

# *Orientalism, Golf and the Modern Age: Joe Kirkwood in Asia*<sup>1</sup>

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If remembered at all Joe Kirkwood is recalled as golf's greatest trick shot artist, long-time exhibition and touring partner for the wonderful Walter Hagen, a snappy dresser, and a player who never fulfilled his playing potential.<sup>2</sup> Commanding little presence in golf histories despite his early admission to the Hall of Fame in the United States, even in his native Australia standard references frame Kirkwood as an oddity valued most as the source of colourful stories.<sup>3</sup> His 'autobiography' adds weight to that view: a mixture of extraordinary anecdote, factual misrepresentation and fantastic interpretative stretch.<sup>4</sup>

A more modern, perhaps postmodernist interpretation casts Kirkwood in different light.<sup>5</sup> The argument here is that Kirkwood played an important but ambivalent role in the globalisation of golf, particularly in its spread to Asia which has become the heartland of the game's later twentieth century growth. Kirkwood was a pioneer in Asia, but characterised the ambiguities and contradictions of the game's development there and which continue now in an interesting version of the debate about 'Otherness'. He also typified the understanding/misunderstanding dilemma, which runs through contemporary East/West golf relations as much as it does in wider economic, political or cultural spheres.<sup>6</sup> In short, Kirkwood's experiences in Asia foreshadowed many of the current debates about the impact of the global on the local, and about supposedly transnational practices (like golf) intersecting with local cultural conditions.<sup>7</sup> This is the context of the reference to 'Orientalism'.

As delineated by Edward Said, 'Orientalism' suggests that western analyses of 'the Orient' (which, of course, does not exist other than as a concept or, more accurately, a masking short-hand) justified western intervention in various Asian cultures, and western adaptations of those cultures, as much as they tried to understand the 'East'.<sup>8</sup> Northern or metropolitan hemisphere constructs like 'the Far East' and 'the wily Oriental' created typologies of Asian behaviour and attitudes, which combined to produce a superiority complex in the west and an inferiority

one in the east. Ashis Nandy is prominent among those to have elaborated this theme for specific areas of Asia, demonstrating the thorough-going nature of the process along with its consequences for colonial-going-into-postcolonial nations.<sup>9</sup>

This is no simple academic treatise because the debate informs modern East/West- North/South relations, as typified in some of Said's other work, most notably on Palestine and on the wider question of cultural imperialism.<sup>10</sup> While it may appear that foreign values were imposed upon colonial society, Said contends that many cultures self-imposed such values so alienating their central sense of being and identity. Here, of course, he echoes Gramsci whose works underpin much modern cultural and postcolonial theory, and C L R James whose work on Caribbean cricket has inspired rich analysis.<sup>11</sup> The struggle for equal recognition which goes on in the United Nations, as a consequence of this dichotomy, is repeated in the struggle for power in cultural structures like the Olympic movement-it is the struggle between the metropolitan and the provincial, a reminder of the powerful cultural/religious imperative which runs from the Crusades (itself an Orientalist notion) through to the demonising of Iran and Afghanistan more recently.<sup>12</sup>

This is not so far away from Joe Kirkwood as might be imagined. The Orientalist sway, the persuasion of non-Western cultures to Western practices took many forms. Sporting ones were not only noticeable but also long-lasting and deep-seated. Indian subcontinental cricket springs to mind immediately as an example of an alien cultural practice that becomes a major social feature. Even though it has developed its own forms in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh cricket, nonetheless, is a vivid reminder of a colonial and colonised past.<sup>13</sup>

Among many Asian power elites golf became a pre-eminent cultural form and forum, in most if not all sites simply replacing the cast rather than the script — that is, postcolonial powers replaced imperial ones.<sup>14</sup> The beginnings of the introduced practice resonate now and, so, figures like Kirkwood assume dimensions well beyond their immediate sporting ones. To demonstrate that, three particular episodes from his 'adventure' (for as such were they written) are decoded to reveal much about golf, life, cultural spread and cross-cultural complexity, and to relate those episodes to some modern trends in Asian golf and its analysis by the west. The unifying theme is that as a key cultural icon in modern life, golf and its spread both bridge and divide East and West, but within an assumed globality based upon Orientalist assumptions.

## Johore Joe

In a section entitled 'Sultana' (an evocative term in the Orientalist lexicon), Kirkwood claims that during the 1920s he was summoned to the Malayan palace of the Sultan of Johore who was married to an Australian. He was to teach the family golf.<sup>15</sup> The travelling golfer's description of the palace matches that of any 'Oriental' site rendered by other western travellers: gold chandeliers, gem-studded hallways, satins, silks, art, Persian rugs. But the Sultan also had a private nine hole course, beautifully kept. Young elephants were used to carry the bags, at each tee there was a refreshment hut, and the tee markers were blue for men and pink for women. Needless to say, the Sultan's swing improved under Kirkwood's tutelage, in return for which the coach was allowed to escort the Sultan's daughter.

For Kirkwood, the highlight was a dinner party at which all women present were given swimming suits as gifts by the Sultan, and invited to use the Olympic-sized pool. Consulting his watch after a time, the Sultan then beckoned the men to the balcony at just the moment the swimming suits began to disintegrate as part of an elaborate practical joke.

The golfer summed it up thus:

It was quite an adventure, a memorable interlude in my life. But I am convinced that there exists the world over a universal basic brotherhood common to all. For golfers seldom go their way alone. There are no barriers of breeding, colour or creed. A golfer is judged by his character, conduct and deeds, and the sultan further proved to me that golfers are brothers.<sup>16</sup>

The point, of course, was that Kirkwood was mistaken entirely. He had access to the privilege of social position rather than the brotherhood (let alone sisterhood) of golf. The states in Malaya were run under a complex system of British intervention combined with the continuity of autochthonous power in the form of the sultans, members of traditional ruling families who had great sway among their subjects.<sup>17</sup> As in other settings, such as India, the sultans heightened their conspicuous consumption in an attempt to display parity with the *parvenu* authorities.

Golf became one of those displays, recognised as a benchmark of exclusivity. The Sultan's private course was an excellent example. In the Saidian view, the behaviour *expected* by the foreign power became *encultured* in the group from whom it was expected. What Kirkwood really experienced was the aristocracy rather than the democracy of golf

— at best, it was an Orwellian democracy in which some players were more equal than others. And that included Kirkwood, beguiled by the Orientalist spectacle but misled about his position in the display, that of hired entertainer in the way that many colonial administrators might well have been regarded over the long periods of foreign rule.<sup>18</sup>

The full import of this was demonstrated, almost 30 years later, by another wandering player, this time an Englishman. When Peter Alliss played in Singapore and Malaya, he spent considerable time with the colonial rulers who were at the end of their days, enjoyed it very much, and began to reflect on golf as the Australian had. The golf club, in distinction to the course, Alliss mused, played a central part in the lives of the British overseas, offering 'rich delights and warm fellowship ... to mankind'.<sup>19</sup>

During that tour, Alliss shot a record 69 on the racecourse layout on the island of Penang, a long-time British possession and free port. The course was later upgraded to an 18 hole course thanks to the generosity of Tunku Abdul Rahman, first Prime Minister of Malaysia and scion of the ruling house of Kedah, a counterpart to the Sultan of Johore who had entertained Kirkwood. 'The Tunku', as he is still known, was a great golf enthusiast, and typified the behaviour admired by the British in those colonial elites whom they regarded as having become 'civilised' — a variation, clearly, on the Orientalist vision, local 'natural rulers' who retained 'Oriental' form but who had taken on British substance. The reverse was represented by those locals who could not or would not adapt.<sup>20</sup>

What Alliss saw but did not necessarily recognise was the protection of social space or, at least, a transition in the ownership of that space. That is, golf in its Malayan setting was still a domain of privilege, and while regimes changed the practices in the club did not, simply the nature of the personnel. In the colonial sports world, the golf one specifically here, that was the triumph of Orientalism—the local conviction about the value of a metropolitan ideal, with continued metropolitan reinforcement, through admiration and approbation, underpinning the social process.<sup>21</sup>

A more complex later view emerges from the book written by journalist Desmond Zwar with the great Australian player, Peter Thomson.<sup>22</sup> Zwar was a straightline journalistic interpreter but Thomson was much deeper and more perceptive, as revealed in his comments on the evolution of the golf clubs and on some of their practices.<sup>23</sup> Thomson spent considerable

time in Asia during the 1950s and 1960s and did much to popularise the game there. Later, he became a very successful designer there (some of his work was handled by his son Andrew — a former Minister for Sport in the Australian Government — who was based in Japan for many years).

Zwar reflected Kirkwood, in many respects—he claimed, for example, that golfers remembered two things about Thailand: the noise of the traffic, and the girls:

They are perhaps the gentlest, softest, most feminine females in the world. They bow their heads, hands in the self-effacing prayer position when they are told they are lovely, and they bring a lump even to the most lecherous golfer's throat.<sup>24</sup>

This is pure Orientalism, the ascribing of idealised characteristics to 'Other' people, especially women. The attitude has continued in interesting ways. Thai women caddies, for example, were employed at a particular golf club in the Malaysian state of Kedah during the mid-1990s. Kedah is among the more socially conservative of Malaysian states (that is, more avowedly Islamic so that men golfers, for example, may not wear shorts there), and the wives of golf club members had the caddies removed for fear that other services might be offered to interested players.<sup>25</sup>

### **Shanghai Show**

In 1938, Kirkwood and Hagen arrived in the internationalised Chinese city of Shanghai to play the Hung Jao course (as Kirkwood termed it) at the height of the Sino-Japanese conflict which would spill over into the Pacific war.<sup>26</sup> Japanese authorities had acquired the country club as a command post but, according to Kirkwood, golf continued amidst bombing and fighting. He claims that to honour him and his partner, Chinese and Japanese authorities called a day's truce with the match staged only after all corpses were removed from the course. At tea, cheongsam-clad Chinese women mixed with kimono-clad Japanese ones, and both groups contrasted with chic westerners attached to trading houses and embassies still plying their business in the midst of both the shooting war and the civil conflict heralding, eventually, the creation of the People's Republic of China.<sup>27</sup> At one point, Japanese officers dressed some of their own men in Chinese uniforms, had them charge Kirkwood with bayonets and rifles, only to be driven back ostensibly by the accuracy of the golf balls he struck towards them. According to Kirkwood, the

scenes were used later in a Japanese propaganda film to illustrate Chinese cowardice — how could they face guns if they capitulated to golf balls? The bunkers on the course, he claimed, were actually burial sites where, in wet seasons, bones protruded from the sand so deterring the player. Of all this, he noted:

we couldn't become embroiled in the politics and economics of the various countries we visited to entertain. Our goals were to bring laughter, sport, and comradeship to people, and these objectives seemed to be universally appreciated.<sup>28</sup>

A (possibly) unfair interpretation is that Kirkwood assumed laughter, sport and comradeship were otherwise absent in those countries, so adopting the imperious position of 'civilising' the colonies, that most strong of strands in the Orientalist spread of British games.<sup>29</sup> Sports like golf and cricket were seen as excellent ways of teaching local peoples the proper attitudes, behaviours and beliefs necessary in modern, civilised polities. Games were as much about moral training as they were about physical exercise and prowess. In Said's view, of course, this is a major dimension in Orientalism — while there was a great deal of reference to the mysteries, beauty and wisdom of the 'East', there was a parallel move to reform what were seen as its less attractive characteristics.

Of modern interest here is the idea of golf being a transnational, transcultural force, and the inevitability of its arrival and acceptance in those parts of Asia still left to be 'conquered'. In recent years, of course, the 'opening' of China has been a major business and commercial objective, the lure being a potentially huge consumer market.<sup>30</sup> Golf has been no exception and, along with Macdonald's and Coke, may be reckoned as a visible sign of ideological change there.<sup>31</sup> The mushrooming of golf courses in places like Shanghai has matched that seen elsewhere regionally, and so does the practice of exclusivity — most courses are private membership ones with clientele drawn from among the relatively instant millionaires created by the new economic circumstances. All of this has made the region a target for outside agencies. The Queensland Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Australia reckoned that it developed \$A3.5 million in export revenues for the state from its activities at Golf Asia '97 in Singapore, the region's leading golf industry showcase. Similarly, Scottish Trade International, another development agency, specifically includes golf in its plans for entering the Asia-Pacific.<sup>32</sup>

The point, of course, is an underlying theme that the arrival of golf in

'Communist' China demonstrates the inevitable power of western ideology. It is simply a later modern version of the earlier Orientalist mission outlined by Said. Golf, in this sense, is an industrial commodity rather than a cultural artefact. But it is still in the Orientalist paradigm, with metropolitan agencies working upon the drawing power of an implanted ideal.

Nowhere is this seen more powerfully, perhaps, than in the debate about the environmental impact of golf course development in Asia. Until relatively recently, the apolitical view espoused by Kirkwood was applied by a good many developers in Asia, the result being that precious natural resources were taken over for golf developments enjoyed by a very small number of people. Not only were land and water sources jeopardised, in some cases the accustomed holders of those resources were dispossessed. So serious did this development become that a major social uprising against golf development was formed.<sup>33</sup>

There is a direct link, then, between the notions of Orientalism formed around golf in Asia during Kirkwood's time, and later practices which ignored or overrode local needs and inclinations.

### **Bali High**

The most evocative story, though, concerns Kirkwood's visit to Bali, the quintessential site for Orientalism.<sup>34</sup> He went to the Indonesian island with the Hinduised culture to visit a man he called Le Mare, actually Adrien-Jean Le Mayeur de Merpres (1880-1958), a Belgian artist (sometimes described as the Gauguin of southeast Asia) who settled in Bali in 1932 and married Ni Polok, a local dancer who was also his main model.<sup>35</sup> Le Mayeur's house in the now tourist area of Sanur has become a museum.<sup>36</sup> Presumably Kirkwood met Le Mayeur on the continent or in Britain, referring to him as an old Belgian friend, a once unknown amateur painter who later exhibited 'in the Orient and Paris'. Whatever the reason for the visit, Kirkwood was bitten by 'Bali Fever': 'for it was here that I decided I had found the paradise that we all long for, but somehow find illusive [*sic*] in the busy commercial world'.<sup>37</sup>

His depiction of Bali was classic Orientalism, matching the exoticism seen in his friend's paintings of people and surroundings. According to Kirkwood, Balinese people were 'without problems or complexes', innocents without shame. He was then instructed, by his own account, to teach golf to the daughter of yet another well-born and wealthy Asian, and the pupil turned up topless. In the classic style, she became a conquest

while showing him some of the most beautiful natural surroundings in the world.

Meanwhile, Kirkwood laid out a small golf course so that he might practice and that attracted much local attention. In doing so, he was an architect forerunner of Peter Thomson (who designed Bali Handara), the Nelson-Wright-Haworth team (Bali Golf and Country Club), and Greg Norman (Meridien) — the last follows Kirkwood along a beach, the previous incorporates local culture into course artefacts, while the first lies in a particularly lush, ‘Orientalised’ setting.<sup>38</sup> Kirkwood’s extended from a beach into (in his eyes) an abandoned rice field. The Orientalist continuities are there, and so was the nature of his leaving. The temple dancers:

were dressed in their traditional, fabulous costumes, made entirely of woven eighteen-carat gold studded with semi-precious stones. The girls had come from all over the island, and their dance in the firelight made a special dream of the night. The strangely beautiful fleeting music played by gongs and tiny bells still lingers in my memory and always will. That evening — in that moment of time — and the soft smile of Bali would be with me forever.<sup>39</sup>

The girl, of course, was not.

### **Mode Moderne**

Because of their continuing symbolic importance, there are three main recurring themes of interest in these Kirkwood stories: power, gender and culture.

*Power* An obvious point in Asian golf is that the power of position has been supplemented, possibly even replaced by the power of wealth. The two were not dissociated in earlier times — Thomson/Zwar, for example, noted that Tun Abdul Razak, then Deputy Prime Minister but to become Prime Minister of Malaysia, sported the upmarket Kenneth Smith of Kansas City handmade clubs<sup>40</sup> — but in the modern location the accumulation and display of wealth is a paramount feature of Asian golf. An advertisement for membership in a 54 hole complex in Johore (the site of Kirkwood’s Malaysian endeavours), with one of the courses each designed by Jack Nicklaus, Gary Player and Arnold Palmer, declared ‘Don’t worship the ground they walk on, buy it!’<sup>41</sup> Most courses built in the region are private membership ones, with prices prohibitive. Those memberships are tradeable commodities, a sure sign that golf is folded

into the commercial environment. As elsewhere, business has long been done on the golf course, but now the golf course *is* the business, Membership of these establishments goes with ownership of a luxury car, an expensive (usually genuine Rolex) watch, brand name clothes (Zegna, Boss and the upper-market golf brands) and the postmodern versions of Kenneth Smith-type display (Callaway is ubiquitous). The social display factor is pronounced. In 1997, for example, a member of Royal Perak Golf Club in Ipoh, Malaysia was suspended after an alleged incident in the bar. He took the club to court to seek reversal of the decision because, he claimed, he had been 'shunned by various club members and friends', and that he had been evicted from his business offices which were owned by a club vice-president.<sup>42</sup> The intersection of business, position and golf was clear: association with the game is still about social networking, but money rather than status is the main commodity.

The Shanghai story underlines the importance of the military and the political cadres as a social power in many Asian sites. In Thailand, for example, the armed forces have several on-base golf courses which almost certainly have hosted discussion of many political developments there. Golf frequently serves as a location for Asian political activity — the prime photograph for a story about the 1997 succession of power in the Philippines showed President Fidel Ramos at golf with Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong. Neither golf nor Goh appeared in the story.<sup>43</sup> A former Malaysian High Commissioner to Australia noted that it was mandatory for his country's foreign service officers to play golf or tennis with the smart ones choosing golf.<sup>44</sup>

In Orientalist vein, the point is clear: the social and power relations of modern Asian golf proceed from a view transferred during colonial times, that the conspicuous consumption of leisure is a symbol of authority and standing.

*Gender* As Kenneth Ballhatchet pointed out, gender relations (for which read sexual attitudes) were a recurring theme in colonial contexts but overlooked or avoided by earlier analysts and critics.<sup>45</sup> Kirkwood exemplified many of the attitudes held, and still held in some quarters, by males about the 'Orient': that it was a prime place for sexual pleasure. Some evidence, for example, supports the fears held by the Kedah club wives — in Thailand there have been alleged cases of female caddies also being involved in prostitution.<sup>46</sup> It can be argued that such predatory attitudes within golf are not unique to Asia — one 1930s official of The

Royal Sydney Golf Club was said to have lost his position for propositioning the wife of a member at a social function; and an Australian professional of more recent times was said to have found himself banished to Asia (an ironic fate in this context) following his seduction of a lady member of his club.<sup>47</sup>

Barbara Fey, compiler of the Kirkwood biography, identified her subject as 'a man's man', which immediately points to the other dimension in this gender issue, the construction of male identity and the male role.<sup>48</sup> In several photographs in Kirkwood's book Balinese women invariably appear topless but, more interestingly, they are all in subservient roles: housemaid, pupil, admirer, demonstration assistant. This theme is constant. Two European women appear in other photographs — one lying on her back with a tee in her mouth and Kirkwood astride her ready to hit the ball balanced thereon; the other in which the woman is prostrate at his feet, one of her feet in the air and on it a ball about to be struck by Kirkwood. Elsewhere, both Hagen and Kirkwood appear with topless African women. And in a photograph from Japan four women, elegant in traditional dress, wait upon Hagen and Kirkwood with umbrellas and are ready to carry the bags. The prime social role in all this is male, the marginal exception being a photograph in which the exiled Duke and Duchess of Windsor are seated immediately behind Kirkwood as he gives an exhibition in the Bahamas — the woman there is exalted by association with the (slightly tarnished) royal male.

Much of this pattern remains in Asian golf, a subset of general male social dominance. At most golf venues women appear as servants in one form or another: caddies, waitresses, attendants, clerks, sales, ground staff. At one club in Bangkok, four male players were observed being attended by twelve female caddies — four carrying bags, four carrying umbrellas and portable stools, four fetching drinks.<sup>49</sup> Female membership of clubs is extremely low. Where such membership exists, it is almost exclusively as an offshoot of association with a man who has membership. That is, few women have independent membership of golf clubs with the immediate reason obvious. Women have only recently begun to assert commercial and financial independence in the region, so few have the financial capacity to buy private club membership.

There is distinct continuity between the Kirkwood and the modern Asian golf eras here. The consequences of a colonial imperative may be observed in the postcolonial setting: the local elites taking on those

aspects of social behaviour considered appropriate by their rulers.

*Culture Le Mayeur* takes us to another realm of Orientalism, that of representation where his paintings convey a sense of place and which, in turn, create a mindset of that place. Kirkwood's reaction to his Asian settings falls in with wider contemporary views of those places: the seductive beauty of Bali, the wealth and taste of the world's titled irrespective of location, the chaos and human harshness of China.<sup>50</sup> Above all, he conveys views on 'civilisation'.<sup>51</sup>

Two particular dimensions have a bearing upon current practice — the depiction of Asian golf, and the very creation of the golf site itself.<sup>52</sup>

In tourist literature, especially, Asian golf is represented as an idealised space where wider locational difficulties do not appear. The massive Bangkok traffic problems are never mentioned in advertisements for golf courses there, while the heat and humidity of many locations are similarly overlooked. Rather, the emphasis is upon beauty and mystery — one agency, for example, emphasises the 'charming helpful [female] caddies' and 'unique culture' found in Thailand.<sup>53</sup> Kirkwood would have recognised that. This emphasis is most evident in modern photography because, unlike in Europe or the United States, there is as yet in Asia little 'artistic' representation of golf. In the work of Brian Morgan stand revealed some strong continuities from the word pictures of Kirkwood, most spectacularly in a photograph from Kathmandu of an elephant watching on as a golfer tees off. Similarly, one from Calcutta reminds us of social distance as a golfer, supported by caddies, drives off while more humble people wash themselves and their clothes in a stream.<sup>54</sup>

Such representation stems from the golf courses and the ways in which they are framed.<sup>55</sup> The sense and power of the golf landscape is extremely significant as in, for example, attempts to recreate specific settings in 'alien' contexts — 'New St Andrews' in Japan has an 'Old Course' complete with a recreation of the Swilcan bridge.<sup>56</sup> Ronald Fream, an active course architect in Asia, announced that the Silang Golf & Country Club near Manila would have a 'Scottish Highlands philosophy',<sup>57</sup> while Desmond Muirhead's Subic Bay course incorporates themes from Philippine history. While such recreation attempts are not unique to Asia, they are particularly pronounced there, and raise interesting questions about identity in a post-colonial, post-Orientalist world. Kristal Golf Resort in Penang, Malaysia, for example, is owned and operated by Japanese interests, and the course itself is Japanese-

designed (by Hideyo Sugimoto). The use of water and stonework reminds of Japan, as does the clubhouse with its traditional Japanese-style baths.<sup>58</sup> This is a deliberate attempt to create a specific environment in an 'Other' setting. Asian design itself is much under-researched in this sense, as shown in the standard reference work on golf architecture (Cornish and Whitten) with Shunsuke Kato and his 'distinctly American style of architecture' among the few mentioned.<sup>59</sup>

It is complicated further because many Asian courses are designed by 'outsiders', so that where they refer to local sentiment they often do so through their own social and cultural prism as did Kirkwood — the work of J Michael Poellot in Japan is very interesting in this respect. Where there is no reference to locality the golf course becomes a homogenised, rootless tract of land. If not the 'carpark with flags' decried by touring pros, it has no cultural sense or symbolism. Many resort courses in Asia carry this mark, such as the Penang Golf Resort in Malaysia and the much more upmarket Banyan Tree in Phuket, Thailand. Where the cultural context is there, the results can be spectacular (as in the Thomson-Wolveridge-Fream effort at the Awana resort in Malaysia).

Kirkwood's rudimentary layout on Bali, then, inspires much thought and analysis about the creation of the golf environment in Asia and, while he was not the first designer to work there, his reminiscences reveal the interrelationship between player, setting and culture, as well as the way in which the interrelationship is marked by Orientalist interpretation.

### At the 19th

Joe Kirkwood was many things to many people in many parts of the world. An objective of this article has been to explore some deeper meanings and significance in his Asian life and activities, in order to show that while golf is, indeed, a global game it is not a borderless one. Like all other aspects of globalised and globalising cultures, it can be at once invasive and protecting, developing and exploitative, recreation and business, deep and superficial. Kirkwood demonstrated all of that, and Edward Said might see in this life much that was reflected in other aspects of the East-West confrontation.

### Notes:

- 1 This is a much-expanded version of a paper delivered at the Third World Scientific Congress of Golf, St. Andrews, Scotland, 20-24 July 1998, and which appears in Martin Farrally, ed., *Science and Golf III: Proceedings of the Third World Scientific Congress of Golf*, Human Kinetics Press, Champaign-Urbana, 1998.

- 2 Brian Stoddart, 'Joseph Henry Kirkwood', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, MUP, Melbourne. forthcoming.
- 3 Jack Pollard, *Australian Golf: the Game and the Players*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1990.
- 4 Joe Kirkwood with Barbara Fey, *Links Of Life*, Kirkwood, Oklahoma, 1973.
- 5 There are several important, if eclectic theoretical and empirical influences here, among them: David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1989; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, CUP, Cambridge, 1983; Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, Basic Books, New York, 1983; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, Vintage, New York, 1985; W J T Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994.
- 6 There is a vast underlying theoretical strand here, but for some indications see, variously: Homi K Bhabha, *The Location Of Culture*, Routledge, London, 1994; Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds, *Selected Subaltern Studies*, OUP, Oxford, 1988; Antony Easthope, *British Post-Structuralism since 1968*, Routledge, London, 1988; Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Polity, Cambridge, 1994.
- 7 An exemplary and marvellous example of the more general discussion is to be found in George Lipsitz, 'Cruising Around the Historical Bloc: Postmodernism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles'. *Cultural Critique*, no. 5, 1986, and reprinted in his *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Music*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1990.
- 8 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978.
- 9 Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*, OUP, Delhi, 1989.
- 10 Edward Said, *Peace and its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Process*, Vintage, New York, 1996, and *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage, New York, 1993.
- 11 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From Cultural Writings*, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 1991 edn, and C L R James, *Beyond A Boundary*, Hutchinson, London, 1963. See, too, Selwyn R Cudjoe and William E Cain, eds, *C L R James: His Intellectual Legacies*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1995, as an example of the re-thinking of James. Hilary McD Beckles and Brian Stoddart, eds, *Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995.
- 12 Vyv Simson and Andrew Jennings, *The Lords of the Rings: Power, Money and Drugs in the Modern Olympics*, Simon & Schuster, London, 1992; Edward Said, *Coveting Islam: How the Media and Experts Determine How We See The Rest of the World*, Vintage, New York, 1997 edn.
- 13 For South Asian cricket, see Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games*, Penguin, Delhi, 1992 — in this marvellous book, Nandy spells out fully his view of Prince Ranjitsinjhi, the first Indian to play for England and a quintessential Orientalist figure; see esp. pp. 55-75. See also, Emma Levine, *Into the Passionate Soul of Subcontinental Cricket*, Penguin, Delhi, 1996; Richard Cashman, *Patrons, Players and the Crowd: the Phenomenon of Indian Cricket*, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1980, and Sujit Mukherjee, *Autobiography of an Unknown Cricketer*, Dayal, Delhi, 1996.
- 14 An amusing but most insightful account appears in George Houghton, *Go!f Addict Goes East*, Country Life, London, 1967.
- 15 Kirkwood, *Links of Life*, pp. 60-6.
- 16 Kirkwood, *Links of Life*, p. 66.

- 17 A C Milner, *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere*, CUP, Cambridge, 1994. For some of the later developments, Harold Crouch., 'Malaysia: Neither Democratic Nor Authoritarian' in Kevin Hewison, Richard Robison and Garry Rodan, eds, *Southeast Asia in the 1990s: Authoritarianism, Democracy and Capitalism*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1993 and his later *Government and Society in Malaysia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1996.
- 18 Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Guntur District, 1788-1848: a History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1965, was a very early and very interesting work on this possibility.
- 19 Peter Alliss (with Bob Ferrier), *Alliss Through The Looking Glass*, Pelham, London, 1963, p. 14.
- 20 This is an area for considerable further investigation.
- 21 It is interesting here to read T R Clougher, ed., *Golf Clubs of the Empire: British Golf Clubs by Road and Rail*, Clougher, London, 1928 edn. All the 'foreign' clubs were listed simply as if they were as easily reached as those in Great Britain.
- 22 Peter Thomson with Desmond Zwar, *This Wonderful World of Golf*, Cassell, London, 1969.
- 23 Thomson with Zwar, *This Wonderful World of Golf*, pp. 92-3, 125-6.
- 24 Thomson with Zwar, *This Wonderful World of Golf*, pp. 92-3, 125-6.
- 25 Interview material.
- 26 Kirkwood, 'Halting a War'.
- 27 It is interesting to think that Hagen and Kirkwood were in China at the same time as the great American correspondent Edgar Snow, who reported the rise of Mao to the west — Snow's personal papers are now housed in Kansas City, home also to Tom Watson.
- 28 Kirkwood, 'Halting a War', pp. 93-4.
- 29 Brian Stoddart, 'Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response in the British Empire: a Framework for Analysis', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 30, no. 4, Oct. 1988.
- 30 For an indication of this, Carolyn Blackman, *Negotiating China: Case Studies and Strategies: the Hows and Whys of Successfully Negotiating Business with the Chinese*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1997.
- 31 *Lighting Up China's Golf Boom*, [special supplement of *Asian Golfer*], Nov. 1995.
- 32 Newsletter 3, vol. 4, *Queensland Tradelinks*, Apr. 1997, <http://www.qci.com.au/ib/tr/i/vol4/vol4new3.htm>; 'Scotland in Asia', *Scottish Trade International*, <http://scotexport.org.uk/sti-asia.html>.
- 33 This is a large and fascinating story, the detail of which is beyond the scope of this article. For an indication, Brian Stoddart, 'Golf, Development and the Human Sciences: the Swing is not the Only Thing', in A J Cochran and M R Farally, eds, *Science and Golf II: Proceedings of the World Scientific Congress of Golf*, Spon, London, 1994.
- 34 Clifford Geertz, *Negara: the Theater State in Nineteenth Century Bali*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980; James A Boon, *Affinities & Extremes: Criss-Crossing the Bitter-Sweet Ethnology of East Indies History, Hindu-Balinese Culture, and Indo-European Allure*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1990) — surely one of the most awkwardly expressed titles of all time-Adrian Vickers, *Travelling to Bali: Four Hundred Years of Journeys*, OUP, Oxford, 1995.
- 35 Ruud Sprult, *Artists on Bali: Nieuenkamp, Bonnet, Spies, Hofka, Le Mayeur, Arie Smit*, Tuttle, New York, 1997.
- 36 For a disillusioned contemporary view of Bali, see Keith Loveard, 'The Paradise Paradox', *Asiaweek*, 3 Oct. 1997.
- 37 Kirkwood, *Links of Life*, p. 83.

- 38 Alan Clarke and Neil French-Blake, eds, *South East Asia Golf Guide*, Priory, Syresham, 1995.
- 39 Kirkwood, *Links of Life*, p. 89.
- 40 My copy of Kirkwood's biography was apparently once part of a collection held by Smith, for it contains his stamp.
- 41 *New Sunday Times*, 24 Nov. 1996.
- 42 'Golfer Sues Club for "Unlawful" Suspension of His Membership', *New Straits Times*, 20 Sept. 1997.
- 43 Jose Manuel Tesoro and Antonio Lopez, 'Un-Candidate', *Asiaweek*, 4 July 1997.
- 44 Interview material.
- 45 Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics*, St Martins Press, New York, 1980.
- 46 Tanida Siorattanakul, 'Clubs, Sweat and Tears', *Bangkok Post*, 23 June 1995, reprinted in *GAG'M Update*, 4, 1, 1996 — the Global Anti-Golf Movement is a coalition of social forces opposed to golf course development.
- 47 Interview material.
- 48 Barbara Fey in Kirkwood, *Links of Life*, p. xiv.
- 49 Fieldwork observation.
- 50 For some ideas here, Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England & the United States*, Polity, Oxford, 1993; Stuart Wrede and William Howard Adams, eds, *Denatured Visions: Landscape and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1991; Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, OUP, Oxford, 1989 edn. In the golf realm, Tom Doak, *The Anatomy of a Golf Course: the Art of Golf Architecture*, Lyons & Burford, New York, 1992.
- 51 While there is a very long way between Kirkwood, the golfer, and Sam Huntington, the political scientist, it is interesting to note that both believe somewhat in the power and significance of transcultural elites — see Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1996.
- 52 This point leads on to one about resistance to globalisation, the ways in which local cultures sustain themselves in the face of intervention, but space precludes an analysis here—for an indication of some general literature, 'Cultural Resistance to Globalisation — Bibliography', <http://www.stile.lut.ac.uk/~gyobs/GLOBAL/t000064.html>.
- 53 'Golf In Thailand', *Golf Orient*, <http://www.golforient.com>.
- 54 Brian Morgan, *A World Portrait of Golf*, Gallery, New York, 1988, pp. 87, 90-1.
- 55 While beyond the immediate bounds of this article, there is a great deal of very interesting work to be done on the representation of golf courses around the world — Robert L A Adams, 'Golf' in Karl B Raitz, ed., *The Theater of Sport*, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1995 does little to move into the arena of landscape and power.
- 56 Morgan, *A World Portrait of Golf*, p. 151.
- 57 September Newsletter, 1997, Ronald Fream Group, <http://www.golfplan.com/newslett.html>.
- 58 Fieldwork observations.
- 59 Geoffrey S Cornish and Ronald E Whitten, *The Architects of Golf*, Harper/Collins, New York, 1993. As a good guide, though, see the 'Architects' section in *Asian Golf Review* at <http://www.asia.com.sg/golf/designer/design.html>.