

GOLF AND VICTORIAN SPORTING VALUES

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Wherever the British travelled they carried with them much of their so-called 'cultural baggage' which, when unpacked, included their customs, churches, clubs, schools and, of course, their sports. Along with the sports themselves, as John Mallea has pointed out, was the Victorian ideology of sporting participation.² This ideology has provided a very fruitful line of inquiry for historians interested in the diffusion of sport throughout the British Empire.³ In Australia, it has been identified in its early guise as muscular Christianity, the obsession with the character-developing qualities of sport which emphasised its Christian aspect and manly virtues.⁴

Cricket and football are the two sports most often referred to in this vein. Both provided 'manly and healthy' development.⁵ Cricket, for instance, 'would not only strengthen the body, but give a healthy and better tone to the mind'.⁶ It also built character. Cricket prepared boys for the struggle of life. As one contemporary report proclaimed, it:

is the school in which our youth are taught manly qualities of mind and body which will stand them, and perhaps their country, in good stead in the after years.⁷

Similarly, football was 'manly in the extreme'.⁸ It was a game of skill, courage and endurance, a game that, according to the sporting chronicle *Bell's Life*, was 'calculated to bring to light... pluck-downright bull-dog pluck'.⁹ Other sports also found support under this argument. To an early twentieth century aquatic expert in Queensland, rowing's value was 'its moral training, the discipline it teaches, the absolute unselfishness it demands'.¹⁰ Boxing had similar attributes. According to Harry Perry, the co-author of *Athletic Queensland*, boxing, not cricket, was responsible for England's military prowess.¹¹ These sports also found credence in the ideology

of athleticism. This ideology was a characteristic feature of educational institutions of the British Empire and Australia proved no exception. Many Australian schools promoted involvement in organised physical activity for the physical and moral qualities it nurtured.¹²

While the sports of cricket and football, and to a lesser extent boxing and rowing, have been studied in an educational setting and in society at large, very little work has been done on other popular sports. This paper will attempt to address this problem by examining one of the ignored sports, golf, and investigating where it fitted into the argument about sport in early Australia. Was it, for example, claimed as part of the muscular Christian creed? Was it, like cricket, football, rowing and boxing, promoted as a developer of character? Did it share with other sports perceived manly and healthy aspects? In attempting to answer these questions, this paper will also examine how the argument about golf interacted with other important aspects of the game such as women's participation and the practice of etiquette.

Firstly, the study will investigate muscular Christianity which, according to Ian Turner, was one of the most prominent vehicles for those who promoted the positive values of sport.¹³ This ideal was popularised through two eminent Victorian novelists, Charles Kingsley in *Westward Ho!* (1855) and Thomas Hughes in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). Muscular Christianity lent its support to several ideas related to sporting participation. Perhaps more than anything, this ideal valued the quality of 'manliness'. Participation in 'manly' sports was seen to engender the desired traits of self-discipline, courage and a sense of Christian duty.¹⁴ It also encompassed the movement of humanism which stressed a balanced moral, intellectual and physical development and often found expression in the phrase *mens sana in corpore sano*. Lastly, it proclaimed that the lessons

learnt on the games field were applicable to other situations in life. For example, many adherents of the muscular Christian creed firmly believed the adage, incorrectly attributed to the Duke of Wellington, that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.¹⁵ In Australia, advocates of muscular Christianity justified sport in these terms and were known to support football, cricket and boating, but, to date, no association has been made with the sport of golf.¹⁶ An examination of the Brisbane Golf Club (BGC) - that city's first golf club (1896) and Queensland's premier club for three decades - will assess any evidence to suggest that golf was relevant to this creed.

There were certainly men of the cloth involved at the BGC. In fact, two of Brisbane's leading religious figures, the Reverend Frodsham and Archdeacon David, were crucial to the genesis of the club and also to its management in the early years. The Reverend Frodsham presided as Chairman at 'a meeting of gentlemen interested in the formation of a golf club' and inspected the suburbs for a suitable site with other enthusiasts.¹⁷ He also served as a committee member in the inaugural year, with his interest at the club continuing until he was appointed Bishop of North Queensland in 1902.¹⁸ Archdeacon David, a man renowned for 'his deep interest in athletic sports' because of his involvement in cricket, rowing and football, was one of the foundation members of the BGC, a member of the match and ground committees and Vice-President for half a decade.¹⁹ Only after he was transferred from the city did he relinquish his positions at the club. These golfing enthusiasts were joined by another dozen men of the cloth who were members during the club's first twenty years. Indeed, golf's Christianising qualities were supported by a prominent sporting journal, the *Referee*, which proclaimed that 'the man who can play it regularly and not break a majority of the ten commandments is a Christian Gentleman'.²⁰

But to assume widespread popularity of the muscular Christian gospel purely on this evidence is misleading. Support for this doctrine is far from conclusive. For instance, the presence of the clergy does not necessarily implicate the muscular Christian 'gospel'. Their involvement with the game could have been for many other reasons. The Reverend Frodsham and Archdeacon David could have been interested in the club for the social approbation it provided. Both were high ranking, important personnel of the clergy and would have been comfortable mixing at the BGC which was an enclave of Brisbane's middle and upper classes.²¹ Alternatively, participation by religious figures could have been because they enjoyed this form of sport and attached no utilitarian value to it. These different explanations are re-enforced by references to golf's Christianising qualities being the exception rather than the rule. It is likely that the team sports - football, cricket and rowing - the sports which involved team spirit, co-operation and co-ordination contributed more to the Christianising of a man's character. Golf had fewer religious virtues because it centred around the individual not the team.

Golf's major justification rested on the belief that sporting participation improved one's health. The game was lauded for its ability to aid in health-related matters. Consider the testimony of the English champion of 1902 who was successful at 53 years of age. To him it was 'golf and golf alone that kept him on the youthful side'.²² Other golfers voiced these sentiments and ascribed a therapeutic attribute to the game. The author of a review article on golf in Australia written shortly after the turn of the twentieth century suggested that 'from the health point of view golf has done much for humanity. There is no other form of sport which is so recommended by the medical faculty'.²³ The notion that golf was important to a long, healthy life was related to the social conditions in Australia during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

As a result of poor sanitary conditions and a medical profession which lacked both adequate knowledge and the necessary support systems, Australia faced many major health problems. Epidemics of typhoid fever, tuberculosis, smallpox and diphtheria threatened all Australians. In Victoria, between 1871 and 1900, over 100,000 people died from a combination of the above diseases. Sydney suffered epidemics of measles and scarlet fever in the 1870s that resulted in death rates of 32 per 1000 - a figure even larger than in London during the same period.²⁴ In fact, epidemics in Australia continued to cause panic well into the 1920s.²⁵ Infant mortality was also a major concern. During the 1880s the death rate was 133 per 1000 compared with contemporary figures of 18 per 1000.²⁶ Even by the outbreak of the first world war, one in three school children in Queensland had some physical defect, and over half of New South Wales children suffered adenoids, deafness or poor sight.²⁷ Health, by virtue of necessity, was a major issue in Australia.

One only has to glance at Australian periodicals such as *The Melbourne Review*, *The Victorian Review*, and *The Sydney Quarterly Magazine* or at the popular press to witness the concern for health. The establishment of one of Australia's leading monthly magazines, *The Lone Hand* (1907), exemplifies this interest. The mandate presented to its prospective readership stated 'it will not worry about people's politics, but take a militant interest in people's health'.²⁸ Other forms of the popular press displayed the community's appetite for health issues with the publication of numerous medical cures, remedies and prophesies. For example, 'Dr Koch's non-mercurial, infallible MILCOCH remedy' that claimed to effectively treat no less than forty medical problems. 'Reuter's Life Syrup No. 1' regulated the liver, healed the kidneys, purified the blood and strengthened the stomach as well as curing syphilis, ulcers and skin diseases. The 'Electric Invigorator belt' that, according to one of its advocates, Dick

Cavill (a champion swimmer of Australia), cured liver complaints, vertigo and attacks of indigestion. The female version of this device, 'Dr Scotts' Electric Corset', produced similar results by imparting a 'health-giving current to the whole system'.²⁹ All these forms of medical cures were justified in the name of personal health.

In keeping with the interest in health issues and to help combat the many medical problems, various forms of physical exercise were promoted. Health through exercise was proclaimed by a diverse range of sources. William Taylor, who delivered the Presidential Address to the Royal Society of Queensland in 1896, advocated 'the necessity of regular physical exercise' as it ensured 'a healthier tone to the general system'.³⁰ A leading eugenicist, Dr Truby King, shared these sentiments and commented to his colleagues that 'a sufficiency of exercise in the open air and sunlight would tend towards greatly increasing the standard of health and strength'.³¹ Not surprisingly, support also came from within the sporting fraternity. Fritz Holland, a successful Australian athlete, was a leading advocate of exercise. 'Good health is a question of proper exercise' he argued. 'If you wish to have good health - to enjoy that youthful, invigorating feeling of the physically fit, you must have proper and sufficient exercise'.³² The author of *How to become Hardy, Colds in the Head and Chest*, Harold Bjelke Peterson, explained quite succinctly the benefits of exercise to health. To him there were five advantages:

1. Exercise creates a healthy appetite and aids digestion.
2. Exercise helps with liquid you drink to wash out the waste matter from the body cells.
3. Exercise creates a desire for sleep and is the best cure for sleeplessness.
4. Exercise makes the body absorb more oxygen, makes the combustion brighter, creates more energy.
5. Exercise helps to expel the solid excretion of the body.

He concluded this summation by adding that the ‘arguments are simple, and show what an important factor in health is exercise’.³³

There were a host of sports that were classified as providing healthy exercise. Golf, along with horse riding, cycling, lawn tennis, rowing swimming and mountain climbing, were recognised for their health giving qualities.³⁴ This ideology was popularised in the decades on either side of the turn of the twentieth century, a time when there were outbreaks of bubonic plague, when death from pneumonia was a major risk and when the mortality rate from diptheria had not been slowed.³⁵ The health potential of specific sports was stressed when little faith in the medical community caused people to trust patent medicines, quacks and herbalists.³⁶

The Sydney Morning Herald specifically promoted the game of golf in a column headed ‘Golf as an aid to health’:

A generally accepted view [is] that some relaxation and exercise in the open air is necessary for health, and ... the game of golf is the best health-giving relaxation available... Of all games or sports that combine healthy open exercise of a moderate kind with mental stimulus and excitement, no other game quite equals golf.³⁷

Medical authorities echoed these sentiments. One doctor, for instance, as part of his treatment for distressed patients suggested they should go on sea voyages and play golf wherever they could find links.³⁸ Also, during World War One golf was recommended as ‘a great tonic for returned soldiers ... from a recreative and a health-giving point of view’.³⁹ But perhaps, the game’s most impressive accolade was the claim that it had ‘probably saved more lives than all the drugs in British pharmacopoeia’.⁴⁰

So, how did golf earn such a reputation for the preservation of health? Firstly, it was seen as providing ideal exercise. An article in the *Queenslander* explained that it was not overly strenuous exercise

but still invigorating because it depended on a 'healthy action of the arms and legs'.⁴¹ A medical physician used a similar argument to explain the popularity of the game. He stated that tennis died a natural death 'to make way for the still more invigorating but less violent form of exercise of golf'.⁴² Secondly, the argument for the healthiness of golf lay in the surrounds in which it was played. As a contemporary writer expressed:

the fact that the ancient game requires a large playing area re-acts to its own advantage, for it is necessary that the devotee of the sport should leave behind him the congested suburbs and pursue his pleasure in the healthier open spaces.⁴³

Exercise in the open air was an important ingredient. The rationale for outdoor sports was that both the brain and its component parts - the blood and the nervous system - depended on fresh air to function effectively.⁴⁴

The benefits the game offered to good health were not restricted to its male participants. Golf was promoted as an activity that was 'eminently suited for ladies'.⁴⁵ Dan Soutar, one of the leading professionals in Australia and author of the *Australian Golfer* (1906), suggested golf for women was popular 'first and foremost for the healthy, open air exercise it afforded'.⁴⁶ Golf was also valued for the kind of exercise it offered. It provided steady 'but not by any means violent exercise' that developed 'muscles which women would otherwise not use'.⁴⁷ But the advantages for women went beyond these physical traits. An article in the *Brisbane Courier* stressed to its readership that golf

affords more than health-giving exercise, it serves to distract the mind, and thus act as an antidote to one of the worst yet commonest of modern ailments - namely the habit of introspection or self-analysis.

These problems were corrected through participation in golf. This writer argued that by being:

brought into contact with plenty of their fellow-beings, their thoughts unconsciously drift into fresh channels, and thus drive away at any rate for a time, unpleasant recollection of domestic troubles and minor worries with which all women are at times more or less affected.⁴⁸

For women, then, golf exemplified the Greek concept of a 'sound mind and a sound body' by enriching the participant psychologically as well as physiologically.

Women's participation in golf, however, was not based solely on its physiological and psychological benefits. There was another factor. Golf was considered a suitable 'ladies' sport because it complemented the cultural image of women that was essentially passive, non-aggressive and non-competitive.⁴⁹ By fitting this image, golf did not claim the characteristics of sport that were traditionally masculine.⁵⁰ For this reason, women golfers did not experience the resistance that characterised women's incursions into more robust and stressful sports.⁵¹ The acceptance of golf as a suitable sport for women was also made possible because it did not pose a serious threat to male golfers. To many male players, female golf was nothing more than 'a gentle counterpoint to tea and gossip'.⁵²

Based on a rationale that combined the game's healthy aspects with the contemporary cultural perception of sport suitable for women, females pursued golf with enthusiasm and zest. Organisation of women's golf at the turn of the twentieth century emphasised this feature. For example, in 1894, women conducted Australia's first national title at Geelong, Victoria. This event proved so successful that male golfers followed suit in the next year. Furthermore, in just over a decade, an inter-Colonial match between Victoria and New

South Wales (1897) was held and championships for women in four Australian states commenced.⁵³

Female golfers at the club level mirrored the enthusiasm shown at state and national levels. Associate members of the Royal Melbourne Golf Club, Australia's first golfing institution to be granted the Royal charter, provide a typical example.⁵⁴ While there were no active female golfers on the official opening day on 4 July, 1891, within twelve months women players made their first appearance on the links, and a ladies section of the club was headed by the Countess of Hopetoun and a committee of ten female golfers. Associate membership grew quickly: by 1893 there were 67, by 1894 there were 98, by 1895 there were 103, and by 1896 there were 132 female golfers. Popularity of the game was further evidenced by the frequency and number of events which, during the club's first decade, included both club contests and inter-club matches with the Geelong Club.⁵⁵

Another aspect of golf that applied equally to women and men was the practice of etiquette. Etiquette emerged in the midst of a set of ethical ideals that were associated with sporting participation. The strict moral environment that surrounded sport encouraged many behaviour patterns: fair play, gentlemanly behaviour, honesty in competition and modesty in defeat.⁵⁶ Golf emphasised one aspect of this set of social mores. It promoted the virtue of fair play which had as part of its ethos respect for fellow players. This ideal was expressed in the practice of etiquette which was a series of rules of 'conduct established for the general welfare' of the players.⁵⁷ The practical application of this code of conduct was quite complicated. Golfers were asked to consider the welfare of other players by replacing divots of turf and levelling the bunkers after use. In addition, they were to refrain from driving the ball into the group ahead but were warned not to be tardy and delay the progress of the golfers following.

Etiquette also recommended where to stand when golfing partners were teeing off, playing fairway shots and, most importantly, on the putting greens. Finally, there were suggested guidelines for lost balls and the associated procedure of permitting golfers to play through. Any breach of this code of conduct, as described by HG Hutchinson in the *Badminton Library*, was 'not punished by the loss of the hole or a stroke, but rather a loss of social status in the golfing world'.⁵⁸ The moral implications were clear: to 'play the game' in golf was to abide by the protocol of etiquette.

Returning to the original questions posed in this paper, what aspects of the values associated with early Australian sport were applicable to golf? It did not appear to be wholeheartedly promoted in the muscular Christian creed, although it did, at times, find partial support there as shown by occasional references to its Christianising qualities. The relationship of muscular Christianity to golf would be assisted by a more cosmopolitan investigation of early golfing institutions in Australia. Also, golf was rarely promoted as a developer of character. It was not attributed with fostering moral qualities such as courage, endurance, self-reliance or self-control. This, apparently, was better left to the team games. But, one moral quality often emphasised in sporting participation - fair play - found a special niche in golf. Fair play which included respect for fellow players was manifested in the etiquette of the game. To adhere to this code of conduct had the same moral implications that were carried in the watchwords of Victorian sport such as 'hitting with a straight bat' and being a 'good sportsman'.

Golf's major source of support came from the belief that regular exercise ensured a healthier form of life. The issue of health, as has been shown, created considerable interest in Australia, A plethora of medical cures treated the diseases that threatened many Australians. Participation in physical exercise and sports was seen as

a partial solution to this problem and received support from scientists, academics and sportsmen alike. Golf, like many other sports, was extolled for its benefits to health. This belief proved to be a powerful rationale for male and female participation in the game; for both sexes it was rejuvenating, health preserving and therapeutic. But the game's attributes were not only physical - it also provided psychological benefits. Sir Henry Seton-King reiterated these thoughts:

For the general number of more or less sound and able-bodied people of all ages and both sexes the game of golf must be a reasonable[sic] healthy form of relaxation, productive of much pleasant social intercourse, and of beneficial bodily exercise and mental stimulus.⁵⁹

Today, however, the situation has changed. While many people see the value of exercise in a healthy lifestyle, few recommend golf. It is no longer promoted as a preserver of health nor as a form of mental therapy. Rather, modern extollers of exercise recommend activities with larger cardio-vascular components such as aerobics, jogging and cycling. Participation in golf primarily for its health benefits has long past, it was one of the values associated with Australian sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

NOTES

1. This paper originated from an Honours Thesis entitled 'A History of the Brisbane Golf Club' (University of Queensland, 1986) supervised by Dr IF Jobling.
2. JR Mallea, 'The Victorian Sporting Legacy', *McGill Journal of Education*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1975, p. 191.
3. For examples of this type of research see JA Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and also *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1986); DW Brown, 'Athleticism in Selected Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984); SAGM Crawford, 'A History of Recreation and Sport in Nineteenth-Century Otago' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Queensland, 1984). In an

- Australian context, see DW Brown, 'The Legacy of British Victorian Social Thought: Some Prominent Views on Sport, Physical Exercise and Society in Colonial Australia', W Vamplew (ed.), *Sport and Colonialism in 19th Century Australia*, (A.S.S.H. Studies in Sports History: No. 1), pp. 19- 41 and also 'Muscular Christianity in the Antipodes: Some Observations on the Diffusion and Emergence of a Victorian Ideal in Australian Social theory, *Sporting Traditions*, 3.2, (1987), pp. 173-187; M. Connellan, 'The Ideology of Athleticism, its antipodean impact, and its manifestation in two Catholic Schools' (Unpublished B. Ed. Honours Dissertation, Sydney University, 1985); and G Sherrington, 'Athleticism in the Antipodes: The Athletic Association of the Great Public Schools of New South Wales', *History of Education Review*, 12.2, (1983), pp. 16-28.
4. See Brown, 'Muscular Christianity in the Antipodes,' *op.cit.*
 5. *Argus*, 18 April, 1859 cited in K. Elford, 'Sport in Australian Society A Perspective', in TD Jaques and GR Pavia (eds.) *Sport in Australia: Selected Readings in Physical Activity* (Sydney: McGraw-Hill, 1976), p. 41.
 6. *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 30 July, 1864 cited in I Turner, 'Work and Play in Victorian Victoria', *The Victorian Historical Journal* 49.1, (1978), p. 41.
 7. *Australasian*, 5 July, 1873 cited in W Mandle, "Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the 19th Century" in Jaques and Pavia (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 54.
 8. WH Bunday, *Reminiscences of Twenty-Five Years' Yachting in Australia* (Adelaide: ES. Wigg, 1888) cited in Elford, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
 9. *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 21 May, 1864 cited in Brown, 'Muscular Christianity in the Antipodes', *op. cit.*, p. 178.
 10. WB Carmichael and HC Perry, *Athletic Queensland: a history of amateur rowing boxing and physical development, pedestrianism and cycling in Queensland* (Brisbane: H.J. Diddams, 1900), p. 85.
 11. *ibid.*, p. 133.
 12. See for example Connellan, *op. cit.*; R. Crawford, 'Athleticism, Gentlemen and Empire in Australian Public Schools: LA Adamson and Wesley College, Melbourne', W Vamplew (ed), *Sport and Colonialism in 19th Century Australasia* (A.S.S.H. Studies in Sports History: No. 1,) pp. 42-64; and Sherrington, *op. cit.*
 13. Turner, *op.cit.*, p.41.
 14. Elford, *op. cit.*, provides a detailed account of the concept of manliness in an Australian context.
 15. Brown, 'Muscular Christianity in the Antipodes', *op. cit.*, p. 177.
 16. Brown, 'The Legacy of British Victorian Social Thought', *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.
 17. *Queenslander*, 14 November, 1896, p. 927.
 18. *ibid*
 19. *Queensland 1900* (Brisbane: Alcazar Press, 1901), p. 62; and B.G.C. *Minute Books, General Meetings*, 1896-1900.
 20. *Referee*, 19 January, 1910, p. 10.
 21. For more detail regarding the class structure of the B.G.C. see M Phillips, 'Ethnicity and Class at the Brisbane Golf Club', *Sporting Traditions*, 4.2, (1988), pp. 201-213.
 22. *Referee*, 25 January, 1902, p. 6.

23. RG Money, 'How Golf Came to Australia', *The Lone Hand*, 13, (February 1916), p. 181.
24. M Cannon, *Life in the Cities: Australia in the Victorian Age* (South Yarra: Currey O'Neil Ross, 1975), p. 129.
25. H McQueen, *Social Sketches of Australia* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1978), p. 29.
26. Cannon, *op.cit.*, pp. 128-129 provides a detailed discussion of the health problems in Australia.
27. McQueen, *op.cit.*, p.63.
28. *The Lone Hand*, 1, (May 1907), pp. xxi-xxii.
29. For these medical cures and remedies and numerous others see Cannon, *op. cit* , pp. 135-139.
30. WF Taylor, 'Presidential Address', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, 11 (Brisbane, 1896), pp. xl-xli.
31. Cited in CL Bacchi, 'The Nature-Nurture Debate in Australia, 1900-1914', *Historical Studies*, 19.75, (1980), p. 204.
32. *Referee*, 13 September, 1916, p. 9.
33. *ibid.*, 22 May, (1918), p. 9.
34. For a discussion of the healthy qualities of these sports see *ibid.*, 23 January, 1918, p. 8.
35. McQueen, *op.cit.*, pp.60, 63.
36. *ibid*, p. 111.
37. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 September, 1914, p. 5.
38. Money, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
39. *Referee*, 30 August 30, 1916, p. 1.
40. Money, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
41. *Queenslander*, 28 November, 1916, p. 1021.
42. *Brisbane Courier*, 29 June, 1901, p. 13.
43. *Referee*, 12 May, 1915, p. 10.
44. *ibid*, 23 January, 1918, p. 8.
45. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 August, 1921, p. 14.
46. DG Soutar, *The Australian Golfer* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1906), p. 137.
47. WF Mandle, 'Origins' in *Australian Sport: A Profile* (Canberra: AGPS, 1985), p. 10.
48. *Brisbane Courier*, 29 June, 1901, p. 13.
49. B. Stoddart, *Saturday Afternoon Fever* (North Ryde: Angus and Robertson, 1986), p. 135, p. 139.
50. The argument that sport in Australia embodied many male values such as rugged individualism, mateship, egalitarianism and masculinity is forwarded by L. Coles, 'Sport and Sexual Politics: A Socio-Historical Analysis', Paper presented to the Conference of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, Brisbane, 1978 and also by Stoddart, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139. This line of reasoning is extended by L. Bryson, 'Sport and the Oppression of Women', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 19.3, pp. 413-426. Bryson argues the link between sport and manliness was related to the importance of sport as a ritual.

Certain sports provided ritual support for male dominance by linking manliness with highly valued skills and positively sanctioned use of aggression. Sport for women was acceptable provided it did not claim characteristics that were officially the preserve of men.

51. I Jobling, 'Australian Women at the Olympic Games: Swimmers not Runners, 1912-1928', Paper presented at the Joint Session of the Women's Studies and Sport Sciences Sections of the 52nd ANZAAS Congress, Sydney, 1982, pp. 1-18 contends that the 'unfeminine' characteristics of athletics were responsible for its delayed entry into the Olympic program in 1928.
52. Mandle, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
53. M Maclaren, *The Australian Golfer's Handbook* 2nd edition (Sydney: Longside, 1960), pp. 124-166.
54. T Smith, *Australian Golf - The First Hundred Years* (Sydney: Lester-Townsend, 1982), p. 14 indicates the Melbourne Golf Club officially received the Royal charter on 1 June, 1895.
55. AD Ellis, *The History of the Royal Melbourne Golf Club* Volume 1: 1891 to 1941 (Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens, 1941), pp. 21, 31, 36-37, 122-127.
56. Mallea, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
57. *Referee*, 1 August, 1917, p. 16.
58. HG Hutchinson, 'Golf' in the series KG Beaufort (ed.) *The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes* (London: Longmans, 1899), p. 256.
59. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 September, 1914, p. 5.