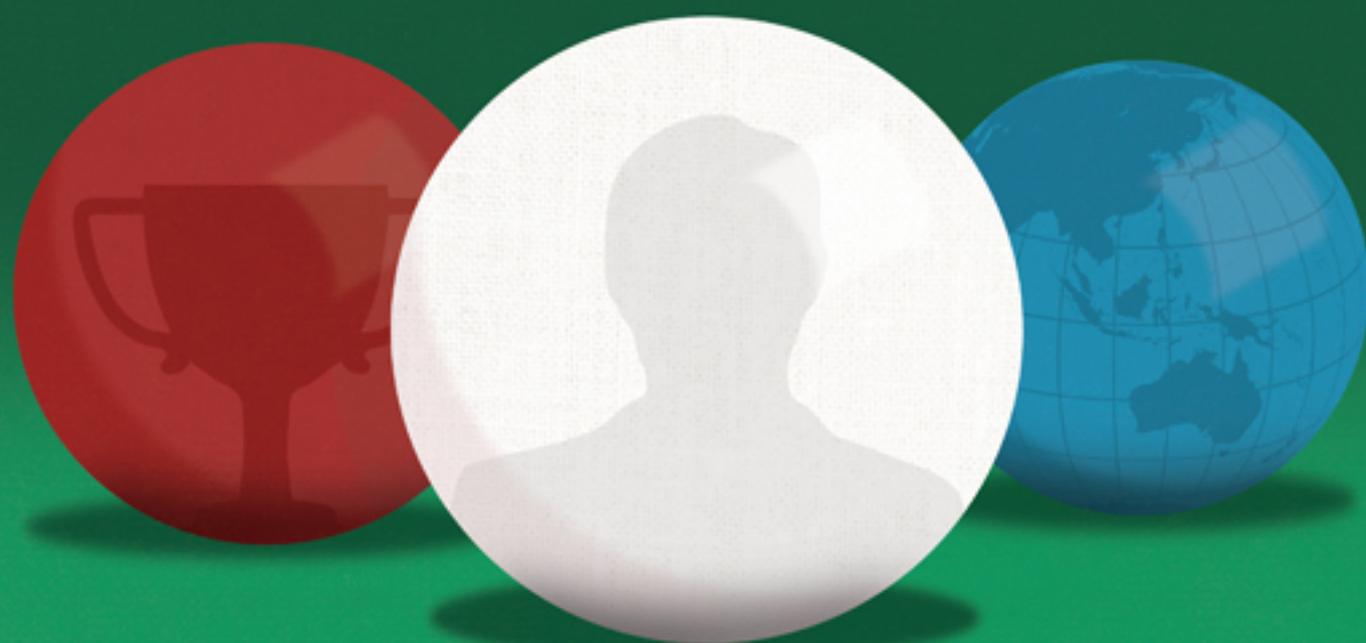


FAMILY, NATION & SPORT

Writing The Uncrowned King



JANNE CLARA LINDRUM

Family, Nation, Sport:

Writing *The Uncrowned King*

Janne Clara Lindrum

Introduction

I am the eldest daughter of world professional snooker and Australian professional billiards and snooker champion, Horace Lindrum. My father was born Horace Norman William Morrell on January 15, 1912 at the Royal Hospital for Women, Glenmore Road, Paddington, New South Wales, and passed away on June 20, 1974 at the Delmar Private Hospital, Dee Why (a suburb on the northern beaches, Sydney) after a three-month battle with bronchial carcinoma; the result of smoking and being exposed to smoke-filled rooms over a long period of time in an era when smoking was actively promoted as an acceptable societal practise.

His fame at the billiard table can be traced through newspaper articles promoting Horace Morrell as Australia's new 'Boy Wonder' (1924) and his debut into the professional league as 'Horace Lindrum' at age sixteen (1928) when his first snooker century was recorded against his uncle Walter Lindrum who was the much older and more seasoned professional. Interestingly, many people have thought Horace to be Walter's brother, perhaps perceiving the two players as equals, whilst others have thought them to be one and the same man.¹ In actuality, at the beginning of my father's career, they were master and apprentice; Horace being 16 and Walter being 30.

The name change, from Morrell to Lindrum, was made at the behest of my great-grandfather Frederick William Lindrum II and my great-uncle Walter Lindrum who felt it would be good for publicity purposes if a younger champion, one capable of upholding the Lindrum tradition at the billiard table, entered the profession carrying the Lindrum name. Horace changed his name

¹ Film footage on You Tube 'Walter Lindrum playing at home and doing trick shots' is actually Horace Lindrum. Reference is also made to the installation of Horace Lindrum's photograph in the Sporting Hall of Fame, NSW, in 1990. The program erroneously referred to Walter Lindrum. After my father's death the senior nurse who had cared for him during his three month battle with cancer wrote my mother a letter saying what an honour it was to nurse Walter Lindrum.

by deed poll in 1933, having attained the then legal age of twenty-one years. The deed poll was executed on September 12, 1933. He carried the Lindrum flag for 50 years.

To date, no biography has been written about the life of Horace Lindrum. No autobiography was written during his lifetime. My mother Joy Lindrum, nee White, encouraged my father on several occasions to write his autobiography but his response was always the same: 'My life is for others to judge.' This statement says something of the man and, viewed in the context of contemporary sporting autobiographies, the philosophy of celebrity has changed significantly since my father's death.

I came to my father's story to honour his life's work.

Undisputedly, Horace Lindrum was a major national and cultural figure for over five decades, one of the true sporting greats who redefined the sport of snooker at a time when the politics surrounding such exploits were fiercely controlled by big business and wider national interests. His achievements are too many to list here but I have included a summary of his achievements in the appendices.

The rise of Lindrum's international career commenced with a tour of New Guinea in 1935 followed by his debut at Thurston's Hall in London in 1936 when he was introduced to the British public by the leading British professional proponent, Tom Newman. Lindrum's debut at Thurston's Hall coincided with a press announcement delivered by British champion Joe Davis to the London Press Club. It was here that Davis delivered the statement that 'billiards [is] as dead as mutton.'² His announcement signalled the dawn of the Golden Age of Snooker, an era dominated by Horace Lindrum and Joe Davis. Horace Lindrum was runner-up to Joe Davis in the 1936 world professional snooker

² Andrew Ricketts, *Walter Lindrum: The Phenomenon*, (ACT: The Walter Lindrum Syndicate, 1982), 131.

championship. Joe Davis was the more experienced player, being 12 years older than Horace.

This dissertation (treatise/long essay) examines the life of my father while, at the same time, interrogating the historical, political and cultural aspects of sports and sports identity in Australia. It questions just how closely sport is aligned to nationalism and what that means for a sport's biographer such as myself. In my case as the subject's daughter, I also examine the ways in which family biographers approach their subject – from a position of objectivity, distance, filial intimacy or defensiveness – acknowledging that, irrespective of the relationship between the historian/biographer and his/her subject, every author's history/biography must be coloured, in some small way at least, by their background and personal perception of events past and present. As historian Gerard De Groot says: 'All histories are inevitably troped, emplotted, figured-out and argued for from the historian's own position [consciously or unconsciously]...this is history not as epistemology but as aesthetic.'³ Engagement is 'impressionistic'⁴ at best [thus]...we can only know [the past] by way of representations.'⁵ In writing *The Uncrowned King* I have done my best to provide you with an honest representation of my father's life and times.

My work is divided into two parts.

³ Gerard J. De Groot, *Consuming history: historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture*, (London: Routledge, 2009), 153. The term "emplotted" was coined by historian Hayden White in his work *Metahistory* (1973) to describe the process by which a history – for example, the history of the French Revolution – can be plotted to deliver different interpretations of the same event. White identified four plot-types, tragic, comic, romantic, ironic.

⁴ Impressionism – a nineteenth century art movement that met fierce opposition from traditionalists. Identifying features are small, thin, visible brush strokes, open composition, emphasis on the accurate depiction of light in its changing qualities (often accentuating the effects of the passage of time), ordinary subject matter, inclusion of movement as a crucial element of human perception and experience, and unusual visual angles.

⁵ Keith Jenkins in De Groot, 153.

Part One is the memoir entitled *The Uncrowned King*; a creative biography based closely on my father's life. The memoir was not written as a history but as a 'portrait' or 'gesture' combining history with story, fiction and pastiche to weave a tapestry in the style of Michael Ondaatje's *Running in the Family* (1984). Textually, the work re-creates history in the idiom of personal experience giving collective history meaning through the recitation of an individual life story. In this context I argue, 'the personal story is an allegory of national agency.'⁶ You cannot separate the life of a man/woman from the history of his/her nation as people in the engine room of a nation make up the nation and their story – the national story – comprises stories of individual lives and historical events which impact upon the nation as a whole.

Because of my connection to the Horace Lindrum story, I confront an additional layer of complexity; the special bond/blood tie with the story. The father/daughter relationship became both my greatest asset and my greatest liability because, in the practise of scholarship, objectivity (looking at a subject as a lawyer looks at the facts in a legal case rather than viewing a subject from an emotional perspective) is figured as an essential component. Thus, mediating between the personal and the historical was, at times, challenging as *The Uncrowned King* was always going to be a labour of love.

Whether or not it is possible to produce an unmediated, impartial story when the identity of a person has been, to a very large extent, forged by the subject, is frequently the subject of debate but I argue, every author has a relationship of some sort with his/her subject. Therefore, the relationship between biographer and subject is largely irrelevant provided, however, the biographer – the man/woman behind the pen – adopts a scholarly approach to writing biography.

⁶ Geoffrey M. White, "Emotional Remembering: The Pragmatics of National Memory", *Ethos*, Volume 27, No. 4, The Pragmatic Turn in Psychological Anthropology, (December, 1999), Blackwell Publishing, 509.

Total objectivity is impossible, although some historians believe 'objectivity exists in the creation and in the substance of historical material.'⁷ I agree. There is, for example, an overwhelming body of historical evidence that supports the 'reality' that Horace Lindrum enjoyed a long, successful and pristine career at the billiard table, from both a competitive and artistic perspective, and a career as a roving ambassador for family and nation.

However, the belief that 'objectivity exists in the creation and in the substance of historical material' directs 'attention to [an] intricate network of constraints (cognitive, ethical and institutional) upon which practitioners rely to 'distinguish history from fiction, scholarship from propaganda, or good history from bad.'⁸ Good history being predicated upon a dedicated commitment to the production of a document upon which the reader can rely. 'Good history' brings me to what I consider to be the true purpose of writing a life; to preserve the genuine version of the life and, in particular, those elements of the genuine version of the life that serve a didactic purpose; pieces of knowledge from which we – humanity – can learn and from which we – humanity – can draw inspiration.

Born in a slum, the product of a rape, transported to a household of champions whilst a mother suffered the humiliation of a bigamy trial, Horace Lindrum elected 'TO BE' and the story of his life's journey is, not only inspirational, but contains in itself the greatest lesson of all; no matter how hard it gets, never give in and never, never, never compromise your principles.

Family is often, and in this instance is, 'the principal site for exploration'⁹ and 'family history is about storytelling, passing on familial heritage and

⁷ Windschuttle in Douglas Booth's *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005), 30-31.

⁸ Haskell in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sports history*, 38. (Thomas Haskell, *Objectivity Is Not Neutrality: Explanatory Schemes in History*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 1998, 2).

⁹ Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, (Ultimo: Halstead Press, 2007 and Gorman House, ACT), 20.

locating one's identity in space and time.¹⁰ British historian Michael Postan says: '[storytelling] is the overwhelmingly dominant form of representations of the past.'¹¹ I agree but I also agree with historians Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton: 'There is always an element of caution about the veracity of family [national] stories. The reliability of the author "depends on the person" and memory does play tricks.'¹² Memory is often rambling, it doesn't necessarily follow in a coherent sequence and not all experiences in life are etched clearly on the brain. Vague memories or no memory at all of specific events leads to speculation based upon whatever evidence is available and, potentially, to false conclusions. False knowledge embodied inside a text gives the illusion of knowledge which is why it is critical for consumers of history to be analysts and for writers to adopt the ethical memory check outlined by Sheila Fitzpatrick in her memoirs of an Australian childhood.¹³

Fitzpatrick says: 'When I've caught myself out adding or subtracting "facts", I generally let the reader know, on the principle of disclosing information that may be used against me.' In other words, Fitzpatrick evokes the 'caveat emptor principle'; Reader beware, I may be an unreliable narrator. *Ratio animalis* and *homo sapiens* possess the capacity to invent and/or embellish memories but, when invention and/or embellishment comes into play, memory becomes imagination. When deception comes into play, memory is used as an instrument to one's own ends/to suit one's own agenda.

In writing *The Uncrowned King*, fictional elements were used to fill gaps, paint historical portraits and give personality to the characters inside my story, some of whom crossed paths with Horace Lindrum professionally. Others were

¹⁰ Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, 27.

¹¹ Michael Postan, *Fact and Relevance: Essays on Historical Method*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1971), 64.

¹² Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, 33

¹³ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *My Father's Daughter*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2012), 7.

drawn from my imagination. Thus the work springs from historical events, being the 'reality' of my father's life, imagination, memories, reminiscences and a rich world of experience, both inherited and lived. Some things retained their status of 'myth': I was unable to ascertain truth or fiction in them. When this happened I was inspired by author Paulo Coelho's assertion that 'some things [in life] can't be grasped.....we have to respect and honour that mystery.'¹⁴

My father was an overwhelming presence in my life and my respect for him as a sporting champion, father and man were the underpinning ethics of my biography. I wanted his story to ignite public excitement in a moral tale from which we might all learn something.

I posit history has a major impact upon lives and an understanding of and relationship with the past is critical to laying the foundation stones for a healthy future. We cannot come to know the Self unless we come to know and understand the history of the Self. Understanding/ gaining knowledge of the history of the Self is key to unleashing the Self's potential.

Horace Lindrum's story speaks of the personal and the historical and his times were those of great political, social and personal upheaval as, indeed, are my own times. Because this was/is the case, I needed to document history legitimately, not just in terms of upholding the dignity of Horace's person, but also to capture the man and the nation in their shared time as well as the evolution of biography subsequent to Horace's death in 1974. Only by doing that could I hope to find reasons for what has been written/ not written of Horace Lindrum since 1974.

The task of writing *The Uncrowned King* was paradoxical. The key challenge identified by author George Orwell:

¹⁴ Paulo Coelho, *The Witch of Portobello*, (London: Harper Collins, 2nd edition, 2008), 336.

‘How to move from the empirical world (the world of cold, hard facts) to the world of imagination in order to tell the “Truth” of the story without violating literary instincts.’¹⁵

Even after establishing the boundaries of personal experience, there was no way I could know for certain whether I could achieve the right balance between history and story. In the search for the right balance Ondaatje notes, ‘You can only write it once’¹⁶ and some readers may ‘disapprove of the fictional air.’¹⁷ But, the fictional air preserves the mystery of Horace Lindrum’s life and times and, as Albert Einstein wrote: ‘the most beautiful experience we can have is the mysterious. It is the fundamental emotion that stands at the cradle of true art and true science.’¹⁸

Author David Malouf has argued that history can play a limiting and destructive role and we should shift ‘our attention away from the past and towards the future’¹⁹ because only then can we become the nation we would like to be.

If we were to adopt Malouf’s philosophy, how might we write lives? Author and art historian Susan Steggall has countered, ‘There is an increasing desire to maintain the rich legacy [of history] as a living presence in our lives.’²⁰ Whilst Steggall and Malouf may appear to be speaking in opposition to one another their concerns resonate with the dilemma biographers have always

¹⁵ George Orwell, *Collected Essays*, (London: Mercury Books, 1961), 425.

¹⁶ Michael Ondaatje, *In the Skin of a Lion*, (New York, Canada, United Kingdom and Australia: Penguin Books, 1988), 201.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Hugh Mackay, *The Good Life: What makes a Life Worth Living*, (Sydney: Panmacmillan Australia Pty. Limited, 2013), 69.

¹⁹ Susan Steggall, ‘Introduction’ to ISAA Review, Volume 10, Number 1, 2011, p. 2. Also Pamela Jerome, “An Intro to Authenticity in Presentation” *APT Bulletin*, Volume 39, No. 2/3, (2008), Association for Preservation of Technology (APT) International, 3-7.

²⁰ Susan Steggall, ‘Introduction’ to ISAA Review, 2.

faced. Both acknowledge the role of history as a means of shaping national stories and, through national stories, national identity.

How then might Horace Lindrum be located in Australia's national story?

Finding an answer to that question was critical to formulating my conclusions.

A radical shift away from historical scholarship, ignorance of what Horace Lindrum achieved away from Australia, Lindrum's decision not to become embroiled in the politics of his sport which, in effect, led to a kind of shunning by future sports historians, are both personal and potential elements of Lindrum's history. Unpopularity of the sports of billiards and snooker cannot be used as an excuse for our failure to pay tribute to the only sportsman in modern history to have enjoyed a 50 year career. The biography of the nation and Horace's personal biography are intertwined reflecting Emmanuel Levinas's belief that:

'To be properly human we need to have respect for and be responsible to the Other.'²¹

This idea of the Other is particularly potent in the case of celebrities such as Horace Lindrum who lived a series of lives in the public as well as the private gaze. To ignore/bury/remain conspicuously silent in relation to a pristine record of sporting achievement seems to me to be quite odd, more particularly in a country known for its love of sport and for elevating its sporting heroes to god-like status. But it is not only 'odd', it is unacceptable.

²¹ Emmanuel Levinas, *The Levinas Reader*, edited by Sean Hand, (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1993), 82.

Biographer Jacqueline Kent has said, 'Since we live in an age when a thousand cameras are pointed at every character from every angle, the biographer must be prepared to admit contradictory versions of the same face.'²² I disagree. It is critical that the dignity of personhood principle continues to underpin the art of biography. This being the case, irrespective of the relationship between the biographer and subject, the biographer is duty bound to produce an authentic version of the subject's life.

Of course, a man/woman can play many roles during a lifetime and present one face at a business meeting and another at home. English playwright Alan Bennett demonstrates this fact magnificently in his play *The Habit of Art* (2009). 'Centred on a fictional meeting between poet W. H. Auden and composer Benjamin Britten while Britten is composing the opera "Death in Venice", Bennett presents the public and private face of Auden; his shortcomings and his achievements as a craftsman/artist. In other words, the 'reality' of Auden's persona.

Horace lived in an era of *Cinesound Movietone* newsreels, newspaper articles and photography where his sporting achievements were widely feted. He was many things to many people but, largely to me, he was my father. How then, in recognition of Kent's observation, might I reconcile the multifaceted private/public man? I attempt to find a historical pathway between what happened in my father's life, 'the reality' of his public persona, and the people who knew him best.

One of the lessons to be learned from Horace Lindrum's life is that biographers need to take care not to confuse the 'transmitter of the symbol with the symbol itself,'²³ the symbol being a family story rather than the story of a single life. It is immersion in the life of the Other (the Other being those who

²² Jacqueline Kent, "Creating Lives: The Role of The State Library of New South Wales in the Creative Process of Biography", *Lassie* (August, 2002), Volume 4, No. 2, 87.

²³ Coelho, *The Witch of Portobello*, 14.

make up the family chain), the epoch and historical ephemera that encircles them, that gives the story of a single life a multi-dimensional substance and society learns far more from the multi-dimensional substance than from the subject in isolation. Insofar as the Lindrum family story, I assert that the family tensions that served to sever vital links in a chain of intimate relationships between family members were overridden by the billiards tradition across generations thus ensuring an enduring Lindrum family legacy.

What I am saying here might sound complex when, in reality, it is simple. Something can be learned from a piece of a family puzzle but assumptions drawn from a single piece can often be proven to be wrong and incorrect assumptions infect history and lead to entrenched fictitious mythologies. A picture of family, especially one in which sporting excellence led to fraught relationships, becomes clearer when all the dots are joined. In *The Uncrowned King*, Horace walks from behind the shadow cast by his forebears into the limelight.

In Part Two of this essay I examine the role of the biographer by deconstructing the question posed by the English academic Hermione Lee who, citing author Virginia Woolf asks:

‘My God, how does one write a biography?’²⁴

I took this question further, asserting, from a position of ethical philosophy, that ‘any practises of truth-seeking, claim making, or human expression, must include an awareness of the powers and limits that attach to different kinds of literary forms.’²⁵

²⁴ Hermione Lee, *Body Parts: Essays on Life Writing*, (London: Pimlico Publishing, 2008), 12.

²⁵ Berel Lang, “Writing and the Moral Self”, *The Anatomy of Philosophy Style by Berel Lang, Review by Richard Eldridge, The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 51, No. 1, (Winter, 1993), Wiley on behalf of The American Society of Aesthetics, 79.

From the outset, the key question posed by my research was:

How might a daughter walk from behind her father's shadow to write the life of father, sporting champion and man, knowing and understanding before one even begins the task that 'facts only speak when an historian calls on them [and] historians decide to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.'²⁶

Thus, 'the biographer's view of [his/her] subject inevitably influences the results of [his/her] research.'²⁷ As Coelho suggests in his book *The Witch of Portobello* (2008), maintaining objectivity is particularly difficult when one is shining the light on a much loved and respected father. I accept that to be the case and, as a consequence, elected to adopt the strategy suggested by Coelho: I abandoned the idea of writing a traditional biography and decided instead that *The Uncrowned King* would be a creative biography based upon fact which drew on the literary devices of fiction, non-fiction, reportage and oral history to fully explore my father's sporting life. The aim: Write an intensely human story that everybody will want to read.

Before making this important decision I embarked on a quest for historical truth – a thorough researching of historical documents. Whilst these historical resources offered verisimilitude in many matters, it was during the research phase I realised fiction had a role to play in my biography because, whilst there was certainty in some areas, in others there could only ever be speculation.

Because I was born in 1950 I was party only to the latter part of my father's life, a mere seventeen years of his fifty-year career. I don't remember, for example, being photographed with the World Snooker Trophy in 1952 but I

²⁶ Edward Hallett Carr (British historian) in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 28.

²⁷ Coelho, *The Witch of Portobello*, 2.

was an eyewitness to many events, a party to many family recollections, to newspaper scrapbooks, memorabilia, photographs, letters, diaries and newsreels (raw archival data), public documents in national and state archives and oral interviews. These research materials formed a complex mix of the man remembered and the man seen through the eyes of others.

My research conferred the knowledge that, as historical vessels, each of us carries within us a rich world of experience and, whilst 'Facts may be "necessary" to produce a proper history...facts do not determine an interpretation.'²⁸ This essay focuses on these contradictions through a review of the extensive theoretical literature on autobiographical constructions. These theories contest the value of objectivity in such projects, arguing that objectivity is either attainable or unattainable; that things exist objectively and independently or empirically, only to the extent that they are perceived. Coelho posits a return to the idea:

'Anything science cannot explain has no right to exist,'²⁹

but, equally, I have attempted to show the paradoxical relationship between fact (science) and fiction (art) to demonstrate how history and story work together and that the creative honours these historical research conventions.

The paradoxical relationship between fact and fiction is why writing a life is such a delicate assignment, the biographer's aim being to 'sharpen, not blur, the distinction between truth and illusion, fact and fiction.'³⁰ But getting to the truth of a subject's personality is, as American historian David Hackett

²⁸ Robert Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1995), 56.

²⁹ Coelho, *The Witch of Portobello*, 5.

³⁰ Ray Monk, "This Fictitious Life: Virginia Woolf on Biography and Reality", *Philosophy and Literature*, Volume 31, No. 1, (April, 2007), Johns Hopkins University Press, 4.

Fischer points out, 'no easy matter...for historical truths are never pure, and rarely simple.'³¹

In *The Uncrowned King* two stories unfold which are predicated upon the question:

Who owns a history and who best to tell it?

Paramount to finding an answer to this question is the important role of time and temporal shifts of perspective. The past is often truncated. As leading English scholar Ruth N. Halls argues, it contains 'two pasts, two orders of biographical event, the earlier time that is ostensibly the subject of autobiographical discourse (my father's time) and the time during which the autobiography is written.'³² (my time)

Through the process of writing my father's story I sought to produce, not just the truth of my father's experience as a member in the sequence of my family but my own experience as a member of the same family as well as the interactions between family members, in order to search out what author Roy Pascal called, the 'truth of personality.'³³

According to Pascal, truth can be conveyed through the focus on a single life as the story of a single life connects with the history of that life; lives do not exist, survive or achieve in isolation. Thus, the reader comes to know Horace Lindrum and his world as well as the author of the Horace Lindrum story through intimacy and immersion in the respective worlds of subject, subject's ancestors and author. If we accept what Pascal says, a picture of life emerges

³¹ David Hackett Fischer (British historian) in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 25.

³² Paul John Eakin, "Henry James's "Obscure Hurt": Can Autobiography serve Biography?" *New Literary History*, Volume 19, No. 3, *History, Critics and Criticism: Some Inquiries*, (Spring, 1988), Johns Hopkins University Press, 676.

³³ Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, Massachusetts, (USA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 29.

where biographies are written precisely as story, that is, as an ordering of events around a central focus. In presenting the reader with a womb to tomb representation of Horace Lindrum's life, the Horace Lindrum history naturally falls into place.

Whilst the biography attempts to portray Horace's life as our family lived it, it is in this essay that I take issue with the history that followed his death. I argue that since Horace's death in 1974 his successes have been alternately celebrated, discarded or ignored in Australia's sporting histories and authors from Britain have twisted the truth of Horace Lindrum's history. I explore the cultural and political reasons for this particularly focusing on why the Horace Lindrum story is absent from the Australian national story. With regard to the latter, I pose a number of questions.

Why, in compiling a text on sport, did researchers/editors at the National Library of Australia exclude Horace Lindrum's stellar record of achievement?

Why has the Sporting Hall of Fame not bestowed upon Horace Lindrum the highest accolade?

Why has the Dictionary of Australian Biography failed to reference his achievements?

Why did the Australian nation fail to confer appropriate recognition given New Zealand recognised the achievements of Clark McConachy, the runner-up to Horace in the world professional snooker championship (1951/52)?

In examining these questions, I focus on traditional and contemporary biographic forms as well as the different approaches to biography and different methodologies employed by historians, biographers and storytellers when writing lives.

I was particularly interested in the authorial relationship between biographer and subject.

What was the biographer's intention in engaging with their subject?

What factors triggered the biographic impulse and what were the driving factors behind my own writing initiative?

In addition to the questions posed about my father's life and times and the times subsequent to my father's death I posed the question:

Has the biographic form changed over time? If so, how, when and why did it change?

My essay is divided into four chapters.

In Chapter One, I ask why anyone would write a biography?

What impulse drives them?

In an attempt to answer this question I explore a range of theories relating to writing the Self, including those of Ricoeur, Levinas, Portelli, Berlin, Lacan, Serres, Sartre, Baudrillard, Barthes, Foucault, Levi, Ridley, Murdoch, Clendinnen, Atwood, Marshall, Craig and Arendt.

I also examine a number of biographies, particularly those written by children of 'problematic' parents, including, Drusilla Modjeska's *Poppy* (1990), Susan Varga's *Heddy & Me* (2000), Shady Cosgrove's *She Played Elvis: A Pilgrimage to Graceland* (2011), Germaine Greer's *Daddy we Hardly knew You* (1989) and Jeanette Winterson's *Why Be Happy When You Could Be Normal?* (2011).

In Chapter Two, I examine national stories, national silence in sport, the construction, invention, manufacture and evolution of national stories and the ways in which some national figures become part of the wider national story while others do not.

I pose the question:

How do silences happen and what does it mean for historical accuracy?

Do we, to quote journalist Lenore Taylor:

'Ignore all the facts and just run with the bluster?'³⁴

Or are we, as sports historians Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz suggest:

'Biased and blind to what goes on around us?'³⁵

³⁴ Lenore Taylor, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, October 22-23, 2011, 17 and Ross Gittins in The Stories Writing History conference, National Library of Australia, ACT, 02-03 April, 2011 (NP).

³⁵ Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz, *One-Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 2000), 228.

In Chapter Three, I review the importance of sport in Australia and the evolution of the Australian sporting culture in which my father played a key role. I am particularly interested in the emotional bonds sport creates between people and nations and in Marxist structural theory which ‘conceptualises sport as an ideological state apparatus.’³⁶ I analyse the role of Australian sporting heroes and reflect upon where the Lindrum family fits within the context of the Australian national story.

In Chapter Four, I examine my reasons for writing *The Uncrowned King*. The biography or memoir is a family engagement with history. I am the eldest daughter taking up where my mother left off in attempting to tell the Lindrum family story in the full richness of its authenticity.

In writing the biography I particularly wanted to come to a better understanding of how the private informs the public and how the personal defines, and is defined by, the national, but, even more potently, I wanted to celebrate an important life, and, in the process, correct any misrepresentations of my father, thus restoring the reputation of one of Australia’s most significant sporting pioneers.

In both manuscript and essay I argue that the Horace Lindrum story is far more than a family biography of the exceptional billiard playing Lindrums. It is a mirror before which a nation can examine itself. After all, history is that which tells us about ourselves, redefining, rethinking, reappraising our national stories as fluid things, open to revision and reclaiming.

In my biography I reclaim my father.

³⁶ Booth and Tatz, *One-Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, 56.

Chapter One

Subjectivity, Objectivity and the porous boundaries between fact and fiction

This chapter explores why writers are motivated to write a life and the authorial consequences of the biographic impulse. It examines whether the ways in which writers document lives has changed over time and, if so, why attitudes towards biography also have changed. The chapter compares traditional and contemporary views on writing biography, especially the ways in which an increasingly secular and industrial world has led to changes in language, perceptions of Self and the subjects of biography.

While 'Truth' is an essential element of biography writing, the Australian academic and fiction writer Camilla Nelson has argued that there is a role for a fictionalised account of the biographer's subject. Nelson asserts that as well as offering a fictional element the spurious or fraudulent may tell us something of the author and his/her philosophy, motivation and intentions and, indeed, something of the world he or she inhabits.

Whilst Nelson's arguments contain points of interest to my research, especially ideas of the full meaning of biographical veracity, I would argue that there is no place for the bogus or counterfeit in biographical writing and this renders Nelson's hypothesis flawed. The only thing fabricated history tells us, I would assert, is that humans have a propensity to see things subjectively, being influenced by their view of the world at the time of reporting and, indeed, to be prejudiced in the expression of that view. Therefore, readers cannot assume that historical accounts are, in fact, true and factually correct. Whilst the role of an objective historian requires him/her to listen, interrogate, validate, verify, speculate and, when necessary, revise facts, those who rely on that historian's

work need to be able to verify the authenticity of the historian's account of events. For history to be history it must have veracity.

Writing about the role of the historian, the eminent oral historian and American Literature scholar Alessandro Portelli says, 'Respect for the value and importance of the individual is the most important thing and...[The] essential Art is the art of listening.'³⁷ Portelli believes that cultivating the art of listening is essential because it is from listening that we learn. When we fail to listen to the Other thinking is diminished and regress is the outcome, whereas when we hear the Other we are more likely to make informed decisions and less likely to make serious errors of judgment. Portelli also asserts that when it comes to interpretation, the duty is to the Self and the 'duty to Self needs to transcend all need for remuneration.'³⁸ When money is the driving factor behind the writing initiative the Self is easily compromised, commandeered and corrupted.³⁹

French philosopher Paul Ricoeur⁴⁰ proposed an ethics of responsibility predicated upon the art of listening to protect the biographical subject and overcome the difficulties and ambiguities in language.⁴¹ Ricoeur's testing hypothesis was based upon three principles and can be summarised as follows: Firstly, to use our minds to the very best of our ability. Secondly, to execute all that reason counsels undistracted by passions or appetites. Thirdly, to recognise that one cannot control those things that are simply outside one's control as one has to live one's life according to Seneca's maxim: *Ad illius legem exemplumque formari sapientia est.* (To live in accord with my nature I must conform to the Laws of Nature and to the example of the nature of things.) This hypothesis serves to

³⁷ Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia*, (USA: Wisconsin University Press, 1997), 58-61.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 67.

³⁹ This corrosive process is observable in the Review of Significant Literature contained in the appendices to this dissertation.

⁴⁰ Paul Ricoeur was the recipient of the Balzan prize for Philosophy (1991).

⁴¹ Paul Ricoeur, "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action considered as a Text", *New Literary History*, Volume 5, No. 1, *What is Literature?* (Autumn, 1973), 91-117.

draw the distinction between reason and intelligence; 'reason' being man's instrument for arriving at the truth and 'intelligence' the faculty that enables man to use reason.

The German philosopher and author of *The Life of the Mind* (1978) Hannah Arendt suggested, however, that in the course of modernity⁴² individuals have lost their traditional standards and values and *animal laborans* – 'the labouring animal' – has been victorious over *homo faber* – 'homo sapiens, the wise man'⁴³ – thus giving birth to a philosophy of greed. The philosopher and sociologist, Theodor Adorno, shared this view. Adorno believed reason had become an instrument to be used in the service of money and power.⁴⁴ Sociologist Erich Seligmann Fromm also shared this view. According to Fromm, 'Money, prestige, and power have become [man's] incentives and ends. He acts under the illusion that his actions benefit his self-interest though he actually serves everything else but the interests of his real Self.'⁴⁵ In his book *The Winner Stands Alone* (2009), Coelho writes:

The Superclass rules the world; their arguments are subtle, their voices soft, their smiles discreet, but their decisions are final...They have the power. And power doesn't negotiate with anyone, only with itself.⁴⁶

But Coelho offers the reader hope, concluding: 'all is not lost. 'In the world of fiction and in the real world, there is always a hero.'⁴⁷ There is always someone who walks from the shadows to challenge our thinking.

⁴² An idea led by the Enlightenment project and fueled by philosopher, Immanuel Kant's rhetoric "Sapere Aude" – Have courage to use your own reason.

⁴³ Maurixio Passerin D'Entreves, *The Political Philosophy of Hannah Arendt*, USA: Routledge, 1994, 3. References throughout the text.

⁴⁴ Andreas Molt, "Adorno and the Myth of Subjectivity", Sydney.edu.au/contretemps.3 July 2002/mot.pdf.

⁴⁵ Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics*, (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 18th edition, 1966), 19.

⁴⁶ Paulo Coelho, *The Winner Stands Alone*, Australia: Harper Collins, 2nd edition, 2010, 70.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The mythologist Joseph Campbell offered a different view asserting that, 'for the democratic ideal of the self-determining individual, the invention of the power-driven machine, and the development of the scientific method of research has so transformed human life that the long inherited, timeless universe of symbols has collapsed.'⁴⁸

According to Campbell, the traditional family unit, for example, which was once rooted in an informal exchange of money and services has been subverted and a growing dependence upon labour and commodity markets has served 'symbolically' to give the impression of connectivity. In actuality, rather than being in communion with each other, we are rapidly becoming disconnected, alienated, isolated and self obsessed.

Social scientist and author Hugh Mackay shares this view. Mackay asserts: 'the Self we are increasingly being encouraged to indulge is a buffed-up, idealised Self that doesn't always correspond to the person we know ourselves to be, or to the life we know we are really living.'⁴⁹

If we accept Arendt, Adorno, Fromm, Coehlo, Campbell and Mackay, uncovering meaning, liberating ourselves from contradictions, inconsistencies and unreliabilities and reinstating tradition to its once hallowed pedestal brings with it the challenge of convincing the labouring animal to change his/her thinking. Transporting this thought into the realm of biography, I submit there is no value in illogical, incoherent and fatuous material nor place for wilful fabrications. Ensuring our biographies are predicated upon the art of scholarship seems paramount to historical honesty, credibility and progress. In simple terms, this means greater investment in researching and collating national stories and a higher degree of care in their preparation. This does not

⁴⁸ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, (California: New World Library, 3rd edition, 2008), 333.

⁴⁹ Hugh Mackay, *The Good Life: What Makes a Life Worth Living*, (Sydney: PanMacmillan Australia, 2013), 17 and 18.

mean reliance on government, it means private enterprise sponsoring these artistic and scholarly initiatives. It also means returning sport (meaning the sport of anything) to the spirit of play (the spirit of fairness). The focus then shifts away from bottom line thinking to the art of invention and reinvention of the Self thus unlocking the Self's potential.

Scholarship, being that body of principles and practises that enables scholars (biographers/historians) to make their claims about their subject matter as valid and trustworthy as possible, recognises diversity of approach, the necessity of maintaining a high standard of performance and the value of the roles of subjectivity and objectivity. The tension between these philosophical concepts takes on special meaning when exported into the realm of biography because the argument over subjectivity and objectivity lies at the root of the contemporary dispute over the porous boundaries between fact and fiction. Throughout the course of this project, I continue to acknowledge the inherent difficulties associated with 'subjectivity' but believe 'telling the Truth' and evoking the caveat emptor principle overcomes this difficulty because the biographer/historian can honestly say to himself/herself: 'I did my best to get it right' and has, on completion of his/her work, appropriately evoked the principle that shifts responsibility to readers to satisfy themselves that what has been written is to be relied upon. Readers of history/biography must be consumers and analysts.

The story of *The Uncrowned King* is personal to me; this is my family, my roots, my blood ties. Eliminating the subjective would mean eliminating Self and story because Self and story are inextricably linked. The history of relationships between individuals in the sequence of family; family dynamics, personality clashes, harmonies, tensions, conflicts, grieving, celebrations; are part and parcel of a complex moral and social identity. Our perspectives are forged by biological ties, genetic predisposition, inherited psychology and

psychology developed through experience of membership in a family sequence and our beliefs and behavioural patterns signify how our particular family responded to/managed change. Adaptive family strategies create the unique environment that attaches to Self development and the private and personal history experienced within that environment ultimately leads to a positive or negative fusion of identity or an identity that lies somewhere in-between the two poles.

Thus, it is impossible to eliminate the subjective because subjective thought is part and parcel of our nature – we are born to ‘think’ for ourselves and form our own opinions – subjectivity is, therefore, part and parcel of our identity whereby we inherit ‘the framework for our thinking’. **The framework of our thinking forges the language of the Self; i.e. our identity at any particular moment in historical time. That is why the language we use, wherever we use it; at school, in the school yard, in the workplace, in the home, in the parliament; is important. Language determines our individual and collective identity.**

‘Thinking’ – subjective and objective – is fundamental to dialogue whether that dialogue be historical, philosophical, empirical or creative. In simple terms, we are entitled to and do form our own opinions but it is important that our opinions are shaped on constructive patterns of thinking which require us to listen to the views of others and to investigate and weigh up what we ingest/consume.

If our ‘thinking’ is confused and/or conflicted, the risk of fundamental error is greater than it would otherwise be and, if logic is absent, the creation of false realities is inevitable. When false realities come into play, falsehoods are ingested as truth and nations and peoples are compromised.

Therefore, ‘Stopping to reflect on the ethical implications [of what one says/writes/does] is vital not only for the sake of personal excellence but for

the sake of preserving long developed traditions founded on the principles of personal excellence.’⁵⁰

It is also important for us to continuously remind ourselves that ‘the public has a right to Truth as well as a right to know how little authentic information there is in history.’⁵¹

Documenting the authentic version of a life story is important. The authentic version provides the reader with a verifiable account and serves to expose counterfeit versions. Admittedly, it is possible to draw assumptions from a piece/s of a family story about individuals in the family sequence or, indeed, the family as a whole, given all objective truths – scientific or otherwise – are based upon assumptions, but a complete picture of family provides far greater enlightenment.

At this juncture, I argue two critical issues:

Firstly, one should never stand-by and watch history being rewritten if the new version is a fabrication.

Secondly, I posit an awareness of the complexities of Self and subject’s family life and immersion in Self and subject’s lived experiences is paramount to rendering a genuine version of a subject’s history. Even when the subject is unrelated to the biographer, the biographer needs to immerse himself/herself in the subject’s life and lived experience and be influenced by these factors and bound by these principles in his/her role as ‘protector and patron of their subject.’⁵²

⁵⁰ David Craig, *The Ethics of the Story: Using Narrative Techniques Responsibly in Journalism* (USA: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 3.

⁵¹ Johann Von Goethe, *Opinions*, translated by Otto Wenckstern, (London: John Parker & Son, 1853), 3.

⁵² Barbara Caine, *Biography and History: Theory and History*, (Gordonsville: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010). Manifesto for the important of the individual life story as a genre. This theme flows throughout the text.

It is this close bond between a writer and their subject – in my case, between father and eldest daughter – that draws the reader into an evolving process of discovery between the worlds of biography, autobiography and memoir. In this space the faculty of the imagination plays a key role in ordering and shaping reader response.

According to memoirist Frank F. Mathias, the use of the imagination is the preserve of the memoirist: 'The only historian who may justly add to his story by use of the imagination to fill in a bit of the past is the memoirist.'⁵³ Mathias's hypothesis is rooted in the belief that the memoirist can pull from memory the unvarnished truth; memories of experiences, words, songs and so on and their interrelationship with their life. Examples of such memoirs are Australian author Albert Facey's *A Fortunate Life* (1981)⁵⁴ and Frank Hardy's *The Hard Way* (1960).⁵⁵

Reviewed in a contemporary context these texts have currency but the main lesson we learn from Facey and Hardy is that nostalgia plays a powerful role in formulating history and artists must be free to use history because history is the story of the Self and intimate stories of Self and the Self's relationship with the Other reveal the 'ceaseless interrelationship between the public and private that registers large and small events alike...This awareness involves a sense of shared experience, of being shaped by and participating in events larger than oneself.'⁵⁶ An example is the impact of the Lisbon Earthquake

⁵³ Frank F. Mathias, "Writing a Memoir: The Investment of Art with Craft," *Society for History Education, The History Teacher*, Volume 19, No. 3, (May, 1986), 375.

Frank Mathias was the author of *GI Jive: An Army Bandsman* (1982)

⁵⁴ Facey wrote his autobiography / memoir of rowing up in Western Australia, life as a bushman, professional boxer and soldier at Gallipoli and what it was like to lose a son to war, on exercise books on the kitchen table.

⁵⁵ Hardy extols his personal experiences of an overzealous judiciary, prosecution on a charge of criminal libel, imprisonment in the Melbourne Watch House, Trial in the Victorian Supreme Court and the Cold War.

⁵⁶ Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, 21.

(1755) on Enlightenment thinkers.⁵⁷ Another more contemporary example, the impact of the four co-ordinated terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and nearby infrastructure (September 11, 2001) and, subsequently, multiple terrorist attacks across the globe.

As the experience of history is a shared experience we need to be able to trust a biographer's 'honesty as a historian in telling his [her] story.'⁵⁸ **Truth must remain whole and not diminished if truth is to remain an absolute. This is important because lessons are learned from the 'genuine' account which is why biographers should 'never tire of sleuthing after information, and, if called to interpretation [must] maintain a commitment to accuracy. Deliberate distortion is obviously unethical.'**⁵⁹

In circumstances where a biographer is unsure of a fact/facts, I assert, yet again, he/she is obliged to evoke the caveat emptor principle.⁶⁰ (Reader beware, I may be an unreliable narrator. Reader you need to do your own homework).

Writing about the margins of biography, eminent academic Lisa J. Disch expressed concern that biography had become an increasingly contested genre, a view shared by Stout.⁶¹ In traditional societies, for example, 'storytelling is a consensus-building practice that serves to hand down a common understanding of the meaning and purpose of human life.'⁶² **This used to be the case in contemporary Western society but I posit there have been sweeping changes to the way we 'think' and the way we use**

⁵⁷ For example, Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe, Rousseau, Immanuel Kant and Voltaire were all influenced by this event. Another example is George Orwell's perception of the Spanish Civil War reflected in the work *Homage to Catalonia*.

⁵⁸ Mathias, "Writing a Memoir: The Investment of Art with Craft", 375.

⁵⁹ Jarvis P. Stout, "Writing on the Margins of Biography", *South Central Review*, Volume 23, No. 3, *Literary Biography*, (Fall, 2006), Johns Hopkins University Press, 64.

⁶⁰ Reader Beware, I may be an unreliable narrator. You need to do your own homework.

⁶¹ Jarvis P. Stout, "Writing on the Margins of Biography", 64.

⁶² Lisa J. Disch, 'More Truth than Fact: Storytelling as a Critical Understanding in the Writings of Hannah Arendt', *Political Theory*, Volume 21, No. 4, (Nov., 1993), Sage Publications Inc., 669.

'thinking'. The presumption that any knowledge is good seems fallacious because '[Thought] itself arises out of incidents of living experience [which is reality] and [as Arendt asserts] must remain bound to them as the only guideposts by which to take its bearings.'⁶³

For Arendt, storytelling bridges the abyss between history and story but, if we are to accept Arendt's premise, then we must also accept biography, the writing of someone else's life, needs to be based upon 'terra firma facts'⁶⁴ as the purpose of writing the life is to shine a light on history.

Yet we appear to have moved away from the traditional understanding of biography as 'concrete experienced reality' and into a different zone of creative history. As author Author Harry Knowles points out, 'biography is more than just a sort of sophisticated entertainment, [a] bedside companion after the daily torments in the laboratory or at the desk. Biography has the potential to extend the boundaries of many scholarly endeavours.'⁶⁵ **Writing a life truthfully is critical to the well-being and progress of humanity because, in the most simple terms, we learn from the 'real'.**

An interesting case in point is the debate over Australian author Kate Grenville's *The Secret River* (2005). In 2005 historian Mark McKenna accused Grenville of having elevated fiction to a position of interpretative power⁶⁶ and lamented that historians had lost much of "their earlier cultural authority". 'A cultural space has opened up into which writers of fiction are now more commonly seen as the most trustworthy purveyors of the past.'⁶⁷ A year later,

⁶³ Lisa J. Disch, 'More Truth than Fact: Storytelling as a Critical Understanding in the Writings of Hannah Arendt', 665.

⁶⁴ Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 49.

⁶⁵ Harry Knowles, "Voyeurs or scholars? Biography's role in Labor History", *Journal of Australian Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 69, 63. (pp. 63-75)

⁶⁶ 'If ever there was a case for a novelist wanting her work to be taken seriously as history, it is Grenville.'
www.kategrenville.com/node/75

⁶⁷ Mark McKenna in Ashton and Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, 22.

author Inga Clendinnen weighed into the debate asserting in her essay, “The History Question: Who Owns the Past?” that academic historians were “in possession”, presumably meaning: historians had reclaimed their cultural space; history being the preserve of historians. Clendinnen dismissed Grenville’s novel as ‘an inadequate representation of the past.’⁶⁸ Responding to the criticism, Grenville argued that the role of the novelist is to reflect on and draw inspiration from history by ‘looking down at the fray’ and forming a subjective view of what actually happened.

In responding to historians and novelists alike, I would like to contend that perceived differences in the way we tell stories lie in commonalities rather than in opposite viewpoints. Storytelling, after all, is part of our genetic history, ‘we have deep narrative structures inside of us that enable us to relate our experiences’⁶⁹ (as author/advertising guru Bryce Courtney once said: ‘It all began with story around the camp fire’). We are also born with a moral compass that tells us when we are not telling the truth.

When we talk history versus story, we are talking about the impact of an event in the past which has left an impression on us and an imprint on our brains. The event is over and, in that sense, it is no longer living experience but resides in the first-hand memory of those who experienced and/or remember the event/s or in the second-hand memory of those who are introduced to the event/s via stories handed down from one generation to another. Thus history “lives” through a series of generational lives – actual, remembered, recounted, reiterated.

What is more, when a fiction writer writes history the mind of the fiction writer occupies a far different space from that an historian maintains when writing history. Justice lies at the heart of an historian’s commitment to service

⁶⁸ Ashton and Hamilton, 22.

⁶⁹ John Terrell, “Storytelling and Prehistory”, *Archaeological Method and Theory*, Volume 2, (1990), Springer, 2.

whereas igniting interest in the story of people, place, events, culture, traditions through fiction-making relies on an entirely different kind of storytelling enterprise.

Imagination, liberties with the inner lives of characters, anachronistic or modernised language can all play a role in a fiction writer's fictionalised history whereas the historian stays true to the research before them or, at least, that is what the Von Rankean⁷⁰ tradition dictates. When it comes to writing lives, I posit the value to society of upholding the Von Rankean tradition. The 'realisation that only smaller truths and narrower narratives are possible'⁷¹ because historical facts 'flow in response to specific questions posed by practitioners'⁷² should not be used by practitioners as an excuse to do other than their best to offer up a genuine record of events. After all, in researching a specific question you need to travel many pathways, read material on a multiplicity of subjects, look behind cupboards, dig into boxes, conduct interviews and so on. Notwithstanding, I accept:

The past is not the exclusive property of historians.
The past belongs to those on whom it impinges
and they will represent it in many ways.
They dance it. They sing it. They paint it. They play it.⁷³

But representations of history should not be falsified so as to be instruments of harm.

⁷⁰ Leopold Von Ranke (1795-1886) German Historian. Von Ranke's principle 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' translated as 'How things actually were' is the historian's guiding principle. Von Ranke's first history was *History of the Latin and Teutonic Peoples 1495-1514* was written from a wide range of sources.

⁷¹ Nancy Struna (Sport historian) in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 41.

⁷² Ibid, 36, attributed to British economic historian Michael Postan.

⁷³ Greg Denning in Bruce Scates, "The Historical Conscience: Australian Historians on the Ethics of History by Stuart McIntyre", *Review by Bruce Scates*, *Labour History*, No. 90, (May, 2006), 233.

Biographical writing is served by similar conundrums largely because 'definitions abound: from the mischievously disparaging (W. H. Auden's gossip writers and voyeurs calling themselves scholars) to the serious and scholarly.'⁷⁴ Vapereau defined biography as 'literary work, whose author intended, secretly or admittedly, to recount his/her life, to expose his/her thoughts or to describe his/her feelings.'⁷⁵ German philosopher Georg Misch on the other hand described the Art of Biography as 'concrete experienced reality.'⁷⁶ Author John Williams defines biography as 'the art of reduction...[a] craft of reducing the complex and contradictory into digestible portions.'⁷⁷ Scholars Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson agree, suggesting that perspectival adjustments define autobiography: 'historicity, genealogy, ideology and discursive imperative and Selfhood.'⁷⁸

The Australian poet, critic and musician David McCooey expresses a different view, asserting that through autobiography 'a person's life' is notoriously difficult to define because it (autobiography / biography) is 'unfashionable historical discourse as distinct from fiction.'⁷⁹ McCooey seems to be suggesting it is fashionable to discount the past. I would argue the legacy of the past offers more than a familial story: it forges our individual identity and defines the relationship we share with the subject of biography. It therefore deems our history shared, open to narrative and capable of definition.

⁷⁴ Knowles, "Voyeurs or Scholars? Biography's role in Labor History", 63.

⁷⁵ Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography, 'The Autobiographical Pact'*, edited by Paul John Eakin, translated by Katherine M. Leary, (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 1989), 123.

⁷⁶ Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, 2.

⁷⁷ John Williams in Alex C. Castle's *Ned Kelly's Last Days: Setting the Record Straight on the Death of an Outlaw*, (Crow's Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2005), 227.

⁷⁸ Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, editors, *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*, (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1992), xvii.

⁷⁹ David McCooey, *Artful Histories*, (United Kingdom, USA, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5.

Tragically, we often come to appreciate the past when it is lost to us.

For example, older people are great storehouses of knowledge. When an older person dies the library that person carries inside him/her – his/her particular experiences and perspectives on life in the engine room of the nation – are all too frequently lost to humanity that is why we all need to keep a diary of some sort so that those who come after us can learn from our experience of life. The value of recording historical moments in time is evidenced in the work of Victor Hugo, Charles Dickens, Leo Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov, George Orwell and so on.

French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre's deterministic vision of biography offers an existence without memory, without identity, in which consciousness bubbles up discontinuously, from moment to moment, like gas.⁸⁰

As Knowles observes, "There is no consensus amongst biographers and historians on the question of what biography is or is not. Much depends upon the era when the biography was written and the method or technique employed."⁸¹ That might be so but there is never an excuse for fabrication.

Fabrication, a philosophy of greed and burial of Truth led to the Global Financial crisis (2007) which saw six million people lose their jobs, eight million people lose their homes, the elderly lose their pensions⁸². Fabrication/burial of Truth causes harm.

The biographer's greatest challenge then is to capture that which Sartre deemed unclaimable – memory's discontinuity. The biographer may address this by locating themselves quite visibly within the text. In historical writing the historian may stay well back, in the shadows, but biography often offers a more exhibitionistic impulse. The biographer's subjectivity is connected to their choice of subject – the two – subject and biographer – maintain a unique

⁸⁰ Eakin, "Henry James's "Obscure Hurt": Can Autobiography Serve Biography?", 675.

⁸¹ Knowles, "Voyeurs or Scholars? Biography's role in Labor History", 63.

⁸² Reference to the motion picture *The Big Short* (2015), Directed by Adam McKay. Screenplay by Adam McKay and Charles Randolph. Starring Brad Pitt, Christian Bale and Ryan Gosling. Story of Michael Burry who first identified the problems associated with sub-prime mortgages.

partnership, between self and Other (historian and storyteller on the one hand and subject on the other) and as such the biographer dances in and out of view. Hence the challenge associated with weaving history and story into a singular tapestry and the fragility of the biographer's role as historian and storyteller in rendering the history of a human person/s.

History and story may be disparate forms requiring vastly different skill sets, yet the blurring between the two is profound.

Historians sit in the world of *cogitare* which is at its best when the presentation of facts and evidence is such that one can be certain of something beyond reasonable doubt.

Storytellers, on the other hand, are situated in 'a realm where images lurk in a shadowy mid-ground between the perceptions of full consciousness and the dark hinterland of the unconscious.'⁸³ History claims scientific status⁸⁴ yet history is also found in Simon Schama's approach – a history filled with characters and dramatic scenes – or the works of Raimond Gaita which are filled with philosophical reflections and insights.

Hence, by its nature, biography or 'life telling' encapsulates the language of laboratory and stage and many creative biographies have been constructed on a preponderance of characters plucked from the author's imagination to accompany the 'real' subject on their narrative journey. Because of this blend of historical truth and historical fiction, biography seems to rely on the same ethical, moral and legal challenges that attach to the arts of law, science, medicine and archaeology. **Respect for personhood lies at the root of the art of biography just as respect for personhood lies at the root of all study founded on the principles of epistemology.** To test this hypothesis, one simply has to pose the question: What is the role of the biographer?

⁸³ John H. Hartsook, "Becquer and the Creative Imagination", *Hispanic Review*, Volume 35, No. 3, (July, 1967), the University of Pennsylvania Press, 253.

⁸⁴ A rational and objective commitment to the quest for historical Truth.

If the answer to this question is: to record anthropological truth, then the biographer is bound by a duty to use their best endeavours to validate a life in the context in which that life was lived. To do otherwise, I would argue, is to risk harm to subject, family and wider national history. A further important consideration is that a nation's history is the sum of all its biographies. Therefore, history can only have merit if its biographies are reliable sources of information from which future generations can learn or draw inspiration.⁸⁵

British historian Keith Thomas argues, 'All historical writing is a form of literary composition, expressed through language, requiring artistry, conscious or unconscious, and embodying what cannot help being a selective and stylised view of the past.'⁸⁶ While Thomas argues for a 'selective and stylised view' this should not be read as a licence to lie, perpetuate a mistake rather than corroborate a truth and/or adopt a 'scissor and paste'⁸⁷ approach. Other contemporary views of biography include those expressed by military historian Richard Holmes who asserts that biography is a 'mongrel or maverick art, born of an unholy alliance the day that fiction married fact or invention formed a love-match with Truth.'⁸⁸

The novel is often used as a yardstick for comparison with biographical works. Philosopher and literary critic Roland Barthes, for example, branded biography a novel 'that dare not speak its name'⁸⁹ thus locating biography in the realm of fiction. Barthes' theory is predicated upon the belief that the performative aspects of biography trigger a metaphysical transformation

⁸⁵ *The Memoires de la vie privee de Benjamin Franklin – The Memoirs of American President, Benjamin Franklin (1793)* – is a wonderful example of didactic memoir. In-text ref needed

⁸⁶ Daniel J. O'Connor, "Biography as History and Abbot Salvado of New Norcia", Western Australia University, Crawley, 1995, 51.

⁸⁷ Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 215.

⁸⁸ Richard Holmes, *Biography: Inventing Truth: The Art of Literary Biography*, edited by John Batchelor, (United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1995), 16.

⁸⁹ Justin Kaplan, "Roland Barthes in 'A Culture of Biography'", *Yale Review* 82, October, 1994, 6.

whereby author and subject become one and author sacrifices Self – dies – in order to give life to the text. Once the text is written, all there is left is the text. Barthe's theory is refutable to writers. **Rather than 'die' to give life to the text, the author lives through his/her role inside the text and the life of the text determines how an author is remembered. Understanding the author is critical to comprehending the text.**

Australian biographer Jacqueline Kent says biography is 'a strange form...no longer considered an art, not even the highest form of literature, the novel is still considered the gold standard of imaginative writing.'⁹⁰

Despite these views, for this author at least, biography is clearly not a novel. A novel is 'a set of strategies, closer to something in mathematics or quantum physics than something in ethics or sociology.'⁹¹ It takes its reader on an imaginative journey, the writer / reader contract clearly defining the imaginative and made up within it. Yet the views expressed by Barthes, Holmes and Kent pose important questions about the ways in which language is used to shape biographical writing. **I opine that descriptive and highly colourful language has subverted and has the potential to subvert the art of biography and strip it of its true purpose, which is didactic; to offer information and knowledge based on historical fact.**

In concurring with Stout when he says: 'biography has become an increasingly contested genre,'⁹² I contend the biographical subject has been over-theorised and this process, emanating from the reduction of knowledge to fermions, revision of moral codes and ethical frameworks, economic strife, personality differences and new ways of working which have created a desire to challenge the way we look at life, causes us to lose sight of the reality that, as

⁹⁰ Kent, "Creating Lives: The Role of the State Library of New South Wales in the Creative Process of Biography", 86-87.

⁹¹ Colm Toibin, *New Ways to Kill your Mother*, (Australia: Picador/PanMacmillan Australia, 2012), 8.

⁹² Stout, "Writing on the Margins of Biography", 64.

author William Thayer argues, 'life is far deeper than the principles by which, at one period or another, we interpret it.'⁹³ 'There is a danger of becoming too cosmic, of seeing history from a height so remote that it bears no resemblance to the flesh and blood facts.'⁹⁴ Of course, this could be because 'seeing the reality does not suit the commercial purpose' and that is when the 'harm' factor comes into play.

A further consideration is the process by which the biological person becomes an historical person through language, so we need to ensure that the ideals we set ourselves and the language we use are not dehumanising. For example, whilst it is reasonable to assert biography is neither pure art nor pure science, is it rational for Holmes to use a word like 'mongrel' to describe a scholarly enterprise?

What approach might young biographers take to biography if they are preconditioned to the idea that biography has no boundaries and no defining qualities and subjects are victims and writers are parasites?⁹⁵ These ideas are rejected in this dissertation.

A biography is the story of a life and writing biography comes with an absolute duty to balance the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity in reporting the history of that life.

Writing on biography, Michel Foucault asserted, 'Writing transforms the things seen or heard into tissue and blood (*in vires et in sanguinem*).'⁹⁶ Australian author Francesca Rendle-Short also believes this is the case.

⁹³ William Roscoe Thayer, "Biography", *The North American Review*, Volume 180, No. 579, (February, 1905), 262.

⁹⁴ William Roscoe Thayer, "Biography", 263.

⁹⁵ Christopher Koch, "The Fate of the Individual lies in the Cross-Fire of History", Stories Writing History conference, ACT: National Library of Australia, 2-3 April, 2011 (NP).

⁹⁶ Matthias Swonger, "Foucault and the Hupomnemata: Self writing as an Art of Life", University of Rhode Island (2006), <http://digitalcommons.uri.edu/srhonorsprog/18>, 4.

Rendle-Short says:

Writing is a means of coming into being (fashioning and re-fashioning the self); it makes skin and bones and blood – a body to breath. So alive are the words, the paper, the ink, it is very nearly impossible to imagine real flesh and blood.⁹⁷

Whilst writing is a means of ‘coming into being/breathing life into a subject’, I posit these assertions suggest a trend towards draining the life out of the subject which, at best, is to create a fiction and, at worst, commit the offence of libel by wilfully misrepresenting or causing harm to the subject.⁹⁸ The aim is to ensure the real flesh and blood person is depicted on the page so the reader is absorbed by the life and times of the subject.

Foucault maintained, ‘I’s’ are sites where generalised operations of power press ineluctably on the subject.’⁹⁹ Whilst I concur with Foucault, I would also assert that, when it comes to writing a life, the duty is to the Other not to the Self. **The biographical subject – more particularly the deceased biographical subject who is unable to defend himself/herself – must never be at the mercy of the biographer. If the self feels power over the subject it may be best to reconsider the project because the aim of biographer is not the exercise of power or judgment over the Other, rather the exercise of skill and artistry to understand a life in order to render an authentic account of it.**

How then might one define the contemporary biography? The sports biographer Nicholas G. Richardson believes that, ‘biographers have traditionally used a holistic approach that has attempted to paint in as much detail as possible of the subject’s life and times. Within this broad spectrum

⁹⁷ Francesca Rendle-Short, “The Smell of Pineapples: writing a Queensland auto-bio-graphie”, Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts, University of Wollongong, Text 10.2 (2006), 01/2006, 7.

⁹⁸ Defamation by written or printed words. www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consolact/da200599 Reference is also made to the Crimes Act – Section ‘Criminal Defamation’.

⁹⁹ Smith and Watson, *De/Colonising the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women’s Autobiography*, xiv.

three basic approaches have been identified.¹⁰⁰ Richardson asserts that firstly, the realist approach allows for information to be collected and the biographer represents the viewpoint of the subject. Secondly he advocates the neo-positivist approach...where existing networks of concepts are used to make theoretically based predictions concerning people's experienced lives. Thirdly, the narrative is supreme whereby the biographer seeks to understand the subject's perspective as it is mediated by context.¹⁰¹

Aside from its storytelling elements, other defining features of biography can include allegiance to fact, 'to the past as it resides in memory over time and to recoverable reality';¹⁰² preservation of the image of man as 'an irrepressible teller of tales';¹⁰³ devotion to self-reinvention and its 'quest for referential Truth'¹⁰⁴ and reverential respect for memory.¹⁰⁵ **But, above all else, perhaps the most distinguishing feature of biography is the one identified by Rendle-Short, 'trying to make sense of a history that has happened, a history that has disappeared down the cracks.'**¹⁰⁶

Important elements in history / story telling are the pattern or structure of the text and the identity of the narrator. The narrator and protagonist are, more often than not, one and the same although, in Franz Kafka's *Der Process*¹⁰⁷ Kafka

¹⁰⁰ Author and Researcher, Robert L. Miller identifies and discusses these approaches in his book *Life Stories and Family Histories* (2000).

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Richardson, "G. E. A. McDonald: The Rewards of Pragmatism: A Biographical Approach to Sports History", A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Melbourne: Department of History, 2004, 3.

¹⁰² Eakin, "Henry James's "Obscure Hurt", Can Autobiography serve Biography?" 675.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 684.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 688.

¹⁰⁵ Kate Grenville, *Searching for the Secret River*, (Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2008), 213.

¹⁰⁶ Rendle-Short, "The Smell of Pineapples", 3.

¹⁰⁷ Unfinished manuscript 1914 – translated as 'The Trial'.

is a third-party narrator sitting outside the story. Yet, there is commonality. In both instances the authors are the actors, producers and directors of the action and, at the heart of the biographic impulse is the 'I'. The 'I' is observable in *Poppy* (1990) where author Drusilla Modjeska reflects on the damage associated with living with the stigma of what she calls her mother's 'disorders of the brain' and in *Heddy & Me* (1994) where Hungarian Jewish author Susan Varga examines the role of survivors of the Holocaust through an intimate memoir of her mother, Heddy. Through reflecting on the lives of their mothers, Modjeska and Varga attempt to understand the circumstances and events that have forged their own identities and pose the question, what does it mean to be a casualty of history? The question is posed to the mother as well as the Self.

Modjeska concludes we are all casualties of history. She asserts that, not only are we shaped by the events and the lasting images of specific events in history and the knowledge that 'politicians love to shift responsibility onto the broad sweep of abstraction like progress or history, so that no one need take any blame,' but we also feel as if 'history marches on with a mind of its own and we'd better go with it or jump out of its way.'¹⁰⁸ Thus we are rendered powerless.

Varga concurs, arguing that we are casualties of history because we speak different languages and, even when we speak the same language, we have different ways of processing information. Frequently, meaning is lost because an individual's language is unique to that individual and, even when language is shared, what is said or written can still be misconstrued or misunderstood. The Other cannot hear what is being said, does not possess the same understanding or may not want to hear the message for fear of reprisals.

¹⁰⁸ Drusilla Modjeska, *Poppy*, (Sydney: Penguin Books, 1990), 94.

Relaying her experiences of returning to her native Budapest, Varga says; '[The] formal official language used in the media and newspapers is hard for me to understand; it is full of words...self-important...power hungry.'¹⁰⁹ **Varga suggests we need to examine the 'social difference and cultural gaps that seem to be so firmly entrenched in language'¹¹⁰ and, instead of searching for difference, we need to search for common ground.**

Whilst supporting Modjeska's and Varga's, view, I would also argue that we are casualties of smaller events. History is purely a record of events and people write, re-write and re-interpret these events. Casualties of history are those people who are affected by the events of history and also when history is recorded or written wrongly.

Horace Lindrum has been a victim of writers abusing historical truth.

Modjeska explains her theory of language by reference to her mother and step-father: 'Poppy's language was human and intuitive... Richard's language was the rule of law;'¹¹¹ and then by reference to the great social scientists and social theorists – Marx, Darwin, Freud, Boas, Foucault – before concluding that language is 'the voice of dichotomy and split.'¹¹²

After contemplating language, Modjeska and Varga reflect on how personal and public dramas unfold and play out alongside each other. Through this process they place important social issues under the microscope.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Susan Varga, *Heddy & Me*, (Abbotsford, Victoria: Bruce Simms Books, 1994), 244.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Modjeska, *Poppy*, 100.

¹¹² Ibid, 212.

¹¹³ God, religious scepticism, faith, family, culture, tradition, nationalism, politics, warmongering, religious and cultural difference, ethnicity, loss and displacement, rape, social disease, alcoholism, propaganda, cruelty, ignorance, mental health, torture, criminology, greed, male versus female psychology and the concepts of beauty, respect, dignity, friendship, work, play, memory and personality.

Life writers are drawn to an understanding of history, language, experience and social issues in their search for an understanding of the Self or what Campbell calls 'the king within the Self, seated in the hearts of all creatures.'¹¹⁴

The Biographical Subject

In discussing the biographical subject critic Daniel J. O'Connor asserts:

The biographical subject is a text-based creature whose habitat and activity is mostly circumscribed by the whims of its host, the biographer. The parasitic qualities of the host are such as to leave the subject with little of the substance of its original vigour. Instead the creature will have been remade to resemble the image, not perhaps of the host, but of something conducive to the life-style of the host.¹¹⁵

This contemporary critique reflects a resistance to traditional biographical values and the emergence of a pluralistic age of competing voices, opinions, perspectives and distorted effects that have served to destroy confidence in language and rupture the idea of Truth.

The Italian literary figure Albert Levi, for example, asserts Truth is merely a Platonic ideal. 'Poetry, philosophy, history, a large part of the goods of life, are matters of richness and freedom of meanings rather than truth.'¹¹⁶ The inference here is that Truth is malleable – 'propositional' – a mere statement of opinion – and any attempt to 'elicit true propositions from novels, poems and drama is not simply difficult but misguided and irrelevant.'¹¹⁷ Truth is nothing more than a manufactured commodity and literary works are written to

¹¹⁴ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 315.

¹¹⁵ O'Connor, "Biography as History and Abbot Salvado of New Norcia", 51.

¹¹⁶ Albert William Levi, "Literary Truth", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 24, No. 3, (Spring, 1966), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of The American Society for Aesthetics: 379.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

entertain rather than demonstrate some higher Truth about the Self and society. If he were alive today I am sure Shakespeare would refute this assertion. The characters inside Shakespeare's plays are people from whom we can learn many lessons.

Levi is more generous when it comes to his opinion on empirical science. 'Science,' he says 'is concerned with truth and falsity of propositions...Science can have nothing to do with literature and metaphysics because literature and metaphysics are concerned with illusion rather than unvarnished truth. It represents '[An] appearance of reality rather than reality itself.'¹¹⁸ I posit that 'thinking' is as crucial to the construction of a story as it is to the construction of a scientific hypothesis. **You cannot extrapolate empirical methodology from art because 'well-crafted story shares with the most elegant theories the ability to bring a version of the world to light that so it transforms the way people see that it seems never to have been otherwise.'**¹¹⁹

The biography of *The Uncrowned King* employs a series of levels or layers to capture the complexity of the subject, Horace Lindrum. These layers are a complex weaving together of fact and fiction which serve to validate film director David Attenborough's assertion about the making of the film *Gandhi*. Attenborough believed:

[No] man's life can be encompassed in one telling. There is no way to give each year its allocated weight, to include each event, each person who helped to shape a lifetime. What can be done is to be faithful in spirit to the record and try to find one's way to the heart of the man.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Albert William Levi, "Literary Truth", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 24, No.3, (Spring, 1966), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of The American Society of Aesthetics: 379.

¹¹⁹ Disch, "More Truth than Fact: Storytelling as a Critical Understanding in the Writings of Hannah Arendt", 665.

¹²⁰ Richard Attenborough's biographical film *Gandhi*, Columbia Pictures in association with Gold Crest Films and National Film Development Corporation of India and Indo-British Films, starring Ben Kingsley (1982).

Biographical Role Models

When it comes to biographical role models, the scholar Ronald Ridley¹²¹ suggests historian Manning Clark ‘made much of a quality which is fundamental to the biographer – “The eye of pity.”’¹²² I would take this view further, asserting that the fundamental is ‘the eye of the master craftsman’ who never sacrifices truth (duty of service to the Other) on the altar of expediency. On the contrary they pay attention to detail and, with a skilled eye, look to all the angles before putting pen to paper.

Writing about her work on the Spanish Inquisition, author Inga Clendinnen argues the importance of ethical and moral frameworks:

...had I inserted one false detail, one imputation of motive or sensation not justifiable out of the record (including its exclusions, deformations and silences) I would have falsified an actual human and, therefore, a moral relationship between myself and the people I had chosen to represent and between myself and my potential readers who look to me for History.¹²³

But what of the gaps and silences?

Canadian author Margaret Atwood says: ‘In the parts left unexplained, the gaps left unfilled, authors are free to invent with the proviso that any invention serves to preserve the spirit/ authenticity of the story.’¹²⁴

What Clendinnen and Atwood have to say is important to answering another key question:

What role does authorial intention play in writing biography?

¹²¹ Professor Emeritus at the School of Historical Studies, University of Melbourne.

¹²² Ronald, T. Ridley, “What an Historian Knows”, Valedictory Lecture, the Elisabeth Murdoch Theatre, 17th May, 2007, School of Historical Studies, (Melbourne: the University of Melbourne Press, 2008), 27.

¹²³ Clendinnen in Nelson, “Faking it: History and Creative Writing”, 3.

¹²⁴ Atwood in Nelson in “Faking it: History and Creative Writing”, 1.

When applied to biography this question harks back to that posed by Arendt in relation to evil. If a biographer comes to the task with malice aforethought, what is the reason for a rational being surrendering his/her capacity to logic?

Is it that the biographer will do anything for money whereupon the biographical subject becomes an instrument to his/her own ends?

Do contemporary biographers race at the subject matter – typing on laptops in the back of motor vehicles – for commercial reasons; to meet editor demands and satisfy publishing deadlines; and, if so, should biographers/ editors and publishers stop to reflect on the words of author David Craig? Craig asserts authors need to pause to ‘reflect on the ethical implications...not only for the sake of personal excellence but for the sake of preserving long developed traditions founded on the principles of personal excellence.’¹²⁵

Deborah E. Lipstadt, Professor of Jewish Studies at Emory University, emphasises the importance of scholarship in her work *History on Trial: My Day in Court with a Holocaust Denier* (2005) and demonstrates how easy it is for an author to lose his/her reputation for his/her failure to respect long developed traditions founded, not just on the principles of personal excellence, but on the principles that attach to Truth, Justice, Decency and Respect for the dignity of personhood.

I posit nations and peoples are compromised when authors engage in wilful fabrication or race at the subject matter without regard to the subjects and their families. The art of writing biography should not be viewed through the lens of Truman Capote’s *In Cold Blood* (1966), where writers gag and bind their subjects, then slit their throats.

¹²⁵ David Craig, *The Ethics of the Story: Using Narrative Techniques Responsibly in Journalism*, USA: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 3.

In the answer to the question: Do contemporary biographers race at the subject matter. rests a range of views on ethics and responsibility which will be explored in the following chapters.

In this chapter I have explored the importance of the principles that underpin traditional biography. In terms of biographical developments I have shown just how widely these traditional views have been challenged. I have argued that whilst there will always be abstractions and innovations in biographical developments, just as there will be in every other field of human enterprise, there should never be fabrications.

In 'writing terms', fabrication and fiction, belong in the realm of the novelist. **The biographer's right to fiction extends only to filling gaps, colouring and creating atmosphere.**

Biographer's who engage in fabrication put their reputations on the line. In the chapter that follows I examine biography through the prism of the national story. Nations weave their own fictions, I argue, not too far removed from those of personal fabrication. The world would be a much richer place if we held to the dignity of personhood principle and simply told the Truth.

Chapter Two

National Stories

In this chapter I consider the role biography plays in formulating the national story by viewing the national story through the prism of my father's life and vice versa. Of particular interest in this chapter is why the life of one of Australia's most significant sporting pioneers has not received the recognition it deserves and why, post 1974, there have been attempts to damage Horace Lindrum's good name and reputation. Reference here is made to the Review of Significant Literature interwoven into the arguments of chapter four.

I grew up with the belief my father was a great champion so I was surprised to find important sporting histories conspicuously silent on his achievements. It was also a shock to find my father's life of achievement disfigured in many contemporary texts. Thus, a core aim of this dissertation was to set the record straight by charting a course through the biography of the nation to get to the genesis of this shift in thinking – from 'Boy Wonder' in 1928 to 'Maestro' and 'King of the Cue' in 1974 – to today's lost, forgotten and subverted hero.

Because the Lindrum family story is perceived to be largely a sporting story rather than what it is – an intensely human story – in Chapter Three entitled "The Sporting Hero", I focus on the concept of the sporting hero, cultural shifts in sport and the evolution of the new sporting model.

Research into elite sporting families over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveals the Lindrums are the only family in the history of the sport of billiards and snooker to have produced five world-class sporting champions in

the same discipline in only four generations and, on further enquiry, Horace Lindrum appears to be the only sportsman in history to have enjoyed a sporting career spanning 50 years. In the context of this rich history it is all the more surprising that the last member of the Lindrum sporting aristocracy should have been excluded or under-represented in the history books, especially given he was the last link in a chain that connected the whole. The overwhelming silence from 1974 to the present day might, as Booth suggests, say something about the 'unfashionable status of billiards and snooker among professional historians of sport, at least relative to more physically exertive, and corporeal, sports and pastimes that have achieved popularity in Australia.'¹²⁶

It might also say something about capitalist structures which drive the rabid consumption of stories and continuous hunger for the new and the fast and the furious. These structures are designed to produce heroes of the moment to elevate the status of the nation, drive nationalist fervour and distract – take attention away from more serious issues so as to alleviate anxieties e.g. anxieties over lack of leadership. Other conclusions might be drawn from reading the prologue to *The Uncrowned King*. Whatever the case, I agree with Booth. The subject warrants closer analysis.

One of the aims of this work has been to trigger the interest of historians in engaging with this closer analysis, however, closer analysis will be expensive, in terms of time, money and resources, and, from a political perspective, it may be fraught with difficulty as it will require the researcher to uncover the underbelly of sport and expose the complex network of business interests underneath. In recent times Fairfax Media journalists have seized on the opportunity to expose bad behaviours and corruption in sport and the art of corruption in business but publication of articles and books that challenge contemporary thought can sometimes present as a challenge and expose the author to criticism, scrutiny, even imprisonment. Such was the case with Frank

¹²⁶ Douglas Booth, Examiner's Report, *The Uncrowned King*, 5.

Hardy's *Power without Glory* (1950). Hardy's critique on the three arms of government¹²⁷ (court system, politicians, police), gambling men and big business interests saw him charged with criminal libel, imprisoned, subjected to a very public trial in the Supreme Court before eventually being exonerated. Fear of reprisals for stepping up to the mark and speaking and/or writing about a bad state of affairs should not deter the individual from doing so. To the contrary, taking personal responsibility to right the wrongs of history is critical to human progress.

Dubbed 'The Showman', 'The Peter Pan of Snooker' in England, 'The Ace' in India and 'Tokoloshe'¹²⁸ in Africa for his ability to entertain an audience, Horace Lindrum was Australian professional billiards and snooker champion for over thirty-three years and a world professional snooker champion. The first player in history to record world record snooker breaks of 114, 116, 133, 135, 139, 141 and 144 and the first player to 'officially record' a snooker century in India¹²⁹, Lindrum was also first to put cue sports on television in an experimental series at the Alexandra Palace in London on April 14, 1937 with British idol and veteran champion Willie Smith of Darlington.

Recording the highest possible break at snooker of 147 at the Penrith School of Arts in 1941, Lindrum went on to become the first snooker player to record one thousand snooker centuries in public performance¹³⁰ and, to date, he is the only snooker player to have held the British, Irish, Scottish, South African,

¹²⁷ Parliament, Judiciary, Police Force.

¹²⁸ Zulu mythology. A dwarf-like sprite/witch doctor/magician. Horace Lindrum was only 162.56 centimetres in height (5 feet 4 inches) – size 6 shoe. African fans could not understand how he executed the famous "Basket shot" in which the cue ball took flight into the neck of a basket with an opening no bigger than the circumference of the ball. Lindrum then re-executed the shot, putting another cue ball into the basket and forcing the cue ball inside the basket to come out. Hence they nicknamed him 'Tokoloshe/Magician'. (Tikoloshe in Xhosa)

¹²⁹ A snooker break of 115 recorded at the W.I.A.A. Club in Bombay, now Mumbai. A magnificent antique trophy commemorates the event.

¹³⁰ Many of these centuries were reportedly recorded in a world record time of 2 1/2 to 6 minutes.

Basutoland, Maltese, Chinese, Indian, Malay, Singaporean, New Zealand and Australian snooker records simultaneously. Lindrum's records in billiards are equally impressive.

In the search for an explanation for the gaps, errors, omissions, distortions and conspicuous silences relating to Horace Lindrum's record of achievement it has been necessary to examine the evolution of organised sport and to survey significant changes in the culture of sport from the time of Lindrum's debut at the billiard table in 1928 to his swan song in 1974. The aim here is to determine what impact these changes have had on how the Lindrum family story is reflected in the Australian national story.

I turn now to consider what is meant by the term 'national story'. Some critics consider the Australian national story to be one of epic achievement. Others view it as the story of competing narratives. These opposing perspectives give rise to important questions.

Is the national story the product of a well-funded, long-term, meticulous and methodical historical and storytelling process?

Might it be a competition between peoples and nations, socially engineered and designed by a dominant 'power' elite?

Is the national story a great resource – an historical, political, sociological, cultural and philosophical storehouse – which helps us to live well, manage our society justly, raise and educate our children, instil respect, encourage public courtesy, uphold the dignity of personhood, preserve the principles of democracy, maintain legal frameworks and lift the intellectual bar?

In an attempt to answer these questions, I propose firstly to consider what we mean when we talk about the 'nation'. Scholar Anthony Smith defines

the nation as 'a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.'¹³¹

This definition is encapsulated in the meaning of the word 'nation' which is derived from the Latin word 'natio' meaning a large group of people, a community or a tribe, who feel 'they belong together by virtue of sharing one or more such traits as common language, religion or race, history, culture, common history or tradition, common set of customs and common destiny.'¹³²

Philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner defines 'the state', as opposed to the nation, as: 'that institution or set of institutions specifically concerned with the enforcement of order.'¹³³ There is a duality at the heart of the modern nation state. On the one hand national/international political borders operating – up and until recent times – within legal frameworks (the refugee crisis requiring us to rethink border control/protection in order to preserve the dignity of personhood principle which should underpin all nations), on the other, the ethnic, spiritual, cultural, biological, genealogical and linguistic factors, rites, rituals, stories, customs and traditions defined by ancestry, migration and immigration (crossing borders).

Campbell calls the secular state 'a hard, unremitting space where competition for material supremacy is fierce. Isolated societies, dream-bounded within a mythologically charged horizon, no longer exist except as areas to be exploited.'¹³⁴ Campbell's hypothesis is shared by author Richard Florida who asserts that the world economy in the future is likely to be shaped 'around an even smaller number of mega regions and specialised centres while a much

¹³¹ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (USA: University of Nevada Press, USA, 1991), 43.

¹³² Mostafa Rejai and Cynthia H. Enloe, "Nation-States and State-Nations", *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 13, No. 2, (June, 1969), 141.

¹³³ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (USA: Cornell University Press, USA, 1983), 4.

¹³⁴ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 334.

larger number of places will see their fates worsen as they find themselves struggling to stay in the game.’¹³⁵ If we accept the hypotheses propounded by Campbell and Florida, we accept industrialised nations are the puppets of industry and non-industrialised nations at risk of predatory strategies. Another important point to make here is that ‘Technological change is making highly skilled workers more valuable’¹³⁶ ... ‘The highest earners are different from the rest of us. They get big chunks of their income from sources other than wages, salaries and benefits’.¹³⁷ Problems flow not just from the disparity between the highly skilled and those perceived to be unskilled but from the disparity between those perceived to be valuable commodities, for example today’s elite sportsman/woman, and those perceived to have little or no value; i.e. those in the engine room of the Australian nation who are worse off today than they were in 1904. I will provide the analysis with my conclusions.

Money should not be the ‘driving factor’ of life. Human potential needs to be the driving factor and human potential needs to be unleashed and nurtured. The opportunity to unleash potential, through education, should be available to all human beings rather than a select few. I wish to add here: Institutions offering education should maintain academic rigour. There is little advantage to lowering pass marks to achieve student satisfaction. That approach caters solely to increase the institution’s bottom line not to advance society.

The concept of ‘nationalism’, that is attachment to the nation, is said to have created the imaginary bond that exists between a nation and its people. This imaginary bond, which might be compared to the bond between a mother and her child, stretches across nations ‘whereby a group of people hold in their

¹³⁵ Richard Florida, *Who’s Your City?* Basic Books (New York: Perseus Books Group, 2008), 75.

¹³⁶ Melbourne Institute professorial research fellow Roger Wilkins in “Here’s to you, the top 1 per cent”, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, News, April 2-3, 2016, 3.

¹³⁷ Journalist Peter Martin in “Here’s to you, the top 1 per cent”, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, News, April 2-3, 2016, 3.

minds a mental image of affinity with one another.’¹³⁸ The strength of the bond is articulated in the ‘crimson thread of kinship’¹³⁹ that sees young men and women prepared to sacrifice their lives for the nation which, as Australian writer Peter FitzSimons says, is ‘wrapped up in the notion of nationhood.’¹⁴⁰ Aside from rites, rituals, stories, customs and traditions, also wrapped up in the notion of nationhood are feelings of pride, love, sorrow, compassion, guilt and shame.

Citizenship is a further ‘important factor in shaping commitment to the social institutions of the nation and bonds are strengthened by continual exposure to the idea of nationalism.’¹⁴¹ Marketing the nation serves to further bind nationals and to encourage new peoples to forgo their loyalty to one nation and pledge their allegiance to becoming an integral part of the mainstream of another.¹⁴² Many propound the concept of one world and champion the collapse of the nation state in favour of a more peaceable and co-operative world system but, according to Smith, the nation state ‘shows no sign yet of disappearing into the dustbin of history.’¹⁴³

Yet the nation state is disintegrating and the concept of nationhood is being eroded by religion, big business, professional tribes and social media. Sport plays a major role in this process. Viewed through the lens of events like the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup and ‘images of personages

¹³⁸ Jack Straw, “The Way we Are”, *The World Today*, Volume 63, No. 5 (May, 2007), 16. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, 14-16.

¹³⁹ Words attributed to Sir Henry Parkes, the Father of Federation.

¹⁴⁰ Peter FitzSimons, “World War I Anniversary” in the *Sun-Herald Extra*, Sunday August 03, 2014, 31.

¹⁴¹ Timothy L. Phillips, “Symbolic Boundaries and National Identity in Australia”, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 47, No. 1 (Mar., 1996), Wiley on behalf of the London School of Economics and Political Science, 117.

¹⁴² My great-great-grandfather, Friedrich Wilhelm Von Lindrum, surrendered his loyalty to his homeland of Prussia and pledged his allegiance to Australia in 1861.

¹⁴³ F. L. Jones and Philip Smith, “Individual and Societal Bases of National Identity: A Comparative Multi-level analysis”, *European Sociological Review*, (June, 2001), 104.

draped in flags ...which project the new national 'idea' of the hero'¹⁴⁴
nationalistic sentiment appears ripe. But is this a distortion? People representing the 'nation' now earn their incomes in international arenas in many countries not their own and nations have a vested interest in the promotion of sport as inextricably linked to big business and big business revenues. Therefore, national allegiances are to a greater or lesser extent compromised by what constitutes the national and what plays out as the global.

According to cultural historian Thomas Bender, the biography of a nation and its peoples is partially shaped by past and present happenings and events that occur beyond their borders. Therefore, rather than continue to nurture an exclusive notion of citizenship, we should view nations as members of a family of nations because all nations, except the most extremely isolationist are influenced by the world around them in the same way individuals in a sequence of family are impacted upon by members within the family group.¹⁴⁵

In the context of this argument each member of the Lindrum family was dependent upon the other to learn their craft, challenge the other and create the collective energy needed to put the Lindrum name into Australian households, initially across the country and, later, across the globe. More generally speaking, all of us can 'identify within ourselves feelings, interests and beliefs that were shaped by family members who were close to us when we were children'¹⁴⁶ and, as Campbell says, 'From the umbilical cord the hero departs to realise his destiny.'¹⁴⁷ Leaving the nest, as such, is something most of us do sooner or later. One of the many questions this essay poses is, how to ensure the survival of the

¹⁴⁴ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 335.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Bender, "Putting the United States in its Place, A Nation among Nations: America's place in World History", *Reviews in American History*, Volume 34, No. 4, December 2006, Johns Hopkins Press, 576.

¹⁴⁶ David Cheal, *Sociology of Family Life*, (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 2.

¹⁴⁷ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 289.

story of that hero. For this to occur, maintaining a record of the journey is critical.

For a family story to survive for any length of time, family members need to fight hard for that story's survival because the national consciousness consumes information at an ever increasing pace, is infected by what it consumes and, post consumption, nationally 'forgets'. Thus, one rendering of a story is insufficient for the story to propagate. The story needs to be well-championed before it is absorbed into history and, even when it has an historical home, how long it stays there will be dependent upon how well it was championed, whether it continues to be championed or whether distortions take over, or it fades from the national narrative.

The story of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) is a prime example. Napoleon championed his story into the history books. A French military and political leader who rose to prominence during the French Revolution and led several successful campaigns during the Revolutionary Wars, he was emperor of the French from 1804 to 1814, and 1815. Napoleon dominated European and global affairs for more than a decade while leading France against a series of coalitions in the Napoleonic Wars. He won most of these wars and the vast majority of his battles, building a large empire that ruled over continental Europe before its final collapse in 1815. 'Often considered one of the greatest commanders in history, his wars and campaigns are studied at military schools worldwide. He remains one of the most celebrated and controversial political figures in Western history. Napoleon's achievements include modern Egyptology, discovery of the Rosetta Stone, the idea for the Suez Canal, establishment of veteran hospitals and Ordre national de la Legion d'honneur, implementation of the national anthem, the model of the modern nation state and a plethora of art works, cartoons and etchings depicting his achievements and articulating external perception of him as a political enemy. For English poet Lord Byron, Napoleon was the epitome of the Romantic hero, the

persecuted, lonely, and flawed genius.’ Interestingly, Napoleon was an exceptional proponent of the billiards art.

The decision as to what part of a story is incorporated in the national story rests, to a great extent, with the orchestrators, the dominant group/s within the operating culture who seek to propound an official history. This history ensures ‘an individual’s relationship to society as a member of either a dominant or a minority group, and, by acculturation, [locating] him/her within the historical narrative of that particular group in the same way genealogy confirms a person’s place in the continuum of the family history.’¹⁴⁸

My family story used to sit in a mainstream space but now has been relegated to the margins. There are many possible reasons for this and I will consider all the possibilities in Chapter Three.

The billiard room was the Lindrums’ temple

They sacrificed their childhoods to long hours of practice.

In *Saturday Afternoon Fever* (1986) author Brian Stoddart writes:

By the advent of World War I...sports like billiards and snooker had already produced the first in a string of world-class professionals. The Lindrum family, notably brothers Fred [Frederick III] and Walter followed by nephew Horace, showed how sports prowess could be turned to economic advantage.¹⁴⁹

I agree with Stoddart but Stoddart omits important facts about the Lindrums.

Firstly, Friedrich Wilhelm was first in the string of world-class professionals and his son, Frederick II, was the second in the string of world-class professionals.

¹⁴⁸ Greg Ratcliffe, “Archives and Anecdotes: History and Auto/biography in Michael Ondaatje’s *Running in the Family*”, *New Literature Review*, No. 26, (Winter, 1993), 19.

¹⁴⁹ Brian Stoddart, *Saturday Afternoon Fever: Sport in the Australian Culture*, (North Ryde and United Kingdom: Angus & Robertson, 1986), 23.

Secondly, the Lindrums used their talent with a cue to entertain people across the world and raise money for the needy. Philanthropy was integral to the Lindrum's philosophy of sport as was representing their country and chosen sport with dignity.

In chapter five of his text, Stoddart makes the following statement:

The professionals invariably were drawn from the lower end of the social scale. Their origins and the venues of their early training frequently caused the sport to be labelled as socially unrespectable, often to the point of criminality, by their social superiors. The dominant attitude was summed up in the popular saying that expertise at billiards and snooker was the sign of a misspent youth.¹⁵⁰

Stoddart cites no evidence in support of these assertions. For example, he does not name the cue sports' social superiors' nor does he provide the reader with the history of the Golden Age which paints an entirely different picture of the sports of billiards and snooker to the one he is painting here so it would be very easy for a reader to form a jaundiced view. I acknowledge, however, given the competitive nature of sports, rivals exist and team sports aligned with big business perceiving themselves as 'socially superior' may have sewn/sprinkled bad seeds in an attempt to displace the cue sports thus labelling them 'socially unrespectable, often to the point of criminality'. But, the 'reality; is, the cue sports, like all human enterprises, are schizophrenic in nature. Throughout their careers the Lindrums battled the poor perception of the sport they loved and the sport for which they sacrificed, not just their childhoods, but their lives.

What we need to remember is – Negative attitudes and narrow perspectives create or serve to perpetuate prejudice.

Of course, an enterprise – through its representative body – or an individual/set of individuals can align itself/themselves with the wrong

¹⁵⁰ Brian Stoddart, Saturday Afternoon Fever: Sport in the Australian Culture, 122.

people. This association will ultimately bring the enterprise/the Self into disrepute.

The Golden Age

During the Golden Age professionals were drawn from all classes of society and those who reached the pinnacle were hailed as great virtuosos (genius, expert, master, specialist, highly skilled individual). The allegation that the sport was labelled 'unrespectable' by its 'social superiors' is refuted as conjecture. I am unable to deny the schizophrenic nature of the cue sports – the sports of palaces and pool halls – I am also unable to deny the 'reality' that the world is populated by all sorts of people.

The statement, 'billiards is a sign of a misspent youth' raised Lindrum shackles yet this idea of squandered/wasted youth and unfulfilled potential highlights the controversies that shroud many fields of human enterprise where the lines of demarcation have been blurred and the enterprise prostituted to profiteering.

Interestingly, artist Vincent Van Gogh critiqued the idea of 'wasted youth' – the idle and addled mind – in his painting *Le Cafe de nuit* (Arles, 1888). (Situate in a French cafe, a carom table sits at the heart surrounded by sleeping hooligans/druniards slumped across dining tables. The potential to engage in strategic thinking is readily available to these people but the carom table is not in use. In the mind of the viewer the environ is unsavoury and the cue sports implicated by association. Substitute the carom table for an upright piano and the same murky impression might also be formed).

I have repeatedly asked myself the question:

How did the mathematical and scientific sports of billiards and snooker – sports with rich histories that can be traced back to the Egyptian Pharaohs and the poetry of Omar Khayyam – sports that require hours of practise to reach the Inner Temple – become associated with the idea of wasted youth? I don't know the answer to this question and maybe there isn't one.

What I do know is that billiard rooms were frequented by the unemployed during the Great Depression (1929-late 1930's) much as art studios in the back tenements of apartment buildings in Paris were occupied by penniless artists like Vincent Van Gogh during the late nineteenth century so it is feasible that the 'misspent youth' label was affixed to the cue sports during the Depression years much as it had been affixed to the penniless artists – who were perceived to be misspending their youth – in the nineteenth century.

The question is why, despite Lindrum effort and record of extraordinary achievement, did the label stick to the cue sports?

One possibility is an association with capitalist gamblers – men deeply connected with the social and economic upheavals arising out of the industrialisation of the modern world (1848) who were described by E. White as 'a set of men who infested the places of public resort.'¹⁵¹ These men preyed on the intellectually inept and disadvantaged in hard times. Progressively, this association tarnished the sports whilst successive coup d'états in the elite ranks eroded the plating that once served as a barrier to the corrosive process.

In more recent times this tarnish has spread like a virus, permeating, infecting and corrupting other sports and the predatory and pervasive nature of the gambling and allied industries – like alcohol – is now pervading the

¹⁵¹ E. White, *A Practical Treatise on the Game of Billiards*, (London: W. Miller, 1907), 2.

living room through sport and advertising leaving an indelible impression on the minds of the young and impressionable.

Returning to the concept of 'national stories', whilst national stories should be an honest reflection of the history of a nation and its people, national stories – of which Stoddart's history of sport in the Australian Culture is one – are made up of biographies.

Biographies, like all other forms of human enterprise, are vulnerable to manipulation because the act of storytelling is self-reflexive. The 'I' is at the centre of the perception and becomes one with the perceived. If the 'I' holds to strong belief systems – whether those systems be right or wrong – there is a strong likelihood that the impression/s formed in the 'I's' mind will be relayed to the reader in some shape. If the "I" harbors prejudice there is a strong likelihood that the stigma attached to that prejudice will spread, more particularly if the 'I's' name and reputation is such that what he/she says is held in high regard by the general public.

The 'I's' interest in a subject may also be purely financial; a work deliberately crafted for an audience with a particular appetite; rather than a work from the heart and soul. The recent flood of political and sporting memoirs are a good example of this and a good example of how sport and the sport of politics function as an ideology to preserve and perpetuate capitalist structures. Sometimes great stories/heroic stories can lie dormant and then, as if from nowhere, storm into the limelight.

The ANZAC legend is a prime example of 'a rear-guard action to defend Australia's sacred national symbols and boundaries'¹⁵² before they disappear. So, too, is Lieutenant Colonel Peter McGuinness's Official History *Boldly and Faithfully: The Journal* (2011) which chronicles the long overdue history of the 19th Infantry Battalion (AIF).

¹⁵² Phillips, "Symbolic Boundaries and National Identity in Australia", 128.

Whilst escorting travellers around the battlefields of the Somme on the 'Our Other Anzac Tour' of 2008, McGuinness was challenged by one of the pilgrims. McGuinness pointed out: "While the achievements of the 17th and 21st Battalion are well-known, little is known of what the 19th Battalion achieved" to which the pilgrim responded: 'If it is so important an issue to raise then [you] should get off [your] backside and write their story.'¹⁵³ Writing *The Uncrowned King* might also be perceived as a rear-guard action to restore and preserve a unique piece of Australian history before time runs out.

Marrying the history of a people with the man or woman whose everyday life was shaped by the experience of events serves a great purpose as the patterns that emerge raise interesting sociological questions. As anthropologist and ethnologist Claude Levi-Strauss noted: 'A single life may be rich with vivid and absorbing detail but it acquires historical meaning and importance when it is folded into a narrative stronger than itself...it makes strong history stronger.'¹⁵⁴ Historian Mott T. Greene demonstrates the strength of Levi-Strauss's argument by comparing Gordon Craig's *Germany 1866-1945*¹⁵⁵ with John Peter Nettl's *Rosa Luxemburg* (1966), a text which deals with the everyday life of revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) (a Marxist theorist, philosopher, economist and revolutionary socialist) in the context of the history of her times:

¹⁵³ Peter Edward Morris McGuinness, *Boldly and Faithfully: The Journal: The Official History of the 19th Australian Infantry Battalion, Australian Imperial Force, March 1915-October, 1918*, (1/19 RNSWR Association, Inc incorporating 2/19 Australian Infantry Battalion, A.I.F. Association, Tasmania, 2011), viii and ix.

¹⁵⁴ Mott T. Greene, "Writing Scientific Biography", *Journal of the History of Biology*, Volume 40, No. 4 (Dec., 2007), Springer, 728-729.

¹⁵⁵ A history of the rise and fall of a united Germany.

We stop rushing from month to month and year to year and move inside hours and days. Once there, we have leisure to be reminded that in the middle of great events like the outbreak of World War I, important thinkers and political actors also went on vacation, wrote love letters, and fired their cooks.¹⁵⁶

The Uncrowned King has been written to enable readers to immerse themselves in Lindrum's world so as to understand what it was like to grow up as an only child in a one-parent household in an era when sole parenthood was viewed in a dim light. To sit on the sidelines watching the emerging entertainment scene, to be transported to a house of billiard champions whilst one's mother was imprisoned and subjected to a very public bigamy trial and to later travel from country town to country behind Bill South's circus and journey around the world taking the sport of snooker to places where it had never been seen before.

A key question inherent in my text is what impact events, inside and outside the household, had on the life of the subject and on others who crossed pathways with him on his journey through time. An important factor here is that Horace Lindrum's international career was interrupted by war when he was at his peak. Returning to Australia, he joined the Australian Military Forces as a Sapper on March 31, 1942 (Army Number N181304) and was transferred to the Royal Australian Engineers based in Tamworth on April 6. Again, as Campbell argues, the hero's journey can be interrupted by circumstances beyond his/her control.

A *Queenslander's Travel Notes* published in 1905 by Australian editor, author and literary critic Alfred Stephens¹⁵⁷ is an example of another kind of heroic adventure. This series of syndicated articles provided the nation with

¹⁵⁶ Greene, 'Writing Scientific Biography', 729.

¹⁵⁷ Alfred Stephens was the Editor of two country newspapers, *The Gympie Miner* (1888-1890) and *The Cairns Argus* (1891-1892) and author of leaders for Gresley Lukin's *Brisbane Boomerang* (1891)

perceptions of the world in 1905, added to the collective knowledge of the nation at that time, served as a stimulus for further enquiry into the culture, traditions, language and behavioural patterns of nations and peoples beyond our boundaries and resulted in a further widening of the national consciousness.

During his lifetime, Horace Lindrum wrote books, articles and diagrams. His wife, my mother, Joy Lindrum¹⁵⁸ also wrote articles, maintained records and compiled a book of anecdotes. *The Uncrowned King* was developed from Horace Lindrum's record of his experience as an Australian sportsman and member of a sporting dynasty and from his wife's perceptions of living life as a Lindrum. Stories such as Horace Lindrum's speak of a nation's need for stories and the need to prize 'the art of preservation'. The true wealth of our nation lies in its stories, its peoples' ability to tell those stories and, importantly, its leaders' support for the art of storytelling. Sport feeds body and mind. Art feeds the soul.

Fullbright scholar and author, Edward J. Blakely says:

Nations need stories – fictions for being. Nations like the United States craft compelling narratives – little of it based on concrete fact but thrilling to know and compelling to read. On the other hand, Australia has no story. The fact a few criminals, indentured servants went to a far land – just ain't a very interesting story. So while the US story via movies and pulp fiction mesmerises the world, Australia is a cute kangaroo surrounded by assorted drunks and dangerous animals...¹⁵⁹

Blakely's words are inflammatory but are they true?

White Australians might agree that our colonial national story does not present a compelling narrative. One of the reasons for that is the perception of

¹⁵⁸ Horace Lindrum's wife of 24 years.

¹⁵⁹ Professor Edward Blakely – Fullbright Scholar, Honorary Professor of Urban Policy at US Studies Centre, one of the world's leading scholars and practitioners on urban policy and author of a number of books including *My Storm: Managing the Recovery of New Orleans in the Wake of Katrina*, with Foreword by Henry Cisneros, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Critique on Janne Lindrum's draft PhD proposal, July 10, 2012.

Australia as a young country and the belief that, as the Australian nation matures and its young culture melds with older immigrant cultures, the Australian story will become more interesting and more inclusive. From an Indigenous perspective, however, Australia possesses one of the most interesting ancient histories on earth. According to its indigenous owners Country is a being with a soul and the indigenous story of the nation has been irreparably damaged by colonial intervention. The Australian national story is thus rooted in competing narratives.

Benedict Anderson has said 'it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny.'¹⁶⁰ I opine, when a nation is rooted in diametrically opposed philosophies, turning chance into destiny will be challenging. Reconciling our binary history will require a dedicated commitment to reconciliation whereby the national consciousness metaphysically places itself in the shoes of the Other in order to feel the Other's pain. Reconciliation flows from comprehending the extent of the damage that colonial land appropriation inflicted upon the indigenous nation.

Australia's competing narratives arise out of the mistakes of the past. In speaking of past mistakes Bernard Williams argues that the 'responsibility for a bad state of affairs can only be incurred by someone who has, in some way, caused it to come about.'¹⁶¹ But, in the midst of the Nuremberg Trials, German psychiatrist and philosopher Karl Jaspers sounded a reminder:

'The sense of political liability lets no man dodge liability. We are accountable for the outcomes we help to bring about.'¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Farid Abdel-Nour, "National Responsibility", *Political Theory*, Volume 31, No. 5, (October, 2003), Sage Publications Inc., 699.

¹⁶¹ Abdel-Nour, "National Responsibility", 699.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 693.

We are, therefore, accountable for our inaction. Examples of what happens when people fail to take responsibility abound. I will cite some of those examples in my conclusions.

In the interim, I argue that the responsibility to ensure the integrity of a people and their national story is not something we can delegate, it is a responsibility that vests in every single one of us as a consequence of our humanity. Societies which fail to interrogate their histories end up carrying a burden of shame and humiliation that flows on from their ineptitude. This burden extends, not just to those who have been slipshod in their custodial duties, but to their descendants. A further important point to make here is that immorality, intellectual ineptitude, disregard for people and their environment and corrupt conduct ultimately lead to societal collapse.

Blakely also asserts that defaming and distorting pillar events is not a crime¹⁶³ but I posit that the credibility of national stories rests on the assumption that they have *credibility*. Insofar as the publication of false and/or injurious statements concerning a person or a member of that person's family, (whether that person be living or deceased), if the reputation of a person is damaged a biographer leaves himself/herself open to a suit for defamation. To be successful in an action for defamation in Australia a plaintiff must demonstrate the defamation has been published, attaches to the person defamed and has either caused harm or has the potential to cause harm to that person and/or that person's reputation. **Wilfully remaining conspicuously silent on a person's record of achievement is heinous as the offender escapes the provisions of the Defamation Act through burial of a history.**

¹⁶³ "Australia is looking for a story so it distorts pillar events." Edward J. Blakely critique on Janne Lindrum's draft PhD proposal.

For nations, particularly those which perceive themselves to be young nations who are, in one way or another, forced to compete for the spoils of industry, there is the temptation to manufacture, glorify and embellish. For example, in the foreword to *200 Years of Australian Sport* (1988) former Olympian Dawn Fraser says:

As the whistle blows on the first two hundred years, we can look back with immense pride on the achievements in so many sports, by so many people. The challenge of keeping up with the rest of the world is an immense one.¹⁶⁴

I argue, rather than keeping up with the world we should aim to lead the world by building a credible and more balanced narrative.

The Uncrowned King

The Uncrowned King unearths a champion's life to demonstrate it is logic absentia to plunder a unique generational story. As Joanne Scott argues:

[Tight] time lines, publishing deadlines, secrecy, being told what or what not to write lead to a culture of mythology and the problem with a culture of mythology is it gives birth to grand meaningless epics and grand meaningless epics don't amount to much.¹⁶⁵

Of course, it takes time and money to collect and check knowledge but, as Scott says: 'scholarship, authorial independence and taking personal responsibility are crucial to getting personal and national stories right.'¹⁶⁶ Yet, as Modjeska points out, 'papers sit heavily around us and...the weight [of the information

¹⁶⁴ Dawn Fraser in Head and Lester, *200 Years of Australian Sport* with foreword by Dawn Fraser, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), 8.

¹⁶⁵ Joanne Scott, "Does it have to be compelling? A History of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet", in True Stories, Writing History conference, 2-3 April, 2011, National Library of Australia, Canberra, ACT, (NP).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

sometimes] acts as a damper on the imagination.’¹⁶⁷ Whilst agreeing with Modjeska, I also argue that the principles of scholarship require a writer to delve into boxes as one does not know whether there is something of value inside. I acknowledge, however, the enormous personal cost that attaches to this effort as well as the reality that not everything in a box of research material will serve a purpose. **The critical task is to grasp hold of those pieces of the puzzle that will best serve to paint a picture of what actually happened in order to render a genuine account acknowledging that there is a framework to be found in historical record and the historian in the storyteller needs to abide by the rules of evidence, abandon any metaphor which insufficiently reflects the data at hand [whilst, at the same time] never excluding completely undecidability; thereby attesting to the possibility of alternative emplotments.**¹⁶⁸

As historian Hayden White points out, the challenges for the writer of history are monumental with probably the greatest challenge being finding a causeway through ‘the possible’ – the realm of science – ‘the imaginary’ – the referent for art and literature – and ‘the historical’ – which is the plausible. For White, ‘The plausible is, in a sense, more real for the individual than the truth of science because it relates its desires to the social context.’¹⁶⁹

Speaking of the past, some critics, such as historian Geoffrey Blainey, for example, argue that Australia has been shaped by its social fabric and geographic location in the world. **Distance was a barrier for Australian scholars, more particularly in the pioneering era. A small population, scattered over a large continent, isolated from cultural institutions overseas and heavily reliant on limited and potentially unreliable sources did not favour talented and gifted Australians. Rather, it served to fuel the tall poppy**

¹⁶⁷ Modjeska, *Poppy*, 193

¹⁶⁸ Wulf Kansteiner, “Hayden White’s critique of the writing of History”, *History and Theory*, Volume 32, No.3, (October, 1993), 281. (pp. 273-295)

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 282.

syndrome, the silver spoon syndrome, the small town syndrome and the inferiority syndrome and, in more recent times, the age syndrome – a reluctance to engage older people in the work force which has resulted in a loss of wisdom and experience ¹⁷⁰ – as well as nurture a unique set of symbolic language codes which are now firmly entrenched. These codes enable Australians to classify people as ‘Australian’ or ‘unAustralian’, employable or unemployable, young or ‘past it’ and give rise to deep-rooted feelings of inferiority and vulnerability which, over time, have become operating principles.

In the context of the national story the question remains: Would our national story flow more strongly if talented and gifted Australians had not been forced to carve out their careers in other parts of the world? We can never know the answer to this question but it is true to say we remain blissfully unaware of many of the remarkable achievements of Australian citizens in Australia let alone those who have achieved distinction overseas yet this awareness is critical to our growth as a nation as it serves to widen perspective. Whether Horace Lindrum’s achievements have been overlooked by Australian scholars as a consequence of the tyranny of distance is debatable. I suspect any debate on the matter would be widely contested on the ground ‘isolation’ may have acted as a stimulus for artistry rather than a damper on innovation and imagination. Australia’s rich history of achievement across a wide spectrum of human enterprise is evidence of that.

Certainly, the colourful experiences reflected in Horace Lindrum’s career at the billiard table suggest Lindrum didn’t let distance prevent him from writing a fascinating life. To the contrary, the tyranny of distance appears in

¹⁷⁰ The Tall Poppy Syndrome is the perceived need to cut people down to size. The Silver Spoon Syndrome is the perceived obligation to provide jobs for the boys who form a part of the old school tie (old school boy) network. The Small Town Syndrome is the inability to look from the outside in. The Inferiority Syndrome is the perceived need to engage Chief Executive Officers from outside the country to un Australian companies which has not always been in the interests of the nation. The reluctance to engage older people in the work force which has resulted in a loss of wisdom and experience.

many ways to have worked to his advantage. However, distance clearly worked to his disadvantage in terms of national awareness of what he actually achieved in the name of the nation. Whereas Walter Lindrum's relatively short career in comparison, the latter part of it played out in Australia, appears to have served to dilute the Lindrum family story and cement the fictitious mythology that there was only one champion in the Lindrum family household. Although I do not believe this is the sole reason for the focus on Walter Lindrum, business interests have played a role which is evidenced by the grab for the Lindrum name for a hotel in Melbourne.

Interestingly, Horace Lindrum's experiences during the Golden Age of Flight (1933-1970) are suggestive of certain character traits, more especially a belief in Self and a fearless, adventuresome spirit. These characteristics are also reflected in the national story that evolved during the pioneering era although the national story during that same period is also marked by alienation, pessimism and yearnings to overcome adversity. There can be little doubt that these sentiments grew out of colonial disillusionment, from being transported to an alien land from which there was no escape or being promised a paradise that didn't materialise, either way colonisation 'left a strong stamp on the way [white] Australians have chosen to see themselves and this has shaped their attitudes.'¹⁷¹ Fear of the Other frequently drives people to do things that they would otherwise not even contemplate.

Artworks and literature have also greatly impacted upon the way Australians see nation and Self and some have been specifically crafted and/or acquired to project an image of nation and Self upon the collective.

Historian Marcus Clarke famously saw the Australian landscape as, 'grotesque, weird, inchoate and beyond the bounds of reason.'¹⁷² Poet A. D.

¹⁷¹ Simon Jackson, 'The "Stump Jumpers": National Identity and the mythology of Australian Industrial Design in the Period 1930-1975', *Design Issues*, Volume 18, No. 4, (Autumn, 2002), 15.

¹⁷² Marcus Clarke in Paul Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1987), 14.

Hope labelled Australia a ‘vast parasite, robber state, where second-hand Europeans pullulate timidly on the edge of alien shores.’¹⁷³ Nobel prizewinning author Patrick White’s image of Australia is even more disturbing. White sees people clinging to the fringes of the Self as we cling to the fringes of the continent, shrinking from “the deep end of the unconscious” – disabling, lacking compassion, racked with paranoia, indifferent to the Truth, living with an underlying, if unacknowledged, suspicion that our position may, in fact, be unsustainable.¹⁷⁴

There are similarities between the thoughts and imaginings of Hope (1907-2000) and White (1912-1990) and those of Nietzsche¹⁷⁵ (1844-1900) and Freud¹⁷⁶ (1856-1939) which suggests Hope and White were beneficiaries of the

¹⁷³ A. D. Hope in *The Penguin Book of Australian Verse*, edited by H. P Heseltine, (Ringwood: Penguin, Ringwood, 1979), 190.

¹⁷⁴ Patrick White in Catriona Elder’s *Being Australian: Narratives of National Identity*, (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2007), 18.

¹⁷⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche was a German philosopher cultural critic, poet and Latin and Greek scholar whose work has exerted a profound influence on Western philosophy and modern intellectual history. Nietzsche was greatly influenced by Shakespeare and philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer.

¹⁷⁶ Considered one of the foremost thinkers of the 20th century, Sigmund Freud was an Austrian neurologist and the founder of psychoanalysis, a clinical method for treating psychopathology through dialogue between a patient and a psychoanalyst. Greatly influenced by Shakespeare and Nietzsche, his ‘innovative treatments of human actions, dreams and cultural artefacts as invariably possessing implicit symbolic significance has proven to be extraordinarily fruitful, and has had massive implications for a wide variety of fields including psychology, anthropology, semiotics, and artistic creativity and appreciation. However, Freud’s most important and frequently re-iterated claim, that with psychoanalysis he had invented a successful science of the mind, remains the subject of much critical debate and controversy.’ Freud believed that the mind is a complex energy system, the structural investigation of which is the proper province of psychology. He articulated and refined the concepts of the unconscious, infantile sexuality and repression, and he proposed a tripartite account of the mind’s structure – all as part of a radically new conceptual and therapeutic frame of reference for the understanding of how human’s tick and distinguished three structural elements within the mind which he called *id*, *ego*, and *super-ego*. The *id* is that part of the mind in which are situated the instinctual sexual drives which require satisfaction; the *super-ego* is that part which contains the “conscience,” namely, socially-acquired control mechanisms which have been internalised, and which are usually imparted in the first instance by parents; while the *ego* is the conscious Self that is created by the dynamic tensions and interactions between the *id* and the *super-ego* and has the task of reconciling their conflicting demands with requirements of external reality. Freud also developed his own methodology for treating what he considered to be abnormal mental conditions.

literary legacy of those who emphasise the deficiencies in man rather than man's potentialities. White's depiction is particularly Freudian. Paranoia and genetic flaws in the white Australian personality, character and psyche highlight what White perceives to be the fragility of the white Australian occupation of a space which is instinctively known to belong to the Other, a stance White sees as unsustainable. These perceptions pose a key question: **What is the legacy for white and Indigenous Australians alike if white Australians see themselves as robbers in a vast robber state? Do they subconsciously suppress that thought over generations rather than confront and reconcile it?**

Another factor to consider is 'dependency'. For a long period (1788-1972) Australians were, to a large degree, dependent upon the Mother country, England, and taught to look up to her. The Mother was perceived to be more capable than the infant. This long-term dependency on the Other may have led to developmental delay / national impairment. Delay can occur in one or more areas and might be compared to an infant's failure to reach developmental milestones. I assert the potential of Australia / Australians is yet to be unleashed and this potential can only be unleashed through greater investment in education.

The reality that we, as a nation, need to improve our listening skills, for example, is borne out by the reception we gave the book *The Lucky Country* in 1964. The author, social critic Donald Horne believed Australia was sick, a sickness primarily attributable to poor leadership, lack of vision and intellectual ineptitude. To Horne, Australian politics, for example, was:

an empty public space, devoid of logic, rigour and reason. Intellectuals who wished to walk the corridors of power were best advised to leave their intellectuality at home.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Donald Horne in Nick Cater's *The Lucky Culture: And the Rise of an Australian Ruling Class*, (Australia: Harper Collins, 2013), 135.

Horne was also highly critical of our business practises, in particular, the importation of people from outside Australia to run Australian organisations, over-reliance on primary industry (mining booms), insufficient attention to environmental factors (food production and water supply) and sacrifice of more diverse / more balanced economic drivers. Ironically, instead of listening to what Horne had to say the national psyche fell in love with the title of Horne's book, allowing the phrase the *Lucky Country* to be used to describe our weather, lifestyle, history, good fortune and geographic isolation in relation to the world's trouble spots and to be further paraphrased by politicians as 'The Clever Country'.

In more recent times, Mackay has suggested Australians are suffering an identity crisis¹⁷⁸ which has been exacerbated by a succession of revolutions, leading him to pose the question:

[Are] we Brand Me and Brand You jostling for attention in a crowded marketplace called society and / or an intangible marketplace called cyberspace or caring, co-operative egalitarian selves who think first of the Other before we think of the self?¹⁷⁹

Identity, of course, is unique to the person and forged ineluctably and organically by genetic heritage but there is a duality at the heart of identity in the same way as there is a duality at the heart of the nation-state. That duality is life's experience which is inextricably linked to 'time'. I posit, crucial to the development of national identity is an understanding of the past and nurture of

¹⁷⁸ Erik Homburger Erikson (1902-1994), German born American developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst known for his theory on psychosocial development of human beings. Erik Erikson's ideas were greatly influenced by Sigmund Freud. Ego develops as it successfully resolves crises that are distinctly social in nature. These involve developing a sense of trust in others, developing a sense of identity in society, and helping the next generation prepare for the future.

¹⁷⁹ Mackay, *The Good Life: What makes a Life Worth Living?* 16.

the artistic soul. In the absence of an understanding of the past there can be no proper understanding of the Self and its relationship to society and no real understanding of what it means to be a member of the 'nation'. If we fail to feed the soul, we cripple our capacity to fulfil our potential as the Self can only ever be half of the Self it could otherwise be.

The move to secularise society which gained momentum in Western society after the French Revolution (1788-1789) highlighted extreme differences in thinking about life and, more particularly, about the structure of man. Once seen as a whole being made up of a body and a soul, man was now perceived by many as a being without a soul, living his/her life on earth for a one time purely physical experience.

Changed perceptions of man split language into two parts, the secular and the theological/spiritual/philosophical. The Russian Formalist Revolution (1917) split language into four parts. The secular, the theological, the artistic and the scientific. From then on, 'criticism' of subject, author, societal values, culture, tradition, history, story and so on has been the order of the day to the point where reaching consensus on anything has become near impossible. Even the question: Who was first to split the atom? is the subject of a hotly contested debate as is the question of who wrote the film script for Citizen Kane. Was it Herman J. Mankiewicz and Orson Welles, or Welles and Mankiewicz or Mankiewicz and not Welles or Welles and not Mankiewicz?

The language divide coupled with rapid technological change opened the floodgates to allow radical ideas and thought processes to infiltrate all walks of life. One such idea is the idea I have already mentioned "writers are parasites and subjects are hosts". This 'idea' is diametrically opposed to the idea that art is a 'created vision of life, concerned with the unity of man and the

human condition and the raw material of existence; intended to be a serious commentary on how the world works.’¹⁸⁰

At first blush, this shift in perception appeared to represent no more than a disquieting fascination with the psychology of the Self which can be traced to the Greek philosopher Protagoras (490BC-420BC) and which came at the end of an era of magnanimous human achievement. That shift was away from thoughts of a Supreme Being to the belief that Man is the measure of all things. According to author and Professor of English Literature and Creating Writing at Kingston University, London, Fred Botting, this shift in perception was, in ‘reality’, ‘the awful spectre of social disintegration.’¹⁸¹

Social disintegration and the destruction of language/s, cultures and traditions go hand in glove. Fractured dialogue alone leads to misunderstandings and misconceptions and, if that dialogue is not remedied and those misconceptions corrected, chaos is the outcome. **As previously stated, societal collapse (the decay of society) is brought about through intellectual ineptitude, lack of regard for the dignity of personhood principle, lack of regard for the environment and corrupt and immoral conduct (working outside proper ethical, legal and moral frameworks).**

An important point to make here is the quality of our decisions is determined by the quality of our language and the quality of our language is dependent upon the quality of our education and the quality of our education is dependent upon the quality of our teaching – at home and at school – and the quality of our teaching is dependent upon the quality of the information available to us, the quality/calibre of our teachers and society’s perception of teachers; whether teachers are prized or taken for granted.

¹⁸⁰ Kenneth Quinn, *How Literature Works*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 1982), 175, as attributed to Australian Historian Manning Clark.

¹⁸¹ Fred Botting, *Gothic: The New Critical Idiom*, (New York: Routledge, 1996), 5.

As Campbell says:

A transmutation of the whole social order is necessary, so that through every detail and act of secular life the vitalising image of the universal God-man who is actually immanent and effective in all of us may be somehow be made known to consciousness.¹⁸²

I would take Campbell's argument a step further by suggesting, if this transmutation does not occur, the hypotheses of critics such as cultural historian Richard White may prove to be correct. White asserts any hope of ever capturing the soul of the nation (Australia) is illusory: 'not even our historians can help us out. To the contrary they have often contributed to [the national story's] mystification.'¹⁸³

Award-winning author Murray Bail says:

'Most writers don't make a difference. They just contribute to the great paper cache mountain. Many writers are happy to be ordinary.'¹⁸⁴ Bail asks:

'Do these writers weight the whole writing enterprise down?'¹⁸⁵

I propose to answer Bail's question this way:

There are no short cuts to becoming a master craftsman. You need to do the hard yards. A life's journey is a life's work. The fruits of the labour / the quality of the life can only be determined at the end of the life but the goal should be to become a man / woman of quality and to produce a work of quality; a work that, in some small way, benefits humanity. That benefit can be as simple as a

¹⁸² Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 335.

¹⁸³ Richard White, *Inventing Australia*, (North Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Australia Pty. Limited, 4th edition, 1985), viii.

¹⁸⁴ Murray Bail, *Landscape and Emptiness in Writing the Australian Landscape Conference*, The Kenneth Binns Lecture, August 03, National Library of Australia, (NP).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

commitment to doing what you can to make Others around you happy; going to work with love in your heart; smiling at someone who looks as if they need a smile from you. Those small acts form part of your life's story.

Sport

Sport historians Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz say: 'sport is an important lens or mirror for examining the larger ideas and issues of human society.'¹⁸⁶

[Yet] Australian literature and journalism on sport is essentially idolistic, jingoistic, celebratory, limp, ghost-written, chronology-enslaved autobiography in too many instances, often exculpatory or 'excusatory' in defeat...[and] often stops short of analysing the story and rarely takes the next step, which is to evaluate critically.¹⁸⁷

If we accept White, Booth and Tatz, there is need for the national consciousness to refocus on 'the art of craftsmanship'. An art which requires you to look at every angle before taking a shot (putting pen to paper).

Reflecting on Australia's obsession with sport Patrick White observed that the Australian 'passion for perpetual motion is perhaps for fear that we may have to sit down and face reality if we don't keep going.'¹⁸⁸ White's observation is, perhaps, a trigger for debate on whether we should take time out from our busy lives to listen to what our scholars are saying about a whole range of issues, including education, the environment, the root causes of domestic violence, corrupt and immoral conduct, sports/art imbalance, drug, alcohol and gambling addiction and so on but Australian journalist and author

¹⁸⁶ Booth and Tatz, *One-Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, xii.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, xiii

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 228.

Nick Cater asserts academics have nothing to contribute to the national story debate. In Cater's view:

Australian intellectuals have become exiles in their own country, disengaged from civic debate. They have not yet surrendered to the magic of democracy and the wisdom of crowds.¹⁸⁹

Cater does not define 'wisdom' but if the new wisdom is disregarding the past, plundering stories of the nation and accepting the status quo – that rather than being fair-minded it is acceptable to be 'partisan, intolerant, narrow and unreasonable'¹⁹⁰ – the crowd might consider turning to intellectuals for the sort of leadership that is required for a review of our national value systems.

In this chapter I examined the meaning of 'national story', drew the distinction between 'nation' and 'state', discussed the impact of secularism on state and individual, investigated the concept of nationalism, reflected upon differing perceptions of Australia and Australians, considered the factors that have forged Australian identity and stressed the importance of constructing a credible picture of individual and nation.

In the next chapter I appraise the concept of the sporting hero, cultural shifts in sport and the evolution of the new sporting model but, before I do that, I wish to stress the importance of language in forging identity of Self and nation. As author William Walsh says:

Through language the biological individual becomes the historic person.¹⁹¹

History will review our language and judge our legacy.

¹⁸⁹ Cater, *The Lucky Culture and the Rise of an Australian Ruling Class*, 289.

¹⁹⁰ Booth and Tatz, *One-Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, xvi.

¹⁹¹ William Walsh, *The Use of the Imagination*, (Middlesex, England and Victoria, Australia: Peregrine Books), 2nd edition, 1966, 225.

Chapter Three

The Australian Sporting Hero

In chapter Two of my essay I discussed the role biography plays in the construction of national stories, arguing that biography is critical to forging identity and capturing the nation's soul.

In this chapter I examine the complex concept of the sporting hero, cultural shifts in sport and the evolution of the new sporting model asserting, as I do, that the new sporting model is progressively subverting the commandments of sport and radically altering our perceptions of the sporting hero. This subversion is attributable to the influence of big business and its increased political influence which is inextricably linked to nationalism.

Firstly I begin with an examination of what it means to be a sporting hero. From the Greek '*heros*', heroes are people who demonstrate devotion to duty, act with courage in the face of extreme danger and adversity or – from a position of weakness – display courage and the will to self-sacrifice, that is, heroism for some greater good of humanity. When we speak of sportsmen/women, perhaps, the terms 'champion', title or medal holder or luminary are more appropriate?

The representation of Sir Donald Bradman as Australia's greatest sporting hero is a case in point.¹⁹² Media baron Kerry Packer had a vested interest in making Sir Donald a hero of the twentieth century just as gambling supremo John Wren had a vested interest in comparing Walter Lindrum to Phar Lap in the 1930s, later dubbing him the 'Bradman of Billiards'. Sporting bodies today have a vested interest in elevating their top athletes to god-like status to

¹⁹² Sir Donald Bradman was secretary to the Australian Sporting Association, a body founded by my great-uncle, Walter. Walter was the Chairman. Sir Donald believed my great-uncle was 'The greatest nugget to come out of the West.'

maintain the profile of their sports and keep their sponsors/business interests happy.

These champions have survived the judgment of time thus far but historical time is not something that is fixed. As historians come to review facts through fresh eyes, new thinking comes into play and champions, once thought 'heroes', are seen as 'champions in perspective'. **According to author E F. Ziegler¹⁹³ an acceptable list of pre-requisites for the sporting hero or celebrity encompass: Physical Excellence: Health, fitness, skill as an athlete. Moral Excellence: Generosity, self-control, and righteousness. Social Excellence: protecting interests of the community before self and Longevity: Surviving the judgment of time with respect of all of the above.¹⁹⁴**

Campbell asserts, the supreme hero is: 'he who opens the eye'¹⁹⁵ and is 'endowed with a pure understanding, restraining the self with firmness...controlling the speech, body, and mind, ever engaged in meditation and concentration, and cultivating freedom from passion forsaking conceit and power...and free from ego.'¹⁹⁶

Who is and who isn't a sporting hero is determined, in the first instance, by the popularity and image of the sport, the marketing potential and/or controversy surrounding the personality, social forces and big business that have a vested interest in elevating the profile of the sportsman/woman to mythical status and, insofar as the pioneering era goes, whether or not the personality had the potential to drive newspaper circulation. Therefore, the

¹⁹³ E. F. Ziegler author of *Physical Education in Sport*, 1982.

¹⁹⁴ E. F. Ziegler, 'The Sport Hero Phenomenon' in 'International Journal of Physical Education', Schorndorf, F. R. Germany, 1988, Volume 25, No. 3, 9.

¹⁹⁵ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 296.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 304.

'hero label' in and over historical time is collectively subjective even though the term 'hero' might be deemed to be a 'reflection of our own divinity.'¹⁹⁷

Australia's best wicket keeper Rod Marsh, for example, was infamous for drinking a plane dry between Sydney and London. Australian batsman Dougie Walters was a chain smoker and would be late out to bat because he hadn't finished his last hand of poker. Muhammed Ali was an egotist known to taunt his opponents and threaten, 'Someone is going to die tonight'. John McEnroe was temperamental. Michael Jordan was a gambler. Les Darcy absconded to avoid conscription in World War I. American baseball player Babe Ruth was a known drunkard, glutton, womaniser and hell raiser.

Writing on the culture of sport in Australia, Stoddart says:

By the advent of World War I, the basic patterns and social ramifications of Australian sport were well formed with social education and economic value the major distinguishing characteristics. One the one hand, sports like rowing and Rugby Union with nurseries in the private schools stressed the preparation for life offered by sports training.

On the other, sports like billiards and snooker had already produced the first in a string of world-class professionals. The Lindrum family, notably brothers Fred and Walter followed by nephew Horace, showed how sports prowess could be turned to economic advantage....[Walter's] skills, in particular, became so great during the interwar period that rule changes were enacted in an attempt to curb his scoring feats.¹⁹⁸

Lindrum [presumably meaning Walter] also demonstrated the gathering pace of social power accorded Australian sports heroes.

¹⁹⁷ Campbell, *The Hero of a Thousand Faces*, 276.

¹⁹⁸ This statement serves to perpetuate the myth that Walter's prowess forced a change in the rules of billiards due to his overall domination of the sport. Walter's focus on nursery cannons brought caused a controversy and the governing body ruled 'an exclusive focus on nursery cannon play' was a breach of the Fair Play principle. This had happened before. It wasn't the first time. Tom Reece received a ban for the 'Anchor cannon'. These bans should not, however, be taken to read that either player did not demonstrate superlative skill at the table.

There were large numbers of them thrown up between the wars as Australian sport became more and more organised, increasingly competitive and progressively more serious.¹⁹⁹

Certainly, my great-grandfather cultivated friends at the top end of town and Walter Lindrum was known to be well-connected in the Freemason movement.

It is interesting to note that the Lindrum brothers – Walter and Frederick III – went head to head for the Australian professional billiards title to entertain the navy when the fleet sailed into Sydney Harbour for the first time and before the naval fleet sailed for the Dardanelles. This suggests that, despite the fact that Australia's sporting reputation was in embryo at the time, Stoddart is right to assert that the seeds of a celebrity sporting culture had already been sown.

In April 1912 the Melbourne monthly, *Alcock's Sporting Review*, reported:

that despite earlier information the Federal Government would not now provide financial assistance to Australia's Olympic Team that year. It was a strange decision, argued the writer, because sport did more than any other social institution to make Australian society what it was, and to display the merits of that system to the world...

According to Stoddart:

This little story is important in four vital respects.

First, it shows clearly that the intersection of sport and political considerations is not such a recently emerged phenomenon as many Australians may imagine.

Second, it points out the role of sport in building the character of the Australian nation, a role of considerable importance politically.

Third, it underlines the significance attached to sport in projecting the image of Australia and its people internationally, another highly political consideration.

¹⁹⁹ Brian Stoddart, in *Saturday Afternoon Fever*, (North Ryde and United Kingdom: Angus & Robertson, 1986),

Fourth, it points to the complex structure of the relationship between sport and politics in Australia...²⁰⁰

But, despite such early evidence of organised sport in Australia, Stoddart observes that Australians have been able to separate their love of sport from the politics of sport.

The average person sees “politics” as that profession practised by politicians, people elected to orchestrate public affairs at international, national, state and local levels. Informal institutions such as religion, the arts and sports are not seen as being “political” ...

[Further], Australian sport has always been sacrosanct in the change and hurly-burly of life. True heirs to the medieval and early modern worlds, Australians have seen bodily action and intellectual endeavour as entirely separate. Since sport could be separated from intellect, therefore, it could also be separated from the serious social and political organisation of life...

The convention has been that sport is basically unessential to the continuance of the Australian tradition; the practice has been precisely the reverse...

At every level of Australian society there is a political dimension to sports activity.²⁰¹

I agree with Stoddart. No matter how or where sport is played politics comes into play because, the ‘reality’ is, man in himself is a political animal. The question is: Has this relationship developed into an ‘unhealthy’ relationship whereby huge amounts of government funding are directed to the construction of stadia rather than into education, thus changing external perception of Australia as a nation of people who are intellectually inept, sports obsessed and addicted to drugs, alcohol and gambling.

²⁰⁰ Stoddart in *Saturday Afternoon Fever*, 23-57.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, 57.

The Past

What man has done, the little triumphs of his
present state, and all this history we have told,
form but the prelude to the things that man
has yet to do.²⁰²

H. G. Wells

Walter Lindrum and Donald Bradman came along during the Depression era when good stories were hard to find.

Horace Lindrum's star was in the ascendancy in 1928, the year Mickey Mouse made his debut in *Steamboat Willie*,²⁰³ D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was banned, Duke Ellington and his Cotton Club Orchestra recorded "Diga Diga Doo", Amelia Earhart became the first woman to fly an aircraft across the Atlantic and Phar Lap arrived on Australian soil.

Billiards was still enjoying popularity in 1928 but by 1936 interest had waned and falling box office receipts opened the doorway to the Golden Age of Snooker. Various critics argue that the decline in the interest of billiards is attributable to my great-uncle Walter Lindrum's overall domination of the game. (He was so good at his sport he could not be beaten). Certainly, there is evidence of Walter's focus on nursery cannon play; delicate, gossamer-like shots whereby the player keeps three balls close together in a nursery, gently moving them along the cushion by striking them softly. This style of play is extremely difficult but monotonous to watch. The nursery cannon was later banned by the British Association and Control Council after an application by New Zealand champion Clark McConachy to the governing body based on a breach of the fifth commandment of sport which says: Thou shalt not take

²⁰² H. G. Wells, *A Short History of the World*, (UK: Thinker's Library), 2nd edition, 1930, 302.

²⁰³ Debut November 18, 1928.

unfair advantage. British professional Tom Reece suffered a similar fate with the Anchor and Pendulum strokes.

Horace Lindrum was twenty-four-years-old when he first reached the final of the world professional snooker championship in 1936 against the more experienced seeded professional British champion Joe Davis.²⁰⁴ A year later he defeated a pristine field to be runner-up to Joe Davis for the second time. In his twilight years he admitted that the 1937 final was the final he should have won. There are many possible reasons for Lindrum's defeat. Unfamiliarity with the territory and the billiard table, youth, inexperience in major competitive play, nerves, artistry; his love of the audience being paramount to winning the game; and a commitment to the ninth and tenth commandments of sport.

Commandment 9

Remember the game is the thing. He or she who thinks otherwise is no true sportsman/woman.

Commandment 10

Honour the game for he/she who plays the game straight and hard wins even when he/she loses.

The sport of snooker enjoyed unparalleled popularity from 1936 to the outbreak of World War II but sporting events pre, during and post the war served to progressively change the complexion of snooker and, indeed, the complexion of sport. These include, the scratching of Phar Lap in the Caulfield Cup (1930); the poisoning of Phar Lap (1932); the Bodyline controversy (1932-33) (the fast leg theory of bowling a cricket ball at the batsman's body so as to cause harm); the mysterious and yet to be explained disappearance of the entries of Horace Lindrum and Frederick III in the world professional billiards championship (1932/33); the nursery cannon controversy (1933); the bombing of Thurston's Hall (1940) which saw the destruction of valuable billiards antiques; technological advancements; acquisition of cricket and subversion of a

²⁰⁴ Joe Davis was far more experienced and twelve years Horace's senior.

core commandment of sport; winning and moneymaking taking precedence over playing the game.

Sweeping changes to the sporting ideal are self-evident to the 'thinking' person. These changes serve to overturn the 'Fair Play' principle, refashion the image and profile of sport into low-class engagement – sometimes rooted in morbidly cruel and boorish engagement that invites the undignified cat-calls, ribald chants and other unsavoury behaviours one might associate with the undignified displays of ancient Rome, including the exploitation and sexualisation of women and the over-breeding, whipping, bleeding, doping and slaughter of animals.

In this sphere big business invests large sums of money, not to people but to instruments used to their own ends. When the instrument of their ends is no longer able to perform the task, they are replaced.

What impact is the new complexion of sport having on our society?

What impact will the 'industrialisation' of sport have upon the future of our society?

Horace Lindrum and the 'Boycott'

In 1951/52 the British players boycotted the world professional snooker championship. The boycott was allegedly over better pay rates but the protest may also have been politically driven by the fear of losing the title to Australia given Britain had already lost the billiards title to New Zealand. The boycott was a particularly significant event as the actions taken by the professional players' association led to a spate of controversies and coups that were still

going on well into the 1970's and which ultimately triggered the demise of the governing body.²⁰⁵

The death of the last member of the billiard playing Lindrums in 1974 not only marked the death of the sport of gentlemen but, ironically, just as Al Jolson's song "Toot Toot Tootsie Goodbye" (1927) had bid farewell to the silent movie era, Horace Lindrum's death bid farewell to a snooker era the likes of which we will never see again.

The genesis of the corrosive process began with the technological shifts that removed the fan/crowd from the player. Other changes which had a major impact on sport include, the establishment of John Wren's illegal betting operation in Collingwood which made gambling readily available to the masses, the conversion of the automatic totalisator²⁰⁶ – from a fair voting machine to a gambling machine – installation of the first machine at the Ellerslie racecourse in Auckland in 1913 which signalled the export of gambling as a commodity, television, Kerry Packer's acquisition of cricket and the elevation of Sir Donald Bradman.

The World Cricket series which was set up in opposition to established international cricket was also driven by big business interests and the adoption of a philosophy of greed. With the onset of colour television big business interests saw the potential of televised sport. For entrepreneur Kerry Packer

²⁰⁵ The governing body was established by the world master of billiards British champion John Roberts Senior in 1885 and Roberts and Lord Kitchener are credited with formulating the rules of snooker. However, there is a reference to a game that sounds like snooker in Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* which suggests the history of snooker is far richer than initially thought and, indeed, some researchers believe the history of billiards can be traced to the Ancient Egyptian Pharaohs.

²⁰⁶ George Alfred Julius (1873-1946) was a Mechanical Engineer. President of the Engineering Association of New South Wales 1910-1913. Chairman of the Standards Association of Australia 1929-1939. President of Australian National Research Council 1932-1937. In 1926, Prime Minister S. M. (Viscount) Bruce sought Julius's advice on the Bill to establish the CSIRO and appointed Julius Chairman of the CSIRO. Julius remained chairman until 1945. Julius also sat on the Board of the Australian Council of Aeronautics and Army Invention Directorate.

televised cricket presented an opportunity to enhance the ratings and increase the value of his television station, Channel Nine.

The following article published by journalist E. W. Swanton in the *The Cricketer* in 1977 provides a snapshot of the events leading up to the cricket revolution:

The Lord's Committee Room in its time has seen several occasions of high drama but nothing perhaps quite so extraordinary as the confrontation on Thursday June 24 between an emergency committee of the International Cricket Board.

It came at the end of six weeks of suspense and uncertainty following the shattering news in the second week of May that Packer [Kerry], completely unknown to any Cricket authorities, had contacted 35 leading cricketers, half of them Australian, at reputedly low salaries, to play for the next 3 years in matches promoted by him for the benefit of Channel 9.

In the beginning, many cricketers refused participation but Packer pressed ahead. The 'Howzat!' advertising campaign developed the profile of the sport and accelerated the development of a cult-following and, by midway through 1977, the partnership of entrepreneurs Robertson²⁰⁷ & Cornell had contracted thirty-five of the world's best cricketers to play in international tournaments in Australia. By the end of the same year, fifty players had signed up to highly lucrative contracts that could not in any way, shape or form be compared to traditional arrangements.

²⁰⁷ Austin Robertson was a journalist and player manager. John Cornell was the brains behind the career rise of comedienne Paul Hogan.

Elevation of the profile of Sir Donald Bradman²⁰⁸ was part and parcel of the well-thought out and well-executed plan to turn the sport of cricket into an industry. This plan gathered momentum when Prime Minister John Howard came to power in 1996. An ardent cricket buff, Howard used cricket as an instrument to market Self and nation, going as far as to incorporate a question on Bradman on the application for Australian citizenship. The recent tragic death of cricketer Phillip Hughes indicates just how much the nation still uses the discourse of the hero of Campbell's antiquity to describe a sportsman's journey. Hughes 'set out responsibly and intentionally to perform the deed,'²⁰⁹ that is, to follow his cricketing dream and he was prepared to struggle and ultimately die to achieve that end. The same can be said of Australian cricketer and highly regarded commentator Richie Benaud.²¹⁰ Richie Benaud and his wife, Daphne, were critical to Kerry Packer executing his plan for cricket. Today, cricket is very big business with countries like India, England and Australia receiving millions of dollars to host events and further stir national passion for the sport.

²⁰⁸ Bradman was captain of the Australian cricket team but Arthur Morris (1922-2015) helped 'The Invincibles' to win the test series in 1948 – 4-0. In the previous Test, at Leeds, Morris managed 182 in a 301-run partnership with Bradman, helping Australia to chase 404 runs for victory in 345 minutes. He had helped Bradman, then troubled by Denis Compton's bowling, by hitting the Englishman out of the attack. The partnership brought the then highest winning fourth-innings Test score. Morris hit three centuries and three more fifties in the 1948 Tests to top the averages with 87; Bradman's average was 72.57. Neville Cardus wrote: 'Morris played pedigree cricket, blue-blood aristocracy.' And: 'Morris was once more beyond praise – masterful, stylish, imperturbable, sure in defence, quick and handsome in stroke play. His batting is true to himself, charming and good mannered but reliant and thoughtful.' Other distinguished English cricket writers shared Cardus's admiration. E. W. Swanton wrote: 'Few more charming men have played for Australia and I cannot name one who was more popular with his opponents.' Once asked what he had gained from cricket, [Morris] said: 'Poverty'. Cricketers of his era were paid little more than expenses. ..Yet he held little envy of today's cricketing millionaires. 'Good luck to them. I only hope they enjoy the game as much as I did,' His enjoyment was not unqualified. *Newcastle Herald*, August 25, 2015, "Opinion". 11.

²⁰⁹ Campbell, with Bill Moyers, *The Power of Myth*, 158.

²¹⁰ Richard 'Richie' Benaud OBE (1930-2015), Australian cricketer and highly regarded commentator.

When big business and national interests are at play a champion is sometimes elevated to the position of a mythical / god-like status that ensures the champion is protected from smears. They become a symbol of spiritual enlightenment. This status is invariably maintained in spite of inherent character flaws which would otherwise shatter illusions. Interestingly, in Australia, some of our heroes have enjoyed this protection whilst others have not. According to scholar J. W. Deacon '[The] obsession to reduce celebrities and 'would-be' heroes to the ranks of ordinary people is recognised as the 'tall poppy syndrome', and is very much a part of the Australian culture.'²¹¹ While I concur with Deacon I argue that rather than falling victim to the 'tall poppy syndrome', sportspeople often come under scrutiny for breaching the traditional commandments of sport and failing to live up to Ziegler's pre-requisites.

Of Ziegler's pre-requisites physical excellence is an imperative but I argue it is mental excellence which determines the quality of the execution. **Rather than focus on the eye we should focus on the head (thinking).** Insofar as moral excellence, 'righteousness' is a theological concept which attaches to decency, integrity, morality, justice, honesty, piety and so on. **Some elite sportsmen and women have engaged in the active promotion of gambling, alcohol and tobacco knowing there is ample and credible evidence to suggest promotion of these habits is likely to have an adverse impact on the minds of the young and impressionable. Others have promoted alcohol and health services simultaneously passing a confusing message. This is a long way from Ziegler's concept of righteousness.** Social excellence is tied to the concept of righteousness, an ability to communicate effectively and present oneself in such a way as to project a positive image of Self and nation so as to advance the interests of the one and the Other.

²¹¹ J. W. Deacon, "Walter Lindrum: An Australian Sporting Hero", Masters Thesis, Queensland University, Queensland, 1996, 970304, Catalogue 04-03-1997, BCODE3, 11.

Whether the feats of an athlete and/or the story of an athlete's life survive into the future is dependent upon how the sportsperson's life captures the imagination during his/her lifetime, to what extent the magic of the sportsperson's life captures and continues to capture the imagination of the nation, the importance of the sport during the life of the sportsperson in their nation's context, changing perceptions of the sport for which the sportsperson was famous, the quality of the lessons to be learned from the sportsperson's life, efforts made to preserve the image of the sportsperson and the lessons of the sportsperson's life and/or the value to the nation of 'using' the sportsperson's name and history to advance the profile of the nation.

Sport as an ideological state apparatus

In The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history (2005), Booth points out that 'Structural Marxists conceptualise sport as an ideological state apparatus. Sport functions as an ideology to preserve and perpetuate capitalist structures. It achieves this in three ways.'²¹²

First: sport celebrates capitalist values such as competition, discipline, hard work and achievement. With regard to the latter, elite sport, in particular, is a form of work that similarly emphasises efficient and maximum production...the champion is fabricated in the image of the worker and the track in the image of the factory. Athletic activity has become a form of production [rather than an art] and takes on all the characteristics of industrial production.

Second: sport retards the development of the working class consciousness. On the one hand watching sport offers the working classes an emotional safety valve for the release of aggressive feelings which might otherwise be turned on the

²¹² Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 55.

real class oppressors. On the other it provides a false sense of escape and functions as a compensatory mechanism to an alienated existence.

Third: commercial sports such as professional boxing, horse-racing and motor sports are primarily profit maximising business enterprise[s] in which investment functions to accumulate capital. Sport also stimulates the accumulation of capital indirectly in other ways: providing a market for goods and services associated with it (sports clothing and equipment, gambling etc.) and functions as a sales adjunct...through... sponsorship and advertising.²¹³

In the context of this essay, Marxist theory is relevant. Proficient at billiards by the age of twelve, the Lindrums were exponents of elite billiards and, in the case of Horace and Walter Lindrum, elite billiards and snooker, into their later years.

Horace was fifty-eight-years-old when he recorded his one-thousandth snooker century in public performance. Yet, despite shared brilliance with the cue, the philosophy of sport adopted by Walter was diametrically opposed to the philosophy adopted by his brother, Frederick III, and his nephew, Horace.

All three players were men of art and science but Walter used pure mathematics to control the game to his own ends and aligned himself with gambling and big business interests whereas Frederick III and Horace used science to present the game from an artistic perspective and rejected an association with the gambling industry.

The sporting culture had not evolved to where it is today. In the Lindrum era prize money was modest and there was more kudos attached to competing, winning a trophy, recording a big break, making an audience happy than banking a cheque. Since the introduction of the totalisator, I argue athletic

²¹³ Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, 55-56.

activity has become a form of production crafted to maximise profits.

Notwithstanding their diametrically opposed sporting philosophies, I assert the Lindrums met Ziegler's physical, mental, moral and social excellence tests despite the fact there was an association with the alcohol, gambling and tobacco industries. I say this because the Lindrum era was the era of major tobacco sponsorship when drinking and smoking were promoted, not only as socially acceptable practices, but as glamorous pursuits that enhanced the aura of the Self. The medical evidence we have available to us today simply did not exist or, if it did, it was not made known within the public realm. **To the contrary, cigarette brand Craven A, for example, was advertised as follows: 'Smoke Craven A for your throat's sake.'**

Insofar as gambling is concerned, from the period of the Bank Crash in 1893 to the Depression years (1929-1932), gambling was rife in 'Australia's blackest decade.'²¹⁴ It represented a means of survival and bookmaking was perceived to be a mathematical way of making a living from eager punters seeking a more exclusive interchange with their gambling practices. As Daley points out: it was at this historical moment that, 'sport [started to play] a powerful role and, for some, sport literally became a matter of economic life and death.'²¹⁵ Interestingly, this historical moment also saw the establishment of John Wren's illegal betting operation in Collingwood and the establishment of the City Tattersalls Club; the only club to have its own Act of Parliament. Meat-tray raffles and chocolate wheel lotteries were used to tempt the unemployed to gamble.

Frederick II, my great-grandfather, became a bookmaker for the Western Australian branch of Tattersalls (an exclusive club network established to provide a social outlet for gentlemen only and where gentlemen could gamble

²¹⁴ M. T. Daley, *One Hundred Years of Australian Sport: The Golden Century: A History of the New South Wales Sports Club, Sydney*, (Sydney: New South Wales Sports Club, Sydney, 1996), 165.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, 165.

on the races) in 1904. This association brought him into contact with gambling supremos John Wren and Sol Green, the biggest bookmakers in the country. Wren sponsored Walter Lindrum and, according to author Andrew Ricketts, 'sent a manager to England with Walter Lindrum to organise an elaborate betting plunge...Walter later returned to Australia a deeply disillusioned man.'²¹⁶ On his return, Walter retired from competitive play, and, for the remainder of his career, used his cue for good ends; to raise money for charity. In social settings, however, he became somewhat of a recluse.

Economic Survival

Given the norm; that is, the elite sportsman/sportswoman enjoys a relatively short career; one might argue economic survival is as much an issue for the sportsman/sportswoman of today as it was for the sportsman/sportswoman in the Lindrum era. However, by comparison, today's elite sportsperson is handsomely rewarded by lucrative sponsorship, prize money and attractive income packages and his/her benefits frequently linger long after careers have come to an end. Notwithstanding, there are significant flow-on effects, some of which existed in earlier times, but appear to have escalated at an alarming rate.

Depression, disillusionment, family break-up, violence, addiction to drugs, alcohol, tobacco and gambling and physical injury (from risk taking and failure to protect the physical Self) are the direct results of too much pressure being placed upon the physical and mental Self. These negative impacts corrupt the biography of Self, the biography of family and nation and are destructive to the biography of mankind.

²¹⁶ Ricketts, *Walter Lindrum: The Phenomenon*, 61.

Billiards & Snooker and the subject of my story

During the 18th and 19th centuries and, for three-quarters of the 20th century, the sports of billiards and snooker can be said to have functioned on the traditional commandments of sport which were rooted in the Greek ideal, that is, **a sportsperson's ultimate goal is to develop artistic and intellectual excellence.** In *Practical Billiards* (1904) billiard champion and author C. Dawson, for example, dubbed billiards 'The Epitome of Life.'²¹⁷

Horace Lindrum met all the pre-requisites. He conducted himself, throughout his fifty year career with distinction and dignity and he was an excellent role model for his chosen sport. With such a member, the Lindrums were fortunate indeed. I opine, since Horace Lindrum's death, the complexion of sport has changed dramatically. Once the sport of palaces, the sport is now controlled by gambling interests.

I assert Horace Lindrum reinforced heroic qualities that set him apart from other members of his family and the wider family of snooker. His refusal to align himself with the gambling industry may provide us with a clue as to why his achievements have not been properly recognised as the gambling ethos in Australia is deeply ingrained. As such Lindrum accepted the call to move from the ordinary world to a world of extraordinary challenges which required him to sacrifice his life to good ends; that is to entertain people across the world.

Further, it might be argued that Lindrum was thrown into his adventures at the billiard table. He was not born a Lindrum and he freely admitted that, as a child, all he wanted to do was travel the world but he accepted his destiny and gave his life to something bigger than himself. Lindrum's heroic qualities, the many references, for example, to his modesty and humility in the winning

²¹⁷ C. Dawson, *Practical Billiards*, (Surrey, UK: Self-published, 1904), 214.

circumstance and his graciousness in defeat, the pristine manner in which he conducted himself in the name of the nation coupled with his talent with the cue which, according to Brasch, saw him become 'the greatest exhibition player the world has ever seen'²¹⁸ and the exemplary manner in which he and his mother (my grandmother, Clara Violet) ran Lindrum's Pitt Street, Sydney, which Brasch proclaims to be evidence of 'their expressive love of the game'²¹⁹ but, more importantly – as a father – mark him as a champion.

Horace Lindrum personified Brasch's ten Commandments of sport and, in recent times, was described by eminent Professor Edward J. Blakely as 'A man bigger than his time'.

The Commandments of Sport

1. Thou shalt not quit.
2. Thou shalt not alibi.
3. Thou shalt not gloat over winning.
4. Thou shalt not sulk over losing.
5. Thou shalt not take unfair advantage.
6. Thou shalt not ask odds thou art unwilling to give.
7. Thou shalt always be willing to give thine opponent the benefit of the doubt.
8. Thou shalt not underestimate an opponent or over-estimate thyself.
9. Remember that the game is the thing. He or she who thinks otherwise is no true sportsman/sportswoman.
10. Honour the game, for he/she who plays the game straight and hard wins even when he/she loses.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Rudolph Brasch, *How Did Sports Begin: A Look into the Origins of Man at Play*, (Australia: Longman Australia Pty. Limited, 1971), 44.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 189.

Changing Complexion of Sport

According to authors John W. Loy, Barry D. McPherson and Gerald Kenyon:

During the twentieth century, sport became a cultural phenomenon of great magnitude and complexity, having both positive and negative consequences for individuals and society at large. It has permeated most, if not all, of our social institutions including education, economics, art, politics, law, mass communications, and international diplomacy. Its' scope is awesome, nearly everyone has become involved in some way, albeit vicariously for most.

...[But], With the increase in direct and indirect sport consumption, gambling has also increased since the placing of a wager heightens personal involvement and interest by providing additional various excitement.²²¹

Like Loy, McPherson and Kenyon, author Emily Greenspan believes that our interest in sport has turned into an unhealthy obsession and author Duncan Hamilton asserts:

Those of us devoted to sport are frequently guilty of magnifying its importance. Sometimes we over-dramatise and hype it, judge it disproportionately and give it a status that, on sober reflection is nearly always either wrong-headed or plainly unmerited. We just get carried away.²²²

I would take these views a step further asserting that our growing obsession with watching sport is creating a generation of 'couch potatoes' who, through advertising, have become addicted to watching rather than playing sport and /

²²¹ John W. Loy, Barry D. McPherson and Gerald Kenyon, *Sport and Social Systems: A Guide to the Analysis, Problems and Literature*, (Massachusetts, Menlo Park, California, London, Amsterdam and Dan Mills, Ontario and Sydney: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1978), 3 and 282.

²²² Duncan Hamilton, *Harold Larwood*, (London: Quercus, 2009), 16.

or fanatically using sport, in an industrialised sense, to excess rather than as play / recreation. In the latter, sport is a refresher of the mind. In the former, sport is hard work and, if unmonitored, potentially lethal, particularly when the viewer's interest in sport extends to an addiction to gambling or sedentary observation.

Stoddart says:

[Sport] is changing rapidly and will alter even more quickly and radically into the future because of its basis in Australian social, political and economic life...At the centre of all this change lies the ultimate question: How does Australia want to consider, develop and use its sport? If Australia does want to become more competitive internationally, it will have to be prepared for far greater capital investment than it has been willing to provide thus far. Where that money originates raises questions, in turn, about the priority of needs in Australian life – should millions of dollars be spent on sport while there remain economic needs and inequalities in unemployment, welfare, education and housing?²²³

I agree with Stoddart but I think the question that needs to be asked is:

How do Australians want to be perceived by their International counterparts? Do they want to be seen as a smart people who get their priorities right? If so, education is surely a priority as is striking the right balance between an investment in the welfare of Australians, health, major infrastructure programs, scientific research, art and sport.

Is it time elite sport paid its own way?

²²³ Stoddart in *Saturday Afternoon Fever*, Chapter Eight, Stumps Summary.

For sport to fulfil its higher purpose it needs participants to exercise the same reason that a biographer must exercise in coming to the task of writing biography, valuing the importance of sport as recreation as well as the importance of competing on an even and sensible playing field – on and off the field. As Mackay points out, ‘on a Golden Rule playing field we’d never swing a punch (literally or metaphorically), deliberately give offence, behave in a way that exploited, deceived or manipulated others or cut moral corners.’²²⁴ Unfortunately, when powerful forces and big business come onto the playing field, for participant and consumer, the playing field becomes a controlled pitch and participants and consumers become tools for moneymaking ends and there is scant regard for the Golden Rule principle.

Deacon uses ANZAC and sporting events – the Melbourne Cup, the Stawell Gift and the Austral cycling race²²⁵ – to highlight the character of cultural practises in Australia which include ‘manipulation of the game’ and he asserts Walter Lindrum exemplified these traits because he was so good at his sport he could control the end-game and couldn’t be beaten unless he wanted to be. That is why Walter’s style of play captured the imagination of gambling men.

Speaking of the role of the media in sport, Deacon says:

The media are generally charged with the responsibility to ensure that ‘would be’ heroes have any deficiencies exposed to the public to reduce their status accordingly. Any blemishes in character or performance are seized upon by an ever hungry media. We have

²²⁴ Hugh Mackay, *The Good Life: What makes life Worth Living?* (Sydney, Australia: Pan Macmillan Pty. Limited, 2013), 174.

²²⁵ The first of these is the celebration of a Military defeat, the successful withdrawal of troops from Gallipoli, whilst the latter, the country’s most important (in terms of interest and involvement) sporting event, is a handicap race where the best horses are forced to carry weights that reduce their chance of winning enormously and, at the same time, make it possible for the lesser horses to compete on favourable terms with the champions. The Stawell Gift and Austral cycling race are handicap events in which the best performers are penalised to such an extent that they concede impossible starts. It has become common place for the more gifted runners and cyclists to hide their true form in order to receive a realistic handicap which will give them a chance in the race.

seen Greg Chappell, Pat Cash and Wally Lewis lose much of the adoration and respect they once held through the treatment given to any indiscretion, on or off the sporting arena.

[In more recent times, swimmers have been targeted by the media but appear to have emerged relatively unscathed].

Yet others have endured.

Sir Donald Bradman, Sir Hubert Opperman, Walter Lindrum, Heather Mackay, Herb Elliott, Rod Laver, Peter Thomson and Dawn Fraser are some of an elite group of sporting champions who have retained their 'hero' status long after their competitive days are over.

It is interesting that Dawn Fraser in particular has remained popular with the Australian people, despite her rebellious nature, and despite various attempts by both officialdom and the media to tarnish her image.²²⁶

What I find particularly interesting is how quickly we seem to forget, forgive and turn a blind eye to breaches of the Golden Rule. The 'reality' is, breaches of the Golden Rule principle bring individual and nation into disrepute.

The Horace Lindrum story can but serve to elevate, not just enrich the vibrant history of the sport of snooker, but the sporting history of our nation. Stories of heroes like Horace Lindrum serve as a reminder that 'the mission of life is to live your potentiality.'

What impact have these ideas had on the ways in which I've reviewed, regarded and written my father's life?

In the final chapter, I examine how I came to write *The Uncrowned King* which has at its core the heroic life of Horace Lindrum. I also discuss my experience as a Lindrum and, more especially, what it was like to grow up in a

²²⁶ Deacon, "Walter Lindrum: An Australian Sporting hero", 4-5.

family of champions. Through the writing process, I found myself continuously asking why my father's achievements had not been recognised and why he had been forgotten by his nation. I had to concede Australia's tyranny of distance may have played a role in this. I found it interesting how some stories captured imagination for a short time whilst others, such as Bradman's, had greater longevity.

I concluded: The success of a story and its longevity is largely dependent upon the magic or essence of the story, the excitement and/or controversy the story generates, the story's capacity to cross borders, relevance in terms of the history of the nation and the history of other parts of the world, relative meaning to a generation, a generation's intellectual and emotional capacity to comprehend and appreciate the language of the story and the value of the story in terms of that generation's own needs and perceived needs of future generations.

It would be a loss to Australia's sporting history if the Lindrum family story were to disappear into the mists of time because there is something to be learned from family stories. Whilst 'in the body of the society as a whole the individual can only be an organ'²²⁷ an understanding of the nation can be lost to us if family stories are disregarded. When that family is one of sporting influence such as the Lindrums we lose a great understanding of sport, the hero and the sporting nation.

²²⁷ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 330.

Chapter Four

Writing *The Uncrowned King*

I did not set out to write my father's life but it might be argued *The Uncrowned King* was predetermined. I was born into a family of champions and inherited the history/story of that family – just as we all inherit our family histories – and was, therefore, destined to write *The Uncrowned King*. Other family members could equally have written the story and may yet write it with their own set of perceptions, memories and experiences. Equally, it might also be argued this story is the product of pure coincidence; traceable to my entry into University in 2006 and, more particularly, my participation in a creative writing class in 2007. It was never my intention to study creative writing. To the contrary, my aim was to re-hone my performing arts skills. Creative writing was an option on the University timetable which just happened to fit with my electives. If I had selected a different subject, *The Uncrowned King* may never have been written.

Because of the enormity of the Lindrum story, and because of my attachment to it, I have experienced periods of great joy and periods of deep depression. Looking into the rear vision mirror is never easy, particularly when one is looking back over one's own life – laying bare the soul, peeling back memories, unfolding regret, much as one peels the layers of an onion – a task that inevitably forces one to reflect on decisions taken on the journey through time. As I say in the book, on more than one occasion I've been forced to tell myself: 'Lindrum, don't get emotional' and I can relate to the sentiments expressed by George Orwell:

[The writing initiative] is a horrible, exhausting struggle like a long bout of some painful illness.

One would never undertake such a thing if one were not driven on by some demon whom one can neither resist nor understand.²²⁸

At the very beginning of the project the aim was to get the story written as quickly as possible in order to restore the Lindrum name and history to its once hallowed position which is something my mother wanted to see happen. Sadly, my mother subsequently slipped into a state of progressive vascular dementia and will never come to appreciate the restoration. This reality has, on more than one occasion, made me feel like throwing in the towel. The one thing I had hoped for was for my mother sit in the front of a cinema and see her story projected onto the big screen.

Through the writing process I have come to understand that there is a fine line between allowing the imagination to roam freely and telling the truth of the story. Finding the right balance is the greatest challenge, more particularly for those writers who come to the task from a theatrical background as I have, as the authorial voice is the voice of the stage rather than the page. Also, I have come to appreciate that the language of the Self is the framework upon which we build the stories of our lives. It is the language we use through this journey that ultimately determines the tale we bequeath to our descendants and the quality of the book that ultimately sits upon the shelf.

²²⁸ George Orwell, *Collected Essays*, (London: Mercury Books, 1961), 425.

Authors such as Francesca Rendle-Short²²⁹ and Germaine Greer²³⁰ wrote to 'disinherit/dispossess' themselves of the past. Author Shady Cosgrove²³¹ wrote to understand her family mythologies. For Cosgrove there was no memory of her father yet there were vivid memories of her longing for the absent father and playing the piano to fill the void. My father was also an absent father. Horace Lindrum was on tour for up to nine months of the year. Yet, curiously, miraculously, wonderfully, he was forever present in my life and still is.

I have written to hold on to my family story, celebrate the lives of my forebears and express gratitude for my existence. Whether we write to dispossess ourselves of the past, understand the past or embrace the past, we are all of us keepers of the past. I can say goodbye to the past and/or learn to live with the past but there is no way of eradicating the past because we come with our history, it is part of our 'Being', and incorporates the lived experience of life.

Writing history is catharsis; a purging of the emotions and an intertwining of the physical and the spiritual Self through which the soul of the Self emerges. In other words, if we write what we feel down in a diary and read it back, we come to a better understanding of the Self.

My first task in this project was to write up a family tree and then to wade through boxes of historical material in order to refresh my memory on those parts of the story that were familiar to me and to piece together the history of those parts of the story when I was not around. I began to read widely on the history of the cue sports and to review historical and

²²⁹ Rendle-Short, Francesca, *Bite your Tongue*, (Australia: Spinifex, 2011).

²³⁰ Greer, Germaine, *Daddy We Hardly Knew You*, (USA: Ballantine Books, 1989).

²³¹ Cosgrove, Shady, *She Played Elvis: A Pilgrimage to Graceland*, (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2007), 56-57.

contemporary texts. It was in the research phase that I became aware that the history of my family had been re-written post my father's death in 1974.

In *Walter Lindrum: The Phenomenon* (1998), author Andrew Ricketts, makes reference to my father and to other members of my family but focuses almost exclusively on my great-uncle Walter Lindrum thus giving the impression that there was only one champion of significance in the Lindrum family. Whilst Ricketts's text is essentially well-constructed and offers a useful insight into parts of the Lindrum family story, there are quite a few gaps. These may have arisen due to an over-reliance on information from one particular source, lack of knowledge on psychological factors and lack of access to resources believed to be scattered around the world when, in fact, there is a tome of information on the Lindrum family in storage in New South Wales.

As a consequence, there are occasions when Ricketts skims the surface on important issues, perhaps in an attempt to enhance a story that clearly glorifies Walter Lindrum. There is grave danger associated with skimming the surface as it is easy for a reader to form a false impression about people, places and events. Thus, I assert Ricketts misrepresents the story of many key figures in my family story, either by overestimating one person's performance or by focusing on a particular member's weaknesses without sufficient background or analysis. For example, Ricketts and other contemporary authors, such as J. W. Deacon, Peter FitzSimons and Evan Jones, are dismissive of and fail to reference my great-uncle Frederick III's achievements²³².

Aside from his world records at the billiard table, Frederick III's achievements include *Spot End Billiards: Technique and First Principles* (1913) – a text that marks him as a leading authority on the art of billiards of the 20th century. Rather they dwell harshly on the man's alcoholism without offering any explanation for it. Moreover, these authors imply that Frederick III's battle

²³² There is no reference, for example, of my great-uncle Frederick III's nineteen wins against British billiard champion Melbourne Inman nor to newspaper clippings reporting: 'Walter Lindrum Again Beaten: Brother Fred Recovers Splendidly', *The Referee*, 1928, 16.

with alcoholism played a major role in prematurely ending his career. In fact, Frederick III was still playing elite billiards, raising huge sums of money for the needy and being dubbed by his brother Walter as his favourite playing partner when in his sixties.

What Ricketts fails to consider are the contributing factors to the onset of Frederick III's alcoholism in 1936, including: untreated post-traumatic stress syndrome and depression, the weight of parental and public expectation, poor self-esteem over being born a left-hander (The commonly held belief in that era was left-handers cavorted with the devil), the 'mysterious and unexplained' disappearance of his entry in the world professional billiards championship 1933 which prevented his participation (given he was the Australian champion, that must have been a major disappointment), the decision by John Wren to 'sponsor' his brother Walter, and to 'send a manager to England with Walter to organise an elaborate betting plunge'²³³ (this 'may' and probably did caused= him professional embarrassment), the ruthless media attack over the stance he adopted against the slaughter of elephants for billiard balls, the death of his beloved wife Augusta in an horrific motor vehicle accident in South Melbourne when the vehicle in which she was a passenger was sandwiched between trams which left him with the sole responsibility of raising an eight-year-old son, the loss of the Australian title which he had held for twenty-seven years, adding pain to his own ageing process and the subsequent perceived progressive decline in his performance as a consequence of the ageing process.

The misrepresentation of Frederick III's alcoholism and it being brought forward to 1912, is to re-write my great-uncle's life and the Lindrum family history, discounting, as it does, Horace Lindrum's win of the Australian professional billiards title against his uncle Frederick and thus devaluing Frederick and Horace's records of achievement and creating an unreconcilable confusion which cannot be substantiated.

²³³ Ricketts, *Walter Lindrum: The Phenomenon*, 61.

A number of critics, including Ricketts, refer to Walter Lindrum's attempts at the Australian title in 1913 and 1916 and suggest Walter Lindrum didn't play for the Australian professional billiards title after that because it was not important to him but there may be another reason why Walter refused to play his brother and his nephew. As Deacon points out: 'Walter liked to be in control of the parameters of the contest...He was instinctively a gambler, but, as the consummate professional, appreciated having the odds in his favour.'²³⁴ If we accept Deacon, then we must also accept, on the balance of probabilities, Walter refused to play his brother and nephew in competition because he hadn't enjoyed losing to his brother in 1913 and 1916 and he knew, instinctively, his brother and nephew were equally as capable and he feared he might lose. In fact, Walter Lindrum publicly refused to play his nephew for the title in 1932²³⁵ (the same year of the 'mysterious and unexplained' disappearance of the entries of Frederick III and Horace in the world professional billiards title event. The reality is, Walter Lindrum never held the Australian title).

In *Everyone and Phar Lap* (1998) author Peter FitzSimons excludes any reference to Horace Lindrum. This exclusion and the exclusion of other family members, given the Lindrum family story is the story of a billiard playing aristocracy, are serious and disrespectful omissions that serve to sever vital links in a family chain and destroy the meaning and, indeed, the authenticity of the Lindrum family story. Similarly, in *Black Kettle and Full Moon: A Daily Life in a Vanished Australia*, historian Geoffrey Blainey references only one member; that is, Walter Lindrum. **Aside from the obvious hurt these sorts of omissions cause to the direct descendants of the family, the focus on one member rather than on the whole story serves to dramatically reduce one hundred and nine**

²³⁴ Deacon, 'Walter Lindrum: An Australian Sporting Hero', 116.

²³⁵ *The Daily News*, Thursday August 4, 1932, 'Will not play nephew. Billiards Star Up in Smoke. Come down from your ivory tower, Walter Lindrum.' Retrieved from the family archive January 12, 2013. *The Barrier Miner*, Broken Hill, 'Would not play nephew', Saturday December 30, 1933, 6.

years of remarkable and unique Australian sporting history. How can that possibly serve the national interest or achieve the core aim of the National Sports Museum in Melbourne which is 'to preserve the rich history of sport in Australia'?

In a later volume, *Great Australian Sports Champions from Phar Lap to Freeman and From Cazaly to Waugh* (2006), FitzSimons references Walter Lindrum and Eddie Charlton. Again, there is no reference to Horace Lindrum.

In *200 Years of Australian Sport* (1988), sportswriters Ian Head and Gary Lester make two short references to Horace Lindrum and eight references to Walter Lindrum, one of which is a dedicated full page with photo of Walter giving coaching hints to Donald Bradman, with the caption 'Two Immortals of Australian Sport'.

The first reference to Horace states: 'In 1940 Horace Lindrum won the world snooker title.'²³⁶ This statement is incorrect. Horace Lindrum won the world professional snooker title in 1951/52. **Inclusion of the word 'professional' is important as there was a clear line between the professional and amateur leagues in the Lindrum era and a vast difference between the playing abilities of the professional and amateur exponents of the sport. This is probably the same today, although the lines in all sports have been somewhat blurred.**

The second reference relates to Horace being the first snooker player to score one thousand snooker centuries. Whilst this entry is not technically incorrect, the significance of this achievement is overlooked. **Horace Lindrum was the first player in history to make one thousand snooker centuries 'in public performance'. Lindrum made far more than a thousand snooker centuries during his career. This achievement is also significant because the great English champion Joe Davis, Horace's fiercest rival during the Golden Age of Snooker, fell far short of this record. Further, many of Lindrum's**

²³⁶ Head, and Lester, *200 Years of Australian Sport*, 180.

centuries were recorded in a world record time from 2 1/2 to 6 minutes on billiard tables with Kentfield-style pockets.²³⁷

There are a number of spectacular errors in the references to Walter Lindrum. For example, the statement 'Walter Lindrum won the world snooker title in 1929'²³⁸ is false. Walter never won the world snooker title. A full page spread suggests Walter dominated his game and opponents as no other Australian sportsman has:

Probably only Bradman and the under-appreciated Heather Mackay even came close. Lindrum was king...Around Lindrum there was a dynasty of champion players – his father, his brother, his sister and nephew. Horace became a snooker player, but Walter was best. When he was seventeen, he was world master of billiards...²³⁹

It is true the Lindrums were a dynasty of champions but it is sad references to the equally impressive achievements of other members of the family are condensed to the barest of minimums or excluded altogether. Aside from the records at the billiard table, there is the impressive fundraising efforts of the family as a whole. The assertion that Walter was world master of billiards at seventeen is pure fabrication. It is impossible to know whether or not Walter was 'best' as, after defeat to his brother in 1916 and after defeating his nephew

²³⁷ Jonathan Kentfield was a superb British player who challenged himself by 'reducing the size of the pocket openings.' John Thurston established 'The House of Thurston' (billiard table and accessory manufacturers) in 1799 and, during the 19th century worked tirelessly on improving the frame (slate beds) and cushions (from horse hair to vulcanised rubber) and the general quality of billiard tables. John Carr of Bath is credited with inventing the 'twisting chalk' which increased friction. In 1868 John Wesley Hyatt of New York began making billiard balls out of cellulose and nitrate. This ball was the first commercially successful synthetic plastic which he called 'celluloid'. In 1869 Hyatt patented this composition and began marketing his 'Bonzoline' ball. By 1900 a similar ball was being produced in England under the name 'Crystalate'. These balls could be produced with more equal weight and were not subject to weather conditions. However, acceptance was very slow. Crystalate balls were not used in championship play until 1926 when they were adopted by the amateur league. The Crystalate ball was first used in professional competition in 1929. French Infantry man, Mingaud, is credited with introducing the leather cue tip in 1807.

²³⁸ Head and Lester, *200 Years of Australian Sport*, 180.

²³⁹ *Ibid*, 200.

in 1928 (Walter being the 30-year-old seeded professional and Horace the 16-year-old newcomer), Walter refused to play either his brother or his nephew in competition for the Australian title. Further, as per the appendices to Ricketts's book, Frederick III was still notching up wins against his brother in his later years. **I can but wonder whether authors stop to think how their writings will impact on a champion's descendants?**

The Makers of Australia's Sporting Traditions: Lives from the Australian Dictionary of Biography (1993) is published by the Melbourne University but the credentials of the various contributors are not provided. Author, Evan Jones, references my great-uncles Frederick William Lindrum III (1888-1958) and Walter Albert Lindrum (1898-1960) as 'billiard prodigies and the only sons of Frederick William Lindrum, billiardist, and his wife, Harriet nee Atkins.' (Evan, 1997, 147) According to Jones:

Fred I arrived in Adelaide from Plymouth, Devon, England as a child in 1838, later established a vineyard at Norwood and was a hotelkeeper in Adelaide and at Victor Harbour. In 1862 he was a billiard-saloon proprietor and on 17 September, 1865, in Adelaide, the day his son was born, he defeated the visiting world champion, John Roberts, senior, presumably in a handicap match.²⁴⁰

My great-great-grandfather Friedrich Wilhelm Von Lindrum (F. W. Lindrum I) was born in Stralsund, Prussia in 1828. He came from Hamburg to Australia in 1849 as a passenger on the *Princess Louise*, arriving in Adelaide where he established a vineyard at the corner of Thomas and Edsall Streets, Norwood. In 1873 he was awarded Australia's first International Gold Medal for South Australian shiraz at the inaugural celebrations for the London Wine Society at the Albert Hall. His Naturalisation Certificate lists his occupation as Wine Merchant. Prior to his death he was proprietor of the Crown Hotel in Victor Harbour (1876-1880) and, at the time of his death, he was

²⁴⁰ Evan Jones in *The Makers of Australian Sporting Traditions: Lives from the Australian Dictionary of Biography*, selected and edited by Michael McKernan, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 147.

a man of property.²⁴¹ Friedrich was buried as a national hero in the West Terrace cemetery, Adelaide (Originally Common Ground Road, path 36, allotment 22 east, now road 5, pathway 4, 2E, number 2225).

Taking into account the remarkable billiard-playing prowess of the Lindrum family I argue that the presumption about the match between Lindrum and Roberts as a handicap match is pure speculation. Lindrum came from a land of philosophers, musicians and mathematicians and, despite the fact that Roberts was deemed to be world master of billiards, it is within the realms of probability that Friedrich played an elite game and that the match was not on a handicap. The most likely scenario is that Robert travelled to Australia because a proponent was being promoted as his equal.

Referring to my great-grandfather Frederick II, Jones says:

In 1886 he moved to Melbourne and next year won the native-born Australian championship. But by 1892 (in a pattern to be repeated by later Lindrums) he had sunk from the top competitive ratings.²⁴²

What pattern? Which Lindrums? Nothing but innuendo. The reality is, the bank crash came in 1893 and there were probably few opportunities for competitive play. Further, Jones fails to take into account the fact that my great-grandfather passed his knowledge of the sport onto his sons and to his grandson via the teaching methodologies he had inherited from his father, thus effectively playing a key role in the production of three elite world-class champions against whom 'few players' in the world could match their skills.

²⁴¹ The Commercial Inn in Grenfell Street (south side, west corner of Commercial Place, Adelaide. The Royal Oak Hotel, 1 Fifth Street, Ardrossan and a quarter acre plot, being Block 41 Edsall Street, about midway between Elizabeth Street and Sydenham Road.

²⁴² Jones, *The Makers of Australian Sporting Traditions: Lives from the Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 147.

Jones also tells the reader that my great-grandfather: spent peripatetic years at Donnybrook, Perth, Kalgoolie and Broad Arrow before moving to Sydney in 1909 and, finally, in 1912, to Melbourne. There, at 317 Flinders Lane, he ran the Lindrum billiard-hall until his death on 11 April, 1943.²⁴³

The Lindrums were still living in Sydney in 1912 and my great-grandfather was, at that time, the proprietor of the Classic Billiard Room on George Street. Lindrum's in Flinders Lane opened in 1921. Further, Lindrum's was a billiard room not a billiard hall. The terms 'billiard saloon' and 'billiard hall' bring with them connotations of a bar and the Lindrum billiard rooms were not bars. In fact, the Lindrum billiard rooms were established on the Harvey²⁴⁴ principles: 'No gum. No alcohol. No gambling.' Drinking and gambling on-premise were strictly forbidden. Frederick III was manager of Lindrum's in Flinders Lane at the time of his father's death in 1943.

According to Jones, 'The elder son was obviously his father's first choice and he was trained for convenience as a right-handed player.' (Jones, 148) The reality is, Frederick III was ten years older than his brother Walter. He wasn't trained as a right-handed player for convenience. He was trained as a right-handed player because his father believed that left-handers cavorted with the devil.

This text purports to be and is promoted in academic circles as an important historical reference source yet phrases like 'Fred took to the drink' suggest it should be in the trashy comic book section of the library rather than on the history shelf. There is no reference to Frederick III's nineteen wins against British professional billiards champion Melbourne Inman or his unfinished world record break of 2,196 against George Gray, which, aside from

²⁴³ Jones, *The Makers of Australian Sporting Traditions: Lives from the Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 147.

²⁴⁴ In the late 1870's, Englishman, Fred Harvey started the first restaurant chain in America along the Kansas Pacific Railroad, later approaching the Atcheson, Topeka & the Santa Fe. Circus in the *Golden era* also operated on Harvey principles.

British champion Tom Reece's marathon break against Joe Chapman (1904), remains the third highest recorded break at billiards of that era; my great-grandfather Frederick II having recorded a world record break of 3,000.

Speaking of Walter, Jones says:

On [his] first tour [to England] Lindrum made sixty-seven of what his nephew Horace was to call with perhaps understandable pique his 'highly scientific but somewhat mechanical thousands at billiards.'²⁴⁵

The word 'pique' means resentment. **During my extensive research into my family I found no evidence that Horace Lindrum was, at any time during his fifty year career, resentful of his uncles' achievements or the achievements of other exponents of his sport. To the contrary, there is an overwhelming body of evidence verifying Horace Lindrum spoke respectfully of his uncles and his fellow professionals, acknowledging their achievements and expressing gratitude for what he had learned from them and often critiquing his own abilities. The fact that he refused to become embroiled in match fixing and the politics of sport, preferring to become an exhibition player, says something of the nature of the man.**

Jones concludes: 'Fred and Walter's sister, Violet, was also a skilled player. Her son Horace Norman William Morrell (1912-1974) changed his name to Lindrum and became a world snooker champion.' The inference here is that Horace Lindrum 'traded' off the name 'Lindrum'. No explanation is provided as to how and why Horace Morrell came to be known as Horace Lindrum yet the change of name was at the instigation of my great-grandfather and great-uncle Walter who thought it would be great publicity if another Lindrum entered the fold.

²⁴⁵ Jones, *The Makers of Australian Sporting Traditions: Lives from the Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 148.

Turning now to *World Snooker with Jack Karnehm* (1981). It is as much what the authors say in this text as what they don't say. A British snooker commentator and one-time chairman of the governing body, Karnehm comes to the text with an aura of authority. In fact, it was during Karnehm's chairmanship of the governing body that Horace Lindrum became the first snooker player in history to record one-thousand snooker centuries in public performance. Karnehm's signature and the common seal of the governing body appear on the break certification. Yet, curiously, throughout this text, the authors write to destroy Horace Lindrum's record and reputation.

Crafted for a pop culture audience, Karnehm and Carty tell the reader: 'the new [snooker] scene owes nothing to Shakespeare or Ibsen, but drama it is for all that.'²⁴⁶ Speaking of the changing face of snooker, Karnehm and Carty state:

By the year 1967, [British champion] Joe Davis had been in retirement for quite a long time and slowly snooker had slipped into the doldrums. Gone were the most glamorous days of the Leicester Square Hall. For the top remaining professionals – championship play had almost been forgotten.

Rex Williams, John Pulman, Fred Davis – between them – continued to keep a tight rein on the professional [players] association making it rather an exclusive club.²⁴⁷

The reader is left completely in the dark as to why the days of the Leicester Square Hall were so glamorous yet it was the Joe Davis and Horace Lindrum combination that made them so. Davis and Lindrum attracted huge crowds and big-named celebrities. What could be the reason for omitting this rich history?

²⁴⁶ Jack Karnehm and John Carty, *World Snooker*, (London: Pelham Books, 1981), 18-19.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 6.

According to Joy Lindrum, an eyewitness to events post World War II:

The Joe Davis and Horace combination provided a colourful contrast to the snooker scene. With Joe there was a determination and an aggressiveness of style, while the youthful exuberance of Horace presented an impish likable bearing. Both showman in their own way pioneered the game of snooker as did Peter Mans [Snr] and Freddie van Rensburg in South Africa, Clark McConachy in New Zealand, Conrad Stanbury, Clare O'Connell and George Chenier in Canada.²⁴⁸

Karnehm and Carty later assert it took Joe Davis most of his life to make a maximum break but today there about thirty players who have made the magic 147 at snooker. The inference is that the players today are superior to their predecessors. That may or may not be correct. We will never know the answer. Certainly, contemporary sportspeople are the beneficiaries of revolutionary innovations and technological advancements but, insofar as billiards and snooker, the pocket openings on the billiard table in the Lindrum/Davis era were much smaller and there is no comparison between the highly mathematical and scientific texts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and contemporary texts. Further, the profile of the sport is not what it used to be which would seem to suggest regress rather than progress.

Karnehm and Carty admit that they have heard people say times over, 'Did you see last night's game on the box? Well, if they are supposed to be top players, I am turning pro tomorrow; what a load of rubbish.'²⁴⁹ The authors dismiss the criticisms saying, 'These statements are made by people who should know better, sometimes by enthusiasts just letting emotion take over.'²⁵⁰ Certainly, these observations were made by the famous Whispering Ted Lowe compere of the "Pot Black" series in correspondence between himself and Joy

²⁴⁸ Joy Lindrum, *Lindrums' World*, (Sydney: Self-published, 1998), 82.

²⁴⁹ Karnehm and Carty, *World Snooker*, 65.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 3.

Lindrum. Ted Lowe was less than enamoured with the changing face of the cue sports.

In Chapter Six entitled, 'Southern Star', the authors refer to professional exponent Pierrie Mans Snr. of South Africa but make no reference to Horace Lindrum yet Lindrum held the South African Record and recorded the first world record for the greatest number of snooker centuries ever recorded in a singular event at the Melbourne Town Hall in an International Challenge in 1948 against Pierrie Mans Snr. Ten centuries to Lindrum (100, 102, 101, 103, 105, 112, 123, 134, 135, and 141). Two centuries to Mans (101 and 108). A record certified by the governing body and recorded in 1948 during the International Challenge Championship.

In Chapter Seven, 'Australia: It's not all Kangaroos and Tubes', again there is no reference to Horace Lindrum yet Horace Lindrum was Australian professional billiards and snooker champion for over thirty-three years; a feat recognised by the Australian Association. Reference is made to Australian champion Eddie Charlton who Karnehm and Carty hail as 'the cornerstone of the game in Australia.'²⁵¹ I would argue the Lindrum family were the foundation stone of the game in Australia.

In Chapter Twelve, 'The Canadian Experience', Karnehm and Carty desecrate Horace Lindrum's record, defiling his greatest achievement by reference to Vic Kirleuk who they assert was 'one of the best players in the dead days of the early sixties. Vic claims to have executed...over 2000 centuries.'²⁵² This reference is peculiar given there is no reference to the certificate executed by Karnehm on March 25, 1970, certifying Lindrum to be the first snooker player in history to record one thousand snooker centuries in public performance.

²⁵¹ Karnehm and Carty, *World Snooker*, 73.

²⁵² *Ibid*, 63.

When Lindrum recorded his one-thousandth snooker century it was recognised as a significant milestone by a global media. Earlier milestones; 498th, 499th, 500th, 728th and 999th were also recognised. Horace's 500th century was recorded at the German Club in Pretoria, South Africa with three consecutive centuries in one session bringing his total to 502, including a break of 137 against D. Lombard, a century break against Captain Steyn van Rooyen and a break of 103 against Henry Jensen. Horace's 728th century was recorded in Virginia, South Africa with two breaks of 120 and 126 and his 999th century was recorded at Collaroy in the state of New South Wales. I could find no historical evidence nor on-line reference to a player by name of Vic Kirkleuk.

In Chapter Fourteen, 'Talking about Joe', two British players express their love for Joe Davis and assert none of the players during the Golden Age of Snooker came within a hundred miles of him. The inference is that Horace Lindrum's ability was nowhere near that of Joe Davis and that proposition is preposterous.

The 'reality' is Joe Davis and Horace Lindrum are to the history of snooker what Federer and Nadal are to the history of tennis and that is a cause for celebration not denigration.

A Sporting Nation: Celebrating Australia's Sporting Life (1999) states:

Australia's first billiard [room] was opened in Sydney by Thomas Spencer in 1851, and arguably the game's greatest ever exponent has been Australia's Walter Lindrum. A more recent baize master is world open snooker champion Eddie Charlton. Lindrum was world champion billiard player from 1932-1950. He had soon outplayed all competition to the extent that he forced a change in the game's international rules, outlawing the nursery cannon technique by which he had set 57 world records.²⁵³

²⁵³ Paul Cliff, editor, *Sporting Nation: Celebrating Australia's Sporting Life: The Australian Sporting and Dramatic News*, With contributions from Marlene Matthew, Eric Rolls and Marion Halligan, (ACT: the National Library of Australia, 1999), 45.

Eddie Charlton was runner-up in the new world title series for billiards and snooker. Walter Lindrum won the world professional billiards title 1933/34. The championship was not replayed until 1946 when it was won by Scottish Champion Walter Donaldson. Walter Lindrum did not compete.

Contemporary texts make no reference to Horace Lindrum's International and widely published bestseller *Snooker, Billiards & Pool*, a text which marks him as a leading authority on the cue sports of the 20th century. A further point of interest is Rudolph Brasch's *How did Sports Begin: The Origins of Man at Play*. First published in Australia by Longman in 1971, this edition references Horace Lindrum, his mother and Lindrums' billiard room in Pitt Street, Sydney. These references have been removed from subsequent texts published in Australia. The question is: Why?

On May 5, 2010, Neil Robertson of Australia won the modern day world snooker title. This was a televised event transmitted by the BBC into lounge rooms across the world. At the conclusion of the event the compere proclaimed Robertson to be 'Australia's first world professional snooker champion', a claim presumably based upon the fictitious mythology that the 1951/52 championship of one hundred and forty-five frames of snooker was not a bona fide event.

Robertson responded, 'Yes, I believe I am the first Australian to win the title but Horace Lindrum's name is on the trophy.' Sydney journalist, Will Swanton, jumped to Horace's defence:

Imagine during the Super League war that only two teams stayed true to the Australian Rugby League. All those two teams could do was play one epic series to decide the champion. That's how Horace Lindrum became the world No. 1 in a marathon two-week play-off against New Zealand's Clark McConachy. It wasn't his fault almost everyone else was consumed by Super-League-style greed. Nowadays the British still try to discount the result but, at the time, the rebel players were branded 'The Bully

Boys of Sport' by the British tabloids who called Lindrum and McConachy heroes for respecting the traditions of the game. Lindrum is listed as the official 1952 champion. [The governing body recognised the win by certification]. He raised hundreds of thousands of dollars during his 50-year career for charities, hospitals and schools. He paid his own way to play around the globe...²⁵⁴

Yet another fundamental error was made by an ABC newsreader in Sydney who referred to Hurricane Higgins as 'Snooker's first superstar.' **Tragically, a break-neck mentality often results in the delivery of poorly researched material. Snooker's first superstars were Britain's Joe Davis and Australia's Horace Lindrum.**

In the *Historical Dictionary of Australia* (2015), the following reference to my great-uncle Walter Lindrum appears:

Walter Lindrum..was a billiard player, one of the most successful ever, with 57 world records to his credit, many of them unbroken long after his death. During the mid-1920's Lindrum's mastery of the game in Australia was such in Australia that many players refused to play against him and he sought competition overseas. His record break of 4,137 was made in a match he lost against Joe Davis in London on 19 January, 1932, a feat that precipitated a change in the rules of the game. Lindrum won the World Professional Billiards Championship in 1933 and 1934 which he held until his retirement in 1950.²⁵⁵

There are a number of problems with this entry. Firstly, there is no reference to other equally talented members of the Lindrum family thus severing vital links in the family chain. Secondly, no explanation is provided for the change in the rules of the game. The reader is thus likely to assume that the rules were

²⁵⁴ Will Swanton, "Only Eye Doctor Knew Amazing Secret of previous Australian to win World Title", *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 5, 2010, Sports Day, 22. www.smh.com.au/.../only-eye-doctor-knew-amazing-secret-of-previous-australian-champion-to-win-world-title-20100504-u77u.html.

²⁵⁵ Norman Abjorensen and James C. Docherty, *Historical Dictionary of Australia*, (New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield and Lanham & Boulder, 4th edition, 2015).

changed due to Walter's overall domination of the sport rather than because of a breach in the 'Fair Play' principle. Finally, Walter won the world professional billiards championship 1933/34. Clark McConachy was the world professional billiards champion in 1952 when he competed against Horace Lindrum for the world professional snooker title.

Some twenty years ago, I found myself deeply and profoundly affected by my mother's efforts to keep our family story together and the extraordinary level of care she had taken over so many years to preserve the Lindrum record. This was no mean feat. The material evidence is substantial. In the course of this work I interviewed my mother and she shared many stories of growing up in England and her burning desire to become an actress. War robbed her of that opportunity and impacted upon her life and the lives of her family. During World War II she was stationed in Hut 4 at Bletchley Park where the British broke the Nazi enigma coding system. My mother's name is inscribed in the Bletchley book incorporating the names of those who were stationed at Bletchley and her efforts were recognised by Prime Minister David Cameron in May, 2010.

After the war mother accepted a position as organising secretary for the British Association and Control Council; the governing body. This role brought her into contact with the leading professionals of the day. She met my father for the first time on January 1, 1946.

During the interview, my mother also shared with me details of her travels – driving thousands of miles through Africa in the 1950s – and her role as ambassadress, manager, writer, wife and mother. Listening to her I could only marvel at her extraordinary life.

Whilst I dealt with the history alone by rigorously following the family story back through archives, research materials and oral histories, I also had to negotiate a number of other factors which detracted from a subjective viewpoint. As I have stated in my introduction and conclusion to this work,

being the daughter of a famous parent is fraught with difficult emotions which sometimes cloud biographical objectivity. As Cosgrove, Modjeska and Varga have said: the role of the child is a complex one through which the mapping of a parent's life can sometimes efface the child's. While this was not the case in my writing, there were times when Horace, and my responsibility to his memory, felt burdensome and constricting.

I wanted to record my father's life in a balanced way which located him in an appropriate history. The problem for a daughter who has had a good relationship with her parents is that research follows not in the same way that a removed historian might approach such a task. At times I found myself both freed and imprisoned by the writing process. I overcame this by adopting a methodological search, carefully planning the journey back to the past and mapping the way forward, observing historical facts, using my imagination to immerse myself in the worlds that existed before I was born and reflecting upon the memories I carry of people and events.

I was not blind to the fact that my father's life may have played out differently if he had not inherited from his mother such a strong ethical and moral framework. He was presented with the opportunity to make a vast amount of money through competition sport. He chose instead to entertain people. For those for whom asset building is a priority that decision will be viewed as a poor one.

The lives of others may also have turned out differently if my father had been around more frequently. I say this because the first trait of a good father is the ability to measure discipline which is known to be an essential to character building. It is never easy to bring up children on your own yet many mothers shoulder this responsibility. Children reared in this circumstance frequently make an early transition to adulthood. Problems can arise for parent and child when children are unprepared to shoulder the responsibilities attached to such a transition. I was one such child.

The result of my endeavours, the biography *The Uncrowned King*, is a bildungsroman; a womb to tomb journey in the cultural setting of Horace's life written from a public and personal perspective drawing, as it does, from the extensive resource currently in storage. Alternatively, the work might be defined as a crafted reflection of fact; a philosophical and frank account of my father's life through the eyes of the elder of two daughters.

Like the Boab tree, a family story draws on its own resources to reshape itself. To a great extent, I drew upon events I viewed with the naked eye but, in weaving together the fascinating array of stories of those who crossed paths with our father on his journey through time, I stepped into history and engaged with my imagination.

Fame is attained in the most unexpected ways.
A man might spend his life in the service of an ideal
but this is completely forgotten. And yet, one feature,
least expected, might immortalise him.²⁵⁶

The distinguishing feature of *The Uncrowned King* was Horace's preparedness to put the interests of the Other before gratification of the self. Love thy neighbour is the hallmark of a true champion.

²⁵⁶ Rudolph Brasch, *How did Sports Begin? A Look at the Origins of Man at Play*, (Australia: Collins Publishers, 5th edition, 1989), 189.

Conclusion

This essay examined the concept of the sporting hero, the sporting hero's role in forging national identity and the relationship between the biographical author and biographical subject with a special focus on what authorship means to a writer with a close personal relationship with the subject. In writing this essay I drew extensively on Lindrum family history as it was chronicled in documents in the family archive and also as I remembered family stories through conversations and memories.

I feel my story has a particular potency, because my father has not been served well by historians/storytellers/researchers/editors post his death in 1974. Thus, in part, writing *The Uncrowned King* became a kind of quest; to right the wrongs of historical representation post 1974, and to tell the 'TRUE' story.

In writing this conclusion I realise that such a statement is, in itself, a kind of fabrication. Histories are fragmented things, where Truth can be defined by which side you are on, how old you are and what you recall of your times. I was a child at the peak of my father's fame and I grew up surrounded by his victories. I was proud to be associated with such a man, yet I also felt weighed down by the responsibility this entailed. How could I ever write my father's life story and maintain my own objectivity?

I have attempted to answer this question by writing my father's memoir as honestly and diligently as I could; the aim being to capture the trials and tribulations of what it meant to be Australia's leading billiard-playing family from 1865 to 1974.

It is true to say that Australia has produced some interesting characters and some outstanding personalities. Perhaps stars come no brighter than they did in the 20th century when tennis champion Rod Laver was ranked number 1 in the world for seven consecutive years (1964-1967), swimmer Murray Rose became the first male swimmer to win two freestyle events since Johnny

Weismuller in 1924 and Cathy Freeman became the first ever Aboriginal Commonwealth Games gold medalist (1990) and, later, Olympic champion in the women's 400 metres at the Sydney Olympics (2000). My family played a unique role in this sporting and cultural history (c. 1865-1974) and my growing fascination with that rich past, with all its glory and all its tragedy, all its ups and all its downs, gave birth to *The Uncrowned King*. But it was the grab for the Lindrum name for a hotel in Melbourne which led to my putting pen to paper.

Through that episode / interlude in my life, I learned the word 'sport' had taken on new meaning and I found I had empathy with sports historian Paul Gallico's description of sport as:

a wonderful, chaotic universe of clashing colour, temperaments, and emotions, of brave deeds performed sometimes against odds seemingly insuperable, mixed with mean, shameful acts of pure skulduggery, cheapness, snide tricks, filth, and greed, moments of sheer, sweet courage and magnificence when the flame of the human spirit and the will to triumph burned so brightly that it choked your throat and blinded your eyes to be watching it...²⁵⁷

I also gradually came to the realisation that there is a hero inside each of us. The greatest challenge is getting that hero to surface long enough to take on those who determine how history is represented. That can be a bruising experience.

I assert greater awareness of the importance of taking personal responsibility is critical as is the need for reflection on the damage occasioned by the subversion of Socratic principles. Restoring the Humanities to its once hallowed pedestal is paramount as all fields of human enterprise flourish when the arts of 'thinking' and 'listening' are held in high regard. These arts lie at the root of the unconditional respect that attaches to the dignity of personhood principle.

²⁵⁷ Booth and Tatz, *One-Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, Prologue, xi.

In reviewing contemporary sporting texts I was forced to confront distortions of the traditional principles of biography through the prism of my own family story. This was a painful exercise and I was relieved that my dear mother had never come to the texts published post my father's death.

As my father's eldest daughter and, in my father's name, I ask those who come to my family story in the future to stop and think before they put pen to paper.

How the Lindrum family story is recorded is important, not only to me, my immediate family and my unborn descendants, but in terms of the wider story of the nation: firstly, because the stories we tell determine how we will be remembered; and secondly, because when 'heroes [and we all have the potential to be heroes] travel outward and eventually come to the centre of their own existence, they can only be at one with the world if Truth stands at the threshold.'²⁵⁸ This is because the Self's capacity to be at peace with the Self and live in harmony with the Other is predicated upon preservation of the aforementioned, "Dignity of personhood principle".

When we lie we set in train false beliefs and, 'if we act on those beliefs, we end up doing foolish things.'²⁵⁹ The well-being of a nation and its people thus rests on individuals taking personal responsibility to foster the virtues. As Joseph Campbell said:

The modern hero, the modern individual...must not, wait for his [her] community to cast off its slough of pride, fear, rationalised avarice, and sanctified misunderstanding.

²⁵⁸ Campbell, *The Power of Myth* with Bill Moyers, 151.

²⁵⁹ Rachels, James and Rachels, Stuart, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, 5th edition by Stuart Rachels, (Boston, BurrRidge, IL, Dubuque, IA, Madison, WI, New York, San Francisco, St. Louis, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Lisbon, London Madrid, Mexico City, Milan, Montreal, New Delhi, Santiago, Seoul, Singapore, Sydney, Taipei, Toronto: McGraw Hill, 2007), 179.

'Live,' Neitsche says, 'as though the day were here. It is not society that is to guide and save the creative hero, but precisely the reverse. And so every one of us shares the supreme ordeal – carries the cross of the redeemer – not in the bright moments of his tribe's great victories, but in the silences of his personal despair.'²⁶⁰

My personal despair

Horace Lindrum's career was marred by war and controversy. The boycott of the world professional snooker title in 1951/52 led to his decision to become an exhibition player. That decision brought much joy to audiences across the globe. It also appears to have isolated him from mainstream sporting histories. This omission is the source of my personal despair.

The key revelation of my research

Sport, no matter the field of human enterprise, needs to be played on an even playing field with participants adhering to the 'Fair Play' principle. Upholding moral, ethical, legal and transparent frameworks – the Golden Rule or Golden Standard – is critical to progress. Admittedly, family/national stories are loaded with mythologies and multiple subjectivities but Truth still needs to be served. Our respect for the Truth is paramount.

As Horace Lindrum said:

Whatever stroke you are going to attempt, the desired result will depend first upon how you handle your cue [pen]. There is nothing like watching a good player [biographer] to help one in forming good habits, but anybody who has watched a number of leading professionals will realise that there can be no hard and fast rules about correct stance, or

²⁶⁰ Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 337.

how to hold the cue [how to write the story]. The player's individuality and habit in such matters make up a part of a part of his [her] style.²⁶¹

[This said] There is too much merely careless play, and I think it is a great mistake, for instance, to ignore penalties for fouling. **There is nothing unfriendly about observing the rules of the game.**²⁶²

Too many amateurs continue year after year to knock the balls about [bandy words/history] without giving any intelligent thought or effort to improving their play...the gulf between standards of play is due almost entirely to the professional's patient practice and concentration. What is a game to the [moneymaker] is a life's work to the [scholar/master craftsman].²⁶³

²⁶¹ Lindrum, Horace, *Billiards and Snooker for Amateurs*, (London: Isaac Pitman & Sons Limited, 1948), 9.

²⁶² *Ibid*, 5 and 6.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 6.

Bibliography

Books

Abjorensen, Norman, and Docherty, James C., *Historical Dictionary of Australia*, New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield and Lanham & Boulder, 4th edition, 2015.

Adams, Michael, *Wind Beneath His Wings: Lawrence Hargrave*, Sydney: Self-published, 2004.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: 'A brilliant exegesis on Nationalism'*, London and New York: Verso, 3rd edition, 2006.

Aristotle in *Great Books of the Western World*, Robert Maynard Hutchins, Editor-in-chief, London and Toronto: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952.

Armitage, Simon, *Homer's Odyssey*, London: Faber & Faber, 2006.

Armstrong, John, *Love, Life, Goethe: How to be Happy in an Imperfect World*, London: Allen Lane, 1966.

Armstrong, Pauline, *Frank Hardy and the Making of Power Without Glory*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000.

Ashton, Paul, and Hamilton, Paula, *History at the Cross Roads: Australians and the Past*, Broadway, Australia: Halstead Press, 2010.

Barthes, Roland, *The Pleasure of the Text*, translated by Richard Miller, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1990.

Barthes, Roland, *Plaisir due Texte, The Pleasure of the Text*, translated by Richard Miller, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1990.

Baudrillard, Jean, *After the Orgy: From the Transparency of Evil: Essays on Extreme Phenomena*, London and New York: Verso Publishers, 1993.

Beckett, Samuel, *Endgame in The Blackwell Guide to Literary Theory*, edited by Gregory Castle, USA, UK and Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Bedford, Jane, *Sister Kate*, Australia: Penguin Books, 1982.

Berkhofer, Robert, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Blainey, Geoffrey, *Black Kettle and Full Moon: Daily Life in a Vanished Australia*, Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books, 2003.

Blakely, Edward J., *My Storm: Managing the Recovery of New Orleans in the Wake of Katrina*, foreword by Henry Cisneros, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Boerner, Peter, *Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe: A Biographical Essay*, Germany: Bonn Internationales, Germany, 1981.

Booth, Douglas, and Tatz, Colin, *One-Eyed: A View of Australian Sport*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2000.

Booth, Douglas, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.

Botting, Fred, *Gothic: The New Critical Idiom*, New York: Routledge, 1996.

Bouret, Jean, *Toulouse-Lautrec*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1964.

Bouveresse, Jacques, in *Philosophy in France Today*, edited by Alan Montefiore, Alan, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Brady, Veronica, "From History to Myth: An Australian Task", in *Remembering Patrick White: A contemporary critical essay*, edited by Elizabeth McMahon and Brigitta Olubas, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010.

Brandt, Dorothy, *Becoming a Writer*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993.

Bradley, Bill, *Life on the Run*, USA: Bantam Books, 1977.

Brasch, Rudolph, *How did Sports begin? A look into the Origins of Man at Play*, Australia: Longman Australia Pty. Limited, 1971.

Brasch, Rudolph, *How did Sports begin? A look at the Origins of Man at Play*, Australia: Collins Publishers, Australia, 5th edition, 1989.

Brennan, Niall, *John Wren Gambler*, Hill of Melbourne: Content Publishing Company, 1971.

Brown, Marshall, *The Gothic Text*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005.

Burke, Kenneth, *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies of Symbolic Action*, New York: Vintage Books, 1957.

Burke, Peter, *History and Social Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

Butler, A.J.D. Litt, *Sport in Classic Times*, Los Altos, California: William Kaufmann Inc., 1975.

Butler, Christopher, *Postmodernism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Buggy, Hugh, *The Real John Wren*, Camberwell, Victoria: Widescope Publishing, 1977.

Byrbe & ors., *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an account of the Efrabilhment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*; compiled from authentic papers which have been obtained from the feveral Departments to which are added the journals of Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Ball and Captain Marshall with an account of their New Discoveries. The views and drawings on the Spot by Captain Hunter, Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Dawes, Bradaley, Captain Marshall, Dublin: printed for P. Byrne, J. Moore, Grubber, McAlister and W. Jones, undated.

Caine, Barbara, *Biography & History*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Campbell, Joseph, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, California: New World Library, 3rd edition, 2008.

Campbell, Joseph, *The Power of Myth*, with Bill Moyers, Flowers, edited by Betty Sue Flowers, USA: Anchor Books, 1991.

Capote, Truman, *In Cold Blood: A True Account of a Multiple Murder and its consequences*, Australia: Penguin Books, 2008.

Carr, Edward Hallett in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.

Cassirer, Ernst, *Rousseau, Kant, Goethe: Two Essays*, translated from German by James Gutmann, Paul Oskar Kristeller and John Herman Randall Jr., USA: Princeton University, 1945.

Carter, Paul, *The Road to Botany Bay*, London: Faber & Faber, 1987.

Cater, Nick, *The Lucky Culture: And the Rise of an Australian Ruling Class*, Australia: Harper Collins, 2013.

Castles, Alex, *Ned Kelly's Last Days: Setting the Record Straight on the Death of an Outlaw*, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2005.

Cheal, David, *Sociology of Family Life*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Clark, Timothy, *Derrida, Heidegger, Blanchot: Sources of Derrida's notion and practise of literature*, United Kingdom: University of Durham, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 1993.

Clendinnen, Inga, *Dancing with Strangers*, Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2003.

Clendinnen, Inga, *Agamenon's Kiss*, Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2006.

Clery, E. J. in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, edited by Jerrold Hogle, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 4th edition, 2004.

Cliff, Paul, editor, *A Sporting Nation: Celebrating Australia's Sporting Life: The Australian Sporting and Dramatic News*, with contributions from Marlene Matthews, Eric Rolls and Marion Halligan, ACT: national Library of Australia, 1999.

Coelho, Paulo, *The Witch of Portobello*, London: Harper Collins, 2nd edition, 2008.

Coelho, Paulo, *The Devil and Miss Prym*, London: Harper Collins, 2nd edition, 2002.

Coelho, Paulo, *The Pilgrimage*, London: Harper Collins, 2008.

Connor, Steven, *Michel Serre's Five Senses*, an expanded version of a paper given at the Michel Serres Conference, London: Birkbeck College: May, 1999.

Cook, Patricia, ed., *Philosophical Imagination and Cultural Memory: Appropriating Historical Traditions*, USA: Duke University Press, 1993.

Conrad, Joseph, *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, Volume 1, 1861-1897, edited by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Cosgrove, Shady, *She Played Elvis: A Pilgrimage to Graceland*, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2007.

Craig, David, *The Ethics of the Story: Using Narrative Techniques Responsibly in Journalism*, USA: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.

Crane, Mary Thomas, *Shakespeare's Brain*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Crowther, Nigel B., *Sport in Ancient Times*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger Publishers, 2007.

Curthoys, Ann and Docker, John, *Is History Fiction?* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Limited, 2nd edition, 2010.

Custen, George G. in Robert A. Rosenstone's *A History on Film: Film on History, History: Concepts, Theories and Practise*, United Kingdom: Pearson Education Limited, 2006.

D' Entreves, Maurixio Passerin, *The Political Philosophy of Hannah Arendt*, USA: Routledge, 1994.

Daley, M. T. *One Hundred Years of Australian Sport: The Golden Century: A History of the New South Wales Sports Club*, Sydney: New South Wales Sports Club, 1996.

Davies, David, *The Aesthetics and Literature*, London: Continuum, 2007.

Dawson, C., *Practical Billiards*, Surrey, UK: Self-published, 1904.

De Groot, *Consuming history: historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture*, London: Routledge, 2009.

Denzin, Norman K., *Images of Postmodern Society: Social Theory and Contemporary Cinema*, London, Newbury Park, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 3rd edition, 1993.

Derrida, Jacques, *Dialogue and Deconstruction, "Interpreting Signatures", Nietzsche and Heidegger: Two Questions*, edited by D. Michelfelder and R. Palmer, New York: University of New York Press, 1989.

Diamond, Jared, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive*, London, New York, Toronto: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 2011.

Dick, Susan, in *The Cambridge Companion to Virginia Woolf*, edited by Sue Roe, and Susan Ellers, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 4th edition, 2004.

Dimsdale, C. D. in *Billiards and Snooker for Amateurs* by Horace Lindrum, with a chapter by Melbourne Inman, London: Sir Isaac Pittman & Sons Limited, 1948.

Donaldson, Julie and Vesk, Karin, editors, *Gambling in Australia, Thrills, Spills and Social Ills*, Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing, Exhibition Powerhouse Museum, 2004. Curators, Charles Pickett, Jennifer Cornwall and Matthew Connell.

Douzinas, Coastas, editor, *Adieu Derrida, 'The Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities Lectures'*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Dufton, William, *Practical Billiards*, London and New York: George Routledge & Sons, 1867.

Dunn, Waldo H., *English Biography*, London, Paris, Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1916 and New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916.

Eisenhuth, Susie, McDonald, Willa, & Ors., editors, *The Writer's Reader: Understanding Journalism and Non-fiction*, Melbourne, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Elder, Catriona, *Being Australian: Narratives of National Identity*, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2007.

Engels, Christian J., *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History*, UK, USA, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Emden, Christian, J., *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History*, UK, USA and Australia: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Findlater, Richard, *Joe Grimaldi: His Life and Theatre*, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 1978.

Fischer, David Hackett, in Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila, *My Father's Daughter: Memories of an Australian Childhood*, Melbourne, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2010.

FitzSimons, Peter, *Everyone and Phar Lap*, Australia: Harper Collins, 1998.

FitzSimons, Peter, *Great Australian Sports Champions from Phar Lap to Freeman from Cazaly to Waugh*, Sydney: Harper Collins, 2006.

FitzSimons, Peter, *The Ballad of Les Darcy*, Australia: Harper Collins, 2007.

Florida, Richard, *Who's Your City? How the Creative Economy is making where to live the most important decision of your life*, New York: Basic Books, 2009.

Fogarty, Jim, *The Wonder of Wirrths: Wirrths Australian Circus, 1880-1963*, Oak Flats, New South Wales: J. B. Books, 2000.

Foucault, Michel, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York, USA: Routledge, 4th edition, 1994.

Foucault, Michel, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, translated by Richard Howard, London: Routledge, 7th edition, 1999.

Fromm, Eric, *Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics*, New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt Rintehart & Winston, 19th edition, 1966.

Funder, Anna, *All That I Am*, Melbourne, Victoria: Penguin Books, 2011.

Funder, Anna, *Stasiland*, Melbourne, Victoria: The Text Publishing Company, 2002.

Gallico, Paul, *Farewell to Sport*, USA: University of Nebraska Press, 1938.

Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism*, USA: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Glaeser, Edward, *Triumph of the City: How our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier and Happier*, USA and UK: Penguin Books, 2011.

Glisson, Susan M., 'How Breaking the Silence brought Redemption to One Mississippi Town' in *Telling Stories to Change the World, Global Voices and the Power of Narrative to Build Community and make Social Justice Claims*, edited by Richie Solinger, Madeline Fox and Kayhan Irani, New York: Routledge, 2008.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, *Opinions*, translated by Otto Wenckstern, West Strand, London: John W. Parker & Son, 1853.

Gordon, David J., *Iris Murdoch's Fables of Unselfing*, Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1995.

Gray, George, *Red Ball Play*, with foreword by George Nelson, New York, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell and Company Limited, 1911.

Grayling, A. C., *Conversations on Truth*, edited by Mick Gordon and Chris Wilkinson, London and New York: Continuum, 2009.

Grayling A. C., *Towards the Light: The Story of the Struggles for Liberty and Rights that made the Modern West*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2007.

Greenspan, Emily, *The Little Winners: Inside the World of the Child Sports Star*, Boston and Toronto: Little Brown & Company, 1983.

Greer, Germaine, *Daddy We Hardly Knew You*, USA: Ballantine Books, 1989.

Grenville, Kate, *Searching for the Secret River*, Melbourne, Victoria: Text Publishing Company, 2008.

Griffin, James, *John Wren: A Life Reconsidered*, Melbourne, Victoria: Scribe Publications, 2004.

Hamilton, Christopher, *Living Philosophy: Reflections on Life, Meaning and Morality*, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2001.

Hamilton, Duncan, *Harold Larwood*, London: Quercus, 2010.

Hardy, Frank, *The Hard Way: The Story Behind Power without Glory*, Sydney: New Century Press & Fontana Collins, 1976.

Harland, Richard, *Literary Theory from Plato to Barthes: An Introductory History*, London: MacMillan, London, 1999.

Haskell, Thomas in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.

Head, Ian, and Lester, Gary, *200 Years of Australian Sport*, foreword by Dawn Fraser, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988.

Heddon, Diedre, *Autobiography and Performance*, USA and UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Heseltine, H. P., ed., *The Penguin Book of Australian Verse*, Ringwood: Penguin, 1979.

Holmes, Richard, *Biography: Inventing Truth: The Art of Literary Biography*, edited by John Batchelor, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Hopkins, Lisa, *Screening the Gothic*, USA: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Hudson, Wayne and Bolton, Geoffrey in *Creating Australia*, edited by Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 1997.

Hugill, Beryl, *Bring on the Clowns*, London: David & Charles and Newton Abbot, 1980.

Hutcheon, Linda, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*, New York and London: Routledge, 1988.

Kelly, Max, *Paddock Full of Houses*, Paddington: Doak Press, 1978.

King, Melanie, *The Dying Game: A Curious History of Death*, Oxford, United Kingdom: One World Publications, 2008.

Inman, Melbourne, *How to Play to Win*, with introduction by S. A. (Sam) Mussabini, London: W. Foulsham & Co., year of publication unspecified.

Jackson, Steven J., and Haigh, Steven, editors, *Sport and Foreign Policy in a Globalizing World*, London: Routledge, 2009.

Jenkins, Keith in De Groot, *Consuming history: historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture*, London: Routledge, 2009.

Jewell, Matina, *In the Cross Fire: An Australian peacekeeper beyond the front-line*, Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, London: Allen & Unwin, 2011.

Jones, Evan, in *The Makers of Australian Sporting Traditions: Lives from the Australian Dictionary of Biography*, selected and edited by Michael McKernan, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997.

Kafka, Franz, *The Trial*, London, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia: Penguin Books, 1994.

Karnehm, Jack, and Carty, John, *World Snooker with Jack Karnehm*, London: Pelham Books, 1981.

Kremmler, Christopher, *The Chase*, Sydney: Picador / Pan Macmillan Australia Pty. Limited, 2011.

Lane, Allen, *Love, Life, Goethe*, London, New York, Toronto: Penguin Group, 2006.

Le, Nam, *The Boat*, Camberwell, Victoria: Hamish Hamilton, 2008.

Lee, Hermione, *Body Parts: Essays on Life Writing*, London: Pimlico Publishing, 2008.

Leitch, Vincent B., General Editor and Sutton, Carol Daube, Chair in English, *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2001.

Lejeune, Philippe, *On Autobiography, 'The Autobiographical Pact'*, edited by Paul John Eakin, translated by Katherine M. Leary, Minneapolis, USA: University of Minneapolis Press, 1989.

Levi, Riso, *Billiards for the Million*, Manchester, UK: Self-published, 1912.

Levinas, Emmanuel, *The Levinas Reader*, edited by Sean Hand, Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1993.

Lindrum, Frederick William III, *Spot End Billiards: Technique and First Principles*, Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Brisbane: George Robertson & Company, 1913.

Lindrum, Horace, *Billiards and Snooker for Amateurs*, with a chapter by Melbourne Inman, London: Sir Isaac Pittman & Sons, 1948.

Lindrum, Horace, *Snooker, Billiards and Pool*, Australia: Paul Hamlyn Pty. Limited, 1st edition, 1974.

Lindrum, Horace, *Snooker, Billiards and Pool*, Sydney, Auckland, London, New York, Toronto: Lansdowne Press, 8th edition, 1983.

Lindrum, Janne Clara, 'The Uncrowned King', Sydney: Honours Thesis, Notre Dame University, 30th October, 2009.

Lindrum, Joy, *Lindrums' World*, Sydney: Self-published, 1998.

Lindrum, Walter, *Billiards*, London: Methuen & Co., 1930.

Locke, John, *Of the Abuse of Words: We should have a great many fewer disputes in the World if Words were taken for what they are, the signs of our Ideas only, and not for things themselves*, USA, UK, Toronto, Australia, New Delhi, New Zealand, South Africa: Penguin Books, 2009.

Love, Allan, *Love, Life, Goethe, How to be Happy in an Imperfect world*, London, New York, Toronto: Penguin Group, 2006.

Loy, John W., McPherson, Barry D., and Kenyon, Gerald, *Sport and Social Systems: A Guide to the Analysis, Problems and Literature*, Massachusetts, Menlo Park, California, London, Amsterdam and Dan Mills, Ontario and Sydney: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1978.

Postan, Michael, *Fact and Relevance: Essays on Historical Method*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

McCooey, David, *Artful Histories*, United Kingdom, USA, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

McGuinness, Peter Edward Morris, *Boldly and Faithfully: The Journal, The Official History of the 19th Australian Infantry Battalion Australian Imperial Force March 1915-October 1918*, Tasmania: 1 / 19 RNSWR Association Inc incorporating 2 / 19 Australian Infantry Battalion, A.I.F. Association, 2011.

Mackay, Hugh, *The Good Life: What makes a Life Worth Living?* Sydney: PanMacmillan Australia Pty. Limited, 2013.

McCrae, Jane in *Opening the Book*, edited by Mark Williams and Michele Leggott, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 1995.

McKenna, Mark, *Notes from the Underground: Writing Biography of Manning Clark*, Kathleen Fitzpatrick Lecture, Melbourne, Victoria: University of Melbourne Press, 2007.

- McKenna, Mark, in *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, Sydney: Halstead Press and ACT: Gorman House, 2010.
- McCulloch, Colleen, *Without the Boring Bits*, Australia: Harper Collins, 2011.
- Mandell, Richard D., *Sport: A Cultural History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Matthieson, F. O., *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot: An Essay on the Nature of Poetry* with additional chapter by C. L. Barker, New York and London: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition, 1958.
- Maugham, W. Somerset, *A Writer's Notebook*, London: Heinemann, 5th edition, 1964.
- Meier, Isaac of Ger, *In Time and Eternity*, edited by N. N. Glatzer, New York: Schocken Books, 1946.
- Miller, Nancy, *Subject to Change: Reading Feminist Writing*, New York: Columbia University, 1988.
- Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, edited by Barbara Lewalski, USA, UK and Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Modjeska, Drusilla, *Poppy*, Sydney: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Montefiore, Alan, editor, *Philosophy in France Today*, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Moriarty, Ros, *Listening to Country: A journey to the heart of what it means to belong*, Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, London: Allen & Unwin, 2011.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa, *The Past within us: Media, Memory, History*, London and New York: Verso, 2005.
- Mortley, Raoul, *French Philosophers in Conversation*, London: Routledge, 1991.
- O'Neill John, *The Poverty of Postmodernism*, New York and London: Routledge, 1995.

Olney, James, *Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography*, USA: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Ondaatje, Michael, *In the Skin of a Lion*, New York, Canada, United Kingdom and Australia: Penguin Books, 1988.

Ondaatje, Michael, *Running in the Family*, United Kingdom: Picador, 1994.

Orwell, George, *Burmese Days*, New York: Penguin Books, 1944.

Orwell, George, *Down & Out in Paris and London*, New York: Penguin Books, 1944.

Orwell, George, *Collected Essays*, London: Mercury Books, 1961.

Orwell, George, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, USA, London, Toronto, New Zealand, Johannesburg, Penguin Books, 1987.

Outram, Dorinda, *The Enlightenment*, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 2005.

Parke, Catherine, N., *Biography: Writing Lives*, New York and London: Routledge, 2002.

Pascal, Roy, *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, Massachusetts, USA: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Peckham, Morse, *Man's Rage for Chaos: Biology, Behaviour and Art*, New York: Schocken Books, 4th edition, 1976.

Pieper, Josef, *The Basis of Leisure and Culture*, USA: Pantheon Books, 1952.

Portelli, Alessandro, *The Battle of Valle Giulia*, USA: Wisconsin University Press, 1997.

Plate, Cassi, *Restless Spirits*, Sydney: Picador / Pan Macmillan Australia Pty. Limited, 2005.

Plato in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, edited by Vincent B. Leitch, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2001.

Postan, Michael, *Fact and Relevance: Essays on Historical Method*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Prichard, Katharine Susannah, *Haxby's Circus*, London, Sydney, Melbourne, Singapore, Manila: Angus & Robertson, 1979. First published in London by Jonathan Cave Limited, 1930.

Punter, David, *Literature of Terror, A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the Present Day*, London: Longman Group Limited, 1980.

Quinn, Kenneth, *How Literature Works*, Sydney: ABC Books, 1982.

Rachels, James, and Rachels, Stuart, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, Boston, BurrRidge, IL Dubuque, IA Madison, WI New York, San Francisco, St. Louis Bangkok, Bogota, Caracas, Kuala Lumpur, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Mexico City, Milan, Montreal, New Delhi, Santiago, Seoul, Singapore, Sydney, Taipei, Toronto: McGraw Hill, 5th edition, 2007.

Ramsay, Hayden, *Reclaiming Leisure, Art, Sport and Philosophy*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.

Redhead, Steve, with Jane Caudwell and Alan Tomlinson, Editors, *Relocating the Leisure Society: Media, Consumption and Spaces*, Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Publications, 2007.

Reece, Tom, *Cannons and Big Guns*, London: Hutchinson & Co. Limited, 1928.

Remarque, Erich Maria, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, translated from the German by Brian Murdoch with afterword by Brian Murdoch, London: Vintage Books, 1996.

Remes, Paulina, *Plotinus on Self*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Rendle-Short, Francesca, *Bite your Tongue*, Australia: Spinifex, 2011.

Reynolds, Henry, *Why Weren't we Told?* Australia: Penguin Books, 2nd edition, 2000.

Ricketts, Andrew, *Walter Lindrum: The Phenomenon*, Canberra, ACT: The Walter Lindrum Syndicate, 1982.

Ricoeur, Paul, *Freedom and Nature: The Voluntary and the Involuntary*, translated with an introduction by Erazim V. Kohak, USA: Northwestern University Press, 1966.

Roberts, John and others, *Modern Billiards*, edited by F. M. Hotine, London: C. Arthur Pearson Limited, 3rd edition, 1910.

Rosenstone, Robert A., *Film on History: History on Film*, USA: Longman Publishing Group, 2006.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Juge de Jean Jacques, Dialogues on Nature, Wholeness, Education and Romanticism*, first published posthumously in 1782 from an unfinished manuscript.

Sartre, Jean-Paul, *What is Literature*, London: University Paperbacks, Methuen & Co. Limited, 1967.

Scheewind, J. B. *Modern oral Philosophy from Beginning to End in Philosophical Imagination and Cultural Memory* edited by Patricia Cook, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993.

Schneider, Monique, in *French Philosophers in Conversation with Raoul Mortley*, London: Routledge, 1991.

Serres, Michel, in *French Philosophers in Conversation with Raoul Mortley*, London: Routledge, 1991.

Shakespeare, William, *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, Compact edition, General Editors, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor with Introduction by Stanley Wells, Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press, 1988.
"Richard III", "King Lear", "Antony & Cleopatra", "As you Like it".

Shakespeare, William, "Antony & Cleopatra" in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, John William Jowett & Ors., Editors Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, Intro by Stanley Wells, Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 2nd edition, 2005.

Shelley, Mary in *Frankenstein*, edited by Johanna M. Smith, Boston, Bedford / St. Martin's, London: MacMillan Press Limited, 2nd edition, 2000.

Schneewind, J. B. *Modern Oral Philosophy from Beginning to End in Philosophy, Imagination and Cultural Memory*, edited by Patricia Cook, Durham and London: Duke University, 1993.

Schneider, Monique, in *French Philosophers in Conversation with Raoul Mortley*, London: Routledge, 1991.

Sharp, Hugh in *Spot End Billiards: Technique and First Principles*, by Frederick William Lindrum III, Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Brisbane: George Robertson & Co., 1913.

Smith, Anthony D., *National Identity*, USA: University of Nevada Press, 1991.

Smith, Pamela Jaye, *Inner Drives: How to Write and Create Characters using the Eight Classic Centres of Motivation*, USA: Michael Wise Productions, 2005.

Smith, Sheila M., *The Other Nation: The Poor in English Novels of the 1840's and 1850's*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.

Smith, Sidonie, and Watson, Julia, editors, *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1992.

Spence, Donald Pond, *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1982.

Stead, C. K., *Answering to the Language: Essays on Modern writers*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989.

Steggall, Susan, "Introduction" to *ISAA Review*, Sydney: ISAA, Volume 10, Number 1, 2011.

Stoddart, Brian, *Saturday Afternoon Fever, North Ryde and the United Kingdom*, 1986.

Stone, Irving, *Lust for Life: A Life of Vincent Van Gogh*, London: The Bodley Head, 14th edition, 1952.

Strachey, G. L. *Landmarks in French Literature*, New York and London: Williams & Norgate, 1912.

Struna, Nancy in Booth, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history*, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.

Sussman, Herbert L., *Victorians and the Machine: The Literary Response to Technology*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Swinden, Patrick, *Unofficial Selves: Character in the Novel from Dickens to the Present Day*, London and Basingstoke: MacMillan press, 1973.

Tainter, Joseph, *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, USA, UK, Spain, Australia, South Africa: Cambridge University Press, 8th edition, 2000.

Tatz, Colin, *Obstacle Race: Aborigines in Sport*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 1995.

Thackeray, Frank W. and Find, John E., *Events that Changed the World in the Eighteenth Century*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Tilley, Robert, *Benedict XIV and the Search for Truth*, Strathfield, New South Wales: St. Paul's Publications, 2007.

Turney, Chris, *1912: The Year the World discovered Antarctica*, Melbourne, Victoria: Text Publishing Company, 2012.

Thurston, Dawn and Morris, *Breathe Life into Your Life Story*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007.

Toibin, Colm, *New Ways to Kill your Mother*, Australia: Picador, Pan Macmillan, Australia, 2012.

Vamplew, Wray and Stoddart, Brian, editors, *Sport in Australia: A Social History*, United Kingdom and Melbourne: 2008.

Varga, Susan, *Heddy & Me*, Abbotsford, Victoria: Bruce Sims Books, 1994.

Von Goethe, Johann, *Faust – A Dramatic Poem*, translated into English verse by Theodore Martin, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1865.

Von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, London, New York, Toronto, Victoria, New Delhi, Auckland, South Africa: Penguin Books, 1989.

Von Hayek, Friedrich August, *The Road to Serfdom*, London: Routledge, 1944.

Wallace, David Foster, *Oblivion*, New York and Boston: Little Brown & Company, 2004.

Wells, H. G., *The War of the Worlds*, Australia: Penguin Books, 2005.

Wells, H. G. *A Short History of the World*, London: Watts & Co., 2nd edition, 1930.

Wheelhouse, Frances and Smithford, Kathleen S., *Dart: Scientist and Man of Grit*, Hornsby, New South Wales: Transpareon Press, 2001.

White E., *A Practical Treatise on the Game of Billiards*, London: W. Miller, 1807.

White, Richard, *Inventing Australia*, North Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Australia Pty. Limited, 4th edition, 1985.

Wilde, Oscar, *De Profundis: A Facsimile*, Introduction by Merlin Holland, London: The British Library, 2000.

Williams, John, in *Ned Kelly's Last Days: Setting the Record Straight on the Death of an Outlaw*, Alex C. Castles, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2005.

Wimsatt, William K., and Beardsley, Monroe C., "The International Fallacy" (1946), *The verbal Icon: Studies into the Meaning of Poetry*, Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1954.

Windschuttle, Keith, in Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005.

Winterson, Jeanette, *Why Be Happy When You Could Be Normal*, London: Jonathan Cape, 2011.

Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own*, England, USA, Canada, New Zealand: Penguin Books, 1928.

Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own*, Penguin Books, 1928, as cited in Notre Dame University Unit reader prepared by Dr. Deborah Pike, *Freedom from Oppression: Literature that Changed the World*, Sydney: Notre Dame University, Second Semester, 2009.

Woolf, Virginia, *To the Lighthouse*, with an introduction by Helen Dunmore, London: Vintage Books, 2007.

Woolfe, Sue, *The Oldest Song in the World*, Australia: Harper Collins, 2012.

Wright, Ronald, *A Short History of Progress*, Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2004.

Yoganda, Parmahansa, *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam: A Spiritual Interpretation*, Los Angeles: Self Realization Fellowship, 1995.

Yun, Venerable Master Hsing Yun, *Life: Politics, Human Rights and What the Buddha Said about Life*, translated by Robert H. Smitheram, Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Publishing, 2011.

Ziegler, Earle F., *How Sport and Physical Activity could contribute to Human Survival, USA and Canada*: Trofford, 2011. (Part IV)

Zinn, Howard, *A People's History of the United States: 1491 to the Present*, USA: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2001.

Zizek, Slavoj, *Everything you always wanted to know about Lacan*, New York: Verso, 1992.

Journals, Articles, Theses

Petronius Arbiter, "A Great Work of Art: Raphael's 'Transfiguration': The Greatest Picture in the World", *The Art World*, Volume 1 No. 1 (October, 1916): 56-60.

Atwood, Margaret in Nelson, "Faking it: History and Creative Writing", University of Technology, Sydney, 2007, Volume 11, No. 2: 1-10.

Bell, John, "The End of 'Our Domestic Resurrection Circus' Bread and Puppet Theater and Counterculture Performance in the 1990's TDR (1988-)", Volume 43, No. 3, *Puppets, Masks and Performing Objects*, (Autumn, 1999), MIT Press: 62-80.

Bender, Thomas, "Putting the United States in its Place, A Nation among Nations: America's place in World History", *Reviews in American History*, Volume 34, No. 4, December, 2006, Johns Hopkins University Press: 573-580.

Bonin, Jean M., "Music from 'The Splendidest Sight': *The American Circus Songster, Notes, Second Series*", Volume 45, No. 4, June 1989, *Music Library Association*: 699-713.

Clendinnen, Inga in Nelson, "Faking it: History and Creative Writing", University of Technology, Sydney, Volume 11, No. 2: 1-10.

Currey, John, "History, Biography and The Past", *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Volume 7, No. 2, 2001: 42-50.

Deacon, J. W., "Walter Lindrum: An Australian Sporting Hero", Masters Thesis, Queensland University, Queensland, 1996, 970304, Catalogue 04-03-1997, BCODE3, 1-166. (E. F. Ziegler, 'The Sport Hero Phenomenon' in *International*

Journal of Physical Education, Schorndorf, F. R. Germany, 1988, Volume 25, No. 3, as cited in Deacon).

Denning in Scates, "The Historical Conscience: Australian Historians on the Ethics of History by Stuart McIntyre", Review by Bruce Scates, *Labour History*, No. 90, (May, 2006): 232-234.

Disch, Lisa J., "More Truth than Fact: Storytelling as a Critical understanding in the writings of Hannah Arendt", *Political Theory*, Volume 21, No. 4, (Nov., 1993). Sage Publications Inc.: 665-694.

Eakin, Paul John, "Henry James's 'Obscure Hurt': can Autobiography serve Biography?" *New Literary History*, Volume 19, No. 3, History, Critics and Criticism: Some Inquiries, (Spring, 1988), Johns Hopkins University Press: 675--692.

Fermanis, Porscha, "William Godwin's 'History of the Commonwealth' and the Psychology of Individual History", *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Volume 61, No. 252, (November, 2010): 773-800.

Fleck, Henrietta, Fernandez, Louise, Munves, Elizabeth, "Living with your Family", *The Clearing House*, Volume 41, No. 3, (Nov., 1966): 186-187.

George, Robert P., "Natural Law", a paper delivered as the 2007 John Dewey Lecture in Philosophy of Law at Harvard University Law School April 09, 2007.

Gold, Joseph, "Biography as Fiction: The Art of Invisible Authorship", University of Ottawa Press, 1988: 131-140.

Gold, Joseph, "The Function of Fiction: A Biographical Model: Why the Novel matters", Indiana University Press, Volume 21, No. 2/3, (Winter-Spring, 1988) : 252-261.

Greene, Mott T., "Writing Scientific Biography", *Journal of the History of Biology*, Volume 40, No. 4, (Dec., 2007), Springer: 727-759.

Hartsook, John H., "Becquer and the Creative Imagination", *Hispanic Review*, Volume 35, No. 3, (July, 1967), University of Pennsylvania Press: 252-269.

Howarth, William L., "Principles of Autobiography", *New Literary History*, Volume 5, No. 2, Changing Views of Character (Winter, 1974), Johns Hopkins University Press: 363-381.

Hunter, J. Paul, "Biography and the Novel", *Modern Language Studies*, Volume 9, No. 3, Eighteenth-century literature, (Autumn, 1979): 68-84.

Jerome, Pamela, "An Intro to Authenticity in Preservation", *APT Bulletin*, Volume 39, No. 2/3, (2008), Association for Preservation Technology (APT) International: 3-7.

Jones F. L., and Smith, Philip, "Individual and Societal Bases of National Identity: A Comparative Multi-level analysis", *European Sociological Review*, (June, 2001): 103-118.

Kansteiner, Wulf, "Hayden White's Critique of the writing of Historiography", *History & Theory*, Volume 32, No. 3, (October, 1993): 273-295.

Kaplan, Justin, "Roland Barthes in 'A Culture of Biography'", *Yale Review* 82, October, 1994: 1-12.

Kent, Jacqueline, "Creating Lives: The Role of The State Library of New South Wales in the Creative Process of Biography", *Lassie* (August, 2002), Volume 4, No. 2: 86-87.

Klopper, Dirk, "In Pursuit of the Subject: Towards a Biography of Arthur Nortje", *Journal of South African Studies*, Volume 30, No. 4, Special Issue: Writing in Transition in South Africa: Fiction, History, Biography, (December, 2004). Taylor & Francis Limited: 869-887.

Knowles, Harry, "Boyeurs or Scholars?: Biography's role in labor history", *Journal of Australian Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 69, (2001): 63-75.

Lang, Berel, "Writing and the Moral Self", *The Anatomy of Philosophy Style* by Berel Lang, Review by Richard Eldridge, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 51, No. 1, (Winter, 1993). Wiley on behalf of The American Society of Aesthetics: 79-81.

Langmore, Di, "Representing the Nation: The Australian Dictionary of Biography", *National Library of Australia News*, Volume 11, No. 11, August, 2001: 18-20.

Levi, Albert William, "Literary Truth", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 24, No. 3, (Spring, 1966), Blackwell Publishing for the American Society for Aesthetics: 373-382.

Livingstone, David, "Reproduction, Representation and Authenticity: A Rereading", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, Volume 23, No. 1 (1998), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of The Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers): 13-19.

Lotringer, Sylvere and Baudrillard, J., "Forgetting Baudrillard", *Social Text*, (Autumn, 1986), Duke University Press: 140-144.

Lutman, Stephen, "Orwell's Patriotism", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 2, No. 2, Literature and Society, April, 1967, International Phenomenological Society: 149-158.

Lyotard, Jean-Francois and Brugger, Niels, "What about the Postmodern? The Concept of the Postmodern in the Work of Lyotard", *Yale French Studies*, No. 99, Jean-Francois Lyotard: Time and Judgment (2001), Yale University Press: 77-92.

McCalman, Janet, "Old School Ties and Silver Spoons: A statistical Footnote from Darkest Victoria", *Australian Cultural History*, No. 8, 1989, 79-83.

Mathias, Frank F., "Writing a Memoir: The Investment of Art with Craft", *Society for History Education, The History Teacher*, Volume 19, No. 3, (May, 1986): 373-383.

Michaels, Wendy, "Found in Translation", *ISAA Review*, Volume 10, Number 2, 2011.

Miller, Wick R., "Language", *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, Volume 6, (1969): 1-40.

Monk, Ray, "This Fictitious Life: Virginia Woolf on Biography and Reality", *Philosophy and Literature*, Volume 31, No. 1, April, 2007, Johns Hopkins University Press: 1-40.

Monk, Ray, "Life without Theory: Biography as an Exemplar of Philosophical Understanding", *Poetics Today*, Volume 28, No. 3, Genres of Philosophy (II), (Fall, 2007): 527-570.

Nelson, Camilla, "Faking it: History and Creative Writing", University of Technology, 2007, Text Volume, Volume 11, No. 2: 1-10.

Niall, Brenda, "Writing a Boyd: Family Biography", *The Sydney Papers*, Spring, 2002, Volume 14, No. 4: 19-16.

Abdel-Nour, Farid, "National Responsibility", *Political Theory*, Volume 31, No. 5, (October, 2003), Sage Publications Inc.: 693-719.

O'Connor, Daniel J., "Biography as History and Abbot Salvado of New Norcia", Western Australia University, Crawley, 1995: 51-66.

Ochs, Elinor, and Capps, Lisa, "Narrating the Self", *Review of Anthropology*, Volume 25, University of California, (October, 1996): 19-43.

Phelan, Shane, "Interpretation & Domination: Adorno & the Habermas-Lyotard Debate", *Polity*, Volume 25, No. 4, (Summer, 1993), Palgrave Macmillan Journals: 597-616.

Phillips, Timothy L., "Symbolic Boundaries and National Identity in Australia", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 47, No. 1, (Mar., 1996), Wiley on behalf of the London School of Economics and Political Science: 113-134.

Ratcliffe, Greg, "Archives and Anecdotes: History and Auto/biography in Michael Ondaatje's *Running in the Family*", *New Literature Review*, No. 26, (Winter, 1993), 19-30.

Ray, Sangeeta, "Memory, Identity, Patriarchy: Projecting a Past in the Memoirs of Sara Suleri and Michael Ondaatje", *Modern Fiction Studies*, Volume 39, Number 1, (Winter), 1993: 37-57.

Rejai, Mostafa, and Enloe, Cynthia H., "Nation-States and State-Nations", *International Studies, Quarterly*, Volume 13, No. 2, (June, 1969). Wiley on behalf of The International Studies Association, 140-158.

Richardson, Nicholas, "G. E. A. McDonale: The Rewards of Pragmatism: A Biographical Approach to Sports History," a thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Department of History, 2004: 1-226.

Ricoeur, Paul, "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action considered as a Text", *New Literary History*, Volume 5, No. 1, *What is Literature?* (Autumn, 1973): 91-117.

Roe, Jill, "The Appeal of Biography", *Australian Feminist Studies*, Special Issue, 'Writing Lives', No. 16, (Summer), 1992: 3-143.

Rendle-Short, Francesca, "The Smell of Pineapples: writing a

Queensland auto-bio-graphie", Faculty of Law, Humanities and the Arts, University of Wollongong, Journal Text 10.2 (2006), 01/2006: 1-15.

Russell, John, "Travel Memoir as Nonfiction Novel: Michael Ondaatje's *Running in the Family*", *Ariel, A Review of International English Literature*, The University of Calgary, Volume 22, No. 2, April, 1991: 23-40.

Scates, Bruce, "The Historical Conscience: Australian Historians on the Ethics of History by Stuart McIntyre", Review by Bruce Scates, *Labour History*, No. 90, (May, 2006): 232-234.

Steggall, Susan, "Introduction" to *ISAA Review*, Volume 10, No. 1, 2011.

Stout, Jarvis P., "Writing on the Margins of Biography", *South Central Review*, Volume 23, No. 3, Literary Biography, (Fall, 2006), Johns Hopkins University Press: 60-75.

Straw, Jack, "The Way We Are", *The World Today*, Volume 63, No. 5, (May, 2007). The Royal institute of International Affairs, Chatham House: 14-16.

Terrell, John, "Storytelling and Prehistory", *Archaeological Method and Theory*, Volume 2, (1990), Springer: 1-21.

Thayer, William Roscoe, "Biography", *The North American Review*, Volume 180, No. 579, (February, 1905): 261-278.

Thiele, Leslie Paul, "Nietzsche and Foucault: A Hermeneutics of Suspicion", *The American Political Science Review*, Volume 85, No. 2, June 1991, American Political Science Association: 581-592. www.sacred-texts.com/phy/spinoza/treattpt.htm

Weintraub, Karl J., "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness", *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 1, No. 4, (June, 1975), University of Chicago Press: 821-848.

White, Geoffrey M., "Emotional Remembering: The Pragmatics of National Memory", *Ethos*, Volume 27, No. 4, The Pragmatic Turn in Psychological Anthropology, (December, 1999), Blackwell Publishing: 509-510.

Conferences

Adams, Phillip, *Pen Lecture*, ACT: Association National Conference, November 05, 2003.

Bail, Murray, "Landscape and Emptiness: Writing the Australian Landscape", *Kenneth Binns Lecture*, ACT: National Library of Australia, 2013.

Connor, Steven, "Michael Serres's Five Senses", An expanded version of a paper given at the Michel Serres Conference, London: Birkbeck College, May 1999, 11-12.

Courtenay, Bryce, "Popular Fiction: The Opposite of Unpopular Fiction Inspired by History", *True Stories, Writing History*, conference 2-3 April, 2011, ACT: National Library of Australia.

FitzSimons, Peter, "Writing works of Non-fiction and Making them Sing", Independent Scholars Association of Australia, New South Wales in Association with the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, July 30, 2011, (NP).

Foley, Cathy, "Writing the Wrongs of Women in Science", Independent Scholars Association of Australia, New South Wales Chapter in Association with the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, July 30, 2011.

Gammage, Bill, 'The Biggest Estate on Earth' in *Writing the Australian Landscape: Stories Writing History conference*, August 03, 2013, ACT: National Library of Australia.

George, Robert P., "Natural Law", paper originally delivered as the 2007 John Dewey Lecture in Philosophy of Law at Harvard, April 09, 2007.

Gittins, Ross, "History, Memory, Truth and Gossip", The Independent Scholars Association of Australia Inc., New South Wales Chapter, 2011, conference, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, July 30, 2011.

Koch, Christopher, "The Fate of the Individual lies in the Cross-fire of History", *Stories Writing History conference*, ACT: National Library of Australia, 2-3 April, 2011.

Martin, Stephen, "Shall the Penguins Call us Huns?", Independent Scholars Association of Australia, New South Wales Chapter in Association with the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, July 30, 2011.

Ridley, Ronald T., "What an Historian Knows", Valedictory Lecture given by Ronald T. Ridley in the Elisabeth Murdoch Theatre, May 17, 2007, School of Historical Studies, Melbourne.

Scott, Joanne, "Does it have to be Compelling? A History of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet", *Stories Writing History conference*, 2-3 April, 2011, ACT: National Library of Australia.

Souter, Fenella, "True Stories, Writing History, Tomorrow is Another Day: How News makes History", *Stories Writing History conference*, ACT: National Library of Australia, 2-3 April, 2011.

Webber, Peter, "The Phantom of the Opera House: Peter Hall: The Architect", Independent Scholars Association of Australia, New South Wales in Association with the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, July 30, 2011.

Films

Attenborough, R. (producer / director), (1982)
Gandhi (Motion picture)
International Film Investors
National Film Development Corporation India
Indo-British Films

Balson, M. (director), (1989), *Kakadu Kan: The story of Bill Neidjie*
(Documentary), Australia: Lindfield

DaCostam, M. (producer / director), (1962)
The Music Man (Motion picture)
USA: Warner Bros.

Moore, M. (director), (2013), *Capitalism: A Love Story*
(Documentary), USA: The Weinstein Company

Morrison, Toni with A. S. Byatt, *Writers in Conservation*
State Library of New South Wales Catalogue Number VB4086
ICA video: London c. 1989

On-line resources

Defamation by written or printed words www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consolact/da200599 Reference is also made to the Crimes Act – Section ‘Criminal Defamation’.

Eliot T. S., *Little Gidding* (1942), No. 4 of Four Quartets
<http://www.davidgorman.com/4Quartets/index.htm>
Retrieved March 05, 2013.

Grenville, Kate, retrieved June 02, 2014 from:
www.kategrenville.com/node/75.
Accessed September 17, 2014.

Hirst, John, “Federation, Destiny and Identity”
www.aph.gov.au/binaries/senate/pubspops/pop37/hirst
Retrieved January 30, 2013.

Horne, Donald, *The Lucky Country* (1964)
<http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/lucky-country>
Retrieved March 05, 2013.

Klages, Mary, “Michel Foucault in *What is an Author?*”
Colorado: Boulder University
<http://www.colorado.edu/English/courses/ENGL2012/Klages/foucault.html>
Retrieved May 14, 2013.

Molt, Andreas, “Adorno and the Myth of Subjectivity”,
<http://www.Sydney.edu.au/contretemps.3July2002/mot.pdf>.
Accessed August 16, 2012.

Pallisco, Marc, March 10, 2008, www.realestatesource.com.au/hotel-lindrum-to-be-sold.html. Retrieved February 16, 2015.

Swonger, Matthias, “Foucault and the Hupomnemata: Self writing as an Art of Life”, University of Rhode Island (2006)

<http://digitalcommons.uri.edu/srhonorsprog/18>. Accessed August 16, 2012.

Thompson, Brian, *The 'Be Prepared' Booklet for Young Australians* (2013)
<http://www.population.org.au/publications/resources/student-resources>
Retrieved July 07, 2014.

Utzon, John, "Architect The Sydney Opera House"
http://www.sydneyoperahouse.com/about/the_architect.aspx
Retrieved November 06, 2011.

Wilde, Oscar, *De Profundis* (1905)
http://upword.com/wilde/de_profundis.html
Retrieved February 22, 2013.

Newspapers

Black, Ian, "Peace Job just too hard, says Annan", *Wollongong: Illawarra Mercury, World News*, August 4, 2012, 28.

Brasch, Rudolph, in "Mistakes we all make, Bishop Ingham's Message", *Sydney: The Catholic Weekly*, February 27, 2011, 26. (Difference between a genuine human error or flaw weaved into a tapestry to demonstrate we are all human and, therefore, prone to make mistakes, and an act of willful destruction).

Carlton, Mike, "Lies, damned lies and Australia's future", *Sydney: Sydney Morning Herald, News Review*, Weekend edition, September 7-9, 2013, 16.

Carlton, Mike, "Nobody parties like cabinet Ministers", *Sydney: Sydney Morning Herald, News Review*, October 5-6, 2013, 16. (the state of the Nation)

Cave, Michael, January 14, 1998, "Billiard Legend inspires theme for new chain: Hotels take their Cue", *Sydney: Australian Financial Review*. Retrieved February 16, 2015.

Chenoweth, Neil, "Board the focus of \$500m secret fees", *Sydney: Australian Financial Review*, October 17, 2013.

Elliott, Tim, "Justin Sistel provoked outrage when he sought out people willing to auction their virginity and to then lose it on film", *Sydney: Sydney Morning Herald, Good Weekend*, October 12, 2013, 16.

Garnaut, John, "Lost in Translation: backstage drama over staging of Cho Cho", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 21, 2013, front page.

Hanson, Kylie, "Lindrum Ball Roll", Melbourne: *Herald Sun*, January 14, 1998. Retrieved February 16, 2015.

Hennessy, John, "Hennessy talks with three former world champions who insist snooker's rulers must accept radical reform to save the ailing game", London: *Daily Express*, November 13, 1998 (NP).

Humphries, Glen, "Soldiers true story revealed", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald, Weekender*, October 26, 2013, 10.

Johnston, Megan, "The devil inside Digital Living: the internet can bring out the worst in the best of us", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald, Life, Weekend edition*, September 22-23, 2013, 23.

Llewellyn Smith, Julia, "We Can't Handle the Truth", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald, Psychology: Life/Spectrum*, October 6-7, 2012, 23.

McIlwain, Kate, "Where's our Money: Steel Giant takes over after vote", Wollongong: *Illawarra Mercury*, October 17, 2013, 1-3.

McKenzie, Nick and Baker, Richard, "RBA's dirty Saddam deal", Sydney: *Australian Financial Review*, September 30, 2013, 1. (Reserve Bank subsidiary used a frontman to liaise with Saddam Hussein's brother-in-law in an illegal effort to supply plastic bank notices to the Iraqi government while it was subject to United Nations sanctions).

McKenzie, Nick and Baker, Richard, "Wal King approved Iraq bribe", Sydney: *Australian Financial Review*, October 3, 2013, 1.

McKenzie, Nick and Baker, Richard, "The Leighton Files", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald, News Review, Weekend Edition*, October 5-6, 2013, 1. (Bribery, kick-backs, cover-ups: construction company Leighton is the subject of allegations that raise questions about governance and regulation).

Munro, Peter, "Fallen stars: shameful games began long before the Olympics", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 23-24, front page.

Olding, Rachel, "22GP's blind to drug abuse signs", Sydney: *Sydney Morning Herald, News review*, October 17, 2013, 13.

Swan, Jonathan and Hirst, Daniel, "MP's trip up on claims", *Sydney: Sydney Morning Herald*, October 9, 2013, 1 and 9.

Swanton, Will, *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 05, 2010.
www.smh.com.au/.../only-eye-doctor-knew-amazing-secret-of-previous-Australian-to-win-world-title-20100504-u77.html
Retrieved from family archives January 12, 2013.

Tankard Rice, Melinda in "Fighting a toxic culture", Benjamin Long, *Wollongong: Illawarra Mercury, News*, October 30, 2013.

Taylor, Lenore, "We don't worry about the facts, we just run with the bluster", *Sydney: Sydney Morning Herald*, October 22-23, 2011, 17
and Ross Gittins in "Stories Writing History conference", *ACT: National Library of Australia, Canberra, ACT*, 2-3 April, 2011 (NP).

Turnbull, Malcolm, in "Perspective, My Australia: How it has Changed", *Sydney: The Weekend Australian Financial Review*, January 25-28, 2013, 15.

Documentary news programs

Brown, Matt, "Foreign Correspondent", *Sydney: ABC television*, May 15, 2012.

Clarke, John, *Sporting Nation: Part Two*, *Sydney: ABC*, July 1, 2013.

Zenon, Robert Frederick, (Sir Bob Geldof), *Lateline*, *Sydney: ABC*, March 26, 2013.

Hair, Daniel Bruce, Former cricket umpire, *Sydney: ABC*, 7-30 Report, September 1, 2011.

Quilty, Ben, *Australian Story*, "On the War Path", *Sydney: ABC*, March 25, 2013.

Historic newspapers

Daily News, Sydney: Thursday August 04, 1932, "Will not play his nephew: Billiards Star in smoke...THE LINDRUMS." Retrieved from family archives January 12, 2008.

Barrier Miner, Broken Hill: Saturday December 30, 1933, "Would not play nephew", 6. Retrieved from family archives January 12, 2008.

Referee, Sydney: March 30, 1928, "Walter Lindrum Again beaten: Brother Friend recovers splendidly", 16. Retrieved from family archives January 12, 2008.

Legal documents

Review of the Commission into the Magnetic Island disaster. Findings issued July, 1992. *Sydney*: Mitchell Library, (rare books section). Retrieved October 6, 2012.

Oral interviews

August 20, 2011: Oral interview with distinguished journalist Les Wheeler. At the beginning of his career Les Wheeler was a journalist for *Sportsman*, a racing publication. After that he became a journalist with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, then sub-editor and Sporting Editor. He was also a major contributor to the English publication *Snooker Scene*.

September 5, 2011: Oral interview confirmed by written statement.

Horace Lindrum's widow and my mother, Joy Lindrum – 1996-2009.

Other materials

Letters, journals, diaries, photographs, programs, newspaper articles and memorabilia from the Family Archive.

War service records, National Archives of Australia, Canberra, ACT.
Retrieved: June 2, 2013.

Lindrum film footage reviewed January 10, 2013, retrieved from Family archives, including:

National Film and Sound Archive (c.1946): *Snooker Champions matches: Horace Lindrum entertains, Lindrum at home, Another Lindrum takes the Cue.*
Duration: 41 minutes, B/W audio.

National Film and Sound Archive (1996): *Billiard Tables*
Duration: 26 minutes 11 seconds. B/W Silent.

Blakely, Edward J., critique Janne Lindrum's draft PhD proposal,
10 July, 2012.

Appendices

1. Family Tree
2. Summary of Horace Lindrum's Achievements
3. Demonstration Shots
4. A shot treatise on Gambling
5. A short treatise on Economic matters
6. A short treatise on Environmental matters
7. A short treatise on tragic errors of judgment