AMERICAN GOLF AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CIVILIZED CODE OF CONDUCT: A STUDY OF RITUALIZED SYMBOLIC RULES AND STANDARDS OF CIVILITY IN THE AMERICAN GOLFING SOCIETY

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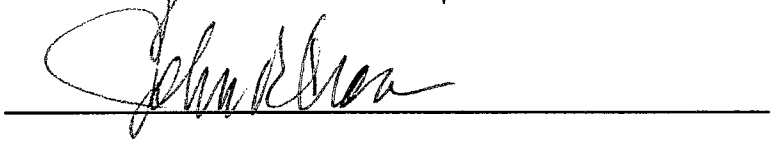

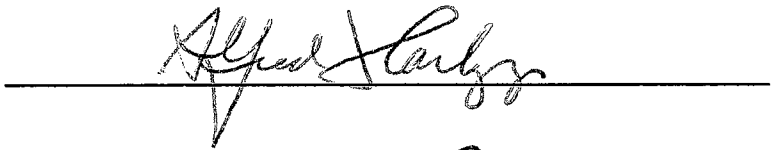

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CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This study examines the development of rules within the American pastime of golf. Games and pastimes are activities which provide public amusement and make time pass more agreeably (Lacroix, 1963). I argue that the golfing world in early twentieth century America developed a patterned mode of conduct that embodied themes of etiquette that were similar to European courtly behavior in the pastime of golf. I also argue the golfing world created and maintained a social world of etiquette which had a profound effect on the development of the game and those who played it.

Definition

Golfers in America during the early twentieth century had become associated with the social upper class. Golf was a "new" way to denote status. Codes of etiquette were developed which carefully controlled how they would play the game and interact with each other. A social world that embodied characteristics of European court society including self restraint, dignity, and gentleness were recreated in the American game of golf. This proper decorum included not only manners, but also the development of elaborate rules, and specific forms of dress and equipment. By the late twentieth century

the United States Golfing Association would continue to carefully monitor proper behavior in the golfing society, as golf became more popular among the middle and lower classes (USGA 1997; USGA 1999b).

My analysis of this phenomena will include the theory of structural ritualization (Knottnerus, 1997). The theory is important to my study because it discusses the formation, reproduction, and transformation of social behavior in a group (Knottnerus, 1997). I will use this theory to examine how an informal golfing society eventually grew into a sport with widespread appeal.

My study demonstrates that the golfing world in America by the early twentieth century had recreated social standards and customs that were similar to courtly behavior. The early twentieth century golfer incorporated traditions of etiquette that can be found as far back as the medieval courts (Elias, 1978; Arditi, 1998). I am suggesting the early golf rules and standards reflect similar characteristics of rules that existed in the medieval courts. These rules involved elaborate behavioral instructions on how to behave and interact with others. Etiquette rules consists of written instructions, social standards, expectations, and ceremonies that establish and regulate behavior and which embody principles of politeness and self control (Martine, 1866, cited in Shep, 1988).

By the sixteenth and seventeenth century, books of manners were being written for the European ruling class (Elias 1978). This suggests that the process of court ritualization was occurring. These books provided instructions and rules of etiquette on the proper way to eat, to dress, to address ones superior, and how to eliminate bodily functions (Arditi, 1998).

Similar types of instructions can also be found in the game of golf. The book of manners were written for the ruling class in Europe and over time these instructions had become ritualized features of their class system. I argue that the game of golf also developed similar rules and standards and these rules became routinized aspects of the game and golfing society.

The rules of etiquette in Europe were important to the aristocracy. Over time these rules had become an indicator of their power and prestige (Elias, 1983). They represented a decorum of self restraint which was highly respected by the aristocracy. For example, in 1530 not all facial expressions were considered good manners. "A wide eyed look was a sign of stupidity . . ., but a look that shows a calm mind and a respectful amiability was considered best" (Eramus, 1530, cited in Mennell & Goudsblom, 1998, p. 77).

The first rules of golf in America were codified in 1894 and were printed in 1895. I argue that the rules of the golfing world were based upon the same premise as rules of court etiquette. The rules that denote good behavior and propriety for the courtier had developed in the pastime of golf. These rules embody similar characteristics of courtly behavior such as self control, politeness, and gentlemanly behavior.

Civilized Behavior

Court society existed first in France during the eleventh century, then it spread to Italy by the early twelfth century, and finally spread throughout Europe (Arditi, 1998). Court society was expected to serve the king and adhere to the rules attached to this service. Self control became a centralized standard of courtly behavior.

The primary role of the courtier was to defend the king in arms (Arditi, 1998). The courtier was expected to demonstrate this courtly behavior both on and off the battle field. The courtier showed self restraint by being polite, meaning being considerate of others. The courtier also considered the needs of others as equally important as their own (Cooke, 1896). If possible the courtier resolved conflicts through non-violent means. Above all, one demonstrated calmness and good judgment, by being in command of one's temper. The courtier was expected to maintain a sense of self control.

In addition to self control and politeness the courtier was a gentleman. To be a gentleman or a lady was a mark of recognition and status (Arditi, 1998). A gentleman or a lady is recognized by their ability to manage their affairs. A gentleman possesses self control which is needed to demonstrate the rules of etiquette. In court society there were elaborate instructions to follow when in the presence of the king. The gentleman was capable of implementing these rules. The gentleman was also of noble distinction, and was associated with the king's court and aristocracy. The aristocracy enjoyed a high ranked social position and material wealth.

Norbert Elias (1978) describes courtly behavior as behavior which is "civilized." Civilized is a term that describes the courtly behavior in Europe during the sixteenth century. The term civilized denotes good manners, non-violent behavior, politeness, and self control, which describes the courtier and rules from the books of manners. Civilized behavior distinguishes a person from others, it sets them apart, specifically from other social classes. The ruling classes were identified by their elaborately polished manners and courtly modes of behavior (Elias, 1978). A gentleman or a lady was identified by their politeness, self control, wealth, and the importance they placed on rules of etiquette.

Americanized Practices

In my study, I argue that the American social world of golf possessed characteristics similar to those which defined rules of courtly etiquette. In other words, European traditions and standards were transposed to America and emerged in the American game of golf.

However, once they crossed the ocean, rules within the golfing world became "Americanized." This denotes a process where rules or restrictions are modified in accordance with American society. The etiquette books which were written in America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries duplicated rules of etiquette from early writings in Europe. At the same time, they also described old world rules that had become "Americanized" (Schlesinger, 1946). These new rules partially reflected American values.

For example, Americans changed the rules concerning politeness. They changed a rule that specifically addressed introductions, such as when someone of higher social position is introduced. The European rule emphasized that the gentleman or lady is to wait to be addressed, but in America it was appropriate to greet another first if one desired (Martine 1866, cited in Shep, 1988).

The etiquette books in America during early and middle nineteenth century identified the "newer set" as being responsible for the changes in etiquette rules. The "newer set" is defined as those who are "influenced and shaped in some degree by people of native refinement and taste, and that wide experience which is gained by travel and association with broad and cultivated minds" (Sherwood, 1884, pp. 3-4). The newer set

were familiar with the traditions of native refinement and taste, and had the wealth which would warrant travel and the association of those with cultivated minds. The newer set also introduced rules that reflected American values.

The newer set is important to my study, because I argue that the rules in American golf, though similar to European standards of etiquette, also reflected American values. The rules of American golf were developed and changed just as were the rules of etiquette in American society.

Though influenced by European tradition, American rules of golf became distinct from the old world. New rules reflected the differences between Europe and America, such as the type of golf equipment to be used, rulings of play, and equity. The American golfing society established new golfing rules and old rules were expanded upon. American golfers selected suitable rules while discarding others.

An example of this would be the disagreement that occurred over the Schenectady putter during the early twentieth century. The Schenectady putter is an aluminum putter. The traditional putters were wooden and the shaft was located at the heel of the club. The shaft of the Schenectady putter is located near the center (Editors of Golf Magazine, 1993). The European golfing society did not accept the American designed putter. They believed it to be against the traditional form of golf clubs. The American golfing society believed it to be acceptable and continued to utilize it in competitions (Chapman 1997). In 1884, Mrs. John Sherwood *in Manners and Social Usages* describes this change in rules by remarking, "we can however, decide for ourselves on certain points of etiquette which we borrow from nobody; they are a part of our generation . . ." (Sherwood, 1884, p. 5).

Social Separation

Since the middle ages rules of etiquette have distanced court society, aristocracy, and the upper class from other social classes. This was important because of the rising merchant class who could buy status but not breeding (i.e., manners) (Elias, 1978; Arditi, 1998). I suggest the types of rules which were developed during the early twentieth century in American golf distinguished those who played the game as a gentleman or lady from the lower classes.

Aristocrats not only had money they had breeding. They were of noble position and exhibited politeness, courtesy, and self control in their behavior (Arditi, 1998). The historical golf literature refers to the pastime of golf as being a "gentleman's game." I suggest this reference is an analogy to the nobility in the now vanished court society. American golfers of the early twentieth century developed the game with similar traditions and standards concerned with codes of etiquette. By doing this, American golfers set themselves apart from other social classes in an essentially class-less society. The "golfer" signified membership in the upper social class.

The American social world of golf included a code of conduct that embodied rules of etiquette, which were similar to European court practices dictating standards of etiquette. At the same time, these rules were "Americanized," reflecting American values. In a world of self-made millionaires American golf rules distinguished the upper social class from the masses during early twentieth century America.

Theory of Structural Ritualization

This process can be analyzed by employing the "theory of structural ritualization" (Knottnerus, 1997). The theory of structural ritualization focuses on ritualized symbolic practices that exist within groups. Ritualized symbolic practice "refers to a regularly engaged in or habitual social practice which is grounded in actors' cognitive schemas or structures" (Knottnerus, 1997, p. 3). They can include routinized practices and styles of interaction which are found in most social settings such as, schools, families, religious, work, and sporting organizations.

These routinized practices also existed in European court society and in the American upper social class as rules of etiquette. I argue that routinized practices existed in the American pastime of golf during the twentieth century which were similar to the European traditions and standards of court society.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century rules of etiquette had become securely grounded in the social practices of the European upper class. Literature related to etiquette was diminishing (Arditi, 1998). The rules of etiquette were deeply rooted aspects of the elite social world. The aristocracy no longer needed books to teach them how to be proper (Arditi, 1998). Past generations had learned the rules and transposed them to future generations (Elias, 1978).

The rules of etiquette in Europe had become regularly engaged in social practices. These practices were learned from social interaction. Through face to face interaction court society had learned to demonstrate proper behavior. Over time these practices had become taken -for-granted behaviors (Arditi, 1998). Etiquette practices had become

natural modes of behavior for the court society. The aristocracy made decisions and even established rules based on these social practices. Rules of protocol were established such as how to interact with those who are superior to yourself (Castiglione, 1528, cited in Bull, 1967). Etiquette restrictions had become second nature in their class system.

A similar process occurred in America. By the late nineteenth century books on etiquette were disappearing (Schlesinger, 1946). As in Europe, there was no longer a need for instructional etiquette books in America. The American upper class had internalized traditions of court behavior and this behavior also became anchored into their social practices (Schlesinger, 1946).

I argue, Americans developed rules for the game of golf that denoted themes of etiquette. These rules also became Americanized in a similar manner as the American rules of etiquette. The rules of golf became taken-for-granted behaviors and securely rooted in the social practices of American golfing society.

Proper behavior in the game of golf in late twentieth century America continues to be monitored by the United States Golf Association. This association developed video programs that address proper golfing behavior (USGA, 1999b) and engender a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the rules of golf (USGA, 1997). The etiquette program and the rules of golf videos devote time to proper behavior and a player's responsibility to the game, course, and other golfers. Both films complement the other by advocating proper behavior while playing the game and provide specific instructions on how to interact with other golfers.

Structural ritualization theory provides an avenue to analyze this type of process. I argue the game of American golf was developed and influenced by experiences and

symbolic models that embody similar traditions and standards that existed in European court society. Structural ritualization theory describes a process by which a social group creates and maintains a social world. This social world is based upon their experiences and the symbolic models they encounter within a social group (Knottnerus, 1999). The theory emphasizes factors which determine the degree to which ritualized practices are dominant and important within a social group.

I argue the golfing world of early twentieth century America created and maintained a golfing society that was similar to court society. This process occurred through the golfing world developing traditions, standards, and rules that embodied symbolic themes of etiquette.

These rules and standards of golf developed through face to face interaction. These standardized rules became regularly engaged in practices. During face to face interaction golfers routinely discussed the rules of golf, played golf with other golfers, experienced and observed conflicts that inhibited play, observed other golfers during play, and observed responses of others while on the course. This interaction involved standardized or ritualized behaviors and cognitive schemas. These schemas guided and directed future behavior, such as the development and implementation of rules and standards in American golf.

Over time a patterned mode of conduct developed which characterized the golfer's social world. This patterned conduct also appears to be similar to the codes of etiquette that existed in European court society, which included politeness, self control, and gentlemanly behavior. To analyze this process I will examine the four factors

identified within the theory. The four factors include salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources.

Salience refers to the degree to which a ritualized symbolic practice is central to an act, action sequence, or bundle of interrelated acts with a social group. In other words, it is concerned with the extent to which a ritualized practice is perceived to be noticeable or prominent (Knottnerus, 1997). For example, in European courtly behavior self control was central to the codes of etiquette. It was a prominent act engaged in by members of court society. I argue that themes similar to self control will also be prominent in the American game of golf during the early twentieth century.

Repetitiveness is concerned with the frequency with which a ritualized practice is performed within a group (Knottnerus, 1997). In courtly behavior courteousness was demonstrated repeatedly such as waiting to speak until you are spoken to, waiting to stand until others stand around you, and not crossing a room and drawing attention to yourself or someone else (Martine, 1866, cited in Shep, 1988). I argue that in the game of golf similar symbolic themes such as these will be repeatedly engaged in.

Homologousness refers to the degree of perceived similarity among different ritualized symbolic practices (Knottnerus, 1997). European codes of etiquette were developed that exemplified manners, politeness, self control, courteousness, and propriety. These different rules shared a common theme of etiquette. I argue that the rules and standards in golf will also demonstrate similar themes of etiquette.

The final factor is resources. Resources focus on the materials needed to engage in ritualized practices which are available to individuals. They may include both human and nonhuman resources, such as interpersonal skills, physical dwellings, and their

furnishings (Knottnerus, 1997). European courtly rules of etiquette were elaborate and detailed. They required knowledge and behavioral skills to perform the numerous established restrictions. I argue that the pastime of golf also established elaborate and detailed rules which required similar resources. In addition, to human resources golf also required non-human resources. An example of these might include income to purchase clubs and balls, leisure time, and the availability to golf courses.

I argue the greater the dominance, rank, or relative standing of ritualized symbolic themes of etiquette, the more dominant these practices will be in American golf. Rank is determined by the greater the degree of salience of symbolic themes of etiquette, repetitiveness of themes of etiquette, presence of homologous themes of etiquette, and availability of resources.

In other words, the higher the rank of ritualized symbolic themes of etiquette in the pastime of golf, the more dominant they are in the golfing world. The result of this process is the development of a code of conduct in the American pastime of golf that embodies themes of etiquette that are similar to European traditions and standards of court society. This high degree of rank will also result in the American game of golf being reserved for the upper social class, and distinguishing it from the lower classes in early twentieth century America.

In summary, I argue the development of golf in early twentieth century America was similar to the etiquette traditions and standards of European court society. These standards in court society consisted of self restrictions, politeness, and gentlemanly behavior. They also include detailed and elaborate rules that require resources such as physical skill, intellectual knowledge, and economic wealth.

Ritualized practices that embodied these characteristics were communicated through face to face interaction in the American golfing society during the early twentieth century. Over time these practices were internalized and became routinized practices in the golfing world. They involved a patterned mode of conduct that denoted proper behavior while playing the game and interacting with others. This patterned mode became deeply rooted over time in the social practices of American golf. This mode of conduct is still being monitored by the golfing world in early twenty first century America.

A ritualized symbolic practice that reinforces the American game of golf being similar to courtly behavior is the sportization of a pastime. The sportization of a pastime is when a governing body is established in a pastime to develop formalized rules of the game and to enforce sanctions for the breaking of these rules in official competitions (Elias & Dunning, 1986).

I argue this process reinforces the similarity of golf with courtly behavior by formalizing symbolic themes of etiquette in the game of golf during early twentieth century America.

Sportization Process

The sportization of the American pastime of golf occurred in 1894. A governing body was developed which consisted of ten men from courses around the New York city area (Wind, 1974). Their central goal was to develop rules and sanctions that were uniform and consistent for all competitions. This was done so conflicts over rules during play could be curtailed and the competition would be fair for all who were playing.

Fairness or equitableness is also identified as an American value that existed in the new American codes of etiquette during the nineteenth century, specifically those describing protocol and social interaction (Martine, 1866, cited in Shep, 1988).

Each golfer would be expected to adhere to the rules of golf and similar sanctions would be implemented if a rule was broken. This process would increase honesty, integrity, and fairness in the game for those who played it.

The sportization process is important to my study because the formalization of rules reinforced the development and maintenance of codes of etiquette in the American pastime of golf. This process codified the themes of etiquette which increased their importance. When a rule is codified it becomes more important because there is now a greater expectation to follow the rule. This expectation is reinforced by the implementation of sanctions (Sheard, 1997).

This expectation also occurred in the books of manners written in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Books such as the *The Courtier* by Baldesar Castiglione in 1528, *On Civility In Children* by Eramus of Rotterdan in 1530, and *The Complete Gentleman* by Henry Peachman in 1622 emphasized and codified behavior that denoted good manners and propriety. The members of court society were expected to adhere to these established rules. If one failed to do so they experienced humiliation and shame. To ignore rules of etiquette was to forfeit power, privilege, and prestige (Elias, 1983). The king could shun and demote someone in the court at anytime. To lose favor with the king meant losing ones social position in the court.

The formalization of golf in twentieth century America introduced formalized sanctions. Golfers experienced specific sanctions when they broke codified rules. I also

suggest they experienced sanctions when they broke a non-codified rule or social standard of golf.

For example, when a golfer participated in behavior that was deemed ill mannered they experienced a loss in social position. Examples of such behavior included playing out of turn, taking too many practice swings and slowing up play for others, and interfering with the play of others by not fixing ones divots (USGA, 1999b). The breach of these rules were not punished by sanctions, instead punishment occurred in the loss of social status. HG Hutchinson in the Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes (1899) describes the consequences of breaking rules of etiquette in golf as, "not punished by the loss of the hole or a stroke, but rather a loss of social status in the golfing world" (Hutchinson, 1899, p. 256, cited in Phillips, 1990, p. 130). "The moral implications were clear: To 'play the game' in golf was to abide by the protocol of etiquette" (Phillips, 1990, p. 130).

This example shows that social status and the pastime of golf were closely related. The informal standards of golf, based on traditions of court society, dictated the importance of proper behavior. This process of abiding by proper modes of decorum also denotes a separation of the game of golf and those who play the game from other social classes. In addition, this process necessitates the rationalization of formal rules so a patterned mode of conduct such as codes of etiquette could be maintained.

I also suggest the formalizing of American golf in the early twentieth century strengthened themes of etiquette through the development of elaborate and detailed rules. To fulfill these rules the availability of resources, such as self control, intellectual knowledge, and wealth would be necessary.

The formalization of rules in this manner can be compared to the "gentleman." The gentleman in court society was expected to follow the rules. They were to have self control to implement the numerous and elaborate rules which had become a social standard for the aristocracy. The gentleman was also encouraged to be literate, meaning the gentleman was to have educational training (Peachman, 1622, cited in Heltzel, 1962). To be a successful gentleman, one had to know the rules, understand the rules, remember the rules, and acquire the self control to implement them.

Summary

In summary, I argue that the formalizing of the pastime of golf in early twentieth century America reinforced the development of themes of etiquette that reflect courtly behavior. These rules and themes also distinguished the golfer from the lower classes, reserving the game for the upper social class. This ritualized symbolic practice contributed to the similarity between the American game of golf and the traditions and standards of etiquette in European court society.

This is primarily a historical study. Historical documents from 1894-1920 related to golf will be analyzed to identify ritualized symbolic themes of etiquette. The documents include, The Executive Committee Meeting minutes of the United States Golf Association from 1894-1920, The Annual Committee Meeting minutes of the United States Golf Association from 1894-1920, Golf by-laws and rule books from the United States Golf Association from 1894-1920, Golf journal articles from *Golf* during 1898-1900 and *The American Golfer* during 1908-1920, and popular magazine articles devoted to golf from 1900-1920.

Through content analysis, historical documents in American golf will be examined to determine if similar themes of etiquette are routinely emphasized in the social world of golf. Content analysis of historical texts will provide a method to determine which themes of etiquette in American twentieth century golf are dominant in the golfing world. These themes will be identified primarily by measuring frequency or repetitiveness. Frequency or repetitiveness of themes of etiquette will be used to determine rank or relative standing of the symbolic themes of etiquette in the American golfing world. Content analysis of the texts will also enable me to analyze the other three factors which determine rank, i.e., degree of salience, presence of homologousness, and the availability of resources.

Ritualized practices in golf with a greater degree of salience, repetitiveness of themes of etiquette, higher degree of homologous, and availability of resources, exhibit the greatest rank or importance in the American golfing world. In other words, the higher degree of rank of ritualized symbolic themes of etiquette the more important and dominant these themes will be in the American pastime of golf. The results of this process will be the similarity of traditions and standards of etiquette from European court society in American golfing society during the early twentieth century.

In summary, the game of golf during early twentieth century America developed rules that were similar to themes of etiquette that existed in European court society. The themes of court society include elaborate and detailed rules that embodied politeness, self control, and gentlemanly behavior. Themes similar to these also occurred in the American golfing society. These themes influenced the game and those who played it.

The rules that developed in American golf in the early twentieth century that embodied themes of etiquette reserved the game of golf for the upper social class. This included those with wealth and education, as well as power, prestige, and position. Those from lower classes who lacked these behaviors were discouraged from taking up the game during early twentieth century America.

The rules of American golf, though influenced by European traditions and standards of court society, also became "Americanized." American rules of golf reflected American values, meaning that old world rules were expanded and new ones were adopted. The theory of structural ritualization was employed to analyze how the early twentieth century American golfer created and maintained this distinct social world of etiquette that was similar to courtly behavior. It is used to analyze the ritualized standards and behaviors found in the American golfing world.

The ritualized symbolic practice of formalizing a pastime to a sport contributed to the development of rules and standards in golf that were similar to European themes of etiquette. Content analysis of historical golf texts provides a methodology by which to identify and analyze symbolic themes of etiquette in the early twentieth century American pastime of golf.

The next chapter expands on literature related to traditions of etiquette, etiquette traditions of noble pastimes, structural ritualization theory, and the sportization process. Chapter III discusses the history of European and American golf. Chapter IV will discuss the methodology utilized to identify and analyze symbolic themes of etiquette. Chapter V will discuss the research findings and Chapter VI will conclude with closing remarks concerning the research topic.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss on the European traditions of etiquette, structural ritualization theory, and the sportization process and how these areas relate to the American game of golf. I will also discuss the rules and traditions of etiquette that existed in European leisure pastimes and sports and the similarities that exist between American golf and European pastimes of court society.

The theory of structural ritualization will be utilized to explain how symbolic themes of etiquette were developed and maintained in the American golfing society.

Finally, the sportization process will be discussed and its relationship to the development of symbolic themes of etiquette in American golf.

History of Manners

Rules of manners originated in France and soon spread throughout Europe (Bloch, 1961). The early rules which developed during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were more similar to morality books rather than books of manners (Arditi, 1998). Examples of morality rules can be found in the works of Kathryn Gravdal (1989) in

Vilain Courtois: Transgressive Parody in French Literature of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.

Gravdal explains that the early texts emphasized morals and values over behavioral codes (Gravdal, 1989, cited in Arditi, 1998). The emphasis was on developing a character of purity and sinlessness which was consistent with the "ideological and the structural dimensions of medieval Catholicism" (Arditi, 1998, p. 26). To reject this lifestyle or the practice of ecclesias was a rejection of the church. Ecclesias is defined as religious practices. It comes from the term ecclesia which represents the church (Arditi, 1998). The central theme was genuine penitence and deferment of power to the church. The twelfth century courtier was to dedicate their life to serving the king and the church.

During the thirteenth century rules of morality began to change. The rules which originally exemplified practices of ecclesias were becoming civil, "or from courtisie to civility" (Arditi, 1998, p. 55). The emphasis was changing toward elaborate codes of civil behavior which dictated manners. These new rules reflected a shift in power from the English monarch to the aristocracy as a group. The early rules were centered around service to the English monarch and the church. The books of manners were different because they reflected a new way for the aristocracy to interact with each other (Arditi, 1998).

These books specifically addressed correct social behavior. The books of manners were guidelines that dictated proper individual behavior and appropriate social intercourse. The books of manners also exemplified social supremacy for the noble class (Elias, 1983). The rules were created for those born of wealth and distinguished them from other social classes.

Initially, the noble qualities associated with the rules of morality were strength, courage, and faithfulness which were needed to protect and serve the king's realm. But during the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century these rules evolved into behavioral codes of civility which expanded the noble qualities. Civility denoted a distinction in social class. Civilized behavior such as good manners, self control, and proper decorum set the nobleman apart from the lower classes (Elias, 1983). By the sixteenth century the rules of manners were beginning to be socially anchored and a clearer distinction was emerging between the noble class and lower classes. The noble qualities included strength, courage, and faithfulness, as well as courtesy, politeness, self control, good manners, proper social intercourse, and educational training.

The noble class was set apart from other classes by power, wealth, and conduct. The term gentihomme or gentleman became popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and described those with noble qualities (Arditi, 1998). In 1528, Baldesar Castiglione an Italian gentleman wrote a handbook for gentlemen called *The Courtier*. Castiglione was a courtier, diplomat, poet, scholar, and soldier. He was raised in Italy in noble surroundings. Castiglione's book was well received by the aristocracy. It became the accepted standard for Italian courtiers and throughout Europe (Bull, 1967).

The courtier was a member of the king's army. They served, protected, and advised the king. The courtier was expected to be a gentleman. They were to be bold, faithful, dexterous, agile, a good warrior, have good judgment, avoid violence, and be self controlled (Arditi, 1998).

Castiglione emphasizes that gentlemanly behavior involves not only learned behavior, but knowledge which is absorbed so thoroughly it becomes part of the natural

disposition of the person (Castiglione, 1528, translated in Bull, 1967). To act like a gentleman was not sufficient; the courtier was to become a gentleman.

Castiglione also emphasized the importance of physical exercise. The courtier was to be fit and agile. By doing this the courtier was ready for any challenge. Castiglione encourages the young gentleman, "to garnish their minds with moral virtues and their body with comely exercise" (Castiglione, 1528, translated in Bull, 1967, p. 21). The gentleman was to always behave in a "commendable manner and should rule all his actions with that good judgment" while partaking in comely exercise (Castiglione, 1528, translated in Bull, 1967, p. 64).

During the twelfth to the sixteenth century the courtier participated in chivalrous tournaments. Their skills as knights were displayed with elaborate pageantry (Guttman, 1986). The tournaments were elegant ceremonies which separated the nobility of court society from the lower classes. Large stone pavilions were constructed for the tournaments by court society to demonstrate their power and social status (Guttman, 1986).

The nobility found it offensive when the bourgeoisie tried to duplicate their tournaments. To eliminate any confusion they incorporated ceremonies filled with protocol, pageantry, and pomp and circumstances. During the fifteenth century *Rene''s Tractie' de la Forme et Devis d' ung Tourney* (1449) became a popular etiquette book for chivalrous tournaments. The book described elaborate and detailed rules "regulating exits and entrances, proper verbal formulae, and appropriate dress" (Guttman, 1986, p. 41).

The tournaments became a social function, as well as a competition of military skill. The competition became less violent and emphasized physical skill and knowledge of the rules. The courtier was to demonstrate proper decorum, skill, and self control during the chivalrous exercises. This type of behavior set the courtier apart from the lower classes.

The courtier was to be virtuous, meaning they would be honest, fair, and proper. The courtier was to be free of pettiness and forgiving of insults and injuries (Castiglione, 1528, translated in Bull, 1967). The key to successful behavior for the courtier was practice. Castiglione emphasizes that courtiers' greatness comes from their ability to demonstrate proper decorum. Castiglione states that the courtier in, "his own greatness will then enable him to practice easily until they become habitual to him" (Castigilone, 1528, translated in Bull, 1967, p. 319). The courtier was to practice proper modes of conduct until they became habitual. The rules of etiquette were to become second nature or a natural mode of conduct that required non-reflective thinking. The rules of manners were to become automatic for the courtier, meaning they were to become knowledge that was thoroughly absorbed and part of their natural disposition.

I argue the characteristics of the courtier can also be found in the American game of golf. The American golfing society i.e., players of golf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were also to be fair, honest, well mannered, courteous, self controlled, and demonstrate good judgment, just as the courtier. The golfer could acquire this code of conduct by practicing and adhering to the rules and standards of golf. If the golfer would participate in continuous practices related to the game of golf, then over time these behaviors would become habitual.

Golfing literature in late twentieth century America emphasizes the importance of following and practicing golf rules. The United States Golf Association emphasizes that a player should be courteous towards other golfers. The golfer should follow the rules of golf and demonstrate proper care for the course. The golfer should be honest, well mannered, and demonstrate proper decorum while on the course (USGA, 1997; 1999b).

Peter Dobereiner (1996) in *Golf Rules Explained* emphasizes that rules in golf are designed to guide the golfer while playing. The rules also dictate the importance of being aware of other players while on the course. This is important so that the golfer does not interfere with others during play. Dobereiner states, "that is why we all have to work on cultivating good habits so that they become second nature. . . so we must ingrain them (Debereiner, 1996, p. 99).

Sheard and Armstrong (1997) also discuss the importance of properly learning the rules of golf. They emphasize that, "this means that forming a new habit in golf requires focused attention. . . we need to find a way. . . to perform the new behavior properly. . . we need to practice the proper rather than the improper behavior-pattern—we need to keep repeating it until it becomes as natural as breathing" (Sheard & Armstrong, 1997, p. 37).

The authors of these texts also emphasize the importance of rules which govern the pastime of golf. Late twentieth century golf literature does not refer to the rules of court society as an example. Yet there is a similarity between the late twentieth century golf literature and the writings of Castiglione which was written five hundred years earlier.

Theory of Structural Ritualization

Structural ritualization theory explains the process of how behavior becomes routinized and habitual in a social group. The theory is concerned with behavior in a domain of interaction that is routinized and may to varying degrees be dominant or highly important. A "domain of interaction is a bounded social arena which contains two or more actors. These actors are at least part of the time engaged in face-to-face interaction" (Knottnerus, 1997, p. 261). A domain of interaction refers to a specific sphere of social activity. The domain of interaction also alerts one to the fact "that there may be single or multiple domains of interaction which significantly influence the development of ritualized symbolic practices" (Knottnerus, 1997, p. 261).

In relation to my study ritualized symbolic practices such as rules of etiquette or rules that govern a pastime (i.e., golf), when practiced over time shape actors' cognitive schemas. The rules become so natural that reflective thinking is no longer needed to guide behavior. The rules that influence the development of actors' schema driven action repertoires form the basis for regularly engaged in social practices.

An example of this process would be a new golfer who is taking up the game. The new golfer who doesn't know or understand the rules would have to make a conscious effort to obtain the information needed to demonstrate correct behavior while playing the game. The new golfer could participate in multiple domains of interaction. The new golfer could play golf with other golfers, could talk about golf rules with other golfers, could spend time reading golf rule books, golf literature, and golf journals, or

observe golf videos designed to teach you about the rules. The new golfer could also join a golfing association or become a member of a golfing club.

The new golfer who spent time in different domains that encouraged the learning and practicing of golf rules would be better prepared to play the game and interact properly with other golfers. This would be especially the case if the new golfer practiced these rules over an extended period of time. In saying this it should be appreciated how important it is for the new golfer to know the rules. Failure to follow them could lead to embarrassment (Puett & Apfelbaum, 1992), sanctions (USGA, 1999) and even a loss in social status (Phillips, 1990).

For example, the new golfer must know who has the honor at the teeing ground and when it's their turn to hit while balls are in play. Failing to know these rules can result in one's shot being canceled and having to hit the ball again (USGA, 1999). This could lead to embarrassment for the new golfer and it would also slow up play. To slow up play is also a breaking of a rule (USGA, 1999). Protocol is an important part of the game. It provides order in the game and demonstrates respect for other players (USGA, 1999b).

The new golfer over time can become proficient in the rules of golf if he/she practices and observes them while playing the game and interacting with other golfers. Over time the proper decorum in golf becomes habitual or second nature for the new golfer as these behaviors are continuously repeated and emphasized.

Once the ritualized practices become internalized and habitual the rules of golf become a patterned mode of conduct for the golfer. The rules will no longer be a new mode of conduct. The new golfer will become an experienced golfer within the golfing

society. The golfing world shares and communicates the ritualized practices which reproduce and maintain the behavior. These routinized practices become a patterned mode of conduct for the golfing society.

Further examples of development and reproduction of ritualized practices in a group (and support for the theory explaining these processes) can be found in studies of elite private boarding schools in France (Knottnerus & Van de Poel-Knottnerus, 1999), slave plantations (Knottnerus, 1999), Spartan youth society (Knottnerus & Berry, 1998), and group processes in an experimental setting (Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison, & Mundt, 1998).

Noble Pastimes

I argue the American golfing society during the early twentieth century developed ritualized symbolic practices that embodied similar characteristics of rules of etiquette that existed in European court society. I suggest the rules of golf which were developed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century America reflects similar standards of etiquette which Castiglione described for the European courtier during the sixteenth century (Castiglione, 1528).

In this regard, Henry Peachman who was also a noble gentleman during the seventeenth century, wrote a text describing proper behavior and manners for a young gentleman. Moreover, in his text he also describes proper decorum for a gentleman while participating in pastime activities (Peachman, 1622, translated in Heltzel, 1962). Peachman wrote *The Complete Gentleman*, he dictates that a gentleman should

participate in pastimes which are harmless and modest. Peachman specifically addresses angling as a pastime which meets these requirements.

He believed pastimes that de-emphasized extreme responses and aggression were best. Peachman advocated pastimes which developed patience, discipline, and self control, believing these were more beneficial for the gentleman. Pastimes which drew attention to self and were considered ungentlemanly should be avoided.

Pastimes which emphasized aggression, violence, and extreme emotional responses were also designated as lower class pastimes (Franklin 1996). Aggressive pastimes included football (soccer), boxing, cockfighting, short golf, common hunting, and bull-baiting. Drunkenness was also associated with these types of aggressive activities. To control the level of aggression and excessive behaviors with these pastimes laws would be established prohibiting these types of sports (Franklin, 1996; Hamilton, 1998).

The laws were directed toward the lower classes. The nobility were excluded from these types of laws. It was the lower classes who were in need of proper decorum (Franklin, 1996). They needed to be civilized (Elias & Dunning, 1986). The nobility believed that sports which advocated aggression and violence influenced children to be barbaric and to participate in acts of cruelty. In 1737, *The Gentleman's Magazine* condemned brutal sports such as cockfighting, bull-baiting, and prize fighting, and dictated pastimes which emphasized patience, discipline, and self control as best (Guttman, 1986).

Peachman like Castiglione believed it was important for the gentleman to participate in activities that were virtuous. The gentleman was to be modest, courteous,

honest, proper, and above all self controlled (Peachman, 1622, translated in Heltzel, 1962).

American golf literature refers to golf as being a gentleman's pastime (Puett & Apfelbaum, 1992). It deserves this title because of the honesty and integrity that is needed in the game (USGA, 1999b). While playing a golfer can be on the other side of the fairway, in the rough, behind a tree, or in valley where no one can see you or your next shot. The golfer is to be honest with themselves, as well as with others, and not improve their shot.

The principle is you play the course as you find it, meaning "the player must accept the conditions he encounters during play and may not alter them to suit his convenience" (Tufts, 1960, p. 13).

The golfer is not to improve their lie. Improving ones lie means you improve your shot by moving your ball or changing the perplexing conditions of the course. This is considered a breech in the spirit of the game (Cousins, 1958). The spirit of the game means to play the game of golf within its rules, standards, and traditions. The rules and traditions can be found as far back as the fifteenth century (Hamilton, 1997). The gentleman's game of golf emphasizes characteristics such as honesty, integrity, politeness, protocol, proper decorum, and good manners. These are also central principles that governed behavior for the nobleman, aristocracy, and European court society.

Angling has also been identified as a gentleman's game. Peachman liked angling because he believed it to be a pastime which was harmless and modest and developed

patience, discipline, and self control. Peachman describes guidelines on how to properly bait the hook, proper casting techniques, and the best type of lines (Peachman, 1622).

Peachman discusses elaborate and lengthy instructions on bait. He describes what type of baits to use, how to care for them, and how to make a long lasting perfect paste to hook a fish. Peachman's recipe for his perfect paste was detailed and specific. He required that each step must be followed for the paste to be long lasting. Once the paste was completed the bait was to be formed into perfect balls and "with this you must bait your hook" (Peachman, 1622, translated in Heltzel, 1962, p. 173). Peachman's central focus was perfection. The angler was to fish during certain times of the year for this is when it is best. The angler was to follow specific and elaborate instructions if they were to be successful.

Angling, as well as noble hunting and hawking were considered appropriate and popular pastimes for lords and ladies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Guttman, 1986). In 1653, in the *Complete Angler*, angling was described as "the most refined of sports, and a sport that civilizes its practitioners" (Franklin, 1996, p. 434).

Angling was an expensive sport that required high quality fishing gear. The finer, lighter tackle was made by quality craftsmen. Those of lower classes could not afford such expensive materials. Fishing areas were also restricted by land owners. Even though the water and its contents were considered common areas, the land surrounding the rivers and steams were restricted by land owners and laws that prohibited trespassing (Franklin, 1996).

Furthermore, not everyone could obtain a fishing permit. Fishing permits were given out by the Riparian owners. Those anglers who demonstrated the right attitude and

equipment were given permission to fish on the banks of rivers and streams (Franklin, 1996). The sport of angling also became more popular for the middle class during the nineteenth century. This occurred primarily, because of an increase in leisure time. Clubs, hotels, and inns were being built to meet the holiday needs.

Angling clubs became an important social center for gentlemen anglers (Franklin, 1996). Gentlemen anglers could pass on technical skills and discuss the important social issues of the day. Gentleman anglers would also purchase Inn's to control the river banks on either side. They hired staff to manage and police the waters. Strict rules were established to keep the lower classes off of their river banks (Franklin, 1996).

The sport also developed technical "angling codes and practices that deliberately made it more difficult to land a fish once hooked" (Franklin, 1996, p. 434). These new codes and practices required expensive equipment and materials. The pastime of angling also required skill and management from the noble angler. Patience, discipline, self control, and knowledge were needed for success. The pastime of angling provided an opportunity for the noble participants to develop the necessary qualities needed by a gentleman.

Peachman provides throughout his book advice to young gentleman on the perfect way to be and live. His work has been described as a noble book which provides the proper "ideals to be pursued and the evils to be shunned by young gentleman" (Heltzel, 1962, p. ix).

Both Castiglione and Peachman during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries describe elaborate and lengthy instructions for the noble class to follow. Elaborate rules can also be found in court society relating to protocol, social intercourse, and self

restraint. These rules also described specific behaviors that separated the noble class from the lower classes. A clear and blatant example of class distinction can be found in the work of Eramus of Rotterdan in 1530 in his book, *On Civility In Children.*

Eramus treatise contains specific instructions for youth of noble birth. His treatise were widely read and reproduced during the sixteenth century. It became so popular that it was included as educational curriculum for noble boys in 1534 (Elias, 1978). Eramus describes proper facial and bodily expressions, eating patterns, protocol, social intercourse, and bodily expulsion.

Eramus specifically designates in his treatise the difference between the noble class and those of the lower classes. He describes the proper way to blow one's nose. Eramus compares the peasant, the sausage maker, and the nobleman. He emphasizes those of lower classes use their clothes, hand, and arms to wipe ones nose, but a nobleman shows much more propriety. The nobleman "is more decent," they utilize a cloth while turning away from others and if some drops to the ground they immediately cover it up (Eramus, 1530, cited in Elias, 1978, p. 56).

Not all rules in the writings of etiquette are as specific in class distinction as the rules described by Eramus. Nevertheless, all etiquette rules dictate specific instructions which set the aristocracy apart from other social classes.

This is important to my study because I argue that the rules of American golf were similar to the codes of etiquette in the European court society. The noble class as well as the lower classes recognized the difference between those of good manners and propriety (Bloch, 1961). There was no confusion, those who were born of wealth also had breeding. They were expected to learn and adhere to the rules which dictated proper

decorum. They demonstrated manners in all areas of their life including their favorite pastimes. If their pastime was similar to those of the lower classes then they transformed their pastime with codes and practices that would set them apart. There would be no confusion between the pastime of the noble class and the pastime of the lower classes.

I argue the rules of golf in America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included themes of etiquette which emphasized similar qualities associated with the noble class. I suggest that those from the lower classes who lacked these qualities and resources were discouraged from playing the game of golf during the early twentieth century. Examples of this process can be seen in the early development of American golf courses.

Herbert Wind (1975) in *The Story of American Golf* describes early twentieth century American golf as a game for the rich. During the early 1900's golf was being introduced in America. During its infancy the golfing society developed rules to govern the game, established golf clubs, and designed golf courses. The early golf courses were built on private land outside of major metropolitan areas (Krohe, 2000). Wealthy areas like New Port, Rhode Island and South Hampton, New York were some of the first communities to build private and exclusive golf clubs (Hamilton, 1998). These courses were designated for the wealthy. They implemented rules of membership which separated them from the lower classes.

During the early twentieth century two types of golf clubs were developed; they included golfing clubs and golfing country clubs. The difference between a golf club and golfing country club is that a golfing country club included social activities that were separate from golf. They were a place where wealthy men and women of high society

could interact, socialize, and participate in their favorite pastimes such as golf, tennis, and bridge (Peper, McMillian, & Frank, 1994). The golfing country clubs were also a place where men and women of high society could participate in the practice of etiquette (Phillips, 1990). Parties, luncheons, and formal balls were part of their social activities. Elaborate clubhouses were also built on the golf courses to attract the men and women of high society (Wind, 1975). Large and elaborate facilities also represent wealth, position, and power (Guttman, 1986).

Golfing clubs were developed strictly for playing golf. These clubs guarded against becoming too social by barring ladies from their membership (Wind, 1975). These clubs were designed for wealthy business men who wanted to avoid social distractions and focus totally on their favorite pastime (Wind, 1975). The first golfing club in America, as well as the first golfing club to be developed in this manner was the St. Andrew's golf club of Yonkers.

It was not uncommon for men to belong to more than one golfing club (Hamilton, 1998). By having more than one membership they could focus on their favorite pastime at the golfing club and maintain their social position and status at the golfing country club. To be a part of either would require wealth, position, and the proper social decorum. The important factor was being a member of a prominent and exclusive golfing club. Pastimes or sporting activities had become a fashionable way for the social upper class to separate themselves from the lower classes.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries physical exercise had also become fashionable for the noble class in Europe. Exercise was encouraged in the writings of

Castiglione and Peachman. The noble class developed a taste for physical pastimes including dancing, combats, angling, hunting, fowling, and tennis (Lacroix, 1963).

Tennis had become such a popular pastime with the nobles that large and elaborate courts were built. The courts were so elaborate and spacious that many of them were converted into theaters (Lacroix, 1963).

Laws were written to exclude the lower classes from participating in the pastime of tennis. Laws are on the books from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century restricting tennis to landowners and nobility (Guttman, 1978). Tennis had become a designated sport for the leisured class. The royal court of England built tennis courts on many of their palaces. The pastime of tennis established rules of etiquette that advocated protocol and propriety. The spectators were for instance to sit in "utter and complete silence" until the appropriate time to cheer (Guttman, 1986, p. 97). Similar rules which exist in tennis can also be found in the game of golf.

The golfer should understand and exhibit protocol, proper social intercourse, and self restraint. The golfer is to wait until it is his/her honor to hit, the golfer should not move, talk, or stand too close when a player is addressing the ball, the golfer is to restrain from being loud and boisterous (USGA, 1999; 1999b).

Even though golf was not considered a spectator sport until the late twentieth century, there were rules developed for the spectator to follow just as in tennis. In the 1930s rules were written on the course map of the Masters Professional Golf Tournament in Augusta, Georgia.

They instruct the spectator in appropriate spectator behavior. It reads,

> In golf, customs of etiquette and decorum are just as important as rules governing play. It is appropriate to applaud . . . but excessive demonstrations . . . are not proper because of the possible effect upon other competitors . . . Walk, never run. Be silent and motionless when a contestant prepares to execute a stroke. Be considerate . . . Golf is a gentleman's game. (Puett & Apfelbaum 1992, p.142)

Clubs were also a part of the noble game of tennis. Just as in angling, exclusive tennis clubs were developed and became very popular among the noble class. The pastime required expensive rackets and courts and emphasized rules of etiquette. The style of dress in tennis distinguished the noble class from the lower classes. The color of white became a symbol for tennis wear. The color white represented "distance from dirty work" for the aristocracy (Guttman, 1986, p. 97). The pastime of tennis had become a distinguished sport for the noble class with their participation separating them from the lower classes.

During the middle ages hunting was the most popular aristocratic sport (Guttman, 1986). The sport of hunting was transformed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries after the merchant class had lobbied for hunting rights from the king (Lacroix, 1963). In response to the middle class desire for participation, the noble society transformed the sport of hunting and designated it as a sport for the noble class. By introducing new codes and practices into the sport confusion would be eliminated between the lower class activity of hunting and the noble pastime of hunting.

The sport of hunting included elements of pastime, sport, and military skill (Arditi, 1998). Hunting was threefold, it provided nutrition, elimination of wild animals, and social recognition. The lower classes utilized the hunt for dietary needs. The noble society emphasized social recognition. Social recognition came from the elaborate

ceremonies and technical skills which were centered around the hunt. "Hunting forays evolved into elaborate, sumptuous, sometimes solemn ventures. Their organization became increasingly costly and complex, and in time their pomp assumed as much importance as the hunt itself" (Arditi, 1998, p. 78).

The noble class developed and executed complicated, elaborate, magnificent routines designed to impress other nobleman and the lower classes. The new rules of hunting emphasized a decrease in violence which was consistent with the rules of the courtier and the gentleman.

Hunting took on the element of sociability and courtesy. Self control became a central theme. Changes were made in techniques of killing. They became less violent and more methodical (Elias & Dunning, 1986). Chases also became more structured and less dangerous (Franklin, 1996). The focus was no longer handling a weapon but the management of the hounds.

The hunt had become a managed, elaborate, and methodical ceremony:

> At the celebration of each of these feasts a large number of sportsmen in fine apparel came from great distance with their horses and dogs. There was in fact, no magnificence or pomp deemed too imposing to be displayed by the kings and nobles, in honor of the patron saint of hunting. (Lacroix, 1963, p. 184)

One of the most popular forms of hunting was fox hunting. Fox hunting was developed during the eighteenth century in England (Rojek, 1989). Foxes were killed for sport not for food. Foxes were also killed by proxy, meaning the hounds actually killed the fox not the gentleman (Franklin, 1996).

Fox hunting became a pastime that enhanced the status of the country gentleman (Munsche, 1981, cited in Franklin, 1996). The sport represented social position and

power. When laws were being written during the late eighteenth century to protect the rights of animals, noble fox hunters were excluded from the rules (Guttman, 1986). The fox hunt was not a violent sport it was a "highly regulated form of hunting closely associated with a specific code of manners" (Elias & Dunning, 1986, p. 24). The kill was not primary, the function of the hunt was the social intercourse of hunting figurations and the management of the hounds. Enjoyment was obtained by skill, discipline, and social decorum.

The training of the hounds was complex and methodical. The hounds had to be trained to not respond to other animals. Restraint was the social code for the noble hunter and their hounds. The hunter had to adhere to the elaborate codes and enforce this restraint on their hounds as well.

During fox hunting weapons were not utilized. Instead, the noble gentleman was to demonstrate proper decorum and manners which would set him apart from lower class hunters. The lower classes utilized weapons and personally killed the animal. They were also known to participate in other violent sports such as cock fighting, prize fighting, and dog fights (Elias & Dunning, 1986).

Fox hunting was an expensive sport. It required specialized dogs and horses to fulfill the hunting figurations. The style of the hunt was more important than the kill. Proper social intercourse was imperative amongst the hunting society. Both lords and ladies participated in the elaborate hunt and celebration. Elegant ceremonies were a central part of the hunting experience.

Hunting had become an elaborate and technical sport. It required expensive horses, hounds, and fine apparel. The noble hunter was to be self disciplined, patient, and

demonstrate good judgment. All of these qualities were needed to perform the elaborate hunting routines and figurations. Hunting had become an elaborate social function and was designated as an appropriate pastime for the noble class.

The pastimes patronized by royalty and the aristocracy all share common themes. They embody elaborate codes of conduct and elegant ceremonies. The pastimes required expensive equipment and incorporated technical skills and routines. The style of the pastime advocated rules of etiquette and proper manners. They included rules which required discipline, self control, courteousness, politeness, patience, good judgment, and educational training. Common themes are shared in the European pastime of chivalrous tournaments, angling, tennis, and hunting.

I argue the American game of golf embodies these similar standards of etiquette that were developed and executed in the pastimes of the European court society. The American game of golf during the early twentieth century implemented similar rules and standards that can be found in the noble pastimes of hunting, angling, tennis, and chivalrous tournaments.

I suggest the rules in American golf were developed with elaborate, methodical, and technical instructions from tee to green. The pastime of golf also emphasized courtly qualities consisting of courteousness, protocol, good manners, good judgment, self restraint, and educational training. I also suggest that the golfing society developed elaborate competitions which emphasized golfing skill, management of the game, and proper social decorum.

The New York Herald in October of 1895 describes the first United States Amateur tournament held at the New Port Golf Club as a social event which attracted

high society. The reporter describes the event, "at three o'clock society began to appear and fully one hundred of the spectators were soon tramping over the hills. It was a bright scene; the ladies in their silk and the men in their red golfing coats made a scene of color seldom witnessed in outdoor sports" (New York Herald, 1895, cited in Editors,1993, p. 10). The American pastime of golf during the late nineteenth century was an elaborate social function for the social upper class.

Sportization Process

Prior to this tournament the American game of golf had not yet been formalized. The pastime was still a game in its infancy with flexibility and freedom. A sport becomes formalized when it establishes a governing body to develop rules for the game and oversees the competitions (Elias & Dunning, 1986). This process is defined as the sportization of a pastime. Sportization is a process where a leisure pastime or sporting activity becomes formalized by the codifying of rules and regulations, and the implementation of sanctions.

The sportization process is important to my study because it facilitated formal rules in golf which became prominent and important in the game. American golfers no longer had the freedom to utilize informal local rules. They were expected to adhere to regulations which governed their play and dictated social intercourse.

The sportization of American golf occurred in 1894 in New York City with the establishment of the United States Golf Association (USGA) (Peper, McMillian, & Frank, 1994). Prior to 1894 the pastime of golf was governed by local golfing clubs. The

most experienced player or elder in the club was usually considered the authority (Browning, 1955).

Governing bodies are usually developed in response to conflicts that occur in competitions. When a sport becomes popular, participants come from different areas to compete. Each participant brings their own interpretation of the rules. The competitive site is the one who is responsible for setting the rules for the competition. Because of this process not all the participants are aware of or know the rules so conflicts arise. To eliminate the conflicts a governing body will be established so the competitions are fair for everyone. They may also incorporate rules of safety so the participants do not get hurt during the sporting event (Sheard, 1997).

This process occurred in the American game of golf. The founder of the USGA suffered from a rule conflict in competition. Charles MacDonald, a wealthy businessman from Chicago, believed he lost a golf tournament because of an unfair ruling. Three months later MacDonald organized ten men to make up America's governing body (Wind, 1975).

Norbert Elias compares the sportization process of sporting activities and leisure pastimes with similar processes found in books of manners (Elias & Dunning, 1986). Both processes formalize codes of conduct. These codes become expected standards to be adhered to. Sanctions are applied if the standards are not followed. In both cases, golf rules and rules of etiquette, a loss in position and privilege occurs if one violates the rules. The golfer can be disqualified from a tournament, penalized with additional strokes, and lose status with other golfers for not adhering to the rules. Members of court society

suffered a loss in position, power, and privilege (Elias, 1983). They could be killed, shunned, and demoted by the king and the court.

The formalizing of rules requires the participant to develop discipline and self control. These qualities are vital for one to maintain social position and privilege. The sportization process advocates civility. Sporting participants are to follow the rules which denote good manners and proper decorum (Elias & Dunning, 1986).

I argue the early twentieth century American golfer was to be self restricted, disciplined, courteous, polite, and well mannered. The golfing society would need equipment, skill, knowledge, and good judgment to manage their game from tee to green. The golfer would be required to manage the rules of golf, golf etiquette, equipment requirements and selection, course management, swing mechanics for woods, long irons, short irons, wedges, and the putter. To be successful at the game of golf, noble qualities would need to be acquired and adhered to.

The sportization of golf involves the formalization and codification of ritualized symbolic practices. Ritualized symbolic practices are regularly engaged in or habitual behaviors (Knottnerus, 1997). I argue the formal golf rules which developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are ritualized symbolic practices that reproduced and maintained proper golfing behavior. These rules were vital and important to the development and growth of the game. They reinforced and preserved the expected code of conduct.

The expected code of conduct involves civilized behaviors and qualities. It embodies codes of etiquette which dictate qualities of civility such as proper decorum, good manners, patience, courtesy, honesty, and self control. Golf rules and standards

were elaborate, technical, and detailed. And the rules and standards required resources including wealth, physical skill, good judgment, knowledge, and educational training.

By golf being finally developed in this manner (i.e., sportization) the American game of golf was designated as a pastime or sport for the social upper class. The explicit relationship between golf and social status discouraged those from lower classes who lacked these qualities from taking up the game during the early twentieth century.

Americanized Practices

The formalizing of golf rules in America also contributed to the rules of golf becoming Americanized. The first official American golf rules were a duplicate of the rules from the Royal and Ancient golf club in St. Andrews, Scotland (Browning, 1955). The Royal and Ancient club is often referred to as "the Mecca of golf" (Editors of Golf Magazine, 1993, p. 4). It earned this title by surviving the changes that occurred throughout history and becoming the official golf headquarters in Europe (Hamilton, 1998). It is also the official governing body for golf.

The United States Golf Association and the Royal and Ancient golf club are two separate governing bodies. They did agree to become one body only in rule development and implementation. This merging did not occur until 1951 (Peper, 1999). Differences in attitudes and opinions kept the two groups apart.

In the early years of rule development the USGA duplicated the Royal and Ancient golf club rules, while at the same time introducing new American rules and rulings. The USGA was not always consistent with the Royal and Ancient club. Conflicts arose between the two groups. Examples of some of the conflicts were the

developing of new golfing equipment, rules of play, rulings for the rules, and differing attitudes over the traditions of the game (Chapman, 1997).

Summary

In summary, rules of etiquette were developed during the middle ages in Europe. The rules were for the nobility and court society. These rules set the aristocracy apart from the lower classes. The pastimes that the court society participated in also reflected the rules of manners which governed their life. Codes of conduct that dictated manners, elaborate and technical rules, and elegant ceremonies were included in their pastimes and sporting activities. This process also discouraged the lower classes from participating in these pastimes and designated sports for the noble class.

These rules were formalized and codified in books of manners. They governed individual behavior and social intercourse. Formalized rules of etiquette were also established in their pastimes and sporting activities.

Exclusive clubs were developed and overtime these clubs codified the local rules. The clubs often excluded undesirables, that is, those from lower classes. When a pastime became popular and the clubs began to compete with each other as in tennis and angling, then a governing body was established to govern the competitions. The governing body was made up of nobility who were members of the exclusive clubs.

I argue this process can also be found in the early twentieth century American pastime of golf. I argue that the early game of golf was developed with codes of conduct that dictated manners, elaborate and technical rules, and elegant competitions. Exclusive clubs were developed that were only composed of the wealthy class. Because of this

process those from the lower classes were discouraged from taking up the game. The American game of golf became designated for the monied class.

I also argue that a difference existed in American golf and the European golfing game. The American game of golf reflected American values which differed from the traditions and standards of European nobility. Even though the American game embodied much of the standards of court society it also exhibited a new and different attitude.

The traditions of etiquette which emerged in America in this earlier time period continue to be supported and monitored by the American golfing society in late twentieth century America. These rules and standards from tee to green continue to be important and are strongly encouraged by the American governing body.

Chapter III will now discuss golf history and its relationship to the development of American golf. The European history will be discussed first and then followed by the early development of American golf.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF GOLF

Introduction

The study of the history of golf is important because it reinforces and supports my argument that the American game of golf embodies similar standards and rules of etiquette which originated from European court society.

European History

The origination of golf can be traced to Scotland. The game as we know it today most likely originated during the fifteenth century. The first documentation concerning golf are laws prohibiting play (Browning, 1955).

Laws were established so the common people would not participate in football (soccer) or golf. The king established these rules because archery was being neglected and this contributed to battles being lost. The king wanted foot soldiers who were commoners, to improve their skills (Hamilton, 1998). These laws, however, did not apply to the commoners and nobility in the same way. The nobility were not subject to laws prohibiting golf. They were still able to play their game of golf in the country side at palaces and estates.

Two types of golf existed in Scotland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The long game of golf was considered the noble game of golf. The short game was designated the common game of golf (Hamilton, 1998).

The long game required expensive and elegant golf clubs and balls. The noble game of golf was played with more than one club and the goal was to hit the ball with successive strokes into a hole in the ground (Hamilton, 1998).

The common game was also played with a club and a ball. The short game only required one inexpensive club. It was played in the city streets or the church yard. A church door or something like it was designated as a target. The commoners would hit the ball to the target. The game appeared to be more like street hockey rather than golf. The common game was characterized as noisy and violent with drunkenness often accompanying the activity (Hamilton, 1998).

The noble game on the other hand required elegant and expensive equipment. Long golf emphasized club selection, shot selection, physical skill, and the ability to manage one's game. The goal was to get to the hole with the fewest shots. Since different clubs were used the noble golfer would need to know which club would be best for the next shot. This game required expensive equipment, physical skill, and knowledge.

Records show that during the sixteenth century the king and his court participated in the noble game of golf. The "Book of the Lord High Treasurer" documents that royal pocket money was spent on clubs and golf balls. The king and his court purchased clubs and balls as they traveled from palace to palace while overseeing the kingdom (Hamilton, 1998).

The common game disappeared by the middle of the seventeenth century and was replaced by the noble game. The noble or long game has become the game of golf which is presently played throughout the world.

The noble game was played with a variety of expensive clubs which required a variety of different shots. The noble game was a more sophisticated and skilled game. The clubs utilized in the noble game most likely were made by a skilled bow-maker during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. A similar type of design was found in the sophisticated bow and the noble golf clubs. Records from skilled bow-makers indicate that they made the sophisticated golf clubs. The clubs made by a bow-maker were much stronger and could propel the ball much further than the inexpensive clubs utilized by the commoners (Hamilton, 1998).

The characteristics of the noble game of golf with its expensive equipment and sophisticated skill appears to share the qualities that are also found in the European noble pastimes of chivalrous tournaments, angling, tennis, and hunting. These pastimes were designated for the noble class. The game of golf in Europe was also becoming a recognized pastime designated for the gentry and aristocracy.

The laws that prohibited common golf in the fifteenth century were lifted in 1502 (Browning, 1955). Commoners were free to play the common game of golf for a short period. Commoners were again excluded from the game during the sixteenth century (Gravel, 1997). Laws forbidding Sunday play were implemented. The only leisure day that the common people had was on Sunday and holidays. Holidays were also being reduced with the restriction on Sunday play.

Rules were implemented to control the excessive behaviors commoners were engaging in. The laws banned activities that were violent, loud, aggressive, sexually immoral, and involved drunkenness. Common golf fell into this category. Again, the nobility were not affected by these laws. They continued to play the noble game without any restrictions (Hamilton, 1998).

The laws from the "Book of Discipline" changed the nature of recreation in the sixteenth century. This pattern can be seen not only in Scotland, but also throughout Europe. Pastimes which advocated good manners and self control became the recreation of choice (Hamilton, 1998). Pastimes like dancing, tennis, angling, and golf became more popular with the implementation of these laws (Lacroix, 1963).

A survey by John Chamberlayne in 1708 of British life reported that the game of golf was not one of the most popular pastimes with the noble class (Hamilton, 1998). Wide spread popularity in Great Britain would not occur until the 1800s. Throughout Great Britain hunting, hawking, angling, fowling, and tennis were amongst the most popular sports. Chamberlayne reports that football and golf continued to be popular with the commoners (Hamilton, 1998).

Noble Pastime

In Scotland, the game of golf was considered a favorite pastime with the noble class. During the nineteenth century when leisure time began to increase for the middle and professional classes and railways increased mobility the game of golf grew in popularity throughout Europe.

Increase in participation and popularity of a noble pastime usually results in the pastime being transformed. A pastime is transformed when the lower classes participate in a pastime which is favored by the noble class. In response, the nobility transform the pastime. This transformation occurs so there will be no confusion between the pastimes of the lower classes and the noble class. By transforming the pastime a clear distinction can be observed between the aristocracy and the lower classes. When a sport is transformed the rules and standards of etiquette are incorporated or increase.

The noble game of golf in its origination embodied traditions of court society, but by the nineteenth century the European noble class had begun to cultivate traditions of etiquette more specifically into the game. This transformation also enhanced the distinction between the noble class and the lower classes.

During the early seventeenth century the common people began to travel to the links in Scotland to play the noble game. The laws forbidding golf on Sundays most likely led the commoners to go out of town to play the game. The ban of Sunday pastime activities was also lifted in 1618 (Browning, 1955). Records show that commoners and nobility played the game of golf on the same links (Hamilton, 1998).

In Scotland, the noble game of golf was played in the country side. It was also played on common land located near the shore line. This land was called the Scottish links. The links are found on the coastal land. The geographical makeup is rolling hills, sand dunes, and high grass in the summer and short grass in the winter. The game of golf was primarily played in the winter months. The grass was shorter, it rained less, and the aristocracy resided in the coastal towns to complete their business (Hamilton, 1998).

Even though the nobility and commoners could be found on the same course there was clear expectations of protocol. "In those stately days the noble golfer arrived on the links with caddies, forecaddies, and servants, scattering the other users of the links, and putting on a show of wealth, power, and often skilled golf" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 177).

The commoners did not always play the long holes of the links. Short holes (usually three or four) were also built adjacent to the courses during the eighteenth century. These holes were better suited for the commoners' inexpensive clubs and balls (Hamilton, 1998).

Caddies

The traditional noble golfer knew the rules of etiquette. A gentleman did not carry parcels of any kind so caddies became an integral part of the game. Caddies were written into the formal rules of golf which were developed in the eighteenth century (Hamilton, 1997). During the seventeenth century servants were used to carry clubs and balls. Caddies were introduced later and provided more than club carrying duties. The caddie benefitted the noble golfer in many ways.

Caddies in the early eighteenth century were poor messenger boys who looked for work on the street. The caddie was a hired servant. The caddie was to carry and wash the clubs. The forecaddie was responsible for standing ahead of the noble golfer and caddie. The forecaddie was to warn pedestrians, find the ball, retrieve the ball quickly from water, and prevent the ball from being stolen. The forecaddie would send "back elaborate signals to indicate the position of the ball" and instructions for the next shot (Hamilton, 1998, p. 158).

During the nineteenth century after caddies had been written into the rules and had become established they became known as professionals. A professional is one who makes a living from golf they could do this by playing golf, teaching golf, carrying clubs, washing clubs, and caring for the course. The nobility would hire a caddie for regular service. Those caddies most experienced were in high demand. Caddies or professionals were expected to be "servants, teachers of golf, coaches, and confidants to the golfers" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 158).

It was not uncommon for the owner of a caddie to set up professional matches and make wagers on their caddie. A professional match could attract high stakes gambling. The caddie who won the match gave the winnings to their employer. The caddie never received any of the winnings. Some of the most common forms of payment for the caddie were food, clothing, living quarters, golf equipment, and a basic fee. Money was discouraged since caddies had a reputation of spending their earnings on too much drink (Hamilton, 1998).

The caddie was a benefit for the nobleman. The noble golfer obtained status by having a caddie with skill and knowledge. Over time the caddie developed into a skilled servant of the game. The caddies primary objective was to serve the nobleman which in turn enhanced the game of the noble golfer.

Golfing Clubs

During the late eighteenth century golf in Scotland experienced a surge in growth. This growth is explained by financial stability, an increase in leisure time, and the ending

of wars (Hamilton, 1998). During this time golfing societies or clubs began to emerge. The development of clubs also occurred in tennis, angling, and hunting.

The first golfing club was the Leith golfing society or "The Gentleman of Honor"(Browning, 1955). Initially, the golfing clubs communicated standards and rules of the game orally (Hamilton, 1998). They shared them through social interaction. Through face-to-face interaction the golfing society learned to demonstrate proper golfing behavior. Over time these behaviors would become habitualized and routinized (Knottnerus, 1997).

Often times it was an elder who was deferred to for guidance (Elias & Dunning, 1986). This was also the case in the early golfing societies. The elders or those most skilled at the game provided advisement and rulings (Browning, 1955).

The golfing clubs established the first formal rules in golf and golfing competitions. The first official organized competition occurred in 1744 with the Leith golfing society. The noble golfers petitioned the city of Edinburgh for a silver club (trophy) (Browning, 1955).

The tournament became an elaborate ceremony. The parade and tournament was observed by high society and commoners. The noble golfers were on parade with their servants, caddies, forecaddies and expensive clubs and balls. They drew crowds onto the city streets as they made their way to the links (Hamilton, 1998).

Elaborate ceremonies were incorporated into the noble and royal pastimes. Chivalrous tournaments were designed exquisitely and with elegance. They represented power, wealth, and prestige (Guttman, 1986). Noble golfers also participated in this

process. The elaborate ceremony, parade, and competition set the noble golfer apart from the lower classes.

In the first golfing tournaments nobleman within the clubs, nobleman of distant lands, and commoners were included in the tournaments. This request was made by the Edinburgh magistrate. They were hoping to attract distant nobility. Over time the rules changed and only those who were members of the club could compete. The winner of the tournament was crowned the "Captain of the Golf" (Browning, 1955). This meant they would be the head of the club for a year and provided all the rulings. The members did not want a commoner to become the captain so they petitioned for the rule to be changed to members only (Hamilton, 1997). The rule was approved and it became a common practice amongst the other golfing clubs.

The clubs were designated for gentlemen golfers. They could not control the course per se, since it was on common land, but they could hire caddies to care for the course. The gentlemen golfing clubs also purchased Inn's by the course and designated them as their club house (Hamilton, 1998). After their matches they would return to their club for food and fellowship with their fellow gentlemen. This practice also occurred in the noble pastime of angling (Franklin, 1996).

The most prominent club in Scotland is the Royal and Ancient golf club of St. Andrews. When other clubs were folding during the financially turbulent times of the early nineteenth century, St. Andrews continued to survive.

The members of St. Andrews golf club consisted of landowners, aristocracy, and wealthy gentleman from other areas in Great Britain. The members of St. Andrews during the nineteenth century were wealthy and worldly. They indulged in horse racing,

fox hunting, and golf. The St. Andrews golfing society would play official tournaments two times a year. They would march through town with their red club coats. The club coat was a military style coat which represented power and rank (Hamilton, 1998).

The tournaments were filled with pomp and circumstance. The ceremony included a procession of drums and flute. The Captain of the Golf would lead the procession with the members following behind (Hamilton, 1998). Following the members were the caddies, forecaddies, and servants. The noble society and commoners rallied around to observe the elaborate ceremony. The noble ladies in their fine apparel made the ceremony complete.

Much discussion has occurred over the club coats and their meaning. Some literature describes the military jacket as a way to distinguish members from different clubs (Browning, 1955). Others emphasize the coats were a warning for the commoners that someone of nobility was coming. Hamilton dismisses this purpose, he states "such warnings were not required to be given by gentleman: noble golfers had no need to warn the lower order that they were advancing on the links" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 87). Those of lower ranks knew the traditions of protocol. They were to step aside and let the nobility play through. The coats were a status symbol. In tennis the clothing symbol was the color white. In golf the symbol was a military style coat that represented power, position, and strength.

The coats distinguished the gentleman from the lower classes. They represented wealth, rank, and privilege. Only those who were a member of the club could wear the golfing coat. The clubs also set up the black ball rule. The black ball rule is where one or

two members could secretly exclude an undesirable from becoming a member of the club (Hamilton 1998).

Social Separation

By the middle of the nineteenth century the European golfing society was changing. The game of golf was being transformed by the noble class. Railroads brought England and Scotland closer together. The new managerial class or middle class was prospering and experienced an increase in leisure time (Hamilton, 1998). Golf was becoming more popular throughout Europe.

Golf was beginning to be transformed in regard to English customs and manners (Hamilton, 1998). Class distinction was ever present. Amateurs or gentleman golfers were increasingly discouraged from playing with commoners. Prior to the nineteenth century it was not a social taboo to play with a commoner in a competition match.

For instance, in 1682, Prince Henry, the Prince of Wales challenged an English nobleman to a match because of an argument over the birth place of golf. Both believed it was their homeland who originated the game. Prince Henry decided a golf match could settle the argument (Browning, 1955). The prince chose a poor shoe maker to be his partner. The shoemaker was known as the best golfer of the times. Prince Henry won the match and rewarded his humble servant with a handsome sum of money (Browning, 1955).

It was not uncommon for a nobleman to use a commoner to win a match. They also encouraged caddies to play at certain times so their skills would improve and benefit their game.

The Scottish links were becoming a seaside holiday for the wealthy. The Scottish coastal land had much to offer. The beaches and the links were free. The Scottish links courses continued to be free but overcrowding and class distinction was becoming an issue for the noble class.

Elaborate hotels and seaside Inn's were being constructed on the coastal shores. The resorts offered numerous social activities for the monied class. New courses were also being built to meet the needs of high society. Since these courses were built on private land expensive green fees could be charged, as well as expensive membership fees. Some private courses did offer reduced subscriptions with certain restrictions on play (Hamilton, 1998).

The new courses in England created artisan golf clubs. Artisan clubs are clubs within the club. The lower classes could be members in the artisan club but would have no voting rights. They were also expected to care for the course and the main clubhouse for free, and play at limited times during the day. The artisan member was also excluded from utilizing the main clubhouse. The first artisan club "was called the Northern Working Men's Golf Club" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 180).

The old aristocracy in Scotland was becoming more aware of the changes in social class and style of play on the links. The landed gentry who "knew the rules and played quickly and purposely, also understood the procedures and etiquette of golf" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 161).

The new managerial class was not skilled in the game or the rules. They also did not understand the standards associated with golf. The courses were becoming crowded with members of this new middle class. In response the aristocracy retreated to their

estates and built their own courses "to separate from those who imitated the ancient habits of the landed gentry" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 177).

The gentleman was bred not made. The noble golfer transformed the game of golf with "style of play." This style transformation also occurred with tennis, hunting, angling, and chivalrous tournaments. By changing the style of play in golf there would be no confusion between the noble class and the lower classes.

The gentleman also eliminated play with the common golfer. Winning was no longer the central theme. Just as in hunting, the kill was no longer the central goal. The objective was the style of the hunt and the ability to demonstrate hunting figurations and the management of the hounds.

"The gentleman now shifted ground and sought to be admired for the style of play and their manners: participation, not winning, was important and was to be applauded in golf" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 181). The amateur was being discouraged from playing with the professional or caddie. The caddie was a servant and employee.

The nobility emphasized style and manners to preserve their position of superiority to the lower classes on and off the course. King James VI during the nineteenth century remarked, "I'll make your son a baronet, but the devil himself couldna' mak' him a gentleman" (Hamilton, 1998, p. 181).

In 1851, the Royal and Ancient golf club began to incorporate formal rules into the game that advocated manners. By 1891, they had established a distinct section of rules recommending appropriate manners while on the course. These rules emphasized protocol, proper social intercourse, and proper care of the course (Chapman, 1997).

By 1869 the Royal and Ancient golf club in St. Andrews had 720 members (Hamilton, 1998). They had a cosmopolitan membership, meaning their members were from Scotland, throughout Europe, and across the world. They became known as the governing body of rule development and implementation. In 1897, the Royal and Ancient golf club sent official rule books throughout Europe and the United States (Hamilton, 1998). The Royal and Ancient Golf Club presently continues to be one of the most prominent golf clubs in Scotland, Europe, and around the world. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club has also had a profound effect on the American game of golf.

American History

Golf was initially introduced in the United States during the eighteenth century. The game was first played in Georgia and South Carolina (Browning, 1955). The Scottish merchants who traveled to ports in the United States brought the game of golf to America. It didn't catch on and by the early nineteenth century there was no mention of golfing advertisements (Hamilton, 1998).

Golf was re-introduced to American by two wealthy Scottish immigrants during the late nineteenth century. Robert Lockhart had learned to play the game while growing up in Scotland. During one of his business trips in Scotland he purchased clubs at the Royal and Ancient Golf Club for his friend John Reid. Reid had never played the game (Peper, 1999). Reid invited a few of his friends over to experiment with the game. The game of golf was well received and further orders were made (Wind, 1975).

One of the main differences between Scottish golf and American golf is the ownership of golf course property. In America the early courses were built on private

land. Reid laid out six holes on his pasture land. They called the club the St. Andrew's Golf Club in Yonkers. This became the first golf course and club in America (Peper, 1999).

On November 14, 1888, Reid and five of his friends, after the completion of their round, had their first golf club meeting. This was the beginning of the first established standards, rules, and regulations of early American golf. The men discussed the "ways and means of perpetuating their play on the pasture land" (Peper & Editors, 1994, p. 12). In the meeting minutes the group identified themselves as the originators of the first "Magna Carta" of American golf (Peper & Editors, 1994). The St. Andrew's club had an all male membership.

The group established the first clubhouse in a neighbor's backyard adjoining Reid's pasture. The group was attended by the member's black servants. These servants also cared for the course (Peper & Editors, 1994). The literature mentions that a member's two young sons were utilized as caddies. Each boy was paid twenty-five cents for each round (Wind, 1975).

The beginning of American golf included private clubs, private courses, the utilization of servants and caddies, and the purchasing of expensive equipment. The rules were initially developed on the local level by wealthy businessmen. The origination of American golf reflects similarities to the European noble pastimes of golf, tennis, hunting, and angling.

The second golf course, a golf and country club, was built in South Hampton, New York in 1891 (Wind, 1975). Six local wealthy golf enthusiasts who were summer residents initiated the construction of the course. Three members of the six including,

Vanderbuilt, Mead, and Cryder traveled to Biarritz, Scotland to hire a course architect (Hamilton, 1998). Biarritz is an exclusive seaside holiday resort where wealthy families vacationed in the summer months. The country club was called Shinnecock Hills. It obtained this name because it was built on the burial grounds of the Shinnecock Indians who resided nearby on the Shinnecock reservation (Wind, 1975).

Shinnecock was known as a social club since it included men and women. St. Andrew's on the other hand "guarded itself against becoming too social by barring ladies from membership" (Wind, 1975, p. 12).

The exclusion of women also occurred in the golf clubs of Scotland. Even though women did play the game they were not included in the gentleman's golfing clubs. It wasn't until the late nineteenth century that women began to seriously take up the game. Their involvement in golf contributed to families spending the summer months at the Scottish seaside holiday resorts (Hamilton, 1998).

Women were included in the elaborate ceremonies before the championships. They came out in their fine apparel to observe their gentlemen playing their favorite pastime. Women have adorned the elaborate ceremonies of European court society since the middle ages (Arditi, 1998). They are believed to bring elegance, beauty, and manners to any social engagement (Schlesinger, 1946).

Golfing clubs that were built on private property during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in America became exclusive clubs for the monied class (Peper & Editors, 1994). Many of these clubs are still considered to be some of the finest traditional golf clubs in America.

Most of the early private clubs are still ranked in the top twenty best classical courses in the United States (Klein, 2000). Out of the top two hundred courses which are rated as the best in America one hundred and sixty-one of them are private, twenty one are resort courses, and eighteen are daily fee (Klein, 2000). These early private courses continue to be designated for the monied class because of the expensive initiation fees and yearly dues (Editors of Golf Magazine, 1993).

The early development of exclusive golf courses and clubhouses in America are similar to the development of large pavilions in chivalrous tournaments, elaborate and stately tennis courts, and the purchasing of fine Inn's for angling. Each of these facilities represent power, wealth, and privilege for the monied class (Guttman, 1986). They also separate and discourage the lower classes from the pastime.

The third golf course to be built in America was also a private course. It was built in New Port, Rhode Island (Peper, 1999). The course was built by Theodore Havemeyer. Havemeyer was a wealthy sugar baron (Wind, 1975). He enjoyed spending his winters in France at the Pau Golfing Club. Havemeyer enjoyed the game so much he built a course in New Port where his family spent their summer months. They called the course the New Port Golf Club. Havemeyer was the first president of the United States Golf Association. He also donated the proceeds for the first United States championships to assure the quality and success of the tournaments (Wind, 1975). The first United States Open tournament and the United States Amateur tournament were hosted at the New Port club in 1895.

The tournament was described by the New York Herald as a spectacular event adorned with color from the red golfing coats and the women in their fine silks. High

society came out to observe the competition to see who would be crowned the "Captain of Golf." The American golfing society established an elegant and elaborate celebration for the wealthy class. This celebration left no confusion. The late nineteenth century American golfing society was designating the pastime of golf for the monied class.

The first informal and formal rules of golf were also developed by the wealthy class. The golfing club members set up rules and regulations that governed the game during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prior to the formal rules each local club set up their own rules and standards to govern their club, the game, and competitions.

The first formal rules in American golf were established in December 22, 1894 in New York City. Charles MacDonald, a wealthy Chicagoan, was responsible for initiating the development of the United States Golf Association (USGA). The USGA became the first governing body in American golf. The New York Times describes the game of golf in 1895 as being "raised to a higher tone and dignity. This is due to the successful organization of the United States Golf Association, which includes in its membership most of the prominent clubs in the country" (New York Times, 1895, cited in Brown & Litsky, 1979, p. 4).

Charles MacDonald's father, a native Scotsman, sent his son to St. Andrews to attend St. Andrews University. "As one of his assignments, he was to learn to play golf while there" (Chapman, 1997, p. 40). His grandfather was also a member of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club (R & A) in St. Andrews.

MacDonald is accredited with having brought the rules of golf to America in their traditional form, meaning the European standards and traditions of etiquette, as well as

the formal rules of the game. MacDonald also served on the USGA and R & A rules committees. Without MacDonald rule development in American golf could have been very different (Chapman, 1997). MacDonald preserved the consistency that did exist between the USGA and the R & A.

The single most important objective for the USGA was to "preserve the values and integrity of the game" (Editors of Golf Magazine, 1993, p. 24). Value and integrity of the game is also referred to as the "spirit of the game" (USGA, 1999b). The spirit of the game refers to the original rules and standards that were implemented in Scotland. The game of golf was a game of risk and hazards. The player could not predict the natural conditions they would be confronted with (Chapman, 1997). Playing the game with integrity meant to play the ball as you found it. The goal was to manage your game within the existing conditions. Management consisted of self control, good judgment, and physical skill.

The governing body set the rules and regulations to govern play during competitions. Their purpose was to "establish and enforce uniformity in the rules of play, . . . to establish its executive committee as a court of reference and final authority, . . . and to decide on what links the Amateur and Open Championships shall be played" (Editors of Golf Magazine, 1993, p. 25). The first rules of the USGA were a replica of the rules established by the R & A.

This replication is important since the R & A rules were developed by nobleman of Scotland during the late eighteenth century, and were expanded and modified by an elite group of aristocracy during the late nineteenth century. The rules and standards of

golf in Europe during the late nineteenth century emphasized a style of play that embodied manners. This style of play also maintained the aristocracy's superior position.

Summary

In summary, standards of etiquette existed in the European game of golf in its origination. The standards included elaborate and technical rules, elaborate celebrations, expensive equipment, rules of manners, physical skill, good judgment, and knowledge. The game also reflected the influence of the aristocracy due to the use of caddies and the development of exclusive golfing clubs. Specific formal rules of etiquette were also incorporated into the game which advocated style of play.

I argue European rules of golf, as well as noble standards of etiquette were also established in American golf. The early originators of American golf had a European heritage or association with the old world through business and travel. These rules and standards were introduced to the American game of golf by these originators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The American rules and standards in golf, though similar to European rules and standards of court society, also became Americanized. The American golfing society introduced their own values and beliefs into the old European style of golf. I argue these changes in American golf reflected attitudes and beliefs that were embodied in American society during the nineteenth century. Examples of these changes include challenges to old world standards, and an emphasis on equity, justice, individualism, and entrepreneurship (Schlesinger, 1946).

The American game of golf was a combination of old world traditions and new American values. The traditions of etiquette incorporated in the American game of golf during the early twentieth century distinguished the monied class from other groups. These rules and standards in golf encouraged a separation between the social upper class and the lower classes. Consequently, the lower classes who lacked resources were discouraged from taking up the game.

These standards of etiquette continue to be a priority in late twentieth century American golf. Proper golfing etiquette and behavior is still recommended by the United States Golf Association (USGA 1997; 1999; 1999b). As the game is increasingly played by the masses, meaning those of different classes, rules and standards are strongly emphasized and advocated. The present golfing society in America is estimated to include over twenty five million players and there are more than sixteen thousand courses in the United States alone (Krohe, 2000). The USGA continues to emphasize proper golfing behavior and social intercourse on the course by producing literature which embodies and advocates good manners and social propriety.

Chapter IV will discuss the methods that will be utilized to identify and analyze these rules and standards that emerged in American golf in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter I will first discuss the structural ritualization theoretical concepts to be employed in the data analysis and interpretive analysis. I will then discuss the texts, categories, and sub-categories which were selected for content analysis, as well as the coding system for the data analysis, including numerical analysis and illustrative analysis. In the final part of this chapter, I will explain the interpretive analysis.

The central theoretical argument of this study is that ritualized symbolic practices, especially highly ranked practices, can form, reproduce, and maintain behavioral codes of conduct. Ritualized symbolic practices are social behaviors which individuals regularly or habitually engage in. The practices are repetitive and grounded in an actor's cognitive map or symbolic framework. The practices are non-reflective, meaning they require little or no reflection (Knottnerus, 1997).

The four factors to be employed in the analysis include repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, and resources. Repetitiveness and resources will be emphasized in the data analysis and interpretive analysis. The methodology to be employed in this study is content analysis. Content analysis identifies themes which occur most frequently in, for

instance, a collection of texts. Repetitiveness is emphasized since frequency of references to a ritualized symbolic practice in a social setting is key.

Selected resources have also been analyzed. Each text will be analyzed for references to resources which enable actors to engage in ritualized symbolic practices. The resource category and sub-categories will be assigned a numerical code for each occurrence. Thus, relative frequency will be determined.

Salience and homologousness will be employed in the interpretive analysis. Salience refers to the degree of strength of a ritualized practice. A ritualized practice may be noticeable or prominent in terms of its treatment in one or more texts.

Homologousness is the degree of similarity among differing ritualized symbolic practices based on their form and meaning. This factor will be employed in the interpretive analysis to determine the varying degrees of perceived correspondence or similarity of themes referring to ritualized practices. This factor is important because the more similar these practices are, the more they reinforce each other and, therefore, have a greater impact on social behavior.

The importance of ritualized practices in a social setting is determined by their degree of rank. The higher the rank of ritualized practices, the greater their degree of influence or dominance in a social setting. Rank is determined by the sum of salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and ritualized symbolic practice resources. The higher the degree of rank in terms of these four factors the greater the influence, importance, or effect the ritualized symbolic practices will have in the social setting (Knottnerus, 1997). Rank will be determined by analyzing thematic references to ritualized symbolic practices in terms of repetitiveness, resources, salience and homologousness.

The ritualized symbolic practices emphasized in this study include standardized practices and rules of etiquette that existed in European court society. I contend that similar ritualized practices of court society could be found in the American golfing world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Members of court society engaged in activities that were shaped by codes, which, in turn, dictated manners. These rules were restrictive, elaborate, and methodical. They emphasized good manners and proper social intercourse. Similar standards and rules of etiquette also existed in their noble pastimes. Some of the most popular pastimes included chivalrous tournaments, tennis, angling, and hunting.

These standards and rules of etiquette were developed to set the noble class apart from the lower classes. They also provided a new way for the aristocracy to interact with each other. The aristocracy incorporated and at times elaborated standards of etiquette so their pastimes would be different from the lower classes. For instance, they developed complex and methodical rules, grandiose celebrations, and large and elaborate facilities which set their pastimes apart from the other classes. The lower classes were also discouraged from participating in these pastimes by their lack of the necessary resources.

As noted previously, the methodology employed to analyze this research topic is content analysis. Content analysis will be utilized to determine if similar rules of etiquette existed in the American golfing world. The method of content analysis was selected because it identifies themes that appear most frequently in historical events, i.e., in texts referring to historical events (Mehta & Plaza, 1997).

Content analysis is a strategy which utilizes a "set of objects (i.e., cultural artifacts) or events systematically by counting them or interpreting the themes contained

in them" (Reinhanz, 1992, p. 146). The classification of themes or patterns may then be used to construct a composite portrait of actor's social relations and arrangements in the particular milieu under investigation (VanDePoel-Knottnerus & Knottnerus, 1994).

The themes were identified by the author through a study of the existing literature on rules of manners, noble pastimes, and standards of court society. Ten themes were selected from the existing literature. These categories refer to and will be coded as themes. Because there are no studies that examine the game of golf, its rules of etiquette, and its similarity to court society, I used previous studies on books of manners, and noble pastimes, as well as texts describing proper behavior for the courtier and the gentleman in developing the categories employed in this research.

Reliability is always a concern in creating a system of categories. The difficulty lies in creating categories that can be used reliably by more than one investigator (Harmon & Boeringer, 1997). I utilized themes from previous literature on noble pastimes to create categories. Each noble pastime encompassed some or all of the categories used in this study.

Of course, new categories or themes were likely to emerge during the course of the study. To deal with this possibility, I designated category ten as "other." Any new patterns or themes that emerge will be classified under the "other" category. This category will be used if a new pattern or theme emerges within a text.

Categories

The selected categories to be analyzed are 1) manners, 2) complex and methodical rules, 3) discipline, 4) celebration, 5) Americanized, 6) social position, 7) title, 8) gender, 9) resources, and 10) other.

The category of manners was developed from characteristics and qualities of the noble class. The subcategories consist of two key thematic topics. They include a) positive restrictions, and b) negative restrictions. Positive restrictions are rules and standards that dictate proper behavior. They dictate what you are to do, or should do. Negative restrictions are rules and standards that dictate improper behavior. They dictate what you are not to do, or should not do.

Examples of positive restrictions include: be courteous, be polite, and respect others. Examples of negative restrictions include: do not be rude, do not interfere with others, and do not be selfish. Adhering to positive restrictions demonstrates proper behavior, meaning that the designated standard is being followed. Complying with positive and negative restrictions denotes good manners. Failing to comply with positive and negative restrictions is the demonstration of improper behavior, which is the deviation from the accepted standard. This behavior is considered inappropriate and distasteful.

The second category is complex and methodical rules. These rules are formalized, meaning they exist in written form. The subcategories include a) rules of play, b) technical principles, c) United States Golf Association by-laws, and d) multiple connected rules.

Rules of play include rules that explain how to play the game of golf. They instruct the golfer on what they must do to participate in the game properly. These rules provide step by step instructions on the order of play, the golfer's responsibilities, the penalties for rules broken, and how to rectify mistakes.

Technical principles are rules that explain how to hit the golf ball with a golf club. They instruct the golfer on how to hit different shots in different conditions. They also instruct the golfer when to use certain clubs for certain types of shots under conditions that the golfer may encounter during a game of golf.

United States Golf Association by-laws are rules that govern the association and it members. These rules include the amount of dues a member is to pay, the purpose of the organization, and the requirements for championship courses.

Multiple connected rules are rules which are found in the rules of play category. These rules are listed in the instructions with other rules of play. They exist individually and are listed in other rules.

For example, the rule of keeping the ball in play, includes instructions for keeping the ball in play, but it also contains instructions from other rules, such as the rule against being out of bounds, or the rule about the ball in play on the green. The golfer must know the instructions for keeping ball in play, being out of bounds, and keeping ball in play on the green. The instructions for keeping the ball in play increase with the addition of the two other rules.

The multiple connected rules are the two additional rules which were added to the initial rule, keeping the ball in play. In this example, rule one, keeping the ball in play, would have two multiple connected rules: 1) being out of bounds, and 2) keeping the ball

in play on the green. The total instructions for rule one would be the total instructions for all three of the rules combined.

Multiple connected rules are numbered in the instructions of a rule. These rules are clearly listed so the golfer will know all the rules which are connected to each other. The golfer must know all the rules which are connected, because if you break a rule you could also be breaking other rules as well, resulting in penalties or disqualification.

Each subcategory will be analyzed by frequency of rules and the total amount of instructions within the rules. Each rule that is identified will be analyzed for the amount of instructions that are associated with the rule. The number of rules will be totaled as well as the instructions.

For example, if there are 100 rules of play identified then the total amount of instructions listed in the 100 rules would be combined together, thus out of the 100 rules there were a total of 250 instructions. Each subcategory will be coded. For example, the coding for the 100 rules of play and 250 instructions would be coded as 100 (rules of play) = 250 (instructions), or 100 = 250. This coding will be utilized in rules of play, technical principles, and USGA by-laws.

Since they are also individual rules of play, the multiple connected rules will be coded separately and not included in the total composite for category two. If they were included in the total composite of category two, then the numbers would be inflated since they were counted originally in the rules of play section. These rules are being identified to show the complexity of the golfing rules.

Multiple connected rules will be coded as follows. If rule "a" has two multiple connected rules, and the total instructions when all three rules are combined is ten, then

the rule would be coded as a/2=10. Rule "b" is also a multiple connected rule, it has four connected rules, and the total amount of instructions for b plus the four other rules equals 25, or b/4=25. Rule "a" and rule "b" would then be coded as 2/6=35, meaning there are two multiple connected rules, the two rules total six additional rules, with a total amount of instructions equaling 35.

The category of discipline identifies sanctions that are implemented because of the breaking of rules. They include penalties, ineligibility, suspension, and disqualification. Penalties are implemented while playing the game. Ineligibility occurs when one does not meet the designated criteria for the competition. Suspension may occur for one competition only or may include more than one competition. Disqualification occurs when a participant is expelled from the tournament. They are prohibited from playing out the round.

The celebration category describes activities or celebrations associated with a pastime. The celebration subcategories for golf include tournaments, championships, competitions, and social golfing activities. Social golfing activities might include dinners, lunches, and parties. These celebrations are elaborate, meaning they are thoroughly developed. Everything is calculated down to the smallest detail. They denote elegance, style, and refinement.

The Americanized category includes ritualized practices that differ from the European standards and rules of etiquette. Americanized practices reflect American values and beliefs. This category refers to changes in rules, standards, and styles. Examples of Americanized practices might include a change in attitudes in the game of

golf, added rules that meet American golfing needs, and different styles of play. Americanized practices will be identified through content analysis.

The social position category refers to one's place in society. Social positions are divided into three subcategories including high position, middle position, and low position. High position is described as rich, wealthy, monied class, high society, gentleman, prominent, influential, and important. Middle position could refer to middle class or management and professional class. The middle position has resources and leadership but to a limited degree. They might be a member of a golf club but one with less prestige. They also enjoy noble pastimes but lack the noble qualities associated with the noble class. Their participation in the pastime is also limited by their limitations of income and leisure time. The low position consists of working class and the poor. They have minimal income, position, and power. They do not belong to any type of golfing club. They fall in the bottom tier of social ranking and lack income and leisure time.

The category of title refers to titles associated with one's membership, playing status, and authority. The subcategories include golfing association member, golfing club member, amateur, professional, and caddie. Professional is a person who makes their living or earns income from the game of golf. They are also a skilled golfer. An amateur is a golfer who does not receive any official payment or compensation from involvement in the game. A caddie is one who carries, cleans, and cares for the golfer's clubs. Caddies can also assist the golfer during play. The golfing association member is a member of the official governing body. They have voting rights and represent golfing clubs. The golfing club member is a member of a golfing club. Membership conveys rights and liberties in the club and on the links.

Category eight is golfing practices of men and women. This category identifies the practices that men and women participate in individually and jointly, as well as the restrictions imposed on the different sexes. The three subcategories are men, women, and joint. Joint subcategory is when a rule refers to both men and women participating in the same activity or event.

The ninth category to be analyzed is resources. Resources can be human or non-human. Subcategories of human resources include instruction, knowledge, and physical skill. Instruction includes golf lessons or training to improve one's skill and knowledge of the game. Knowledge consists of knowing the rules of the game, how to play the game, and educational skills. Educational skills consist of reading and mathematical skills. Physical skill denotes physically being able to perform the pastime and athletic ability. Subcategories of non-human resources include golfing equipment, golf clothing, income, and golf courses.

The final category is other. This category will describe new and interesting themes that emerge from the data. The subcategories for category other will be identified from the content analysis.

Content Analysis

Content analysis identifies themes that appear most frequently in narrative texts. This is a historical study and content analysis provides a way to identify patterns and themes that could not be captured in any other way.

Content analysis is useful in describing cultural elements of a society and analyzing social changes (Sander, 1974). Culture is reflected by beliefs, sentiments,

moral themes, behavioral patterns, and codes of conduct. By applying content analysis to social writings, cultural form and content can be identified.

Content analysis also reveals a description which is given "entirely in terms of participants' concepts and categories" (Rose, 1982, p. 119). By analyzing historical texts the view of the participant is depicted. The authors define what a particular social world is like. The researcher can identify the beliefs, expectations, and attitudes of a particular time period. "By comparing the different writings of a society over a period of time the researcher is able to see behavior patterns and changes" (Sander, 1974, p. 221). The researcher can trace the evolving development of conception, patterns, and changes, as well as explore connections or similarities of a social phenomena (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979).

Content analysis of American golf literature describes authors' concepts and categories in the early twentieth century golfing society. The beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns of the golfing society can be identified within the context of their social world. By comparing different writings during a designated time series, I will be able to trace the evolving development of conceptions, patterns, and changes of the American golfing society. By employing content analysis, I will be able to determine if standards and rules of etiquette were developed, maintained, and/or changed within the American golfing world.

When conducting historical research with content analysis, it is important to communicate the information as it is written. The researcher should take every precaution to avoid incorporating their own opinions and biases in the social description. By employing a systematic analysis of content the social description reflects the authors'

view of the social world as they perceive it rather than the researcher's biases and opinions (Rose, 1982). The meanings are ascertained from the body of discourse as described by the authors (Swartz & Jacobs, 1979). Harold Garfinkel states, "it is inappropriate to analyze documents out of context, or to analyze only portions of them; they must be situated and analyzed in their completeness. Failure to do so may lead to a misinterpretation of a document's meaning and intent" (Garfinkel, 1964, cited in Denzin, 1989, p. 204).

Sources

The sources to be utilized in this project include archival data dealing with American golf from 1894 to 1920. The historical documents were selected because they address or refer to domains of interaction to which a golfer during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century would have been exposed.

The documents examined include the Executive Committee Meeting Minutes from the United States Golf Association from 1894-1920, the Annual Committee Meeting Minutes from the United States Golf Association from 1894-1920, golf by-laws and rules from the official United States Golf Association Golf Rule Books from 1894-1920, golf journal articles from *Golf* magazine from 1898-1900 and *The American Golfer* magazine from 1908-1920, and popular magazine articles devoted to golf from 1900-1920.

I traveled to Far Hills, New Jersey during December 1999 to spend three days at the official headquarters of the United States Golf Association. During these three days, I copied the meeting minutes from the Executive committee meetings and the Annual

meetings of the United States Golf Association. I copied approximately one-thousand pages of meeting minutes spanning 1894-1920.

I also copied the official United States Golf Association Golf Rule books, which include the rules and by-laws. I copied the complete 1894 rule book and any changes that occurred after 1894 up to 1920. I copied the complete rule book for 1920 which was a complete composite of all the changes that had occurred from 1895 to 1920. For an accurate interpretation of the rules and by-laws, I will evaluate a rule only once. Most of the rules are reprinted each year. A rule book only changes when new rules are added or a rule is re-written. I will evaluate each rule once and all the additions up to 1920.

During my three days in Far Hills, I also analyzed the titles of golf articles in *Golf* and *The American Golfer*. Since content pages were not available for most of the journals, I had to search through the volumes to find each article. Golf magazines have never been analyzed and separated by topic in the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature.

I used the key word and topic guide, which will be discussed later, to select the articles. I also copied the content pages and complete index title listings for those volumes that included this information. Once I returned home, I selected articles from the content pages and index title listings from the key word and topic guide. I donated three hundred dollars to the United States Golf Association for their assistance and supplies. They do not require a donation.

The articles for the popular magazine and golf journals were ordered by inter-library loan. Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma ordered the popular magazine articles. I was able to obtain fifty-eight popular magazine articles. Seventy-five articles were ordered, but not all could be located. Northeastern State University was

used for the popular magazine articles since there were fewer articles ordered and their department has limited support personnel.

The Oklahoma State University inter-library loan office obtained some of the golf journal articles. I was able to order ten articles through the inter-library loan office at Oklahoma State University. I ordered one hundred and twenty-four articles from the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The Duplication Department copied each article for me at $0.50 a page. The inter-library loan office at the Library of Congress has a limit for each periodical ordered. After this limit is reached, their Duplicating Department copies the rest for a fee. The USGA library duplicated sixteen articles from *The American Golfer* for the year 1920, and one *Golf* magazine article from 1898. The Library of Congress did not have these particular articles. In total, I obtained one-hundred and fifty articles from golf journals. The total cost of obtaining the golf journal articles was $400.00.

I ordered the articles from the two universities, the duplicating department of the Library of Congress, and the USGA library at the same time so the articles would arrive simultaneously. By ordering the articles at the same time, they arrived in a timely fashion.

Articles from golf magazines and popular magazines were selected by a key word and topic guide. The key words include rules, etiquette, manners, control, mental, politeness, courtesy, honor, habit, proper, perfect, practice, and gentleman. The topics were how to improve your game, discussions of golf rules and rulings, golf skills, golf traditions, golf course development, the popularity of golf, golf for women, golf for children, golf and social class, golfing clubs, expenses of golf, golf tournaments, learning

how to manage your game, and sporting etiquette. The key words and topics were selected from the existing literature on books of manners, noble pastimes, contemporary golf literature and golf history.

Golf magazine was chosen because it was one of the earliest magazines to be published. It was first published in 1898. It eventually became *Golf Illustrated* and presently is still in publication. The years 1898 to 1900 were chosen in order to analyze the early development of American golf.

The Readers Guide to Periodical Literature addresses golf topics beginning in 1900. Titles were selected using the key words and topics guide from 1900-1920. The articles were drawn from a variety of popular magazines. Some of the magazines are still in print, but most no longer exist.

Cortese provides support for using magazines in research. He emphasizes that magazines are important because they describe real sport acts and integral sport personalities (Cortese, 1997). Popular media can also describe the character of a society (Sanders, 1974); in this case, the character, codes, and patterns of the American golfing world.

The final golf magazine to be examined was *The American Golfer*. Articles were selected from 1908-1920 using the key word and topics guide. *The American Golfer* was first published in 1908. From 1908 to the 1930s, The American Golfer sold more periodicals than any other golf journal. It was discontinued in 1936 when, due to difficulties of the depression, it merged with what is now known as *Sports Illustrated.*

Minutes from the United States Golf Association were chosen because of the face-to-face dialogue that occurred amongst the members. The Annual and Executive

committee meeting minutes from the United States Golf Association describe the conversations, controversies, and decisions that were made by the actual participants of the American golfing society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They reflect the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs, as well as the behavioral patterns and social changes of the American golfing world.

Golf rule books were included because they contain the formalized rules and by-laws that govern the game and its governing body. The rule books set limits, implement sanctions, and dictate social golfing standards. They reproduce and maintain the formalized code of conduct. Failure to adhere to the rules leads to detection and corrective measures. The golf rule books and the governing body represent authority, power, and control.

Coding System

The coding system employed in data analysis includes coding of categories, coding of subcategories, numerical analysis, and illustrative analysis. The coding of categories is designated by letter typology. Each category is assigned a letter code. They include: manners = M, complex and methodical rules = CMR, discipline = D, celebration = C, Americanized = A, social position = SP, title = T, practices of men and women = PMW, resource = R, and other = O.

The subcategories of each category were also identified by letter designations. The subcategories of manners include: pr = positive restrictions and nr = negative restrictions.

The subcategories of complex and methodical rules are: rp = rules of play, tp = technical principles, bl = by-laws, and mc = multiple connected rules.

The typologies for the subcategories of discipline are: p = penalty, i = ineligible, s = suspension, and d = disqualification.

The subcategories for celebrations are: t = tournaments, ch = championships, c = competitions, and sa = social activities.

The subcategory typologies of the Americanized category will be identified from the content analysis.

The category of social position is divided into three subcategories. The typologies for the subcategories are: hp = high position, mp = middle position, and lp = low position.

The typologies for the subcategories of title include:
am = association member, cm = club member, a = amateur, p = professional, and c = caddie or forecaddie.

The next to the last category is practices of men and women. The subcategories are letter coded as follows: m = men, w = women, and j = joint.

The typologies of the subcategories of resources include: hi = human/instruction, hk = human/ knowledge, hps = human/ physical skill. The nonhuman typologies are: nhge = nonhuman/ golfing equipment, nhgc = nonhuman /golf clothing, nhi = nonhuman/ income, and nhgl = nonhuman/golf links or course.

An example of the coding categories and subcategories are as follows for the discipline category. The coding system for the category and subcategory includes: D/p = rules of discipline/penalty, D/i = rules of discipline/ineligible, D/s = rules of discipline/

suspension, and D/d = rules of discipline/disqualification. This coding system is utilized for all the categories.

Each of the texts were assigned a Roman number. The Executive committee meeting minutes from the USGA are assigned Source I. Source II is the Annual committee meeting minutes from the USGA. Golf Rule Books from the USGA are Source III. Articles from golf journals are Source IV. Source V are the popular magazines. Each sample within the text is assigned a numerical typology. An example would be Source I:1 (sample), Source I:2 (sample), Source I:3 (sample), and so on until all samples have been numbered.

Each source will be analyzed separately for all ten categories. This coding strategy is being employed to avoid confusion, loss of information, and misrepresentation of the category and subcategories.

An example of category analysis from a text includes assigning a tally for each frequency of the subcategories. Each subcategory will be coded by a number for the total frequency. The total frequency of each subcategory added together equals the total numerical amount for the category. For example, to analyze Source I:1 (sample), discipline = D, I would read the text and mark a tally for each time a subcategory is mentioned. Once the text is completed and the subcategories have been tallied, the tallies are totaled. A composite total score is given for each subcategory. Then each subcategory is added together to equal a total composite score for the discipline category from Source I:1 (sample). This process will be followed for each text, its samples, categories, and subcategories.

The content analysis for each source will be documented in the observation notes. The observation notes will report the frequency for each subcategory and category from the samples of the sources. Frequencies for each category and constructed tables will be discussed in Chapter V.

The total number of samples for the Executive Committee meeting minutes includes seventy-three samples from 1901 to 1909, 1911, and 1914-1920. Executive Committee meeting minutes were not available for 1910, 1912, and 1913. The Executive Committee meeting minutes consist of forty-one Executive Committee meetings, thirty sub-committee meetings, one rules meeting, and one special Executive Committee meeting.

The Annual Committee meeting minutes total twenty-five samples. They consist of two special Annual meetings, one partial Annual meeting by a mail out, one Annual Conference, and twenty-one Annual Committee meetings. Annual Committee meeting minutes were not available from 1905-1910.

The total number of articles from golf journals is one hundred and fifty. Fifty-eight articles are from popular magazines.

There are twenty-seven Golf Rule Books. The first golf rule book was developed in 1894. This rule book and its by-laws will be analyzed for each category and subcategories. Only additions and changes will be analyzed from 1895 to 1920, so the category frequencies will not be inflated. Evaluation of duplicate rules year after year would result in an inaccurate description since the same rule would be analyzed twenty seven times.

Structural Ritualization Theory

The observational notes will be analyzed to record interpretations of the material. The theory of structural ritualization will guide the theoretical analysis. The four factors which determine the degree to which ritualized symbolic factors are dominant and important in a social group will be employed. The four factors include salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources.

Salience refers to the degree to which a ritualized practice is central, noticeable, or prominent to an act or interrelated acts. Repetitiveness describes the frequency with which a ritualized symbolic practice is performed. Homologousness refers to the degree of similarity among different ritualized symbolic practices. Resources focus on materials needed to participate in a ritualized act or ritualized practices that are available to the actor.

The greater degree of salience, repetitiveness, presence of homologousness, and availability of resources, the greater the rank of the ritualized symbolic practices. The greater the rank, the more dominant or important these practices will be in the golfing world. Rank is determined by the sum of repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, and ritualized symbolic practice of resources. Each factor is weighted equally in the formal theory.

Repetitiveness will be measured by frequency. This factor will be reported in the observation notes. The repetitiveness of the categories and subcategories from the samples will be coded by numerical analysis. The repetitive total will be recorded in the observational notes. The subcategories and categories which have the greatest degree of

repetitiveness in the texts are assumed to be the most dominant and important in the golfing world.

Salience will be determined by analyzing references to ritualized practices which are indicated by the categories and subcategories. Salience is not determined by repetitiveness, but by the degree of prominence. A high degree of salience may occur in a theme referred to in one category or one text, but be low in the others. A ritualized practice with a high degree of salience is prominent, noticeable, and important, but not necessarily repetitive.

For example, one way salience might be interpreted is by compiling a record of evaluative statements about themes. These statements would reflect importance or centrality of the theme or themes. For example, statements such as "this is most important," "first one must do this," or any formal listing in order of importance or centrality of various themes.

Another way, salience might be measured is by identifying how a theme is referred to or central to a ritualized practice. For example, salience might be measured by identifying noticeability of an act which is evoked by a ritualized practice, such as positive or negative reactions to the ritualized practice. Salience will be analyzed from the observation notes.

The presence of homologousness is analyzed by determining the degree of similarity of ritualized symbolic practices. For example, ritualized practices referred to in the texts may share a common theme of etiquette. Consequently, I will make an assessment of the similarity of meaning and form of these ritualized symbolic practices (such as rules and celebrations expressing similar themes of etiquette).

Homologousness will be interpreted by determining the similarity of the themes. This will be done by assessing how compatible the themes are with each other. Compatibility is determined by how the themes complement each other to form a meaningful whole (Knottnerus, 1997). The themes are like pieces to a puzzle; they fit together in a meaningful way to define such concepts as a civilized code of conduct in the American golfing world and/or characteristics that designate a pastime for the upper social class. Homologousness will be interpreted from the analysis of the texts.

The final factor is resources. Types of resources will be reported in the observation notes. The subcategories distinguish the difference between nonhuman resources and human resources. The resources with the greatest degree of frequency play an important role in determining which practices have the greatest degree of dominance and importance in the golfing world. The resources category will be coded in the observation notes.

Illustrative descriptions will be cited and documented in the observation notes. Illustrations will be selected from the totality of data. Illustrations will be reported as quotations from the texts. This evidence will be used to support findings about the categories and interpretations of the material.

Summary

In summary, I have described the categories, subcategories, sources, and samples which will be utilized in the data analysis. The coding systems, which include numerical analysis and illustrative analysis, have been explained. The concepts from structural

ritualization theory have been discussed and I have suggested how they will be utilized in the analysis.

Additional interpretive examples will be provided as the data is analyzed. New factors and categories may also be discovered through the course of study. New and interesting subcategories may emerge beyond the selected categories. Any new, unusual, or interesting themes that emerge from the data will be recorded in the observation notes in the category other.

Chapter V will discuss the findings, results, and interpretations generated by the data analysis. Chapter VI will contain the conclusion and final remarks.

CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

Chapter V will discuss the findings from the content analysis, illustrative analysis, and theoretical analysis. Frequencies will be reported for the five sources included: the Executive Committee meeting minutes, Annual meeting minutes, Golf Rule books, golf journal articles, and popular magazine articles.

Frequencies will be reported for each subcategory, as well as a total composite for the category. Following the frequencies will be a discussion of the illustrative analysis for each category. The category discussion will be concluded with the theoretical analysis. The theoretical analysis will include a discussion of the theoretical concepts. The concepts are repetitiveness, salience, homologousness, and resources.

Category One: Manners

The first category to be discussed is category one, manners. The results from the five sources for category one will be listed and followed by illustrative examples. Interpretations of homologousness, the similarities between the ritualized practices of etiquette, and repetitiveness of the ritualized practices of etiquette will also be addressed.

The total frequencies from source one, the Executive Committee Meeting Minutes (ECMM) of the United States Golf Association (USGA), for category one is 99 positive restrictions and 13 negative restrictions. The total for category one from source one is 112.

The ten most repeated positive restrictions in source one are

1. Proper, with a total of 15,
2. Courteous, totaling 15,
3. Good standing, totaling 13,
4. Careful consideration, totaling 7,
5. Conformity, totaling 5,
6. Practice, totaling 5,
7. Cooperation, totaling 4,
8. Honorable, totaling 4,
9. Good conduct, totaling 4, and
10. Willing to do the right thing, totaling 3.

The ten most repeated negative restrictions are

1. Do not be unsportsmanlike, totaling 4,
2. Do not be improper, totaling 1,
3. Avoid questionable practice, totaling 1,
4. Deplore low standard of conduct, totaling 1,
5. Do not allow commercialism, totaling 1,
6. Condemn exploiters, totaling 1,
7. Do not be impracticable, totaling 1,

8. Do not exploit proficiency, totaling 1,

9. Do not exploit prominence, totaling 1, and

10. Do not permit radical departure from tradition, also with a total of 1.

The results for category one from source two, Annual Meeting Minutes (AMM) from the United States Golf Association had a grand total of 670. The positive restrictions equaled 621 and the negative restrictions equaled 49.

The top ten positive restrictions are

1. Proper, totaling 83,

2. Honorable, totaling 36,

3. Good judgment, totaling 26,

4. Careful consideration, totaling 25,

5. Sportsmanship, totaling 24,

6. Good conduct, totaling 22,

7. Friendly, totaling 22 ,

8. Maintain high standard, totaling 21,

9. Kind, totaling 19, and

10. Courteous, totaling 18.

The top ten negative restrictions are

1. Do not be discourteous, totaling 7,

2. Do not allow commercialism, totaling 6,

3. Do not be disgraceful, totaling 5,

4. Do not be bitter toward others, totaling 5,

5. Do not be offensive to others, totaling 4,

6. Do not be ignorant of the rules, totaling 4,

7. Do not be undignified, totaling 3,

8. Do not criticize others, totaling 3,

9. Do not be dishonest, totaling 2, and

10. Do not force your views on others, totaling 2.

The results for category one from source three, Golf Rule Books (GRB), is 30 total positive restrictions and 16 negative restrictions, with a total composite score of 46.

The top ten positive restrictions included:

1. Honorable totaling 24,

2. Obey the rules, totaling 20,

3. Proper, totaling 20,

4. Courteous, totaling 8,

5. Correctness, totaling 6,

6. Carefully, totaling 3,

7. Firmness, totaling 3,

8. Uniformity, totaling 2,

9. Responsible, totaling 2, and

10. Judgment, totaling 2.

The top ten negative restrictions included:

1. Do not interfere, totaling 16,

2. Do not improve situation, totaling 15,

3. Do not intentionally break rules, totaling 9,

4. Do not obtain advice, totaling 7,
5. Do not play into others, totaling 4,
6. Do not give wrong information, totaling 3,
7. Do not discontinue play, totaling 2,
8. Do not cheat, totaling 2,
9. Do not participate in discreditable conduct, totaling 2, and
10. Do not play in prohibited area, totaling 2.

The grand total for category one for source four, Golf Journal articles (GJ), is 2395. The positive restrictions total equaled 1962 and the negative restrictions equaled 433.

The top ten positive restrictions include:

1. Practice, totaling 198,
2. Control, totaling 158,
3. Proper, totaling 121,
4. Obey the rules, totaling 108,
5. Accuracy, totaling 105,
6. Concentrate, totaling 104,
7. Perfect, totaling 89,
8. Proficient skill, totaling 84,
9. Courteous, totaling 70, and
10. Good judgment, totaling 59.

The top ten negative restriction include:

1. Do not interfere with others, totaling 44,

2. Do not force, totaling 40,
3. Do not be anxious, totaling 32,
4. Do not cheat, totaling 27,
5. Do not neglect rules, totaling 24,
6. Do not be prideful, totaling 21,
7. Do not complain, totaling 21,
8. Do not be careless, totaling 20,
9. Do not lose control, totaling 18, and
10. Do not hesitate, totaling 13.

The fifth and final source is Popular Magazine (PM) articles. The totals for category one include 803 for the positive restrictions and 219 for the negative restrictions. The grand total for manners is 1022.

The top ten list for the positive restrictions include:

1. Control, totaling 104,
2. Practice, totaling 100,
3. Concentrate, totaling 72,
4. Accuracy, totaling 60,
5. Perfect, totaling 47,
6. Courteous, totaling 40,
7. Proper, totaling 37,
8. Imitate the masters, totaling 34,
9. Correctness, totaling 29, and
10. Obey the rules, totaling 27.

The top ten list for the negative restrictions include:

1. Do not be self centered, totaling 21,
2. Do not be anxious, totaling 21,
3. Do not interfere with others, totaling 20,
4. Do not quit, totaling 17,
5. Do not cheat, totaling 16,
6. Avoid bad habits, totaling 15,
7. Do not lose control, totaling 14,
8. Do not complain, totaling 14,
9. Do not force totaling 11, and
10. Do not be prideful, totaling 10.

Category one revealed that positive restrictions were emphasized more often than negative restrictions. The positive restriction proper was used in the context of proper behavior. The behavior of the members was considered proper when rules of the game were followed. The golfers were also expected to develop the proper style and technique. Developing the proper style would increase proficiency, thus the golfer would interfere less with others and do minimal amount of damage to the course.

Golfers were to be courteous and not interfere with others with their play. Their behavioral and emotional expressions were also not to interfere. Golfers were to demonstrate good conduct. If they failed to demonstrate this type of behavior, they could be denied entry into the United States Golf Association Championships.

An example of impropriety and the failing to adhere to good conduct occurred in June 1907. Two amateur members, Mr. W.C. Carnegie and C. H. Seeley, were denied

entrance into the Amateur Championship because they demonstrated behavior that was unsatisfactory during tournament play and failed to demonstrate good conduct. The minutes do not reveal exactly what they did, but it is clear that the USGA declined to accept their entry. On July 2, 1907, the executive committee discussed a letter that was sent by O.D. Thompson, a club member with Carnegie and Seely, and other members requesting that these two men be allowed to compete in the tournament.

The executive committee replied, "On motion duly seconded, it was resolved, that the entries of Mr. W.C. Carnegie and C. H. Seeley be accepted provided satisfactory assurances are given of their good conduct during the Amateur Tournament" (USGA, 1907, p. 69). The executive committee not only expected the two men to demonstrate good conduct, but also the men who wrote on their behalf were expected to assure that these two men would behave properly.

Good conduct and proper behavior was discussed later in a letter written by the President of the United States Golf Association, dated March 15, 1915 and addressed to the Golf Players and Golf Officials of the United States:

> The golfers of the country are all possessed of sufficient intelligence to understand the rules and standards of golfing behavior. It is their duty to post themselves upon the requirements . . . they [golfing club officials] are supposed to insist on just as high a standard of golfing conduct in their own Clubs . . . if only it is approached with the attitude of willingness to do the right thing. (USGA, 1915b, p. 6)

Proper behavior and good conduct are reflected by doing the right thing. To be proper meant the golfer had the proper spirit. The proper spirit is "helpfulness and cooperation" (USGA, 1915b, p. 6). Doing the right thing is being courteous, conforming to the expected standard of behavior, cooperation with others, and being honorable.

Honorable behavior is maintaining a high standard of behavior that warrants respect from others. The golfer was to deplore low standard of conduct and not be improper.

It was the golfer's responsibility to develop a "habit of compliance with . . . the instinctive avoidance of questionable practices . . . that they will approach every problem as it arises with the query 'does this conform to the proper spirit of the game?' " (USGA, 1915b, p. 6). The proper spirit of the game is following the rules, regulations, and standards of the game.

On February 28, 1901, during an Annual Committee meeting, a delegate states

> I should like to have us so conduct ourselves while playing this game, that these, while seeing nothing in the game, perhaps shall admit there is one thing clear and that is that this game is played by gentleman only . . . now that is the sort of character we can give to this game by our individual efforts. (USGA, 1901, p. 79)

It was important not only for the golfer to adhere to this code of conduct, but that others also observed them demonstrating this gentlemanly character. This type of gentlemanly character can be explained by analyzing table one, The Ritualized Symbolic Practices Of Etiquette.

The totals for category one, manners, are listed for each source in Table I. The grand total for both positive and negative restrictions equals 4370. The total for the positive restrictions equals 3589 and the total for the negative restrictions is 781. The table reveals that the positive restrictions were repeated more often in frequency. A comparison of the two lists shows that they compliment each other and that many similarities are apparent.

The theoretical factor homologousness describes this type of similarity. Homologousness is demonstrated by the similarities of the themes, in this case ritualized

TABLE I

RITUALIZED SYMBOLIC PRACTICES OF ETIQUETTE

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Manners	112	670	171	2395	1022	4370
PR	99	621	104	1962	803	3589
NR	14	49	67	433	219	782
PR						
Proper	15	83	10	121	37	299
Control	1	1	1	158	104	265
Obey rules	5	19	20	108	27	179
Concentrate	0	0	0	104	72	176
Accuracy	0	0	0	108	60	168
Perfect	0	14	0	47	89	150
Courteous	15	19	8	70	40	152
Good judgment	2	26	2	59	22	111
Proficient skill	1	18	0	8	84	111
Correctness	0	0	9	41	29	79
Careful consideration	8	25	3	40	2	78
Honorable	4	36	24	2	2	68
Imitate masters	0	0	0	34	11	45
Honesty	1	2	3	8	16	30
Good conduct	4	22	0	0	2	28
Friendly	2	22	0	2	2	28
Cultivate habits	3	1	0	9	13	26
Kind	5	19	0	0	1	25
Maintain high standards	1	21	0	0	0	22
Enforce uniformity	1	17	2	0	0	20
NR						
Do not force	0	0	4	40	11	55
Do not be anxious	0	0	0	32	21	53
Do not cheat	1	2	5	27	16	48
Do not be prideful	0	1	0	21	21	43
Do not neglect rules	1	4	9	24	3	41
Do not complain	0	3	0	21	14	38
Do not lose control	0	0	0	32	21	43
Do not be self-centered	0	0	0	18	14	32
Do not quit	0	0	2	6	17	25
Do not be careless	0	1	0	20	3	24
Avoid bad habits	1	0	0	8	15	24

Note: Only rules of etiquette totaling 20 or more are listed in the table.

symbolic practices of etiquette. The restrictions both positive and negative fit together in a meaningful way like pieces of a puzzle. Category one reflects a high degree of homologousness.

For example, the restrictions of practice, proper, and control were repeated most often. Proper can be defined by analyzing the other restrictions in the list. Proper behavior is described as being courteous and not interfering with others, demonstrating good judgment and careful consideration and not being careless, being honest and not cheating, being friendly and kind and not being prideful and self centered, as well as practicing, cultivating good habits, and avoiding bad habits. The golfer who practiced and developed proficient skill knew, obeyed, and did not neglect the rules. The golfer strived "to have one's self will in hand, to preserve a good mental equilibrium, to have perfect equipoise of mind and body" (Walsh, 1903, p. 741). The golfer who was able to achieve these expectations was both proper and perfect in their conduct.

Golfers who were proper also had control of themselves. They displayed emotional control by not losing their temper and not being anxious. Lincoln Cummings writes in his article *Golf and Intellect* that, "profanity on or off the golf-links is but an evidence of weakness and undeveloped intellect" (Cummings, 1914, p. 211). Grantland Rice writes in an article titled Nerve, Nerves, and a Better Score that, "golf is a test of physical endurance, and at all times a test of skill and nerve control" (Rice, 1920, p. 44).

The golfer was also to display physical control by not using brute force. The game of golf is "played with vigor not violence"(Macdonald, 1891, p. 22). Golf is to be played without aggression. The golfer is to be sure and firm, but not pressing, which

means to force the swing or the hit. The golfer is to be physically controlled. They are to be silent, accurate, delicate, sturdy, and serious (Haultain, 1901, p. 210).

The golfer demonstrates mental control by not being careless and using careful consideration in decision making. This also demonstrates good judgment. The golfer is to concentrate and be focused, shot to shot, hole to hole. They are to keep eyes focused and head still. (Fownes, 1910, p. 101).

The underlying theme in category one is control. Both the positive restrictions and negative restrictions reflect this practice of control. The golfer is to demonstrate proper controlled behavior. This behavior denotes a civilized code of conduct. The importance of this category is illustrated by the high level of frequency. Each source contained ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette and were repeated often. The high level of frequency reflects that the ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette were dominant and important in the golfing world.

Category Two: Complex and Methodical Rules

Category two, complex and methodical rules, is divided into four categories. They include rules of play, technical principles, USGA by-laws, and multiple connected rules. The results for the complex and methodical rules will be discussed first for each of the five sources, followed by illustrative analysis and interpretive analysis. Table II lists the totals for category two, complex and methodical rules, for each source.

Rules of play and by-laws were the only sub-categories discussed in the Executive Committee meeting minutes. There were 41 rules of play discussed in the meeting minutes which included a total number of 148 instructions associated with the 41 rules.

TABLE II

COMPLEX AND METHODICAL RULES

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
CMR	41=148	16=76	106=939	60=563	53=419	276=2145
Rules of Play	32=105	15=65	80=774	6=50	15=67	148=1061
Technical Rules	0	0	0	54=513	38=352	92=865
USGA By-Laws	9=43	1=11	26=156	0	0	36=210
MCR	0	0	11/24=418	2/12=19	0	13/26=437

Note: MCR's were not added into the CMR composite total. The individual rules were totaled in the Rules of Play subcategory.

The coding for the ECMM rules of play is 41 rules contained 148 instructions, or 41 = 148. There were 9 by-laws mentioned and 43 instructions associated with the 9 rules, or 9=43.

The Annual meeting minutes discussed 15 rules of play with 65 instructions or 15=65. There was no mention of technical principles or multiple connected rules. The Annual minutes did discuss 1 USGA by-law with 11 instructions or 1=11.

The Golf Rule Books contained 80 rules of play with 774 instructions or 80=774. The rule books also included 26 USGA by-laws with 156 instructions or 26=156. In the rules of play section there were 11 rules that included 24 multiple connected rules. This means that 24 additional rules, of play were listed within the instructions of the 11 rules. Combining the two sets of rules, the original 11 plus the 24 additional rules the total number of instructions equaled 418, which is coded as 11/24=418. There were no technical principles discussed.

Source four, the Golf journal articles, discussed 6 rules of play with 50 instructions, 6=50. There were 38 technical principles with 352 instructions, 38=352. There was no discussion of by-laws, but the articles did include 2 rules of play, with 2 additional multiple connected rules, with a total of 19 instructions, 2/2=19.

The final source, Popular magazine articles, discussed 15 rules of play with 67 instructions, 15=67, and 38 technical principles with 352 instructions, 38=352.

The rules in golf are complex and methodical. On April 30, 1920, during an Annual committee meeting of the USGA Mr. Calkins, a delegate, gives some insight into the rules. He states:

> I was a member of the rules committee of the United States Golf Association in 1908. At that time there was quite an insistent demand that the rules be substantially simplified, shortened, and we were in favor of doing it if we could, but we found it to be impossible. It must not be over looked that the rules are a growth. Originally there were few but golf creates an innumerable number of situations, and first by interpretations which were merged into definite rules, they were increased in numbers, until finally we got out present code. You found you could not substantially shorten it. You cannot write the rules of golf down on four or five pages. (AMM, April 30,1920)

The rules in golf include not only numerous rules to follow, but complex and methodical instructions. For example, the first rule book by the United States Golf Association included rules of play and by-laws. The rule book of 1894 consisted of 87 rules and 481 instructions (USGA, 1894). This included 23 by-laws with 88 instructions and 64 rules of play with 393 instructions. By 1920, the golf rule book contained 26 by-laws with 165 instructions and 80 rules of play with 774 instructions, a composite total of 106 rules with a total of 939 instructions (USGA, 1920b; 1920c).

The rules of play can also include more than one rule within a rule. These types of rules constitute the multiple connected rules, meaning that a rule has other rules listed within the instructions. These additional rules inform the golfer that they must also know the additional rules. For example, rule 13, Playing a moving ball, in the 1920 golf rule book in the rules of play section, has 5 additional rules listed in the instructions. The golfer must also know rule 2, 12 (1) (3) (4), meaning section one, three, and four of rule 12, as well as rule 14, 26, and 28 (1) (USGA, 1920b, p. 152). Rule 13 includes 5 multiple connected rules with a grand total of 85 instructions or 1/5=85.

The technical principles are equally as complex and methodical as the rules of play. Jerome Travers, who won the U. S. Amateur Championship in 1907, 1912, and 1913 writes, "There are no less than 52 elements which enter into the true golfing swing for the drive" (Travers, 1909, p. 105). These 52 elements only address the drive. There are also elements for the approach shot, cleek shot, loft shot, and putting stroke, as well as addressing the ball, backward stroke, circle stroke, upward swing, open stance, closed stance, and the follow through (Coach, 1898).

In addition, there are also principles of flight, meaning the flight of the ball such as slice, hook, north wind shot, south wind shot, and cross wind shot. The lie or position of the ball must also be considered. There is a cuppy lie, a hanging lie, downhill lie, sidehill lie, and uphill lie (Travers, 1909b). These are only a few of the many technical principles of golf.

The golf rule books from 1894 through 1920 also include the rules of etiquette section, which consists of ten rules. These rules specifically address the golfer's behavior in relationship to others and protection of the course. For example, rule one:

"No one should stand close to or directly behind the ball, move, or talk, when a player is making a stroke." Rule nine states: "A player who has incurred a penalty stroke should intimate the fact to his opponent as soon as possible," and rule six states: "Turf cut or displaced by a player should be at once replaced and pressed down with the foot" (USGA, 1920c, p. 165)

The rules of golf not only include specific rules of etiquette in the rules of the game, but also embody ritualized symbolic rules of etiquette. Table one notes that the golf rule books contained a total of 171 restrictions in category one. The restrictions with the most frequency included honorable, obey the rules, proper, do not interfere with others, do not neglect the rules, and do not cheat. Walter Travis, in an article titled *Golf Ethics,* states, "flagrant evidences of undisciplined manners and deportment which grate upon all beholders and demean alike the offenders against good taste and the nobility of the royal and ancient game itself." He goes on to say, "for the most part unconsidered and unintentional breaches of the rules of etiquette . . . cause a certain distraction of mind and loss of concentration . . . and invariably produces a little soreness of feeling" (Travis, 1909, p. 460).

The rules of golf are designed for players to govern themselves. The game of golf requires honesty and commitment. M. Lewis Crosby writes in the article *Golf Manners* that the golfer should know the "finer requirements of the game," and each golfer should adhere to the rules since the rules of the game leave the "opponent to be regulated almost entirely by a list of directions, which all players are expected to follow because of their obvious importance" (Crosby, 1909, p. 455).

The by-laws are similar to the other rules listed in category two. They, too, are complex and methodical. They not only dictate behavior on the course, but also off of it.

For example, on March 14, 1915, it was reported that the executive committee voted to accept the revisions to section seven in the by-laws. Section seven of the by-laws contains 13 instructions. Section seven addresses the standards one must follow to be considered an amateur golfer. Some of the standards include:

> An amateur golfer is one who has not accepted directly or indirectly, any fee, gratuity, money, or its equivalent . . . in connection with the game of golf . . . shall not apply to writing, editing or publishing articles, magazines or books on golf . . . constructing, supervising or giving advice concerning the layout of a golf course. (USGA, 1915b, p. 5).

Section seven also contains four rulings. Failure to obey the rulings would mean a golfer forfeits their good standing. The rulings include: "Playing or teaching the game of golf . . . Personally making or repairing . . . golf articles for pay . . . Serving after the age 16 as caddie or caddie master . . . Lending one's name or likeness for the advertisement or sale of anything [related to golf]" (USGA, 1915b, p. 5).

The by-law of section seven affects the golfer on and off the links. For example, the executive committee denied the re-instatement of amateur status to a famous amateur golfer, Francis Ouimet, who was the first Amateur to ever win the Open (professional) Championship in 1913 and became the Amateur Champion in 1914 (Leach, 1916).

On April 16, 1916, the executive committee voted "in the opinion of the majority, rendered themselves [Francis Ouimet and another] ineligible to compete in the Amateur Championship" (USGA, 1916b, p. 8). Ouimet had turned down thousands of dollars to play in tournaments and refused to accept compensation for one day competitions. The committee still found him ineligible (USGA, 1917, p. 57).

It should be noted that Amateur status holds a high social position in the golfing community. To lose this position also meant losing one's level of social position in the golfing world. The social position of the amateur and professional will be discussed in detail in category six.

Francis Ouimet was a poor Native American boy who lived across the street from a golf course and learned how to play golf as a young boy by observing first class golfers. His mother reported that he spent hours and hours studying the masters and then finally was able to obtain a position as a caddie (Leach, 1916).

After several years as a caddie, Ouimet was able to obtain employment at a sporting goods store. It was at this time that he was able to become a member of a golf club which belonged to the United States Golf Association. He was unable to play previously in the Amateur Championships since he could not afford to obtain a golfing membership with a qualified club (Leach, 1916).

Ouimet continued to work in this position until he was invited to go into business with a friend and open a sporting goods store that would sell golf equipment as well as other types of sporting equipment. Ouimet's career choice put him in a state of controversy and out of good standing with the USGA.

The revision of by-law section 7 from 1915 made Francis Ouimet ineligible for Amateur play. Ouimet was a popular player, and because of this popularity, delegates at the Annual meeting were out-raged by the Executive Committee's vote. Prior to January, 1917, an appeal of a ruling had never been requested. The USGA executive committee was considered the final authority and an appeal would be considered as questioning their authority (USGA, 1917).

Francis Ouimet would not be reinstated until January 25, 1918, when his business of Ouimet and Sullivan was dissolved and he joined the military service of the United States, during World War One. Francis Ouimet

> thereby discontinued the practices which were decided to be in violation of the Amateur Rule of the U.S.G.A.: Therefore, be it resolved by the Executive Committee of the U.S.G.A. that he be and hereby is, reinstated as an amateur golfer. (USGA, 1918, p. 2)

The complexity of the rules of golf not only affected the golfer on the playing field, but they also dictated personal choices. The golfer had to be aware of the numerous instructions which affected them directly and indirectly on and off the links. In the case of Francis Ouimet, improving one's financial situation proved to be costly in the golfing world.

The rules in category two show a high degree of repetitiveness. The total frequency for the four subcatgories in the ECMM equals 41=148, AMM 16=76, GRB 106=939, GJ 60=563 and PM 53=419. The composite total for the five sources equals 276 rules with 2145 instructions, 276=2145.

There is also a high degree of homologousness. Each subcategory is highly complex and methodical. The rules also reflect a similar theme of etiquette and control. The complex and methodical rules dictated control for the golfer on and off the links. The rules were complex and sophisticated. Because of this sophistication, a high degree of sophisticated control was required from the golfers. It was essential that the golfer had the necessary sophistication. Without it they would lack success in the game and the golfing world.

The golfer was expected to know the rules and adhere to the rules. The golfer was to be honest, exercise self control, and not interfere with others. The golfer was to

demonstrate good judgment and the ability to master the task. Managing one's game was essential.

Category one and category two complement each other, demonstrating a high degree of homologousness between the two categories.

Category Three: Discipline

In category three discipline, the four subcategories include penalty, ineligible, suspension, and disqualification. A fifth sub-category emerged from the analysis of the data. This category is defined as rejection. The theme of rejection was identified in category ten, other, but is being discussed and coded in category three because of its relevance to discipline. The frequencies for each source will be discussed, followed by illustrative analysis, and a discussion of the theoretical factors. Table III lists the totals for category three, discipline, for each source.

TABLE III

PRACTICES OF DISCIPLINE

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Discipline	55	59	163	27	13	317
Penalty	27	20	121	20	12	99
Ineligible	4	5	3	0	0	10
Suspension	1	2	3	1	0	6
Disqualified	17	28	32	3	0	50
Rejection	6	4	4	3	1	18

The frequencies for the sub-categories in the Executive Committee Meeting minutes are penalty, totaling 27, ineligible, totaling 4, suspension, totaling 1, disqualification, totaling 17, and rejection, totaling 6. The total frequency for the category discipline is 55.

The Annual Meeting minutes reported a total of 59 frequencies: 20 frequencies for penalty, 5 frequencies for ineligible, 2 frequencies for suspension, 28 frequencies for disqualified, and 4 frequencies for the sub-category rejection.

The Golf Rule Books had a composite total of 163. The subcategory penalty had the highest frequency with 121, ineligible totaled 3, suspension totaled 3, disqualification had the second largest frequency with 32, and rejection totaled 4.

The Golf journal articles had a total of 27 frequencies. They included 20 for penalty, 0 for ineligible, 1 for disqualified, and 3 for rejection.

The Popular magazine articles listed 13 frequencies. Penalty totaled 12, ineligible totaled 0, suspension totaled 0, disqualified totaled 0, and rejection had 1 frequency.

The Golf Rule books had the highest frequency with 163, followed by the Annual Meeting minutes with 59. The third most frequencies for discipline were the Executive Committee Meeting minutes with a total of 55. The last two sources listed 27 for the Golf Journal articles and 13 for the Popular Magazine articles.

The sources associated with the United States Golf Association reported the most frequencies for discipline. Since the USGA is the governing body of the game of golf in the United States they were more likely to discuss what type of discipline would occur if a golfer breached an official rule.

Discipline became more apparent as the game of golf developed in the United States. In the 1894 Golf Rule Book, there were only 20 frequencies listed for penalty, 1 for ineligible, 2 for suspension, 2 for disqualification, and 4 for rejection.

By 1920 the sub-category penalty had increased to 121 frequencies, with an increase of 101 frequencies. During 1894 - 1920 the rules of play and by-laws only increased by a total of 26 rules. The penalties were incorporated into the old rules and new rules.

Penalties were implemented by stroking a player, meaning they would receive one stroke or two stokes which would be added to their score for the hole. In match play they would be penalized by losing the hole to the opponent. In match play, one plays an opponent until one player wins more holes then their opponent within an 18 or 32 hole competition. Stroke play is when one plays against every player and the golfer with the lowest score wins (USGA, 1920c).

A player is determined ineligible when they do not adhere to the standards of Amateur status. The Executive Committee Meeting minutes describe several instances where golfers requested to have their status as an Amateur reinstated or evaluated to determine if they had breached the rule (USGA, 1920b).

The subcategory of disqualification also increased from 1894 to 1920. In 1894, there were 2 references of disqualification in the Golf Rule Book. By 1920, the total number of frequency had increased to 32.

Disqualification occurs when a player breaches a rule. If the player intentionally or unintentionally breaches all sections of a rule, they are disqualified from the competition. The rules of play do make compensations within the rules, whereby a

player is given the opportunity to rectify the mistake and only receive a penalty. An intentional breach of a rule results in automatic disqualification (USGA, 1920c).

Suspension was described in the Constitution of the USGA. Suspension is associated with a golfer's good conduct or a club's good standing.

In 1894, the Constitution by-laws of the United States Golf Association emphasized the importance of rules within the game of golf. Article Six, titled Obligations and Discipline, states in Section two.

> Refusing or neglecting a strict and honorable compliance with the Constitution, By-laws, or Rules of this Association or with the decisions of the Executive Committee shall render such club or member liable to suspension or expulsion by two-thirds vote of the Executive Committee. (USGA, 1894, p. 6)

Refusal to follow the rules also resulted in rejection from the United States Golf Association. As noted in category one, the Executive Committee initially denied the entries of two golfers into the Amateur Championship because of their failure to maintain good conduct. The Executive Committee reconsidered its decision because it was assured by others of good standing that the two men would demonstrate good conduct during the tournament.

Another example of discipline by rejection was on January 12, 1917, in an Annual Meeting. The Woodland Golf Club made a request on behalf of three club members, including Francis Ouimet, Sullivan, and Tewkesberry, that these three men be reinstated as amateurs. The individual case of Francis Ouimet was discussed in category two.

A member from the Woodland club stated "If you make a ruling it must apply equally to all men of a class" (USGA, 1917, p. 67). The delegate was questioning the inconsistency of the rulings by the Executive Committee. Apparently, some golfers were

found ineligible and some were found to be in good standing even though they both participated in similar behaviors.

The member goes on to say "We (the club members) were disciplined under an interpretation of a rule," and "that there was unfair discrimination" (USGA, 1917, p. 67). The delegates of the association responded with applause.

The actions of the Woodland Golf Club would prove to be costly. Prior to the January 12, 1917, Annual meeting, the Executive Committee had received a letter from the Woodland Golf Club, "giving notice of an appeal to the U.S.G.A. from the decision of the Executive Committee declaring that Francis Ouimet, J. H. Sullivan, Jr., and Paul Tewkesberry had forfeited their status as amateur golfers" (USGA, 1916b, p. 96). As stated earlier in category two, this was the first appeal that the Executive Committee had received.

The President of the USGA wrote a letter to the Woodland Golf Club in response to their request for an appeal. He informed the committee that his letter included, "that an appeal did not lie from that decision by the Woodland Golf Club and it added pertinent comments upon the attitude of the Woodland Golf Club" (USGA, 1916b, p. 96). It is clearly stated that the attitudes of the Woodland Golf Club were in question with the USGA.

In this same meeting on June 28, 1916, the Woodland Golf Club had requested to transfer from Allied to Active membership. Allied and Active membership will be explained fully in category six. It should be noted that the Allied club members had no voting power in the USGA Annual Meetings.

The meeting notes report that the Woodland Golf Club was deemed to be a club who was not "one whose reputation and general policy are in accord with the best traditions and high ideals of the game" (USGA, 1916, p. 96). By a unanimous vote, the Woodland Golf Club was declared not elected. The Woodland Golf Club was rejected from moving up into the level of Active Club member.

The Executive Committee Meeting minutes report on January 12, 1917, at 3:30 p.m., that a special executive committee meeting was held, prior to the Annual Meeting which convened at 9:00 p.m. The meeting minutes report,

> It was moved by Mr. Sweeny and seconded by Mr. Reid, after an inspection of the merits of the controversy raised by the Woodland Golf Club that this Committee regards its conduct and methods as most unsportsmanlike and recommends to the incoming Committee that they take such action as they may deem advisable in the interests of the Association. This was unanimously carried. (USGA, 1917c)

The timing of this meeting is very important. The Executive Committee Meeting minutes would be included in the Annual Report. The minutes would be available for all the members to read. The member's of the Executive Committee made certain their final thoughts would be known before a new committee would be elected.

The Woodland Golf Club was experiencing the discipline of rejection. To have a "spirit of controversy" and a "spirit of questioning" was considered unsportsmanlike. (USGA, 1916, p. 14). The Woodland Golf Club participated in both controversy and questioning of authority, resulting in the discipline of rejection. The literature reveals that those who break the rules should be denied association. Others should separate from, avoid, barr out (Collier, 1900), and condemn the wrong doer (USGA ,1915b).

Golfing clubs could also be denied entrance into the association. A golf course which was built in conjunction with a hotel enterprise or a real estate project was considered commercial property. Commercialism exploited the game of golf. Those involved with real estate and hotel enterprises were only involved with the game to make a profit. Commercialism was considered a threat to the integrity of the game (USGA, 1905).

Category three, discipline, also contains ritualized practices of etiquette. The golfer and the golfing clubs were to maintain a high standard of conduct. They were to be of good standing. The members were to adhere to the rules in a strict and honorable manner. They were to be in accord with the best traditions and high ideals of the game. The golfer was not to be unsportsmanlike. The golfer was to avoid controversy and the questioning of authority.

Category three also contains a theme of control similar to that found in category one and category two. There is a high degree of homologousness among the three categories. They share a high degree of similarity in the themes of control and ritualized practices of etiquette. They complement and reinforce each other.

Golfers were to know the rules, and adhere to them. If they failed to comply with the rules, they would experience discipline in play and social rejection in the golfing world.

Category three also contains a high degree of repetitiveness as seen by the growth of disciplinarian actions. Both penalty and disqualification increased in frequency from 1894 to 1920.

The subcategory rejection has a high degree of salience. Salience refers to the noticeability, centrality, and prominence of a ritualized practice. Salience was indicated by strength of reaction. In other words, strength of reaction was used as an approximate measure or indicator of salience. Strength of reaction was central, noticeable, and prominent to some ritualized practices in the game of golf.

For example, the reaction was positive or negative formal and social sanctions. The golfers who followed the rules received positive sanctions and the golfers who disobeyed the rules suffered negative sanctions.

The theme of rejection was found in each of the texts. It did not have a high degree of repetitiveness, but it did have a high degree of salience. The degree of salience was indicated by the strength of reaction, either negative or positive. The negative social reaction was central in the situations described. The golfing members and golfing clubs both experienced negative sanctions when they failed to adhere to the formal and informal standards of the game.

The golfers were negatively sanctioned by having their entries denied to association competitions. Golfers were also negatively sanctioned when their golf clubs were denied a promotion in their level of membership. Golfers and golfing clubs were negatively sanctioned by the discussion of their impropriety in the USGA minutes. Golfers and golfing clubs that failed to demonstrate good conduct, have good standing, and maintain high standards of conduct experienced negative sanctions.

On the other hand, golfers that strictly adhered to the rules and regulations were permitted into the association competitions, and clubs who complied with the association standards were more likely to be selected as a possible host site for the championship

tournaments. These clubs were seen as more mature in their promotion and protection of the interest of golf and the association (USGA, 1915b).

Category Four: Celebration

Category four is Celebration. The subcategories include tournament, championship, competition, and social activities. The frequency of each subcategory will be discussed, followed by illustrative and theoretical analysis. Table IV lists the total for category four, celebrations, for each source.

TABLE IV

PRACTICES OF CELEBRATION

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Celebration	175	1158	136	228	212	1909
Tournaments	25	421	11	52	80	589
Championships	74	631	33	125	85	948
Competition	58	62	92	19	9	240
Social Activities	18	44	0	32	38	132

The Executive Committee Meeting minutes reported tournament as having 25 frequencies, championship with a total of 74, competition totaling 58, and social activities totaling 18. The total frequency for the four subcategories equals 175.

The Annual Meeting minutes had the largest amount of frequencies reported. The Annual Meetings were a summary of the past year's activities and financial status of the USGA, as well as the selection of the Amateur, Open (professional), and Women's Championship. The tournament subcategory totaled 421, championship totaled 631, competition totaled 62, and social activities totaled 44. The frequency for the four subcategories totaled 1158.

The Golf Rule Books had a total composite score for all four subcategories of 136. Tournament had a total of 11, championship a total of 33, competition a total of 92, and social activities a total of 0. The Golf Rules Books primarily discussed the rules for an official competition.

The Golf Journal articles reported the total frequency for the subcategory tournament as 52, with championship, totaling 125, competition, totaling 19, and social activities, totaling 32. The total composite score for the four subcategories equaled 228.

The Popular Magazine articles had a total composite score for the four subcategories equaling 212. Tournament subcategory had a total frequency of 80, with 85 for championship, 9 for competition, and 38 for social activities.

The five sources had a total composite score of 1909 frequencies. The Annual Meeting minutes had the largest amount of frequencies totaling 1158, followed by Golf Journal articles, totaling 228. The Popular magazines totaled 212, Executive Meeting minutes totaled 175, and the Golf Rule Books had the smallest amount with 136.

The category of celebration was associated with the actual sporting competition. The sporting competition was primarily addressed by the Golf Rule Books. The Golf Rule Books identified the rules and regulations that governed the competition. The three

most popular competitions were the Amateur, Open, and Women's Championship of the USGA.

Entry into one of these tournaments was determined by the Executive Committee. Section 21 of the by-laws states, "All entries are subject to approval of the Executive Committee of this Association, and any entry may be rejected by the Committee" (USGA, 1920b, p. 126). Players who entered association competitions were expected to "thereby to have submitted themselves to the Rules of the Association, both as to restrictions enjoined and penalties imposed" (USGA, 1920b, p. 126).

Entry into an Association competition was not guaranteed by submission of the $5.00 fee. The fee for the tournament was the same from 1894 to 1920. The entry fee was to be submitted "one week previous to the opening of the Competition" (USGA, 1920b, p. 123). Once the entry fee was submitted, the Executive Committee would approve or reject the entry.

To participate in the championship celebration, the golfer had to demonstrate good standing, good conduct, eligibility, and proficient skill. As discussed in category two, rejection could occur if the golfer failed to adhere to good conduct or to the rules of eligibility. The golfer could also be rejected if they did not demonstrate proficient skill. Proficient skill had a total frequency of 111, as noted in table one.

Proficient skill was important. The golfer had to be proficient so as not to interfere with the play of others. A poor player would hold up play. The golfer was to be courteous and proper, and holding up play was neither courteous nor proper. In the Annual Meeting minutes of January 13, 1912, this problem was addressed: "we do not think it fair to those who can qualify . . . to be blocked and to have their time taken and

their being disturbed by men who have not a possible show of ever qualifying" (USGA, 1912, p. 27). The golfer was expected to study the rules of golf and practice the technical principles so they would not be an interference on the course. The golfer was expected to demonstrate good conduct, proficient skill, and competency.

Golfing Clubs that desired to have the championships played at their course could also be denied. The USGA had two types of clubs, Active Club members and Allied Club members. The Active Clubs were the only clubs allowed to host a Championship tournament. They were the only courses considered as "Nationally Representative Clubs," meaning their links were in an accessible part of the United States, and the condition of the course and their accommodations were deemed first class. In a letter sent by the Executive Committee to the delegates, the Active clubs were described as being "more important and influential" in the golfing world (USGA, 1915).

For a club to be considered as an Active Club or apply for a change of status from Allied to Active, it had to demonstrate it was of good standing. Failure to adhere to these standards resulted in rejection for the golfing club and the ineligibility to host a Championship tournament. As discussed in category three, the Woodland Golf Club failed to be promoted from Allied to Active member. It also failed to be in good standing and was deemed unsportsmanlike by the Executive Committee for being controversial and questioning authority.

Social Activities were important in the golfing world. The Annual Meetings of the USGA were preceded by a dinner. The meetings were held at fine restaurants, luxurious hotels and golfing clubs. The Walforf-Astoria Hotel in New York City and Delmonico's, a fine restaurant also in New York City, was a popular meeting place for

the Annual meetings. Twelve meetings out of the twenty five were held at Delmonico's. Delmonico's was known for its elegant and lavish parties (Schlesinger, 1946).

The New York Stock Exchange Luncheon was a popular place for the sub-committee meetings of the Executive Committee. Members of Executive Committee enjoyed luncheons and dinners which preceded their meetings. They also frequented fine restaurants, luxurious hotels, and first class golfing clubs.

Elaborate social activities were also included in the Championship tournaments. Hospitality was an important social attribute, reflecting proper social manners. Hospitality had a frequency of 17 in the Annual Meeting minutes. The host club was responsible not only for providing a first class tournament, but also a social and entertaining time (USGA, 1913).

The accommodations and facilities were important in the selection of the host site for the Championship tournaments. Golfing clubs which had the availability of the best hotels, had a first rate course or courses, who were in good standing, and were an Active club member were the clubs who were often selected.

For example, in the Annual Meeting minutes of February 27, 1902, the President of the Long Island Railroad, who was also a member of the Nassau Country Club, offered to establish a special train route from the club to New York City so that the best accommodations and social entertainment could be available (USGA, 1902).

Another example of assuring the best accommodations occurred in 1913, when the men of the Wilmington Country Club who had money were willing to provide the proper accommodations for the players, and provide twenty automobiles for the championship (USGA, 1913).

The pastime of golf and golfing tournaments had taken over the upper social class social interests (Cushing, 1920b). They no longer spent their leisure time in playing polo or other equestrian activities, but in golf. Golf had become the cornerstone of the social country club (Kobbe, 1901). The local and national golfing Championship tournaments were the highlight of the golfing world. The local country club Championship tournaments included the golfing competition, lunches on the lawn, fine dinners, and elegant balls (Kobbe, 1901). Elaborate celebrations were an integral part of the championship tournaments.

Category four, celebration, consists of ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette. To participate in an Association competition the golfer was expected to demonstrate good conduct, proficient skill, and courteous and proper behavior. The golfer was to know the rules and adhere to the rules to stay in good standing. Category four also reflects the common theme of control.

A golfing club that desired to host a Championship tournament was to be an Active club of the USGA. It was required to demonstrate good conduct, sportsmanship, and be a first class golf club. The golfing club needed a first rate course and accommodations before it would be considered.

The host course and community had to be willing to provide special accommodations to meet the needs of the participants. The USGA and the delegates wanted the Championship tournaments to be a special and elaborate social event for the golfing world and the public to observe.

Social activities were a common custom for the golfing world. The delegates of the USGA and the members of the golfing clubs were accustomed to dining and

socializing at fine establishments. They also included in their competitions elaborate social activities. These activities were calculated down to the smallest detail and denoted elegance, style, and refinement.

Category four has a high degree of repetitiveness, with a composite total of 1909 frequencies. Category four, three, two, and one have a high degree of homologousness. All four categories share the ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette, adherence to the complex and methodical rules, and discipline for the breaking of rules.

Category Five: Americanized

Category five is ritualized practices that differ from the European standards and rules of etiquette. The ritualized practices reflect American values and beliefs. This category is demonstrated by the developing of new rules or expanding upon traditional standards. No subcategories were established. The Americanized standards emerged from the content analysis.

The three subcategories that emerged from the data include the American Spirit, the Democratic Spirit, and Americanized Rulings. The frequencies for the three subcategories will be discussed first, followed by illustrative and theoretical analysis. Table V lists the total references for category five, Americanized, for each source.

The Executive Committee Meeting minutes reported 1 reference to the American Spirit, 0 reference to the Democratic Spirit, and 40 references to the Americanized Rulings. The Executive Committee Meeting minutes had a composite total of 41 Americanized references.

TABLE V

AMERICANIZED PRACTICES

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Americanized	41	29	14	41	37	162
American spirit	1	4	0	27	29	61
Democratic spirit	0	25	7	14	8	36
Americanized rulings	40	0	7	0	0	47

The Annual Meeting minutes made reference to the American Spirit 4 times, with 25 references to the Democratic Spirit, and 0 to the Americanized Rulings. The total composite score equaled 29 references.

The Golf Rule Books had a total of 0 references to the American Spirit, 7 references to the Democratic Spirit, and 7 references for Americanized rulings. The total composite equaled 14 references.

The Golf Journal articles had a total of 27 references to the American Spirit, 14 references to the Democratic Spirit, and 0 references to Americanized Rulings. The total composite score equaled 41 references.

The Popular Magazine articles had a total of 29 references to the American Spirit, 8 references to the Democratic Spirit, and 0 references to Americanized Rulings. The total composite score equaled 37 references.

The total frequencies for the five sources included 61 to the American Spirit, 36 to the Democratic Spirit, and 47 to Americanized Rulings. The total frequency for category five is 162 references.

The American Spirit describes the changes that Americans were bringing into the game of golf. The American golfers were developing their own style. The American style was intense. They desired to succeed, to win (Travis, 1905).

In an Annual Meeting on February 28, 1901, the minutes report that a delegate shared with the associate members about the attitude of winning. He states

> I have the highest respect for golf on the other side of the water—we all have—but I expect and fully believe that before long this precocious son of an ancient and honorable father will go over to the other side and beat the old man on his ground, at his own game. This may not be filial, but it certainly will be American. (USGA, 1901, p. 79)

This style was contradictory to the traditional style. The traditional style promoted playing for the glory of the game, not for winning (Mcpherson, 1899). Focusing on winning was considered prideful and self centered.

The traditional or uniform style emerged from the analysis of the data and was reported in category ten, other, but it will be discussed in category five because of its relevance to the Americanized changes.

The traditional style is described as the true style. The traditional style promotes sportsmanship, a spirit of gentlemanliness, and reflects the noble old game ("A" Sufferer, 1912). The traditional style is a copy of the Royal and Ancient game and is rich in its old and glorious traditions (British Correspondent, 1911).

The traditions include a high standard of golf. This standard is demonstrated by accuracy more than distance, controlled and proper form, regulated force, taking fewer

risks, having fewer errors, and less aggressiveness. The traditional golfer believes that method is more important than results (Slysor, 1912). The traditional golfer demonstrates a strict observance of the rules, regulations, and standards in the game of golf. The traditional golfer emphasizes that "we cannot indulge ourselves in individual style" (Travers, 1909).

The American Spirit was demonstrated by an intense desire to be different. The American golfers expressed, maintained and developed their own individuality (MacDonald, 1898). The American golfer desired distance instead of perfect accuracy. Distance increased the level of physical and intellectual vigor (MacDonald, 1898). This was contradictory to the traditional style that promoted an avoidance of brute force.

American golfers wanted to hit it further and win. This was accomplished by becoming highly competitive, hard hitting, (Schavior, 1916), and arrogant (British Correspondent, 1911b). Henry Leach in an article titled, *A Pilgram In The United States,* emphasizes that the characteristics of American golfers demonstrate "earnest enterprise, thoroughness, and hustle which are so American" (Leach, 1912, p. 103).

Leach goes on to say that American golfers are "violently ambitious," meaning they have an intense and aggressive desire to win no matter what (Leach, 1912, p. 103). American golfers would fight-to-the-death to win (Nathan, 1910). Because of this intensity, American golfers were identified as being more impulsive, having less control over the ball, less finesse in stoking the ball (Leach, 1914), and lacking in politeness and strict etiquette (Hutchinson, 1914).

Americans are also criticized as being impatient and not willing to spend the time needed in practice. Harry Vardon, who won the British Open in 1896 and the U. S. Open

is 1900, describes American golfers as too intense and obsessed with scoring low. This desire to score low leads them to ignore proper form and play.

Vardon goes on to describe the American player as impatient, preferring to play rather than practice. Their intensity is not proper. The American golfer wants to do their own thing and compromise the proper form and play. American players are too obsessive about the game and the desire to win, and they over do it (Vardon, 1914).

The American golfer desires pleasure more than practice. Practice in golf denotes the development of proficiency by an intense level of hardwork (Darwin, 1917). The American golfer has manners like a bumpkin, and they do not know how to play properly (Collier, 1900). They lack seriousness and desire amusement.

This negative impression does not stay with the American golfers. Over time these new attitudes and beliefs become more accepted and respected by the golfing community. From 1910 to 1920, comments were being made in favor of the American spirit.

For example, American golfers are described as having the best athletic skill and knowledge of the game (Vaile, 1910). Americans try their own style and are not afraid to try new things (Sargent, 1910).

Harold H. Hilton also expands on this new positive American style. He writes a three-part series describing a new class of play demonstrated by American golfers. In April 1913, Hilton describes the American golfer as unhindered and untrammeled by traditional principles. This new standard of play is an improved perfection. The American golfer has greater distance and is more accurate with this increased length. The

American golfer is hard-hitting and accurate at the same time, which is opposite of the old country (Hilton, 1913).

Hilton describes the American golfers, in his June article, as having a correct spirit. This American spirit is a new class of play. It includes an intense and natural concentration, a careful and studious game, and a never-give-up spirit (Hilton, 1913b).

Hilton follows up with an additional article in July. He believes American golfers exhibit more control over body and clubs and are more stable and consistent (Hilton, 1913c). Charles Cushing, in a 1920 article, also describes how the American style is more industrious and more effective on the course (Cushing, 1920c).

Sir Walter Simpson, in an article titled *The Match*, describes the American winning spirit as not being selfish. He states, "It is not selfish to crush the enemy; it is duty - duty to the partner" (Simpson, 1919, p. 609).

This new class of play was becoming an accepted, respected, and prominent style of play in the golfing world. American golfers also desired to change the traditions and official rules of golf to meet their own individual style and needs, which were different from the old traditional style found in Scotland and England.

On February 28, 1900, the Executive Committee reported that proposed USGA revisions would be used with the rules of the Royal and Ancient Club and that they may make "modifications . . . from time to time" (USGA, 1900, p. 47).

In an Annual Meeting on February 28, 1901 a delegate expresses this point to the Associate members:

> We all appreciate the legacy of this game from the old country. I know we are all grateful for what England and Scotland have done for us in exporting this game for our delectation and amusement; but I think we

> should look to the best interest of American sport, and not Scotch sport. . . I am so earnest in this matter that perhaps I have said to much; but please remember we are Americans. We are not northerners or easterners, or Scotchmen or Englishmen; we are Americans. (USGA 1901:87)

The American golfer believed the old rules of golf were no longer sufficient (MacDonald, 1900). The old rules addressed the needs of the Scottish player. The rules were written by the Royal and Ancient Golf Club, in St. Andrews, Scotland, and were adopted by the USGA in 1894.

The American golfer was reforming, improving, polishing, and amending the old traditional style (Reeve, 1910). These changes not only occurred with a new class of play, but also by adding to the formal rules of play.

In an Executive Committee meeting on February 17, 1909, the motion was "duly seconded and approved, it was passed that the Secretary be instructed to keep a book explaining the interpretations of the Rules of Golf, as interpreted by the U.S.G.A. (USGA, 1909, p. 4). This was the first time that the golf rulings would be kept officially. The Executive Committee had been responding to letters from delegates and golfing club members who desired interpretations and explanations of the rules since the committee's inception.

The Golf Rule Book, which was adopted in January 11, 1913, contained additions from The Rules of Golf as approved by The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews. The USGA adopted the Royal and Ancient Rule Book, but also added some of its own recommendations, definitions, rules, and interpretations of the rules.

One of the most controversial rulings was the Form and Make of Golf Clubs. The Americans approved the Schenectady putter as a traditional and accepted form and make

of golf club. (USGA 1920c). The Schenectady putter was an American-designed putter. It was an aluminum-headed putter with the shaft attached near the center. The Royal and Ancient believed it was too much like the mallet-head type, which was not acceptable for competition play. They disliked the center shaft, since the tradition was to have the shaft attached at the heel.

This ruling was made after American Walter Travis won the British open. The Royal and Ancient made this determination before consulting with the USGA (British Correspondent, 1911b).

An American ruling was added to the USGA Rule Book stating "The term mallet-headed, as above used, when applied to putters does not embrace putters of the so called Schenectady type. U.S.G.A" (USGA ,1920c, p. 165).

The USGA was not able to enforce the rule uniformly. It was unable to get the Royal and Ancient Golf Club to change the rule; instead, the USGA inserted an Americanized Ruling into the USGA rule book.

The Royal and Ancient Golf Club was feared that the USGA would refuse to adopt their rule book altogether, so they accepted USGA rulings. In a letter written by the Royal and Ancient Golf Club on September 26, 1910, the R & A states,

> The committee deeply regrets that American golfers are not in sympathy with the views of the Royal and Ancient Club on this subject . . . There never has been any arrangement or understanding between the Royal and Ancient and the USGA to act together in the framing of rules. (USGA, 1911, pp. 5-7)

The focal point of the letter is expressed strongly to the Americans, "do not break the alliance over one word, "mallet" (USGA, 1911, p. 6). The Royal and Ancient feared that American golfers would jeopardize the traditions and standards that had been

exclusively owned by the Royal and Ancient. The letter goes on to say "you have rulings and interpretations as adopted by the USGA" (USGA, 1911, p. 6). The Royal and Ancient was hoping that the inserted Americanized rulings would be satisfactory for the Americans.

The Royal and Ancient recognized the power and influence that the USGA was developing. It also realized that other countries might side with the USGA. In an Annual Meeting on January 13, 1912, the President of the USGA states

> Another thing we have accomplished . . . was the bringing about of a perfect understanding with the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews. I think it may be said that there will be no new legislation enacted by the Royal and Ancient Club, without first having consulted us and obtaining our ideas. (USGA, 1912, p. 25)

The development of the rules and regulations of the game of golf would no longer be exclusively decided by the Royal and Ancient Golf Club. The USGA was becoming an accepted and respected influential power in the golfing world.

The final subcategory is the Democratic Spirit. The democratic spirit reflects the attitudes and values of the American golfers. They believed that the rules and regulations that governed the game should be equitable and just.

For example, seven Americanized rulings are incorporated into the official rules of golf. These rules address local and special situations which occur on American courses. Local rules were added in special situations where the course made a ball unfit for play. Special rulings were also added addressing man-made obstructions such as mounds of cut grass, a drain cover, water-pipe, or a hydrant (USGA, 1920c). These rulings and others addressed the individual needs of the American golfer.

American golfers also wanted to change the dates of the Amateur Championship tournament. In Scotland, the Amateur Championship was played at the first of the season. This early date was not conducive or fair for the Westerners of the United States and the college boys who played golf. The Western golf courses were not ready to be played, since winter was barely over, and the college boys were still in classes. Neither had the chance to be properly prepared.

A delegate from the West emphasized to the associate members that, "we are Americans–that this is the United States Golf Association–it is not eastern or western or northern or southern, but a national golf Association, and we play the national Championship" (USGA, 1901, p. 87). After a lengthy and heated discussion the Association members agreed to be different from their European counterparts and schedule the championship at the end of the season, rather than the beginning, which was the traditional custom.

American golfers of the Association strongly believed that they should have a voice in the selection of the Championship sites. It was proposed that the Executive Committee would select the site and then inform the Associate members of their selection. The members were outraged and refused to accept this motion.

On May 6, 1902, the delegates of the Association expressed their discontentment with the centrality of power. A delegate responded that every man should be able "freely to exercise the right which I am sure they desire every golfer to exercise, and this is to express his views and talk it over in a friendly way" (USGA, 1902b, p. 201).

During this same meeting, another delegate shared, "it is only by giving the members the largest opportunity of expressing their sentiment in a respectful way that any such association as this can hope to thrive" (USGA, 1902b, p. 201).

Those who controlled the power in the USGA resisted the Democratic Spirit. The President of the USGA stated that the Executive Committee was "perfectly willing to make any modifications if they can be shown to them to be proper" (USGA, 1902b, p. 205).

The issue did not rest. The delegates continued to express strongly the importance of equity, fairness, and freedom to express one's views. A delegate closed the issue by stating, "it is but fair to have an expression of opinion from those interested" (USGA, 1902b, p. 223). The delegates responses during the May 6, 1902, meeting were followed by much applause from the Association members.

A compromise was reached in January 12, 1917. The Executive Committee agreed "that those most concerned should have a voice in the selection of the courses" (USGA, 1917, p. 43). The Executive Committee agreed to allow a committee of five women to submit a list of courses they desired for the Women's Amateur Championship. The Professional Golfers Association was also allowed to submit a list of courses they desired for the Open Championship. The list for the Amateur Championship courses was selected by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee would provide a list of three courses for the delegates of the association to choose from for all three of the tournaments. The Committee responded, "We have concurrently followed out the desires" of those most concerned

(USGA, 1917, p. 43). The Democratic Spirit impacted the golfing world. It inspired change, equity and fairness. The voices of those most concerned were heard.

The category Americanized has a high degree of repetitiveness. The total amount of frequencies was 162. It was reported in all five of the sources.

Category five also has a high degree of homologousness. The Americanized view, though different included restrictions for the golfer to follow. The golfer was to increase in competitiveness, strength, endurance and fortitude, and yet at the same time the golfer was to be respectful, friendly and proper. The golfer was to express a controlled power. In other words, the golfer was to adhere to the American expectations, and yet remain controlled and contained within acceptable limits as set by category one, manners. The new class of play was a combination of the traditional style and the American style.

Also, the golfer was to know the rules and regulations of play and the Americanized rules adopted by the USGA. This increased the level of complexity and the number of instructions as noted in category two. Failure to comply with the traditional and Americanized complex and methodical rules resulted in formal and social discipline.

The Americanized category demonstrated a high degree of salience. The degree of strength is measured by the strength of reaction. The initial reaction was negative criticism to the changes being incorporated by the Americans, but by 1910 the reaction was changing to positive reactions. The changes were being accepted and respected by the golfing world. The new class of play which combined the old style and new style was transforming the way golf was played.

Category Six: Social Position

Category six, social position, refers to one's place in society. Category six contains three subcategories, including high position, middle position, and low position. High position refers to an influential and prominent position in society. Individuals in this subcategory possess noble qualities. Middle position refers to individuals who may have some resources and leadership, but limited influence. They may participate in a noble pastime, but lack noble qualities, and have limited income and leisure time. Individuals in the low position have minimal income, influence, and leisure time.

The frequencies for category six will be discussed, followed by illustrative analysis and a discussion of the theoretical interpretations. Table VI lists the totals for category six, social position, for each source.

TABLE VI

PRACTICES OF SOCIAL POSITION

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Social Position	627	2513	90	181	339	3750
High	526	2454	83	168	252	3483
Middle	101	50	7	6	27	191
Low	0	9	0	7	60	76

The Executive Committee Meeting minutes reported a total frequency of 526 for the subcategory high, with middle totaling 101, and 0 for the low position. The total composite for the source equaled 627.

The Annual Meeting minutes reported a total frequency of 2454 for the subcategory high, with middle totaling 50, and 9 for the low position. The total composite for the source equaled 2513.

The Golf Rule Books reported a total frequency of 83 for the subcategory high, with middle totaling 7, and 0 for the low position. The total composite for the source equaled 90.

The Golf Journal articles reported a total frequency of 168 for the subcategory high, with middle totaling 6, and 7 for the low position. The total composite for the source equaled 181.

The Popular Magazine articles reported a total frequency of 252 for the subcategory high, with middle totaling 24, and 60 for the low position. The total composite for the source equaled 339.

The total number of frequencies for the five sources equaled 3750. The high position totaled 3483, with the middle position totaling 191, and the low position totaling 76.

The prominent social position was the high position. The top ten high social positions included:

1. Officers of the association, totaling 2574,
2. Gentlemen, totaling 369,
3. Active clubs of the USGA, totaling 151,

4. Prominent men, totaling 78,
5. Business men, totaling 69,
6. First class player, totaling 64,
7. Wealthy, totaling 35,
8. United States government officials, totaling 25,
9. Educated, totaling 14, and
10. Aristocracy, totaling 12.

The middle position listed three social positions. They include:

1. Allied club of the USGA, totaling 161,
2. Average golfer, totaling 23, and
3. Women amateurs, totaling 6.

The low position listed six social positions. They include:

1. Club servant, totaling 23,
2. Poor player, totaling 16,
3. Caddie class, totaling 15,
4. Inferior women golfers, totaling 10,
5. Professionals, totaling 8, and
6. Poor, totaling 4.

The most prominent position in American golf was the high social position. The research did report a theme of equality, which was inconsistent with the subcategories of social position. This theme is coded in category ten. The theme of equality will be discussed in category six because of its relevance to social position.

The theme of equality had 12 references in the research. It was recorded in 9 of the 150 golf journal articles and 3 of the 58 popular magazine articles. The Executive Meeting minutes, the Annual Meeting minutes, and the Golf Rule Books made no reference to the theme of equality.

The theme of equality described the game of golf as appealing to all the classes (Travis, 1905). It was a game for all, considered to be everybody's game, and it appealed to the masses (Sutphen, 1909). Golf was for all the classes, sexes, and ages (MacDonald, 1898). All ranks, all ages, all skill levels, and all sexes can play the game of golf (McPherson, 1898). The game of golf demonstrates a "spirit of equality" (McPherson, 1899b).

The theme of equality failed to be influential and prominent in the golfing world. In fact, the theme of equality was contradicted by a high degree of frequency in the high position, and negative references to those in lower positions.

The most common frequency was the high social position.
The high social position reflected golfers who were part of the governing body. These golfers held a position of power in the United States Golf Association. The officers of the association influenced and shaped the game of golf in America.

The officers of the association established, regulated, and enforced the rules governing the game of golf and the United States Golf Association. They set the standard for good conduct and determined if a golfer was complying with this standard. The same was also true for the golfing clubs. The officers of the association established the criteria for good standing. They determined if a club should be allowed in the association or be

promoted within the association. The officers of the association were the most powerful and influential individuals in the American golfing world.

The golfers of high social position were identified as gentlemen, meaning they held a position of prominence, respect, and status. The gentleman was to be proper, controlled, courteous, considerate, honorable and intelligent. The golfer was also prominent, wealthy and educated. The golfer held a business position. They were not bound by men, but controlled their own leisure time (McConnell, 1902.).

American golf was identified as a rich man's game, for the cultured classes and the wealthier people (Bendelow, 1916). Belonging to a golfing club or golfing country club assured and stratified their social permanence (Dunn, 1905).

The golfer of high position belonged to an Active Club of the United States Golf Association. The Active Club was a club of national prominence. These clubs had the voting power in the USGA. The active club members also made up the officers of the association (USGA, 1920b). The Active club was described as having more mature experience in the golfing world. The Active club members adhere to the strictest integrity of the game. They promoted and protected the best interest of the game (Travis, 1908).

A letter from the Executive Committee sent to the delegates on November 27, 1915, discusses the importance of the Active Clubs and the governing body of the USGA. The Secretary writes, "The existing plan of government was devised at a time when golf was practically unknown in the U.S. and it was considered necessary that its control should be confined to a few of the more important and influential clubs" (USGA, 1915, p. 1).

The golfers of high position also desired to maintain this level of status. One of the strategies they utilized to keep the game of golf inclusive was to train their children and their friends' children the proper way, the right way. On January 24, 1919, in an Annual Meeting, a lengthy discussion developed on how to maintain the integrity of the game of golf. The delegates emphasized that they should "surround the game here in this country with that atmosphere, and it can be done by bringing your boys and our boys, and all the boys we know into it in the right way" (USGA, 1919, p. 25).

Another delegate shared, "Sons of sportsmen are apt to be better sportsmen. If you do not develop and stimulate young boys of right kind then the Amateur tournament will be recruited by the ex-caddie class" (USGA, 1919, p. 25). The ex-caddie class is someone who learns the game by being a caddie. The caddie was a poor boy who served the amateur golfer. The caddie will be described fully in the subcategory low position.

The delegates were encouraged to play with their young boys to develop early good sportsmanship. The golfer was to stimulate golf with the fine class and right kind of boys who would respect the rules, proper conduct and good sportsmanship (USGA, 1919).

The game of golf was reserved for the upper social class. It was set apart by the rules of proper conduct. The golfers were wealthy, educated and held a position of prominence in the golfing and social community. Golfers also desired to maintain this high position. They would keep golf socially exclusive by developing a Junior Golf Program. The young boys who could play in this program were those boys who were related or associated to a golfer of high position. The young boy would also have to be a

member or associated with someone who belonged to a club that was a member of the United States Golf Association.

The middle position included the average player, the women amateur, and members of the allied clubs. The average player lacked the prestige of the first class player. This position was based on skill. Average players could hold a high position if they belonged to an Active club, were officers of the association, or held a position of prominence in the social community. Even though one's skill was highly respected, it did not guarantee the golfer a position in the high category. This will be discussed in the low category.

The women amateurs earned some respect, but it did not equal the respect earned by amateur men. In an Annual meeting on February 27, 1902, the delegates were discussing who would get the Women's Amateur Championship. The President was having difficulty persuading any club to volunteer to host the tournament. A delegate responded humorously, "I would rather be the President of the USGA than the Women's Champion of the United States and this is saying a great deal"(USGA, 1902, p. 182). The delegate emphasized he would rather have less skill then be a woman golfer. This statement was followed by much laughter. The President responded, "We have to dispose of it. Is there no gentlemen gallant enough to make a bid for the ladies tournament" (USGA, 1902, p. 183).

The Women's Championship did receive more money than what the professionals. In 1912, the money designated for the Amateur Championship was $1000.00, the women received $750.00, and the professionals received $500.00 (USGA,

1912). The moneys continued to be allotted in this manner even when the professional tournament had more entries and attracted the largest crowds (USGA, 1916).

The Allied club also found themselves in a middle position. The Allied club could be members of the United States Golfing Association and could attend the Annual Meetings, but they could not take part in the discussions or vote. In 1902, the Allied clubs financially carried the USGA organization.

On November 18, 1902, the Annual Meeting minutes report that there were 178 Allied club members paying $25.00 per year to the association. The Allied members contributed $4400.50. The Active club paid $100.00 in dues, but they only contributed $2600.00. By 1904, this discrepancy was rectified and the dues for the Allied clubs was dropped to $10.00. The fee change resulted in both clubs giving approximately the same amount (USGA, 1904).

Several times throughout the twenty-six years uniformity in class memberships was proposed to the Executive Committee. The argument was that the lack of voting power "denies the right of suffrage to all members" (Travis, 1908, p. 110).

Walter Travis, the editor of *The American Golfer* magazine, believed it was not unconstitutional for the Allied members to be denied a voice. The Allied clubs were less prestigious, and had less mature experience in the game of golf. If the Allied club wanted to obtain voting power then it was within its own power to meet the standards and come up to the level of rank of the Active club (Travis, 1908.) The Allied clubs did not receive uniformity of class during 1894 to 1920.

The low position was designated for the poor player or public player, the caddie class, the professional, the inferior female player, and the poor.

Public or poor players were described as uneducated and in need of an easier and shorter course (Bendelow, 1916). Their skills were poor and they did not know the rules. The public player did not understand the game or the rules. They needed a simple course with very few hazards so that they could move through the course quickly.

The public course was described as an arena where the masses could learn the game, as well as a nursery for the country clubs. Public players could increase their skill and business class while learning to play on a public course (Bendelow, 1916). The public course was also a place where the public player could escape the atmosphere of snobbishness found in most golfing clubs and country clubs (Sutphen, 1909).

The caddie was an employee, often a poor young boy who worked for the Amateur golfers at a golfing club and country club. The caddie was described as lacking moral character and more apt to cheat (Hutchinson, 1898). The caddie's purpose was to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of his master and assist him in his game of golf (MacDonald, 1898). The caddie will be explained more fully in category seven, title.

The professional was a skilled player who often began as a caddie. Professionals obtained a high level of status because of their skill and yet they were criticized as being exploiters of the game. Professionals earned their livelihood from the game of golf. They lived in a paradox. Their high class play deemed them respect on the course, but off the course their social position was low. In some golfing clubs, the professionals were not allowed into the club house (USGA, 1916). The professional will also be explained more fully in category seven, title.

The Open Championship did not have the same level of prestige that the Amateur Championship received. At times, the association members would have the Secretary of

the USGA cast one vote for the Open Championship site. The Secretary would pick the host site from the three options rather than the delegates all voting (USGA, 1913).

The inferior female players were described as lacking knowledge of the rules, the game, and the technical principles. The inferior female was often associated, married, or related to a club member. Poor female players were not allowed on the course on weekends, holidays, (Anderson, 1920) and summers, because their poor play interfered with the play of others (Haggard, 1899).

The club servants were employees of the clubs who served the club members. They included the wait persons and club servants. Club servants met the needs of the members and the club house. The club servant had no playing privileges (Cushing, 1920d).

The game of golf was designated for the upper social class of America. The golfer of high position was a golfing club member who belonged with the USGA. The golfer of position understood and complied to social rules of etiquette on and off the course. The golfer of high position knew the rules and regulations of golf and obeyed them. The golfer of high position understood the technical principles of the game. The golfer of high position was wealthy, educated, and influential in the golfing world and social community.

The designated social position of golf encouraged those from other classes not to play the game, or at least only to participate at a public level. The game of golf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a game for the rich, not the poor.

Category six has a high degree of repetitiveness as noted in the data frequencies. The composite total for category six was 3750. Category six also has a high degree of

homologousness. The golfer of high position was a gentlemen who demonstrated ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette. The demonstration of these practices maintained and elevated the golfer's social position in the golfing world. Those of lower position demonstrated these practices at a lesser degree. The result being lower social position and exclusion from the sport.

The golfer of high position also assured that the standards of etiquette in golf were continued. Social inclusion was achieved by golfers transmitting these ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette to their children, their brother's children, and to their friend's children. By doing this, the golfer of high position could maintain the social status of the American game of golf.

Category Seven: Title

The frequencies of category seven will be discussed, followed by the illustrative and theoretical analysis. The subcategories for category seven include: associate member, club member, amateur, professional, and caddie.

The category title refers to the golfer's membership status, playing status, and authority. Table VI lists the totals for category seven, title, for each source.

In the Executive Committee Meeting minutes, the subcategory with the most frequencies is the association member with a total of 422, while the club member totaled 53, amateur, totaled 133, professional, totaled 40, and caddie, totaled 11. The total composite for the subcategories equaled 659.

TABLE VII

PRACTICES OF TITLE

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Title	659	3604	122	588	392	5365
Associate member	422	1926	15	54	6	2423
Club member	53	1040	11	119	117	1340
Amateur	133	353	32	88	84	690
Professional	40	274	19	128	110	571
Caddie	11	11	45	199	75	341

The Annual Meeting minutes reported a frequency of 1926 for the association member, 1040 for club member, 353 for amateur, 274 for professional, and 11 for caddie. The total composite equaled 3604.

The Golf Rule Books' frequency for the associate member totaled 15, club member, totaled 11, amateur, totaled 32, professional, totaled 19, and caddie, totaled 45. The total composite equaled 122.

The Golf Journal articles had a total of 54 frequencies for the associate member, 119 for club member, 88 for amateur, 128 for professional, and 199 for caddie. The total composite equaled 588.

The Popular Magazine articles total frequency for associate member was 6, club member was 117, amateur was 84, professional was 110, and caddie was 75. The total composite equaled 392.

The total frequencies for the five sources equaled 5365, with the association member, totaling 2423, club member, totaling 1340, amateur, totaling 690, professional, totaling 571, and caddie, totaling 341.

The association member had the highest frequency. They were mentioned most often in the USGA minutes. The association members and the club members participated in a dual role. The association member is a club member who belongs to either an Active club or Allied club who is a member of the USGA. The club member is a delegate of the club and represent that club in the USGA Annual meetings.

The club member who belongs to an Active club participates in voting on golfing legislation and discussions of golfing issues. The club member of an Active club is also qualified to be an officer of the association, and may participate in all association competitions.

The Allied member may attend the Annual meetings and participate in all association competitions. Attendance at the competitions is also contingent upon the association member's skill level. The golfer must have a handicap of 6 or less to compete in the Championship tournaments. A handicap of 6 or less means the golfer plays six strokes or less of the designated par for the golf course. For example, if a golf round has a par of 72, then the golfer must score an average 78 or less.

The role of the association members was described in category ten, under the subcategory, the role of the USGA. The role of the USGA emerged from the data. It will be discussed in category seven, title, since it also describes the expectations and the role of the association member.

The role of the association member is to ensure the healthy development of the game of golf. The members are to promote and protect the interest of the game and the association (USGA, 1894). On February 28, 1901, the Annual Meeting minutes reported the "real duty of this association is to make for the highest standard of golf, and to keep it clean, to keep it right" (USGA, 1901, p. 80).

By 1916, the association saw its role expanded. Its members also believed they should dictate what equipment would be acceptable in the game, develop rules, educate clubs on golf-related issues, and continue to improve the game throughout the United States and abroad (USGA, 1916).

The amateur was a golfer who did not receive any financial compensation for playing golf or being associated with the game of golf. The amateur had a high social position. The amateur was a member of a golfing club, which was also a member of the USGA. The amateur could also be an officer of the association if they belonged to an Active club. The amateur's position in the USGA did not require a high level of play. The amateur would have to demonstrate first class play if they wanted to be approved for the Amateur Championship. The amateur who obtained proficient skill, membership in a prominent Active club, and was an officer of the association had a high position in the golfing community.

The professional was a golfer who obtained financial compensation for play and association with golf. The professional was considered an exploiter of the game. The amateurs believed that professionals utilized their skill and prominence to make money, which depleted the integrity of the game.

On January 12, 1917, when the rule of amateur status was being discussed, a delegate responded concerning the negative influence of commercialism. He stated, "It is to me either whether the USGA wants to maintain the game in this country on the pure and absolute amateur basis or whether they want to allow things to creep in which will bring amateurism down to almost the same basis as the so called professionalism" (USGA, 1917, p. 97).

The professional was respected for proficient skill and yet at the same time was disrespected for commercialism and exploitation of the game. The professional also worked for the golfing club, giving lessons to the members. The professional often played golf with the amateurs in a big match, as well as carried, cared for, and made the golfers' clubs. The professional was a step higher than the caddie, but still had a low social position. In some of the clubs the professional was not allowed to enter into the club house (USGA, 1916). Some clubs allowed the professional into the clubhouse or club porch if invited by a member (No Author listed, 1899). The professional was described as lacking manners, abusing liquor, being loud and obnoxious, and prideful (No Author listed, 1899).

The Professional Golfers Association was established in 1917. The professionals created an organization to govern and promote their role in the golfing world and create a networking system to assist professionals in obtaining professional golf club positions (USGA, 1917).

The caddie was often a young poor boy who worked for the club members. Their primary responsibility was to serve the golfers while they played. The caddie was to carry the clubs, spot the ball and give advice to the golfer. The caddie was to learn the

strengths and weaknesses of their master (Hutchinson, 1898). Master was used 18 times in the golfing literature.

The caddie was also to care for and clean the clubs. The caddie was considered dishonest, so they were not to keep score during a competition (USGA, 1920c). The golfer was to teach the caddie proper behavior on the course and was responsible for the caddie's actions, so a tight rein had to be kept. The caddie was described as being improper, impulsive, loud, and having trouble following the rules.

The golfer was not to interfere with another man's caddie. This would be considered improper and discourteous to the other golfer. The golfer was also not to engage in social conversation with the caddie. This would invite the caddie to neglect their duties. The caddie and the golfer were on different social levels, and social conversation would confuse the roles. The caddie was a servant and an employee of the golfer (Hutchinson, 1898). The golfer was to treat the caddie well, pay the caddie for their service and encourage proper behavior (The Duffer, 1912).

Category seven has a high degree of repetitiveness. Association members were mentioned most often. Their role was important in preserving and promoting the game. The club member was also an association member. The amateur had the highest social position and governed the game of golf in the United States. The caddie and the professional had a low social position. In 1917, the professionals began to increase in social position by establishing their own governing body. The caddies maintained their status and continued to serve the golfer.

Category seven has a high degree of homologousness with the other categories. The ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette and the theme of control were emphasized in the different titles in the golfing world.

For example, the ritualized practices of etiquette and control were expressed differently by the golfing members. The associate member, club member, and amateur demonstrated a high degree of control. They followed the rules more strictly, and were described as maintaining the purity and integrity of the game.

On the other hand, the professional and caddie failed to adhere to the ritualized practices of etiquette. They demonstrated a lesser degree of control. The professional was an exploiter of the game, and the caddie was a rule breaker. Both the caddie and the professional lacked the necessary sophistication which was required for the game of golf.

The club member, associate member, and amateur dictated the rules and standards of the game. They also controlled the actions of the professional and the caddie. The professional had limited access to the golfing facilities, and the caddie was a servant to the Amateur golfer.

Category Eight: Practices of Men and Women

Category eight describes the practices of men and women in the golfing world. The ritualized practices will be described for men, women, and joint activities. Restrictions will also be addressed. The subcategories include, men, women, and joint. Table VIII lists the totals for category eight, practices of men and women, for each source.

TABLE VIII

PRACTICES OF MEN AND WOMEN

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Practices: Men & Women	384	2573	254	3366	957	7534
Men	353	2285	248	3188	727	6801
Women	31	288	6	153	221	699
Joint	0	0	0	25	9	34

The Executive Committee meeting minutes had a total frequency for men of 384, for women of 31, and for joint of 0. The total composite of the three subcategories equaled 384.

The Annual Meeting minutes had a total frequency for men of 2285, for women of 288, and for joint of 0. The total composite of the three subcategories equaled 2573.

The Golf Rule Books had a total frequency for men of 248, for women of 6, and for joint of 0. The total composite of the three subcategories equaled 254.

The Golf Journal articles had a total frequency for men of 3188, for women of 153, and for joint of 25. The total composite of the three subcategories equaled 3366.

The Popular Magazine articles had a total frequency for men of 727, for women of 221, and for joint of 9. The total composite of the three subcategories equaled 957.

The subcategory men had a total frequency for the five sources of 6801, for women of 699, and for joint of 34. The total composite for the five sources equaled 7534 for the practices of men and women.

The practices of men had the highest frequency. The practices of men were discussed most often and were considered most important. The selection of the Amateur Championship course facilitated the most discussion in the Annual Meeting minutes. The golfing clubs competed with each other to obtain the tournament. The Women's Amateur and the Open tournaments were secondary and discussed after the Men's Amateur course was decided. It was not until 1917 that the women and the professionals had a voice in the selection of the course.

In March 1898, Dr. J. G. McPherson was quoted as saying, "Men play the game, boys carry the clubs, and lovely women give the prize away" (McPherson, 1898, p. 9). Golf was designated as a man's game, and women were not recognized as being able to obtain first class play (Haggard ,1899). Men were described as being accurate, controlled, naturals, practice more, better judgment, have better concentration, better workmanship, and develop better habits (Ashley, 1912).

Women were considered secondary in the game of golf. Their position was slightly higher than that of the professional. This is explained by their club membership, which was usually associated by marriage or a family relative.

The total frequency for the women was 699 and the total frequency for the professional was 571. The amateur total was 690, but they are also included in the club member and association member, since the amateur also held these two positions.

Women were described in a negative and positive view. The negative view refers to their inferior or poor play. The female player was seen as an interference on the course. Her poor play caused her to play too slow, and slow play was considered discourteous and improper.

Women were described negatively as lacking control, forcing too much, physically weak, lacking confidence, lacking concentration, lacking endurance, and lacking the ability to go the full distance (Ashley, 1912). They were also considered more likely to bend the rules, lack seriousness on the course, and lack knowledge of the game (Gatlin & Sanford, 1913).

Women were also described positively. Women golfers were described as able to compete in outdoor sporting activities. The strength of women players was their emotional control on the course, and their short game, which requires a more delicate touch (Anderson, 1920).

By 1917, the respect of women was increasing. The women had a voice in the USGA with a five person committee which suggested the courses they would like for their championship. By 1920, barring women from the course on weekends, holidays, and summers was considered improper (Sohst, 1920).

Women were beginning to be recognized for their excellent play and proficient skill on the links. They were also becoming members of golfing clubs without being associated with a husband or family member (Cushing, 1920d).

Joint play was mentioned 34 times. An article titled *How to teach a girl golf* was not about teaching a girl golf, but about making sexual advances to her while on the course. This article described the best type of girl to teach to play golf was a "blonde, blue eyed, fair complected, rose lips, 5'5", and deep-set eyes" (Masson, 1904). The article was intended to be humorous, but it portrayed women as sexual objects rather than as sporting competitors.

The other references concerning joint practices involved the question of whether a husband should play golf with his wife. The consensus was that only if you had no option. The golfer who played with his wife was also pitied and teased by the male members of the club (Masson, 1920).

Even though women were gaining respect and ground in the golfing world, the game of golf was primarily for men. Men made up the governing body, men set the standard, and men were the primary focus in the golf literature.

Category eight had a high degree of frequency of 7534, with men totaling 6801. Category eight also had a high degree of homologousness. The practices of men and women both included ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette and the theme of control. The women and the men were to adhere to the rules of play and the standards of etiquette.

There was a distinction of heirarchy between men and women. Men exhibited more control and strict adherence to the rules. Women, on the other hand, had a loose interpretation of the rules. They were more likely to adjust and manipulate the rules for their benefit.

Men also demonstrated control over how the game would be dictated in America. Men were also primarily in charge of women and their play. They determined when women would play on the course and where their tournaments would be held. In the later years, women did gain some control, but it continued to be limited.

Category Nine: Human and Nonhuman Resources

Category nine refers to resources that are present and available. The resources allow the individual to engage in ritualized symbolic practices. The subcategories are

separated into two areas, human resources and nonhuman resources. The human resources include human instruction, human knowledge, and human physical skill. The nonhuman resources include golf equipment, golf clothing, income, and golf links. The frequency of each subcategory will be discussed, followed by illustrative and theoretical analysis. Table IX lists the totals for category nine, resources, for each source.

TABLE IX

PRACTICES OF RESOURCES

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Resources	217	1107	594	1865	1064	4847
Human resources	4	5	4	282	279	574
Non human resources	213	1102	590	1583	785	4273
Human resources						
Instruction	3	4	4	131	85	227
Knowledge	1	1	0	124	160	286
Physical skill	0	0	0	27	34	61
Non human resources						
Golf equipment	102	230	535	1030	413	2310
Golf clothes	0	1	0	82	33	116
Income	74	443	18	149	120	804
Golf links	37	428	37	322	219	1043

The Executive Committee meeting minutes reported the frequency for human instruction totaling 3, human knowledge, totaling 1, physical skill, totaling 0. There were

102 frequencies for golf equipment, 0 for golf clothing, 74 for income, and 37 for golf links. The total composite for the human resources equaled 4, and nonhuman resources equaled 213, with a total composite of all the resources totaling 217.

The Annual Meeting minutes reported a frequency for human instruction totaling 4, human knowledge, totaling 1, and human physical skill, totaling 0. The nonhuman resources consisted of 230 for golf equipment, 1 for golf clothing, 443 for income, and 428 for golf links. The total composite for the human resources equaled 5, nonhuman resources equaled 1102, and a total composite for the human and nonhuman equaled 1107.

The Golf Rule Books had a total frequency of 4 for human instruction, 0 for human knowledge, and 0 for human physical skill. The nonhuman resources were 535 for golf equipment, 0 for golf clothing, 18 for income, and 37 for golf links. The total composite for human resources equaled 4, nonhuman resources equaled 590, and a total composite for human and nonhuman equaled 594.

The Golf Journal articles had a total frequency for human instruction of 131, for human knowledge of 124, and for physical skill of 27. The nonhuman resource for golf equipment totaled 1030, golf clothing totaled 82, income totaled 149, and golf links totaled 322. The total composite for human resources totaled 282, and nonhuman resources totaled 1583, and a total composite for human and nonhuman resources equaled 1865.

The Popular Magazine articles had a total frequency of human interaction of 85, human knowledge of 160, and physical skill of 34. The frequency for golf equipment totaled 413, golf clothing totaled 33, income totaled 120, and golf links totaled 219. The

total composite for human resources totaled 279, and nonhuman resources totaled 785, with a composite total for both of 1064.

The total for human resources, including the five sources, equaled 574, the total for the nonhuman resources equaled 4273, and the composite total for resources of all five sources equaled 4847.

The resource with the highest frequency is golf equipment totaling 2310, followed by golf links totaling 1043, and income totaling 804. The next highest resource after income was human knowledge totaling 286, followed by human instruction totaling 227, golf clothing, totaling 116, and the lowest subcategory, human physical skill, totaling 61.

The nonhuman resource of golf equipment included golf balls, golf clubs and golf bag. There were several types of equipment. The gutta-percha ball, woods for distance, irons for getting balls out of ruts and difficult lies, and putters to be used on the putting green. In the early years, a golf bag was not used. The caddie would carry the clubs and numerous balls, since they could split while hitting them.

Golf equipment was also being Americanized. Americans were changing the tradition of clubs, they were improving the durability and the distance of how far a ball could be hit (Hutchinson, 1910).

Corporations were also getting involved in the making of golf equipment. This was a concern for the USGA since they were not setting the standards for the new equipment. On January 12, 1917, a delegate stated, "are we going to have our sport of golf run by Sporting good houses, by the newspapers, or are we going to run it as a gentleman's sport as a purely amateur sport for the good of amateurism and amateurs themselves" (USGA ,1917, p. 98). In response, the USGA began implementing a

department of equipment standardization. The USGA would determine if a new type of golfing equipment was considered as an acceptable form and make (USGA, 1920).

Golf links were an important resources in the game of golf. There were three types of courses; the first class course, the average course, and the public course. The first class course consisted of Active club courses. The course and golf accommodations were first-rate. The average course was the Allied club member. The average course was a second rate course.

The rating of a course was determined by number of holes, length of the course, and the level of difficulty. The accommodations for the average course were also inferior in comparison to the first rate course. The first rate course often had an elaborate club house, sleeping quarters or cottages, and other pastime activities including tennis, polo, and swimming (Cushing, 1920).

The third rate or public course was short, usually nine holes, and little to no trouble so the poor players could move through the course with little difficulty. The public course was for the below average to poor player, both in skill and income. The public course was considered a training ground for players to learn the game. They could move up the course ranks once their skill and income level increases (Bendelow, 1916).

American courses were also being criticized by those of the traditional style. They believed Americans were making the courses artificial by making the fairways and greens smooth and green. Americans were also spending more money than anyone else on their golf courses. The criticism was that the American courses were artificial, too fair, and not enough trouble for the golfer to get out of (McPherson, 1898b).

Income is a resource needed to play the game of golf. Income is needed to purchase equipment, golf club memberships, and entry fees for tournament play. Golf was described as a sport that "costs more money than any other . . . It requires more time, care, preparation, provision, than any other" (McConnel, 1902, p. 300). Public play did provide the poor person a place to play since no playing fee or a nominal fee was charged, but equipment was still a necessity.

Henry Leach, in *The Language of Golf,* states, "this game is ours now . . . We have adopted it for ourselves and we are spending large sums of money upon it, and giving ourselves to it thoroughly" (Leach, 1918, p. 568).

To play in the association competitions, the golfer had to have income to belong to an Active or Allied club. The poor or below average income golfer was excluded from participating in the association since it would require income to belong to one of these clubs. The poor and below average income golfer was also excluded from being a part of the governing association. These golfers did not have a voice in the USGA or the golfing world.

The golfer who did obtain income from golf was considered an exploiter and criticized by the amateur golfing community. The social position was low for the professional and caddie, even though their golfing skill might be high.

Human knowledge was an important resource needed to play the game of golf. The golfer needed knowledge to master the craft. The golfer was to waste nothing and make every opportunity count. To go about the business of winning, the golfer was to make proper and legitimate use of personal force, proper timing and applying the techniques (Leach, 1914b).

To obtain mastery of the craft, the golfer was to make good judgments, as well as understand the proper techniques and the rules of the game. Without this knowledge, the golfer would never obtain the skill which was required in championship golf (Leach, 1914b).

The poor, the below average income player, and the uneducated did not have access or availability to the knowledge which was needed for the proper training and education to become a championship player.

Human instruction is also an American concept. The traditional golfer learned the game from imitating the masters and spending hours and hours practicing the game, rather than learning the game through artificial means. Americans love training and instruction (Whigham, 1898).

Americans were criticized initially for utilizing artificial training, but within four to five years it was realized that human training is beneficial. Human training has many benefits, including failure to develop bad faults, increased confidence, and superior playing style and form. Human training develops a better player, especially with the youth of America (The English Amateur, 1900).

The poor and the below average income player did not have access to human training, since it required income and the availability of a professional. The professional was not made available at the public course, and the public caddies were uneducated in the game.

Golfing clothing did not have a high frequency, but it did separate the golfer of high position from the low position. The male golfer of high position wore a collared

golfing coat, most popularly red. The golfer also wore knickers, golfing shoes and a golfing hat.

The recommended dress for women was,

> A neat sailor hat, surmounting a head beautifully coiffured, every hair of which is in its place at the end of the round. A smart red coat, a spotless linen collar and tie, an ordinary tailor-made skirt, and a pair of well made walking boots with nails of scafe's patent soles. (Mackern, 1899, p. 194)

Women in America challenged the traditional golf attire. The golfing skirt was found to be cumbersome while playing golf. Some women were criticized by male golfers for appearing too manly or "mannish" (Mackern, 1899, p. 193). The women chose to wear knickerbockers (knickers) or bicycling skirts. Women golfers believed it was unfair to be forced to wear draperies on the course. They also refused to regard themselves as only a decorative feature. The women golfers responded by stating in an interview, we "simply aren't going to be hampered by clothing" (Trumbull, 1920, p. 5).

The final resource is physical skill. Physical skill required balance and eye hand coordination, as well as a recommended body type. The golfer was discouraged from being overly muscular. Large muscles were considered excessive. The game of golf only strengthened the muscles and only developed rational muscle growth (O'Conner, 1899).

The golfer was discouraged from being extremely muscle bound, as this would constrict freedom of movement (Hilton, 1913c). Hilton goes on to explain, that the smaller man exhibits better control over his body and clubs, and is more stable and consistent (Hilton, 1913c).

Human resources and nonhuman resources have a high degree presence in the American game of golf. There is also a high degree of repetitiveness. The availability of

the resources is not the same for all golfers. The poor and below average income golfer is excluded from most of the resources, including first class golf courses, first class equipment, income, being a participant and voice in the development of the game, golf clothing, golfing instruction, and golfing knowledge.

Only those with education, income, knowledge, and social position would be able to enjoy and benefit from the resources present in the game of golf. Because of this factor, only the upper social class could truly enjoy and participate fully in the American game of golf. The lack of availability of resources excluded and discouraged those of different classes from taking up the American pastime of golf.

Resources were important in the game of golf. The golfer needed the proper equipment, dress, and body type. The golfer needed the proper skill which came from having the proper knowledge and instruction. If the golfer failed to have these resources then they were instructed to play at public courses or restricted from playing altogether.

Category Ten: Other

Category ten, other, are subcategories that emerged from the data. The subcategories in category ten are new and interesting themes. Five subcategories emerged from the data. They include: the role of the USGA, traditional spirit, equality, rejection, and golf and life. The frequencies for the subcategories will be discussed, followed by illustrative and theoretical analysis. Table X lists the total references for category, other, for each source.

In the Executive Committee meeting minutes there was one reference to the role of the USGA, one reference to the traditional spirit, zero references to the theme of

TABLE X

"OTHER" PRACTICES

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
"Other"	3	11	1	51	17	83
Role of USGA	1	5	1	2	1	10
Traditional spirit	1	4	0	15	5	25
Equality	0	0	0	9	3	12
Golf & Life	1	2	0	25	8	36
Rejection*						

Note: *=frequencies for rejection are coded in category three.

equality, and one reference of golf and life. Rejection was coded in category three as a subcategory of discipline. The total references for the new and interesting themes was three.

The Annual Meeting minutes reported five references to the role of the USGA, four references to the traditional spirit, zero references to the theme of equality, and two references to golf and life. The theme of rejection was coded in category three. The total references for the new and interesting themes was 11.

The Golf Rule Books reported one reference to the role of the USGA, and zero references to traditional spirit, theme of equality, and golf and life. There were four references to rejection, but they were coded in category three. The total references for the new and interesting themes was one.

The Golf Journal articles reported two references to the role of the USGA, 15 references to the traditional spirit, nine to the theme of equality, and 25 references for golf

and life. The theme of rejection was coded in category three. The total references for the new and interesting themes was 51.

The Popular Magazine articles reported one reference to the role of the USGA, five references to the traditional spirit, three references to the theme of equality, and eight references for golf and life. The theme of rejection was coded in category three. The total references for the new and interesting themes was 17.

There were 83 total references for the new and interesting themes. The theme with the highest frequency was golf and life, with a total of 36 references. Golf and life will be the only subcategory discussed in category ten. The other four subcategories were discussed in the previous categories.

The role of the USGA was discussed in category seven because of its relevance to one's title in the golfing world. The theme of traditional spirit was discussed in category five because of its relevance to the Americanized practices in golf. The theme of equality was discussed in category six because of its relevance to social position, and the theme of rejection was coded and discussed in category three because of its relevance to discipline.

The theme of golf and life discusses the benefits one receives by participating in the game of golf. The game of golf was not only considered as a leisure pastime, but also as a wholesome sport that developed, encouraged, strengthened and improved positive qualities for those who played the game.

Lincoln Cummings, in an article titled, *Golf-An Appreciation*, states, "In a life time a man cannot expect to become a perfect golfer, but a life spent in the effort will produce a more livable and perfect man" (Cummings, 1912, p. 188).

Participation in the game of golf teaches golfers to be in control of their temper and to be less self-focused (O'Conner, 1899). The game of golf also teaches endurance, devotion, and persistence (Cummings, 1910), as well as patience, how to meet adversity, and how to win and lose (Malloch, 1912). Golf teaches reverence and obedience. It is not a game for the proud, but for the humble (Kelly, 1917).

Golf also develops the skills of calculation, self control and fortitude (Dalrymple, 1899). Golf develops morality, good mind and soul (Milner, 1899). Golf cures unsettled nerves and lazy habits of sedentary life. It cultivates habit and power of concentration. Golf also builds better citizens, makes you more alert, good natured and patient (Cummings, 1913).

Golf strengthens the mind and body, gives knowledge and promotes steadiness (O'Conner, 1899). Golf assists in the development of honesty and good habits for life (Hutchinson, 1910). Golf awakens the senses, and freshens the soul (Milner, 1899). Golf helps in the development of character, as the "counsel of perfection" is within our reach when we participate in the game of golf (Mackern, 1899, p. 192).

The game of golf is described as being more than a secondary influence in one's life. The pastime of golf was not only a leisurable and pleasurable activity, but an influential force in shaping one's attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviors.

Just as in life, a golfer must imagine how a particular shot should be, how a putt should drop, and how far a ball should go.

> For all through life we are forming to ourselves images of things–of things as they might be, or ought to be, or as we should like them to be, and even images of ourselves as we might be or ought to be or as we should like ourselves to be; and we act accordingly. (No Author listed, 1912, p. 216)

The game of golf provides a blue-print for proper and civilized behavior. This blue-print teaches you how you ought to be, could be, and will be if the golfer practices and cultivates the right habits.

The theme of golf and life has a high degree of homologousness. It contains ritualized symbolic themes of etiquette and the theme of control. The golfer was to develop and practice these themes of etiquette. It would require self discipline, self management and self control. The game of golf exemplifies a civilized code of conduct.

Category One Through Ten: Overview

The American game of golf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embodied ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette. These practices promoted proper and civilized behavior. The restrictions were numerous. The rules were complex and methodical. The golfer needed self control, knowledge, education and instruction to fully participate in the game of golf. The ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette separated the golfer from the lower social classes.

The game of golf was primarily designated for men of position and wealth. The game of golf set men of high social position apart from the other social classes. See Table XI.

The highest frequencies included, practices of men totaling 6801, positive restrictions/manners totaling 3589, high social position totaling 3483, United States Golf Association member totaling 2423, complex and methodical instructions totaling 2145, and a golfing club member totaling 1340.

TABLE XI

RITUALIZED PRACTICES AND RESOURCES
IN AMERICAN GOLF

Sources	ECMM	AMM	GRB	GJ	PM	Totals
Practices of men	353	2285	248	3188	727	6801
Practices of manners	99	921	104	1962	803	3589
High social position	526	2454	83	168	252	3483
USGA member	422	1926	15	54	6	2423
Golf equipment	102	230	535	1030	413	2310
Complex instructions	148	76	939	563	419	2145
Club member	53	1040	11	119	117	1340
Golf courses	37	428	37	322	219	1043
Championships	74	631	33	125	85	948
Income	74	443	18	149	120	804

The golfer also needed nonhuman resources to play the game of golf. The frequency for the nonhuman resources totaled 4273. The game required availability of golf equipment totaling 2310, golf courses/links totaling 1043, and availability of income totaling 804.

Elaborate celebrations were also an integral part to the American game of golf. Celebrations had a frequency of 1909. The most popular celebration was the championship tournament.

The golfer of high social position went to extreme measures to assure the elegance and elaborateness of the celebration. The golfer of high social position was accustomed

to the fine and cultured aspects of life. The lower classes did not have the resources to participate in such an elaborate celebration. They could only observe the celebration from a distance.

The poor or below average income golfer lacked the necessary resources needed to participate and be proficient in the game of golf. The high presence of resources designated the game of golf for the upper social class, and the lack of availability of resources for the lower classes discouraged them from participating in the game.

The rules and standards in golf were also Americanized from 1894 to 1920. Initially, American golfers were negatively sanctioned for their own class of play. It was considered too intense, too competitive and lacking in sportsmanship. The Americans were a threat to the traditions and standards of the old and noble game of golf.

By 1910, the American style was being sanctioned as a positive style of play and becoming more accepted and respected by the golfing world. This new class of play included both traditional practices and new standards, creating a new class of play that combined the old world and new.

The strength of reaction was also a central and prominent aspect in the game of golf. Golfers and golfing clubs were sanctioned both positively and negatively for their actions. The golfer who adhered to the proper rules of etiquette, complied with the rules of play, demonstrated good conduct, and held good standing in the golfing world was praised and rewarded.

The golfers and golfing clubs who disobeyed the formal and social rules of the game were negatively sanctioned. They received both formal and informal negative

sanctions. They would be penalized in the game, denied entry into the competitions, and denied entry and promotion within the organization.

The golfer who failed to adhere to the rules and expectations of the golfing world would also be negatively sanctioned for poor play, veering from traditional style of dress and body type.

The golfer who could make a living with their skill were deemed as an exploiter. The golfer who exploited and commercialized the game of golf was criticized for lowering the integrity and purity of the game. The golfer who failed to maintain a high standard of conduct would also be banned as unsportsmanlike. The improper golfer was to be separated from, not associated with, barred out and condemned.

The game of golf developed and dictated a civilized code of conduct. The game of golf is described as producing the best qualities and helping in the development of character. The game of golf shaped the golfer's attitudes, values, beliefs and behavior.

The four theoretical factors, repetitiveness, salience, homologousness and resources, were all present at a high degree.

The high degree of repetitiveness was reflected in ritualized symbolic practices of manner, complex and methodical rules, symbolic practices of discipline, elaborate celebrations, Americanized changes, social position, designation of title and the practices of men and women. The high degree of repetitiveness describes the frequency with which a ritualized symbolic practice is performed. The designated categories were performed with a high degree of frequency.

The theoretical factor of salience refers to the degree to which a ritualized practice is central, noticeable or prominent to an actor or interrelated acts. The strength

of reaction was an approximate measure or indicator of salience. The strength of reaction included both positive and negative sanctions. If a golfer adhered to the rules and expected standards then they were positively sanctioned. If the golfer failed to adhere to the rules and standards then they were negatively sanctioned. The strength of the reaction was central, noticeable and prominent in the golfing world. It was interrelated to the ritualized practices performed in the golfing world.

Homologousness refers to the degree of similarity among different ritualized symbolic practices. The categories had a high degree of homologousness. Ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette and the theme of control was found in all ten of the categories. The ritualized practices in the game of golf reinforced each other, therefore having a greater impact on social behavior.

The civilized attributes of etiquette were discussed in each category. The golfer was to be proper and controlled. The attribute of control was emphasized internally and externally. The golfer was to demonstrate self control and self discipline. The golfer was to adhere to the rules and standards. The actions of golfers were also controlled. If a golfer failed to maintain a high standard then their practices would be restricted.

Resources focus on materials needed to participate in a ritualized act or ritualized practices that are available to the actor. Resources had a high degree of presence. Nonhuman and human resources were needed to fully participate in the game of golf. The resources were not available for the lower classes. Only those of a high social position could fully participate in the game of golf. Income was needed to obtain golfing equipment, availability to golf courses, golfing instruction, and knowledge of the game.

The ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette had a high degree of rank in the game of golf. Rank is determined by the sum of salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources. All four factors were present at a high degree. The higher degree of rank in terms of these four factors reflects the greater influence, importance, or effect the ritualized practices had in the golfing world.

The ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette in the game of golf developed and dictated a civilized code of conduct. The game of golf exemplified a blue-print for proper behavior. The civilized code of conduct was powerful and important in the golfing world. This code of conduct impacted the golfers' social behavior. Their attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviors were shaped by the ritualized practices.

The ritualized practices in American golf were shaping the golfing world and the social world of the golfer. American golfers, "as a matter of fact, were making public opinion and fixing social customs in a way and to an extent which few of them realize. In one most important particular they have it in their power to make customs, which is more powerful than law" (McConnel, 1902, p. 300).

The highly ranked ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette were behaviors in which golfers regularly or habitually engaged. These practices were repetitive and grounded in the golfers' symbolic map or symbolic framework. The civilized code of conduct was non-reflective, meaning it required little or no reflection by the golfer. The practices were second nature to the golfer. The civilized code of conduct in American golf had become naturalized. "This game has taken root here, and it seems to be naturalized thoroughly . . . Yes, that is it, naturalized!" (Leach, 1918, p. 568).

Summary

In summary, I have discussed the content analysis, illustrative analysis, and theoretical analysis. The research results support the research arguments. The ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette were present in the American game golf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The practices of etiquette in golf developed and dictated a civilized code of conduct. This blue-print for civility shaped the golfers' attitudes and behaviors on and off the links.

Chapter VI will discuss a summary of the study, the conclusions and future recommendations.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Chapter VI will discuss the conclusions and future recommendations. The conclusion will discuss the research arguments, followed by a discussion of the recommendations and the strengths and weaknesses of the study.

Conclusions

The arguments in this study were supported. The analysis of the data reported that the American game of golf did contain ritualized symbolic practices of etiquette that developed and dictated a civilized code of conduct. The American game of golf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was designated for the upper social class. The rules were complex and methodical and the celebrations were elaborate and exclusive.

The practices of civility excluded the lower classes from participating fully in the sport. The game of golf was formed in a manner where the upper class could be separated from the lower classes. The lower classes lacked the necessary sophistication, breeding, and social and economic status which were needed to fully participate in the

game. The lower classes also lacked the proper habits and social character which were expected in the American golfing society.

The American game of golf was also similar to the pastimes of the European court society. The noble pastimes also included rules of manners, complex and methodical rules, and elaborate celebrations. These rules and standards separated the aristocracy from the other classes. The lower classes were discouraged from participating in the noble pastimes.

The American game of golf was transposed to America from Europe. The American golfers influenced the game of golf by Americanizing its rules and standard of play. A new class of play emerged from this process. The new class of play was a combination of the traditional style and the American spirit. The result was a new class of play that incorporated the old world and the new.

The sportization process also occurred in the rules of golf. The rules became formalized. The rules also increased in number. The rules addressed proper sporting behavior, safety and equity. Sanctions were also increased. The greater degree of formality of the golfing rules increased their importance in the golfing world.

The ritualized practices of etiquette shaped the cognitive schema of the golfer. The civilized code was repeated and internalized and became second nature to the golfer. It became naturalized in the golfing world. The ritualized practices were also influential in the golfers' social world. Golf was identified as a pastime that developed proper character and self-control. The game developed and strengthened proper conduct in the golfers' everyday life. It was described as a pastime that cultivated the right habits.

Recommendations

A strength of this study is the sources. The sources included several domains of interaction. Golfers communicating to golfers, golfers communicating to the general public, and golfers communicating face to face. The use of magazine articles only or the use of USGA meeting minutes only would have provided a partial picture. The five different sources were needed to obtain a complete analysis.

A weakness of this study is the availability of the resources. The sources are not easily obtained. To obtain the USGA minutes and a list of articles requires a trip to the USGA library to copy the minutes and review the golf journals. The golf journals must be reviewed article by article, since the early journals do not have content pages. Golf journal articles have never been indexed in the periodical guides.

This project has also been costly. The expenses included traveling to the USGA, the duplication costs from the Library of Congress, and the purchasing of books on the history of golf in Scotland and America.

A strength of this study is that ritualized practices of etiquette have never been studied in the game of golf. There is also very little scientific research in the area of golf. Golf continues to be a popular sport with the masses and the upper social class. Since hegemonic interests influence American society, it would be beneficial to continue work in this area. Further research could reveal if the upper social class continues to have a strong social impact in the golfing world.

This study contributes to the understanding and formation of ritualized symbolic practices in a social group. Is also contributes to the understanding and formation of

social inequality. The origination of golf in America was formed and reproduced by the dominant or socially superior group. They developed rules and restrictions which reserved the game for the upper social class, while excluding the lower classes. The originators were wealthy upper class men who, with or without intent, formed and reproduced a pastime for their social group.

This project also contributes to the body of knowledge in the sociology of sport and the sociology of civility. This study analyzes practices of civility in a new and formal manner, as well as combining civility with the area of sport.

This study is different from the studies that were completed by Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard in the area of sports and civilized behavior. The writings of Dunning and Sheard focus on civility, but they focus more on civilized restrictions that decrease violence in sports and advocate increased equality and fairness. They maintain a strict adherence to the thought of Elias.

Their studies emphasize the ideas of civility, but their focus is on the sportization process. They continue to emphasize that formal rules are incorporated into a sport so as to increase equity and fairness and decrease violence.

This study is similar to the works of Elias, because of the emphasis on manners and the impact of manners on the social world. Elias argues that manners were a symbol of civility. He believed that manners were connected with a broader social issue, such as power differentiation and class distinction, meaning that the dominant social group could set themselves apart from the other social classes by developing and practicing civilized behavior.

This study maintains the premise that Elias discusses, that is, that the dominant social group in America developed and dictated external constraints in the form of ritualized symbolic practices. These practices were communicated to the American golfing world, and shaped behavior and social character. The social character embodies ritualized practices of civility. The social character was transmitted in the game of golf and in society, as discussed in the theme of golf and life.

This study also analyzes the civilizing process in a new and different way. The difference between this study and studies by Elias and Dunning and Sheard is the viewpoint on equality. Elias describes the civilizing process as a process which over time influences society to become more equal and civilized, meaning a decrease in violence and inequality. This idea has been strongly criticized. Elias seems to ignore practices that produce and maintain social separateness, as well as the dismantling of social hierarchies to facilitate change (Hargreaves, 1992).

The study maintains the emphasis of civility as defined by Elias, but does not agree with the direction of equality. On the contrary, this study emphasizes that civilized practices, which embody civility, separate the classes and increase class distinction. Over time, social behavior may appear more equal because of legal laws, but the habitual and routinized practices which advocate separation are strongly embedded in an individual's cognitive schema. Social structures of inequality continue to emerge and are maintained by these practices.

For example, in 1999 the United States Golf Association developed an etiquette program that advocated self-control, propriety, and courteousness. This program was in response to the increasing growth of popularity of American golf. The new golfer of the

later twentieth century is ignorant of the rules and standards, which were developed by the early originators. The United States Golf Association believes that the new golfer needs to be educated on the proper habits of the game. This program describes the new golfer as lacking the integrity that was exemplified by the golfing forefathers. The development of an etiquette program such as this does not increase social equality, instead it encourages class distinction and social separation. The implementation of this type of program reminds the lower classes that they lack sophistication and proper behavior.

Another example of the continuation of inequality is the social profile of the United States Golf Association's Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is "where most of the association's power lies" (Steinbreder, 2000, p. 12). The members of the Executive Committee are elected annually. The process of nomination and the voting on of members is not clearly defined. No one knows exactly how this process takes place (Steinbreder, 2000).

The present members of the committee include thirteen white males and two white females. There are no African Americans on the committee. The occupations represented by the committee members are chief executive officers, lawyers, chief financial officers, bankers, and physicians. Each member also has memberships in some of the most prestigious golfing clubs and golfing country clubs in America (Steinbreder, 2000).

The social profile of the Executive Committee is similar to the early originators. They, too, were prominent business men with wealth, education, and social and economic status.

It should be noted that the American golfing society and the United States Golf Association have made strides in the last forty years to increase social equality. For example, the present President of the United States Golf Association, David Fay, gave up his membership at the number one rated traditional golf course in the nation, Pine Valley Golf Club in Pine Valley, New Jersey. He did so because the club does not allow female members (Forecaddie, 2000).

The World Golf Foundation established a program in 1997 called The First Tee National Association. The First Tee program is designed to "provide affordable and accessible opportunities for children to learn about golf and its values" (Seanor, 1998, p. 15). The target population is children and youth, especially females and minorities.

The United States Golf Association also has a similar program. Their program i s the United States Golf Association Foundation Grants Program. This program issues grant money to golf programs that focus on females, minorities, and urban and rural youth. They also encourage programs designed for the physically and mentally challenged, as well as the economically disadvantaged.

Seniors have also benefitted from the social changes in golf. A Senior Tour was established for golfers over fifty, so they can continue to compete professionally and receive substantial financial compensation.

Women have risen in the ranks of the golfing community. For the first time in history, women can make one million dollars or more in one golfing season. Corporations have recognized the importance of women's golf and are supporting them by providing larger financial purses (Antonucci, 1999).

The face of golf has also changed during the late twentieth century. Minorities have become a prominent force in the game. In 1974, Lee Elder was the first African American to participate in the Augusta National Professional Golf Tournament (Seanor, 1999).

Tiger Woods, a prominent player of the nineties and of mixed race – parts African American, Native American, Chinese, Anglo, Thai, and Dutch – has taken the game by storm. Tiger Woods is ranked number one on the money list, as well as number one in the winner's circle.

Clearly, positive changes have occurred in the golfing world, and yet discrimination continues to inhibit those of different race, sex, class, and age from being fully successful in the game.

The Ladies Professional Golf Association must compete against the Professional Golf Association for financial support and social recognition. In addition to the Professional Golf Association, the Ladies Professional Golf Association must also compete with the Senior Professional Golf Association. The women tend to end up the losers in regard to both financial and social rewards. They receive less financial compensation and minimal social recognition in the golfing world (Steinbrede, 1999).

There still exist in America golfing clubs and golfing country clubs that exclude memberships to women and minorities. The price of being a member of a prominent golfing club or a member of a country club tends to be out of financial reach for most Americans.

Finally, most Americans are excluded from the most prestigious golf courses in the nation. The best 100 classical golf courses and the best 100 modern courses in

America are not made available to the average income or below average income golfer (Klein, 2000).

There are only 18 daily fee courses listed in the top 200 courses, and most of these courses cost hundreds of dollars to play one round. There are 161 private golf courses in the top 200 list. To play one of these courses requires a club membership or being a guest of a club member (Klein, 2000).

The democratization of golf in America exhibits antithetical tendencies, meaning the support of equality is diminished by the presence of inequality. The contradiction involves the advocating of equity and fairness while simultaneously a system of inequality continues and is reinforced with ritualized practices. The rhetoric of democratization presents a false representation of reality. A more accurate representation is the formation and reproduction of practices that facilitate power differentiation and class distinction.

The research completed by Elias and Dunning and Sheard used illustrative examples to explain the civilizing process. This study incorporates a much more complicated, precise, and systematic method to analyze the civilizing process. Numerous forms of ritualized practices in the game of golf were studied and analyzed with a strong emphasis on theory, accompanied by a rigorous methodology.

Norbert Elias has been criticized for his selection of methodology. Elias used the method of detachment, which is a conscious distancing of oneself from the object of study. The methodology of detachment is not a methodology, but an ethical responsibility which must occur in all forms of study (Horne & Jarry, 1987). Elias lacks a systematic method for analyzing the civilizing process.

This study uses a systematic and formal analysis that includes a strong theory base and a complex and systematic methodology. The combination of a strong theory base and systematic methodology strengthens the research arguments and their application to understanding social behavior.

Three different forms of evidence are used in this study. The first form of evidence was content analysis. The comprehensive and rigorous method was used to reveal the ritualized practices that existed in the golfing world and their frequency.

The second form of evidence was the study and investigation of historical readings. These readings dated back to the development of the court society, noble pastimes, the origination of the game of golf in Scotland, and the origination of golf in America.

The third subsequent form of evidence was qualitative material to illustrate and substantiate some of the features found in the formal content analysis.

The three forms of evidence were selected and utilized to strengthen and support the research arguments. Structural ritualization theory was selected because of its emphasis on ritualized symbolic practices.

Ritualized symbolic practices can form, reproduce and maintain behavioral codes of conduct. A strength of this theory is, it's a tool to identify, study, explain, and interpret ritualized symbolic practices that exist in society. It also makes it possible to determine the level of importance certain ritualized practices have in social situations. In this study the theory was used as a guide for the research project.

This is the first time the theory was used in conjunction with content analysis. The theory and method complemented each other and strengthened the research project.

The frequency or repetitiveness of ritualized practices was reflected by the theory and method.

In addition to frequency, the theory also enabled me to determine the similarities among the practices, as well as the central features associated with ritualized practices. It also facilitated identifying the resources which were present and available in conjunction with the ritualized symbolic practices.

This is also the first time the theory was used to discuss the cultivation of social character. The theoretical interpretations revealed that a social character, which dictated civility, did exist and influenced the American game of golf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The social character of civility is reflected by a high degree of rank. Rank was demonstrated by the presence of salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources. This high degree of rank in terms of these four factors reflects that the ritualized practices of civility were repetitive, dominant, and influenced and shaped behavior in the golfing world, and most likely even beyond.

The theory of structural ritualization was essential to this research project. It guided the development of the research categories, the selection of methodology, the selection of illustrative material, and theoretical interpretations. The theory was beneficial and important in this study, and will also be vital for future projects.

Future projects may build upon this study. Possible studies include historical comparative research. This would entail the same study, but examining golf at different points in time in the twentieth century. This type of study would make it possible to

compare one time period with another. It would also reveal if the ritualized practices were consistent over time.

This research project could also be duplicated in other sports. It could be determined if similar practices of civility exist among the different sports. This project could also be expanded to the present day to determine if the ritualized practice of civility continues to be important and influential in the golfing world. A survey could be developed and sent to golfing clubs. It could be determined if present day golfers know the ritualized practices of civility and apply them.

This research project could also be utilized to study other institutions. The duplication of this study in other institutions could reveal if ritualized practices of civility can be found in different social structures. An example of other types of institutions could include, the occupational world, the family, religion and the economy.

Further attention needs to be given to methodological strategies for measuring salience. It is possible that more formal and systematic measures of salience could be developed. Statements such as "this is most important," or "first one must do this," could provide indicators for the salience of ritualized symbolic practices. To do this would require additional coding categories that would enable the researcher to identify statements such as these.

Conclusion

In conclusion, even though more research is needed to determine if these practices continue to be important in the world of golf, a great deal of information and

understanding about ritualized practices of etiquette has been derived from this research study. This has been a positive research experience.

The amount of data were overwhelming at times, but a systematic and formal approach assisted in the management of the extensive amounts of data. At the same time, themes which were new and interesting were able to emerge from the data. The approach was not so systematic that it excluded new themes and patterns from being developed.

This research has been gratifying and I look forward to developing and expanding this topic into other areas.

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VITA

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Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: AMERICAN GOLF AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CIVILIZED CODE OF CONDUCT: A STUDY OF RITUALIZED SYMBOLIC RULES AND STANDARDS OF CIVILITY IN THE AMERICAN GOLFING SOCIETY

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