

# *Cecil Healy: A Soldier of the Surf*

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The life savers represent the very highest class. They are the Samurais, the oligarchs, the elite. They strut the beaches with superiority that is insolent, yet, at the same time, tolerant of the shortcomings of the lesser breeds—a gladiator caste, envied by all men, adored by all women.<sup>1</sup>

In his monumental history of the Australian Imperial Force in France during the Great war, CEW Bean records that on 29 August 1918 during the offensive of Mont. St Quentin, in an attempt to take woods fortified by German machine gunners, 'after being wounded . . . Lieut. Cecil Healy . . . a champion swimmer was hit again and killed'.<sup>2</sup> Healy (1882-1918) was one of Australia's first great Olympic swimmers, winning a silver medal at the 1912 Stockholm Games under extraordinary circumstance. This effort placed him in the great halls of the mythology of Australian and international sportsmanship—a turn-of-the-century Mark Taylor. However, it was not only this, or his many well-publicised deeds in the stillwater baths both in Australia and overseas, or the fact that he perfected the 'Australian crawl' for long-distance races that warrants attention from historians of Australian sport, culture and society. He also played a pivotal role in the development of body surfing and popular surfing culture in Australia.

His deeds at the Stockholm Olympic Games, nevertheless, added to the amateur tradition of sportsmanship and heroism that Australians have worked into the fabric of their national identity. As Murray Phillips shows, the Sportsmen's Battalions were established during the Great War with the belief that competitive sport was a glorious preparation for war.<sup>3</sup> Healy's commissioning as a second lieutenant in the 19<sup>th</sup> Sportsmen's Battalion and his subsequent death in the front line in his initial action contributed to this great Anzac tradition. And finally, the narrative of his life and death was taken up by the Australian press, particularly the Sydney popular press, and placed in the public domain in a manner that signified later developments in propaganda in Australian society during

the 1920s and 1930s. By his death, Healy was spared the disillusion that was to touch so many committed Australians during the interwar years. But, then, perhaps he may have delighted in observing the great deeds of the next generation of Australia's great Olympic swimmers, such as Andrew 'Boy' Charlton and Noel Ryan, who like him, combined competitive swimming with surfing and surf life saving.

News of Healy's enlistment on 15 September 1915 was quickly taken up by the Australian press, and constituted another important page of wartime propaganda. A lengthy article of his life and achievements quickly followed in a March 1916 edition of the *Lone Hand* and was reprinted in a 1919 memorial edition of Healy's writings and published details about his life.

Born 28 November 1882 as the third son of a prominent and prosperous Sydney barrister, whose family home was initially in Darlinghurst, then later in an elite Sydney eastern suburb, he was provided with a more than fair start in life. Educated in a private boys' school in Bowral on the New South Wales Southern Tablelands he made his first appearance as an amateur swimmer in 1895, when he won a silver cup for a sixty-six yards handicap in Sydney's old Natatorium. He then joined the East Sydney Amateur Swimming Club, and quickly and determinedly built on his initial success to the point that by 1905 he was Australasian 100 yards champion, 'equaling the then world's record of fifty-eight seconds'.<sup>4</sup> He was also New South Wales champion on several occasions in the 1900s.

According to the *Lone Hand* article, 1906 was a particularly wonderful year for Healy.

[He] represented Australia at the [unofficial] Olympic Games held in Athens in 1906, but was beaten by Daniels, the meteoric American sprinter, and De Halmay, of Hungary. He would probably have done better had he not made such a hurried departure at practically the eleventh hour, which left him only a short time to prepare for the contest after a long sea voyage. A few weeks afterwards he almost dead-heated Daniels in the 100 yards Championship of England, and vanquished De Halmay . . . in the same event, although the swim was in a short bath, necessitating two turns, at which Healy never excelled. In the same season he gamed the 220 yards Championship of England, afterwards visiting Scotland and Ireland, where he won more swimming honours and establishing new records for those countries. He met similar success in Paris, winning the 100 metres International Scratch

Race in record time for France, also winning a 200 metres race in two minutes thirty seconds, which under the conditions of the race—turning on a rope—was described by Mr. Wm. Henry, the great English swimming authority, as being equal to the world's best time for the distance.<sup>5</sup>

That year Healy went on to other great honours in European baths, but according to the *Lone Hand*, he 'went to much trouble in teaching the crawl stroke to swimmers of other countries, where it was practically unknown', and thereby demonstrating an exceptional generosity in a highly competitive sport.

Healy returned to Australia committed to perfecting the crawl stroke for longer distance events, 'hitherto only used [experimentally] for sprinting'. A supreme test of his achievements in this regard came with his 1911 race against the great Frank Beaurepaire, 'the world famous Victorian', over the three-quarter mile course at Sydney's Domain Baths. Here an Australian record crowd assembled excitedly to watch the event and barrack for their hero. However, both the champions were upstaged by the 'almost unknown' William Longworth, but Healy still beat the Victorian Beaurepaire for second place. The following year, an Olympic year, was to prove to be Healy's greatest triumph.<sup>6</sup>

At the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, as a member of the Australasian four-man swimming team, Healy won a gold medal for the 800 metres Teams Championship, and won a silver medal in the 100 metres final event, being narrowly defeated by the great American, Duke Kahanamoku. The *Lone Hand* records that at the conclusion of this race 'Healy received one of the greatest tributes ever accorded him by followers of swimming'. The *Lone Hand* recorded this momentous event:

In the semi-final of the 100 metres, Kahanamoku and two other American representatives did not, through some misunderstanding, make their appearance on the starting board, and the semi-final was swum without them, and resulted in Healy and Longworth from Australia, and Ramme and Bretting, of Germany, qualifying for the final. The position was a difficult one for the officials, and the matter was referred to the International Jury to decide. Healy strongly urged the Australian representative to insist on the Americans being given an opportunity to compete in the final, insisting that it would be unsportsmanlike to bar their entry. Finally, mainly owing to the opposition of the Germans, the Americans

were allowed to compete in a special semi-final, with the result that Kahanamoku and McGillivray qualified for the final, in which the Hawaiian swimmer finished first and Healy second.<sup>7</sup>

Following another tour of Europe, where his brilliant finishes became legendary, and writing a journal article wherein he predicted that war would cancel the 1916 Olympics, Healy returned to Australia a sporting hero. He went on to champion the great virtues of the popular surf culture, along with assembling more great deeds in the tidal baths. Of course, the war came and Healy enlisted. Healy's was an exceptional life—a paradigm of the amateur sporting hero that warrants analysis.

Healy did much to popularise surf culture and body surfing skills in Australia, 'in fact he was one of the small band who battled for the right to surf at any hour of the day, which at one time was strenuously opposed by the authorities'.<sup>8</sup> He was a founder and inaugural captain of the original Manly Surf Club in July 1907, and 'as an exponent of the art of shooting the breakers there have been few better seen around our beaches'.<sup>9</sup> But what was the significance of these achievements for Australian society?

During the early years of the twentieth century Australian urban dwellers, particularly those in Sydney discovered the surf as an exciting form of recreation, and there was a distinct and frequently stated appreciation of the eugenic qualities of surf bathing. From the perceived vitality-giving attributes of surfing there was a suggestion that indeed urban Australians had something of the challenge of the frontier at their very doorstep. This often has been commented upon then and later by social historians.<sup>10</sup> It had been the pastoral frontier that had been responsible for the special eugenic qualities of the white Australian bushman 'type'. Now there was the Australian surf-man, another form of icon. The editor of the Fairfax weekly, the *Sydney Mail*, summed up the life-giving forces of surfing this way:

The joy of life and the pleasure of healthful living, the stress of combat with the curling breakers, and the sense of victorious struggle, the flashing sunlight, the bright gleam of white sand and foaming water, and the exultant feeling of physical energy actively exerted in the open air vibrate through this summer seaside . . . Surf-bathing and breaker-shooting, and all the delightful experiences attendant on holiday life along these white ocean beaches of ours, at Manly, Bondi, Coogee,

Long Bay, Balmoral, and other places are now becoming a national pastime. The number of those who take part in these health-giving recreations grows from year to year . . . But having once come, it is a sport that has come to stay. None of those who have ever enjoyed the delight of swimming in the surf, battling with big waves, or riding triumphantly down the breakers will ever be content to forego it, or to take to swimming in smooth water again if they can get to the surf and the breakers.<sup>11</sup>

The discourse concerning the open-air recreation, the continuous struggle against the elements, and the general 'health-giving' physical experience, suggests that surfing had a special place as a eugenically inspired activity. There are many such descriptive passages on body surfing in the Sydney press, particularly between 1903 and the Great War.

Surprisingly, the recent literature on the history of the surf-culture has not recognised the clear relationship between the developing culture of surfing on Australian beaches and eugenics during the first half of the twentieth century. Through his study of sun-worship on the Australian beaches, Booth comes closest to recognising this connection. However, he is more inclined to dismiss the growing numbers of sun-worshippers on Australian beaches, with their concern for a 'therapeutic outlook', and associate this growing culture with the developing consumerism of the inter-war period.<sup>12</sup> Certainly, consumerism did greatly influence the burgeoning fashion industry associated with the ever-revealing beachwear of the period. However, there was a parallel growth in nudist colonies during the late 1930s in Australia, and this was simply an extreme version of the sun-worship that underpinned the surfing culture.

In her study of 'the lifesaver as a national icon', Saunders also had the opportunity to illustrate the connection between surf-lifesaving and eugenics. Concerned with lifesaving clubs as a gendered site for masculine discourse, she, however, seems blind to the connection between the surf-culture and eugenics. This leads her to see surf-lifesaving, along with aviation and long-distance rally driving, as being representative of 'modern Australian, with its emphasis on technology and urban location'.<sup>13</sup> While certainly there is much justification in Saunders' findings, had she attempted an analysis of the eugenic motive in the early history of surf-lifesaving, she may have preferred to look to a deeper meaning to the development of popular surfing in Australian society.

More concerned with illustrating the place of women in the developing

culture of surfing, and how important the simple pastime of surfing was in the pioneering surf-lifesaving clubs, Jaggard's study, is more aware of the eugenic underpinnings in surfing during the first sixty years of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> His concern for the place of women in the Australian surf-culture during its pioneering years offered him the opportunity to examine primary sources which would show the eugenicists' concern for women in the developing surf-culture as an instrument for racial betterment. Although, increasingly eugenics is capturing the attention of Australian social, cultural and educational historians,<sup>15</sup> much of this failure to see the connection between the Australian popular surf-culture and eugenics lies in the continued misconception of the history of eugenics in Australian society and culture.

At a time when a controversy raged 'as to whether surf-bathing should or should not be encouraged on the various Sydney beaches', in 1905 Manly was trumpeted as being a sanatorium. That year up to a thousand surfers of both sexes—'families and friendly parties'—could be seen in the surf at any one time on favourable days. Two or three years earlier women began to 'bathe in the surf in increasing numbers, and at the same time the number of men preferring open to enclosed bathing grew'.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, local councils arranged temporary change facilities for both sexes. The beginning of a eugenic-inspired Australian culture was underway. Yet, many Australians looked to a more extensive access to surf and sun for their bodies.

Consequently, in the belief that the sun's rays possessed great eugenic powers, individuals even ventured into sun-bathing in the more remote north shore beaches, which,

in itself is a probably desirable phase of the 'open-air cure', and on parts of the Mediterranean coast, there are institutions where the basis of cure is the exposure of the nude body to the sun. There are scores of men and youths as brown as south Sea Islanders from the practice of taking a 'sun bath after the sea bath on the more remote beaches, but especially at Freshwater.<sup>17</sup>

This drive to increasingly expose one's body to the sun's rays was an enduring drive for many Australians involved in the popular surf-culture.

By 1910 it was claimed that Australians were claiming their beaches 'as the pleasantest and healthiest of national playgrounds'. Its eugenic virtues were immediately manifest:

Probably no place in the world (certainly no place in Australia) shows such a remarkable collection of athletes as are to be found on any of the Sydney beaches any Saturday or Sunday. The men, as a rule, seem trained to a hair, and fit for anything that muscle and sinew can accomplish. And their appearance does not belie them. The majority of the leading athletes of New South Wales are surf-bathers. In their ranks are the amateur champions of Australasia in boxing, wrestling and swimming, and several who are ready to dispute those titles when occasion offers. They include many first-grade footballers and a sprinkling of professional athletes whose fame has spread far beyond their own State.<sup>18</sup>

Also early in its history the eugenic benefits that the Australian popular surf-culture held for women was recognised. For example, during 1907 a correspondent to Sydney's Fairfax press commented that:

The extent to which surf-bathing has attracted Australian girls and women, as well as men, is not surprising once the step has been taken and the recreation surrounded by proper safeguards. But this is a new departure, which is full of the promise of health, of the renewal of strength, of improved physique, and general well-being for the Australian woman of the future. From this point of view alone there is cause for congratulation that we have at last found a use for our unrivalled Australian beaches, which have been allowed to lie so long. We have turned them into a real pleasure ground for the people—a place whither they may repair in search of health and brimming enjoyment . . .<sup>19</sup>

Early in the history of the Australian popular surf-culture the perceived democratic qualities of the culture were trumpeted:

The surf is a glorious democracy—or, rather, it represents a readjustment of all the classifications that history and politics and social conditions ever brought about. Wealth has no place here; nor rank, nor Norman blood, nor scholarship. Plain primitive manhood and womanhood are the only tests the surf-bather applies to distinguish one from another. Nobody but a surf-bather knows the overwhelming importance and the utter unimportance of clothes.<sup>20</sup>

So the myth developed about the egalitarianism of the Australian racial type as evidenced among the healthy, virile masses gathering at Manly, Bondi, Coogee, and the other famous surfing attractions. This was a

eugenic aspect of the Australian popular surf-culture that would develop and have added significance during the inter-war years.

For Healy, Manly Beach offered unique eugenic qualities. Following his 1906 post-unofficial Olympic tour of Europe he published an eloquent article in the *Lone Hand* exploring the differences between Manly and Mediterranean beaches. Here the soft and rhythmic energy of the Manly surf is manifest:

Even in its angriest mood, the Mediterranean tosses no surf upon its shores. Only big cumbersome waves that lash themselves into a fury on the pebbly beaches and rocky coastline. The sound they produce is a revengeful, vindictive roar, not like the purr of the Pacific's surge, which is as music to the ear of the surfer. One misses the breakers with their snow-white crests that illumine the face of the water as with a smile, revealing a row of glittering teeth.<sup>21</sup>

Surely, here is revealed the underpinning motive behind Healy's drive to open up these waters to Sydneysiders.

In his 1994 official history of Australians in the Olympic Games Harry Gordon documents in some detail Healy's deeds of sportsmanship at the Stockholm Games. According to Gordon, 'Healy gave a demonstration of the immaculate sportsmanship which characterised his career. He in fact sacrificed the prospect of an individual gold medal to ensure that his own version of justice was served.'<sup>22</sup> Like Mark Taylor's great knock of 394 not out against the Pakistani XI during the 1998 tour, equaling Bradman's world record, and his subsequent 'sporting declaration' whereby he denied himself a world record score, Healy's deeds at Stockholm have been a story that has been retold to an extent that it has become a part of the fabric of the Australian identity.<sup>23</sup> It is the stuff that is talked about perennially at sports dinners and school assemblies across Australia. This is the very essence of the mythology that makes up the great Anzac tradition. Certainly, no history of the Olympic Games would be written that did not refer to the event.<sup>24</sup>

Sir John Monash recognised this when he assessed the qualities of our Anzac heroes, their qualities of independent judgement, personal dignity, manliness, practicality, adaptability, and a readiness to learn:

The democratic institutions under which he was reared, the advanced system of education by which we was trained—teaching him how to think for himself and to apply what he

had learnt to practical ends—the instinct of sport and adventure which is his national heritage, his pride in his young country, and the opportunity which came to him by creating a great national tradition.<sup>25</sup>

Of course, it was not only ability in sport which counted, but also it was sportsmanship of the type publicly displayed by Healy which was eulogised as that essential Anzac type.

The eulogised democracy of the surf that we have described was not an abstract thing, but one that touched Healy's performance at the Stockholm Games, and was learnt through team effort. We are told in the 1916 *Lone Hand* article that the Germans opposed Healey's gallantry and democratic ideals. Indeed, it became a part of the Anzac mythology that it were these very ideals which found their supreme expression in Healy's actions which, it was claimed, turned the tide against Germany in the herculean struggles during 1918. For example, with the ink of the Armistice hardly dry, the Hobart *Mercury* declared that nations such as Britain and Australia that practised collective team sports and pastimes that inculcated values of fair play and sportsmanship, where personal initiative, combined with organised movement, developed mighty and effective armies. Contrast the Germans, whose love for sport was expressed in the mechanical, such as gymnastics, where sportsmanship was considered to be unimportant.<sup>26</sup>

Even by 1916, as expressed through the *Lone Hand* article on Healy, the mythology of the sporting and sportsmanship tradition was being deeply embedded into the Anzac tradition. Australians were told that:

It was his never-say-die spirit and his overwhelming sense of duty, which impelled him to enlist in the Expeditionary Forces. The camp life was frankly distasteful to him, enlisting meant throwing up prospects for which he had been waiting for years; but like many other Australians, he did not hesitate when the time came. Weighing carefully every consideration, he accepted the call of duty.<sup>27</sup>

Of course, his death, seventy-four days before the signing of the Armistice, along with the other 60,000 Australian men who 'gave their all' was a tragedy, albeit not wasted. The Anzac myth of the Australian identity was strengthened.

Through Healy's exploits in the still-water baths and at two Olympic Games, he was well known internationally as well as at home. In 1916 the

*Lone Hand* reminded readers that Healy's article on the execution of the crawl stroke had been taken up by the Amateur Swimming Association of England, and over 20,000 copies were sold. It was reprinted again after his death. It was also included in Reg ('Snowy') Baker's 1911 publication, *General Physical Culture*.<sup>28</sup> When there was a postwar publication of the Amateur Swimming Association of England's edition Healey's Stockholm exploit had been immortalised in the annals of the sport.<sup>29</sup> Then there was the Cecil Healy Memorial Shield established by the NSW Life Saving Association.

Until the 1960s when popular surfing and competitive surfing reached its height of popularity in Australian society and culture, this shield and Healy's memory and deeds were immortalized in the achievements of soldiers of the Australian surf during the postwar summers. In 1956 it was claimed that surfing was:

truly Australian in spirit. Its character savors [sic] of sun-drenched sand and a free and boisterous surf. In it we see democracy function as it was meant to. There are no barriers of creed, class, or color [sic]. All these are forgotten in the wonderful spirit of humanitarian mateship.<sup>30</sup>

The shield was 'one of the most popular early competitions', and was won by the club that showed overall superiority in water events throughout each season. The Manly club presented the shield to the Surf Life Saving Association at the end of the war 'to perpetuate the memory of the club's former captain'.<sup>31</sup>

For wartime propaganda purposes, the Australian press took up much of Healy's life and death. By this time propaganda had reached a hitherto unthought of influence on Australian society and culture. In English-speaking countries, Harold Lasswell was among a number of social scientists who studied the manner in which propaganda techniques were developed during the war, and how they might be applied to society and commerce. Lasswell attributed one reason for the increased interest in propaganda in the mid-war years to a 'new inquisitiveness' in Western society. A more direct explanation was that the 'credulous utopianism' of the mass of people on both sides who had been fed daily smorgasboards of propaganda detailing how post-war reconstruction would inevitably quickly lead to a more equitable society for all. On the side of the victors optimism was high with victory in the 'war to end all wars'. And, of course, this inflated optimism quickly gave way to cynicism

and disenchantment. Society did not develop as they had been promised, and many people according to their individual temperaments remained uneasy, puzzled, or directly angered at the deception and degradation they had experienced.<sup>32</sup> One might add to Lasswell's analysis the point that in democratic societies, where propaganda has to be intensely persuasive to drag a population into war, the persuasive influence of the propaganda is more lasting, and perhaps, the disenchantment and cynicism more intense. Recently Jowett and O'Donnell have pointed out that the war itself had conditioned society to accept propaganda as an integral part of mass society.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, Healy's exploits in the surf and baths have gained a preminent stature in Australian society, that perhaps they may never have done had there not been a war, and had he not died the way he did.

Healy always had a particularly warm relationship with the Fairfax newspaper empire. For example, when the *Sydney Mail* ran a lengthy photographic essay on 'sport in city and country' it featured Healy emerging from the Manly breakers.<sup>34</sup> This image was later replicated in base relief on the Healy Championship Shield. Not surprisingly, notice of his death in the *Sydney Morning Herald* described how 'all the men and officers who were near him talk of his coolness and gallantry. I knew he would do well, and it is a thousand pities that he didn't get an opportunity of going further after starting off so brilliantly'.<sup>35</sup> The media report of the Requiem Mass in his honour was subdued, indicating his status as a middle-class Catholic gentleman and sportsman of conservative values.<sup>36</sup> However, the notification of the publication of *Cecil Healy: In Memoriam* gave the press an opportunity to give full vent to a eulogy of the man's contribution to the war and Australian society. Here the virtues of sportsmanship in general, and Healy's sportsmanship in particular, were given to the Australian public:

Australia is particularly proud of her sportsmen, and especially of those who combine a kindly nature with unusual skill in their special branch of athletics. When the average man declares that a particular champion is 'a true sport' he infers that his idol is one, who, in the heat of contest, does not forget that he is a man, or that to win is but a secondary consideration to that of 'playing the game'.

It is such a man as this that we envisage when we recall the late Lieutenant Cecil Healy. ... it was not surprising that,

when the cause of freedom and justice was threatened, he should have yearned to participate in the greatest game of all. His death . . . was the crowning point of a career which all lovers of true sportsmanship cannot fail to admire.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, Cecil Healy joined that band of Australian sportsmen, the Don Bradmans, the Dawn Frasers, who have not only made a major contribution to their own sport, but have made a major contribution to Australian society and culture in a defining moment.

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In this article we have argued that Healy not only made a major contribution to Australian swimming and surfing, but also a significant contribution to Australian society and culture. Through his excellence in surfing, and his dedication to this sport, he was responsible in assisting in changing public and institutional attitudes to mixed and open surfing. As an effective publicist, he was typical of a small band of Australians at the turn of the century who sensed how popular surfing could, through its eugenic appeal, make a contribution to the Australian race and nationhood. Surfing was presented as a health-giving and democratising activity. In the baths as well Healy showed how sportsmanship could be elevated above mere competition, and through his contribution and ultimate death, in a world mesmerised by propaganda, these ideals were readily encapsulated into the Anzac tradition and the Australian identity. In 1981 he was honoured by the International Swimming Hall of Fame at Fort Lauderdale, Florida in the United States of America, and by inference so was the Australian amateur sporting identity. The photograph on display there emphasises powerful arms and shoulders on a short and stocky, but fit, body. Healy's sporting achievements are an index to the way in which eugenic values permeated Australian society during the early decades of the twentieth century.

### Notes:

- 1 Egbert T. Russell, 'Australia's Amphibians', *Lone Hand*, 1 January 1910.
- 2 C.E. Bean, *The Australian Imperial Force in France: During the Allied Offensive, 1918*, Angus & Robinson, Sydney, 1942. p. 783.
- 3 Murray Phillips, 'Football. Class and War: the Rugby Codes in New South Wales, 1907-1918', John Nauright and Timothy JL Chandler, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, Frank Cass, London, 1996.
- 4 'Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier', *Lone Hand*, 1 March 1916, reprinted in Cecil Healy: *in Memoriam*, Sydney, n.d. (but certainly 1919).
- 5 'Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'.
- 6 'Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'.

- 7 'Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'.
- 8 'Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'.
- 9 Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'. Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'.
- 10 For example, Richard White, *Inventing Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1981, pp.154-5.
- 11 'Summer at the Seaside', Editorial, *Sydney Mail (SM)*, 16 January 1907. For a similar sentiment, also see 'The Summer Seaside Carnival', Editorial, *Sydney Mail*, 7 March 1906.
- 12 Douglas Booth, 'Nudes in the Sand and Perverts in the Dunes', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 53, 1997, pp. 170-82.
- 13 Kay Saunders, "'Specimens of Superb Manhood": the Lifesaver as National Icon', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 56, 1998, pp. 96-105.
- 14 Ed Jaggard, 'Chameleons of the Surf'. *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 56, 1997, pp.183-91.
- 15 Grant Rodwell, 'Nature Enthusiasm, Social Planning and Eugenics in Australian State Schools, 1900-1920', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1997, pp. 1-19; Grant Rodwell, 'Dr Caleb Williams Saleeby: the Complete Eugenicist', *History of Education*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1997, pp. 23-40; Grant Rodwell, 'Lessons in Eugenics from Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopedia', *Educational Research and Perspectives*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1997, pp. 94-110; Grant Rodwell, "'Only by Persistent Effort in the Face of Discouragement': Civic and School Playgrounds, and Eugenics in Australia, 1900-1920', *Melbourne Studies in Education*. vol. 37, no. 2, 1996, pp. 12948; Grant Rodwell, 'Curing the Precocious Masturbator: Eugenics and Australian Early Childhood Education, 1900-1939', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 59, 1998, pp. 82-92; Grant Rodwell, 'Professor Harvey Sutton: National Hygienist as Eugenicist and Educator', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 84, no. 2, December 1998, pp. 164-179; Grant Rodwell, "'There are other evils to be put down": temperance, eugenics and education in Australia: 1900-20', in Czelaw Majorek, et. al. (eds), *Schooling in Changing Societies: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, *Paedagogica Historica, Supplementary Series*, vol. 4, pp. 179-99.
- 16 'Manly and its Recreations', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 February 1905.
- 17 'Manly and its Recreations'.
- 18 Russell, 'Australia's Amphibians'. Also see H Hemmer, 'The Surf: Manly and the Beaches of the Old World', *Lone Hand*, January 1915, pp. 87-91.
- 19 'Summer at the Seaside'.
- 20 Russell, p. 262.
- 21 CH 'Manly Compared with the Riviera', *Lone Hand*, January 1913; also reprinted in *Cecil Healy: a Memorium*.
- 22 Harry Gordon, *Australia and the Olympic Games*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1994, pp.86-87.
- 23 See, for example, 'Olympian Sacrificed Gold For Honor'. *Manly Daily*, 22 April 1998.
- 24 See, for example, *Australia Goes to the Olympics, 1896-1980*, Sydney. n.d., p. 30.
- 25 John Monash, *The Australian Victories in France in 1918*, London, 1920, pp. 290-91, cited in Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980*, p. 132.
- 26 *Mercury* [Hobart], 17 July 1918
- 27 'Cecil Healy: Swimmer and Soldier'.
- 28 Reg. L ('Snowy') Bakers 1911 publication, *General Physical Culture*, George Robertson & Co., Sydney, 1911, pp. 42-9.
- 29 F. Baxter, *The Amateur Swimming Association Book on Swimming and Swimming Strokes*, London, 1921, p. 7.
- 30 History of the Bondi Surf Bathers' Life Saving Club, cited in White, p. 155.

- 31 'The Healy Shield', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July 1919; also see Reg S Harris, *Heroes of the Surf: Fifty Years' History of Manly Life Saving Club*, Sydney, n.d., pp. 33-4 and Barry Galton, *Gladiators of the Surf the Australian Surf Life Saving Championships -a History*, Sydney, 1984, p. 15.
- 32 See, especially, H. D. Lasswell, 'Propaganda', *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 1934, vol. 12, pp. 521-27; H. D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*, New York, Peter Smith, 1927; H. D. Lasswell, 'The Theory of Political Propaganda', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 21, 1927, pp. 627-631.
- 33 Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Beverly Hills, 1986, pp. 132-3.
- 34 'Sport in City and Country', *Sydney Mail*, 26 October 1910.
- 35 'Late Cecil Healy', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1918.
- 36 'Late Lieut. Cecil Healy', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 September 1918.
- 37 'Late Lieut. Cecil Healy', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 January 1919.



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