Abstract

Behind the Greens: Understanding Golf Course Landscapes in Canada, 1873-1945

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Between 1873 and 1945, the golf course emerged as a distinct landscape category in Canada. During this transformative period of golf development, the course, as a landscape, revealed particular human and human/non-human interactions. To explore these associations, the term ‘golfscape’ signals the course’s literal and ideological construction as simultaneously a playing field and manifestation of nature. Gendered sport identities existed within these golfscapes and reinforced class-based and racialized relationships as well as Anglo-Canadian and Canadian/American connections. Traditional British golfing canon collided with the cultural and environmental realities of Canada to create a unique social and physical space. An examination of private, public, and resort course locations across the country illustrates how clubs positioned and promoted their playing fields within an urbanizing and diversifying country. For example, golfscape game and aesthetic features prompted private and public interests to integrate golf into nature tourism within Canada’s national parks during this time. Clubs, however, were held to certain appearance and playability standards, whether in the wilderness of the Rocky Mountains or in the rural-urban fringe that fueled product experimentation and creation. Trends towards professionalism and expertise as well as recognition of the diversity of the country’s climates and geographies created room for golf architects and
agricultural scientists to position themselves as authorities with the power to experiment and disseminate knowledge and practices to the wider culture. Consequently, a North American-focused golf industry touted their products as scientifically tested and catered to local needs. An analysis of golfscape development, therefore, not only promotes a deeper understanding of the connections among culture, environments, and technology but also contributes a different vantage point from which to study the intersecting forces that shaped life in Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
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### Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>BCA</td>
<td>British Columbia Provincial Archives</td>
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<td>CPRA</td>
<td>Canadian Pacific Railway Archives</td>
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<td>CVA</td>
<td>City of Vancouver Archives</td>
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<td>LAC</td>
<td>Library and Archives Canada</td>
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<td>MERL</td>
<td>Museum of English Rural Life – University of Reading</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEI-PA</td>
<td>Prince Edward Island Provincial Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>STSA</td>
<td>Stanley Thompson Society Archives</td>
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<td>TGCA</td>
<td>Toronto Golf Club Archives</td>
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<td>USGA</td>
<td>United States Golf Association</td>
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Chapter One:  
“Routing the Course: An Introduction”

In 1942 a group of golf club officials and large property owners in the Toronto region endorsed breeding and raising sheep on golf courses. As a beneficial wartime effort, the committee suggested it was a win-win situation. The proposed sheep herds would help with the wartime wool shortage. The animals would benefit the playing fields because they would crop grass closely and evenly, and their droppings would act as a natural fertilizer.¹ The committee made clear to club members that even in these extraordinary circumstances their courses would not be adversely affected and that the sport and the aesthetic characteristics that defined the course would remain intact.

While it is unclear whether sheep actually grazed in these courses as a result of this proposal, this episode illustrated that golf courses were natural and constructed spaces and were affected by human and non-human factors. The dominant members of golf culture at that time, like those private club members on the wartime committee, used the game to define a particular sporting identity that asserted white, upper-middle class, largely male values and tastes. This culture partly defined the physical appearance of courses. The landscape was central to the sport, and the concerns voiced over sheep potentially destroying that space reflected that fact. In addition, golfers worried about the grazers diminishing the enjoyment of the playing field. The usefulness of sheep as grass mowers and as a source of fertilizer scratched the surface of a complex system of knowledge and technology that developed in order to help green committees and greenkeepers build and maintain courses that emphasized awareness of and engagement

¹ Toronto Golf Club Archives [hereafter TGCA], Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting March 14, 1942.
with local environmental conditions. Evidently there was much more to golf than hitting a ball with a club.

This project explores the history of golf course landscapes between 1873 and 1945. This period marked the time from the game’s organized debut on the North American continent through the end of World War Two, when social and technological changes dramatically altered the game. I argue that golf courses are distinct landscapes, and that their history provides a representative narrative of the relationships between human action and environmental effect but one with unique causes and consequences. I also contend that Canadian golf course landscapes were produced by a tension between the desires of the dominant golf culture to reproduce Scottish and British playing fields with particular aesthetic design principles and the ecological conditions specific to this country and its geographies. Experts, owners, golfers, and workers all struggled with this tension, forging new systems of knowledge, new technologies, and a whole new North American focused golf industry.

I fashioned the term ‘golfscape’ to define the physical appearance and ideological ethos imbued in each course. A golf course was simultaneously a playing field (golf) and an experience or manifestation of nature (scape). Throughout this thesis, I emphasize how, together, human/human and human/non-human interactions defined this landscape’s development in Canada. This project also contributes to broader dialogues on human/environmental interactions within social and environmental histories. The golfscape is not part of the landscape pantheon within environmental history. Scholars have not rigorously studied golf courses, so this dissertation ‘routes the course’ to rectify
this situation. Golfscapes also allow me to give physical environments a dynamic place in Canada’s social history and to involve more human actors in its environmental history.²

Golf is a sport and a marker of Canadian culture. This project connects the game and its playing field to wider social and environmental forces and factors and builds on narratives of the lives of golfers, tournaments, and course openings that occupy other scholars.³ As Alan Metcalfe suggested, “[s]port is not peripheral to society; indeed it is central to life and reflects the dominant social and political concerns … the patterns of behavior, attitudes, and values implicit within sport will be an excellent indication of basic cultural values.”⁴ Golf was structured with specific rules, times for play, and a playing field; it was goal-oriented with particular objectives and discernable winners and losers; it was competitive with rival golfers or lowest scores to defeat; it was ludic because it embodied playful experience and excitement; and it was culturally situated within a value system and power structure found in the wider society.⁵ Its playing field had borders, and certain rules and behaviours were expected within its bounds just as in any other sport. These physical and behavioural limits reinforced social norms and relationships that involved class, gender, and race. Homegrown games (like hockey and lacrosse) and imported ones (like cricket and tennis) defined their place as organized

⁴ Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 13-14.
sports in Canadian society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These sports reflected and constituted certain class-based cultural values and created an arena to foster community, express identities, and interact with social norms. Yet golf was rather distinct among sports. First, its non-combative character suggested refinement; so golf became a way for a like-minded group of affluent Anglo-Canadians, Britons, and Americans to make and maintain a specific lifestyle within and beyond national borders. Sport and leisure activities were essential in this dominant group’s identity creation and solidification, and they fostered a greater understanding of their socio-cultural relevance as explored by other scholars. Second, unlike most other sports, golf required huge areas of land to complete a course; so field location required significant planning and consideration of social and environmental benefits and barriers.

Because golfscapes were manifestations of nature, their history provides a novel site to explain environmental historians’ exploration of human values in relation to the physical environment. Characteristic of work in the field, this dissertation illustrates that physical environments were active participants, as opposed to passive backdrops, in the

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development of courses. The project wishes to avoid the declensionist posture so common when studying human effect on (and at times drastic manipulation of) ecologies. The history of Canadian golfscape illustrates that humans altered environments and environments altered peoples’ activities. In this sense, the history of golfscape was unique but also not unrelated to wider trends in environmental history. The golf course was a place upon which these narratives played out in congruous and incongruous ways.

My project merges, therefore, social and environmental history through several topics that thread their way through my five thematic chapters. Through the golfscape edifice I examine how the very notions of landscape and nature are as much cultural constructions as they are reflections of actual physical environments. Landscapes are human products that have specific meaning in a particular cultural context, “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings … They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces—in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water, and vegetation on the ground.” They exist, as do golfscape, at the confluence of autonomous nature or ‘first nature’—physical environments and ecological systems unaltered or uncontrolled by humans—and constructed or ‘second nature’—those environments influenced by human actions. Landscapes act as markers of human culture, but they also encompass a wide range of

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histories, values and emotions, and behaviours.\textsuperscript{11} Golfscapes do not function in isolation from Canadian or wider North American society; and between 1873 and 1945 the country experienced tremendous changes surrounding the transition from rural to urban life, the reorganization of work and leisure time, the proliferation of industry and technology, and the growth and diversification of Canadian populations.\textsuperscript{12} Like other landscapes examined by environmental histories—farmer’s fields, wilderness parks, gardens, and suburbs—golfscapes were displays of human land use, of social values, of technological change, and of environmental realities. Golfscapes, however, did not easily fit into any one of these well-studied landscape categories. They compiled bits of each but were also a distinct collage of human and natural artists. They were a separate variety and need to be studied.

Nature is a complex term and its relationship to culture (yet another layered concept) is problematic.\textsuperscript{13} In this project, ‘nature’ depicts physical environments sculpted and imbued with particular socio-cultural values. Consequently, ‘nature’ depended on the time and the place, and it could refer to many different physical environments or


different perspectives of the same environment. Western cultures have had their own complex history with the physical world. During the period under examination, nature generally was seen as something distinct from the city life experienced by the growing number of the country’s residents. Nature was a rural or wilderness landscape that provided humanity with the surroundings necessary to cultivate physical and mental health. Canadian golfscapes combined ‘naturalness’ and variety in a way that merged the picturesque, the beautiful, and even the sublime wilderness. These imagined and realized vistas had been associated with the development of national character and nature tourism, so golf courses quickly became part of this vogue. Golf course development did much to reinforce dominant social and cultural classifications and, as such, offers another avenue to explore how specific Anglo-Canadians perceived their changing society, what forms of nature they valued, and what ideas they attempted to integrate at a local level. Locations for courses, furthermore, did not simply mean finding a piece of suitable land. It also meant finding one with the right balance of sport, nature, and accessibility for its imagined clientele.

My project weaves the development of professionalism and expertise into the history of Canadian golfscapes. The growth of professional fields and appeals to scientific specialization were closely linked to several ‘progressive era’ drives to reform, often aiming to make more efficient all aspects of society. Definitions of ‘professional’


15 For a classic text on the role of the wilderness to the North American psyche, see Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967).

and ‘expertise’ gained greater and more complicated socio-cultural meaning into the Progressive Era in the context of the emergence of a new and powerful, professional-managerial class and the desire to organize society in rational and proficient ways. Part of this restructuring revolved around new definitions of knowledge and the creation of modern academic and professional disciplines that included medicine, the natural sciences, and social sciences. People associated expertise in a given field with the ability to speak and act publically, as well as to claim authority on a range of subjects. In golf, architects and agricultural scientists worked to gain expertise and to professionalize during the period in question, and both vocations were intimately tied to golfscape development.

These experts did not exist within a static national framework. Many scholars, both in environmental history and other subfields, recognize the usefulness of transnational and transatlantic frameworks when exploring Canada’s regional histories and the movement of people and ideas. The chapters in this project clearly demonstrate that while national borders mattered at moments, the people who imagined, built and played on courses, as well as the products they used on them, functioned at various levels of geographic and cultural interaction. As we shall see, for example, Canadian designers developed out of centuries of tradition in Britain, re-imagined for the very different physical geographies of the country. Golfers, greenkeepers, and green committees quickly realized that British

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models of construction and maintenance did not suffice in the North American context; local environmental conditions required new methods and prompted the establishment of national Green Sections that worked with the federal departments of agriculture in both countries and were, from the beginning, part of a transnational exchange of information and technologies. Similarly, while Canadians celebrated Stanley Thompson as a home-grown star in golf course architecture, his golf design template actually emanated from internationally-circulated notions of strategic play and beautiful nature. These ideas, in turn, had to be modified on each individual course from Cape Breton to North Vancouver because of the local physiographical features. Landscapes, nature, experts, and internationalism each played a role, along with other forces, in my five thematic chapters.

Chapter two, “Teeing Off: Towards Defining a Golf Culture” explores the construction of cosmopolitan masculinity as the dominant golf culture in Canada. As Gail Bederman states, “[a]t any time in history, many contradictory ideas about manhood are available to explain what men are, how they ought to behave, and what sort of powers and authorities they claim as men;” manhood and masculinity are dynamic processes “through which men claim certain kinds of authority based upon their particular body types.”19 Craig Heron furthers the notion of multiple masculinities when he commented, “masculinity is not a cluster of timeless, universal, testosterone-induced behavioural traits, but a process of social construction in a particular time and place, involving both men and women,” as well as class and race.20 Building from Pierre Bourdieu, I argue that golf’s non-combative spirit, its reliance on mental strategy and composure, and its more gentle, yet invigorating physical character made it representative of a new cosmopolitan

20 Craig Heron, “Masculinities and Public Drinking in Working-Class Hamilton, 1890-1945,” Canadian Historical Review 86 (3) (September 2005), 412-413.
masculinity. The practice of playing golf reflected a person’s “habitus” or lifestyle and the level of economic, social, or cultural capital. The ideal golfer in this period was upper-middle class, white, and male. My use of ‘lifestyle’ throughout this project reflects these complex relationships and structures of behaviour and values. Cosmopolitan masculinity allowed these affluent, white men of Anglo-Scottish heritage to use golf to define an identity so they could maintain social exclusivity at a time of intense change. Like golf itself, this identity was also transnational. It allowed like-minded Canadian and

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22 Together, (habitus)(capital) + field = practice. See, Bourdieu, Distinction, 168-225. For a good discussion of habitus see Suzanne Laberge and Joanne Kay. ““Pierre Bourdieu’s Sociocultural Theory and Sport Practice,”” Theory, Sport & Society, eds Joseph Maguire and Kevin Young, (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd, 2003), 247-251. Bourdieu, Distinction, 226-256; See also Grant Jarvie and Joseph Maguire, Sport and Leisure in Social Thought (New York: Routledge, 1994), 194; Richard Giulianotti, Sport: A Critical Sociology (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 157; Bourdieu, Distinction, 101. In other words, “[a] person’s competency in and mastery of practice within a specific field – or in the overall social space – is dependant on their habitus and possession of capital.” Jarvie and Maguire, 193. Upon this field, certain habituses interact according to varying capital levels to produce certain practices, including taste. Taste in sport involves class specific habituses that carry specific views of the body. Jarvie and Maguire point out that “[t]hough some sports are practiced by all classes, e.g. golf, both the setting and actual practice itself involve different bodily dispositions and different expectations of return on type and volume of cultural, symbolic and economic capital invested,”197. Class and sport therefore have significant influence, especially when connected to wider social trends. Taste acquired through habitus creates and maintains similarities and differences between social groups. It is a classification. The hierarchy created for tastes is not innate but inherently social. Since the habitus is internalized and taste is a part of the habitus, taste becomes ‘common sense.’ Many of these aspects revolve around perceptions of the body. The working class perceives the body instrumentally, favouring sports like boxing that are akin to manual labour. The middle class has general unease with the body and tends toward ‘aristocratic asceticism’ (cycling, mountaineering) or ‘health-oriented hedonism’” (skiing). The privileged class classifies the body as an end-in-itself and favours ‘aesthetic’ and ‘contemplative’ sports like golf. See Jarvie and Maguire, 202 and Giulianotti, 162.
American men to share a lifestyle that went beyond national borders. Cosmopolitan masculinity was not the only gendered identity associated with golf. Other masculinities (the greenkeeper, the professional golfer, and the caddy) and femininity (elite, white women) existed, and this project explores the interaction and performance of these identities on the course.

Chapter three, “A (Fair)Way Through Hazards,” investigates the architectural and design principles that made a golden age golf course simultaneously a strategic playing field and a manifestation of nature. Part of this history involved the emergence of golf architecture as one of the many professional fields to develop during this period. The chapter places the architects in the context of the wider Canadian and American professionalization of landscape architecture whose members worked with similar physical spaces and ideas of nature that influenced golf design.  

These new specialists combined characteristics of the golf playing field and of nature to create the ideal object—a course that was challenging, with variety, and that fit the natural environment. As a playing field, the course featured time-honoured components, such as sand traps that harkened back to the earliest play, but it also incorporated a number of aspects unique to the individual course. The golfscape also required one to engage with different historically situated definitions of nature that held particular value to those promoting the game. Concepts of nature—the beautiful, the picturesque, the sublime—that informed golfscape design also had wider provenance in Western traditions and contemporary projects. When golf architects used terms like naturalness to describe the ideal course in Canada, they tapped into a long and layered dialogue between humans and physical

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environments that favoured certain aesthetic vistas and natural contours. However, environmental diversity, along with the trend towards naturalness and variety, allowed for the ideal golfscape to encompass a wide range of settings in Canada much more diverse than the traditional seaside links environments—though these remained coveted views.

Chapter four, “Playing Through: Golf’s Development Across Canada,” investigates how golfers and clubs literally and figuratively positioned private, public, and resort courses across Canada. I place golf courses within the shifting infrastructures and technologies that accompanied Canadian industrialization and urbanization, which drastically altered Canadian landscapes and, consequently, played a massive role in private, public, and resort course location. These three course types were contingent upon the prospective clientele, the architectural principles of play, the notions of beauty that became synonymous with the golfscape, and the human and non-human geographies of Canada. Each type, however, used golf course characteristics as a playing field and manifestation of nature to endorse and justify their locations. Private clubs had to balance distance from cities and access to them in order to preserve an appropriate course aesthetic and an exclusive atmosphere. Public courses welcomed proximity to urban spaces in order to provide a suitable nature experience within the city, but many municipalities had trouble locating enough land. Resort courses used the shifts in leisure and transportation developments of the new industrial age to promote ‘destination vacations’ that included golf for discerning people and for those who could afford to get away.

Chapter five, “From Rough to Green: Systems of Knowledge and Technology on the Course,” explores how a network of experts, government officials, architects, green committees, and greenkeepers realized that the local environmental conditions found
across the continent differed from those in Britain, so a more regionalized approach to construction and maintenance emerged. This network of information and technology worked across national borders in order to obtain the best golfscape possible. The main players were officials within the Green Sections of the United States Golf Association (USGA) and the Royal Canadian Golf Association (RCGA) as well as those within both countries’ Departments of Agriculture. Turf grass was the lynchpin for these systems, since velvety green grass was essential for the ideal golfscape. Golf grasses were not identical to agricultural systems, but they did share the same ecological bases and shifts in scientific expertise and knowledge. These grasses required several supporting structures that helped with turf production as well as with other course characteristics. They included soil, fertilizer, water, machinery, and pest removal. The multiplication of products also brought forth a new golf industry on the continent that reinforced the need for local products, which allowed clubs to reproduce the ideal strategic and aesthetic qualities of the best courses. Club architects and crews designed and maintained courses across Canada through a combination of the information and technology obtained through ‘official channels’ as well as through their local knowledge and experience in order to devise specialized product combinations for specific environmental conditions.

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Chapter Six, “The (W)Hole in One: Golf in Canada’s National Parks,” examines the role of the Banff Springs Golf Club and Jasper Park Lodge Golf Club in Alberta, the Green Gables Links in Prince Edward Island, and the Highland Links in Cape Breton within the overall park system and within the larger pattern of golf course development in Canada. These courses were constructed landscapes within manufactured landscapes. The national parks of Canada always had a complicated relationship with nature and the people who existed within their boundaries.25 The history of golfscapes within their borders elucidates some of these relationships as well as how the Parks Branch conceived of its role and the environments it managed. Conservation (wise use of resources) and preservation (landscape protection) occupied dual policy directives within the parks.26 The dual mandate for the national park system around use and protection made nature tourism an important part of the park and golfscape narrative.27 As John Sandlos has stated, “Canada’s park system was founded with a particularly strong emphasis on the parks as playgrounds, vacation destinations, and road side attractions that might simultaneously preserve the fading scenic beauty and wildlife populations amid increasingly agricultural and industrial landscapes.”28 Tourism in Canada’s national parks was a governmental and private enterprise with heavy influences from the

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Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR) in their western parks. What tourists had in common was a “tourist gaze” wherein the tourist experience was an amalgam of contingently created images, construed according to specific forms of seeing, and a marker of socio-economic, cultural, and political sensibilities. As Alan MacEachern notes, “[t]he naturalness of the park is itself a product of cultural decisions. People chose this land to be a national park for a variety of aesthetic, economic, and political reasons … We cannot see national parks as natural without understanding that it is our culture that has made them so and declared them so.”

Functioning in a market economy, tourism and its specific experience and set of entailed activities, including golf, became a commodity in a modern market system and sold its image to the financially and culturally designated groups able to participate. The tourist experience and tourist literature became a medium through which the imagined community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian society was reinforced and connected to a wider audience that shared a similar system of meaning.

Building upon this framework, the chapter considers how the influences of golf course construction outside the parks affected what happened inside. I explore the public/private relationships in the parks drawn out by course development, especially between the federal government and the CPR and CNR. I investigate how these courses contributed to and played into the tourism mandate that quickly became a focal point for both the government and private interests within the parks. I then illustrate how the same

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design emphases and networks that influenced golf architecture outside the parks also dominated decisions within the parks. These courses also dealt with the same cultural and environmental forces that shaped golfscapes across the country; their location within national parks reinforced architectural and maintenance policies under private and public control. This perspective offers a new and nuanced theme to Canadian national park development explored, for example, in the work of Alan MacEachern and Claire Campbell’s edited collection on the history of Parks Canada.33

The primary sources used to construct the history of Canadian golfscapes are varied and reflect the human and non-human, the textual and the visual, and the ideological and the material components of this complex narrative. The sources for this project are broad and include golf club minutes, correspondences, and reports; federal government and golf organization papers and annual reports; instruction manuals and textbooks; maps and architectural drawings; newspaper and periodical articles; and photographs and advertisements. These sources reveal much about the history of golfscape development both in what they consciously depict and by what they consciously or unconsciously omit. As always, thought has been given to the authors’ positions in society and the possible motives for their opinions and actions. The project approached visual sources with awareness of their highly constructed and suggestive essence and what the meanings imbued in these images communicated about a specific time and a specific place. The golf course examples used here were chosen for two reasons. One, these club or course records, fortunately, still exist in the form of private papers, government documents and/or in public archives. Two, and more importantly, they provide cases across the

country and, consequently, from different environments that again offer insight into
golfscape trends and the diverse responses to course needs across the country.

These sources and the stories they tell elucidate another example of how human
imagination and action constructed a landscape that reflected temporally and
geographically situated ideas about the world people lived in. They also illustrate,
however, how non-human factors played a role in shaping the physical and ideological
boundaries of life in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada. The history of
golfsapes is a narrative of sport, of social structures, of cultural values, of technology,
and of environmental change. This was a landscape that existed at the confluence of
nature and culture, of the urban and the rural, of various identities, and of knowledge and
technology. The record of Canadian golf courses was (and is) a unique tale of a
distinctive landscape as well as a microcosm of human and non-human forces that affect
other histories within this country.
Chapter Two:
“Teeing Off: Cosmopolitan Masculinity and Defining a Canadian Golf Culture”

Introduction

When it appeared in Canada in the late nineteenth century, the golf course was at once a socio-cultural and a physical space; a manufactured landscape where players acted out broad cultural values, behaviours, and relationships. This chapter argues that cosmopolitan masculinity defined and dominated Canadian golf culture between 1873 and 1945. Upper-middle class men introduced golf to Canada and adapted British golfing methods across the continent. These men cultivated a particular identity to secure their place within society during a period of interwoven changes associated with industrialization and urbanization, alterations to work patterns, a growing middle class, massive immigration, improvements in transportation and communication, shifts in perceptions of leisure and sport, and transformations to constructions of gender. This cosmopolitan masculinity was not unanimously performed, but it was sufficiently consistent and shared by enough men who golfed that it became a purposeful way to reinforce a particular lifestyle. The importance placed upon taste, the unique combination of physical form and mental acuity, as well as a complex relationship with

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nature, perpetuated the ideal of a refined yet commanding figure. It also, therefore, informed the development of contingent feminine and masculine golfing identities.

This chapter explores cosmopolitan masculinity’s connections to an Anglo-American cosmopolitanism, specific definitions of taste, and certain relationships with nature, as well as its existence in conjunction with these other gendered golfing identities. The uniqueness of this identity lay in its specific use within the realm of sport in one’s social life. In *Consumers’ Imperium*, Kristin L. Hoganson made clear that a cosmopolitan ethos was “a geographically expansive outlook that demonstrated a familiarity with a wider world;” it was not egalitarian, for it was bound to “particular racial, class, and national identities” and it was gendered. Cosmopolitan masculinity drew heavily from British and American imperial contexts. It was distinct but not entirely separate from other white, imperial masculine identities found in Canada. The emphasis on these two socio-spatial realms reflected golf’s close link to its Scottish and English roots and that most of those playing golf around the world were part of this Anglo-American sphere of influence. The identity, however, was influenced by particular socio-cultural realities in Canada and the United States, especially surrounding golf. The image of the English gentleman retained great value, for it embodied relatable and meaningful qualities of taste and class among those golfing in Canada. These qualities were also meaningful to players in the United States, where mass advertisements of cosmopolitan masculinity were more visible. The national difference in mass advertising perhaps reflected Canada’s continued political and cultural connections to the British Commonwealth. Canadian golfers, however, read American magazines and participated in an identity

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5 This cosmopolitan masculine golfing identity might also be useful in an exploration of white, male identities in South Africa, India, Australia, and New Zealand.
beyond those associated with formal British connections. In both countries the masculine
golf identity allowed these men to reinforce their own status and organize a segment of
social life to their liking that used national and imperial representations in its
composition.

Class-defined taste, representations of physical and mental fitness, and a specific
contemplative yet commanding relationship with nature were factors in the definition of
this identity. Examples from both Canada and the United States illustrate the
cosmopolitanism and transferability of this identity beyond national borders as well as
moments when national differences mattered. Other golfing identities co-existed with
cosmopolitan masculinity. These were an elite, white femininity, as well as multiple
masculine identities that included the greenkeeper, the professional golfer, and the caddy.
Issues of class, employment, behaviour, and race influenced these identities in relation to
the dominant cosmopolitan masculinity. Together they interacted with each other and the
physical landscape and crafted a particular sport culture. Pierre Bourdieu’s theories on
distinction are useful when exploring the composition of taste and lifestyle. A particular
sport lifestyle, according to Bourdieu, became visible and was based upon a collection of
behaviours, tastes, and norms (habitus) acquired through a combination of social,
political, and economic capital(s) wherein capital referred to various levels and types of
power held within society.6 They reflected the lifestyle embodied in this masculine ideal
and included the interwoven areas of taste, physical and mental condition, as well as

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6 For more information see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of
discussion of habitus see Suzanne Laberge and Joanne Kay, “Pierre Bourdieu’s Sociocultural Theory and
Sport Practice.” In *Theory, Sport & Society* eds., Joseph Maguire and Kevin Young (Oxford: Elsevier
Science Ltd, 2003): 239-266. For more on Bourdieu’s associations between sport and bodily dispositions
see *Distinction*, 107, 226-256 and Grant Jarvie and Joseph Maguire, *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought*
one’s relationship to nature. Together they created a knowledgeable man with luxurious, international tastes who was physically fit and mentally sharp and could both command nature and appreciate its beauty.

Setting the Course for Cosmopolitan Masculinity

The cosmopolitan masculinity that shaped Canadian golf culture acquired elements from the sport’s long history in Britain. The true origins of golf are lost in time but what we recognize as the modern game entered the written records of Scotland in 1457. The country became the home of the game and the birthplace of the modern cultural and environmental notions of what constitutes a golfscape in terms of culture and nature. Though anyone could have theoretically played the game, it quickly attained a regal stature. The royal courts of England experienced golf by the seventeenth century. By 1890 the ‘Royal and Ancient’ club at St. Andrews, Scotland, established the Rules of Golf Committee to address fears that increased popularity in the game might dilute the game’s purity and, consequently, that there was a need for standardization inside and outside Scotland.

Many of the game’s cultural attributes—later to be brought over to Canada—solidified on the playing fields of England and Scotland starting in the mid-nineteenth century.

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7 Several countries boast ownership of ball and stick games that pre-dated the modern game of golf. For more information on early golf since 1457 see Geoffrey Cousins, *Golf in Britain: A Social History from the Beginning to the Present Day* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

8 The links upon which the Royal and Ancient played had been used for golf as early as, 1552. Cousins, *Golf in Britain*, 4-5 and John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Class, 1870-1914* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1993), 139. In 1608, James I of England played the game at Blackheath, outside London. Sporadic court play continued until, 1787, when the Royal Blackheath Golf Club formed. Elsewhere, the earliest course outside the United Kingdom is the Royal Calcutta Golf Club, founded in 1829, by members of the British military and colonial administrators stationed in the region. Pau, France, in 1856, established the first golf club outside the British influence. The first book dedicated solely to golf appeared in 1743. By 1793, the dedication in the book’s third edition was to “all the lovers of golf in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.” Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada* (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1982), 41.
century. At this time golf’s popularity swelled in Britain. Affluent players organized many clubs that involved class and gender exclusion. Private settings for post-game social activities emerged within affluent circles, and these golfers introduced golfing uniforms (including red coats) that created visible marks of distinction as to who was included and who was excluded in social circles on and off the course. The number of women on the course increased throughout this period, but they endured separate memberships and restricted or limited access to clubhouses and to the courses. Women also often played on separate courses or ones with shorter hole lengths. The greenkeeper, the golf professional, and the caddy were key players in the developing Canadian golf culture, and their labour positions became standardized in Britain during this time. Their identities were tied up in their employment. A greenkeeper managed and maintained the course using his expertise in terms of the course’s game and aesthetic characteristics. The professional gave lessons, repaired clubs, and oversaw caddies, but he might also be a professional sportsman whose celebrity grew in the early twentieth century with successful participation in the mounting number of professional tournaments held nationally and internationally. The caddy was usually a working class boy or an adult male who carried the player’s clubs and found an individual’s ball if it strayed from

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9 For instance, it was only recently, in September of 2014 that the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, Scotland allowed female members.


11 Peter Davies, The Historical Dictionary of Golfing Terms: From 1500 to the Present (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 2005), 80.

the course.\textsuperscript{13} Importantly, all these jobs and associated functions became part of the golf culture that developed in Canada. The social relationships bound to the course and the rules of play travelled with the game as British men arrived on Canada’s shores in the late nineteenth century.

Canadian golf culture emerged during the late nineteenth century and was affected by a wider restructuring of life and leisure. By this time, industrial capitalism caused changes to urban life, transportation and communication systems, and social structures so that some had increased leisure time and supported an environment for organized sports.\textsuperscript{14} In Canada the British influence was central to the growing interest in sport organization. As Bruce Kidd noted, while “Canadians of every region and background engaged in these practices [sports], it was a very narrow group—urban, middle-class males of British background—that succeeded in controlling the emergence of what became Canadian sports, steering adaptation of British sports to Canada and turning their favourite games into sports everyone played.”\textsuperscript{15} These Anglo-Canadians reproduced the frameworks of the British sports they played and spearheaded the development of organized sport clubs in Canada. These sport clubs and sporting facilities “allowed members of the elite who moved across the country to gain immediate access to the highest level of social activity.”\textsuperscript{16} Golf was no exception. The sense of community on the golf course that developed in Canada reflected the participants’ similar possession of

\textsuperscript{13} See Wray Vamplew, “Child Work or Child Labour? The Caddie Question in Edwardian Golf.”
social capital and a togetherness that fostered a homogeneous group identity and reinforced relationships and business networks. Playing certain sports helped wealthy, respectable, Anglo-Canadian men “satisfy the nostalgic longings of strangers in a foreign land” and assert a new affluent, urban Anglo-Canadian class.

Golf’s origins in North America remain inexact, but the sport did expand across Canada following a similar trajectory to other sports. Many of Canada’s first organized sport clubs and associations started in Montréal, one of the country’s oldest cities. It had a well-established and strong economic, cultural, and commercial reputation, and its location on the St. Lawrence River made Montréal an important nexus of development and the centre of sport in Canada in the late nineteenth century. Curling, snowshoeing, ice-skating, lacrosse, and Olympic sports were among the physical activities practiced in Montréal. These pursuits spread to other areas of the country with people of similar demographic backgrounds and interests. The men who established golf across the country drew from a homogeneous pool of white, upper-middle class urbanites with strong connections to Britain.

Before organized golf emerged in 1873, golf sightings occurred sporadically. Stories circulated about Scotsmen in the Hudson’s Bay Company and Northwest

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17 In his article, Wray Vamplew employs both Putnam’s theory of bonding social capital and Bourdieu’s thoughts on golf as an indicator of modern social capital in his analysis of golf club development and meaning in Britain before 1914. “Sharing Space: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Accommodation at the British Golf Club before 1914,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34 (3) (August 2010): 359-375.
18 Redmond, *The Sporting Scots*, 93. Some of these Scottish bankers involved in golf’s establishment include the Cassel brothers in Toronto, James Stevenson in Québec, and James Forgan in Halifax; Barclay, 42-51. Also see, Jean Barman, “Ethnicity in the Pursuit of Status: British Middle and Upper-Class Emigration to British Columbia in the Late Nineteenth century and Early Twentieth Century,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18 (1), (January 1986), 32-52.
Company hitting a ball or two while on their travels through the wilds of Rupert’s Land. Some authors suggest that Scotsmen played golf during the American Revolution, and they also set up golf clubs in late eighteenth century South Carolina, Georgia, and New York by 1829. Another tale from Québec City in 1854 told of the young Scottish sailor William Dolman, who practiced golf on the Plains of Abraham as his British ship was resupplied. Perhaps the earliest record of semi-organized golf play in British North America came from an announcement in the *Montréal Herald* in 1826 that encouraged Scotsmen to play golf at Priests’ Field.22

Organized golf began on the outskirts of Canada’s metropoles in Québec and then in Ontario before the sport moved across the country near the end of the nineteenth century. In 1873 the first organized course in Canada and all of North America was the private Royal Montréal Golf Club. The club was on Fletcher’s Field which was parkland operated by the city of Montréal, east of Mount Royal.23 The following year, the Royal Québec Golf Club opened in Québec City.24 In regions like the Eastern Townships, golf appeared before the turn of the twentieth century as it did along the St. Lawrence River.25 In all these regions Anglophones outnumbered Francophone players. According to Donald Guay, the Francophones involved were “une infime minorité faisant partie de la haute bourgeoisie canadienne-française qui entretient des relations avec Anglophones,

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22 Barclay, *Golf in Canada*, 8,10.
23 Queen Victoria granted the royal prefix in 1884.
24 The course was part of Cove’s Field, which was a piece of the Plains of Abraham, originally owned by the Ursuline nuns and rented to the British military. After the military left in 1871, the Canadian government, who now owned the land, decided to use the space for non-military activities, including golf. J. Michel Doyon, *The Royal Québec Golf Club* (Québec: Royal Québec Golf Club, 2005).
25 For instance, the Lennoxville Golf Club began in 1896 and the nearby Sherbrooke golf course organized in 1897. Other early locations for golf in the Townships included The Hermitage Golf Club in Magog in 1912 and the Knowlton Golf Club in 1920. There were stories of golf played at Murray Bay and Île d’Orléans before the turn of the twentieth century. See, Barclay, *Golf in Canada*, 64-65.
notamment les Écossais de Montréal et de Québec.”

Also, as the years passed a growing number of Francophones who worked as caddies became professionals and full members. In Ontario, courses sprang up in urban centres. The Toronto Golf Club (TGC) founded in 1876 was the province’s first. It was located beyond the eastern limits of the city of Toronto. In 1899 Toronto became the first North American city to have two golf courses when the Rosedale Golf Club opened. Other early golf courses in Ontario included Niagara-on-the-Lake (1881), Brantford (1881), Kingston (1886), Ottawa (1891), and Hamilton (1894).

By the 1890s golf was played in several burgeoning urban centres across the continent. In Canadian cities, generally, golf developed on the outskirts of urban areas with a strong Anglo-Canadian presence and increased leisure time among the elite and growing professional, managerial classes. Some courses, like St. Andrews “By the Sea” in New Brunswick (1895), developed as an early tourist attraction. Others, like the Oak Bay Links in Victoria, British Columbia (1893), had a unique seasonal schedule (October 26).

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28 Barclay, 599.

to May) due to the climate and the continued use of the land as a pasture.\textsuperscript{30} In Manitoba the warden of the Stony Mountain Penitentiary established nine holes near the prison about twelve miles outside of Winnipeg in 1889. In 1892 a small group of Scotsmen residing in the vicinity of Virden established the Wellview Golf Club. Two years later the Winnipeg Golf Club formed. Golf arrived in Regina in 1896 on land owned by the Canada North-West Company, north of Wascana Creek and expanded to a full nine-hole course by 1899. The game reached what would become Alberta in 1896 where it was played at Fort MacLeod as the result of the efforts of the North West Mounted Police and Dr. Charles Haultain (whose brother was a member of the Toronto Golf Club). Golf emerged in Edmonton in 1896 where the first course consisted of five holes and used a Hudson’s Bay Company property as a clubhouse. In 1897 Calgarians played their first game of golf. British Columbia had courses on both Vancouver Island and the mainland prior to the twentieth century. On the Island, people played in Victoria’s Beacon Hill Park most likely by 1889. On the mainland of British Columbia, the earliest games were at Vancouver’s Jericho Beach in November 1892. The B.C. Golf Club or Vancouver Golf Club had admitted its first 150 members by early December of 1910. North of Kamloops a 16 hole course was in Prince George, and, in the interior of the province, the game spread to the small community of Hedley by 1909.\textsuperscript{31}

An Anglo-urban upper-middle class who embodied cosmopolitan masculinity was alive and well in the Maritimes, too. Despite the large Scottish population in Nova Scotia, organized golf did not emerge in full force until the 1890s. Suggested reasons for

the possible delay included peripheral economic development and business bankruptcy; out-migration and population decline; little sporting interaction between the Maritimes and western provinces of Canada until the twentieth century; and golf “simply had not captured the public interest of people in the province and was unable to compete with the popular summer sports of cricket, cycling, baseball, quoits and rugby.”32 In 1896 the Halifax Golf Club (Ashburn) formed. In Sydney’s Victoria Park, play occurred in 1895, and the Lingan Golf Club was established in 1903. In St. John, New Brunswick a course was laid out in 1896, a mile from the city because of land scarcity in the immediate vicinity. The Fredericton Golf Course was built in 1897 on land formally used as a racetrack and land that had once been considered for railway development. In 1903 a group in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island organized a few rounds of play that eventually evolved into the Charlottetown Golf Club, which remained the only golf club on the island until the mid-1920s. The Bally Haly Golf Club of St. John’s was Newfoundland and Labrador’s first course when it opened in 1902.33 Despite the presence of golf across Canada’s wide geographical expanse, the golfing community itself remained relatively small yet interconnected.

Golf and the cosmopolitan masculinity it embodied reinforced connections between Canadians and Americans. Golf was founded in Canada a decade before the United States because of the close demographic and socio-political connections between Britain and the Dominion. American country clubs existed as retreats for similarly minded members of the upper class before the golfing era. But by the 1890s, golf had gained a foothold at country clubs and at other locations in the United States. In 1888 Scotsmen and Anglo-Americans known as the Apple Tree Gang organized the St.

32 Michael James Hudson, 21.
33 In 1947, the Yellowknife Golf Club formed.
Andrews Golf Club of Yonkers, New York.\textsuperscript{34} In 1891 Shinnicock Hills Golf Club formed in Long Island, New York. Other early golf clubs included the Chicago Golf Club, Illinois (1893), the Newport Country Club, Rhode Island (1893), and The Country Club of Brookline, Massachusetts (1893). In 1897 the first public course in the United States opened in Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx, New York. The game reached the American west coast in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{35} Early interclub matches occurred along the border regions of the two countries. The formalization of modern sport cultures and venues in North America and the long established history of British golf shaped the conditions for cosmopolitan masculinity as a particular sport identity.

\textit{Cosmopolitan Masculinity and Taste}

Golf reflected and nurtured cosmopolitan masculinity. Club membership, long-distance travel to far-off resort golf courses, and golf fashion were class-defined tastes that narrowed inclusion in this masculine golfing identity in both Canada and the United States that required the cultural and financial capital reserved for the upper-middle classes who had the time, money, and behavioural values to play the game.\textsuperscript{36} The high cost of a private golf club membership and the process of membership acquisition defined the boundaries of cosmopolitan masculinity. Annual fees, green fees, cost of equipment, and free time reduced the number of people who could afford to play. Membership

\textsuperscript{34} Other courses also claim the privilege of being the first golf club in the United States. In 1882, a group of English and Scottish immigrants possibly played golf in Oakhurst, West Virginia. In 1886, Scotsmen laid out a rudimentary course in Dorset, Vermont. In 1887, the Foxbury Golf Club, formed in Pennsylvania, and is the longest running club not to relocate in North America. See Richard J. Moss, \textit{The Kingdom of Golf in America}, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 1-19 and 34-45


\textsuperscript{36} For discussions on taste as a marker of class, gender, and racialized behaviour see Jarrett Rudy, \textit{The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity} (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).
structure was an unspoken exclusionary method. A resident or non-resident applicant had to be nominated by a club member and then elected by the members and executive board. This system preserved a specific upper-middle class-based clientele and rejected other social and racial groups within the private golf world.

Cosmopolitan masculinity incorporated golfing at resorts. Beginning in the 1910s, a growing number of transportation and hotel businesses viewed the tourist potential of adding a golf course to their resort amenities in order to create an exclusive and meaningful experience. The case of the CPR provides the clearest example of the fairly rapid use of golf as a tourist resource across Canada. In 1905 resort golf began at the CPR’s St. Andrew’s “By the Sea.” By 1917 an article in Canadian Golfer magazine commented that “the C.P.R. is always progressive and recognizes the fact that now-a-days the high class tourist trade demands its game of golf […]”\(^\text{37}\) By 1931 golf’s popularity was so widespread that CPR officials wrote that golf “[…] constitutes a very real phase of the activities of those who serve the public … From coast to coast, excellent courses are available and where the company does not operate its own links, playing privileges at first-class clubs are granted.”\(^\text{38}\) These courses were not meant for everyone. The emphasis on ‘first-class’ clubs denoted a social stratification in the quality of individual golf courses across the country. Such phrasing also alluded to the need by those reading the promotional material to possess the specific cultural knowledge to appreciate the meaning of ‘first-class’ golf. Furthermore, the cosmopolitan masculine identity required an understanding of contemporary golf course architectural principles of

\(^{37}\) “Golf in Canada: the C.P.R. Issues Interesting Booklet in Connection with the Royal and Ancient,” Canadian Golfer Vol 3, no. 4 (September 1917), 274.

\(^{38}\) CPR Archives [hereafter CPRA]. “Golf is Golf from Coast to Coast.” Bulletin 271 (August 1931), 15. The CPR Archives have closed since I collected this data. The references for these archives reflect their notation at the time they were collected.
strategic play and aesthetic beauty that circulated within transatlantic and transnational frameworks. These will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

The exclusiveness of the resort golf club went beyond national borders and provides a key example of the cosmopolitanism of this identity. Canadian and American resort clubs advertised their courses to a transnational audience. Canadian golf courses like St. Andrew’s “By the Sea” and the Banff Springs Golf Course in Alberta enticed American tourists north across the border during the summer months. Both courses were heavily advertised in *American Golfer* magazine. In an ad for the Hotel Algonquin in St. Andrew’s “By the Sea,” New Brunswick, the visual imagery of gentlemen and ladies relaxing or ballroom dancing, coupled with written testimony to the many hotel amenities that included “chic governesses” to watch children; horseback riding, tennis, yachting and golf; casino and orchestra dances, along with the associated escape from the “madden crowds” invoked a lifestyle that was relatable, sought after, and affordable to the reader. Similar advertisements for St. Andrews’s “By the Sea” also frequented Canadian golf magazines and newspapers.

Many American clubs, on the other hand, advertised their courses in Canadian magazines and popular publications to lure Canadians to these resort “lifestyle enclaves” during the winter months. Golf featured prominently in an advertisement for Pinehurst, North Carolina, in the January 1916 edition of *Canadian Golfer* (figure 1). The ad depicted a group of men playing golf in the presence of white and black caddies with the great resort hotel in the distant background and listed various tourist attractions, including

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tennis, a livery, motoring, trap shooting, and “3 eighteen-hole courses and a new nine-
hole course [on which] [t]he fairways received special attention this year.”

Figure 1. Advertisement, Canadian Golfer Vol. 1, No. 9, January 1916, 513.
Courtesy of Canadian Golf Hall of Fame and Museum

Canadian companies also capitalized on the vogue and luxury associated with travelling south to winter resorts. In 1924 an ad by the CNR commented how “[t]he alluring resorts of the West and South tempt and invite you to continue Summer’s popular pastimes under warm sunny skies … to the Continent’s finest Winter resorts […].” The list of CNR destinations where one might partake in upper-middle class sports like golf, tennis, polo, riding, and fishing included “BC, California, Florida, Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, Texas and Carolinas, cruising through sunlit seas to [the] West Indies, Bermuda, Cuba, South America, the Med, and Around the World […].” Golf and a cosmopolitan masculine identity were part of a transnational resort experience attracting a specific group of men to participate in a tourist lifestyle.

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41 “Pinehurst, North Carolina” Canadian Golfer Vol. 1, no. 9 (January 1916), 513.
42 Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no 7 (November 1924), 393.
Golf fashion was another manifestation of the taste-based exclusivity of the cosmopolitan masculine lifestyle. During an age of mounting mass consumerism, advertising packaged values and lifestyles as a commodity. Clothing and the advertisements in which they were marketed carried specific socio-economic and cultural meaning.\(^{43}\) The cost of the many advertised golf fashions vividly asserted cosmopolitan masculinity’s upper-middle class clientele. In the United States, for example, the average wholesale male dress shoe cost $3.23 in 1925. Golf shoes marketed in the *New York Times* could cost $10 or $14, and a Nettleson Golf Shoe advertised in *American Golfer* cost $14.00.\(^{44}\) Many working class weekly salaries were less than the price of a $50 suit.\(^{45}\) *American Golfer* advertised imported knickers at a cost of $14.50, while the *New York Times* advertised golf knickers at a cost between $12.50 and $15.\(^{46}\) Such expensive and precise items reinforced a social stratification embedded in the structure of cosmopolitan masculinity.

Male golfing sartorial trends also emphasized English and Scottish fashions. The inclusion of ‘foreign’ dress styles and products within golf fashion did not imply a lack of culture or fashion sense within Canada but spoke to a specific power to incorporate these elements and to retain their traditional associations, all the while transforming them into a new demarcation of success in modern life. One ad in *Canadian Golfer* for the “Famous


‘St. Andrews’ Golf Coat,” for instance, suggested that “[s]martness, serviceability, and durability are combined in this garment. It is ideal for golf and for every form of exercise … It has the enthusiastic commendation of golfers, bowlers, trap and game shooters, anglers.” Not only was the imported quality of the coat explained, but the ad also alluded to other sports often associated with the upper classes. In another ad the Canadian representatives of English firm Stanley & Bosworth promoted “Distinctive Golf and Sport Clothes” and featured “the new soft wool Shetlands and sporting tweeds direct from Scotland” that could be “tailored to your measure in the approved English fashion.” In these ads British golf attire connected Canadian participants to the long and privileged history of the game that held a certain cultural cachet and a specific style sensibility.

These fashion trends pervaded American golf ads. The emphasis on imported styles in American advertisements overtook those in Canadian marketing. The United States’ independence from the British Empire/Commonwealth allowed upper-middle class Americans to re-appropriate that style sensibility with greater flexibility into a more distinctly American flavour. Here, I build from Kristin Hoganson’s discussion of how upper-middle class American women employed connections to European aristocratic fashion to carve out a distinct social status within the United States. Similarly, the specific masculinity invested in golf fashion embraced an element of constructed idealized ‘foreignness’ during a time of massive social change to help establish an American upper-middle class male identity. In *American Golfer* magazine, for example, advertisements for imported golf hose stated how “Glengair’s hose will be worn by men

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who appreciate value and propriety in sports apparel,” and how the hose “caters to those [men] desiring goods of pre-eminent style and quality.” The photographs of the British St. Andrew’s and Turnberry Golf Clubs at the bottom of the advertisements fortified the ‘royal and ancient’ nature of the game and implicitly connected the golfers who wore that specific hose to that long, respected tradition. Britishness, tradition, and American respectability converged. Two advertisements for Joseph May & Sons English four-piece suits, explicitly stated that “the correct English styles in men’s clothing are well suited to the needs of the well-dressed American.” The link was made between English style and appropriate American fashion.

In all these examples, golf fashion could not be abstracted from the bodies for which they were made.

Cosmopolitan Masculinity in Body and Mind

Inherent in a cosmopolitan masculinity was the embodiment of idealized representations of the male body. This ideal included the physical and mental skills necessary to play the game. In the early twentieth century, industrialization, urbanization, massive immigration, and social reorganization all affected the perceptions and definitions of white (and non-white) masculinities in North America. Various white masculinities fused class, work, and cultural values with physical appearance and bodily actions. Some of the circulated standards included the muscular Christian athletic, moral, and respectable man, alongside the Progressive Era imagery of manly hard work,

51 American Golfer, Vol 28, no. 9 (May 16), 1925, 32.
52 American Golfer, Vol 28, no. 15 (July 25), 1925, 22. Returning to the ads for “up to the minute” golf fashion, ‘foreignness’ is invoked: the suits and knickers are patterned after Irish and Scottish tweeds, the turtlenecks are “Fair Isle” patterned and the Prince of Wales, himself, favoured the cane from Cruger’s. Finally, an advertisement for Browning King & Company summoned images of upper-class Englishmen strolling by St. James Palace and along Rotten Row to make their St James overcoat a desirable purchase. American Golfer, Vol 28, no. 15 (July 25), 1925, 22
morality, strenuous physical activity and self-confidence that was especially linked to the
new corporate or executive businessman. The hierarchy created for sport in relation to
physical form was not innate but inherently social. Choice in sport participation and its
associated bodily disposition became a matter of taste and a signifier of class and lifestyle
(habitus). Certain sports paralleled a hierarchy of class taste and social position. Middle
class unease about the body encouraged them toward “aristocratic asceticism,” with
cycling or mountaineering or toward “health-oriented hedonism” with skiing. Upper
class views of the body as a healthy end-in-itself reflected their lifestyle tastes for
contemplative leisure activities and less combative sports, like polo.

The upper-middle class male golfers who adhered to cosmopolitan masculinity
neither saw their bodies as overly muscular nor as effeminate and lacking vitality. Their
masculine golf identity fit somewhere in-between as a consequence of the game’s status
as a non-combative sport but still one that embodied physical ability and mental acuity.
The male images depicted in golf advertisements were of young, white men, with square
jaws and slim physiques. They were not overly muscular but healthy, dressed in sporting
attire that combined upper and middle class physicality. The outdoor sporting lifestyle of
skiing, tennis, polo, yachting, and skating, that often accompanied discussions of golf not
only confirmed a healthy body but also reinforced upper-middle class tastes for

53 During this period, there were multiple and transforming embodiments of physical
masculinities, which related to class and racial identities. See, for instance, Steven A. Riess, *Sport in
Public Importance of Men and the Importance of Public Men: Sport and Masculinities in Nineteenth
Century Canada” in *Sport and Gender in Canada* 2nd ed., Kevin Young and Philip White (Toronto: OUP,
2007), 75-92; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the
United States, 1880s-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in

54 See Grant Jarvie and Joseph Maguire, *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought* (New York:
2005), 162. For more information see, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of
Taste*. Trans Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984) and “Sport and Social
Class” *Social Science Information* 17 (6) (1978), 819-840.
contemplative and non-combative sport and a specific idealized masculinity. These images were not dissimilar to Leyendecker’s Arrow Collar Man who embodied not only a new corporate masculinity that maintained elements of the refined gentleman but also incorporated newer sculpted physicality and behaviour.\textsuperscript{55}

Golf was also a mental test. Behaviour, skill, and mastery of the game and of one’s emotions were key to performing cosmopolitan masculinity. Golf architects designed courses to appeal to the skill level of different players, but an individual golfer set himself apart by the way he met the challenges of the course and made choices about how he would play his ball in order to make the best shot. Scottish golf architect, Donald Ross, suggested that the best golf course was “[a] mental test and an eye test … The hazards and bunkers are placed so as to force a man to use judgment and to exercise mental control in making the correct shot.”\textsuperscript{56} Bad shots, hazards, and fluke accidents challenged a golfer’s countenance. In addition to strategizing one’s plays on the course, a golfer’s conduct was of the utmost importance. A superior player remained placid and calm. He refrained from breaking clubs or harping on about poor shots. Any kind of unsavoury behaviour spoiled play and made one’s opponent think you were a nuisance. A bad temper was deplorable and a mark of underdeveloped social etiquette.\textsuperscript{57} Behaviour signaled inclusion in or exclusion from an elite circle.

The rules of golf were part of codifying the class-based mind/body relationship. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, influential golfers from across the North American continent felt the necessity for a more formalized golf system to reinforce these


rules. This drive led to the creation of the Royal Canadian Golf Association (RCGA). In 1895 under the leadership of Alex Simpson, the secretary of the Royal Ottawa Golf Club, ten clubs formed the RCGA. The RCGA’s mandate included promoting interest in the game, protecting the rights of the association’s members, establishing and enforcing uniformity in rules for the game, setting up a court of reference, creating a uniform system of handicapping, and deciding which golf courses to host the Amateur and Open Championships. This organizational structure maintained international ties that linked to golf associations in both Britain and the United States. Between 1894 and 1895 golf clubs in the United States decided that a national organization would help coordinate golf tournaments across the country. The rules were not exactly the same as the Royal and Ancient in Scotland, nor those of the RCGA. The organization adopted the name American Golf Association. Debate over the meaning of ‘American,’ however, prompted a name change to the United States Golf Association in March of 1895. Canadian and American golf associations, from the beginning, shared similar impetuses and relationships. Other golf associations reflected pre-existing regionalisms and transnational connections within the country, including the Pacific Northwest Golf Association (1899) and the Western Canadian Golf Association (1923). Provincial golf associations formed and helped solidify golfing communities in yet another socio-spatial context.

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58 The ten clubs were: the Royal and Royal Québec, in Québec; the Royal Ottawa, the Kingston GC, the Toronto GC, the Rosedale GC, the Hamilton GC, and the London GC, in Ontario; the Winnipeg GC, in Manitoba; and the Victoria GC, in British Columbia. In 1896, the British Crown bestowed the prefix “Royal” to the association. The RCGA became Golf Canada in 2010. I use the RCGA terminology because it was the title of the association during the period of time under exploration.

59 Barclay, 100. Though there was tangential association with golf courses across Canada, including the Winnipeg Golf Club and the Victoria Golf Club, the RCGA had to vie for memberships with other organizations including those set up provincially and regionally.

60 See Barclay, Golf in Canada, 96.
Evolving human relationships, socio-cultural values, and social structures deeply influenced the boundaries of cosmopolitan masculinity.

Amateurism further delineated suitable male golfing behaviour. Amateurism and sportsmanship invoked in many golfers notions of gentlemanly behaviour and refinement. Amateurs played the game for its innate qualities and not as a source of money. Their matches and tournaments pervaded early Canadian and American golf culture and exposed regional, economic, and social relationships that existed among the country’s golfers and between participants in Canada and those in the United States. Interprovincial tournaments between Québec and Ontario began in the early 1880s. By the 1890s national and international tournaments emerged. In 1895 the first international interclub match in North America occurred between the Victoria Golf Club and the Tacoma Golf Club in Washington State. International play also started among clubs in the Niagara region. The Canadian Amateur Championship, the earliest national championship, originated in 1895 at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club. The Ladies Championship started soon after in 1901. In order to participate in the Canadian Amateur Championship one had to be a member of a golf club that was part of the RCGA. The championships, thereafter, were held mostly in central Canada. Helping to popularize the championships were individual golfers like, George S. Lyons, of the Rosedale and then Lambton Golf Club in Ontario. Lyon won eight amateur championships while also winning gold for Canada at the 1904 St. Louis Olympics. Momentum to play in the

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61 Provincial golf associations in Canada emerged from the late nineteenth century onward: the British Columbia Golf Association (1893), the Alberta Golf Association (1908), the Saskatchewan Golf Association (1913), the Manitoba Golf Association (1915), the Ontario Golf Association (1923), Golf Québec (1920), the New Brunswick Golf Association (1934), the Nova Scotia Golf Association (1927), the Prince Edward Island Golf Association (1971), and the Newfoundland Golf Association (1964), which changed to the Newfoundland and Labrador Golf Association in 1985. The Maritime Golf Association that comprised Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island founded in 1909.

Amateur tournament increased and by World War One there were between 34 and 65 players participating annually. The RCGA discontinued the championship during the war but reinstated it in peacetime. Equally important to definitions of this masculine identity were human relationships with the non-human world.

Cosmopolitan Masculinity and Nature

The definition of cosmopolitan masculinity included specific human perceptions of and interactions with nature. The golf course provided a place where ‘man’ could pit his skills against nature. One’s opponent was often the course itself. Playing a good round was likened to conquering nature, akin to other tropes of taming or retaining dominance over land.63 English golf architect Alister Mackenzie believed that “the average club member … is a keen sportsman who looks upon golf in the ‘spirit of adventure.’” Based on his perceptions of camouflage use during the Boer War in South Africa, he believed designers crafted a course that created “interesting strategic problems” for the golfer. As such, the playing field became a type of battleground allowing the player to exercise his mental and physical skills that reinforced a sense of power or mastery over nature as well as against other men who contended on the same course.64 The cosmopolitan male golfer commanded nature.

While the cosmopolitan male golfer sought to command nature, he could also contemplate nature and understand the value of certain natural scenes to his personal health and the health of wider society. The golfscape allowed the player to experience

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culturally relevant (and class-defined) beautiful environments that included aesthetically loaded picturesque and wilderness scenes. Golf architects during this time emphasized the need for courses to look natural and beautiful so as to cultivate reflection and exhilaration in the golfer. As Alister MacKenzie wrote, “I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that beauty means a great deal on a golf course; even the man who emphatically states that he does not care a hang for beauty is subconsciously influenced by his surroundings.” Of the Seigniory Club in Québec City, for example, the CPR’s publicists boasted that Canadian golf architect Stanley Thompson’s course design made excellent use of the “wonderful opportunities provided by Mother Nature … tees and greens are being shaped to conform to the terrain, and many a tumbling brook and pocket of bolder is being utilized for a natural, sporty hazard.” The cultural tools required to appreciate these vistas remained the purview of the urban, upper-middle classes.

Many within the urban, upper-middle classes also believed these incarnations of nature could restore an increasingly urban population to mental and physical health and, in this instance, reinforce masculine vitality. English designers Harry Colt and Hugh Alison suggested the many benefits a course bestowed to the player. The golfer “realize[d] that there is no other pursuit in the open air which gives them the same relaxation from the worries of life. To some the healthy exercise and the battle of the game played with a keen opponent are the attractions.” Yet to other players, “the rest gained from a round played with a pleasant companion on a fine spring morning, on a course with beautiful natural surroundings, gives the greatest pleasure, and the actual

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result of such matches is not of paramount importance […].”68 These excerpts indicated how some perceived playing golf as a way to promote healthy lifestyles. Elsewhere, one contributor to the Toronto Globe newspaper bluntly commented, “[e]very morning of the week they [golfers] are industrially playing the game. Fat people are trying to get thin, thin people are trying to get fat; most are aiming at health, a very few are playing for the pure love of the game.”69 H.J. Whigham wrote in Outing magazine that “if they follow the advice given [in playing golf] we guarantee health, sleep, immunity from nervous prostration and business worries, good temper, mental control, and lastly, long life barring accidents from taxicabs or air ships.”70 Playing golf meant a healthier life away from the problems of modern urban living. Whigham attributed golfers’ slow pace across the golf course to their habit of travelling on express subway trains and consequently a symptom of the wider social problem of people forgetting how to walk.71 The design of the courses and the experience of nature also made playing the game applicable and adjustable to different ages.72 Golf was a way to endorse a new class-based vision of a healthy citizenry and nationhood, perhaps, most clearly illustrated in the promotion of public golf during this period.

Public courses were conceived as more inclusive by the upper-middle classes. The lower middle and working classes could play golf, partake in a healthier life away from the problems of modern urban living, and even act out a hint of cosmopolitan masculinity on such courses. The values and beliefs about health and recreation imbued in the sport, however, were still very much upper-middle class and rarely reflected

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alternative values and behaviours infused into golf by other social and racialized groups. These socio-cultural relationships existed in public golf endorsement in the United States, which began earlier than in Canada. Sylvanus Jermain President of the Central Golf Association of the United States emphasized how in Scotland it was possible for all to play golf and that over the last few decades the game had become a part of the lives of working professionals. An article in *Outing* magazine suggested that “the rest and stimulus which [golf] gives to the fagged-out and the world-weary … [is] more than any other sport to those who live in town.” The game also inspired health for the working class player by “[p]utting air in his lungs and blood in his veins, it is smoothing out his puckered brain and attuning it to the eternal harmonies. The … effect of a perfect day on a good course is similar to that of a cross-country run, a visit to an art gallery, and a symphony concert rolled into one.” The article’s author highlighted both the physical and mental benefits of golf to the hard-working urbanite and reflected the author’s own upper-middle class tastes.

Many of the people who promoted public golf in Canada, once it arrived in the 1910s, were from the upper-middle classes. A 1915 *Canadian Golfer* article stated there was no reason why Canada, following the lead of many American and British cities,

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75 Public golf spread from the Canadian Prairies east and west. The first public golf course emerged in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1915. Large urban centres, like Toronto and Montréal, struggled with finding the physical space for these courses within city limits. By January 1926, *Canadian Golfer* reported that there were 24 public golf courses open in Canada: Nova Scotia, 1; Québec, 2; Ontario, 10; Manitoba, 5; Saskatchewan and Alberta, 5; and British Columbia, 1. “The Vogue of the Public Golf Course,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 11, no. 9 (January 1926), 732.
should not foster public golf. The article described how the game, epitomized by luxurious clubs, made golf a rich man’s sport. There was no reason why, however, “a man whose finances will not permit him to join a club should not be allowed to get the health and enjoyment which golf brings.” Many saw public golf as an enjoyable remedy to help repair and extinguish perceived social ills that arose from physical and social changes. New employment options and schedules, entertainment pursuits, social/sexual relationships, interactions with different physical environments, and the contexts of World War One forced people to re-evaluate their place in an evolving social structure that had different visions of meaningful work and play. The values placed on time spent in nature and the perceived need for social reform and improvement relaxed the bonds of exclusivity tied to the dominant golfing identity in certain instances. Within debates around public golf and a healthy citizenry, class-based ideas of nature and of appropriate recreation influenced wider socio-economic groups wishing to pursue the sport. The appeal for the public game especially by those in the upper-middle classes, as well as newer notions of and flexibility with leisure among the lower classes, indicated that upper-middle class men were not the only people playing. The ideal of a cosmopolitan masculine identity that dominated the Canadian golf world did not operate in a vacuum. Other relational golfing identities to cosmopolitan masculinity existed and played an important role in the definition of Canadian and American golf culture.

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76 The Monacle Man, in Canadian Courier “Municipal Golf Courses.” Reprinted in Canadian Golfer Vol 1, no. 2 (June 1915), 98.
77 “Municipal Golf Courses,” Canadian Golfer Vol 1, no. 2 (June 1915), 98.
Canadian Golf Culture’s Additional Golfing Identities

There were other golfing identities that co-existed with cosmopolitan masculinity and took shape by hierarchies of class, gender, and race. There was a place for white, upper-middle class women on the course, in competitions, and as a demographic target for articles and advertisements starting in the 1890s. While there were instances of non-elite women playing golf, participation in the game acted as an exclusionary or distinguishing feature of an upper-middle class, white female identity at a time when other class and racialized female identities and cultures appeared with greater social force. The appearance of women on an increasing number of golf courses in Canada corresponded to the international growth in women playing the game in the United States and Great Britain. In Canada these ‘lady golfers’ quickly organized inter-club matches across the country but predominantly in central Canada, and in 1901 the RCGA inaugurated the Canadian Ladies’ Amateur Closed Championship. In 1913 the Canadian Ladies’ Golf Association formed. There were also a number of amateur female players who gained prominence in tournament play.

The golfscape as an acceptable place for women reflected wider socio-cultural shifts around classifications of women’s mental and physical abilities and their relational

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80 For example, the Royal admitted ladies in 1891, the Royal Québec and Rosedale Golf Club admitted ladies in 1893, and the Toronto Golf Club admitted ladies in 1894. See, Barclay, 188. The female members of fifteen British clubs organized in Ladies’ Golf Union in 1893.
81 These included: Mabel Thomson from Saint John, New Brunswick; Florence Harvey and Frances Phepoe from Hamilton; Muriel Dick from the Toronto region; and Violet Pooley from Victoria, British Columbia. George Cumming, well-known professional at the Toronto Golf Club gave lessons to many aspiring female golfers. He was believed to have once said that he preferred lady students because of their patience.
position to men. Not everyone advocated for the “New Woman” emerging from Victorian notions of decorum and physical activities, but a growing number of women and men supported the cultivation of physically and mentally healthy women. More sports were deemed acceptable to contemporary visions of femininity perhaps best illustrated by the ‘Gibson Girl.’ The non-combative nature of golf and the possibility for quiet, reflective, yet vigorous play, helped upper-middle class women define the game as a suitable outlet for physical activity. White women with slim, healthy physiques who wore specific golf attire and played golf at resort courses were well represented in articles and magazines (figure 2). A greater number of golf articles and advertisements, moreover, included or catered to women. Champion golfer Miss Cecil Leitch, for instance, commented that English and Canadian ladies were much better dressed than American ladies. For her it was “a most attractive sight to see dozens of women in white skirts and thin sweaters (or jumpers, as we call them) with the turned-down collar and turned-back cuffs of a light blouse, and a narrow waist belt completing a truly becoming outfit.” The author further suggested that “[o]ur U.S. feminine cousins have always prided themselves on their chic appearance, especially as compared with the Britisher, although generally admitting that the Englishman is the best dressed male of the species in the world.” Such comments broadened the appeal of golf for elite women and


solidified their place in a Canadian and international golfing culture that held deep-seated notions of femininity and depicted moments of national difference.84

These women still played in a male dominated and oriented sport. The demarcation of ‘ladies’ golf immediately directed these women towards certain behavioural norms implied in the discursive turn of phrase. Lady membership was separate from men’s membership and usually meant limited use of facilities and restricted play to certain days or times.85 Some people’s enduring concerns over the playing ability of female golfers led to alterations of the course. Many designs equipped the playing field with a shorter hole option, or ‘ladies’ tees,’ that allowed female golfers to drive their balls from a tee positioned nearer to the green. Clubs sometimes built separate nine hole

85 For instance, the Toronto lady players were allowed to play Tuesdays and Thursdays, and then also Mondays and mornings. In 1916, the minutes of the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club in Vancouver, records complaints by male members of lady members teeing off before 3:30 pm. However, the ladies were allowed to tee off after 1 pm on Thanksgiving. See Mary Byers, Breaking 100: A Celebration of Women’s Golf 1894-1994 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995), 21. City of Vancouver Archives [hereafter CVA] AM308 Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds. Minute Book Vols 1-3, Meeting September 2, 1916 and Meeting October 9, 1916.
courses for the lady players.\textsuperscript{86} The clubhouse also was a gendered space that reflected wider social norms about gender interaction and spatial segregation. The minutes of many private clubs suggest that members spent a great deal of time and effort on concerns with the separate men and ladies’ locker rooms, the amenities found within them, and the types of games (that included billiards and cards) played in the clubhouse.\textsuperscript{87}

One notable exception to the rule was the founding of the Ladies Golf Club of Toronto in 1924 by Canadian golf star Ada Mackenzie. This was an all-female golf club. Women, here, took on leadership roles not witnessed in other golfing milieus. Mackenzie wished to provide young girls and women with a course where they could learn the game and improve their skills unhindered by time or other play constraints.\textsuperscript{88} It exists today as the only Ladies Club in all of North America. The appearance of golfing women, however, generally reflected wider social changes surrounding feminine gender identities.

Cosmopolitan masculinity was built on class hierarchies. As such, it prevented golf course workers from becoming privileged club members. The unique game rules and playing field aesthetic necessitated the employment of a range of workers who were part of the maintenance crew (greenkeeper and labourers) or part of the game experience (professionals and caddies). All these employees and their relational identities to

\textsuperscript{86} Barclay, 172.

\textsuperscript{87} It was also in this venue that the ladies pursued projects that included many benefit dinners and events for war efforts between 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 and that reinforced maternal feminist and voluntary association gender definitions. At one Thanksgiving Drive, in 1918, the RCGA’s 50 member clubs raised over $30 000. There was even one story about the ladies at the Kanawaki Golf Club leading a “Kaiser Bill” competition, wherein, for 10 cents, ladies had three chances to knock an effigy of the Kaiser down. Barclay, 203. The Canadian Ladies Golf Union also played an important role in fundraising. In 1943, the Toronto Golf Club reported that to date the club members raised $1, 539.45 for the Red Cross. TGCA, Minute Book 1938-1946. November 19, 1943. In 1944, the CLGU desired to have half of the earnings of the field day fundraiser go to the War Fund, but it was decided to keep it altogether for the Red Cross. TGCA, Minute Book 1938-1946. Board of Director’s Meeting, March 7, 1944. Barclay, 386. The CLGU also raised $40 000, in 1941, which was sent to the Wings for Britain Fund. It was enough money for the purchase of a Spitfire W.\textsuperscript{87} The Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club members also raised funds for the war effort, including $7, 000 for the Royal Canadian Air Force by 1942. CVA, (Vol 7& 8) Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club Minutes January 22, 1942 and September 28, 1942.

cosmopolitan masculinity made the golfscape a distinct sporting space. These usually male employees sustained distinct relationships with each other, the golfers, and with the physical golfscape. Their jobs revealed an ever-present class and skill-based hierarchy of manual and artisanal labour, professionalism in sport, behaviour, and race.

The greenkeeper’s masculine identity involved skill, hard work, and aptitude, but he did not possess the same combination of social, economic, or political capital as most private or resort golfers. The greenkeeper had an important job taking care of the course and making sure that the playing field was in top condition around the dual design goals of strategic play and aesthetic beauty. Well into the twentieth century, the greenkeeper promoted his proficiency based upon experience, formalized training, and an awareness of the transnational nature of golf course construction.\(^89\) Having an expert skill set, he possessed a certain amount of power and flexibility of actions on the golfscape though he remained an employee of the golf club and under the supervision of the club’s executive.

The need to employ someone with skill and a good record granted greenkeepers a modicum of power within their positions as part of the golf culture. For example, the new greenkeeper Mr. Horace Purdy of the TGC had some leeway in his salary demands and the use of the club’s property thanks to his reputation and his actual good work. In 1936 the TGC’s greenkeeper, Mr. Sansom, resigned his duties and the club searched for a replacement.\(^90\) The club had their eyes on Mr. Purdy, who was thought to be an

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\(^90\) A representative of the Rennie Seed Company (Mr. Bland) suggested a Mr. Roswell for the position who currently worked at the Ladies Toronto Golf and Tennis Club of Toronto, who was willing to make the change for a salary of $2,000 without free housing. TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting January 9, 1936.
outstanding greenkeeper who worked in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{91} After some back and forth about his salary, he accepted the position for the rate of $3,300 for three years without the guarantee of housing.\textsuperscript{92} Towards the close of 1938, Purdy made suggestions regarding a new contract for a house valued at $5,000 with a salary of $3,300 for a five year period; or a raise in salary to $3,500 in order to offset his rent and a strip of land along Dixie Road; or a salary of $3,500 for a three year period. The club, not wanting to lose him as a greenkeeper, explored whether they could afford to build Purdy the house. Since they could not, the club decided to meet the other requirements to keep him for at least another three years.\textsuperscript{93} Purdy’s reputable work allowed him to negotiate for an entertainment space for guests prior to or following a round of golf and allowed him to continue to grow sod and vegetables for his own use and sale on club property “provided that sufficient sod is always available for normal course repairs … and that all work for the production and private sale of sod and vegetables must be carried out at times other than the working hours required for the upkeep of the course and grounds.”\textsuperscript{94} He was never, however, part of the same cosmopolitan masculine identity as the club members. There remained a ceiling when it came to inclusion. A person’s job, income, and access to leisure time contributed to his (or her) ability to enjoy the benefits of an exclusive membership. Although greenkeeper and golfer alike attended the golf club, only one was or could ever be a member.

A professional’s success in golf tournaments elevated his masculine status in terms of skill, prowess, popularity, and, even style, and together with game knowledge and teaching aptitude, these newfound qualities crafted a masculine identity closer but not

\textsuperscript{91} TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting January 9, 1936.
\textsuperscript{92} TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting January 11, 1936.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., Meeting December 14, 1938.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., Meeting February 17, 1936; and Minute Book (Vol 9) 1939-1946, Meeting January 10, 1944.
akin to the dominant cosmopolitan masculinity. Bourgeois men often viewed professionals poorly because they played the game for money and were employees who oversaw caddies, took care of course needs, fixed golf equipment, and gave lessons.\textsuperscript{95} In addition to working at golf courses, some of these men also participated in a growing number of national and international professional golf tournaments.\textsuperscript{96} Pros carved out an important place for themselves in the previously amateur-centric golf culture. Increased competitions between amateurs and professionals, international rivalries between British and American players, and the rise of national stars fuelled excitement in the game and in tournaments among novice Canadian and American golfers and increased the need for professionals at clubs who could offer lessons.\textsuperscript{97} In 1911, 20 professionals founded the Canadian Professional Golfers Association (CPGA). In 1916 the Professional Golf Association (PGA) in the United States organized. These associations reflected the ethos of the one in Great Britain (1901). The PGA founding members “were mostly transplanted British players who were keenly aware of the long-standing prejudice against professionals in sports, especially golf.”\textsuperscript{98} Many clubs in Britain supported their pros in golf tournaments since having a victorious pro at one’s club meant having a skilled and noteworthy teacher who could potentially entice new membership or interest in the club.\textsuperscript{99} Similar trends occurred in Canada though on a smaller scale. George Cumming provides the clearest example of a well-respected golf pro who made the Toronto Golf Club home, who had a distinguished record in professional play in the


\textsuperscript{96} The first Open was held at the Royal Montréal and until 1939, the Open championship occurred in central Canada. Though the Canadian Open was open to all, prior to World War One, English Canadian participants dominated. The first French-Canadian to finish the Canadian Open was A. Desjardens of Brockville, who competed in 1914. Vamplew, “Successful Workers or Exploited Labour?”

\textsuperscript{97} George B. Kirsch, \textit{Golf in America}, 40.

\textsuperscript{98} Kirsch, 51.

\textsuperscript{99} Vamplew, “Successful Workers or Exploited Labour,” 68.
country, and who trained a generation of pros. Other Canadian professionals included Nicol Thompson (brother of architect Stanley Thompson) in Ontario, Charles and Albert Murray of Québec, and Davie Black who worked in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{100}

Caddies possessed their own sense of masculine identity.\textsuperscript{101} For a fee caddies carried the clubs of players and aided the golfer with club choice, locating balls, and replacing divots—jobs many did not do with equal gusto according to complaints at the Toronto Golf Club.\textsuperscript{102} In some instances caddies also helped keep the course free of litter.\textsuperscript{103} Caddies were most often young, working class youths, adolescents, or adult men whom golfers characterized as juvenile. Considering their masculine identities, they were semi-skilled workers with whom golfers and other employees had a paternalistic relationship.\textsuperscript{104} Within this paternalism club members held caddies to a certain level of decorum and deference. These expectations reflected the golfers’ class-based visions of proper behaviour and sportsmanship, as well as the hope that these ‘boys’ and their ‘boys will be boys’ behaviour could be molded or enticed into specific socio-cultural norms that reflected greater refinement and education.\textsuperscript{105} The executive committee of the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club in Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1930 noted that the

\textsuperscript{100} For more information on American golf professionals, especially the ‘touring pro,’ see Moss, \textit{The Kingdom of Golf in America}, 162-189. For information on Canadian pros see Barclay, 127-147, 303-347.


\textsuperscript{102} TGCA, Green Committee Correspondences, 1931-1938, Memo to Begg from Armitage, April 7, 1938; Green Committee 1933-1943-Green Committee Meetings, Meeting March 27, 1938.

\textsuperscript{103} TGCA, Minute Book 1938-1946. September 11, 1940.

\textsuperscript{104} For more information on the evolution of skilled and semi-skilled workers in Canada and their abilities to use their positions for rights see Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds, \textit{On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada} (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986).

\textsuperscript{105} CVA, AM 308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds Minute Book Vol 7&8, Meeting March 10, 1943.
caddy “[b]oys got a little out of hand when [a] tournament was on” and the Board suggested that the club get a police officer to help supervise them. The Board recommended that the club get in touch with Deputy Chief Murdock of the City Police to bring in a man to help monitor the boys and that the worst offenders be sent home with clear instructions that no nonsense would be tolerated. The caddies would be equipped with name badges and their addresses noted. The club meeting minutes, years later, discussed the need for a “list of instructions [to] be prepared and distributed to caddies … as they evidently do not know how to deport themselves on the course when caddying for members.”

George Cumming, at the Toronto Golf Club, also instructed the constable employed by the club to help moderate caddy behaviour. As an additional incentive for the boys to behave, Cumming suggested that a five cent sum be added to the cost of caddy services during the week that would be “credited to a Special Fund for the purpose of providing cash prizes at the end of each season in order to encourage the boys to maintain excellent records and attain more rapidly the qualifications of a first class caddy.”

The paternalism also reflected the older generation taking an interest in the future welfare of young caddies. The TGC’s drive to replenish the Caddies’ Benefit Fund, furnished the finances for the boys to attend winter classes at the Adam Beck Memorial School in Alderwood and provided sweaters and other necessities for them to succeed.

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106 CVA, AM 308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Book Vol 4, Meeting July 14, 1930 and Minute Book, Vol 7&8, Meeting June 10, 1944.
107 CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Book Vol 4, Meeting July 14, 1930.
108 CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Book, Vol 7&8, Meeting June 10, 1944.
109 TGCA. Green Committee Correspondences, 1931-1938; Memo for George Cumming, RE Caddies from Armitage, June 9, 1934.
110 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938; Meeting January 20, 1935; Meeting March 9, 1935; and Meeting October 11, 1935.
111 The last call for funds was in 1936 and three years later only $85.70 was left. TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting October 2, 1939. Also, in 1938, the members rectified the caddies’ lack of outhouse, although it was to be “built as cheaply as possible on the hillside [in] back of the caddy
Promotion of the social or character potential of these young boys appeared in reference to their employment during the depression that emphasized how they behaved responsibly and contributed money to their families in times of need. A caddy’s masculine identity was not necessarily static, but it never embodied cosmopolitan masculinity.

The caddy’s position as a labourer with specific golf industry skills that involved knowledge of clubs and the course layout allowed for a limited amount of power around wages, especially when the caddies were in high demand. In Canada there was a series of caddie strikes in 1937 wherein caddies petitioned for higher wages, usually during or around tournaments held at their local clubs. Clubs, consequently, introduced new fee scales. In 1940 George Cumming spoke on the “difficulty in obtaining sufficient caddies in view of the present scale of fees being lower than most other clubs in the Toronto district.” The club, as such, introduced new fee scales on weekdays; a Class A caddy would receive 75 cents for 18 holes, 50 cents for 10 to 12 holes, and 40 cents for nine holes; and a Class B caddy would receive 55 cents for 18 holes, 40 cents for 10-12

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114 For example, see TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting September 11, 1940. The differences between first-class and second-class caddy fees revolved around skill level and adherence to behavioural codes and rules.
holes, and 30 cents for nine holes. In 1943 caddy rates increased at the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club to $1 for 18 holes and 75 cents for 10 holes.\textsuperscript{115}

Visual caricatures of golf from the period often depicted caddies as less well endowed physically and mentally than golfers. Representation frequently portrayed the caddy as smaller and hunched compared to the player (figure 3). Such images perhaps reflected the age difference between golfer and caddy. They also reinforced, however, the unequal masculine standing given to these male bodies within golf culture. The caddy was often stereotyped as speaking in slang or with an accent that alluded to class and racial separation between the male, white golfer and this subordinate male employee. The caddy’s masculine identity also reflected his relationship to the female golfer. Similar to the male golfer/caddy relationship, the female golfer was more statuesque and refined than the caddy. In some visual and textual representations, the female golfer was also sexually objectified or stereotyped by her particular golfing ability or inability. Consistently, the masculinity (or femininity) of the golfer was bolstered by the stark contrast made to the more decrepit, poor, and uneducated caddy.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Canadian Golfer Vol. 3, No. 1; May 1917, 25. Courtesy of Canadian Golf Hall of Fame and Museum}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{115} TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting September 11, 1940.
Race also reinforced the boundaries of masculine identities on the course. American ads often depicted black caddies (figure 4). In Canada a Toronto Globe article from 1930 discussed playing golf among the “Eskimo” at Eskimo Point, 20 miles north of Churchill, Manitoba. In this piece, the missionary Rev. Donald Marsh spoke of laying out a golf course with the help of local natives on the “barren coast,” and he suggested that “Eskimo lads [made] excellent caddies.”\textsuperscript{116} The designers and promoters of the Banff Springs Golf Course decided to hire “Indian” boys as caddies. The developers believed that indigenous caddies and an ‘Indian’ caddy camp would add much to the attractiveness of the course.\textsuperscript{117} The racialized indigenous individual was a source of labour but an exotic ‘other’ within this golf culture and wider wilderness resort tourism experience.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{american_golfer.png}
\caption{American Golfer Vol 32, no 5 (February 1929), 1. Courtesy of United States Golf Association.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{116} “Arctic Golf,” The Globe August 9, 1930, 11.
\textsuperscript{117} “To Use Indian Caddies on Banff Golf Course,” The Globe April 23, 1929, 10.
Cosmopolitan masculinity’s emphasis on whiteness went beyond the characteristics of the caddies. When racialized identity appeared in official club discussions, the conversations reflected regional demographics and the socio-cultural anxieties of the dominant white identities that defined golf culture during this time. Race was overtly mentioned in the context of a beloved staff member in need of financial aid, in the Victoria Golf Club general meeting minutes from February 13 and March 12, 1928. The club’s members gathered $110.50 to help “Sing, the old Chinese gardener who was destitute.”

At Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, in another case, the executive board ruled in 1919 that “for a period of 10 years from the 7th day of March, 1919, no person of German, Austrian, or Turkish birth, who had not been naturalized as a subject of the Allied countries prior to the 1st of August 1914, should be eligible for membership[,] and no member can bring a guest or visitor.”

Race-based exclusion on the private golf club corresponded with the attitudes of the individual club’s ruling body that in turn reflected the larger society’s prejudices by an affluent, Anglo-Canadian hegemonic elite.

Conclusion

Between 1873 and 1945 the dominant golf culture remained white, male, and affluent. Canadian golfers participated in a cosmopolitan culture that drew from the long and significant British history of the sport and interacted with players across borders who shared the same masculine identity. The emphases within this dominant identity were class-based taste, physical and mental acuity, and specific relationships with nature.

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119 VCA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Book Vols1-3, Meeting January 31, 1919.
These features combined to create the boundaries of cosmopolitan masculinity. Cosmopolitan masculinity interacted with other female and male golfing identities and together formed the culture played out on golfsapes across the continent. The development of golf culture discussed in this chapter provides the basis for understanding the socio-cultural landscape of those imagining and literally shaping the contours of the physical golfscape over much of the twentieth century. Individuals immersed or familiar with this culture were the ones who advocated for the design principles of golf courses and who had to deal with the realization that designs for golf courses in Canada’s physical environments required flexibility and local variation.
Chapter Three
“A (Fair)Way Through Hazards:
The Golfscape as Playing Field and Manifestation of Nature”

Introduction

The golfscape became a distinct landscape category in Canada between 1873 and 1945. A landscape is a manufactured place that reflects humans’ past and contemporary visions of nature, culture, technology, and society. The golfscape revealed the dominant features of the sport and its philosophy. Those in the golf world defined its physical and ideological characteristics as simultaneously a playing field and a manifestation of nature. These characteristics became the dominant twofold design principles in golf architecture during this period, and they echoed the temper of the times. The playing field would be strategic (and later heroic) and the nature of the course would emphasize beauty and naturalness. The ability to cultivate on the ground the dual design principles required a specific skill set and class-based interpretations of sport and landscape. These factors prompted the emergence of the golf architecture profession and a burgeoning industry of design. Amidst a flurry of professional knowledge these globetrotting architects defined themselves as experts with the capability to expose and enhance the natural wonders of a given site and create a course that included these twin traits.

Golf architecture was both transnational and place specific. Nations claimed architects as ‘one of their own,’ but the circulation of ideas about course layout and the designers themselves worked internationally. The fundamental principles that came from Britain to Canada collided with the varied physical environments found on this continent. Canadian architectural plans, consequently, had to accommodate multiple notions of nature into the canon of acceptable design composition. This broadening of boundaries signaled yet another emergent component of the distinct Canadian golf course landscape.
Though Canada had its own tales of architectural development, the golfscape also emerged as a unique form in the United States, and this chapter incorporates examples from both countries to further my analysis.

This chapter illustrates how a defined golfscape emerged in the imaginations of golfers and materially within Canada’s physical environments. The first section reviews golden age golf architecture and situates late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian courses in the context of the game’s long history in Britain. The fundamental notions of design used to shape the courses in Canada and the United States drew heavily from these British traditions. The second section then places the development of the golf architect within the framework of wider professionalization in Canada, and examples from the United States show the transnational trends and influences within professionalization, especially around landscape design. The twin emphases on play and nature allowed golf architects to define themselves as a separate category of expert, though one still intimately tied to the aesthetic values of the day. The third section, which takes up much of the chapter, uses examples from architects and design articles to examine the notions of strategic play and aesthetically pleasing nature infused in golden age golf architecture and how these principles manifested in the dialogues among designers and golf enthusiasts in written and material forms. These ideas permeated an audience beyond the designers, and both interacted with Canadian environments to shape the golfscape as a distinct landscape category.

The dual principles promoted by this new group of golf architects echoed game-specific physical features, but they also engaged with the complex histories and cultural meanings infused in nature. Nature is a deeply layered and historically contingent term based upon a clutch of cultural, political, economic, technological, and religious
motivations. When golf architects, by extension, used terms such as naturalness to describe the ideal course in Canada and elsewhere, they tapped into this long and multifaceted dialogue between humans and physical environments that favoured certain aesthetic vistas and natural encounters over others. When I use terms like vista and landscape to describe the nature scenes of the golfscape, I signal how designers carefully constructed these players’ encounters with the non-human world. These terms suggest that these architects consciously chose viewpoint(s) that reflected a certain experience of the scene and that the viewing or experiencing of nature, in addition to choice of environment, was carefully manipulated in order to communicate certain emotions, values, and senses of community—what some call a visual rhetoric.¹ No single nature aesthetic defined this period. Many landscapes and their cultural baggage informed and transformed human perceptions of and interactions with the natural world on and off the golf course.

The environments invoked by landscape categorizations, traditional British ideas of the original golf course, and what was considered ‘natural’ all merged to create the golfscape aesthetic. The Canadian golfscape mingled many landscape traditions as part of its definition of natural including the picturesque, the beautiful, the sublime, and the wilderness. These terms, within a Western tradition, were not static. Their literary definitions and visual composition transformed over centuries. The picturesque, for example, shifted from when Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, Reverend William Gilpin, and Humphrey Repton used it to mean the quality of a landscape to be recreated in a painting in the eighteenth-century. It became “characterized by irregularity of form, rough texture, pleasing variety and contrasts of light and dark [wherein the] effect was to arise curiosity

and interest … and provide delight.”

A more general usage of the term depicted “certain sorts of rustic and variegated scenes which sat midway between the two aesthetic poles, the beautiful and the sublime.”

The beautiful had a long history associated with form, proportionality, and even mental qualities in Western philosophies before Edmund Burke contrasted it to the sublime in the eighteenth century. The beautiful landscape, subsequently, took on the qualities of a pastoral field or calm waters or any landscape that invoked peace and contentment where “humanity [was] in harmony with a benevolent natural order.”

The sublime in the natural world meant an experience of violence or horror at a distance that allowed the viewer to experience the sight—or the irregular landscape—with a sense of delight knowing that there was no actual imminent threat.

The wilderness sublime best encapsulates the vistas referenced in certain golfscape creations that included those in the Canadian Rockies and draws out some of the contemporary emphasis placed on the value of time spent in such a landscape by members of the upper-middle class, urban elites of Canada and the United States.

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4 For Burke, the sublime embodied pleasure and was often characterized as feminine. It, according to him, was the opposite of beauty, and it was often masculinized. The sublime invoked terror and a sense of joy; it was a combination of pleasure and pain. See Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful and other Pre-Revolutionary Writings, ed., David Womersley (Toronto: Penguin, 1998) 89.

5 Sue Rainey, Creating Picturesque America, 28.


7 Earlier incarnations including the romantic sublime of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that made nature a place to contemplate the divine, reflect on morality and mortality, and see beauty in features beyond the pastoral. In America, transcendentalism built upon these romantic ideas to further the notion that “natural objects assumed importance because, if rightly seen, they reflected universal spiritual truths,” Roderick Frazier Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Nota Bene Books, 2001), 85. See also, Adam Potkay, “The British Romantic Sublime,” In The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present, ed. Timothy M. Costelloe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
wilderness did not begin as a place of inspiration and value in Western contexts. In the Judeo-Christian framework the wilderness was a place of hostility and fear opposed to the Edenic garden. It was a place of unknown specters, where the unsavory side of human behaviour might expose itself, and was manifest of the harsh struggles of many early European settlers in North America who wished for farmers’ fields and other domesticated scenery. Yet with the Enlightenment’s expositions on the workings of nature, lingering Christian ideas that the wilderness could be a place of sanctuary, alongside romanticism and American transcendentalism—both imbued nature with the ability to reveal and inspire moral and spiritual truths—and a growing nationalism in the United States made the wilderness into a crowning glory for the continent. The wilderness as a place to promote physical and spiritual health, as well as one that defined American identity around individualism, vitality, and democracy did not appear overnight, nor did it remain solely within the borders of the United States.

By the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the lament at the closing of the frontier and the push by affluent urbanites to preserve wilderness areas signaled the integration of the wilderness as an essential landscape.8 While some of the overt religious connections to this vista faded, the spirit of health and renewal remained part of the wilderness and other landscapes’ appeals especially around the establishment of national parks in both the Canada and United States. When golf courses were built within park borders the designers incorporated wilderness vistas that emphasized mountains, rivers, primeval

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forests, and unruly seas as part of the golfer’s experience. The sublime during this period, therefore, was “watered down by commercial hype and tourist advertising” but was still a place where high mountains, deep valleys, vast forests, and powerful emotions accompanied a sense of fear and awe, stripped away the defects of modern life, and established a primitive nature within the suffering over-civilized urbanites; it became part of an anti-modernist narrative or sentiment held by many upper-middle class, white, Protestant urbanites against the negative consequences of the massive social changes taking place.⁹ The importance of spending time in nature was part of a powerful and ongoing attempt to define North Americans’ relationship to their world. In this case it defined humans’ place in a new urban-industrial environment.

These categorizations of nature—picturesque, beautiful, the sublime, or some combination thereof—reflected contemporary socio-cultural realities as well as longer standing characteristics attributed to the ‘natural world,’ and these became part of the golfscape aesthetic, as were other landscapes more particular to the long history of the game in Britain. Golf architects’ designs and discussions of design principles revealed the fusing together of these various game specific physical features with multifaceted incarnations of nature.

Charting the Course

The long history of golf in Scotland and England influenced the cultural and physical boundaries of the sport’s expansion in Canada and the golf design profession that accompanied it. The physical features that constituted a golf course in the

imaginations of many Canadians by the late nineteenth century had developed over centuries in Scotland and England. The Scottish links and the English heathland courses conjured the imagery of undulating terrain and velvety-greenness that was covered in a variety of flora and dotted with sand traps or bunkers. Golf existed predominantly on linksland in Scotland from the late fourteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century. They featured rolling surfaces with no trees or ponds. They had sandy and alluvial soils created by receding oceans and rivers. Stiff bent grasses and gorse (a flowering shrub) covered the sandy dune hills that had good water drainage.\textsuperscript{10} These linkslands were found near the seashore and were used for grazing purposes since they were not considered fit for crop production. Communities also often allocated these areas as ‘commons’ for public pursuits to breed rabbits, pasture animals, play sports, picnic, dry clothes, and practice military maneuvers.\textsuperscript{11} Initial sand bunkers and hazards ensued from wind and animal wear on the land. There was no distinction between greens and tees, and there was no set fairway boundary for each hole.\textsuperscript{12} Scotland’s temperate climate with less severe variation in weather between the summer and winter seasons, unlike Canada, allowed for year-round play. Golfers viewed the links landscape as the ideal, natural golfscape.

The playing field, implements, and gaming ethos that appeared in Canada drew heavily from changes to the game in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth

\textsuperscript{10} For more historic uses of the term links or linksland see Peter Davies, \textit{The Historical Dictionary of Golfing Terms: From 1500 to the Present}, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 104-105.

\textsuperscript{11} These inland golfing areas were and are called golf courses. Historically, links courses refer specifically to those courses that exist within particular ocean-side conditions. For many, true golf existed only on the links. Despite the important environmental differences between links courses and inland courses, throughout this work, golf course will be employed to characterize all golf course landscapes. When a specific differentiation must be made between golf courses, the more specific terms of links course or inland course will be used.

\textsuperscript{12} In 1764, the Old Course at St. Andrews shrunk from eleven to nine holes, meaning that a full round went from 22 to 18 holes. There is some debate over the origins and reasons for the setting of a full round of golf at 18 holes. For more information see Robert Browning, \textit{A History of Golf} (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, 1955).
century. In response to industrialization, alterations to working hours and disposable income, urbanization, and access to cheaper and faster transportation, the public increasingly viewed leisure time and the pursuit of sports as positive lifestyle elements that developed.  

13 Sport, including golf, “became embroiled in the sophistication of a class [based] society anxious to define its own position in a world of very raw newness.”  

14 Growing numbers of upper-middle class urbanites took to courses as a manifestation of healthful recreation and social cohesion and more courses were found inland.  

15 Suburban golf in Britain developed when “various parts of the country residents of equal standing combined to form clubs from which they hoped to derive not only health-giving exercise but also the right kind of social intercourse.”  

16 Playing golf became part of a shared class experience that might facilitate social mobility, personal morality, and playing skill. Some older clubs refused to expand membership during this period of increased popularity in order to maintain social exclusivity. As a land-dependent sport, tensions grew among the different classes as golfers increasingly commandeered common lands solely for their sport. Turning rural areas into courses appeared to some as saving the countryside from expanding suburbia. Others viewed these developments as a form of enclosure partitioning off areas for the exclusive use of the few instead of the many.  

17 The golf course, ultimately, was a noticeable and more common landscape around Britain.

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14 John Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle Class (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1993), 1.


16 Cousins, 52. See also, Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle Class, 128-131.

17 Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle Class, 143-144.
Golf balls and golf clubs also underwent innovative changes that increased the number of people playing the sport and influenced the physical layout of courses in Britain and Canada.\(^{18}\) By the late nineteenth century golf clubs usually numbered five or six to a set, and golf bags appeared in the 1880s. Iron headed clubs rather than the traditional wooden clubs emerged as the style of choice. The shift from the featherie to the gutta-percha ball in 1848 significantly altered the game. The gutta-percha (gutty or guttie) was cheaper to make than the featherie, did not break apart or easily get waterlogged, and allowed for greater accuracy and distance. Balls, for the first time, had standard size, weight, and pattern. American Coburn Haskell introduced and patented the rubber-core golf ball in 1899, and it soon replaced the gutta-percha.\(^{19}\) As the number of golfers increased and as golf equipment improved so that balls could be driven further, the existing courses became overcrowded and too short and dangerous for players to enjoy. The physical spaces transformed.\(^{20}\) Members of many golf clubs then stressed the need for specialized positions of employment to maintain the course and to alter the landscape for game related reasons.

Golf course design shifted over time due to these technological changes, crowding issues, and aesthetic trends and, consequently, the field of golf architecture emerged in

\(^{18}\) Additional types of clubs were available and included wood-cleeks, midirons, lofting-irons, mashies, niblicks, and iron putters. See Cousins, *Golf in Britain*, 3. There was a ban on irons in tournaments until 1929.

\(^{19}\) Cousins, 25. Interestingly, the ball’s flight improved with usage as the number of dents found on the surface increased. So, artificial nicks were purposely made on the balls, followed by the creation of a standardized press equipped with a bumpy pattern. Canada did not produce these golf balls but imported them along with do-it-yourself kits for remoulding the balls. By the 1890s, individuals in different countries experimented with other materials and different ball cores like wood, lead, and cork. The balls contained a solid rubber core wound with an India rubber yarn or thread. This ball became available in Canada in 1903. For more on the history of the golf ball see, Kevin McGimpsey, *The Story of the Golf Ball* (London: Philip Wilson Publishing, 2004).

\(^{20}\) St. Andrews exemplified many of these golf course issues. Cousins stated, “Before 1851, the holes used on the Old Course by players going out to the ninth were putted into by those on the homeward journey … On busy days, this caused frustration, for golfers were forced to wait before approaching the greens on which others, playing in the opposite direction, were putting.” 31.
Britain, Canada, and the United States. The earliest design instigators included Scotsmen Allan Robertson and Old Tom Morris, who reworked or laid out holes on Scottish courses during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. These and other initial designers “[d]id their work on the spot, never resorted to a drawing board, and completed the layout in a few days or less. They selected natural green sites, plotted holes to these sites and then arranged the holes into a circuit.” They also used existing turf. Specific course components, subsequently, became defined golfscape traits in the late nineteenth century. Golfers differentiated tees and greens. Specific teeing-off areas were no longer piles of sand. The fairways widened and lengthened to accommodate greater player volume and longer shots. Weather and animal grazing patterns no longer determined the placement of hazards as designers introduced artificial hazards including hedgerows, stonewalls, and roads.

Designing the Course

Golf course design continued to evolve on both sides of the Atlantic. In the 1890s a new era in its development followed the establishment of courses in the heathland region outside London, England. This well drained land had a slightly undulating surface that was reminiscent of the seaside links terrain. This acreage, however, also had trees that designers incorporated into play. From this region emerged designers who included Willie Park Jr., Harry Colt, J.F. Abercromby, and W. Herbert Fowler. The two former

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21 For more on the overall history and development of early golf design see, Forrest L. Richardson, Routing the Course: The Art and Science That Forms The Golf Journey (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, 2002).


23 The standard 18-holes for a golf course began at St. Andrews when it became standard in 1764. There had, initially, been 22 holes out and back but the first four holes were made into two. For more information see Robert Browning, A History of Golf.
individuals had successful careers both in Britain and Canada. Stylistically they were the first to incorporate substantial landscape changes into their course designs. They cut underbrush and trees, moved earth, and their designs were less geometrically focused. They strove to integrate pre-existing natural elements whenever possible. By creating new hazards and aesthetic qualities not witnessed on linksland courses, they provided an early example of how both physical environments and cultural values played a role in course development.

These new course dimensions also were present in Canada during this time. A May 1890 Toronto Globe article, for example, explained the components of the game, detailed portions of its history, and outlined some of its value to those playing in Canada.24 The article also connected the game to class-based associations among sport, time spent in nature, and the physical and mental health of Canada’s citizenry. Golf, according to the author, “is a manly and eminently healthful recreation. The walk is a tonic, and the clear air that blows over the heights gives zest … and surely it promises pleasure enough—an afternoon of healthful pedestrianism in the pure country air […]”25

These depictions became common descriptions of courses with their social benefits invoked by golf architects, golfers, and advertisements for courses across the country.

The article’s anonymous author also elaborated on the dual functions of the course as a playing field and as a manifestation of nature. The author explained the game’s playing tenets and included that “the pace [of the game] can be made easy or smart … and thus the exercise adapts itself to the age and exuberance of its players …

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24 The article commented on how “golf ha[d] a language of its own” and was “evolved, refined, decorous, [and] filled out with dignity but not altogether unlike the sanguinary game[s] that used to fill the playgrounds.” The separate language of golf and its depiction as a refined game summarized many of the key cultural components that influenced the creation of the golfscape in Canada over the next half-century. “The Game of Golf—Another Scotch Athletic Exercise Becomes Popular,” The Globe, May 17, 1890, 2.

The brain is used, too, for calculation is required and one must make allowances for wind and a dozen other things.”26 The physical golfscape accommodated the skill level of the player. The descriptions of the best location for a course reflected aesthetic qualities that became synonymous with early architects and suggested that “[t]he game may be practiced on any good stretch of land where the grass is not too rank; but the ground best suited for the purpose is a reach of undulating country, such as is common on the seaboard.” This land was “sandy in soil and as much covered with a short, crisp turf, [which was] occasionally broken by sand hole or ‘bunkers’ and [that] provided … a supply of bushes or ‘hazards.’”27 In these excerpts the author alluded to how Canadian courses manifested a new version of the landscape. Scottish, English, Canadian and American designers expanded ideas and techniques around the dual principles of the golfscape as a playing field and as a manifestation of nature that became the hallmark of golden age courses across Canada.

The course became a distinct landscape in Canada and around the world during the golden age of golf architecture. Many contemporary architects situate the golden age in the 1920s.28 I broaden the timeframe to encompass the initial push by designers to add strategy to the course in the 1910s and extend it until the 1940s when the Second World War brought into the storehouse of design new technologies that allowed for much

greater manipulation of the physical environment. The architecture during this time was international and transnational, both in the nationality of designers and the number of countries in which they planned courses. A prolific group of golf architects emerged at this time and included, among many others, English-born Willie Park Jr., Harry Colt, Hugh Alison, and Alister MacKenzie; Scottish-born Donald Ross; alongside Canadian-American Charles Blair Macdonald; and Canadian Stanley Thompson who all played a role in Canadian golfscape development. Several ‘schools’ of design emerged amongst these men and their contemporaries, based on their individual flare within the structure of certain principles about what a golf course should entail and how the player should interact with it.29

These designers, among many others in Canada, the United States, and Britain, became professionals or experts in the emerging field of ‘golf architecture,’ a term coined by Charles Blair Macdonald in 1910. Definitions of ‘professional’ and ‘expertise’ gained greater and more complicated socio-cultural meaning from the Victorian into the Progressive Era. During this time, Canadians experienced substantial social restructuring with the emergence of a new and powerful professional-managerial class and their desires to reform and to organize knowledge and society in rational and efficient ways to support best a modern and techno-industrial capitalist society. Part of this restructuring revolved around definitions of knowledge and the creation of modern academic and professional

29 Geoff Shackelford allocates Colt and Alison prominent places in the ‘early influence school,’ features Macdonald as the head of the National School of Design, and gives Mackenzie, Ross, and Thompson their respective places as golden age schools (along with their followers) in addition to others that included: the Philadelphia school; the Monterey school (which includes Marion Hollins, one, if not the only, female golden age golf architect; and other individual schools under the direction of Perry Maxwell, William Langford, and Herbert Strong. See, Geoff Shackelford, The Golden Age of Golf Design (Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 1999). Marion Hollins was an amateur golfer and a female golf architect during this time. She was involved in the creation of the Womens National Golf and Tennis Club, Cypress Point, and Pasatiempo in California. She was a friend and associate of Alister Mackenzie. For more information, see David E. Outerbridge, A Champion in a Man’s World: The Biography of Marion Hollins, (Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 1998).
disciplines that included medicine, the natural sciences, and social sciences. Over time these architects gained the voice of authority through their design treatises, their experience on courses, their knowledge and skill set, training, and self-governance as a group. As a professional, the golf architect also possessed a certain amount of control within the particular sphere. Membership in the profession “promise[d] privileged access to financial and social rewards.” Similar thrusts for professionalization occurred in the United States and Britain.

Landscape architecture was another profession to gain prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries though the act of deliberate landscape creation was an ancient practice. The landscape architect worked with many spatial forms. This craftperson was “responsible for designing and planning an extraordinary diversity of outdoor spaces” ranging from very small private gardens to large areas like national parks. There was a long list of precursors who influenced the modern profession of landscape architect that included Scotsman John Claudius Loudon; Englishmen Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, William Gilpin, and Humphrey Repton; and American Andrew Jackson Downing. It was American Frederick Law Olmsted, however, who popularized the profession of the landscape architect in the late nineteenth century.

Olmsted was best known for creating New York’s Central Park along with his architect partner, Calvert Vaux, and his influence was transnational. His vision of the value of nature and the necessity of landscape architecture reached Canada through

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31 Donald Wright, The Professionalization of History in English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 4.
several different avenues—Olmsted’s projects included Montréal’s Mount Royal; his firm and his sons’ projects of suburban and community planning and their correspondences with municipalities and developers across the country; and through molding landscape architects in the Olmsted firm who worked in Canada that included Frederick G. Todd, Gordon Culham, and Canadian, Rickson Outhet.33 This group of landscape architects created ‘naturalistic’ parks, gardens, suburbs, and communities influenced by City Beautiful movements and hybridized romantic and reform notions of nature. Similarly to their golf architecture cousins, landscape architects “shared a belief in landscape design as an art and a science and as a practice drawing on other disciplines, including architecture, gardening, and nursery work.”34 Golf architects had much in common with landscape architects when it came to distilling different visual and emotional sensibilities into a single panorama. The complexities landscape architects found in designing large urban parks, for example, illuminate similar difficulties golf architects contended with as they strove to construct a space that combined different nature aesthetics without it appearing to be a built environment, with the added complexity of fulfilling the many game-specific qualifications to make the space a functional playing field. Golf architects believed their expertise warranted a separate moniker.

Golf clubs in Canada and around the world sought out these men and their associates to build or renovate courses according to specific design principles. As


designer Alister MacKenzie stated, “[t]he advent of the golf architect has done much to increase the sporting and dramatic element in golf. The true test of the value of his work is its popularity, and judging by the rapid increase in members, even on the mere rumor that the services of a well-known course architect are to be obtained, there is no doubt the modern constructor of courses has achieved this.” Golf architects’ exclusive claim to expertise did not always go unchallenged. Some articles noted that contractors assumed that their own experience in their field meant they could build a golf course, and club members did not always agree on how to use the golf architect’s suggestions once left to the nitty-gritty of construction. The designer, nevertheless, retained a position of power and influence.

The golf architect’s authoritative position grew in strength and refined in definition. It was through their experience as they worked, communicated, and honed design principles that they also laid out the framework for a formalized profession with specific training. These architects spent time on the land and walked and routed different sites for potential courses. Mackenzie put forward a rather exhaustive list of attributes that the architect should have and that embraced everything from human psychology to a “sporting instinct,” as well as studies in “agricultural chemistry, botany and geology” and “some knowledge of map-reading, surveying and interpretation of aerial photographs.” Some even employed plasticine models and aerial photography to help them and the course construction firms visualize the space from afar. For Mackenzie and for an increasing number of self-defined designers, golf architecture was “a new art closely

allied to that of the artist or sculptor, but also necessitating a scientific knowledge of many other subjects.”38 Golf architects distinguished themselves within a realm of other emerging professionals, like landscape architects, by combining a specific artistic and scientific knowledge skill set. Though these early architects all planned courses according to a strict set of guidelines, most did not have any formal training in the field of ‘golf architect’—that came later. Some were professional golfers, like Willie Park Jr. and George Cumming; some were golfers with other careers who came into design later in life, including Harry Colt, Hugh Alison, and Alister MacKenzie; some apprenticed with an earlier generation of greenkeepers, like Donald Ross; and some had formal training in agricultural sciences and grew up in a golfing milieu, like Stanley Thompson.39

Designers did not hesitate to advertise their abilities. In American Golfer magazine, contributor Charles H. Banks, for example, associated the expertise of the physician with that of the golf architect, and he suggested that “a man who specializes in any field of work and who is constantly devoting his time and energy to that work, is likely to be better equipped to do it than some other individual whose ideas are based on very limited experience or largely on mere observation.”40 English pro Willie Park included in his advertisements for his services as an architect that he was a British Open Champion; that he was “the originator of modern golf course design;” and that he “made, planned, or rearranged” various courses “abroad” beyond Canada and the United States.41 George Cumming, the pro at the Toronto Golf Club, placed an ad in Canadian Golfer that described his abilities as a golf architect and stated that “[i]f you are contemplating a new

39 Colt and Alison were Oxford and Cambridge educated and pursuing law careers when their love of golf and involvement in the game propelled them into a golf architecture partnership. MacKenzie practiced medicine before shifting careers to golf designer later in life.
41 Canadian Golfer Vol 6, no. 11 (March 1921), 803.
course; if you are considering the advisability of bringing your course up to the modern idea of what a golf course should be, I am confident that I can give you the very best service obtainable … My work throughout the Dominion is the best advertisement of my ability as a Golf Architect.”42 This ad spoke to the demand for golf and drew attention to the association between experience on a certain course and one’s ability to know or recognize the best sort of golfscape. The use of golf architecture expertise in ads went beyond the individual designer. In 1921, for example, the English-based Carters Tested Seeds company ran an ad for course construction in Canadian Golfer that asserted “[c]onstruction of the Modern Golf Course is a science, requiring expert knowledge, experience, and the skillful use of proper materials.”43 The company was happy to oblige in these areas while also providing top-notch seed, fertilizer, and humus.

Canadian Stanley Thompson provides one of the best examples of a golf architect who used specialist knowledge to promote himself.44 He was a first-generation Canadian of Scottish parents born into a golfing family.45 He started his own golf architecture and landscape company after his return from the First World War and, in 1930 he partnered with Robert Trent Jones who became an American architect star. Advertisements for Thompson’s services emphasized his style and his expertise. One ad stated, “The Course—The Foundation of the Golfer’s Pleasure—Have it Planned or Re-Vamped by Specialists in Construction, Improvement, Maintenance, Beautifying.” It went on to list a series of his notable commissions across Canada and described his firm as “Golf and Landscape-Engineers, Architects.”46 Thompson underscored not only his own proficiency

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42 Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no. 1 (May 1924), 40.
43 Canadian Golfer Vol 6, no. 11 (March 1921), 805.
44 Other important Canadian golf architects included Albert Murray and Arthur Vernon.
46 STSA, XL1 MS A0 20001, 61 “The Course, Advertisement Stanley Thompson & Co.”
but also that of the other experts involved in his large firm that included a soil chemist, plant pathologist, landscape architect, arborist, and land planner. 47 He worked with graduates from the Ontario Agricultural College and placed them in supervisory roles in many of his later golf course projects. This inclusion of different disciplinary backgrounds reflected a refinement of knowledge even within the realm of golf architecture. Local environmental needs in Canada brought together new socio-scientific relationships and deference to a new swath of agricultural specialists. 48

Golf architecture was not just about design but also about the tools necessary to shape the environment to reflect design principles and to elevate the existing natural features of the site. Golf architects and landscape architects, therefore, confronted and incorporated specific ideas about nature and different physical features into their designs. The large urban park best illustrates the kinds of layered and historical cultural meanings imbued in golf courses but the two categories were far from identical. Park history, nonetheless, constructs a framework of design and cultivation that helps elucidate the aesthetic values that inspired many golf architects at this time. Parks—large and small, urban and rural—have a long history. The tale of national parks will be told in a future chapter but, generally, parks began as reserves or enclosures for the use of the British aristocracy, and early designers arranged the landscape to improve or illustrate an idealized nature. 49 Early parks in Canada reflected the purposes and designs of those in

47 Barclay, 367.
49 Rosenzweig and Blackmar, Parks and People, 4. This constitutes what J. B. Jackson called the designed or formal structure. There was, however, a vernacular or unstructured, haphazard space cultivated out of work and play habits. While large urban parks and golfscapes fall into the first category as structured and politicized places, Jackson’s two types are not mutually exclusive and the landscapes discussed here have elements of both. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, Discovering the Vernacular Landscape (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). See also, Galen Cranz, The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1982).
Britain before turning to a more North American model in the late nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{50} Urban parks in Canada began with garden suburbs, Victorian parks that took in several garden genres, and picturesque villas.\textsuperscript{51} Then, by the 1850s, Canada’s first public parks developed as cities grew bigger and municipalities began to create green spaces on urban fringes. As Ron Williams suggested, “this generation of parks added greatly to the viability of towns and cities, their still modest dimensions were insufficient to satisfy the need for open space and greenery of the still growing populations of the cities of the industrial era.”\textsuperscript{52} People subsequently used private parks and cemeteries as natural and romantic or picturesque getaways.\textsuperscript{53}

Then, by the 1870s, large urban parks, like Montréal’s Mount Royal, Toronto’s High Park, and Vancouver’s Stanley Park became the vogue as they had in the United States during the same time, and golf was played around these areas. Rosenzwieg and Blackmar illustrate how both contemplative and use-driven frameworks infiltrated urban parks in America, particularly New York City’s Central Park, as the urban park’s public demarcation and its changing class-based definition as a place of quiet contemplation or as a place to pursue leisure activities developed from the late nineteenth and into the early

\textsuperscript{50} In Britain beginning in the eighteenth century and rapidly expanding during the mid to late nineteenth century, common areas were enclosed, and many were lost as urban centres as populations expanded. By the mid-nineteenth century, despite variations in accessibility and organizational structures, there was a general push among the upper-middle classes towards park establishment closely associated with the necessity to preserve rural landscapes and to improve the moral and physical health of the country’s citizenry. Increasing numbers of a managerial middle class, at the same time, desired distance from the city environment in which they worked and separation from other social classes. See Hazel Conway, \textit{The People’s Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain}. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Susie Barson, “Infinity Variety in Brick and Stucco, 1840-1914,” In \textit{London Suburbs} (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), 61-103, and Robert L Fishman, “American Suburbs/English Suburbs: A Transatlantic Comparison,” \textit{Journal of Urban History} 13 (3) (May 1987), 237-251.


\textsuperscript{52} Williams, 199.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 195-215.
twentieth century. Similar shifting definitions of urban park use can be seen in smaller and larger Canadian communities. Urban parks, in this context and at this time, were manufactured landscapes that reflected the concern many had to provide urban dwellers with a reprieve from the demoralizing, congested, and disharmonized nature of the city. They were part of an anti-modernism sentiment used to advocate for national parks and for a general return to nature. The emphasis on the golf course as a natural space echoed and was influenced by these same socio-cultural forces.

Within this naturalistic landscape park, Olmsted praised beauty and utility. He believed that urban parks as the lungs of the city should promote and enhance human enjoyment within a professionally planned setting. In association with organizations like the National Municipal League of American Society, many within the upper middle classes saw the beautiful or picturesque landscapes located in-between the city and the wild as a way to promote normative behaviours and improve lives. These urban parks, according to Terence Young, counteracted negative city conditions, brought tourism and, consequently, prosperity, promoted democratic equality, and led to social cohesion. Golf architects would use the same language when they described the creation of golfscapes and their value to Canadian society.

54 See, Rosenzweig and Blackmar, Parks and the People. 55 This was the case in London, Ontario’s municipal parks development or in Sean Kheraj’s useful summary of urban park mentality in his work on Vancouver’s Stanley Park wherein he makes a distinction between the overlapping romantic (1850-1900) and the reform (1890s-1930s) phases in design within urban parks. This later phase jumbled together lingering romantic notions of nature with city beautiful reform that strove to refashion cities into beautiful and functional spaces with parks, boulevards, and buildings. See, Robert S. Kossuth, ‘Spaces to Play: The Formation of a Municipal Parks System in London Ontario, 1867-1914,’ Ontario History, 97, 2, (Autumn 2005), 160-190, Sean Kheraj, Inventing Stanley Park, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 9. See also; Robert A.J. McDonald “Holy Retreat or ‘Practical Breathing Spot’: Class Perceptions of Vancouver’s Stanley Park, 1910-1913,” Canadian Historical Review (Vol 65, no 2) 1984, 127-183, and William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
57 Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement. 16.
58 Terence Young, Building San Francisco Parks, 1850-1930 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) and Kheraj, 9-10.
Olmsted and other designers believed, moreover, that the landscape was most expressive when it followed the design of nature and not humans.\textsuperscript{59} They built these parks, therefore, in such a manner as to hide their constructed essence. In other words, these parks were the product of naturalistic constructivism, “which sought to disguise anthropogenic interventions to make park space more natural.”\textsuperscript{60} Elements of this desire to hide human manipulation also appeared in the façade management of the national parks system wherein the scenic vistas or façade of nature were preserved and made accessible for the public’s enjoyment.\textsuperscript{61} With this emphasis, these constructed landscapes were meant to blend together and appear as if ‘untouched’ by humans. Golf architects of the time also favoured making their courses appear as if part of the natural surroundings.

Golf course designers and landscape architects actually collaborated on many golf courses. Two famous examples were the Olmsted firm working with Alister MacKenzie on the Pasatiempo Country Club and Estates at Santa Cruz, California and working with Alister Mackenzie and Bobby Jones on Augusta National in Augusta, Georgia. The firm also corresponded with the Calgary Golf and Country Club in 1911.\textsuperscript{62} Golf architects, as we shall see in the following pages, took cues from circulating and influential cultural values placed in certain natural landscapes. Golfers and designers touted courses as sanctuaries from urban distress and as potential revenue streams. While not a democratizing trend or a source of total social cohesion, different golfscapes brought

\textsuperscript{59}\textsuperscript{59} Wilson, \textit{The City Beautiful Movement}, 15.
\textsuperscript{60} Kheraj, 94.
together communities of like-minded people and, in the case of public courses, attempted to make the experience open to a wider range of citizens.

Most importantly golf architects had to balance the dual principles of strategic play and naturalness. The designers stressed the need to build the course to look as natural as possible and to blend the playing field into the surrounding environment that drew parallels with the naturalistic constructivism of park development. But they also emphasized how those natural features and artificial features reflected the physicality of the game’s original landscape and corresponded with the course as a playing field. These tenets, subsequently, had to be adapted to the social and environmental conditions found across Canada. These interactions, furthermore, forced architects to broaden the potential locations for a course that resulted in the creation of distinct local, regional, and national variations on designs across the country.

The Principles of Design: The Golfscape as a Playing Field

The game goal of golf courses entailed using different types of clubs to hit the ball from the tee, through a fairway, and onto a green where the ball was putted into a hole in the lowest number of strokes. The playing field had either nine or eighteen holes, but the latter number was preferred and laid out in two loops of nine that started and ended near the clubhouse.63 These playing fields were unique because of their size. They were much larger than soccer, baseball, football fields, or horse tracks. The average length for these

eighteen holes was about 6000 yards (a minimum of 130 acres).64 The length and routing of a course during this time were not set in stone but depended on the available terrain.65 Each golf hole possessed a teeing off area, a fairway speckled with various hazards, and a hole located upon a green, all of which was surrounded by the rough.

Three distinct approaches to golf course layout emerged during the period under examination, and each highlighted certain stylistic attributes that corresponded to shifts in ideas about what made a good playing field.66 None of these styles completely disappeared as others came into fashion. ‘Penal’ design operated primarily up to the 1910s. This style usually featured a straightforward or linear tee-toward-hole play that favoured a single approach route to the hole with fairways adorned with horizontal hazards over which the player had to carry (shoot) the ball. This style punished anything but the perfect shot. The player unable to hit his ball straight and far enough would end up in a hazard or in the rough. ‘Strategic’ design emerged in the 1910s, and it accentuated the creation of alternate or multiple routes from tee to hole in a variety of shapes and lengths that allowed the golfer to strategize the best way to reach the hole based upon daily weather conditions, placement of hazards, and personal skill level. The golfer played either cautious or bolder approach shots, hitting from the tee along the fairway towards the hole, carrying the ball over hazards or avoiding them altogether with circumventing shots. ‘Heroic’ design appeared by the late 1920s, and it combined penal and strategic principles on each hole or interspersed them on different holes of the same

65 For instance see, Charles H. Banks, “Selecting a Golf Course Site: Elements Which Have to be Considered in Designing and Building a Modern Golf Course.” American Golfer Vol. 33, no. 7 (April 1930), 19, 56. Routing involved the orientation and placement of holes in relation to the course as a whole.
course with a combination of hazards and difficult approach shots coming off the tees.\textsuperscript{67} Golden age golf architects promoted strategic and, later on, heroic design. In all these cases these styles included the tee, the fairway with hazards, the rough surrounding the fairways, and the green.

Golden age architects believed that the playing field should provide a stimulating but not overly frustrating game in which the players had to use their skill to obtain the best possible result that was either the best match play or the lowest score. Golden age designers desired a playing field that, as Stanley Thompson stated, “test[ed] the skill of the most advanced player, without discouraging the ‘duffer,’ while adding to the enjoyment of both.”\textsuperscript{68} Alister MacKenzie stated that “[v]ariety is everything, or nearly everything, and if golf courses fail to give variety, the game cannot continue to retain let alone increase in popularity.”\textsuperscript{69} With strategic courses then, architects allowed for different skill levels by altering the position and composition of each hole.

The architects were aware of change over time. The growth and popularity of the game along with continued advances in ball and club technologies required the lengthening of existing and future courses. Once the location and length of the course were established architects had to route or position the holes on the course. They arranged tees and greens, fairways and hazards on each of the holes. These components were key to the creation of a good golf course. The Canadian National Railway (CNR) brochure \textit{Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies}, for instance, highlighted these strategic elements.


\textsuperscript{68} Thompson, 11. Other golf architects made similar comments including Willie Park Jr, 160 and Alister MacKenzie, 35. A duffer is an unskilled golfer, apparently from “19th-century slang — incompetent, unskillful person.” Davies, 57.

\textsuperscript{69} MacKenzie, 75. For more on Alister Mackenzie’s vision of an ideal golf course, alongside famed professional golfer Bobby Jones, see “Plans for the Ideal Golf Course: The Architect of the Augusta National Writes of Its Promise,” \textit{American Golfer} Vol. 35, no. 6 (March 1932), 20, 21, 44.
when it reported that “[i]n planning the Jasper Park Course very careful attention was
given to the hole arrangement… the course will be somewhat more difficult than the
usual run of courses – but alternative routes make it enjoyable for all classes of
players.”

Providing a challenging game was the ultimate goal of the strategic golf course.
Golf architects suggested how to accomplish this requirement for each portion of the golf
course. Tees needed to be on level ground and given enough space to be moved either
forward or backward depending on course and weather conditions. The distance between
the tee and the previous green was small and always propelled the player forward. The
placement of the driving markers on the tees also altered how a golfer addressed each
hole. A 1929 Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) brochure for Banff suggested that “[o]ne
feature to suit all types of golfers … is the use of three tees for every hole providing three
courses [in one].” These sets of tees were often differentiated by gender. They
generally, however, were meant to accommodate the different skill levels and maintain
the overall goal of a demanding but not impossible game. A course’s greens could be
placed in a variety of locations and the associated fairways varied in length and
orientation. The architects believed in starting off with a few longer and easier fairways
that allowed players to warm up and begin the game in a psychologically positive

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70 Stanley Thompson Society Archives (hereafter STSA), XL1MS-A020015, file 2, 3 Booklets on
Jasper Park Lodge Golf Course, “Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies,” 11. The emphasis on variety
and different sets of tees permeated golf literature. See, for instance Grantland Rice, “A Links that Helped
Make History: What the National Golf Links of America has Contributed to the Game of Golf” American
Golfer Vol. 33, no. 8 (May 1930), 26, 82.
71 Colt, 18.
72 For instance, American star golf architect, A. W. Tillinghast wrote an article titled “Making the
Most of the Tee: Location of the Markers on the Teeing Ground is Vital in Determining the Strategy of
Play” American Golfer Vol 35, no. 8 (May 1932), 26, 62 and A. W. Tillinghast, “Teeing Grounds for Two-
Shotters: Ample Space Here Can Add Materially to the Possibilities for Varying the Strategy of Play”
American Golfer Vol 35, no. 11 (August 1932), 22, 43.
73 CPRA, Brochure Collection, Box 8, no. 32, “Banff: Banff Springs Hotel,” 1929, 8.
84
attitude. It also reduced the chance of congestion at the beginning of the course. Further onto the course, fairways needed to vary in length so as to allow for different shot options for diverse skill levels.

There were several features designated as hazards on the playing field. Hazards were any obstacle that might hinder the golfer’s ability to knock the ball into the hole within the fewest number of strokes. They included sand bunkers or traps, vegetation that comprised long grass or trees, water, walls, hedges, roads, or railway tracks. The goal was to create a difficult but not impossible obstacle around or over which the player had to navigate. While Donald Ross believed there were no misplaced bunkers, the architects usually discouraged any hazard not visible to the player or one that was impossible to escape from with a single stroke. Alister MacKenzie discussed, for example, the merits of Jasper’s course and wrote that “one of the delightful features of the course is the absence of rough of a kind that involves the annoyance and irritation of searching for lost balls.” The physical features of the playing field were key to crafting a golf course, and there were many features to consider. Without the inclusion of nature, however, the playing field remained monotonous and incomplete.

*The Principles of Design: The Golfscape as a Manifestation of Nature*

The second overarching principle of design was that the course should be an aesthetically pleasing and natural looking space. The centrality of nature and the qualities of the local physical environment shaping the course were always clearly

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74 See Park Junior, 158 and Thompson, 12.
75 Ross, 34.
evident even in fairly straightforward discussions of playing field characteristics. The variety of green locations, for example, on level ground, hollow, or undulating surfaces, reflected local environmental conditions. One CPR brochure commented that the Royal Québec Golf Club possessed a “variety of greens … [in which the] flat, level, uninteresting kind have been carefully avoided.”

The key was to make the greens appear to be a natural part of the surroundings and at varied distances from the tees. Not all golf club locations in Canada, furthermore, were able to propagate the grass greens emblematic of the game. In these cases, the use of sand greens flourished, exemplifying how environmental conditions altered the appearance of the game but not the vision of strategic play among the golfers or designers.

Fairways also had to blend into the environment. Both Alister MacKenzie and Stanley Thompson contended that no specific length could be given for fairways since weather and wind direction and strength shifted the difficulty of the hole on each individual day. Hugh Alison agreed; he noted about the Toronto Golf Club that, “three shot holes are as a rule dull, but at the thirteenth [hole], the natural features give a splendid opportunity for introducing a hole of this kind.” Most designers opposed flat, straight, and monotonous fairways. They needed to incorporate local features, and they advocated for fairways with distinct character, shapes, zigzags, and elements such as hazards to add character and strategic planning to the holes.

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77 CPRA, Brochure Collection, Ralph H. Reville, “Golf Along the Canadian Pacific,” in Golf in Canada, 1922, 4.
78 For more information on the positioning of greens see: Park Junior, 161; MacKenzie, 43; Ross, 46-47; Colt 12-13; and Thompson, 11.
82 Ross, 45; Colt, 49.
For hazards, designers either used the existing features or created artificial ones that fit with the hole’s pre-existing landscape. Hazard types clearly reflected traditional game characteristics as well as regional environmental realities. Sand traps, for instance, were emblematic golf hazards that were a consequence of environmental conditions on Scottish linkslands, and they did not appear naturally in most parts of Canada and, therefore, had to be specially made. Other hazards were concessions to the local physical environment. These architects considered long grass, water, and trees problematic hazards, but designs nonetheless incorporated such hazards when they represented unique natural features already on the landscape and where the variety of the hole might benefit from their inclusion. Another CPR brochure described playing golf beside the Humber River at Toronto’s Royal York course as “delightful” due to the “many groves of pine, elm, maple, oak, and birch.” Of the Seigniory Club, in Québec City, the CPR’s publicists boasted that Stanley Thompson’s course design made excellent use of the “wonderful opportunities provided by Mother Nature… and many a tumbling brook and pocket of boulder is being utilized for a natural, sporty hazard.” These descriptions of the playing field emphasized the aesthetics of the landscape within the strategic elements. Nature, then, was a key component of the golfscape.

Nature on these courses, as suggested by the example of sand traps, combined several components. Culturally significant incarnations of nature and traditional ‘scapes’ found on Scottish links and English heathland golf courses were reinterpreted according to the new climatic and physical features of Canada. As the game spread to different

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physical environments and encountered different natural features, broader and diverse interpretations of traditional design principles were necessary. These design principles did not merely exist in an ideological vacuum or as an academic exercise away from the day-to-day reality of Canadian course development. Nature on the course, therefore, went beyond being the material elements of the playing field. Nature influenced the strategic component of the playing field, but it also existed on the course as a separate factor.

The natural landscapes cultivated on golfscape, as previously mentioned, were physical manifestations of complex social-cultural visions of nature that especially revolved around the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime wilderness. This “triad of terms related to a continuum in style from a tamed rural landscape … through degrees of increasing ‘wilderness’ to the sublime.” The differences in these vistas, then, traversed from the beautiful or pastoral images of rolling fields and calm waters, through steeper valleys with rocky waterfalls and irregular stands of trees, to a dominant ‘nature’ of vast forests, craggy mountains, and thundering waters (like Niagara Falls). Canadian golfscape incorporated all of these landscape forms. The pastoral landscape of farming fields and grazing livestock played a key role in the initial development of golf architecture. Many of the earliest Canadian courses usurped local farmers’ fields and pastures surrounding the outskirts of cities. As successful waves of suburban development occurred after the late nineteenth century, golf course committees had to decide whether to remain in these locations. Urban planners incorporated courses into their designs since they were viewed as a positive natural space and a source of urban

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86 Professor Larry Harder, School of Environmental Design and Rural Development, University of Guelph, e-mail to the author, October 9, 2014.
revenue. The country club with its course began to overshadow the picturesque park by the end of the nineteenth century as a place for the elite to gather.87

Nature travelled with the golfer throughout all the holes of the course. It was part of the game experience. A natural looking course, for the architects, incorporated the pre-existing features of the land and avoided fake additions that did not blend in with the existing environment. This emphasis on using elements of the established environment spoke to the reaction against the artificial design of earlier courses and the significance placed on efforts to hide human manipulations. The accent on naturalness or naturalistic constructivism in a Canadian context, similar to that found in urban parks, meant that architects had to incorporate previously disregarded ‘natural’ scenes. These architects revered the Old Course at St. Andrews, Scotland, as a particularly pleasing natural backdrop for golf that was characterized by treeless, rolling land near the sea, with sandy soils and long grasses. As golfers and golf architects travelled in Canada and internationally, they designed a variety of courses and gave them each a unique character based upon local physical features. The principle still applied. The golf course still had to enhance playing field qualities but also reflect the existing landscape. Each architect, however, had a slightly different vision of where the fine balance of artificiality and ‘nature’ lay that depended on the expertise and the guidelines drawn by those within the field. The emphasis on ‘naturalness’ and the convergence of multiple landscape traditions at this particular time and geography allowed the golfscape to become a shifting space beholden to traditional features yet versatile in its application and even in its incorporation of different features.

**Dialogues and Implementation of Design Principles**

The British architects who built courses in Canada employed these principles. Willie Park Jr.’s *The Game of Golf* published in 1896 was one of the earliest books to include a section dedicated to the “laying out and keeping of Golf-Links.” He realized that golf was no longer a seaside game because “[w]ith increased demand, it was impossible for the old courses to accommodate, and, as a consequence, golf-links have been laid out everywhere, very often on places which the past generation of golfers would have deemed little short of madness to attempt to transform into a links.”

He was tentatively positive about the ability to create a decent golf course in a number of traditionally unsatisfactory tracts of land due to the adaptability of the game. He stated, “I do not say that a first-class links can be made everywhere that golf can be played, but a course can always be laid out over which many enjoyable games can be got, and on which a considerable amount of skill can be attained.” Willie Park Jr. was one of many designers who advocated for a natural looking course but who incorporated significant landscape alterations in this natural design. He noted that while natural putting surfaces and hazards should be used whenever possible, alterations had to be made to existing landscapes to create the playing field. He applied these principles to his work in Canada that included the Ottawa Hunt Golf Club (1918) and the Mount Bruno Golf Club (1924).

Harry Colt and Hugh Alison, for their part, elaborated on earlier ideas of design but also diverged from them to describe and produce new guidelines for the golf course as a natural and beautiful setting. They co-authored and published *Some Essays on Golf-Course Architecture* in 1923, addressing the dual functions of the golfscape and its value as a beneficial space apart from the city. Golfers “realize that there is no other pursuit in

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89 Ibid., 155.
the open air, which give them the same relaxation from the worries of life. … The landscape work on a course is therefore growing more important every day, as players become more conscious of the increased enjoyment derived from a delightful environment, in the same way that a beautiful setting enhances the beauty of the jewel.”

The language they used took cues from wider social discussions about nature that emphasized the beautiful landscape and the continued hazards of urban life for humans’ spiritual and physical well-being.

Colt and Alison were aware also that the growth in golf’s popularity meant a demand for courses closer to suburban neighbourhoods. These courses allowed the busy working man to benefit from time spent in a natural setting without having to travel too far or spend a great deal of money to access a seaside links course. Colt, like Park, did not believe that all places were equal in their aesthetic value as golf courses. He commented that “[n]ear large towns it frequently happens that a piece of ground is chosen for a golf-course which is [not] particularly attractive to the eye. Such a place is chosen because of its accessibility or because it is the only land which could be obtained, and it may very well be the most advantageous position in view of all the circumstances of the case.”

This was not the ideal since “[w]hen the golfer has left the grimy city for a few hours’ relaxation he wishes to find rest and pleasantry in the scenery of the country, but it often happens that such a place does not do all that it should to provide him with what he requires.” These suburban courses were not satisfying the aesthetic needs of the golfer who wanted to escape the city for a few hours. This reflected the elaboration on what constituted a natural and beautiful course and a hierarchy of what was a good course.

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Colt made clear his ideas of nature on the course. He alluded to the importance even if unconscious of the aesthetic value of the golfscape when he wrote that “[i]t is by no means so widely recognized that the ‘landscape’ aspect of actual construction plays an important part in securing the popularity of a golf course. The appreciation of pleasant surroundings is often subconscious, and many golfers are no doubt under the impression that while they are playing they are entirely engrossed in the game.” The beauty of the course, however, remained of key importance. As Colt further suggested, “[w]hen they go away to play golf they select a beautiful place for choice because they realize that, while not playing golf, they will enjoy having something to look at. But, so far as the links is concerned they imagine that the quality of the golf is all that matters. It is possible; however, that on consideration they will recognize that this is not the case.”

Several ideas about the specific constructed nature on the golf course come together in these excerpts. The value of beautiful nature as part of the playing field and as the viewing experience while on the course was key. The demand for more golf course sites required clubs to choose land based upon accessibility and proximity to members’ workplaces and homes. These chosen sites might not have held the same beneficial qualities offered by a course situated beyond the urban grasp. It was especially in these cases that artificial but natural-looking attributes were necessary. Natural features might be enhanced by artificial means if the existing land did not possess the necessary attributes.

An emphasis on variety echoes certain garden and picturesque landscape qualities that viewed diversity as essential. As Colt commented, “[w]hen the chief natural features have been marked on the map it will be possible to consider the framework of the course. It is one of the most delightful features of the game that the course on which it is played

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presents infinite variety… [.]”

Colt’s partner, Hugh Alison, further illustrated a shift in the aesthetic values towards variety and spontaneous looking landscapes. Alison was critical of the Victorian golf design style that created a very planned, predictable, and monotonous game without beauty and that was representative of certain penal golf holes. Colt and Alison’s statements also make clear that while a natural-looking and beautiful course was important, the playing field landscape itself was anything but natural. Many of the lauded natural traits were present as a consequence of previous human activity similar to other scenic landscapes.

Colt and Alison’s designs for the Toronto Golf Club and the Hamilton Golf and Country Club reflected these written treatises. The reports Colt and Alison wrote in 1913, 1920, and 1927, for instance, provided comments that followed up on their course layout for the Toronto Golf Club. These reports offered further examples of their principles that highlighted the importance of the natural looking course and the use of strategic play tenets. Colt pointed out that the Toronto course would be equal to other inland courses because the Etobicoke land possessed the necessary natural features and materials needed to create a strategic and natural course. The elements to create a good golfscape existed. They just required a human hand. Colt suggested, for instance, that bunkers on the course be allowed to “splash up against the banks [to look] as if […] blown by the wind.” In 1927 Colt advocated to the club that no bunker should be placed in front of the green on the first hole because it would “call for a type of shot which a man just arrived from his office ought not to be asked to play until later in the

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These suggestions revealed how his design principles differed from the strictly penal structure of earlier designs and how golf design went beyond the game specific tenets to include aesthetic and emotional values. Alison criticized, in a similar vein, the course’s current artificial hazards that “[did] not give a good landscape effect.” He went on to assert that eight of the nine original greens he and Colt positioned were as nature deemed suitable. The design and modifications to the TGC were, again, anything but natural. Alison affirmed his ultimate aim was to make the designs appear natural and gave instructions on how to make an undulation on the course look to be a natural part of the landscape that “if you want to make a hillock look natural you have to give it a base which is broad in comparison with its height … note the natural undulations of the course and imitate them” (figure 5).

Figure 5. Report of C.H. Alison, October 1920. Courtesy of the Toronto Golf Club.

Alister MacKenzie, who worked at times with Colt and Alison in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, gave ample examples in his writings about the

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100 Report of C.H. Alison, 3.
merits and necessity of a natural-looking golf course. He stated, “[t]he chief object of every golf architect or greenkeeper worth his salt is to imitate the beauties of nature so closely as to make his work indistinguishable from Nature herself.”

Nature was the guide but it could be altered to enhance the value of the local qualities. MacKenzie also identified thirteen principles that a golf architect should follow. Principle number seven specified that “the course should have beautiful surroundings, and all artificial features should have so natural an appearance that a stranger is unable to distinguish them from nature itself.” The ideas that the golf course should be beautiful and ‘natural-looking’ explicitly combined and re-emphasized the golf architect’s expertise to accomplish such tasks and the naturalistic vogue that existed in landscape creation on and beyond the golf course. What constituted the beautiful and natural looking golf course did not remain static, and this reality was clearly illustrated in Mackenzie’s work.

MacKenzie was a strong believer that golf architecture was akin to other artistic ventures, but he was also one of the first to highlight the need for scientific and technological knowledge in such endeavours. The aesthetic nature and the game tenets of the golf course were interconnected and required human technologies. These skills would help to create a natural-look that used the best natural features of the area. MacKenzie’s association between camouflage use in war and the golf architects’ manipulation of the physical features of the golfscape was an apt insight into these architects’ desires to construct a landscape that did not appear to be constructed.

MacKenzie, like Alison, opposed the penal golf architectural trends of an earlier day. He stated that “[t]he beauty of golf courses in the past has suffered from the creation

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103 MacKenzie, 44.
105 MacKenzie, 15.
of ugly and unimaginative design. Square, flat greens and geometric bunkers have not only been an eyesore upon the whole landscape, but have detracted from the infinite variety of play which is the heritage of the game.”

MacKenzie, too, wanted to maintain variety and the naturally beautiful setting since nature positively influenced those in contact with that landscape. He expressed that “[a] beautiful hole appeals not only to the short but also to the long handicap player, and there are few first rate holes which are not at the same time, either in the grandeur of their undulations and hazards, or the character of their surroundings, things of beauty in themselves … The finest courses in existence are natural ones.”

Alister MacKenzie weighed into the discussion, writing articles that reinforced his golf principles and spoke of his concerns over the destruction of natural beauty on chosen sites. In another contribution to American Golfer MacKenzie detailed the properties of an ideal short golf hole. In this description he disclosed that “the ideal short hole should have subtle strategic problems, the way to play it should not be an obvious one. The shot should vary from day to day according to the wind, the position of the flag on the green, wet or dry state of the turf, the individual preference of the player, and so on.” And then, a few lines later he added, “the ideal short hole should be a beautiful one. There are far more one-shot holes that owe their reputation to the beauty of the surroundings than any real merit in the holes themselves.”

MacKenzie favoured certain natural landscapes for the golfscape. He enjoyed the traditional seaside links as the ultimate model of a natural looking course. Part of his
affinity for the style was witnessed in his belief that the golf course should be as playable in winter as summer, which was highly improbable in many Canadian locations. MacKenzie did, however, allow for greater diversity as his career in Canada and the United States developed, and this illustrated how physical environments influenced design. While the design principles remained similar, what constituted those principles diversified. The creation of a natural looking setting in relation to the existing environment took precedence over the reproduction of a linksland vista. He also indicated that the specifics of routing the course and the placement of holes and hazards depended on the piece of land. This united the game playing tenets with the desire to create a natural looking setting.\textsuperscript{110}

MacKenzie’s design work in Canada highlighted the shifting notion of what was the aesthetically beautiful and natural looking course. His work on the St. Charles Golf Club in Winnipeg, Manitoba (1929) embraced trees that traditionally were not found on the links courses of Scotland. For MacKenzie the trees provided the course with a beautiful background and useful hazards when otherwise the course would have been flat and monotonous. Another example of the shift in MacKenzie’s view appeared in his works in Alberta. In 1928 he reported on the state of Jasper’s golf course. His comments about the course reflected his and his contemporaries’ visions of the aesthetic goal for the natural looking and beautiful golf course and how interaction with diverse Canadian environments transformed aspects of the architects’ concepts of what made a good golfscape. MacKenzie’s preference for links courses was still evident. He believed that the Jasper course, though inland, had many of the best attributes of the seaside links that

\textsuperscript{110} MacKenzie, \textit{The Spirit of St. Andrews}, 77.
incorporated undulating terrain that was not hilly.\textsuperscript{111} MacKenzie praised the natural looking bunkers, though he believed that some of them still looked too artificial.\textsuperscript{112} Jasper, of course, did not have the same physical environment as St. Andrews, Scotland. Situated in the Canadian Rockies the golf course reflected the environment’s natural features. The definitions of naturalness and beauty, consequently, broadened in the design framework.

Donald Ross made clear the uniqueness of the climates throughout Canada in golf course design. He was one of the few designers to declare outright the folly to recreate British golf holes in Canada and the United States where climatic conditions varied from those in Great Britain. He did, though, still acknowledge the superior quality of those Scottish and English courses, but he stressed the need to incorporate the natural features of the surrounding environment to create a natural-looking golf course. He derived beauty from the naturalness of the course itself and how regional features influenced the golfscape, especially when it came to hazards and greens. Ross provided a plan in 1919 to reconstruct the existing Banff golf course, and it emphasized the need to “fit all artificial work to the land-scape … [for example] all undulations, mounds and hollows should be irregular in outline and profile.”\textsuperscript{113}

Ross’s attention to this problematic recreation of British golf hole style on the continent was countered by the work of Charles Blair Macdonald. He accentuated the importance of a natural looking course but also privileged the design of British courses. He wrote in 1928 that “[v]eiwing the monstrosities created on many modern golf courses

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{111} STSA, XL1 M5 A02001 file 87, Dr. Alister MacKenzie, “Report on Jasper Golf Course,” September 28, 1928, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{112} STSA, XL1 M5 A02001 file 87, MacKenzie, “Report on Jasper Golf Course,” 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{113} CPRA, RG3-1004, Donald Ross, “Banff Golf Course, Banff Alberta: Suggestions for the Care of the Golf Course,” July 10, 1919.
\end{itemize}
which are a travesty on Nature, no golfer can but shudder for the soul of golf.”\textsuperscript{114} He accomplished his goal at the National Golf Links in Long Island when it opened in 1909. Macdonald reinforced the value placed on those prominent courses in Great Britain and their relevance to Canadian and American design.\textsuperscript{115} Grantland Rice wrote of Charles Blair Macdonald’s iconic American courses, like the National Links, that “Macdonald believed in obtaining all the beauty that is possible from any given tract in giving the average player his chance to live and at the same time punishing pride and lack of control as he makes the star work for his par.” Macdonald repeatedly advocated for variety and beauty even in golf course reproductions.\textsuperscript{116}

The accent on the natural looking golfscape aesthetic influenced the Canadian-born golf architect Stanley Thompson. Thompson’s ideas about his designs reinforced similar schemes to other golden age architects who worked in the United Kingdom and United States. Thompson placed soil composition and general terrain conditions above the importance of “picturesque-ness” and illustrated the necessity to incorporate scientific training to better understand the environmental components of golf course design.\textsuperscript{117} This indicated the trend in golf architecture to expand expertise and the qualifications required to become a golf architect to include the agricultural sciences. Naturalness and beauty, however, remained key factors in Thompson’s golf course designs. He expressed that “[l]ately there has been a reaction—and rightly so—against the artificiality and grotesqueness of certain architecture. Nature must always be the architect’s model. The


\textsuperscript{115} For more information on Macdonald’s vision of golf architecture see, \textit{Scotland’s Gift: How America Discovered Golf} (New York: Tatra Press, 2003 [1928]).


\textsuperscript{117} Stanley Thompson, \textit{About Golf Courses: Their Construction and Up-Keep} (Toronto: Stanley Thompson & Co. Ltd, 1923), 9.
lines of bunkers and greens must not be sharp or harsh but easy and rolling. The development of the natural features and planning the artificial work to conform to them requires a great deal of care and forethought.” He even offered suggestions on where to find or cultivate the ‘beautiful.’ He wrote, for example, “[i]n clearing fairways, it is good to have an eye to the beautiful. Often it is possible, by clearing away undesirable and unnecessary trees on the margin of fairways, to open up a view of some attractive picture and frame it with foliage.” Thompson also commented on some of the natural characteristics that constituted the beautiful. “Water not only makes good mental and actual hazards, but by the picture which can be created adds greatly to the effect of a course if treated in a natural way. Streams, ponds, and even open ditches, if properly made, give variety, not only to play but to the aspect of the course, and through their steady motion or quiet permanence inspire a feeling of restful calm.” Thompson did not dismiss the centrality of the golfscape aesthetic. He believed in a natural-looking course that could bestow beneficial qualities on those experiencing the landscape.

The diversity of environments not previously encountered or considered for golf courses strongly influenced Thompson’s designs. His interaction with a variety of parkland, forests, and mountains in his design career—he worked on courses like Banff and Jasper in Alberta, Capilano in British Columbia, St. George’s in Ontario, Highland Links in Cape Breton, and Green Gables in Prince Edward Island—offered new milieus in which he imposed certain design principles and in which he used the flexibility of the natural-looking definition and the emphasis placed on variety, to help lay out his courses. In these different milieus the emphasis remained on a natural-looking course that incorporated the physical features found in the region and that avoided artificiality at all

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118 Stanley Thompson, About Golf Courses, 9.
119 Ibid., 10.
costs. These components were found in Thompson’s design ideas for several of his Canadian courses. In choosing the location for the golf course within Prince Edward Island’s National Park, Thompson dismissed potential sites at Dalvay and Stanhope, which had beautiful beaches but flat and rather uninteresting grounds that would have required much artificial construction. Instead he favoured Cavendish that possessed 300 acres (121 hectares) “from sand dune ridges fronting the ocean, back into a wooded farmland … traversed by two brooks … a number of springs … and a fresh water lake,” that invoked the picturesque and the beautiful.\textsuperscript{120} The location also had good sandy soil and varied terrain. As Thompson acknowledged, the community surrounding the area was “pastorally beautiful.”\textsuperscript{121} Thompson also noted the merits of the chosen site for the Cape Breton National Park golf course. That site had “craggy cliff land, sandy shore and wooded valley land traversed by a river … unique on the Atlantic for its variety of terrain.” Though it would be costly to build, the exceptional conditions of the region warranted the construction of the park’s golf course in this area.\textsuperscript{122} These two courses illustrated the variety of conditions and definitions of beauty and naturalism.

Thompson’s work at the Capilano Golf Club in North Vancouver during the 1930s strongly demonstrated the architect’s aspiration for a specific aesthetic and the willingness to create it through landscape manipulation. As the story goes, since Thompson desired the best view from the clubhouse to the first tee, he ordered his men to cut down several trees on the edge of the neighbouring property in order to open a view of the Burrard Inlet. This action prompted the property owner to call the police. Thompson showed a police officer the view from the first tee and the officer, awed by the

\textsuperscript{120} LAC, RG84, Vol. 72, 313-7, Stanley Thompson, “Re: Maritime Golf Course – Preliminary Report,” June 4, 1938.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid.
beauty of the scene, simply suggested that Thompson not cut down any more of the neighbour’s trees. This tale speaks to the fact that aesthetic value on the golf course, especially the beautiful, was a central component of golfscape creation.

When golf designers were not chopping down trees, they were writing about beautiful courses in popular sports journals. Articles in *Canadian Golfer* and *American Golfer* highlighted a strategic playing field and aesthetically pleasing surroundings relative to physical environments. Golfscape design principles did not remain solely in the minds of a few architects but circulated within the readership of a larger Canadian and American golf community. Architects, designers, and golf enthusiasts contributed to these dialogues. George C. Thomas Jr., writing on design in America, dedicated a chapter in his treatise to beauty and utility. He wrote, “[o]n the artistic side there is a theory of construction with a main fundamental that we copy nature; in this all seem to agree … all melted into the land surrounding them, and should appear as having always been present … Yet, while easy lines are beautiful and pleasing … variety must again be considered.” Contributors to *American Golfer* as early as 1909 remarked that “[g]olf, real golf, consists of a proper blending of driving, approaching and putting; and holes should be laid out as to provide sufficient diversity to tax the skill of players in each and every department.” These were key strategic golf characteristics. In 1920 Walter Travis announced that the old ways of building golf courses that involved “a suitable site for the putting green and to put in a cross bunker for the tee shot and another cross bunker for a second shot across the fairway … deep, uniform cop of face [bunkers] …

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offensively artificial,” were gone. In 1915 the articles that updated the Canadian golfing community on changes to the Royal Montréal Golf Club and introduced the Hamilton Golf Club rejoiced at the elimination of “artificial and unsightly hazards” and characterized the new course as “bunkered and trapped in the most scientific manner with rolling fair greens yielding to the look and pleasing to the eye, and undulating greens of generous dimensions … [following Colt’s ideas] to give a player a choice as to how he might play the hole.” Similar language and ideas about the golfscape re-emerged repeatedly. In 1916 Canadian Golfer detailed that the new golf course in Digby, Nova Scotia not only commanded a splendid vista but “topographically the links leave nothing to be desired, as there is every variation of slope and grade and the many roads and ditches form natural hazards for almost every hole.”

These periodical articles highlighted beauty in the natural surroundings of the playing field. In 1918 contributor Henry Leach explained that “the principles and the joys of the game are the same in the case of seaside and inland golf, but the causes in their character are wholly different, and any attempt to make the inland course resemble the other means the ruin of all its own special quality.” Sports writer Grantland Rice specified that “in building a golf course there should be beauty, interest and variety, as a first-class test for first class golf, a fair test for all who play.” In an article in American Golfer from 1930 Charles H. Banks emphasized that a golf course should exist on a flat piece of land but that if it was absolutely unavailable, there were a series of principles to

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follow. He went on to illustrate the way to introduce artificially the desired topography through the use of the “case study.” This method, he stated, was employed “in the study of medicine and law” and that “there is no reason why we should not adopt similar methods in the study of some golf course problems.”

In 1937 a rather enthusiastic contributor submitted an article entitled, “It is with Fear One Trifles: When Human Ingenuity and Nature Conspire to Produce the Perfect Water Hazard, Goose Flesh Creeps Over Veterans and Duffer Alike.” The distinct conception of the golf course landscape was evident. In 1919 Miss Violet Henry Anderson claimed, “lovers of the Royal game are usually susceptible to the beauty of scenery … their minds are stored with memories not only of hard-fought battles but of wind-swept bays, bold headlands … the glory of maples in autumn.” In 1920, rising golf architect T. Simpson wrote about the difficulties of “construct[ing] undulations that … have the appearance of having been in existence from time immemorial.” In 1930 an excerpt from the National Greenkeeper Bulletin declared, “in moulding the hills and valleys and the contours of the surface of the land Mother Nature instilled into all of her handiwork an element of beauty … in imitating her work man’s greatest problem as in all art, is in the avoidance of artificiality … [though] conditioning is necessary [no matter the site].” All these articles spoke to elements that crafted the best golf course and illustrated the depth to which such notions had entered the golfing culture. These design principles spread throughout Canadian golf

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culture in the designs of courses and in discussions of architectural principles in popular writings.

Conclusion

The golfscape as a playing field and as a manifestation of nature defined the boundaries for a new landscape category and for a group of professionals to label and assert their skills within it. These golf architects created a place for themselves within a new professionally oriented society that celebrated and rewarded expertise and knowledge in a particular area. While these design ideals worked on many courses across Canada, the physical environments of the country placed new pressures on the architect and the golfer to widen the definition of the course’s aesthetic composition. These designers shared much with their landscape architect cousins. Both professions were heavily influenced by and played a role in highlighting certain historically complex and nature descriptors that included the picturesque, the beautiful, and the sublime wilderness. Both advocated for the value in experiencing nature as a way to restore a sense of humanity. And both wanted to conceal the human hand behind these highly constructed spaces. Golf architects went a step further. They crafted playing fields with distinct game features within an experience of nature. Different natural elements became game features as golfers played a challenging round relative to their skill level while they enjoyed the course’s naturalness and beauty. The ideal golfscape and the real golfscape were not necessarily the same creature. Canadian social and environmental realities actively influenced how golfers and golf architects armed with their design principles actually planned courses across the country.
Chapter Four:
“Playing Through: Golfscape Development Across Canada”

Introduction

Between 1873 and 1945 three types of golf courses emerged: private, public, and resort. This chapter explores how the advocates for and patrons of these three course types tackled the hazards and benefits of wider social transformations. These golfscapes materialized on various sites—private land, indigenous reserves, and properties owned and operated by municipal, provincial, or federal governments. They functioned on capital from memberships and green fees, pay-as-you-play fees, and on funds from governments and transportation and tourism companies. Golfscape location reflected golfers’ relationships to and participation in Canada’s shifting socio-spatial realities, and this chapter explores how the physical and ideological positioning of these courses reflected a dialogue among dominant golf culture, core principles of golf course design, and the local environments that surrounded them.

Private, public, and resort courses contended with multiple internal and external actors that influenced their establishment. Their diverse responses hinged on a course’s perspective clientele, architectural principles, and Canada’s human and non-human geographies. Private courses were the earliest and dominant manifestation of a golfscape in Canada, and they initially appeared on the outskirts of Canada’s cities and towns. Members wanted a club with the ideal balance of strategic play and aesthetic beauty characteristic of contemporary golf culture, but they also sought a course accessible from their homes and places of work. A pattern of private club relocation emerged as a result.

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1 People, of course, played the game in fields and parks and on beaches and lawns across the country, but these pick-up games are difficult to find in the written record. Throughout this chapter I use public and municipal golf to define the same phenomenon.
of trying to maintain that balance. Private courses that did not relocate still had to harmonize the desires of members with the realities of the industrial and residential pressures of the rural-urban fringes. Public course locations easily fit into the framework of urbanizing Canada since they targeted the lower middle classes who did not have the time or money to travel further afield. Middle class reformers hoped golf could help establish mentally and physically healthy citizens, and subsequently they encouraged the location of public courses in proximity to urban populations. Despite the desire, however, there were questions around land acquisition in an age of massive urban growth that caused development hiccups along the way. Resort courses had their own trajectory too. New forms of mobility, an urban industrial society, and ideas about nature tourism, propelled the establishment of resort courses across the country. The resort club became a feature of a pantheon of physical activities and cultural values in vogue as part of travel to distant vacation destinations. Resort owners and transportation companies often used the design principles of play and closeness to nature as well as distance from the routine and ill health of daily urban life to entice their targeted upper-middle class audience onto their varied locales that included coastal, pastoral, and mountainous experiences. These relationships continued to shape the character of Canadian golf culture and the unique landscape status of the golfscape throughout the period under examination.

Course Locations

Between 1873 and 1945 Canadian society underwent substantial socio-cultural and spatial restructuring that affected the establishment of golf courses. This period witnessed what Craig Heron called “Canada’s second industrial revolution.” New forms of capital accumulation and corporate consolidation reoriented Canada’s workforce and
altered the physical and social boundaries of production, though still on a smaller scale than in the United States.² Social change followed. A new professional-managerial upper-middle class emerged who had the time, disposable income, and cultural capital to join members of the upper classes on a growing number of golf courses, and to participate in the new age of conspicuous consumption.³ Meanwhile, urban and inter-urban transportation systems changed the way people moved and facilitated golfers’ access to their playing fields. In 1870s Canada, most roads outside the city limits remained dirt surfaced or timber planked. According to golf lore, one day in the 1920s, David Mulligan used his automobile, a relatively new form of transportation, to drive himself and his fellow golfers to the St. Lambert Golf Club outside Montréal, Québec. The trip from the city centre to the rural setting, along badly kept roads and a wind-swept bridge, unsettled Mulligan so much that he made a poor initial shot off the first tee. His golfing buddies, thankful for the ride to the course and aware of the effect of the drive on their friend, offered Mulligan a do-over swing that gave birth to the “mulligan” golf term.⁴ Golf and mobility were intimately linked.

Many city streets, though, were improved due in part to growing concerns over sanitation and greater public willingness to pay for transportation infrastructures. Horse-drawn streetcars and electric street trams became vital modes of urban transportation in the 1880s, and they contributed to the physical expansion of cities and provided access to

courses. The 1870s and 1880s also saw growth of railways as a mode of transportation between and within Canadian cities, and they further promoted the expansion of urban areas. The importance of railways like the Grand Trunk, the Intercolonial, and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) for the growth of Canadian resource industries and agriculture is well known. Rail lines also reshaped cities and, consequently, affected golf course location, as industrial and residential development spread along rail corridors on the fringes of urban areas.5

Urban growth also influenced course location. Throughout this period, Canadian cities added more and more subdivisions to their fringes. Affluent enclaves gave way to unplanned, planned, and industrial suburbs, as cities decentralized and pushed their borders into the surrounding countryside.6 Private, public, and resort courses blended into these shifting socio-economic, political, and physical landscapes in different ways based upon ideological and aesthetic concerns.7 Private courses initially existed on the

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7 The relationships between war or depression and Canadian golfscapes are the focus of a separate project. These far-reaching crises complicated course development. During the world wars and Great Depression and despite continued interest in the game, golfers and club members had to shift their expectations of a golfscape experience while they also emphasized golf’s continued relevance as a source of respite and employment during times when society had graver matters at hand. There were shortages in equipment, like golf balls; restrictions of materials, like gasoline—making attendance at the club more difficult—and curtailment of green committee activities demanded by the government. Clubs had to modify their maintenance systems. Other clubs lost memberships and reduced, eliminated, or altered fees and services. For examples of these trials and tribulations see, Niblick, “The Eastern Provinces” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1915), 163 and Mr. W. M. Reekie, “Golfing at St. Andrews-by-the-Sea” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 2, no. 6 (October 1916), 305. Also see, Toronto Golf Club Archives [hereafter TGCA], Minute Book (Vol 7) 1931-1938, Meeting October 27, 1931 and Meeting January 8, 1932 and Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting February 7, 1942; Board of Director’s Meeting April 13, 1942;
urban fringe. These locations provided the physical space necessary to lay out a course but remained near enough to the workplaces and homes of the members to allow for easy access. For example, the Toronto Golf Club (TGC) founded in 1876 located its first nine-hole course beyond the eastern limits of the city of Toronto near the property of the club founder and transplanted Scotsman, Lamond Smith. The course sat on the extensive belt of farmland that surrounded the relatively compact city of Toronto. The property bordered Coxwell Avenue to the west, Woodbine Avenue to the east, the Grand Trunk Railway right-of-way to the north, and Queen and Kingston Road to the south. Initial course ideals were not at odds with the existing rural landscape around Toronto. The early members at this club, similar to other early private clubs across the country, found a balance between distance from urban centres and access to the course.

Public courses arrived in Canada in the 1910s, and their promoters did not seek to distance them from urban life. These courses provided an outlet for a contemporary movement among many in the new middle classes to promote social betterment and health for working class adults and youths through physical activity. How courses fit within this reform narrative reinforced language around the benefits of time spent outside in natural surroundings and the pursuit of exercise and healthy social interactions. Rev. Jack Storey from the local YMCA in Vancouver, for instance, supported the promotion of the game as long as it did not take preference over the advancement of municipal playgrounds.  

Playgrounds were seen as more important in the progress of social and mental health than a golf course. The centrality of children’s health and proper development outweighed, at least for some, the need for adults to experience exercise in

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Annual General Meeting, February 6, 1943. City of Vancouver Archives, [hereafter CVA] AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Vol 7&8, Report of President Mr. R. J. Kenmuir, 1939; Meeting February 7, 1942; Financial Report, February 13, 1943; and Meeting April 24, 1944.

8 “Municipal Golf in Vancouver,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 6, no. 2 (June 1920), 105.
the outdoors through golf, but these courses were, nevertheless, part of the movement for city beautification and to bring nature into the city.

Urban growth and infrastructures helped make resort courses part of a particular Canadian golf experience intimately tied to long-distance transportation—the intercontinental railways and, then, highways. Transportation and tourism companies, especially Canada’s railway lines, used the growing popularity of the game, its association to nature experiences, the vogue for healthy and natural living, and the desire for membership in an exclusive cultural arena to make these new golfscapes a palatable addition to the destination vacation. The language and imagery used to promote the golf experience at these tourist places reinforced ideas about the ideal golf course as a strategic playing field and incarnation of nature. Along the CPR, the company’s hotels provided golf as part of resort packages starting as early as 1905 but more completely in the 1910s and 1920s. One ad deemed the St. Andrew’s “By the Sea,” New Brunswick course as a “worthy namesake of the Mecca of golfers in the old grey Scottish town,” and alluded to the connection between this course and the home of the Royal and Ancient in St. Andrews, Scotland.9 The CPR publicity department capitalized on the name similarity between the Canadian and Scottish St. Andrews. It was not the first time that the CPR used well-established European vistas like the Swiss Alps to foster a sense of prominence and significance in a Canadian landscape promotion aimed at affluent tourists. Similar to “its American railway counterparts, C.P.R. references to a known landscape aided in a larger process of re-imagining the West as a series of places comparable, if not superior to, the most desirable destinations in Europe.”10 The CPR’s use of the St. Andrews’

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name and venerated history falls into the same category. The Canadian golfing experience retained ties to its privileged past but also negotiated specific regional circumstances.

*Private Course Location and Its Discontents*

Enthusiasts established courses according to the perceived needs and values of the club’s patrons, but golfscapestoalsodevelopedintension with Canada’s social and physical geographies. Growing industrialization and urbanization quickly enveloped rural fringe areas and led many private clubs into a close but antagonistic relationship with urban environments across Canada. Transportation infrastructures and developers commandeered these peripheral areas for residential and industrial expansion and pressures arose between the benefits from and inevitability of urban growth concerning class-defined golf aesthetics, increased leisure time, the growth of club memberships, and higher land prices and taxes.  

Private courses began to relocate. Between 1876 and 1894, acting under the incorporated titles of the Fernhill Land Company and the Toronto Golf Association, the TGC occupied four overlapping sites; they all were located in the zone where the fast-growing city met disappearing farmland. Each of the club’s site shifts resulted from transportation and urban development concerns. First the club moved south towards the Woodbine Race Track, which allowed for more open space and easier course access.

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11 While the history of urban enclaves and distinct neighbourhoods existed prior to the period in question, the late nineteenth century witnessed the start of a trend of urban dwellers relocating further away from the city core in order to benefit from the perceived advantages of health and lifestyle imbued in a transforming urban existence. Again, see for instance, Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003); and Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Wiess, eds, *The Suburb Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
because of reliable transportation by tram service and the macadamized road surface on Queen Street. The club’s papers noted, “[i]n other directions no other ‘country’ was so readily accessible as the neighbourhood of the Woodbine race-course, and there [the members] sought for suitable unoccupied land on which to lay out their projected golf course.” The TGC then shifted its course north towards Gerrard Street, where members created a new playing field, again on rented farmland. The members had little concern with modifying the pasture since it already included the sandy soils and undulating surfaces that were considered ideal for golf. The farmer who owned the land insisted, however, that it was not to be altered, that no trees would be cut down, and that there would be no “demonstrations which might alarm the grazing animals.” The land retained multiple uses.

Transportation to the TGC continued to improve and enabled more people to enjoy the game through the last decade of the nineteenth century. Horse-drawn trolleys along King Street stopped within a mile of the course. Horse-drawn carriages or a train ride from Union to Lindenhurst Street station, located north of the course, provided additional transportation options for getting to and from the playing field. By 1904, Mr. Cassells, the captain of the club, started using his Russell automobile to drive to the course. The automobile and other forms of transportation allowed players greater availability to the game and diminished the club’s separation from the urban centre. Membership increased from 150 in 1894, to 220 in 1908. Expansion pressures continued from all sides, as Toronto’s city borders crept beyond the Don River. Noise and smoke from the nearby railway tracks and rail yards disturbed the players. While the club

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13 Ibid., 4.
attempted to purchase additional farm fields surrounding the course, with hopes to expand the course and halt encroaching development, land prices were too high. A complete relocation seemed the logical solution.\textsuperscript{15}

The TGC’s choice of a new location illustrated how the built environment was important but needed to be obscured or kept at a distance. The club’s membership selected an area in Peel County, straddling the Etobicoke River and west of the city of Toronto, as a suitable site for the new course. The club’s annual report from 1910 emphasized the transportation benefits offered by the new location. Four transportation routes opened to club members or would become available as construction continued over the following few years. They included the Lake Shore Electric Cars and Grand Trunk rail lines to the south and the Canadian Northern and Canadian Pacific (Guelph Branch) railways to the north.\textsuperscript{16} While club members were glad for routes to the course, negative associations remained. A letter from club President G. A. Sweny from the same year noted that even though the site for the clubhouse provided stimulating views of the course, existed in a beautiful setting hidden by trees, and maintained a suitable distance from public roads, its proximity to the Grand Trunk railway, a mere half mile (800 meters) away, still allowed for noise and smoke to infiltrate the playing field.\textsuperscript{17} The site, nonetheless, catered to the potential strategic and aesthetic qualities sought by the members, as well as to the suitable distance from daily urban occurrences. The club’s executive subsequently brought in English golf architects Harry Colt and Hugh Alison to

\textsuperscript{17} TGCA, Historical Correspondences and Sundry Items, Vol. 1, G. A. Sweny, “To the Members of the Toronto Golf Club,” December 19, 1910, 1-2.
lay out the golf course at the new Etobicoke location. They were known for their combination of strategy and aesthetic beauty in design principles and for understanding the necessity of a balance between the value in urban amenities and the need for unimpeded pastoral contemplation.

Other private clubs also relocated because of growth in the game’s popularity, lack of space and accessibility, or enclosure by advancing urban borders. The Royal Montréal Golf Club, for example, decided to move from its Fletcher’s Field site on the east of Mont Royal in 1891 as a consequence of intruding housing development and increased public use of the common parklands around Mount Royal. After an ill-fated attempt to move the course further up the mountain, the club purchased farmland 16 kilometers west in Dixie (now Dorval), a site that was accessible by train and, later, automobiles. The Outremont Golf Club relocated from its location between Rockland and Pratt Avenues in Montréal to the nearby Mohawk Kanawaki Reserve. While there were concerns among the club representatives that the land’s swamp and shrubbery would cause problems, the members incorporated as Kanawaki Golf Club in 1912 and leased the land from the federal government. The Royal Québec Golf Club eventually relocated in 1915 after several years of searching, to land rented from the Québec Railway, Light, Heat, and Power Company near Montmorency Falls. By 1896, five years after its establishment, the Royal Ottawa Golf Club needed more land and moved to a farm in

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18 “Golf Coming to Toronto,” The Globe March 14, 1911, 10.
19 According to local history, an indigenous man named, Meloche, who was familiar with the needs of a golf course having caddied at the Royal Montréal’s Dixie Course, apparently made the suggestion to move to the reserve. The Kanawaki Golf Course 1914-1964. Prepared by Frank T. Denis, (Notes and Material compiled by Reginald E. Knight, 1964), 11-12.
21 J. Michel Doyon, The Royal Québec Golf Club. (Boischatel, Québec: Royal Québec Golf Club, 2005), 24-27. Further east, in Saint John, New Brunswick, the Riverside (nee Saint John) Golf Club began in 1897, quickly overcrowded, then the members leased the neighbouring property and moved to another farm in east Riverside, near old Intercolonial railway lines. See, Peter McGuire, Riverside and the People who made it Special, 1879-1997 (St. John: Transcontinental Printing, 1997).
Hull wherein there was to be “no damage or injury to crops, fences, buildings, personal property or animals.”\textsuperscript{22} In 1902 Calgary, grazing horses from a nearby livery wreaked havoc on the playing field, and over time continual urban growth forced the Calgary Golf Club to different locations.\textsuperscript{23} In 1894 a winter storm literally washed away the Jericho course near Vancouver. The club quickly relocated to Brockton Point in Stanley Park and then existed for a short time in Moodyville, across the Burrard Inlet in North Vancouver.\textsuperscript{24}

Private clubs were conscious of their continued need for accessibility during relocation. By 1901, for example, the Hull and Alymer Electric Railway offered 5 cents per trip rides from Ottawa’s central station to the Royal Ottawa Golf Club.\textsuperscript{25} Outside Winnipeg, the St. Charles Golf Club opened in 1905, and the club made an agreement with the city’s Suburban Rapid Transit Company to share costs in building a railway track to the golf course. The tram became quite successful and ran until 1931. Automobiles also gained such popularity among St. Charles members that signs were put up along the drive to combat speeding issues.\textsuperscript{26} In 1912 the Wascana Golf Club acquired permission from the city of Regina to build a terminus for the Regina Municipal Railway to be financed by the club. It ran four times on weekdays and six times on Sundays and


\textsuperscript{23} Tyler Trafford, \textit{The Calgary Golf and Country Club, 1897-1997} (Calgary: Sundog Printing, Ltd, 1997). See also, Glenbow Archives, (M1675 BD.3 C151-Box 1 ff. 1-3) Calgary St. Andrews Golf Club Minute Book and Financial Records, Calgary 1912-1925, Annual Report, April 11, 1912. In Regina, the original Wascana Golf Club moved to a 117 acre region south of the Wascana creek, and, by 1910, the club shifted further from the town.

\textsuperscript{24} According to local golf historian, Alan Dawe, “the golfers paid $100 to lease the land … the golf course cost $35 to build plus an additional $10 to a local logger for felling a tree to make a bridge across Lynn Creek.” Alan Dawe, \textit{The Golf Courses of British Columbia}. (Richmond, B.C.: A & J Publishing, 1985), 11. See also, Arv Olson, \textit{Backspin: 120 of Golf in British Columbia} 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed, (Victoria: Heritage House, 2012).


\textsuperscript{26} Barbara Huck and Doug Whiteway, \textit{One Hundred Years at the St. Charles Country Club} (Winnipeg: Heartland Associations, 2005).
holidays. It declined in use during World War One and with the subsequent increase in automobiles.\textsuperscript{27} At Calgary’s St. Andrews Golf Club, a site of 80 acres was not purchased in 1913 because of the land’s lack of transportation facilities.\textsuperscript{28} In August of that same year, in connection with a potential golf site at Bowview Heights, members met with racing, polo, and other associations to see about taking action “regarding transportation facilities to the south quarter of the city and district adjoining.”\textsuperscript{29} Access, however, was not the only issue.

Design concerns were another factor in discussions on new sites. At the Elbow River, near Calgary, St Andrew’s members worried that parts of the site were not suited to golf. “The committee was not impressed with the river frontage which was flat and rather uninteresting, although a pretty view of the Rockies [was] obtainable,” a club report noted. There was a section towards the end of the property, furthermore, “covered in heavy brush and gravelly soil” not usable for golf.\textsuperscript{30} Other large sections of the property, however, did meet standards for design and construction. In these areas “[t]he timber brush [was] not very thick except in a few places and although the ground [was] flat, there [were] creeks and undulations in plenty to afford any amount of natural hazards.”\textsuperscript{31} Further west, the Shaughnessy Heights club dealt with a similar mix of issues. In a 1927 “Letter to the Members,” the club President outlined concerns about renewing a lease with the CPR because the land assessments had increased and taxes were getting

\textsuperscript{28} Glenbow Archives, (M1675 BD.3 C151-Box 1 ff. 1-3), Calgary St. Andrews Golf Club Minute Book and Financial Records, Calgary 1912-1925, Committee Meeting, May 23, 1913.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., Committee Meeting, August 25, 1913.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., Committee Meeting, December 13, 1913.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
prohibitive.\textsuperscript{32} Topographical and geological features of a region as well as building costs swayed the members among the various relocation options. The nearby First Nation reserve contained good soil but lacked natural hazards.\textsuperscript{33} Land substitutions suggested in the CPR option were less than ideal. In one account, “50\% of the land consisted of muskeg and, in addition, a large part was rock, which made it unsuitable for golf.”\textsuperscript{34} In another option, the “130 acres of land set aside by the Government for golf purposes in the University subdivision” was favourable, at least according to local architects and green professionals Maccan, Black, and MacRae. One of the issues in this scenario, however, was the high cost of a new course and clubhouse.\textsuperscript{35} A decision was put to a members’ plebiscite. A new agreement with the CPR won by a slight majority.\textsuperscript{36}

There was also, in some instances, a connection between private club relocation and public course development. In 1896 the Edmonton Golf Club consisted of five holes on land owned by the Hudson’s Bay Company. The course uprooted in 1907 when the provincial government purchased the land to build the legislative assembly building. The club moved west into an area known as the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) flats and expanded to nine holes. This location did not survive either. The HBC sold this land to the city to create Victoria Park, and the club relocated eight miles (13 km) further upstream to a 426 acres (172 hectares) area and sold some of it off for residential

\textsuperscript{32} Also, the land between the clubhouse and Granville Street was considered “far too valuable to use for playing golf.” See, CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Books Vol 1-3, Letter to the Members of the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, February 9, 1927. In 1902, the Canadian Pacific Railway failed to construct a golf course between 33\textsuperscript{rd} and 37\textsuperscript{th} streets, west of Granville. Instead, housing developers used the land. The future Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club took shape across from this property.

\textsuperscript{33} CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Books Vol 1-3, Meetings September 15 1925; Meeting April 21, 1926; Meeting October 20, 1926; and Meeting November 17, 1926.

\textsuperscript{34} CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Books Vol 1-3, Letter to the Members of the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, February 9, 1927.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{36} CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Books Vol 1-3, Letter to the Members –President’s Annual Report.
development.\textsuperscript{37} The playable links, sold as part of the Victoria Park agreement, became Canada’s first municipal course in 1915.\textsuperscript{38} A site unsuitable for private play was valuable as a public course, which spoke to the divergence in clientele and perceived needs.

Even courses that did not relocate faced problems of industrialization, urbanization, and accessibility. On Prince Edward Island, the Belvedere Golf Club established itself on an amalgam of farmland just outside Charlottetown, and the club’s location remained relatively stable.\textsuperscript{39} Yet the club had to maneuver among the needs of its urban members, a country setting, and course accessibility. In the late spring and early summer of 1912 the club initiated an experimental carriage service between Charlottetown’s city centre and the course due to reports that the “links were just too far from town … and that those without horses were at a disadvantage.”\textsuperscript{40} In this instance, some club members considered the playing field too removed from their homes and expressed dissatisfaction with the transportation infrastructure on the island. The proposed buckwood wagon ride would run once in the afternoon on Wednesdays and Saturdays to and from the course at a cost of 15 cents. It would stop at various streets throughout the city before arriving at the course. It was made clear, however, that were would be no deviation from the decided route, and the service would be discontinued if not used.\textsuperscript{41}

Similarly, the Victoria Golf Club maintained its original location but transportation and residential development caused tensions. In 1893 the Club leased farmland on Gonzales Point and incorporated additional acreage over the following years. By 1904 club members began to feel the threat of rising land taxes and residential development.\textsuperscript{37} J. W. McClung, \textit{Edmonton Country Club} (Edmonton: Edmonton Country Club, 1986)\textsuperscript{38} This municipal park is part of a larger discussion to come in the following chapter.\textsuperscript{39} Prince Edward Island Provincial Archives, [hereafter PEI-PA] Series 5, Belevdere Golf and Winter Club Fonds, ACC 4054. “Land Conveyances, 1903-1908.”\textsuperscript{40} PEI-PA, “Correspondences and Reports 1911-1918,” Belvedere Golf and Winter Club, ACC 4054 Series 4, Letters of the Executive April 27, 1912 and June 3, 1912.\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., Letters of the Executive June 3, 1912.
development. By 1924 the Annual Report suggested that these were “the most pressing burdens” facing the club.42

The course itself changed because of external and internal forces connected to urban infrastructure and population growth. Horses and carriages were the main transportation method to the Oak Bay Links until 1908 when a special tram service began from the city centre to the course.43 In 1925 the Report of the Committee took time to discuss the issue of pedestrian and motor road traffic through the course. On the third hole, for instance, golfers had to shoot the ball over Beach Drive Road. This golf shot coupled with an “increasing population in Oak Bay and vicinity [where] the numbers of the public using the road would increase” caused two problems.44 First, there was congestion at the tee as golfers waited for a lull in auto traffic, especially on holidays, to make their shots. There was, consequently, a greater risk of golfers getting hit on the road. Second, the increased golfing traffic meant increased danger to the public of getting hit by a golf ball. The club attempted to fix the problem. Congestion concerns at the third and fourth fairways had members looking at land solutions. In 1930 the club agreed to a land exchange that would allow for a portion along Beach Drive to “be taken into the fairway of the present third hole by changing the route of this piece so as to run it as part of the 11th [hole] … this change would lessen congestion on the third and fourth fairways and “enhance the value of the property with the increased waterfront.”45

Whether private clubs relocated or stayed in place, they had to contend with urban

infrastructures and populations who were not necessarily golfers nor sympathetic to the plight of these players.

The desire to maintain a separate landscape with its own set of physical and social relationships did not mean that the private courses were isolated from the public. Private golf courses encountered tensions with the public that went beyond expanding urban borders or transportation development. At times these tensions involved actual confrontations with the public within the private grounds. Neighbouring land acquisitions and use created both friendly and anxiety-filled interactions. Private clubs in Canada often fenced off or patrolled the playing fields to keep the public away. Some clubs employed workmen or actual constables to keep the public off the course. At the TGC, for example, members complained of people “parking their cars on the grounds at night time” or people using the south bank of the Etobicoke River for swimming when it was, in fact, prohibited. The need for constables also reflected some less than legal activities occurring on the golf courses. These included people taking trees from the course—both Christmas and non-Christmas varieties—as well as the presence of boys, as at the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, who “had no business on the property,” who made trouble for the “other [caddy] boys” or who hid in the woods around the 12th and 13th holes on Saturdays and Sundays and who would “run out to pick up balls before the players arrive[d] on the scene.” Control of public actions was not limited to the boundaries of the private course.

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46 For instance at Shaughnessy Heights, the committee suggested wooden fences and barbed wire to help stop boys from running onto the course or stealing balls. CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Books Vol 7 and 8, Meeting December 18, 1944.

47 TGCA, Minute Books (Vol 6) 1916-1924, Meeting May 14, 1924; and “Green Committee 1933-1943,” Green Committee Meeting July 11, 1938.

48 See, TGCA, Minute Books (Vol 6) 1916-1924, Meeting May 14, 1924; CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minute Book Vol 4, Meetings March January 8, 1929, and May 5, 1930; and Vol 7 and 8, Meeting August 21, 1944.
Public golf courses also had similar problems around their members’ behavior. Those involved in public course development also regulated its clientele. Organizers of Toronto’s public players, for instance, divided the membership for public golf in the region between its two courses. Buttons were given to all members to reduce the number of non-members trying to play. Stipulations declared that members could be expelled for damage to the course, intoxication, or failure to report those breaking the rules. Clearly the realms of private and public golf were not mutually exclusive.

Places for Public Golf

Public golf had a different trajectory than private clubs. This trajectory suggested the strain between golf needs and Canadian socio-spatial realities related to urban growth. The prairie west dominated the earliest period of public golf in Canada while “the cities in the East[,] larger and richer though they be, h[ad] so far displayed a lamentable lack of interest in catering to the wants of their citizens” surrounding the public game. While

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49 “Another Public Course for Toronto: Generous Donation of His Private Links by Well-Known Stock Broker,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 6, no. 12 (April 1921), 836. See also, “Everyone May Take a Turn on Municipal Golf Course and Enjoy Popular Pastime,” *Globe* April 13, 1923, 13. Hamilton debated the construction of a public golf course. Again, those promoting the game, pointed to the fact that golf did not have to remain a rich man’s sport and that the success of public courses in Edmonton and Calgary, illustrated that the health benefits of golf could be gained without cost burdens on the taxpayers. One suggestion was the old Hamilton Golf Club—the private club’s old grounds within the city—though it required substantive upkeep. See, “Hamilton to have Municipal Links,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 2, no. 12 (April 1917), 664; “Public Golf in Hamilton,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 7, no. 8 (December 1921), 570. Further east, in the fall of 1921, Ottawa golf enthusiasts discussed public golf for their city. Advocates stated that “the workingmen of Ottawa are as much entitled to play golf as those of their fellow citizens who are in more affluent circumstances.” “Municipal Golf in Ottawa,” (Reprint from *Ottawa Citizen*) in *Canadian Golfer*, Vol. 7, no. 7 (November 1921), 510. Brantford and Windsor also indicated interest in public golf courses. Available land near the urban centres very much dictated course location. In the case of Windsor, the Western Racing Association proposed a public course within a 65 acre area within Devonshire Park. See “Brantford Parks Board Endorses Public Golf” and “Public Golf for Windsor,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 9, no. 1 (May 1923), 4, 45; “Municipal Golf for Brantford: Parks Broad Decides to Purchase Land and Build Public Links Next Season,” Vol. 9, no. 7 (November 1923), 589; “Public Golf for Windsor,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol 7, no. 6 (October 1921), 375.

urban parks and green areas existed in central and coastal Canada, these older vicinities were often already hemmed in by residential and industrial development that reduced the availability of large “natural” spots near or in the city. Public courses, however, did reach most large Canadian cities by the 1920s. Canada’s first public course opened in Edmonton in 1915 on land that held the original private Edmonton Golf Club before it relocated. The property was part of the city’s land purchase of that area to create Victoria Park so long as the golf course would be maintained as a playable links. Within a year, the public course made a profit, and between April and December golf enthusiasts played 9,543 games. There was no age limitation on the course or gender restrictions, and organizers left Saturday mornings and the early hours of holidays to the young in order to encourage play. Fees for the season were $10.00 for men, $7.50 for women, and 10 cents for children. One could also purchase a single game (twice around the golf course) for 25 cents or a package of twenty games for $2.00.51 In 1916 Winnipeg’s Public Parks Branch acquired enough land adjoining the existing Kildonan Park to build a public course. An announcement in Canadian Golfer stated, “the links and the park will be practically one large park, being only divided by a wide fence.”52 The emphasis continued to be on the health benefits for men and women, the ease of accessibility to the course from the surrounding urban area, and the pleasure the course offered those who played upon it.53 It was not until the spring of 1921 that the municipal golf course at Kildonan Park finally

51 “The Advent of Municipal Golf-What Edmonton, Saskatoon, Calgary, and Winnipeg are Doing to Provide their Citizens with Facilities for Playing the Game,” Canadian Golfer Vol 2, no. 9 (January 1917), 477-478.
opened to the public. The costs to maintain the golf course were not taken out of funds for the rest of the park. The seasonal fees were $15 for men and $7.50 for women.

Other public golf courses also had success. In Calgary during 1916, the fees for the first public course were less expensive than in Edmonton ($5.00 for men and $3.00 for women), and the founders created a special soldier deal of $1 per month with a limit of $5.00 for the year. In early 1923 Medicine Hat reported a very successful first year for its 9-hole public course; plans to extend the course to 18 holes circulated. In Saskatoon, the city owned and operated the Saskatoon Golf Club, and though not technically a public course, it acted as one. Any person could play for the fee of 25 cents per game or an annual cost of $12.00. In 1919 Vancouver city officials cited the growth in golf’s popularity as a reason to construct a public golf course on land adjacent to Little Mountain that required the acquisition of land from the CPR. Advocates stated that a public course would increase the number and length of stay of tourists to the city, that the game supported health and friendship, that it would not be a drain on the taxpayers, and that construction would provide work for many unemployed men. By the early months of 1922 public course construction in Hastings Park was finally under way.

There was a desire for public courses in central Canada. A contributor to the Globe wrote that though Toronto had fallen behind, perhaps because of the First World war, “the opportunity to enjoy the game should be extended to the great mass of people” who were not fixed financially; and that public golf addressed issues of social unrest and

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55 “Winnipeg’s Municipal Golf Course: Will be Open for Play this Spring at Kildonan Park – A Fine 18-Hole Course,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 6, no. 12 (April 1921), 821.
could be used “as a means of combating some other attractions that are not so conducive to healthful and sane citizenship.”58 There was more than one social health benefit to the game. R. H. Green of the Rosedale Golf Club in Toronto expressed that since the “saloons are closed, [the public golf course] is an added reason for giving our men a chance to spend their evenings and holidays in healthy surroundings.”59 In this case, the author alluded to golf as an alternative to illegal drinking during an era of prohibition.60 In Montréal, public golf promoters, of whom the majority were Anglophones, believed that there were hundreds of young men willing to pay at least $10 per season to play on a public course since they could not afford private fees.61 Language and ethnic background were explicitly linked to the lack of the public game in this part of the country. An article in Canadian Golfer posited that a possible reason for the absence of a public course in Montréal was that “as a general rule French-Canadians are not golfers or interested in any way in the pastime … [as a result] … the minority of English Aldermen and Controllers are unwilling to bring the matter up owing to the certainty of it being turned down.”62

Land availability in the vicinity of the regions’ cities, however, was the prevailing obstacle to playing field development. R.H. Green indicated that there had been an attempt to create a course in High Park to the west of Toronto. He argued that there was enough room to accommodate a nine-hole course without the worry of injuring other park users. Green believed that the lack of development illustrated the Board of Control

60 For more information on the alcohol regulation in Canada see, Jan Noel, Canada Dry: Temperance Crusaders before Confederation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), Craig Heron, Booze: A Spirited History (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), and Dan Malleck, Try to Control Yourself: Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-44 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).
61 “Montréal Lags Superfluous on the Public Golf Stage,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 8, no. 5 (November 1922), 540.
members’ view that golf was only a rich man’s game when in reality it should benefit all.63 In 1918 when enthusiasts again wrote in *Canadian Golfer* of the possibility of constructing a public course in Toronto after the end of the war, the issue of space was a barrier. There was no place large enough within the city limits to construct even a nine-hole golf course. It would have to be built, therefore, outside the city.64 Ultimately, Toronto’s first public course was built on 80 acres of leased pastureland in the Humber Valley. The course membership fee would not exceed $10 per annum. This location insured public access because it was less than two miles (3.2 km) from Sunnyside station and retained good streetcar access. The announcement also noted that the construction of the King streetcar line would eventually pass the property.65 The following year the Toronto region acquired a second course, called Glen Stewart, in the east end of the city. This land was already a golf course, privately owned and operated by a local stockbroker, A.E. Ames.66

Montréal’s golfers also experienced tensions between the desire for public courses and the lack of accessible land. While the Metropolitan golf course was a “proto” municipal course located partially in Fletcher’s Field on the side of Mount Royal where the original private Royal Montréal Golf Club played, it quickly closed due to overcrowding. The area remained a popular park used for many different activities not

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64 F.S. Charlmer, “Municipal Golf Links,” Reprinted *Toronto Star*, in *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1918), 140. See also, “Municipal Golf! Let Toronto Have Links,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol 6, no. 6 (October 1920), 454.
65 “Public Golf for Toronto: Magnificent Property Secured on the Humber Near Where the Toronto-Hamilton Highway Crosses,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 6, no. 8 (December 1920), 564. See also, “Toronto’s Public Course: To be Known as the Humber Valley Golf Club, Ltd,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 6, no. 9 (January 1921), 620. If possible a public club would enlist the services of prominent golf designers. The firm of Thompson & Cumming & Thompson laid out the course. These three men named in the firm (Stanley Thompson, George Cumming, and Nicol Thompson) were notable fixtures in Canadian golf architecture and private golf clubs.
conducive to share with golfers. By 1923, however, plans existed to construct a public golf course in an area known as Boyer Farm in Lachine. This was near the property of the Grand Trunk Railway and about twenty minutes from Bonaventure Station in downtown Montréal. Hopes were that nine holes would be ready for June of that year, with membership rates at $35 per annum. Businessman and Ontario’s leading proponent of public golf, Mr. Ralph Connable, visited Montréal to meet with the city’s Park Board and civil officials to discuss laying out a municipal golf course at Maisonneuve Park. Public golf had arrived in Québec.

By the mid-1920s public golf entered a phase of expansion in Canada, both in taking over the use of existing private courses and with the construction of new ones. By 1924 Winnipeg and Toronto acquired a second and third municipal course respectively, and Edmonton expanded its course from nine to 18 holes. These new public golf courses retained links to municipal park departments, earlier private golf courses, and golf enthusiasts. In Québec City, the public course arose on the old private Québec Golf Club after it relocated to Boischatel. In Winnipeg the Park Board took over (through the sale of intra-city land holdings to a hydro-electric company) a privately laid out golf course not currently open. The city council assured the people that the club would be self-sustaining. In May of 1925 Vancouver finally opened its Hastings Park municipal golf course. The following month, Halifax also inaugurated the Old Course of the Halifax Golf Club as a public golf course ($10 for men, $8 for ladies plus a $2

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67 “Public Golf for Montréal,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 8, no. 9 (January 1923), 717-718.
70 “Municipal Golf for Québec and Brantford,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no. 2 (June 1924), 162.
By January 1926 Canadian Golfer reported that there were 24 public golf courses open in Canada: Nova Scotia, 1; Québec, 2; Ontario, 10; Manitoba, 5; Saskatchewan and Alberta, 5; and British Columbia, 1. Four years later, the Royal Canadian Golf Association finally put into place a committee to situate the game in the hands of those unable to afford the private golf club. Public golf was a fixture on the Canadian golfing landscape.

Touring the Course

In the context of urban and social change, resort golf was meant to provide an idyllic destination away from the turmoil of daily life and an opportunity to be surrounded by nature. Tourism and transportation companies used the growing accessibility and infrastructures of long-distance travel, the increasing number of people with money and time to vacation, the vogue of natural encounters, and golf’s physical characteristics to make the game an important component of their financial ventures. In the June 1922 CPR booklet, “Golf in Canada,” the editor of Canadian Golfer magazine wrote, “[a] traveling devotee of the ‘game of games’ on the World’s Greatest Highway can have his golf … on two hundred and more seaside and inland courses … whilst as regards scenic environments, mountain lake, river and woodland—there is nothing in the world that compares to them.” The golf experience of travelling through the playing field increasingly meant travelling through a broad range of physical environments that existed across the country.

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72 “British Columbia’s First Public Links,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 11, no. 1 (May 1925), 81; and “Community Golf in Halifax,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 11, no. 2 (June 1925), 140.
73 “The Vogue of the Public Golf Course,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 11, no. 9 (January 1926), 732.
75 CPR Archives, (R613, x1033) Brochure Collection, Ralph H. Reville, “Golf in Canada,” 1922, 1.
Travelling to the various clubs in Canada infused with the principles of strategic
play and natural beauty did not mean playing golf on identical golf courses. Though the
underlying values remained the same, the dramatically different physical environments of
the courses meant adjusting the promotional language and construction boundaries,
ultimately helping to broaden the notion of what was a good course. In St. Andrew’s,
New Brunswick, for instance, “[t]he location of the links is supremely beautiful and no
inland course can ever compare with St. Andrews where the sea-breeze keeps the golfer
cool during the most strenuous game.” Advertisements for the Digby Pines Hotel
featured page length descriptions and images of the golf course that mentioned its sporty
and beautiful characteristics. At the Seigniory Club in Québec, “… tees and greens are
being shaped to conform to the terrain, and many a tumbling brook and pocket of bolder
is being utilized for a natural, sporty hazard.” Ads in Canadian Golfer suggested that
“for years to come the Seigniory Golf Club will hold sway over one of the most
picturesque and sporting links in Canada … [and that] nature certainly has been lavish in
her gifts to this favored spot … [.]” The inclusion of Stanley Thompson’s name as the
designer—who was indeed a well-known and respected golf architect—could not but
help elevate the course to among the very best in the country. CPR advertisements
promoted that “in the beautiful Humber Valley … 20 minutes by the lakeside drive from
the hotel, is the Royal York Golf Course … [f]amous golf and landscape architects are

76 CPRA, Brochure Collection, “St. Andrews-by-the-Sea.” Bulletin 149 (June 1, 1921), 9.
77 CPRA, “Dominion Atlantic RE Information About Nova Scotia.” Bulletin 77 (June 1, 1915), 14
and “Canadian Pacific Hotels: Golf in the Maritime Provinces.” Bulletin 266 (March 1931), 7; Brochure
Collection Box 6, no. 44 and 46, “The Pines Hotel” 1927; “The New Pines Hotel.” 1927-8(?)
78 CPR Archives, Brochure Collection, Box 6, no. 42, “Seigniory Club/Chateau Montebell:
79 “Lovely Lucerne-in-Québec: Magnificent 18-Hole Course Officially Opened up in Connection
with this Outstanding Playground,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 16, no. 3 (July 1931), 185.
developing this splendid setting into a magnificent 18-hole championship course.”

Golfing this course was “delightful … there being many groves of pine, elm, maple, oak, and birch, and the land is naturally rolling.” The Banff Springs course had a “romping river for hazards and mile-high peaks for out of bounds,” and it offered “smooth velvety fairways on top of the world … on a course so picturesque that there is never a moment of monotony.” A brochure from 1928 stated that the “course entirely reconstructed … under the supervision of Stanley Thompson … now offers one of the finest, most perfectly balanced and most scenically beautiful courses in the world.” While extremely different in appearance from each other, these golfscapes nevertheless fit within wider cultural values of leisure time and beneficial scenery.

Though the majority of resort courses were owned and/or operated by the rail company, private and public courses were also mentioned as part of the golfing pantheon available to those who chose to ride CPR rails and reside at its affiliated hotels. The detailed booklet “Golf in Canada” published by the Company underlined both the private and public golf courses available across the country. The CPR made it clear that golfing enthusiasts would not suffer for choice if they chose to vacation with them. During the early 1920s guests at the Montréal Hotel Viger could find the game of golf at no fewer than nine different courses within easy reach. Guests at the Château Frontenac in Québec City, moreover, had visitor privileges at the Royal Québec Golf Club. This course was steeped in the history of the country, “redolent in romance,” and possessed a

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80 CPRA, Brochure Collection, Box 8, no. 29 and 29c, “The Royal York, Toronto,” 1929 and “The Royal York,” 1938, [original italics].
82 CPRA, Brochure Collection, “Banff: Banff Springs Hotel,” 1929, 4, 7, 8.
83 CPRA, Brochure Collection, “What to Do at Banff in the Canadian Rockies.” 1928, 7-8.
85 CPRA, Brochure Collection Box 6, no 49, “Place Viger, Montréal,” 1923
“variety of greens … [in which the] flat, level, uninteresting kind have been carefully avoided.”  

Winnipeg offered, by 1922, 11 golf clubs and an 18-hole municipal course. The booklet even discussed how the course at Kildonan Park in Winnipeg opened as the result of “energetic officials of [the] public Parks Board all of whom are warm friends of ‘golf for the people.’” 

Saskatchewan also provided various course options. In Calgary the CPR made arrangements so that guests of its Hotel Palliser could golf at the private Calgary Golf and Country Club and municipal course found in the city.  

Guests of the Empress Hotel gained privileges at the nearby and private Victoria Golf Club and the Colwood Golf Club. At the Victoria Golf Club, “the emerald fairways of the course fringe the coast-line, with the dancing waves waiting to penalize the unwary golfer who slices or hooks at some of the rocky tees … with a superb panorama of cobalt sea and snow-clad Olympics to tempt the eye from the ball.”  

After 1928 a major highlight for the CPR in Victoria was the annual Empress Golf Tournament. The hotel organized the tournament for late February or early March either at the Victoria or Colwood clubs. Advertisements for the tournament highlighted that golf could be played during the winter months. The climatic difference in Victoria created a shift in golf’s seasonality and linked it to British traditions. The realms of private, public, and resort golf did overlap and reflected the Company’s enthusiasm to provide its clients with the desired amenities.

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86 CPRA, Brochure Collection, R613, x1033, Ralph H. Reville, “Golf in Canada,” 1922, 4.
87 Ibid., 17-18.
88 Ibid., 18.
90 CPRA, Brochure Collection Box 4, no 42, “The Empress Hotel,” 1929, 2.
91 See, for instance advertisements for the 14th and 15th annual winter golf tournament in the CPRA, Brochure Collection Box 4, no 10 and 11 for 1942 and 1943. Elsewhere in British Columbia, resort golf existed. Guests of the Hotel Vancouver had privileges at various golf courses around the city. See “Canadian Pacific Makes Public Golf Course at Vancouver,” Bulletin 192 (January 1, 1925), 4.
Other transportation and tourism entrepreneurs exploited golf’s popularity as a vacation activity. The CPR faced real and steep competition from the Canadian National Railway (CNR) resort golf experience at Jasper National Park that, consequently, propelled enhancements on the Banff course. Jasper officials acquired a Stanley Thompson built golf course in the late 1920s. Ads for the Jasper announced, “[i]n planning the Jasper Park Course very careful attention was given to the hole arrangement … the course will be somewhat more difficult than other usual run of courses—but alternative routes make it enjoyable for all classes of players.” The specific landscape design dictated players’ movements. Another advertisement highlighted the aesthetic qualities of Jasper when it described the location as a “[l]ittle bit of Heaven … what golfer would not want to subscribe to this when he hears that here is a golf course surrounded with snow-capped peaks.” A Canadian Golfer advertisement for Jasper involved similar aesthetic features including the July 1927 promotion, which detailed the course’s “mountain paradise” and “tonic air.” Here, skill, movement, and contemplation combined.92

Entrepreneurs at other vacation destinations also advertised golf as part of their summer resorts. In 1923 the Sunset Hotel offered golf at its “popular summer resort on the highlands of Lake Huron.”93 In Muskoka Ontario’s cottage country, the Bigwin Inn boasted golf as part of its summer attractions as well.94 These tourism participants put effort into offering guests at their respective complexes the highest quality of golf as part of a meaningful tourist experience. Canadian Steamship Lines heavily advertised its golf venue at the Manoir Richelieu at Murray Bay, Québec. A 1916 ad stated that it was

92 STSA, XL1 MS A020012, Correspondences from Stanley Thompson, “Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies, (Montréal: Canadian Pacific Railways, 1926), 11, 13 and Canadian Golfer (Vol. 13, no. 3 July 1927), 209.
93 “Spend the Summer at Hotel Sunset,” Canadian Golfer Vol 9, no. 1 (May 1923), 60.
94 For a sample advertisement see, Canadian Golfer Vol 9, no. 1 (May 1923), 105.
“hard to think of a course to surpass [this one] in picturesqueness … [with] air of the
clearest and most bracing character … [and providing] greens unequal[ed].”\textsuperscript{95} Health and
beauty went hand in hand. By 1930, ads for the Manoir Richelieu found in \textit{Canadian
Golfer} emphasized its good condition—with an abundance of fine turf and reworked by
well-known American golf architect Herbert Strong.\textsuperscript{96} Tourist outfits, once more,
advertised the involvement of a respected golf architect as an additional device to entice
potential golf enthusiasts to a course worthy of a visit.

These companies also advertised their resort courses to an international audience.
St. Andrews “By the Sea” was one of the few Canadian golfing retreats actively and
continually advertised in American golf periodicals. One such ad declared, “two cool,
moist, sea-air courses by the Bay of Fundy … the eighteen, thrilling even to experts …
the nine, to keep learners busy.”\textsuperscript{97} The Manoir Richelieu’s playing field was also one of
the Canadian courses frequently advertised in \textit{American Golfer}. Some of the ads for the
resort incorporated the scenery and the unique cultural heritage of the region: “Bien Joué,
Monsieur, from your small caddie … a breeze down the fairway compounded of fragrant
balsam with the tang of the sea … mountains lifting behind you … on your game in old
French Canada.”\textsuperscript{98} Characteristic of these ads was the one from July 1929 in which it
reiterated comments from architect Strong that he was to build “the natural beauty of the
place into every feature of the play, for the scenery surrounding the Manoir Richelieu is
the most impressive setting for a links of which I have knowledge.”\textsuperscript{99} The ad specified
how the trees, mountains, and views on the course, “makes this course appear to be a gift

\textsuperscript{95} Mr. F. P Betts, “Murray Bay Golf Club,” \textit{Canadian Golfer} Vol. 1, no. 9 (February 1916), 587.
\textsuperscript{96} “Gold at Murray Bay,” \textit{Canadian Golfer} Vol. 16, no. 2 (June 1930), 187.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{American Golfer}, Vol 33, no 9, (June 1930), 86.
\textsuperscript{98} \textit{American Golfer}. Vol 35, no 9, (June 1932), 60.
\textsuperscript{99} “Golf at the New Manior Richelieu-at Murray Bay, Province of Québec Canada,” \textit{American
Golfer}, Vol 32, no 10 (July 1929), 85.
of nature rather than a work of man.” The writers of an American ad boasted Stanley Thompson’s name for the Seignory Club in the Laurentians of Québec where he “literally carved [the course] out of the forest [and] … developed it into a delight to the eye and an interesting and enjoyable test of golf.” The prestige of a golf architect coupled with a beautiful environment and good routing were key in persuading the golfing public that a course was worth the travel in Canada as well as in the United States. The CPR and CNR advertised the Banff and Jasper courses respectively in American sports magazines. In 1930 an American Golfer ad suggested that the new Banff “championship 18-hole [course] … [is] a brand new test of your skill … [as] the magnificent mountain views add beauty to the skill in play.” An ad in the magazine for Jasper’s course from the same year suggested that it was one of the most “picturesque courses” in Canada. These courses and the advertisements marketing their value were geared to the upper-middle classes who were either already part of the dominant golf culture or versed in the visual and linguistic cues in the ads that constructed relatable and appealing images and experiences.

Conclusion

Growing numbers of private, public, and resort courses appeared across Canada between 1873 and 1945, and their development linked to the social and environmental realities of a transforming Canada. Private courses, generally, relocated to maintain the necessary distance from cities to create the ideal space for contemplative play and exclusive social circles. Public courses used changes in urban cities to facilitate

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100 “Golf at the New Manior Richelieu-at Murray Bay, Province of Québec Canada,” American Golfer, Vol 32, no 10 (July 1929), 85.
101 American Golfer, Vol 36, no 10 (July 1933), 28.
103 American Golfer Vol 33, no 10 (July 1930), 38.
accessibility to play and to promote the sport as a way to alleviate negative aspects of contemporary urban living. Land availability remained an issue for public courses, however, and the different trajectory of these clubs across the country reflected the urban geographies of Canadian cities during this time. Resort courses actively touted their distance from the environments of daily life and the benefits of burgeoning transportation infrastructures and of a wider tourist experience. The ability to afford travel to these places and the strategic and aesthetic qualities that made up a good course melded with the available land to create a new vacation experience. Golf courses were unique landscapes, but they were not free from the constraints and realities of wider Canadian society.
Chapter Five:
“From Rough to Green:
Golfscape Systems of Knowledge and Technology in Canada”

Introduction

As any resident will tell you, Canada has distinct seasons. The country’s diverse regions possess climatic, topographic, geologic, weather, and vegetative differences. These distinct ecologies influenced human activities regarding golf course cultivation, upkeep (routine maintenance), and alteration (for instance, relocating a bunker or cutting a tree). Canada’s varied climates and seasonality meant that the country had a golf season, usually late May to early November, and a seasonal workforce that prompted some labour migration between Canada and the United States. Even in the few regions with year-round play, winter golf differed from that played at the other times of the year. Canada’s ecological realities, furthermore, were unlike Britain’s where modern golf emerged. A winter season also raised particular course issues, like the appearance of snow mould and winterkill in turf greens. “[A]dverse weather,” “severe weather,” “bad weather,” “unusual spell of weather,” “extremely hot weather,” “rainy” or “heavy rain,” “cold weather,” or an “unfavourable winter,” played havoc and prompted extraordinary

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1 A Green Committee Report from Shaughnessy Heights in 1933, for example, suggested the club plant trees between the 5th and 6th fairways; to fill in a small bunker on the right of the 2nd fairway; and to remove two cross-bunkers on the 11th since “they did not affect the play of the majority of men players.” Suggestions for course alterations also came from the architects who elaborated on their designs. City of Vancouver Archives [hereafter CVA], Add. Mss. AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Vol 5, Green Committee Report, March 27, 1933. This was the case at the TGC in 1922 when Hugh Alison suggested that a new bunker to the left of the 8th green be constructed according to Colt’s specifications and that a new green on the 14th hole and a new bunker on the 17th fairway be constructed according to Alison’s specifications. Toronto Golf Club Archives [hereafter TGCA] Minute Book Vol 6 (1916-1924), Meeting Minutes, June 29, 1922.

2 In 1940, the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club suggested that a tougher grass sod be used for all the tees as well as the use of rubber mats as tees during the winter months. CVA, Add. Mss. AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Vol 5, Meeting November 18, 1940. Even the Capilano Golf Club in North Vancouver suffered from snow mold and bouts of heavy and lingering snow that frustrated those wishing to play. Golf Canada Archives [hereafter] CGA, L2010.01.07 – Stanley Thompson Correspondence with Capilano (Copied from the BC Golf House Files), Letter from Thompson to Jim O’Brien, April 3, 1937 and Letter from Anderson to Thompson, March 15(?), 1937. Snow mould refers to patches of dead or blighted turf grass affected from fungal pathogens that thrive in cold weather.
measures to curb or suspend work on the course. It became quickly evident to many within the golf realm that blanket application of ‘old world’ course construction and maintenance practices and products were ineffective and expensive in Canada. In this chapter, I explore the development and gradual ascendency of a golfscape industry geared towards the physical conditions in Canada and the United States.

This massive new industry comprised of golfers, greenkeepers, green committees, and institutional, governmental, and commercial players who wanted to nurture the best knowledge and technology systems to produce the desired object—a course that satisfied the combined elements of a playing field and a manifestation of nature within extremely diverse environmental conditions. Within this framework, I use systems of knowledge to refer to the networks of local, institutional, governmental, and commercial information that circulated about how to use or overcome local environmental conditions through maintenance regimes and a range of technologies and technological systems in order to achieve the golfscape ideal. Implicit within these knowledge structures were asymmetrical relationships of power and social value. I focus, however, on the collegiality fostered within these relationships among like-minded people who constructed a single knowledge base transferred through social and intellectual networks.

I use the terms technology and technological systems in broad strokes, building on scholars in the history of technology and environmental history who view technology and

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4 The golf course industry went well beyond the landscape to include clubs, balls, and clothing. This chapter, however, focuses on the products meant to support and enhance the landscape aesthetics of individual courses.

5 For more discussion on knowledge systems that deal with environmental and technological awareness see Tina Loo and Meg Stanley, “An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia Rivers,” Canadian Historical Review 92 (3) (September 2011), 399-427.
environment as interdependent, fluid, and tied to time and place. Definitions of technologies have moved beyond the inorganic to include living technologies or biotechnologies. I consider grass to be one such biotechnology, and experts’ selection and breeding of different varieties were part of what Edmund Russell calls macrobiology. Some scholars also categorize human organizations working towards a common goal that manipulated the environment as a form of technology. This type of organized human technology might be ascribed to the agricultural scientists and institutional golf officials who spearheaded experimentation and knowledge into how best to cultivate the conditions for the ideal golfscape. I investigate, therefore, the bonds between living and non-living technologies as they helped construct the course as a unique landscape. These technologies acted as points of convergence between human and non-human, between culture and nature, where they interacted and cultivated new landscapes.

These systems began with the search for suitable turf grass. Uniform velvety green turf, coupled with other aesthetic qualities, was key to the course ideal. These grasses were part of a global ecological exchange in the golf industry. Alfred Crosby offered sweeping evidence of how flora and fauna traveled the globe interacting with and

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6 For more information on the history of technology and the environment see Martin Reuss and Stephen H. Cutchin, eds, The Illusory Boundary: Environment and Technology in History (Charlottesville, VI: University of Virginia Press, 2010).


reordering local environments where, at times, they acted as aids to colonization. Many scholars, more recently, explored the connections between these “portmanteau biota” (those organisms carried unintentionally and intentionally with travelers around the world) and related technology systems within formal and informal empires; as plants, animals, and agricultural technologies physically altered ecologies and economies, so too did these elements change power structures and work to intentionally and unintentionally disseminate the ideas and attitudes of powerful sociopolitical entities. Other scholars have reminded us that the strict core-periphery narrative of biotic transfer undermines the “place to place” exchanges that occurred in the post-Columbian world. Turf grasses were involved in both narratives; they traveled the world within the framework of the British Empire and, later, Commonwealth, but they also travelled officially and unofficially among places that suggested a multitude of biotic flows and trading partners. Many strains used for golf had already arrived in North America through these ecological exchanges by the time the intensified search for golf course varieties started in the nineteenth century.

This chapter investigates golf industry scientists’ realization that different environments required different turf cultivation (and other related) products and practices. Those inherited from Britain did not, necessarily, work effectively or at all. The specialists involved developed new systems of knowledge and technology to address local issues. As recorded in the Royal Canadian Golf Association’s (RCGA) Green

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Section Bulletin reprint of an address given at the annual United States Golf Association (USGA) meeting, “success in turf culture lies in thoroughly understanding the various influences, whether natural or artificially produced, that bear upon the life history of the grass plant and being able to eliminate or modify those that have an adverse effect and to promote or stimulate those that are conducive to healthy development.”\textsuperscript{12} Acquiring knowledge on turf grasses in Canada, furthermore, was not simply a national story. Turf grasses were part of transnational governmental and institutional pursuits of the USGA and RCGA Green Sections as their respective correspondences and published Bulletins indicated.

The search for good turf grass, in turn, led to studies on water, soil, fertilizers, pests, and machinery. Next the chapter explores these component parts of the course knowledge and technological system, using examples from the Green Sections of USGA and RCGA, the Department of Agriculture correspondences, and the records of individual Canadian golf courses. These supporting structures relied on growing awareness of local environmental variation as well as on continued scientific and technical advancement and refinement.\textsuperscript{13} These components, furthermore, functioned as a single system, and their balanced use was necessary for the success of the overall landscape. They worked to craft a playing field and nature experience, but they were shaped by human imagination.

Finally, this chapter investigates how these interwoven knowledge and technological systems also permeated commercial ventures and how products generated a marketing boom. Numerous products flooded a growing golf course industry that was international in scope. Industry advertisements exemplified the specialization in this field.


\textsuperscript{13} For more information on refinement in practices and the growth of greenkeeper knowledge and organization see Gordon Witteveen, \textit{A Century of Greenkeeping} (Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 2001).
These companies often used the language of experts to enhance the claims of their wares. They also, simultaneously, invoked strategic and aesthetic design principles in their advertisements to advance the appeal of their materials. Cumulatively, local environmental conditions often directed the needs of individual courses in terms of knowledge and technological systems to construct and maintain the courses. These environmental conditions and golfscape characteristics, subsequently, launched a new era of industry and production to profit from and provide for these unique landscapes across the country.

Knowledge Systems

The desire for uniform, velvety, green turf grass was a catalyst for the massive transnational expansion of golfscape knowledge and technology systems and the growth in prominence of field experts in Canada and the United States, as people responded to the growing awareness that local environmental attentiveness and scientific expertise were necessary to create the desired course. Turf grasses, here, referred to a multitude of grass varieties used to cover the tees, fairways, and greens on golf courses. The search for uniform turf quality began in earnest in the United States in the 1880s though interest in grasses existed before and beyond cultivating the golfscape. Knowledge and policy surrounded the use of grass seed for pasture, feed, and crops and some of the strains used in farming were also important in the development of lawn culture in Canada and the United States in the late nineteenth century, well after it emerged in Britain. Possession

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14 They also involved turf for other playing fields like tennis and lawn bowling.
15 Federal interest in agricultural development predated a specific interest in grass seed development. In 1862, the US Congress passed the Morrill Act with the objectives to “acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with agriculture in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and to produce, propagate, and distribute among the people new and valuable seeds and plants.” By 1882, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA)
of a lawn, however, depended on location, class, and ethnicity. The growth in golf’s popularity helped promote lawn care and added to the increasing interest in turf grasses.

As turf grasses entered the minds of golfers and other turf enthusiasts, both the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the Canadian Department of Agriculture (CDA) expanded their institutional research stations, experiments, and field expertise. This was not dissimilar to the growth in expertise in landscape and golf course architecture. Scientists in this arena became part of a wider discussion about the future and direction of agriculture that corresponded with the “death of the independent, autonomous American farmer” and the belief among many “men and women [who] felt that agriculturalists needed to rely on another group if they hoped to achieve even a semblance of authority.” They turned to chemists and agricultural scientists to gain that sense of authority.16 Golfers and clubs also turned to scientific experts in the pursuit of better golf. From an early stage these systems of knowledge and technology placed official control in the hands of a select group of scientists and government officials, and it was these experts who directed experiments in grass and related technologies.

These scientists and trained agriculturalists—many worked for federal departments of agriculture—were key to transnational turf grass development in both Canada and the United States. Both set up experimental stations in Ottawa, Ontario and

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16 Alan I. Marcus, Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy: Farmers, Agricultural Colleges, and Experiment Stations, 1870-1890. (Henry A. Wallace Series: Iowa State University, 1987), 4, 6.

An RCGA Green Section Bulletin commented, “with the expansion of the Golf Industry, numbers of men are joining the ranks of Greenkeepers to whom the care of the golf course is comparatively new work. Those who have previously been engaged in other branches of agriculture, especially general farming practice, [are] somewhat bewilder[ed] in spite of the fact that the underlying principles of culture are essentially the same.” The reason for “the variation in procedure is due to a change of objective, … greenkeeping … aims to cover the ground with a compact turf so that the actual disturbance of working on the soil is barely visible.” The development of a specialized subfield within agricultural sciences for golf related problems seemed apt since farming forage crops and growing golf turf were not the same. A report from the Jericho Golf Club in Vancouver suggested that heavy seeding tended to establish a closer and better stand than thin seeding. The amounts they recommended might have seemed high from a purely agricultural standpoint; it was “advisable to seed at this rate in the fall and to use about one third to one half of the amounts mentioned for re-seeding early in the spring to ensure a perfect catch.” The systems necessary for turf development included weed eradication, drainage, and regional variation in turf grass germination and each were their own kettle

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17 Jenkins, 46-47, 50-52, and 53. In Canada the Department of Agriculture organized in 1868. In 1884, to reorient the focus to the practical side of farming, the Department decided to establish a central experimental farm and bureau to deal with several areas of agricultural research that included: testing varieties of foreign grain, trees, and fertilizers; testing seeds for purity and health; controlling insects and diseases for plants and animals; qualities of breeds of animals; statistical material; and publishing results. Helen Smith, Ottawa’s Farm: A History of the Central Experimental Farm. (Toronto: General Store Publishing House, 1996), 9. In 1895, the first four experimental farm stations appeared in Nappan, Nova Scotia; Brandon, Manitoba; Indian Head, Alberta; and Agassiz, British Columbia. It quickly became apparent, however, that additional experimental stations were needed. The first to be added included: Lethbridge (1906), Lacombe (1907), Vermillion (1907), Charlottetown (1909), and Rosthern Saskatchewan (1909).


of fish—as specialists in both Canada and United States quickly discovered. In 1906 the USDA received one of its first requests for assistance on golf course putting green problems.

The search for quality turf grass and the best ways to cultivate and maintain it took off in the 1910s and started a new phase of international turf grass knowledge and refinement in experiments and organization of information acquired. The developments in Canada very much mirrored those in the United States though the American institutional organization (and commercial industry) were earlier to start and larger in scale. In 1915 the Executive Committee of the USGA asked the USDA for help with turf. The USDA began turf experiments in 1916. In 1917 Canadian-born agronomist Charles Vancouver Piper published _Turf for Golf Courses_ with his fellow USGA employee Russell A. Oakley. This was the first book devoted solely to issues and information related to turf grass for golf courses in North America.

_Turf for Golf Courses_ illustrated the field’s infancy but also the emerging desire to scientifically gather information and solve and manage turf issues. The authors stated that “in growing turf one is in reality cultivating a particular grass or a mixture of grasses” and that “while there is yet much to be learned about every turf grass there already exists a large body of knowledge upon which a rational mixture can be based.” Piper and Oakley highlighted in the book what many architects and greenkeepers realized—that climate and physical environment influenced what grasses would actually thrive and what

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22 USGA, Green Section, Stephen J. Horrett, “60 Years of Service to Golf-The Story of the USGA’s Green Section,” 4-6.

23 Piper and Oakley, _Turf for Golf Courses_, 26-27.
processes would maintain these specific growing environments. Piper explicitly discussed how, at the time, most American turf grasses were “old world” varieties and that the climates and seasonality found in much of the United States had a direct bearing on the behaviour of these turf grasses across the continent.\(^\text{24}\) The authors encapsulated the growing comprehension of environmental variation and the necessity for further experimentation. They pointed out that “every turf grass has definite limitations of its own as indicated in the discussions of each, but the broad climatic requirements of northern grasses [were] much alike, as [were] also those of southern grasses.”\(^\text{25}\) While some grasses like creeping bent might grow across these divides, much depended on the weather. Piper and Oakley qualified that “while [turf breeding] has progressed far with our common annual crops, it is much more difficult with perennials, but marked progress has been made with such plants as fruit-trees. So far the cost of the work and the lack of prospective rewards have not encouraged any such breeding work with turf grasses.”\(^\text{26}\)

The text delved into various topics related to turf grass development and maintenance that included the soils, fertilizers, animal pests, weeds, and turf machinery. Out of a desire for a course covered in grass akin in appearance to those in Britain, new turf grasses and their supporting products required an entirely new system of knowledge.

By 1920 many in the American golfing world believed they needed a specific institutional organization to gather, experiment, and disseminate knowledge and technology about turf grass and other products, and they proposed a Green Section within the USGA. With the combined backing of the USGA and the USDA, the Green Section published bulletins and offered services to its membership after the USGA adopted the

\(^{25}\) Piper and Oakley, *Turf for Golf Courses*, 3.
\(^{26}\) Ibid., 3.
resolution on November 30, 1920. The official mandate included seven key themes covered in the bulletins related to turf grass: building equipment and machinery for greenkeepers, the cost of course construction and maintenance, records of turf treatments and experiments, a calendar of greenkeeping operations, the relations of the green committee to the members, landscaping the golf course, and golf architecture. The secretary of the USGA announced that the Green Section “provide[d] information of great value regarding the supplies of seeds, the qualities and use of fertilizers, soil preparation, and scientific matters, besides providing the means by which the experience and practices of green committees and green-keepers throughout the US will be made available.” The USDA and numerous green committees and greenkeepers scattered across the country would compile the material and create a knowledge repository that would save time, money, and materials.

The Green Section and its *Bulletins* and service bureau continued to grow throughout the 1920s, and the accumulated knowledge reached a wider audience. In 1921 the Green Section had a membership of 387 clubs. This number increased to 557 clubs in 1922. In 1924 the Green Section membership divided into different categories: US-USGA members 419, US non-USGA members 188, Canadian clubs 32, and other foreign clubs 4 (Cuba, Argentina, Mexico, and Bermuda). In 1927 the Green Section approved a motion to become an official part of the USGA infrastructure. The Depression

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27 USGA-Green Section, Vancouver Piper, Correspondences Piper and Oaklay, Jan. 20, 1921.
and the Second World War, not surprisingly, altered the organization’s ability to provide for its members. 31

In 1925 the Royal Canadian Golf Association (RCGA) established its own Green Section with the support of the Minister of Agriculture and the Seed Commissioner of the Seed Branch of the Department of Agriculture. Within this set up, a botanist from the National Museum helped identify and classify various turf grasses; the Dominion Seed Branch “further[ed] the commercial production and distribution of these seeds;” and the Forage Plant Division of the Department of Agriculture conducted “research concerned with the production and maintenance of satisfactory turf.” 32 There were differences between the Canadian and American publications due to funding and internal organization. The Green Section Bulletin of the RCGA, unlike the Green Section of the USGA, did not self-publish a monthly series of articles. The Green Section, instead, published a special monthly Bulletin within the pages of Canadian Golfer magazine and included “information and instructions to Greenkeepers on similar lines to the present Bulletin issued by the Green Section in the United States, which emanates from Washington, but [this] Bulletin will deal entirely with conditions particular to the Northern Zone.” 33 The magazine’s editor R. H. Renville donated these pages in the monthly editions of Canadian Golfer free of charge. 34

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31 The Bulletin and service bureau of the Green Section continued in the same manner until 1931, though even by this time there was a decrease in output by the organization as a consequence of the Depression. In 1936, the Green Section started a new publication, Turf Cultures; it continued until 1940, when these publications became interspersed (one a year) with an even smaller publication called Timely Turf Topics. In 1950, these publications joined under the new name the USGA Journal and Turf Management. Then, in 1963, the first issue of the USGA Green Section Record went into print and it continues to the present. The Green Section used the Arlington Farm experimental station until 1953 when it moved to Beltsville, Maryland, and the Pentagon was built in its place.


33 R.C.G.A. Green Section,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no. 10, (February 1925), 803.

34 “Bulletin of the R.C.G.A. Green Section,” In Canadian Golfer. Vol 10, no. 11, 844. Canadian Golfer was the preeminent golf periodical in the country. It started publications in 1915. C.A. Tregillus
The two organizations, from the beginning, shared objectives to provide clubs on this side of the Atlantic with useful and reputable products. Observations made by the officials in the organizations spoke to the perceived concerns of some officials about circulated misinformation and the usefulness of institutions like the Green Section to provide an ‘unbiased’ perspective. These organizations, as a consequence, positioned themselves as authorities with the power to influence construction and maintenance regimes across the continent. The *Bulletins*’ goals and very existence reflected the shifting scales of golscape knowledge and technology away from a solely British model or set of practices and grass species towards a regionally specific turf grass and product framework that functioned transnationally and that wished to standardize the knowledge base. Piper, the first president of the Green Section, wrote, “[i]ncidentally the inheritance of European ideas … together with the fact that commercial concerns have for the most part constituted the chief source of information is largely responsible for the present state of knowledge on the part of a great many of those charged with golf turf work … Knowledge concerning fine turf grasses is by no means complete, but there are at hand enough facts to disclose clearly the wasteful and discouraging practices that are generally followed today.”35 These misused funds redirected into the Green Section would provide higher standards of maintenance and organization and also would remain free of alliances and, therefore, would neither endorse advertisements nor favor or disfavor anyone

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was the first editor of the *Bulletin* owing to his technical education and practical experience. Tregillus asserted that the more greenkeepers who wrote in to the Green Section with questions and concerns, the greater the services the *Bulletin* could provide. He believed that “secretaries can do much in this regard too, by encouraging their men to submit their problems.” “Bulletin of the R.C.G.A. Green Section,” *Canadian Golfer* Vol 10, no. 11 (March 1925), 843-4.

commercially or professionally.36 George H. Clark, the Seed Commissioner of the Canadian Department of Agriculture, wrote that new clubs “have been the unsuspecting victims of incompetent golf course ‘mystagogues’ who are able to make a fair success in the arrangement and construction on the course but who are able to identify grasses only by the name that appears on the invoice.”37 Furthermore, “it is of first importance for the greenkeeper to know that if the land on his golf course is variable in character he will find it more economical to select the kinds of grasses to suit the soil conditions rather than to fit the land to suit the species of grass.”38 Clark also stated, “the seed merchant who spends the most money advertising is not always the most reliable source of supply for seed of turf grasses. Competition in the seed trade is keen … [yet] there are very few men engaged in the seed business in North America or elsewhere who are able to differentiate between creeping bent, velvet bent, Rhode Island bent, or red top, either from an examination of the full grown mature plants or of the seed.”39 Promoters of the Green Section in Canada made clear that it also arose out of a realization that “much money has been spent in Canada which might have been saved, both in seed and construction, if more expert knowledge had been available to the various Green Committees.”40

Both Green Section associates advocated for and spearheaded experimental turf plots that linked to work done by the countries’ federal governments and further refined

36 Announcement—Bulletin and Service of the Green Section of the USGA.” Bulletin Vol. no. 2 (February 1921), 4.
40 “R.C.G.A. Green Section,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no. 10, (February 1925), 804. As in the case of the United States, the RCGA existed before the creation of the Green Section. The RCGA began in 1895 with membership from ten golf clubs. Its mandate demanded uniformity in game rules, tournament organizations, and record keeping.
these technologies. The USGA Green Section directed the first and largest experiments on turf propagation and maintenance. Much of this work occurred at the Green Section experimental farm operated in Arlington, Virginia, under the direction of the USDA.\footnote{C.V. Piper and R.A. Oaklay, “The First Turf Garden in America,” \textit{Green Section Bulletin} (February 23, 1920; Vol 1, no. 2), 23 and C.V. Piper and R.A. Oaklay, “Turf Experiment Plots at Golf Courses” \textit{Green Section Bulletins} (March 23, 1921, vol. 1, no. 3), 42-43.} While both Piper and Oakley pointed out that “work at only a few places cannot solve the problems for the whole country,” they did envision that the plots at Arlington would lead to useful discoveries on the best turf strains and the utility of the vegetative propagation that would carry beyond Virginia’s borders.\footnote{C.V. Piper and R.A. Oakley, “Turf Experiment Plots at Golf Courses,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol. 1, no. 2 (March 1921), 42. Vegetative propagation was asexual reproduction of plant strains that are identical to parent strains.} District green sections soon provided a potential solution to regional turf growing needs that affected those around the country and in Canada and that were not being met solely by the work in Arlington. A contributor to the \textit{Bulletin} stressed there would be “no more important step than the organization of district green sections on every center of city having three or more [golf] courses … a variety of ways by which the interchange of ideas and information can be brought about.”\footnote{“District Green Section,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol. 1, no. 9 (September 1921), 171.} These districts expanded and articles within the \textit{Bulletin} increasingly emphasized regional issues. In 1928 another article in the American \textit{Bulletin} referred to “experiments with different fertilizers, comparative tests of strains of creeping bent and velvet bent, comparative tests of seedsmen’s mixtures and bent grass seed, and tests of various worm eradicators” being carried out at the Canadian experimental farm.\footnote{G. P. McRostie, “Turf Studies at the Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol. 8, no. 12 (December 1928), 251.}

The RCGA Green Section, as in the case of the USGA Green Section, benefited from the cooperation and input of the federal government’s Department of Agriculture Experimental Farm and Seed Branches that throughout this period advocated agricultural...
plant strains suitable for the Canadian climate.\textsuperscript{45} During the 1920s turf grasses emerged as a recognizable category within the Canadian Department of Agriculture’s Annual Reports, and the decade witnessed growth in the types tested, bred, and classified.\textsuperscript{46} These grasses were used for golf courses though no mention of the game was made; there was a broad application for turf research. During World War Two, for example, the Department of Agriculture “had been assigned responsibility for the quality of all airstrips in Canada following the establishment of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan in late 1939, by which Canada agreed to provide facilities for the training of pilots and air crew. In Ottawa this agreement kept one forage crop researcher occupied almost full-time supervising airstrips in central Canada.”\textsuperscript{47} A link with golf remained, however, since Stanley Thompson, the star Canadian golf architect, worked on turf for airstrips during the war because he had knowledge about which grasses would be the strongest and smoothest for the runways.

Turf grasses for courses, however, were also on the Department’s radar. The Green Section announced, “arrangements have been perfected by which the experimental work is carried on by the Department of Agriculture and it is hoped that similar cooperation will be arranged with each provincial department of agriculture.”\textsuperscript{48} A

\textsuperscript{45} Helen Smith, \textit{Ottawa’s Farm}, 52. Larger-scale restructuring occurred in 1923, with the retirement of Charles Saunders who was replaced by Leonard Newman. Newman desired to create sharper divisions among the work carried out at the Farm and trained men in charge of each section.

\textsuperscript{46} The majority of information published on turf grasses in the Ministry of Agriculture’s Annual Reports, reflected their growing appearance as an imported and exported category of seed within the Department’s Seed Branch and the Department of Forage Crops. The Seed Branch focused on seed growing, seed testing, and seed inspection. Though not a separate category, turf grasses fell under the department’s seed policies. The Branch continued to experiment with different grasses as the years passed. See, for instance, “Breeding of Grasses and Clover,” Sessional Papers, Department of Agriculture, 1921, Vol. 57, no. 5, “The Report of the Ministry of Agriculture 89; Sessional Papers, Department of Agriculture, 1925, Vol. 61, no. 4, The Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, “Seed Branch,” 76; Annual Departmental Reports of the Dominion of Canada, 1926, vol 2, no 2, Report of the Minister of Agriculture, “Division of Forage Plants,”10.

\textsuperscript{47} Helen Smith, \textit{Ottawa’s Farm}, 90.

\textsuperscript{48} “Royal Canadian Golf Association Green Section,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol. 5, no. 3 (March 1925), 58.
specialist would conduct experiments to ascertain the best grasses for use in Canada and would be a full-time employee of the RCGA. Clark admitted, “[i]t is a great relief to me and to others in our federal government service to have this Green Section in Canada organized… [.]” As Clark described, “[o]fficers of the Federal Department of Agriculture here at Ottawa have provided the Green Section with a confidential list of technical officers of both the federal and provincial governments, most of whom are interested in golf and may be in a position to give technical advice on certain phases of turf problems.”

The new Canadian Green Section followed the American lead in experimentation and exposed the growing awareness of local environmental effects and the value of expert knowledge. The Green Section wanted to conduct experiments to “determine which species and strains of grasses [were] best suited to the different soils of golf courses in … various climates.” It would also maintain a nursery in the East and West of the country filled with “the superior forms of grasses for turf development” and would distribute these for a nominal fee and encouraged “the production in Canada of a reliable supply of grass seed of the species that prove the best for turf development.” Finally, these specific turf goals would broaden to include assistance and cooperation with a number of agricultural colleges. The purpose of this collaboration was to provide “short courses of instruction to practical Greenkeepers, and assist with investigational work during the

49 “Bulletin of the R.C.G.A. Green Section,” In Canadian Golfer Vol 10, no. 11, 843. Those authors involved made sure to underscore the role of provincial and federal departments of agriculture for their cooperation and assistance with technical work.
50 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Clark to Oakley, May 9, 1925.
51 R.C.G.A. Green Section,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no. 10 (February 1925), 803.
52 Ibid., 803, 804.
53 “Royal Canadian Golf Association Green Section,” Bulletin Vol. 5, no. 3 (March 1925), 58. Department of Agriculture officials, Mr. Malte and Dr. W. H. White, and the Agricultural College at Guelph were specifically mentioned.
summer months by visiting … golf courses [where] particular difficulties are experienced due to insect pests, fungus disease, fertilizer problems, drainage and other factors.”

To start off the new program, there were two five-day lecture series to be held in Montréal and Toronto for those interested. A formalized knowledge system took shape at different levels of government, educational institutions, and golf institutions.

There was also transnational affiliation between the two Sections and their respective federal governments with the inclusion of Canadian topics in the American Bulletin (and reprints of American material in the Canadian version) and in their correspondences. The USGA Green Section, from the beginning, involved Canada. The organization would supply “its Bulletin and services to any golf club in the United States or Canada who appointed a member of its green committee as a delegate to the Green Section and paid an annual fee.” Canada had separate membership throughout this period, and the country also ceased to fall under the label ‘foreign’ in 1927 when it became its own sub-category. Articles within the American Bulletin also dealt specifically with Canadian topics or had Canadian authors who wrote on specific regional quandaries (as will be in evidence throughout this chapter). The turf developments in the United States also fuelled inquiry in the Canadian context. One of Clark’s articles, for example, emphasized that “following the lead of some of the best-experienced golf enthusiasts in the United States, a few of our Canadian golf clubs have made a start in the development of a nursery [of an] acre or two acres, where ideal patches of creeping bent

54 R.C.G.A. Green Section,” Canadian Golfer. Vol. 10, no. 10 (February 1925), 803.
55 By 1926, the National Greenkeepers Association was established by American and Canadian Greenkeepers. In 1929, the British Board of Greenkeeping was established in 1929.
57 Articles addressed Canada and Canadian issues. For example, the Bulletin, in September of 1922, included in its listings of public golf courses, the ten that existed in Canada. “Public Golf Courses of the US and Canada,” Bulletin Vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1922), 271-272.
grass … can be located and transplanted.”\textsuperscript{58} Clark also corresponded with the USDA and USGA regarding turf developments. He mentioned a creeping bent nursery, the transportation of metropolitan bent grasses, and the grass condition of Windsor Park’s municipal course in Winnipeg.\textsuperscript{59} Clark cited that the Rivermead Golf Club of Ottawa transplanted a local variety of creeping bent onto its course. He suggested that the Rhode Island bent would be a good seed candidate if one could not secure or guarantee the quality of creeping bent or red fescue. The reasoning behind Clark’s desire to plant the two acres with seed at the golf course was “to produce stock seed of the best from which we can have our requirements of seed multiplied by farmers under contract.”\textsuperscript{60} Once again the language used reiterated the concerns of those involved in the Green Section of the USGA and advocated the importance of using knowledge about local environmental variation and employing different products espoused by both the Green section of the USGA and by Clark in his role with the Green Section of the RCGA. They engaged with local conditions but evaluated these conditions through specific systems of seeing and understanding the environment and available technology.

The Canadian Green Section linked with the USDA and the USGA for support and information. Clark indicated that “a large number of Canadian clubs will continue their membership in your green section, and in addition hope to have visits from time to time and advice from the architect permanently employed by their own Canadian association.”\textsuperscript{61} Oakley reinforced support of the USDA and the USGA to the Canadian initiative. He even offered, “[w]e would like very much to have a visit from you and

\textsuperscript{59} Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letters Clark to Oakley, March 6 and March 26, 1925, and April 6, 1926.
\textsuperscript{60} Green Section Archives, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Clark to Oakley, August 8, 1922.
\textsuperscript{61} Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Clark to Oakley, February 10, 1925.
members of the Canadian Green Section this spring after the growing season is well underway. We could show you our work at Arlington and many other things around Washington.”

Canadian Green Section members attended a conference in New York City in 1925 where they met with Dr. Piper and Dr. Oakley to discuss organizational interests. The USGA Green Section representatives were, according to the Canadian attendees, “[i]n entire sympathy with the plan to establish our own [Canadian] Green Section and the exchange of information between Ottawa and Washington should be helpful to both countries in the development of greens and fairways.”

The relationship between the two organizations weathered rough patches. The first derived from stricter import policy at the Canadian border. In the 1920s it became necessary for American seed samples to file notice and obtain a permit for clearance at Canadian customs. By 1937 there were concerns over the accidental import of the Japanese beetle that played havoc on some American courses and required additional importation precautions to avoid infestations in Canada. Turf grass maintained its link to larger agricultural concerns over crop health. In 1932, for instance, R. I. Hamilton of the Canadian Central Experimental Farm told John Montieth, “a demand for rigid economy and curtailment of expenditures made it very doubtful whether we were going to make any attempt to do any turf work this year.” He was still eager, though, with the limited funds available, to go forward with plans for a turf garden in Ottawa “similar to those used by the American Greens Association, and which are already in Toronto.” Monteith regretfully declined involvement with the turf garden in Ottawa because he was

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62 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Oakley to Clark, February 17, 1925.
63 “R.C.G.A. Green Section,” Canadian Golfer Vol. 10, no. 10 (February 1925), 804.
64 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Leonard S. Mclaine to John Montieth, June 1, 1937.
65 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Hamilton to Montieth, April 23, 1932.
“forced to make a decided reduction in our budget.”66 Not all cooperation and turf advancement was lost that year because Monteiith went on to write “if you are interested in obtaining bent stolons of certain strains which you do not already have in your nursery, we would be glad to send you a sample of any varieties we have in stock.”67 The connections between Canadian and American networks, therefore, remained strong despite these troubled spots. As these institutional repositories organized and defined their relationships, they also disseminated what they learned to green committees and greenkeepers in Canada and the United States. In turn, these local clubs appropriated the knowledge and technologies expertly bestowed and combined it with commercial advice and homegrown experience to adapt methods to fit their particular needs.

_Turf Grass on the Ground_

The turf grasses used and grown in Canada were not necessarily native to the country. They were part of an ecological exchange dating back to colonial times and were already part of a system of human/nature technology.68 Everyone wanted grass seed that would create uniform turf but, as Piper and Oakley pointed out, “no two courses [were] alike … nearly every golf course is confronted with turf growing problems that it must solve for itself … [.]”69 The exploration of turf grasses was in a transformative phase as European knowledge and distribution gave way to North American-centred germination and processing—not that all transference from across the Atlantic ceased by

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66 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Montieth to Hamilton, May 9, 1932.
67 Ibid.
69 Piper and Oakley, _Turf for Golf Courses_, 87.
any means.\textsuperscript{70} In 1911 for instance, the Toronto Golf Club resolved to employ Patterson, Wylde & Company of Boston, the North American agents for English Carters’ Tested Seeds, to “carry out work of putting the Etobicoke property in order.”\textsuperscript{71} In another example, G. LeLacheur of the Dominion Seed Branch in New Brunswick argued that “the bent seed industry in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick had its origins in the decline of German mixed bent imports during the [First] World War and in the insistent demand to supply the new golf courses which were rapidly established on the return to peace.”\textsuperscript{72} Clark also highlighted how prior to 1915 “a great deal of the fine quality lawn grass seed sold by seedmen came from South Germany and Holland … [and how] … during the war … much of the area of old grass land from which those bent grasses were collected had to be cultivated for the production of potatoes and other food crops” creating a situation where the turf grass crops, reduced by nearly half, were mixed with red top seeds and shipped from the United States.\textsuperscript{73}

Other varieties (though not necessarily different strains from their international counterparts) also took the place of a depleted German stock, including a Rhode Island variety of creeping bent, and they were brought in as substitutes.\textsuperscript{74} In 1924 Piper and Oakley published an article in the \textit{Bulletin} on Canadian Bluegrass (\textit{Poa Compressa}) contending that despite having a Canadian name, the grass had a European origin and arrived in North America during colonial times. Despite its name, it was also found in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{70} See, for instance, “Piper goes Abroad,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol 4, no. 5 (May 1924), 110. It states how Piper travelled to golf courses and studied turf in Britain and continental Europe.
\item \textsuperscript{71} This included “all implements at cost prices plus 10\% thereof” and seed and fertilizer at the lowest prices. TGC, Minute Book 1910-1911, Meeting February 23, 1911.
\item \textsuperscript{72} G. LaLacheur, “Canadian Certified Bent Seed,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol 10, no 11 (November 1930), 212.
\item \textsuperscript{73} George H. Clark, “Commercial Seed Supplies of Turf Grasses,” \textit{Canadian Golfer}. Vol 10, no. 11, 844.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Witteneveen, 36.
\end{itemize}
Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. It became a recognizable species, like others, including Kentucky Bluegrass, and it became part of the pantheon of seeds available to an international audience.

Different wild grasses were found in different places across the continent (and around the world), and they were then developed, commercialized, and planted on courses in unique quantities and mixtures depending on the climate and other environmental conditions. Piper and Oakley identified some of the most well-known perennial fescue grasses that grew successfully in cool, temperate climates and creeping bent grasses that formed hardier mats or carpet-like surfaces. Clark’s correspondence with the USGA Green Section dealt with seed acquisition and climate. He found creeping bent fescue in Bathurst, New Brunswick in “the dry, upland, coarse sand not too far from the shore.” Clark also believed that Prince Edward Island had more than one useful turf grass. “[A]lthough it is quite common to find redtop in the rich, moist soils along the waterways and along the coast, even in this character of soil browntop predominates, but here is to be found also a great deal of the creeping bent. In the upland sandy soil that are generally left to permanent pasture because the farmers believe the land to be unproductive, the native browntop ultimately takes possession of the land, or nearly so.” Clark further postulated that due to the severe winters on the Island with minus 20 degree Celsius weather, the grass found there would be “much superior for our golf courses to anything we seem to be able to get in commerce.” Exploring climate further Clark commented on the winterkill found on many putting greens in Canada. He stated, “[p]erhaps it is too much to expect that in our climate any grass that is as closely cut as

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76 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Clark to Oakley, March 10, 1924.
77 Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Oakley from Clark, August 8, 1922, 1-2.
putting greens are from early spring until snowfall, should be expected to continue to live. I am hoping that the PEI brown top will prove the exception to the rule.”\textsuperscript{78} He also wrote on Canada’s seasonality and how the use of brush or lattice fences around putting greens in the winter helped with snow damage.\textsuperscript{79} Climate and seasonality played an active role in human technological development and course maintenance regimes.

Turf also travelled within and across the border between Canada and the United States as clubs searched for the perfect mixtures. In 1922, for example, Piper visited the Toronto Golf Course and brought with him samples of the Washington Bent grass grown at the Arlington Farm to be propagated in the Toronto nursery.\textsuperscript{80} In 1925 a memo noted the quantity of browntop produced in Prince Edward Island; approximately 400 lbs, sold mostly in Montréal and Toronto.\textsuperscript{81} Prince Edward Island velvet bent and New Brunswick creeping bent varieties yielded between 30 and 60 pounds of cleaned seeds per acre in 1931; but “threshing, cleaning, advertising, shipping, and distributing cost [were] high … [and] there [was] only a limited market in Canada, and the United States had increased the tariff on bent seed from 2 cents to 40 cents a pound.” Though there was some confidence that appreciation of the product would grow, “growers will not harvest seed crops unless they feel assured of receiving profitable prices for the product.”\textsuperscript{82}

Canadian greenkeepers and green committees experimented with turf according to knowledge disseminated by the USGA or the RCGA Green Sections and local seed trials,

\textsuperscript{78} Green Section Archives, USGA, Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, Letter Oakley from Clark, August 8, 1922, 2.
\textsuperscript{80} According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a stolon is a “creeping horizontal stem or runner that takes root at several points to form a new plant,” \textit{Concise Oxford English Dictionary}: Ed. Judy Pearsall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1413.
\textsuperscript{81} “Fields obtained up to 70 lbs per acre and the price paid the farmer for No. 1 grade of Seed was 75 cents per pound.” Green Section Archives, USGA, “Prince Edward Island Developing the Production of Browntop Seed for Golf Grasses and Fine Lawn,” June 26, 1926 and Correspondence between Department of Agriculture and Green Section of USGA, February 17, 1925.
\textsuperscript{82} G. LeLacher, “Canadian Certified Bent Seed,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol. 10, no. 11 (November 1930), 213.
and their planting regimes reflected the centrality of localized environmental conditions considered through the lens of continual specialization in turf knowledge and technology. Seed recommendations for Jericho Golf Club in Vancouver, British Columbia in 1911 included “sowing of Fall Rye grass … [at a] rate of 50lbs per acre together with the grass and clover seed mentioned below … as soon as the stand of clovers and grasses is established, the rye grass should be cut with the stubble left so high that the young and tender lawns are not injured.” Other grasses applied at a per acre rate included white clover (2.5lbs), black meddick (2.5lbs), perennial rye (10lbs), meadow fescue (10lbs), red fescue (6lbs), Kentucky blue (8lbs), and Canadian blue (6lbs). At the TGC in October 1933, the Green Committee broke down the sod requirements and suggested that spring sowing necessitated different mixtures of fescue and PEI bent, varied across the different fairways and hillsides that amounted to 390lbs of the former and 110lbs of the latter for five fairways and one hillside. In 1934 a TGC sales order for grass varieties included Canada Blue, Kentucky Blue, Red Top, Chewing’s Fescue, PEI Bent, South German, Hard Fescue, European Fescue, Creeping, and Fine Leaf Sharp Fescue. Seeding and re-seeding was an ongoing process at Shaughnessy Heights. Grass seed amounted to, for instance, two percent of the annual budget in 1930. That same year the course added

83 TGCA, Minute Book 1931-1938 (Vol. 8), October 23, 1933; Green Committee Correspondences, 1931-1938, “Seed Sown Spring 1934,” December 4, 1933, There was also a Memo from George Cumming RE Green Crops for Nurseries, which involved checking prices for red clover and buckwheat, May 4, 1934.
84 TGCA, Minute Book 1931-1938 (Vol. 8), Sales Order Aikenhead Hardware Ltd. Toronto, July 27, 1934. This continues from an earlier Memo for George Cumming RE Prince Edward Island Bent and Sheep Fescue to Rennie’s Seeds stating that 550 lbs of the former and 1535 lbs of the latter plus an extra 40 lbs of Red Top would cover all of that year’s requirements in the Green Committee Correspondences, 1931-1938, April 14, 1934 and May 23, 1934.
85 For example, see CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Vol 5, Meeting Minutes November 9, 1936 and Meeting Minutes February 11, 1937
86 CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Vol 4, Meeting Minutes, March 17, 1930. In 1932, grass seed was 1.4% of the estimated budget, Vol 4, Meeting Minutes, February 1, 1932; and 1% in 1936, Vol 5, Meeting Minutes, March 30, 1936; less than 1% for 1937, 1938, 1939, 1941. See

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five new grass tees (one, two, four, eight, and eleven) that were all seeded and appeared to be coming along.\textsuperscript{87} The wide range of turf types used on a given course reflected the continued knowledge and technical refinement as well as the large-scale environmental manipulation not unlike what occurred in other agriculturally based activities.

Golf architects also put in their two cents when it came to turf knowledge and technologies, and their advice reiterated the need for local adaptation as well as the significance of international turf culture. As the USGA Green Section \textit{Bulletin} wrote in 1923, “many architects are now providing instructions regarding soil preparation, fertilizers, seeds, etc. … [and] on all of these subjects there are still differences of opinion … largely in detail and not in [the] fundamentals.”\textsuperscript{88} In Stanley Thompson’s essays on golf architecture, he emphasized the value of knowledge of course technologies, and he presented his perspective on a range of systems, including turf, drainage, diseases, and pests, that complicated course construction.\textsuperscript{89} The Capilano Golf Club in North Vancouver put his theories into practice. He required a range of seed types for the course that included 2 lbs each of Italian Rye, Western Rye, Red Fescue, Sheeps’ Fescue, Hard Fescue, Poa Trivialis, Annual Bluegrass, Orchard Grass, Crested Dogtail, Meadow Foxtail, and Tail Meadow Cat Grass. He believed all these to be obtainable in Canada and that the club might already have many of them. Thompson, in addition, asked for 1lb each of Creeping Bent, Seaside Bent, Metropolitan Bent, South German Creeping Bent, Washington Bent, Prince Edward Island Bent, Oregon Bent, Velvet Bent, Rhode Island Bent, Fine-leaf Fescue, Various-leaved Fescue, Carpet Grass, Bermuda Grass, Sudan

\textsuperscript{87} CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Vol 4, Meeting Minutes, September 22, 1930.
\textsuperscript{88} “The Green Section and the Golf Architect,” \textit{Bulletin} Vol 3, no. 7 (July 1923), 183.
\textsuperscript{89} See Stanley Thompson, \textit{About Golf Courses: Their Construction and Upkeep}. (Stanley Thompson Ldt: Toronto, 1923).
grass, Blue Joint grass, Yellow Oat grass, and Wood Meadow grass. Thompson did not think many of these varieties were obtainable in Canada; he assumed the quantities needed would be small enough not to incur tariffs at the border. The internationalism of these seeds was implied. Thompson also was interested in obtaining samples of Korean, Manilam Mascarone, Sea Lyme, Marram, Japan grass, and yarrow and 10 lbs of inoculated soybean.\(^90\) This vast and varied array spoke to the proliferation of turf types available as well as to an ethos of experimentation to see what certain grasses and mixtures could produce on the different playing surfaces.

This period of knowledge and technology intensified new methods of propagation and categorization that experts and clubs looked to in their searches for strains that would fit their individual golfscape needs across Canada. There were two types of seed production during this period that courses used—seed (sexual reproduction) and vegetative (asexual reproduction) propagation. In 1929 a piece in the *Bulletin* recounted the “vegetative studies of creeping bent and velvet bent” carried out on plots at the experimental farm in Ottawa; and that the Royal Ottawa Golf Club, to the author’s knowledge, was the first course in Canada to “put in a green” from vegetative cutting that came from stolons produced by a “native bent found in the Ottawa district.”\(^91\) Stanley Thompson recommended the use of bent stolons as opposed to seed for the Capilano course.\(^92\) He was also aware of the classification system that developed around seed

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\(^90\) Golf Canada, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson-Correspondence with Capilano, Copied from BC Golf House Files - October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936, February 4, 1936.


\(^92\) Golf Canada, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson-Correspondence with Capilano, (Copied from BC Golf House Files) October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936, Letter Thompson to John Anderson, January 4, 1936.
quality. In 1936 he endorsed various seeds from different seed companies that all conformed to the No. 1 government grade standard as pure living seed.93

Turf nurseries allowed green committees to experiment with different seeds and to have extra sod to patch up diseased or ill-grown areas, and they were, consequently, a growing phenomenon. A letter to Dr. Monteith from the Capilano Golf Club mentioned that there was “little meaty information available in British Columbia or in the North West Pacific States on grass culture,” and that there was also a divergence of opinion as to which grasses were best adapted to local conditions.94 There was, however, interest “to establish for clients, [at] the British Pacific Properties Ltd, a nursery and experimental plots of rather a complete nature and [they] would like to get any information, maps … on the subject, bearing in mind we might even attempt in a modest way, something along the lines of your Arlington plots [.]”95 Practical information was lacking, but the desire to experiment and learn was present; it included Mr. G. Cornish, “a young chap with good scientific grounding” who “appreciated [the] practical aspects of grass culture.”96 Stanley Thompson advocated the preparation of plots to test various grasses found in the temperate zone. He also asserted that “besides practical purposes [it was] a means of attracting visitors to the property [and will] give the club considerable kudos among golf

93 Golf Canada, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson-Correspondence with Capilano, (Copied from BC Golf House Files) October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936, Landscape Notes British Pacific Properties Golf Course, February 8, 1936. From Angus Seed he required 1800 lbs (at 18 cents/pound) of Kentucky Blue grass; 765 lbs (at 46 cents/pound) of New Zealand Brown Top; 1690 lbs (at 16 cents/pound) of Red Top; 740 lbs (at 10 cents/pound) of Perennial Rye; and 740 lbs (at 15 cents/pound). He also suggested from Donaldson & Co. Ltd 6000 lbs (at 35 cents/pound) with a 5% of pure living seed of best of last year or a pro-rata reduction in price as well as 1000 to 1200 pounds of bent grass.

94 Golf Canada Archives, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson, Correspondence with Capilano (Copied from BC Golf House Files) October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936, Letter to Dr. Monteith, January 31, 1936.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.
clubs on the Pacific Coast.” The cost of such a nursery would be negligible.97 At the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, the Green Committee reportedly set aside seed to establish a nursery in 1934, and in 1936 the Committee announced that the nursery had about half an acre of sod “over the far side of the course.”98 In 1934 fine leaf sheep fescue and Prince Edward Island bent grasses, as well as mixtures of the two, existed in the TGC’s nurseries.99 In 1938 the decision was made to grow sod in the nursery and change it over to the putting greens to provide a uniform putting surface and to keep the surrounding areas of some of the greens with PEI Bent and Kentucky Blue grasses.100 Nurseries furthered turf technologies and helped organize and merge official and local turf knowledge.

The Supporting Systems

Water

Turf mixtures would not produce the desired golfscape aesthetic without various interconnected technologies and natural systems. These component parts developed in conjunction with turf specialization and their development was rife with the same refinement of product and awareness of environmental factors. The goldilocks attempt to find just the right amount and distribution of water for an individual course caused green committees many headaches. Without a constant and abundant water supply, turf grass would not grow despite soil fertility or however well picked the mixture of seeds. An overabundance of water coupled with poor drainage, on the other hand, also caused

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97 Golf Canada Archives, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson, Correspondence with Capilano (Copied from BC Golf House Files) October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936, J. Anderson from Thompson-Jones, February 13, 1936.
98 CVA, AM305, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club Fond, Minutes, Vol 5, Meeting August 7, 1934 and Meeting September 14, 1936.
99 TGCA, Green Committee Meetings 1933-1943, Meeting July 27, 1934.
100 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938 & (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meetings March 27, 1938 and September 20, 1938.
floods and wet spots that destroyed turf. A system to distribute water was also necessary. Improvements to pumping and sprinkler systems helped. The water needed to maintain most courses and their clubhouses did not exist, generally, within the limits of the given property, and agreements had to be made between clubs and private and public neighbours. Water acquisition and water drainage involved municipal governments, private individuals, pumping firms, and club finances. Water was costly. While rates for all years under investigation are not available, in 1931 Shaughnessy Heights did spend between seven and 10 percent of the annual budget on water.

Between the 1910s and 1930s the TGCA water concerns revolved around water rights and source water location from Lake Ontario and dams in the Etobicoke River. By the year-end Report of the Directors in 1924, the executive expressed its recommendations to obtain another supply of water from the New Toronto system. The proposed connection with this system would cost around $7,000, and the work would begin when the weather permitted. In September 1930 the Board proposed a water system for the full 18-hole golf course. The discussions around this system included which firm to hire based on knowledge and experience, with consideration of the price; the equipment each firm had to offer; the TGCA’s relationship with the Long Branch municipality; and how the system should be set up with regards to sprinklers and hoses in

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102 Budgetary amounts were: $1,725 of its $16,310 budget on water; in 1932, $2,581.65 of $19,152 on water; in 1936, $1,725 of $14,645 of the budget of water; and $1,725 of the $18,198.75. CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes, Vols 1, 2, 3, Meeting March 13, 1924 and June 30, 1924; Green Committee Reports March 13, 1931; Vol 5 February 1, 1932 and March 30, 1936; and Vol 6, March 30, 1937.

103 TGCA, Minute Books (Vol 5) 1911-1915, Meeting April 7, 1914 and December 16, 1915.

order to provide the course with maximum coverage.\textsuperscript{105} Between 1930 and 1934 the club’s refinement of its new system comprised storage expansion, replacement of bulkheads, an increase to the range of the system, and shifts in which water mains covered which holes for a more “economical distribution of hose for the sprinklers.”\textsuperscript{106} By late 1934, however, the Green Committee documented that there were problems with the water system. Their report recorded, “the watering system … has proved inadequate, especially with a summer such as we had in 1933 … [and we] do not believe it is possible to attempt watering with any success for [the fairways] … with at least 20 sprinklers.” The committee, moreover, did use water from the Etobicoke creek, but it was drying up. This particular source did not allow “sufficient [time] for the requirements of our grasses … a mere sprinkling is not enough to reach the depth of grass roots but enough to help the crab grass [grow].”\textsuperscript{107} Adverse weather affected water availability, which in turn, affected seed and weed growth. This golf course required a new watering system. The club’s executive discussed the necessary delivery system in pressure per inch and gallons per minute. They estimated water usage by month and debated the club’s right to pump water from Lake Ontario to dams in the Etobicoke River after concerns mounted over the poor water pressure from the mains of the Township of Etobicoke.\textsuperscript{108} Water was a constant concern. But it was not only a matter of source and availability.

\textsuperscript{105} TGCA, Minute Books (Vol 7) 1924-1931, Proposed Water System for Fairway on 18 Hole Course, September 17, 1930 and Proposed Fairway Watering System, December 16, 1930.
\textsuperscript{106} TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting April 11, 1932. See also, Meeting January 14, 1931; Meting June 2, 1931; and the Report for the Green Committee, May 31, 1932.
\textsuperscript{107} TGCA, Green Committee Correspondence, 1931-1938, Report, December 4, 1933.
\textsuperscript{108} TGCA, Green Committee Correspondence, 1931-1938, Report, December 4, 1933; Special Meeting, January 18, 1935; Meetings January 26, 1935; March 9, 1935; March 23, 1935; November 26, 1936; January 30, 1937; March 13, 1937; and April 20, 1937.
Clubs also decided on the proper use of water on the course once they secured the supply of water. They discussed efficient and effective sprinkler location and watering schedules that would benefit the greens but interfere the least with the players. George Cumming at the TGC, for example, wrote a memo in 1934 advising the committee that as of May 15, the “fairways [will] be watered at nights for six days per week until further notice … to be all accomplished in six days a certain amount of watering [will be done] in the mornings between 7 am and 12.” During the late spring and summer months of 1934 watering occurred between five to 19 hours a day. At the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club in 1928 the Green Committee instructed that “a little more care should be given to watering … i.e. the sprinklers on the 6th fairway [were] throwing water on the trees over the fence of their property all day.” In the early to mid 1930s, the Green Committee Reports commented on the system of night watering and, at times, the lack of water due to lack of rain or the excess of water due to heavy rains. There was attentiveness to water usage and shortages, but it remains unclear whether these green committees or greenkeepers had any conservationist notions about it. Water usage was only one aspect of a wide reaching new system of knowledge about golf course construction and maintenance that emerged with the awareness of local environmental variation.

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109 In 1928, the USGA Green Section Bulletin dedicated an entire issue to water systems and watering, Vol 8, no. 7 ((July 1928).
110 TGCA, Green Committee Correspondence, 1931-1938, Memo, George Cumming, RE: Watering of Fairway, May 12, 1934.
111 TGCA, Green Committee Correspondence, 1931-1938, Hours Watering Month of May 193(4?).
112 CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes Vols 1-3, Meeting March 13, 1924 and Vol 4, Meeting July 20, 1928.
113 CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes Vol5, Meetings May 30 1932; June 27, 1932; June 10, 1935; June 8, 1935; September 9, 1935.
Healthy soil and a fertilizing system were necessary for any turf grass variety to grow, and these became part of the technological and knowledge systems promoted by the experts. Piper and Oakley stated, “the special soil requirements of various turf grasses differ considerably but for the best results they all required a deep, fertile, moisture-ladden yet well-drained soil.” ¹¹⁴ This could be loam, clay loam, or sandy loam. They went on to advise that good drainage was rarely found naturally on golf courses unless they happened to be constructed on farmland. The location of courses diversified, however, and even on farmland all soil types needed fertilizer. Scientifically developed fertilizer, like other aspects of the course system, matured substantially during the period in question. Piper and Oakley believed in 1917 that “the function of fertilizers is still not clearly known” and had been “applied generally to all substances that are added to the soil for the purpose of improving its capacity to produce plant growth.” ¹¹⁵ By 1931, however, a USGA Green Section Bulletin article commented that “[t]he motorization of farms as well as industry, together with the improvements in the manufacture of commercial fertilizers, have revolutionized fertilizing practices … The fertilizer trade has a language almost of its own, with the result that when greenkeepers and members of green committees attempt to make fertilizing plans for their courses they frequently become confused … [.]”¹¹⁶ Specialization did not occur overnight.

Fertilizers were an important part of all agricultural practices. Farmers and agricultural specialists knew that plants took nutrients (carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, ¹¹⁴ Piper and Oakley, Turf for Golf Courses, 5.
¹¹⁵ Piper, Turf for Golf Courses, 13.
nitrogen, potassium, calcium, magnesium, phosphorus and sulfur) from the soil.\textsuperscript{117} Animal dung was a basic way to fertilize. Dung that rotted in mounds of straw became manure. Other animal dung was also used—guano from birds, town dung from horses, night soil from humans, urine, and fish.\textsuperscript{118} Manures were used before planting, and top-dressing was used after the crop was in. Importing dung and manure started a trend towards artificial means of fertilizing soils. Balancing acidic soils with calcium carbonate was another step forward in chemical and scientific fertilizer experimentation. Fertilizers were separated into organic and inorganic. The former was made from dead plants and animals, and the latter consisted of chemical components from elements needed to make soil suitable for growing different crops. Organic fertilizers for this period included manures, composts, and humus.\textsuperscript{119} The most common inorganic fertilizers were nitrate of soda, sulfate of ammonia, acid phosphate, and potash.\textsuperscript{120} The quality and composition of the fertilizers, however, was not singular.

Expertise and local experience merged in decisions about what type of fertilizer or mixture of fertilizers to use on a given course. At the Jericho Golf Club in 1911 various companies weighed in on the proper use of fertilizers on the course. Carters’ Tested Seed Company stated that the “ground must be properly prepared with fertilizer … [and they] believed the soil to be of a sandy nature so that what [was] really needed [was] humus that [would] retain the moisture” and, furthermore, that a fair quantity of stable refuse or leaf mould would be useful.\textsuperscript{121} In a follow up letter they included, “it is absolutely necessary that you add organic manure [to the soil] … stable manure, in a fairly rotten

\textsuperscript{117} Steven Stoll, \textit{Larding the Earth} (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 17, 227.
\textsuperscript{118} Stoll, 50-51.
\textsuperscript{119} Piper, \textit{Turf for Golf Courses}, 13-15, 19-23.
\textsuperscript{120} Piper, \textit{Turf for Golf Courses}, 15-18.
\textsuperscript{121} CVA, ADD MSS 59, Jericho Country Club, Vol 1, file 7, Miscellaneous, Annual Report Jericho Country Club, 1911.
condition is preferable … the greatest difficulty you have to contend with is conserving the moisture … you can only remedy this by adding humus and body to the soil.” The report went on to assert that “artificial fertilizer would be a waste of time and money … [it would be like] trying to make a sieve hold water … commercial or artificial fertilizer add no humus to the soil, but it will add to the fertility provided there is sufficient body to hold and absorb them … in your case, the first rain following the application of artificial fertilizer will dissolve […].”122 They suggested that barnyard manure be used at a rate of 30 tons to the acre and plowed to no more than 3 inches in depth.123 Vicks Rochester and the Steele Briggs Company agreed that manure was preferable over artificial fertilizer. The former commented on how artificial fertilizer could not take the place of manure in holding moisture, and the latter suggested that a “heavy top-dressing of thoroughly decomposed manure in autumn” be left on the ground through the winter.124 The report even took information from *Turf for Golf Courses* that maintained “farm yard manure should be applied before plowing” and that in the absence of manure, fairway preparation could be made with bonemeal or cotton seed meal.125

The club used recommendations from seed companies, ‘authorized’ experts, and local enthusiasts in their decision-making process. The advice to the Jericho Golf Committee called for lots of manure to be applied to the soil before seeding; that smaller amounts of well-rotted manure be incorporated by a disc-harrow; and that lime should be added to help with the weeds, especially moss. Commercial fertilizer, furthermore, should only be used to supplement the stable manure in order to provide fairways with plant food immediately, as well as over a longer period. While potash was considered expensive,

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123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid.
the author(s) of the report believed that the nitrogen and phosphoric acid fertilizers were still at reasonable prices and that the course required 100-150 pounds of nitrate of soda per acre and 250-400 pounds of superphosphate per acre.\textsuperscript{126} The same report suggested, “top-dressing with bone meal, a small amount of nitrate of soda, and good compost alternatively every second year” to improve the condition of the grass.\textsuperscript{127} The committee went on in great detail into the composition and creation of fertilizer for the course that reflected local and broader understandings of fertilizers. The recommendations included the use of seaweed as an excellent addition to the soil as a compost material—it “holds relatively large amounts of potash together with some nitrogen and small quantities of phosphoric acid.”\textsuperscript{128} To this mixture, “which decomposes rather slowly,” the report suggested adding horse manure and leaf mould or peat soil with a small amount of lime.\textsuperscript{129} The compost would take a year to ripen and could be hastened by the addition of moderate amounts of liquid manure in the early summer. The report endorsed collecting peat soil and leaf mould from the woods adjoining the links, and the beach to the west of the course was a good place to collect seaweed. All this compost creation, of course, depended on the soil not being classified as ‘light.’\textsuperscript{130}

Though other golf clubs did not have the same level of discussion about fertilizers in their annual reports, debates and suggestions were found at other clubs across Canada. In 1900 the TGC’s “Report from the Green Committee … to the President and Directors” revealed that Mr. Briggs of the Steeles & Briggs Company examined the club’s soil. He advocated that a “heavy dose of rich manure [be] put down during the winter” followed

\textsuperscript{126} CVA, ADD MSS 59, Jericho Country Club, Vol 1, file 7, Miscellaneous, Recommendations RE Jericho Golf Club to Golf Committee.
\textsuperscript{127} CVA, ADD. MSS 59, File 7 – Miscellaneous – Annual Report Jericho Country Club 1911, Recommendations RE Jericho Golf Club to Golf Committee, 3-4.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid.
by harrowing, seeding, and more fertilizing in the spring. In April 1932 the committee at the TGC suggested purchasing 23 and a half tons of fertilizer for the course, followed in May by the purchase of 50 cubic yards of humus to help with the top-dressing. In 1934 the TGC’s organic fertilizer mixtures included blood and bonemeal. During the 1930s, the Victoria Golf Club and the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club used between six and eight percent of the annual budget on fertilizers. In 1929 the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club linked fertilizing with watering when considering the “marvelous improvements of the fairways.” In 1943 the Green Committee Report detailed that the greens were over-acidic and that the club should use fertilizer “to the best possible advantage so as to develop a growth that will stand the winter months” and also “be covered sufficiently for next year to continue the gradual building of a tough body of grass.” In 1936 a correspondence between Stanley Thompson and Conway regarding the Capilano Golf Club recommended that the fertilizer for the course should include 1 car load (45 tons) of Milorganite from Rennie’s Seed Company, 8 tons of superphosphate, 4 tons muriate of potash, 2 tons of sulphate of ammonium. Club records indicated the continued use of organic fertilizer but also a growing reliance on or

131 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 2) 1894-1910, “Report from the Green Committee of the Toronto Golf Club to the President and Directors.” November 30, 1900. Other entries also discuss the need to treat and care for fairways around fertilizer, see Minute Book (Vol 4, Vol 5), January 21, 1915 and December 16, 1915.

132 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting April 11, 1932 and Meeting May 31, 1932.

133 TGCA Minute Book (Vol 8), Meeting July 27, 1934.

134 See, for instance, BCA, AD2510 Victoria Golf Club fonds Vol. 5, February 1, 1932; Green Committee Report February 6, 1932; Meeting February 29, 1932; Meeting November 6, 1933; and Meeting March 4(?) 1936 and CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes Vol 4 Meeting June 9, 1930 and March 13, 1932; Vol 5, Meeting March 17, 1936; and Vols 7-8, Meeting March 18, 1940.

135 CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes, Vol 4, Meeting May 20, 1929.

136 CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes, Vols 7-8, Green Committee Report, February 6, 1943.

137 Golf Canada, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson-Correspondence with Capilano, Copied from BC Golf House Files - October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936 Landscaping Notes, Capilano Golf Course, February 8, 1936.
willingness to experiment with chemical fertilizers. The path towards greater dependence on chemical fertilizers was also found in other agricultural sectors.\textsuperscript{138}

Club records also indicated the consequences of not maintaining this part of the system. A TGC report acknowledged that between 1916 and 1922 there was constant fertilization with old stockyard manure “which in those days was cheap to buy and easy to obtain.”\textsuperscript{139} Yet between 1922 and 1930, fertilizing the course was not maintained since stockyard manure was scarce. This lack of fertilizer coupled with drought allowed weeds to develop where water reached their shorter roots but not those of the grasses.\textsuperscript{140} The report recommended: 35 tons of milorganite and 100 tons of sulphate of ammonium with a higher mixture for poorer soil areas. The mixture was meant to help with chickweed, plantains, and dandelion problems.\textsuperscript{141} At the beginning of World War Two, the TGC discontinued fertilizing the course, and it immediately deteriorated. The greenkeeper, Mr. Purdy, felt it was necessary to keep the course maintained in order to avoid greater repair expenses in the future. It was decided that for the cost of $847.50 the club would use a minimum of 15 tons of milorganite and 5 tons of ammonium sulphate in the fall.\textsuperscript{142}

Without a good soil base and the proper use of fertilizers to augment or satisfy the propagation needs of various turf grass, the goal of a velvety green turf was elusive. Experiments with and advice on fertilizers and soils were natural appendages to the development of a turf grass seed industry. The examples here indicated a growing


\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid. The general thought was that soil fertility would be maintained with milorganite at 1000 pounds an acre.
\textsuperscript{142} TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting August 17, 1940.
awareness of natural systems and the subsequent need to create technologies that would help produce the desired object—the ideal golf course. The types of products applied reflected the influence of institutional and commercial knowledge dispersal as well as local experimentation among a similarly minded course crew. Other supporting technologies also emerged as part of the ingredients necessary to produce good turf.

*Golf Course Machinery*

Golf course machinery and tools also proliferated during this period as wider agricultural mechanization spread across the continent under increasingly industrial models of production. These technologies helped deliver, mix, spread, roll, and cut. In 1937, for example, the TGC approved two new hole setters, a dozen packages of “Ball Brite” cleaning compound, and a Toro Model “B” tractor with dump body capacity of 1 cubic yard and dual rubber tires in back and a single rubber tire in front. Perhaps the best example of the growth in expert golf machinery, however, was the mower. The play and aesthetic qualities of a course required short and evenly cut grass. Different heights for turf were desired on different parts of the course that ranged from the tall rough to the short greens. Mowing had always been part of the game’s technology but relied on hungry grazers or human muscle to keep the playing field pruned into the twentieth century in North America as well as Great Britain.

In 1832 the British Ransomes Company used the John Ferabee license for a cutting machine and began producing it. By the 1880s turf heavy sports, including golf, and a growing middle class in Britain accepted these new cutting technologies with great

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144 TGCA, Green Committee Meetings 1933-1943, March 1, 1938. See also, Green Committee Correspondence 1931-1938, Memo Purdy, March 7, 1938.
gusto. During the period in question, mechanized mowers proliferated on both sides of the Atlantic. By the 1920s new gang mowers, developed by William Shawnee in the United States allowed green committees (and large estate owners) to mow with even greater efficiency. These technologies were not perfect since “it must be remembered that all the cutting units now on the market were designed to be drawn by horses and are neither designed nor built to stand the high speed and rough usage of the tractors whose speeds vary from 4 to 15 miles per hour.” Concerns over the specific needs of grass greens maintained interest in smaller and more delicate machines. By the 1930s the Worthington Company, among others, developed machines with pneumatic tires that were more sensitive to these turf areas. Horse or human power first pulled these mowing machines, and then gasoline or petrol-powered tractors became standard equipment. This shift in technology meant changes to cutting techniques, making sure that the machinery could work in different weather (especially wet) and with other maintenance tools, and being attuned to the economy of a club’s needs in terms of gasoline and oil.

The transition from earlier technologies to the newer ones was never clear-cut. In 1921, for example, the TGC approved the purchase of a Toro gasoline mower, medium sized with attachments for $690. In 1922, however, the Green Committee still listed six hand mowers as part of the equipment improvements and reported that the number of horses kept by the club was reduced from six to two since two tractors “aided materially

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146 Ibid., 117.
147 “Power-Mowers for Fairway,” Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 6 (June 1921), 115.
148 Weaver, Ransomes, 119.
149 “Power-Mowers for Fairways,” USGA Green Section Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 6 (June 1921), 116.
150 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 6) 1916-1924, Meeting May 5, 1921 and Meeting June 7, 1921.
in keeping fairways in good condition.”151 The remaining team of horses was sold by the close of the 1925 season. In 1928 the greenkeeper of Shaughnessy Heights, Mr. McRae, recommended a new hand mower for $800 to replace the power mower (sold for $400.00). The upkeep of the power mowers was expensive, and the mowers were under repair most of the time. Later that year, the committee also suggested the purchase of a Toro Flexible Fairway Roller for $1,000.152 In a shift from animal to gasoline power, the club would buy two Fordson tractors for $850 and the horse would be sold.153 Clubs also adjusted to ever-changing mowing accoutrements. The Shaughnessy Heights club minutes discussed the purchase of the tractor spike disc being the most useful in improving and maintaining dryer fairways, the purchase of a particular Worthington tractor, the recommendation to investigate replacing hand mowers for the greens, the recommendation to purchase gasoline power mowers for greens—subject to satisfactory demonstration and how they would save labour costs, ideas about using a heavier type of mower that would hopefully tend to a smoother and truer surface, and recommendations to purchase seven fairway mowers and three powered green mowers.154

The mower and other course machinery were international. In 1932 the TGC greenkeeper, Samsom, reported from the National Greenkeeping Golf Show and Convention in the US that along with other companies, the American Toro Exhibit of

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152 CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes Vol 1-3, Meeting February 15, 1928 and Meeting April 26, 1928.
153 CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes, Vol 4, Meeting March 25, 1929. There was also a proposal to purchase a Toro Motor and three new mowers and two hand mowers. At the Victoria Golf Club, one can also find discussions of equipment needs. For example, in 1923, the costs of the Greens Department were heavy because of the purchase of new machinery. See BCA, AM 2510, Vicotria Golf Club fonds, Vol 4, February 6, 1923. For discussion of prices and the need to replace tractors see March 5, 1934 and February 11, 1937.
154 CVA, AM308, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds, Minutes Vol 7-8, Meeting June 5, 1940, Meeting June 17, 1940, Meeting October 20, 1941, Meeting January 26, 1942, Meeting February 9, 1943, and December 17, 1945.
their tractors, fairway cutters, and power mowers was very useful. At the Capilano Golf Club, correspondence indicated that much of the equipment necessary for maintenance was made in the US, quoted in national catalogues, and listed the Canadian representatives for major companies. These machines, moreover, acquired additional specialized attachments and augmentations. In early 1927 the TGC committee included in its recommendations three Pennsylvania putting green machines ($56.00 each) and six wooden rollers ($32.00 each). In 1934 the Green Committee advised the purchase of a Toro Master “A” Tractor equipped with seven units. In 1936 and 1937 further recommendations for Toro Putting Machines and a power sprayer were put forward. In 1938 the club approved the purchase of a Toro Model “B” Tractor for $999 and one set of five Toro cutting units at a net cost of $800. In January 1939 the greenkeeper, Purdy, bought a slightly used power mower for $125 because “time would not permit the matter going before the Green Committee for approval because the equipment is likely to be taken up by some other club in view of its condition and low cost and that such a replacement is very necessary.”

With all this new technology, it was possible to overdo the grooming, and knowledge grew about the links between turf length and a healthy turf. In 1935, for instance, a note to the TGC membership stated, “with the advice given by an outstanding turf expert it has been decided to allow the grass on the fairways to grow longer than

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155 TGCA, Green Committee Correspondence 1931-1938, “To the Toronto Golf Club” from Purdy, February 26 1932.
156 Golf Canada Archives, L2010.01.07, Stanley Thompson, Correspondence with Capilano (Copied from BC Golf House Files) October 18, 1935-February 24, 1936, Letter to Conway, January 31, 1936.
157 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 6) 1916-1924), Meeting April 29, 1922.
158 TGCA, Green Committee Meetings 1933-1943, March 31, 1934.
159 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting May 21, 1936 and Meeting March 13, 1937.
160 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting March 8, 1938.
161 TGCA, Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting January 28, 1939.
usual … [t]he objective of this is to promote better root development and to discourage the growth of crabgrass and weeds … until such time as we have acquired a sufficiently dense turf[,] fairway lies will, in many cases, not be good and it is suggested that until further notice any members desiring to do so, play winter rules."162

_Golf Course Pests_

Even if the golf course had the proper seed, soil, fertilizer, and water mixtures adjusted, pests still caused problems. Weeds made up one component of the pests that golfers and, consequently, green committees wanted off courses. Weeds had a broad definition, as Clinton Evans suggests, based upon the popular notion that weeds were the ‘enemy’ to any crop.163 A weed, in this sense, was both a “product and participant in culture.”164 A weed was defined according to place and time and by a specific group of people—usually farmers and, increasingly, government and industry officials. Weeds for golf courses were generally any plant not part of the prescribed grass mixture that disrupted the uniform velvetiness of the turf. Weed discussions focused on putting greens since weed obstruction was most clearly visible here though it could be found throughout the golf course. These weeds were sometimes divided into perennials and annual varieties. In _Turf for Golf Courses_, perennials were those weeds that lived year after year and included white clover, yarrow, mouse-ear chickweed, ground ivy, pearlwort, sheep sorrel, thyme-leaved speedwell, carpenter weed, creeping thyme and selaginella. Other perennials with stout tap-roots included dandelions, ox-eye daisy,

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163 Clinton Evans, _The War on Weeds in the Prairie West: An Environmental History_ (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002), x.
164 Evans, xiv.
plantain, and buckhorn. Piper divided annual weeds into winter/spring or summer weeds. The former included shephard’s-purse, smooth chickweed, and willow-grass, and the latter included goose-grass, chickweed, and crab-grass.

There was not much debate about how weeds appeared on golf courses. Weeds appeared from natural seed dispersal from neighbouring plants. Some weed acquisitions might also be unique to the golf course. At the TGC, for instance, one committee member said that the course was “possibly getting a lot of weed seeds out of the reservoir from which we were pumping water.” Most discussions, however, circled around the import of weed seeds from grass seed and fertilizers that reflected the on-going emphasis to acquire ‘pure’ products. The author of one article on the subject, for example, discussed how, often, weed seed travelled to a golf course within the grass seed mixtures purchased. The understanding that weeds were a problem and arrived by various means was not followed by a conscious acknowledgement that it was human action in shaping the landscape to look a certain way that invited these ‘weeds’ onto the premises. There was, however, an acknowledgement that green committees and greenkeepers needed to eliminate these nuisance plants from the playing field because they disrupted and frustrated play and ruined the golfscape aesthetic. The RCGA’s Bulletin offered many articles on the topic of weeds and the different chemical and non-chemical options for eradication on different parts of the course. One such article from 1925 noted that there was “no patent cure for all the weeds which cause you so much trouble on greens.”

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166 Ibid.
167 TGCA, Green Committee Meetings 1933-1943, March 10, 1937.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid.
Expert knowledge from the USGA’s Green Section *Bulletin* seemed to reflect the varied approaches to weed eradication. An article written by a USDA employee declared that for “everyday weed fighting there is nothing that beats old-fashioned strong-arm methods with the hands, hoe, scythe and plow.” Stanley Thompson and individual club reports concurred. He recommended leaving greens fallow before seeding to allow the construction team to pull out germinated plants; making sure that only well-rotted manure was used in the early stages; and that constant and proper rolling, cutting, and watering to ensure a thick turf would all help with eliminating weeds.\(^{171}\) A Jericho Golf Club report mentioned that “if it is intended to establish the lawn without artificial watering the use of a cover crop would seem advisable … such a crop serves to render some shade to the tender grass plant and will, in some measure, suppress the free growth of weeds.”\(^{172}\) The Belvedere Golf Club also experienced trouble with weeds. As one Greens’ Committee Report remarked, “[f]or the past two years, weedy and worm-eaten greens have been an annoyance to us all—the weeds got away on us pretty badly and finally we engaged a number of boys at quite a cost, to do the work and it was not any too satisfactory for the amount of money paid.”\(^{173}\) These clubs looked to mitigate labour costs through which even technologies proved the most successful.

Chemicals, however, were increasingly involved in weed eradication. Yet their usefulness was uneven for the most troublesome pests of crab grass or chickweed unless “dealt with individually like dandelions or plantain injected with sulfuric acid.”\(^{174}\) When dealing with broad chemical dispersal, the author of a *Bulletin* article suggested that


\(^{172}\) CVA, MSS ADD 59, File 7 Miscellaneous, Annual Report Jericho Country Club 1911.


sodium arsenite was the most commonly used; generally at a ratio of 1 gallon of solution or 5lbs of dry salt in 50 gallons of water for 6 inches of vegetation applied in sprinkler or pressure sprayer form in a single June application for annuals and two applications for perennials. The use of such a product came with a stern warning—“all compounds of arsenic are deadly poisons when taken internally, and the greatest care should be exercised to avoid swallowing or inhaling them. Areas treated with sodium arsenite should not be played on by children nor grazed by animals until the poison has been washed into the soil by a heavy rain.” 175 The author showed due concern to humans and domesticated fauna but seemed less concerned with the chemical runoff or potential hazards to other life forms. Other weed killers mentioned were caustic soda—that burned skin—and crude oil or petroleum.

Local clubs also indicated an uneven outcome with chemical weed killer use. In a report from the TGC in 1933, for instance, those in the committee believed that “there [was] nothing chemical that [could] be used satisfactorily on large areas for weed control.” 176 They reported on experiments done by professors at the Cutten Club Golf Course at Guelph College using calcine sulphate of iron with sulphate of ammonium. The treatment, however, “not only killed the chickweed but grass and everything it came into contact with, and it also spread over a larger area than planned.” 177 With properly balanced fertilizer, though, and the analysis of soil samples, the grass would grow and overcome the weeds. The greenkeeper, William Samson, believed that with soil testing in different areas it would be clear that the soil lacked phosphate and potash. 178

177 Ibid.
178 Ibid.
Individual courses combined methods garnered from institutional experiments, leading industry companies, and local experience. In September 1925, for example, the TGC’s committee decided to give a trial to methods of removal recommended by the RCGA wherein commercial fertilizers with sulphuric acid and iron sulphate would be used. The “former to be used on the principal part of the 11th fairway and the latter on a section of the rough ground where weeds are troublesome.” 179 In 1933 the TGC Green Committee sought advice concerning the type and amount of fertilizer to use on its fairways. Some debate followed as to whether any amount of fertilizer could control the chickweed, plantain, and dandelion weed problem on the course. One suggestion, nonetheless, involved using 35 tons of milorganite mixed with 100 tons of sulphate of ammonia per acre on the course. 180 In 1934 the TGC’s Green Committee recommended two different weed removal plans. One was to weed by hand the second section of the No. 9 fairway, the 10th fairway, and a part of the 15th fairway and then to eliminate weeds on the 11th, 12th, and 13th fairways by the “generous use of seed, soil, and fertilizer.” 181 In January 1945 an overview of the course reported on conditions and indicated that “it will be obvious to those who have played the course frequently that weed growth is increasing, and this should receive attention as soon as the necessary chemicals and labour are again available.” 182 In June 1928 the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club committee acknowledged their “trouble with dandelions.” One member suggested using canes designed to pierce the root of the plant and dispense a poisonous liquid or gasoline into the plant system as a useful way to kill the weeds, and the boys working at the club

179 TCGA, Minute Book (Vol 7) 1924-1931, Meeting June 8, 1925 and Meeting September 28, 1925.
180 TCGA, Green Committee Correspondence 1931-1938, Report on the Fairways, December 4, 1933.
181 TCGA, Minute Book (Vol 8) 1931-1938, Meeting March 31, 1934 and Green Committee Meetings, March 31, 1934.
182 TCGA, Minute Book (Vol 9) 1938-1946, Meeting January 11, 1945.
would carry out much of this job. Though later that same year, weeds continued to be a problem with reports in August and September about the need to get rid of weeds, especially on the 13th, 15th, and 18th holes.

*Diseases*

Turf diseases frustrated greenkeepers and green committees from achieving the ideal golfscape aesthetic. Brown-patch was one common disease caused by a fungus. It, as the name suggests, discoloured the turf and could stop growth. The experimental plots at Arlington, Virginia proved a testing ground for various fungicides dealing with the problem, and in 1925, of the 18 attempted organic and inorganic chemical mixtures, mercuric chloride proved the most consistently useful at the best price. As a bonus, the compound was also “the old familiar ‘worm-killer’ [and that] it should be possible therefore to work out a method of application which will utilize the chemical in both capacities at once.” Thompson agreed that these “Bordeaux mixtures” in powder or spray form helped with brownpatch while also dealing with worms.

Snow mould and winter kill were problematic turf conditions that surfaced specifically in the context of severe winter weather and, consequently, local environmental realities. Snow mould was a fungus that attacked grass on courses in the northern US states and in Canada where the ground was covered with snow for several months. According to experts in the US, the phenomenon was only recently known in the country but familiar in Europe, though little was known about its life history. Some

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184 CVA, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club fonds Vol. 4, Meeting August 22, 1928 and Meeting September 19, 1928.
185 John Monteith, Jr. “Control of Turf Diseases with Chemicals,” USGA Green Section Bulletin Vol 5, no 10 (October 1925), 222.
186 Thompson, 26.
clubs in Canada, including the Grand’Mère Club in Québec and the Mayfair club in Edmonton, conducted experiments to see the usefulness of corrosive sublimate on the fungus. Winterkill was another climate-specific problem for northern golf courses that was not entirely understood during that time. There were debates about what caused the phenomenon, including freezing temperatures, heaving grounds, and/or water-logged earth. Other diseases included black scum, dollarspots, fairy ring, green scum, leafspot, mildew, ringspot, rust, scald, slime mould, smut, spotblight, yellow tufts, and zonate eyespot. The period also witnessed improved information on how turf disease and insect infiltration came from away and that plant quarantines and rigid inspection by government officials were necessary because these invaders lacked the natural enemies found in their native environments.

Creatures

There were many critters that disturbed the tranquility of golf turf much to the chagrin of those who played and those who kept the course. Piper and Oakley discussed moles, field mice, pocket gophers, earthworms, grubs, and crawfish (on courses in the American south) in their turf treatise. Ant disposal was discussed in the RCGA Green Section Bulletin. The problems with these creatures, for the most part, surrounded their disruption of greens and, consequently, the game aesthetic and playability, especially around one’s attempt to make an unobstructed putt.

190 “Index of Disease,” Bulletin Vol. 12, no. 4 (August 1932), 86.
Part of the systems of knowledge and technology to spread across Canada and the United States involved various ways to eliminate these creatures. The emphasis remained on eradication though there was nascent awareness of the damage some of the solutions might cause to the surrounding environment, though mostly in reference to children and livestock and not groundwater or ecological systems. One natural solution to insect problems was to protect the birds, like the kingbird, on the golf course that ate the insects.\(^{193}\) The golfscape aesthetic welcomed certain animals if they proved useful and in accordance with the beauty of the course. Poison, however, was a favoured method of disposal. The use of strychnine and potassium cyanide (concealed in peanut butter and potatoes, respectively) placed in burrows, for instance, was a suggested method to eliminate moles since there was no danger to children or livestock. Traps might also work, however, their efficacy apparently declined when it was warm, and because the animals did not live near the surface of the ground.\(^{194}\) One industrious reader of the *Bulletin* wrote in to describe his success at getting rid of moles by modifying his mower to produce a gasoline smoke that he then siphoned into a garden hose and pushed down their burrows.\(^{195}\) Stanley Thompson suggested getting rid of earthworms with acetic acid or commercial lime sulphate. In his appraisal, the benefit the worms brought to the course by aerating the soil, carrying away moisture, and helping to eliminate acidity in the soil, “[were] not worth considering.”\(^{196}\)

Efforts to control or eliminate golf course pests, whether they were weeds, diseases, or little creatures, continued a pattern of experimentation and conversation...

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\(^{194}\) USGA Green Section *Bulletin*, Vol. 5, no. 9 (September 1925), 210.

\(^{195}\) “Getting Rid of Moles with Gasoline Engine Discharge,” *Bulletin* Vol. 5, no. 6 (June 1925), 129-130.

about specialized products and local variations to universal problems. By the beginning of 1927, the Green Section at Arlington had 480 plots dedicated to turf, each at one half rod squared and a nursery of one half an acre. Fertilizer experiments with organic (earthworms) and inorganic (ammonium sulphate) material occurred on 160 plots, and 25 plots were used to explore diseases that included the ever troublesome brown-patch. These efforts were not always successful or permanent. The golfscape was a unique amalgam of ecological agents, and the desire to manage and organize these features and provide solutions sometimes missed or, perhaps more fittingly, revealed the autonomous nature that lived and carried out its will on this landscape. Experts never gave up hope, and products and methods to grow turf, water efficiently, fertilize effectively, and eradicate invaders successfully continued to multiply; and companies never stopped advertising to encourage those hopes.

Advertising Golf Products

Turf grass was a gateway to a number of market opportunities. From a virtually non-existent industry where golfers and greenkeepers relied on local materials or attempted to implement products and methods from the UK to a niche-market catering to various sub-categories of products, golf industry advertisements uncover the creation of a new economic force in Canadian and American societies. This cutting-edge golf industry developed as governmental and organizational explorations expanded. With the explosion of information surrounding course construction and maintenance, many companies added advice sections to their catalogues and brochures on both sides of the Atlantic in an attempt to remain relevant in a sphere that appealed increasingly to expert

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advice and scientific innovation in order to gain authority with customers in this growing industry. These publications provided advice on everything from seeds to fertilizers, to pesticides and mowing machines, and they all promoted the qualities and usefulness of their own brand. The proliferation of knowledge and technologies meant a growth in products to sell. The Carters Tested Seed Company, for instance, advertised its wares in Europe, Canada, and the United States. The materials for the courses varied somewhat regarding ‘local’ needs, but the emphasis remained on the quality products obtainable from the company.

The appeal for scientific attention to golf greens occurred in industry ads at least by 1908 when the “Manures & Composts for Golf Courses” publication by Reginald Beale of the Carters Tested Seed Company suggested that “not much more than 10 years ago … anything which could be called scientific attention began … yet there [was] still so much to be learned.” 198 The author proposed that while there were not definite answers, Mr. Carters carried science further than others. He also indicated that there were different needs between the golf course and the farmer’s field and that the “only books on the subject hitherto published have been for the use of farmers, and their guidance is more likely than not to prove delusive to the greenkeeper … [the] farmer’s object to produce the heaviest, most succulent and most nutritious crop possible … [while the ideal for the greenkeeper] is to develop a hard, close, uniform turf, which does not grow too quickly and coarsely.” 199 The commercial side of the golf industry was cognizant of and spoke to the continued specialization of the field and its products.

The commercial side of the golf industry also shifted its generalist focus to one that incorporated local or regional needs with the latest in scientific discoveries made at company labs or nurseries. Carters’ “The Practical Greenkeeper” catalogue offered its readers information pertaining to putting green construction and maintenance, soil composition, fertilizers, the upkeep of the course, nurseries, and weeds.\textsuperscript{200} The catalogue was geared to Europe but still involved the wider golfing world. Carters’ system of rapid turf production, for instance, was used in Canada at the Toronto Golf Club, the Kanawaki Golf Club, and Carters had contracts with the Royal Montréal Golf Club, the Ottawa Hunt and Motor Club, and the Lake View Club. Within the catalogue, professional golfers, Vardon and Ray, declared that the TGC, the Mayfield Club of Cleveland, and the Country Club of Detroit had the best turf in America—these clubs were Carters’ customers.\textsuperscript{201} A British company, in this case, advertised its applicability and relevance to the golf world beyond its borders to its international audiences.

Commercial companies also put out material geared specifically to the rising North American industry. The American editions of “The Practical Greenkeeper,” dealt with the same or similar concerns as those in Britain. There were articles about turf and fertilizers, pests and weeds. This version, of course, highlighted all the clubs that used Carters products and emphasized those like the TGC and Kanawaki, as well as US examples, that benefitted from the quick growing Carters’ turf that shortened a growing season of 15 to 18 months to five and 12 months.\textsuperscript{202} This was particularly useful in regions with so much seasonal variation.

\textsuperscript{201} Ibid.  
Seasonality was front and centre in these North American advertisements. In a 1925 publication of Carters Seed Charts, each calendar month included a write up on a specific topic and several of these charts related to course preparations, including compost, preparedness, weeds in putting greens, commercial humus, and Bent mixtures. These charts covered material special to American and Canadian course issues discussed by institutional and governmental agencies, while advocating Carters’ unique or quality product(s). When detailing preparedness, the chart’s authors, for example, advised taking note of the course after the snow melted and when renovation work, drainage, or other problems could be observed. For example, the course might show ‘winter kill’ or bare spots that reflected poor drainage. The course chart also claimed that fescues—such as the red fescue and the New Zealand Chewing’s fescue—were the finest fairway turf, readily established and would thrive in most sections of the United States (there was no mention of Canada). In another chart discussion on commercial humus, the company indicated that its own brand of Rex Humus, which went through a several year process, was “black, decayed, odorless, granular, and sweet” (tested by the Department of Agriculture not to be sour.)

These companies also appealed to expertise and the continuing experimentation with turf in order to offer their clients the latest range of products and maintain their relevance in an ever-expanding industry. The American edition of “The Practical Greenkeeper” suggested that a turf expert “can produce a golf course with real golfing turf from seed on any class of soil in a year or less from the date the seed is sown,” which

203 USGA, Carters Tested Seed Charts, No. 1 “Compost Piles;” No. 2 “Preparedness & Other Comments;” No. 6 “Weeds in Putting Greens;” No. 5 “Commercial Humus;” No. 4 “German Mixed Bent,” 1925.
would be of great economic value to the club. These companies also reflected the shift in ideas about different types of grasses. Carters discussed the shift from South German Bent—which was all the rage but hard to fine—to Bent stolons that were much more expensive, and how they offered German Bent of 90% purity and 83% germination for $1/lb. while some “so-called fancy strains advertised as high as $2.80 [per pound].” The company also offered more information on how the average green was composed of different grasses, including bents, fescues, red top, poa annua, and blue grasses, among others. The use of bent/fescue mixes and other grass mixes required different fertilizers. In another edition, the company went to great lengths to illustrate the vigorous quality of its seeds, which were produced from cross-fertilization from previous year’s experimental grounds. These seeds were then “carefully harvested and sown the following year;” a procedure followed for six or seven years as the weak parts were discarded and the rest harvested, stacked, and thrashed and then brought to the warehouse to be cleaned (with an electric cleaner), hand picked, and tested for germination.

The sheer number of grass types and mixture ratios offered and heralded by commercial companies’ advice and advertisements mirrored the varieties and quantities selected by courses across Canada and the United States. The Coe-Mortimer Company of New York suggested the following mix for putting greens: creeping bent South German (100lbs); red fescue Chewing’s New Zealand (100lbs); re-cleaned red top (30lbs); Rhode Island (30lbs) to be sown in the evening with a distribution of

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205 USGA, MMHC, Carters’ Seed Company, Chart No. 4, April, 1925.
206 Ibid.
208 Ibid.
300lbs/acre.\textsuperscript{209} These same grass seed mixtures would then be used for all supplementary seeding in such quantities as conditions required, with some re-seeding when needed on account of bare spots or weak growth.\textsuperscript{210} The company also suggested seed mixtures for fair greens. These included two different seed mixtures: one, Kentucky Blue grass (40lbs); re-cleaned Red Top (50lbs); Red Fescue-Chewing’s (20lbs); creeping bent (20lbs); and white clover (10lbs) at a rate of 120lbs/acre and two, which should be used where clover was not desired, re-cleaned Red Top (5lbs); Red Fescue-Chewing (40lbs); creeping bent (15lbs); Pacey’s English Rye grass (1lbs) at a rate of 120lbs/acre.\textsuperscript{211} The Stumpp & Walter Company also had notions of how best to seed a golf course, which it offered in its promotional brochure. They suggested that there were two turf making grass types: first, flat ribbon like leaves and second, wire-like or bristly leaves. These two types came in runners or stolons: velvet bent (German bent) seeds, creeping bent stolons, cocoonbent seed, Bermuda grass in seed and stolon, carpet grass seed, and seed varieties of Rhode Island bent, Red Top, Kentucky Blue, Canada Blue, Bird grass, English Rye, Meadow Fescue, and Italian Rye.\textsuperscript{212} The Company also advocated its clients not to leave “without an analysis supported by certificates of federal and state testing departments,” which of course reflected their own seed purity and vitality.\textsuperscript{213} The standards for turf grasses became more nuanced and stricter. The combination of governmental and private research along with networks in which to disseminate current knowledge or technological trends placed greater pressures on these companies to

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid., 26.
\textsuperscript{212} USGA, MMHC, Stumpp & Walter. “Golf Turf of High Quality: Grass for Golf Courses, Tennis Courts, Polo Fields and Fine Lawns: How to Produce it and How to Take Care of it,” March 10, 1926, 8.
\textsuperscript{213} USGA, MMHC, Stumpp & Walter, March 10, 1926, 8.
package their wares according to these new guidelines or, at least, advertise them with a nod to the contemporary trends.

Golf product advertisements went beyond turf grass. These products included, fertilizers, pesticides, sprinklers, and mowing equipment. During the period under examination, these products became more specialized as the golf world gained greater discernment of local needs and desires and their associated lucrative markets. Within the nationally circulated *Canadian Golfer* magazine, turf and associated product advertisements were pervasive. These advertisements reinforced many of the construction issues explored by the Green Sections. The ads also illustrated the continued international nature of golf course technology development and the ability to see turf grass not in isolation but connected to a range of supporting technologies. The variety of services offered by seed companies advertised in *Canadian Golfer* also expanded and transformed as a result of sustained scientific discoveries, club interest, and aesthetic and athletic expectations on the golf course. The English based Carters Seed Company was one of the major advertisers in *Canadian Golfer* (figures 6 and 7). Between 1915 and 1925 its title evolved from “Carters Tested Seed Company” to “Carters Tested Seed, Fertilizer, Rex Humus, and Worm Eradicator.” The company branched out into the emergent golf course industry, and the variety of products quickly becoming necessary for course development. In the first ad, the company also emphasized how “our mixtures are the result of years of study and experience. We specialize in blending the correct varieties of grass seeds in their proper proportion best suited to your particular soil and condition […].”214 The ad listed courses that used their mixtures, including the Toronto Golf Club. The ad’s language accentuated the

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214 *Canadian Golfer* Vol. 1 no. 2 (June 1915), 127.
company’s expertise in the field and made clear that reputable courses used their products.

The ad from 1925 not only listed the additional products the company offered but also revealed the recent merger with another seed company J.M. Thornburn & Co., that provided even more years of experience to help better with golf course needs. The advertisement also included a testimonial from a golf course that had recently employed Carters’ services and seed and fertilizer products with excellent results that would add to the club’s success.\textsuperscript{215}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{carters_tested_grass_seeds}
\caption{Canadian Golfer Vol. 1 no. 2 (June 1915), 127. Courtesy of the Canadian Golf Hall of Fame and Museum}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{215} Canadian Golfer Vol. 8, no. 9 (January 1922), 655.
In 1925 Carters Seeds boasted “we are recognized in Canada, the United States, and England as authorities of golf turf products.” The same ad, moreover, indicated that Carters was also a specialist on golf course construction and the sole agent for the American-based Shawnee Mower, with outlets in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Toronto, and London, England. Even the company’s simplest ad highlighted its expertise and international audience.

Other seed companies provided very similar advertisements in Canadian Golfer. Rennie’s Seeds advised, “[i]t is most important that the lawn should be sown with a mixture of grass seeds especially adapted for the purpose required.” The company was happy to supply a list of bowling clubs and golf courses that used their seeds that

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included the Shaughnessy Heights Club in Vancouver. Their seeds were available across Canada. American seed company Stumpp & Walter of New York proposed, “now is the time to make your plans, purchasing seed of the highest quality, selecting the right varieties in proper proportion to suit soil and climate conditions.” The company reminded the consumer to purchase seeds from a reliable source; conveniently, they were one. Steele, Briggs’s Seed Company, with distributors in Toronto, Hamilton, Regina, and Winnipeg, maintained that their seeds never varied from the best quality and that they stocked a wide range of strains including: red top, creeping bent, Kentucky blue, Chewing’s fescue, red fescue, hard fescue, Canadian blue, and meadow fescue. Moreover, the company was also an agent of Reade’s electric worm eradicator, a liquid that when mixed with water helped rid courses of the pests. Similar advertising language illustrated the selling points of turf grass related products that also mirrored concerns put forth by the governmental and organizational side of the golf technology framework.

As the years progressed advertisements for golf course products maintained their international flavour. Regarding golf course equipment, one useful example of the transnational structure of golf course technologies is found in advertisements for the Toro Mowing Company, headquartered in Minneapolis, Minnesota and with Canadian distribution stations in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Calgary. By 1930 advertisements for Toro read, “For Every Grass Cutting Problem there’s an Efficient Toro Mower.” The advertisement went on to describe three specific tractors (Standard, Universal, and Junior), a power putting green mower, and a dump wagon all of the most practical application. The universal tractor possessed “a wide range of usefulness in that it can be

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218 “Grass Seed of Know Quality—Tested for Purity and Germination,” Canadian Golfer. Vol. 9, no. 3 (July 1923), 271.
used for general utility work, such as construction, grading, stump pulling, mowing of any work that a tractor of this type is called to do.” 220 Not only was an American tractor advertised in Canada but also the advertisements hinted at the multitude of activities carried out on the golf course to maintain it. The golf industry continued to fulfill product needs demanded by the growing specialized knowledge and technologies available to help build and maintain the ideal course. Canadian Golfer also advertised Canadian made golf course mowers, including those by Taylor-Forbes out of Guelph, Ontario, whose product was “specially adapted for putting greens. The gearing insures an absolutely even and velvety cut.” 221

Golf Limited, one distributor of golf course paraphernalia in Canada, advertised an assortment of materials required for the golf course (figure 8). Golf Limited was a distributor for Toro products in Canada (tractors, rollers, mowers, compost mixers, and power green mowers). The company, furthermore, provided “creeping bent stolons grown at [their] own nursery.” If that was not enough to keep the company busy, it also offered sprinklers, installation of water systems and fairway watering, and estimates on construction of new golf courses and for renovations on existing courses. 222 While perhaps not specialized in any one area of the golf market, Golf Limited provided a one-stop-shop for major golf course construction and maintenance concerns. The desire to provide services in a multitude of areas indicated a growing attentiveness to golf course construction and maintenance products and the increasing economic potential in providing these products to a golf-hungry public.

Golf course product advertisements provided insight into the incredible changes to golf in Canada and the United States between the late nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century. Changes to the golf course industry reflected and constituted an important part of the maturing golf community in both Canada and the United States, where governments even noticed the need and potential of such technological and scientific advances. The proliferation of products within the golf industry, as illustrated by these ads, spoke also to the centrality of expertise to those choosing and marketing new products that catered to specific needs as well as to an age of mechanization that witnessed newer versions of mowers and sprinklers every couple of years (if not more frequently). The ads also revealed the industry’s greater reliance on chemical means to attend to various course issues. Combined, these ads and the industry and audience they served, reflected how the emphasis on natural-looking golf courses that appealed to certain game qualities as well as to certain incarnations of nature were increasingly the result of substantial human intervention and manipulation.
Conclusion

The ideal golfscape did not simply appear in Canada. These landscapes were envisioned by golfers and golf architects based upon notions of play and nature that began in Britain and matured in Canada and the United States. The knowledge and technologies used to build and maintain these landscapes in Britain could not easily be applied to the physical environments found across the North American continent. Climates, seasonality, topography, geology, weather, and vegetation greatly affected course viability. In response, those in the golf world built new knowledge and technology systems that focused on local environmental characteristics. These systems were international and were the impetus for a new commercial industry, forming relationships with government agencies and golf organizations and directing contemporary forays into scientific agricultural experimentations to suit golf needs. These needs focused on turf grass and the many supporting components, like water, soil, fertilizer, pest removal, and machinery, necessary to produce the ideal course experience from a particular viewpoint based upon conceptions about science, nature, and technology. This industry also used an emphasis on science and aesthetics to promote its wares. These searches for new materials and the introduction of a new level of commercial products was yet another factor in the creation of the golfscape as a unique landscape in Canada.
Chapter Six
“The (W)Hole in One: Golf and the National Parks”

Introduction

Golf courses in Canadian national parks were constructed landscapes within constructed landscapes. National parks have a complex social and environmental history that embraces specific ideas about nature that affects their value and role in society. Golf courses were playing fields that also comprised certain natural vistas as part of the game aesthetic. Both landscapes were manufactured, and both reflected the relationship and confluence between autonomous nature and constructed nature. This chapter explores the establishment and spread of courses within Canada’s national parks and focuses particularly on the Banff Springs Golf Course in Banff, Alberta; the Jasper Park Lodge Golf Course in Jasper, Alberta; the Green Gables Links in Cavendish, Prince Edward Island; and the Highland Links near Ingonish, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. These courses were made to fit within the park mandate, but they did not lose their distinctiveness or their particular set of cultural and environmental boundaries. The association between these two interwoven landscapes sheds light on both the history of parks as well as the emergence of the golfscape as a distinct landscape.

These golf courses generated private and public involvement, especially with regards to the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR) within the national park system. In 1883, as the story goes, workers from the CPR discovered hot springs in the mountains near what would become Banff, Alberta. In 1887 the federal government passed the Rocky Mountain Parks Act that created around those hot springs “a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage, and
enjoyment of the people of Canada.”¹ The impetus for the creation of national parks, however, did not emerge from a desire to preserve ecosystems or vulnerable natures. Government officials classified these parks for both their resource potential (mining and forestry) and as repositories for landscapes that carried cultural weight, like the sublime wilderness that was touted especially by wealthy, educated North Americans for its perceived value as a natural saviour for civilization.² Between the founding of the Dominion Parks Branch and the passage of the *Dominion Forest Reserve and Parks Act* in 1911, the government established Glacier (1886), Yoho (1886), Waterton Lakes (1895), and Jasper (1907) as parks. By 1930 the Parks Department implemented the *National Parks Act* and looked to open parks in all regions of the country. Golf, meanwhile, quickly gained prominence as a pastime for many in the upper middle classes within and beyond Canada’s borders. The CPR hopped on the golf bandwagon and linked the game with its resorts across the country. The company decided to build a course at its resort in Banff in 1911. In short order, the CNR in Jasper and government officials in Banff and elsewhere outside the Rockies saw the potential economic and cultural value in these golfscapes. Beyond possible mineral extraction and forestry, the ‘natural scenery’ and recreational opportunities found in the parks and on these courses could bring in tourists and expand tourist attraction in the West as well as on the East Coast.³

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Next, the chapter delves further into how the tourists who partook in golf within the national parks, as well as the officials who believed golf would be a profitable addition to the park experience, held a particular gaze that revered picturesque and sublime nature encounters and who valued time in different environments while pursuing various activities that reinforced these cultural values and assured their admittance into a particular elite social circle. The very idea of moving from one place (usually home) to another (a temporary destination) has held different meaning for different societies over time.\textsuperscript{4} Tourists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who travelled to national parks for short-term visits possessed certain “tourist gazes”\textsuperscript{5} that were amalgams of wider socio-cultural and environmental determinants.\textsuperscript{6} Tourism was part of Canadian national park development policy early on, and tourists were therefore not antithetical to park managers’ emphasis on conservation (use) and preservation (protection) of the surrounding physical environment.\textsuperscript{7}


\textsuperscript{5} John Urry states, “[w]hat makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of non-tourist experience will be. The gaze therefore presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within the home and paid work,” \textit{The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies} (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), 2.

\textsuperscript{6} The tourist gaze can be associated with Peter Burke’s discussion of “eyewitnessing,” wherein he emphasized the fact that all images are created deliberately, for a specific purpose, and that such images must be placed in context with regards to society’s socio-cultural and political realities. See, Peter Burke, \textit{Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence} (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 9-19. Yet, it is important to note, as Ian McKay does through his investigation of the creation of the idealized “folk” of Nova Scotia, that searching for some presumably ‘true’ experience, or essences, is contingent. \textit{The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia} (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994).

\textsuperscript{7} Alan MacEachern, \textit{Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada 1935-1970} (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Roderick Nash, \textit{Wilderness and the American Mind} (London: Yale University Press, 1967); Richard Sellars, \textit{Preserving Nature in the National Parks: a History} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). All three deal with nature as witnessed and produced in national parks. MacEachern considers the parks in the Canadian Maritimes, whereas Nash and Sellars deal with parks in the United States. All illustrate how nature is constructed in these parks and how this connects to socio-cultural ideas in mainstream urban society. For information on the roots of utilitarian conservationism...
Third, this chapter illustrates that these national park courses were part of the same architectural ethos and design network that functioned across Canada and in the wider golfing world. Park and railway officials wanted recognized architects to conceptualize and renovate courses, and they hired Stanley Thompson to remodel Banff’s course and to build the remaining three from scratch. The designs of these courses, subsequently, held true to the tenets of the day: the course was a strategic playing field and a manifestation of nature; and the course should have variety and blend into the surrounding physical environment whether that involved the rugged mountain peaks of the Rockies or the seashores of the Maritimes. Officials supported design principles that circulated in an international golfing sphere through their approval of course locations and layout schemes. CPR and CNR advertisements for the wilderness courses also sought to reflect the courses’ game and nature characteristics. The contemporary emphasis on making a course fit into the existing landscape helped promoters describe these courses as part of a wilderness experience. At the same time, however, the playing field aspects as well as the traditional hallmarks of the game garnered these spaces with another level of abstracted nature and merged the storied history of the game and different representations of beautiful nature within a more rugged exterior.

Finally, this chapter demonstrates how those building these golfscapes had to balance golf course needs with local environmental conditions, and they used the same systems of knowledge and technology that influenced course construction and maintenance across the country. Golf playing fields did not exist inherently in the Rocky Mountains nor were their locations in the East Coast without environmental hazards that and aesthetic preservation, see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); and Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History* (New York: Longman, 2000).
required expert intervention and a range of turf and supporting system products that catered to their different scales of construction and maintenance needs. Local physiography along with climate and seasonality affected the turf mixtures, fertilizers, water systems, labour, and machinery used on a given course. These systems, moreover, did not remain static over the years but transformed with new innovations and environmental determinants. These golfscapes were more than “sportscapes” that echoed the very specific framework of use formulated by government officials, tourist promoters, and wealthy travelers.\(^8\) They were dynamic crossroads that brought together wider narratives of land use and appropriation, of nature adoration and class values, and of the constant play between autonomous nature and constructed nature that affected all courses and all national parks. They were unique landscapes crafted within an already structured environment that linked to the wider ethos of the parks but that also required an additional set of meanings and machines to manage their place on the continent.

*The Park and Golfscape Enterprise*

There were public and private forces at work in Canada’s national parks from the discovery of an exploitable hot springs leisure environment near Banff by CPR workers in the 1880s. Many upper-middle class urbanites viewed hot springs during this time—popular as health resorts in Europe and the United States—as advantageous to the health of the nation (or Empire) and, consequently, as a profitable enterprise.\(^9\) The area, furthermore, was full of timber and mineral resources. These realities prompted the


government of Canada to reserve a 10 square mile (26sq. km) area around the springs in 1885 that subsequently expanded. The Parks Branch viewed these and future parks as useful resources that could be preserved and carefully developed to promote national well-being and economic gain. The “doctrine of usefulness” that surrounded Canadian national parks around the turn of the last century meant that the creation of golf courses appealing to the class of visitors to the parks would not be inconsistent with the prescribed park purposes. The “usefulness” depicted in park policy connected, especially after 1911, with early Canadian and American notions of conservation as a means to wisely use the resources of the wilderness reserve to provide for future generations. The park policy, however, was quite encompassing. As Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles commented, “[u]nder such latitudinarian management policy and the additional requirements that the park should be useful and largely self-supporting, many economic activities were deemed to be compatible within the boundaries of the park.” The park was not unaltered, uninhabited, virgin land. Many indigenous communities, including the Stoney, historically used the park area. Indigenous use of the park area, especially for hunting, was considered an affront to white, big game hunting methods, and the Stoney were removed from the area between the 1880s and the 1920s. Their removal privileged one land use pattern over another and focused more on the protection of wildlife for hunting tourism than for the protection of a specific landscape. Park officials wished to

use the land for both its recreational and scenic potential. In 1911 CPR officials decided to build a nine-hole course at Banff.

In 1916 the private and public interests around the Banff Springs course converged as the Department of the Interior’s Parks Branch entered into discussions with the CPR to take over the club. Both the CPR and the federal government viewed the Banff course as a tourist draw, but it was also an expensive investment. The Company provided the government with the expenditure reports on the course from the previous years: $3,738.87 for the clubhouse and 9-holes in 1911; $873.40 for a water pipe line in 1912; and $500.00 for a hose, horse-drawn lawn mower and roller. These amounts covered the total outlay, and the government agreed to this amount, though there was a later addition that brought the sum up to $6,121.60.

The debate over course ownership and continuance revolved around real costs versus potential revenue from the course as a tourist draw. Within the CPR, senior managers debated the value of the course to the company’s operations in Banff. Some argued there was a need to maintain the course, but the company would not have the funds available without increases to the green fees. Others pointed out that golf might not remain a viable tourist attraction bringing people to stay at the Banff Springs Hotel if it was no longer under the company’s ownership. General Superintendent F.W. Peters stated, “the club has been [good] to the company in its attracting travelers and as an inducement for them to remain longer at the hotel than they would otherwise … it would


13 CPR Archives [hereafter CPRA], RG63.1004, Letter from GEA to Cory, March 8, 1917.
14 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to Cory from GEA, November 12, 1917. In 1927, further concerns mounted over the approximate expenditures versus receipts for the proposed 21 year lease that suggested that the total expenditures amounted to $200,000 with an income of only $160,000 and, consequently, an operating loss of $40,000. Even a popular and affluent game in a premier location could operate at a loss. See, CPRA, RG63.1004, Memoranda RE: Banff Golf Course, April 12, 1927.
15 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letters from Harkin and Hutchinson, June 27 and 29, 1916.
seem to me better for the company to retain control of the grounds.” Yet Peters’ awareness of the current problems associated with the course and the need for improvements, prompted him to add, “only on condition that [the CPR] spend enough money to construct an additional nine-holes … in its present condition, it soon becomes monotonous to a player.”16 The final transfer agreement included the upkeep of the course because of CPR’s concerns over the loss of tourists and revenue.17 The transfer went ahead in 1917, and the government reimbursed the CPR the approximately $5,000 already invested.18 The General Executive Assistant reiterated the Company’s request that there be a first-class course “within easy reach of the company’s hotel.”19

During World War One the desire for a golf course attraction, notions of what constituted a suitable golf course that would draw tourists in, and the social realities of Canada in wartime came into conflict. In 1917 funds dedicated to course construction were not readily available. Officials suggested in reference to the potential extension of the existing golf course to eighteen holes, “we have a number of interned aliens at Banff who could be employed in the work of clearing and preparation for the extension of the course.”20 A small group of these men did the initial clearing on three holes but officials were not happy with their slow work, and they were quickly transferred.21 Private and public domains and relationships at Banff continued after the war, as plans went ahead to extend the Banff Springs course into a championship eighteen-holes. The CPR was anxious for this expansion not only because it was considered part of the initial handover agreement in 1917 but also because “a good golf course is an undoubted attraction to

16 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter from F.W. Peters to Hutchinson, October 5, 1916.
17 Ibid., Letter to Cory from GEA, March 17, 1917.
18 Ibid., Letters October 5, 11, 18, and 21, 1916.
19 Ibid., Letter to Cory from GEA, March 7, 1917.
20 Ibid., Letter to Wanklyn from Cory, March 9, 1917.
travelers and tourists and … that business in this [passenger] line could be materially increased if it were generally known that there was a really good 18-hole course at Banff.”²² Perhaps in conjunction with the end of World War One, the government announced in early 1919 that $15 000 was available for the enlargement and improvement of the course.²³

By the end of the war, park managers and business owners in Jasper were making plans to compete with Banff for the tourist trade in the Canadian Rockies, and they looked to golf as an important recreational activity that could increase Jasper’s popularity. The game in the Rocky Mountains entered a new phase in 1922 when several financially troubled railway companies (including the Canadian Northern Railway, Canadian Government Railways, and Grand Trunk Railway) amalgamated to form the federally operated Canadian National Railway (CNR). The government extended this rail service into Jasper Park. In the same year, workers laid out a nine-hole course in the park. Later that year, CNR leased the land with the original nine-holes as well as land for the future site of Jasper Park Lodge. But the nine-hole golf course was soon deemed insufficient for drawing serious golf enthusiasts. CNR obtained rights to lease a larger area to layout a full eighteen-holes by 1924, and “the extension of the course was immediately undertaken … with much vigor.”²⁴ Stanley Thompson designed the course. By year’s end, “satisfactory progress was made in outing and clearing the nine-hole golf course laid out immediately east of Lac Beauvert and in close proximity to the lodge.”²⁵

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²⁵ Ibid., 81.
Though reports remarked that there was much room for improvement, the Jasper Park Lodge golf course officially opened July 17, 1925.

The CPR in Banff would not be outdone by Jasper Park development. The wish to further improve the Banff course revealed the economic value private and public officials placed in golf as a recreational activity and the refinement in expectations by visitors of a certain golfscape experience. To defend the Banff Springs Hotel’s status as the premier tourist attraction in the Canadian Rockies, the CPR undertook to expand and improve its facilities there. It started renovations on the hotel and also opened negotiations with the Parks Branch to take over operation of the Banff Springs golf course once more, and by the beginning of December 1926, the CPR agreed to the 21-year lease (with chance of renewal) from the government for the course, “irrespective of soil conditions or whether or not the government gives any money now, or later on, for a putting course, or for keeping the course in good condition.”  

The company retained the current golf professional, Mr. Thomson. The company, however, did not believe it should have to pay for the takeover because of the subsequent work it would have to put into the course in order to improve its standards of play. They deemed the current nine-hole course insufficient. The Parks Branch, on the other had, would not aid financially in the course’s maintenance, arguing that they had not advanced money to the Jasper Park course and, with Banff, the company actually inherited an already completed 9-hole course. In early 1927, CPR memos stated that certain clauses in the transfer agreement, like the one insisting on course maintenance, left too much power in the “hands of a capricious official” and that the CPR was not running a golf course for the people of

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26 CPR Archives, RG63.1004, Letter to Apps from Ussher, December 11, 1926.
27 Ibid., Letter to Apps, June 2, 1927.
28 Ibid., Letter to Apps from Ussher, December 11, 1926.
29 Ibid., “Re: Banff Golf Course,” Letter from GEA to Ussher, December 11, 1926.
Banff but to be an “attraction for visitors from places outside Banff, particularly from foreign countries.” The playing club that already existed would continue with tournaments and regular fees. All visitors and permanent residents of the Rocky Mountain Park, finally, would receive similar playing privileges as those guests of the CPR’s hotels. These comments reinforced the long-standing notion that this golfscape existed for the benefit and appreciation of a certain social group and not, necessarily, the general public.

The public/private relationships within the national parks went beyond government and tourist industry officials. Park activities brought tourists in by the thousands. There were, however, non-tourists also interested in golfing in the area between 1920-1930. Agitation for a public golf course near the Banff town site intensified and by 1932 culminated in a petition of 306 names presented to Prime Minister Bennett when he visited the area in September. The desire for a public playing field stemmed, in part, from the high prices at the Banff Springs course that remained $2 per round, $3 per day, $12 per week, $45 per month, and $50 per season during this period of economic depression. The idea soon developed that perhaps unemployed men, as a result of the Depression, might be employed to build it. Rough estimates for the construction of a public golf course ranged from a cheap nine-holes with sand greens, no extra water supply, and no clubhouse for $7 000 to an eighteen-hole grass green, water supplied course with clubhouse for $114 000. Thompson believed he could stake a nine-

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30 CPRA, RG63.1004, Memoranda Regarding Banff Golf Course. April 4, 1927.
31 Ibid., Agreement between the Minister of the Interior and the Canadian Pacific Railway, date unknown, c1927.
33 LAC, RG 84 Vol 72, B313-6, Letter Wardle to Harkin, September 13, 1932.
34 Ibid., Memo: Mr. Rowatt, November 28, 1933.
hole course for $1 000, though some government officials who worked with Thompson were concerned about his expensive approach to golf architecture. The government favoured a course at the cheaper end of the scale. The goal for the course was to give the people of Banff a chance to play. The Department’s resident engineer, C.G. Childe, suggested that since, even before the depression, the Banff Springs course had never been crowded and was an expense for the CPR, perhaps the company would be willing to make arrangements to reduce its green fees. The company did not reduce green fees. The Minister approved the construction of a nine-hole public golf course along with projects to landscape around department administration buildings under the direction of the Public Works Construction Act by September 1934.

There was an association made among qualities of the course, ownership structure, and golfer. Characterizations of the proposed nine-hole golf course revealed it would not be of the same caliber as that at Banff Springs or even those at Riding Mountain or Waterton Lakes but could still be a “wonderful mountain course.” The public could enjoy the wilderness golf experience but the courses, like the people, were not generally of the same class. Thompson implied some of these class-based attitudes and the differences in caliber courses when he wrote, “if a player is so ardent that a 9-hole natural course does not satisfy him he can always play on the privately owned higher class course at the Banff Springs Hotel … the function of the park’s course should be to cater to the 92% golfers which statistics show us is the group who play above 100 stroke for eighteen holes.” Thompson praised the site chosen for the public course in the same language applied to the other more prestigious courses “on account of the natural beauty

36 Ibid., Letter Harkin to Gibson, September 1, 1934.
37 Ibid., Letter to Gibson, May 26, 1934.
38 Ibid., Letter from Thompson to T. G. Murphy, Minister of the Interior, September 14, 1934.
and character of layout, a course superior to any of our existing [national park] courses and one that will attract golfers.”

Such a grand review reflected Thompson’s flare for the hyperbolic, but it also indicated the potential imbued in each new site, the centrality of playing field and aesthetic characteristics, and the awareness of course standards across the country. National park golf was held to the standards found on courses elsewhere across the country.

In the 1930s governmental discussions intensified around increasing the number of national parks across Canada in order to make them a truly national experience, and golf courses were part of the discussions early on. The Dominion Parks Branch, under supervision of Commissioner Harkin and a group of dedicated employees, grew in size, both in the number of people working and in the number of parks under the guidance of the agency. By 1930 the National Parks Act created the National Parks Branch and entrenched the mandate that the parks were for the “benefit, education, and enjoyment of the people” and must be maintained “so as to leave them unimpaired for future generations.” At this time the department had a staff of 44 employees and a budget around $1 400 000 with 50 000 park visitors. It was also with the Act that the Park’s administration advocated for the development of national parks across Canada, not just in the western provinces. This act hardened the dual mandate of the parks for use and protection. Plurality was always part of the policy.

Officials acknowledged that national parks in the Maritimes did not possess the mountainous landscapes so coveted in the West, but they decided to adapt the mountain

39 LAC, RG 84, Vol. 72, B313-6, Letter Harkin from Thompson, October 26, 1934.
model to the East and emphasize ocean vistas as the ‘sublime’ experience. By 1935 “the stars were in alignment and the Maritimes would have national parks. Provincial governments saw federal funding, the federal government saw an extension of national interests, tourism boosters saw a larger tourist trade, and the Parks Branch saw the fairness of granting to Maritimers what it had granted to Westerners—and the power that could be achieved by doing so.”42 A report that discussed proposed eastern national parks development stated, “their greatest value and the most important reason for setting them aside must be their benefit to Canadians themselves. Deep down in every man is the craving for the beauty of nature.”43

The regions chosen to become national parks in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were not devoid of people or human markers upon the land. This narrative of displacement, expropriation, and change was reminiscent of the history of other national parks in Canada and the United States.44 The focus here, however, is on how golf fit into park development in the East according to the dual realities of park policy and the dual design principles that guided course development during this period. Park activities were for the visitors and not necessarily for any of the original inhabitants or current squatters. This alluded to an economic colonialism present in park operations. Unlike the western parks, there was no major involvement by railway companies to build resorts or golf courses. Park officials, however, commenced course design and construction in 1938 in both provinces as their respective parks came into existence. The tourist value in these golfscapes was undeniable and part of the national park landscape.

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42 Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections*, 45.
Touring the Golf Course

Tourism in the national parks hinged on recreational and scenic experiences, and playing golf merged the two into a single activity. The Parks Branch and railway company officials were interested in the economic value of the national parks as much as they were interested in promoting social or health benefits for these areas. As officials remarked, the parks “[a]ttract an enormous tourist traffic and tourist traffic is one of the largest and most satisfactory means of revenue a nation can have.” 45 These parks, furthermore, promoted a certain kind of tourism that reinforced the cultural values placed in spending time in nature since “[n]ational parks are the natural result of a recognition that man requires the pure wholesome healthful recreation of the great out-of-doors.” 46 The Parks Branch’s annual reports gave special attention to city parks and playgrounds as ‘breathing spots’ for people but also how the national parks represented a more natural and better space to obtain these healthy benefits. 47 This characterization of the national park as a healthful antidote to an over civilized, urban population were similar to the qualities attached to the golf course as a natural space able to help humanity and as a source of revenue for the federal government and tourism companies.

Government officials and railway company boosters quickly decided that golf would be a profitable addition to the array of activities, like hiking, horseback riding, swimming, and observing wildlife, offered to the guests of the park that involved certain interactions with nature. In 1911 CPR president and golfer, Thomas Shaughnessy,

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decided to include golf as part of the tourist program at Banff, located in the valley directly below the overhanging cliffs of Tunnel Mountain. CPR officials hired Scotsman and golf professional, William E. Thomson, to construct and then act as the course’s golf professional. The company expended $5,000 to construct the course. The 1914 Annual Report of the Parks Commissioner specifically mentioned golf among the examples of the strong “spirit of play” found within humans, suppressed by the industrial conditions to the detriment of the nation and the individual. Golfing in national parks provided an outlet for this “spirit of play.” The CPR actively praised the potential of the Banff Springs golf course to the readers of its Bulletin during that same year. In announcements in March and July of 1919, officials enthusiastically described the extension of the initial nine-hole golf course to a full eighteen holes that were accessible from the Banff Springs Hotel from either a carriage road or footpath.

By the 1920s, park and company officials spent more money and developed more courses within the park system as interest in the game and their value as tourist attractions developed. In 1922, the Park Branch’s budget included an extra amount for advertising golf at Banff. The increased emphasis on advertising resulted from tourist traffic growth and competition from tourist destinations in Europe, the evolution of the See America First movement in the United States, and a nine-hole golf course available at Jasper. Estimates of attendance at Banff and Jasper for that year were 78,882 and 10,000

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49 Stanley Thompson Society Archives [hereafter STSA], University of Guelph, XLI MS A020002, Memo - Mr. Cory, December 13, 1930.
51 CPR Archives, Bulletin No. 122 (March 1, 1919), 6 and Bulletin. No. 126 (July 1, 1919), 5.
respectively, with between 50% and 60% of visitors coming from foreign destinations.\textsuperscript{53} Competition for tourist green fees led to comparisons between the work done and the condition of the golf courses at Jasper and Banff.\textsuperscript{54} General Executive Assistant of the CPR, J. O. Apps wrote to commissioner Harkin in May 1926, that the government needed to know how much had been spent on the Banff golf course because “it will never do if the Canadian National makes very large expenditures and succeeds in getting a very fine course at Jasper, whereas the government and in its governmental capacity, through the department of parks, spends so little on the Banff course as to permit it to remain distinctly inferior.”\textsuperscript{55}

The appeal to golfers’ values in the appearance of their course influenced the CPR’s representations of the Banff Springs resort. The course became an even more important marketing tool for the CPR when it returned to company ownership and prominent Canadian golf architect, Stanley Thompson, redesigned it. The additional financial and cultural value of the course to tourists and those who owned the course made maintaining its sporty and aesthetic ambiance very important. One report noted that the new course located mostly on the grounds of the older course was brought up to new standards with marked improvements on the layout and fairways that allowed the course to “rank with any on the North American continent, both as scenic settings and sportiness.”\textsuperscript{56} Officials reiterated how no effort had been spared to make the course the very finest quality and while it was sporty enough for champion play, no part of it was


\textsuperscript{54} CPRA, RG63.1004, Apps’ letter “Referring to golf course at Banff,” December 1, 1926.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., Letter from Apps to Harkin, May 8, 1926.

too difficult for the beginner. In April 1928 the CPR’s Bulletin boasted that an important attraction for the summer at the Banff Springs Hotel was the new 18-hole golf course under construction by Stanley Thompson because “[i]t has a superb layout situated as it is among some of the most magnificent mountain scenery in the world … The soil has been brought in specially and it is of the finest.” Furthermore, “[i]t takes a good golfer to keep his eye on the ball at Banff when the distraction of the wonderful scenery surrounding it and the additional distraction of visitors such as elk and deer arriving from time to time.” While these types of comments were not unique to the promotion of golfsapes, they highlighted Banff’s special cultural values that ignited the promotion of golf in the area.

Advertisements for western Canada’s national park courses, similar to the promotions of other Canadian and international courses, linked to the game’s past in Britain, emphasized its play and aesthetic qualities, and subsequently, described how the course fit within local environmental characteristics. The 1928 report Thompson submitted to the CPR regarding the desired changes to the Banff Springs golf course (to be highlighted in a papier maché model displayed in the town site of Banff) included more than just suggestions on the physical alterations and additions to the golfscape. Thompson stressed the usefulness of “intensive propaganda” for the course. He provided, more specifically, suggestions on the structure and content of such advertisements that culminated in a descriptive booklet to be ready for the first of February 1929. This descriptive booklet included data on the course accompanied by photographs and sketches. Relating the golf course to the longer, international, and

57 Ibid.
58 CPRA, Bulletin No. 231 (April 1, 1928), 9-10.
59 CPRA, Bulletin No. 247 (August 1, 1929), 12.
60 CPRA, RG63.1004, Excerpt from Report and Recommendation of Mr. Stanley Thompson: Advertising—Banff Golf Course, February 8, 1928.
prestigious history of golf, Thompson recommended that the course be advertised by “linking its name up with the noted big courses of the world such as Glen Eagles, Scotland; St. Andrews, Scotland; Hoyle Lake, England; and Pine Valley, USA. Care should be taken not to tie it in with the name of any inferior course.”

Linking Banff to historic British courses while advocating for the uniqueness of the course was not paradoxical but part of the history imbued in this distinctive landscape. The local physical conditions and the wider history of the sport were both key components of the meaningful golfscape experience within the national park.

The national parks’ wilderness courses at Banff and Jasper often contended with more than golfers on the course, and these fauna encountered revealed yet another local variation to the golfscape that both hindered and heightened the experience. In Jasper, huge elk herds were seen daily at Cabin Creek near the golf course. These elk, as well as deer, tore up grass. Bears often appeared on the course and even chased golf balls alongside with other golf ball stealers like coyotes and ravens. Canada geese also made their presence known. While these creatures sometimes vexed the golfers, their presence also became part of the experience linked to wildlife that the national park offered.

One local factor that played into some of the advertisements for the course incorporated the indigenous history of the area to enhance depictions of the wilderness experience. In 1929 the CPR and government officials considered indigenous peoples for

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61 CPRA, RG63.1004, Excerpt from Report and Recommendation of Mr. Stanley Thompson: Advertising—Banff Golf Course, February 8, 1928.
64 At Jasper, Bing Crosby was famously photographed with a local celebrity bear. For more information see Cyndi Smith, Jasper Park Lodge, 47-50.
caddies. After complaints that it was not possible to secure “enough caddies of a desirable type around Banff,” it was suggested that youths from the reserve at Morley might be brought in. These First Nations who initially lived in the park and who had been relocated were already involved with Banff via the Park’s “Indian Days” celebrations. The “Indian Caddy,” subsequently, would “add an attractive feature to the course.”\textsuperscript{65} Park officials, CPR representatives, and golfers stereotyped these First Nations as part of a wilderness heritage and ancient past that incorporated into the tourist advertisements of the course both in written and visual imagery.\textsuperscript{66} It was proposed, furthermore, “to establish them in a camp on the plateau to the right of the first fairway, across the Spray River from the first tee.”\textsuperscript{67} Even their housing would become part of the attraction. Those involved endorsed specific parameters with the proposal to use “Indian caddies.” The young “Indian Braves” would not miss school and would “be presentable” youths. From the Parks perspective, it was a win-win situation. Government officials’ detailed that these boys would gain employment and a “very good livelihood such as the Indians on the Caughnawaga Reserve” who caddied through a similar initiative.\textsuperscript{68} The association between First Nations’ golf employment opportunities in Morley, Alberta and in Kawakawi, Quebec illustrated national park golf’s connections with the wider golf community in Canada as well as provided an example of the generalized and patronizing treatment of indigenous groups within the sport. In addition, the CPR released a brochure that same year that pictured stereotyped indigenous men resting on a mountain outcrop overlooking the golf course.

\textsuperscript{65} CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to Apps from Mathews, January 8, 1929.
\textsuperscript{66} See, for instance, Jonathan Clapperton, “Conservation, Colonialism, and Spectacle at Banff Indian Days,” \textit{Canadian Historical Review} 94 (3) (September 2013), 349-379.
\textsuperscript{67} CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to Apps from Mathews, January 8, 1929.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., Letter from GEA to Scott January 14, 1929; and Letter to Mathews from GEA quoting Dr. Scott of the Department of Indian Affairs, January 17, 1929.
The CNR took similar pains in marketing golf at Jasper as a great game experience as well as a showcase of the local environmental qualities of the area. The 1926 “Golf at Jasper in the Canadian Rockies” brochure published by the CNR touted that “golf has shown such extraordinarily rapid and extensive development throughout Canada in the last ten years that it may be said to rank in importance above all other sport activities in Canada. It was therefore natural that a golf course should be regarded as essential to the popularizing of the Canadian National Railway’s principal Rocky Mountain tourist resort.”69 The booklet paired detailed textual descriptions of the merits and features of each hole with visual images of the course in order to appeal to the sensibilities of those within golf culture. Noticeably in the photograph, men and women played on the Jasper course. Though the ad did not specify the gender of the player who might enjoy the course, there were places for affluent women to participate in this sport and lay claim to an elite identity that functioned beyond national borders, as explored in chapter two.

These advertisements were not limited to Canada. Similar to the marketing strategies for highlighting golf courses for Canadian tourists, American ads for the Banff and Jasper courses used the same imagery and language to promote a specific golfing experience that linked participation in a golf and resort culture to a transnational experience of class and taste (figures 9 and 10). In 1933 an ad for Banff suggested, “no matter how many other popular courses you’ve played here’s a brand new test, and credit it to the latitude, altitude and an unrivalled golf architect.” At this course, “mountains, lakes, and rivers [are] all worked into hazards, the biggest being alpine air that makes

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69 STSA, XLI-MS A020015 File 2, 3 booklets about Jasper Park Lodge Golf Course, “Golf at Jasper Park Lodge in the Canadian Rockies,” Ed. A.J. Hills, Assistant to Vice President, CNR (Montréal: the Ronalds Company Ltd, 1926), 8.
judging distance a new science.” By 1936 ads for Banff focused on the altitude emphasizing the opportunity to golf “a’top the world” or at the mile high course where bent grasses flourished and the course offered challenges and great scenery.

Figure 9. *American Golfer* Vol 35, no. 7 (April 1932), 57. Courtesy of United States Golf Association.

Jasper’s course enjoyed the same type of transnational promotion. In May of 1930, an *American Golfer* boasted the course possessed a majestic mountain scene with air “that is a veritable elixir … that snaps jaded golfers out of themselves and sends them after new records.”

Another ad enticed that at Jasper one could flirt with its “Bad Baby,” a short hole but where “a single, careless stroke is enough to give your score growing pains … from duffer to champion, no true golfer can help but feel the

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exhilaration of a round in the very heart of the snow-capped Canadian Rockies.”73 These ads played into the wilderness rhetoric of the more general park promotions, but they also used that specific language to associate these visual and experiential components to the aesthetic quality of the course that conformed to the standards of golf architecture during this period.

Figure 10. *American Golfer* Vol 33, no. 10 (July 1930), 38. Courtesy of United States Golf Association.

The national parks in the Maritime provinces differed from Banff and Jasper in that their development and golfscape were not tied as intimately to the outside influence of corporate sponsorship like the CPR or the CNR. These courses, however, were still closely connected to the aspiration to attract visitors. Golf courses were a vital component

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73 *American Golfer* Vol 36, no. 6 (March 1933), 75.
of the Maritime national park tourist attraction from the beginning. The cultural and economic value of a golf course as a park attraction and tourist draw and the subsequent dollars it could generate, outweighed the labour, time, and financial costs necessary for its creation and ongoing maintenance.

The debate over the location of the national park course on Prince Edward Island illuminated how golf course development was directly tied to class-based assumptions about the tourist trade. There were three possible locations for the course within the new park on the North Shore of the Island. Two of the locations at Dalvay and Stanhope Beach were close to the resort hotel at Dalvay located on the east end of the park boundary during that time. The third site at Cavendish was located on the west end of the park. American millionaire Alexander MacDonald of Cincinnati, Ohio built “Dalvay-by-the-Sea” as a summer home in 1895. Following his death and the financial ruin of his daughters, Dalvay and its lands passed through several hands until it was sold to the federal government in 1938. With the establishment of the national park that included Dalvay and its lands, the Parks Branch envisioned “[t]he Dalvay House will undoubtedly be the concentration point for the more or less wealthy visitors.”74 The golf course, by extension, would naturally fit well in that cultural milieu. In Cavendish, a region that included the site of the Anne of Green Gables house, the Parks Branch anticipated the park appealing to a middle class clientele.75 Some officials believed, however, that the relatively close course in Charlottetown, a mere 13 miles away, and the nine-hole course in neighbouring Stanhope would be a detriment to any golf club membership at the Dalvay site. A club at Cavendish, moreover, would probably “receive greater support

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74 RG84 vol. 1777, file PEI12 vol. 1 no 2 Williamson memo, 23 March 1936 quoted in MacEachern, 84.
75 MacEachern, 84.
from Prince Edward Islanders than Dalvay [because] it was more central to the Province at large.”\textsuperscript{76} Thompson agreed that the area offered greater tourist pull when he wrote “the fact that the community round about is pastorally beautiful and has been the subject of a noted ‘best seller’ should prove of interest to tourists.”\textsuperscript{77} The importance of attracting the tourist dollar was key, as evidenced by the mention of Anne of Green Gables as an additional draw to the golf course. There were even suggestions and initial investigations into making the Green Gables house a clubhouse, tearoom, and/or locker room associated with the course.\textsuperscript{78} The final decision about the location of the club, however, lay in the design potential of each location. Cavendish was the chosen site.

The Parks Branch and Stanley Thompson associated a high caliber golf course with high-class tourists. The director commented that “probably the most important feature about Cape Breton Highlands National Park that remains unsettled at the present time is the possibility of attracting to the Park people with sufficient capital who are willing to develop the type of tourist accommodations … [necessary to] secure high class tourist business … and probably the best inducement we could hold out to concessionaries of this kind would be a first class eighteen hole golf course and sports ground in the immediate vicinity.”\textsuperscript{79} In contrast to what happened in the western parks, the golf course here was seen as a way to generate funds to build a hotel and not simply

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\textsuperscript{79} LAC, RG 84, Vol 72, 313-7, Memo: Williamson; RE: Cape Breton Highlands National Park Golf Course—Second Nine Holes, October 18, 1938.
\end{flushleft}
attract more tourists to a hotel already built and linked to various amenities. The Branch approved the eighteen-hole course.

The government was also concerned about the finances needed to maintain the Cape Breton park as well as the golf course and associated accommodations required for it to be a successful tourist stopping point. Thompson suggested two ways to drum up investments and tourists to the region. Both of these appealed to an international clientele as opposed to a national or local one, and both advertised the course in specific ways. Thompson asked the government to send him photographs, maps, and even models of the region and course so that he might pass them on to his American partner Robert Trent Jones, who was on the golf committee for the Sport’s Pavilion at the upcoming World’s Fair in New York City. There was a chance these might be included in the exhibits at the Fair. Thompson also wanted to circulate such material to potential investors he found in Bermuda. Thompson perceived the tourist-oriented folk of Bermuda as a bunch of “Englishmen who controlled the hotel companies there who possess a graceful and courteous way of extracting the filthy lucre from the pockets of numerous Americans (wealthy or otherwise).”80 The department was interested in fulfilling his requests.81 The course, nonetheless, in order to draw in ‘investors’ had to ascribe to architectural design principles that dictated what was a high caliber course.

Designing the National Park Golfscape

Park and railway company officials knew that their courses needed to be considered first-class in order to draw in tourists and, consequently, to be a topnotch

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80 LAC, RG 84, Vol. 72; 313-7, Letter Thompson to Smart, March 1, 1939.
81 See, LAC, RG 84, Vol. 72 313-7, Letter Smart to Thompson, March 6, 1939; Letter Thompson from Superintendent Robert Stead ,March 8, 1939; Letter Lee Dolan from Stead, March 8, 1939; and Letter Stead from Dolan, March 10, 1939.
The playing fields had to respect the same architectural principles that informed other course construction across the country. Officials wanted well-known and respected architects, and they wanted their courses to be strategic and aesthetically pleasing according to the standards of the wider golfing world. A transferable or familiar golf experience solidified the boundaries of the game’s clientele, of whom all would be aware of and able to discern its value. The Parks Branch considered several golf professionals and architects for the Banff Springs improvement project in the late 1910s. These included George Cumming, the professional at the Toronto Golf Club and Mr. Bendelow, a Scottish architect working for the Spalding Brothers in Chicago. The government eventually hired the well-known and well-respected Scottish-born golf architect Donald Ross, who worked in the United States, to survey the Banff site and provide a report on the necessary extension to and improvement of the course. In late May 1919, Ross travelled to Banff and by September he delivered a complete layout for the new course that illustrated the position and features of each hole. Ross’s report reflected the main elements associated with course construction discussed earlier in the dissertation as regards the dual strategic and aesthetic design goals. Ross, for example, suggested that all artificial work fit the landscape and that “all undulations, mounds, and hollows should be irregular in outline and profile.” Like many other architects, Ross believed that uniformity suggested artificiality. The goal was a natural looking course that incorporated the local environment.

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83 Ibid., Letter to Wanklyn from Cory, March 12, 1919.
85 CPRA, RG63.1004, Donald Ross, “Banff Golf Course, General Construction Notes,” July 10, 1919.
During the course’s major reconstruction during the late 1920s, CPR officials also
wanted to make sure that the Banff Springs course had a notable design according to the
architectural principles in vogue at the time. Mr. J.M. Wardle, the Parks chief engineer,
suggested the Thompson Brothers of Toronto—Stanley Thompson’s company—provide
a report on the improvements necessary for the course that built upon those made by Ross
but not ever fully realized. Wardle believed that “the Thompson brothers [were]
considered to be about the best men in their line in Canada [and that] they would provide
a closer estimate with excellent ideas in ways of improvement.”86 Other officials agreed,
and Stanley Thompson went to Banff to prepare a new eighteen-hole course that would
include three sets of tees for each hole and where 11 of the 18 holes would be in view of
the hotel with each fairway affording delightful vistas.87 Sportiness and aesthetic values
were never hidden away in course descriptions. Already a new image of the Banff
Springs course promised that the “‘World Premier’ [golf course] that [Thompson] is
laying out for you at Banff … will be an eye-opener.”88 Another official added that
“Thompson will make some wonderful changes in the course at Banff” and while the
changes would probably call for more concessions, “it will be worth while.”89 Changes
implied improvements.

In February 1928 Stanley Thompson submitted his report on the Banff golf course
to the CPR, and it reflected his personal take on the golf design principles of the day.
Thompson’s design re-considered the 1919 proposed playing field layout submitted by

86 Ibid., Letter from GEA to Ussher “Re: Banff Golf Course,” December 11, 1926.
88 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to Apps, August 5, 1927.
89 Ibid., Letter from Apps to Gibson, August 8, 1927.
Donald Ross. Thompson reworked a few of Ross’s holes in his own style and planned the remainder from scratch. While there was some concern about the vigour, or lack thereof, with which Thompson actually surveyed the region, construction on his design began. Thompson’s design required the CPR to negotiate with the government to acquire adjacent land for the golf course extension, then part of the Rundle auto-camp site. Earlier in the century the government had given financial priority to the camp over the golf course. The auto-camp, now, was forced to relocate as golf took precedence in the area. The government permitted the dismantling of the camp provided there were no campers and that in time the company would build a duplicate camp. Work continued on the new course at Banff throughout 1928 and into 1929.

Part of the contemporary design emphasis of naturalness and making the course fit with the environment meant involving the ‘wilderness’ that surrounded and sometimes invaded the course. The tropes of the park’s wilderness were used to describe the course. Scenic holes incorporated the existing physical features of the region that included “the eighth hole [that is] played across Devil’s Cauldron, a shallow lake set in a cup-like depression, while one of the home-coming holes is played across the elbow of the Bow River.” Yet the space was still a playing field and required those game features that were not part of the wild but part of another landscape tradition that highlighted picturesque and pastoral play on links and small hills. Banff Springs and the other park courses broadened that definition of the golf environment and took the golfscape another step towards being a unique landscape. The design principles of the day helped this

90 Donald Ross was a leading Scottish golf course architect who worked frequently in both Canada and the United States.
91 Hart, 18.
92 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to A. Allerton, Manager-in-Chief of hotels from GEA, September 30, 1927.
tradition. It was still nature but a refined and historic nature from which one could also partake in the sublime wilderness.

The debates around the proposal to build an airdrome and flying school adjacent to the course in 1929 illustrated the centrality of the aesthetic boundaries desired by those who played at Banff Springs. Some officials believed that the land beside the course would be suitable for the airfield because of its relative flatness and freedom from natural and artificial hazards, aside from a few trees and a road that could be moved. The golfers disagreed. They argued that, among other things, the airfield would increase traffic and dust nearby and possibly on the course, that parts of holes 10 and 11 would have to be moved, and that aircraft would fly close enough to the course to disturb the players with the noise and present possible hazards of flying close by. Even in a national park setting, golfers confronted wider socio-technological forces that conflicted with the nature characteristics of the game similar to those experienced by private and public clubs. The aesthetics of the course went beyond the physical boundaries of the playing field to include the surrounding vistas whether in terms of landscape or soundscape. The General Executive Assistant of the CPR even shared with Commissioner Harkin a story from Winnipeg from the previous year when a member of a golf club piloted a plane and attempted to land on the course. Not only did the pilot’s low flying disrupt players, but also the landing of the plane on a fairway affected some bunkers and nearly injured some nearby players. The tale was meant to illustrate how the airfield was a potential menace to golf-playing park visitors. For, “[t]here is no doubt that the field would be used … by amateur flyers … who would be liable to overshoot the field and make a forced landing

94 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to J.A. Angus from Hutchinson. Proposed Landing Field at Banff, February 23, 1929.
95 For more information on the confrontation between sound pollution and wilderness aesthetics see, Mark Harvey, “Sound Politics: Wilderness, Recreation, and Motors in the Boundary Waters, 1945-1964.” Minnesota History 58 (3) (Fall 2002), 130-145.
on the fairway of the course.” Opposition forces won the day and the golfscape remained unaffected.

Advertisements for Banff and Jasper depicted how architectural principles guided the design of these two courses and made them ‘first-class’ in terms of game tenets and beautiful nature in order to entice an elite, international clientele. Ads for Banff in *American Golfer* emphasized the three sets of tees offered by the course with “dog-legged fairways trapped with mountain hazards.” It was at Banff where, after three years of work by Stanley Thompson, golfers could experience all the “newest tricks of golf course architecture” and drive a ball off the first tee across the Spray River, offering “one of the most magnificent [views] in the world.” A booklet brochure for the Jasper course provided an overview of the new golf course as well as hole-by-hole descriptions that detailed the strategic and aesthetic qualities with text and with a set of images that contained a photograph and an illustration. The photograph highlighted the vistas from each hole. The illustration emphasized bunkers and other hazards, the quality of the terrain, and the characteristics of the greens. The brochure boasted that architect Thompson envisioned the ideal golf course where other, less bold individuals only saw “forests, rough brule land, swamp, a wild lakeshore line, and a plain with rocky outcroppings.” Thompson was careful “to tie in his tees, greens, and bunkers to the surrounding physical features in a way that seldom suggests artificiality.” The course provided varying terrain that possessed interest without weariness and that included a wealth of natural undulations and configurations, water holes, and rich natural contours.

There was little rough, furthermore, in which to lose balls, and there were no impossible

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96 CPRA, RG63.1004, Letter to Harkin from GEA, March 11, 1929.
97 *American Golfer* Vol 33, no. 8 (May 1930), 91 and *American Golfer*, Vol 33, no. 9 (June 1930).
98 STSA, XL1 MS A020015, 3 Booklets about Jasper Park Golf Club, “Golf at Jasper Park Lodge in the Canadian Rockies,” 1926, 7-10.
carries due to three sets of tees (of miniature log construction) that offered a variety of shots all surrounded by the “little of Heaven that were the snow-capped peaks and beauty of the wilderness.” Keeping local features in mind, these course components came directly from most golf architects’ handbooks on what to do or not to do with design and what to emphasize in order to appeal to the golf culture. The adaptability built into these architectural principles, thanks to the focus on naturalness, allowed different environments to become part of the golfing pantheon and to become a distinct North American landscape.

The choice of sites and layouts for golf courses in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton fell once again to Stanley Thompson and his architecture firm. While it is not surprising that Thompson’s designs remained based upon the same principles that he employed on his western courses (and his private courses throughout the country), the continuous wish for such course characteristics by those in the golf world and by those in the government reflected the strength and near ubiquity of the cultural values imbued in the golfscape. As in the west, “[s]ublime nature was of interest to those who could draw out its emotive power —‘class’—while nature like the Island’s was of interest to the many satisfied with pleasant surroundings —‘mass.’ [The deputy director] Williamson saw his job as developing a place which would satisfy such mass taste while permanently maintaining as much beauty and class as possible under the circumstances.” The East Coast parks’ nature(s) corresponded to the surrounding landscape and so, too, did the courses.

The physical environment influenced Thompson’s choice of location for Prince Edward Island’s national park. Park officials deemed the landscape of Prince Edward

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100 MacEachern, 81.
Island most frequently as picturesque and early on decided to construct the national park along the lines of a seaside resort that celebrated the region’s beaches but without the obnoxious attractions. Within these physical environments, Thompson’s own views on golf course construction, as it happened, trumped some officials’ plans for where the best place to construct a golf course would be. The Dalvay-by-the-Sea and Stanhope Beach sites retained, for Thompson, the necessary space for a course and had grand beaches, but they also possessed problems. At Dalvay Thompson stated that the “character [of the golf course] would have to be built in artificially, which would be costly and not very interesting to play … the landscape, other than the beach, is not particularly attractive.” At Stanhope Beach similar concerns existed. While there was land available it was “not the type most suitable for golf, especially since it would be quite windblown.” Thompson further “felt [that] considerable artificial character would have to be added to make a golf course, and this, coupled with the cost, makes this site undesirable.” Thompson still desired a natural course with variety and his opposition to artificiality continued. The mosquito and black fly populations at Dalvay were also a mark against that potential site. Thompson recommended the Green Gable site at Cavendish for the park’s golf course (figure 11).

The land extended 300 acres (121 hectares) “from a sand dune ridge fronting the ocean, back into wooded farm land. It is traversed by two brooks, has a number of springs and a fresh water lake approximately 30 acres.” Furthermore, “[t]he contour and variety of the terrain is ideal for the development of a fine golf course at a comparatively small cost. This, coupled with the fact that the community round about is pastorally

101 MacEachern, 82-83.
beautiful and has been the subject of a noted ‘best seller’ should prove of interest to tourists.” Thompson preferred Cavendish because the natural features provided variety, and its physiographical qualities helped too. For the soil at the site was mostly “good tilth.” Thompson estimated, in his final analysis, that to construct an eighteen hole, championship caliber golf course that “would attract tourists from all parts,” would cost in excess of $50,000. The plan went ahead. Government officials concurred with Thompson’s assessment of the different potential sites. They agreed that Cavendish offered a “continuous open slope” with “fine views towards the sea” and that there was a pretty valley, a stream, and good timber that made it “a picturesque course.”

Figure 11. Overlooking 14th and 15th Tee Green Gables Golf Links, PEI, Nat’l Park, Canada. Date Unknown. Courtesy of Stanley Thompson Society Archives, University of Guelph

Park officials again accentuated local natural features when they decided upon the location of the Cape Breton national park course (figure 12). These natural features focused primarily on the coastline since “the scenic values of the site [were] outstanding.”¹⁰⁶ Stanley Thompson’s choice of the MiddleHead-Clyburn Brook site outside Ingonish for the course reflected his architectural principles of combined strategic and aesthetic features that would attract tourists and the physiographical needs to build a first-class playing field. Thompson, feeling well acquainted with the desires of the population of the Eastern US States, believed that this particular site and park “will prove to be the most heavily patronized in the Canadian Park System.” He explained further that this site provided “craggy cliffs, sandy shore, and wooded valley land traversed by a river.” Thompson asserted that he knew “of no place on the whole Atlantic Sea Board where such a variety of terrain can be found in so limited an area. While it will be quite costly to build a golf course thereupon, I think the exceptional conditions warrant a substantial expenditure.”¹⁰⁷ Variety of natural features once again played an important role in the location selected. The work to be done on the sporty features of the course would highlight these realities. In keeping with the design principles of the day, nature on the course did not mean unaltered by human actions. Thompson estimated that an eighteen-hole course would cost around $125 000, attributable to clearing and rock movement. Thompson made apparent that though he would stick to his initial design ideas for the golf course layout, he reserved the right to make changes, especially due to

the unique ruggedness of the terrain and because its timbered nature prevented actual visualization of the topographic features.¹⁰⁸

The director and deputy minister of the park agreed with Thompson’s assessment that the second nine holes should be located along the Clyburn Brook instead of the coastline, despite being more expensive to build—approximately $63 000 instead of $38 500. The evaluation of the two potential areas to expand the course carried land judgments. The director, for instance, commented that the “Clyburn Valley, traversed by the river with towering hills on each side, affords gorgeous scenery and character, and would add a great deal of variety to the play, as well as shelter from the raw ocean breeze. Its ruggedness is in keeping with the whole park development.” This land, moreover, already existed within the park’s boundaries and required no further negotiations with local landowners. While oceanfront holes were still coveted, the oceanfront area suggested this course lacked appeal because it was a “flat piece of windblown land lying along the shore and bisected north and south by a highway.”¹⁰⁹

Since the first nine-holes already enjoyed ocean vistas, the natural variety of the Clayburn Valley trumped the usual desire for ocean frontage traditionally associated with the Scottish links. Thompson obtained the contracts for both golf courses and work began on the first 9-holes of each course in 1938. Cape Breton’s Highland Links (initially called Beinn Mara) as well as the Green Gables Links required a plethora of tools and abundant labour to build the visions Thompson had with regards to strategic and aesthetic characteristics, as well as the maintenance regimes necessary to sustain these qualities in light of the local physical environments.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., Stanley Thompson, Descriptive General Specifications, Eighteen Hole Golf Course, Cape Breton National Park; June 24, 1932, 2.
¹⁰⁹ LAC, RG 84, Vol 72, 313-7, Memo: Williamson; RE: Cape Breton Highlands National Park Golf Course—Second Nine Holes, October 18, 1938.
Building Golfscape in the National Parks

The national park golfscape used the same knowledge and technology systems that helped generate and sustain other courses across the country. The systems emphasized local environmental awareness and a combination of products in order to achieve the somewhat daunting task of fashioning a playing field that had the right amalgamation of game and aesthetic qualities and that also defied the environmental realities that proved detrimental to the course’s existence and aesthetics. Park and Company officials looked to Stanley Thompson and other experts to overcome these local hazards and put forth the best game possible.

Location mattered. Commissioner Harkin made it known that while he did not play the Jasper Park course, it was “a very fine course ... It will possibly be a more interesting course than the Banff course as the topography of the area has greater variety
than the course at Banff.”

Stanley Thompson’s choice of Cavendish for the Prince Edward Island course had as much to do about topography and geology, as it had to do with beautiful nature. Cavendish had sloping fields that offered drier fairways than the marshy and heavily wooded Dalvay site. These golfscapes were not just placed anywhere within the park system. No matter where they were laid out, however, the courses required substantial technological intervention that tapped into wider networks circulating in the rest of Canada and internationally.

Climate and seasonality also influenced the construction and maintenance regimes of these courses. Officials linked the condition of the turf grass with the climate at Banff. All the “bunkers, greens and fairways on the golf course have been completed … the late spring retarded the normal growth of the turf.” In addition, “owing to the fact that the course is situated at an altitude of 4500 feet the average growing season is very short and night frosts are common.” In early December 1938 some damage occurred at the Cape Breton Highland Links Course due to storms. In 1940 May was a “cold, damp month and little or no growth took place on any part of the [Highland Links] course.” The winter kill that injured the course in April was not recovered and “the affected areas were spike, raked, fertilized, and seeded lightly as a precaution.” It was hoped that any remaining scars would be gone by July. As with other courses, officials and the

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110 CPRA, RG63.1004, “Department of Interior Canada, regarding the money spent and work needed to be done,” Letter from Harkin to Ussher, May 12, 1926
111 LAC, RG84, Vol. 150, T-10433 Prince Edward Island Golf Course; January 14, 1938, Letter to Premier Campbell, “RE: Proposed Golf Course Prince Edward Island National Park,” Letter from Superintendent Smart to Thompson explaining the unique golfing experience to be had if it were possible to build a course in the Yukon Park where during June and July one could play golf all night. STSA, XLI-MS A020002, File 9, “Jasper Park Articles and Correspondence, 1930, 1937, 1940-1943,” Letter Smart to Thompson, September 9, 1943.
113 LAC, RG 84, Vol 72, 313-7, Excerpt take from Superintendent’s Monthly Report for December 1938, for Cape Breton Highlands National Park.
114 Ibid., Cape Breton Highlands National Park—Golf Maintenance Report, May 1941, 1
greenkeeping team had to address each issue with awareness of local conditions and of the products available to help solve the problems.

Green, uniform grass, as with other courses across the country, was a key attribute for national park golfscapes, and it required custom turf seed mixtures. With regards to turf, Ross stated in reference to Banff in 1919 that “to determine which variety of grass is best suited to the soil and climate, a number of seed beds should be prepared [with] … red top, chewing red fescue, Kentucky blue grass, Canadian blue grass, hard fescue, sheep fescue, Pacey’s English rye grass, and timothy.”115 In 1943, according to Stanley Thompson, the tees required a seed mixture of one-third Kentucky Blue grass, one-third Chewing Fescue, and one-third Red Top at 15lbs per 1000 square feet. The fairways required 500lbs of cilorganite and 500lbs of superphosphate per acre with a seed mixture of 15% Prince Edward Island Bent, 25% Kentucky Blue, 25% Chewing Fescue, 25% Red Top, and 10% Perennial Rye grass at 200lbs per acre. The greens required a seed mixture of 25% Colonial Bent, 25% Kentucky Blue, 25% Red Top, and 25% Chewing Fescue at 200lbs per 1000 square feet. At the Green Gables course in Prince Edward Island, Thompson concocted yet another turf mixture that included 75% PEI Bent and 25% Red Top at eight pounds per acre on tees. Taking his own advice, as discussed in earlier chapters, he recommended that the area be allowed to go fallow so that weeds could germinate and be dispensed with before seeding.116 For the Cape Breton course Thompson suggested that tees, if time permitted, would lie fallow to germinate weed seeds and then seeded in the spring with a turf grass mixture of 75% PEI Bent and 25% Red Top at eight lbs per 1000 square feet. These same tees, prior to seeding, would be

fertilized with 50 lbs of ground limestone and 20 lbs of 5-10-5 per 1000 square feet. The tees would be sloped for easy cutting and have two divisions for different lengths. He would also top-soil them to four inches deep with two yards of humus per 1000 square feet.¹¹⁷

Soil and fertilizer proved to be an individual course condition and required specific attention. Ross advocated, for example, the purchase of a small dump truck at Banff Springs because “on the new course it will be found necessary to haul a great amount of soil to cover the rocky sections and a large quantity of peat humus and compost … to be hauled on to the greens.”¹¹⁸ He suggested the use of nitrate of soda and sulphate of ammonia as fertilizer or the greens. In 1927 the Banff Springs course was again in poor condition as it lacked surface soil for the fairways and greens. This situation was similar to the problems the Jasper course experienced where officials brought in soil from a distance of 150 miles (260 km).¹¹⁹ Mr. Cory advised the minister that the experimental farm staff in Lethbridge might help with such problems.¹²⁰ To maintain the course’s current appearance, the Banff golf course required top-dressing “2 to 5 inches deep on ten fairways requiring approximately 1800 feet of soil.” This soil, obtained nearby, was mixed with manure (one hundred cart loads) obtained from the Calgary stock-yards for a combined total of $25 000. The newly mixed soils required daily watering.¹²¹ The 1928 work scheduled for Banff Springs included hauling manure,

¹¹⁷ LAC, RG 84, Vol 72, 313-7, Contract Specifications and General Detail Covering Construction of 9 Hole Golf Course at Ingonish Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Stanley Thompson, June 1938.
¹¹⁹ CPRA, RG63.1004, 313-6, Memorandum Re: Banff Golf, December 1, 1926, written by Ussher. Also see, Apps’ letter “Referring to golf course at Banff,” December 1, 1926.
¹²⁰ Ibid., Re: Banff Golf Course, to Ussher from GEA, Cory, January 8, 1926.
¹²¹ Ibid., Letter from GEA to Ussher, December 11, 1926.
dumping sand, and seeding the entire course.122 The soil at the Jasper Park Lodge golf course, although apparently gravelly and well drained, did not support turf grass growth, and workers hauled topsoil from property outside Edmonton by train (nearly 40 train carloads) and wagon to the Jasper site.123 A 1938 Cavendish soil test carried out by the Department of Agriculture indicated an extremely low concentration of nitrate that was needed for “vigorous growth” of grasses on fairways and greens. The soil also lacked potash and phosphorus. The Department recommended the use of 600lbs/acre mixture of 300lbs nitrate soda, 250lbs sulphate of ammonia, 1000lbs of superphosphate, and 200lbs of muniate of potash. Lime was also deficient and required half a ton per acre.124

Water and a productive water system were also necessary for the overall health and functioning of the ideal national park golfscape. At Banff in 1921, “a 4-inch water main was laid early in the year to connect the 6-inch main at the Spray River bridge with the existing distributing main at the golf course.”125 The 1923 Annual report noted that new “water-mains have been of great service in keeping the fairways in good condition.”126 In 1927 the company instituted changes on the course to include a new watering set-up.127 By 1944 Thompson stated that the course would be watered regularly from a system that allowed four faucets to work simultaneously.128 National Park courses kept pace with technological innovations. A 1944 report from Jasper Park Lodge golf

122 Ibid., Letter to Apps from Engineer of Building. February 29, 1928.
123 Smith, Jasper Park Lodge, 42.
124 LAC, RG 84, T-10433, Cape Breton Highlands and Green Gables, Department of Agriculture – Dominion Laboratory of Plant Pathology to E. A. Smith, Superintendent of National Parks, August 30, 1938.
127 RG63.1004 Letter from GEA to A. Allerton, General Superintendent of Hotels, January 19, 1927 and January 20, 1927.
course provided insight into the evolution of watering systems. The course, according to Thompson, possessed one of the country’s earliest watering systems where “pipes were run in exposed lines through bush alongside the fairways” using around 10 000 feet (3048) of hose and sprinklers attached “with cumbersome wheeled contraptions” that interfered with and annoyed players.\footnote{Stanley Thompson Society Archives. XLI-MS A020002, File 9, “Jasper Park Articles and Correspondence, 1930, 1937, 1940-1943; photocopies}; Stanley Thompson. “Report: Rehabilitation Work, Jasper Park Lodge Golf Course,” February 1944, 4.\footnote{Ibid.} The newer watering systems went down the centre of the fairways with the pipes and valves concealed, necessitated little hose or maintenance, and caused little annoyance to the golfers.\footnote{Smith, \textit{Jasper Park Lodge}, 41-42.} Thompson was unsure if the course could presently afford a water system upgrade which he estimated would cost around $12 000. For source water, workers built a concrete dam into one of the mountainsides to supply the course.\footnote{Smith, \textit{Jasper Park Lodge }, 41-42.}

Also at Jasper, Thompson clearly pointed to the awareness of specific aesthetic aspects golfers valued and the consequences these desired components effected on the physical environment and vice versa, as well as the reality that the component parts of the knowledge and technology systems did not exist in isolation. Water, along with soil and fertilizer, were part of Thompson’s rehabilitation program for the course in 1944 when severe winterkill destroyed all the turf. The report indicated the poor soil quality of the region and how the initial topsoil brought in from Edmonton was not properly mixed for local conditions. Thompson advocated organic rather than chemical fertilizer when possible as the club went forward. He also believed in watering the golf course less so as to strengthen the roots of the grasses (that would grow robust in their search for water) and make it better able to ward off diseases. Yet he admitted that reducing the watering cycle on courses “was a moot point because golfers demand the luxury of watered
Regardless of the validity of his advice, Thompson made clear that a course had an artificially created ecology that relied upon an interconnected series of factors that individually, or collectively, could hinder or help the landscape’s success—though he never used the language of ecology to define his claims.

Thompson and other officials often reported on these components of the golfscape as a single system and made updates and recommendations on each course that involved everything from the clearing and alterations of the land to the ratios of turf, fertilizers, and water needed to maintain the course’s appearance and playability. During August 1938, for example, Thompson’s crew started the clearing process on many of the holes on both East Coast courses. Clearing work included cutting trees and brush, grubbing stumps, and removing stones and boulders. By September Thompson’s crews cleared the first nine holes of the Cape Breton course and 50% of the grubbing was done, despite problems with equipment. In Prince Edward Island work went faster than expected with near completion of the first nine holes by the middle of September. The second nine holes were on their way as well, though different holes required individual attention. There was not a single approach to all holes. The goal was to seed the first nine holes before snowfall that year with the possibility of play for the following August.

Overviews of the two courses’ progressions into June 1939, for instance, brought together general advice and specific concerns related to the future success of the clubs.

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133 RG 84, Vol. 72, 313-7, Vote 533, Construction of Beinn Mara Golf Course Administration, Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Macmillan; August 13 and August 20, 1938.
In both cases, clearing, especially in the form of rock and stone removal, occupied a substantial amount of time. The layered use of the land prior to its course form was apparent and affected design. Though the holes on both courses were coming along, those in Cape Breton were more interesting in appearance because in Prince Edward Island “old fields were used to avoid heavy outlays that would be involved in relocation.”136 It was also necessary for the courses’ greens and fairways to possess “the type of grass preferred by players and eliminating from there all weeds or grasses that would be likely to impair the quality of the course.”137 The courses, moreover, required drainage and bunkering. Thompson and his crew solved drainage concerns at the Cape Breton course with rock and tile drains except when it flooded at extremely high tides. The watering system at Highland Links delivered 35 000 gallons (160 000 liters) of water to the course per day through the use of a piping system that incorporated pumped water from the Clyburn brook as well as from a storage system. Most clearing and debris removal occurred and plans were set to start more seeding in August.138 Work continued through August and into September. In September yet another progress report further detailed the developments made on the course not only regarding hole completion but also regarding paths, shelters, and watering systems.139

From just a sampling of Thompson’s detailed instructions for the construction of tees, greens, fairways, hazards, and rough for Highland Links, one also sees how the systems of knowledge and technology worked with an awareness of architectural principles that ruled design during this period. Thompson recommended, for instance,

136 Ibid., To Williamson, RE: Golf Course at Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island National Parks; June 19, 1939, 1.
137 Ibid.
138 RG 84, Vol. 72, 313-7, Letter report Smart to Williamson; RE: Cape Breton Highlands Golf Course; July 17, 1938.
139 Ibid., Williamson; Inspection of Cape Breton Highlands Golf Course, North Ingonish, Cape Breton; September 25, 1939.
that the rough on the golf course start 75 yards (69 meters) in front of the back tee and extend 10 yards (9 meters) on either side of fairways and greens. The rough would not be altered or seeded unless it existed in a clearing or swamp. In these cases, workers removed all trees, stones, and debris. Thompson pointed out that when preparing the fairways, dynamite should be avoided when clearing brush because it took top-soil away from the surface of the fairway. All the turf grass seed used on the tees, fairways, and greens were to be grade No. 1, a qualification that fit with stricter government policy on turf grass and its distribution for sale. While Thompson might acquire such seeds from Canadian distributors (PEI Bent Grass), others were obtainable from international distribution companies. The goal remained naturalness. Thompson required bunkers to be sloped gradually to promote easy mowing and to be sanded to a depth of eight inches (20 cm). Underbrush was cut but trees with long drooping branches were left as hazards and as aesthetic components. The watering system was also important and would be connected to the Parks’ water system at different points that tapped into the natural waterways of the property.\(^\text{140}\)

Thompson, Park and railway company officials did not physically build the courses themselves. They employed a range of men to supervise and fulfill the manual labour required to cultivate these unique landscapes. Some labourers were part of specific government-run work programs. In Banff, for instance, a relief plan went into effect in December 1934 with men clearing, grubbing, and cleaning the planned course site that would allow Thompson’s design to go ahead.\(^\text{141}\) For the most part, however, the

\(^{140}\text{RG 84, Vol 72, 313-7. Contract Specifications and General Detail Covering Construction of 9 Hole Golf Course at Ingonish Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Stanley Thompson, June 1938.}\n
\(^{141}\text{Ibid., Gibson, RE: Banff Golf Course, December 18, 1934.}\)
men hired for the jobs in question came from the general public, and their positions were stratified and required both experience and/or on-the-job training.

Since Thompson did not remain present during the entire construction process at Green Gables or the Cape Breton Highland Links Course, he emphasized the importance of having someone in charge who knew the course and what it needed with regards to maintenance. At Green Gables, Mr. Woods, who worked within the Thompson-Jones Company, was thought to be a satisfactory choice for greenkeeper because of his training. In a letter to Thompson, Park officials obviously made clear who they had in mind as supervisor for Highland Links when they wrote that the director “thinks [we] should have a native Scot for the job … of a similar type as Mr. Thomson who is in charge of the CPR course at Banff.” The person in charge, in this regard, would not necessarily be an outstanding golfer but someone well versed in the game’s history and principles of play. The desire for a Scottish pro spoke to the continued connection between British golf traditions and Canadian golf and to the relevance of ‘Scottishness’ to people’s identity in Cape Breton. Thompson’s suggestion, in return, spoke not only to the desire to maintain links with golf’s prestigious past but also to the new emphasis on expertise within the field of golf knowledge and technology. He recommended someone from his firm or with whom he worked or could advise, would be the best choice, and one such person was C.E. Robinson. He was a greenkeeper who had taken a course at the Agricultural College in golf course maintenance, turf handling, and landscaping, and he was employed at the Sunningdale Golf Course, London, England (a course designed by

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143 RG 84, Vol. 72, 313-7, Smart to Thompson; RE: Cape Breton Highlands National Park Golf Course; November 1, 1939.
Harry Colt).\textsuperscript{145} In 1940 Park officials appointed Robinson as head greenkeeper at Cape Breton. Due to Thompson’s apprehension about the course (and his belief that one needed to have at least $12,500 to maintain the course and at present there was only $6,500 in the coffers), Thompson said he was willing to spend his own money to have Robinson there on site in Cape Breton. Some semi-finalized decisions were made by May, with C.E. Robinson supervising the golf course at 55 cents per hour.\textsuperscript{146}

The labourers employed to work on Highland Links gained on site experience working with different machinery and in various positions to maintain the course. While course construction created local employment, it also required a certain level of productivity, conduct, and expertise. Not only were the positions important but also was the caliber of work. A labour report on 21 workers stated, “the crew used in the construction of this golf course was about the best as ever employed by the Stanley Thompson organization.” Some of the men employed were returned soldiers, all were from the region, and some were single while the majority was married. All the men’s qualities were listed as well as their functions. One worker “has been employed as the Toro Tractor driver since it was brought to the golf course. He is an excellent operator and has received valuable experience as the operator of the Toro and attached machinery. Since no other man on the job has had the opportunity of becoming familiar with the equipment it is recommended that he be employed permanently as the driver of the Toro Tractor.”\textsuperscript{147} This rather short description of a worker and his employment position illustrated the scales of knowledge and technology that went into the construction of these Canadian golfscapes. The Toro tractor was an American machine distributed in Canada.

\textsuperscript{145} RG 84, Vol. 72, 313-7, RE: Golf Course Greenkeeping; January 6, 1939.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., RE: Maintenance, Cape Breton Highlands National Park Golf Course; May 22, 1940.
\textsuperscript{147} RG 84, Vol. 72, 313-7, Report, RE: Men Employed on Stanley Thompson Contract at South Ingonish, Nova Scotia; November 1, 1939, 1.
It was a novel technology built to accommodate specific agriculturally focused needs of the golf course. The worker’s experience with the machine and the local conditions made him an expert and, coupled with the fact that he excelled at this job, highly employable. Employment in the construction of the course offered men the chance to acquire knowledge about machinery operation and product usage. Expertise, here, beyond the most senior positions, was acquired on the job. Similar synopses existed for the others who worked on the watering system and who operated other machines and attachments.\textsuperscript{148} The necessity of keeping a steady maintenance regime came across in Thompson’s wartime comment that, “I believe with the war on, this is a period for retrenchment but it seems poor business to me to invest so much money and then be forced to let it perish for lack of reasonable maintenance … where you are dealing with nature, such as the maintenance of a garden or grounds you have a growing thing and her laws are inextricable.”\textsuperscript{149} Work continued with altered parameters. During May 1940 Robinson’s report to officials indicated that conditions were more satisfactory than expected at the golf course. The course remained a permanent asset to the national park, but one that required greater upkeep than most other park attractions and infrastructure.\textsuperscript{150}

Conclusion

Golfscape in Canadian national parks were constructed spaces of the natural world based upon cultural values and environmental realities. They represented an aspect of the park’s nature and shared many of the same interpretative frameworks for viewing and experiencing this form of tourism. But they were also unique spaces within the park

\textsuperscript{148} RG 84, Vol. 72, 313-7, Report, RE: Men Employed on Stanley Thompson Contract at South Ingonish, Nova Scotia; November 1, 1939.
\textsuperscript{149} RG 84, Vol 72, 313-7, Letter Thompson to Smart; May 9, 1940.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., Letter Robinson to Smart; RE: Golf Maintenance Cape Breton Highlands; May 27, 1940.
structure. They existed as landscapes within landscapes, imbuing the region with specific meaning. The same cultural attitudes towards sport and nature that encouraged the construction of private and public golf courses across the country prompted government and railway company officials to invest time and money into constructing these landscapes within park limits. They fostered a sense of community among a certain class of people and used nature as a commodity to bring in revenue to the park.

There were other national park courses beyond Banff, Jasper, Cavendish, and Cape Breton, and they all adhered and experienced similar benefits and determinates regarding their existence as golfscapes. In 1922 Park officials sanctioned the layout of a nine-hole course at Waterton Lakes. In the description of the course the familiar emphasis on “sporting hazards, a good natural turf and wonderful scenery” appeared once again. In 1924 the course was in rough condition, it served numerous players and provided a wonderful scenic location. The course consisted of only seventeen holes that were well tended with “systematic top-dressing of the greens … carried out to keep them in good play.” In Elk Island workers cleared and grubbed the first nine holes and were ready to seed while they investigated the possibility of a second nine holes in 1934. In Prince Albert workers cleared, grubbed, and seeded the first nine holes. In Riding Mountain, workers seeded the 18 holes and put the holes into play though some fairway widening was not finished. In Waterton Lakes, only 15 holes were playable because additional work and seeding was required on the last few holes. While these courses

were not the same caliber as the ones discussed in this chapter, Park officials thought they were in comparable fashion to the layouts and work requirements on standard courses in eastern Canada that were thought to be better than in the west.\textsuperscript{155}

The Banff, Jasper, Cavendish, and Cape Breton courses, however, best illustrated the interwoven and complex realities these playing fields had with the landscapes they found themselves in and within a wider Canadian and international golf culture. These courses illustrated private interests (CPR and CNR) and government interests to use golf to attract and satisfy a particular kind of tourist, one with both the financial and cultural capital to appreciate and gain meaning from such a golfscape. This tourist segment reflected the white, urban, upper-middle classes of men and women also propelling the development of private golf clubs and the establishment of public golf clubs. The number of tourists who fit this category grew over the period under exploration. The creation of these four courses, furthermore, illustrated the combined socio-cultural, economic, and environmental realities that helped and hindered the development of these landscapes. Though the parks differed, the goal for a strategic and aesthetic course that was well maintained through a complex network of knowledge and technology systems remained important. The similarity in language and sentiment used to discuss these landscapes and their purposes in the national parks and their value reinforced language used to define and validate the need to provide space in nature for people to use. The construction of these landscapes required a vast array of machinery, tools, products, and labour. These aspects occupied the minds and time of those contributing to the existence of golfscapes. The ecologies of the different regions necessitated diverse approaches to maintenance and patterns of work and play. The physical environments of Canada’s national parks, the

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
cultural attitudes of park officials, architects, and tourists, and the burgeoning systems of knowledge and technology together shaped the location and visual spectacle of these golfscapes.
Conclusion:  
“The Next Round”

Historically, Canadians have a strong link to physical environments and landscapes. Whether discussing Innis’s staples thesis or the settlement of the west; the shores of Georgian Bay or the creation of national and provincial parks; the fishing grounds of the east and west coasts; the urban infrastructures of major cities; or the multiple ways of seeing the North; many Canadian historians explore the ways people and non-human species shape life in this country.¹ The golf course landscape, or golfscape, needs to be included within this wider narrative of change, and this dissertation begins to fill the gap. Golf courses affected Canada’s environments and reflected and constituted a new framework of cultural interactions.

This project illustrates how the golf course became and remains a distinct landscape category that can reveal much about the people, processes, events and environments that fashioned Canadian lives between 1873 and 1945. Landscapes are markers of human engagement with the physical world around them. Their particular forms and their value or lack thereof in society at a given place and in a given time reflect cultural values, ideological tenets, and technological knowledge all bound together in an

actual vista. Each landscape tells a different tale, and often these tales expose histories of multiple uses. They are consciously and unconsciously created. Agricultural fields in Manitoba, for example, reflect relationships between people and the environment as well as between farmers and governments. Governments structure the passage through or experience in provincial and national parks to privilege nature scenes that invoke the ‘untouched’ wilderness. Toronto’s Don River Valley landscape echoes transformations to the wider city as well as conservationists and cottagers’ interactions and depictions of the region. A single landscape, such as the Arrow Lakes in British Columbia or different regions of the North, can hold distinctive meaning to various groups who possess specific ways of seeing and experiencing place.

As a landscape classification, a golf course was representative of its time and locality. It also had two simultaneous functions that influenced its design and significance. The golf course was a unique playing field. Its size and components—tees, greens, fairways, roughs, and hazards—required strict boundaries and rules that tied golf in Canada to its British past. The playing field, however, was also a manifestation of nature that reinforced dominant cultural values placed in certain landscapes, such as the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime wilderness, for their aesthetic and health benefits to Canadians. As part of nature, the course was a site of interplay between

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autonomous nature and human aims, best illustrated in the intricate and specialist driven
golf product industry that blossomed during this period.

The years 1873 to 1945 were a definitive era in golfscape history in Canada and
internationally when golf culture solidified. As discussed in chapter two, the dominant
cosmopolitan masculine identity that typified the Canadian golfer emerged from a long
British tradition of play as well as from the massive changes that gave rise to an
industrial-capitalist, urban consumer society in Canada. Golf culture, though dominated
by the cosmopolitan masculine identity, was not homogeneous. Affluent women found
an exercise and a social outlet in golf during this time. Professional golfers sought out a
legitimate space for themselves within a previously amateur oriented milieu. Caddies and
greenkeepers also used their skills to carve out jobs for themselves within this culture.
Public courses attracted a growing number of white-collar workers to partake in the
budding golf craze.

This distinctive era also witnessed the emergence of golf architecture and design
principles that made up what many consider a Golden Age. In Canada, golf architecture
reflected its inheritance from British golf, its interaction with American golfers, as well as
the realities of the game’s existence in various North American physical environments.
The pervasive dual principles of design—the course had to be a challenging playing field
as well as a manifestation of nature—made crafting a course a layered and complex
process that called upon experts to produce the desired results. The architects’ emphases
on naturalness and variety within their wider principles, outlined in chapter three, made it
possible for them to integrate an array of environments into “acceptable” course

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7 For instance, see Geoff Shackelford, The Golden Age of Golf Design, (Chelsea, MI: Sleeping
Bear Press, 1999).
locations. The most obvious example of this process was reflected in those courses built in Canada’s forests and mountains out of the wilderness.

The location of Canadian golfscapes revealed a great deal about the motives of (and difficulties faced by) owners, experts, workers, and golfers. As demonstrated in chapter four, private, public, and resort courses had different clienteles, but they shared the desire to play a good round of golf in a beautiful setting. Private courses had to balance distance from Canada’s expanding urban centres for a countrified pastoral setting, with proximity to the cities so they would be convenient. A façade of physical distance helped these clubs maintain their aura of exclusivity. Public courses, many of which were touted by a ‘progressively’ motivated middle class, were not at odds with Canada’s shifting social and physical geographies since these courses offered a natural reprieve from working lives in the city core. Resort courses resulted from wider trends towards leisure pursuits and vacations for the new (and old) elite in Canada and the United States. These courses became selling points for long distance travel to places that were increasingly accessible, particularly for wealthy and leisured people who could escape the pressures of everyday life and reconnect with nature and a community of like-minded patrons.

The golfscape product industry expanded along with the courses between 1873 and 1945. As explored in chapter five, this period witnessed unprecedented development in this new industry—with its own systems of knowledge and technology—that brought like-minded scientists and golf enthusiasts together in international networks. These systems benefited from the mechanization and specialization that occurred in the agricultural sciences. Individual courses, however, required their own experts and their own systems. The search for suitable turf and its complex supporting features (water,
soil, fertilizers, machinery, and early pest removers) precipitated transnational cooperation and information/technology sharing between the Green Sections of the national golf associations and federal departments of agriculture in Canada and the United States. The efforts of experimental farms and Green Section staff illustrated the growing attentiveness to the local environment. As with farming, every plot of land had a different composition and a different climate that required specific combinations of products and a specialized rhythm of planting, watering, fertilizing, and weeding. All the courses studied reflected human interaction with the ‘natural’ landscape through the use of various technologies, cultivation methods, and local observations focused on creating the best possible variables to ‘grow’ the course.

The establishment of golfsapes within Canada’s national park system during the period under examination further suggests the distinctiveness of the era and offers a fresh perspective on early park policy. The Banff Springs, Jasper Park Lodge, Green Gables, and Highland Links golf courses existed within the park system, with the latter two part of the development plans for the parks. I surveyed in chapter six the private/public relationships between the Park Branch and the railway companies; the development of tourism within the parks and the role golf played; the network of designers and architectural attitudes that infiltrated the parks and influenced the location and appearance of the golfsapes; and the systems of knowledge and technology needed to make manifest the courses imagined in the minds of officials and resident park golfscape guru, Stanley Thompson. All these aspects point to how park policy fused contemporary notions of conservation and preservation to create a place that privileged certain people and certain recreational and scenic activities and reinforced dominant Canadian socio-economic, cultural, and political beliefs and procedures.
The end of World War Two signaled a substantial shift to the Canadian (and wider Canada-US) golfscape ethos. Not all changes appeared immediately after 1945, but the social and technological effects of the war ushered in a new phase of golf popularity, playability, and design. More people played the game on many more golf courses across the country, in private clubs but also on public or freeway courses that emerged in this period. New technologies led to more massive manipulation of the environment from earth moving, to watering systems, to the application of herbicides and pesticides such as DDT. The strategic and early heroic course design principles transformed into even more heroic and challenging playing fields and the ‘natural’ course that blended into the surrounding features gave way to a new emphasis on the spectacular. Greater acceptance and use of motorized golf carts by the 1950s altered how people traversed and experienced the playing field and its nature. Colour televisions and televised tournaments meant that everyone wanted the Masters’ Augusta National to be their backyard course, even if that backyard was the desert where green grass did not naturally grow and where water was scarce. Generally, golfsapes in Canada and the United States departed from their root designs and culture.

Recently, however, there has been resurgence of appreciation for the golden age of golf, especially around design. In an era of environmentalism and environmental awareness of the potential hazards in golf course development, of celebrity players, and of economic upheaval, the ‘naturalness’ and enduring challenge of a well-laid golden era course has gained renewed interest. The Toronto Golf Club has recently undertaken to return its Harry Colt 1912 golf course to a closer approximation of its original design. Courses designed by Stanley Thompson are eager to announce their special heritage and
to pay homage to a national golf architect star whose designs epitomized an era of
eaesthetic and technological experimentation and artistry.

The period between 1873 and 1945 was a key era in golf course development and
for the golfscape’s place on the Canadian landscape, and in the Canadian psyche. It was
during this period that the organized game appeared and matured in Canada (and around
the world). It was also during this period that the golf course became a distinct landscape
category with its own unique history and perspectives on wider Canadian issues. Then
and now, any player on any course is never part of “a good walk spoiled” but always part
of a golfscape that is many layered, multi-faceted, and an important lens that offers a
fresh perspective on Canadian history—which makes golf a good walk that takes you
“behind the greens.”
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