample of the experience arising from war, in various ranks and occupations.75 In 1986, Editorial Board member Ann Curthoys more explicitly criticised the extent of military articles in the ADB.76 Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds and others have developed this criticism more expansively.77

Most criticism has concerned the lack of inclusion of Aborigines and women, and the overprovision of the ‘successful’. Reviewing Volume 1, Allan Martin praised the ADB but also referred to omissions, remarking that ‘only fifteen of the entries refer to individuals born locally and five of these are aborigines’, and

75 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (29 October 1975).
76 Ann Curthoys, Submission to the 1986 Review of the ADB, box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
77 Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010).
signalled that although women hover in the background, ‘barely half a dozen rate a mention in their own right’. A decade later, Peter Ryan noted that the ‘blurbs of the earliest volumes (despite the presence of articles about women) speak only of “he” and “him”. Soon we find the awkward replacement of “he/she” and “him/her”’. 

In 1975 the general editor of the ADB, Geoff Serle, contacted the feminist collective Refractory Girl and leading women historians for advice about women who could be included in the dictionary. He noted that, despite the best intentions, the proportion of entries on women was still ‘rather disappointing’. When Editorial Board member Heather Radi set out to compile a list of 200 Australian women for a bicentennial project—in a critical commentary on the paucity of women in the ADB, as well as in the bicentennial projects more generally—she found to her surprise that her first cut included 104 women who were in the ADB. She explained that was because ‘achievement’ had been part of the definition. Radi drew up a list of possible female inclusions for the volumes covering the period 1940–80, which John Ritchie, the fourth general editor, circulated to all working parties in 1989.

Even though the proportion of women had reached a record 20 per cent in Volume 14, the historian Pat Grimshaw was impatient for more progress. She noted in a paper in 1996 on ‘Female Lives and the Tradition of Nation-Building’ the centrality of the ADB in the Australian history profession and the ‘production of a national history’. The project involved ‘eminent historians … while innumerable other respected scholars have contributed the biographical entries’. Despite this, she argued, a ‘new Australian Dictionary of Biography was needed’ that ‘would have inclusiveness important for all Australians, rather than serving as a narrative of success and achievements for the victors’.

In 2004 Gordon Briscoe criticised the ADB for the paucity of entries on Aboriginal people and the limitations on contemporary biography imposed by the dictionary’s periodisation by date of death. Subsequently, an Indigenous working party was established to promote their better representation. It was not a success and, like attempts to establish specialist medical and legal working parties, was soon abandoned.

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80 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (23 May 1985), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
81 Heather Radi to Geoffrey Serle (20 May 1987), box 142, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Defenders of the *ADB* rightly note that it is becoming more representative. In 2005 four members of the current Editorial Board, Chris Cunneen, Jill Roe, Stephen Garton and Beverley Kingston, edited a special supplementary volume of ‘missing persons’, covering the period 1580 to 1980. This included nearly 30 per cent women and 9 per cent Aborigines. There was a feeling that, for the process to be sustained, the decisions had to be ‘mainstreamed’ rather than imposed from above.\(^{83}\) Even then, in 2008, Paul Pickering, in a review of Volume 17, highlighted that ‘labour historians can but lament the silences and omissions in what is still basically an elite enterprise’.\(^{84}\) There were many more knights than commoners in the *ADB*. One of the inadequacies—not picked up

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by most of the reviewers—is that the Irish are under-represented in the ADB. The Scottish were prudent and valued education and it is not surprising that they are over-represented.\(^8^5\)

Those working closely with the ADB have accepted its organic development. In Chapter 9 Jill Roe points to an intriguing dilemma in the ADB’s design. She points to the relationship between the ADB and Australian historiography, the gradually widening range of subjects, but also the subtly changing treatment ‘in accordance with changing mores’.\(^8^6\) New impetuses and research have permitted the ADB to uncover a wider range of lives, in association with wider historiographical developments. Most importantly, Roe emphasises that data and information need to be available to the working parties during the selection process.

Because the ADB has never adopted explicit selection criteria, it has been able to adapt to change without ideological dilemmas. Which historians are involved in the ADB working parties and in making the decisions about selection is therefore critical; but the question remains: should a dictionary of national biography represent the general population or should it represent the movers and shakers?

### The ADB system: Structure and agency

A further question in relation to the history of the ADB is begged by the way in which this volume is organised. In the first part it is organised around the ‘eras’ of the general editors. Pike edited the first five volumes; Nairn edited Volume 6 as sole editor and, with Serle, co-edited volumes 7–10; Serle was sole editor for Volume 11; Ritchie edited volumes 12–15 and co-edited Volume 16 with Di Langmore, who then edited Volume 17 and part of Volume 18. If, however, as it has been argued, the working parties have been largely autonomous, with minimal interference over who is to be included and who is to write the entries, have the general editors made any impact? Can one tell the difference between their eras? As Chris Cunneen muses in Chapter 4, ‘now that all the entries are wonderfully available in one alphabetical sequence online’ the volumes seem superfluous. Given this digital soup, how important are the general editors in the scheme of things?

The ADB has progressively developed a style manual, a tight template, and a rigorous editing process for entries.\(^8^7\) The various section editors are the first to

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87 ADB Style Manual. For earlier versions, see boxes 44 and 138, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
review the entries, which are then handed to desk editors who check them for factual accuracy (where possible) and edit the entry to conform with the ‘ADB style’. The managing, or deputy, editor then reviews their work. The general editor reviews this process overall. The entries are also refereed by one or more of the ADB’s external editorial fellows. Finally, authors consider and approve the edited piece. At their best, these articles attain the simple perfection of, as Bolton says, ‘a haiku or a sonnet’.88

Despite the many hands through which entries pass, most articles still require editorial work and styling from the general editor. According to Serle: ‘The General Editor cannot delegate much. His final editing must be comprehensive. Apart from any special knowledge he may have, he has primary and ultimate responsibility for overall wordage, relative lengths of entries, quality of writing, style-consistency, negotiation with contributors over their entries, etc’.89

And there have been complaints about editorial interference, most famously by Archibald Grenfell Price, who complained in correspondence with Pike in July 1964 that

over many years of publishing in Australia, Britain and America I have had dealings with a number of editors, including the editor of the British Dictionary of Biography but never before with one who completely rewrote a contribution, without any preliminary conversations, and then suggested that the unfortunate author should put his signature to other people’s work.90

Is the ‘ADB style’ larger than the general editors appointed to enforce it? Strategy, procedures, budgeting, staffing and publication decisions have been ways by which successive general editors have left their mark on the project. Ken Inglis, a former chair of the Editorial Board, observed that it was Hancock, the de facto first executive, who turned it from a ‘set of cards and hopes into a great national achievement of collaborative scholarship’.91 We learn in Chapter 3 that it was Pike, whose hobby was to construct concrete and stone walls, who instituted the ‘Spartan methods, heartlessly enforced’ on ADB entries.92 Bede Nairn and Geoff Serle did not simply ‘inherit the editorship’ and house-sit it, as Fitzhardinge suggested: ‘Pike had got the whole thing on wheels and running

89 Geoffrey Serle, ‘General Editor’s Workload’, Submission to the ADB Review Committee (1986), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
92 1986 Review quoting Sir Sidney Lee of the Dictionary of National Biography, box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
and it didn’t take all that much—I mean it didn’t take an organisational creative genius to keep it running’. 93 They were, as Serle would have it, ‘managers of a huge cooperative’. 94 It was Nairn and Serle who oversaw the development of the ADB editorial team, instigated the system for obtaining birth, death and marriage records, and added cause of death for those under seventy years old as a feature of ADB entries. These were important developments, as was doubling of staff numbers. More resources meant more could be done and the whole scale of the ADB was increased: Volume 7 contained one-third more pages and one-quarter more entries than Volumes 3 to 6. 95

Ritchie had more resources than any other general editor for the first part of his editorship. In the late 1980s he oversaw the reinvigoration of the working parties and the Editorial Board as members of the foundation generation retired. During his reign the floruit principle was dropped. Until Volume 13 subjects were included in the period in which they had made their most important contribution to Australian affairs—floruit, not death, being the guide to their location. The criterion for inclusion in a particular period, under Ritchie, was date of death. This brought the ADB into line with most other dictionaries of biography, including the DNB, but it brought us perilously close to the present as his efficient work system churned out volumes every few years. Ritchie also started the ADB Endowment Fund (and managed to persuade the university to match any funds raised), oversaw the creation of the index of the ADB and the production of the ADB CD-ROM. He had little interest in what was then called the World Wide Web, however, and in 1992, when renewing the contract with MUP, gave them all publishing rights in this new media.

In 2006, under Di Langmore’s editorship, the ADB went online, a development assisted by three Australian Research Council grants, and following protracted negotiations with MUP. The move not only greatly increased the ADB’s readership—the online version attracts more than 70 million hits a year—it also offered possibilities for presenting the entries in exciting new ways. 96

Instead of a seamless history, watersheds can be marked by general editors’ ‘eras’. A biographical approach is taken here and one might think it is appropriate, certainly understandable, that the ADB writes its own history in this way. We are all too aware in historiography that the writers are as important as the history that occurs, so it is in one sense fitting that in the first part these articles concentrate biographically upon the ADB general editors and the people involved in the institution. It is a convenient way of breaking up the 50 years and the individuals who have taken critical roles.

93 Fitzhardinge interviewed by Ross (1987).
94 Thompson, The Patrician and the Bloke, p. 249.
95 Serle, ‘General Editor’s Workload’.
96 Brendan O’Keefe, ‘11,000 Great Australian Lives Available at a Keystroke’, Australian (12 July 2006), p. 32.
The ADB’s sustained achievement and continuing legacy

The ADB’s achievement has grown over half a century. Its impact was particularly important in the early period when there were few sources on Australian history. It has, indeed, been at the centre of the development of Australian history, as suggested by the circumstances surrounding the 1957 conference. The ADB has acted as a ‘stimulus and support in the remarkable wave of research and writing’ on Australian history that has occurred since the 1950s. Subsequently, it has attracted most of Australia’s leading historians to its ranks as authors and as members of the Editorial Board and working parties. This book’s Appendix 3 records the names of members of the Editorial Board and the working parties, demonstrating the ADB’s pervasive reach.

The ADB has, moreover, been widely consulted. The report of the 1986 review of the ADB included anecdotal evidence of professional historians, declaring that ‘hardly a day goes by when I do not reach for it [the ADB]’. In 1994, the then general editor, Ritchie, remarked that ‘in terms of visibility, we have been reliably informed by librarians in major international institutions that the A.D.B. is their most frequently consulted source for information on Australians’. The Australian Encyclopedia was the only other reference as frequently used.

The ADB has inspired work in a number of directions. The Biographical Register is perhaps the most significant. Begun by Fitzhardinge in 1954, it was maintained by the ADB until 2009 and consisted of biographical citations gleaned from newspapers, parliamentary debates, magazines and newsletters. The first—and eagerly anticipated—copy of the register, a 108-page roneoed booklet, was published in 1959. Updates were subsequently produced and, in 1987, a two-volume copy of the register was published. By then the register had grown to include more than 300 000 index cards housed in 180 catalogue-card drawers. A few years earlier, staff had started entering new citations into an in-house database.

The biographical registers of members of the various parliaments were an offshoot of the Biographical Register. Allan Martin and Patience Wardle

97 1986 Review, box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, p. 4.
98 1986 Review, box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
99 John Ritchie, ‘Strategic Plan’ (1994), box 149, Q31, ADBA, ANUA; see earlier ‘Strategic Planning’, box 126, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
100 H. J. Gibney and Ann G. Smith (eds), A Biographical Register 1788–1939: Notes from the Name Index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography (Canberra: Australian Dictionary of Biography, 1987).
published the first, a register of members of the NSW Legislative Assembly, in 1959. By 1961 it had been decided to produce a continuing series of registers for each State and for the federal legislatures, entitled ‘Australian Parliaments: Biographical Notes’. Chris Connolly’s *Biographical Register, NSW Parliament 1850–1901* (1983) was effectively the ninth and last in the series. It was a revised compilation of the first by Martin and Wardle and contained information on all the members of the Legislative Council. Like Martin’s register, it had its genesis in the author’s PhD thesis at the ANU.102 Connolly dedicated it to *ADB* staff whose scholarship he had ‘come to admire’, and who had provided certificates and other vital information.103 The series of alphabetically arranged biographies, with collective biographical introductions, relating to the members of the Australian legislatures became, at the time, ‘essential for research in Australian political history’.104 Radi, Spearritt and Hinton wrote in their *Biographical Register of the NSW Parliament, 1901–1970*:

Reference aids in Australia are notoriously inadequate. Our libraries struggle to keep up with day-to-day demands on minuscule budgets and rarely get a chance to do anything else. Sustained biographical research has been left to the small but dedicated bands at the Australian Dictionary of Biography at ANU and to a handful of other scholars.105

Since then there has been a trickle of collective accounts of *ADB* articles. Bernard Smith and others at the Power Institute undertook a *Biographical Dictionary of Artists and Architects* with which the *ADB* was involved. More directly, *The Makers of Australian Sporting Traditions* (1993, edited by Michael McKernan) and *The Diggers* (1993, edited by Chris Coulthard-Clark [now Clark]) were special editions of selected entries from the *ADB*.106 They were envisaged

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1. ‘Insufficiently Engineered’: A Dictionary Designed to Stand the Test of Time?


103 Material relating from certificates requested by Waterson, Rubenstein, Browne, Connolly, Langmore, Bolton, Radi, box 63, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

104 Connolly, *Biographical Register*, p. ix.


as the first of a ‘proposed series of illustrated compilations from the A.D.B. on specialist subject areas designed to reach new readers and expose the A.D.B. to a wider audience’, but the series never eventuated.  

Historians have used the ADB systematically for research; for example, R. S. Neale attempted to measure whether social mobility in the colonies was responsible for taking some of the ‘sting out of the nineteenth-century radical movement’ by analysing the social origins and characteristics of executive and administrative leaders in Australia from 1788 to 1856 who had entries in the first three volumes of the ADB. Gauging the importance of the ADB in Australian historiography more widely is difficult. In 1996, Ritchie claimed that the ADB had ‘consolidated knowledge of the most important figures in Australian history and sharply etched in many who were shadowy or unknown’. Certainly some historians have been inspired by writing an ADB entry to go on and write a great deal more. Jill Roe, an eminent historian and former chair of the ADB Editorial Board, has published two books that had their genesis as ADB entries. Her entry on theosophist George Arundel culminated in the publication of Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879–1939 in 1986, while her Miles Franklin entry led to a number of edited books of Franklin’s work as well as her award-winning full-scale biography of Franklin.

The ADB is at a watershed as it moves from a book to a digital culture. Its future promises the possibilities of advanced indexing, network analysis, visualisations, inclusion of supporting resources and e-research. The ADB served a particularly important role when there was little in the way of authoritative published Australian history in the 1950s and 1960s. It is important again, in the twenty-first century, when there is so much information on the Internet. The ADB attracts attention due to its conciseness and the discipline of well-referenced, well-researched, concise biography that can lend itself to addressing big questions in Australian history such as the significance of kinship and family relations, and the associational life of Australians since 1788.

It is timely to record the history of the ADB. In 2008 the unit was amalgamated into the National Centre of Biography (NCB) at the ANU and in 2010 was integrated into the School of History. There has been a significant turnover of staff in the unit, and new directions, which take advantage of opportunities offered by the Internet, are being instigated. As already mentioned, the ADB’s...
long-established Biographical Register has been abandoned. In its place has emerged Obituaries Australia, an online, full-text database that is linked to relevant *ADB* entries. Further enhancements, and other databases, are being developed. The *ADB* remains, however, at their core.

This account of the *ADB* is built around the general editors; but in conclusion we return to Hancock’s emphasis, with two other sections on the *ADB*’s perennial concerns: national collaboration and its relative and comparative position in the wider dictionary world.

*Professor Melanie Nolan is the General Editor of the ADB and Director of the National Centre of Biography.*
Keith Hancock was the pivotal personality in the ADB’s early history. His biographer, Jim Davidson (p. 393) observes that his ‘self-effacement’ over his role in the dictionary in the early years was “persistent”. We have included these three documents to highlight his role.

**Document 1**

Keith Hancock kept ANU vice-chancellor, Sir Leslie Melville, apprised of dictionary plans from the outset. This report was presented to the ANU Council following the joint meeting of the ADB Editorial Committee and National Advisory Panel on 23-24 April 1960, which had made important decisions about organisational structure.

**The Australian Dictionary of Biography**

The idea of an Australian Dictionary of Biography has been entertained for some years; historians indicated approval at the Conference of Australian historians held in Canberra in 1957, and the work of building up a National Register has been carried on in the History Department of the A.N.U. since 1954.

In 1959, the Dictionary plan gathered momentum and a permanent member was appointed to the History Department to organise the project. At the same time, the support and interest of the State Universities and Libraries was sought for the plan, and a very real measure of co-operation obtained.

It was widely felt that this was a national task of great importance and that the Australian National University was the proper body to direct and organise it. It was also realised that much of the work would be produced in the State Universities and that it was essential for them to play a part in the making of policies and procedures.

An organisation for the Dictionary has now evolved which reflects the national character of the enterprise. The Dictionary is governed by a National Committee made up of representatives from each of the State Universities and the Editorial Board, and is under the chairmanship of Professor Sir Keith Hancock. The Editorial Board itself is the executive of the National Committee, composed predominantly of members of the Australian National University, and centered in Canberra. All editors are members of the Board.

Considerable progress has already been made through the Commonwealth, and Dictionary Working Parties have been organised in each State. These consist of specialists and experts in different fields giving their time voluntarily, proposing lists of names for inclusion in the Dictionary and lists of possible contributors,
and, in many cases, writing Dictionary articles. It is anticipated that the greater part of the work will be done on an unpaid basis, bringing in the knowledge of scholars, scientists, professional men, antiquaries, to make it a work of national scholarship.

Present plans for the Dictionary envisage that approximately 9–10 volumes will be published in the next decade. The Dictionary will be published in chronological volumes, the first covering the period 1788–1825; the second 1825–56, and so on. Professor Manning Clark and Mr. M. H. Ellis have been appointed joint editors of the first two volumes. It is expected that work will be started concurrently on the post 1850 volumes, and editors appointed in the near future.

Publishing arrangements will be undertaken by the Melbourne University Press who have expressed their confidence in offering to publish without a subsidy.

It is Professor Hancock’s belief that the Dictionary will be produced without substantial endowments, unlike the Canadian counterpart now being started on a bequest of one million dollars. The History Department of the Australian National University has nonetheless committed itself to an organisational task of considerable magnitude.

10 May 1960

W. K. Hancock, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’ (10 May 1960), Minutes, ANU Council meeting (13 May 1960), 483/1960, box 1, series 245, ANUA.
Document 2

In May 1962, having already appointed Douglas Pike as general editor of the *ADB*, Keith Hancock appeared before the ANU Council to secure funding for the appointment and for the employment of editorial staff. He prepared this background paper to explain the genesis of the *ADB* and why the ANU should lead the project.

The Australian Dictionary of Biography

The Family Experience

Great Britain’s *Dictionary of National Biography* originated in the private enterprise of a patriotic publisher, George M. Smith, who, having amassed in this business a large fortune, was eager to employ it in ‘a munificent contribution to the literary world’. In 1882 he launched the Dictionary with Sir Sidney Lee as editor. Lee was succeeded by a man of still greater distinction, Sir Leslie Stephen. Both editors showed persistence and drive and won wide support throughout the community of learning. By 1901 the Dictionary was complete from A. to Z. in sixty-eight volumes. In this century it has come under the management of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press (in effect the University of Oxford), which publishes supplementary volumes covering ten-year periods.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* is widely recognised as an important British institution, an embodiment in published print of the national inheritance, a roll of honour, in Church and State, peace and war, science, industry, the arts, literature—from the beginning of British history up to recent times. Its patriotic value, if the phrase may be permitted, is rooted in its scholarly value. To every student of British history in any of its aspects—political or economic, literary or scientific—it is an indispensable work of reference.

The Americans were the first English-speaking nation of the New World to follow the British example. In 1922 the American Council of Learned Societies inaugurated a *Dictionary of American Biography*, which at once received moral and material help from many sources; for example, Yale University provided its editorial headquarters; the Library of Congress provided a staff for checking contributions; the *New York Times* opened the financial endowment fund with a gift of $250,000. The work proceeded at high speed. In 1928, twenty-two volumes and an index were published. Two supplementary volumes have been published since then.
Since the Second World War, moves have been made in each of the ‘Old Dominions’ of the Commonwealth to launch their own Dictionaries. From my vantage point at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, I witnessed and supported the opening moves of the South Africans and Canadians. The former have not as yet got far, but the latter are well under way. The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* was fortunate in starting with an endowment of $350,000 from the estate of a Canadian millionaire. Its headquarters are in the University of Toronto where a Biographical Centre with a large staff has been established under the editor, Professor George Brown. Publicity has been organised rather lavishly; at the same time, solid foundations have been laid for scholarly effort on a Dominion-wide basis. The proposed lists of inclusions and authors, English and French, are published regularly in the *Canadian Historical Review*. Presumably, contributions are now coming in well.

In contrast with the Canadian effort, New Zealand’s is poorly endowed and advertised, but the task of producing a national Dictionary has been entrusted to the Parliamentary historian, Dr. A. H. McClintock, in co-operation with the New Zealand libraries.

**The Australian Venture**

I shall interpolate here a note about my personal concern with Dictionaries of National Biography. In the 1940’s I served for five years on a central committee of the British D.N.B. In the 1950’s, when I started work on Smuts, I found good cause to curse the lack of a South African D.N.B. At present I have in the press four volumes of Smuts papers (1887–1919), which contain many hundreds of references to individuals. The rules of good editing have compelled me to track down these individuals and write brief notes about them. If a Dictionary had existed, I should have been saved a year or more of finicky work.

Consequently, I was anxious, when I returned to Australia in 1957, to find out what the prospects were for launching an Australian Dictionary. I was aware, of course, of the valuable pioneering work which had been done by the late Mr. Serle and was being continued by the Australian Encyclopedia; but I knew that much more than this was needed. I soon discovered that my colleague, Mr. Fitzhardinge, had the need very much in mind and had taken some important steps to meet it. In 1947 he had spent six months in the Clarendon Press, where he had made it his particular business to master the publishing problems of the D.N.B. In 1951, at the A.N.Z.A.A.S. [Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science] conference in Brisbane, he had made himself the advocate of an Australian D.N.B. He then proceeded from advocacy to action.
Soon after his joining the staff of the A.N.U., he started work on a collection of biographical information which has come to be called the National Register [later Biographical Register].

This compilation of basic biographical and bibliographical information, has, up to the present, dealt with over 6,000 persons of significance in Australian history and it continues to grow from month to month as new knowledge is gathered in. It has already proved itself to be an indispensable tool of research into—for example—the history of Australian legislatures, which are the subject matter of a useful series of A.N.U. monographs. But this is by the way. The chief value of the Register (as Mr. Fitzhardinge always foresaw) is as a foundation and buttress of the Australian Dictionary of Biography.

In August 1957, a conference of historians working in the field of Australian history, and representative of every Australian university, met in Canberra. The members of the conference were asked to examine the Register carefully and critically and then answer two questions:

Should we continue the Register?

Should we go further and launch a Dictionary?

The answer to the first question was an emphatic ‘Yes’; together with a request to us in Canberra to make the register available in the States and a promise of help from them to us in continuing the work. In fulfillment of these mutual undertakings, we are receiving from the States a steady stream of new material for entry on our cards, and we distribute the Register in mimeograph form to all State Libraries and University History Departments and to many Historical Societies throughout Australia.

The answer to the second question was also an emphatic ‘Yes’; but the conference did not last long enough for any progress to be made in planning the Dictionary and the ways and means of achieving it. This responsibility was put upon us at Canberra. We realised, however, that the Dictionary was a national enterprise which needed a firm base of national support. Consequently, we maintained continuous consultation with our colleagues in the States and in every step which we took forward we had the assurance of their support.

By the beginning of 1960 two institutions had taken shape; a provisional Editorial Committee and a National Advisory Panel: the former was based at the A.N.U., the latter represented all the Australian Universities. At a conference held in Canberra in May 1960, these two bodies were fused into a National Committee, whose duty it is broadly to define policy. At the same time, the provisional editorial committee was constituted as an Editorial Board, under the chairmanship of the Professor of History in the Research School of Social
Sciences. The Vice-Chancellor of the A.N.U., who had been kept informed at every important stage of planning and action, approved these decisions insofar as the A.N.U. was concerned.

The A.N.U. is, of course, deeply concerned. As the proceeding story has shown, the Dictionary has its tap root here. The Editorial Board is constituted exclusively (except for the addition of Volume Editors *ex officio*) by the members of this University. We are responsible for the Register; we are providing the administrative and editorial headquarters of the Dictionary.

I have to confess that I personally made the mistake (and have suffered from it) of accepting these large responsibilities with too few resources for fulfilling them. At the Conference of May 1960 it was suggested that we ought to appoint a General Editor; but there was no provision on the budget of my department for such an appointment. As chairman of the Editorial Board, I have had the assistance of a secretary/assistant-editor with the status in this University of Research Fellow. With her support, I have tried to cope, in the midst of other heavy commitments, with a rapidly increasing stream of business coming in from volume editors, State, Regional and Functional Working Parties (whose task it is to compile draft lists of inclusions and authors) and, during the past twelve months, contributors. All this demands continuous and extensive correspondence and a heavy administrative burden. It will soon call for continuous and meticulous editorial work.

At this point it needs to be explained that the Dictionary will not, at least in its first edition, run from A. to Z. over the whole period (1789 to 1919, or whatever terminal date we choose); but will be published in successive chronological volumes: e.g. Volume 1, 1789–1825; Volume 2, 1826–1850, and so on. A great deal of work has already been done on these first two volumes and important progress has been made in opening up the period 1851–1890, which will call for a number of volumes. For each successive period a Volume Editor is appointed by the Editorial Board; but experience has shown that we must also have a General Editor, to ensure co-ordination between volumes, to maintain uniformity of standards, to provide facilities for checking and similar editorial tasks, to supervise the Register, to run the headquarters machine and—not least—to keep alive the enthusiasm of the scores, nay, the hundreds of workers throughout Australia who, in various capacities, are sustaining the Dictionary.

The all-Australian character of our enterprise has been recognised by the three learned societies—Academy of Science, Humanities Research Council, Social Sciences Research Council—each of which has passed a resolution in support of the Dictionary. It may become appropriate later on to seek more tangible support from these bodies in the form of grants in aid of publication, so that the published price of successive volumes may be kept reasonably low. Meanwhile,
it is the National Committee which continuously embodies the all-Australian element. Its partnership with the Editorial Board, and therefore with the A.N.U., rests upon a body of case law which is now being codified. The partnership has been tested and its strength proved. Its spirit may be expressed in some words used recently by the chairman of the Queensland Working Party—‘We will do nothing for the A.N.U.; but with the A.N.U. there are no limits to what we are willing to do’.

In practice, we are operating a consultative constitution. The Editorial Board conducts the affairs of the Dictionary within a framework of policy nationally approved. The Board has responsibilities to the University, which provides the main financial support (although there have also been two generous private benefactions) for the headquarters establishment. The Board, however, also thinks itself bound to keep members of the national Committee continuously informed of its proceedings. In major matters of policy it would feel unable to proceed unless it had an explicit assurance that this support was forthcoming.

These rules of consultation are well exemplified by the appointment of a General Editor. Strictly within the terms of the Dictionary’s constitution, the power of appointment lies with the Editorial Board. In fact, however, the Editorial Board has had to accept two practical limitations upon its power: first it had to satisfy itself that the man of its choice would be acceptable in all the Australian universities; secondly, it had to make the appointment in such a manner as would leave the A.N.U. uncommitted, unless and until Council had decided that the proposed commitment was one which it was willing to accept.

As to the second point, the National Committee expressed the wish in 1961 that the General Editor, when appointed, should join the academic staff of the A.N.U. if he were not already on it. From the description which has now been given of the Dictionary’s organisation, it will be apparent that any other arrangement would create great difficulties. It might not, however, create impossibilities—at least, not so long as the inflow of contributions falls some distance short of its predicable peak. For a few years, at any rate, a General Editor enjoying rude health and able to make fairly frequent visits to Canberra might have his home base in Sydney or—let us say—in Hobart.

The National Committee was anxious that the Editorial Board, in looking for a General Editor, should not confine its inquiries to historians already resident in Canberra, but that it should survey the whole field of Australian historians. The Board, on its side, was anxious to appoint a man who could count in advance upon the support of every Australian university. At the meeting of the National Committee in May 1961, a sub-committee was appointed to make recommendations to the Editorial Board. This committee represented fifty/fifty the A.N.U. and the State Universities. After long and careful explorations, it
unanimously recommended Professor Pike. The Editorial Board, at a meeting last December, appointed him General Editor. This appointment has been received with great satisfaction by the National Committee and by historians both throughout Australia and overseas.

Professor Pike retains his Chair in Hobart. The University of Tasmania has been most co-operative in permitting and encouraging him so to organise his work that he is able to make fairly frequent journeys to Canberra. This arrangement is now working well and will continue to work well so long as the progress of the Dictionary is confined mainly to the early volumes. But when contributions over the whole period begin to flood in a ‘visiting’ General Editor would need to be a superman to avoid breaking down. The National Committee and the Editorial Board are convinced of this. I personally am convinced of it from the experience I gained in trying to run the U.K. war histories from Oxford. In the end, after suffering severe damage and inflicting it upon others, I had to make the move to London.

Theoretically, the problem could be solved another way, by uprooting the National Register and the headquarters of the Dictionary from the A.N.U. and planting them in another University. Practically, this would prove an impossible task.

The National Committee has expressed the wish that the General Editor, when he joins the A.N.U. should have appropriate academic status. Since Professor Pike is Professor and Head of the Department of History in another Australian University, it is my own view and the view of my colleagues in the Research School of Social Sciences that the appropriate status in his case is that of Professor. If the Board of the Institute or the Council cannot see their way clear to offer Professor Pike such an appointment, the Editorial Board and the National Committee will have to think again. On behalf of my own Department I shall say only this: that, after investing so much thought and effort in the Dictionary, we will not allow it to collapse. With the aid of our colleagues in the States we shall manage somehow.

I need hardly add that at every stage in these transactions I have kept in the closest possible touch with the Director of my School, the Registrar and the Vice-Chancellor.

W. K. Hancock
12 April 1962

W. K. Hancock, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’ (12 April 1962), Minutes, ANU Council meeting (11 May 1962), 567/1962, box 1, series 245, ANUA.
Keith Hancock launched Volume 10 of *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1986

It is my privilege and my pleasure to launch Volume 10 of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. This volume, like all its predecessors, is an achievement of co-operative federalism on the front of scholarly endeavour. The initiative belongs to working parties in each of the Commonwealth’s six States. They make proposals for inclusions—lists of the men and women whose services to Australia merit commemoration. They also nominate authors for the proposed biographical articles and suggest some at least of the evidence—in print, in manuscript and in oral tradition—which the authors will need to study.

The proposals of the Working Parties are addressed to the editor of the *Dictionary*. He is a senior member of the Research School of Social Sciences in the Australian National University. He is ultimately responsible to the Vice-Chancellor and is immediately supported by an Editorial Board—of which you my dear Ken [Inglis], are now the Chairman. Moreover, he takes counsel with a small but highly competent group of research editors. Consequently, it may happen that he will propose to working parties sources of information more ample and precise than those they have cited, and propose authors better qualified than those they have recommended. Thus the dialogue continues between the Editor and each of the six Working Parties … Cooperative Federalism at its best.

Now let us remember famous men.

First, Percival Serle. Sixty-eight years ago, when I began my undergraduate studies at Melbourne University, he helped me to take my compass bearings. He was then a senior Administrative Officer of the University. He was also giving voluntary service as a Guide-Lecturer in Victoria’s Art Gallery. In 1920 he resigned from his post at the university in order to give all his time and energy to literary and bibliographical study. For many years he remained hard at work on a self-imposed bibliographical task, a *Dictionary of Australian Biography*. In 1949 that pioneering work was published in two volumes. His son, Geoffrey, is editor of the volume which I am now launching. Viewed in historical perspective, The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* has run a straight course from Serle to Serle.
Let us also remember Laurie Fitzhardinge. He is still with us, although he no longer rides to work on his horse, ‘Red Brick’. Throughout the past half-century he has achieved excellence on three separate fronts of historical endeavour:

1. Classical History. Only a few years ago his book, *The Spartans*, was acclaimed by scholarly reviewers throughout and beyond the English-speaking world.

2. Parochial history. He grew up and still lives in the Limestone Plains, the region now known as the Australian Capital Territory. He was the first scholar to produce learned and elegant articles on the history of this delectable parish. He was also a founding father of the Canberra and District Historical Society.

3. National History. He produced what I call his Billy Book—a two-volume biography of Prime Minister W. M. Hughes. More to the present point, from the early 1950s onwards he worked steadily to produce a National Register of representative Australians—a tool of research which today renders indispensable service to the editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. And not only to him. Today, the Register brings grist to the mills of many and various men and women in many and various walks of life.

Fitzhardinge saw the National Register as a stepping-stone towards a Dictionary of Australian Biography which would be comparable in quality with Britain’s *Dictionary of National Biography*. In August 1957 this proposal was approved by a Conference which met in Canberra. Every Australian University was represented at that Conference. There were also present some eminent ‘freelance’ historians. The ‘all clear’ for an immediate start of work on the *Dictionary* was contained in two decisions:


2. To establish a National Committee representative of every Australian University.

The sequel was spotty. In the states the working parties lived up to their names. They did real work, proposing inclusions and nominating authors. From that day to this, all the authors, with very rare exceptions—I think there is only one exception—have given unpaid service to the *Dictionary*. In Canberra, by contrast, the National Committee did no real work. It was a talking shop. The talk grew acrimonious. The good ship *ADB* nearly became a wreck in Sydney Harbour. Salvage was now the immediate task.

I was chairman of that damnable national committee. In 1961 I did what I should have done in 1957. I had a talk with my vice-chancellor and, with his support, appealed to the Council of the Australian National University for funds to establish an editor of the *Dictionary* with an expert supporting staff. In 1962 a distinguished historian, Professor Douglas Pike, started work as editor. He salvaged the sinking ship and set it on course. In 1966 and 1967 he brought
to birth the first two volumes which covered the *Dictionary’s* first period, 1788 to 1850. Thereafter he brought to birth two of the four volumes which cover the period 1851 to 1890. The third volume for this period was already in galley proof when Douglas Pike died on 19 May 1974. Death of a hero.

Bede Nairn succeeded Douglas Pike as Editor of the *Dictionary*. His immediate task was to work on those galley proofs and send to the printer the third volume of that period 1851–1890. He then brought to birth the concluding volume of that period. Thereafter, in combination with Geoffrey Serle, he has produced the three opening volumes of the period 1891–1939.

Where do we go from here? That question must very soon be asked and answered. However, there is another question that can be asked and answered now. The founding fathers of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* set themselves the task of producing scholarly work comparable in quality with that of Britain’s *Dictionary of National Biography*. Has this ambition been made good? The answer to this question is plain. Our performance not only equals, it excels the British performance. It has been more scholarly. It has been more adventurous.

More scholarly? Yes! Whereas contributors to the *D.N.B.* have relied for the most part on sources of information familiar to historians, more often than not in published print, contributors to our *A.D.B.*, from start to finish, have delved deep into the primary sources.

More adventurous? Yes! Almost always the persons included in the *D.N.B.* have already been well known for their services to the nation in church and state, or in science and literature and art, or in commerce and industry. By contrast, the persons included in our *A.D.B.* have been widely representative of endeavour and achievement on every front of our experience as an emergent nation. To prove this point I shall cite an entry from Volume 9 of our *Dictionary*.

Edward Gilbert was an Aboriginal Australian. His birth was not recorded and his parents are unknown, but in 1905 or 1906 he began to cry and crawl in the children’s dormitory of Queensland’s Durundur Aboriginal Reserve. Some years later Durundur was abolished and Eddie was shifted to the Barambah Reserve. The blacks of Barambah played cricket. Richard Crawford, a wise and humane schoolmaster, saw great promise in Eddie Gilbert’s bowling. Despite his low stature and short run Eddie’s whiplike wrist action released the ball like a stone from a catapult. He was chosen to play for Queensland. In 1931 he bowled to Bradman. His first ball knocked the bat from Bradman’s hand; his second left Bradman sprawling on the ground; his third got Bradman ‘caught behind’. The crowd on the hill booed Eddie Gilbert. Umpires in the southern states began to ‘no-ball’ him for throwing. He was twice
filmed by slow-action cameras which revealed no fault in his action; but the ‘no-balling’ continued. Was Eddie Gilbert the victim of White Australian prejudice? Perhaps he was; but when Eddie died Bradman attended his funeral.

You must wait just a little longer for this evening’s celebration. Here and now, let us remember famous women.

Establishing the Biographical Register was a combined operation by Mr Laurie Fitzhardinge and Mrs Pat Wardle. Mrs Nan Phillips rendered indispensable service to three editors of the Dictionary. Today, all the Dictionary’s research editors are women. Looking to the future, I can see—someday—a woman working at the editorial desk.

But now at last we come to Volume Ten. I have not yet had time to read it from cover to cover and shall confine myself, now, to a few entries under the letter ‘M’. For example—Douglas Mawson, geologist and Antarctic explorer; Max Meldrum, painter and ardent advocate of tonal values in the painter’s art; Nellie Melba, singer. As I read this entry, I felt no doubt at all that it is the best ‘brief life’ of a prima donna that anybody has ever written, or ever will write.

I now launch Volume 10 of the Australian Dictionary of Biography.

W. K. Hancock, speech notes, launch of vol 10, ADB. Box 116, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Editors and their Eras

Ann Moyal

Genesis

The genesis of the idea for a biographical dictionary of Australia lay with the librarian, classicist and scholar of Australian history Laurence (Laurie) Frederic Fitzhardinge (1908–93). A graduate of the universities of Sydney and Oxford, he was, from 1934, a research officer in the Commonwealth National Library, where he immersed himself in the documents of Australia’s history. In 1943 he began teaching Australian history at the newly established School of Diplomatic Studies within Canberra University College. Taking up an appointment in 1951 as reader in the sources of Australian history at the young Australian National University, he headed the then small history department in the Institute of Advanced Studies and initiated the training of the first intake of postgraduate students to do their PhDs in Australia.1 Previously, the ANU Overseas Scholarships scheme had provided funds for ANU people, including Bob Gollan and Ken Inglis, to do their PhDs elsewhere. The ANU intake was a talented coterie, as it proved, of young Australian historians destined for prominent academic careers, including Allan Martin, Eric Fry, Russel Ward, John Tregenza and Michael Roe. As his original ANU title (later converted to reader in Australian history, in the Research School of Social Sciences) suggested, Fitzhardinge was widely read in the Australian historical sources and was aware that, if the study of Australian history was to make headway, there was a clear need to build the sources of biographical knowledge.

Fitzhardinge had first advanced the idea of an Australian dictionary of national biography in 1947, as a team project for the planned Sydney University Press, but no press eventuated. On study leave in Britain later that year, he spent time with the Clarendon Press in Oxford, studying the procedures of the Dictionary of National Biography (DNB). Two years later, publication of Percival Serle’s two-volume Dictionary of Australian Biography (1949) gave zest to his concept and pointed the way to the possibility of a cooperative project.2

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2 Percival Serle, Dictionary of Australian Biography (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1949).
At the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS) Congress, held in Brisbane in 1951, Fitzhardinge publicly canvassed the idea of a national biographical dictionary. Responding to interest from a number of historians who were becoming alert to its need, he began to develop an embryonic national ‘index’ of names and, in 1954, employed Patience (Pat) Tillyard (later Mrs Wardle) as an assistant in the history department to work on it.³

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³ ‘BR/ADB—Organisation and Development, 1957/8/-59’, box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Hancock’s return to Australia from Britain in 1957, as founding director of the RSSS and professor of history, gave new impetus to Fitzhardinge’s idea. The question of an Australian dictionary was raised as a departmental project before Fitzhardinge departed on sabbatical leave that year. The dictionary project now fell into Hancock’s lively grasp. As a former member of the central committee of Britain’s *DNB*, he was experienced in national dictionary matters and saw Fitzhardinge’s biographical initiative as ‘a work of fundamental importance to the future history of the Dictionary’.

In 1957, shortly after his arrival, and acting, in Ken Inglis’s view, as the archbishop of Australian historians, he called a conference in Canberra at which he raised the biographical concept.5

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4 ‘BR/ADB—Organisation and Development, 1957/8/-59’, box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Fitzhardinge’s ‘Paper Prepared for the Conference of Historians 24–27 August 1957’, setting down his ‘sources of information for methods of inclusion’ and adding a description of the project to be built from his existing ‘index’, further shaped the idea of a central source for the sharing of biographical information, to be located in Canberra. It attracted considerable support from State university historians, among them John La Nauze and Geoffrey Serle from the University of Melbourne, who made subsequent inputs. It also fired the enthusiasm of the independent Sydney historian and biographer Malcolm Ellis, who was invited to attend. In April 1958 Fitzhardinge responded to the enthusiasm with a two-part document outlining the plans emerging from the conference suggestions and putting the ‘register’ on a more systematic footing. Central to this were the questions: was the register method satisfactory; was the venture worth continuing; and should a national dictionary of biography—or, alternatively, a concise dictionary of biography—be undertaken?

Fitzhardinge saw the index’s 4500 cards as essentially a basic tool available for reference in Canberra directly or through postal inquiry, and ‘in occasional monograph publication’. On the second point, he wrote:

On the question of the ‘D.N.B.’, I myself think that the long-range objective should be the organization, with the co-operation of the other universities and of other specialists, but under the auspices of the A.N.U., of a full scale Dictionary, on the lines of the D.N.B., the Dictionary of American Biography, and the projected Dictionary of Canadian Biography. This would be a big undertaking, in which perhaps the Social Sciences Research Council and other bodies might assist financially, but I think we should be prepared to take responsibility for its planning and organization.

Envisaging that such a work would cover the period up to 1939 and be completed in 10 years, Fitzhardinge had early mooted the idea of an ‘ultimate’ dictionary of national biography for Australia; however, as an old man, he acknowledged that Hancock ‘had a dynamism and energy, and immense reputation and great charisma. He was able to get it off the ground on a scale and in a way which I could never have been able to do’.

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7 ‘Report on ANU Biographical Card Index and the Possibility of a Concise DNB’ (n.d., c. October 1957), box 57, Q31, ADFA, ANUA.
8 ‘Biographical Project’ (19 February 1958), box 57, Q31, ADFA, ANUA.
9 ‘BR/ADB—Organisation and Development, 1957/8/-59’, box 67, Q31, ADFA, ANUA.
10 Laurie Fitzhardinge, Interview by Barbara Ross, 4–26 March 1987, TRC 2159, transcript, NLA.
What emerges from the documentary evidence is the gradual nature of the evolution of the biographical enterprise in a busy research department that consisted of Hancock, Fitzhardinge and the labour historian Robin Gollan. All were deeply engaged in their own research projects and in the supervision of an expanding corps of postgraduate students. It was into this environment that, from Europe, as Mrs Ann Mozley, I sent my overture to Hancock inquiring about a possible position in his department.
A first-class honours graduate in history from Sydney University, I had been working for the previous four years as personal research assistant for Lord Beaverbrook, the Canadian-born newspaper proprietor and politician.\textsuperscript{11} But after nine years in Britain, I determined that it was time for me to return to Australia and dispatched inquiries to both Hancock and Jim Davidson, director of the Research School of Pacific Studies, asking about possible openings at the ANU. Two letters arrived simultaneously from the ANU, one from Davidson offering me a postgraduate scholarship in Pacific history and the other from Hancock inviting me to join him to work on a proposed national dictionary of biography.

I had met Hancock in England early in 1949 when I visited him at the British cabinet office in London where he was editing the British official World War II histories. I was hoping that he might offer me some work. This small, inquiring man was to have a singular influence on my life. While unable to offer me a temporary research position, he helped to secure me a post with Nicholas Mansergh, working on the \textit{British Survey of Commonwealth Affairs} at Chatham House. He also put my name on his list of possible researchers where, four years later, Beaverbrook’s archivist, who was looking for someone for Beaverbrook to employ, picked it out. Thus, in 1958, I was known to Hancock. Attracted by his reputation and the pioneering nature of the biography project, I declined the scholarship and chose the dictionary.

Arriving in Canberra in November, I was met at the train by a ragged Fitzhardinge, his toes poking through his shoes. Talking volubly, he whisked me away to his farm at Narrabundah and on to University House. On my first morning at the history department, then lodged in the old Canberra Community Hospital building, Pat Wardle sat me down and asked me to fill in a card for the Biographical Register to see if I could manage it. I wondered mildly if it might be ‘downhill all the way’.\textsuperscript{12} In the event, the creative ‘founding days’ of the \textit{ADB} would prove a dynamic and constructive episode in my career.

\textsuperscript{12} Mozley was appointed a research assistant in November 1958 with ‘main responsibility’ for ‘the organization of the Register of Australia Biography and preliminary work towards a Dictionary of Australian Biography’: \textit{ANU News}, 11, no. 1 (August 1959), p. 27.
Keith Hancock, 1948

ANU Archives, ANUA225-511-4
The ADB’s first offices were in the old Canberra Community Hospital, which became part of the ANU. Keith Hancock had the room on the left of the front entrance and Douglas Pike had the room on the right of the entrance.

Foundations

Sir Keith Hancock’s letter inviting me to join the dictionary project has not survived, but writing later to the vice-chancellor, he recommended that I be promoted to a research fellow dedicated to the dictionary project: ‘I have chosen her specifically for this job … I should want to keep her until the complete Dictionary is published, say, ten years from now’. Certainly my appointment at the ANU as a research assistant proved a trigger to action. Defined as ‘partly academic and partly administrative’ and designed both for work on the Biographical Register and for developing initiatives for the dictionary, it inaugurated a series of developments that required Fitzhardinge, Gollan and myself to implement some early structures and processes. Malcolm Ellis, enthused by the historians’ conference, had called on Hancock in Canberra in mid 1958 with the proposal that work on an Australian dictionary might ‘be done in chronological sections rather than as a whole’—a suggestion that was put fruitfully on hold. In December 1958, with personnel now to hand, Hancock, for his part, started to consult with members of all the history departments in the Australian universities with the aim of linking them cooperatively to the venture.

13 W. K. Hancock to Sir Leslie Melville (22 July 1959), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
14 ‘W. K. Hancock Files—Organization’, box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
A doodle, thought to be by *ADB* staffer Jim Gibbney, of a possible coat of arms for the *ADB*

*ADB* archives

His judgment was shrewd. Tensions had grown since the national university’s creation between its well-funded RSSS and the impecunious State teaching departments. Hancock considered that, as we could now implement the plan, ‘we should so far as possible, give the impression of going ahead with work that other people want us to do, and not merely pushing ahead on our own’.15

Accordingly, as a first step, a ‘Memorandum of a Dictionary of National Biography’, initialled by ‘W. K. H.’, ‘L. F. F.’ and ‘A. M.’ (Hancock, Fitzhardinge and myself) was sent out in February 1959 under Hancock’s covering hand, giving details of the contents of a ‘National Register’ (later called the Biographical Register), which was already in use. The first specialist monograph of biographical notes, by A. W. Martin and P. Wardle, *Members of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1856–1901*, developed as a pilot study, was with the ANU Press. As the memorandum indicated, while the question and problem of the dictionary were long term, the ANU department of history would accept responsibility for the register and the monograph pilot scheme, pending the time when ‘more formal machinery for collaboration will probably become necessary’. Meanwhile, it was thought that, for a time, conference by correspondence would prove a fruitful source of criticism, and State colleagues were urged ‘to advise, exhort and warn us’.16

They did. James Auchmuty, representing Newcastle University College and the University of New South Wales, accepted the present plans as ‘of great historical importance from the point of view of preservation of significant historical

15 ‘Biographical Register and Australian Dictionary of Biography Development and Procedures’, and also W. K Hancock to L. F. Fitzhardinge, Dr R. Gollan and Mrs A. Mozley, requesting such an overview (18 December 1958), box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
data and as a sound interim measure’. He looked forward to the ‘unlikely day when some organization or editorial board would empower them to undertake the organization of a dictionary which will become the work of a great mass of historical scholars in this country’.

John La Nauze at Melbourne also temporised about the foreseeable future of a dictionary but made suggestions on register items, as did Geoffrey Serle. Other history professors also recorded their willingness to share information and to encourage their postgraduate students to supply biographical data from their theses.

Initially, Hancock had conceded much to Fitzhardinge’s register concerns. Reflecting later on the early history of the dictionary project in ‘Retrospect and Prospect’, he recalled, ‘[w]ith me this phase lasted one year. It was not until late 1958 or early 1959 that we really got going’. He now seized on the cooperative responses from the universities as a go-ahead for formulating definite plans for moving the dictionary project forward. In response to the university departments’ and public libraries’ ‘criticisms and comments’, I presented a seminar to the Department of History in April 1959 considering the difficulties and outlining a plan ‘for moving ahead with the long term project—the production of a Dictionary of Australian Biography’, to elicit colleagues’ comments on organisation, finance and editorial policy. Hancock began to settle his plans on a small central steering committee within the history department to consider organisation and finance, and a committee of the State universities, drawn in the first instance from members of the history departments, to be responsible for advising on the selection of subjects and contributors. He envisaged a ‘biographical centre’ with a research fellow and assistants.

The provisional editorial committee of the dictionary, comprising Hancock, Davidson, Manning Clark, Fitzhardinge, Gollan and myself, first met, under Hancock’s chairmanship, on 19 June 1959. It defined its objectives as ‘the publication of the Dictionary within ten years’ and discussed three different methods of approach

1. publication of the work in strictly alphabetical arrangement on the model of the Dictionary of National Biography

2. publication in chronological order, the method adopted by the Canadian Dictionary of Biography

3. arrangement by subject headings.

17 ‘Organization and Development’, box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
18 Geoffrey Serle, ‘Report on ANU Biographical Card Index and the Possibility of a Concise DNB’ (n.d., before 4 November 1957), ‘Suggested projects’ file, box 57, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
19 W. K. Hancock to all professors of history in Australia (7 October 1959); see, for example, John McManners to W. K. Hancock (14 October 1959), box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
20 Keith Hancock, ‘ADB: Retrospect and Prospect’ (18 June 1963), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
21 A. Mozley, ‘The Project of a National Register and a Dictionary of Australian Biography’, a work-in-progress seminar to the Department of History, RSSS, ANU (23 April 1959), box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
22 Minutes, Provisional ADB Editorial Committee meeting (19 June 1959), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
While no decision was reached, the Canadian ‘chronological’ model was recommended. To make a start, two working parties were appointed as pilot schemes, one on the period of the naval governors (1788–1809), and the second relating to the Pacific region. The history department, the meeting agreed, would carry the financial burden of the dictionary for some time.23

The provisional editorial committee held its second meeting on 1 October 1959 to discuss the organisational plan that Ellis had devised and presented to Hancock in August.24 Topped by a designated ‘Board of Control’ of four prominent men drawn from commerce, finance and the professions, and headed by a distinguished citizen, such as chief justice Sir Owen Dixon, it prescribed substantial money from government and private sources, an administrative office with a director, an administrative editor, the establishment of State working parties, a national advisory panel of State representatives, and the commissioning and payment of authors. At this meeting, it was agreed that the provisional editorial committee should be formally constituted as the Editorial Board, which would be the central body of the dictionary, located at the ANU, and ‘available for meetings at short notice’.25 Ellis’s ‘tycoons’ (as Hancock called them) were set aside, and academics, Hancock, Clark, Davidson, Fitzhardinge and Gollan, and also Mozley, were named as permanent members of the board. Members of a national committee would be included on a geographical basis. Editors of successive volumes would be invited to join the board for the currency of their volumes. Hancock wrote enthusiastically to Ellis: ‘I think that the proposed scheme, if it wins a majority approval, will work. Something like it worked very well in my thirty-volume series of War Histories’.26 Ellis’s suggestion of one of his younger friends as a possible editor was tactfully declined. The concept of a chronological basis for dictionary entries was endorsed. At the time, Hancock attributed ‘breakneck speed’ on organisation, content and publication plans to ‘the zeal of Malcolm Ellis’; while I, too, found ‘Ellis’s zeal … compelling’, we discussed the ‘overcomplicated’ plans and ‘difficulties’.27

Meanwhile, Hancock dispatched letters to the key representatives of university history departments—John Ward and A. G. L. (Alan) Shaw at Sydney University, Gordon Greenwood at Queensland, Frank Crowley at Western Australia, Douglas Pike at Adelaide, Auchmuty at Newcastle and Malcolm McCrae at Hobart—inviting them to come to Canberra to discuss the formation of the National Advisory Committee. Simultaneously, he sought the formalisation of

23 ‘ADB Editorial Board, Agenda, Report and Minutes, 1959–61’, box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
25 Minutes, ADB Editorial Committee meeting (1 October 1959), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
26 W. K. Hancock to M. H. Ellis (13 October 1959), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
27 W. K. H. to Mrs Mozley (n.d.), and, in reply, Mozley to Hancock (30 August 1959), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
the Editorial Board as an ‘instrument of the university’, authorised to make agreements with editors and contributors in the university’s name from the ANU vice-chancellor.28

Early in 1959, I had made an exploratory trip to Adelaide and Perth, where the ANZAAS conference was in session, to, as Hancock put it, ‘make my face known’. I did. Involved in a car over-spin on the road at Tailem Bend, near Adelaide, I arrived with my face littered with cuts. In both capitals, I met with the professors of history, specialists in Australian history and interested members from other institutions, including the State archives and libraries. It proved a most lively time. As the prospective dictionary’s administrator, I made direct connections with likely key participants and found a remarkable sense of commitment to the dictionary idea. I noted on my return to Canberra that ‘the overall response was one of wide and genuine approval of the plan’. Amid expressions of surprise that we had progressed so far, academics and librarians endorsed the need for a ‘full scale Dictionary of Australian Biography’, and judged it as ‘the rightful task’ of a national university.29

The outcome was immediate action. In Adelaide I met with a provisional State working party, instantly convened under Douglas Pike as chair and including Ken Inglis and Harold Finnis. Hugh Stretton offered a strong commitment of help. This group at once drew up an initial list of inclusions for the period 1851–1900, and recommended that articles be ‘candid and unbiased’ and drawn widely from contributors to offset any ‘progenitor’ emphasis in that State’s selection. In Perth, equally positive, Frank Crowley called together a provisional WA working party, consisting of the government archivist, Mollie Lukis, Geoffrey Bolton (a recent research fellow from the ANU, who was attending the ANZAAS conference) and myself to discuss the State’s situation. Crowley intended to add Alexandra Hasluck to the group immediately. A plan also shaped there for a second Biographical Register monograph; G. C. Bolton and Ann Mozley, *The Western Australia Legislature 1870–1930*, was published in 1961.30

On the way back to Canberra, I visited Hobart and invited a working party to meet under McCrae’s chairmanship at the University of Tasmania. Members included the State archivist, Robert Sharman, the journalist and former clerk of the House of Representatives Frank Green, Janet MacCrae (research assistant in the history department) and the president of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Robert Garvie. The Tasmanian situation was unusual. While its members had a declared interest in the period 1788–1850, none had specialist

28 ‘Organization and Development’ file, box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
knowledge and would rely on suggestions for inclusion from New South Wales and Victoria. It was anticipated that a different membership would deal with the next period (1851–1900).

In Melbourne, Serle made thoughtful criticisms and suggestions for membership of a Victorian working party to work on the first volume. He urged, in these early days of Australian historical research, ‘flinging the net wide in order to bring in good people’ to write articles, including members of historical societies and ‘first class schoolmasters’.31

The formation of working parties was fundamental to the dictionary’s advance. In a period when Australian historiography was only slowly beginning to gather depth and range, the working parties were conceived as the essential mechanism for an Australia-wide participation in the dictionary’s growth. The first working party on the period of the early governors had begun its meetings in early August 1959. Attended by Hancock, Fitzhardinge, Gollan, Clark, Ellis and myself, it laid down some specific policies. On Ellis’s suggestion, it agreed to extend the scope of the first volume from 1788–1809 to 1788–1825 (eventually two volumes would cover the period 1788–1850). It recommended that experts should be set up in specific fields wherever they might be conveniently located (arts, science, military and the Pacific were cases in point) to draw up lists of names for inclusion, which would be referred in the future to the State working parties to circulate for criticism and advice.

Also at this meeting (although this concept does not appear to have been formally recorded) the notion of including people in the dictionary in a chronological period on the basis of their *floruit*—the period of their main contribution to Australian life—was set in train. It was then, too, in my recollection, that we accepted the distinctive view that Hancock’s favoured principle of ‘span’ should be our guideline in the selection of names for inclusion and that, while we should cover all strands of Australian life from governors, chief justices, politicians, administrators and bureaucrats through to industrialists, artists, clergymen, scientists, writers, surveyors and engineers, we should also include some scoundrels and colourful vagabonds. Inclusions should also embrace those who, like Charles Darwin, Thomas Huxley, Anthony Trollope and Mark Twain, had visited Australia and contributed knowledge about the country.32

My reconnaissance around the States had yielded a consensus on working party approaches and methodologies, which I would later carry to the universities of New England and Queensland. These were incorporated into ‘A Manual of Instructions for Working Parties’, setting length, style and content of dictionary

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entries. Articles were to have a minimum of 500 words and a maximum of 6000, while major articles would fall between 2000 and 4000 words. They were to be ‘factual, precise and unbiased’ but with critical appraisal and evocation of character and atmosphere. It was agreed that contributors should be unpaid according to the practice of Australian scholarly journals. The dictionary of biography, as a national enterprise, belonged to that class.\(^{33}\) The contacts I made personally with librarians and archivists in the States also fertilised work and the planning of shared resources for the Biographical Register.

Hancock, with his rare skill for building bridges between colleagues, had received positive responses from the history professors for his plan of a national advisory panel or committee within the dictionary structure and their agreement to be the representatives of their State. The one exception was Gordon Greenwood. Replying from the University of Queensland in December 1959, he expressed the view that in his department the younger staff members had their own careers to make rather than turning to this new venture and that ‘the structure of the organization should give them more regional credit for their work than would appear likely under the proposed scheme of organization’. He felt that the national advisory committee was ‘a somewhat functionless body with little real influence’ and should either change places with the Editorial Board or be merged with it. While he considered that the executive function should belong to the smaller group, for example, the Editorial Board, where the primacy of the ANU would be recognised, he felt strongly that ‘the formulation of general lines of policy … should be a function of a nationally constituted group’. Greenwood knew from my visit that the general proposals had received ‘enthusiastic endorsement’ elsewhere but he argued that Queensland was ‘perhaps the most difficult state’ owing to its size, dispersion of population and because ‘there had been so little serious historical published work’.\(^{34}\) Later, he warned Hancock, ‘[w]e will do nothing for the ANU. But there is nothing we will not do with the ANU’.\(^{35}\) He agreed, however, to serve on the National Committee and his intervention proved crucial.

The far-flung National Committee, as it now became known, was to meet annually but conduct its business otherwise by correspondence. This arena fell to me. As the assistant editor, I was from the outset a member of the National Committee and the Editorial Board.

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\(^{33}\) ADB, Working Party Procedures (3 November 1959), boxes 31 and 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

\(^{34}\) Gordon Greenwood reply to Sir Keith Hancock (17 December 1959), box 67, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

\(^{35}\) W. K. Hancock, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’, presentation to the ANU Council (12 April 1962), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, p. 6.
National collaboration and the Ellis interlude

Throughout these events, Malcolm Ellis was assuming a growing presence in dictionary affairs. Born in Queensland in 1890, the son of a storekeeper and itinerant fettler, Ellis had won a scholarship to Brisbane Grammar School. He had risen through journalism in Brisbane, Sydney and London to become, in 1933, a special feature writer and columnist (‘Ek Dum’) for the *Bulletin*. The author of biographies of Lachlan Macquarie, Francis Greenway and John Macarthur, Ellis was a respected writer and historian, president of the Australasian Pioneers Club and of the Royal Australian Historical Society, and a man of wide and active contacts.

From the outset Hancock saw Ellis’s independent involvement from outside academia as an imaginative addition to the dictionary’s evolution. This brought Ellis frequently to Canberra, where he stayed at University House, enjoying the Oxbridge rituals of ‘high table’, and where, as a resident, I saw much of him. His round, currant-bun face glowed with contentment. Early in November 1959, with Manning Clark, he was formally endorsed by the provisional Editorial Board as a joint editor of Volume 1 and as such became a member of the board. Yet, as we were soon to learn, he had a volatile temperament and, holding no degree, was touchily suspicious of academe.

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Malcolm Ellis was one of the first recipients of an honorary doctorate conferred by the University of Newcastle, in 1966

University of Newcastle Library, P041
The Australian dictionary project had been launched in the belief that cooperative national scholarship and interest could compensate for the lack of external funding. Certainly we looked with some envy at other national dictionaries—Britain’s *DNB*, funded by Oxford University Press; *The Dictionary of American Biography*, brought out under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies; and the recently established *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, about to be launched with a handsome bequest of $1 million. But, as Hancock later summed up: ‘With a skeleton staff, limited funds and the enthusiastic cooperation of people all over Australia, the work began’.37

Plans for publication had occupied our discussions as early as April 1959, when a kite was flown to the Oxford Clarendon Press and the virtues of the major Australian presses were examined.38 On 29 October 1959, a special meeting of the provisional Editorial Board was called to meet George Ferguson of the Sydney publisher Angus & Robertson, which had recently completed publication of the *Australian Encyclopedia*. Encouraged by Ellis, Angus & Robertson had offered an expression of interest. The meeting, which Hancock, Fitzhardinge, Clark, Gollan, Ellis and I attended, concluded with a decision to accept the Angus & Robertson offer if, as anticipated, it was formally made with sample pages and dummies.39 I visited the press in Sydney. At the same time, Hancock wrote to the vice-chancellor, suggesting that the Editorial Board be set up on a basis whereby it would make agreements with editors, contributors and voluntary consultants in the name of the ANU. The copyright of the work, he assumed, would be vested in the university and ‘whoever may publish’.40

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39 M. H. Ellis to A. Mozley (19 November 1959), on details of proposal with Angus & Robertson and arranging for Mozley to visit the press in Sydney; Mozley to Ellis (8 December 1959), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
40 Minutes, *ADB* Editorial Board meeting (1 October 1959), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA. W. K. Hancock to John Ward (5 November 1959), discussing his memo to Sir Leslie Melville, box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Jim Davidson, professor of Pacific history, ANU, was a founding member of the *ADB* Editorial Board

ANU archives, ANU225-297, 1973
While we awaited a specific follow-up from Angus & Robertson, Melbourne University Press (MUP) indicated their keen interest in the project and, in December 1959, sought informal discussions. Their proposal, outlined by the publisher, Gwyn James, gave more detailed provisions than any yet received from Angus & Robertson. Accordingly, the provisional Editorial Board, to which the ANU registrar, Ross Hohnen, and Leicester Webb, chair of the university’s publication committee, had been added, met on 28 January 1960 to discuss the position. Ellis did not attend. While the board noted that MUP’s overture had created a situation ‘not anticipated by the Board in October’ and that Angus & Robertson ‘were entitled to very real consideration’, no conclusion was reached and the matter was referred to the publication committee to report back. Ellis’s absence was particularly regretted.

In February 1960 Hancock received Ellis’s first threat of resignation, over the decision to open negotiations with MUP, but, by swift action, he dissuaded him from doing so. Both Hancock and I were soon enmeshed in problems that loomed from Ellis’s ingrained disposition to dominate and a temperament entirely unsympathetic to the maxim ‘never resign; wait until you’re sacked’. During his three years with the dictionary, he resigned no less than six times before the seventh throw brought him down. In the event, on 8 April 1960, the provisional Editorial Board accepted the recommendation of the ANU publication committee to publish with MUP. Thereafter Webb, as chairman of the publication committee, became a member of the dictionary’s central board, which was entrusted with dealing directly on all publishing matters with the publisher.

Undoubtedly the critical highlight of dictionary development was the conference of the National Committee and the Editorial Board held in Canberra on 23–24 April 1960, which marked a crowning national consolidation of dictionary affairs. Under Hancock’s chairmanship, it fused the Editorial Board with its permanent membership of Hancock, Clark, Davidson, Fitzhardinge, Gollan, Hohnen, Webb, Ellis and myself, with the State representatives John Ward, Greenwood, Auchmuty, Crowley, Pike and Russel Ward (representing the University of New England), La Nauze representing Serle, and A. G. L. Shaw, who was visiting Canberra from the University of Sydney. La Nauze and Shaw were promptly appointed members of the National Committee. The minutes

41 Ann Mozley to Malcolm Ellis (16 December 1959), about MUP’s proposal; see also (25 January, 2 February 1960), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
42 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (28 January 1960), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
43 Chairman’s Notes for ADB Editorial Board meeting (9 November 1961), ‘Personal Notes, W. K. H. 5/12/61’, box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
44 Ann Mozley to W. K. Hancock, ‘Chronology of Publishing Arrangements’ (22 June 1960), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
affirmed that the conference marked ‘a rearrangement and renaming of the existing constitutional framework … [that it] might more accurately reflect the national character of the work of the Dictionary’.45

The function of the newly arranged joint organisation was to deal with all matters of broad policy and procedure, including working parties, volume priorities, criteria for inclusion and instructions to contributors. The Editorial Board, made up predominantly of representatives of the ANU, retained its power to appoint editors, approve all financial proposals and make decisions on matters of publication. It would also carry out the executive tasks of the National Committee, which conducted its consultations by correspondence apart from its yearly meeting. Greenwood’s firm representations for a national body with full decision-making powers had triumphed. As Hancock later acknowledged, ‘we all owe him a great debt’.46

The April meeting of the National Committee was ready for action. Formally endorsing the decision to publish the dictionary in chronological slabs, it recommended that work on the second period (1851–90) should begin at once and that the question of appointing editors for these and later volumes covering 1891–1920 should be settled in the immediate future. The meeting also agreed, ‘with reluctance’, to abandon the title ‘Dictionary of Australian Biography’, already pre-empted by Percival Serle’s two volumes, and to accept the alternative title *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.47 The ADB was officially established!

We entered into a new epoch in ADB affairs. Hancock’s wife, Theadon, died in March 1960 and he left Canberra for eight months at the end of July to take up a position as fellow of All Souls, Oxford.48 Geoffrey Sawer of the RSSS law department succeeded him as the ADB’s interim chairman. The ADB archives attest to the constantly expanding web of correspondence and consultation that formed the basis of this Australia-wide enterprise. These processes of communication fell to me, as its assistant editor, and, working through the records to write this chapter, I was startled by its size and range and the myriad typescripts of those formative days that reflect my self-taught, far from perfect typing skills! According to Hancock:

> We went ahead with determination but also with patience. The responsibility for planning has been put upon us, but we realised that in this national enterprise our plans for it would come to nothing unless

45 Minutes, Conference of National Advisory Panel and ADB Editorial Board (23–24 April 1960), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
46 W. K. Hancock, ‘Retrospect and Prospect’, box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
47 Minutes, Conference of National Advisory Panel and ADB Editorial Board (23–24 April 1960), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
they were firmly grounded upon national support. Consultation and discussion were fundamental. At every stage, we submitted our plans to our colleagues in the Australian Universities.49

During his absence, Hancock remained connected to ADB affairs through a problem that continued as a dominant feature of these establishment days and made serious calls on patience and time. Central to the problem was Ellis’s refusal to work within the cooperative processes established between editors, working parties and the Editorial Board.

In June 1960, alert to Ellis’s political antipathy to Manning Clark—Ellis, in a resignation letter to Hancock in June 1960, had described Clark as a ‘crypto-communist’—the board had accepted the proposal to separate their joint editorship and to give Ellis Volume 1 and Clarke Volume 2.50 Early that year the chairman of the NSW Working Party, John Ward, notified Hancock that ‘there seems no prospect whatever that he [Ellis] will work with us in what I am sure was originally intended as a partnership of editors and Working Parties’.51 Passing through Sydney, Hancock met Ward and sent me word that ‘we both believe our gains are likely to outweigh our anxieties. M.E. is still the best editor for Vol 1, as far at least as knowledge is the qualification’.52 From the outset, Hancock had set himself the task of maintaining harmonious relations with this informed but quarrelsome member of the team. He hoped that Ellis ‘would gradually get used to academic habits of discussion and decision. But he didn’t’.53 As time went on and tensions continued to disturb working party progress in Sydney, the blue air letters that fluttered to my box from Hancock at Oxford reflected his attempt to grapple with the problem at a distance. In November 1960, he wrote me:

I think it very desirable if possible to retain Mr Ellis, but not at any price. The Board may fairly ask the Editor to spread the work within reason. I think it should be prepared to raise matters such as this courteously and firmly in my absence. We can concede a good deal to an original personality.54

49 Hancock, ‘Formation of the Australian Dictionary of Biography’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
51 See Malcolm Ellis to A. Mozley (18 September 1961); Note from Professor John Ward attached to NSW Working Party List (18 September 1961), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
52 W. K. Hancock to A. Mozley (Private collection).
53 W. K. Hancock to Malcolm Ellis (3 October 1961); Chairman’s Notes for ADB Editorial Board meeting (9 November 1961), ‘Personal Notes, W. K. H. 5/12/61’, box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
54 Hancock to Mozley (November 1960), Moyal private collection, cited in Moyal, Breakfast with Beaverbrook, p. 142.
Manning Clark jointly edited Volume 2 of the *ADB* and was a member of the Editorial Board until 1990

ANU archives, ANUA 225-222, 1977
I had some sympathy with Hancock’s desire to retain the independent historian on a long and encouraging lead; academic historians could be given to loftiness. But at the centre of affairs at headquarters, attitudes hardened, and, as a member of the NSW Working Party, I wrote to Hancock in November:

Everything really depends on a decision that would ultimately be yours, whether Mr Ellis’s knowledge, zeal and speed, and the quality of the volume he might produce (of which he himself would probably write 70 per cent) outweigh all the hazards and disadvantages of trying to work with him along normal lines.\(^55\)

In correspondence with Ward, Hancock agreed that he had misgivings over Volume 1 being ‘the collected papers of Malcolm Ellis’. Ellis would give the dictionary ‘a better start if he would spread the authorship more widely’.\(^56\) Later that month, in a further letter, I put on record:

The salient thing that emerges from going through the Dictionary correspondence since the beginning of this year is the number of conciliatory letters that we have all written to Ellis, and the pains we have taken to go along with him. One might, with a detached eye, see him as a bully; it is hardly as deliberate as that; he is thoroughly disorganized, and, of course, with academics, insecure.\(^57\)

A different picture of achievement with Period 2 began to emerge. We had moved ahead in laying the ground plan for the volumes covering the period 1851–90 with the appointment of three ‘provisional editors’—Greenwood, Ken Cable of the University of Sydney history department and Geoffrey Serle—with Gollan as convenor. I wrote to Hancock:

The Dictionary has gathered pace. The New South Wales Working Party have picked out the major articles for the volume and offered contributors, and these lists are now circulating and drawing some very interesting and frank criticism which recommends the adoption of our democratic principles. The South and Western Australians are already writing their articles for this volume, both large and small. The Victorian picture will be clear within a few weeks. The Editor will then be able to embark on the assessment between states, and the whole pattern of the volume will be complete … So very real progress has been made.\(^58\)

I urged Hancock to communicate the success of Volume 2’s constitutional processes to Ellis as an encouraging exemplar. He did, and in doing so, he set

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\(^{55}\) Moyal to Hancock (November 1960), Moyal private collection.

\(^{56}\) A. Mozley to John Ward (6 September 1960), box 27, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

\(^{57}\) Moyal to Hancock (November 1960), Moyal private collection.

\(^{58}\) Moyal, ‘Chronology of Progress’, box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
down an illuminating picture of how he saw his chairman’s role, which, in all its unanticipated density and commitment, had come to him as the busy director of the RSSS as somewhat of a surprise. He told Ellis that one of his motives in returning to Canberra, having shed the office of director, was to leave himself more time for the dictionary.59 His letter to Ellis, written with an ameliorating tone, reflected a belief that ran strong in Hancock, that he could extract the best. In May 1961 Ellis again threatened resignation unless arrangements were made to let him carry out his work ‘expeditiously and efficiently’, and twice more in September and November 1961 over relations with the NSW Working Party.60

Other ADB affairs moved forward. Judy Robinson and I produced the Biographical Register Short List to which she had been substantially adding information. Made available to working party chairs, it formed the basis of later editions and of Jim Gibbney and Ann Smith’s A Biographical Register 1788–1939 (1987).61 At the same time, I had written an article on the ADB, making public for the first time its development, methods and purposes.62 Bolton and Mozley’s The Western Australian Legislature 1870–1930 was moving towards completion.63 A provisional style manual was developed and copies sent to MUP and the editors. Communication with a number of key consultants abroad, whom we called informal correspondents, was set in train and, aided by Hancock’s presence in England, included Taylor Milne at the Institute of Historical Research, London, Phyllis Mander-Jones, the first Australian Joint Copying Project officer, who was based at the Australian High Commission, and the American historian Hartley Grattan.

With Hancock’s return, a meeting of the National Committee was convened on 12–13 August 1961. The committee, as well as its core members, Hancock (chairman), Clark, Sawer, John Ward, Crowley, Auchmuty, Pike, Gollan, Shaw, McCrae, Hohnen, Ellis and myself, now included La Nauze, Serle and John Salmon. Allan Morrison stood in for Greenwood. Hancock categorised progress to date: the existence of working parties in each State plus two regional subcommittees of the NSW Working Party at Newcastle and New England; the Armed Services working group led by Gavin Long; and an informal subcommittee on foreign immigrant groups convened by Charles

59 W. K. Hancock to M. H. Ellis (3 October 1961), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
60 See Malcolm Ellis, ‘Dispute Between the Editor of Volume 1 and the Editorial Board’ (15 January 1962), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
63 Bolton and Mozley, The Western Australian Legislature.
Price. Decisions on procedures for working parties were carefully stressed. A subcommittee on criteria consisting of Pike, Serle, Crowley, Gollan and myself was appointed; SA and WA entries had been commissioned; Queensland and Tasmanian lists had been finalised and major entries commissioned; plans for the period 1851–90 were in progress; and arrangements had been set in place for Serle’s provisional editorship and responsibility for Victoria and Tasmania, Pike’s for South Australia and Western Australia and Morrison’s for Queensland, with Gollan again acting as convenor. In a progress report for the period April 1960 to August 1961, Hancock concluded: ‘By any fair standard of comparison … a great deal has been achieved during the past sixteen months. We have solid grounds for satisfaction and confidence’.64

The need for a general editor

On the meeting’s second day, Hancock, having experienced an evident sea change about his role as a de facto editor, presented a paper on ‘The Need for a General Editor’. He drew attention to the ‘rapidly accumulating’ business involving ‘Working Parties, Volume-Editors and contributors’, and foresaw the ‘heavy and meticulous editorial work’ that lay ahead. After paying tribute to me and my work, he also noted that ‘Mrs Mozley now wished to resign her position as Assistant Editor to enable her to accept an opportunity for individual research and writing’.65 He went on to say that the chairman and the assistant editor together could not provide the leadership required at the centre because they were not experts in Australian history able to deal with the detailed problems of scholarship. The assistant editor’s position, moreover, lacked ‘status and authority requisite for leadership’. Therefore a new position, that of general editor, was required. Hancock’s broad definition of the functions of a general editor were: to serve as the chief administrative officer of the dictionary, taking over (with as much assistance as necessary) all the secretarial and administrative channels of communication and functions now performed by the assistant editor; to act as secretary to the National Committee and as executive officer to the Editorial Board; as the chief academic officer of the dictionary, responsible for the coordination of policies, procedures and standards between volumes; and to visit the working parties once a year. He wrote with clarity:

There emerges a fairly clear picture of the type of man required [women did not feature here]. He must have a knowledge of Australian society in historical breadth and depth, an awareness of conflicting historical interpretations where they exist and a sensitiveness to the trends of

64 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.
65 Minutes, National Committee meeting (12–13 August 1961), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, p. 3.
scholarship, so as to ensure, so far as possible, that the Dictionary will neither be constricted by past-preoccupations, nor become the victim of ephemeral fashions, but will satisfy the needs of scholars for many generations to come.\textsuperscript{66}

At the same time, Hancock notified that he had received a letter from Greenwood paying tribute to Mozley and putting his preference for a ‘team of four’ rather than a general editor. The National Committee, however, endorsed the proposal for a general editor ‘at the centre’ and a subcommittee of Hancock, Clark, John Ward, Serle, Pike and Gollan; Hohnen and Morrison (representing Greenwood) were appointed to pursue it. A major function of the general editor would be to give guidance to the working parties—notably, on the work of other working party lists. And, in the fluidity of the moment, it was thought that the appointment should be ‘a young man … able to organize and edit and check articles and provide leadership’.\textsuperscript{67}

Although the position of general editor was not advertised, word circulated in the ivory towers. Between October 1961 and February 1962, the National Committee subcommittee dealt with a veritable rollcall of possible candidates. It gave ‘unanimous and ardent’ support to La Nauze, then at Cambridge, who was tempted but declined on the grounds of his commitment to the history department at Melbourne.\textsuperscript{68} Most of the historical fraternity was sounded. Sydney Butlin at the University of Sydney was expressly invited but declined. Others, including Hugh Stretton, Ken Inglis and Allan Martin, were approached but did not want their names to go forward. An abundant short list—Crowley, Fitzhardinge, Serle, Shaw, Russel Ward, Gwyn James (from MUP), Don Baker (School of General Studies, ANU) and Adelaide historian John Tregenza—confronted the subcommittee. Hancock ruled Fitzhardinge out, believing he should not interrupt his work on the biography of Billy Hughes on which he had been long engaged. Baker, an exceptional teacher in his forties, yet to make his reputation in research and publication, was a popular candidate.\textsuperscript{69}

The last man standing was Pike. A member of the subcommittee, he had twice declined attempts to interest him in the post as he had recently taken up a chair of history at the University of Tasmania; but with his deep interest in the \textit{ADB}, he was prevailed upon to take the general editorship. Hancock wrote him winningly in December 1961: ‘I can imagine no greater service that any

\textsuperscript{66} Hancock, ‘The Need for a General Editor’ (July 1961), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, pp. 4–5.
\textsuperscript{67} Minutes, National Committee meeting (12–13 August 1961), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{68} See, for instance, W. K. Hancock to John La Nauze (27 October 1961); La Nauze to Hancock (12 November 1961), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
\textsuperscript{69} For a discussion of the candidates, see, for instance, W. K. Hancock to John Ward (27 November 1961); G. Greenwood to W. K. Hancock (1 December 1961); G. Serle to W. K. Hancock (6 December 1961); G. Serle to Hancock (8 December 1961); J. Ward to W. K. Hancock (30 November 1961); Syd Butlin to W. K. Hancock (6 December 1961), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
historian could render just now to academic standards in Australia’. Even the vice-chancellor of the University of Tasmania, about to lose his professor of history, thought that Hancock was right to think Pike was ideal for the job.

There was one obstacle arising from his recent move to Tasmania and his appointment was proposed on a part-time basis for two years until his permanent physical transfer could be made. Pike’s acceptance was reported to the Editorial Board meeting of 6 February 1962. A new era in the ADB’s affairs was about to begin.

Other events had also introduced change. There was continuing dissent and disagreement within the NSW Working Party over who should write the contributions on the major governors. Ellis had signalled to Hancock in Oxford: ‘I am setting myself to do all the Governors, all of their periods except Phillip, of whom I have a reasonable knowledge, are at my fingertips’; Ward had indicated that the ‘Working Party is strongly of the opinion that no one author should write the biographies of more than two governors’ on grounds of principle. Ellis offered his sixth and, as it proved, fatal threat of resignation, as editor of Volume 1, to the chairman early in December 1961. An Editorial Board meeting on 13 December resolved that, as confidence no longer existed on either side, between Ellis and the board, the chairman request him to submit his resignation no later than 10 days from the date of the chairman’s letter. Hancock’s letter of 20 December thanked Ellis for his valuable assistance to the dictionary and expressed the hope that he would continue to contribute his knowledge to it. At its meeting in February 1962, the board accepted Ellis’s written letter of resignation and appointed Alan Shaw as editor of Volume 1. At his own request, Ellis remained a member of the National Committee to lend his knowledge and scholarship to the work but, in one of those swift changes of mind that marked his volatile personality, he asked that all reference to ‘conflicts’ with the Editorial Board and the National Committee be removed from the records. They were. His intemperate words were destroyed.

70 W. K. Hancock to D. Pike (8 December 1961); see also Pike to Hancock (7 December 1961); Hancock to Pike (12 December 1961); Hancock to Pike (4 January 1962), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
71 Keith S. Isles, Vice-Chancellor of University of Tasmania, to W. K. Hancock (21 March 1962), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
72 See Malcolm Ellis to Ann Mozley (18 September 1961); Note from Professor John Ward attached to NSW Working Party List (18 September 1961), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
73 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (13 December 1961), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
74 W. K. Hancock to M. Ellis (20 December 1961), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
75 Minutes of an Extraordinary ADB Editorial Board meeting (2 February 1962); M. H. Ellis to W. K. Hancock (1 February 1962); Hancock to Ellis (2 February 1962), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
ANU vice-chancellor Ian Chubb and the ADB’s first member of staff, Ann Moyal, cut the ADB’s fiftieth birthday cake, December 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzgerald, ADB archives
Ellis, however, had not finished with the dictionary. Frustrated and unforgiving, he resigned from the National Committee and, cutting all links and contributing not one word, he published his detailed assault upon the ADB, its organisation and his own dealings with it in a long article in the Bulletin on 15 June 1963, entitled ‘Why I Have Resigned: The Australian Dictionary of Biography—Intrigues, inefficiency, incompetence’. He demanded that the vice-chancellor set up a public inquiry into the conduct of the ADB’s administration. The registrar wisely counselled Hancock against attempting to answer. Hancock came to believe that Ellis was indeed a ‘peacock among parrots’ (as Ellis had described himself on one occasion). For his part, Hancock thought, in retrospect, that he had underestimated the vast differences in the ‘intellectual and practical experience between Ellis and “university people”’. The experience had been, as Fitzhardinge shrewdly put it, ‘very much like building your home on the top of a volcano’.

Conclusion

For my part, I agreed with Hancock’s reasoning about the need for a general editor and I looked forward to returning to historical research. I would stay with the ADB for a seven-month interim period as Pike made a transition into the work. My own conclusion on the establishment era, despite the high demands of the task, was that it had been a period of formidable achievement from which we were handing a solid legacy to the first general editor of the ADB. For me, it had been a particularly rewarding experience, working closely with Hancock on so important and pioneering a national venture. I enjoyed the title bestowed on me subsequently by a deputy editor, Chris Cunneen, of ‘Founding Mother’!

Dr Ann Moyal is a historian with a special interest in Australian science and technology.

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76 M. H. Ellis to W. K. Hancock (6 and 7 June 1963), box 65, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
77 ‘Notes for Concluding Speech by W. K. H. (to be departed from or elaborated according to circumstances): [L. F.—please advise me what to cut out]’, 8 pp. (n.d., c. June 1963), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
78 Fitzhardinge interviewed by Ross (1987).
79 Ann Mozley’s Letter of Resignation (8 March 1962), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
80 Moyal, Breakfast with Beaverbrook, p. 149.
In 1959 Ann Moyal (then Ann Mozley) set off on a trip around Australia to set up working parties for the fledgling dictionary project and to source material for the National Register.


I shall submit the report in two parts; (1) steps taken in connection with the Dictionary of Australian Biography, and (2) discussion and proposals on the work of the National Register.

Dictionary of Australian Biography

My journey has been a most profitable one. I have now had the opportunity of discussion and conversation with members of the History Departments of the four Universities, and in particular with the specialist Australian history staffs; with interested members of other Departments whom we might later want to co-opt to the Dictionary work; with the Archivists and Libraries of each centre; and, particularly in Tasmania, with the members of the Historical associations whose help with the early volumes of the Dictionary will be important.

The overall response in all these discussions has been one of wide and genuine approval of the plan and a readiness to carry enthusiasm into action as soon as invited to do so. There was considerable surprise that we had progressed so far, though the view was general in academic and library circles that there was a need for a fullscale Dictionary of Australian Biography, and that now was the time to begin. Everyone agreed that this was the rightful task of a National University.

In view of this most positive reaction, it seemed appropriate to accept suggestions for provisional Working Parties and to arrange exploratory meetings. I did this in Adelaide, Perth and Hobart. With Professor La Nauze’s coming visit to Canberra, there were no round table discussions in Melbourne, but I found my talk with Dr. Serle particularly profitable and encouraging.
Plans for Volume 1

In Hobart, after talking with Professor McManners and Mr McRae, and independently with Mr. Sharman (the State Archivist) I invited a Working Party to meet and advise on the existing list of inclusions for the period 1788–1825 and to make suggestions. Its members are Mr. McRae, Chairman, Miss Janet McRae (Research Assistant in the History Department responsible for the collection of Tasmanian Historical Documents), Mr. Sharman (who will be replaced by Mr. P. Eldershaw, member of the Archives staff when Sharman leaves in October), Mr. Frank Green (journalist and ex-Clerk of the House) and Mr. Garvie (President of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association and founder member of Tasmanian Historical Records Society). It has been suggested that the Chairmanship should pass to Miss McRae when her brother goes on study leave in November.

This is a rather unusual Working Party; none of its members have a specialist knowledge of the period though all have a real interest in it. Their contribution will therefore be more of an industrious researching into claims for inclusion than the decisions from experience made by Malcolm Ellis. For this reason they proposed that we should use the help and advice of members of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association for expert opinion on particular small aspects of the early period and I have a list of interested members for this purpose. The Working Party also acknowledged that they would have some difficulty in nominating contributors for Volume 1 as there is a dearth in Tasmania of persons qualified to write on the first 25 years. Suggestions, they felt, would have to come in the main from N.S.W. and Victoria. The military and naval people, for example, would certainly be better dealt with from N.S.W.

A second meeting of the Working Party was called for September 16 and I now expect their amended list for Volume 1 together with a short Appendix list to supplement Professor Manning Clark’s.

As there was a meeting of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association while I was in Hobart, I was able to talk with many of the people to whom we will circulate the proposed list of inclusions. This is a most robust and lively association and their co-operation and interest in the Dictionary seems assured. I have, in addition, made arrangements with the editor of their journal to publish the list of Tasmanian inclusions in Vol. 1 (and any N.S.W. figures with Tasmanian connections) in this year’s last issue. This will give the list the widest possible circulation.

Outside the Working Party, Professor McManners gives his blessing to the plan though he contemplates no active part in it himself. He has a proprietary interest

81 John McManners (1916–2006) was a cleric and historian of British religion and the Ancien Régime.
in the collection of Historical Documents by the History Department and feels that the gradual discovery of this material may provide good reason for a later reprinting of the Dictionary in straightforward alphabetical arrangements, when new light has been thrown on the earlier periods, but this he feels is no argument for holding up the work now.

Plans for Volume 2

In each of the Universities I discussed our ideas for producing a second volume of the Dictionary, possibly in 1963. The concept of two chronological volumes covering the entire early period of the Australian Colonies, and produced almost simultaneously, was a popular one, and there seems no good reason against embarking on the early work of the second volume right away. In each State I formed the impression that while the History Departments are quite hard pressed on their own projects, they were genuinely disposed towards being identified with the Dictionary and making a start on it now.

South Australia

In Adelaide, Dr. Douglas Pike is a strong advocate of the Dictionary plan and supports our ideas of centralisation in Canberra and an Advisory Committee consisting of one representative from each University to act in a consultative capacity. He would be the obvious choice for this and has expressed his readiness to take charge of the South Australian Working Party on the 1825–50 period. Dr. Grenfell Price was proposed as the second member of the team, and Mr. Finnis (local historian on the early period). Another candidate would be Mr. Pitt, former Principal Librarian who began the Archives’ biographical index.

At a provisional meeting of the Working Party, Dr. Pike presented a preliminary list of S.A. names for inclusion in Volume 2, which discussion reduced to 52. The amended list is attached. The intention was to have a further meeting with Dr. Grenfell Price (who was unable to join us in Adelaide) and to consider lengths for the proposed biographies. Dr. Pike thinks that the minimum length for a biography should not be more than 400 words; he contends that the articles should be candid and unbiased, maintaining that the Dictionary will afford an opportunity of reducing some historical figures to size. His chairmanship should, I feel, offset the danger of the ‘progenitor’ emphasis in the S. Australian selection. He thinks we should consider extending the date of Volume 2 to 1856.

The position in South Australia is therefore that a Provisional Working Party has been nominated, and we have a preliminary list for circulation. Dr. Price

82 In 1959 and 1960, Period 1 was planned to be up to 1825; and Period 2 1826–50. It was decided to amalgamate the first two periods at the National Committee meeting of 13–14 August 1964.
(who seems to have some reservations in view of his other commitments) is visiting Canberra in November and will talk with us then. If expansion of the Working Party seems desirable, Mr. Pitt might be invited to join it.

Professor Stretton endorsed the project and has offered to appoint a Research Assistant in the Department to help in the basic work for the S.A. contributions, a certain amount of which is likely to devolve on Dr. Pike. Among other members of the History staff there seems to be a very real interest in the Dictionary and, in particular, Dr. Inglis should be helpful when we reach the later period. The Archives people have also promised their support.

**Western Australia**

In Perth, Dr. Crowley’s reaction was most enthusiastic and positive, and he at once offered to draw up a tentative list of inclusions for Western Australia up to 1850. I took the opportunity therefore, as G. Bolton was also in Perth, to organise a provisional Working Party of Dr. Crowley, Miss Mollie Lukis (Government Archivist), Mr. Bolton and myself to discuss the W.A. position. Mrs Alexandra Hasluck has been nominated as a fourth member of this Working Party, and she has the advantage of links in both Perth and Canberra.

The Western Australian contribution to Volume 2 will, of course, be comparatively small. The list which the Working Party considered when it met, contains 25 names of which a number have been marked for review against the other lists in order to determine relative importance. It was agreed that this method of comparative assessment would be the most satisfactory way of determining final allocation between the States. The W.A. list is hence essentially provisional; it does provide some estimate of lengths of proposed biographies. In the case of the West it was suggested that the practice of the D.N.B. in amalgamating the lives of father and son when one is of lesser distinction, could usefully be applied. This Working Party shared the view that we have set our minimum wordage too high.

Dr. Crowley and Miss Lukis will certainly form a competent and hard working nucleus of the W.A. Working party, and Mrs. Hasluck would give it another dimension if she can be persuaded to join. The question of contributors is not likely to present many difficulties here; there are several obvious choices of authors, and Dr. Crowley will undertake two or three major ones, although there is a prospect of his absence in Malaya for two years. Miss Lukis has offered to do any research in the archives on the minor characters. The Working Party has supplied me with the names of persons among whom the list of inclusions should be circulated.
Victoria

In Melbourne, Dr. Serle gave me much of his time and many thoughtful criticisms and suggestions. He expressed the keenest interest in our proposals, and despite his own present undertakings, I am sure we can anticipate some very constructive help from him.

He recommends the following members for a Working Party on the 1825–50 period. Mrs. June Philips (Department of History), Philip Brown, Ian McLaren (Chairman of Historical Society) and himself. He would be willing to chair this group. One of the members of the Melbourne Library should, with the advice of the Librarian, be added to it.

Dr Serle has also given me names of a number of people who will be useful for consultation on the lists of inclusions. He is also ready to make Historical Studies available to publicise the Dictionary project and for the publication of proposed lists of inclusions. The list for Volume 1 should, desirably, be printed in the March number. He advises that we should bring in the Historical Societies to help us as consultants, and that we should aim to associate some first class schoolmasters with the writing of Dictionary articles, flinging the net wide in order to bring in good people.

Importantly, he proposed that we should also be considering constituting a Working Party for the post 1850 period, as from the Victorian viewpoint, this will be when the strain will be felt, and that we should begin now accumulating material on these more difficult years.

This view is endorsed by Professor La Nauze who would, I gather, be prepared to take on the chairmanship (possibly with Professor Crawford or with Dr. Serle) of a later Working Party. Geoffrey Blainey is recommended as someone who would be a particularly useful member. Professor La Nauze feels that this long term group should at least make an early start drawing up names and estimating the problems. He has offered that a Department Research Assistant could be made available to help in the work.

The first step in Victoria is to assemble the 1825–50 Working Party (Mrs. Philips has indicated her willingness to join) to draw up a list; with this in progress we will be in a position to think in terms of the post 1850 Party.

Tasmania

The problem of two concurrent Working Parties arose in Tasmania. The view of the History Department was that the Working Party for Volume 2 should be drawn from completely different personnel than those engaged on the early period in order to ensure speed of production. Two names have been agreed upon, and others have been put up for consideration.
Mr. John Reynolds (who recalls your first advocacy of a Dictionary in the late 1920s) has offered his help. His own researches now lie in the field of Victorian mining and company history post 1850 and in later political biography and he has undertaken to give us consultative assistance there. At the same time he has agreed to work on the Tasmanian Working Party 1825–1850, and would be willing to take the chair. Mr. K. Dallas of the Economics Department has also consented to join.

Of the other names advanced, no real agreement existed in Hobart. Mr. von Steigletz, a Launceston local historian strongly recommended by Mr. Reynolds, was not supported by the academics; Mr. Stancombe of Launceston would make a sensible contribution but his specialist interests are surveyors and highways; Professor Townley, Department of Political Science, though he contends that he has moved away from historical interests of the last century into the post 1930s, would, I imagine, respond with the right approach.

My own feeling is that we should, in part, resist the opinion of the History Department and induce Miss McRae to sit in on the second Working Party as the documents she is investigating relate particularly to this period; and that we should also have an Archives representative, either Mr. Stilwell or Mr. Eldershaw, on this committee. We could continue to circularise the Historical Association and Royal Society members for this later period.

Mr. Reynolds, who showed a lively interest in our plans, underlines that we should be thinking about building up personal recollections of important recent figures from competent living contemporaries—if necessary by a process of interviewing and recording first hand impressions.

Conclusions

All these steps taken so far will need consolidating, and it seems desirable to constitute the Working Parties—which have in most cases already acted—by formal invitation as soon as possible.

I have indicated that we hope to clarify problems of organization and procedure after October, but I think my discussions and provisional arrangements should be underwritten from here before this. On organizational questions, there is no doubt that we will have support for centralization in Canberra, this is accepted everywhere as the obvious course. The University people felt that the proposed Advisory Committee of one of their members from each State, and acting in an advisory role would be adequate machinery for identifying them with the project. It would be helpful to devise a manual or procedure and policy for the Working Parties.
I gathered some opinions from people like Dr. Serle, Professors McManners and Stretton, Dr. Pike and Dr. Crowley on general questions of editorship. The proposal for separate editorship of each volume was a popular one among them. Finally the question of paying contributors seems to be clearly settled. There is certainly no question of it among academics, and in each Working Party the view was held that contributors would be found outside the range of freelance journalists and writers who would expect remuneration. Members of historical associations are most willing to give their help and their time and the Serle suggestion of using competent schoolmasters has much to recommend it.

**National Register Work**

Part of my time in each of the capitals was spent in investigating Library resources and in gathering opinions from the Librarians and the Archivists, as well as from the Australian historians, on how we could most effectively build up our Register material, and become in time the centre of biographical information. There was general support for this plan and concurrence that the A.N.U. was the legitimate place for developing such a centre.

Some idea of our present achievement was revealed in the Register Short List which has been distributed among the Libraries and History departments. There was comment and criticism on the selection reflected in the Register, and on the choice of sources, but there was also the view that we had progressed a long way in a useful direction. This criticism was helpful as it brought with it recommendations from each State of printed biographical sources which we should consider incorporating in the Register. It also exposed the immediate deficiencies that might be remedied, the most singular being the comparative neglect in our records of Western Australian, and to a lesser extent, of Tasmanian personalities.

The discussions convinced me of one thing: that to make the Register effective and representative, it would be necessary to ensure that material will flow in systematically from the States, both from the Libraries and Universities.

From the Library point of view I have gone some way to organize this. In Tasmania, the States Archives conduct research, often of a prolonged and serious kind, for enquiries. Much of this is biographical and I have worked through their files making lists of those from which useful material for the Register could be drawn. At some time, it would seem desirable to employ a researcher for a couple of weeks going through these files from my instructions to extract the material, I am sure the University could suggest someone. The Librarian and Archivist have promised henceforth to send me an extra copy of each piece of biographical research that is done. This will greatly strengthen our Tasmanian entries, particularly on the early period.
In Perth I collected material from their research files myself, and Miss Lukis the Archivist, is prepared to send copies of additions they make. The Archivist in Melbourne recommends a similar approach to the Trustees of the Public Library, and I think the process might be profitably applied to the S.A. Archives, the Mitchell and the Oxley Library.

From the point of view of general Library resources, I have been able to acquire a first hand picture of the biographical indexes of each Library and they vary considerably. At this stage it is quite beyond the range of possibility to consider incorporating this mass of material into the National Register, but with a knowledge of their range and contents, it will be possible to act as an informed channel of reference to them. These are, after all, the working tools of the individual State libraries and for the present we will benefit from the research they are carrying out through them.

The process of systemization can be extended to the Universities. Opinion in the History Departments points to the fact that they feel some responsibility in making a specific contribution to the Register work, and Melbourne and Hobart have offered to put a Research Assistant on the work of going through their theses abstracting biographical information. It is suggested that we invite each University to do this. Dr. Serle was also of the opinion that the Working Parties might be asked to draw up lists of names for the Register in addition to the Dictionary. This seems a heavy demand but in the normal way names discarded from preliminary Dictionary lists will be picked up for the Register.

The most important contribution the Universities could make, this is again Dr. Serle’s suggestion, would be the collection of basic material for political monographs, on the lines of Martin and Wardle. Dr. Serle feels that the Melbourne History Department could organize such a one, with the help of Allan Martin and the research assistant Professor La Nauze has offered.

This is a most constructive offer and sustains our plan to produce these specialized monographs at regular intervals. My present intention is to make the first step towards remedying the Western Australian gap in our biographical work by organizing material for a monograph on members of the W.A. Legislative Assembly and Council 1870–1930. G. Bolton already has the basic framework for this and has offered to fill it out. I also discussed the idea in Perth with Dr. Crowley and Miss Lukis and they will give us local help in checking and adding to the material.

It is also my plan to arrange that material will flow in from the Historical Associations.

Source: Box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Profile

Ann Moyal (b. 1926)

A graduate of the University of Sydney (BA Hons, 1947), Ann Hurley (later Cousins and Mozley) worked in Britain for nine years, four of them as Lord Beaverbrook’s research assistant. She has written about that period of her life in Breakfast with Beaverbrook (1995). In November 1958, on Mozley’s return to Australia, Sir Keith Hancock employed her as a research assistant responsible for the ‘organization of the Register of Australian Biography and preliminary work towards a Dictionary of Australian Biography’. In October 1959 she became a research fellow and assistant editor of the ADB. She has recounted her experiences as the ADB’s first, and only, employee for nearly four years, in Chapter 2.

In 1962 Mozley took up a position at the Basser Library, Australian Academy of Science, where she began work on establishing a historical archive of Australian scientists. In 1963 she married the mathematician Joe Moyal. She worked in publishing in Chicago, returning to Australia to teaching positions at the NSW Institute of Technology (1972–76) and at Griffith University, where she was director of the Science Policy Research Centre (1977–79). Over the years she has published widely on the social history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Australian science. In 1995 she founded the Independent Scholars Association of Australia. Appointed AM in 1993, she was awarded an honorary D.Litt by the ANU in 1995 and by the University of Sydney in 2007.

Ann Moyal, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzgerald, ADB archives
Profile

Keith Hancock (1898–1988)

Although the *ADB* was a minor episode in Sir Keith Hancock’s illustrious career, he looms large in its history. As director of the Research School of Social Sciences (1957–61) and head of the history department (1957–65) at the ANU, Hancock in the late 1950s advocated the establishment of the *ADB*, believing the dictionary to be an important means of promoting both Australian history and the university whose charter was to encourage and provide facilities for research of national importance.

Hancock, a graduate of the University of Melbourne (BA Hons, 1920), won a Rhodes Scholarship that he took up at Balliol College, Oxford (BA, 1923; MA, 1930). Professor of history at the universities of Adelaide (1926–34), Birmingham (1934–44) and Oxford (1944–49), and founding director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London (1949–56), before his return to Australia, he was the author of 20 books, including a two-volume biography of the South African statesman Jan Smuts (1962–68). Jim Davidson in his biography of Hancock noted that his ‘once immense reputation is now hard for Australians to grasp: most of it was earned outside Australia, and the Commonwealth context which gave it coherence has virtually collapsed’.

In Britain Hancock had been involved in large collaborative projects, mainly as the supervisor for 12 years of 27 of the 28-volume civil series of the official history of Britain in World War II. He was also associated with the British *Dictionary of National Biography*. Once at the ANU, he called a meeting of Australian historians and raised the idea of a national biographical dictionary. Support for the proposal was forthcoming and in 1959 Hancock formed a provisional Editorial Board that met in his office. Appointed chairman, he provided seed funding for the project from his departmental budget and personally visited archivists to win their support. For Hancock, consultative relationships, genuine partnerships and collaboration were essential to the success of the project. He retired from the Editorial Board in November 1965.

Keith Hancock, 1965

ANU Archives, ANUA225-511
Profile

Malcolm Ellis (1890–1969)

Malcolm Ellis is one of the most vilified characters in the ADB story, accused of almost wrecking the project in its infancy; however, he also deserves a place as one of the founders of the great enterprise alongside Sir Keith Hancock, Ann Mozley (Moyal) and Laurie Fitzhardinge. A Queenslander by birth, Ellis began his working life as a cadet reporter on the Brisbane Daily Mail. In 1933, he joined the staff of the Bulletin, where he remained until his retirement in 1965. Passionate about early Australian colonial history and biography—he published biographies of Lachlan Macquarie (1942), Francis Greenway (1949) and John Macarthur (1955)—Ellis was one of the few non-academics invited to the conference convened by Hancock in Canberra in October 1957 at which the concept of a dictionary of Australian biography was discussed. He showed intense interest in the project and, in 1959, was appointed to the provisional Editorial Board. Ellis was the sole non-academic on the board. In August that year he submitted a detailed organisational plan, which, with some amendments by Hancock, forms the basis of the ADB’s organisation to this day. Ellis’s drive and commitment saw him writing the draft constitution and pressuring Hancock and the Editorial Board to begin the search for a publisher. In October 1959, Ellis and Manning Clark were appointed joint editors of Volumes 1 and 2. Hancock later wrote that ‘Ellis then was our devoted comrade. His ardour sustained our faith … he helped us, more than anybody else did, to get the Dictionary off the ground’.

Hancock made that file note in December 1961, in the midst of a dispute between Ellis and the NSW Working Party over the selection of authors and the length of articles. This was just one of several disputes that took on seismic proportions and included the way in which Melbourne University Press was appointed publisher instead of Angus & Robertson, Ellis’s preferred option. The rows were exacerbated by Ellis’s vituperative personality and his outspoken anticomunism, which, at one point, led to a confrontation with Manning Clark. Finally, Ellis resigned from all his ADB positions. His dissatisfaction was well documented in his July 1963 Bulletin article, ‘Why I Have Resigned’.

While the Ellis controversy continues to loom large in the ADB’s early history, the danger is that the positive aspects of the story are forgotten. Despite his prickly temperament, Ellis made significant contributions both to the establishment of the ADB and to early colonial Australian history and biography.

Malcolm Ellis, 1950s

*ADB* archives
Oskar Spate (1911–2000), Professor of Geography, ANU, and ADB author, wrote this poem in 1963 following the publication of Malcolm Ellis's article ‘Why I Have Resigned’ in the Bulletin. The poem was privately circulated.

**The Wild Colonial Bore**

by O. K. H. Spate

'Tis of a Wild Colonial Bore, Malcolm Ellis is his name.  
And he has a Bigge monopoly, and one in Macquarie’s fame;  
His native heath was Botany Bay, he messed with the Rum Corps,  
And dearly did he love them both, the Wild Colonial Bore.

He is the boldest bushranger that never ranged the bush,  
In Sydney Town he’s captain of a literary push,  
He fills the Forum many a time with most uncivil war,  
A terror to Australia is the Wild Colonial Bore.

He is a stout Exclusivist, as everybody may see,  
And no man but an Ellis fan need write our history;  
Emancipists and Hawkesbury men are rudely shown the door,  
He has Squatter’s Rights to our convict past, has the Wild Colonial Bore.

There’s none like Malcolm Ellis to write biography,  
To review with old-world courtesy, and shun all pedantry;  
He tried his hand with Greenway and got in on the ground floor,  
But the Hospital rum went to the head of the Wild Colonial Bore.

He bailed up Justice Evatt, Mike Roe, and Manning Clark,  
He hinted that the ANU gave doctorates in the dark,  
He slaughtered reputations and all dons he did deplore  
And they none of them got quarter from the Wild Colonial Bore.

And when he isn't flaying Profs, he's ferreting out the Reds,  
He finds them Up the Garden Path and under all the beds,  
Their corpses lie about his track, his rushes drip with gore,  
A Prof or a Red, 'tis all the same to the Wild Colonial Bore.

'Tis in the Sydney Bulletin he pursues his wild career  
With letters and columns every week of colonial small beer,  
And each new Bulletin we read, we've read it all before—  
He's flaming repetitious, is the Wild Colonial Bore.

But cheer up all, my hearties, all things must have an end;  
'Tis like that Malcolm’s meanderings will take him round the bend;  
He’s bound to be Transported, of that you may be sure,  
To a warmer place than Botany Bay, this Wild Colonial Bore.
Profiles


From the outset, the ANU supported Sir Keith Hancock’s initiative to launch a dictionary of biography and provided significant recurrent funding. After forming a provisional Editorial Board in 1959, Hancock sought university approval for its permanent establishment. The vice-chancellor, Leslie Melville, endorsed the proposal, subject to the addition of two ANU staff members, the chairman of the publication committee, Professor Geoffrey Sawer, and the university registrar, Ross Hohnen, to the Editorial Board.

A graduate of the University of Melbourne (LLB, 1933) in 1934, Sawer was admitted as a solicitor and in 1938 as a barrister. He was the foundation professor of law at ANU (1950–74) and dean of the Research School of Social Sciences (1951–56). In 1955, when Hancock was director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, Sawer, who was on sabbatical at the London School of Economics and Political Science, participated in Hancock’s seminars. They became good friends. A couple of years later Sawer was involved in the selection and appointment of Hancock as professor of history at the ANU.

Sawer served on the ADB’s Editorial Board and its National Committee for more than two decades, until 1984. He played a vital role, giving advice on legal matters, particularly regarding copyright, drafting the ADB’s constitution, and drawing up the contract with Melbourne University Press. At times he was acting chairman of the Editorial Board. He chaired the committee searching for Douglas Pike’s successor as general editor and negotiated directly with Monash University in 1975 to enable Geoffrey Serle’s appointment as joint general editor.

Reminiscing in 1987 about the ADB, Laurie Fitzhardinge noted that a critical factor in Hancock’s success in obtaining money from the ANU was the ‘enthusiastic support’ provided by Ross Hohnen, the university registrar (1949–75). Hohnen, an active member of the Editorial Board until 1975, advocated both the payment of an establishment grant for the dictionary and the appointment, in 1962, of the first general editor, with the status and title of professor. He also provided practical assistance in seeking endowments and donations. With his support, the ADB’s staff increased from one in 1960 to more than four by 1964 and seven by 1969. He also encouraged Douglas Pike to take up an ANU travel grant in 1969 to visit dictionary projects in the United States, Canada and France.

Sources: Laurie Fitzhardinge to Professor Hancock (3 February 1960), Q31, ADBA, ANUA. Biographical cuttings on Ross A. Hohnen, NLA. Geoffrey Sawer interviewed by Mel Pratt, five sessions (November 1971 – May 1972), NLA.
Geoffrey Sawer, 1953

ANU archives, ANUA225-1102

Ross Hohnen, 1974

ANU archives, ANUA225-564
Norman Cowper (1896–1987)

An eminent commercial lawyer, company director and businessman, Norman Cowper was an experienced committee man. As a member (1955–74) of the ANU Council, he was a supporter of the *ADB*. He was responsible for securing the *ADB*’s first endowment: an ‘anonymous benefactor’ (later revealed as the Bushell Trust), who the Editorial Board acknowledged was gained only ‘through the auspices of Mr Norman Cowper’, gifted £1500 per annum for a period of three years in 1960. This was a vital gift to the fledging project. As chairman (1960–70) of the board of Angus & Robertson, Cowper became involved in settling the dispute between the *ADB* Editorial Board and Malcolm Ellis. Largely because of his ability to resolve conflicts, he was recruited to the Editorial Board and to the National Committee in 1961. Not only did he help the academics to work out their policy differences, but he also brought a great deal of financial expertise to the management of the *ADB*. He contributed articles on George Allen and his son Sir George Wigram Allen (the founders of the law firm, Allen, Allen and Hemsley, of which Cowper was a senior partner from 1951 to 1975) and on Georgiana and her son George Gordon McCrae, who were relations of his wife. After vice-chancellor Anthony Low made comments about the ‘advancing years’ of many associated with the *ADB*, Cowper resigned from the Editorial Board in November 1979. He was himself the subject of an entry in the *ADB*.

Norman Cowper, 1977

Photographer: Anton Cermak, by courtesy of Fairfax Media
**Profile**

**Gwyn James (1900–1978)**

Over the past 50 years, *ADB* staff have worked with six directors of Melbourne University Press: Gwyn James (1943–62); Peter Ryan (1962–88); Brian Wilder (1989); John Iremonger (1990–93); Brian Wilder (1993–96); John Meckan (1997–2002); and from 2003, Louise Adler. Gwyn James was pivotal in that he committed the MUP to publishing the *ADB* and was responsible for the high-quality design of its volumes.

James, an Englishman by birth, and Keith Hancock first met at the University of Birmingham. James was a student (MA, 1937) working on the British Admiralty in the seventeenth-century; Hancock was a professor of history (1934–44). In 1938 James moved to Australia and two years later took up a lectureship at the University of Melbourne and became foundation editor (1940–46) of *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*. He was also well known to Laurie Fitzhardinge, who had helped to establish *Historical Studies*.

Director of MUP from 1943, James learnt about the dictionary project in a rather circuitous way—during a discussion in Canada with those working on the new Canadian dictionary project. When he returned to Australia in November 1959, he approached the *ADB* Editorial Board with a proposal that MUP publish the dictionary. At that stage the board was on the verge of signing with Angus & Robertson but was swayed by James’s academic background and his enthusiasm for the project. Such were James’s academic credentials that the *ADB* Editorial Board considered him as a possible general editor of the dictionary before appointing Douglas Pike in 1962.

His publishing credentials were also impeccable. As Peter Ryan, James’s successor at MUP, described it: ‘Gwyn James, besides his scholarship, had deep feeling for typography, quality book production, and the sacred (yes, sacred) role of rigorous editorial integrity’. James pursued publishing perfection and was innocent of the costs it imposed on MUP, such as when he chose the dictionary’s nine-point Juliana typeface:

> It was perfect for such a work of reference: cram as you would the narrow columns with text, the pages were never a pain in the eye, never hard to read. Juliana was unknown then in Australia, and James could import it only in ‘English depth’, where the type surface of the characters stand high and clear above the body. The result was that MUP’s linos were
incompatible with the linotype equipment of the whole of the rest of the Australian printing industry—a considerable technical and financial sacrifice by the Press in the service of perfection for the *Dictionary*. Then there was the paper—no reach-me-down rubbish from some paper merchant’s shelf for the *ADB*.

James cajoled a local manufacturer of fine papers to agree to make a special quality for the *ADB*; A cream ‘laid’ writing paper in an unconventional sheet size, to accommodate the grandeur of the *Dictionary*’s ‘full royal’ dimensions ... As the papers makers could only occasionally interrupt the ordinary run of their production for the special *ADB* make, MUP itself had to warehouse very considerable reserves of it, at great expense.

As well as being its publisher, James wrote four entries for the *ADB*.

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**Gwyn James, n.d.**

Photographer: Squire Photographics, University of Melbourne Archives

Sources: Peter Ryan, ‘The ADB’, *Quadrant* (June 2000), pp. 87–8. ‘Chronology of Publishing Arrangements’, Ann Mozley to Keith Hancock (22 June 1960), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Profile

Alan George Lewers (‘Agl’, pronounced ‘aggle’) Shaw (1916–2012)

Keith Hancock originally wanted A. G. L. Shaw, senior lecturer in history at the University of Sydney, as one of several editors of the first two volumes of the *ADB*. His candidature, however, was caught up in the ‘Ellis dispute’. Ellis was critical of what he described as the domination by John Ward and Shaw of the *ADB*’s NSW Working Party. Ellis wanted the working party to have wider representation: ‘New South Wales University, the Historical and Pioneers Societies, the Genealogical Society, the Public Librarian and Government Archivist, with representative attendant sub-committees from the law, medicine and architecture. And it needs some young men’. Ellis and the working party also disagreed about the lists of subjects and authors. When the working party proposed that Shaw write the entry on Lachlan Macquarie, Ellis responded by saying that he wanted to write that one, and suggested Shaw for Thomas Makdougall Brisbane. At its meeting of 6 February 1962, the *ADB* Editorial Board, advised of Douglas Pike’s acceptance of the position of general editor, resolved to appoint Shaw joint editor of Volume 1 following the resignation of Malcolm Ellis. It was held that special knowledge of the colonial period was essential and that Shaw had that expertise. As section editor for Volumes 1 and 2, he was de facto in charge of ‘period one’. He reported to National Committee members on progress until Pike took over.

Born in Melbourne, Shaw was educated at Melbourne Grammar School, the University of Melbourne (BA Hons, 1938), where he studied history and political science, and Christ Church, Oxford (MA, 1940). Back in Australia, he worked first in the Commonwealth Public Service, before taking up a lectureship at the University of Melbourne. He was associate editor (1949–51) of *Historical Studies* and a member of its editorial board. In 1950, he was awarded a Nuffield dominion travelling scholarship and spent a year in England undertaking research into Australia’s convict period. In 1952 he was appointed senior lecturer in history at the University of Sydney. During the 1950s and 1960s he published widely on the early history of Australia.

A stalwart of the *ADB*, Shaw was a member of the National Committee and of the Editorial Board (1960–99); he contributed 10 articles. He also produced biographies of Ralph Darling (1971) and George Arthur (1980). For 10 years from 1994, he was associate editor (Australia) of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. He was awarded an *ADB* Medal in 2002.
A. G. L. Shaw, about 1964

Monash University Archives, 42

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

John D. Calvert

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 1974

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.

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’. Indeed, Hancock came to think of Pike in terms of a saviour, commenting that ‘only just in time, Douglas Pike came to the rescue’.

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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

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’. 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. 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’. 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’. 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. 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. 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. 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’.

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”’.  

Pike finally accepted the general editor’s position at the end of January 1962. He was granted the status and title of professor within the ANU, at a salary of £4250 per annum. 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.\textsuperscript{33} 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.\textsuperscript{34} In August 1962, he
published an article on the \textit{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’.\textsuperscript{35}

\section*{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 \textit{Scholarly Publishing} included an
article by Pike tracing the development of other national dictionaries, in which
he contextualised \textit{ADB} methods and reflected upon dictionary practices.\textsuperscript{36} 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:

\begin{quote}
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
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.37

The first desirable step for a general editor, in turn, according to Pike, was ‘to
start looking and praying for that rara avis, a good sub-editor’.38 Pike spoke
from experience here, too; he was without a deputy until the appointment of
Bede Nairn to the staff in 1966.39

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’.40 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’.41 He noted that the ADB was ‘the smallest project’ internationally
and it was heavily indebted to models and methods of the National Dictionary
of Biography and the 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 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 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.42 Chronological rather than a ‘totally alphabetical system’ of work
was best and, on this basis, rather than organising subjects by death dates,
the ADB had developed a floruit system that enabled close attention to one
particular slab of history at a time.43 A third particular feature of the ADB was
that it had volunteer section editors ‘renowned for scholarship in the historical
slab under review’.44

Pike inherited a number of particular challenges as a result of how the ADB was
set up from 1958 to 1962 and the fallout from the Ellis dispute; other hurdles

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39 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.
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’. 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. 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.

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 Dufty, 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’.

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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’. 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 *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). 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.

**‘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 *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.

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

60 Smith to Calvert (8 April 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library.
63 Price was a devout Anglican, had studied at St Peter’s College and became a Synod member of the Adelaide Diocese. G. Walsh, *Australia: History & Historians* (Canberra: Australian Defence Force Academy, 1997), p. 122.
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.

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.
72 Walsh, ‘“Recording the Australian Experience”’, p. 250. Pike, ADB, vol. 1, p. v.
Volume 2 was published in 1967. It contained 581 entries and completed the years up to 1850.73 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).74 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.75

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.76

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'.77 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'.78 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.79

74 Minutes, *ADB* Editorial Board meeting (28 February 1967), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
76 'A Memory for “Only 500”', *ANU Reporter* (25 August 1972), p. 3.
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

86 Robin Gollan to J. Calvert (10 May 2002), Calvert papers, University of Adelaide Library. See also ‘Capital Letter’, Canberra Times (20 March 1969).
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.*

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93 *ADB* confidential report under names of R. Gollan and J. La Nauze to members of the Editorial Board, box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA. ANU Vice-Chancellor to O. Pike, signed by D. K. R. Hodgkin, Registrar (24 January 1974), folder 1272, ANUA.
98 La Nauze, ‘Obituary’.
Nan Phillips (1911–1984)

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.
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.

Sally O’Neill, 2013

ADB archives
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
4. Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle:
A Fine Partnership, 1973–1987

Christopher Cunneen

When the Australian Dictionary of Biography’s general editor, Douglas Pike, was felled by a devastating stroke on Remembrance Day 1973, the ADB team was fortunate to have, at ‘first drop’ (to use a cricketing analogy that Bede Nairn might have appreciated), a veritable Victor Trumper of a historian, able to continue the strong innings that the openers had established.¹

Nairn: Consolidating the innings

Noel Bede Nairn (1917–2006) was born on 6 August 1917 at Turill, near Mudgee, NSW, youngest of six children of Robert John (Jack) Nairn and his wife, Rose Ann, née Hopkins.² When the boy was six, the family moved to inner Sydney, where Jack worked as a council watchman and cleaner. Though the Nairns were close to poverty, Bede’s mother, Rose, bought a piano and he took music lessons, financed by taking in boarders. He was educated at St John’s Poor School, in Kent Street, and then by the Christian Brothers at St Mary’s Cathedral School, where he completed the Intermediate Certificate. On leaving school, he worked for the NSW Electoral Office. While studying for matriculation part-time, he worked as a clerk at Sydney Technical College; later he was an evening student at the University of Sydney (BA Hons, 1945; MA, 1955). He married Jean Hayward on 26 January 1943.

In 1948 he taught at Sydney Technical College, Ultimo, and the following year lectured in history at the newly founded NSW University of Technology (now University of New South Wales); in 1956 he became senior lecturer and head of the school of history at the university and, in 1961, associate professor of history. In 1957, on a Rockefeller grant, he and his family went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he researched trade unions in Britain.

¹ J. A. La Nauze, Chairman, to Members of the ADB Editorial Board (11 September 1975), box 70, Q31, ANUA, ADBA.
By courtesy of Sue Edgar
Nairn became chairman of the ADB’s NSW Working Party in 1962, and guided the committee through the latter part of the ructions caused by Malcolm Ellis. He quickly became an essential element in the team of volunteers supporting the work of Pike in the early volumes of the dictionary. Nairn was not, however, an early member of the National Committee that established the ADB, though in 1965 he did act on that committee as a replacement for the departed John Salmon. Nor was he a member of the Editorial Board that governed the project prior to the publication of Volumes 1 and 2 in 1966–67. Indeed, he did not contribute any entries to Volume 1 and only two to Volume 2; it is significant that those two were on the pastoralist/politician Hannibal Macarthur, and the Catholic Archbishop John Bede Polding. (It is possible that Nairn was actually named after Bede Polding, though not by his parents. His son John has told me that the parents had wanted to baptise him Lloyd George Nairn, but that the officiating priest had refused to allow it.)
After a sabbatical year at the ANU in Canberra in 1965, the Nairn family moved there permanently in 1966. On the ANU staff, Nairn became deputy to Pike and he now joined the National Committee and the Editorial Board. With Geoffrey Serle and Russel Ward, he was a section editor for Volumes 3–4, covering people who flourished in 1851–90. He continued his membership of the NSW Working Party, but handed the chairmanship to Gordon Richardson, the State librarian of New South Wales, who was in turn succeeded by Russell Doust. In addition to his work on the ADB, Nairn took a prominent role in the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, serving as vice-president and a member of the editorial board of Labour History, and completed his groundbreaking book Civilising Capitalism: The Labor Movement in New South Wales 1870–1900 (1973). So he was ready, when Pike fell ill, to step in and complete the final stages of work on Volume 5.

At the urging of the then chairman of the Editorial Board, John La Nauze, Nairn agreed to act as general editor for Volume 6. He accomplished this at a difficult time, when the publisher of Melbourne University Press, Peter Ryan, was having one of his obstreperous periods. In response to a demand from MUP that the length of the volume be reduced, Nairn was forced to delete a large number of articles—30 were removed from the NSW list alone—some of which had already been commissioned and, indeed, written. Still, Volume 6, though slimmer than the others in the series, was a notable continuation of the form and style set by Pike.

Nairn was enormously assisted in his task by the remarkable team of research assistants Pike had assembled. The administrative role of Nan Phillips was notable, and the skilled editing of Martha Campbell, Sally O’Neill, Suzanne Edgar and the late Deirdre Morris was clear to me when I joined the team in 1974. Nairn retained the spare style—notoriously devoid of adjectives—that Pike had established. Indeed, his enthusiasm for abbreviation was even more zealous, perhaps because of the limitations in length of the volume imposed by MUP. Nairn insisted on the use of short verbs, such as ‘quit’, and he was responsible for persuading Pike to allow staff to be credited for the entries they had written. Staff have described Nairn as ‘full of humour, warmth and kindness’, which he ‘let … shine out’. Under him, research assistants had much more responsibility for preliminary editing. With support from other research assistants, Edgar drafted a proposal for them to be designated internally as research editors. Nairn supported that change successfully. He was an excellent and involving manager of his team, and his many staff meetings, at which everyone happily discussed at length such weighty issues as whether to hyphenate or not, are well remembered.

Jim Gibbney was another memorable team member inherited by Nairn. He had taken over the role of ‘biographical registrar’, or gatherer of biographical data. This task has always been a crucial aspect of the ADB work and Gibbney, an amiable and much-loved figure in Canberra, and a habitué of the National Library’s Petherick Room ‘Club’, helped to gather the thousands of little white cards filled with biographical data. Authors have been grateful to Gibbney’s Biographical Register for its help in the writing of ADB entries. At Nairn’s urging, Gibbney began, and Ann Smith completed, the useful two-volume *Biographical Register, 1788–1939* (1987).

Joyce Gibberd was the ADB’s South Australian research assistant in 1974–2005, a member of that State’s working party in 1990–2005 and wrote 21 ADB entries. She was awarded an ADB Medal in 2002.

ADB archives

Nairn brought his innate administrative efficiency to the business of gathering certificates of birth, death and marriage (BDM). He and I travelled around Australia, spoke to registrars-general in each State and secured special concessions that enabled the ADB to obtain such information centrally and efficiently. The system of BDM data collection varied from State to State. In


some States, the registrar’s office provided the information as uncertified copies. In the case of Queensland, one registrar-general transcribed by hand the details from the registers. In Sydney, Nairn was given privileged access to the files and he himself transcribed the BDM details. He soon handed that task to me and I continued to do the transcribing of NSW certificates until new privacy and security measures were introduced some 20 years later. The gathering of BDM material in a period of increasing concerns about privacy continues to cause anxiety.

Another task carried out successfully by Nairn, while he worked on Volume 6, was the reinvigoration of the working parties. On our tours to the various State capitals, Nairn and I met with key historians for advice on the best way to proceed. In some cases the working parties had more or less withered and Nairn started over from scratch. In particular, I remember with affection the support and friendship of Denis Murphy in Queensland, assisted by Paul Wilson and the splendid Spencer Routh. In South Australia, John Playford assembled a new team, assisted by Harold Finnis, John Love, Peter Howell and others. In other States we met stalwarts such as Geoffrey Bolton (in Perth) and Michael Roe (in Hobart), both of whom set up committees crucial in the whole ADB enterprise, which continue to be so. The Armed Services Working Party, steered by Bob O’Neill, had been established under Pike, and was from the start a splendid and efficient committee, full of engaging and memorable characters such as Alec Hill, Colonel Frank Brown and the inimitable Brigadier ‘Bunny’ Austin.

Nairn also formalised the previously informal system of interstate research assistance. When Pike had wanted a reference checked in Perth, Adelaide or Hobart, he would write to his friends, and ask them to help! Two of these were Wendy Birman, in Perth, and Joyce Gibberd, in Adelaide. On our travels, Nairn and I met these friends, and they agreed to continue as interstate research assistants. Both are worthy recipients of the ADB Medal, initiated by John Ritchie.

Among the several Sydney researchers who helped me in the time of Nairn and Serle were Ruth Frappell and Mike Bosworth. Interstate and overseas research assistants who gave generously of their time and commitment during the Nairn–Serle era included Jennifer Harrison and Anne Rand (both recipients of ADB Medals), Barbara Dale, Naomi Turner, Susan Hogan, Noeline Hall, Betty Crouchley, Mimi Colligan, Geoff Browne, Beth McLeod, Gillian Winter and Leonie Glen. The ADB owes them a great debt of gratitude.
Bede Nairn, Nan Phillips and Geoffrey Serle in the *ADB’s* library

ANU Archives, ANUA226-680
A fine partnership

Nairn was the sole general editor for Volume 6. When the position of general editor was eventually advertised, the Editorial Board was unable to find a suitable candidate. Neither Nairn nor Serle had applied, knowing that the position was an all-absorbing job. Then Serle had the idea that he and Nairn should apply jointly. Nairn agreed, as did the board (though La Nauze needed to be persuaded by Serle), and in 1975 the two were appointed as joint general editors. The arrangement agreed upon was that Serle would visit Canberra for only two or three days a fortnight. Serle later joked that ‘[i]t wasn’t a bad idea to appoint a Sydney Catholic and a Melbourne Protestant: it surely would have been much worse the other way around’.

Nairn did not commit his assessment of Geoff Serle to paper, but in a rare interview granted to John Thompson, he was at pains to draw out the differences between the two collaborators—the differences that came from their almost diametrically opposed intellectual and cultural backgrounds (Melbourne versus Sydney; Catholic versus Protestant; [Serle’s] privilege [but not of money] as opposed to Nairn’s simpler, working-class origins; Nairn’s love of the turf against [Serle’s] complete indifference/antipathy—Nairn was puzzled by this).

Although Nairn stressed the differences between the two editors, there were notable similarities. Both were softly spoken family men; both were influenced by, and supporters of, Manning Clark; both were staunch Labor supporters, though neither was particularly radical, and each was criticised by the ‘New Left’ historians of the 1970s; both were what might now be described as ‘blokey’, sporty men who enjoyed a beer in mostly male company after work on Tuesday afternoon.

Serle: The stylist

We are fortunate to have in John Thompson’s masterly biography *The Patrician and the Bloke* (2006) a comprehensive account of Serle’s role as a teacher, historian and biographer. Alan Geoffrey Serle (1922–98) was born on 11 March 1922 at Hawthorn, Melbourne, third and last child of Percival Serle, accountant and
scholar, and his wife, Dora, née Hake, a skilled artist. Educated at Scotch College and the University of Melbourne, the youngster had some of his middle-class, scholarly smoothness roughened by war service in the ranks in New Guinea where he was seriously wounded. He recovered in Queensland, before resuming his university studies (BA Hons, 1946). Winning a Rhodes Scholarship, he entered University College, Oxford. He graduated DPhil in 1950. He returned to Melbourne University, where he taught Australian history, and then moved to Monash University. In 1955 he married Jessie McDonald.

Geoff Serle, 1980s

By courtesy of Sue Edgar
Serle’s two important histories of colonial Victoria, *The Golden Age* (1963) and *The Rush to be Rich* (1971), and the pioneering history of Australian culture *From Deserts the Prophets Come* (1973) had shown him to be a leading exponent of what Thompson calls a ‘new nationalistic approach to the teaching and writing of Australian history’. Moreover, his father’s long and fruitful engagement with Australian biography—notably, as author of the two-volume *Dictionary of Australian Biography* (1949)—had instilled in him a lifelong interest in biographical research. He was a founding member of the *ADB* National Committee, and of the Editorial Board. Like Nairn, he was a section editor for Volumes 3–6 (those who flourished in 1851–90).

As joint general editors, Nairn and Serle produced the bulk of Volumes 7–10 that included the men and women who flourished in the half-century from 1891 to 1939 and that covered the period of the depression of the 1890s, the Federation movement, the Boer War, the early years of the Commonwealth, World War I and the Great Depression—in *ADB* ‘lingo’ this was Period 3, or P3. The decision to continue to use the *floruit* principle and devote six volumes to this period and to stop before World War II dated from Pike’s general editorship. Nairn, Serle and the Editorial Board confirmed this plan. After Nairn’s serious illness in 1982, and retirement in 1984, Serle became the sole general editor for Volume 11. To allow for preparations of lists and authors for a new period, and for Nairn to take overdue sabbatical leave in 1977, there was a delay of three years between publication of Nairn’s Volume 6 in 1976 and Volume 7—the first of the jointly edited volumes—in 1979; however, through a sustained period of activity, the following four volumes were published in 1981, 1983, 1986 and 1988. In March 1988 Serle retired.

Neither Serle nor Nairn wrote much in the way of a reflective account of what we might think of as their ‘editorial philosophy’ for the *ADB*. The prefaces in their volumes were bare, formulaic, half-page explanations of the form and structure of the work. When Serle was forced to produce an information sheet for a Research School of Social Sciences open day in 1981, he sighed, took some paper (and a bottle of red wine) back to the college in the evening and returned next day with his summary, which was incorporated into a blue brochure. Some of his *modus operandi* might be gleaned from this unlikely source: ‘Following the precedents of the *British Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*, nearly twenty countries are engaged in building similar memorials to their “mighty dead”’.

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So, Geoff Serle, at least, saw the ADB as a ‘memorial to the mighty dead’. He went on to stress the utilitarian nature of the project:

The ADB is a standard work of reference and a research tool consulted by hundreds of scholars, students and the general public. It has to be as accurate as possible, given the complexity of biographical research; it also has to be readable. It has consolidated knowledge of the most important figures in Australian history and sharply etched in many who previously were shadowy or unknown. Its accumulation of information has, moreover, stimulated research in many areas of Australian history where access was difficult. Above all, the ADB is a national, co-operative enterprise.
And he showed a pragmatic realisation of the limitations of the exercise:

Yet the ADB does not pretend to be setting up a pantheon of immortals. The most important will be obvious, but the choice of the remainder can only reflect the present state of historians’ knowledge. The editorial team claims only to have taken the best advice available and reached the greatest possible measure of agreement; subsequent generations may have other standards of judgment.

So much for any reflection on the theory of prosopography! He did, however, finish his survey with a bit of a boast: ‘The ADB prides itself on its blend of elitism and democracy’.

Nairn would not have disagreed with Serle’s ruminations on the ADB’s role and purpose. Indeed, I never had any evidence that they differed on anything substantial. The two men certainly got along with each other remarkably amicably. Serle also acknowledged that he and Nairn had ‘inherited a senior editorial staff … with whom we adopted the most informal, unauthoritarian, collaborative relationship, which increased the very high staff morale and pride in the enterprise. This was primarily Bede’s achievement—he was on the spot’. 13

With Serle sojourning in Canberra for only a few days a fortnight, Nairn carried the full administrative load of the project. As Serle’s appointment was half-time, he could escape to his ‘cave’ in Hawthorn and work on his biography of the World War I general Sir John Monash; however, Serle may have understated his role. First, it was a relief to Nairn to be able to consult Serle on the important issues, and he could leave the whole of the Victorian editing and some of the Commonwealth entries in Serle’s expert hands, ably assisted by Sally O’Neill and, later, by the accomplished new editorial appointees Di Langmore and Ann Smith. But the constant commuting between Melbourne and Canberra, and residence in a university college, was in itself stressful for Serle.

In setting up and producing most of the volumes covering the *floruit* period 1891–1939, Nairn and Serle consciously aimed at continuing the style and format established by Douglas Pike. There was some regularisation of practices. For example, the systematic collection of BDM certificates, begun by Nairn, provided access to a certified medical cause of death that had previously not been available. Their friend the medical historian Bryan Gandevia had given occasional advice to Pike for some years. Because the death certificates now provided a cause of death, Gandevia urged that those details should be included in all entries. Serle was concerned that the artistic flow of an article might be affected by this invariable inclusion of technical medical terms. The issue was

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discussed with section editors, and by the Editorial Board. A compromise was reached whereby, where a death certificate was available, a brief cause of death would be provided for people who had died by the age of seventy, but not for those who survived beyond that age. From that time onwards, copies of death certificates for the ‘under-seventies’ were forwarded to Gandevia, who would then scrawl on the copy a brief interpretation of the chief cause of death. This was edited into the entries. It was a labour of love for Gandevia, and an example of the generous support unobtrusively given to the project by many supporters.

ADB administrative officer Alison Manners, 1980s

By courtesy of Sue Edgar

14 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (16 May 1977 and 8 November 1979), box 64, ADBA, ANUA.
Of the volumes Serle edited, he considered Volume 10 to be the most interesting. It included such articles as Stuart Macintyre’s on Sir John Latham, Jim Griffin’s on Archbishop Daniel Mannix, Jim Davidson’s on Dame Nellie Melba and Serle’s own masterly assessments of Monash and Sir Keith Murdoch. There were also memorable articles by Nairn on the politician Jim McGowen, and the jockey David ‘Darby’ Munro. Geoffrey Blainey and Ann Smith co-authored the entry on Essington Lewis, Peter Burgis wrote on Gladys Moncrieff, Tony Cahill on Cardinal P. F. Moran, and Philip Hart and Clem Lloyd on Joseph Lyons. The volume also included what is probably the most notable ‘family entry’ in the whole ADB—that is, the one on the Lindsays by Bernard Smith. Now that all the entries are wonderfully available in one alphabetical sequence online, and the entries have changed from the *floruit* to the date of death principle, the flavour of a remarkable cohort of individuals flourishing in a single period is perhaps no longer necessarily possible.

Sally O’Neill has described Serle as ‘a wonderful editor, with an elegant but spare style and a real feel for biography and for revealing the subject as a person and not just a list of achievements’. Sue Edgar appreciated his being so well read in literature, as well as in history. Martha Campbell enjoyed his ‘surer sense of language’, despite the fact that he ‘conversed frequently in grunts’.

During his time as general editor, Serle researched and wrote his major biography *John Monash* (1982).15 After their stint as general editors, both Nairn and Serle remained active historians. Serle worked on a study of the Melbourne University vice-chancellor, *Sir John Medley* (1993), and published a biography of the architect Robin Boyd in 1995.16 He died in Melbourne on 27 April 1998, to the last a vital member of the Victorian Working Party. In all, he had written 49 articles for the dictionary, beginning with Charles Ebden in Volume 2 (1967) and ending with Sir John Medley in Volume 15 (2000). Among the most memorable, for me, are those on John Curtin, prime minister, Brian Fitzpatrick, historian, Vance Palmer, writer, Jack Murray, grazier and premier, James Service, businessman and politician, and Bob Croll, author and public servant.

Nairn published his biography of Jack Lang, *The ‘Big Fella’*, in 1986 and his last scholarly article in the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* in December 2000.17 To my horror, he destroyed his personal papers in the 1980s. He died in Canberra on 21 April 2006. Like Serle, he remained active in his working party until the end; although unable to attend meetings, he remained

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in close contact with its deliberations through correspondence. Among the most notable of his 80 *ADB* entries, apart from those I have already mentioned, are those on politicians Sir John Robertson, Jack Lang, Jack Beasley and Chris Watson; on the trade unionist Frank Dickson; and on the cricketers Archie Jackson and Victor Trumper. His article on Clive Churchill, footballer, was his last: it appeared in Volume 17, after his death.

Helga Griffin was the *ADB*’s bibliographer, 1979–98. She also edited hundreds of *ADB* entries

By courtesy of Sue Edgar, 1980s
‘[Their] glory was [they] had such friends’

This chapter has emphasised the individual achievements of the second and third general editors. The essential point in their leadership of the ADB was, however, that they were team men. In this they were supported by outstanding Editorial Board chairmen Ken Inglis and acting chair Alan Barnard. A crucial element in the organisation for Volumes 7–11 was the continuous consultation between the general editors and the five section editors: Geoff Bolton, Ken Cable, Bob O’Neill, John Poynter and Heather Radi. Nairn and Serle relied heavily on the enthusiasm, expertise and wisdom of these historians, who gave their time generously, as did the dozens of members of the working parties and their chairmen, such as Russell Doust, Denis Murphy, Ross Johnston, John Playford, Michael Roe, Alec Hill and Wendy Birman. In addition, both Nairn and Serle had strong connections with their extraordinary team of contributors—thousands of men and women who might sometimes protest about too vigorous editing but retained a remarkable affection for and loyalty to the ADB.

In achieving their punishing schedule—five volumes published within 12 years—Nairn and Serle were supported by their dedicated staff at HQ. Apart from those already mentioned there were the expert researchers, such as Merrilyn Lincoln, Hilary Kent, Margaret Steven, Helga Griffin, Gillian Fulloon, Jean Fielding, Sheila Tilse and Alan Fewster, each of whom deserves much more recognition than I have time to give them here. The same goes for the stalwart administrative assistance provided to Nairn and Serle by Dorothy Smith, Norma Gregson, Marion Consandine, Frances Dinnerville, Edna Kauffman, Ivy Meere and too many others to mention by name. The truth is that the finest achievement of Bede Nairn and Geoff Serle was that they nurtured and expanded the ADB’s relationship with the thousands of individuals involved in the enterprise. General editors are indeed important in the ADB story, but the essence of the project is that it is a mighty collaborative effort.

Dr Christopher Cunneen was a Research Fellow (1974–82) and deputy general editor (1982–96) of the ADB. He has been a member of the NSW Working Party since 1975 and of the Editorial Board since 2011.
Profile

Chris Cunneen (b. 1940)

Impressed by Christopher Cunneen’s PhD thesis on the role of the governor-general in Australia (ANU, 1973), Bede Nairn recruited him to the ADB as a research fellow. In 1982 Cunneen was appointed deputy general editor. Under Nairn and Geoffrey Serle’s joint editorship, he increasingly performed most of the day-to-day management of the project, including allocation of duties to research staff, liaison with working parties and supervision of the office. He also assisted the general editor in editing entries and in preparing the manuscript for publication. As Serle noted, ‘sticking to the editorial grind’ meant that there was little time for Cunneen to pursue his own research interests and he was overlooked for the position of general editor when it became vacant in 1987. He then served as a loyal deputy to the successful applicant, John Ritchie. In 1996 he took a voluntary redundancy and moved to Sydney where he became an honorary research fellow at Macquarie University. His involvement in the ADB continued: he had been a key member of the NSW Working Party since 1975 and remains so to this day. He led the team that produced the supplement volume in 2005 and joined the Editorial Board in 2011. He has written 77 ADB entries.

Chris Cunneen, 2012

Photographer: Brian Wimborne, ADB archives
Profile

Bryan Gandevia (1925–2006)

Bryan Gandevia, a respiratory medicine specialist and medical historian, was an *ADB* author. In 1977 the Editorial Board decided to include cause of death for those subjects who had died under the age of seventy. When research editors found it difficult to interpret the information provided on death certificates, Gandevia’s advice was sought. He proposed that the *ADB* send him copies of the death certificates as they came to hand and he would ‘summarise them and develop a classification’. This involved him in a 20-year project with the *ADB*, in which he wrote down the major cause of death on each certificate and returned them to the office. One of the ‘unsung heroes’ of the *ADB*, Gandevia considered it a ‘privilege to be able to assist in such a magnificent national project’. He wrote widely on the history and bibliography of Australian health and welfare measures and helped to found in 1986 the Australian Society of the History of Medicine. He also served on the Australian War Memorial (AWM) Board of Trustees and subsequently as a member of the AWM Council (1967–88).

Margaret Steven (b. 1933) and Heather Radi (b. 1929)

Margaret Steven, who graduated with a PhD in history from ANU in 1963 and had written a number of books on colonial and imperial history, joined the ADB in 1978 as a research editor, responsible for the Commonwealth desk. She remained until 1996. Heather Radi, a lecturer in history at the University of Sydney, was appointed in 1975 to both the NSW Working Party and the Editorial Board. A feminist with an interest in women’s biography, she was the first woman member of the board and strongly supportive of its aim to increase the proportion of entries on women ‘to 10 per cent or more’. Both Steven and Radi were heavily involved in bicentennial history projects: Steven advised on and researched a special exhibition in London on the British role in the ‘discovery’ of Australia based on the collections of the British Museum of Natural History; Radi edited *200 Australian Women: A Redress Anthology* (1988). She retired from the Editorial Board in 1994 but remained on the NSW Working Party until 2005. Steven has contributed 24 articles and Radi 37, on a wide range of subjects, to the ADB.

Margaret Steven, 1988

ANU Archives, ANUA225-1184

Heather Radi, 1980s

By courtesy of Heather Radi

Geoffrey Bolton

In 1987, when John Ritchie was appointed general editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, he must have believed that he was being entrusted with one of Australia’s most respected and securely established academic enterprises. Ritchie himself was given to quoting commentators who described the *ADB* as ‘the largest work of collaborative scholarship in the arts or social sciences in Australia’, and ‘arguably the nation’s most substantial and significant publishing venture, and amongst the greatest of its kind in the world’.1 Few would have forecast that the ensuing 20 years, under the general editorship of Ritchie and his successor, Diane Langmore, would see the *ADB* struggling strenuously to preserve not merely its standards but, at times, its very existence.

Ritchie, who was forty-six when he was offered the general editorship in 1987, was seen as representing generational and cultural change. Unlike his predecessors, he had spent his entire academic life with the *ADB* as part of his professional and cultural landscape. He was a product of one of the vintage years of the Department of History at the University of Melbourne. At that time it was Australia’s leading nursery of historians, and Melbourne’s influence spread to many schools of history throughout Australia, not least to both sectors of The Australian National University. His contemporaries included Graeme Davison, Cameron Hazlehurst, Bill Kent and Gary Trompf. The last two names remind us that, although Melbourne led the way in the establishment of Australian history at the university level, it was also a nursery of European historians, and the Australianists were expected to retain awareness of the European roots of Australian culture.

In this respect, as in many others, Ritchie was shaped by his University of Melbourne upbringing. Like many of its graduates, he emerged with a sense of social responsibility and a tendency to fanaticism about Australian Rules Football. It also counted that he was a history student in the early 1960s, the last years of the god-professors Max Crawford and John La Nauze. Dressed in suit and tie, they presided over departmental afternoon teas attended by deferential staff and graduate students, their authority as yet unchallenged. Feminist history had yet to make its appearance—it was in some ways a rather blokeish

1 John Ritchie, ‘Talk to the New Dictionary of National Biography, 9 October 1999’, Ritchie MSS, box 2, Acc 06/191, NLA. I draw on memory for Ritchie’s reactions to his appointment.
department despite the presence of the impressive Kathleen Fitzpatrick—and the Vietnam War had yet to stimulate a generation of protest. Ritchie’s role-models at Melbourne taught him the meticulous use of source materials, as well as the value of lucidity and elegance in historical writing, but they also introduced him to a somewhat hierarchical concept of the exercise of authority. Throughout his career his instincts were to lean towards the traditional.

John Ritchie, 1980s
Ritchie, after tutoring at Monash University, was appointed to a lectureship in Manning Clark’s Department of History at the School of General Studies at the ANU. He gained experience as a student mentor through his appointment, from 1972 to 1976, as deputy warden and sometimes acting warden of a hall of residence, Burton Hall. He was one of the first university teachers of history to take his students on fieldtrips and, in 1980, established an advanced undergraduate course on ‘biography and history’, which was a model of its kind. His obituaries were to stress his excellence as a teacher.\(^2\)

Departmental folklore remembers him as something of a traditionalist, vigilant to resist any development that he saw as eroding high standards. He found himself much in the minority when his colleagues, mindful of an uneven gender balance among their number, resolved that if the next staff vacancy attracted two candidates of comparable merit, preference should be given to a woman. Ritchie criticised the decision; he feared that this might be the thin end of a wedge advancing sectional favouritism. In this, as in several less contentious respects, he retained into the 1980s and 1990s the traditionalist attitudes instilled in his students by Crawford at Melbourne in the early 1960s.

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Ritchie soon established himself as a productive researcher, specialising in the early colonial period of New South Wales. Two of his publications established his credentials as an editor: the first scholarly edition of the report of the Bigge commission of inquiry into New South Wales, and an account of the trial of Major George Johnston for his role in the overthrow of Governor William Bligh. More ambitiously, he published a general history of Australia, *Australia: As* 

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Once We Were, in 1975.\(^4\) It was remarkable both for its felicitous choice of photographic illustrations and for its clear perception that history is a branch of literature, to be written with grace and accessibility. In his introduction, Ritchie credited his ANU colleagues Bill Mandle and John Molony for fostering his love of the language, but an even stronger influence could be discerned in Manning Clark. Like Clark, his writing was enriched by echoes from the great works of English literature, though Ritchie largely managed to avoid Clark’s trick of overworking a phrase. Nor could he match Clark’s penchant for the role of prophet. He confessed: ‘I have found it a riddle to read man’s past, difficult to diagnose his present condition, and perilous to predict what is to come’.\(^5\)

Emma Grahame worked on the Biographical Register, 1985–86, and was the *ADB*’s NSW research assistant in 1991–92

By courtesy of Sue Edgar, 1985

5 Ritchie, *Australia as Once We Were*, p. 259.
Although Ritchie showed a perceptive interest in periods such as the 1930s Depression, and themes such as sport, he continued to concentrate on the first decades of settlement in New South Wales. He consolidated his credentials as a scholarly biographer with his life of Lachlan Macquarie. This was a project which inevitably invited comparison with its major predecessor, the learned, elegant and cantankerous life of Macquarie published 40 years earlier by Malcolm Ellis. Ritchie was generally seen as showing a deeper understanding of Macquarie’s Scottish background and a greater objectivity in judging Macquarie and his critics. Perhaps also his empathy with his subject was subtler; where Ellis, as he always did in his biographies, became Macquarie’s partisan and fought his battles, Ritchie showed an appreciation of the pressures on Macquarie, the outsider from the Highland fringes grateful for the approval of his seniors and zealous to prove his worth as a benevolent autocrat.

Piquantly, it was a scholar with whom Ellis had memorably crossed swords, the aged but still influential Sir Keith Hancock, who first suggested to Ritchie that he should consider applying for the general editorship of the ADB. Others added their encouragement. By now Ritchie had matured into a judicious biographer with form as a meticulous editor of texts, but in some respects he was not the most obvious candidate for a general editorship overseeing the ADB’s volumes covering the mid twentieth century. He had contributed six articles to the first 11 volumes of the ADB, neatly observed and engagingly written. With one exception, all dealt with characters connected with the turf, among them the late-nineteenth-century jockey Tommy Corrigan and the restauranteur Azzalin Romano, owner of the legendary Bernborough, whose feats dominated the racing game just after World War II. Unlike previous general editors, Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle, Ritchie had not served an apprenticeship by chairing or even belonging to a working party of the ADB.

His main competitor, the incumbent deputy general editor, Chris Cunneen, had credentials in twentieth-century Australian political history, but at that time his record of publication, despite a study of the early governors-general of the Australian Commonwealth, was somewhat less substantial than Ritchie’s. Of necessity senior staff at the ADB have been given to subordinating their own research to the demands of their job. Conjecture about the processes of past selection committees can never be satisfactory, but in this case it would appear that Ritchie’s stronger record of productivity turned the decision in his favour. Perhaps he presented more confidently in interview; perhaps the selectors

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7 M. H. Ellis, Lachlan Macquarie, His Life, Adventures and Times 4th rev. edn (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1965) [1st edn Sydney: Dymocks, 1947].
9 Christopher Cunneen, King’s Men: Australia’s Governors-General from Hopetoun to Isaacs (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1983).
thought it was time for an outside appointment. Cunneen accepted the outcome and settled down to provide Ritchie with loyal and effective support. After retirement, he completed a well-regarded biography of Sir William McKell, the Sydney boilermaker who became a successful premier of New South Wales and governor-general.10

Ritchie inherited an experienced team. In addition to his very competent deputy general editors—Cunneen until 1996 and subsequently Diane Langmore—the research editors included figures such as Martha Campbell, who served the ADB for 35 years, Helga Griffin, Sue Edgar and Margaret Steven. There were six research officers, two part-time research assistants, and four clerical staff. As the newcomer, Ritchie had to establish a managerial style appropriate to this seasoned group of professionals with much accumulated experience between them. Where his predecessor, Serle, although no less hardworking than Ritchie, had managed his team with the relaxed touch of an old professional who made sure that his weekends were spent in Melbourne, Ritchie prided himself on

10 Christopher Cunneen, William John McKell: Boilermaker, Premier, Governor-General (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2000).
being a 16-hours-a-day, seven-days-a-week practitioner who took no holidays apart from the Christmas–New Year break. ‘Our project’, he remarked, ‘resembles a funnel, with the general editor being the spout; if the spout blocks, the flow will be dammed’.\(^\text{11}\) He lived and worked at a pitch of intensity that revealed itself even in the way he smoked his cigarettes. After five years, his wife, Joan, persuaded him at least to relax at the weekends, but he continued to put all his stamina into the job, priding himself that in his first decade he was absent only three days through illness.

This intensity was natural to the man, but it was strengthened by an awareness that he was filling the shoes of distinguished older predecessors who had established a great tradition. He had still to learn that it is not enough for a leader to be a perfectionist; there must also be an ability to delegate. Anxious to demonstrate his mastery of every aspect of the ADB process, he overdid micro-management at times, probing into unnecessary detail and unsettling members of staff by persistent questioning and comment. He refused to allow staff to work on projects outside the ADB and begrudged allowing them time to attend seminars away from the ADB’s editorial work. At times, when the velvet glove would have served him better, he used a bluntness that bruised. Many of the older hands were eventually provoked into resignation, as were those who followed.

Yet Ritchie also knew that he was well served by his hardworking colleagues. He acknowledged his debt, and sought to encourage them by holding weekend conferences and celebratory dinners, and by monitoring their workloads more carefully than he monitored his own. It was Ritchie’s initiative, as Jill Roe relates in her chapter, that led to the institution of the ADB Medal for members of working parties and other volunteers who made exceptional contributions to the ADB. He also relied on Serle, who had taught him at Melbourne, and who stayed on as consultant for the first few months after Ritchie’s appointment. Until his death in 1998, Serle corresponded frequently with Ritchie, offering advice about possible entries, drawing attention to new publications, soothing Ritchie’s moments of testiness and generally playing the role of a mentor.\(^\text{12}\)

\(^\text{12}\) See, for example, Geoffrey Serle to John Ritchie (28 October 1988), letter box 43, Papers of John Ritchie, 1954–2005, Acc 04/18, NLA.
Research assistant Gillian Fulloon, 1980s

By courtesy of Sue Edgar
With Melbourne University Press, publishers of the *ADB*, his relations were more chequered. It happened that shortly after Ritchie’s appointment, the veteran director, Peter Ryan, retired. During the next 10 years five successors came and went. Consequently, Ritchie complained: ‘It is difficult from volume to volume to deal with someone who carries over no previous experience. It may sound harsh, but it is perfectly honest to report that a number of the younger staff of this particular publishing firm have been (and are) both illiterate and ignorant’.\(^\text{13}\) Despite this level of dissatisfaction, Ritchie entered into an agreement in 1992 giving MUP all rights of publication over all materials produced by the *ADB*.

This decision was puzzling, as Ritchie at other times blamed MUP for a want of energy in marketing, pointing out that whereas Volume 1 had sold more than 10 000 copies, the number had fallen by more than half when it came to Volume 14. Institutional demand remained steady, but private purchasers fell off. Some at least seem to have considered that with Volume 12 concluding the pre-1939 period they had sufficiently filled their bookshelves.\(^\text{14}\) Volume 12 also marked a *caesura* in that it was the last volume whose entries recorded the lives of individuals chosen on the basis of their *floruit*, the period in which they were deemed to have made their major impact on Australian history (in this case 1891–1939). Volumes 13 to 16 would consist of men and women who died between 1940 and 1980, whether they were sporting identities whose feats lay well back in the past or creative artists continuing into vigorous old age.

From Volume 13 a change was made from the sober dustcover that had uniformly served previous volumes to a more brightly coloured cover featuring appropriate contemporary works of art, but the decline in sales continued. In 1996 Ritchie persuaded MUP to release the entire series at half price on time payment, but the public response was disappointing. Ritchie thought it had been inadequately advertised. The press, he commented, ‘doesn’t seem to appreciate that in publishing you have to spend a penny to make a pound’.\(^\text{15}\) In the same year, MUP issued Volumes 1–12 in CD-ROM form, but Ritchie himself was disinclined to venture into the opportunities arising from the evolution of electronic technology. His entrenched preference for the handwritten, although vindicated by his unfailingly neat calligraphy, left him slow to grasp the potential of online publication. He would have argued that if the *ADB*’s production methods might be called conservative, they were also a model of scholarly thoroughness.

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14 This observation is based on several cases in the author’s personal experience.
Anne-Marie Gaudry, office administrator, John Ritchie, general editor, and Di Langmore, research editor, 1990

Photographer: Branko Ivanovic, ANUA225-719
In his early years, nevertheless, Ritchie oversaw a number of innovations. To cope with the increasing number of inquiries from members of the public wanting to use the ADB’s files and card indexes, a position of ‘biographical register officer’ was created in May 1989. Hilary Kent’s appointment came just in time, as the number of inquiries increased from 251 in 1989 to 478 in 1990, stabilising a little below that number. Her first responsibility was preparation of an index to the first 12 volumes of the ADB, embracing the names, occupations and birthplaces of nearly 10 000 individuals. This was published by MUP in 1991.16 A concise one-volume condensation of Volumes 1–12 was planned but abandoned; however, 1993 saw the publication of an illustrated volume entitled *The Diggers: Makers of the Australian Military Tradition*.17 It comprised 207 lives from Volumes 1–12 of the ADB. It was the first of a series of anthologies of ADB articles targeting specialised readerships which might not be interested in acquiring all the volumes.

Ritchie estimated that the editorial process involved 20 different stages, from submission of a draft article to its emergence in its final form. Like his predecessors, he insisted on reading every article when the first draft arrived, and again before the revised version was sent to the author, comparing the subedited text with the original. He believed that only about 10 per cent of the ADB’s contributors could be relied on to produce excellent biographical writing. They showed appreciation that ‘the central task of the biographer is … to understand what made the subject tick, to explain why he was as he was’. Another 25 per cent wrote ‘well enough’; the rest were pedestrian and in need of more or less radical revision. ‘As a general rule’, Ritchie asserted, ‘the worse the writer the louder his howls of protest’.18 Four out of five articles when first submitted were too long. Academics were not necessarily the best performers. Some professors produced perfunctory and superficial work; but he reckoned that the best article ever submitted to the ADB was written by the journalist-historian Gavin Souter, about Lex Banning, a poet suffering from cerebral palsy who nevertheless was a thoroughgoing member of the Sydney ‘push’.19

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During her four years with the *ADB* (1988–92), Hilary Kent was a biographical register officer, research editor and worked on the Australian Bicentennial project ‘Heritage 200’

By courtesy of Sue Edgar, 1980s
Curiosity led me to examine half-a-dozen _ADB_ files from Ritchie’s period, starting with my own article on H. V. Evatt. There was a reminder that my article was overdue—I was somewhat cheered to find that nearly two-thirds of authors failed to meet their original deadlines—and the submitted article went to Cameron Hazlehurst, at that time chair of the Commonwealth Working Party. On the ‘bluey’—the famous cover sheet accompanying all _ADB_ articles—he wrote: ‘I enjoyed this, but would have preferred to see more of Evatt’s own words and less attention to what other historians have said. _ADB_ should not be a forum for historiographical debate’. (I disagreed, especially where a character as contentious as Evatt was involved, and in the published article a little historiography survives.) Ritchie then annotated the file, generally approving of the article but observing that ‘there were too many participle phrases’. In correspondence, he questioned my dating of Evatt’s first membership of the Australian Labor Party at 12 November 1918, as other authorities suggested 1920 or 1924. I gave him as my source the notes that I had taken from the Evatt papers in the library of Flinders University; he accepted this, but quite properly got the _ADB_’s SA stringer to check. I would have concurred with Reece Jennings, a SA contributor who wrote that ‘anyone who took exception to the way in which the _Dictionary_ rewrites articles must surely have an ego of such colossal proportions that it must be something of a handicap to them’. It was hard to resist an editor who was apt to conclude his letters of advice or admonishment with: ‘Yours with abiding affection’.

Delinquents were discarded. The author chosen to write about the author Ernestine Hill failed to deliver despite repeated reminders. The convener of the Queensland Working Party, Ross Johnston, found a replacement, Nancy Bonnin, who wrote the article promptly but commented: ‘It turns out that Ernestine was great on poetic licence with regard to her personal life’. This created a problem about when Hill first met Daisy Bates, as Bonnin preferred 1932 to 1920, the date given in the article about Bates in Volume 7 of the _ADB_. Ritchie wrote: ‘Given that the Bates article has so many flaws I think we should go for 1932. I’ll ask Chris C[unneen] about a possible corrigendum’.

With eminent authors he could be diplomatic. I do not know if it was Ritchie or Serle who recruited Sir Donald Bradman to write the article about a predecessor as test cricket captain, W. M. Woodfull. Bradman produced an excellent entry requiring only slight editing: ‘It is as revealing of Bradman as it is of his subject’, Ritchie wrote. When the author returned the proof, however, he pointed out that his name was given simply as ‘Donald Bradman’, but he was a knight and also a Companion of the Order of Australia, a distinction ranking

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20 These files are held at the ANU Archives.
21 Dr Reece Jennings to John Ritchie (28 March 1990), letter box 46, Papers of John Ritchie, 1954–2005, Acc 04/18, NLA.
six degrees higher in the table of precedence than a knighthood. Considerations of space preclude reproducing Ritchie’s reply in full, but he explained that he had inherited from previous editors the practice of signatures without titles or honours, and went on: ‘I trust that you will appreciate that for consistency I am obliged to follow my predecessors’ precedent in this respect. I do so without in any way diminishing the respect in which I hold both your title and honour’. The Don was mollified.

Ritchie’s diplomatic skills were tested more protractedly when it came to upholding the interests of the ADB from pressures within the ANU itself. Between 1991 and 1996 the three senior Australian historians in the Research School of Social Sciences, Ken Inglis, Barry Smith and Allan Martin, all retired, as did Oliver MacDonagh, who strongly supported the ADB. Although Inglis continued as a visiting fellow and mentor attached to the ADB, it meant that Paul Bourke (who had been director of the RSSS from 1985 to 1992 and became chair of the board of the Institute of Advanced Studies in 1997) was the only

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22 Ritchie was a strong supporter of a proposal that the ANU should offer Bradman an honorary doctorate, but Bradman modestly declined.
senior academic remaining among the powerbrokers of the RSSS who could be expected to fight the ADB’s battles. His untimely death in 2000 robbed the ADB of an influential ally.

After Inglis retired in 1996, the chair of the ADB Editorial Board went for the first, and so far the only, time to an appointee from outside the ANU, Jill Roe, a professor at Macquarie University. Although she was energetic, decisive and knowledgeable, and enjoyed the staunch support of seniors such as Inglis, some wondered if her outsider status would be a disadvantage in dealing with the ANU hierarchy. The vice-chancellor at that time, Deane Terrell, was not thought to be excessive in his support of the ADB, but Roe proved to be an effective negotiator. It soon came to be acknowledged that she played a valuable role in providing support and complementarity to the general editor.

Ritchie’s regime as general editor saw the consolidation of the ADB’s traditions. The writing of entries for the ADB had been evolving into a peculiarly specialised mode of discourse that has been compared with the composition of sonnets or haiku, allowing infinite variation within a strictly formal pattern. This mode of discourse perhaps reached its zenith under Ritchie’s editorial practice. Standardisation of form was fostered by other pressures as the ADB’s content advanced into the late twentieth century. The entries for the nineteenth-century volumes had been chosen from an Australian population of not more than four million in 1900; there were more than four times as many Australians competing for inclusion in the volumes dedicated to those who died in the 1980s. More could be accommodated if contributors wrote tersely.

Ritchie was also careful to proclaim the democratic bias of the ADB and, possibly more than any other comparable works in the English language, the ADB found room for the eccentric and the disreputable as well as the great and the powerful. As Ritchie told an English audience: ‘If the Australian Dictionary of Biography can be accused of being less discriminating than the Dictionary of National Biography, it can also be said to be more democratic’.23 Some observers thought that the volumes of the ADB published on Ritchie’s watch included fewer ratbags and eccentrics than those covering earlier periods, but perhaps authors were more cautious in dealing with recently deceased subjects with surviving spouses and children.

Making much of the demographic factor, Ritchie reminded his hearers that the population of Australia, particularly in the 1788–1850 period, was much smaller than that of the United Kingdom, so that room could be found for a wider cross-section of society. While most entries in the ADB were included for some quality of historical significance, he estimated that between 5 and 10 per cent

were included as representative samples of their era. To some extent, however, it was left to the working parties to decide whether the high proportion of white males in earlier volumes should be leavened by more entries from other categories. Whereas women were represented by little more than 2 per cent of the entries in Volumes 1–6, covering the period 1788 to 1890, and by about 11.4 per cent of the entries for 1891–1939, Volumes 13 and 14 touched 20 per cent, but the proportion fell away in subsequent volumes.

Respect for scholarly quality was still paramount. Ritchie himself maintained an example of productivity by producing the first of a projected two volumes on D’Arcy Wentworth and his son William, a publication that consolidated his reputation as a major historian of Australia’s colonial period. It pleased him when he was asked to contribute an entry on Macquarie to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; it became the first entry in Volume 36 of the printed version of that publication. It was nevertheless uncertain whether the traditions of scholarship could be preserved in an age of increasing managerialism in the universities, a process the ANU could not escape and which bore hardest on the humanities and the social sciences. From 1989 the Commonwealth Government adopted research funding criteria that favoured the physical and medical sciences and their practices of publication and citation. A particular injustice (which successive governments failed to correct) ruled that articles contributed to the *ADB* were not eligible for counting as evidence of academic research productivity. No explanation was offered.

The pressures on Ritchie grew. Around this time an opinion was becoming prevalent that the ANU should concentrate on distinguishing itself in fields of research commanding international recognition. Economics, philosophy and politics might serve this aim more readily than subject matter limited to Australian history. It happened that the directors of the RSSS from 1991 to 2008 were all drawn from these disciplines, whereas the focus of research productivity in the history program tended to be concentrating on Australian subject matter to the exclusion of other fields that might have secured greater international resonance. It was in vain to argue that the *ADB*’s achievements were receiving recognition abroad as a model of collective national biography.

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25 Statistics provided by the *ADB*; however, the entries in the supplement edited by Cunneen, Garton, Kingston and Roe included nearly 30 per cent of women.
At the ANU in the late 1990s the ADB seemed to be losing ground against other scholarly priorities. It did not help that the advent of the Howard Government in 1996 ushered in a period of greater financial stringency for universities. Ritchie responded by endeavouring, during a visit to the United Kingdom, to stimulate reviews in journals such as the *Times Literary Supplement*, but the response was tardy.

More successfully the ADB managed to establish an endowment fund. This was a cause that engrossed Ritchie’s energies, and his commitment produced results. Encouraged by Martha Campbell, Caroline Simpson, an ADB author and member of the Fairfax family, made a major donation. The Myer Foundation provided a substantial sum. MUP was persuaded of its duty to make a contribution in recognition of the fact that it had never been required to pay royalties to the ADB. These gifts were subsequently matched on a dollar-for-dollar basis by the ANU administration. Ritchie did not take to the role of fundraiser with any enthusiasm, but he proved himself a persistent and tactful negotiator, especially in dealing with the ANU. The endowment fund was of lasting service in ensuring the survival of the ADB and stands as Ritchie’s monument; but it was not enough to avert some attrition of resources.

By 2001 the number of research editors had fallen from six to four and the administrative staff from four to two. These numbers were barely enough to cope with any major episodes of illness among staff. The ADB responded in 1999 by moving from a two-year publishing cycle to a three-year cycle. This change was made manageable by a decision to produce volumes covering a span narrower than the 40 years traversed in Volumes 13 to 16. Instead there would be two volumes for each decade after 1980, so that Volumes 17 and 18 would cover persons who died in 1981–90.

Meanwhile members of the Editorial Board promoted the concept of a ‘missing persons’ volume that would supplement Volumes 1–16 by providing biographies of individuals who had been overlooked. There was a precedent for a work of this kind in the British *Dictionary of National Biography*. In Australia changing fashions in historical writing since Volume 1 appeared in 1966 suggested that greater attention should be given to women, Aborigines and representatives of minority groups, especially in the period before 1890, covered by the earlier volumes. An Australian Research Council (ARC) grant was secured enabling the work to take place at Macquarie University, and Chris Cunneen was on hand to serve as its editor in association with Stephen Garton, Beverley Kingston and Jill Roe.  

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Might not the series be drawn to a close at the year 2000? Was it the role of
the ANU to continue shouldering sole responsibility for the project, or might
it be shared with other Australian universities? (There were even a few
voices who questioned whether the *ADB*, with its contributors a mixture of
university academics and writers drawn from a wide cross-section outside the
universities, could be considered a kosher scholarly exercise; fortunately they
proved a minority.) And what about the challenge of going online? The massive
*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* was planned to appear in both print
and electronic media. The *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography* was already
advancing vigorously and successfully into the new technology. Roe and one
or two colleagues on the NSW Working Party made it their business to keep
 abreast of the New Zealand developments. It seemed probable that when the
*ADB*’s Editorial Board met in June 2002 these issues would have to be canvassed,
although Ritchie’s instincts seemed to favour hastening slowly.

At this juncture, in August 2001, Ritchie suffered a serious stroke. Although
he made a partial recovery and survived another five years, it became clear that
he would not be able to resume the duties that he had pursued at an all too
demanding pace. He retained a room in the ANU’s Coombs Building, where he
attempted to struggle on with the second volume of the Wentworth biography,
but although he bore his affliction bravely, in the end he was overcome. He died
on 10 May 2006. He was the longest serving of the *ADB*’s general editors, and
his performance was recognised by appointment as an Officer of the Order of
Australia in 2002.

When John Ritchie was appointed to the general editorship in 1987 the Sydney
historian Heather Radi wrote to him:

> I think it was Bruce Mitchell who said once that all we who write for the
> *ADB* love and hate it. We feel that a little bit of it belongs to each of us
> and we would defend it to the death, even after the shrieks of protest
> about what they do to our articles.30

Conscious of his responsibilities in inheriting and consolidating a great tradition,
and confronted by pressures that his predecessors could never have anticipated,
John Ritchie had indeed defended the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* to the
death.31

**Geoffrey Bolton’s relationship with the ADB spans his working life. At different
times a member of three ADB working parties, he chaired the WA Working
Party (1967–82, 1996–2011), and was a member of the National Committee and
Editorial Board (1963–2011).**

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30 Heather Radi to John Ritchie (14 October 1987), cited by Peter Howell, ‘100 Years After: Reassessing
Lives for the ADB’ [Adelaide, 1998].

31 I am grateful to Darryl Bennet and Jill Roe for their comments on a draft of this chapter; also to Joan
Ritchie for her advice and permission to consult the Ritchie MSS in the National Library of Australia.
Phar Lap: An ADB entry

Barry Andrews, who contributed 27 articles to the ADB, also wrote one fictitious entry, in immaculate ADB house style, on the champion racehorse Phar Lap. Barry delivered his article as an after-dinner speech at the first ‘Making of Sporting Traditions’ conference in 1977. Says Michael McKernan (a fellow ADB author): ‘We laughed until we could bear no more; the timing of the performer and the occasion was perfect. It was a privilege to have been there’.

Phar Lap, c. 1930

State Library of Victoria, H91.160/287

LAP, PHAR (1926–32), sporting personality, business associate of modest speculators and national hero, was born on 4 October 1926 at Timaru, New Zealand, the second of eight children of Night Raid and his wife Entreaty, nee
Prayer Wheel. The family had military connections, including Carbine and Musket (q.q.v.) although Raid himself had emigrated to Australia during the first World War.

A spindly, unattractive youth with chestnut hair, Lap was educated privately at Timaru until January, 1928, when he formed a liaison with the Sydney entertainment entrepreneur Harold Telford. With Telford, Lap moved to Sydney and established premises in the suburb of Randwick, a number of short term (distance) ventures were unsuccessful, although after James E. Pike (q.v.) commenced employment and Telford became a silent partner, the business flourished. A small, dapper man who dressed flamboyantly in multi-coloured coats and hats, Pike’s nervousness caused him to lose weight before each speculation with Lap; yet their affiliation lasted for over two years and proved beneficial to hundreds of Australian investors.

The most successful years were between 1930 and 1932, when the business expanded into Victoria, South Australia and Mexico. Pike and Lap received numerous awards for services to the entertainment industry, including an MC in 1930; they shared with Telford a gross taxable income of over 50,000 pounds. This income was substantially increased, however, by generous donations from several Sydney publishers, including Ken Ranger and Jack Waterhouse (q.q.v.).

Early in 1930 Lap journeyed to North America to strengthen his interest there; Telford, who disliked travelling, and Pike, who had weighty problems to contend with, stayed behind. Tall and rangy, known affectionately as ‘Bobby’, ‘The Red Terror’ and occasionally as ‘you mongrel’, Lap died in mysterious circumstances in Atherton, California, on 5 April, 1932, and was buried in California, Melbourne, Canberra and Wellington. A linguist as well as a businessman, he popularised the phrase ‘get stuffed!’ although owing to an unfortunate accident in his youth he left no children.

I. Carter, *Phar Lap* (Melbourne, 1971), and for biblio; information from J. O’Hara and T. H. Mouth; inspiration from anon. ADB contributors.

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Profiles

Richard Tolhurst (1930–1999), Gough Whitlam (b. 1916) and Barry Jones (b. 1932)

As ‘each volume comes out, we fear revelation of some ludicrous botch’, general editors Serle and Nairn wrote in an ADB newsletter in 1980. They had cause to worry, for volumes were subjected to close scrutiny by a group of avid readers, including Richard Tolhurst, Gough Whitlam and Barry Jones. Tolhurst, a former barrister and solicitor who worked in the Commonwealth Public Service until his retirement and move to England in 1973, wrote almost monthly to John Ritchie from 1989 to 1999 with lists of errors that he had detected in ADB entries. He wrote so many letters that a special folder was created in which to store them, along with Ritchie’s replies. It became almost a sport among staff to prove ‘Mr Tolhurst’ wrong, but he never was; his depth of knowledge of Australian history and dates and quirky facts was phenomenal. Gough Whitlam, prime minister (1972–75) and the author of two entries, on Sir George Knowles in 1983 and Hubert Lazzarini in 2000, also frequently sent in lists of errors, mainly to do with titles and honorifics. Barry Jones, former schoolteacher, quiz-show champion and politician, has had a long association with the dictionary, both as an author of a dozen articles and as a reviewer and avid reader. He regards the ADB as ‘a work of endless fascination and inexhaustible richness’, but contends that the inevitable errors must be corrected. One issue that Jones involved himself with, for instance, concerned whether Alfred Deakin was born in the Melbourne suburbs of Collingwood or Fitzroy. There is no doubt that despite the best efforts of staff to check facts, mistakes do occur and the ADB appreciates readers such as Tolhurst, Whitlam and Jones for reporting them.

Barry Jones, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives

Gough Whitlam with John Ritchie at the launch of Volume 13 of the ADB, 1993

ADB archives
Profiles

Barry (b. 1932) and Ann (b. 1943) Smith

When John La Nauze was appointed to Sir Keith Hancock’s chair in the Research School of Social Sciences at the ANU in 1966 he appointed Barry Smith, a graduate of the University of Melbourne and Trinity College, London, to a senior fellowship in the history department. Smith was appointed professorial fellow in 1974 and professor in 1991.

During these years and, especially after his retirement, Smith became closely involved in the ADH. He had been a member of the Victorian Working Party from 1962 and was its adviser on entries for Volumes 7–12, which included people who had flourished in the period 1891–1939. When he retired, in 1997, becoming an emeritus professor and visiting fellow, Smith simply moved around the corridor to take up an office amongst ADH staff. He was a great sounding board for staff and a knowledgeable source on medical history. He was also intimately involved with the ADH through his wife, Ann Smith, a research officer there for more than a decade (1977–89).

Ann Stokes had met Barry at the University of Melbourne when she was a student (BA Hons, 1965; MA, 1969). When they shifted to Canberra, Ann was employed in library and archival work (1965–76) and undertook a Diploma of Librarianship at the Canberra College of Advanced Education (DipLib, 1974). She joined the ADH in 1977 in a part-time position and was promoted to Victorian desk editor in July 1982. By that stage, Jim Gibbney had been working on the 8100 entries for the Biographical Register for nearly 10 years. When he retired in 1984, Ann Smith took over the project, seeing it to its publication in 1987. She resigned from the ADH in early 1989 to work in computing and information technology and, then, she became an artist.

Altogether, Barry wrote eight ADH entries and Ann wrote 25 entries. Barry relinquished his visiting fellowship in the ADH in 2010.

Barry Smith, 2009

ADB archives

Ann Smith, 1980s

By courtesy of Sue Edgar
Profiles

John La Nauze (1911–1989) and Ken Inglis (b. 1929)

Barry Smith noted in his obituary of John La Nauze that in 1974–75 he had ‘spent much time and emotional energy safeguarding the Australian Dictionary of Biography during a difficult transitional period’. The same could be said of Ken Inglis, who chaired the Editorial Board from 1977 to 1996.

A graduate of the University of Western Australia (BA, 1932) and Oxford (BA, 1934; MA, 1938), La Nauze held the Ernest Scott Chair of History at the University of Melbourne in 1961 when Keith Hancock asked him to consider accepting the position of general editor of the *ADB*. La Nauze was about to publish his two-volume life of Alfred Deakin, and did not wish to uproot his children, who were in their final years of school. He declined Hancock’s invitation in a six-page handwritten letter. Ironically, under very different circumstances, in 1966 he succeeded Hancock to all his positions. He became professor and head of history at the Research School of Social Sciences, ANU (1966–76), and was the obvious successor to Hancock as chairman of the *ADB* Editorial Board (1966–77).

The *ADB* was in the sphere of interest of La Nauze, as head of history. During the prolonged crisis of Pike’s illness and death, and the appointment of new general editors, La Nauze was determined to preserve the dictionary on sound foundations. When he resigned from the Editorial Board in 1977, it placed on record both its appreciation of its second chairman’s ‘unobtrusive but firm leadership in its affairs over more than a decade’ and its respect and affection for him.

Ken Inglis succeeded La Nauze as head of history in RSSS and chairman of the *ADB* Editorial Board in 1977, a position he held for almost two decades. A graduate of both the University of Melbourne (MA, 1954) and Oxford University (DPhil, 1956), and an eminent scholar, Inglis had lectured in history at the University of Adelaide and was vice-chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea (1972–75).

As chair of the *ADB* Editorial Board, Inglis shepherded the *ADB* through a number of significant changes. He led the change from the *floruit* period to the date-of-death principle in line with the practice of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Dictionary of American Biography*. He undertook a review of the *ADB*’s constitution (*Rules and Procedures*) in 1981–83 and formally abolished
the National Committee, while at the same time strengthening the role of the Editorial Board. He also oversaw a generational change, with many original board members resigning to allow for the appointment of younger members. In 1986 he instituted a review of the ADB, which determined that the ADB would continue after the original 12 volumes first envisaged were published. Subsequently, he headed the committee that appointed John Ritchie general editor in 1988.

Ken Inglis, n.d.

ADB archives

Darryl Bennet

The stroke suffered in August 2001 by the general editor, John Ritchie, marked the beginning of a time of turbulence and transformation for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. There had been pressure to trim the budget in the 1990s and, as recounted in the previous chapter, the first signs were appearing that the *ADB* might be called upon to justify its existence in the new century. Nevertheless, in 2001 the organisation that had evolved over four decades was intact and apparently under no immediate threat.

Three factors foreshadowed a dramatic change in the *ADB*’s fortunes. First, the sudden incapacity of its head created an opportunity for some people in the Research School of Social Sciences to question openly the cost and relevance to the school of a project with a large establishment of general staff. Second, the dictionary would experience its share of scrutiny as the ANU responded to reductions in government funding and embarked on a major reorganisation. Third, the *ADB*’s sole venture in the new electronic media had been the publication in 1996 by Melbourne University Press of Volumes 1–12 on CD-ROM; this situation was soon to change.

In 2001 the *ADB* was staffed at the minimum level to meet its needs. Only the general editor held an academic post. The positions of the deputy general editor, four research editors, two full-time-equivalent research assistants, a biographical register officer, part-time bibliographer and two administrators in Canberra, and seven part-time research assistants in the State capitals and in England were all general staff. The Canberra office was the hub of a national network of people who contributed to the dictionary on a voluntary basis: some 4000 authors had written for it; eight external section editors peer-reviewed draft articles within their spheres of interest; the same number of regional and specialist working parties, with a total membership of about 100 historians and experts in various fields, nominated subjects and authors for each new period of the *ADB*; the policymaking Editorial Board comprised 15 senior academics and managers from the ANU and universities throughout the country.
Di Langmore, 2009

Photographer: Darren Boyd, ADB archives
A permanent successor to John Ritchie would not be appointed for almost three years. It was fortunate for the ADB that the deputy general editor, and the person who would have to carry the load in the meantime, was a leader of great capability. Di Langmore had been educated at Firbank Church of England Girls’ School, Brighton, Melbourne (General Exhibition on Matriculation, 1958), the University of Melbourne (BA Hons, 1963; DipEd, 1964), the University of Papua New Guinea (MA, 1973) and the ANU (PhD, 1982). After employment as a tutor and research assistant (1969–75) in the history department of the University of Papua New Guinea and as a part-time tutor in history in the Faculties at ANU (1982–83), she joined the ADB’s staff in 1982 and worked for 15 years as the research editor responsible for articles on subjects from Victoria. She was herself the author, by 2001, of 41 ADB articles. In addition, while at the ADB, she published three books: Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874–1914 (1989); Prime Ministers’ Wives: The Public and Private Lives of Ten Australian Women (1992); and Glittering Surfaces: A Life of Maie Casey (1997).1

As deputy general editor from 1997, she revealed herself to be an able manager and had reached out to the community with engaging public addresses and a series of radio talks. The position of general editor was finally advertised late in 2003. Langmore was the successful candidate in the competitive selection process and in May 2004 she received her substantive appointment.2 She was unique among the general editors in having risen from the ranks. I was appointed to the vacant post of deputy general editor.

The first challenge for Langmore, as acting general editor, had been to complete Volume 16 for publication. This volume was the last in a series of four on individuals who died in the period 1940–80. It was about 60 per cent finished when Ritchie was incapacitated. Langmore threw herself into the work. Maintaining the ADB’s high standards of checking and editing, she kept to the schedule, and the volume was finished on time and launched in Adelaide in 2002. Production of Volume 17, the first of two volumes covering the period 1981–90, began immediately. As a result of progressive reductions in staff and the necessity of diverting resources to the ADB online project (of which more later), there was no possibility of completing this volume in the normal time of two or three years, without compromising the quality of the editing or the effort needed to check articles for factual accuracy and historical judgment. The volume was launched in Melbourne in 2007. Langmore then edited about one-quarter of Volume 18 before she retired in May 2008.3

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2 This paragraph paraphrases the citation for the award of the ADB Medal to Dr Di Langmore AM, presented in March 2009.
Di Langmore, 1985

By courtesy of Sue Edgar
Readers of the *ADB* did not experience a gap between Volumes 16 and 17, as the supplementary volume, edited by Chris Cunneen in association with Jill Roe, Stephen Garton and Beverley Kingston, was published in 2005. The genesis of this work, funded by an ARC grant, and its production in Sydney are described in the previous chapter. Work on it continued during Langmore’s general editorship and involved support from her and other members of the Canberra staff. Later, its biographical-subject files were integrated with the *ADB*’s records in Canberra.

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During Langmore’s term as acting and substantive head of the ADB, approximately 1000 concise biographies of past Australians, from all walks of life, were added to the inventory of the dictionary’s principal series. Volume 17, alone, contains more than 600 articles chronicling and evaluating the lives of important and representative figures in the nation’s history, such as Dame Kate Campbell, a pioneering medical specialist in neonatal intensive care, who saw ‘pre-term babies as fascinating fellow human beings’; Sir Reginald Ansett, who did not ‘think that private enterprise should be allowed to go mad—some government control is necessary’; and the ‘will-o’-the-wisp with a sting’, the diminutive but tough and elusive rugby league footballer Clive Churchill. There is, in addition, an article on George Abdullah, an Indigenous community leader from Western Australia who exhorted his people, ‘don’t be ashamed. Be proud of being an Aboriginal’.

Firm in her conviction that the core function of the ADB is the creation of accurate, authoritative, enlightening and interesting knowledge about individuals in Australian history, Langmore ensured that the dictionary remained an exemplar of the best biographical research and writing. Under her, as under her predecessors, the ADB fulfilled the vision of historical biography that prime minister Kevin Rudd articulated at the launch in 2009 of Tom Keneally’s book, *Australians: Origins to Eureka*, a work that drew extensively on the ADB:

Biography is the fulfilment of a duty owed by every generation to those who have gone before us, and able to be claimed against those yet to be born. A duty to capture, to preserve and to transmit the stories—the legacy of each generation. Because a human voice—a human life—retains its validity, its power and its relevance beyond its physical demise. As we build on the work done in our name and on our behalf by our forebears, we honour them best by listening to their voices from the past.

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5 J. McCalman, ‘Campbell, Dame Kate Isabel (1899–1986)’, in *ADB*, vol. 17, pp. 185–6.
Challenging times, calls for structural change

While managing the affairs of the *ADB*, Langmore had to cope with the distraction of no fewer than three organisational reviews in five years. The director of RSSS, Ian McAllister, had commissioned the first of these in 2002, immediately it became known that John Ritchie would be unable to resume his post as general editor. It was probably at this point that the continued existence of the *ADB* was most in doubt. Fortunately, it was blessed with the backing of a wise and understanding Editorial Board. The successive chairs, Jill Roe (to 2006) and Tom Griffiths, were forceful and effective fighters for the dictionary. At McAllister’s request in 2002, Roe (as chair), Geoffrey Bolton and Stephen Garton formed an ad-hoc subcommittee of the board to report on the long-term future of the *ADB*. They submitted their report in November that year. The reviewers recognised that, in a research environment increasingly reliant on external sources of funds, the relevance of the *ADB* ‘to the changing mission of RSSS’ had to be considered. Their report argued that ‘to survive in the long run’, the *ADB* ‘must embrace both continuity and change’, through commitments to the production of new volumes, the publication of an online...
edition and ‘participation in the modern research culture’. Having selected the five-year period 2003–07 as ‘an appropriate and manageable time frame’, the subcommittee examined four options for the future of the ADB.\textsuperscript{10}

Three of the four alternative approaches arose from ill-disposed or ill-informed suggestions to the subcommittee. Option one was for the ANU to wind down the ADB after the publication of Volume 18. Roe, Bolton and Garton noted that, if the ANU vacated the field, other institutions could confidently be expected to take it up and gain the associated credit. If they did not, important figures in twentieth-century Australian history who had died in the 1990s would ‘lack a definitive account’ of their contributions. Ending the production of volumes of the ADB ‘would also mean the enforced loss of highly skilled staff, not to mention the loss of research capability and reputation to the ANU’.

Option two was for an immediate merger of the ADB with the History Program in RSSS. The subcommittee advised that this approach was unwanted by both parties and would benefit neither. There would be insurmountable difficulties in integrating the ADB’s general staff into the ‘current formulation of general staff entitlements’ for research assistance to academics within RSSS. Option three was to redefine the ADB as a ‘data-collecting’ project and to transfer it to the university library. Describing this proposal as ‘a fundamental misconception’ of the nature of the ADB, the subcommittee explained that its business was ‘not to be understood as data collection and dissemination, but rather as involving detailed research into the location and value of discrete evidence and its possible utilisation’ in the production of historical biography. Strong academic leadership was required.\textsuperscript{11}

Option four, the subcommittee’s preferred approach, envisaged ‘a closer alignment with the History Program’ and the ADB’s later designation as ‘a special research area’ that would be a component of a National Life History Project within the program. The subcommittee proposed a two-stage process. In the first stage (2003–04), it recommended that three joint ADB/History Program positions be created and filled: general editor/professor of Australian history; deputy general editor, as an academic appointment; and an information technology (IT) officer to support the planned ADB online project and other future electronic research. It further recommended that the ADB’s general staff, required for the timely completion of Volumes 17 and 18, should be ‘quarantined from current RSSS quotas’. In the second stage (2005–07), the subcommittee recommended that work begin on two new volumes, 19 and 20, covering the period 1991–2000.


considered that a slower rate of production was feasible and desirable for these volumes, the implication being that general staff numbers would decline over time. To implement the suggested closer association between the ADB and the History Program, the subcommittee recommended that the proposed National Life History Project be implemented and that the parties negotiate a formal collaborative agreement.12

Roe, Bolton and Garton affirmed the national importance of the ADB. They proposed a future course that they believed would preserve as much as possible of its traditional structure, while adapting it to survive in a changing research environment. Their recommendations were only partially implemented but their strong and persuasive support for the ADB ended 15 months of uncertainty. In October 2003 the ANU’s vice-chancellor, Ian Chubb, approved the appointment of a new general editor and, as noted earlier, Langmore assumed the role substantively in May 2004. Her appointment was duly made in both the ADB and the History Program. The deputy general editor remained a general staff position; when I filled it, the research editor post I had occupied was left vacant. A new joint ADB/History Program academic position, established later that year, was filled by Nicholas Brown, who also became chair of the Commonwealth Working Party. He was required to perform in an academic role for half of the time and as an ADB research editor for the other half. An IT officer position was not created, although the ADB online project had been funded from 2004. By 2007 two full-time members of the staff (a research editor and an administrator) and one half-time research assistant had retired and not been replaced. Budgetary constraints were at the heart of these cutbacks in the ADB’s staffing requirements. As the Federal Government continued its practice of not fully indexing the funds it provided to universities, RSSS had to make savings to cover salary and general cost increases.13

In 2006 RSSS was itself subjected to a major review. The report was brief in its treatment of the ADB.14 It rejected suggestions that the dictionary might be more conveniently located outside the school. More controversially, it reached the remarkable conclusion that the ADB ‘should be financially self-sufficient within five years’. The reviewers offered no argument to support this contention (no major dictionary project has been funded this way), merely observing that ‘it is clear to us that revenue can be generated by the on-line ADB in ways that do not diminish its character as free at point of delivery’.15 Although there may

13 Personal knowledge and views.
be methods by which a modest income could be obtained from the ADB online, the suggestion that the total operations of the ADB should cease to be a charge to RSSS’s budget in five years was impracticable. The ADB responded to the report with efforts to solicit additional donations to its endowment fund but to no avail.\textsuperscript{16}

Following a major restructure of the ANU, the College of Arts and Social Sciences was established in 2007. This change in the organisation of the university led to widespread discussions about the ADB’s future relationships with RSSS, the History Program, and a projected research school of the humanities. At the end of Langmore’s editorship, the ADB was still part of RSSS and linked to the History Program while retaining its own budget. A consensus about the most appropriate arrangements in the future had not been achieved, however, and the debate would continue in later years.

Meanwhile, the annual reductions in RSSS’s real funding and the recommendations of the 2006 review prompted the director, Rod Rhodes, to commission another review of the ADB, in 2007. A working party, chaired by Bob Gregory, was appointed to ‘investigate the priorities, current staffing level and funding of the ADB and advise on future strategy, staffing and sources of finance’. In the introduction to its report, the working party gave a firm endorsement of the ADB: ‘In our conversations with individuals, from our reading of the submissions, and from past reviews of the ADB a clear and uniform picture emerges—the ADB is widely regarded as a considerable asset for the ANU and people think highly of it’. The report went on to pay generous tributes to the general editor, her staff and the people throughout the country whose voluntary contributions were vital to the success of the ADB.\textsuperscript{17}

In considering the question of future strategy, the working party held the strong view that the ADB must build on its past achievements and adapt to a rapidly changing environment. It should integrate more with biographical scholarship in other parts of the university and with national institutions that have a direct interest in its work. To this end, the working party proposed the establishment of a National Centre for Biography in RSSS. The working party listed a number of aims for the centre, both within and outside the ANU. In summary, these were for it to act as a focus for, and to develop proficiency in, the study and writing of biography in Australia; to coordinate the activities of biographers throughout the ANU; to conduct public lectures, seminars, symposia and other forms of academic and scholarly exchange in the field; to attract outstanding scholars on visiting scholarships and short-term appointments; to train the next

\textsuperscript{16} ‘External sources of funds’, NCB/ADB files.

generation of biographers through postgraduate and summer school programs; to produce new volumes of the ADB up to Volume 20; to continue to develop the ADB online; and to work more closely with, and conduct joint research and exhibitions with, the national cultural institutions.\(^\text{18}\)

On the subject of staffing, the working party recommended that the position of head of the new organisation be redesignated as director of the National Centre for Biography and general editor of the ADB with responsibility for the aims outlined above. Oversight of the ADB and editing functions should take no more than 20 per cent of the director’s time. A new general staff position of managing editor would take over the functions of the deputy general editor, including supervision of the ADB online, and assume the responsibilities no longer discharged by the general editor. A new academic post of deputy director would be created, the occupant of which would have no specific editorial role in relation to the ADB. The existing research editor, research assistant and administrative positions would be ‘maintained at the level possible within the funding allocated’. As with Roe, Bolton and Garton, the working party seemed to assume that the number of these positions would be fewer in future. Noting that ‘in the medium and longer term, there will be a reduced school funded resource base’, the working party suggested that the production time for each volume could be increased to five years.\(^\text{19}\)

As might be expected, financial issues dominated the working party’s deliberations. Its members considered that the recommendation of the 2006 review of RSSS that the ADB become self-supporting was unrealistic in any time frame, let alone five years. Moreover, it was no less reasonable for RSSS to continue supporting the ADB than it was for the school to fund its other respected ‘departmental groups’. Yet the working party thought it inevitable that RSSS would scale down its funding for the dictionary in the future. The ADB would have to devote more effort to raising money from endowments, ARC grants, commercial activities in collaboration with Melbourne University Publishing and direct Commonwealth Government funding. Seeking money ‘on a wide range of fronts’ was a crucial role that must absorb much of the energy of the new director/general editor.\(^\text{20}\) The Gregory review’s broad approach was approved and the National Centre of Biography, headed by Melanie Nolan, was established in June 2008, following Di Langmore’s retirement.

The old structure of the ADB had served it well for half a century. Its strength was the stability of the research, editing and administrative workforce. The research editors and research assistants tended to remain in their posts for

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\(^\text{19}\) ‘Gregory Report’, pp. 5–6, 8.
many years, building up large funds of knowledge. For example, Martha Campbell, the doyen of research editors, served the ADB for 35 years, until 2002; she was also the author of 161 articles. Biographical research is complex and painstaking. Sources for the lives of individuals in Australian history are scattered throughout the country and the world—in the collections of libraries, government archives, museums and other institutions; in the records of societies and professional bodies; and in documents held privately. Editing the ADB to achieve an even style, tone and standard is skilled work. The knowledge of sources, style conventions and historical context required of an ADB research editor is not acquired quickly, although research is becoming easier with the expansion of the Internet and the development of digital technology generally.

It is relevant that the ADB had relied on the labours of people—mainly women—few of whom had the prospect of further promotion. The new structure reflected the realities of the research environment in the twenty-first century and provided opportunities for research and editing personnel to advance their careers. Its challenge would be to preserve the level of corporate knowledge that sustained the dictionary in its first 50 years.

The online project

The impetus for a project to publish an online edition of the ADB began in the NSW Working Party. As early as 2000, on the initiative of Alan Ventress, the working party had discussed the desirability of publishing the ADB on the Internet. In a paper prepared for the working party, Ventress noted that the British ‘Dictionary of National Biography has moved away from print to electronic access’.21 Oxford University Press had published the American National Biography online and the forthcoming Oxford Dictionary of National Biography would also have an online edition. Ventress recommended that the ADB and MUP collaborate with the Australian Science and Technology Heritage Centre (Austehc; later the eScholarship Research Centre) at the University of Melbourne with a view to making the complete text of the ADB available on the web.22 Roe, a member of the working party as well as chair of the ADB’s Editorial Board, attended the launch of the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB) online in Christchurch in December 2001. Impressed by what she saw,
she arranged for the general editor of the *DNZB*, Claudia Orange, and key staff members to travel to Australia in 2002 and give a series of presentations on their work.\(^{23}\)

At its biennial meeting on 7 June 2002, the Editorial Board unanimously approved preparation of an ARC Linkage—Infrastructure, Equipment and Facilities (LIEF)—grant application, as soon as possible, ‘with a view to ensuring that the *ADB* is available online to schools and to communities nationwide by 2005’.\(^{24}\) Without ever losing her preference for the feel of a book in her hands, Langmore embraced the potential of information technology to communicate and educate, and set about implementing the board’s decision. A member of the board, Janet McCalman, recommended Austehc, a leader in the new field of informatics, as an ideal partner in the project, adding weight to Ventress’s earlier suggestion. *ADB* staff judged that a LIEF application that could demonstrate a major collaboration between universities—principally ANU and Melbourne at the working level—and national cultural institutions should meet the ARC’s criteria for funding. Negotiations with potential partners and the drafting of the application began without delay. Because of the ARC’s schedule, the earliest that an application could be submitted was at the beginning of 2003, for funding in 2004. It soon emerged that a three-year project would be required. Although the project team hoped to meet the Editorial Board’s goal of having an online edition of the *ADB* publicly available in 2005, the actual launch took place in 2006.\(^{25}\)

It was apparent from the outset that implementation of the *ADB* online would require a virtually full-time project manager. While the general editor retained responsibility for the project’s higher direction, involving meetings, consultations and decision making, I became project manager, responsible for its organisation, planning and day-to-day running. My key duties included liaising with partners and other external authorities, writing the three grant applications and their associated reports, recruiting and supervising the Canberra-based project staff, controlling the budget, and leading the discussions that determined the final design and functionality of the web site.

There were two difficulties with obtaining funds through the LIEF scheme, especially for a multi-year project. The first was that an application had to be submitted every year and each application had to be prepared nearly 12 months in advance. Thus the application for funding in 2004 was begun in late 2002 and completed early in 2003. Immediately the project staff learned in late 2003 that funding was approved for 2004, work had to start on the application for funding in 2005. An interval of the same length would occur between the

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\(^{24}\) Minutes, *ADB* Editorial Board meeting (7 June 2002), NCB/ADB files.

\(^{25}\) Personal knowledge.
application and the funding for 2006. Writing the application for 2005 involved
dealing with a particularly thorny problem, because the 2004 project had
scarcely commenced before the 2005 application was due at the ARC. The results
of almost a whole year of technical development and data analysis and entry
had to be anticipated, based on minimal experience. It was possible to report
that a working web site would be established, however, because a pilot site—set
up with ‘seeding’ money supportively provided by the director of RSSS—had
existed from 2003 and its transformation into the first version of a restricted-
access web site, for use by the project staff and the chief investigators, would be
complete before the end of 2004.26

Governor-General Major General Michael Jeffery launched the online
version of the ADB in the Great Hall, University House, ANU, in July 2006

ADB archives

The second difficulty was that the participating institutions had to provide at
least 25 per cent of the cash required for the project. At a time of financial
stringency, there were limits to how much money the participants could make
available. Moreover, even if they contributed more than 25 per cent of the cost,
records showed that the ARC normally did not give all the money that applicants
sought. The project, therefore, was never likely to have enough money to meet
all of its objectives.

26 Personal knowledge.
It was a measure of the ADB’s standing among historians that six members of the Editorial Board and six additional senior historians supported the initiative, agreeing to be the chief investigators for the 2004 project and to seek the backing of their universities. The chief investigators for the first year were Tom Griffiths, David Horner and Patricia Jalland, all from ANU; Stuart Macintyre and Janet McCalman, both from the University of Melbourne; David Carment from the Northern Territory (later Charles Darwin) University; Stephen Garton from the University of Sydney; Patrick Buckridge from Griffith University; Jill Roe from Macquarie University; Alison Mackinnon from the University of South Australia; Graeme Davison from Monash University; and Tom Stannage from Curtin University of Technology. As was to be expected, the ANU and the University of Melbourne provided most of the cash and in-kind support, but the other seven universities contributed significantly. The National Library of Australia provided both cash and in-kind support.

For the 2005 project, the chief investigators and participating institutions were the same. Two universities—Curtin University of Technology and Charles Darwin University—were unable to commit money for 2006 and the chief investigators from the two institutions were replaced with Langmore and Nicholas Brown from the ANU and Gavan McCarthy from the University of Melbourne. Two additional cultural institutions joined the project in its last year: the National Museum of Australia, which contributed cash, and the National Archives of Australia, which gave in-kind support in the form of free digitisation of biographical sources in its collection. Over the three years of the project’s duration, $583 000 was raised by the project’s participants, $1 261 409 was sought from the ARC and $986 000 was granted, leaving a shortfall of $275 409. This shortfall was to be a significant obstacle, preventing the project from achieving its full aims.

It was fundamental to the project’s vision that the ADB online should be an open resource, available without cost to every person and institution with a computer connected to the Internet. The online editions of the New Zealand and Canadian dictionaries of national biography were established on this principle. Conversely, those of the United Kingdom and the United States charged

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27 The project cost a total of $1 569 000. For the 2004 project $217 000 was raised from the participants, $450 965 was sought from the ARC and $376 000 was granted: Australian Research Council, Linkage—Infrastructure Equipment & Facilities—Application for Funding in 2004, Project LE0452798, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography Online: A Database of National Biography Facilitating Research into Australian History’. For the 2005 project, $198 500 was raised from the participants, $407 599 was sought from the ARC and $986 000 was granted: Australian Research Council, Linkage—Infrastructure Equipment & Facilities—Application for Funding in 2005, Project LE0560774, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography Online Enhancement Project’. For the 2006 project, $167 500 was raised from the participants, $402 845 was sought from the ARC and $350 000 was granted: Australian Research Council, Linkage—Infrastructure Equipment & Facilities—Application for Funding in 2006, Project LE0668026, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography Online and Emerging National Information Systems: Networking Research Capability’. The ARC contributed $986 000 of $1 569 000, being 63 per cent of total funds.
subscriptions for access to them. The *ADB* online project considered that, in Australia’s relatively small market—more akin to the markets of Canada and New Zealand than those of the more populous countries—revenue gained from charging for access was likely to be small compared with the cost of creating and maintaining the resource. The project also believed that the web site having been produced with taxpayers’ money, it should be made freely available to all Australians. In this way, it could be used by people living in remote areas who lacked the amenity of public libraries—an important consideration in a country as large as Australia. More broadly, teachers and pupils in schools, researchers and students in tertiary institutions, librarians, journalists, genealogists, the general public and the citizens of other countries would have, literally at their fingertips, knowledge about individuals in Australian history previously found only in public and private libraries.

Before the project could publish the *ADB* online, it was necessary to clarify the ANU’s relationship with Melbourne University Publishing (now hosting MUP), which had been producing handsome volumes of the *ADB* since 1966. An amendment to the longstanding contract between the two institutions—signed in the 1990s before MUP published the edition on CD-ROM mentioned earlier—had vested in MUP the rights to all forms of electronic publication. The parties negotiated a new contract that gave the electronic rights to the ANU and created opportunities for MUP to publish and sell new print-based products derived from the ANU’s online edition. As with the traditional print volumes, MUP would pay an advance to the *ADB* for each volume and, for the first time, royalties as a percentage of sales based on the publisher’s net receipts.28 The sales have never generated sufficient income, however, to pay royalties.

Later, the publisher expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of progress in the commercial exploitation of the *ADB* online.29 The first priority, however, was to establish the online database and to resolve the problems that the project encountered in the process, including a major one inherited from MUP. Before the project began, MUP had obligingly handed over the only electronic version in existence of the volumes produced before computerisation. This text had been scanned by the publisher from the pages of the print volumes for the CD-ROM edition. In 2005 the project discovered that the scanned text contained hundreds of errors. Cleansing these data became a lengthy and expensive operation, involving the whole *ADB* staff and a team of casual researchers, working in pairs, one person reading from the page and the other from the screen, and recording discrepancies for investigation and correction of the electronic text.30

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30 Personal knowledge.
At the University of Melbourne, Austehc provided the technical management of the project. Gavan McCarthy, Joanne Evans, Helen Morgan, Rachel Tropea, Alan van den Bosch, Peter Neish, James Williams, Rosemary Francis, Davis McCarthy, Fabian Parker, Annette Alafaci and Ailie Smith contributed their knowledge and skills. Bruce Smith gave advice. Russ Weakley (design) and Jonathan O’Donnell (testing) were contracted for specialist assistance. At the ANU in Canberra the ADB staff collaborated with Austehc in determining the design and functionality of the web site. Christine Fernon was the assistant project manager. Four part-time researchers—Margaret Park, Ruth McConnell, Andrew Newman-Martin and Barry McGowan—and a volunteer, Margaret Lee, read each article, analysed the text and entered details in the data fields to facilitate searches by name, gender, lifespan, date and place of birth and death, cultural heritage, religious influence, occupation, place of occupation, and year or range of years of occupation.31

Future users of the ADB online would be able to search the database using each of the fielded categories or a combination of them to identify the biographical subjects relevant to a research project. Moreover, it would be possible to explore the interactions and relationships between factors such as class, ethnicity, religion, region and period in Australian history. The word and phrase search function would enable a researcher to investigate historical events, developments and issues through the lives of people involved in them. It would be possible to find articles on individuals associated with major historical themes.

An essential feature of the ADB online—as conceived by the director of Austehc and enthusiastically endorsed by ADB staff—was that it would not duplicate existing library and information infrastructure but would be capable of being linked with other web sites, thus contributing to the formation of a network of resources for research in the humanities and social sciences. An early application of this principle was the project’s association with the National Library’s image search facility, Picture Australia, which provided a single access point to the pictorial collections of the nation’s major cultural institutions. Staff spent two years searching Picture Australia for images of the ADB’s 11 000 subjects. The project obtained permission from the holders of the images and the owners of copyright in them to utilise them to illustrate the ADB online. All waived their fees on condition that users would have cost-free access to the ADB online. The images were then linked back to Picture Australia, using a permanent identifier created by the National Library, enabling researchers to read the associated catalogue record. The ADB online was the first project to make use of this new technology offered by the library. The benefit was mutual. The ADB avoided the cost of acquiring and curating its own collection of images, and the publicly funded web sites of Picture Australia participants gained greater exposure of their holdings.

Within the constraints of its budget, the project forged additional links with resources in the collections of its partner cultural institutions. Chief among these was the National Library, the support of which was of immeasurable importance to the project. The library’s executive officers were unfailingly encouraging, none more so than the assistant director-general, Australian collections and reader services, Margy Burn, who had been a member of the ADB’s NSW Working Party in the late 1990s. Regular discussions were held with library staff to formulate a plan for collaboration in its proposed People Australia project. Meanwhile, links were created from articles in the ADB online to relevant digital sources in the library’s collection. In 2006 the ADB online became one of the first internet-based scholarly works to register the new persistent

32 Picture Australia was subsumed into the NLA’s Trove search facility in 2012.
33 The NLA later abandoned the People Australia project. In 2012 the NCB decided to create its own version of the service.
identifiers of library catalogue items in the Australian National Bibliographic Database (ANBD), thus linking published sources in the bibliographies of *ADB* articles directly to the Libraries Australia service. A number of links were also established with digitised records held by the National Archives of Australia.

The *ADB* online was awarded the Manning Clark House National Cultural Award (Group Category) for 2006. Di Langmore and Darryl Bennet accepted the award.

For the *ADB* online articles to function as nodes in a network, it was essential that linking to them from other online resources would also be possible. This was facilitated by providing each article with its own web page and persistent identifier. Thus, for example, the Libraries Australia service could create sustainable back-links to *ADB* articles from materials in its database, permitting a person viewing an item in the ANBD to see its prior use as a source for an *ADB* article. There was potential for future interconnections and interoperability between the *ADB* online and other systems, such as Trove.
The ADB online project was the crowning achievement of the Langmore years. Its launch on 6 July 2006 at University House by the governor-general, Major General Michael Jeffery AC CVO MC (Rtd), was a grand occasion, timed to coincide with that year’s conference of the Australian Historical Association, held at the ANU. The event generated considerable media interest, with outlets as far away as Darwin seeking interviews and publishing reports and reviews. Within 16 months of going ‘live’, the site was receiving 40 million ‘hits’ a year, which rose to a phenomenal 70 million annual ‘hits’ by 2009. Members of the general public find it accessible and usable. Researchers have mentioned the gains in productivity that the resource has brought to their work. Others have reported being able to undertake studies that previously were not feasible. It is not surprising that the site won the Manning Clark House National Cultural Award (Group Category) for 2006.

Conclusion

The ADB was a productive and cohesive organisation in the Langmore era. At various times in 2001–08, Wendy Birman, Nicholas Brown, Anthea Bundock, Martha Campbell, Karen Ciuffetelli, Gail Clements, Pam Crichton, Barbara Dawson, Christine Fernon, Joyce Gibberd, Rachel Grahame, Jennifer Harrison, Jolyon Horner, Rosemary Jennings, Edna Kauffman, Judith Nissen, Charlene Ogilvie, Anne Rand, Margaret Robertson, Patricia Stretton, Kim Torney and Brian Wimborne were members of the staff; and Ken Inglis, Ian Hancock and John Molony were visiting fellows.

Ensuring the ADB’s efficiency and internal tranquillity, while it was being buffeted from without and experiencing significant change within, was the personality of the general editor, Di Langmore. She was thoroughly professional in her relations with staff and external authorities, and she set a compelling example of hard work and selfless commitment to the ADB. Her achievements received public recognition through the award of an ANU Council Medal for General Staff Excellence in 2002 and her appointment as a Member of the Order of Australia in 2008.

Darryl Bennet was the deputy general editor of the ADB from 2001 to 2008. He has been a member of the Queensland Working Party since 2008 and a member of the Editorial Board since 2011.

Profile

Darryl Bennet (b. 1948)

Darryl Bennet began his career with the ADB in 1989 as a casual research assistant helping Chris Cunneen to compile the NSW list of possible inclusions in volumes covering the period 1940–80. A former naval officer, he had undertaken a degree in arts at the ANU (BA, 1987), winning the history medal in the same year, and a diploma of education in 1988. His knowledge of the military and his familiarity with computer technology characterised his contribution to the ADB during the next two decades. He ‘rose through the ranks’: during the 1990s his employment became permanent and he worked as research editor on the Commonwealth, armed forces and Victorian desks. John Ritchie described him as ‘diligent, conscientious, highly intelligent, a gifted editor and a superb colleague’. In 2001 he became deputy general editor; Di Langmore reckons that it was ‘impossible to imagine a more perfect deputy’.

When in 2002 the Editorial Board decided that the ADB should go online, Bennet was given the responsibility for making it happen. He planned the project and defined its goals, wrote three successful submissions for LIEF (infrastructure) grants to the ARC, established and maintained close collaboration with IT experts at the Australian Science and Technology Heritage Centre at the University of Melbourne and established partnerships with national cultural institutions with a shared interest in enhancing the application of IT to their services. For his efforts, in 2006, he won an ANU staff award for innovative IT application.

Although he worked with new technology, Bennet was always most comfortable as a ‘soler and heeler of paragraphs’. His knowledge of Australian history and his ability to write clear English were highly regarded in the ADB. He was the author of 20 entries before his retirement in 2008. Having moved to Brisbane, he is now a key member of the Queensland Working Party and also an editorial fellow, checking all completed entries before publication to ensure that they conform with ADB ‘style’.

Darryl Bennet, 2012

Photographer: Brian Wimborne, ADB archives

Profile

Gavan McCarthy (b. 1956)

Gavan McCarthy, as a part-time archivist (1978–85) at the University of Melbourne, first began to consider the use of computerised databases for archives in the early 1980s. In 1985 he became inaugural archivist-in-charge, later director, of the Australian Science Archives Project and pioneered the development of national information services and infrastructure to support the history of Australian science, technology, medicine and engineering through the utilisation of the emerging digital technologies. This resulted, in 1993, in the creation of the Bright Sparcs web site, with its customised underpinning technology that later was transformed into the generalised software system known as the Online Heritage Resource Manager (OHRM). Appointed, in 1999, director of the Australian Science and Technology Heritage Centre (Austehc), at the University of Melbourne, he continued to develop the OHRM in association with a number of historical projects and became well known internationally for his innovative approach to archival information and digital information management.

In 2003 Austehc was engaged to look after the technological aspects of the ADB online project. McCarthy and Darryl Bennet formed a formidable partnership, working closely together and managing, at the project’s peak, a team of some 20 people devoting at least some of their time to the undertaking. The online version of the ADB was launched on 6 July 2006. From 2007 McCarthy has run the University of Melbourne’s eScholarship Research Centre. He has been working with other groups and individuals, including the former deputy director of the National Centre of Biography, Paul Arthur, on building new digital networks and paradigms, including the Humanities Networked Infrastructure (HuNI), which will be the first national, cross-disciplinary, virtual laboratory for the humanities to be established anywhere in the world.

Sources: Darryl Bennet, Tom Griffiths and Gavan McCarthy.
Gavan McCarthy and Darryl Bennet check out the ADB online, July 2006

Photographer: Richard Briggs, by courtesy of The Canberra Times
Profile

John Molony (b. 1927)

John Molony studied theology and canon law at the Pontifical Urban College of Propaganda Fide in Rome. Ordained a priest in 1950, he served in Rome, Boston (USA) and Ballarat. Leaving the priesthood in 1963, he applied for a position in the Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, as a translator of medieval Latin texts. Encouraged by Bede Nairn, Laurie Fitzhardinge and Manning Clark, he enrolled as a graduate student (MA, 1967; PhD, 1971). A two-month job as a research assistant at the ADB developed into a strong association with the dictionary for more than half a century. First employed as a tutor in 1966, he was appointed a lecturer in the Department of History, School of General Studies, in 1968, senior lecturer in 1974 and was promoted to professor in 1975. Two years later he became Manning Clark professor and head of department. Author of a number of scholarly works on Australian history, he is considered an expert on Ned Kelly. He became the ‘safe hands’ which the ADB called upon to sit on its selection and review committees; and he was on the team for the important 1986 review that recommended continuation of the ADB following completion of Volumes 1–12. Molony resigned from his position at the ANU in 1990 to take up a three-year appointment as Professor of Australian Studies at University College, Dublin. On his return to Canberra, he became a visiting fellow in the ADB and later an editorial fellow; his encyclopedic knowledge of the Catholic Church and of the Australian and Democratic Labor parties has been of great help to research editors. In 1999, with Barry Ninham, he founded the ANU Emeritus Faculty; chairman until 2012, he took responsibility for having the life stories of its members recorded and for developing an oral history program.

John Molony, 1985

ANU Archives, ANUA225-868
Profiles

Ivy Meere (1927–2005), Edna Kauffman (b. 1948) and Karen Ciuffetelli (b. 1968)

John Ritchie liked to describe the ADB’s administrators’ office as its ‘engine-room’. Two administrators overlapped and managed the office for more than 30 years: Ivy Meere (1975–92) and Edna Kauffman (1985–2007). They were responsible for ensuring that the ‘production line’ involved in creating ADB volumes ran smoothly. They prepared files for the subject of each entry, in manila folders—about 700 for each volume—and handed them to the research editors; they sent reminders to tardy authors; they liaised with section editors. In pre-computer days, they typed and retyped articles several times before the final edits were dispatched as proofs to the publisher. Editing is now undertaken electronically and very little typing of entries is required. Karen Manning, now Karen Ciuffetelli, joined the ADB as Kauffman’s assistant in 1992 and is now the sole office administrator. She has taken on other duties, including management of the budget.

Ivy Meere, 1980s

By courtesy of Sue Edgar

The ADB’s Workflow Board

In the days before computers, the ADB’s office administrators used a whiteboard and magnetic tiles to chart the various stages of the editing cycle.

At the beginning of each volume the names of all entries—about 700 in total—were written on individual tiles and placed in the first column of the whiteboard. When an entry came in from an author, its marker moved to the next column, then on to the next one when it was edited, to the next one when it came back from its author and so on until it reached the final column—when the entry was ready to send to MUP for publication.

Different background colours were used to distinguish entries. Armed services entries had a pink background, Commonwealth entries were purple, SA green, WA yellow, Tasmanian blue; Victorian entries had a white background and were written in black texta, while Queensland entries had a white background and were written using a brown texta.

Undoubtedly labour-intensive, the old system nevertheless allowed staff to quickly gauge a volume’s progress.

The board remained in use until 2008.
Every entry in the ADB has its own file. It contains the subject’s birth, death and marriage certificates, photocopies of biographical material such as academic records, personal files, army records, obituaries and items about the person found in newspapers, magazines and journals, as well as correspondence with the author and others about the subject. The file also contains multiple copies of the subject’s ADB entry, starting with the original version submitted by the author, all the edited versions and the final version sent to MUP for publication.

On the front cover of the file is a worksheet, developed by Nan Phillips in the early 1960s, to monitor the editing cycle. It shows the many stages involved in the editing process. The files are, themselves, a valuable reference source and are held in the ANU Archives.
The ADB’s Corrigenda Ruler

The ADB prides itself on correcting factual errors. Prior to 2012, new volumes of the ADB included a ‘Corrigenda’ insert, listing mistakes (and their corrections) that had been discovered in earlier volumes since the publication of the last volume. The page, column and line numbers of corrigenda were given to assist those who wanted to handwrite the corrections into their volumes.

A ‘corrigenda ruler’, which gave the line numbers of entries in the ADB, was created in the 1960s to assist ADB staff in calculating line numbers. Corrigenda are now corrected online. Footnotes are used to indicate where text has been changed.
National Collaboration

John Tregenza

At the very beginning, 1960 to 1961, before I came back to Adelaide, Douglas Pike himself seems to have played an important role in the establishment of the SA Working Party and was probably responsible for the appointment of his good friend Harold Finnis as chairman—a position Finnis held through the first 14 years or so of the working party’s life. Finnis much admired *Paradise of Dissent* and would have almost unquestioningly supported Pike’s suggestions for the first two volumes. Gerald Fischer says that he remembers Douglas coming in to the South Australian Archives (he is not sure whether this was before or after he became general editor) and going through every card in the distinctive Biographical Index, which had been compiled by George Pitt and then John McLellan. He also remembers Douglas saying that it was unequalled in Australia as a resource of its kind and regretting that it did not have counterparts elsewhere.

For the period up to 1850, we were, therefore, rather unexercised as a working party because Douglas had thoroughly prepared the ground, and because Sir Grenfell Price, who might have contested Pike’s and Finnis’s views, never (at least after I joined the working party in 1963) attended meetings, although year after year he was sent agendas and minutes and continued to be listed as a member in the first three published volumes. John Playford, who succeeded Finnis as chairman in 1975, has just drawn my attention to the pages in Colin Kerr’s biography of Grenfell Price, which describe the towering row that Price and Pike had over the former’s article on George Fife Angas, which led to Price abandoning any claim to the article he had revised, and also articles submitted on Charles Sturt and Governor Hindmarsh, and withdrawing his offer to write on John Howard Angus. Evidently, Price resigned from the working party, but his resignation was not accepted—hence the anomaly. The published articles on George Fife Angas and John Hindmarsh are unsigned and cite books by both Price and Pike.
John Tregenza (1931–99) was a member of the SA Working Party from 1963 to 1990 and wrote four *ADB* entries

State Library of South Australia, 1980, B63412
Harold Finnis was a public service administrator and chair of the SA Working Party, 1959–75

State Library of South Australia, n.d.
In Grenfell Price’s absence it was very much a Finnis working party at the time I joined it in 1963. Finnis was well over six feet tall, a hale and authoritative seventy-four, with a deep, carrying voice and the aura of a decided member of the Adelaide establishment for several decades past, president of the Pioneers’ Association, president of the Historical Division of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA branch), chairman of the Botanic Gardens Board, member of the Board of the Public Library and member of the Adelaide Club. He was a courtly man. Pat Stretton, who stood in for Ken Inglis for a couple of meetings in 1961, when she was still Pat Gibson and a tutor in the history department, vividly remembers him asking her permission to remove his coat when the temperature was about 40ºC. His most memorable and often used phrase as chairman was ‘But does he measure up?’ When he decided that the explorer Horricks did not measure up that was fatal to Horricks’ chances of inclusion.

As I recollect, we selected names by a series of stages. The editorial office in Canberra drew up a basic list of names for consideration with the barest of biographical details, drawing on the valuable Biographical Register that Laurie Fitzhardinge had been building up at the ANU, supplemented in South Australia’s case at least by, I imagine, Douglas Pike’s own additions, including names selected from the Biographical Index in the South Australian Archives. The working party would go through this list and make amendments. It would then be circulated (via the editorial office probably) to individuals and societies and institutions for further suggestions. These would then be considered and the Working Party would reduce the number of names to the quota allowed for South Australia according to the size of the population in the relevant era. We would also recommend lengths of articles and names of authors.

As time passed, and I became involved in supervising honours and postgraduate theses in the history department at Adelaide, I was able to make a more positive contribution in recommending names of people whose importance had only recently been revealed by the new research of students and also authors. When Jim Main (senior lecturer, 1966, and reader, 1967–84, in history at Flinders University) joined the working party, he was able to tap the research at Flinders in the same way. In the Finnis era we all agreed that we should value originality and innovation as distinct from wealth and established position in the community as criteria for determining inclusion and length of articles.

A significant change in the working party took place when Finnis retired in 1975. He was replaced as chairman with John Playford. Several new members joined the working party—including Ron Gibbs, a teacher, author of a good one-volume history of South Australia for schools, and first president of the new Historical Society of South Australia (then in his thirties); and Helen Jones, who was beginning a PhD thesis on the emancipation of women in South Australia.
This reconstituted working party went through the preliminary lists prepared by the Finnis working party for the 1891–1939 period and made some substantial changes. Ironically, one of the major changes was to reduce the numbers of Labor politicians and union leaders. The Finnis list had incorporated many Labor names suggested years before by John Playford himself in a letter he had written in response to a circulated preliminary list.

At that time Playford was positively to the left in his politics. When he became chairman of the working party he had moved to the ‘right of centre’ and now persuasively argued against many of the names he had formerly recommended. (He has just reminded me of this in a telephone call.) Finnis, although by no means a Labor man, had made a point of trying to be even-handed with political inclusions. The new working party also disagreed with the Finnis working party’s weighting on clergy—especially Lutheran clergy—Finnis holding a strong conviction that the Lutherans’ significance in South Australia was out of all proportion to their numbers.

These perceptions and weightings changed with time, new research, and a new and younger membership.

John Tregenza was a member of the SA Working Party between 1963 and 1986 and was a ‘living witness’ with Harold Finnis (chair of the SA Working Party, 1959–75) to the National Committee meetings of 1960.

John Tregenza to Keith Hancock (29 June 1986), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
The New South Wales Working Party

Beverley Kingston

When Frank Crowley sent me to deputise for him at a meeting of the NSW Working Party of the *ADB* sometime in 1970, I was quite familiar with the project. There was a lot of *ADB* talk and work in the history department at Monash, where I had been a postgraduate student during the 1960s. From behind his pipe, Geoff Serle oversaw the Victorian entries, and Duncan Waterson was busy with what became his *Biographical Register of the Queensland Parliament, 1860–1929* (1972). I happily contributed information to Waterson’s database as I worked through the 1860s Queensland newspapers for my PhD thesis on Queensland land legislation and politics. And I had already prepared a couple of entries on obscure Queensland pastoralists for Volume 4 of the *ADB*, published in 1972.
In 1970 the NSW Working Party met in the office of the state librarian, Gordon Richardson, with its marvellous stained-glass windows and its view across the Botanic Gardens to Sydney Harbour. Over the years we have met in other rooms in the library depending on availability, and until recently were back in that handsome old room, no longer the state librarian’s office, but a meeting room named in honour of Jean Garling, a major benefactor of the library. As I recall, there were no formalities at my first meeting. I introduced myself, said I had been sent by Crowley, and spent the next few meetings quietly listening and learning as fast as I could. At the midpoint of the afternoon, tea and coffee and a plate of Arnotts mixed creams were carried in by Richardson’s secretary and placed in front of us on the long table. I was greatly in awe of Richardson, a craggy, grizzled Scot, and the group of professors and senior historians like Bede Nairn and Ken Cable who made up the working party. I was probably about half the age of most of them. At first the only other woman was Hazel King, who rarely came because we had moved out of her period. Soon the average age went down somewhat with the arrival of Heather Radi from the University of Sydney, Gerry Walsh from the Australian Defence Force Academy, and the deputy general editor, Chris Cunneen, who began coming with Bede from Canberra to help with the rather complex business of keeping track of the long NSW list.

We were working our way through a thick, stencilled and stapled list of names for possible inclusion in Volumes 3–6 (those who flourished in 1851–90) and were more than halfway through the alphabet. The list, as I recall, was heavy on politicians whose names were mostly unfamiliar to me, though there was a fair selection of writers, artists and other cultural figures about whom I felt more confident. Sportsmen seemed to feature prominently, although this may have been mainly because Nairn and Cable discussed them so enthusiastically. Ken’s views on churchmen, of whom there also seemed to be a great many, were rarely questioned.

My arrival was fortuitous, not only because I was a late-nineteenth-century historian, unlike some of the earlier colonial history specialists who no longer had a great deal to contribute, but also because I was, by then, already working seriously on women in Australian history and Volumes 7–12 (those who flourished in 1891–1939), on which we soon began work, covered the early feminist movement.

It was at about this stage that the NSW section of the ADB began to move from the fairly well-known and well-researched colonial period into the relatively under-researched early twentieth century in New South Wales. Nairn, of course, had the 1890s and the early labour movement thoroughly covered—too thoroughly it seemed sometimes. Heather Radi and I took up the challenge of adding more women to the list; we were excited by the possibilities of the new social history for broadening the ADB’s scope. As well, Heather began to remedy
the lack of systematic biographical material on NSW politicians, especially the non-labour ones, for the period after 1900, and recruited Peter Spearritt and Elizabeth Hinton to help her compile the *Biographical Register of the New South Wales Parliament, 1901–1970* (1979). With her help we were able to make better decisions about which of the dozens of minor politicians we could cross out and replace with interesting and significant characters from other walks of life.

*NSW State Librarian, Gordon Richardson, was a founding member of the NSW Working Party and its chair in 1968-73*

State Library of New South Wales, n.d.
Gordon Richardson retired not long after I joined the working party and was succeeded by Russell Doust both as state librarian and as chair of the working party, so the library continued to host our meetings. Russell saw us through Volumes 6–10. By Volume 11 he had retired and was followed by Alison Crook, who assiduously attended meetings though she sometimes left Nairn to chair them. Her successor, Dagmar Schmidmaier, decided she would prefer Alan Ventress, then Mitchell librarian, to deputise for her at meetings, and somehow in 1996 I found myself in the chair. This would not have worked except that Chris Cunneen, who had retired from his position as deputy general editor in Canberra, moved to Sydney and became our record-keeper, chief research organiser and go-between with Canberra. All I had to do was to keep the business moving at a good pace, make sure all issues were canvassed and points of view aired, and sometimes push for a decision.

All these years we have continued to benefit from the hospitality of the State library. This means that we are alerted to the arrival of significant new collections at the library, also to significant research being done by other scholars, many of whom may be potential authors. We hope that the library itself gains something from its links with the research enterprise that the ADB represents. Meetings in the library—long ago seen as neutral ground in the battle between Malcolm Ellis and academe—now mean that working party members can organise precious research time for themselves in the Mitchell Library in conjunction with meetings if they so wish. We have also had substantial and much appreciated assistance from library staff members appointed to deputise for the state librarian, first Margy Burn, who would come to meetings pushing a trolley of reference works when we were drawing up lists for the period 1940–80, then Warwick Hirst, and now Linda West, who books the room, emails the agenda to members and organises the much appreciated afternoon tea.

With the various restructurings of the Editorial Board, there were fewer nominal members of the working party; at its largest in 1988 there were 22 names on the list. For some years now there have been 15 or 16 members, most attending regularly, all hardworking. Meetings have become more frequent in recent years. There used to be months, occasionally a whole year, when nothing needed to be done, but these days more of the work that was once done in the central office in Canberra falls to the working parties. Besides, it seems as if members of the working party appreciate an excuse to escape to the Mitchell Library from time to time.
Our meetings have always been enjoyable, though the reasons for this may have changed over time. For all of us they are a continuing learning experience. A huge amount of information and a great many stories pass over the table. Once almost entirely made up of academic historians and heavily weighted towards the professoriate, the working party has become more diverse in the past decade or so and the informal exchange of gossip between disciplines and institutions can be fascinating. We now have specialists in political science, industrial relations, public administration, law, and Jack Carmody, who covers both medicine and music. Gavin Souter, our expert since the late 1980s on Sydney newspapers and journalists, and memorably, the history of Mosman, retired, and was replaced with media historian Bridget Griffen-Foley, whose internet skills and address book became invaluable. Where once Bruce Mitchell and Greg McMinn came
from Armidale and Newcastle respectively to broaden our outlook, Nancy Cushing now keeps a close eye on Newcastle and the north and does her best to prevent us from becoming complacent about the kind of women we include, while Glenn Mitchell constantly amazes us with his knowledge of Wollongong people and popular culture. Not everyone enjoys biography, though for those who have stayed with the ADB it has often proved a useful adjunct to their professional research.

Since we completed Volumes 7–12 (1891–1939), something of a pattern has developed for the work on each new period. First it is essential to draw up an initial list of necessary, likely and possible inclusions. This begins with a careful combing of Who’s Who in Australia for NSW names, then the ADB’s Biographical Register, other dictionaries, companions, encyclopedias and lists of obituaries. We also ask for advice from professional groups, industry representatives and experts in fields in which we think we need help.

The preliminary list is sometimes twice as long as, or even longer than, the number of names we have been allocated. This list is then sifted, applying an unofficial series of criteria. I think of the sifting as applying a series of different grids, a bit like the coin-sorting machine I knew from my childhood in the bank where my father worked. Other members of the working party have different views of the sifting process. Some are articulated, some instinctive.

We have had substantial discussions from time to time on, for example, the desirability of including famous criminals or celebrities who are household names but significant for no other reason. People who have died young often spark discussion. Is their achievement really significant, how will it compare with their peers who live a longer life, or has it been inflated by the manner or time of their death? The different screening criteria applied by the different members of the working party mean, however, that those who are placed on the list are usually considered from a number of different points of view.

Most members of the working party now have an automatic reaction to an unfamiliar name encountered in their daily lives and these names are raised subsequently. Have we considered this person? Should we be considering this person? So we do. We are no longer worried about finding suitable women for inclusion. They are much more visible these days, though they do tend to live longer and may be forgotten by the time they actually die. But we do keep a close eye on people whose lives have been significant but markedly less flamboyant than the new media celebrities, in business and banking, for example, and have been greatly helped by Barrie Dyster’s devotion to entrepreneurs and industrialists. From time to time, we pause to ponder the main developments
in the demography of the period on which we are working to ask if we are reflecting the patterns of immigration, changing employment, cultural shifts and so on.

As the list is reduced to something like the number allocated, there are further levels of refinement. It has been most interesting to sit down with a list of a dozen or 20 artists, writers, solicitors, politicians, even historians, and try to rank them in order of significance for inclusion. There are often several versions of the same occupational story—the careers of minor politicians or headmistresses, for example, can be fairly repetitive and they cannot all be included. A choice has to be made. Sometimes it is that little extra interesting detail—a noteworthy marriage or a twist in an earlier career. Sometimes it is because better sources exist, or because there is an author known to us who is also willing and able: having a suitable and reliable author to hand can make an immense difference. Occasionally the choice is invidious or seems random or unfair, but there is not enough space to include everyone.

Other State working parties may think New South Wales is being precious about this. Most of them do not have the luxury of this kind of choice. When we were compiling the lists for the supplement volume it became clear that by the time the small States had covered their core list of premiers, chief justices, church leaders and major community figures, they did not have many more spaces to play with. Our core list is not so different in size from Tasmania’s or South Australia’s, but it constitutes a much smaller proportion of our allocation. New South Wales can afford more variety than other States because we have a larger population and therefore a longer list. Once we have covered the essential and the obvious, we have more space for quirky or unusual people. People who become significant in the arts and cultural life especially have tended to gravitate to Sydney, so there may be a need for some negotiation about whether we include these names or send them back to their State or Territory of origin, and then over the choice of author. All this will undoubtedly change as the online version of the ADB becomes more significant and allocation of space less of a consideration.

One of the most debated questions is the number of words to allocate to any particular person. The assumption is that word length is a measure of worth or significance; however, it is also the case that a person with a complicated story, many changes of occupation or country, a war record, or a complex set of ideas to expound, requires more words than an arguably more significant or influential character who has had an otherwise straightforward life. A morally upright teacher who has never married, or a dedicated scientist who has had an admirable career with a single big discovery, rarely requires more than 500 words. A villain with many aliases, complex personal arrangements and a sticky end needs many more words to set out the facts.
When I first joined the working party in 1970, a majority of the authors were academic historians or postgraduate research students who could be found through the universities. Leonie Kramer, then Professor of Australian Literature at the University of Sydney, was frequently sent a list of literary figures and asked to suggest authors. We still call on the expertise of people who are supervising research to suggest authors. We also have a ‘stable’ of skilled biographers with expertise in different fields who can be relied on to research and write an entry within their field, but fewer of the authors are now academic historians. The working party has become more sensitive to developments in the research and publishing that now occur outside an academic framework. Sometimes it can be a case of finding a trusted author to counteract what has been judged to be a bad popular biography. Sometimes we find that there is a biography but it is obscure or specialised. Then it seems a good idea to encourage the author to produce a succinct piece that may reach a different or wider readership. Occasionally authors have found themselves with a subject that develops into a larger project. Sometimes the work involved in researching and writing an entry seems a lot to ask of an author, but the level of commitment and professionalism demonstrated by authors is a constant source of admiration and gratitude (and for asking them to undertake yet another entry).

In addition to its official business of drawing up lists of names and suggesting authors, the NSW Working Party takes a keen interest in all matters affecting the *ADB*. Editorial policy, administrative developments in the central office at the ANU, the treatment of the *ADB* in reviews, and feedback from the public generally are often discussed informally at meetings. There are some vocal advocates of the *ADB* among the members. Those of us who have closer links with Canberra and the ANU are frequently quizzed and occasionally asked to raise matters at Editorial Board meetings.
The NSW Working Party enthusiastically urged adoption of the latest technology when it was first proposed to issue the *ADB* as a CD-ROM. A little later, as has been told elsewhere, Alan Ventress, who, as Mitchell librarian was keenly aware of the way in which information technology was transforming the library, initiated a discussion at a working party meeting that led, eventually, to putting the *ADB* online. And the supplement volume was driven from within the NSW Working Party. There is a sense in which the (relatively) selfless commitment of the NSW Working Party (though I am sure this is true of all working parties) to the highest values of scholarship and collaborative research has helped to sustain the *ADB*, especially through its more trying times.

*Beverley Kingston taught history at the University of New South Wales for 30 years and is currently an honorary research fellow in the School of History at the UNSW. She has been a member of the NSW Working Party since 1974, its chair since July 1994 and has served on the Editorial Board since August 1996.*
Recollections of the New South Wales Working Party

Russell Doust

When I became State Librarian of New South Wales in early 1973, I ‘inherited’ from my predecessor, Gordon Richardson, the chairmanship of the ADB’s NSW Working Party. This was not prescribed in any book of rules (unlike, for instance, membership of the NSW Geographic Names Board or the NSW Council of the National Trust of Australia, both of which named the state librarian or his nominee in the enabling legislation). Richardson had been chair of the working party almost from the beginning, as far as I can infer from the list of members in Volume 7, taking over after a year or two from the first chairman, Bede Nairn.

Neither Richardson nor I were professional historians, although Richardson had written a well-regarded MA thesis (University of Sydney) on the records of the NSW colonial secretary, while I had (in about 1969) submitted my thesis for the degree of master of librarianship to the University of New South Wales on ‘The Administration of Official Archives in New South Wales 1870–1960’. I do not know where the working party first met, but I suspect that it had always been in the State library (formerly the Public Library of New South Wales). Apart from any other considerations, this might well have been a reason for the choice of Richardson as chairman in place of Nairn. Perhaps the only comment I should make about my own chairmanship of the working party is that I seemed to be accepted for what I was—landlord, whose institution provided space and tea and coffee for meetings. My knowledge of Australian history was not great because it was not taught in my University of Sydney undergraduate days, but I did know about controlling and guiding a committee and, for the whole of my chairmanship, I was guided by Chris Cunneen, who was both a member of the working party and the close link with the ADB office in Canberra.

I never proposed a possible ‘biographee’ to the working party, nor did I ever contribute an entry. Richardson, on the other hand, wrote six entries for the ADB. Perhaps he had more time to write, whereas I was committed to a program of pulling the library a little further into the later 1900s in a period when, to say the least, the then heavy hand of the Public Service Board was not always on my side!

What I gained, personally, from the NSW Working Party was an acquaintance with real historians, whose friendship and cooperation in general were to stand me in good stead. Who were these people? In no particular order, I see these
names: J. M. Bennett; Ken Cable; Frank Crowley; Chris Cunneen; Rae (Justice) Else-Mitchell (later president of the Library Council of New South Wales, and a good if formidable friend to a new State librarian); Frank Farrell; Brian Fletcher; Hazel King; Beverley Kingston; W. G. Minn; Bruce Mansfield; Bruce Mitchell; Heather Radi; John Ryan; Gerry Walsh; John Manning Ward (later vice-chancellor of the University of Sydney); Baiba Irving (later Mitchell librarian); Barry Andrews.

There was remarkably little change in the membership of the working party from 1973 until my retirement in 1987. My two immediate successors as State librarian, Alison Crook and Dagmar Schmidmaier, also chaired the working party. I believe that if the NSW Working Party gains something from the State library, it is equally true that the library gains, too; it is a good deal more, on both sides, than just tea and biscuits.

Russell Doust, n.d.

State Library of New South Wales

Russell Doust was the NSW State librarian and chair of the NSW Working Party from 1973 until 1987.
The Queensland Working Party

Spencer Routh

Speech notes for presentation of ADB Medal, 11 December 2003

I remember very well how much had to be done when the Queensland Working Party was re-formed in 1975; there were lots of late-night meetings, and lots of speed-reading in between. It is sad that neither of our two fine leaders is here now: Denis Murphy, labor politician, historian and biographer, and Paul Wilson, State archivist, both died from cancer.

I have a tiny story about each. Denis was the chairman of the working party. He proposed that we include a political cartoonist in the ADB. None of us had heard of this person; discussion was sceptical. ‘OK’ said Denis, ‘Seeing there’s not a consensus, we’ll have a vote. Those in favour say Aye’. ‘Aye’, said Denis, I think alone. ‘Those against?’ ‘No’, we chorused. ‘The Ayes have it: I’ve learnt a lot from Jack Egerton’. As we held him in such admiration and affection, we let him get away with it.

I wrote my first ADB entry on the Queensland jockey and horse trainer Walter Blacklock. It was full of the names of horses and horseraces. Jim Gibbney, the Queensland desk editor in Canberra, was a lovely bloke, but he had no interest whatever in horseracing. After editing the entry, Jim sent me a message: ‘Spencer, you must get your man out of the stables for at least a couple of sentences’. I was shattered, particularly as I was about to get on a plane to go on long leave overseas. I shoved the whole mess into the hands of Paul Wilson, who was then the secretary of the Queensland Working Party. I will read you the couple of sentences that conclude my article on Blacklock: ‘Small, sturdy and jovial, with a sweeping white moustache, he remained always the quintessential horseman. He failed to learn to drive a motor car, purchased in 1923, which he would try to stop by pulling on the steering wheel and shouting “Whoa”’.

It is still the best conclusion to any of my articles, but I wrote not a word. Paul found someone who had known Blacklock 50 years before, interviewed him, and wrote those sentences. It is a good example of the friendly cooperation that helps hold the ADB project together.

I have been lucky that the conveners of the working party since Denis—Ross Johnston and Pat Buckridge—have not been running personal agendas: they have just wanted to get out a good dictionary of biography.

1 Jack Egerton [1918–98] was a trade union organiser and member of the Australian Labor Party.
I owe debts to many more people. Jennifer Harrison was a paid research assistant for the ADB for many years. She also gave many more hours of unpaid service to the project each year. She was my constant educator and sounding board: ‘Jenny, Canberra says the date of this Irish immigrant ship is wrong, and yet to me the source seems so reliable’, I would say to her. ‘Don’t worry, Spencer, you’re right. For a while archives had a couple of lists mislabelled. I’ll show you how to explain it’, she would reply. ‘Jenny, this tombstone could be magic for me if only it weren’t so weathered. I just can’t read it’. ‘Don’t worry, Spencer, you can trust the published transcription. Those people checked them by X-ray crystallography’. I might have exaggerated that last bit a little, but you get the general theme. She was a great workmate for years.

I will leave anonymous a great crowd of Queensland librarians and archivists who have contributed to the ADB: they could fill this room.

I use mention of librarians to lead on to the three parts of my life with the ADB: helping select subjects; helping select authors; writing articles. Denis Murphy
encouraged us to range across all fields, but he also gave us a portfolio. Mine was primary production and sport. My present colleagues might say firmly, ‘And how faithful he has been’. But I have taken these fields very broadly.

Many years before the ‘smart State’ was invented, we were going through the accomplishments of the Department of Primary Industries, checking entomology newsletters for obituaries and the like, to find the scientists who had helped lead Queensland primary production—not always successfully. We included the scientists who introduced the cane toad. At times you look out for representatives—such as the best shearer: Jackie Howe. Often the search is led by events. You look for a couple of people most influential in the switch from British breeds of beef cattle in northern Australia to tropical breeds; a key figure in the transformation of the port of Gladstone; and so on.

We also get suggestions from various sources, with the most fragmentary information attached. For example, for the supplement volume, Abdul Wade, Afghan camel driver, was on a list of potential inclusions. All we had for him were a few sentences from Geoffrey Bolton’s book on north Queensland. So you ask yourself, ‘But is he the best Afghan camel driver?’ So you speed-read books on Afghans in Australia, and books on camels in Australia, and discover that you do, indeed, have the ‘Lindsay Fox’ of camel transport in Australia—and it is going to be a beaut article.

So you are involved in a mad career of preparation that includes Afghan camel drivers and Aboriginal boxers and State auditors and archbishops and businessmen and so on. A supervisor in the John Oxley Library is entitled to ask, ‘What is this surprising bump for a week’s stack retrieval figures?’ And get the answer, ‘Spencer Routh, preparing for an ADB working party meeting’.

Some of the people here tonight are here partly because they have helped me—and others—as consultants. It is sad John Kerr isn’t here. His books on the sugar industry helped me so much. The specialists we consult about inclusions are always extraordinarily helpful. You go to them at times with some names and notes and they say: ‘Doubtful about him. The action came mainly from the minister, or from people lower in the organisation’. Next name: ‘Thank goodness you’ve got her’. Next: ‘It’s a good one but put this extra theme into your notes for him.’ They are part of the friendly network that upholds the ADB.

The second theme about my work is helping to recruit authors. A lot of what I have already said applies here also. At times the author is really obvious. But at other times you do bibliographical work, follow some other leads, write a letter with some photocopies of biographical information included, and wait, while saying a little prayer. At times, there are failures. At others times there are great successes. I remember, for example, a phone call in answer to my letter from
a senior (in age as well as status) scientist. For between five and 10 minutes, I listened to the essence of an authoritative article. When the old scientist drew breath, I could only say, ‘If we’d invited anyone else, you’d have sued’.

I have a confession at this point. If I’m not confident that a potential author is as well informed as that scientist, I often send them a little starter kit, containing a few sample articles, obituaries and the like. And I have a deep confession about some authors who have received overwhelmingly useful starter kits. They might have thought ‘How generous!’; but I was thinking, ‘This subject must be included. I can’t for the life of me think of anyone else to write this article; if I don’t recruit this person, I’m going to have to write the article myself’. So, some of the generosity has been pretty calculated.

My third work theme: my own ADB entries. For most people here I do not have to describe the long slog of research work, and the contrasting joy of ingenious hypothesis that turns out right. But a couple of comments. I am usually writing up people in fields not dealt with in history honours courses. So I try hard to help the desk editors in Canberra with references for the sources for each statement, and why I have included some sentences. For example, when I say in my text that a Scottish migrant stud breeder imported shorthorn bulls from Scotland, I need to let the desk editor know that in about 1910 there was a great controversy between devotees of a traditional style of beast, and those favouring a new style being developed in Scotland. You could caricature it as basically a contest between cattle that could walk a long way to water, and beef you could actually eat. So I have to educate the editor about the importance of this development so that they will leave it in the entry.

More recently, Chris Cunneen asked me to write up an Illawarra dairy-cattle breeder for the supplement volume. I tactfully asked Chris whether he had a primary industry background—even perhaps a family background in dairying. Chris didn’t literally reply that he knew milk had its origin in plastic containers in Woolworths, but I knew the sort of notes I had to write to accompany the article.

My final story about writing for the ADB concerns the buck-jump rider and tent showman Lance Skuthorp. I volunteered for this article because I thought it was going to be easy. There were a couple of editions of a book about him, there was a chapter in another book, and a number of feature articles in popular magazines. The more research I did, though, the more detailed corrections I had to make and big myths dispel. Eventually the article appeared. I waited and watched. Some more of the standard rehashes about Skuthorp appeared. But in 1993 a good coffee-table book about stockmen, including pages on the Skuthorp family, and a detailed page on Lance, were published. It was—I was about to say ‘extensively plagiarised’—let us just say, it was written with ‘sustained close
attention’ to the *ADB* article. And no acknowledgment! Was I angry? No. I was delighted. Because in the end we are not in this for the pleasures of cooperation, or the joys of detective work, but to make good introductions to some of the people who have made Australia.

*NB:* *ADB* editors have greatly appreciated Spencer’s extensively footnoted entries.
Profile

Spencer Routh (b. 1935)

Spencer Routh has been a stalwart of the ADB’s Queensland Working Party since he joined it in 1975. He has consistently worked to ensure that representation of Queenslanders—in particular, cattlemen and other primary producers, horseracing identities and sportspeople—is balanced yet comprehensive. This is no accident: Denis Murphy as chairman of the working party (1974–84) allocated ‘portfolios’ to individual members, a system that his successors have continued; Routh, assigned these particular occupations, has been doing justice to them ever since. Routh’s knowledge of his subjects is legendary. Over the years many Queensland authors have received copious bibliographies, elusive references and treasured snippets in the mail; Routh calls them ‘starter kits’.

A graduate of the University of Queensland (BA Hons, 1958), Routh was appointed the university library’s first reference librarian in 1959, a position he held until his retirement in 1997. He played a major role in developing the library’s research collections; in 2005, the university conferred on him an honorary DLitt. His wide knowledge of Queensland university students and their academic interests meant that he could quickly identify appropriate authors for ADB entries. His enthusiasm and helpfulness invariably prompted a positive response from his nominees. Awarded an ADB Medal in 2003, Routh resigned from the Queensland Working Party in 2013.

Spencer Routh, 1986

ADB archives
Profile

Michael Roe (b. 1931)

After gaining a PhD from the ANU in 1960, Michael Roe took up a post in the history department at the University of Tasmania. In 1965 he published *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835–1851*. Appointed professor of history in 1975, he was a stalwart of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association and much of his work reflects his interest in Tasmanian history and personalities. Other significant books included *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought, 1890–1960* (1984) and *Australia, Britain and Migration, 1915–1940: A Study of Desperate Hopes* (1995).

In 1960, immediately after his arrival in Tasmania, Roe joined the ADB’s Tasmanian Working Party. From the outset, he carried the administrative burden. Chairman throughout the preparation of Volumes 11–18 (and the supplement volume), he served as section editor for Volumes 13–18 and as a member of the Editorial Board for Volumes 8–18. He resigned in 2012, for health reasons. Roe has written 33 entries for the ADB, on individuals as diverse as doctors, photographers, clergymen, educationists, thinkers, journalists, writers, rebels, Aboriginal leaders, and his beloved eccentrics.


Michael Roe, 2012

Photographer: Brian Wimborne, ADB archives
Wendy Birman (b. 1926)

A graduate of the University of Western Australia (BA, 1947), Wendy Birman became a qualified librarian. In 1968 she joined the ADB’s WA Working Party, serving as chairman in 1982–96. She gave up library work in 1973 to pursue historical research and, as the ADB’s local research assistant from 1977 to 1996, she built up an unrivalled knowledge of source materials. Interested in the history of exploration in northern Australia, she co-authored, with Geoffrey Bolton, a biography of the explorer Augustus Gregory in 1972 and wrote herself Gregory of Rainworth: A Man in His Time (1979). With Michael White, she wrote The Apprenticeship Training System in Western Australia (1981), a history of the teacher-training system in that State. She has written 57 entries for the ADB.

One other important association in Birman’s life was the Library Board of Western Australia, of which she was a member for a decade from 1982, and chairman, 1988–92. In that role she did much to promote the development of Western Australia’s major archival repositories: the State Records Office of Western Australia and the J. S. Battye Library. She championed the State library’s use of emerging electronic technologies and encouraged full engagement with the online world. A prominent member of Perth PEN Centre since its formation in 1984, she has served as State president and delegate to international conferences.

Wendy Birman, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives
Cameron Hazlehurst (b. 1941)

Cameron Hazlehurst’s background as a historian and biographer, combined with experience as a senior Commonwealth public servant, were good attributes for a chair of the ADB’s Commonwealth Working Party. Prior to 1989, Donald McDonald (1923–90) was largely responsible for compiling the Commonwealth list; he contributed 27 entries himself. That year, Hazlehurst, then a senior fellow in the Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, brought together a group of Canberrans to form the working party. He served as chairman (and as a member of the Editorial Board) until 1999. The first issue he had to deal with was the title: Gough Whitlam wrote to him in January 1990 arguing that the word ‘Commonwealth’ should never be used except in ‘the Commonwealth of Australia’ and that the working party should have been called the ‘federal working party’ to prevent confusion with the (British) Commonwealth.

As chairman, Hazlehurst continually asked for a larger quota and a higher average word allocation, in order to do justice to Members of Parliament and public servants. He also advocated that all cabinet ministers and heads of government departments should be included in the ADB, thereby enabling prosopographical work on cabinet and the public service. He wrote 11 entries on a range of subjects, including Whitlam’s father, H. F. (Fred) Whitlam, Gilbert Bogle and Margaret Chandler (more famous in death than in life), and cycling champion Russell Mockridge, plus a film director, deep-sea diver, governor and politician, soldier, aviator and statistician.

Sources: ‘Commonwealth Working Party Correspondence’, including K. S. Inglis to Cameron Hazlehurst (20 January 1989), and E. G. Whitlam to Cameron Hazlehurst (2 January 1990), box 135, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Cameron Hazlehurst in his office in the Coombs Building at the ANU, 1980s

By courtesy of Cameron Hazlehurst
Profile


In 1963–65, when he was a research fellow at the ADB, the military historian Gavin Long convened an active ADB armed services ‘working group’. The Armed Services Working Party, formed in 1974, was responsible for preparing lists for volumes covering the period 1891–1939. Because of the impact of World War I on Australian history, 560 entries, or 14 per cent of the total, had been allocated to the lives of servicemen. On completing the task in 1976, the section editor, Bob O’Neill, wrote that it was a ‘major effort’ that ‘fatigued everyone along the way’. For the list to be realised as entries, an indispensable source were the individual service records, held by the services themselves in repositories such as the Central Army Records Office. The ADB was greatly assisted by a group of retired army officers and historians, including Brigadier Maurice Austin, Captain Alec Hill and Lieutenant Colonel Frank Brown, in gathering this material.

‘Bunny’ Austin DSO OBE was an army officer (1938–71), who worked from 1971 to 1982 as army historian, researching and publishing works on Australian military history from 1788 to Federation. A consultant to the ADB and a founding member of the Armed Services Working Party, he transcribed—by hand—armed services personal files; after 1982 he had permission to continue accessing the records on behalf of the ADB.

Alec Hill AM MBE ED, educated at Sydney Grammar School, University of Sydney (BA, 1938) and Balliol College, Oxford (BA 1948; MA, 1952), taught at Sydney Grammar from 1938 to 1966, interrupted by World War II, in which he saw service in the Middle East and New Guinea. In 1966 he was appointed a lecturer in history at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, where he influenced a new generation of soldiers and military historians, including David Horner (chairman of the working party since 1994), Peter Pederson and Chris Clark, all of whom later wrote for the ADB. Associated with the ADB for more than 30 years, Hill was a founding member of the Armed Services Working Party and chairman in 1982–94. He wrote 38 entries, many on prominent generals. His biography of General Sir Harry Chauvel, the commander of the Desert Mounted Corps in World War I, published in 1978, emphasised the role of leadership.
Frank Brown, a former lieutenant colonel in the Corps of Royal Engineers, was employed by the *ADB* as a research assistant from 1971 to 2000. His work, often involving time voluntarily spent far in excess of his reimbursement, was undertaken chiefly at the Australian War Memorial, where he was given special access to service records and war diaries. Brown’s careful, well-organised notes were of immense benefit to *ADB* editors for more than 25 years, until he resigned from the working party at the age of eighty-seven. Bob O’Neill noted in 1974 that his notes were valuable, going ‘further than the subjects’ military records in many cases’. One opens any armed service subject’s file compiled before the late 1990s and sees Brown’s handwritten notes adorning the pages.

Gordon Briscoe (b. 1938) and Frances Peters-Little (b. 1958)

Gordon Briscoe and Frances Peters-Little are two Aboriginal historians who have been critical of the *ADB* not only for failing to identify and include enough Indigenous subjects, but also for not extending its editorial practices to take into account Indigenous conventions of narration and remembrance. Briscoe is descended from the Mardujiara and Pitjantjatjara peoples of Central Australia. From the 1960s he has been active in Aboriginal affairs, helping to establish, in 1971, the Aboriginal legal and medical services in Redfern, Sydney. At ANU (BA Hons, 1986; MA, 1991; PhD, 1996), he was the first Indigenous scholar to be awarded a PhD in history. Peters-Little is the daughter of singers Jimmy Little and Marjorie Rose Peters. A documentary filmmaker, she attended the University of Technology, Sydney (BA, Communications, 1991), and ANU (MPhil, 2002) and is currently a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney, working on a biography of her father.

In an attempt to address the criticisms, an Indigenous Working Party (IWP) was formed in 2004, with Peters-Little as chairwoman and including members Nick Brown, Dawn Casey, Ann Curthoys, Ann McGrath, Margo Neale, Kaye Price, Peter Read and Tim Rowse. Early in 2006 McGrath and Neale resigned and Robin McNamee and Aileen Blackburn were invited to join in their stead. The working party was initially asked to review the lists of Indigenous Australians, already prepared for Volumes 16 and 17 by the State working parties, and to nominate authors. It was also asked to begin collecting names for subjects who died between 1991 and 2000 for inclusion in Volumes 19 and 20. The general editor, Di Langmore, suggested that they decide on 40 names. It soon became obvious that research assistance was needed because everyone was ‘over-committed’. To that end, in 2006, the working party decided to seek a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

More generally, the IWP was meant to advise the general editor on means of ensuring that editorial policy and practice respected the sensitivities of Indigenous families whose deceased kin were included in the *ADB*. In relation to conventions regarding authorship, it took the view that there was no point in laying down general prescriptions about the *ADB*’s editorial policies because Indigenous Australians were not homogeneous in their views on such matters.
At the end of 2008, Peters-Little, Rowse, Curthoys and Casey resigned for various reasons, mostly to do with relocation. Owing to the loss of key personnel and also as a protest at not having the same functionality as other working parties, the IWP, now chaired by Samantha Faulkner, decided to disband and to recommend to the Editorial Board that an Indigenous advisory board be established with new terms of reference and governance. In 2013 the ADB began to develop a relationship with Yuraki, the History, Politics and Culture node of the National Indigenous Research and Knowledges Network (NIRAKN) of more than 40 members who are all Indigenous academics from across Australia. The node was led by Aboriginal historians Professor John Maynard and Dr Jaky Troy.

**Gordon Briscoe**

By courtesy of Ann McGrath

Profile

John Poynter (b. 1929)

A graduate of the University of Melbourne (BA, 1951; PhD, 1961), John Poynter won a Rhodes Scholarship, which took him to Magdalen College, Oxford (MA, 1953). Returning to the University of Melbourne, he was dean of Trinity College before becoming Ernest Scott professor of history (1966–75) and deputy vice-chancellor (1975–90). He was a member of the ADB’s National Committee and of the Editorial Board (1974–98) and chairman of the Victorian Working Party and section editor (1978–90). For a dozen years, he read all the Victorian entries, writing erudite comments on the ‘blues’ that were returned to Canberra. As an ADB author, he has maintained an association that extends back to the 1960s: the first of his 17 entries, on Alfred Felton, was published in Volume 4 in 1972. Many of his subsequent articles, including a 5000-word entry on the Baillieu family and long entries on other significant figures such as the Grimwades, Alexander Leeper, Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson, Dame Mabel Brookes and Sir Charles Lowe, were major contributions. Most are Victorian subjects; all are characterised by solid research and elegant prose. Poynter developed his article on Leeper into a full biography, Doubts and Certainties: A Life of Alexander Leeper (1997).

His shorter entries, such as on Helena Rubinstein and Sir Kenneth Wheare, involved insight leavened by dry humour and sometimes firsthand knowledge of a subject. For instance, he used to tell the story that

the girl who assisted Miss Crouch at the Coleraine school was my step-grandmother … She said that Helena [Rubinstein] suggested that she go to Melbourne with her and start a beauty salon. My step-grandmother turned the offer down. She didn’t think there was any money to be made in face cream.

From 1976 to 1987, Poynter was chairman of the ADB’s publisher, Melbourne University Press. Since 1995 he has been a professorial fellow at the Australian Centre, University of Melbourne. He was awarded an ADB Medal in 2004.

Source: John Poynter, interviewed by Ann Turner (22–23 July 1999 and 28 February 2002), NLA.
John Poynter, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives
I became acquainted with the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* half a century ago, in February 1961, when I was appointed a research scholar in historical geography in the Research School of Pacific Studies (RSPS) at the ANU. My task was to research the origins and development of manufacturing, or secondary industry, in Sydney, from its foundation to 1900. This involved identifying the manufacturers and industrialists—the flour millers, brewers, tanners, engineers, ironworkers, soap and candle makers, and textile manufacturers, for example—and gathering information on the locations of their factories, the processes employed, the power used, and the duration of their establishments and the place of manufacturing in the emerging colonial economy.1

Anyone doing research in Australian history at that time was always sent along to have a yarn with L. F. Fitzhardinge, who had the somewhat grand title of ‘reader in sources of Australian history’. My meeting with Laurie was most helpful. In conversations with him and other staff and students, I learnt about the existence of the Biographical Register that he had instituted in 1954 and about the two volumes then being prepared to cover the first period of the *ADB* project, which would include, on the *floruit* principle, people who contributed to the Australian experience in the early colonial years, 1788–1850. Some of these people were my manufacturers and I soon realised that many manufacturers were also farmers, graziers, merchants and traders, which is not surprising considering that the emerging economy was very small and could not support much specialisation of economic activity.

**Early days**

In 1961 RSPS and the Research School of Social Sciences (RSSS), together with the library of the Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS), were housed in the wooden buildings of the old Canberra Community Hospital. These buildings are largely still there, on either side of Mills Road, except that what was then

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the library and the western wing of the main hospital building has given way to new buildings of the Research School of Earth Sciences. If you stand in front of the elegant portico (now heritage listed) of the old hospital, at the southern end of Mills Road, you can see where Douglas Pike, the first general editor, had his office, on the right-hand side next to the road, and Sir Keith Hancock, director of the RSSS, was on the left or Black Mountain side of the entrance. The main part of the hospital consisted largely of three wings parallel with the road, and the wing, verandah and lawn nearest to Black Mountain were where staff and postgraduate students met for morning and afternoon tea. In those pioneering days the relatively small academic body was a close community of scholars. In addition to Hancock, Pike and Fitzhardinge, and sometimes Manning Clark from the School of General Studies, there were, among others, Sir John Crawford (economics), Jim Davidson (Pacific history), Oskar Spate (geography), Mick Borrie (demography), Noel Butlin (economic history), Patrick Fitzgerald (oriental history), Pat Moran (statistics) and Geoff Sawer (law). It was at a morning tea that Nan Phillips, the energetic and efficient secretary who organised the ADB office, introduced me to Douglas Pike, who was then still professor of history at the University of Tasmania and on one of his regular visits from Hobart.

At the time the ADB was still in its planning stages and the list of persons to be included in the first few volumes was far from complete. Pike and the State working parties had little difficulty in getting established historians and specialist workers to write the articles on prominent figures, such as the early governors, explorers, politicians, judges, clergy and prominent settlers, but they often had trouble attracting authors for the less-prominent people: traders, merchants, farmers, minor civil and military officials and manufacturers. Pike expressed interest in my work and, always on the lookout for potential authors, asked me to contribute some entries.

I started my 48-year association with the ADB by writing 19 articles (13 in Volume 1 and six in Volume 2), which were published in 1966 and 1967 respectively. Among the people I wrote about were the First Fleeters James Squire, convict, farmer and Australia’s first commercial brewer, and Henry Hacking, quartermaster of HMS Sirius and explorer. Others were Benjamin Boyd, the flamboyant entrepreneur and pioneer of Twofold Bay, the Monaro and the Riverina; John Busby, engineer of Sydney’s first regular water supply; John Dickson, who introduced steam power to Australia when he erected his steam mill on Darling Harbour in 1815; Sir John Jamison, physician, landowner and politician; David Jones, founder of the well-known retail firm; Mary Reibey, Australia’s first businesswoman, whose portrait is on the $20 note; and James Wilshire, commissary department official and tanner. Wilshire had the largest tannery in the colony, which operated from 1803 to 1860 on the site of the now Central Local Court and Brickfield Place in Liverpool Street, Sydney.
The first article I completed and felt confident to submit was on Wilshire, the tanner. Pike commented on my first effort in the following letter:

THE UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA
HOBART
19-2-63

Dear Mr Walsh,

Mrs Phillips has sent a copy of your article on James Wilshire with a request for comments.

You have done a fine job on the man—his enterprise and energy come out clearly, in contrast to many articles where the man is lost behind a great mass of factual data. I think the prime question is—what will users look for in the Dictionary? Most will want specific information on dates and places, and a few will want a more general summary. If I’m right, then information becomes more important than interpretation, and that in turn raises the problem of word length. Your article could be edited down a little without sacrificing any substance at all, but even then would exceed the approximate span. I’m inclined to suggest, therefore, the deletion of such phrases of fact, on the grounds of relevance, as

Page 1. line 5 ‘under the recommendation of John Palmer’.
line 10 ‘in place of William Neate Chapman’
12. ‘during the … Williamson’
18 ‘upon … relieved’.

These names have some importance but do not directly bear on Wilshire’s own personal story, in quite the same way as the reference to Nelson and Miss Pitt (p.2.1.2).

By editing, I mean nothing more than say—p.2. line 4—to reread—‘By the bankruptcy of his English agent in 1811, he lost three years’ salary and had to sell some land and cattle’. The picking up of 10 words or so here and there, without losing the point, make quite a difference. With articles that have no substance, the problem is frightening, but your work is a delight. I suggest that you have a chat with Pat Croft—she’s very good and merciless on style. I hope this has helped. You leave me grateful. With my best wishes, Sincerely, Douglas Pike.

Pike’s reference to style was no doubt justified, but finding his comments both useful and encouraging, I continued to finish the other 18 articles for

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2 Pat Croft was a respected editor of ANU publications and, later, of ANU Press. See Shirley Purchase, ‘Croft, Patricia (Pat) (?–1995)’, ANU Reporter (16 August 1995), p. 11.
the first two volumes and to suggest more manufacturers and other interesting characters I came across in the course of my research. And, of course, it was almost inevitable that if you found someone worthy who had been overlooked for inclusion, you were asked to write the entry.

### Historical research in the 1960s

Doing historical research 50 years ago was very different from today. There was no quick, relatively cheap means of photocopying, and there were no computers, search engines or word processors. Note-taking was usually by hand on paper or cards and writing required a typewriter with carbon paper and correcting fluid. Library facilities were somewhat limited in Canberra, but were rapidly improving. The libraries of the IAS and the School of General Studies moved into their present buildings in 1963, but it was not until 1968 that the National Library of Australia (NLA) occupied its present handsome building on the shore of Lake Burley Griffin. Before this the NLA collections were dispersed at several locations: in Nissen huts at Scott’s Crossing of the Molonglo River, at the western end of what is now King’s Avenue Bridge; at Hume Circle in the suburb of Griffith; in the basement of the old Administration Building (now the Sir John Gorton Building) in Parkes Place; and even in (Old) Parliament House.

The Mitchell Library in Sydney, with which I was already very familiar, was, however, and still is, the great repository of early Australian history; it contained most of the vital sources for the majority of people included in the first six volumes of the *ADB*, covering the years 1788 to 1890. Located in the original wing of the Public Library of New South Wales on the Macquarie Street side, it was also the then shopfront for the Archives Office of New South Wales. Although the Mitchell was small, with space for only about 30 readers at a time, its catalogue of printed books and manuscripts was excellent and crucial to the realisation of the *ADB* project. This is evident in the source identification ‘MS cat under [name] (ML)’ that occurs in numerous early *ADB* bibliographies. Another indispensable biographical source in the Mitchell was the ‘Mutch Index’, a comprehensive card index of the early settlers of New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, compiled from convict indents, musters, land records and parish registers by the politician, historian and genealogist T. D. Mutch. There were some advantages to the researcher working in libraries and archives before modern technology made photocopying cheaper and before an increasing number of universities and students resulted in a greater demand for, and stress on, original source materials. You could peruse the early printed books and manuscripts (letters, diaries and private papers) in the original without
using those never-fitting, cumbersome white gloves, and you could read all the
newspapers in hardcopy, which is easier and quicker than viewing them on
microfilm—though copying was not at the push of a button.

Certain sources, however, were only available abroad, as many of my
biographical subjects had substantial links with the United Kingdom. When
based in London during two long study-leave periods in the 1970s, I was able
to research these connections using, among other collections, the marvellous
resources of the British Museum (Library), the General Register Office (Somerset
House), the Society of Genealogists (Kensington), the Public Record Office (then
in Chancery Lane), the Institute of Historical Research, University of London,
and the National Army Museum (Chelsea). Fieldwork, visiting cemeteries and
such places as Cranbrook in Kent for the Tooth family, Sizergh Castle in the
Lake District for the Stricklands, and East Grinstead, Surrey, for the financier
Donald Larnach, was especially rewarding, as were visits to county and town
archives, regimental museums, and Coalbrookdale in Shropshire, the cradle of
the Industrial Revolution.

Cemeteries as historical sources

Most of the men and women included in the ADB come from the lists compiled
by the various working parties. Inevitably some worthy people have been
missed from time to time, only to be suggested later by relatives or someone with
special knowledge of a particular profession, trade or occupation. Interestingly,
some who were overlooked originally were picked up from claims made on their
headstones. This was especially the case with the people I was interested in and
with minor figures. Cemeteries, with their tombstone epigraphy, especially in
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are veritable ‘documents’ in stone.
Some monuments not only state name, dates of birth and death, occupation and
names of family members, but also give a résumé of the deceased’s life and a
supposed claim to fame or remembrance.

The older headstones—much larger than modern ones—sometimes reveal the
date of marriage, the country, county or town the person was ‘native of’, date
of arrival in Australia, the person’s educational qualifications, and the cause of
death. The last mentioned was often recorded if it was the result of an accident,
and especially if the person fell victim to one of the new means of transport,
such as a train, steamboat, tram or motorcar accident. In these cases the name,
number and a relief representation of the fatal vehicle were sometimes engraved
on the stone—a vestige, perhaps, of the ancient law of deodand. Old cemeteries
in general are landscapes of the past, survivals of a bygone age. They tell us
much about the social history of their time—the mortality rate, the aspirations
and achievements of the pioneers, artistic taste, and the strength of religious feeling. They provide evidence for the biographical historian otherwise not readily available. Cemetery epigraphy is a reminder that the art of biography, the history of the lives of individual men and women as a branch of literature, has its origins in the commemorative instinct, the impulse to defy annihilation.

Because I had long been addicted to ‘reading’ these landscapes of the past, I was able to make a somewhat singular contribution to the ADB project. As a boy in Sydney, I lived not far from Rookwood Cemetery, the largest Victorian-age cemetery in the world.3 Opened in 1868 and still in use, Rookwood was a product of the railway age. The bodies for burial, accompanied by mourners, were brought by train from Sydney and other stations along the western line to four mortuary stations within the cemetery, until 1948, when motor-vehicle funerals completely took over. My friends and I would ride our bicycles through the cemetery and through the most elaborate of these stations: Mortuary No. 1, which in the 1950s was sold, dismantled and reassembled as All Saints Anglican Church in the Canberra suburb of Ainslie. Eventually, in connection with my own research and biographical commitments for the ADB, I ‘read’ most of the old burial grounds in the Sydney metropolitan area. This was well before interested groups such as the ‘friends of’ various cemeteries began to take an interest, make systematic transcriptions of their epigraphy, clean them up, and conduct tours to the last resting places of the famous.

I will give two examples of informative tombstone inscriptions, one from 1822 and the other from 1927. The first is from the table-tomb of James Squire, the brewer, already mentioned. Originally in the old Devonshire Street (The Sandhills) Cemetery in Sydney, it was removed, like many of the graves, vaults and monuments, in 1901 to Bunnerong Cemetery, La Perouse, next to Botany Cemetery, to make way for Central Railway Station.4 I read and photographed it there more than 50 years ago. The inscription reads:

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In Sacred Respect
to the Remains of
MR. JAMES SQUIRE,
late of Kissing Point,
who departed this life May 16th, 1822,
Age 67 Years.
He arrived in this Colony in the First Fleet,
and by Integrity and Industry
acquired and maintained an unsullied Reputation.
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3 For a history of Rookwood Cemetery, see D. A. Weston (ed.), The Sleeping City: The Story of Rookwood Necropolis (Sydney: Society of Australian Genealogists/Hale & Iremonger, 1989).
4 The Devonshire Street monuments at Bunnerong were removed to make way for an extension of Botany Cemetery in the 1970s. Squire’s beautifully cut ledger stone has since disappeared.
Under his Care
the HOP PLANT was first Cultivated
in this Settlement, and
the first BREWERY was Erected,
which progressively matured to Perfection.
As a Father,
a Husband, a Friend, and a Christian
He lived Respected and died Lamented.
Also JAMES SQUIRE,
Son of the above,
who Died MARCH 5th, 1826,
Aged, 28 years.

Squire had his brewery, tavern and 400 ha farm at Kissing Point, near Ryde, on
the left bank of the Parramatta River, halfway between Sydney and Parramatta.
Some might recall that Squire’s reputation, name and rustic signature were
resurrected in 1998 and given to a number of very good boutique-style ales,
pilsener, porter and beer, produced in Sydney by the Malt Shovel Brewery
Proprietary Limited at Camperdown.

The second is the substantial monument in Waverley Cemetery to the surgeon
Thomas Henry Fiaschi, who died in 1927. It gives his degrees and decorations,
stating that he was a doctor of both medicine and surgery from the universities
of Pisa and Florence and that he was a brigadier general in the Australian
Army Medical Corps, a companion of the Distinguished Service Order and a
recipient of the Volunteer Decoration. It gives the dates and places of his birth
and death, and lists other honours: Knight of St Maurice and St Lazarus, Italy,
and Commendatore of the Crown of Italy. It also records that he was honorary
surgeon of the Hawkesbury Hospital (1879–83), worked at the Sydney Hospital
(1889–1912), and was honorary consulting surgeon at the latter from 1912 to
1927. Lastly, it tells us that he was president of the NSW Wine Association,
1902–27. Both these inscriptions, especially Squire’s, are fairly representative
of a type and their eras and yet, as Dr Samuel Johnson reminds us, ‘in lapidary
inscriptions a man is not upon oath’. The information had to be checked and
tested.6

In addition to Squire and Fiaschi, among my many cemetery ‘discoveries’ whose
entries I wrote for the ADB were the following: William Bradley (1800–68) ‘of
Lansdowne Park, Goulburn and Bibbenluke, Monaro’; Sir Edward Strickland

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5 For an anecdote regarding Fiaschi, see my contribution, ‘Grave History’, in Peter Donovan (comp.),

Bradley was one of the wealthiest landholders in New South Wales, a promoter of railways and a member of the Legislative Council. Strickland was a commissary officer who retired from the British army to live in Sydney. Author and promoter of geographical research, he was the one who suggested the sending of a contingent to the Sudan War in 1885. He was the uncle of Sir Gerald Strickland, first and last Baron Strickland of Sizergh Castle, Kendal, Westmorland, who, between 1904 and 1917 was successively governor of Tasmania, Western Australia and New South Wales. Perdriau, founder of the Balmain Steam Ferry Company Limited, was a member of a family prominent in the business life of Sydney. His eldest son, Henry, set up the Perdriau Rubber Company, later the Dunlop-Perdriau Rubber Company. Kieran, the greatest swimmer the world had seen, held every world record from 200 yards (183 m) to one mile (1.6 km), and many of his phenomenal times were not approached until many years after his death at the age of nineteen. Allan was a notable Queensland explorer and pastoralist based at Mount Enniskillen, near Tambo. At one stage his stations on the Barcoo River covered 4700 sq km. Known as ‘Black Allan’, he was a ‘terror to cattle thieves and trade unionists’. Paton won his Victoria Cross during the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Soon after, he migrated to New South Wales and joined the prison service, finishing his career as governor of Goulburn Gaol.

Among the many names and claims I investigated that were not included in the ADB for reasons ranging from the insubstantial nature of their claims to the lack of any further supporting evidence, were: James Bryan (d. 1845), ‘the first to introduce gas light into this part of the world’; Richard Murray, ‘Cricketer of this City’ (1861); William Vial, ‘Who Saved the Life of the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf, March 12, 1868’; ‘Professor’ Charles Owen Peart, ‘Champion high diver of the world’ (1896); Sir John Cecil Read, ‘Baronet’ (1899); and Ernest James Card, ‘Founder and Life Patron of the Society of Bricks’ (1925). One tall, granite centennial family monument (1800–1900) in Rookwood Cemetery with an inscription beginning ‘Robbery and Revolution Ruined Their Irish and French Estates Which were the operating causes of Their leaving England’ looked promising but, on investigation, proved unrewarding.

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7 The Perdriau, Allan and Paton graves are in Rookwood Cemetery; Strickland and Kieran in Gore Hill, St Leonards; and Bradley is in St Stephen’s Churchyard, Newtown.
Having espoused the value of cemeteries and gravestones as a possible source for *ADB* aspirants, it is, to say the least, rather paradoxical that the occupant of what is perhaps the largest grave and monument in Sydney, and very likely in New South Wales, was overlooked. This was Michael Dwyer (1772–1825), the Irish revolutionary and political exile, ‘The Wicklow Chief’ of the 1798 Rebellion, who was reinterred with his wife in Waverley Cemetery from Devonshire Street in 1898. I, like many others, was very familiar with the beautiful, large marble monument with its tall Celtic cross, bas-reliefs, mosaics and metalwork, but not unnaturally assumed that Dwyer would be on the list for the first period. This was not so and the error was rectified in the *ADB*’s supplement volume, edited by Chris Cunneen (with Jill Roe, Beverley Kingston and Stephen Garton) and published in 2005.8

**Writing *ADB* entries**

As I see it, the task of the biographer or mini-biographer is first to ascertain the relevant facts about the person’s life and then by critical selection, imagination and, perhaps, artistry tell their story. But a full account can only be written if, according to the classical formula, you know a good deal about three things: what the person did; what the person thought and said; and what other people said about the person. For a full or ‘three-dimensional’ biography there must be adequate material from each of the three requisites.

Many people I wrote about for the *ADB*, especially in the early volumes, were what I call ‘one or two-dimensional’ characters. Very often you only knew what the person did, little or nothing about what they thought or said, and were short on contemporary assessments of their life to add colour to the biography. The First Fleeters Henry Hacking and James Squire are cases in point. Generally, with minor figures, the evidence supplied by contemporaries was rather terse. For example, Governor Philip King wrote of Hacking, who had been twice sentenced to death and reprieved: ‘He is still a good Man and I am inclined to believe the last Crime was Committed to Obtain Spirits’, and ‘I am glad you have kept Hacking, he is a good man but was lost here by the Arts of a Woman’. In Squire’s case, while much was known about his career, the only bit of colour was provided by a contemporary author and a fellow ex-convict. Peter Cunningham tells us that the ‘jocose’ brewer and proprietor of the celebrated halfway tavern at Kissing Point on the Parramatta River ‘took pleasure in quoting’ the epitaph in Parramatta churchyard of one of Squire’s patrons:

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Ye who wish to lie here,
Drink Squire’s beer!9

And Joseph Lycett, the forger, ex-convict and artist, wrote:

He was universally … respected and beloved for his amiable and useful qualities as a member of society, and more especially as the friend and protector of the lower class of settlers. Had he been less liberal, he might have died more wealthy; but his assistance always accompanied his advice to the poor and unfortunate, and his name will long be pronounced with veneration by the grateful objects of his liberality.10

Such a tribute had to be used as it was all I could find.

It was sometimes easier to add colour to an entry if the subject was a politician. You could gauge from what they said as reported in parliamentary debates or Hansard something about their character and political stance: whether, for example, they were liberal or conservative, free trade or protectionist. In the days before modern political parties the test was what they said and how they voted on such key questions as electoral reform, industrial relations and the payment of Members of Parliament, but sometimes a search through parliamentary debates revealed nothing that could be used. Indeed, some politicians never spoke or asked a question in their whole parliamentary career. I remember the case of one pastoralist who uttered only 81 words in 12 years—all on the one day. Not surprisingly, he asked what the government was doing about the rabbit problem!

Writing a 500-word entry on a minor figure is very often more difficult and time-consuming than preparing an article on a fully rounded, more important, ‘three-dimensional’ character. Usually, with the more important people, where sources abound, the problem is one of interpretation, condensation and deciding what details to omit. For the ‘one and two-dimensional’ figures the problem is finding enough material to build up a meaningful sketch of a person’s life and work. In London I once kept a record of my research work and published an account of how I put together a 500-word article.11 All I had to start with were 17 words: ‘John Francis Kempt, soldier, administrator of the government of New

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9 P. Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales: Comprising Sketches of the Actual State of Society in that Colony, of its Peculiar Advantages to Emigrants, of its Topography, Natural History, & c.,* vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), pp. 91–2.
10 J. Lycett, *Views in Australia, or, New South Wales & Van Diemen’s Land Delineated: In Fifty Views with Descriptive Letter Press* (London: J. Souter, 1825), Letterpress accompanying Plate no. 8, ‘Kissing Point, New South Wales’, which shows Squire’s brewery and farm.
South Wales, 22 January – 22 March 1861’. No dates of birth or death. I will not go into details here, but it turned out that Kempt could only have been completed using sources in London, and my account fairly well illustrates some of the difficulties in tracking down minor characters.

Among the entries on manufacturers, merchants and businessmen I wrote for the first 16 volumes of the ADB were many on people who were household names over much of Australia, including Bushell, Farmer, Fowler, Foy, Hudson, Lysaght, Penfold, Peters, Playfair, Resch, Sands, Soul, Taubman, Toohey, Tooth, Vicars, Wormald and Wunderlicht. My research interests in Australian history widened when I began to teach a course on the history of science and technology in Australia. This led to invitations to write articles on natural scientists, inventors and people connected with agriculture and the pastoral industry. Sportsmen and women, especially swimmers and cricketers, have been another of my interests.

**Conclusion**

Forty-odd years after writing about James Squire, convict and First Fleeter, I was asked to write about another convict, George David Freeman (1935–90), ‘criminal, gambler and racing commission agent’, who appears in Volume 17. His story, along with others, was featured in 2009 in the first instalment of the popular and controversial television series ‘Underbelly, a Tale of Two Cities’, which dealt with organised crime in Sydney and Melbourne in the 1970s and 1980s.

Freeman was one of the most talked about alleged leaders of organised crime in New South Wales during a time of corrupt police and politicians. Accused of murder, assault, fixing horseraces, running illegal casinos and consorting with American crime figures, he was named in Parliament and royal commissions into organised crime, but his only convictions in the last 20 years of his life were two fines for illegal betting operations. According to one of his friends, the only thing he was never blamed for was the Newcastle earthquake. A colourful character, described by police as ‘hard, smart and charming’, Freeman had a degree of social acceptability despite his reputation. In 1988 he took the unusual step of publishing his autobiography in which he relates frankly and movingly his drift into juvenile crime, but is somewhat less satisfying on his later life.12 The worlds of the ex-convicts Squire and Freeman, born 180 years apart, were vastly different; nevertheless their stories are representative, part of the Australian experience, and so rightly have their place in the ADB.

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The ADB’s Story

Writing for the *ADB* has helped me to realise how much I did not know about Australia, and recognising how much you do not know is an essential part of any education. From the professional point of view as a university teacher of Australian history, it has been a preparation and enrichment that could not have been bettered. The *ADB* is the great repository of the Australian identity. The value of accessible, definitive biographies of the major figures in our history needs hardly be stressed, but they are only part of the picture. The lesser known, often only ‘one or two-dimensional’ figures also have their place, and because they are included we have a fuller, truer picture of Australia’s past. In most histories the common persons’ achievements, while omnipresent and undisputable, are muted and obscured in a collective anonymity. The *ADB* represents that essential corrective in Australian historiography.

While I have written about the lives of important figures who could be the subjects of full biographies—and some have been—I have concentrated mainly on the lesser known, knockabout and shadowy minor characters. I have been pleased to suggest and to write the biographies of a swagman, a rabbiter, a shearer, a whip-maker, horse-breakers, sheep-classers, sheepdog breeders, a rugby union coach, a singer, a gold-seeker, an outlaw, ‘The Flying Pieman’, the inventor of the shearing machine, Australian VC winners, and the most famous Anzac of all!

It has been a fascinating and most interesting experience. I have enjoyed the journey immensely.

*Dr Gerry Walsh is preparing for publication the third volume of his series beginning with The Bush and the Never Never* (2004), *dealing with significant but neglected aspects of Australian rural history and technology.*

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13 The gold-seeker was H. B. Lasseter, the outlaw was Jimmy Governor and ‘The Flying Pieman’ was William Francis King. F. Y. Wolseley was the inventor of the shearing machine, and the most famous Anzac of all is John Simpson Kirkpatrick, ‘The Man with the Donkey’. 
Gerry Walsh is the ADB’s most prolific author, having written, up to 2013, 195 entries (and a chapter for this book). A former cricket coach, administrator and umpire, he has been fittingly described as the ‘Don Bradman’ of the ADB. He is a graduate of the University of Sydney (BA, 1956; DipEd, 1957; MA, 1960) and ANU (MA, 1970), and was a lecturer/senior lecturer in history (1966–2001) in turn at the Royal Military College of Australia (Duntroon), the Faculty of Military Studies, University of New South Wales at Duntroon, and, from 1986, at the Australian Defence Force Academy, University College, UNSW, Canberra. He has been associated with the ADB for more than 50 years, first as a research assistant for six months in 1964, then as a member of the NSW Working Party for 20 years—his knowledge of manufacturing in nineteenth-century Sydney was very much appreciated—and as an author. His books, which reflect his work for the ADB, include Pioneering Days: People and Innovations in Australia’s Rural Past (1993), Australia: History and Historians (1997), The Bush and the Never Never (2004), Born of the Sun: Seven Young Australian Lives (2005) and On the Wallaby (2005). He also introduced and taught a course at ADFA on the history of science and technology in Australia.

Source: Citation for ADB Medal for Gerry Walsh (11 October 2002), NCB/ADB files.
Gerry Walsh, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives
Ann Hone (b. 1939)

Ann Hone, after graduating from the University of Melbourne (BA Hons, 1961), undertook graduate study at Monash University (MA, 1965) with Geoffrey Serle as her supervisor. In 1975 the University of Oxford awarded her a DPhil for a thesis on London radicalism, 1796–1821, which was later published by Oxford University Press as For the Cause of Truth: Radicalism in London, 1796–1821 (1982). From 1973 to 1996, she lectured in the faculty of education, University of Canberra, and from 1996 to 1999 she was dean of students at Ormond College, University of Melbourne.

Hone’s association with the ADB began with a 10-month stint (including three months in Canberra) as a research assistant in 1965. During the next few years she wrote 65 entries, all 500-words. Later she reconnected with the ADB: as a member of the Commonwealth Working Party, she particularly enjoyed her special brief to search the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) records for possible subjects. Interestingly, both her father, Sir Brian Hone, and her grandfather, Frank Sandland Hone, have entries in the ADB.

Source: Ann Hone to the ADB (31 July 2012), NCB/ADB files.
Profile

Ken Cable (1929–2003)

Ken Cable’s work for the ADB spanned its first 50 years, from 1960 when he was selected as a provisional section editor. He was drawn into the ADB at the outset because of his expertise in the history of church and state, his professional standing, and his enthusiasm for biography. He had graduated with first-class honours and the university medal in history from the University of Sydney (BA, 1949; MA, 1954) and had travelled to Britain, where he took a degree at King’s College, Cambridge (BA, 1954). Appointed first as a history lecturer at the University of New South Wales, he transferred to the University of Sydney in 1958. He served as head of department (1986–89) before retiring in 1989. Cable, who joined the NSW Working Party in mid 1962, was a member during the preparation of Volumes 1–13. He was on the National Committee for Volumes 6–9, on the Editorial Board for Volumes 6–12, and was NSW section editor for Volumes 7–12. His wide-ranging interests were very useful to the working party: he spoke authoritatively on national, state, church and university politics, education at all levels, the arts, the legal profession, architecture, railways and cricket. Fellow members remember him for his geniality and wit. He wrote 74 ADB entries on bishops, clergy and prominent laymen of the Church of England, on significant figures of the University of Sydney (Professors John Woolley and Mungo MacCallum) and on cricketers such as Stan McCabe. ADB staff appreciated his readiness to provide elusive ordination dates and other details from his meticulously kept card index of Anglican clergy, which he prepared with his wife, Leonie; the Cable Clerical Index is now online.

Ken Cable, 1985

University of Sydney Archives, G77_1_1069
Profile

Martha Campbell (b. 1936) and Suzanne Edgar (b. 1939)

Between them, Martha Campbell and Suzanne Edgar worked for the ADB for nearly 65 years—Campbell from 1967 to 2002 and Edgar from 1969 to 1998. Their working lives spanned many of the changes that have occurred at the ADB. Campbell, a graduate of the University of Sydney (BA, 1959) and ANU (MA, 1966), observed that her job had evolved ‘like Topsy’. Under Douglas Pike, she wrote entries; under later general editors, she ‘subedited and checked’. When the editing was delegated under Nairn and Serle, she took charge of the NSW desk, the largest of the State desks. As the 1986 review noted, ‘editing’ is a modest term for procedures that at times prompt considerable new research and in all cases involve careful checking back to original source materials. Described as the ‘doyen of research editors’, Campbell mentored a succession of new staff members. She remained at the NSW desk until her retirement. Under the name Martha Rutledge, she wrote a total of 172 entries.

Edgar was a graduate of the University of Adelaide (BA Hons, 1962), where she was a student of Pike’s. Like Campbell, she started at the ADB as a ‘traditional fact-finding research assistant’ until taking on the SA desk and also, at various times, some of the smaller State desks. She has written 53 entries. She resigned in 1998 and is now well known in Canberra as a full-time writer and poet.

Sources: ‘Editorial Staff—The Research Assistants—At the ADB. To be Presented to the Committee of Review, February 1985’, signed by Suzanne Edgar, Helga Griffin, Dr Di Langmore, Merrilyn Lincoln and Dr Margaret Steven, box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA. Suzanne Edgar, interviewed by Niki Francis and Melanie Nolan (22 June 2012), NCB/ADB files.
Martha Campbell, 1985

By courtesy of Sue Edgar
Sue Edgar, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives
Sue wrote the ADB entry on Albert Augustine Edwards, (1888-1963), hotelier, philanthropist and politician and later wrote this poem about him.

Every little while,
In tracking past obsessions,
I sift through dusty files
and find in my possession

a story in the archive
of characters long dead;
like bees in summer hives,
they once flew round my head.

It’s how I read today
of Bert, a Labor ‘pollic’
who honed his willful ways
to the point of shameless folly.

Though the newspaper has yellowed
and its print is not as black
this maverick hasn’t mellowed,
his ploys come rushing back.

As King of the wild West End
he fiddled ballot books,
said rules were made to bend
and went to bed with crooks.

He made a heap of dough
and ran a shelter for the poor
while never slow to show
the rent-boys through his door.

When the King came to die
he had himself embalmed:
you have to wonder why
there was no one to be charmed.
The subtle old knave
was in a copper-lined box
when lowered to his grave—
one lad threw down some rocks

Last year they disinterred him
to take samples of his tissues
the need was dark and grim
to settle several issues,

like who was this man’s father,
the premier or a pimp?
Bert claimed it was the former
though his case is looking limp.

Members of the press
and historians gathered round
the controversial mess
In the grave-site’s opened ground.

That’s why I love my files—
old stories will revive
and villains with their wiles
rise up and come alive.

The poem is reprinted from *Quadrant*, 55, no. 11 (November 2011). It was also selected by Les Murray (ed.) for inclusion in his best of the crop from the past 10 years: *The Quadrant Book of Poetry* (Quadrant, 2012).
Earlier this year I casually remarked to an ADB staff member that the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* was ‘my best friend’, and in various ways had been part of my life for longer than I cared to remember. I was promptly asked to put this in writing.

My father, Don, had a history degree from the University of Adelaide. There were four students in his honours year; one of them was Douglas Pike. In 1959 our family moved from Adelaide to Launceston when Dad became headmaster of the Launceston Church of England Grammar School. Dad wanted to increase the amount of attention given in the school curriculum to Australian history, in particular the history of Tasmania. The main problem was the curriculum set by external examination bodies. He set about having it changed. He had an ally: Doug Pike was appointed to the chair of history at the University of Tasmania in 1960, and became foundation general editor of the *ADB* on 31 January 1962.14

There were then few books about Tasmania’s history. Dad had a copy of John West’s *The History of Tasmania* (1852), and he arranged for a copy of the Libraries Board of South Australia’s 1966 facsimile edition to be placed in the school library.15 (Multiple copies of A. G. L. Shaw’s wonderful 1971 edition were also to be added to the library’s growing collection of books on Australian history.) Dad taught a Tasmanian history class. Our textbook was J. R. Skemp’s dark-green, limp-cloth-covered *Tasmania Yesterday and Today*, published in 1958.16 It was all fairly rudimentary; there was not much readily available for the teaching of secondary school students (or anyone else), despite our teacher’s passion for the subject.

Things changed in 1966. Volume 1 (1788–1850, A–H) of the *ADB* appeared in the shops. Dad soon brought home the beautifully produced red-cover, cream-dust jacket volume—and we discussed who got to read it first. I lost, but we jointly looked for entries of men and women who had a connection with Tasmania (and South Australia). I remember our finding the entry for Joseph Archer, the Tasmanian landowner, some of whose descendants were at the school.17 And there was the bushranger Matthew Brady, whose alleged hide-out near Launceston we had been shown on a school excursion.18

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18 L. L. Robson, ‘Brady (Bready), Matthew (1799–1826)’, *ADB*, vol. 1, pp. 147–8.
Philip Selth with his beloved editions of the *ADB*, 2012

By courtesy of Philip Selth
The advent of the *ADB* did not help me in my study of history at school, for by now I was required to learn about the kings and queens of England, but I had the *ADB* at home and read it avidly. In the end Dad gave up, and bought me my own copy of Volume 1 (and Volume 2 in 1967).

I went to the ANU in 1968 to study Australian history and political science. A few years earlier Dad had given me a copy of Fin Crisp’s *Ben Chifley: A Biography* (1961)\(^\text{19}\) and Manning Clark’s *A History of Australia. Volume 1: From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie* (1962). Now I had access to wonderful libraries on the campus and across the lake where the National Library of Australia was opened later that year. Like many students then, I had a Commonwealth Scholarship—and little money. But I was at the Co-Op Bookshop on the day Volume 3 of the *ADB* was available—and I bought Dad a copy. I was to give Dad a copy of each volume as it came out. He was reading the *Supplement 1580–1980*, published in 2005, when he became too ill to continue to read. His set of the *ADB* went to a grateful grandson.

The ANU’s history and political science departments at that time were filled with lecturers such as Manning Clark, Don Baker, Eric Fry, Barbara Penny, Dorothy Shineberg and Fin Crisp, who inspired their students and made frequent references to the *ADB*. Not surprisingly, most had written entries for the dictionary. John Ritchie, whom I still remember giving a wonderful oration in the Tank lecture theatre on Governor Macquarie, his black academic gown astray, was to become general editor of the *ADB* in 1988. We lived near each other, and on occasion met at the Belconnen Trash and Treasure Market where, among other matters, we would talk about the forthcoming volume of the *ADB* or the book on which he was working, *The Wentworths: Father and Son* (1997). John would invariably have to counsel me to wait patiently for the next volume—it would not be published until he was satisfied it was in the best possible form.

While at the ANU I joined the Canberra and District Historical Society and met three of the *ADB*’s greatest supporters: Nan Phillips,\(^\text{20}\) Pat Wardle\(^\text{21}\) and Don McDonald.\(^\text{22}\) Nan was the society’s long-serving secretary, Pat the editor of its *Newsletter*, while Don edited its *Journal*. Nan was personal assistant to the *ADB*’s general editor; Pat had assisted in the early work of the Biographical Register, the forerunner to the *ADB*; all three were contributors. All three deserve entries

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\(^{19}\) Scott Bennett, ‘Crisp, Leslie Finlay (1917–1984)’, *ADB*, vol. 17, pp. 269–70.


in the *ADB*; both of Pat’s parents, and her husband, are already there.\(^\text{23}\) I also remember, with fondness, Jim Gibbney, both in his room in the *ADB* offices, squinting over his collection of file cards of biographical references, which so many of us regarded as an Aladdin’s cave of delights, and at his kitchen table with a glass of whisky, arguing over my suggestions for his PhD thesis that was to be published as one of a three-volume history of the Australian Capital Territory.\(^\text{24}\) Jim also deserves an entry in the *ADB* or, as he used to call it, ‘the Dic’.

Don McDonald was succeeded as the *Journal*’s editor in December 1971 by John Iremonger; I became editor in March 1976. From 1990 to 1993, John was the *ADB*’s publisher at Melbourne University Press. I remember discussing with him what I thought to be a dreadful decision—the replacing of the lovely cream dust jacket with the current glary blue jacket. ‘Comrade’, he said, ‘it gets the customer’s eye’. He wanted to introduce the *ADB* to a wider readership; I just wanted to read it. He gave me a full set of the blue jackets and instructed me to put them on my volumes of the *ADB*; I did—over the cream jacket.

I have three entries in the *ADB*, and am trying to draft three more.\(^\text{25}\) I cannot remember who asked me to draft the first two (probably John Ritchie). Chris Cunneen asked me to write the next two. I volunteered myself for the two that will follow. The entry on the barrister Eric Miller inspired me to begin work on two full-length biographies, of Eric Miller QC and of his cousin John Joseph Murphy (1914–97), New Guinea patrol officer, Coastwatcher, POW and PNG district officer. The *ADB* has been the genesis of literally hundreds of articles and books, and is cited in any scholarly work on Australian history.\(^\text{26}\) It has also been the ‘cause’ of many of its readers, not least me, spending more than we perhaps should to purchase books cited in entries or written by contributors.


\(^{26}\) As happened with so many other contributors, I was encouraged by Don McDonald and Nan Phillips to expand my entry on Sir Frederick William Pottinger into an article: “A splendid type of the genuine English gentleman”: Sir Frederick William Pottinger, Bart. (1831–1865)’, *Canberra Historical Journal* (March 1974), pp. 20–53.
I returned to the ANU in January 1992 as pro vice-chancellor (planning and administration). It was not long before I was wandering lost about the Coombs Building looking for the ADB offices. (I had been there dozens of times, but the catacombs-like Coombs Building is not exactly visitor-friendly.) I was greeted like a long-lost friend (as I would like to be regarded) of the ADB—and promptly asked if I could help solve a problem. It was thought I may have some influence. The request was reasonable and the ADB did indeed have a friend in the Chancellery Building. More importantly, it had many across the campus, throughout Australia, and abroad.

As I try to write the two biographies for which I ‘blame’ (thank) the ADB, I refer daily to the ADB online; but only to find the references—I then prefer to sit in a chair in a quiet place reading the bound volume. My son, however, probably has not picked up a bound volume. Like many of his generation, he reads the ADB on a hand-held device. But that does not matter. What matters is the existence of the ADB and the scholarship, and pleasure, it has brought so many people.

I am glad that the ADB is my best friend.

*Philip Selth OAM is executive director of the New South Wales Bar Association. His ADB entry on the Sydney silk Eric Miller QC (1903-86) has led him to work on two full length biographies, one on Miller and the other on his cousin, John Joseph Murphy (1914-97), a coastwatcher charged with treachery after being released from a Japanese prison camp. Philip is also writing the ADB entry on Murphy.*

Jill Roe

On 6 February 1985, Geoffrey Serle wrote to me inquiring if I would be willing to join the Editorial Board of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. At that stage I had contributed no more than half a dozen entries to the *ADB*, though, like most contributors, I was familiar with its work and aspirations. Naturally, I hastened to say I would be happy to accept.¹

A month or so later, a formal letter arrived from Alan Barnard, acting chair of the Editorial Board, informing me that the vice-chancellor of the ANU, Peter Karmel, had confirmed my appointment to the Editorial Board. On the same day came a notice of the board’s next meeting, to be held at the ANU on Thursday, 25 May; soon after, I received an agenda paper.² So it was really happening. You might even say it was a turning point in my life.

As historians are well aware, turning points have wide ramifications. So it was with my appointment to the Editorial Board. Apart from anything else, I was not the only new appointment. The others were Don Aitkin, a political scientist, and the historian Ann Curthoys, all of us working mainly on twentieth-century

¹ Jill Roe, personal files. See also ‘GS to KI [Geoff Serle to Ken Inglis], ‘Membership of the Editorial Board’ (26 May 1984), box 132, Q31, ADBA, ANUA. Board members had been circularised to propose ‘(1) contemporary historians/political scientists; (ii) women (iii) re Cunneen ex officio; (iv) non-academics’.  
² Jill Roe, personal files.
history. General editor Serle’s note to me had made that dimension clear: ‘We are in the process of enlarging the Board in order to meet a need for younger members, more women members, and people with twentieth-century interests’.

Serle’s phrase ‘enlarging the Board’ encapsulated an even more significant aspect of the change. With the volumes of nineteenth-century lives (Volumes 1–6) long since completed, three of the projected six volumes on the period 1891–1939 already published and a fourth in press (Volume 10 appeared in 1986), work for the remaining two volumes of early twentieth-century lives was well under way. The possibility—and the challenge—of volumes encompassing the later twentieth century beckoned.

There had been considerable discussion at the outset as to when the series should conclude. A meeting at the ANU in October 1959 had left the matter up in the air, suggesting 1920 or 1930. When Volume 1 appeared, a very spare preface announced that there would be 12 volumes and that the series would probably conclude with those who had flourished in 1938. By 1973, when Volume 5 appeared, the ADB was committed to 1939 as the concluding date for its third section, but no overall terminating date was given, nor does it ever seem to have been thereafter. The initial uncertainty is understandable, and the early proposals to end prior to the onset of World War II made sense in the late 1950s when the ADB began; but by the early 1980s the project had been so successful that no-one thought it should stop there. Likewise, by the mid 1980s, it was apparent that a new general editor would have to be appointed soon. Of the two men who had served the ADB so well in that role since the untimely death of Douglas Pike in 1974, Bede Nairn had retired in 1984 owing to ill health and the retirement of Geoffrey Serle was imminent in 1987.3 In his 1985 note to me, Serle summed up the overall situation with characteristic precision. The Editorial Board might need to meet more frequently than in times past, he wrote, ‘in view of the need to appoint a new General Editor and of moving into the post-1940 period’.

Structural change is seldom speedy or drastic in academe. Certainly a modest generational shift was under way, and given that the new appointees were all from New South Wales or the Australian Capital Territory, a new dynamic was implicit in the enlargement of the Editorial Board. On the other hand, there were significant continuities. The ANU, in particular, was always well represented on the board, as was only right and proper, given that the history discipline had a continuing role and the Research School of Social Sciences (RSSS) provided all the funding.

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3 Minutes, Conference of National Advisory Panel and ADB Editorial Board (23–24 April 1960), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA. I thank Christine Fernon for assistance in accessing early ADB records.
ADB staff, Editorial Board members and a few invited guests attended a workshop on the future of the ADB in December 2009. From left, clockwise: Brian Wimborne, Barbara Dawson, Peter Howell, Gail Clements, Michael Roe, John Lack, Ben Evans, Rick van Haeften, Anthea Bundock, John Nethercote, Karen Ciuffetelli, Christine Fernon, Tom Griffiths, Kent Fitch, Ross Coleman, Basil Dewhurst, Chris Cunneen, Geoffrey Bolton, Jim Davidson, David Dunstan, Janet Doust, Darryl Bennet, Nick Brown, Melanie Nolan

Photographer: Darren Boyd, ADB archives

History, as we know from writings about Sir Keith Hancock, was about ‘chaps’. Evidently, it was taken for granted at the outset that historical biography in Australia was to be sustained by ‘chaps’. Not until 1977, almost two decades after the project began, did the situation change, and even then not by much. Apart from Canberra-based Ann Mozley (later Moyal), an ex-officio member of the first Editorial Board, Heather Radi was the only female appointment to the inner counsels of the ADB until 1985. Radi had been a member of the NSW Working Party since the early 1970s, and by 1977 was serving as a member of the Editorial Board and as a section co-editor. The main point here, however, is that the Editorial Board to which she first belonged was in theory rather different from the one to which she transferred in 1985, when it was restructured. I say in theory because, by the 1980s, the administrative arrangements put in place at the beginning to ensure national collaboration were not functioning very well.
The ADB’s Story

From the beginning

Getting the collaborative relationship right has been vital to the ADB’s wellbeing from the beginning. Fortunately for the ADB’s survival, its founder, Sir Keith Hancock, was always clear about that. As he well understood, creating the ADB had to be a collaborative effort, involving all the existing State-based universities. Indeed, if an authoritative product based on primary research was to eventuate, distinctively Australian circumstances meant it could be no other.

Hancock was a historian of high international standing, whose leadership was unquestioned. Even so, the problem of intellectual authority and ownership of the dictionary project was not a straightforward one. At first, and for more than two decades, it was dealt with by establishing two committees to which the core staff in Canberra and the local working parties (of which more shortly) were ultimately to be responsible. The idea was that a National Advisory Committee consisting of State history professors and other senior men of the profession would meet annually, later biennially, and could also be consulted informally if need be. At the same time, a smaller, local Editorial Board was established, consisting of senior advisers from within the ANU, where it could meet regularly. It was to be responsible for the oversight of daily business and to hand if help and advice were called for.4


Photographer: Darren Boyd, ADB archives

4 Minutes, National Committee and ADB Editorial Board meetings (1959–61), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
That sounds like a sensible and trouble-free solution to the collaborative issue, especially given that the same person—that is, Sir Keith—would chair both bodies. Thereafter, with senior ANU history professors to follow him as chair, there could be no doubt about overall control. Under this arrangement, the general editor, a position created in 1962 after much tribulation (see Chapter 3) and filled full-time by Douglas Pike from 1964, would always know whom to approach in an emergency, as would the chairs of local working parties (if they were not already members of one or other of the committees). This also applied to locally based section editors who were a bit like associate editors, appointed to help the general editor by preparing sections of the projected volumes.

As the project got under way, the dynamics of national collaboration changed, or more precisely slowed. It was not long before the work of the National Advisory Committee (from 1961 the National Committee) formally ceased. There are no minutes after 1971, and Chris Cunneen, who joined the staff in 1974, cannot recall it meeting in the 1970s. Eventually, its members took a self-denying ordinance, and the committee was disbanded.5

The Editorial Board also slowed in the 1970s but survived into the 1980s, when it was restructured. Some parts of the old National Committee carried over, especially the ANU representation and some members of the previous board, including Heather Radi—as was only right since, as a section editor, she exemplified what the changes were about. Clearly there was no need for a national committee to ensure national collaboration by then, but the Editorial Board was still necessary to oversee the project. As articulated in ANU documents at this time, ‘it is responsible for the management and scholarly direction of the Dictionary project’; however, it needed to be more representative of the national effort and, to be useful, to ensure more effective interchanges between the editorial staff in Canberra and the working parties. This was recognised especially by Bede Nairn, and gradually achieved by pruning the membership of the Editorial Board and bringing the section editors onto it.6

The documents I have perused in preparing this chapter are replete with statements about the importance of national collaboration. Much less is said about the working parties, whose overall membership numbered 109 in 2007. It is pleasing to find that in the early days general editors did visit the working parties reasonably regularly; and due, apparently, to a sense that performance

5 Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (2 May 1983), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, item 8, records that, although the requisite constitutional changes had been made at the previous meeting, ‘the national committee has not yet been invited to disband’. It is not referred to in the 1985 minutes. The 1986 review records that it was formally abolished, with the consent of its members, in 1983: Report of the Committee of Review of the Australian Dictionary of Biography, May 1986.
was variable by the late 1970s, Nairn and Cunneen made a sustained effort in that regard. Indeed, it is probable that the changes of governance effected in 1985 have their origins in those visitations.\(^7\)

The working parties have been there from the beginning and, if anything, have become more important over time, due to the need for a national dictionary to stay abreast of rising levels of population throughout the country, and for the \(ADB\), though hosted at the ANU, to appear truly ‘national’. During the past 50 years the number of working parties has hovered between seven and nine, with eight at first and nine currently. The original eight included three NSW working parties, in Newcastle and Armidale as well as Sydney, as was appropriate to the period covered by the first two volumes (1788–1850). Later there was a Pacific Working Party, which fitted the needs of the next period (1851–90); during that time also the North Queensland Subcommittee and the Armed Services Working Party appeared on the lists.\(^8\)

These were functional additions: the Commonwealth Working Party, which was established in 1989 to advise on selections for the 1940–80 period, remains operational but the Indigenous Working Party, formed much later, was soon disbanded. No issue has touched more profoundly on the issue of national collaboration than the representation of Indigenous lives. Although the \(ADB\)’s demographics have been more or less correct overall—that is, Indigenous lives are represented at approximately the same proportion as in the population as a whole—this was not apparent to everyone. Indeed, during my time as chair of the Editorial Board (1996–2006), I learned of an informal threat to take the level of representation of Indigenous lives to an international tribunal. The board responded by establishing an Indigenous Working Party. This was a sound and effective response; but it proved to be a temporary solution, as Indigenous energies and skills were already spread too thin, and research into Indigenous lives has special challenges, some still to be mastered. Many remarkable Indigenous lives have, however, been documented—for example, in Volume 15, published in 2000, that of the Central Australian ‘clever man’ Mick McLean/Irinyili. As more research is done, more will come to light and the greater is the likelihood that the representation not only is, but can be seen to be, beyond reproach.\(^9\)

The difficulties encountered in establishing the Indigenous Working Party are suggestive of the working parties’ real tasks and responsibilities. These have not changed much over time. From official documentation, one might think

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\(^7\) Cunneen, Chapter 4, this volume. Chris Cunneen to Jill Roe (May 2010), my interpretation.

\(^8\) Data drawn from lists published in successive volumes of the \(ADB\).

\(^9\) A meeting to establish an Indigenous Working Party was convened in Canberra on 28 May 2005, and a precedent now exists for an Indigenous working party if possible or appropriate in the future. In 2008 Ann Curthoys was appointed as an expert national adviser on Indigenous biography.
that the work undertaken has been merely advisory. That is true only in the most legalistic sense. Each of the working parties is responsible for selecting a specified number of significant names for inclusion in the *ADB*, deciding on appropriate word lengths for each entry (ranging from 500 words for a basic entry to 6000 words for prime ministers), and recommending suitably qualified authors to be invited to prepare the entries. Such a protracted process requires exceptional commitment and expertise from members of the working parties over time and, ultimately, a consensual approach, due to the quotas with which they must work.

Those quotas have latterly attracted some misplaced criticism. Contrary to the criticism, which supposed that the quotas are based on occupational categories and thus open to manipulation, they are simply a matter of historical demography. They are statistically determined, on the basis of State and Territory populations at the census in the relevant period. Thus, each State working party receives an accurately enumerated proportion of the overall number of entries to be recommended for inclusion in the volume in question. (Specialist non-State-based working parties, on which more shortly, have small fixed quotas, determined by the general editor.) Quotas were introduced in the 1970s, along with many other significant methodological refinements to the *ADB*’s work. In this way, issues of ‘you have more than me’, which might have been a bone of contention nationwide, were effectively pre-empted.10

On average, the working parties have had about eight members. From the lists at the beginning of each printed volume, however, it will be apparent that they have varied in size, with the NSW Working Party usually the largest and, until recently, the Victorian the smallest. This may seem strange but everything depends on expertise, and in the case of Victoria, the expertise of Geoffrey Serle was unsurpassed, so that during his lifetime fewer members were needed. In Sydney, a larger membership of experts from various fields and representing at different times the universities at Armidale, Newcastle and Wollongong, has been thought necessary. At last count, there were 16 members of the NSW Working Party. Historians from the universities, historical associations and relevant professional bodies such as the law societies, and also independent scholars, serve on working parties throughout Australia, all of them approved in some way by the *ADB*, and in the case of the chairs, once upon a time formally appointed by the ANU.11

Right now, the working parties seem to be in pretty good shape. To say that meetings can be stimulating would, in my experience, be an understatement.

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Even allowing for differences of style across the working parties, they all share one unusual feature: they consist in varying proportions of representatives of the relevant academic and professional fields, from literature to the law, from music to sport, and medicine to popular culture—that is, of people in a position to assess the achievements and significance of particular individuals from the period under consideration. It is a rare thing to observe and participate in such multi-skilled and interdisciplinary intellectual work. Perhaps it should be added that the work is all in the field of historical biography—that is, all those under consideration must be dead. The present rule is for 10 years.

Whatever the health of the working parties, the effectiveness of national collaboration depends in good part on the capacity and commitment of the chairs of the working parties and section editors. Again, the rules are not very informative; however, a quick check of the listings at the beginning of each volume of the *ADB* will show that many distinguished and experienced Australian historians have served in these positions, some for many years—for example, Geoffrey Bolton (Western Australia), Michael Roe (Tasmania) and Beverley Kingston (New South Wales), whose work on the *ADB* began when she was a student at Monash University in the 1960s, writing entries on Queensland pastoralists. Even with some sad losses, worthy successors have come forward: Ross Johnston and then Patrick Buckridge to replace Denis Murphy in Queensland, Peter Howell to replace John Playford in South Australia, and John Lack, then David Dunstan, to replace Serle in Victoria. For the record, these days, and probably from the early days, the duty of the section editor is to read and comment on all the entries for his or her section/State as they come in, and to advise the research editor in Canberra of any additional or overlooked sources and/or obvious errors. After the Canberra research editor has checked the facts and edited it, the entry goes on to the deputy general editor and then the general editor.12

The general editor sits at the apex of the national structure. Previous chapters have outlined how these wise and learned persons have gone about their business. As a long-time contributor to the *ADB*, I can confirm that the final stage, when the general editor wields the red pen, may well be the most unnerving! In this chapter, however, the question is not so much editorial effectiveness—which is vital and goes without saying—but noticing ways in which the national collaborative effort has been fostered by the general editor. No doubt styles have varied. My personal experience came mainly later with John Ritchie, who famously sent us all ‘abiding affection’.

No-one should delude herself that a major collaborative work of research and scholarship like the *ADB* can be done and maintained over a long period without

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12 Beverley Kingston, personal communication (6 June 2010).
careful attention to the research base. Especially it needs to be emphasised that the work done is unpaid. Contributor payment is an old chestnut so far as the ADB is concerned—who, after all, would have to pay—and apart from exceptional circumstances, to which consideration has usually been given, the glory must suffice. Some later dictionaries have operated under a more straightforward national structure, and/or are funded by sources other than universities, so can afford payments for contributors, though these still seem quite meagre; but this is not, nor is it likely to be, ‘the Australian way’.

1985–1996: As a board member

It is not to be expected that things changed dramatically after 1985. The change, as expressed in the list of committee members on the preliminary pages of Volume 10 of the ADB (1986), was more a foretaste of things to come; however, the integration of the two earlier committees meant that the Editorial Board was still a large body, and it would take the fresh eye of John Ritchie, and another decade or so, to streamline it. Moreover, like the old National Committee, the new Editorial Board would not be meeting too often. Biennial meetings made the board meetings quite an event for the members, who came from all over Australia for them, and certain constraints meant it kept to its consultative brief during what were once day-long meetings. With Ken Inglis, who succeeded John La Nauze as third chair of the board in 1977, matters were dealt with calmly and smoothly. Later it would be alleged that John Ritchie’s aim was to get through the business by lunchtime.

Two new responsibilities came my way during the first decade of my membership of the revamped Editorial Board. Both increased my understanding of the delicate situation of the ADB as a project located within a single university but operational across the entire national system of research and scholarship. Adding to the delicacy, the single university had been an anomaly in the Australian university system, insofar as the research schools of the ANU were founded and funded on the basis of a block grant from the Commonwealth. Because of this, exceptional national responsibilities were expected of them; however, with the reduction of the block grant from 2001 onwards, the ANU was placed on a more equal footing with all other universities for funding, and

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13 ‘Financial Paper and Payments to Contributors’, National Committee discussion paper (July 1961). See also Minutes, National Committee meeting (12–13 August 1931), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, pp. 5–7. Geoffrey Serle raised the issue with the Editorial Board in 1975 of paying ‘some’ non-academic contributors in certain cases but there was no funding for this: Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (29 October 1975), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
ADB staff, as employees of the ANU, came under increasing pressure, which in turn meant that when it came to big decisions, it was a case of the old saying ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune’.14

My first responsibility was the appointment of a new general editor. The appointment process took more than a year. First there had to be an ANU review to ensure that a senior position was justified. I played no part in this but, as anticipated, the outcome was positive, and things speeded up thereafter. Advertisements were placed internationally. A selection committee was formed; again, to my surprise and, to be honest, gratification, I was appointed to the committee, which consisted largely of senior academic staff of the ANU. Without betraying committee confidentiality, I can now say that although not exactly in the first flush of youth, I was still one of the younger members of the committee, and I still had a lot to learn about committee work. The field was good and the selection committee showed foresight when it recommended the appointment of John Ritchie, a well-published researcher and hard worker who became the ADB’s longest-serving general editor. It is perhaps another measure of his effectiveness that I was able to tolerate him calling me ‘Jilly’.

Ritchie’s appointment led to another job for me. With it, I saw at first hand the channels through which national collaboration operates on a regular basis. One winter evening in Sydney in 1990, John Ritchie, Beverley Kingston and I were walking up Crown Street after an ADB meeting when, at a pause for the traffic lights, John invited me to become section co-editor for New South Wales. Again, I was happy to accept, and formally speaking I served in that position until 1995 (though in reality for a shorter time, since I was away throughout the northern hemisphere academic year, 1994–95).15

As implied earlier, section editors must work quite hard (and, like most contributors to the ADB, on a voluntary basis). The NSW Working Party is usually responsible for sponsoring the most entries, so even as a co-editor there was a steady amount of work to be done. It was rare to receive less than 10 draft entries a month from Canberra for consideration and comment. The work was very interesting, but I fear I was not very good at it, not for want of commitment but because my knowledge base was not broad enough at the time. Moreover, at that stage I did not fully appreciate the needs of the research editors in Canberra, who could not be up and down to see if the requisite Mitchell Library holdings or those at some other local repository had been consulted.16

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14 The operation of block funding is too large a question to be pursued here. One reference, for which I thank Darryl Bennet, suggests concern within the ANU was rising by the late 1990s: in 2001 the Institute of Advanced Studies began trading part of its Commonwealth block funding in order to be eligible to compete for national competitive grants: ANU Annual Report (2001), p. 6, <http://www.anu.edu.au/mac/images/uploads/_AnnRpt2001.pdf>


16 For the position of research editor, see Cunneen, Chapter 4, this volume.
Perhaps I labour the point here. But it is another delicate fact that the effectiveness of national collaboration depends on the integration of expertise at every level. With six States, two Territories and a specialist working party on the military, it is a miracle that it has all worked so well for so long. Interestingly, the two most significant innovations of the early 1990s were the index to Volumes 1–12 and the CD-ROM, the former prepared in-house, the latter undertaken by Melbourne University Press, and both done with the approval of the board but with no input from it. They were a ‘touch on the times’, and a pointer to future needs. One thing I recall was running a very lively and up-to-date course in Australian women’s history at Macquarie University, based on the index. Another was the electric moment much later, at a meeting in Di Langmore’s office, when it emerged that when the CD-ROM was being produced, MUP had been granted all future electronic rights, a state of affairs that could have killed any possibility of an online edition of the ADB. Fortunately, MUP and its CEO, Louise Adler, and the ANU administration handled the situation constructively.17

Since 1996: As chair of the board

In 1996, following the retirement of Ken Inglis, I became the fourth chair of the ADB’s Editorial Board. Little did any of us realise what rough times lay ahead. More to the point, I was the first, and, to date, the only appointment from outside the ANU made to that position. I felt then, as I still do, that it was an appropriate appointment, as there was then no obvious Australianist on the staff of the History Program in RSSS to succeed Ken; but presumably not everyone saw it that way, at least not at first. On the one hand, I was working in Sydney and was seldom in Canberra. On the other hand, communications were quicker by then, and I had perspective—something that increasingly seemed to be lacking within the ANU.

Things went smoothly at first. I do not recall being called to do much more than chair meetings, and we were able to do one or two good things without rocking the boat—in particular, to introduce a system of ADB medals ‘for long and meritorious service’. All credit to John Ritchie for taking this innovation on board. He even went down to the Royal Australian Mint to get the specialists to strike the medals.18

17 Publishing Agreement between the ANU and the University of Melbourne for MUP (24 March 1993), and reference to it, John Ritchie/MUP (24 April 1996), copies of both documents in my possession; also in my possession, related documents, 2003–04, including a draft new agreement, with MUP. See ‘Publishing Agreement between MUP and ANU’ (3 August 2005).
18 The medal proposal was approved by the Editorial Board in July 2002, and the first awards were made by Professor Chubb at a ceremony at University House, Canberra, to Martha Campbell, Bede Nairn, John Ritchie and Gerry Walsh in October 2002. ANU Reporter, 33 (14 November 2002), p. 20.
Whether Ritchie was distressed that destabilisation was in the air, no-one can know for certain. I suspect he was. As payment by results took hold in cash-strapped universities in the 1990s, and the measurers of research output set to work, things began to look grim for the future of the ADB. Not only did the Australian Research Council (ARC) as the main funding body refuse to acknowledge that most contributions to the ADB are of necessity based on original research, Australian history being a comparatively new and immature field, but also, it seemed, that the rising generation would be discouraged from participation in its distinctive deliberative processes. This was despite our strenuous representations on behalf of the ADB.¹⁹

Happily, the discriminatory regime no longer prevails. With an Australianist (Stuart Macintyre) heading the social science and humanities section of the ARC in 2002–04, the situation with regard to contributions was reversed; and as of 2011 there is a glimmer of hope for service on the working parties as well. Deride as we might the crude measures being advanced by the measurers of research output, it does seem that the addition of ‘esteem factors’ will mean that voluntary service on significant external committees is going to be counted, and that the voluntary principle will continue to sustain the ADB.

As chair of the Editorial Board, I was sometimes reminded of the great British constitutional theorist Walter Bagehot. In his classic work The English Constitution (1867), Bagehot distinguished between what he called its dignified and its efficient parts. In plain language, he explained that practical men were wrong to dismiss the dignified component of the English Constitution, and showed how both aspects were vital. Of the ‘dignified’ element, he wrote: ‘They raise the army, though they do not win the battle’. He also elaborated on the rights of the ‘dignified’ component—at that time, a constitutional monarchy. The monarchy, he wrote, has the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn.²⁰

Such an elevated analysis hardly applies to the Editorial Board of the ADB and its chair; however, it will be seen in successive prefaces to the volumes that general editors are always careful to thank the chair for support and advice. Whether they take it or not is beside the point. They are not obliged to. (There were one or two occasions when it was pointed out to me by officers of the ANU that my role was purely advisory.) Yet there may also be occasions when the board needs to do more than simply support and advise, and times when the chair must not only serve as a conduit for its views but also take the initiative.

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¹⁹ Jill Roe and John Ritchie to the Minister for Education, Training and Youth Affairs (4 April 1997), and reply (30 April 1997), copies in my possession.
Here I recount two important instances of the board doing more, both of which I was closely associated with. By 1999 it was obvious that the *ADB* must go online. The prior CD-ROM was difficult to use, and outdated technologically. As general editor, John Ritchie was cautious, though probably persuadable, but it took time, and several board meetings, the last of which followed a trip (by me) to New Zealand to attend the launch of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* online at the New Zealand Historical Association conference in Christchurch in December 2001. It was arranged that the New Zealand general editor, Claudia Orange, and assistant editor, Ross Somerville, would come to Sydney and then to Canberra in June 2002, when the board was next meeting, to show us their work (a process partly funded by Macquarie University). The board was quickly and easily persuaded. There were practical problems, however: successive volumes of the *ADB* were planned, or in production, and adherence to the publishing schedule was deemed vital. More importantly, where would the money and expertise for such a big operation be found while the day-to-day work went on? Plainly the ANU could not provide it, being itself in financial straits, and still somewhat disoriented by the end of the research schools’ special funding arrangements.21

In fact there was more to it than a ‘who pays?’ impasse. The only way the university could contemplate proceeding was if the *ADB* became available online on a user-pays basis. As this was not board policy, and anathema to me personally, a tussle ensued. Several bodies within the ANU thought of the *ADB* as a nice database that might enhance their own activities, provided it was profitable. There was no conception of the *ADB* as a continuing national research operation; and the idea of the ANU as custodian and promoter of the national interest supporting a free-to-air humanities project did not begin to play with harassed, middle-level bureaucrats. Indeed, at that stage, the idea that the project would enhance the image of the ANU seemed not to impinge. After one such encounter, I was so angry I let things stand for a month, and by then they had moved on.

The board stood firm. It understood the educational and other values of free-to-air. Thanks largely to a recently appointed board member, Janet McCalman, it found an answer to these problems in an association with a leading University of Melbourne e-team headed by Gavan McCarthy; and the in-house appointment of the wonderfully competent Darryl Bennet to prepare an application to the ARC clinched it. Later, as recounted in Chapter 6, a number of board members and *ADB* supporters undertook associated research projects (mine being mainly

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21 The *DNZB* online contained all 3049 entries from the five-volume *DNZB* and parallel Maori-language volumes. The project was located in the New Zealand Ministry for Culture & Heritage ([<www.dnzb.gov.nz>](http://www.dnzb.gov.nz)). Ross Somerville to Jill Roe, email (10 December 2001), in my possession. Di Langmore was in favour of the online project from the beginning: Darryl Bennet to Jill Roe, personal communication (1 June 2010).
with Miles Franklin’s bio-data) and persuaded their own universities to back the application, all of which was necessary for the only type of grant for which the project was eligible: an infrastructure grant. The board did not itself do the work, but without the board’s initiative and massive national collaboration, an online ADB would not have been possible. Receiving 70 million ‘hits’ a year, ADB online is now seen as a ‘jewel in the ANU’s crown’, and a growth point.22

A second example of board activism pertains to the production of the supplement volume of the ADB, the so-called ‘Missing Persons’ volume, which appeared with the full support of the ADB and MUP in 2005. There was debate about this as a necessary step in the modernisation of the ADB. Some thought an update of the early volumes, where much new research has been undertaken since the 1960s, should come first; however, the need for supplements had been canvassed as early as 1971, and the prior value of an overall catch-up volume was widely accepted.23

Again there was an impasse: it was a big, full-time job. It did not fit in to the long-term production schedule in Canberra. Who, then, could do it? Fortunately, an

23 Draft Minutes, ADB Editorial Board meeting (7 June 1971), copy courtesy Chris Cunneen.
ideal editor for this volume was to hand. When Chris Cunneen retired as deputy general editor in 1996, he and his wife, Kerry Regan, moved to Sydney, where he became affiliated with the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University and was appointed an honorary senior research fellow. He was willing and able to face the challenge; the university was happy to sponsor the proposal; and in due course, with the involvement of the University of Sydney and the University of New South Wales, and Stephen Garton, Beverley Kingston and myself to serve as associate editors, a substantial research grant was obtained. The project took almost four years and, again, the entire ADB system cooperated. As with the online project, a major collaborative effort was undertaken and some 500 names of people, significant in fields of history hitherto little explored or overlooked in existing volumes, especially in Indigenous and women’s history, were added to the total.24

Regarding Indigenous history, for reasons outlined earlier, the supplement proved timely. Thanks to its suitably extended time span, 1580–1980, and the opportunity to take in new biographical research, the volume was able to include 49 Indigenous biographies, 10 per cent of total entries in the volume, for which the various working parties are to be highly commended. At present, an estimated average of 1.9 per cent of all entries in the ADB are for Indigenous Australians.25

A final and sad instance of when ‘the buck stops here’ came into play with the incapacitating stroke in 2001 and premature death in 2006 of John Ritchie. At this point I would like to acknowledge that I have had the benefit of a preview of Geoffrey Bolton’s chapter on the Ritchie years. The reader cannot help but feel its elegiac quality. John’s death came, as many deaths do, unexpectedly. In normal circumstances, he would probably have retired in 2005, and I would have ceased to be the chair of the board even earlier.

As it was, the living soldiered on. Stopgap measures were put in place by the ANU, and the ADB staff, led by Langmore, coped splendidly. But increasingly it looked as if the bean-counters liked it that way. It took quite an effort, by Langmore herself if I recall correctly, for her to be adequately remunerated, albeit partially and on a temporary basis, for the extra work and responsibility that she had taken on as acting general editor; and at that point it seemed nothing more was going to happen, despite the support of successive directors of RSSS and the recommendations of the Roe, Bolton and Garton report described in

24 Large Research Grants Scheme, application for 2001, copy in my possession. The project was awarded $272 000 over three years.
25 The average for the most recent volumes—ADB Volumes 13–17 plus the supplement—is 3.6 per cent. Material presented to ADB 2009 seminar by staff, copy courtesy Darryl Bennet.
Chapter 6. Yet a formal appointment to replace Ritchie was needed, if only as a matter of wage justice, but more importantly to forestall any possible drift; and here I felt a special responsibility.

Again, it took us all a lot of time and too many meetings with people who mostly had neither the power nor the motivation to move things along. Eventually, however, we (Di Langmore, Frank Jackson, then director of RSSS, and I) reached the vice-chancellor, Ian Chubb. It was a meeting worth recording, lasting at most two minutes. We had arrived full of trepidation, knowing this was the end of the road. Chubb waved us in, sat us down, picked up a recent volume of the *ADB*, and, opening it at the title page, said ‘where’s the ANU logo?’ One of us, probably Langmore, hastened to say that the omission would be remedied. Right, he said, that’s fine; arrange the advertisement. I have been a distant fan of Professor Chubb ever since.26

So things were back on track. In due course Langmore was appointed to (a fixed-term) general editorship, and it was my pleasure to be there when the volume she edited, Volume 17, was launched on 20 November 2007 by the governor of Victoria, David de Kretser, at the State Library of Victoria. The business of organising for Langmore’s successor, Melanie Nolan, in 2008, was by no means so troublesome. I should record that it was Ian McAllister, Frank Jackson’s predecessor as head of RSSS, who finally suggested we approach Professor Chubb directly, and Desley Deacon, as the then head of the History Program, who helped us through both processes.

With formal links between the *ADB* and the History Program re-established in 2003–04 and, after yet another review, its relocation in the newly established National Centre of Biography in 2008, a new chapter in the history of the *ADB* has opened. It is not hard to see institutional imperatives and intellectual developments at work, but it is difficult to predict the long-term effect of them. What is clear is that the *ADB* has survived when it might not have, the national collaborative network is intact and continuing, and esteem remains high. A new generation is taking command in Canberra, under circumstances far more decisive than those of 1985, and the changeover seems to be going smoothly, with plenty of youthful enthusiasm in evidence. My successor as chair of the Editorial Board, Tom Griffiths, will surely have much of interest to tell us about it all one day.

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26 Jill Roe to Vice-Chancellor Chubb (6 June 2003), and Request for support, copies in my possession. The meeting was held on 13 October 2003.
Tom Griffiths, W. K. Hancock Professor of History at the ANU, has chaired the Editorial Board since 2006

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives, 2010
My story perforce ends there. These days I serve as an ordinary member of the Editorial Board and as a member of the NSW Working Party; I hope to do so for a bit longer. With luck, I may ultimately be able to lay claim to having written 20 entries for the dictionary. Apart from an invitation from Bede Nairn in 1979 to write an entry on Stella Miles Franklin that set me off on a lifetime’s work, my favourite has probably been my entry in the supplement volume on Michael Sawtell, a SA-born radical and Emersonian who lived and worked in almost every State of Australia and never stopped talking. It has always come naturally to me to think of the *ADB* as a truly collaborative national project. Long may it flourish.

Professor Emerita Jill Roe AO has been a member of the NSW Working Party since 1990; a member of the ADB’s Editorial Board since 1985 and was its chair in 1996–2006. She is currently writing about South Australia’s Eyre Peninsula, where she spent her early years.

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Profile

Jill Roe (b. 1940)

A graduate of the University of Adelaide (BA Hons, 1963) and ANU (MA Hons, 1965), Jill Roe was appointed a tutor in modern history at Macquarie University in 1967. She was already associated with the ADB as the author of the entry on Ada Cambridge, published in Volume 3 (1969), and has argued that she ‘grew with the ADB’. Since then she has written another 19 articles, two of which have led to published books: her entry on George Arundel, which resulted in Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879–1939 (1986), and her entry on Miles Franklin, which led to a critically acclaimed, full-scale biography, published in 2008. She became professor at Macquarie in 1996 and, on her retirement in 2003, was appointed professor emerita.

A member of the Editorial Board from 1985, Roe served two terms as chair (1996–2006). In this role she vigorously advocated the online development of the ADB; she supported the idea of a supplementary volume of missing persons and, subsequently, worked on it as an associate editor; and she oversaw the appointment of a general editor (Di Langmore) to succeed John Ritchie. A member of the NSW Working Party from 1988, she served (1990–95) as joint section editor. In 2013 she is still an active member of both the Editorial Board and the NSW Working Party.

Roe believes that we are now living in a ‘golden age’ of biography, with its widening scope of inclusiveness, and argues that ‘what you learn from an individual biography may actually transform a whole field’. Moreover, if ‘you gather up cohorts and generations, then you get quite different understandings of social and cultural and intellectual dynamics in society’.

Jill Roe, 2010

ADB archives
Profile

Geoffrey Bolton (b. 1931)

Professor Geoffrey Bolton has been involved with the ADB since 1959 when, with Frank Crowley, he helped to set up the WA Working Party. In 1961, in partnership with Ann Mozley, he compiled a biographical register of the WA Legislative Assembly, the second in a series of political registers. Somewhat unusually, as he moved between several Australian universities—he was also foundation professor and head (1971–73) of the Australian Studies Centre at the University of London—he has been a member of three working parties at various times: Western Australia (chairman in 1967–82 and 1996–2011), Victoria and Queensland.

Author of 84 entries, Bolton has contributed to every volume of the ADB. He has written award-winning biographies of Alexander Forrest (1958), Richard Boyer (1967), John Wollaston (1985) and Edmund Barton (2000)—all subjects of ADB articles by him—and is currently completing a biography of Paul Hasluck. His ADB entries also include people associated with the Kimberley, a region that he came to know well in his student days, among them Michael Durack and Lindsay Blythe as well as Forrest. He is known as a master of anecdote and his articles show an engaging familiarity with his subjects. His phenomenal memory and his oracular presence serve him well. As chair of the WA Working Party, he used all these attributes to advantage as he shared a story about a prospective candidate for inclusion. A great ‘fixer’, when the working party debates seemed endless, he would say ‘leave it with me’.

A graduate of the University of Western Australia (BA Hons, 1952; MA, 1954), Bolton won a Hackett Research Scholarship that took him to Balliol College, Oxford (BA, 1956; DPhil, 1961). His has been a stellar career, culminating in the chancellorship of Murdoch University (2002–06). He has published widely on many aspects of Australian history and was named Western Australian of the Year in 2006. Bolton observed that his father always advised him to leave a pub under his own steam rather than stay too long and be thrown out; on that basis, with some reluctance but much resolve, he retired from both the WA Working Party and the Editorial Board in 2011.

Sources: Geoffrey Bolton, in conversation with Melanie Nolan (8 June 2011). Citation for ADB Medal for Geoffrey Bolton (11 December 2012), NCB/ADB file.
Geoffrey Bolton, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives
10. Assessing the ADB: A Review of the Reviews

Mark McGinness

A too kindly reception?

The greeting in March 1966 from W. G. Buick in the Australian Book Review, ‘Let us celebrate the birth of a giant’, must have been music to the ears of Douglas Pike and his team on the publication that month of Volume 1 of the Australian Dictionary of Biography.1 In the Age, Noel McLachlan concluded, ‘[a]s a work of reference the series will certainly be invaluable’, and Professor Pike’s modest hope that ‘it will inform and interest the lonely shepherd in his hut as readily as the don in his study’ ought to be richly fulfilled. Not just shepherds and dons, though: ‘Anyone with an ounce of interest in the myriad origins of his nation is bound to find it fascinating’.2 In a thoughtful review of the first two volumes, Geoffrey Blainey, surely its most eloquent critic, predicted the ADB would ‘probably be the most valuable reference work in Australian history; it is already one of the most readable works on Australian history. This twin achievement would have been unattainable without outstanding editors’. Blainey neatly concluded:

The last article in these volumes records briefly the life of Yuranigh, an aboriginal guide and traveller who died west of the Blue Mountains in 1850. The anonymous author quotes a tribute by Sir Thomas Mitchell to this obscure aboriginal: ‘his intelligence and his judgment rendered him so necessary to me that he was ever at my elbow’. The same will be said of these volumes for years to come.3

Most other reviews since the late 1960s, although perhaps not as euphoric as Buick, have generally welcomed successive volumes of the ADB kindly. The ADB, like all biographical dictionary projects, understandably cites such laudatory reviews and praise whenever it can.4 Rod Moran believed that the ADB was ‘one

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of the most important longitudinal research projects in the intellectual life of the Humanities in Australia’;5 Stephen Murray Smith praised it as ‘a remarkable gift to the nation’;6 while Eric Richards went even further to declare it as a ‘gift of scholarship to the nation and the world’.7 Allan Martin predicted: ‘The Dictionary seems destined to fulfil its promise as the most valuable working tool in the hands of Australian scholars’.8 Rob Inglis pronounced on radio that the writing is good. There is in it that grist and fibre which characterised English correspondence at the end of the eighteenth century. This quality is something to do with describing an involvement in affairs—committees, business, expeditions, and with distance travelled arduously, on horseback or under sail; it arrestingly reflects the reaction of men with strong views on coming into contact with new lands and fresh experiences.9

Most of its reviewers have been, or became, contributors, which may explain the positive coverage; but it also reflects the extraordinary commitment and reach of the dictionary among Australia’s academics and writers and the consensus that the ADB is something worth contributing to, as well as drawing upon.

In this chapter, I dwell not on the admiration for the ADB but on the criticism of it. I am on record myself as describing the ADB in a review as ‘one of our least known national literary treasures’.10 I come ‘not to bury’ the ADB, in this broader consideration, however, but to tease out its attributes so that we can better understand it.

Amongst all the acclaim, there has also been criticism of the ADB. Malcolm Ellis’s two reviews in the Bulletin in 1966 and 1967 have always been discounted because he was regarded as a discontent. Ellis came armed with strong views, having been in contact with the ADB from its birth. In fact, he even suggested it was his idea.11 In any event, in the beginning of 1962 he had resigned as joint editor and the appearance of the dictionary’s first volume was an opportunity to share his views on the project he had abandoned. In his review, entitled ‘Disaster in Australian Research’, Ellis claimed that ‘the mountain of the

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5 Rod Moran, West Australian (3 June 2000).
7 Eric Richards, Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, 34 (2006), p. 120.
10 Mark McGinness, Courier-Mail [Brisbane] (27 April 2000).
11 Ellis to Prof. Huxley, ANU Vice-Chancellor (9 June 1963), box 68, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
Australian Universities gave birth to a mouse, or half a mouse’.12 Too many of the entries were written by people without expertise. Contributions from Russel Ward (on Grey and Fitzroy), James Auchmuty (Hunter), Charles Currey (on some legal personalities), Ken Cable (Bishop Broughton), Frank Crowley, B. H. Fletcher, Jim Davidson and J. M. Bennett were commended but many of the biographies were ‘shockingly poor’ and ‘lamentably sparse and exhibit the writer’s lack of original research’. He condemned the absence of recording writers’ qualifications and was suspicious of the fact that many were unsigned. He also branded as utterly unsatisfactory and disastrous the decision to entrust some lives to direct descendants of subjects. Finally, what concerned Ellis was the lack of balance: ‘One only has to attach the word “radical” to somebody, apparently, and he becomes of first importance’, while ‘Captain Cook gets only twenty anonymous inches, only five inches or 250 words of which deal with his experiences on and exploration of the Australian coast’.13

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C. Hartley Grattan joined Ellis in his complaint about unsigned entries in Volume 1. He expressed ‘a strong doubt of the utility of [an] unsigned entry, even though it is clear enough they were compiled in the editorial office in Canberra’. Grattan felt that total or even relative anonymity detracts from authority. ‘I say sign every piece and identify the signers’. 14

Ellis remained unimpressed by Volume 2 when it appeared a year later, commenting that it was ‘no credit to the editors and the teeming committees of supervision advertised in the introductory lists’. 15 Again, his strongest charge was one of imbalance: ‘when some of the most prominent men of the time are totally ignored one can only wonder about the standards of the University Historical Department’. For example, he condemned the fact that no less than three Macarthurs, sons of John, were ignored while his ‘unimportant nephew, Hannibal’ receives ‘a whole two and a half pages’.
One can, of course, write a rejoinder to Ellis. He appears not to realise that many of the unsigned articles were often the consequence of dispute with authors over the extent of the editing of their original drafts. A number of authors decided that an article was no longer their own work after going through the ‘editing mill’ and they preferred not to sign their name to the final entry. Some other authors promised but did not deliver an article and so the job fell to ADB staff. The reason for staff’s modesty in leaving their pieces unsigned is unaccountable until one recalls that the still prevailing practice of the almighty Dictionary of National Biography (DNB) was to acknowledge authors with nothing more than their initials.

There is no reason Ellis would know why so many early entries were unsigned because the preface was silent about this. Despite his early involvement in the project, Ellis must have misunderstood, too, the ADB’s floriut philosophy because two of those sons of John Macarthur, Sir Edward and Sir William, both subsequently appeared in Volume 5. The floriut principle was applied to the first 12 volumes of the ADB with the period of a person’s career, the period of his/her major flowering and contribution, rather than their death, determining what volume they appeared in.

Three of Ellis’s criticisms are not so easy to address: the dictionary was unbalanced in the selection of subjects, especially the over-inclusion of radicals, people who achieved nothing and ‘unimportant scallawags’; it was poor in ‘the covering of facts and in accuracy of statement and judgement’, probably as a result of the failure to mine manuscript collections and as indicated by bibliographies that were sparse; and it fell short of greatness. Interestingly, even the reviewers who gushed over the ADB raised similar concerns. Indeed, rather than a mass of favourable reviews, with a few exceptions that prove the rule, reviewers fall into two other categories: those who forgive the ADB its blemishes as slight and unimportant and those who see those same flaws as disfiguring.

The preface: An opportunity lost

In his review of the first volumes, Geoffrey Blainey wrote of ‘the merit of writing a much longer expository preface to the next series of volumes’. A succession of editors thought the first preface so good they barely changed a word—for almost 30 years. There was a slight concession to political correctness in the preface to Volume 7 in an explanation of the ADB’s selection criteria. Volume 6 had, like its predecessors, stated: ‘Many of the names were obviously significant and worthy of inclusion. Others, less notable, were chosen simply as samples of

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the Australian experience’. Volume 7, after mentioning the worthies, followed with: ‘Many others have been included as representatives of ethnic and social minorities and of a wide range of occupations, or as innovators, notorieties or eccentrics’. This single sentence may suggest a seismic shift on the part of the editors and working parties but it is probably more a case of moving with the times. As Peter Ryan put it in his Quadrant review, ‘[w]ithout yielding to the crasser excesses of political correctness, the Dictionary has not ignored modern trends’.

Otherwise, the prefaces remained formulaic and frozen until Volume 13, John Ritchie’s third volume, which came to life with the opening: ‘In January 1940 cheering crowds farewelled soldiers of the 6th Division as they sailed to do battle in the deserts of the Middle East. In December 1980 an inquest into the death of Azaria Chamberlain began at Alice Springs’. If nothing else, this underlined the abiding commitment to continuity and the original vision for the ADB. But it remains to be said that had the early editors shared a less clipped and unyielding preface with their reviewers, if not their readers, they may have been saved much questioning from critics as to their policies and approach.

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Balance in selection

George Shaw greeted Volume 11 (1891–1939: Nes to Smi) with an almost joyous response. He delighted in the Australian tendency towards irreverence in the face of the ponderous and serious. He seized upon the entries of Bridget Partridge—‘lapsed nun’; John Pomeroy—‘inventor and pieman’; and Joseph Perry—‘salvationist and showman’. He suggests, with what many a contributor might see as a touch of envy, the indulgence of the editor on allowing Peter Howell to ‘get away with’ the comment on Frederick Poole, who ‘when he found himself growing deaf in Ballarat, he returned to Adelaide to take over a choir school and later in life was chaplain to Adelaide’s hospital, its destitute asylum, its prison and two of its bishops, Harmer and Thomas’.20

Geoffrey Dutton also wrote of thoroughly enjoying himself in reviewing the same volume. He saw ‘the brief entries’ not as ‘gravestones but life-windows’, and delighted in finding among its subjects Helena Rubinstein (whose autobiography J. R. Poynter described as ‘a romance undermined by flashes of candour’), and the sheepdog expert John Quinn (1864–1937), whose kelpie Coll was, said the Bulletin, ‘to the dog world what Victor Trumper was to cricket’. He also praised the ‘wonderful women here: the artists Thea Procter (“I am not the sort of person who could sit at home and knit socks”), Kate O’Connor, Margaret Preston, Ellis Rowan’.21

The issue of inclusiveness is a fraught one for any compiler of a dictionary and most critics are unable to resist seeking and exposing those he or she thinks are missing. In 2005, a supplementary volume of the ADB was published, its own ‘missing persons’, with another 500 lives—from Dirk Hartog, born in 1580, to John McKeddie, who died in 1980.22 The DNB volume of missing biographies was published in 1994.23 The ADB’s version included 161 women, the greatest number in any volume. It might be suggested that the attempt to rectify the imbalance is undone by a preponderance of community and charity workers who, despite their worthiness, may not have warranted inclusion. It is true to say that these activities reflect the restricted scope of any sort of public life for many Australian women until the 1960s; but is that sufficient reason to include them all?

As Paul Brunton noted of the supplement volume: ‘There are, for example, a lot of nurses. If one is ill this may be a good thing, but it may be overkill in a

biographical dictionary. While they were all clearly worthy, conscientious, and necessary, perhaps this is not sufficient for inclusion in a national work’. He also questioned the inclusion of Mary Griffith, sister of Sir Samuel, and Paquita Mawson, wife of Sir Douglas, who ‘when all is said and done are there because of those connections’. In its inclusiveness, the supplement has remained true to the representative aim of the ADB, especially when one sees that Aborigines, Pacific Islanders, working people, criminals and non-white immigrants have been rescued from oblivion. There are 49 entries on Indigenous lives—as the preface states, ‘a far higher proportion than in earlier volumes’. Also embraced are the exceptional who were inexplicably missed, like Granny Smith and Arthur Yates, who do real credit to this exercise.

The question of balance and inclusiveness remains a live one. Ellis, it will be remembered, was critical of the inclusion of ‘ordinary lives’. To include biographies of a sometimes flogged convict who did nothing in a rather misspent life save go on board the wreck of the Sirius at Norfolk Island in 1790 and allegedly “save” her, or a sergeant-major of the South Devons who did nothing whatever of note except leave behind a rather scrappy account book [was wrong].

Ironically, in his review of Volume 17 of the ADB, Paul Pickering, while acknowledging the work as ‘a national treasure’ and praising it for its scholarship and quality, accused the ADB of elitism and of falling ‘a long way short of examining a cross-section of Australian society that would be necessary to justify the word “Australian” in the title. Labour historians’, he added, ‘looking for “biography from below” will not find it here’. This is a surprising charge, given the background and expertise of three former editors, Bede Nairn (a labour historian), Geoffrey Serle (who contributed to labour history) and John Ritchie (one-time editor of Labour History), and, on closer inspection, is probably unwarranted.

It is indisputable that the country has, or has had, proportionately more Australian labourers and workers than any other occupation. There have, historically, also been even more Australians who would have described their occupations as ‘homemakers’ or ‘housewives’; but this does not justify their inclusion in the ADB. Although he does not concede the point, Pickering proffers a solution to this ‘inequity’ by proposing that Australia follows Britain’s example with a Dictionary of Labour Biography. Indeed, Britain has produced 12

26 Ellis, ‘Biography Soup’.
volumes of such a dictionary so far. A ‘Biographical Register of the Australian Labour Movement, 1788–1975’ was launched at the Labour History conference in 2011 and is being incorporated in the ADB’s companion web site Labour Australia.

Despite Pickering’s concern, the depth and range of chosen subjects in the ADB remain impressive. In browsing through the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB), the distinguished man of letters Alan Bell wrote of searching for Reverend Mr Cox of ‘Cox’s Orange Pippin’ fame and coming across three dozen other Coxes, few of them of high rank but most of them of some specific interest, with their biographies ‘well done’. This prompted a similar search in the ADB, with similar results. There are some 15 Coxes: a grazier, a pastoralist, a landowner, two clergymen, two doctors, a politician, a writer and a businessman. But, underlining the ADB’s consistently eclectic mix, there is also a pharmacist, an auctioneer, a real-estate agent, a military officer–road-maker–builder—and a ‘wild white man’ (Samuel Emanuel Cox, 1773–1891) (Volume 1).

In reviewing Volume 14, Davis McCaughey argued that ‘the large number of entries and of authors, together with the exhaustive selection process, protects the volume from the charge of being arbitrary. The volume may be assumed to provide a fair cross-section of Australians who came to prominence in the mid-twentieth century’.

The same volume was greeted with an enthusiastic review by Carl Bridge in the illustrious Times Literary Supplement. In an article entitled ‘Good Blokes and Others’, an almost exhilarated Bridge saw the volume as constituting ‘a sort of post-modern journey through Australia’s immediate past, peopled by a diverse cast of worthies, good blokes, crooks, eccentrics, rogues and grotesques’. Yet for all these—the actress Dorothy Dunckley, who would return Christmas cards unopened, endorsing them with ‘and the same to you’; the skywriter Fred Hoinville; the loop-the-loop motorcyclist Jim Gerald; and the rainmaker Jack Johnson—Volume 14 was not just an amusement park rollcall (although Sir Leslie Stephen, the DNB’s first editor, used to emphasise the importance of ‘amusement’ as well as factual accuracy). Bridge also acknowledged the presence of Cardinal Norman Gilroy, Harold Holt, Howard Florey, Herbert Evatt, the Duke of Gloucester and Peter Finch. Even the estranged and disapproving Malcolm Ellis, who reviewed Volumes 1 and 2 so trenchantly, is accorded a sympathetic and measured entry in Volume 14. As for all of those who came before, there was a job to be done and the usual rollcall of less exciting eminences was captured and contained, including 59 politicians, 14 general practitioners and 13 judges.

30 Bridge, ‘Good Blokes and Others’.
Above all, the ADB has changed over time, quite obviously in gender and race, but also in occupation, State of origin and sexuality. Allan Martin made it clear in 1966 that the bias he saw in the subjects for the first period (up to 1850) was itself a reflection of what he believed to be the characteristic of Australian society:

[C]andidates for such preservation are largely self-selecting: to then become more than a name on a registry file or shipping list one had to be literary enough to leave records, or noticeable enough to be written about contemporaneously by the literate. One result is that, despite the editor’s laudable admission of a few obscure individuals ‘simply as examples of the Australian experience’, this collection cannot represent a full cross-section of colonial society. We sense, for example, the shadowy presence of such types as town labourers, ordinary seamen, shopkeepers and bullockies, but none takes on substance unless he managed somehow to climb above his station or fall into terrible error. As is proper, there is a large contingent of convicts (fifty of them) but all are men who rate notice as examples of the exceptional—in culture, acumen, respectability or sheer devilry. Inevitably, the ‘cavalcade’ has its invisible men.31

Martin further notes, as has everyone else, that there were only 15 entries on locally born Australians and only five on Aborigines. Women hovered in the background with only half a dozen entries. As already noted, the old DNB recorded only 5 per cent of women among its entries while the ODNB has doubled this figure. The ADB has 14.3 per cent of women; the supplement volume had 29 per cent, similar to the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 5, which boasts 28 per cent women.32 It is unanimously accepted that the percentage of women will increase in all national dictionaries as they progress, reflecting both the increasing number of prominent women and the ideological drive to include more. Jim Davidson noted that in the six volumes 1890–1939, the proportion of women had risen to 20 per cent. He quoted Patricia Grimshaw as observing that ‘[t]he only higher proportion of women will be found … in the index category “eccentrics”, where they stand at fifty per cent (of four)’.33

Most reviews, however, concentrated on the inclusions rather than the omissions. Martin noted that the two well-represented groups in the early volumes were ‘mediocre’ administrators—‘counting the twenty-two governors, they make up

more than a fifteenth of the whole’—and the respectable classes in the small communities, pursuing trade, landed or professional occupations. In assessing the first seven volumes, Lloyd Robson noted, too, but more sympathetically, the number of administrators from war and peace who were included:

It is difficult to discuss the Great War without a knowledge of the men who made the crucial decisions, and it is equally impossible to discuss the first two generations of Australians without being aware that the archetypal convict was not a Great Man, and does not appear in the *ADB*, although his superiors do.\(^{34}\)

Lyndall Ryan, while impressed by the entries in Volume 15—an incisive James McAuley, a commanding Robert Menzies, an outstanding Archbishop Howard Mowll, a superb Sir Rex Nan Kivell—found it had captured a fascinating but frustrating period in Australian history that shaped Australians who were dominated by World War II and the Cold War. She was, however, encouraged by a brilliant entry on Johnny O’Keefe, which, while marking his demise, heralded the arrival of rock’n’roll, signalling ‘the end of what must now be seen as a sad and dreary era’.\(^{35}\)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Academics</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>6.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>16.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Benefactors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<td>Legal</td>
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<td>9.9</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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<td>Professions</td>
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<tr>
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<td>78</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
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Table 10.1 shows that the percentage of military entries has shrunk to less than one-tenth (9.9 per cent). Academics (6.7 per cent) and people involved in the arts (16.2 per cent) account for one-quarter of the entries.

Increasingly, commentary has noted that more recently published ADB articles are discussing the private lives of subjects. Volume 17, the last volume to appear before the ADB’s golden anniversary, retained the pace, standard and style of its predecessors but as it was the first to cover lives lost in the 1980s, it reflects the features and fortunes of that decade. Bobby Goldsmith succumbed, at the age of thirty-eight, to AIDS, that decade’s epidemic, while Dame May Couchman died at the age of one hundred and six (inexplicably, the editor, in her preface, overlooked the oldest dame in the history of the Commonwealth). Another sign of the times was the simple statement in Christopher Sexton’s entry on Sir Robert Helpmann: ‘Despite his showmanship, Helpmann was a private man. The great love of his life, with whom he shared a flat in London, was Michael Benthall (d. 1974)’.36

Change over time? Private lives: Sticking to the straight and narrow?

A text search of the online ADB uncovered an extraordinary statistic. It revealed that the term ‘homosexual’ appears no more than 19 times. (Just to be sure, ‘gay’ was also searched: of the 54 occurrences, no more than four referred to a subject’s sexuality; the rest reflecting a proper name or the prevailing meaning of the word until the 1970s.) There is only one Australian identified in the 17 volumes as ‘bisexual’—the writer Colin Campbell McInnes (1914–76). And the term ‘lesbian’ appears but once—and even then to describe ‘Edwards, Marion (Bill) (1874–1956) transsexual barman, pony trainer and bookmaker’. Given that the first volume did not appear until 1966, and even allowing for editorial strictures on relevance and space, to identify some 20 men out of 10 500 as homosexual does seem rum. While this might smack of excessive circumspection, it should be noted that Michael Holroyd’s seminal life of Lytton Strachey that so boldly opened the bedroom doors of Bloomsbury did not appear until 1967 and it was another two decades, and The Times obituary of Sir Robert Helpmann, before obituarists turned their gaze upon the sexuality of their subjects.

Colin Matthew, editor of the *ODNB*, touched on this issue in his address to a conference on national biographies in 1995:

> [T]he public/private antithesis is one still followed by most DNBs, partly because the reaction against it is comparatively recent and partly because it is a serviceable way of incorporating such information in what is probably a brief article. To integrate fully the home and sexual life of a person who is, as most are, in a DNB for ‘public’ reasons, requires space, and space is money and time. But this incorporation is perhaps the central challenge for DNBs of our time.37

Mere statistics cannot be conclusive, but Matthew’s position may have influenced the *ODNB*, in which the term ‘homosexual’ appears 500 times. That said, it may not be quite fair to compare unfavourably the tight-lipped approach taken by the *ADB* in the mid 1960s with that of the *ODNB* three decades later. More recent *ADB* lives have indicated a shift. Elizabeth Webby’s comprehensive and elegant entry on Patrick White (Volume 18) has moved with the times and accorded Manoly Lascaris, his long-suffering companion, the status of ‘life partner’.

While traditionally the *ADB* has taken the public road where the issue of sexuality is rarely crossed, with some lives it could simply not be avoided. The entry for Tasmanian-born actor and legendary swordsman Errol Flynn (Volume 8), by William Bryden, is remarkably bland and, at a mere three paragraphs, almost dismissive (his zoologist father, Theodore, with whom he shares the entry, has the lion’s share with four paragraphs). The great Grace Bussell suffered similar treatment in Volume 3: given a scant column inch while her obscure father garnered a full page.38 Having listed, with names and dates, but without more, Flynn’s three marriages, it follows with astonishing understatement: ‘Apparently a playboy all his life’. (Perhaps the fact-checkers, in the absence of an audit of assignations, would not permit anything firmer?) Two well-publicised trials for statutory rape that ended in Flynn’s acquittal may justify their omission, but do not his string of liaisons (including the last with a fifteen-year-old) bear upon the man, if not the actor, and warrant acknowledgment? Strangely, the author then cites, although without giving it credence, the allegation that ‘according to his most recent biographer, Charles Higham, [Flynn] was a friend to the Nazis during World War II’. Flynn, despite his shortcomings, deserves better.

This disappointing entry prompted a look at the entry of the American National Biography (ANB) on the ‘Tasmanian Devil’. At more than 2000 words (although it must be stressed that size does not matter), James Ross Moore’s exposition of Flynn’s life and legacy is excellent—rich in quotes and brimming with detail and insight: ‘Before he arrived in Hollywood in 1934, the man later called a “prince of liars” by his biographers essayed many adventures whose only common threads were twin lifelong loves: danger and the sea’. He also vividly marks the swashbuckler’s decline from ‘the true flower of chivalry’ and ‘a symbol for men of everything they longed to be and could not be’ to ‘a symbol of voracious sexuality’, ‘deferred from military service because a physical examination revealed malaria, a heart murmur, gonorrhoea, emphysema, and tuberculosis’.

Bryden’s ADB entry on Flynn misses three available sources relied upon by Moore. Bryden does cite the North Shore Times but misses (as does Moore) the fascinating morsel that the young Errol, while at Shore School in Sydney, had shared the boarding house with John Grey Gorton. Perhaps this coincidence might find its way into Sir John’s entry in a future volume of the ADB?

In reviewing the ANB for The New York Times Book Review in 2000, Richard Brookhiser pronounced what he saw as the three elements that make a good biography: a clear exposition of the essential facts, vivid detail, and judgment.\(^39\) Mary Eagle’s essay on Sir William Dobell (Volume 14) is the model of what an entry should be and meets all three of Brookhiser’s criteria. The progress of his life is chronological and clear while vivid descriptions and wonderful anecdotes bring him to life. He ‘saved drastically on clothes’. His friend and fellow lodger Eric Wilson described him going out in the evening, ‘holding a newspaper under his right arm to cover the tear in his overcoat. Whenever his socks have holes … he simply paints his leg to match’. Eagle also matter-of-factly addresses his sexuality (‘From mid-1936 until September 1938 Donald Friend was based in London; he and Dobell were both homosexual and otherwise had similar tastes’). More importantly, she meets Brookhiser’s third criterion in assessing his importance: ‘Comparisons outside Australia may be made with the British painter Francis Bacon and the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson whose art was to choose “the decisive moment”’.

Other lives that have found their way into both the ADB and the ANB deserve comparison—not to claim the superiority of one dictionary over the other, but to suggest the difference wrought by the winning combination of a lively author and a well-lived life. Peter Harrison’s ADB essay on Walter Burley Griffin is a model of eloquence and learning, although his judgment of Griffin’s legacy is perhaps too muted: ‘Although at the time of his death Griffin might have been

judged a failure, later generations regard his designs and ideas with a respect which would have astounded his contemporaries, and his surviving buildings are valued as part of Australia’s architectural history’. Paul Kruty’s considerably briefer entry for the *ANB* complements Harrison’s, taking a more global view of Griffin’s legacy: ‘Griffin stands as the third great member, after Sullivan and Wright, of the Chicago movement to create a decorated modern architecture for the twentieth century. His buildings, landscapes, and town plans on three continents record a lifetime’s dedication to this goal’.40

Another Olympian American figure is Douglas MacArthur, who straddles the pages of both the *ADB* and the *ANB*. In the former, D. M. Horner does touch on the personal: ‘Conservative, moralistic and apparently religious, when he was chief of staff he had kept a young Eurasian mistress Isabel Rosario Cooper in a Washington hotel while his mother lived at his official residence’—which the *ANB* does not—but Horner quite properly focuses on the general’s time in Australia. Michael Schaller, in the *ANB*, takes an equally appropriate view of MacArthur, from an American perspective.

Both entries refer to MacArthur’s address to Congress on his return home, and in doing so they highlight the different use to which quotes can be put. The *ADB* puts it thus: ‘he promised to “fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty”’. Survived by his wife and son, he died on 5 April 1964’. The *ANB* concludes: ‘he closed his address by citing the words from an old army song: “Old soldiers never die. They just fade away”’. But it adds: ‘Clearly, the old general did not expect to fade away. He testified for several days during spring 1951 before congressional panels, trying to persuade the legislators of the wisdom of his strategy’. Schaller devotes a further three paragraphs to support his contention that the general was not for fading (as Horner suggests), and refers to MacArthur’s address at the 1952 Republican nominating convention in a bid for the White House. Suitably reflecting the national aspect of the *ADB*, however, Horner concludes: ‘Between 1942 and 1945 he had been the dominant figure in Australia’s conduct of World War II. Few figures who have spent less than three years in this country have had such an impact on Australian life’.41

Another lively double Australian–American entry is the tortured figure of Percy Grainger, who emigrated to the United States in 1914 and took US citizenship in 1918. Kay Dreyfus, in the *ADB*, is strong on Grainger the musician but she also provides a striking image of the man:

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The fact that Grainger’s appearance matched his talent was a not insignificant component of his success. As a young man, his Byronic good looks and his golden hair were almost as much admired and as often remarked as was the strength and vigour of his playing. In later years he affected a markedly eccentric presentation, a personal style which, if nothing else, made for good ‘copy’. Grainger’s pianistic feats were complemented by a vigorous athleticism; long-distance walking was a favourite if intermittent pastime. Throughout his life he abstained from alcohol and tobacco and in his middle years he became a vegetarian.42

In the ANB, J. Marshal Bevil presents a striking psychological portrait:

His father’s philandering and alcohol abuse and his mother’s harshly domineering manner probably contributed to the emergence of a number of unusual traits in their son as he grew into manhood. These included immature emotional ties to his mother that lasted until her suicide in 1922, masochism, rigid self-discipline that included strenuous exercise, pervasive freneticism, comically bizarre behavior, and virtually uninhibited flights of creative fantasy.43

The ODNB also captures Grainger in an unflinchingly frank account: ‘He was one of the century’s more practised flagellants, equally at home in giving or receiving the lash’. The ADB is less forthcoming about Grainger’s relationship with Rose:

His mother’s suicide in April 1922, from despair at rumours of incest and gathering effects of syphilis, was a crushing blow. She had been his constant companion, ‘managed’ his business, social and emotional affairs, guided his career with single-minded purpose. Her influence was definitive; her death left Grainger with a lifetime legacy of guilt and remorse.

But, again, any account of Percy Grainger must be about his music and the ADB more than does justice to this: ‘His compositions for military band are regarded as classics of the genre; his settings of British and Danish folksongs are acclaimed for their sensitivity and appropriateness’.44

Sometimes the brilliance of the author makes any comparison, even with the same subject in another dictionary, absurd. A life in point is Manning Clark’s ADB entry on Joseph Furphy. Clark’s elegance, insight and wit shine from

every paragraph: ‘he established a reputation as a Sterne in moleskins or a Munchhausen among the bullock-drivers. Nature had planted in him a vast fund of cheery optimism. All his life he was a stranger to the pessimism and the melancholy which weighed down Henry Lawson and other bush writers’. And later: ‘he began to have the “vision splendid”. It was to be a more serious-minded, non-Dionysian view of the fate of being a man in Australia’.45 This splendid essay makes one regret that Clark, although a section editor, has no more than four entries attributed to him.

What conclusions can one reach from this perhaps indulgent and unnecessarily lengthy list of comparable lives between dictionaries? The most obvious is that the difference lies in the qualities of the author. The life and character of the subject are decisive but, despite the strictures and instructions of the editorial teams, or perhaps with their indulgence, a well-informed, well-written entry will shine through and make the obligatory, less dazzling entries more bearable. As Geoffrey Blainey noted of the first two volumes, and this has remained largely true of those that have followed, ‘individuality has not been suppressed’.46 Allan Martin echoed this: ‘No half-dozen pages lack an example of life bursting through as author answers to subject’.47 As he observed in reviewing Volume 2:

As before, in entries great and small, the swift vignette is a source of life: Lang in full cry against Stuart’s ‘malice prepense of the foulest character imaginable’; Polding with a convict ‘kneeling by his side in the sanctuary, and by word and action, instructing all through one how to make their confessions’; Macquarie, the devoted husband and father, agreeing to have the family’s favourite old cow shipped all the way from Sydney to Mull.48

Surely, this is the stuff of biography.

The tyranny of space, the cramping form and the editor’s whip: Lean, mean and, most importantly, authoritative?

Lawrence Goldman (editor of the ODNB since 2004) observed in his 2006 Seymour Lecture that ‘[t]he tone and style [of the DNB] was not grandiloquent, rhetorical and imperial, but business-like, factual and understated, and was praised as such in many quarters’. Significantly, he highlighted the distinct

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‘biographical memoir that has always characterised the DNB—the rounded, literary and rather more impressionistic portrait of the life and its context, inevitably longer and more discursive’. In contrast, Goldman admired ‘very much’ the ‘sharpness and focus of the entries in the ADB, even more so now that I appreciate the rigorous checking of each and every fact in a submitted article’.49 He realised it certainly in the wake of the fracas that broke through the general acclaim greeting the launch of the ODNB in 2004. It was said the ODNB was ‘riddled by error’.50 Its editors acknowledged error as ‘inevitable’ in such a large undertaking and pointed to the utility of online publication for it permitted ‘continual revision’.51

Allan Martin was typical in his review of Volume 2 of the ADB, noting two facts: ‘the high level of accuracy originally achieved by the editors and their staffs (the errors are, for the most part, trivial), and the continuing care devoted to revision and correction’.52 Yet he also observed: ‘Space tyrannises and a regular format cramps the multiple authorship, which sometimes cringes visibly under the editor’s whip. Plain, clear narrative is required, especially in the minor entries, and the pages fold quietly over corpses being decently docketted and laid back to rest’.53

Dedication to the truth is an abiding principle for the ADB and tends to explain its characteristic tautness and prudence. When interviewed in 1999, John Garraty, editor of the 24-volume American National Biography, published by Oxford University Press (OUP) that year, admitted that the OUP office in Cary, North Carolina, generated ‘well over a hundred thousand queries’ seeking confirmation of factual claims during the editorial process.54 In its five decades, the ADB will have well exceeded that number. Contributors could cite a plethora of examples. I will cite one from my own experience. My draft entry on Sir Edgar Tanner, sports administrator and politician (Volume 16), contained the assertion that 12 boys in his primary school class eventually became knights. Some months later, in correspondence, the editor advised me that the team had only been able to confirm that seven boys in that class became knights.55 Ultimately, no mention was made at all of the subject’s early education. The

classic example of the *ADB*’s respect for truth appears in one of its corrigenda: ’For “died in infancy” read “lived to a ripe old age in Orange”’. As Peter Ryan observed, ‘the Corrigenda show the conscience of the *Dictionary* at work’.

For many years the *ADB* had a full-time staff member who compiled lists of corrigenda, which were consolidated and published with each new volume. Most of the corrigenda understandably relate to the earlier volumes, when authoritative material proved elusive, and much of it is prosaic, such as wrongly spelt names. A number of entrants have been found to have imagined themselves younger. Others, such as Daisy Bates, have been found guilty of inventing their early lives, only to be uncovered by full-scale biographies.

Interestingly, since the *ADB* has gone online, protective descendants have plagued *ADB* staff with corrections. An assertion that one subject had a mistress was met with the (unfruitful) protest, a century on, that the woman was his ‘friend’.

The *ADB*’s reputation for ‘sharpness and focus’ is a legacy of its founding editor. Bede Nairn’s essay on Douglas Pike (Volume 16) remarks on his passion for ‘conciseness, without the sacrifice of humanity and style’. Many a contributor has seen favourite anecdotes or observations scrapped. Again, I speak from experience. I thought it interesting and mildly amusing to say that when, in 1941, Sir Byrne Hart (Volume 17) was posted to Northern Command Headquarters as deputy assistant quartermaster general and required to arrange for the reception of the first American troops to arrive in Brisbane, ‘he proved most unpopular for feeding them mutton’. The editor thought otherwise. She may, however, have had good cause to jettison the observation that the only way the headmaster of the Southport School could tell Byrne and his twin brother apart was that one had webbed toes.

Though mine did not, many an anecdote has survived to publication and they add greatly to an appreciation of the subject and the readability of the text: John Aitken (Volume 1) carrying his sick lambs ashore one by one to found his flock; the Aborigine Arabanoo (Volume 1), who ‘was at first pleased by a handcuff on his wrist, believing it to be an ornament, but became enraged when he discovered its purpose’. Queensland silk Sir Arnold Bennett’s brilliance as an advocate is painted in one episode (Volume 17). Successfully defending, at a retrial, a man charged with poisoning a testatrix, Bennett suggested that the strychnine was self-administered. He stirred 40 Alophen pills into a glass of water and sipped it, ‘demonstrating to the jury that the extreme bitterness of the poison could not have been concealed’, and invited them to try it.

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58 Bede Nairn’s essay on Douglas Pike: *ADB*, vol. 16.
Rigorous pruning and paring of the entries by the ADB’s editors are justified on the bases of consistency, cost and proportion but one often longs for more. It might be said that many entries are simply too brief. The luxury of space accorded to the contributors (and readers) of the ODNB and the ANB is a cause for envy. And yet, in his review of Volume 17, Stephen Wilks observes that ‘almost all entries manage to be succinct without sounding disrespectfully terse’.\footnote{Stephen Wilks, ‘Dictionary Speaks Volumes of Our History’, \textit{Canberra Times} (8 December 2007), p. 14.} With expansiveness comes a greater need for checking. In abiding by its doctrine of exactitude through concision, the ADB has been generally (except by Ellis) accepted as authoritative and untainted by error.

Where the primacy of such a doctrine appears vulnerable for the dictionary is when according traits and values to its subjects. Of Volume 1, C. Hartley Grattan wondered whether ‘gently moralistic evaluations, usually to be found in final paragraphs, are to be too warmly encouraged from writers and, really, are of much use to readers. Maybe it is best to stick to “the facts”’.\footnote{Grattan, ‘Australian Dictionary of Biography’, p. 252.} But surely some evaluation, some assessment of character or achievement is essential? Otherwise the result is merely a \textit{Who’s Who}. Geoffrey Blainey raised the fundamental matter of sources, specifically the reliance on obituaries. He noted an assertion in the entry on Sir Robert Officer (Volume 2)—Officer’s obituaries ‘made much of his unostentatious benevolence to the poor, his earnestness and personal piety’—and suggested it would be valuable if a historian could study the changing conventions underlying the portrayal of character, especially in newspaper obituaries. He proceeded to ask, ‘were such valuable judgments as “honesty”, “integrity”, “courageous”, “public-spirited”, “philanthropic”, “honourable”, used as we used them today? Were they used with some consistency throughout the nineteenth century?’ The same question could still be asked. The select bibliography throughout the ADB consistently contains references to subjects’ obituaries, which, until quite recently, have resembled eulogies in their tendency to gloss and extol, but again, they are cautiously employed in the manner of ‘obituaries praised his selfless…’, ‘obituaries portrayed…’; so perhaps Blainey’s advice has been heeded. In this regard, the development of Obituaries Australia, the digital repository of obituaries the NCB is publishing from newspapers, journals, magazines and bulletins, is welcomed. Comparing an ADB article with an obituary will expose the ADB craft.

**Conclusion**

How has the ADB been assessed? Most reviewers of the ADB considered it against some benchmark of good dictionary practice. Reviewers have been
largely indulgent of the ADB's shortcomings in the face of its contribution to Australian history. Considering the ADB as a whole is difficult because one has to contextualise articles and take into account changing historical mores. Measuring comparable, or the same, lives between different dictionaries also requires indulgence because a dictionary based on submissions is necessarily patchy and individual examples are not necessarily indicative of the dictionary as a whole. Moreover some dictionaries, like the DNB, have been revised, while the ADB has not.

What, then, makes the ADB distinctive from other dictionaries of biography? As early as Volume 3, the incisive Blainey ventured to identify three distinctive characteristics: ‘It is unusually sympathetic to confidence men, round pegs, and what the preface calls “samples of the Australian experience”’. What makes it different is its Australian-ness. The key remains the phrase repeated in the preface to successive volumes: the ADB’s inclusion of lives ‘as samples of the Australian experience’. As Lloyd Robson put it:

[T]his would have shocked Stephen and Lee at the DNB, and the managers of the DAB [Dictionary of American Biography, precursor of American National Biography]: no one, however beneficent or favourable his conduct may have been towards his family and son, was to be a subject because he was ‘representative’, thundered Sir Sidney Lee, and both Britain and the United States set their faces against including such persons.

The ADB’s sampling must be vulnerable to charges of imbalance, but its boldness in attempting to capture not just the exceptional but also the emblematic Australian is unique.

Another abiding strength is devotion to truth. The dogged fact-checking begun in the 1960s continues unabated and, while it may annoy the more lyrical and speculative contributor, it does the ADB great credit. The other ADB trait that has also maddened two generations of contributors is dedication to concision. The loss of precious anecdotes and axing of prized adjectives have made many look longingly at more indulgent editors of other dictionaries. Some subjects may have been given such short shrift that one wishes they had been left undiscovered until the ‘missing persons’ volume in which they may have been given more attention and space. But this discipline has also given space to more lives and lent each volume a consistency it would otherwise have lacked. As John Ritchie, the longest serving of all the ADB’s editors once observed,

‘it is possible to craft an object of beauty in 500 words’.63 And, as the ADB’s reviewers have frequently found, there are many splendid examples of this in the 19 volumes that have so far appeared.

Volume 18 of the ADB was launched at Government House, Queensland, in December 2012. From left: Pat Buckridge, chair of the Queensland Working Party, Melanie Nolan, General Editor, Penelope Wensley, Governor of Queensland, Tom Griffiths, chair of the Editorial Board

By courtesy of Cathy Jenkins

Finally, the rarest quality of all to which the ADB can lay claim is democratic accessibility. Apart from New Zealand’s, no other dictionary of biography is freely available online to its readers. As John Ritchie’s successor, Diane Langmore, put it as the ADB went online, ‘I always felt it was eight million words of treasure locked up and … the online version will … unlock the treasures’.64 What Stephen Murray Smith had lauded in 1988 as ‘a remarkable gift to the nation’ had been given all over again.

Many more people now access the ADB online than buy the book. The ADB site records some 70 million hits a year. And even if they are in a hurry, they could

not but be impressed by its scholarship and scope. Douglas Pike’s hope that the ADB ‘will inform and interest the lonely shepherd in his hut as readily as the don in his study’ must now be stretched to the homesick expatriate in his office offshore and the student on her laptop on campus.

There has been a huge commentary on the ADB in the form of reviews over the years and this chapter has tried to summarise and analyse these critical assessments. Finally, as the essence of this chapter has been a review of the reviews, the words of Professor Blainey must again be called upon: a ‘review of a book which itself compresses the knowledge of several hundred contributors on a wide variety of these is bound to be subjective. Inadequacies of the book are far outweighed by the inadequacy of the reviewer’. As he wrote of Volume 3, and it remains apt, a reviewer cannot ‘really know how much this masterly book depended on the skills and efforts of the … editors … At the very least our debt to them is enormous’.65

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Hundreds of reviews of *ADB* volumes have been published in newspapers, magazines, and journals. These three, reprinted here, assess the *ADB* at its beginning, its midpoint (so far) and its most recent volume. It is fitting that the final review should be by Mark McGinness, the author of this chapter’s ‘Review of Reviews’.

**Geoffrey Blainey, Review of *ADB*, vols 1 and 2 (1967)**


On first reading the inaugural volumes of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* I realized how an early Australian settler must have felt when he received a packet of news from his home country. Indeed it would be more appropriate to liken the feeling to that of a settler answering an ‘anyone knowing the whereabouts’ advertisement and duly receiving his first home news for forty years.

The dictionary brings news of hundreds of people whose name is more or less familiar to those interested in Australian history. It transforms our knowledge of many lives, adds much to our knowledge of others. If we had wondered why someone decided to migrate to Australia in 1813 or why he decided to go home in 1833, wondered what became of this New South Wales colonel or that judge, or had been forced to guess the social background of this squatter or that convict, the answer often is in these volumes. Even if this were the only service provided by the new dictionary, its publication would have been justified. But the dictionary provides many other services and clues for the practising historian and a remarkably sustained interest for general readers.

In understanding the past there are, for most people, successive layers or levels of awareness. Sometimes the biographies in these volumes made me more aware of simple facets of early Australian society. By their pithiness, by the interest which a life story can arouse, they indirectly emphasise some themes with a force and clarity which no generalization can quite convey. For instance the life of Samuel Terry, told skillfully by Gwyneth Dow, makes one realize the social and economic mobility which was *possible* in early Australia at that time. Terry was a Manchester labourer, sentenced in 1800 to transportation for theft; if he had been born a century and a half later he might have risen to become a successful, and perhaps slightly shady, seller of secondhand cars without ever accumulating the capital to start his own car yard. In New South Wales, however, he landed on his feet, on ground fertile for those with commercial
10. Assessing the ADB: A Review of the Reviews

acumen. When he died he had a personal estate of a quarter of a million and sufficient personal prestige to attract a regimental band to his funeral. Of course he was not typical, but neither was his experience rare, as many other biographies show. The dictionary indirectly conveys many other observations with a success which cannot be equalled by most general histories with their understandable emphasis on simplifying and generalising. It also suggests themes which I for one have not seen in other books and articles. One simple example: the number of rich Australians, who in the first sixty years retired to England points to a relevant factor in Australia’s balance of payments, a factor which probably so far has not been noticed.

The volumes are well written, and this must be a tribute to the editors as well as the contributors. Some articles which might not add much to existing knowledge are still essays of distinction with the additional virtue that they marshall fragments of evidence hitherto widely dispersed. In reading I jotted down the articles which seemed so meritorious in presentation or so illuminating that they deserved reference in a review; the list became too long. L. R. Marchant’s articles on French navigators were, at least to me, a revelation. Michael Roe’s essays on men as different as a Tasmanian governor and a Victorian ‘beardy’ are eloquent and fascinating. Kenneth Cable on churchmen and teachers, Niel Gunson on missionaries, K. M. Dallas on Enderby the ship-owner, the late John O’Brien on Charles Laing the architect, Bede Nairn on Archbishop Polding, O. K. H. Spate on the Malay-Portuguese author, Eredia, and Peter Eldershaw on Lieutenant-Governor Davey are some of the articles which displayed differing techniques and facing different problems, seemed highly successful. Other reviewers, justifiably, could list a different set of articles; one virtue of these volumes is that individuality has not been suppressed.

Occasionally an individual’s character appears too much in black and white. A New South Wales public servant is described as ‘both incompetent and dishonest’. Of an Adelaide candle-maker we are told: ‘His whole life was affected by a deep religious fervor’. A settler on the Hunter River is marked by ‘honesty of purpose’ and also by ‘sound common sense’—a phrase which, by the presence of a redundant adjective, incidentally hints that there is a trait known as ‘unsound common sense’. In most articles the prose is tight, and so a shortage of space perhaps justifies the use of emphatic phrases rather than conditional phrases such as ‘he was said by some to be honest’. But when some of the black and white judgments appear close together, the effect can be unsettling. Furthermore, the source material on some of these people being meagre, it may be dangerous to describe someone as honest or corrupt merely on the surviving evidence of one or two contemporary witnesses or on the strength of a court case which, judging by the recorded biographies of some magistrates, did not take place in the Court of Solomon.
Side by side with the sweeping depictions of personal character are far more which are careful without being over-timid. Thus Governor Macquarie, according to N. D. McLachlan, ‘probably had more integrity than most’ men of his day; this is the kind of realistic judgment which John Reynolds also displays in his articles. Much can be said for the practice—visible in some unsigned articles—of revealing the source of certain descriptions of character: ‘Officer’s obituaries’, notes the article on Sir Robert Officer, ‘made much of his unostentatious benevolence to the poor, his earnestness and personal piety’. Certainly, if a historian has studied a nineteenth-century life for a long period and if he has the aid of adequate sources, he is justified in making a more confident appraisal of character; but most contributors, understandably, did not possess these advantages.

Many historians will be influenced, subtlety or strongly, by these opinions of character when weighing evidence and assessing the worth of witnesses in their own fields of research. The accuracy of these character sketches could therefore be of vital importance in view of the astronomical number of times the dictionary will be consulted. Indeed, before editorial work on the volumes covering the years 1851 to 1890 is completed, it would be valuable if a historian could study the changing conventions underlying the portrayal of character, especially in newspaper obituaries. Most writers in the next series of volumes will rely on the assessments of character and personality published in newspapers and magazines of the time; and yet we know very little about the conventions surrounding such obituary notices. For examples, was funereal courtesy more common in 1890 than in 1850? Were such valuable judgments as ‘honesty’, ‘integrity’, ‘courageous’, ‘public-spirited’, ‘philanthropic’, ‘honourable’, used as we use them today? Were they used with some consistency throughout the nineteenth century, or did they rise or decline in the hierarchy of virtues? Similarly, does a slightly different set of assumptions underlie obituary notices in say the Hobart Mercury or the Launceston Examiner of the same year? I am not sure whether these questions are answerable; I suspect some are. This is a subject which probably justifies a doctoral thesis, and the Dictionary would be only one of many works which could gain from the findings. Without such analyses, contributors may be forced to accept at face value the judgments of obituary writers, when in fact such judgments can no more be translated uncritically into modern usage than say the pound-note of a century ago.

It is difficult to assess character; it is perhaps even more difficult to assess the influence of an individual who has long been dead and whose life is sparsely documented. Most of us, in our historical research, more or less skirt the problem of weighing one man’s influence. In books which pursue a broad theme—the history of a colony or city or region—individuals tend to be drowned in the stream of events, and their actions come to seem inevitable, pre-ordained by
weightier trends and events. The unusual individual serves as a mere symbol, a bobbing piece of straw which indicates the force or direction of the current. Alternatively, in a biography, the author’s sympathy for and absorption in the one individual often magnifies that individual’s influence. In a general history, lack of space also assists in crowding out the individual, just as in the book-length biography an abundance of space elevates him. In a general history a writer usually takes full advantage of the valuable yet untrustworthy ally named Hindsight, which often makes events seem inevitable, an inevitability that the same historian would not assign so eagerly to the events and influence of his own life or the life of anyone else. Biographers make less use of hindsight, I suspect, partly because their narrative is absorbed with only one subject and can therefore go forward more evenly from year to year, whereas general historians have to push one phase of the story forward with a long leap and then return to pick up another thread which is similarly shuttleted forward.

All this has some relevance to the dictionary, because most people who contributed articles had had experience in writing about a general theme but not in writing biography. Furthermore in Australia, biography has had few skilled practitioners, and a biographical dictionary therefore poses problems; indeed this is one of its virtues.

In most articles in these two volumes the problems of defining the individuals’ influence on their times did not arise; it was probably small, and the authors were wisely prepared to accept that assumption. The problem of assessing influence was usually tackled, however, by contributors writing articles on those pioneers who were regarded as significant and were therefore allotted a high quota of words by the editors. Thus Don Baker’s excellent article on John Dunmore Lang asked in the final paragraph: ‘Was Lang influential in this long process which culminated in a liberal, democratic and secular society? Or, was he like a man in a boat, shooting over the political Niagara, and furiously whipping the water to make it go faster?’ Baker concluded that Lang’s writings were of such a kind and volume that they ‘must have had a large, though unmeasurable, influence inculcating the colonial values which were dominant in Australia by the end of the nineteenth century’. Anyone reading the article will see how carefully he reaches this conclusion. On the other hand, Michael Persse in an absorbing essay summed up the influence of W. C. Wentworth: ‘More than any other man he secured our fundamental liberties and nationhood’. This is a bold conclusion: true, it could have been even stronger, for it only compares Wentworth’s influence to that of other men and not to that of wider and impersonal causes; but even within that context his judgment assumes a wide knowledge of a maze of events and many men. While some writers seem
rather too sweeping in asserting the influence of their favourite, most writers seem conscious of the difficulty of making judgment, especially at this stage of our knowledge of Australian history.

These volumes are not easy to review, particularly because they represent both recent research and the specialized and long-accumulative knowledge of several hundred people. The number of times I was surprised by information is a reflection of my own previous ignorance and therefore my inability to write a comprehensive review. It is also risky for a reviewer to assess the merit of the editorial policy which shaped these volumes. One can only hope that in a future volume the national committee, general editor, or section editors will outline more fully the assumptions on which they are working. Any co-operative venture will gain if the aims and principles of the venture are disclosed as fully as possible to the co-operators. Moreover, this is a long-term project; and there seems to be some virtue in exposing the underlying principles to public discussion in the early stages, when these principles can, if necessary, be revised, rather than at a late hour when change is impossible. Finally, it is not unlikely that in the year 2017 historians may hold some different methodological assumptions and, if so, they may at times be wary of a work which is rather secretive about its own underlying principles.

In the uniform preface to the first two volumes of the *Dictionary of Australian Biography*, the principles of selection receive two and a half sentences:

Many of the names were obviously significant and worthy of inclusion. Others, less notable, were chosen simply as samples of the Australian experience. Some had to be omitted through lack of material…

The phrases ‘obviously significant’ and ‘less notable’ are not (very) revealing. They are not really illuminating for the scoreboard school of history which learns a lot by adding up and categorizing: someday some of its adherents will probably use the dictionary to compute the importance of such types as London men, ex-servicemen, young men, in shaping early Australia. Fortunately, three roneoed sheets entitled ‘Analysis of Contributors’ and apparently compiled by the publishers, Melbourne University Press, were sent to potential reviewers with the aim of supplying more information of volume one. According to the analysis twelve biographies in volume one each received more than three thousand words; and of those twelve people eight were colonial governors. Similarly one in five of the biographies in the volume received more than 1250 words, and most of these longer biographies were administrators and professional men. The statistics point to some of the principles of selection and emphasis, but presumably only a minority of readers have access to them; one hopes that the statistics will be brought up to date and published in later volumes or in a learned journal.
An advertising leaflet which came with the review copy of volume one (but which does not accompany copies sold in shops) is more informative than the official preface. The general editor, Douglas Pike, remarks in the leaflet that the dictionary is primarily a reference work and so the ‘familiar’ names—the names which readers are most likely to look up—dominate the volumes. To these names, he writes, ‘have been added a few entries of almost forgotten characters, for no worse reason than they are samples of the Australian experience’. This note does not tie in with the official preface which allows one to assume that a considerable portion of the biographies were chosen as samples of the Australian experience. It would be interesting to know how many names were chosen because they were samples, and why such samples were thought necessary and indeed how they were selected. This is not a request for a mathematical formula or necessarily a criticism of the idea of selecting samples of the Australian experience; merely curiosity about the assumptions embodied in a work of importance.

The preface in the first two volumes could mislead an intelligent reader into thinking that the dictionary embodies the experiences of a wide cross-section of Australian society whereas my impression, confirmed by the advertising leaflet, is that it concentrates largely on those people who had power, influence, success or notoriety. Of course the preface may be more accurate than the advertising leaflet. But even if the preface is correct, and the sample of the Australian experience is wide, it could be advisable to add a warning in the preface that the Australian dictionary is more democratic in content than biographical dictionaries of other countries, but is still much more a record of personal success than of failure and far more a record of the exceptional than the normal individual. Such a warning is necessary because the work aims to attract, and deservedly will attract, a wide audience. Some members of that audience will be tempted by the existing preface to jump to the conclusion that they are entitled to generalize about the Australian experience on the collective strength of these entries.

Several other decisions of the national committee or the editors merit discussion; but any comment can only be speculative, because the volumes do not explain these decisions. The decision that many entries would be unsigned is puzzling, especially as some are of the highest standard. The decision to divide the project into self-contained series of volumes, one series ending at 1850 and the next at 1890, is not explained. I am not sure of the advantages of this policy; they may well outweigh the disadvantages. It is already clear, however, that this method has disadvantages. Many of the selected lives flourished both before and after 1850; thus a Tasmanian flour-miller, who was aged nineteen and a nonentity in 1850, and who lived on until the First World War, appears in the pre 1850 volumes. The speed with which many entries can be consulted will be
The ADB’s Story

reduced by the gamble of deciding which volume to consult. This is not to argue
positively that wrong decisions have been made, but to suggest instead the
merit of writing a much longer expository preface to the next series of volumes.

Judging by the initial volumes, the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* will
probably be the most valuable reference work in Australian history; it is already
one of the most readable works on Australian history. This twin achievement
would have been unobtainable without outstanding editors. The general editor,
Douglas Pike, and the section editors, A. G. L. Shaw and Manning Clark, claim
no credit whatever for the success of these volumes. All their work has been
inconspicuous, and we can only surmise how much energy, care, and scholarship
they must have dedicated to the task. One imagines that in a team of several
hundred players they were called on to bat on sticky wickets, catch in first slip,
declare innings closed, protest against gloomy light, detect bodyline, check the
scores, and makes centuries in even time on the last day—all this in addition to
the obvious editorial functions of picking teams, deciding the order of batting
and bringing on drinks. Unlike many captains they have not imitated W. G.
Grace in refusing to be given out; a revised scoresheet labelled ‘corrigenda’
comes with each copy of the second volume.

The last article in these volumes records briefly the life of Yuranigh, an
aboriginal guide and traveller who died west of the Blue Mountains in 1850.
The anonymous author quotes a tribute by Sir Thomas Mitchell to this obscure
aboriginal: ‘his intelligence and his judgment rendered him so necessary to me
that he was ever at my elbow’. The same will be said of these volumes for years
to come.

Geoffrey Blainey, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography’, *Papers and
Proceedings* [Tasmanian Historical Research Association], 15, no. 2 (November
Stuart Macintyre, Review of *ADB*, vol. 9 (1983)


The best way to appraise a reference series such as this is to live with it, consult it and browse it, thereby savouring its riches. To read a volume through is to dull the appetite; too many stories of achievement can pall, the structures of exposition grow formulistic, the overworked phrases turn into clichés. Yet the appearance of this, the ninth volume of a monumental series, demands a considered evaluation.

The project, now moving towards completion barely a quarter-century after its inception, is a major feat of Australian scholarship. When finished we shall have 7000 lives recorded accurately, readably and accessibly. Praise is due to the editors, the Australian National University which has provided a home for the project, and the Melbourne University Press which has produced and keeps in print such handsome volumes. Beyond these principal partners, we owe thanks to the working parties in each of the States, which prepared the lists of biographical subjects, and to the many hundreds of authors who have provided the entries.

For the ‘*ADB*’ is a co-operative project and as such it rests on compromise—or rather a series of compromises. The claims of one candidate for inclusion have to be measured against another. (Do you give the nod to this businessman or that bishop?) The weight of contemporary importance has to be balanced against retrospective criteria of representatives. (Yet another State politician or a pioneer female doctor?)

Since they depend on voluntary labor, the editors rely to a degree on who they can find to execute their plans. (Hence there seems no shortage of military historians but, on the evidence of this volume, biographies of Australian Rules footballers are thin on the ground.) And as a commercial project, the needs of the scholar have to be set against the interests of the general reader. (Thus some entries suffer ‘who’s who’ constipation while others strive perhaps too hard for the colourful anecdote.)
What is the outcome? As we would expect, there is a heavy emphasis upon conventional achievement. Almost a fifth of the entries and a quarter of the space are taken up by State and Federal politicians, an eighth by businessmen and another eighth by war heroes and leaders. Other categories of eminence in descending order of emphasis, are: writers, artists, musicians and actors; scientists, inventors, architects and the like; religious figures; educationalists; doctors and nurses; lawyers; sportsmen; administrators. There are five subjects of Aboriginal descent, three Japanese, one Chinese. Women make up less than a tenth of the whole.

My Procrustean bed would not be taken too seriously—how does one categorise an ‘artist, bimetallist and pioneer daylight surfer’, a ‘versifier and swindler’ or a ‘merchant and litigant’. But clearly if you had aspired for admission to this Hall of Fame, it was best to have been masculine, rich and to have made your mark in a field of conventional esteem. Hence the two Knox families of BHP and CSR fame earn five entries in this volume. If you were a sportsman, it was best to have played cricket or Rugby League, preferably in Sydney, and futile to have played any sport in Western Australia or Tasmania. Alternatively, if a scoundrel, you should have been a colourful or notorious one like Isabel Gray, the courtesan, or Handcock, the associate of Breaker Morant.

Certain features are common to each entry. First the formalities: name, dates and field of activities. Next, a brief account of ancestry and circumstances of birth; then the main section, a biographical narrative. Here the tone is equable, praising judiciously (‘Kind, courteous and unassuming’), criticising by decorous allusion (‘her bedroom was a scene of great activity’) and gentle irony (‘the results were often controversial’). The penultimate paragraph will offer a thumbnail characterisation and, perhaps, suggest the magnitude of the achievement. The standard entry concludes, as it began, on a formal note: death, descendants, estate.

It is an undemanding format, well suited to the uneven abilities of the contributors. The conventions assure that the enthusiastic will not wander too far off course, and they need not become monotonous unless you feel impelled to read from cover to cover. Nor is the formula necessarily restrictive. Like the fugue or the sonnet, it imposes rules of composition within which the writer can give free play to ingenuity, and it is possible to achieve a richly dramatic effect. Roger Joyce follows the form closely in his fine large-scale entry for Samuel Griffith; Patrick O’Farrell relaxes the narrative principle in his striking portrait of Archbishop Kelly.

These are longer entries and the shorter entry of 800–1000 words is perhaps more challenging. The danger here is that the record can crowd out the person—so
many entries fail to establish a sense of personality or even to provide a physical
description. Yet consider the force of this brief passage from Geoffrey Blainey’s
entry for Paddy Hannan:

He was short and slight and his face was weather beaten. A photograph
in old age shows a bald head, wispy beard, strong nose and searching
eyes.

The account of the ‘gun’ shearer, Jacky Howe, achieves more with the description:
‘17-inch biceps and a hand the size of a small tennis racket’ than a list of tallies
ever could. Again James Griffin’s masterly entry for William Hackett, priest and
confidant of Mannix, tells us that he farewelled the boys leaving Xavier in 1939
with these instructions: ‘Keep fit. Don’t grumble. Shoot straight. Pray Hard’.

Revealing in a different sense are the bromides and euphemisms that punctuate
the more pious entries. Too often we hear the subject was ‘tough and determined’,
a ‘firm disciplinarian’, ‘forthright in her speeches and opinions’, or—I like the
modifiers here—was ‘remembered by his descendants as fairly remote and
rather stern’, ‘strict when necessary’ and ‘took his responsibilities too seriously
to be popular’. We have here an ideology of Australian leadership, challenging
yet at the same time constrained by the egalitarian ethos. Cumulatively, these
entries provide (mostly unwitting) commentary of the abilities of leadership,
and the loneliness and strains it imposes.

The more successful entries recognise frailties of temperament. The marriage of
Charles Kingston, we are told, ‘was not a happy union and he soon returned to
lechery’. Zelman Cowen acknowledges Issac Isaac’s ‘appalling certainty’, and
the acknowledgement in no way diminishes his stature. Others are alluded to
be martinets; their families can disintegrate, they can hit the bottle and even
take their own lives. Equally they can spend their declining years in uneventful
happiness. In the end, one is left with a sense of the richness of individual
experience.

And also mutuality. My last impression from reading this volume is what a
clubbable lot our notables were not just in the Melbourne Club or Sydney’s
Union and Australia’s clubs but as Wallabies, Savages and Boobooks in the
national capital that was Melbourne in the early years of this century.

Stuart Macintyre, ‘A Monumental Series Marches On’, Age [Melbourne] (1
Book Review

Mark McGinness, Review of *ADB*, vol. 18 (2012)


Last year the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* celebrated its 50th anniversary and to crown it, Melbourne University Press has published Volume 18, completing an account of Australian lives which ended between 1981 and 1990. It begins with Maurice Lachberg, trade unionist, communist and cabinet-maker; and finishes with Mervyn Zischke, apostle and leader of the Apostolic Church of Queensland. If this gives a hint of the eclectic mix, a flick through the pages and 669 lives confirms it—there’s Bing Lee and Ben Lexcen, John Meillon and Hephzibah Menuhin, Lloyd Ross and Lloyd Rees, Sir John Pagan and Sir Sidney Pope, Patrick White and Cyril Pearl, Douglas Stewart and Kenneth Slessor, Robert Trimbole and Kylie Tennant, Margaret Woodhouse and Olwen Wooster.

One expects a solid representation of generals and judges, politicians and pastoralists, artists and academics and they duly appear. The convicts (50 of them) and pastoralists of the early volumes have given way to community workers and businessmen. There are no less than 100 knights in Volume 18. The two benighted Billies—McMahon and Snedden—are given fair and thorough assessments. Lionel Murphy’s eventful life and its tragic end are judiciously dealt with by Brian Galligan, with a generous tribute from Michael Kirby and a neat quote from Barry Jones, ‘a passionate participant in the human adventure. He was magnetic, fearless and even reckless’.

The *ADB* formula is long-established—how they looked and what they did to make it in; but also their parentage, education, partners and issues—even the precise medical cause of death, the funeral arrangements and, until recently, the extent of the deceased’s estate.

And while the great and the good are well represented, there has been a great effort to honour the aim to reflect ‘the Australian experience’. There is a solid representation of Indigenous Australians—Cinderella Simon and Valentine McGinness; councillors and activists, a cameleer, a clergyman, two campaigners and at last a governor, Sir Doug Nicholls.
There are about 160 women—more than in any of the previous 17 volumes. Apart from nurses, nuns and educationists, there are three booksellers, a beautician, and a botanist, a pianist and a puppeteer. Dames Enid Lyons and Merlyn Myer sit comfortably among the entries with Enid Lorimer and Olga Masters, Christina Stead and Grace Cossington-Smith. And Ethel (Monte) Punshon, described in the 1980s as the world’s oldest lesbian. She died in 1989 aged 106, having taught English in Tokyo and was appointed to the Japanese Order of the Sacred Treasure.

The ADB is something of a sacred treasure itself. When Volume 1 appeared, Professor Geoffrey Blainey predicted the ADB would ‘probably be the most valuable reference work in Australian history; it is already one of the most readable works on Australia history’. He concluded, ‘The last article in these volumes records briefly the life of Yuranigh, an aboriginal guide and traveller who died west of the Blue Mountains in 1850. The anonymous author quotes a tribute by Sir Thomas Mitchell to this obscure aboriginal: “his intelligence and his judgment rendered him so necessary to me that he was ever at my elbow.” The same will be said of these volumes for years to come’.

Has the ADB held up to that promise? It’s true, most of its reviewers (including this one) have also been contributors, but a half-century of sustained scholarship and 12,000 Australian lives is an extraordinary achievement.

Biographer (and contributor) A. W. Martin wrote, ‘Plain, clear narrative is required, especially in the minor entries, and the pages fold quietly over corpses being decently docketted and laid back to rest’. This reviewer’s entry on Sir Douglas Wadley, ‘solicitor and company director’, was one of these—a sober account of a good man and a gifted, public-spirited professional. There are many like this—so matter-of-fact, as dry as the outback in drought. Part of this is a legacy of the first editor, Douglas Pike, who had a distaste for adjectives and adverbs, maintaining, half in jest, as there were no adjectives in the Psalms there would be none in the ADB. But more importantly, in its authoritativeness and its zeal for the truth, the ADB dares to be dull. It is, after all, a dictionary.

Yet many an adjective, anecdote and vivid vignette survive, adding immeasurably to an appreciation of the subject and the readability of the text. There is a sparkling entry by K. S. Inglis of Stephen Murray-Smith. As a commissioning editor, ‘His imagined typical reader was a matron at a hospital somewhere near Port Hedland’. There is Lloyd Rees exhibition’s after his visit to Chartres Cathedral: ‘he envisaged Australia through European eyes, and Europe through Australian eyes’. And Sir Colin Syme, ‘one of the leading businessmen of his generation … although living in Toorak, he continued to drive an old Holden
car, used a battered plastic briefcase…’ And heart surgeon, Harry Windsor, ‘When he first started cardiac surgery he used to sleep next to the patient’s bed and he did this for years’.

While traditionally the ADB has stuck to the straight and narrow, taking the public road where the issue of sexuality is rarely crossed, the last few volumes have opened the odd bedroom door. We learn of Sir Billy Snedden, ‘Returning to his Rushcutters Bay motel room with a female companion in the early hours of 26 June, he died there soon after of coronary artery disease’. Hal Porter apparently had relations with a son of his biographer. After the war, journalist Sam White, ‘... returned to Europe and began an affair with the novelist Nancy Mitford, using his volatile friendship with her to gather stories on British expatriates in Paris’. In its impeccable devotion to the facts, the ADB, and the author, rely on an obituary by Robert Haupt in the Age as the source of the claim but the affair is a surprise to no less than four of Miss Mitford’s biographers.

The ADB is full of surprises but the biggest surprise is how little known it remains. Since 2006 it has been available online—and free but, it must be said, that no Australian library, home or office, should be without those 18 royal blue-jacketed tomes, the ultimate source of the Australian experience.

Pasts and Futures
ADB Volumes

Douglas Pike, gen. ed.
Volume 3: 1851–1890, A–C (1969)
Volume 4: 1851–1890, D–J (1972)

Bede Nairn, gen. ed.

Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle, gen. eds
Volume 7: 1891–1939, A–Ch (1979)

Geoffrey Serle, gen. ed.

John Ritchie, gen. ed.

John Ritchie and Diane Langmore, gen. eds

Diane Langmore, gen ed.
The ADB’s Story

Melanie Nolan, gen. ed.

Christopher Cunneen with Jill Roe, Beverley Kingston and Stephen Garton

Hillary Kent
Index to Volumes 1–12, 1788–1939 (1991)
The ADB’s Story
AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY

VOLUME 16 1940–1980
Pik–Z

EDITORS
JOHN RITCHIE
DIANE LANGMORE

SUPPLEMENT
1580–1980

EDITOR
CHRISTOPHER CUNNEEN
with JILL ROE, BEVERLEY KINGTON and STEPHEN GARTON

VOLUME 17 1981–1990
A–K

GENERAL EDITOR
DIANE LANGMORE

VOLUME 18 1981–1990
L–Z

GENERAL EDITOR
MELANIE NOLAN

Philip Carter

Anniversaries, like that to mark the *Australian Dictionary of Biography's* recent half-century, are principally times for looking back and reflecting on what has been done. But they can also be opportunities for assessing current situations and thinking about the future: what could be done, and what might be possible at the start of the next half-century. For most of the *ADB*'s first 50 years the sole medium for publishing Australian lives, and those of other national biographies, was print, either as sequential chronological volumes—as favoured by the *ADB* and the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)* and the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*—or as complete series, as with the *American National Biography (ANB)* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, which appeared in 1999 and 2004 respectively.

The last two titles were also notable for their simultaneous online editions, marking an important development in how national biographies are made available and may be used. By the time the *ADB* went online in 2006, it joined the *ANB, DCB, ODNB* and *DNZB* (and has itself since been joined by digital versions of the dictionaries of Swedish, Welsh, Ulster and most recently Irish national biography), as well as a range of specialist titles including dictionaries of Scottish architects, labour biography, the New Grove dictionaries of art and music, and the United Kingdom’s *History of Parliament*. As a solely print publication, the 25-volume *Diccionario Biográfico Español* (2011) is the exception that proves the rule.

In response to online publishing’s ascendency, practices and expectations are being transformed as publishers, researchers and readers come to appreciate the close fit between that eminently traditional genre, biographical reference, and the contemporary medium of the Internet. The degree of this transformation is worthy of note. As recently as 2004–05 there was, among editors and publishers of the *ODNB*, a sense that its print and online versions were equal partners that most readers would use interchangeably. Now, as we approach the tenth anniversary of the *ODNB*'s publication, what is striking is the extent to which the online edition has become the dominant and preferred form for reference, research and also reading. An anniversary like the *ADB*'s therefore
allows us to appreciate how the recent past, the present and most certainly the future of national biography lie online. But the ADB anniversary also prompts consideration of several further issues. What, for example, does the ascendancy of online reference mean for how national biographies are being (and could be) compiled? How might the online environment shape editors’ work as custodians of their respective national histories? To what extent are researchers willing to treat online dictionaries not just as ‘super-accessible print’ but as new resources in which the ability to make connections between people shifts perspectives from biography to history; from, in effect, discrete biographies of those who shaped a nation to a nation’s history told through the lives of its people?

This chapter considers these topics by looking principally at the recent history of the ODNB online, though where possible also with reference to the ADB and to other national biographies. After setting the respective dictionaries in context, the chapter considers the ODNB’s experience—aims, challenges and, above all, opportunities—through several stages: its inception as a continuous online publication; the extension and interpretation of biographical content; the work to preserve and improve prompted by other online resources; and attempts to use digital publicity and social media to promote the dictionary as a national resource and institution. The chapter’s conclusion returns to challenges and opportunities—witnessed and perhaps future—with particular reference to research possibilities within and between national biographies, a subject of shared interest for the ODNB and the ADB.

ODNB and ADB in context

In early 2005 the ODNB’s publisher, Oxford University Press, began a program of three annual updates in which new biographies and other forms of content (along with revisions to existing entries) were added online in January, May and September of each year. By early 2013 the ODNB had published 25 such updates, which have extended its coverage (which stood at 55,113 people in 2004) by a further 3,432 men and women, active between the first and twenty-first centuries, together with 504 ‘reference articles’ designed in various ways to place individuals in historical context. Continuation, extension and upkeep are not unique to the ODNB. Since 2005 the DNZB online has been part of the larger, interpretative Encyclopaedia of New Zealand site (<http://TeAra.govt.nz>); in the following year, the ADB online began a program of corrections and amendments, while from 2000 the ANB has regularly revised and added to its coverage (1,348 new lives in 32 sets by late 2012). The last is a model followed by the DCB, to which a small selection of biographies has been published ahead of the appropriate print volume, and by the new Dictionary of Irish Biography, with a first update of 36 biographies in November 2010,
and a further 153 lives in four subsequent updates to 2012. Relative to the *ODNB*, however, these currently remain limited exercises. What distinguishes the *ODNB* are the extent, complexity and ambition of its online edition, evident both in the amount of biographical and reference content published and in the attention given to its promotion as an accessible, national resource of relevance to multiple readerships.

The attention paid to the *ODNB*’s development as a national record derives from particular circumstances, reminding us that, while national biographies may have shared aims and approaches, their forms reflect political, cultural and commercial contingencies. The degree to which national circumstances, and even character, might shape the creation and continuation of such works is an interesting question worthy of further consideration. Even a cursory comparison of the historical and cultural contexts in which the *ODNB* and *ADB* have been, and continue to be, compiled suggests an influence that is not insignificant. How, for example, does a historically rich, predominantly London-centric society like Britain’s create, view and look after its national figures compared with a younger, federal Australia with what (at least to an outsider) appears a more explicit interest in its national story? One implication is that since 2005 the *ODNB* online has existed, and as a subscription service must thrive, in a relatively more competitive cultural environment in which the telling of national history is variously undertaken by galleries, museums, archives, public broadcasters and a host of free, ‘open-web’ resources.

Comparisons between the *ODNB* and the *ADB* point to further differences, most notably that the Oxford project is at a different phase in its academic and publishing cycle, with important consequences for what is required and possible for its respective digital editions. Thus, with a full A–Z sequence already published, editors at the *ODNB* are able to combine work to extend the dictionary’s coverage with that of ‘curating’ the 55 000 lives already in place. That we now see ourselves as curators as well as academic editors is a significant transition, and one directly attributable to an online format in which a traditional, alphabetical ‘national biography’ has become a digital ‘national collection’. The implications of this changing perception are wide ranging, intellectually stimulating and as yet little considered. Released from the presentational strictures of print reference, it is possible online to select, study, connect and present historical individuals or groups of people in new ways. Indeed, such is the importance of this idea that, as this chapter suggests,

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it is as meaningful to understand today’s *ODNB* with reference to museums or galleries—to speak of acquisition and interpretation, preservation, curation and outreach—as it is to traditional book publishing.

These specific national contexts and publishing histories inevitably make for distinctive forms of Australian and British biography. Equally the growing prominence of online formats in reference publishing, and the appreciation of editors in Oxford and Canberra as to its importance, also reminds us of the connections between our projects and those of other national biographies. Though online reference is now ubiquitous, the *ODNB* and *ADB* are examples of what is still quite a rare creature: an academically rigorous, trusted and sustained resource that has transferred or is in the process of transferring to a wholly online environment committed to further development. The particular focus on the *ODNB*, as here, seems warranted given the distance it has come since 2005 as a pioneer of this genre—serving to highlight the changing working methods, requirements and perceptions of national biography derived from being online. Some of these experiences remain particular to a project in a specific intellectual and cultural climate, but others do suggest shared opportunities for national biography.

### Online from 2005: Three decisions

Publication of the *ODNB* in 2004 brought to a close a 12-year research and publishing project of the University of Oxford and Oxford University Press. The edition comprised newly written, or substantially revised, versions of the 38 607 biographies that had made up the ‘first’ *DNB*, consisting of Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee’s ‘Victorian edition’—that is, 63 volumes (1885–1900) and its retrospective supplement (1901), together with the decennial and quinquennial volumes that mapped the twentieth century (published between 1912 and 1996), and a further ‘missing persons’ volume in 1993. To this set, the 2004 edition added biographies of a further 16 315 men and women active (with a handful of exceptions) between the first and the late-twentieth centuries and deceased on or before 31 December 2000.

Well before publication of the complete series of 55 113 lives, attention turned to the dictionary’s future with a particular focus on its online presence after 2004. Here several options were available to a title that had been published as a complete sequence in then identical print and online editions. One possibility was to keep the content stable, at least for a few years, which was perhaps not unreasonable given the dictionary’s scale and the research opportunities awaiting its readers. That this was not considered, even then, owed much to the prevailing intellectual case for continuing to extend a collection whose
50 000 articles (in which the 55 113 lives appeared) had always been regarded as a sensible marker, not the sum total, of British history. Seeking to develop the dictionary’s content from publication also showed an appreciation that successful online reference, then in its infancy, both could and should ‘add value’ relative to print. Rejecting stasis in favour of ‘organicism’ now required decisions concerning the definition of ‘value’: what was to be added and why?2

The first decision was to ensure the dictionary’s chronological progression—that is, the addition of people who had died in or after 2001. This made lexicographical sense, being readily interpretable and innovative; then, and now, no other national biography systematically covers the ‘recently deceased’ and with it late-twentieth and twenty-first century history. Since 2005 it has led to the publication of one annual update (released each January), which adds about 220 biographies of people who died in a single calendar year. Beginning in January 2005 with those who died in 2001, the current sequence involving just less than 1950 individuals, now includes (with the January 2013 update) men and women who died on or before 31 December 2009.

Having committed to extending modern content, attention turned to editors’ responsibilities for the dictionary as a whole. The outcome saw January updates combined with two further annual releases (published each May and September) that would include people, from all historical periods, who were either known omissions in 2004 or recently identified subjects arising from new research or reviews of existing coverage. This second decision was perhaps the most important for the ODNB’s future course. It meant that the continuation project would not just be one of chronological extension, as practised in print by several ongoing biographies, including the ADB; it would also involve improving the work as a whole, a process that has seen the addition (by May 2013) of 1609 men and women covering 1000 years of British history worldwide.

At the same time, a commitment to pre-2000 coverage was intended as more than filling known ‘gaps’. Rather, new additions across the dictionary should also serve as a means for editors to draw attention to, and make connections between, existing biographies. This was important given the scale of the dictionary, in which valuable content might otherwise remain hidden, and because of readers’ understandable preference for searching person-by-person rather than (as online now allowed) by historical topic or theme. Seeing new and existing content as interconnected also made clear the need for, and value of, maintaining the quality of individual entries throughout the dictionary. In

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response came a third and final decision, notable for confirming the dictionary’s future organicism, to extend the remit of online updates to include also reviews of the complete text, providing corrections, additions and revisions as required.

**Extending *ODNB* online: New people**

Since 2005 two selection processes have been devised for identifying new candidates for inclusion in the dictionary. In the first, for updates covering people who died after 2001, the procedure has similarities to that for recent, and forthcoming, volumes of the *ADB*—that is, possible subjects (drawn principally from searches of national and international obituary records) are reviewed by external experts until a final listing of approximately 200 people is chosen as the dictionary’s coverage of a single calendar year. Where the process between the *ODNB* and the *ADB* differs is in the nature of selection and decision making. In contrast with the *ADB*’s State-based working parties, for whom the principal criterion is geographic, Oxford’s external advisers are thematic subject specialists (450 in more than 40 subject panels, from archaeology to zoology) who are asked to assess the relative contribution of individuals in their field and to make nominations for possible inclusion. Thereafter the final decision on who to include is made by the *ODNB*’s general editor and the section editor responsible for coverage of recent subjects.

For subjects from earlier historical periods, a second, wholly thematic procedure has been developed, with sets of interconnected biographies linked by profession, place or research area, and often spanning several centuries in their consideration of a historical topic. Here a decision to include a specific set of biographies may have one of several origins. In some areas known imbalances in coverage have prompted long-term research projects to add new biographies in updates over several years; of these, examples include improved coverage of the later empire and early Commonwealth, and the inclusion of 100 early English bishops to provide a complete, and unique, biographical register of the pre-Reformation episcopacy.

Other selections have addressed developments in the historical understanding of specific professions (for example, British domestic and imperial policing, a subject that, until recently, lagged behind that of criminality); of popular activities and recreations, including motoring and horticulture; and of emerging areas of historical study, such as domestic service or childhood. Several additional selections have provided historical interpretations of current events, most notably, British sporting pioneers for the 2012 Olympic Games. Further sets are chosen with reference to place, be this people active beyond the
former empire (another growing area of research prompting extended coverage of Britons in Latin America, Russia and Japan), the nation-states of the United Kingdom, or prominent cities and regions within England.

This thematic approach to new content serves editors, and readers, well in several ways. Above all, it allows us to add to the dictionary in a systematic and interpretable manner, akin to a special issue of an academic journal on a particular topic. In doing so editors seek to carry over some of the established and readily intelligible structures of print publishing to an online format where, now freed from chronology or alphabetical sequence, there is a risk of new material being added in a random, piecemeal manner. In-house, the thematic approach allows editors to accumulate suggestions from scholars and readers, often gathered over several years, and then to have external specialists assess candidates on their merits relative to others in a similar field, allowing for a more systematic application of the dictionary’s inclusion criterion of ‘noteworthiness’. In doing so, sets of new biographies in effect become short-term research projects in which editors immerse themselves in a particular subject (the history of policing or domestic service, and so on), enabling them better to identify and address limitations in the dictionary’s coverage.

To think thematically is also to think lexicographically—that is, to consider the dictionary’s content, presentation, usefulness and readership in the round. Extending coverage since 2005 has encouraged greater editorial focus on the interests and expectations of readerships that now go well beyond the academic specialists who oversaw additions to the 2004 edition. Here in-house editors are well placed to guide the dictionary’s development, being both familiar with the existing coverage of subjects and aware of historical categories that were underplayed or not addressed prior to 2004. To this editors also bring an appreciation of the breadth of new content needed to maintain the dictionary as a national resource, within and beyond the academy.

The implications of this approach may be seen in the recent set of British policemen and women active between the early nineteenth and late-twentieth centuries. For the ODNB—as scholarly reference work, public resource and national commentary—such selections must go beyond an ‘institutional’ survey to include people connected to well-known events or innovations about which readers may wish to learn more through biography. To offer several examples from the series: the pioneer of fingerprinting, Francis Cherrill (1892–1964); Walter Dew (1863–1947), the detective who crossed the Atlantic to arrest Dr Crippen in 1910; or WPC Yvonne Fletcher (1958–84) whose murder outside the Libyan Embassy led to the breakdown in relations between London and Tripoli and to new forms of public commemoration for officers killed on duty. When they do appear, chief constables are included not for their rank but for their activities—as in the case of Mowbray Lees Sant (1863–1943), who, infuriated by
‘speeding’ motorists, introduced the country’s (and most probably the world’s) first speed traps three months before the death of Queen Victoria; or Eric St Johnston (1911–86), who, in promoting the move from policing on foot to motorised patrols, oversaw a profound change to the modern service.

Up to a point, this recent approach to content echoes one long practised in the ADB. In 1998 the ADB’s editor, John Ritchie, gave a talk in Oxford in which he explained the policy of including ‘representative’ lives that encapsulated a social movement or new professional category, his example being Aileen Keldie, an airline stewardess killed in a plane crash between Sydney and Canberra in November 1961. At the time there was agreement that, here, the two dictionaries differed, with the ODNB requiring that a person be, if not exceptional, then at least historically noteworthy relative to others and identifiable for having left a mark on national life broadly defined. This principle still applies. And yet, in response to the inherited structures of the 2004 edition and in mind of modern readerships, the recent interest in thinking and commissioning lexicographically does now mean a greater focus on lives that represent different interests or offer a balanced representation of subject areas, such as policing.

So, too, with geographical surveys of content: there has always been an element of this. For the 2004 edition, Oxford editors were commissioned with specific reference to Scotland, Wales and Ireland and in relation to people from or influential in former colonies. In Britain London dominates, unlike in Australia where the federal system foregrounds and privileges the States and Territories. Metropolitan dominance, coupled with the absence of pronounced expressions of English regionalism, meant that there was less historical motivation, or political encouragement, to consider coverage in terms of the north-east, Cornwall, East Anglia and so on. Since 2005, however, regionalism has emerged as an increasingly useful category for Oxford editors to assess and extend coverage. Derived directly from the dictionary’s online availability, a principal reason has been the growing numbers who access the ODNB through the UK public library network. This follows an agreement, initially with English library authorities in 2006, and subsequently extended to cover Northern Ireland and most of Wales and Scotland, by which the ODNB is provided as a free online resource, with most libraries now offering ‘remote access’, which allows members to login via a home computer (or from anywhere), at anytime. This agreement has been of considerable benefit, enabling us to promote the online edition as a genuinely national and public resource. Encouraging the dictionary’s use in libraries in turn prompts closer attention to the coverage of regional histories and ‘local figures’ deserving of national recognition. The outcome has seen the inclusion both of people and of groups: notable individuals, among them Jack Crawford (1775–1831), the sailor who ‘nailed the colours to the mast’, recently
commemorated with a statue in his native Sunderland; and thematic sets of biographies, including of brewers and school-founders, highlighting national professions and institutions with which readers also have close regional ties.3

**Connecting and interpreting: Biography to history**

Though a key feature since 2005 has been the rapid take-up of the *ODNB* online, questions remain as to how the dictionary is being used. The challenge faced by editors and publishers is to persuade readers, even those comfortable with online research, that resources like the *ADB* and *ODNB* online offer more than the print edition on screen. So, while the growth of online use has been very welcome, it is also the case that it remains largely conservative: more than 90 per cent of entry points to <oxforddnb.com> are by personal name, as one would consult the print volumes. This means that only a small proportion of readers is using the online edition to its full potential as a research tool that not only records ‘what is already known’, but also offers opportunities for new discoveries in ways unachievable in print. This has surprised Oxford editors, not least because cross-subject searching, and the ability to create new sets of biographical data, is one aspect of functionality offered (to varying degrees) by the majority of national biographies online, but not available in popular alternatives such as Wikipedia.

The *ODNB*’s electronic index is capable of searching for people by combinations of name, date, place, profession, gender and religious affiliation, as well as by wealth at death, archive holdings, and portrait records. Thus it is possible, in seconds, to bring together 20 female political activists resident in Manchester in the 1890s; 15 natives of Melbourne living in London during the Blitz; 200 people in the *ODNB* with a statue, bust or tomb in Westminster Abbey; or the six women writers with papers held by the National Library of Australia. Any connections between Manchester’s late-Victorian activists may be tenuous—but, then again, perhaps not. And for some researchers, the *ODNB* online has offered routes to new research.4 Similarly, in university teaching, related entries (for example, suffrage campaigners) are being studied prosopographically, while

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4 For example, I. C. McManus (‘The Wealth of Distinguished Doctors: Retrospective Survey’, *British Medical Journal*, 331, no. 7531 [2005], p. 1520) compares wealth-at-death records within a profession. In-house surveys include Philip Carter, ‘Life on the Square: The *Oxford DNB* in WC2’, *Trafalgar Chronicle*, 18 (2008), pp. 264–71, which intersects people and place, and a forthcoming article on the social origins of the pre-Reformation episcopacy following completion of the *ODNB*’s listing of church leaders in spring 2011. These examples aside, studies of interconnectivity remain noticeably rare, with most surveys of sets of lives focusing on coverage, from the perspective of professions, the ‘four kingdoms’ or the nation at large. James
comparisons between the *DNB's* Victorian and late twentieth-century editions feature in courses on historiography and life writing. These initiatives are welcome but we would also like academics, teachers and students to make more of the *ODNB* online as a starting point for research, not just as a means of checking or confirming. This is where two additional forms of online content—the *ODNB*’s ‘reference lists’ and ‘reference groups’—play a role: they serve as editors’ attempts to nudge readers towards treating the dictionary as a historical resource, capable of charting the connections and exchanges between people who are otherwise covered singly in the main text. It might initially seem odd to associate Donne’s ‘No man is an island, entire of it self’ with biographical reference and, maybe so in its alphabeticised, individuated print format. But online it is a sensible expectation and typically a discoverable reality.

In showing how and where historical connections may be made, the *ODNB* and *ADB* currently follow different paths. We both, however, appreciate the potential for making links between people: with projects such as Obituaries Australia, editors at the ANU’s National Centre of Biography are creating opportunities to establish hitherto unknown connections from, in effect, the ‘bottom up’. These, moreover, are connections that go well beyond what is possible via the existing metadata of the *ADB* or the *ODNB*—for example, by bringing people together with reference to places of shared activity other than educational institution or residence, or by tracing sets of interrelated people as they move through different stages of life, from school to university to army service, and so on.

In contrast, the *ODNB* pursues a more ‘top-down’ approach with its list and groups—that is, identifying pre-existing structures (be they public offices held consequentially or social networks in which membership was shared contemporaneously) and then highlighting connections between incumbents or members. Since 2005 Oxford editors have compiled and published 150 lists of office-holders. These serve several purposes of which the most obvious is ‘quick reference’, something that is available in print but which in the *ODNB* is more accessible and offers links to relevant biographies for further reading. A

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5 For example, Alex Danchev [University of Nottingham], ‘The Power of Two’, *Times Higher Education Supplement* (18 September 2008); and ‘Lecturers Using the Oxford DNB’, <www.oup.com/oxforddnb/info/learning/uni/usage/> ‘Learning Resources’ offering ideas for classroom and seminar use have also been developed for the online edition: <www.oup.com/oxforddnb/info/learning/>.

6 Despite recent statements on the usefulness of biography—for example, Nick Salvatore, ‘Biography and Social History: An Intimate Relationship’, *Labour History*, 87 (2004), pp. 187–92; and ‘AHR Roundtable: Historians and Biography’, *American Historical Review*, 114, no. 3 (2009), pp. 573–661—little has been said about the research potential of national biographies online. An exception is Barbara Caine’s discussion of national biography in the context of collected biography: *Biography and History* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 59–61.
second purpose is therefore to provide thousands of new routes into the main dictionary, so offering alternatives to ‘name’ search where an original inquiry starts with a known person.

With lists, the focus shifts from people to events. Starting with an interest in, say, those involved in the Crimean War, a reader may quickly identify the secretary (or, as here, secretaries) of state for war or, indeed, others round the cabinet table in 1856, so creating profiles of formal networks at points in time. In addition, certain reference lists provide alternative forms of digital indexing that allow historical figures to be identified by criteria that could not be, or were not, tagged in the compilation of the dictionary’s metadata. Among this category of lists, and continuing the Crimean theme, are ‘Victoria Cross holders in the ODNB’ (unlike the ADB, not all British recipients have entries in the Oxford Dictionary), who otherwise could not be brought together for further study. Similar lists/indexes include the dictionary’s 100 Nobel laureates, 80 Oscar recipients, and its collection of saints and subjects of beatification (470 including, from 2010, Mary MacKillop and Cardinal John Henry Newman).

The ODNB’s second approach to historical connections is 400 group biographies, which, on completion, will chart British associational life (its clubs, coteries, gangs, brother and sisterhoods), from the Magna Carta barons and Gunpowder plotters to the discoverers of penicillin and the Angry Young Men. Unlike lists of office-holders that exist elsewhere, there is no equivalent in print or online of the groups project for which 300 essays (each roughly 2500 words long) were in place by 2012. With their ability to connect and link to members’ biographies, group articles are particularly well suited to an online environment. Though a recent creation, they are, however, not a new idea, having been proposed in the 1990s by the ODNB’s founding editor, Colin Matthew, who foresaw networks as a requirement of modern national biography written and read by scholars now fully attuned to the collective means of historical change.7

Editors seek to achieve several things with groups. As with a person’s stand-alone biography, we aim to offer concise, informative accounts of the coteries, circles and sects that readers might encounter either in an ODNB article or in secondary literature and wonder, quite rightly: who or what were the Metaphysical poets, Bluestockings and Lunar Society, or, from overseas, the Founding Fathers, First Fleeters, Scottish Martyrs or Canterbury Association? Several of these will likely be examined from alternative perspectives when the ADB begins its own program of online groups, to which no doubt will be added other, wholly Australian networks such as the Heidelberg School, the Seven Dwarfs, Angry Penguins and perhaps even the Kelly Gang.

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A key issue faced by Oxford editors when devising their own interpretative groups was definition: what is a network, and how best to distinguish associations of sufficient coherence from those too disparate or ahistorical to merit study? In response, specific requirements are set. Groups must be historically defined with a beginning and an end point, and they require an identifiable membership, even if participants did not see themselves as forming a group, as in the case of the 15 ‘Guilty Men’ who were externally labelled for their pro-appeasement stance in the late 1930s. Consequently, open-ended or retrospective affiliations such as ‘Scottish Enlightenment thinkers’ do not have a place while members of the Edinburgh Select Society (act. 1754–76) or the Aberdeen Wise Club (act. 1758–73) are included. In addition, ODNB group essays must, wherever possible, provide readers with full membership lists (regardless of whether these participants have entries in the main dictionary), as well as information on why and how they came together, what they did, their legacy and, where known, how associations changed individual careers or lives.

By being comprehensive it is possible to establish first-time connections between individuals who were members of the same group, as well as to identify history’s ‘serial joiners’ who were members of numerous networks. More broadly, we can consider how concepts of civil association have changed over time; how, why and where particular types of circles formed; and how the historical memory of particular networks has been shaped by subsequent events. Lastly, from the lexicographer’s perspective, groups (and lists) provide an effective means of systematically reviewing and combing existing content for notable ‘missing people’ who are, in turn, added to the dictionary in annual updates.

Conserving the collection

If national biographies online have implications for how we encounter, study and teach aspects of the past, it is also the case that other digital resources are radically changing what is possible, and indeed expected, in works of record like the ODNB or ADB. Several factors make this particularly so for the ODNB, which benefits from the United Kingdom’s relatively limited privacy laws (copies of birth, marriage and death certificates, for example, are readily available to 2005) and, more recently, from a boom in the provision of such documents driven by a growing interest in family history.

In its first incarnation, 1993–2004, the ODNB was in large part compiled with core biographical sources that had barely altered since the days of Stephen and Lee. But in its second, wholly online incarnation (2005–) the opportunities for research are hugely expanded, and continue to be so at a remarkable rate. Of these, the most significant include: national census returns for eight surveys held between 1841 and 1911; searchable indexes of civil registration in England and Wales (births, marriages and deaths from 1838); an ever-growing selection of English parish registers (including those in the London Metropolitan Archive); Scottish parish registers from about 1500 and civil registration registers from 1855; English and Welsh probate registers (1861–1966), providing details of residence and death as well as wealth; and wills dating from the sixteenth century via The National Archives, Kew, and Scotland’s People web site, a partnership of the General Register Office for Scotland and the National Archives of Scotland. Many of these resources allow documents to be downloaded directly, giving quick access to a record that, prior to digitised searching, may have been impossible to locate.

Beyond these core resources, the National Archives and commercial sites like Ancestry offer numerous other records of biographical relevance, from early modern seals and passenger shipping lists to military service records and telephone directories, providing details of residence for the years after the last
public census. Meanwhile, the British Library’s ‘British newspapers, 1800–1900’ service provides nearly 50 national and regional papers, to be used alongside existing resources such as the *Times* digital archive (1785–2006).

Finally, the recent launch of open web sites such as the ‘Clergy of the Church of England database 1540–1835’, with listings of more than 100 000 clerics; the ‘Old Bailey online, 1674–1913’, providing details of nearly 200 000 criminal trials and the life stories of 2500 victims of execution; and ‘London lives, 1690–1800’, with 240 000 manuscripts naming nearly 3.5 million Londoners, provide wonderfully rich resources for investigating early modern social trends through biography.

A principal benefit of resources like these is the opportunity to add information that in 2004 was either unknown (and undocumented in secondary sources) or could not be located from searches of printed catalogues. This applies most obviously to core biographical data that are now more easily available via digitised registration catalogues or census records, places and dates of birth, marriage and death, as well as details of subjects’ parents, spouses and immediate family. In 2004, terms such as ‘details of which are unknown’ or ‘remains elusive’ appeared at points across the dictionary’s text. Given the dominance of print resources and traditional cataloguing, such statements were inevitable and to be expected at this time; but within a couple of years this was changing, not least as researchers drew attention to previously unknown aspects of a life gleaned from new online sources. In response, ODNB editors began a project in which articles were combed for these (and similar) phrases, and new record searches were undertaken, resulting so far in details of more than 2000 previously unknown births, marriages and deaths being added throughout the dictionary.

This work has been particularly rewarding in supplementing the lives of nineteenth and twentieth-century women, whose biographies are on occasions at risk of being obscured by multiple name changes, leading some to disappear from the historical record. Alternatively, there are instances where women have given false information about their age, often for professional reasons, which subsequently meant editors were led to the wrong register. One such case is the journalist and political activist Eleanor Vynne, who, as she became established as a writer in the 1890s, reduced her age in the census. As a result, in 2004 the ODNB’s best estimate was that she had been born in ‘1870?’, the daughter of Charles Vynne, a chemical manufacturer, with family ties in Norfolk. Alerted to the falsification, wider searches of newly available online resources identified Vynne as having been born 13 years earlier, on 31 October 1857, together with details of her place of birth (Kennington, Surrey), her immediate family, and a full account of her father, Charles, who, then an accountant, only later became manager of a fertiliser manufacturer following the family’s move to north-west England.
As well as improving existing biographies, digitised records allow editors to gather sufficient information to add to the dictionary people, perhaps notable for a well-documented event or once popular creative work, whose personal biography would previously have been too shadowy to justify an article. A century ago Henrietta Marshall’s rousing history of Britain, *Our Island Story* (1905), was familiar to schoolchildren nationwide. Far less was known about its author; indeed, writing as H. E. Marshall, she obscured even her gender, to the extent that a centenary reissue of this, her most famous work, could not provide Marshall with firm birth or death dates and declared that ‘little was known’ of her life. Online searches of Scottish genealogical records, however, identified Marshall as the daughter of a Bo’ness manufacturer, while digitised regional newspapers provided an obituary report and enough material to trace a death certificate and probate, and with it details of her later residence in Hampstead, north London. The outcome was Marshall’s inclusion in the *ODNB* with the first detailed account of her life in a recent selection of biographies relating to the history of children and childhood.

Sir Henry and Lady Meux, subjects in an entry for the Meux brewing family (act. 1757–1910), published in 2007

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Similar investigative work is being done worldwide by thousands of researchers, many of whom, with remarkable generosity, make their findings available to us. One example of collaboration concerns the hitherto fabricated life of Valerie, Lady Meux. Twice painted by James Whistler, Valerie married into the Meux brewing family, which made her one of the wealthiest women in Edwardian England, able to devote her widowhood to collecting Egyptian antiquities (now in the British Museum), training the 1901 Derby winner, and giving £20 000 for the purchase of guns for the defence of Ladysmith. To readers of Debretts this would have been ‘just so’ for there Lady Meux is listed, with reference to her marriage certificate, as ‘Valerie, daughter of Charles Langton, gentleman’, born in 1856. But thanks to research by family historians in New Zealand (to which, after her marriage, she sent many of her relatives), Lady Meux was identified as Susie Langton, born in 1852 (she changed her birth date to tally with her husband’s), the second daughter of William Langton, a village butcher from rural Devon. Digging further, researchers discovered how Susie sought her fortune in London in the 1870s. Here she changed her name to ‘Valerie Reece’ and worked as an actress and hostess in the clubs of Westminster, where she met Henry Meux, heir to the family business. With access to online resources, this new information could be verified prior to her biography being added to the dictionary, being an unlikely and unexpected member of our series on regional brewers. To Susie Langton or Valerie Reece or Lady Meux, the discovery of her true past may not have been welcome, but for ODNB editors it becomes a key part of her story, a fascinating case study of late-Victorian social mobility, and the first opportunity to identify accurately the sitter of Whistler’s portraits.

The contribution of readers to improving and supplementing the dictionary’s content is, if anything, even more pronounced for pre–nineteenth-century subjects whose lives, unrecorded in civil registration and other records, evade systematic reviews of near-comprehensive digital sources. For such subjects discoveries frequently originate with family historians who offer information from personal papers—that is, correspondence, diaries, portraits, even records of children in a family Bible—that have remained undisclosed and unknown until the ODNB’s worldwide circulation online. This coming together of genealogical research and national biography can be remarkably productive in adding to what is known about selected early modern lives. Take, for example, the case of the Tudor churchman Robert Johnstone (d. 1558), to whose entry more than 30 years of family life, education and clerical career have now been added as a prelude to his period as a religious controversialist in the 1550s. Or Eliza Fay (1755/6–1816), the traveller best known for her posthumous Original Letters from India, whose ODNB account has doubled in length owing to new research that minutely plots the troubled personal life that led her to travel repeatedly to India, and the business ventures she maintained there and in Britain as a single woman once separated from her wayward husband.
As the Fay example shows, the addition of biographical detail can serve (while also ‘humanising’ an individual story) to re-emphasise the historical possibilities of national biography, offering, as here, a more rounded life (missing, incidentally, from a 2010 print reissue of her *Letters*), which provides greater context for a subject’s better-known public actions. But even when there is less resonance between private and public lives, the supplementing of biographies with personal information remains a worthwhile activity. One of the great advantages of national biography online is that readerships extend well beyond those interested in the public actions of prominent figures. Consequently, new readers bring questions (and demands) that can relate equally to family, residence or places of residence and association. These, in turn, have the potential to prompt new connections and research among some of the hundreds of thousands of ‘extras’ in national biography—mothers, fathers, children, kinsmen, colleagues, teachers—who surround the principal subjects.

H. H. Pickersgill's widow, **Jeanette Caroline Pickersgill [née Grover]** (1847–1885), born in Amsterdam, exhibited works at the Royal Academy between 1848 and 1863 and was 'well known in literary and scientific circles' (*The Times*, 27 March 1885). She was the first person to be legally cremated in the United Kingdom, following the trial of William Price, in 1884, when Sir James Fitzjames Stephen held that this mode of disposing of a body was not unlawful. She joined the Cremation Society in January 1885, and died of broncho-pneumonia shortly afterwards, on 20 March 1885, at her home, 5 Cornwall Residences, Clarence Gate, Regent's Park, London. Her will contained instructions for cremation and, after an autopsy, this was carried out on 26 March 1885 at the crematorium established by the Cremation Society at St John's, Woking, Surrey. Her ashes were deposited at Kensal Green cemetery in 1887.

The revised article for Henry Pickersgill in which his wife, Jeanette, now appears as a fully searchable co-subject of the main headword entry

Nor are such connections the preserve of readers alone. A welcome side effect of editors’ reviews of dictionary content is the chance to highlight historical ties previously submerged within 68 million words of text. In 2008, for example, one set of new lives considered people responsible for modern forms of domestic and public hygiene and sanitation, including a leading advocate of the nascent practice of cremation. Research for the series identified the first person to be legally cremated in Britain, in 1885, as Jeannette Pickersgill. A search of the dictionary showed that Pickersgill was not a subject, but that there was a passing reference to Jeanette Caroline Grover (then presented without birth or death dates) as the wife of the painter Henry Hall Pickersgill (1812–61). To the original contributor of the Pickersgill entry, an art historian, and to the editor of the biography in 2004, Jeannette Grover was understandably regarded as the spouse of a more famous subject; but four years on, and seen from a previously
unconsidered perspective, she emerges as a person of note, albeit one known by her married name. As a result, the entry has been recast to give Jeannette the status of a ‘co-subject’ within her husband’s article in which she now appears with life dates and a note detailing her singular mark on the national record.

By her elevation to a ‘co-subject’, and hence to the dictionary’s searchable index, Pickersgill becomes identifiable in her own right and by any of her name variants, not just the precise (maiden) name by which she originally appeared. This promotion of noteworthy people to the status of ‘co-subjects’ makes particular sense in an online environment. In 2004 the ODNB included 4809 individuals of this kind whose biographies, located within the text of another person, must in print be found through the relatively cumbersome procedure of cross-reference entries, often taking readers across several print volumes from the same edition (as with the 60-volume ODNB), or across different editions and several decades with the ADB \(^{10}\) online; however, such figures are as easily found through name or category searching as a Shakespeare or a Churchill, and for this reason editors have paid close attention since 2005 to identifying figures who, briefly discussed in others’ biographies, merit co-subject status. By dissolving the print hierarchy of principal and secondary subjects, the online edition offers readers a wider selection of ‘interesting’ people who may be worthy of further investigation regardless of whether they appear in the dictionary as ‘full’ or ‘co-’ subjects. What matters online therefore is less the lexicographical hierarchies and grammar of print than the discoverability and the research opportunities this might bring.

More broadly, and over time, such work also has the potential to address perennial questions of coverage, not just in the ODNB but also in all national biographies. In compiling the 2004 edition, considerable effort was made to expand the number of female subjects, thus drawing on and reflecting twentieth-century research interests. The outcome was a threefold increase throughout the dictionary, making women 10 per cent of subjects in all historical periods and nearly 30 per cent in the twentieth century. These proportions have been maintained dictionary-wide since 2005 and exceeded in the coverage of those who died in the opening years of the twenty-first century. Such proportions do prompt occasional complaint, sometimes accompanied by calls for attempts at parity of gender representation. In truth, the parameters in which national biographies exist—that is, to record historical ‘noteworthiness’ of lasting interest—ensure that such calls underplay the historically grounded inequality of opportunity, even among the very recently deceased.\(^ {11}\) This is not, however,

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\(^ {10}\) James Walter notes the hindrances to research from the structures of print reference and provides an early comment on the possibilities of electronic publishing: ‘Seven Questions about National Biography’, pp. 28–9.

\(^ {11}\) Questions of balance have also been raised with regard to newspaper obituaries; see, for example, ‘Obituaries—Women’s Final Frontier’, Guardian [UK] (31 August 2010), reporting on criticism of New York
a reason to do nothing. Combing recent research for new biographies is one approach that continues to lead to the inclusion of full subjects in the **ODNB**.  

Another is the elevation to co-subjects of those (of whom many, though not all, are women) who appeared in 2004 as parents, siblings, spouses or children, but whose own lasting achievements, often in non-public or non-professional roles, now see them fully incorporated in the national record.  

### Promoting and curating

Over the past seven years the **ODNB** has been shaped by concurrent projects that have extended, contextualised, refined and supplemented its online edition. To these one final activity might be added: that of promoting or ‘curating’ our collection. In doing so we return to the idea that, in digital format, national biographies serve as more than resources for quick person-focused reference, essential though this is. An earlier section of this chapter highlighted several formal ways (for example, group entries) in which editors encourage readers to treat national biography historically and, hence, as a starting point for teaching and research. But alongside these initiatives, which result in permanent additions to the dictionary, the online environment also makes possible similar work using less formal, temporary ‘exhibitions’ of selected content assembled around anniversaries or events and drawn from its collection of 58 300 discrete items.

For editors and publishers, a key purpose of online ‘outreach’ is to extend the **ODNB**’s take-up and use in schools, universities and via public libraries. Our intention is to make the <oxforddnb.com> site interesting and topical as a means of promoting the dictionary, its content and online possibilities, both to existing readers and to those who would naturally fight shy of traditional biographical reference, print or digital. In doing so, editors have drawn on established models of online subscription—notably for academic journals—where rates of renewal and uptake are linked to regular additions of new material or ‘value’ to a title. As a result, and in addition to its three annual updates, the **ODNB** now  

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12 Recent additions to the **ODNB** include the tenth-century queen Eadgyth, whose remains were discovered in Germany in 2010; silk-woman Alice Barnham (1523–1604), the principal subject of Lena Cowen Orlin’s *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); the campaigning lawyer Gwyneth Bebb (1889–1921), whose achievements are only now being documented, as in Rosemary Auchmuty, ‘Whatever Happened to Miss Bebb? Bebb v The Law Society and Women’s Legal History’, *Legal Studies*, 31, no. 2 (2011), pp. 199–230; and Violet Piercy (b. 1889?), the first modern woman to run a timed marathon (in 1936), whose life was researched from scratch to coincide with the 2012 Olympics.

13 Examples include the artist Mary Maria Fielding (1804–95), who collaborated with her husband, the botanist Henry Borron Fielding, and whose work is now discussed as part of Henry’s entry; and Evan James (1809–78), lyricist of the Welsh national song, ‘Land of My Fathers’, the music for which was written by his son, James James, in whose entry Evan now appears.
The ADB’s Story

seeks to promote itself as an online ‘service’ providing topical interpretations of its content in daily, weekly or monthly instalments. The common thread is an attempt to entertain, educate and highlight new ways of looking at and using the dictionary.

The Armistice gallery, with links to 37 biographies, including that of the Unknown Warrior

The development of this notion of an online service has been gradual and experimental. In areas such as its topical ‘Life of the Day’, the ODNB followed existing templates set up by the ANB and since adopted (albeit without the facility for email distribution) by the ADB online. Elsewhere new kinds of material, unique to the ODNB, have come about as needs and opportunities are identified. The dual role of updates in extending and drawing attention to existing content has, for example, given rise to accompanying ‘feature essays’, which place new and current subjects in historical perspective and offer routes into the main dictionary text. Written by editors and subject specialists, features of this kind include thematic surveys, from Roman Britain to concepts of heroism, as well as biographically focused studies of established historical topics, such as industrialisation, suffrage reform or life on the Home Front.14 On occasion, updates or significant anniversaries also lend themselves to visual presentations of content. The ninetieth anniversary of the Armistice, marked by the inclusion of 30 new wartime lives, was also commemorated with an interactive gallery combining familiar and less well-known aspects of the dictionary’s 1914–18 coverage, including women and war, war and empire, and remembrance.

As the *ODNB*’s public profile grows, so it becomes easier to establish partnerships with other national institutions. Thus, the Armistice gallery was shared with the Imperial War Museum, London, while a number of joint events have been held with Tate Britain, the National Portrait Gallery, the BBC and the UK Parliament in which *ODNB* biographies, of artists, sitters or other featured historical figures, are made publicly available on respective sites to offer ‘further reading’. The result is, in effect, a parallel exhibition ‘curated’ by editors in which dictionary content is reconfigured and made accessible, akin to the *ADB*’s sharing of major lives in Australian democracy with the recently opened Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House, Canberra. The growing importance of the public library sector has similarly resulted in tie-ins with individual authorities in which bespoke web pages introduce library members to aspects of their local history while promoting the *ODNB*’s free online availability. Identifying the dictionary as a resource for regional as well as national history has also led to the creation of a series of ‘biographical maps’, highlighting individuals and professional groups (for example, prominent regional manufacturers or, as here, gardeners and horticulturists) with particularly strong attachments to place.

Invariably such material is of greatest appeal to those with an existing interest in the past, be they museum and gallery goers or library and archive visitors studying local history. But an additional form of online publicity aims to push the dictionary’s appeal well beyond the traditional scope of print publishing by appropriating popular images that lend themselves well to digital curation. Released in 2007 to mark the album’s fortieth anniversary, the dictionary’s

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adaptation of the Beatles’ ‘Sgt Pepper’ cover offers an unlikely combination of biographical reference, pop art and flower power. The result is an interactive graphic that introduces new readers not only to the *ODNB*’s entries on John Lennon and George Harrison, but also to other national figures featured in Peter Blake’s artwork, from Lewis Carroll to Oscar Wilde. Still one of the most popular online features released by the *ODNB*, the ‘Sgt Pepper’ graphic was also noteworthy for including links to open-access *ANB* content (Edgar Allan Poe to Marilyn Monroe), and followed a similar partnership with the *ADB* online to highlight some of the two countries’ greatest cricketers ahead of an Ashes series.
Online curation has also become easier and more effective thanks to the growth of social networking media. This, coupled with the concept of the *ODNB* as a malleable, interpretable collection, creates new opportunities for traditional ‘biographical reference’ to be recast as ‘life stories’ marking popular anniversaries or offering historical perspectives on current events. The size of the audience willing to receive excerpted biographical content via social media like iTunes, Twitter and Facebook (in which the *ODNB* routinely participates) is large and growing. In 2012 annual downloads of the dictionary’s twice-monthly ‘biography podcast’, for example, reached about 650 000 people, while the fluidity of social media users allows for the re-promotion of popular features, such as the Armistice, Ashes or Sgt Pepper, on subsequent, related anniversaries.

**Responses and future opportunities**

Since 2005 a number of initiatives—editorial, conservational and promotional—have been set in train. But what have people made of this activity? For all its obvious importance, this is a far from easy question to answer given the difficulties of determining ‘success’ in an online environment in which comparisons of like with like are seldom as straightforward as those for print publishing. In short, when is a ‘large number’ of hits ‘large enough’; when is a session time adequate; or when is a visit sufficiently imaginative given the range of searches and connections now possible? In view of these problems, it is perhaps more constructive to consider broader trends of use. Here, eight years on, visits to the dictionary and its public features continue to increase, as does UK public library use, which has experienced a marked rise following the introduction of some of the regular promotional items described above.

This is important not just because curation and promotion take editorial time but because increasing usage, together with comments from contributors and readers, suggests that these new, and sometimes populist, forms of online activity are not adversely affecting the *ODNB*’s scholarly reputation. Different kinds of readers, it appears, are able to take up or ignore the various means, popular or scholarly, by which aspects of content are brought together and promoted. Moreover, it is important to the project that the innovations since 2005—namely, new biographies, themes and public engagement—remain the work of the dictionary’s academic editors, who have decades invested in the *ODNB*, as well as academic profiles of their own. Consequently, nothing is done to risk compromising standing or reputation, with online outreach a mere ‘shop window’ on to biographical content that remains inviolable.

There have been questions regarding the implications of being online for the dictionary’s wider reputation. Soon after publication came a concern that,
in its new form, a classic work like the *ODNB* would be too readily open to reinterpretation and revision. Surely, it was argued, a reference work should be ‘fixed’ not ‘organic’, with changes and revisions threatening the dictionary’s historical standing as the final word on a life. These concerns aside, it is our impression that a growing, improving and engaging digital edition is considered an asset by the majority of readers. Most expect some omissions, inconsistencies and errors (inevitably easier to spot online) and are satisfied that these, and new additions to knowledge, can be frequently and systematically addressed in an academically moderated program that far exceeds what would be possible in print. Through these exchanges, Oxford editors are also building up a network of scholars who regularly submit information. The result is a ‘second tier’ of contributors, whom the *ODNB* has always prized highly as its potential ‘ambassadors’, who now also see their (credited) research findings woven into articles across the dictionary. Thus, by regularly improving and refining the content, we sense most readers appreciate that what they find is, broadly speaking, ‘as good as it can be’ at the time of access, rather than (as it remains in print) a fine but increasingly outmoded snapshot of scholarship at the end of the twentieth century.

The opportunities (as well as the demands) to ‘add value’ mean that, six years on, a number of projects continue so as to improve the dictionary’s content, retrieval and presentation online. In 2013 such work, often ‘behind the scenes’, includes tidying and extending the metadata to make searches more accurate, consistent and complete; the retrospective addition of images to biographies without a portrait in 2004; better integration of biographies with ‘thematic reference’ (lists and groups) so that searches for people also identify the public offices held or the networks to which they belonged; and adding links to accredited external sites by which readers may further pursue their research. This inclusion of links out from the *ODNB* continues work started before 2004 at which time connections were in place to the British National Portrait Gallery and Register of Archives, and (where applicable) to the *ANB* online. In each case the link provides a stable, reciprocal link with a person’s record in the respective repository. Behind such work is an appreciation that the *ODNB* online could not, and should not, be a ‘one-stop/catch-all’ site, but rather a locus for high-quality biographical information that also serves as a way station to equivalent resources in which portraits, archives or alternative biographies are curated to similarly high standards. Since 2005 this work of mediated connections has been extended to include secondary literature (the Royal Historical Society bibliographies) and additional OUP titles—notably, the eighteenth-century correspondence networks of the Voltaire Foundation’s ‘Electronic Enlightenment’, the new *Oxford English Dictionary* online (launched in 2010), which includes references to thousands of *ODNB* subjects in its
quotation evidence, and from 2012 Oxford’s Scholarly Editions online, which enables readers to click between an author’s biography and his or her texts as discussed or quoted from in the dictionary entry. It is hoped that future links will also bring together shared lives in other national biographies, including the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* and the *ADB*.

Possibilities for greater reciprocity between the *ODNB* and its fellow biographical dictionaries may also have implications for future forms of online use. It is common for those involved with national biography to speak of linking dictionaries together, allowing readers to compare the respective treatments of individuals who played a part in multiple national stories. On certain occasions this works extremely well, as with the recent inclusion of Victoria Woodhull (1838–1927) in the *Oxford Dictionary*. The political life of Woodhull, the first woman to stand for the US presidency, is covered in detail by her *ANB* entry though little is said there about her equally colourful life in England, where she lived for 50 years, and which is now described for the first time by the *ODNB*. Linking resources with distinctive remits can allow readers to construct a more nuanced biography built upon several specialist sources. Readers of political lives in the *ODNB*, for example, have things to gain from the History of Parliament (HoP) online, with its more detailed coverage of parliamentary performance; likewise readers of HoP can turn profitably to the *ODNB*, with its more rounded studies, which take in an individual’s private and professional lives beyond Westminster. In general, however, the *ODNB*’s experience suggests that relatively few scholars and students are, as yet, embracing even stand-alone national biographies as comparative resources. So it remains to be seen, and open to question, whether they can be encouraged to do so between national biographies in an exercise that will remain primarily historiographical, and where research findings may be limited given the brevity of coverage for most subjects in this format.

Perhaps the research opportunities for interconnected national biography could take different forms. Thus, one alternative is to interest scholars in the potential of collective biography for studying specific social-historical topics in which the *ODNB* and *ADB* (and now Obituaries Australia) are rich in detail and, online, well placed to deliver developments in family sizes, name forms, ages of marriage, lifespans, causes of death, religious affiliations, war records, cultural ties, forms of education, social and geographical mobility within a country, to name a few. While alert to the particularities of individual national repositories

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16 The possibilities for, and limitations of, interconnected national biographies are considered in Lawrence Goldman, ‘Virtual Lives: History and Biography in an Electronic Age’, *Australian Book Review* (June 2007), pp. 37–44.
(and to the selective nature of these data sets), it may also be possible to compare social trends across different works or, in the case of mobility, to survey national biographies for what they might tell us about patterns of international travel and migration by people organised more nebulously by family, professional groups, places of origin or age. As the record of a former imperial power, the ODNB, in association with other national biographies, has potentially much to offer here, facilitating the development of recent interest in micro-histories of empire written from the perspective of life stories.18

As the ADB enters its second half-century, we have an opportunity both to look back, on print volumes published, and to look forward to extended online coverage, enhanced interpretative reference and new research initiatives, such as Obituaries Australia. In terms of its chronology, the brief history of the ODNB is only one-tenth that of the ADB. By reflecting on aspects of this short history, this chapter has highlighted some of the opportunities the ODNB’s now predominant online edition offers its editors and readers, and may also create for those of other national biographies. Though at times demanding and labour intensive, the Oxford experience suggests that an online environment brings considerable benefits to the wider project in several ways.

First, online activity provides editors with greater freedom to decide what is published and how editorial work is organised. Freed from the constraints of volumes and alphabetical sequences, it is possible to commission, review and edit thematically, allowing for more effective use by specialist authors and reviewers in assessing and reviewing future content. Second, an online presence shifts perceptions of national biography and, with it, the potential to appeal to existing and new readerships. Transformed from a static ‘publication’ to a flexible, interpretable ‘national collection’, the ODNB is gradually gaining a presence in public life that is no longer restricted to volume launches or even (as the idea of a regular online ‘service’ develops) to formal annual updates of new biographical content.

Third, online activity brings unexpected benefits, scholarly and curatorial, throughout the project: extending biographical coverage can lead to better appreciation and visibility of existing content; adding lists and groups identifies omissions even when the editorial collective memory is strong; curation, as well as broadening readership, generates new information; while first-time contributors extend the dictionary’s advocates among scholars and students.

Fourth, online activity is popular and is being embraced even by seasoned readers of print reference in whom we might have expected greater reticence. Indeed, the *ODNB*’s short history suggests that future challenges lie less in convincing established scholars (who have moved quickly from print to online when publishing protocols and standards are maintained) than in shepherding younger users towards more considered online activity. For some scholars the attraction of online is evidently its opportunities for teaching and research although a further challenge remains how to encourage greater awareness of these research possibilities and methods in the move from singular biography to history through people.

Finally, to compile and publish national biography online is to be part of something innovative and rewarding. Accessible, quality reference works, in touch with new research through updates and refinements, are still rare and immensely valuable. This of course brings its own pressures. The rapid growth of online sources and research means that keeping in step with what others are doing is now essential if digital biographies are not to become dated resources. This is not and will not be easy, but being online makes it possible in ways inconceivable in print.

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19 Here the situation may be changing. Recent research suggests that a new generation of students is learning to differentiate online between ‘starting-point’ resources such as *Wikipedia* and accredited, peer-reviewed resources such as the *ODNB* and *ADB*, to which they move on, especially when links are provided in open-web encyclopedias. See Alison J. Head and Michael B. Eisenberg, ‘How Today’s College Students use *Wikipedia*’, *First Monday*, 15, no. 3 (1 March 2010). <www.firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/2830/2476>
12. From Book to Digital Culture: Redesigning the *ADB*

Melanie Nolan

We suspect that the usefulness of the ADB could be extended significantly if means could be found to make it well known beyond a basic range of people such as academics, teachers, students, journalists and genealogists … we discussed a number of alternative methods for organising the entries in the next series of volumes (including the ingenious suggestions of one witness for using the new technology to achieve progressive and provisional publication).


The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (*ADB*) was designed for publication as a series of books. Three main activities lay at the heart of the project: the books, intended as repositories of concise, scholarly biographies of famous and representative Australians; the Biographical Register (BR); and the index. Preparation of the volumes involved working parties and staff in selecting, commissioning and research editing the entries. The BR (originally called the National Register) was a tool for establishing a pool of names, from which to make the selections for inclusion; it eventually developed into a publication in its own right. The index was compiled so that people could more easily navigate their way around the articles. From 1986 the *ADB* began to consider the application of new technology to these three traditional tasks. Technological ‘retooling’ involves more than changing the medium and attendant culture. A fundamental transformation of the project is concomitant with a digital redesign of the *ADB* 50 years after its beginning.

1 The original *ADB* project involved 12 volumes (Period 1, Volumes 1–2; Period 2, 1851–90; Period 3, 1891–1939). The review of the *ADB* in 1986 considered whether the *ADB* should continue, following the completion of the original project in 1990–91 and, if so, on what scale and with what speed and staffing. The committee held it should ‘continue without pausing’, with the Editorial Board suggesting six volumes, 1940–80, for Period 4. ‘Report of the Committee of Review of the Australian Dictionary of Biography’ (May 1986), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, p. 9. Editorial Board meetings in 1994, 1996 and 1998 committed the *ADB* to Period 5, 1981–90, with the last meeting agreeing to two volumes, while meetings in 2000 and 2002 committed the *ADB* to two volumes, Period 6, 1991–2000, and a ‘missing persons’ volume.
The demands of book publishing determined a number of features about the *ADB*, including the number of entries to be included, their length, the manner of dealing with corrigenda and the extent of indexing. For example, in 1976, having commissioned and begun work on the submitted articles, as Chris Cunneen discusses in Chapter 4, Peter Ryan, the director of Melbourne University Press, demanded that the length of Volume 6 be reduced by 10 per cent. In 2009, MUP said that we could add 10 per cent to period six. These are perhaps extreme examples but they do indicate how the constraints of the book flowed into all aspects of the *ADB*.

The essence of the *ADB* has been editing for economy, in keeping with its own house style and according to the publishers’ requirements. Editing, the 1986 Committee of Review of the *ADB* decided, was a ‘modest term for procedures’ that involved ‘considerable new research and in all cases … careful checking back to source materials’.² The work of *ADB* research editors became a defining

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aspect of the ADB process. When the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* was published in 2004, several reviews pointed to errors, to which Philip Carter makes reference in his chapter. The editors of the *ODNB* argued ‘that the mistakes are rare … only 2 per cent of the entries’. They reminded critics that ‘when Sir Leslie Stephen’s first edition (1885–1900) came out, its mistakes were later corrected in a 300-page erratum’.³ Malcolm Ellis was highly critical of the first volumes of the *ADB* for this reason. Geoffrey Partington has subsequently pointed out that ‘[s]ince the corrigenda of Volume one soon stretched to three pages and contained over one-third of the corrigenda for the first twelve *ADB* volumes, Ellis may not have been all that wrong’.⁴ In contrast, Mark McGinness in Chapter 10 also indicates that careful observers like Allan Martin reckoned, however, that ‘most errors were trivial’, and praised instead the high level of accuracy achieved by both editors and staff and the obvious attention given to revision and correction.⁵

*ADB* staff, 2009. From left: Gail Clements, Janet Doust, Pam Crichton, Barbara Dawson, Brian Wimborne, Melanie Nolan (seated), Christine Fernon, Karen Ciuffetelli, Anthea Bundock

Photographer: Darren Boyd, *ADB* archives

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³ See, for example, Vanessa Thorpe, ‘At £7,500 for the Set, You'd Think They'd Get Their Facts Right: Throwing the Book at the DNB’, *Observer* (6 March 2005).
Over the years the *ADB* developed an elaborate system of corrigenda, but has rarely accepted addenda. Given the constraints of a book project, however, the corrigenda had to be published separately. In 1991 a consolidated corrigenda, compiled by Darryl Bennet with assistance from Suzanne Edgar, was published. In 1992 *ADB* research assistant Hilary Kent suggested to John Ritchie after preparing an index for the first 12 volumes that a ‘systematic approach’ to the corrections in the *ADB*, especially in regard to births, deaths and marriages in the first volumes, be adopted, but it was regarded as subsidiary to the central work of publishing new volumes.

Ritchie, the *ADB*’s longest-serving general editor (1987–2002), was as deeply committed to producing volumes of the *ADB* as his predecessors. When the director of the Research School of Social Sciences, Geoff Brennan, suggested that he write a strategic plan in 1994, he responded that ‘the ADB’s single research goal is straightforward: to produce a volume of half a million words, containing the lives of about 670 Australians, written by 500 authors and to do so in roughly thirty months’.

Occasionally the Editorial Board has considered enhancing *ADB* entries. For example, in 1964 the board decided to include an article in Volume 1 on the Colonial Office, ‘together with a chronological table setting out dates and names of all these officials … [and] the governors of each colony’. The decision was revisited the next year but it was decided to abandon that proposal (even though the essay had been written) because of space constraints. The *ODNB* began including ‘thematic essays’ as well as companion reference material, reference lists and collective biographies in its online version in 2004; the *ADB* followed in 2012.

### The Biographical Register

The collection of biographical data predated the *ADB* project by a number of years. Interviewed by Robin Gollan in 1982, Laurie Fitzhardinge, who started the BR, said that it was

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8 John Ritchie to H. G. Brennan, ‘Strategic Plan’ (15 September 1994), NCB/ADB files.

9 The first thematic and collective biography essays appeared on the National Centre of Biography web site in 2012.

10 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (10 April 1964), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

11 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (12 February 1965), box 64, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
conceived partly as a way of building up material until the time seemed to be right to launch the Dictionary, partly as it still is—as a separate research tool for people who would never get into the Dictionary but whom the searchers in Australian history were going to want to know about at some point, not necessarily know all about them, but be able to place them.

He said that the register began ‘very modestly’, and was a means of putting on record, and making accessible for their reference, material found either by myself or by my students about these obscure people that I, or they, had to spend a week finding out about and save the next man doing it. And it probably started out of Allan Martin’s work, I think. Allan had an immense repertoire of knowledge about minor characters … on which the Parkes’ correspondence sheds some light. And this, I think, was probably the beginning of the register. But it grew quite informally and rather haphazardly in that way.12

To begin with, it was a box of cards on Fitzhardinge’s desk and an annotated copy of Who’s Who in Australia with deaths noted and ‘that sort of thing’.

Fitzhardinge noted that from the beginning Hancock had recognised the importance of the BR for the ADB project.13 Many State and university libraries had similar indexes or registers of biographical material, but they tended to focus on the libraries’ collections, or special interests. The BR had a national focus. In 1960 Hancock wrote to State librarians, seeking access to their biographical indexes and files. After meeting with John Feely, chief librarian of the State Library of Victoria, in 1961, Geoff Serle, who was then chair of the Victorian Working Party, wrote to Hancock to inform him that he and his research assistant had gained access to the State library’s registers but found they were a ‘rather haphazard set of cards of references to obituaries, etc., with no collated information’.14 Rather than ask the ‘short-staffed and poverty-stricken’ library staff to build up their biographical registers, Serle preferred having someone ‘directly under my control doing the work’. They agreed that the best strategy was for the ADB to coordinate State material and build up a central, consistent, biographically dedicated national register at the ANU.15

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12 Laurie Fitzhardinge, interviewed by Robin Gollan (30 September 1982), box 70, Q31, ADBA, ANUA, typescript p. 2.
13 Keith Hancock, ‘Formation of the Australian Dictionary of Biography’ (n.d.), box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
14 Dianne Reilly, Paul de Serville and John Arnold, ‘Remembering the La Trobe Library’, La Trobe Journal, no. 80 (Spring 2007), pp. 22–37.
Examples of entries in the Biographical Register. The earliest citations were written in pencil. From the early 1980s citations were loaded into an in-house database. In 2011 the Biographical Register was replaced with Obituaries Australia, a freely accessible, full-text and comprehensively indexed companion web site to the ADB archives.
Ann Moyal tells the story of her first day at the ADB and being asked to fill in a BR card. Coordinating the collection of data for the register and publishing regular updates to it became two of her main tasks. A series of research assistants was employed to work on the project, including Pat Tillyard, Judith Robinson and Nan Phillips. References were collected from dictionaries such as H. Morin Humphrey’s *Men of the Time in Australia* (1882), George Loyau’s *Notable South Australians* (1885), Phillip Mennell’s *Dictionary of Australasian Biography* (1892) and Fred Johns’ *Notable Australians* (1906), as well as State encyclopedias and biographical information in periodicals and newspapers. ADB working parties also began to populate the register; a ‘block of biographical material from the Tasmanian State Archives’ filled a gap for that State.

*ADB staff, 2010. From left, standing: Niki Francis, Pam Crichton, Sam Furphy, Scott Yeadon, Max Korolev, Brian Wimborne, Barbara Dawson and Rani Kerin. Seated: Paul Arthur, Christine Fernon, Karen Ciuffetelli, Melanie Nolan

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives*
In 1961 Hancock sent a letter to Australian newspapers, historical societies, pioneers’ clubs and genealogical societies informing them that the ADB was compiling a Register of Australian biographical material on lesser known figures, so that we should be most grateful for information not only on prominent personalities such as will be found in the Dictionary, but also others who have played a significant, but less conspicuous, part in any aspect of Australian history, so that details may be recorded for future research workers.20

The usefulness of the BR was as an auxiliary to the dictionary, performing ‘a twofold service, both as a check against the omission of names from the lists of inclusions, and as a guide to possible contributors. In turn, names dropped from the Dictionary lists, are incorporated in the Register’.21 In 1959 and 1963, roneoed compilations of names and references, called ‘short lists’, were made available to libraries, university history departments and many historical societies in Australia.22 Pike indicated in the prefaces to the first three volumes of the ADB that copies of the BR would be ‘circulated at intervals to Australian libraries’, but there were never sufficient resources to do so. From Volume 4 onwards, readers were advised, in prefaces, that thousands of names and biographical information were ‘accumulating at the Dictionary headquarters at the ANU, which they were welcome to visit’.23

The BR flourished under Jim Gibbney’s supervision from 1965 to 1983. A trained librarian and archivist, Gibbney joined the ADB in 1965 as a research fellow ‘to act as general adviser on source material to the Dictionary and to change the direction of register work in certain directions desired by Professor Pike’.24 Pike was concerned, for instance, that the ‘current obituary collection was fairly haphazard’, and that the general name index cards should be accompanied by biographical files housing documents. Gibbney began systematically indexing the Australasian, the British Australasian and the Australian Town and Country Journal, as well as government gazettes, parliamentary papers and Colonial Office records for biographical material.25 Collecting biographical references was also added to the list of tasks set for State research assistants. By 1973 the BR had more than 50 000 index cards covering 20 000 people. In 1976 it was decided that the publication of entries from the register should coincide with the publication of the last of the initial 12 volumes and would cover the same period (1788–1939), so that researchers would have access both to the 8100 scholarly

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20 W. K. Hancock, ‘Letter to Australian Newspapers, also Historical Societies, Pioneers’ Club, genealogical societies and a second letter was sent to newspapers in Great Britain and Ireland’, box 69, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.  
21 ‘The Biographical Register’ (July 1961).  
22 Ann Mozley to Professor Hancock, Memo (13 March 1962), and related material, box 73, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.  
24 Jim Gibbney, ‘Biographical Register’ (6 May 1976), box 132, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.  
entries in the *ADB* and to brief epitaphs, and references of another 8000 ‘people from every State, from all walks of life, women as well as men, young and old, making a collection of lesser-known who are none the less relevant to the study of Australian regional, institutional and family history’.

Anthea Bundock, the last of the *ADB*’s Biographical Register officers, consults the Biographical Register, 2009

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, *ADB* archives

Assembling and publishing the entries was a large undertaking. Seeking extra assistance for the project, general editor Nairn told the director of RSSS in 1980 that, while the main administrative activity of the *ADB* had to be directed towards publication, the gathering of diverse biographical material, its ‘organising, copying and filing’ were major activities, too. By 1983 Gibbney had prepared 6000 of the entries that were to be published in the style of the

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26 ‘Biographical Register, Discussion Paper’ (n.d.), box 57, Q31, ADBA, ANUA; see also papers and report for ‘Australian Dictionary of Biography: Present State and Future Prospects’, seminar (22 October 1975), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

27 B. Nairn to F. L. Jones (11 June 1980), box 124, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
several biographical registers of parliamentarians. Ann Smith saw the project to conclusion following Gibbney’s departure that year from the ADB. The two volumes of the Biographical Register were finally published in 1987.

The ADB continued to have a dedicated, full-time BR officer until 2005, and until 2009 on a part-time basis. The change was partly a response to the growing amount of biographical material now available online. By then it was estimated that the register contained citations on more than 300 000 index cards; an in-house database, created in 1981, held citations for a further 32 000 people. The BR had been a central part of the ADB’s work: it had been an important source for working parties when choosing subjects for inclusion in the ADB; and it had been of vital use to large numbers of other researchers who contacted the ADB with queries for sources on people, or came to the ADB’s offices to search the cards themselves. By 2009, however, an average of only 270 people were consulting the register each year.

Indexing and ‘rapid referencing’

In 1903 Sidney Lee published an index and epitome of the 66 volumes of the British Dictionary of National Biography to permit ‘as … rapid reference as possible’. All entries were summarised and references to leading facts and dates recorded in them were indexed, a massive task of cross-referencing. Lee admitted that it had taken him and ‘his assistants’ a ‘vast amount of time and trouble’. The ADB’s general editors were keen to achieve this final editorial task for the ADB, too.

The ADB had always included simple indexing. At its most basic was the use of ‘quod vide’ (q.v.) in articles, to indicate that a person mentioned by name was also an ADB subject, in the same or another volume. In a book project this type of indexing can only be retrospective (you cannot index to a volume that is yet to be published) and quite limited. Reviewers of the ADB have often urged that a comprehensive index was urgently needed. General editors Serle and Nairn were keen to publish an index, saying that ‘a full-scale subject-index, as distinct from a simple name, place and occupation index’, would be a research

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28 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (23 May 1983), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
aid of great importance. ‘Consider, for example, of what potential benefit it would be’, they suggested, ‘what a flying start it would give, to anyone making a study of pastoralism, manufacturing, a profession, or dozens of other topics’.32

In 1975 the Editorial Board discussed suggestions by ‘reviewers and others’ about the need for an index for the first six volumes, a concise ADB and similar initiatives.33 This was thought to be especially necessary for casual readers who often found it difficult to locate a subject in a volume on the floruit principle (used up to Volume 12), which placed subjects in volumes according to when they made their most important contribution to Australian history and not their date of death. It was noted, though, that indexing work of this kind ‘would hold up production of regular volumes’, and the decision was made to wait. In 1979 Melbourne University Press raised concern about ‘the large size of an index (perhaps 500 pages alone)’, fearing it would be a daunting project for all concerned.34

_ADB_ staff consult Volume 18 in 2012. From left: Sam Furphy, Karen Fox, Melanie Nolan (General Editor) and Rani Kerin

Photographer: Christine Fernon, _ADB_ archives


33 ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography. Present State and Future Prospects’ (5 October 1975), box 132, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.

34 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (21 May 1981), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
The issue of an index became a perennial issue. In 1979 the Editorial Board again considered the possibility of an index to the first six volumes, ‘including the commercial proposal for computer production, but … it was decided that the project is not suitable for action at present and the board could do no more than hope that eventually a scholarly index will be produced’. Resources were limited and Nairn and Serle decided ‘to wait until completing the original project to volume 12 and then to produce an index’.

The two other tasks—producing volumes of the *ADB* and maintaining the BR—had priority. They believed that it was more important to push on, than to delay to produce an index to volumes 1–6, and we are sure that public opinion is with us on this question. Fairly soon now, however, if it could be funded and the right person turned up, we would be happy to make a start, provided our energies were not distracted to any great extent.

In the meantime, others began to compile indexes. In 1979 sociologists Julie Marshall and Richard Trahair compiled an occupational index to the first six volumes of the *ADB*. Robert Buchanan, a visiting fellow at the ANU and a historian of technology at the University of Bath, compiled an index of engineers in 1983. About the same time, Serle announced in the *ADB* newsletter that he would be ‘grateful to be informed of any specialist indexes to the *ADB*, which readers are compiling’. In 1991 Malcolm Sainty and Michael Flynn compiled an index to the first two volumes but could not find a publisher to distribute it. An *ADB* seminar in 1988 suggested that the index for the first 12 volumes was a priority project for the dictionary and a proposal was put to the Editorial Board. Hilary Kent commenced work in July 1989. She consulted Barry Howarth, who had indexed the 1988 project, _The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins_. She was assisted in the work by others, including Helen Boxall, Sheila Tilse and Darryl Bennet. It was published by MUP in 1991. Ritchie described the task as ‘herculean’

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35 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (8 November 1979), box 66, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
36 *ADB* Newsletter, no. 1 (December 1980), box 132, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
37 Julie G. Marshall and Richard C. S. Trahair, *Occupational Index to the Australian Dictionary of Biography (1788–1890), Volumes 1–6* (Bundoora, Vic.: Department of Sociology, School of Social Sciences, La Trobe University, 1979).
39 *ADB* Newsletter, no. 3 (August 1983), box 132, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
42 Hilary Kent (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography Index to Volumes 1 to 12* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press), Acknowledgements.
and a ‘monumental effort’, taking 18 months: ‘she had to read and analyse each volume, to differentiate between every name (there are no fewer than eighty-seven Smiths, and eleven of them are William) and to re-check all birthplaces and to examine a host of occupations’, which were categorised into 379 kinds. The index focused on names, occupations and origins or places of birth and pointed to the rich connections that could be made between subjects.

Only a trickle of historians, however, used ADB articles for group biography. R. S. Neale’s analysis of the first three volumes in terms of the social origins and characteristics of executive and administrative leaders in Australia from 1788 to 1856 was mentioned in Chapter 1. A decade later, Angus Buchanan used the data then available in the first six volumes of the ADB to consider the role of British engineering in Australia’s development. In 1990 Barry Smith attempted to use the lives of academics in the ADB and the published Biographical Register to begin to write a history of universities in Australia, although he felt constrained by the teleological nature of all but the best articles, shaped as they were by the ending rather than discussing unfulfilled ambitions and constraints on opportunities. All three historians discussed the difficulties they had ‘manually’ mining the ADB for social history using collective biography or prosopographical methodologies. It was simply hard work; and change was still some way off.

The transition: CD-ROM, ADB online, People Australia, advanced indexing, 1986–2012

The ADB’s first steps towards adopting new technology for publication, research and indexing were faltering ones. In 1986 Stephen Foster, the executive editor of Australia 1788–1988, A Bicentennial History, made a submission to the 1986 Committee of Review of the ADB noting that the dictionary was a vast storehouse of knowledge about Australia’s past but suggesting that much of the information was inaccessible to potential users. The committee took evidence

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46 S. G. Foster to the Director, RSSS (20 February 1988); see also, Stephen Foster to Geoff Serle (26 January 1988), box 144, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
about the possibility of using ‘machine readable data retrieval systems’ and noted sharply that ‘while we did not explore this issue in detail, we suspect that the ADB management may not have explored it at all’.  

A year later Foster came up with an innovative project that he put before the Australian Bicentennial Authority for a project called ‘Australians on Disc’, which would include a ‘Guide to Biographical Research in Australia’, as well as the ADB entries in Volumes 1–11, the entries published in the Biographical Register, the compilation of parliamentarian registers, together with some of the early dictionary compilations (when reliable), Who’s Who in Australia, and bibliographies. All of the projects were to be published on a CD-ROM, a new technology that had only been around for a year, and were to be fully searchable.

Serle responded favourably to the project, conceding that in the long run ‘this [CD-ROM] will be how the ADB is primarily distributed and used, or [will] be an alternative form of production’. The proposal was strongly opposed, however, by the director of MUP, Peter Ryan, who was generally unenthusiastic about anything—paperback, illustrated, concise or abridged versions, as well as any indexes—that could potentially be a major threat to sales of the existing volumes of the ADB. Emphasising the ADB’s contractual obligations, he pointed out that MUP had invested heavily in the dictionary, set artificially low retail prices per volume and maintained all volumes in print, at great cost in terms of the capital thus tied up. He estimated MUP’s total investment in the ADB up to that point was in the order of $3 million; the total value of the stock in the warehouse in the mid 1980s alone was $420 000. Volumes 3 and 6 were being reprinted, which would add some $30–40 000 to this stock investment. He also stressed that it was crucial to preserve the integrity of the present 12-volume scheme.  

Unable to obtain MUP’s support—and concerned that the CD-ROM would not include the full set of ADB volumes since Volume 12 had not yet been published—Serle withdrew his support for the ‘Australians on Disc’ project; but the venture had highlighted the fact that the new technology ‘won’t go away’.

According to Serle, most of those involved on and around the ADB had come to

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48 Draft paper by S. Foster, ‘The Australian Biographical database’ (8 January 1988), and paper on ‘Australians on Disc: A Report for the Australian Bicentennial Authority on the Feasibility of Developing an Australian Biographical Computer Database’ (February 1988), box 144, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
49 Geoffrey Serle to Director, RSSS (2 September 1987), and Geoff Serle, ‘Proposal for Biographical Database’, box 144, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
51 Memo by ‘Ann’ [Ann Smith].
52 Peter Ryan to Geoff Serle (29 May 1987), box 142, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
53 Geoffrey Serle to Peter Ryan (6 February 1988), box 142, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
recognise (‘many of us unwillingly’) that it ought to be done, if not immediately. He argued that the *ADB* needed to adopt the new technology in order to control the process.

Ryan responded in 1988 that MUP was ‘neither canutes nor dogs-in-the-manger, and have for some years acknowledged the probable need for presenting the *ADB* in electronic form’.

But Ryan claimed that MUP had ‘serious misgivings about the wisdom of proceeding on the basis of present technology. In both programming and in the “access” end we see difficulties, which will probably be overcome; but we should not paint ourselves into a corner by undue haste’. He claimed that

though we don’t publicise it, MUP has always been at the forefront of Australian publishing in the use of the most advanced electronic techniques for typesetting and allied devices. One of our senior people is at present preparing for an overseas visit in which a specific study is to be made of disk presentation of volumes.

Ryan suggested that MUP would develop a scheme that involved neither the *ADB* nor the ANU in any significant work or expense and that MUP would provide the capital, technique, promotion, marketing and selling of the electronic *ADB* as it did for the volumes.

In 1988 the Editorial Board authorised Ritchie to negotiate with the new director of MUP for a CD-ROM version of the *ADB*. In 1992, when the *ADB*’s contract with MUP was renegotiated, Ritchie ceded all rights to produce the *ADB* in any form to MUP. In 1996 MUP produced a CD-ROM version of Volumes 1–12.

Eight years later, it was suggested that the *ADB* should go online but MUP reminded the dictionary of its contractual obligation to work with it on any proposal. Following protracted negotiations, a new contract was drawn up allowing the *ADB* to proceed with an Australian Research Council proposal for funding to place the *ADB* online. It was agreed that the ANU would have all rights to online publications and MUP all hardcopy publishing rights. The *ADB* was then able to develop the dictionary as it saw fit.

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54 Peter Ryan to Geoffrey Serle (9 February 1988), box 142, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
55 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (18 August 1988), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
56 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (21 May 1981), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
57 Minutes, Editorial Board meeting (10 July 1992), box 125, Q31, ADBA, ANUA.
58 ‘Publishing Agreement between MUP and ANU’ (3 August 2005), NCB/ADB files.
Obituaries Australia was launched at the ANU in 2011. Back row, from left: Scott Yeaton, Christine Fernon, Max Korolev, Nigel Starck (author of Life After Death) and Ian Young, ANU vice-chancellor. Front: John Farquharson, obituary writer, and Melanie Nolan, ADB general editor

Photographer: Peter Fitzpatrick, ADB archives
Obituaries Australia and People Australia

In 2009 the ADB moved the 11,000 files that had been created while editing dictionary entries from its offices in the Coombs Building to the ANU Archives, so that they could be stored in the proper atmospheric conditions and be more accessible to researchers. The question then arose, what should we do with the 300,000 cards of the BR and the 100,000 citations on the in-house database? How could that information be made more accessible—and useful?

Rather than simply digitise the cards and place them on the web, as some suggested, the decision was made to take a new approach, utilising the indexing and cross-referencing opportunities that the web afforded. As a first step an online obituaries database was started in 2011. Obituaries have always been the single most important source of information collected for the BR and are a major source of reference for ADB entries. The full text of obituaries is being published and is indexed using the same fields as those in the ADB, so that those searching the ADB can also be drawn to results in Obituaries Australia, and vice versa. The Obituaries Australia entries are also being indexed to show cause of death, place of education and work, awards won, association with pastoral properties and events, and any groups or organisations that the subjects were involved in. This level of indexing, which will be retrospectively applied to ADB entries, will enable all sorts of complex queries to be posited.

Other biographical web sites have also been created, including Women Australia, Labour Australia and the overarching site People Australia, which searches all of the web sites for entries and also include a register for those for whom there is little published information. In a sense, we are returning to our ‘roots’ and revisiting the publications from which we first took information when starting the BR in the 1950s. This time around, however, we are digitising and indexing the entries in Mennell’s Dictionary of Australasian Biography and Johns’s Notable Australians. And we plan to seek the cooperation of the national and State libraries to digitise their biographical files (the National Library of Australia, alone, has 200,000 of them) and add them to our databases.

More than the book online? The ADB and digital culture

The three main tasks of the ADB project have been radically changed by the application of new digital technology. Going online in 2006 has made the project widely accessible and facilitated advanced indexing and linking between
entries; but these developments, in many ways, are simply the book project online: electronic editions of print and paper resources or existing bodies of work brought together more efficiently than before.

Some think that the ADB project should not develop beyond its original book or ‘liber’ objectives. Others, such as Gavan McCarthy, are conceiving more possibilities for the ADB in the new digital age. In 2004 McCarthy gave a conference paper, ‘The Australian Dictionary of Biography Online; the Foundation of an Online Encyclopedia of Australia’. Others have imagined a universal dictionary. The ODNB’s project director, Robert Faber, thought a universal dictionary possible, through interoperability—thereby linking all biographical dictionary web sites.

ADB staff, past and present, at the launch of the online version of Volume 18, December 2012. Back row: Max Korolev, Scott Yeadon, Chris Clark, Nicole McLennan, Karen Fox (hidden), Chris Cunneen, Di Langmore, Nick Brown and Sam Furphy. Middle: Rani Kerin, Christine Feron, Anthea Bundock (hidden), Janet Doust, Barry McGowan, Rosemary Jennings, Paul Arthur and Darryl Bennet. Front: Brian Wimborne, Edna Kauffman, Melanie Nolan, Niki Francis, Barbara Dawson, Gail Clements, Chris Wallace, Sue Edgar

Photographer: Natalie Azzopardi, ADB archives


In this regard, the *ADB* is already a party to the Humanities Networked Infrastructure (HuNI) project, which aims to provide researchers around the world with access to the combined resources of Australia’s major cultural data sets and information assets. The HuNI project seems to be an advanced electronic version of the project that Foster imagined the *ADB* being involved in on disc in 1988.

More immediately, the *ADB* is looking to use its own resources to develop e-research projects. Three reviews of the *ADB* online in 2009–10 considered this question. The director of the ANU’s Supercomputer Facility, Ben Evans, and project officer Stuart Hungerford wrote a ‘Redevelopment Project Plan of the *ADB*’ in November 2009. A few months later, Tim Sherratt, a freelance web site content developer, presented his review of the *ADB*; while John Evershed and Kent Fitch, principals of a private-sector IT company, Project Computing, submitted their review in March 2010. The reviews, together, put a strong case for the *ADB* to begin the task of redeveloping the project’s software to provide for new functionality and to appoint its own computer programmer. These ideas were also the subject of a seminar of the *ADB* Editorial Board in December 2009.61

Central to these developments has been the creation of new databases and new methods of indexing to support e-research. For example, instead of simply hyperlinking between subjects in entries, the relationship between subjects is now being described. This enables family trees to be drawn and the visualisation of the links between family groups.

Digital technology should be seen as an integral part of historical scholarship, providing tools and media to assist the historian in better research, better recording and better communication. As O. V. Burton acknowledges, ‘by incorporating the tremendous power of the computer with the practices and methodologies of the historian, the result should be better history’.62

Digitising resources and analysing a mega-database enable a range of research work to be focused on, for instance, kinship, associational life and place. The study of family history is not new in Australian history. In the 1980s there was considerable work on family-centred, community, social history.63 At the same

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time, demographers worked on the aggregate antipodean family experience. Self-consciously ‘collective’ or ‘group’ family history has been written intermittently, in memoirs such as Mary Durack’s *Kings in Grass Castles*, studies like Bobbie Hardy’s *From the Hawkesbury to the Monaro*, and Stephen Foster’s *A Private Empire*. Collective and prosopographical biography methodologies have identified and drawn relationships between individuals, often using statistics and concentrating on prominent and powerful people, groups or families. Most recently, there has been interest in historiographical questions about networks of families using relational models.

All of these studies share the view that the family and familial networks are at the heart of society but they can make no claims about representativeness or typicality for their particular case studies; nor can they develop a typology beyond the case studies. Work on families in the past has provided, effectively, a huge, unweighted list of candidate factors and cases of individual families in isolation.

The NCB/ADB is amassing a large body of comprehensively indexed biographical records of Australian families for our community and providing data for social network and visualisation analysis. There is also research potential in the new online capacity to study the associational patterns of Australians and their place in biographical history. The ADB is fielding membership of associations for its biographies and obituaries, which, together with digitised associational membership lists, will be available for use for research projects. For example, obituaries from the *Pastoral Review*, when considered in light of lists of stockowners in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, the Northern Territory and Tasmania and other sources such as Darrell Lewis’s ‘The Victoria River District Doomsday Book’, a compendium of Victoria River District cattle station histories and biographies of station


employees, will be able to shed social-history light, by way of biography, on place.68 The ADB, then, will not be just ‘a national record and a suggestive piece of social history’.69

The ADB was significant for Australian history at its outset, when Australian history was in its infancy. It is still important now that there is so much more information at hand and a plethora of sources available. New technology enables patterns to be established and hypotheses to be tested.

Conclusion

If the ADB had been designed, from the beginning, to be published online, many things would have been done differently.70 The evolution of technology has had a major impact on how history is recorded and communicated, since at least the time of the invention of the printing press. The advent of the Internet and the rapid development of digital technology have had a particular impact on the ADB. Digital media and computer tools are revolutionising biographical practice. They have allowed the ADB to present accumulated factual information simultaneously in print and in ways that traditional print methods simply could not achieve, and are allowing biography to be researched and analysed in new ways.71 The ADB has become more accessible and it has been linked in pathways with all kinds of other material online.72 Above all, the many subjects who ‘had to be omitted through pressure of space or lack of material’ from the book project are now being salvaged in the ADB online project.73

68 Darrell Lewis, ‘The Victoria River District Doomsday Book’, a compendium of Victoria River District cattle station histories and biographies of station employees, a copy of which he provided to the ADB.
73 A version of this phrase about relegating the many to the Biographical Register was in every preface, ADB, vols 1–17 (1966–2007).
Appendices
## Appendix 1

### Time Line

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Laurie Fitzhardinge visits Clarendon Press in London to study the publication of the <em>Dictionary of National Biography</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Percival Serle publishes his two-volume <em>Dictionary of Australian Biography</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Laurie Fitzhardinge, at the ANZAAS Congress, calls for the creation of an Australian dictionary of biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Fitzhardinge starts the National Register (later called Biographical Register) in the History Department, RSSS, ANU. Pat Tillyard (Wardle) is employed as his clerical assistant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24–27 August 1957</td>
<td>Conference of Australian historians, convened by Sir Keith Hancock and held at the ANU, agrees in principle to start work on a dictionary of Australian biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1958</td>
<td>Malcolm Ellis confers with Hancock and Fitzhardinge about the prospect of commencing a dictionary of Australian biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1958</td>
<td>Ann Mozley (Moyal) is appointed a research assistant (later research fellow) in the history department, RSSS, with a special interest in the development of the Dictionary of Australian Biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 June 1959</td>
<td>First meeting of the Provisional Editorial Committee of the Dictionary of Australian Biography is held in Hancock’s office in the old Canberra Community Hospital, at the ANU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1959</td>
<td>Short list of the National Register is published in roneoed format.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1959</td>
<td>Malcolm Ellis submits his plan for the organisation of the Dictionary of Australian Biography.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 October 1959
Hancock invites Ellis and Manning Clark to jointly edit the first two volumes of the Dictionary of Australian Biography.

23–24 April 1960
Joint meeting in Canberra of the Editorial Committee and the National Advisory Panel votes to reconstitute the two committees. The Provisional Editorial Committee is reconstituted as the Editorial Board with responsibility for producing the *ADB*. The National Advisory Panel is reconstituted as the National Committee whose duty it is to broadly define *ADB* policy. The chairman of the Editorial Board is to be appointed by the ANU vice-chancellor. The meeting puts on hold the suggestion to appoint a general editor, owing to a lack of funding. The meeting also reluctantly decides to change the name of the dictionary to *Australian Dictionary of Biography* to avoid confusion with Percival Serle’s earlier publication.

June 1960
Agreement is reached that Ellis and Clark will edit Volumes 1 and 2 respectively, rather than jointly.

August 1960
Anonymous donor (Bushell Trust) pledges £1500 per year for three years to the *ADB*. It will enable the dictionary to employ researchers and to pay some professional writers for entries.

21 June 1961
A Commonwealth working group on the arts is convened.

July 1961
Updated short list of the Biographical Register is published.

12–13 August 1961
Second general meeting of the National Committee is held.

January 1962
Myer Foundation pledges £1000 per year for three years to the *ADB*.

31 January 1962
Douglas Pike is appointed the *ADB*’s first general editor.

2–3 February 1962
Third general meeting of the National Committee is held.

2–3 February 1962
Ellis resigns from the editorship of Volume 1 and the Editorial Board.

6 February 1962

11 April 1962
Manning Clark agrees to act with general editor, Douglas Pike, as joint editor of Volume 2.

12–13 August 1962
Pacific and armed services specialist working groups are convened; plans are made for scientific and medical working groups.
April 1963 New edition of the Biographical Register short list is published.
6 June 1963 Ellis resigns from the National Committee.
7–8 June 1963 Fourth general meeting of the National Committee is held.
13 August 1964 Fifth general meeting of the National Committee is held.
15 December 1964 Publishing agreement is signed by the ANU and Melbourne University Press.
12 November 1965 Hancock resigns as chair of the ADB Editorial Board and National Committee. Geoffrey Sawer is appointed temporary chairman.
3 March 1966 Sir Robert Menzies, recently retired prime minister, launches Volume 1 of the ADB at the ANU.
4 March 1966 Sixth general meeting of the National Committee is held. John La Nauze is appointed chairman of the Editorial Board and National Committee.
February 1967 ANU agrees to pay a subsidy to MUP to ensure that Volume 2 of the ADB has the same price as Volume 1.
2 March 1967 Volume 2 of the ADB is published.
1969 Volume 3 of the ADB is published.
1969 Sections of the Biographical Register are published in mimeograph form.
November 1969 Pike receives the Ernest Scott Prize for his work on Volumes 1 and 2 of the ADB.
1971 Pike receives the 1971 Britannica Australasia Award for his work with the ADB.
28–29 October 1971 Seventh and last general meeting of the National Committee is held.
September 1972 Volume 4 of the ADB is published.
1973 Bede Nairn is appointed acting general editor.
1973 Volume 5 of the ADB is published.
1973 Biographical Register comprises more than 50 000 cards.
1974 Armed Services Working Party is formed.
1975 Bede Nairn and Geoff Serle are appointed joint general editors of the ADB.
October 1976 Brian Gandevia agrees to advise ADB staff on precise causes of death for subjects in the dictionary.
October 1976 Volume 6 of the ADB is published.
1 April 1977 Ken Inglis is appointed chair of the ADB Editorial Board.
1979

Volume 7 of the *ADB* is published.

November 1979

Editorial Board decides to dismantle the National Committee (it is formally abolished in 1983 with the consent of its members) and expand the State membership of the Editorial Board.

1981

Volume 8 of the *ADB* is published.

23 November 1983

Ninian Stephen, governor-general, launches Volume 9 of the *ADB* at Government House.

1984

Bede Nairn retires as joint general editor; Serle continues as the sole general editor.

1986

*ADB* desk editors, who were classified as research assistants, successfully seek an increase in their salary and formal status as research editors.

1986

University review committee reports favourably on the *ADB*.

1986

Keith Hancock launches Volume 10 of the *ADB* at the ANU.

1987

*ADB’s Biographical Register 1788–1939* is published.

March 1988

John Ritchie is appointed general editor of the *ADB*.

17 October 1988

Bernard Smith launches Volume 11 of the *ADB* at the University of Melbourne.

1989

Commonwealth Working Party is formed.

7 November 1990

Bob Hawke, prime minister, launches Volume 12 of the *ADB* at Parliament House, Canberra.

14 October 1991

Senator Margaret Reid launches the index to Volumes 1–12 of the *ADB* at the ANU.

25 November 1993

Senator Jim McClelland launches Volume 13 of the *ADB* at the State Library of New South Wales.

February 1995

The Humanities Research Centre, ANU, the National Library of Australia and the *ADB* hold a conference on ‘National Biographies and National Identity’. The conference proceedings are published as *National Biographies & National Identity*.

1 June 1996

Ken Inglis resigns as chairman of the *ADB* Editorial Board.

28 June 1996

Jill Roe is appointed chair of the *ADB* Editorial Board.

29 October 1996

Guy Green, Tasmanian governor, launches Volume 14 of the *ADB*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td><em>ADB</em> Endowment Fund is launched with major donations from Caroline Simpson and the Myer Foundation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>CD-ROM of Volumes 1–12 of the <em>ADB</em> is published by MUP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 April 2000</td>
<td>Major General Michael Jeffery, WA governor, launches Volume 15 of the <em>ADB</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Editorial Board subcommittee review of the <em>ADB</em> says the <em>ADB</em> must embrace ‘continuity and change’ through continued publication of the <em>ADB</em> and participation in the modern research culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 November 2002</td>
<td>Marjorie Jackson-Nelson, SA governor, launches Volume 16 of the <em>ADB</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Di Langmore is appointed general editor of the <em>ADB</em> after acting in the position for three years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Meredith Burgmann launches the <em>ADB</em> supplement volume in Sydney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Indigenous Working Party is formed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Jill Roe resigns as chair of the <em>ADB</em> Editorial Board; she is succeeded by Tom Griffiths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Review of the RSSS calls for the <em>ADB</em> to be financially self-sufficient in five years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 July 2006</td>
<td>Michael Jeffery, governor-general, launches the <em>ADB</em> online at University House, ANU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Gregory Review of the <em>ADB</em> recommends the establishment of a National Centre of Biography (NCB), which would continue to produce the <em>ADB</em> and act as a focus for the study of biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2007</td>
<td>David de Kretser, Victorian governor, launches Volume 17 of the <em>ADB</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 June 2008</td>
<td>Melanie Nolan is appointed director of the NCB and general editor of the <em>ADB</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2009</td>
<td>The <em>ADB</em> celebrates its fiftieth birthday with a conference, ‘Between the Past and Present: Celebrating the <em>ADB</em>’s 50th anniversary’, and a closed workshop on ‘The <em>ADB</em> and Digital Culture’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 January 2010</td>
<td>The NCB is integrated into the School of History, RSSS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2011</td>
<td>Obituaries Australia is launched as a replacement for the Biographical Register.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
March 2012 The NCB develops three new biographical web sites, Women Australia, Labour Australia and People Australia, as companion sites to the ADB.

5 December 2012 Penelope Wensley, Queensland Governor, launches Volume 18 of the ADB.

11 December 2012 ANU Vice-Chancellor, Ian Young, launches the online version of Volume 18 of the ADB.
Appendix 2

ADB Staff List, 1958–2013

Arthur, Paul 2010–2013 Deputy general editor
Austin, M. A. (Brigadier) 1982–1985 Transcribed army service records
Bankowski, Helen 1983–1984 Administration
Bazley, Arthur 1964–1966 Research assistant (ACT)
Bennet, Darryl 1989–2001 Armed services, Commonwealth, Small States and Victorian desk editor

2001–2008 Deputy general editor
Birman, Wendy 1977–1996 Research assistant (WA)
Boxall, Helen 1990–1991 Research assistant (ACT)
Brown, Frank 1979–2000 Consultant, armed services
Brown, Margaret 1978–1979 Research assistant (WA)
Brown, Nicholas 2004–2009 Victorian desk editor
Browne, Geoff 1987–1994 Research assistant (Vic)
Brudenall, Andrew 1983–1985 Student; worked as a temp on Biographical Register; died in a car accident on 27 April 1985
Bundock, Anthea 1998–2009 Research assistant and Biographical Register officer

Burrows, Stephanie 1986–1987 Administration
Campbell, Daniel 1995–1995 Replaced Gerard Oakes when he was on leave for five weeks
Campbell, Martha 1967–2002 NSW desk editor
Carey, Hilary 1985–? Research assistant (NSW)
Ciuffetelli, Karen 1992– Administration
Colligan, Mimi 1976–1987 Research assistant (Vic)
Consadine, Marion 1980–1985 Administration
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook, Deborah</td>
<td>1967–1967</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coulthard-Clark, Chris</td>
<td>1999–2000</td>
<td>Armed services desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crichton, Pam</td>
<td>2002–2011</td>
<td>NSW desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross, Marlene</td>
<td>1974–1979</td>
<td>Research assistant (SA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crouchley, Betty</td>
<td>1977–1987</td>
<td>Research assistant (Qld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunneen, Chris</td>
<td>1974–1982</td>
<td>Research fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1982–1996</td>
<td>Deputy general editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dale, Barbara</td>
<td>1980–1985</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davey, Lindie</td>
<td>1991–1991</td>
<td>Administration; replaced Anne-Marie Gaudrey when she was on leave for six months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson, Barbara</td>
<td>1999–2007</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2007–2011</td>
<td>Commonwealth desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean, Monica</td>
<td>1983–1984</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dempsey, Paul</td>
<td>1995–1997</td>
<td>Research assistant (Ireland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dermody, Kathleen</td>
<td>1991–1992</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dingwall, Bronwyn</td>
<td>1983–1983</td>
<td>Administration (one month)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinnerville, Frances</td>
<td>1980–1982</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docherty, James</td>
<td>1974–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doust, Janet</td>
<td>2009–2010</td>
<td>Queensland desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunstan, David</td>
<td>1974–1975</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplain, Raymond</td>
<td>1977–1977</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgar, Sue</td>
<td>1969–1998</td>
<td>South Australian and Western Australian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonds, Leigh</td>
<td>1996–1998</td>
<td>Research assistant (Ireland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliot, Jane</td>
<td>1976–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English, Bruce</td>
<td>2003–2004</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairhill, Vicky</td>
<td>1992–1993</td>
<td>Administration; replaced Karen Ciuffetelli when on leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, Audrey</td>
<td>?–1973</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, Sarah</td>
<td>1989–?</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernon, Christine</td>
<td>1999–2000</td>
<td>Small States desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2000–2008</td>
<td>Bibliographer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2009–</td>
<td>Online manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fewster, Alan</td>
<td>1978–1979</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fielding, Jean</td>
<td>1974–1978</td>
<td>Armed services desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flannery, Hannah</td>
<td>2010–2011</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Role/Position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox, Karen</td>
<td>2011–2012</td>
<td>Victorian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2013–</td>
<td>Managing editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis, Niki</td>
<td>2010–2013</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franks, Susan</td>
<td>1989–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frappell, Ruth</td>
<td>1977–1984</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulloon, Gillian</td>
<td>1984–1990</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furphy, Samuel</td>
<td>2010–</td>
<td>Victorian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gan, Annie</td>
<td>1985–1987</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaudry, Anne-Marie</td>
<td>1989–1995</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibberd, Joyce</td>
<td>1974–2005</td>
<td>Research assistant (SA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbney, Jim</td>
<td>1965–1984</td>
<td>Biographical Register officer and Queensland and Western Australian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, David</td>
<td>1999–2003</td>
<td>Transcribed army service records (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glen, Leonie</td>
<td>1981–1986</td>
<td>Research assistant (UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glover-Scott, Margaret</td>
<td>1978–1984</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2009–</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodin, I.</td>
<td>1963–?</td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grahame, Emma</td>
<td>1985–1986</td>
<td>Assisted with Biographical Register</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991–1992</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grahame, Rachel</td>
<td>1992–</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graham-Taylor, Sue</td>
<td>1998–2001</td>
<td>Research assistant (WA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregson, Norma</td>
<td>1965–1978</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffin, Helga</td>
<td>1979–1998</td>
<td>Bibliographer, and Queensland and Western Australian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, Noeline</td>
<td>1976–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (Qld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harker, Margot</td>
<td>1998–1998</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris, Paula</td>
<td>1985–1986</td>
<td>Desk editor while M. Stephens was on leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison, Jennifer</td>
<td>1987–2008</td>
<td>Research assistant (Qld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hewson, Rachel</td>
<td>1987–1989</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill, Eliza</td>
<td>1986–1987</td>
<td>Assisted with the Biographical Register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogan, Susan</td>
<td>?–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holmes, Jenny</td>
<td>?–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Position/Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hone, Ann</td>
<td>1965–1966</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope-Johnstone, Nerida</td>
<td>2008–2008</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horner, Jolyon</td>
<td>2001–2007</td>
<td>Armed services desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howe, Ann</td>
<td>1965–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huxley, Mollie</td>
<td>1968–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iltis, Judith</td>
<td>?–1963</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inder, Julie</td>
<td>1995–1996</td>
<td>Worked on Biographical Register database</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennings, Rosemary</td>
<td>1999–2007</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnston, Susan</td>
<td>1975–1976</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauffman, Edna</td>
<td>1985–2007</td>
<td>Assisted with Biographical Register, administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kellock, Peter</td>
<td>1971–1972</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent, Hilary</td>
<td>1988–1992</td>
<td>Desk editor, Biographical Register officer, and worked on Bicentennial Project, ‘Heritage 200’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korolev, Max</td>
<td>2010–</td>
<td>Digitisation officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerin, Rani</td>
<td>2010–</td>
<td>Small States desk editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack, John</td>
<td>1974–1975</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langmore, Di</td>
<td>1982–1997</td>
<td>Victorian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997–2001</td>
<td>Deputy general editor</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2001–2004</td>
<td>Acting general editor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2004–2008</td>
<td>General editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln, Merrilyn</td>
<td>1976–1989</td>
<td>Armed services and Tasmanian desk editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linegar, Chris</td>
<td>2000–2001</td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long, Gavin</td>
<td>1963–1968</td>
<td>Research fellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ly, Judith</td>
<td>1980–1981</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McBride, Dorothy</td>
<td>1978–1984</td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>McCalman, Janet</td>
<td>1977–1978</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>McCalman, Vicky</td>
<td>1974–1975</td>
<td>Research assistant (Melbourne)</td>
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<tr>
<td>McConnell, Ruth</td>
<td>2004–2004</td>
<td>Researcher, ADB online project</td>
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<td>McGowan, Barry</td>
<td>2004–2007</td>
<td>Researcher, ADB online project</td>
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<tr>
<td>McLennan, Nicole</td>
<td>1998–1999</td>
<td>Queensland desk editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>McLeod, Beth</td>
<td>1974–1977</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahalm, Dianne</td>
<td>?–?</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manners, Alison</td>
<td>1985–1987</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
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Appendix 2

Meere, Ivy 1975–1992 Administration
Mellor, Suzanne 1971–? Research assistant (Vic)
Milthorp, Peter 1987–1988 Administration; worked student vacations
Mitchell, Ann ?–1971 Research assistant (Vic)
Molony, John 1964–1964 Research assistant for about two months
Morris, Deirdre 1973–1976 Desk editor
Moye, Ros 2008–2009 Research assistant (Vic)
Mozley (Moyal), Ann 1958–1962 Assistant editor
Murphy, William 1997–2001 Research assistant (Ireland)
Nairn, Bede 1966–1973 Senior fellow
Nairn, Bede 1973–1975 Acting general editor
Nairn, Bede 1973–1984 Joint general editor
Newell, Jenny 1992–1996 Assisted with Biographical Register, Research assistant (ACT)
Newman, Betty ?–? Administration
Newman-Martin, Andrew 2004–2006 Researcher, ADB online project
Nicholls, Mary 1977–1978 Research assistant (Tas)
Nissen, Judith 2008– Research assistant (Qld)
Nolan, Melanie 2008– General editor
Oakes, Gerard 1994–1996 Research assistant (ACT)
O’Donoghue, Kathleen 1963–1966 Research assistant (ACT)
Oglivie, Charlene 2006–2007 Administration
O’Loghlin, Gillian 1998–2000 Bibliographer
O’Neill, Sally 1967–2001 Victorian desk editor and UK researcher
O’Shea, Helen 1988–? Desk editor, worked on Bicentennial Project, ‘Heritage 200’
Page, Carolyn 1982–1984 Administration, worked on Biographical Register publication
Parks, Margaret 2004–2007 Researcher, ADB online project
Parsons, Viviene 1964–1965 Research assistant (NSW)
Pemberton, Penny 1987–1988 Employed on contract to prepare ADB files for transfer to ANU Archives
Phillips, Nan 1967–1985 Administration
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Position/Role</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pilger, Alison</td>
<td>1992–1998</td>
<td>Assisted with Biographical Register</td>
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<tr>
<td>Playford, Aldona</td>
<td>?–1964</td>
<td>Assisted with Biographical Register</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quirk, Sandon</td>
<td>1972–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rand, Anne</td>
<td>1988–2008</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Refshauge, Richard</td>
<td>1969–1970</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ritchie, Joan</td>
<td>1998–1998</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ritchie, John</td>
<td>1988–2002</td>
<td>General editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robertson, Heather</td>
<td>1995–?</td>
<td>Assisted with Biographical Register word-processor operator</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robertson, Margaret</td>
<td>2001–</td>
<td>Research assistant (WA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robinson, Judith</td>
<td>?–1963</td>
<td>Assisted with Biographical Register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowlands, Penny</td>
<td>?–1987</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sandow, W.</td>
<td>1972–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serle, Geoff</td>
<td>1975–1984</td>
<td>Joint general editor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1984–1987</td>
<td>General editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharp, Patti</td>
<td>1985–1986</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shoesmith, Dennis</td>
<td>1970–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singleton, Gwyn</td>
<td>1988–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith, Dorothy</td>
<td>1973–1979</td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith, Neil</td>
<td>1974–1976</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steven, Margaret</td>
<td>1978–1996</td>
<td>Commonwealth, Victorian and Queensland desk editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart, Neil</td>
<td>1976–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (Qld)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretton, Pat</td>
<td>2005–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (SA)</td>
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<td>Thomson, Mrs</td>
<td>1964–?</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilse, Sheila</td>
<td>1989–1994</td>
<td>Biographical Register officer and Tasmanian desk editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torney, Kim</td>
<td>2001–2007</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
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<td>Trigellis-Smith, Sydney</td>
<td>1989–1999</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turner, David</td>
<td>1983–1984</td>
<td>Administration (casual student)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turner, Naomi</td>
<td>1977–1980</td>
<td>Research assistant (NSW)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyrie, Margaret</td>
<td>1984–1986</td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<td>Vazenry, Hank</td>
<td>1986–1989</td>
<td>Transcribed army service records</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walsh, Gerry</td>
<td>1964–1964</td>
<td>Research assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walton, Margery</td>
<td>?–?</td>
<td>Research assistant (New Zealand)</td>
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<td>Westwood, Susan</td>
<td>1975–?</td>
<td>Casual typist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wimborne, Brian</td>
<td>1996–1996</td>
<td>Small States desk editor</td>
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<td>1996–2011</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2011–</td>
<td>Commonwealth and armed services desk editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winter, Gillian</td>
<td>1985–1986</td>
<td>Research assistant (Tas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woodhouse, Fay</td>
<td>1999–2001</td>
<td>Research assistant (Vic)</td>
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<td>2009–</td>
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<td>Wright, Jill</td>
<td>?–1975</td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zalums, Elmar</td>
<td>1962–1964</td>
<td>Research assistant (ACT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3

National Committee, Editorial Board and Working Parties by Volume


General editor: Douglas Pike.

Section editors: A. G. L. Shaw, Manning Clark.

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Working parties

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John Bach, F. J. Cane, Ben Champion, Edward Flowers, Elizabeth Guilford, Gregory McMinn (chair), Charles E. Smith, Edna Travers.

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The ADB's Story

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South Australia


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General editor: Douglas Pike.

Section editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward.

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General editor: Douglas Pike.

Section editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward.
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Volume 5, 1851–1890, K–Q (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1974)

General editor: Douglas Pike.

Section editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward.

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Section editors: Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward.
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Volume 7, 1891–1939, A–Ch (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1979)

General editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle.


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General editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle.


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Wendy Birman, David Black, Geoffrey Bolton (chair), Brian de Garis, Rica Erickson, Alexandra Hasluck, John Honniball, Lyall Hunt, David Hutchison, Mollie Lukis, Toby Manford, Margaret Medcalf, Tom Stannage, Arthur Staples, Mary Tamblyn, Merab Harris Tauman.

Volume 9, 1891–1939, Gil–Las (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1983)

General editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle.

Deputy general editor: Chris Cunneen.


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Don Baker, Alan Barnard, Geoffrey Bolton, Ken Cable, Manning Clark, P. Cook, Norman Cowper, Frank Crowley, Brian de Garis, Laurie Fitzhardinge,
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General editors: Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle.

Deputy general editor: Chris Cunneen.


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Wendy Birman (chair), David Black, Geoffrey Bolton, Peter Boyce, Chris Coggin, Brian de Garis, Rica Erickson, Alexandra Hasluck, John Honniball, Lyall Hunt, David Hutchison, Lenore Layman, Mollie Lukis, Margaret Medcalf, Robert Reece, Tom Stannage, Arthur Staples, Merab Harris Tauman.


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Deputy general editor: Chris Cunneen.

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Tasmania

Peter Chapman, Raymond Ferrall, Margaret Glover, Elizabeth McLeod, Mary McRae, Mary Nicholls, Ian Pearce, Michael Roe (chair), Geoffrey Stilwell.
Victoria

Weston Bate, Graeme Davison, John Hirst, Sidney Ingham, John Lack, Marilyn Lake, T. Marshall, Stephen Murray-Smith, John Poynter (chair), John Rickard, Judith Smart, Frank Strahan.

Western Australia

Wendy Birman (chair), David Black, Geoffrey Bolton, Peter Boyce, Chris Coggin, Brian de Garis, Rica Erickson, Alexandra Hasluck, John Honniball, Lyall Hunt, David Hutchison, Lenore Layman, Mollie Lukis, Margaret Medcalf, Robert Reece, Arthur Staples.


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Deputy general editor: Chris Cunneen.


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ADB Medal Recipients

ADB Medals are awarded to people who have given long and distinguished service to the ADB.
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The first *ADB* Medallists, Martha Campbell, John Ritchie, Gerry Walsh and Bede Nairn, with ANU vice-chancellor, Ian Chubb, 2002

Photographer: Neal McCracken, ANU Archives, ANUA226-797

Michael Roe (left), Geoffrey Bolton and John Lack received *ADB* Medals in 2012

Photographer: Natalie Azzopardi, *ADB* archives
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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Australian Dictionary of Biography</td>
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<td>ADBA</td>
<td>ADB Archives, ANU Archives</td>
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<td>AHS</td>
<td>Australian Historical Studies</td>
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<td>ANUA</td>
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<td>ANB</td>
<td>American National Biography</td>
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<td>b.</td>
<td>born</td>
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<td>BR</td>
<td>Biographical Register</td>
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<td>CDB</td>
<td>Canadian Dictionary of Biography</td>
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<tr>
<td>CASS</td>
<td>College of Arts and Social Sciences, ANU</td>
</tr>
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<td>DNB</td>
<td>Dictionary of National Biography</td>
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<td>DNZB</td>
<td>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</td>
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<td>IAS</td>
<td>Institute of Advanced Studies</td>
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<td>National Centre of Biography</td>
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<td>OUP</td>
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<td>ODNB</td>
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<td>RSSS</td>
<td>Research School of Social Sciences</td>
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