

Not the Hole Story: Exclusivity at the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1913-1934

by

Kalin Bullman
BA, Concordia University, 2015

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

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in the Department of History

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Abstract

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The purpose of my study is to explore the early history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club as a way of understanding one aspect of settler colonialism – that is to study how certain tracts of Indigenous land were transformed into a rigidly controlled space where the natural environment was manipulated to exclude certain undesirable plants and non-human creatures, just as the social environment restricted access to a self-defined elite with prescribed cultural norms including behaviour, language, and protocols. Established in 1913, the Colwood Club became an important sporting space for upper-class individuals, and through its organisation, rules, by-laws, and entry process, the Colwood Club was fashioned as an exclusive space in Victoria's sporting culture and remained so into the 1930s. Through formal and informal measures, the Club's leadership and membership erected and strengthened various barriers that kept various individuals from joining based on their class, character, gender, race, and religion, among other criteria. Because of these measures, the Club's property, which included a golf course and a clubhouse, became a restricted and controlled space in which a select number of individuals could enjoy the privileges that the Club offered. By doing a microhistory of the early years of the Colwood Golf and Country Club, I explore both the restrictive measures put in place by the Club and certain cultural concepts that influenced the decisions to make the Club an exclusive space, and demonstrate how this reflected larger trends in Victoria's upper-class society.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Walking Up to the First Hole: Introducing the Author

I will start my thesis by admitting a few things about myself. I am not a very good golfer. I have enjoyed playing the sport of golf in various forms since around the age of seven. Most of the time, I play to enjoy being outdoors while getting a small amount of exercise and socializing with friends. My skillset and knowledge of how to play the game are limited, at best. I do not watch a ton of golf on TV, either, nor could I name many professional golf players other than a handful of the top players on the professional tour. Therefore, I would never state that I am an expert golfer or extremely knowledgeable about the current state of the sport. However, golf, much like many of the sports I played growing up, and still play, has had an impact on my life. Sports have been a part of my upbringing, a way I have socialized with people over the years, and have influenced who I am as a person. Equally importantly, the study of sports has also become a passion of mine in academia. Sports, as I have learned, and continue to be reminded of, can be a fascinating way of studying and understanding human beings, their cultural views, and the past. Studying golf, therefore, has become both a fascination of mine and also a lens through which I understand not only the past, but the present as well.

Also, I did not plan on writing about the early history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club on Vancouver Island during the early 1900s. I came to the University of Victoria hoping to write about the early history of cricket on Vancouver Island and the exclusive nature of elite sports. In the second term of my coursework year, I struggled to write a paper on this subject for one of my classes. The paper was related to my thesis and the sport of cricket; yet I could not find enough sources for the arguments I wanted to make, nor was I particularly content with some of the arguments I was making. While looking (last minute) for more primary sources at

the Royal BC Museum Archives, and desperately hoping for a paper to materialize in front of me, I stumbled into a rather large collection that contained documents from the Colwood Golf and Country Club that covered dozens of years. By the time I was finished perusing the documents, I not only had a great topic for my class essay, but I also had the beginnings of a thesis I was excited to research and write.

I start my thesis with these confessions to give the reader, you, an idea of the type of individual and writer I am. I use this approach for my introduction because I have been influenced by various academics who have included a more personal introduction to their writings.¹ The ideas put forth by Margaret Kovach in her book *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts* have been the most significant for me when it comes to this approach. In her seminal piece, Kovach argues that it is important as a writer in academia to introduce oneself to the reader, show certain aspects of one's identity, and show certain parts of one's past. By doing this, the writer creates a relationship with their reader, and helps the reader make sense of why certain arguments and narratives have been put forth by the author.² This method also helps demonstrate the types of knowledge I privilege, the motives and events that have shaped my thesis, and hopefully leads to reflexivity on my part and therefore a more responsible form of academic writing.³ Finally, by including myself in a much more obvious way within my writing, it connects my study of the past much more clearly to the present, thus showing my role in the creation and dissemination of the historical arguments I

¹ John Lutz argues that we are in constant dialogue with our audiences, and within these dialogues we bring our own personal experiences with us. John Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008). For further ideas on the role the author has when it comes to authority and what is included and excluded in one's writing, see William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *The Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992).

² Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 3.

³ *Ibid.*, 12.

make.⁴ This is important for me, because one of the central reasons I study the past and make certain arguments in this thesis about the exclusivity of one golf course is to understand how certain sporting spheres excluded individuals through various criteria, and how this is still relevant in the present. After all, writing history can have an equally significant impact on our understanding of the present as it does of the past.

Therefore, a few more details are needed to give the reader a clearer picture of who I am and how I came to write this thesis. I was raised in North Vancouver, British Columbia, in middle-class suburbs. I grew up playing various sports and activities, such as golf, soccer, street hockey, skiing, and swimming. These activities impacted the ways I interacted with people and understood the world. However, looking back, I was only able to participate in them due to my relative affluence. These were activities that required a certain amount of wealth, free-time, and connections. After finishing high-school, I moved to Montreal, Quebec, to do my undergraduate degree in history, which had been my favourite subject in school for as long as I can remember. It was while at university in Montreal that I began to examine the various historical barriers that were present in organized sport, and started to reflect on how they still existed in the present. After graduating I moved back to British Columbia to do my graduate degree in history at the University of Victoria and study sport as a thesis topic. It is vital to note, as Margaret Kovach points out, that contemporary universities are centers for which knowledge is created, maintained, and upheld.⁵ Universities, and archives (much like the one I used for my research) are Eurocentric centers of knowledge creation. I mention this because the University of Victoria, a settler institution which I have been a part of throughout my graduate degree, is located on the

⁴ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991): xxv.

⁵ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 12.

traditional territories of Indigenous peoples. I would therefore like to acknowledge with respect that I have done my thesis work as a visitor on the unceded and traditional territories of the Songhees, Esquimalt, and WSÁNEĆ peoples, whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day. I understand that I am complicit in various aspects of colonialism that are still present, and hope that this study can shed some light on the historical process of colonialism on Vancouver Island and the settler society that followed. It was, though, while hurriedly looking for a topic for a course paper at the University of Victoria that the various ideas I had about exclusion and upper-class culture crystallized and a thesis began to form. Contained throughout the rest of this study is the narrative I have built since that moment, including the role of colonialism in leisure culture, along with all the work, research, analysis, and late nights of writing.

Teeing Up: The Purpose and Scope of My Thesis

The purpose of my study is to explore the early history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club, as a way of understanding the ways in which a private golf course reflected the exclusive upper class sporting culture and norms in Victoria.⁶ Officially established in 1913, the Colwood Club became an important leisure space for upper-class individuals in Victoria, British Columbia. Through its organisation, rules, by-laws, and entry process, the Colwood Golf and Country Club was established as an exclusive space in Victoria's sporting culture and remained so well into the 1930s. When discussing the various organizational, social, and cultural barriers that limited access to the Colwood Club, I use the term exclusivity to describe the process of preserving a small and selective membership at the Club. Done both formally and informally, the Club's

⁶ When directly discussing the Colwood Golf and Country Club throughout my thesis, certain shortenings of the institution's title are used: the Colwood Club, Colwood, and the Club.

leadership and membership erected and strengthened various barriers that kept various individuals from joining, based on their class, character, gender, race, and religion, among other criteria. With various measures set in place, and influenced by upper-class cultural ideas at the time, the Colwood Club was able to create a space in which elite, like-minded individuals could socialize and separate themselves from those they deemed to be lower than them in the social ladder, thus reinforcing the class hierarchy that permeated Victoria's society in the early 1900s. The Club's property, which included a lengthy golf course and a spacious and expensive clubhouse, was a restricted and controlled space in which a select number of individuals could enjoy the privileges that the Club offered. This study aims to explore both the restrictive measures put in place by the Club and certain cultural concepts that influenced the decisions to make the Club an exclusive space.

The majority of the years covered in my thesis are from 1913 to 1934, which represent the early years of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. These years were chosen because they illustrate a period of relative continuity and stability at the Colwood Club, thus allowing for a wide-ranging and in-depth cultural and social study of one institution and its various forms of exclusion, whose barriers remained essentially unchanged throughout these twenty or so years. The year 1913 was chosen as a starting point because it was the year in which the Colwood Golf and Country Club was established as an operational golf club and society. It is therefore in 1913 that the archival sources I analyzed, mainly the rules and bylaws of the Club, the daily correspondences, and the various events that the Club hosted, began to be recorded and preserved. It is important to note that my thesis does explore some of Victoria's history before 1913 as well, by studying the beginning of colonialism and settler society on Vancouver Island and tying it directly to the elite sporting culture in Victoria and the Colwood Golf and Country

Club. The year 1934 was chosen as an end point for two reasons. First, it is when the most important founder and leader of the early years of the Colwood Club, J. A. Sayward, passed away. Sayward, who was president of the Club every year from its foundation till his death, was one of the main driving forces behind the Club's rise to prominence in both Victoria and the Pacific Northwest. Following his death came turbulent times for the Club that lasted many years. Second, due to the impact of the Great Depression on Colwood Golf and Country Club in the mid-1930s, the Club began to struggle to remain operational, and various changes were made to the Club, its membership, and to its rules and regulations.

The focus of this study is limited to this one elite and private golf club in Victoria during this time period to achieve a more direct and thorough examination of Victoria's upper-class sporting culture and thus provided specific historical and spatial contexts. I chose the Colwood Club as my subject matter to keep the focus of my arguments related to formal, organized, and amateur forms of golf, and separate from the professional aspects of golf or informal forms of golf. My research is also limited to just one golf club in Victoria, in which there were numerous on Vancouver Island throughout the early 1900s, because the Colwood Golf and Country Club was arguably the most elite and exclusive of the golfing institutions in this region. Due to the wealth of material present within the archives, it also seemed more prudent to study one golf course extensively, to trace certain specific trends in Victoria's upper-class leisure culture. Another reason this study was restricted to Victoria, and more specifically the Colwood Club, is due to the lack of significant scholarship that has been written on golf in this region and period. By studying certain aspects of the Colwood Club, I hope to add to holes in the existing historiography in original and pertinent ways. I also chose to limit my research to a short time period and to only one golf club because I believe in the value, practicality, and impact of

microhistory.⁷ Completing a microhistory of the Colwood Club allowed me to study the smaller, more nuanced aspects of larger norms and ideas present within Victoria. By having this restricted scope, it allows my study “to illuminate aspects of a past society and culture that resist disclosure through more conventional historical methods.”⁸

My Shot Amongst a Crowded Field: The Existing Historiography

There has been a significant amount of literature written that is relevant to organized sport and the creation of sporting clubs. Much of this literature has been written about organized sport in North America and Britain, which have profoundly influenced the forms of sport that evolved in Canada, and specifically Victoria.⁹ By starting with a wider spatial scope to include Britain and the rest of North America, it allowed me to situate the history of the Colwood Club within the rise of organized sporting culture in the late 19th and early 20th centuries regarding social, cultural, and political history. When surveying the relevant literature, it was essential to broaden the scope of my research beyond just golf, as there are many important analyses of various sporting clubs that are relevant to golf clubs. The relevant sport literature included topics on class

⁷ Microhistory emerged as a larger trend among historians in the 1970s and 1980s alongside the decline of macrohistories and in opposition to the attempts to make history a social science. For further information regarding the growth of microhistory, see Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover: Weylan University Press, 1997). For ideas revolving around the benefits of microhistory and its appeal to the general public, see István Szijártó, “Four Arguments for Microhistory,” *Rethinking History* 6 (2002): 209-215.

⁸ Brad S Gregory, “Review: Is Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life,” *History and Theory* 38 (February 1999): 102. Microhistory also allows historians to affirm human agency and add complexities within larger cultural norms, changes, and relationships which may seem monolithic or uncomplicated.

⁹ For a wider social history of sport in Britain, see Tony Mason ed., *Sport in Britain: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For the relation between sport and class, and the growth of sport in Britain, see John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); and Richard Holt “The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health, and Style in Victorian Britain,” *Sport in History* 26 (December 2006): 353-369. For the relation between class and elite sport in the United States, and the role Britain played in exporting leisure ideals to North America, see Stevan A. Riess, *Sport in Industrial America: 1850-1920* (Massachusetts: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2013). For information on the role of sports in relation to spatial history in both Britain and North America, see John Bale, *Sport, Space, and the City* (London: Routledge, 1993).

ideals, respectability, gender, upper-class exclusion, and the role of sport in society. Before diving into the relevant literature, a pertinent definition of ‘sport’ is needed for this study. For a concise definition of sport, I turn to Tony Mason, who describes sport as a more or less physically strenuous, competitive, and recreational activity, which often involves competition based on team versus team, athlete versus athlete, athlete versus nature, or athlete versus self.¹⁰ More than this, sports can be studied as a reproduction of larger societies and cultures, by analyzing how they reflect, reinforce, and propagate social and cultural norms and ideas, as I have done in my study.¹¹

When it comes to the larger history of sport in Canada during the late 19th and early 20th century, various foundational pieces were consulted. Works by Alan Metcalfe and Colin Howell bridge the gap between Canadian social and sport history, and show the impact that industrialization, urbanization, and capitalism had on the growth of organized and elite sport in this period.¹² Included in the growth of sport at the turn of the century were the introduction of rules and regulations, the standardization of sports, and the growth of elite sporting clubs. One of the important factors in the growth of organized sport in Canada, as Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley argue, was the cultural influences that Canadians of Anglo-Saxon descent had and that

¹⁰ Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain*, 4. For a similar definition of sport, see Richard Holt, “Historians and the History of Sport,” *Sport in History* 34 (2014): 1-33.

¹¹ Richard Holt, “Historians and the History of Sport,” 22.

¹² Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 2007) and Colin Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Both of these books also reflect on how sports helped with the project of nation building in Canada, and how this project excluded individuals based on their class, gender, race, and ethnicity. Another important piece written by Metcalfe about the growth of sport in Canada is Alan Metcalfe, “The Growth of Organized Sport and the Development of Amateurism in Canada, 1807-1914,” in Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon eds., *Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1997). Ideas about the ways in which sports help form cultural identities in Canada came from Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal, 1840-1885* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

English migrants brought with them.¹³ Their cultural ideas on leisure not only impacted the standardization and growth of sport in Canada, but also influenced the creation of sporting clubs which acted as elite spaces for socialization and exclusion. For the importance that sporting clubs had for both middle-class and upper-class segments of Canadian society, Nancy Bouchier argues that sporting clubs were social spaces that were connected to the cult of respectability, which attempted to eliminate rowdiness and violence from sports while separating sport along class, gender, and racial lines.¹⁴ For analyses of gender within sport and sporting clubs, the work of Varda Burstyn was central to my framework related to gender. Burstyn argues that at the roots of organized sports at the turn of the 20th century was dominant masculinity, which idealized manly virtues, reinforced separate gender spheres, and led to the control of sporting spaces by predominantly white men.¹⁵ It is predominantly through these wide lenses of class and gender in Canadian history that I analyzed the cultural norms present at the Colwood Golf and Country Club and their relation to exclusive practices.

For golf history, there has been very little written about it from a Canadian history perspective. I relied on the vast literature on golf in Britain to understand the general history of golf, the spread of the sport in North America, and the roots of golf clubs in Canada. For the

¹³ Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada: A History* (Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Nancy Bouchier, *For the Love of the Game: Amateur Sport in Small-Town Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003). See also Nancy Bouchier, "Idealized Middle-Class Sport for a Young Nation: Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns, 1871-1891," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29 (Summer 1994): 89-110. For further analysis on the role of class dynamics in sport and sporting clubs, see Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); and Ben Robinson, "Fields of Engagement: Baseball in Rural Ontario, 1870-1925," *Ontario History* 102 (Spring 2010): 40-55.

¹⁵ Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). For further readings of gender representations and inequalities in sport for Canada, see Kevin Young and Philip White, eds., *Sport and Gender in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Ann Hall et al., *Sport in Canadian Society* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1992); and Karen Routledge, "'Being a Girl Without Being a Girl': Gender and Mountaineering on Mount Waddington, 1926 to 1936," *BC Studies* 141 (Spring 2004): 31-58. For more general ideas about the need for gender as a category of analysis, the social norms surrounding gender, and how gender is part of the conceptualization of power, see Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (December 1986): 1053-1075.

early history of golf dating back to the 17th century, the work of Geoffrey Cousins was insightful to see how the sport began as an informal leisure activity played in fields in Scotland, which was later appropriated and exported by English elites and practiced as an upper-class sport.¹⁶ The various works that Wray Vamplew has written concerning the early years of golf clubs and professional golf in Britain were invaluable to my research.¹⁷ His works on golf clubs at the turn of the 20th century examine how golf clubs were restricted spaces, the role of class at golf clubs, how the amateur and professional divide affected the sport, the ways in which the sport grew, and the role of economics in golf. Vamplew's publications have shown how the sport of golf was divided amongst class lines, and his works have helped me create my definition of exclusivity within sports, and specifically golf. Furthermore, studies on gender in golf have been insightful for understanding the gender imbalances and power structures that were in place at golf clubs. Jane George has researched how golf can reinforce and reproduce gender divisions and help contribute to the definitions of femininity and masculinity.¹⁸ Her work, along with the other writings cited in this study, demonstrate how the position of women who were members at golf

¹⁶ Geoffrey Cousins, *Golf in Britain: A Social History from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

¹⁷ For a general history of professionalism and professional golf in Britain, see Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and Wray Vamplew, "Successful Workers or Exploited Labour? Golf Professionals and Professional Golfers in Britain 1888-1914," *Sport in Society* 19 (2016): 400-424. For understanding the exclusionary nature of golf clubs, see Wray Vamplew, "Sharing Space: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Accommodation at the British Golf Club Before 1914," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34 (2010) 359-375. For understanding the daily running of golf clubs, see Wray Vamplew, "Empiricism, Theoretical Concepts and the Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914," *Sport in Society* 19 (2016): 425-454. For further reading on the role of class in golf from a different author, see Richard Holt, "Golf and the English Suburbs: Class and Gender in a London Club, C.1890-C.1960," *The Sports Historian* 18 (1998): 76-89. For further reading on the ways in which golfing identities are performed at golf courses and golf clubs, see Chris Perkins, "The Performance of Golf: Landscape, Place, and Practice in North West England," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34 (2010): 312-338.

¹⁸ Jane George, "'Ladies First?': Establishing a Place for Women Golfers in British Golf Clubs, 1867-1914," *Sport in History* 30 (June 2010): 288-308. See also June Senyard, "The Imagined Golf Course: Gender Representations and Australian Golf," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15 (1998): 164-175; and Richard Holt, "Golf and the English Suburbs," 76-89.

clubs often reflected the secondary and subordinate status that women experienced within broader society.

There have been a few pieces written about the spread and organization of golf and country clubs in North America, most of them focused on the American context. Richard J. Moss has traced the early history of private golf clubs in the United States between 1880 and 1930, arguing the rise of the private golf club occurred in the 1920s.¹⁹ Moss, along with James M. Mayo, have studied how private golf clubs were built through a combination of money, time, and space to fulfill the desires of the upper-class individuals who founded the clubs.²⁰ Mayo also links the rise of the American golf club to the long history of other sporting clubs in both America and Britain, which revolved around such sports as hunting, cricket, yachting, tennis, and horse racing. Using a cultural analysis instead of focusing on class, Virginia Scott Jenkins has linked the rise of golf clubs to the rise of lawn culture in North America, and has analysed how lawn culture and golf courses have been understood as masculine, romantic, and idealized landscapes.²¹

Golf history in the Canadian context has received little coverage from the existing sport literature. Some of the previously mentioned broader histories of the rise of organized sport in Canada, such as the book written by Alan Metcalfe, dedicate a few pages to tracing the roots of organized golf in Canada to the first golf club in Canada, the Montreal Golf Club, founded in

¹⁹ Richard J. Moss, "The American Private Golf Club: Its Golden Age and After," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30 (2013): 1604-1617. For information on the spread of public and municipal course in America, see George B. Kirsch, "Municipal Golf Courses in the United States: 1895 to 1930," *Journal of Sport History* 32 (Spring 2005): 23-44. Municipal golf courses, unlike private golf courses, were primarily built on the campaign to allow the sport to be accessible to individuals of all classes.

²⁰ James M. Mayo, "The American Country Club: An Evolving Elite Landscape," *Journal of Architectural & Planning Research* 15 (Spring 1998): 24-44.

²¹ Virginia Scott Jenkins, *The Lawn: A History of an American Obsession* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

1873.²² Nominal attention is given to the prominence of golf in upper-class sporting culture, and when it is provided, it is usually related to studies of other sporting clubs and activities. There have been some books written specifically about the history of golf in Canada and British Columbia, although these are generally chronological histories with no analysis on the forms of exclusion that took place within golf clubs. L. V. Kavanagh has written about the history of golf throughout Canada, tracing the rise of professional golf while also exploring the history of specific noteworthy golf clubs in Canada.²³ Mary Byers has examined the history of women's golf at the Toronto Golf Club and in eastern Canada, paying little attention to women's golf in western Canada.²⁴ Concerning the history of golf in British Columbia, Arv Olson's book traces the chronological history of golf in British Columbia.²⁵ Olson covers the foundation of various golf clubs in British Columbia, as well as the careers of some of the most famous golfers in the region, and even examines certain aspects of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. However, his study of the Colwood Club is brief, covering the founding of the Club and its prominent amateur golfers' careers. The book which most extensively covers the early history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club is titled *Royal Colwood Golf Club: 100 Years*, produced by the Colwood Club

²² Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 37. See also the examination of the rise of sporting clubs in Colin Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*. For the relationship between golf and the environment in Canada, see Elizabeth L. Jewett, "A Hole in One: Sport and the Environment," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 34 (2017): 357-361.

²³ L.V. Kavanagh, *History of Golf in Canada* (Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Limited, 1973). Although Kavanagh covers the early history of golf in British Columbia, there is almost no mention of the Colwood Golf Club in his narrative.

²⁴ Mary Byers, *Breaking 100: A Celebration of Women's Golf 1894-1994: The Toronto Golf Club* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995).

²⁵ Arv Olson, *Backspin: 100 Years of Golf in British Columbia* (Manitoba: Friesen Printers, 1992). Certain books were also used to cover the general history of upper-class sport and leisure in British Columbia at the turn of the twentieth century: Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Peter Baskerville, *Beyond the Island: An Illustrated History of Victoria* (Ontario: Windsor Publications, 1986); and Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

itself.²⁶ This book covers the foundation of the club, some of the important founding figures, and the entire history of the Colwood Club in the 20th century. Although detailed and well-researched, it has no academic analysis and is more a celebration of the growth and accomplishments of the Colwood Club. My study, therefore, aims to fill the gap in the literature, not only the history of the Colwood Club and golf in Victoria, but the history of golf in British Columbia as well as Canada. Using various lenses of analysis for examining the exclusive nature of the Club, I aim to add to the existing historiography of sport in general, Canadian sport, and golf, and fit into the works that have been mentioned and cited throughout this historiographical section.

My Club Selection: Methodological Choices

The primary goal of my study is to analyse the exclusive nature of the Colwood Golf and Country Club and tie it to the upper-class leisure of Victoria, the exclusive nature of organized sport, and to the colonial past of Vancouver Island. Therefore, it is important to outline my methodological choices and lenses of analysis. A particular set of primary sources were consulted and analysed to examine the exclusive nature of the Colwood Club. The bulk of my primary source base came from the Kenneth R. Genn fonds at the British Columbia Archives.²⁷

The fonds includes, among financial records of other Victoria businesses, the majority of the

²⁶ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *Royal Colwood Golf Club: 100 Years* (Vancouver: Future Book Yearbooks Inc., 2013). This book was consulted for various events that the Club hosted and for background information on certain members throughout my thesis, although the majority of the research conducted in this book came from the same archives that I examined at the Royal BC Museum. This book, while useful and relevant, is more a celebration of the history of the Club in the 20th century, and does not critically analyse the early history of the Club.

²⁷ The fonds consist of the documents held by the accounting firm that Kenneth R. Genn owned. His father, Reginald Genn, was in charge of the firm preceding his son, and was also the secretary for the Colwood Golf and Country Club for the majority of its early existence. It is most likely through Reginald Genn, and his work as both the secretary of the Club and the administrator of the family estate for J. A. Sayward, that his firm obtained the primary source material that I contextualized. This fonds is also the main source for material directly created by the Colwood Club before 1929, as the clubhouse at Colwood burnt down in 1929, and the majority of the documentation that was kept on site went up in flames.

financial records, daily correspondence, by-laws, regulations, paperwork, and advertisements that the Colwood Golf and Country Club kept during the early decades of its existence. Using these funds, I was able to examine the daily workings of the Club as well as the creation and maintenance of its rules and by-laws using the Club's own documentation. The documents were created, received, kept, and in some instances enforced by those in charge of the Club and by the membership of the Club. Therefore, these documents were also chosen to best reflect the views and focuses of those who were members of the Club. Added to the material I used from the Kenneth G. Genn fonds, certain articles from the *Daily Colonist* were consulted, further substantiated the larger cultural trends and arguments present in my later chapters and thus creating a more cohesive and complete narrative of the Colwood Club. Press reports and coverage for sports in the early 20th century reinforced upper-class interests and helped foster a climate of interest for elites, hence why the newspaper supports my findings from the archives.²⁸

While the focus of my thesis is the sport of golf, certain methodological choices were made that influenced my arguments and lenses of analysis. I have been influenced by various cultural historians and ethnohistorians when it came to framing my argument toward one focused on the ordinary, everyday life of individuals, their behaviours, and their institutions.²⁹ The

²⁸ Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, 47.

²⁹ Ann Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 1999): 174. I, like many historians, have been heavily influenced by the understandings of cultural history put forth by Clifford Geertz. Geertz argues for the uncovering of webs of cultural significance in the past, from which historians can guess at their uncovered meanings, assess those guesses, and then draw explanatory conclusions. Clifford Geertz, "Thick Descriptions: Towards an Interpretative Theory of Culture," in Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). See also the work by Murray G. Phillips, which argues that historians discover the past through their primary sources; historians then impose their narratives upon the primary sources they use in an attempt to create a cohesive narrative form. Murray G. Phillips, "Introduction: Sport History and Postmodernism," in Murray G. Phillips, *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006). I was also heavily influenced by Keith Basso, who studies the ways in which groups think about and relate to places and landscapes. By studying various human relationships to landscapes, we are able to analyse local cultural and knowledge systems. Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

cultural approach to history has also influenced the scope of my thesis. Historians, such as Natalie Zemon Davis, have demonstrated the value of microhistories and histories with smaller time and space constraints, which allow for the uncovering of prevailing norms, motivations, and values of everyday people.³⁰ Davis, much like Margaret Kovach (whose ideas I introduced in my very first section), advocates for the inclusion of the author throughout the writing process, by being clear about the motivations, methods, and style that the writer puts forth throughout their narrative.

My study not only examines the role of exclusivity for upper-class leisure and sport through a social and cultural lens, but also links the Colwood Club to the processes of colonialism on Vancouver Island. I am influenced by various writers who have studied the spread of settler societies throughout the world based on economic, cultural, and social grounds, and the ways these writers have deconstructed, through post-colonial thought, discourses on the physical decimation of Indigenous peoples and the seizure of vast tracks of Indigenous lands.³¹ When it came to the specific context of colonialism in British Columbia, I relied especially on the works of Penelope Edmonds and Paul Tennant to understand the various processes that led to the dispossession of Indigenous lands and the cultural justifications through which Europeans supported their land policies.³² These readings helped me to recognize how both settler and

³⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

³¹ For further definition of post-colonial thought, see Ann Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History*. For the link between colonialism, exclusive property rights, and European identities in Canada, see Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). For studies of early contact between Indigenous Peoples on Vancouver Island, see Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); and John Lutz, *A New History of Aboriginal White Relations*.

³² Penelope Edmonds, "Unpacking Settler Colonialism's Urban Strategies: Indigenous Peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, and the Transition to a Settler-Colonial City," *Urban History Review* 38 (Spring 2010): 4-20; Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); and Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1990).

Indigenous spaces became heavily regulated and litigated under colonial systems and laws. For the specific settler land policies in and around Victoria, the works by Jack Horne and Robert Morales were invaluable in ascertaining how the land was taken through various measures by settlers as well as the creation of Indian reserves.³³ In Chapter II and Chapter V, I link arguments about land dispossession to settler notions of untamed nature and empty lands in North America. These ideas about natural landscapes have been influenced by the works of various academics, but especially by Mark David Spence, who argues that European concepts on uninhabited landscapes, which were far from accurate, helped influence the dispossession of lands in North America and the creation of reserves for Indigenous peoples.³⁴ All of these readings on colonialism, along with the previously mentioned cultural studies, have impacted the ways in which I form my arguments and present them as well.

The Form of My Swing: Organization of Chapters

My study is organized into six chapters. Chapter I, the current chapter, serves as an introduction to the author, general arguments, scope, and historiography of this study. Chapter II examines certain aspects of the colonial history of Vancouver Island and discusses ideas and events that led to the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands and the establishment of settler spaces, including sites of leisure. This colonial history is then linked to the upper-class sporting culture

³³ Jack Horne, "WSANEC: Emerging Land or Emerging People," *The Arbutus Review* 3 (2012): 6-19; and Robert Morales, *The Great Land Grab: Colonialism and the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Land Grant in Hul'qumi'num Territory* (Ladysmith: Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, 2007).

³⁴ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). For the historical understandings of nature in Canada, see Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006). For the ways in which thoughts on nature impacted political policies, leisure, and non-human landscapes in British Columbia, see the following readings: Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9 (1998): 63-92; Sean Kheraj, "Improving Nature: Remaking Stanley Park's Forest, 1881-1931," *BC Studies* 158 (2008): 71-90; and Michael J. Thoms, "A Place Called Pennask: Fly-fishing and Colonialism as a British Columbia Lake," *BC Studies* 133 (2002): 69-98.

in Victoria. The chapter concludes by exploring the land that the Colwood Club purchased and built its course upon, as well as the early chronological history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. Chapter III scrutinizes the various organizational rules and regulations present at Colwood which were implemented to maintain the Club as an exclusive space. Particular attention is given to the by-laws and membership process that was present at the Club. Chapter IV analyzes certain cultural and social ideas that led to the exclusion of various individuals from participating at the Colwood Club. The main lenses of analysis that are explored are class and gender, which reinforce that the Club had various cultural ideas which influenced the measures through which Colwood maintained itself as an elite space. Chapter V examines the relationship between the Colwood Club and nature, and how those who visited the Colwood course understood the space as a beautiful and natural setting. I argue that there was an idealized image of the course, and that this image of a natural space was profoundly shaped and maintained by the Club. Chapter VI concludes my thesis while linking my arguments to the present. The final chapter also provides recommendations for areas of further study that are related to my thesis.

**Chapter II: An Attempt at the Hole Story: A Short History of Vancouver Island, Sport in
Victoria, and the Colwood Golf and Country Club**

My overall study is not a conventional chronological history, but more of a microhistory. It is a cultural and social analysis of a particular group of people in a rather short period. The thesis examines, for the most part, the period of 1913 to 1934. Within this narrow time frame, I analyze specific ideas and understandings of a small section of Victoria's society: the members and leadership of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. I do not try to tell a linear story through my research and analysis. I do not show how the sport of golf changed throughout Vancouver Island over time. In this study, I examine common features of one golf club, in a particular period, to demonstrate how the ideas, principles, and values of the Colwood Club reflected dominant cultural trends in Victoria, and how the Club helped influence those very same cultural trends. However, to do this type of analysis in my later chapters, it is important to outline a brief history of Victoria, to better understand the overall context. Therefore, this chapter focuses on a somewhat more chronological approach to the events that happened before and during the period studied. The chapter is organized around two general topics that I have chosen to help to situate my study of the Colwood Golf and Country Club in the broader history of Vancouver Island, while also focusing upon themes that are important to my analysis and narrative. The first subject that is covered in this chapter is the history of colonialism and land dispossession. Here, I will briefly discuss how Vancouver Island became a settler society, and how white settler society was able to dispossess multiple Indigenous groups of their lands and rights. I cover this history to help contextualize the land that the Colwood Club was built upon and to situate the Club in an extended history of colonialism and exclusion. The second topic will explore the overall white settler leisure and sporting culture on Vancouver Island, along with the early history of the

Colwood Golf and Country Club. This section will show how, in a short period, Victoria's settler society began to use many physical and social spaces for the sole purpose of leisure and pleasure. Altogether, this chapter shows the general context of the Colwood Golf and Country Club while situating it in the overall history of Vancouver Island's settler society and thus its colonial history.

Clearing the Course: Colonialism and Dispossession on Vancouver Island

This section examines Coast Salish territories and history, the period of contact with European settlers, and the dispossession of Indigenous lands on southern Vancouver Island. This history is important, as it is the foundation for European settlement on Vancouver Island and, thus, it is part of the framework on which the Colwood Golf and Country Club came into existence. It would, quite frankly, be irresponsible to omit this part of history from my work. To understand how the Colwood Club operated and its members understood their own society, it is essential first to see how it is part of the more extensive process of colonialism. As such, it is imperative to understand how Europeans usurped Indigenous lands. This section is by no means an exhaustive history of colonialism on Vancouver Island; however, it does cover many of the broader trends that impacted land dispossession and the reimagining of land usage within colonial frameworks.

By the time Europeans, through the well-documented voyages of explorers such as Juan Perez, Bodega y Quadra, James Cook, and George Vancouver, made their first contacts with Indigenous groups in the Pacific Northwest and "discovered" new lands, the region had been occupied and intimately known for thousands of years. The Pacific Coast, including what would become known to settler society as Vancouver Island, was (and had long been) an area of high

population density for Indigenous peoples.³⁵ The high population numbers were in part due to the abundance of terrestrial and marine resources available and the fairer weather, which allowed many complex and culturally diverse societies to develop. Many of these Indigenous societies practiced hunting, fishing, and agriculture, and developed many complex worldviews and belief systems, including popular beliefs surrounding the idea of lifeworlds.³⁶ Another complex cultural tradition that evolved in this area was the potlatch, where large feasts took place, and elaborate gifts were exchanged between families and nations.³⁷ Indigenous groups throughout Vancouver Island practiced such multifaceted cultural traditions. It was in the mid to late 18th century that their isolation from the expanding European cultures in North America ended and their lifestyles were severely impacted by settlers.

What followed after contact on Vancouver Island was a severe changing of human geography, due to the influx of settlers and widespread epidemics among Indigenous populations. It is estimated that in British Columbia, Indigenous groups declined by over 90% between 1770 and 1870 following the introduction of new diseases and colonial institutions.³⁸ With the influx of settlers in the 1800s and the sharp decline in Indigenous populations on Vancouver Island, the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Europeans quickly shifted to one centered on land. This relationship, based on an uneven power balance, entailed dispossessing Indigenous groups of their land, transferring land rights to settlers, and forcing

³⁵ Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land*, 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 14. Lifeworlds, in a shortened explanation, is the idea that everything that exists is animate and sentient (this includes people, animals, places, and the weather, among other groupings). For many of the people who followed this type of belief, there were no boundaries between the natural and the human, or the living and the dead.

³⁷ Stephen Royle, *Company, Crown, and Colony: The Hudson's Bay Company and Territorial Endeavour in Western Canada* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2011): 62.

³⁸ Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land*, 416. As Harris states, among other historians, it is important to note that Indigenous groups were by no means passive to the changes around them or their shrinking numbers. However, they dealt with unexpected and difficult developments that were often beyond their control.

Indigenous peoples onto reserves and small parcels of land.³⁹ Taking land and developing it has been at the top of political agendas and prerogatives of European peoples since the early years of colonization in the Pacific Northwest.⁴⁰ The land question is one significant aspect for what led to the basis of settler society in British Columbia, and more specifically on Vancouver Island, and has lasting impacts in the present. Land dispossession was a major factor in how Vancouver Island became an imperial space. It was also how, by the turn of the twentieth century, significant parcels of land could be reshaped in a concise period of time, and dedicated to sustaining pastimes as seemingly benign as European forms of leisure, such as golf.

Central to the attempts to remove land and land rights from Indigenous groups were settler understandings about proper land usage, sanctioning Europeans to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands physically and to deny them land rights and claims legally. Settlers saw the landscape of British Columbia as empty and devoid of culture, much like the rest of Canada and North America had been envisioned throughout the colonial process. In the broad views of settler society, to have ownership over land required political control, government, and law over vast geographical space, as well as a particular type of reshaping of the land through labour.⁴¹ In other words, this meant that settlers only recognized European political practices as the means by which they possessed legal rights to control and own land. In their views, Indigenous peoples did not possess the political and legal rights to govern over their territories, let alone own land. This paternalistic mindset allowed settlers to view the land as *terra nullius* – void, empty, and

³⁹ Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, xii.

⁴⁰ For a more detailed analysis of the politics of land acquisition and a chronology of important land treaties, see Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*. For a history of early European contact with Indigenous groups and the first treaties in the Pacific Northwest, including the Oregon Treaty of 1846, see Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth*.

⁴¹ Brett McGillivray, *Geography of British Columbia: People and Landscapes in Transition* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2000): 56.

nobody's land.⁴² Settler land policies were legitimized by stereotyping Indigenous peoples as “savages,” and thus inferior to White settlers. Indigenous peoples were seen as living in a barren and untamed wilderness where they had made no effort to work, reshape, and thus “civilize” the land.⁴³ From a settler perspective, taming the wilderness required the work of “rational” people who had the intellect, technology, and proper understanding of land ownership and production.⁴⁴

It is through these general views that the landscape of Vancouver Island was imagined, reimagined, and shaped by settler society. To be able to acquire the land required for the expansion of settler society on Vancouver Island, Indigenous groups were dispossessed of their lands and moved onto small parcels of land known as reserves. On Vancouver Island, European settlement began in 1843 with the establishment of Fort Victoria by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and became the Colony of Vancouver Island in 1849. The first land settled around the Fort was seemingly acquired through fourteen treaties that James Douglas, later the governor of British Columbia, negotiated with local Indigenous peoples from 1850 to 1854. The property that the Colwood Golf and Country Club would later be situated on was included in these early treaties. The land was negotiated between Douglas and Indigenous peoples known as the Teechamitsa in 1850. Simply understood, the Teechamitsa were given blankets and money in return for their lands. The Teechamitsa would later be assembled with a few other local Indigenous groups and referred to as the Esquimalt Band.⁴⁵ In 1852 the HBC established a 50 acre reserve in the Esquimalt Harbour where the Esquimalt Band was forced to relocate, which

⁴² Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 40. In reality, Indigenous groups had their own complex understandings of land usage and ownership. In the Pacific Northwest, many Indigenous groups had collective views of land ownership, where land could only be held by a nation or a tribe, and not individually.

⁴³ Brett McGillivray, *Geography of British Columbia*, 61.

⁴⁴ Daniel Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, 227. These concepts of wilderness and working the land will resurface in my chapter on the ideas of nature on golf courses. For further reading on how property is tied to European identities, see Keith Carlson, *The Power of Place*. Carlson states that European identity can be one derived from the proximity of residence, which can be equated with both local and exclusionary property rights over land and nearby resources.

⁴⁵ Jack Horne, “Emerging Land or Emerging People,” 10.

encompassed their village.⁴⁶ The Esquimalt Band's other villages, graveyards, camping sites, hunting sites, fishing places, spiritual sites, and cultural places were not considered when the reserve was planned by colonial surveyors.⁴⁷ Elsewhere, especially in 1884, efforts by Indigenous peoples to reclaim their lands or fight against the reserve system were met with repression and aggression, often through the military bombardment of Indigenous villages by cannons or through executions.⁴⁸ In 1884 a massive swath of land just north of the Esquimalt region, belonging primarily to the Hul'qumi'num peoples, was taken by the government of British Columbia and given as a land grant to whichever company would build a railway through this region. Famed British Columbian industrialist Robert Dunsmuir (father of James Dunsmuir, one of the founders of the Colwood Golf and Country Club) received the land grant. The grant consisted of over 800,000 hectares of land. In 1884 Robert Dunsmuir formed the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway to build the railway through the region. Following the completion of the railway in 1886, Dunsmuir was joined by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald at the opening celebration of the railway.⁴⁹ The main reason Robert Dunsmuir wanted the land grant was for the potential of finding more mines for his large coal mining business, which was his primary business through which he had become the wealthiest man in British Columbia by the end of the 19th century. Once his company owned the land, Dunsmuir began to subdivide the undesired property into smaller parcels to be sold off to private logging companies and settlers. By the time the Canadian Pacific Railway bought the railway and remaining land in 1905, Dunsmuir had already sold approximately 138,000 hectares of land for a total of \$1.44 million.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, 195.

⁴⁷ Robert Morales, *The Great Land Grab*, 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁹ Lynne Bowen, *Robert Dunsmuir: Laird of Mines* (Montreal, XYZ Publishing, 1999): 132.

⁵⁰ Robert Morales, *The Great Land Grab*, 14. The railway and remaining land was sold to the CPR for \$2.33 million. Indigenous peoples were never consulted on any of the land sales that took place in this region.

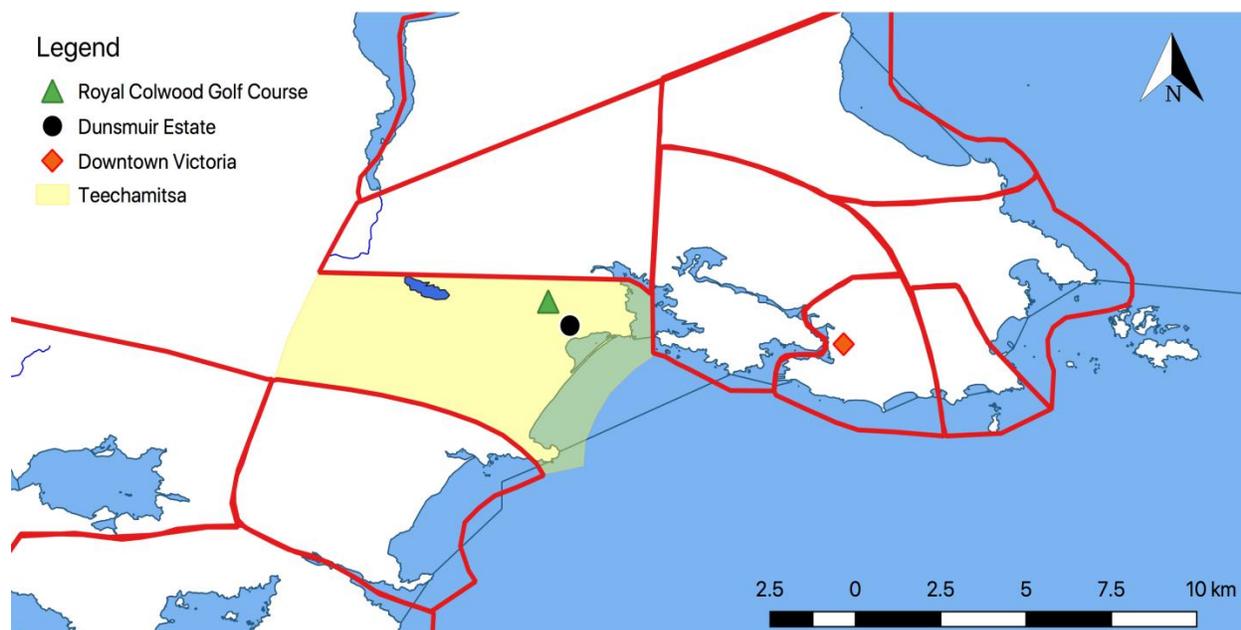


Figure 1. *Map of the Colwood Club in the Teechamitsa Territory.* Created by Jill Levine and Kalin Bullman.⁵¹

The early Douglas Treaties and the later forced relocation of Indigenous peoples onto reserves were as much about removing these peoples from the land as it was about extinguishing Aboriginal land title throughout Vancouver Island.⁵² By 1862 it was estimated that the Indigenous population had declined to around 60,000, and approximately one third would soon perish from the smallpox epidemic.⁵³ The prevailing view at the time among settlers was that the remaining Indigenous peoples would quickly vanish, supporting beliefs that Vancouver Island was vast and empty ready to be sold to settlers. The settler society that developed in this colonial context was one built on the legal principles of law and order, an entrenched class-based structure, and social exclusivity.⁵⁴ The newly emerging community in Victoria wanted to attract what they viewed as the proper type of settler, British and upper class. Therefore, Victorians

⁵¹ The Canada shapefiles were used from Statistics Canada, on their website <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/geo/bound-limit/bound-limit-2011-eng.cfm>. The borders for the Douglas Treaties came from the University of British Columbia's Aboriginal Maps and Mapping website, <http://guides.library.ubc.ca/c.php?g=307207&p=2049502>. I want to express my sincere gratitude to my friend Jill Levine for her great work in putting this map together.

⁵² Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 60.

⁵³ Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 40.

⁵⁴ Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 79.

promoted their society as one based on respectability, order, modernity, opportunity, and a relaxed lifestyle. Leisure activities were seen as one way in which this vision of respectability could be upheld. Promotional materials at the time often depicted the various riding parties, tea parties, and dances that took place in Victoria, reserved for “gentlemen and ladies” and those who wanted a “genteel lifestyle.”⁵⁵ Various social clubs and leisure activities, such as sports, theater, and literature emerged in Victoria in its first few decades. Club memberships were primarily made up of Victoria’s upper-class, with members often being state officials, government workers, leading businessmen, land developers, professionals, and land owners. City officials also promoted the outdoor experience of Vancouver Island. The island’s vast natural environment, which as previously stated was understood to be empty and untouched, was now touted as a travel hub whereby the “modern” individual could escape the pressures of everyday life.⁵⁶ Victoria, therefore, was celebrated as both a modern and orderly city but also as a beautiful natural destination.⁵⁷ The settler population of Victoria multiplied after the 1881 gold rush, from barely 6,000 permanent settlers in 1881 to over 21,000 by 1903, and approximately 32,000 settlers by 1911.⁵⁸ As the population rapidly increased, so too did desires for sporting clubs.

The colonial history of Vancouver Island explored in this chapter forms the basis for much of the later analysis of this thesis. This chapter demonstrates that some of the trends of upper-class exclusion, which are later explored in this study, have links to colonial thought and particular events that took place in Victoria’s settler history. The Colwood Golf and Country Club can, and should be, imagined as a partial extension of colonial practices and thought. It

⁵⁵ Ibid., *The West Beyond the West*, 87, 149.

⁵⁶ Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 15. This idea was used to promote the Colwood Golf and Country club as well.

⁵⁷ The British characteristics of the city were especially promoted and celebrated. Many of the upper class individuals saw Victoria’s industrial and cultural achievements as English accomplishments, and as an important part of the British Empire. For more on this, see Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*.

⁵⁸ Peter Baskerville, *Beyond the Island*, 22, 87.

was, after all, in this colonial context that certain forms of leisure were able to expand in Victoria while also remaining an exclusive domain for specific parts of Victoria's upper society. As is discussed in Chapter V, concerning understandings and ideas of nature present at the Colwood Club, it is important to remember that various Indigenous groups who possessed rich and multifaceted cultural traditions, such as potlatch practices, had indeed used the land that settlers saw as natural and untouched for centuries. The myth of pristine and undeveloped nature that pervaded settler ideology was very much a part of the mindset of Colwood members when they played rounds of golf outdoor on their course.

The First Swings: Sport in Victoria and the Early History of the Colwood Club

The start of organized sport in Canada dates back to the middle of the 19th century.⁵⁹ The trend of organizing sports in more formal ways through clubs, organizations, rules, and dedicated spaces for the use of sport, became increasingly common in this period leading up to World War I and in the inter-war years. The trends of urbanization and industrialization in Canada also helped centralize sports and led to the establishment of associations, organizations, and clubs. The majority of these new sporting institutions in Canada were founded and run by small groups of wealthier white men. With the evolving power and economic structures in Canada during the 19th century, it became possible for certain privileged social and ethnic groups to monopolize the sporting spheres that were being created and allow specific sporting patterns to emerge based on their sporting preferences. The privileged group at the time in Canada was indeed wealthy, white men of British ancestry, as these were the individuals organizing sporting clubs and thus shaping

⁵⁹ When discussing organized sport in this section, I use the definition provided by sport historian Alan Metcalfe in *Canada Learns to Play*. Metcalfe states that organized sport refers to a precise type of organized playing and spectating that emerged at a specific time in history throughout North America. For Metcalfe, organized sport has a structure to the competition, well defined time and space boundaries, an exact amount of participants, and has codified rules and regulations. I agree with these definitions for organized sports and leisure, and feel they apply to the emergence of golf clubs in both Canada and in Victoria in the period I study.

sporting experiences in this period.⁶⁰ When it came to the creation of an organized sporting culture in Canada, these men held onto particular ideals, centered on notions of order, respectability, rationality, honesty, morality, and the creation and codification of rules.⁶¹ Sports were meant to not only enforce these values but to help foster these principles within the wider class-based society of Canada. For those of the upper-class, proper conduct in sport meant an individual had to follow these standards at all times and not play in more rowdy, disorderly, or violent ways, as often linked to the lower classes and their forms of sport.⁶² The sporting clubs in this period in Canada were often private and exclusive spaces, due to limitations placed around who may or may not participate and the ideals present within the sporting culture. Sporting clubs and organizations often excluded people based on class, race, gender, and religion, depending on the sport or the region. Some of the most popular middle and upper class sports in Canada in this period, in which clubs were formed to play, were lacrosse, baseball, cricket, hunting, yachting, lawn tennis, and golf.

Golf came to Canada in this period of growth in organized sport in the late 19th century and quickly grew in popularity among the upper classes. Adaptations of activities resembling golf date back to the 14th century in Scotland, in which individuals used simple instruments to play in open fields and sandy terrains near the shores. By the start of the 19th century, golf had become popular with the middle and upper-classes of England.⁶³ With the rapid growth of this sport in Britain, golfers took the organizational structures of traditional voluntary societies and

⁶⁰ Alan Metcalfe, "The Growth of Organized Sport," 33. This was in the larger context of changing demographics, the growth of cities capable of hosting larger sporting clubs, and the emergence of industrial capitalism in Canada.

⁶¹ Nancy Bouchier, "Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns," 90, 98.

⁶² The lower classes of Canada were often linked to more violent sports such as folk football and bareknuckle prizefighting in this period. In an effort to "civilize" the nation and its sports, those in charge of sporting bodies and clubs moved away from these sports and looked down on those who participated in them. For more on this and understanding sport as a national project in Canada, see Colin Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*.

⁶³ Geoffrey Cousins, *Golf in Britain*, 24.

other sporting clubs to form what became known as golf clubs.⁶⁴ These clubs were established to ensure the exclusivity of playtime and space, both socially and geographically, since clubs had limited memberships and a physical place (the course) to play on. It was this type of organized golf that was exported to many parts of the British Empire, including Canada. Golf expanded rapidly in Canada due to the significant amounts of obtainable land and space, cultural and social links to Britain, and demand for upper-class sporting circles and clubs. The first golf club in Canada was the Montreal Golf Club, founded in 1873 by a local Scotsman, named Alexander Denistoun. The game spread throughout Eastern Canada first, as more clubs were established in the following years in Quebec City, Toronto, Kingston, Brantford, and Niagara Falls.⁶⁵ By the 1890s the sport proliferated across Canada, with clubs in Halifax, Saint John, Fredericton, Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver, and Victoria. The Royal Canadian Golf Association (RCGA) was founded in 1894 and became the leading national authoritative body for golf in Canada. By 1914, it boasted a membership of forty-four, and by 1936 this number had grown to 128 clubs.⁶⁶

The sporting culture on Vancouver Island followed many of the trends previously discussed concerning Canada's sporting culture, and Victorians were quick to take up the sport of golf. At the turn of the twentieth century, sports and public entertainment were often restricted to the upper classes. The specific types of entertainment included rowing, cricket, horse racing, and the theater, which were all very popular among the upper classes and reflected British cultural and sporting trends of the era.⁶⁷ By the turn of the century, golf became another favourite pastime. The first golf holes in Victoria, and in British Columbia, were built at Beacon Hill Park

⁶⁴ Wray Vamplew, "Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914," 425.

⁶⁵ Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 37.

⁶⁶ L.V. Kavanagh, *History of Golf in Canada*, 2.

⁶⁷ Peter Baskerville, *Beyond the Island*, 37.

in 1889.⁶⁸ This seven-hole course was built more as an attraction for the park than for the purposes of regular playing, as no sporting club was ever formed for this course. The first golf club in Victoria, founded in 1893 in Oak Bay, was aptly titled the Victoria Golf Club. The first year the Victoria Club boasted a membership of 85 members, and by 1894 the Club built its first three-storey clubhouse.⁶⁹ The Victoria Club originally rented their land from a nearby farmer, whose livestock was used to keep the grass short. It started as a fourteen-hole course and was enlarged two years later to the standard eighteen-holes.⁷⁰ The Victoria Golf Club later purchased the land for the exclusive use of the club, and hosted its first inter-club matches with the Seattle Golf Club in 1903, along with some of British Columbia's first golf tournaments.⁷¹

It was in this general sporting and golf climate in Victoria that the Colwood Golf and Country Club was imagined and ultimately founded. A small group of members, from the previously mentioned Victoria Golf Club, felt the Victoria Club was becoming overcrowded with members and therefore a less desirable place to socialize. There was also fear, and anger, that the Victoria Club might be taxed at the same property tax rate as the surrounding residential property.⁷² In the early 1900s, the disgruntled members began to envision a new club whereby a smaller, more elite membership could flourish, enjoying the pastime of golf and the atmosphere of a country club. Among this small group emerged the two principal founders of the future Colwood Club: Joseph Austin (J.A.) Sayward and James Dunsmuir. These two, along with the other five founders and first shareholders, acquired the land, funded the construction of the

⁶⁸ L.V. Kavanagh, *History of Golf in Canada*, 39.

⁶⁹ Arv Olson, *Backspin*, 30.

⁷⁰ Part of the allure of golf was that no two courses were the same due to the diverse landscapes that courses could be built on and the varied types of holes that could be built. However, with the move toward regulation and standardization in organized sports at the end of the 19th century, golf courses were slightly standardized, as most courses became to 18 hole courses. For more on this, see John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 139.

⁷¹ L.V. Kavanagh, *History of Golf in Canada*, 41.

⁷² Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 10.

course and club house, and developed the rules, by-laws, and regulations of the future club. The other five founding members and first shareholders of the Colwood Club included some of Victoria's wealthiest and most influential men: Thomas W. Patterson, Frederick B. Pemberton, Frances M. Rattenbury, Charles F. Todd, and Biggerstaff Wilson.⁷³ Together, these individuals founded the Colwood Club in 1913 and, by 1914, the course itself was opened and the first regular golf games took place.

It is important to focus some attention on the two principal founders of the Club, J.A. Sayward and James Dunsmuir, to learn about the influential and wealthy individuals that founded the club and would later oversee its operations. J.A. Sayward, born in 1862 in Victoria, was the son of a saw mill owner who owned one of the first of these mills in Victoria. After he took over the business from his father in the 1890s, he grew the business, eventually opening additional mills on Vancouver Island. Sayward also invested in and owned logging ventures, a sealing fleet, a mining company, and a farm in Cordova Bay where he had numerous cows and bulls.⁷⁴ During the planning stages for the Colwood Club in the early 1910s, Sayward had started selling off various parts of his business, ultimately moving towards retirement and engaging in other interests, including golf. It is during this period of early retirement, until he passed away in 1934, that Sayward became known as one of the leading philanthropists on Vancouver Island. As the *Daily Colonist* wrote after his death, "There was hardly a social welfare organization in the

⁷³ These prominent men in Victoria's society came from various backgrounds. Thomas W. Patterson was a railway contractor, a politician, and the ninth Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia from 1909 till 1914. His family also had investments in farming, logging, and shipping. Frederick B. Pemberton was a civil engineer who also worked for his father's real estate company. Frances M. Rattenbury was an architect, who designed many prominent buildings in Victoria, including the Empress Hotel and the legislative buildings. His fall from grace, and later his murder, is a fascinating story and has even become multiple popular dramas in England. Charles F. Todd was in charge of his family's wholesale grocery business while also running a cannery business near the Fraser River. Finally, Biggerstaff Wilson ran his firm titled B. Wilson Company Limited, and was a well reputed golfer in the Pacific Northwest. For further information on these founding members, see Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*.

⁷⁴ "THE LATE MR. J.A. SAYWARD," *Daily Colonist*, January 31, 1934, 4. For further information on J. A. Sayward's family, see J. F. Boshier, *Imperial Vancouver Island: Who Was Who, 1850-1950* (United States: Xlibris Corporation, 2010).

city of which he was not a director, or to whose fund he had not generously subscribed year by year.”⁷⁵ Some of these welfare programs included the Friendly Help Association, the City Relief and Central Welfare Exchange, the Solarium, and the Children of British Columbia Protestant Orphan’s Home (which he served as president for twelve years and is now the Bishop Cridge Centre for the Family).⁷⁶ Sayward served as president of the Colwood Club from its inception in 1913 until his death in 1934. He was seen, and is still seen, as the most influential man in the early growth of the Club.⁷⁷

James Dunsmuir, born in 1851, was the son of the previously mentioned British Columbia industrialist Robert Dunsmuir.⁷⁸ By the time James Dunsmuir had reached adulthood, his family was the wealthiest in the growing province of British Columbia, as the Dunsmuir’s had great success in the coal mining business. James Dunsmuir slowly took over the business after the death of his father, following legal disputes with his siblings over who would inherit the family business. The Dunsmuirs became one of the most well-known families in British Columbia in this period, and their surname became, as the *Daily Colonist* indicated, “synonymous with big enterprise, with stability, with development, with philanthropy” and with “Vancouver Island.”⁷⁹ Due to his interest in the outdoors, a strong desire to retire to the country

⁷⁵ “DEATH TAKES J.A. SAYWARD: Leading Philanthropist Succumbs to Operation – Was Native Son of Victoria,” *Daily Colonist*, January 31, 1934, 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ In 1927, when discussing the popularity of golf in Victoria and at the Colwood Club, one writer marvelled at how golf “owes a great deal to the personal interest of Mr. J. A. Sayward who has been the backbone of development in the Colwood Club, which, it may be said, incidentally, has been a notable factor in advertising Victoria. “GOLF’S POPULARITY,” *Daily Colonist*, June 24, 1927, 4.

⁷⁸ For further reading about Robert Dunsmuir, James Dunsmuir, and the family business, see Terry Reksten, *The Dunsmuir Saga* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991). It is important to note that Robert Dunsmuir was instrumental in the expansion of settler society on Vancouver Island. He helped build the first train tracks on Vancouver Island, owned the majority of the mines on the island, and was influential in local politics and cracking. Both Robert, and his son James, were also heavily involved in cracking down on unions and any attempts by their workers to create better working conditions.

⁷⁹ “DEATH SUMMONS NOTED RESIDENT: Hon. James Dunsmuir, Son of Man Whose Name Spelt History of Vancouver Island, Succumbs After Brief Illness,” *Daily Colonist*, June 8, 1920, 1.

lifestyle (much like J.A. Sayward), and a yearning to spend time at a country club, J. Dunsmuir became one of the first interested parties to push for the new Colwood Club.⁸⁰ From the early 1910s, until his death in 1920, James Dunsmuir, along with Sayward, became one of the principal advocates as well as financial backers for the establishment and expansion of the Colwood Golf and Country Club.

The land the founders of the Club chose to build their course on was an old farming site in the Colwood region of Vancouver Island, a few miles north of Victoria. The land had a colonial history dating back to the start of the Hudson's Bay Company's creation of farmlands in and around Fort Victoria. One of the farms was the Esquimalt Farm, which was located on lands previously owned and used by Indigenous populations, notably the Esquimalt Band, as discussed in the previous section. Following the removal of Indigenous populations in this area onto reserves, farmland was created for the use of white settlers. Starting in 1851 a Bailiff, Captain Edward Edwards Langford, was appointed to oversee the daily operations of the 600-acre farm.⁸¹ Over the years, due to mismanagement and the creation of other farmland on the island, the Esquimalt Farm became less important for agriculture pursuits. Beginning in the late 19th century, this land, previously used for farming, became increasingly used for social activities for Victoria's upper classes. Horse races, cricket, and large picnics became commonplace on this former farmland, and the land was slowly altered accordingly. It was one parcel of this land that

⁸⁰ Terry Reksten, *The Dunsmuir Saga*, 221, 225.

⁸¹ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 9. Captain Edward Edwards Langford worked directly for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (PSAC), a sister company to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) that was originally created to manage and exploit land near the Columbia River. The PSCA came with the HBC to Vancouver Island and operated four farms, starting in the 1850s. Due to mismanagement, lack of productivity, and the view from settlers that the company was obstructing access to good lands for individual settlement, the farmlands that the PSAC managed diminished by the end of the 19th century. Many plots were sold to individuals and other companies, as was the case for the land that the Colwood Land Company bought. For further information on PSAC activity on Vancouver Island and Captain Langford, see Stephen Royle, *Company, Crown and Colony*. For the early history of the PSAC, see John S. Galbraith, "The Early History of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, 1838-43," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 55 (September 1954): 234-259.

the Colwood Land Company, a company set up by J.A. Sayward and J. Dunsmuir, purchased for the building of their golf course. Sayward and J. Dunsmuir formed the Colwood Land Company in November 1913 to purchase the land needed for the construction of a golf course. The company was also used to fund the construction of the golf course as well as to develop the course and surrounding land once the Club was established.⁸² J.A. Sayward was the Colwood Land Company's president till his death in 1934, in addition to serving as the president of the Colwood Golf and Country Club till his passing. The other five founders, Thomas W. Patterson, Frederick B. Pemberton, Frances M. Rattenbury, Charles F. Todd, and Biggerstaff Wilson, were the first shareholders of the land company. In 1913 the Colwood Land Company purchased 240 acres of land in three separate transactions from the Hudson's Bay Company, costing a total of \$174,000, which Sayward and Dunsmuir split evenly.⁸³ The Colwood Land Company governed the golf club, the course, and was in charge of financing the organization. The Colwood Golf and Country Club, through its membership dues and other forms of income, was required to pay the Colwood Land Company a yearly amount to help cover the initial costs of purchasing the land and building the course.

In the same year the land was purchased, construction of the new golf course and the clubhouse began. The architect selected to design and build the golf course was the well-known golfer and course designer Arthur Vernon (A.V) Macan. Originally an Irish immigrant to Canada who settled in Victoria, A.V. Macan became one of the most famous golf course designers in the Pacific Northwest in the early to mid-20th century. From his arrival in Victoria until his death in

⁸² Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 9.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 12. Each share for the land company cost \$500. For the first few years of the Colwood Club's existence, men who were applying to become members were heavily persuaded to purchase a stock in the Colwood Land Company as their entrance fee, to help Sayward and Dunsmuir earn their expenditures back. Using the Bank of Canada's inflation calculator, purchasing the land for the golf course would have cost \$3,819,000 in 2018. <https://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/>

1964, Macan designed, built, redesigned, and influenced the design of over fifty courses in the Pacific Northwest.⁸⁴ With a construction crew consisting mainly of Chinese labourers, who James Dunsmuir had used in various other projects, and the help of horses, the full Colwood course was finished by the fall of 1914.⁸⁵ During the construction, many trees were either removed or planted to shape the course, and an irrigation system was installed to water the newly seeded grass turf. A small clubhouse was erected near the first hole, and it was deemed a temporary clubhouse until a superior one could be planned and built. In 1922 a new clubhouse was constructed, and it had what was described as all the modern amenities, including a spacious dining room with a 200-person capacity, a dance floor, a grill, a terrace, card rooms, private rooms, open fireplaces, changing rooms, showers, and bathrooms.⁸⁶ The cost of the clubhouse was an estimated \$50,000.⁸⁷ The new clubhouse only lasted seven years, because in 1929 it burnt down, destroying all of the Club's trophies, on-site documentation, golf clubs, furnishings, and memorabilia. The leadership of the Club decided to rebuild the clubhouse, a four-floor building this time. The new clubhouse was built in late 1929 for the estimated cost of \$75,000.⁸⁸ The new clubhouse included two lounges, dining hall, bar, boardroom, kitchen, locker rooms, pro shop, manager's office, private rooms with fireplaces, sun lounge, seven bedrooms, and three

⁸⁴ Some of A.V. Macan's more famous course designs and redesigns include the Victoria Golf Club in Victoria, the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club in Vancouver, the Inglewood Golf Club near Seattle, and the California Golf Club in San Francisco. Macan was also a well-respected golfer, winning the British Columbia Amateurs in 1912 and 1913. He even continued to win certain competitions after he lost his foot serving in World War One. Macan was later made the Colwood Golf and Country Club's first lifetime member to honour what he had done for both the club and for the sport of golf in the Pacific Northwest. For further information, see Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*.

⁸⁵ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 13. During the construction phase, A.V. Macan was paid \$150 per month. The firm of Percy Leonard James was hired to help build the course and the clubhouses.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁷ Arv Olson, *Backspin*, 38.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

washrooms.⁸⁹ The Colwood Club spared no expense in the creation of social spaces for its members.



Figure 2. *Opening of the Clubhouse in 1922, Attended by J. A. Sayward and Members.* 1922. BCA, Archives visual records collection, D-05176.

With the completion of the golf course and the official opening of the Colwood Golf and Country Club in 1914, J.A. Sayward was elected the first president of the Club. He was re-elected to this post, unopposed, each year until his death in 1934. During his tenure, the overall membership was guarded, for reasons that will be discussed in the next chapter, as there was a desire in the Club to maintain a small group of members from Victoria's upper-class. During the First World War, membership numbers were low, sometimes not even reaching 100 members, such as in 1919 when there were a total of 86 members.⁹⁰ By 1921 the Club had 203 members.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 21.

⁹⁰ British Columbia Archives (hereafter BCA), Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 1, Colwood Golf & Country Club List of Members, December 1919.

The Club reached peak numbers (in the period of study) in the year 1930, with a total of 444 members.⁹² This number quickly fell by the middle of the 1930s when the Great Depression significantly impacted the membership, and the Club no longer had the guidance of J.A. Sayward who was by then deceased. In the years preceding the depression, the Colwood Club enjoyed local and international fame. It became, rather quickly, a well-regarded course, and hosted many local and international tournaments. The Club hosted some of British Columbia's most prestigious tournaments, including the B.C. Amateur Championship in 1921, 1925, 1929, and 1935, the B.C. Ladies Amateur in 1923 and 1927, and the B.C. Open in 1934. Colwood also hosted the Pacific Northwest Golf Association (PNGA) Championship in 1922 and 1927. The PNGA, founded in 1899, was the primary golf association for clubs on the Pacific Coast and in the Prairies, and only some of the most established courses throughout these regions hosted PNGA events.⁹³ J. A. Sayward had long coveted hosting the PNGA tournament at Colwood, which it first did in 1922, demonstrating that Colwood had emerged as an established golf club in the Pacific Northwest.

The crowning achievement for the Club was, perhaps, when the British monarchy bestowed the "Royal" title on the Colwood Club. After the First World War, King George V sent his son, Edward, the Prince of Wales, on a series of trips to pay tribute to the various countries

⁹¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 11, Colwood Golf and Country Club Annual Report 1920-1921, 1921. Throughout the majority of the 1920s, the number of members was consistently in the high 200s or the low 300s.

⁹² BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 11, The Royal Colwood Golf and Country Club Annual Report 1930-31, 1931. There were multiple membership types by this period. During the year of 1930, there were 187 ordinary members, 150 lady associates, 32 non-resident members, 52 non-playing members, 15 junior members, and 8 honorary members. Many of these membership types did not have the privileges to play the course as they were either non-resident or non-playing. This will be explored in the next chapter about the organizational structure and admittance process for the Club. Although it reached what appears to be a larger membership of 444 members, this was still comparatively small when considering that the population of Victoria at this time had grown to over 39,000.

⁹³ For more information on the PNGA, see Arv Olson, *Backspin*. The Colwood Club joined the PNGA in 1919. Colwood also hosted this association's seniors' tournament for the first time in 1923, and for 20 years would share hosting duties with the Victoria Golf Club.

that had fought for the Commonwealth during the war. One of these trips brought the Prince to Victoria in 1919. During his visit, he stayed at Hatley Castle, built and owned by the Dunsmuir family and situated near the Colwood Club. The Prince also played some rounds of golf at the Colwood course. The Prince of Wales enjoyed playing at Colwood and returned two more times, in 1924 and 1927, to play the course during his official visits. The leadership at the Colwood Club enjoyed having this royal connection to the British monarchy, and on his last visit in 1927, asked the Prince to become one of its patrons. The Prince delightedly became one of the Club's patrons in 1928, disclosing that it was one of his favourite courses to play.⁹⁴ In 1931, his father King George V granted the Colwood Club the Royal title and use of this prefix in its name.⁹⁵ The Colwood Golf and Country Club was, thus, officially renamed the Royal Colwood Golf Club that year. In 1936, at the death of his father and on becoming King, Edward reconfirmed his patronage to the Royal Colwood Golf Club. The Colwood Club has since become one of the few golf clubs to have this royal connection, including only six in Canada and sixty-six in the world currently.

The Royal status of the Colwood Club is the last major event that took place in the period of study. From 1913 to 1934, the Colwood Club enjoyed stability and growth, as it became a permanent part of Victoria's upper society and the broader golfing community. As demonstrated in this chapter, influential individuals from Victoria's upper class were the leading figures in the founding of the Club and remained in leadership positions the succeeding two decades.

⁹⁴ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 21. In this period, two of the Governor-Generals of British Columbia also lent their patronage to the Colwood Club. His Excellency the Right Honourable The Earl of Willingdon did so from 1926-1931, and so too did His Excellency the Right Honourable The Earl of Bessborough from 1931-1935. All of these patronages were proudly displayed on various promotional material and fixture cards from the Club in this period.

⁹⁵ "'Royal" Added to Colwood Club by Prince of Wales," *Daily Colonist*, April 19, 1931, 15. The right to use the Royal prefix officially was always given by the British monarchy. Colwood, at the time, was the third golf club in Canada to receive the Royal prefix, after the Royal Montreal and Royal Ottawa golf clubs.

Individuals such as J.A. Sayward, James Dunsmuir, and the other founders, were leading men in the creation of not only the Colwood Club but also of Vancouver Island's settler society.

Through the actions of its founding members, the establishment of the Club on the traditional territories of Indigenous peoples, and the events the Club hosted, we can see how the Colwood Golf Club was very much a part of Vancouver Island's settler society and Victoria's upper class.

The Colwood Golf and Country Club became an extremely exclusive space in this colonial context, as its membership was thought of and limited by, first and foremost, class and gender, and to a lesser extent by race and religion. The following chapter focuses on the organization of the Colwood Club and how it created and enforced various rules and regulations to preserve itself as one of the most exclusive spaces, sport or otherwise, in Victoria's settler society.

Chapter III: An “exceptional degree of harmony amongst the members”: Exclusivity and Organization at the Colwood Golf and Country Club

As John Lowerson states, private golf clubs during the late 19th and early 20th century in Britain were sites of social differentiation.⁹⁶ In North America, and specifically in Victoria, this was largely the case as well.⁹⁷ The Colwood Golf and Country Club established itself as one such exclusive space, in which its members could feel separated from the rest of Victoria’s society based on their wealth, their club colleagues, and their access to class-based leisure. The Colwood clubhouse and course became places for this type of sociability for its members, and this was established through various institutional measures, which included the Club’s founding documents and its membership process.

These ideals and forms of exclusion can be seen at the Colwood Golf and Country Club since its inception in 1913, through the founding documents and by-laws. In the years leading up to the formation of the club the founders produced a declaration of the goals of the future club so that it could become a society and a company within the province of British Columbia. These early founders wished, “To promote construct establish operate and maintain a Golf Course or Golf Courses and a Golf club and Country Club.”⁹⁸ Added to this, they wanted to “promote in conjuncture therewith such other sports pastimes and rational recreation as may be desired and can conveniently be carried in connection therewith.”⁹⁹ Those in charge of the Club would

⁹⁶ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 12. See also Wray Vamplew, “Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914,” in which Vamplew explores how golf clubs took and adapted the idea of a club structure from other areas of British society, such as the voluntary societies in the 19th century, along with similar mechanisms for maintaining a high class membership.

⁹⁷ See both James M. Mayo, “The American Country Club;” and Richard Moss, “The American Private Golf Club.”

⁹⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, Societies Act Declaration, 13 March 1922.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

“manage or control such club or clubs and to provide and lay out a golf course or courses.”¹⁰⁰ On the surface, these seem like simple goals for the establishment of a golf club and course for the general enjoyment of sport and leisure for Victoria’s society. However, a look at the founding members, and the initial by-laws of the Club (which changed very little throughout the period of study, 1913 to 1934), suggests that a limited number of people in and around Victoria at this time enjoyed the ‘rational recreation’ that the club offered. For example, those that signed these documents included prominent businessmen in the province, including the previously mentioned J. A. Sayward and James Dunsmuir. Among the other signatories were managers, merchants, accountants, business leaders, accountants, bureaucrats, and bankers. These were prominent men who came from the upper class and upper middle-class of Victoria. Through the membership by-laws and the processes of becoming a member, and the bureaucratic nature of the Club, the founders ensured that future Club members were of the same segment of society, as all applicants for membership would “be regulated and restricted and shall be subject to such votes, consents, and conditions.”¹⁰¹

The very first item written in the by-laws of the Colwood Club was the type of members that would be allowed in their golfing society and how they would be let in through the membership process. In the first years of the club, the membership categories included “ordinary members, lady members, associate members, honorary members, non-resident members,

¹⁰⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, Memorandum of Association for BC Companies Act, 1910.

¹⁰¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, Companies Act Articles of Association, 1910. As Akhil Gupta argues, bureaucracies often attempt to make rational and ordered decisions, but are usually a lot more arbitrary than they present themselves. Akhil Gupta, *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012): 14. For further understandings on how bureaucracies employ techniques of power and regulations to achieve their specific goals, see Josiah Heyman, “Putting Power in the Anthropology of Bureaucracy: The Immigration and Naturalization Service at the Mexico-United States Border,” *Current Anthropology* 36 (April 1995): 261-287.

privileged members and absentee members.”¹⁰² These membership categories were somewhat rigid and endured into the 1930s. The most common type of membership at the club in these first years was ordinary members, which “shall consist of men who have been duly elected according to the by-laws of the Club.”¹⁰³ This category of membership was the only type that had the full rights of membership, which included playing the course at any time during the week, eligibility to hold office at the Club, and a vote in all administrative matters related to the Club, including the election of members and the creation of by-laws. These men also paid the highest entrance fee and dues of any membership type. They paid either a one-time entrance fee of \$125.00, or bought one share of the Colwood Land Company for \$500.00. These members were often encouraged to take the second option, to further their involvement and links to the Club and to help the growth of the Company.¹⁰⁴ The second most common type of membership was lady members, also referred to as lady associates. They did not enjoy the same rights as ordinary members, nor did they pay as much. Lady associates only had to pay an entrance fee of \$35.00, but had fewer rights and less accessibility at the club. They could not hold office or vote (but could attend the general meetings), and they could only play the course at certain times of the day and week. They could, however, invite guests in the same manner that ordinary members could. Associate members were another type of membership, which included both men and women who had been elected by the committee. A distinction with this form of membership was that associate members were not required to pay an entrance fee, only annual membership dues, and that this type of membership offered fewer Club privileges. They had the same limitations as

¹⁰² BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922. This quote was taken from 1922 by-laws, which were almost identical to those in the early years of the club. They were also similar in the 1930s, although the types of members and their titles had changed slightly. This shows how similar and standardized the types of members and process were throughout the 1910s and 1920s.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ James M. Mayo, “The American Country Club,” 43. It was common in the United States before the 1930s to have members pay an initiation fee that made them shareholders of the Club’s property.

lady members; however, they also could not invite guests to play the course on guest days, and they could only play on the course if they paid a green fee each time they played (which usually ranged from one to two dollars, depending on the year).¹⁰⁵ Non-resident members were those that resided outside Victoria, and they too did not have to pay an entrance fee. These men and women had the same limitations as associate members, but added to these same restrictions was the fact they could not play the course more than ninety times per year, and they had to pay a green fee if they exceeded this number. Absentee members were ordinary and lady members that had given a written notice to the Secretary that they would be “absent from the Province of British Columbia for a period exceeding six months.”¹⁰⁶ These members were then be placed on the absentee list, which allowed them to remain a part of the club without having to pay yearly dues. However, the “privileges of the Club are not available to members on the absent list until intimation of return has been made in writing to the Secretary.”¹⁰⁷ Essentially, these were members who wished to keep their association with the Colwood Club, but had to be outside the province for business or pleasure.

Honorary members were those who had been elected by the Club’s leadership and were considered important or influential to Victoria’s community, or the game of golf. Honorary membership was a category that could not be applied for, and once appointed they did not have to pay an entrance fee nor did they have to pay yearly dues. One such example of someone who was given this membership type was A. V. Macan, a well-known and respected golfer in British Columbia. Macan immigrated to Canada from Ireland as a young man, where he became a well-

¹⁰⁵ These members could become full members at any point if they paid the entrance fee and asked the secretary to switch their membership type. If they did so, they gained all the membership privileges of ordinary members or lady associates, based on their gender.

¹⁰⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

respected golf amateur who won many amateur tournaments. He was a member of the Victoria Golf Club, before being asked to design and build the course for the Colwood Club. A valuable member of Victoria's golfing society, Macan was appointed an honorary member of Colwood in 1919. The letter Macan received from the secretary of Colwood let him know that they had the "pleasure in informing you that at a meeting of the Committee of this Club held this day you were appointed an Honorary Member of the Club and the Committee trust you may have many enjoyable games at Colwood."¹⁰⁸ Honorary membership was a rare occurrence at this time, as there were few honorary members at Colwood, most of them being wealthy men or politicians from British Columbia.¹⁰⁹ Similar to lady members, honorary members were limited in their membership privileges. They could not hold office and they could not vote in the election of members. The privileged membership category consisted of officers of the Canadian army, navy, militia, and officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police stationed in Victoria who wished to join the Club. Men who were not officers in these respective forces were not allowed to apply for this category of membership. Privileged members did not have to pay an entrance fee, but were required to "pay the annual subscription of ordinary members together with the building assessment of \$25.00."¹¹⁰ They, too, had the same limitations of associate and honorary members. These two positions, honorary and privileged, were conferred as a sign of respect to those that the Club deemed to be influential in Victoria and would reflect well on the Club's image and standing in Victoria.

¹⁰⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 3, Letter from the Secretary to A. V. Macan, 22 October 1919.

¹⁰⁹ Another example of an honorary member was Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia Walter Cameron Nichol, who became an honorary member in 1921. BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 9, Letter from the Secretary to C.P. Schwengers, 16 March 1921.

¹¹⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922. Subscription was another way of saying yearly dues for members. I will use the term dues when discussing these fees, but the sources sometime use subscription as well.

The final category of membership was junior membership, which simply included “the sons and daughters between the ages of twelve and eighteen years of ordinary and lady members.”¹¹¹ Junior members were only allowed to play on the course at the discretion of the directors, and if they proved they had the proper level of skill in golf to the Club’s professional golfer. Junior members were not allowed to play on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, or competition days, they were not allowed in the clubhouse, and had no privileges of any other membership category. Accordingly, “the respective parents or guardians shall be held responsible for their good conduct and for any damage which may be ascribable to them.”¹¹² Basically, junior members could play the golf course with their parents, without having any of the other privileges of the Club. Those under the age of eighteen and not a child of a current member were not allowed to play on the course.

Between the years of 1913 to 1934 any applicant for these membership categories that was accepted and paid the entrance fee (when necessary), were then required to pay different yearly dues. These were paid quarterly for each year that a golfer was a member of the Club. Ordinary members had to pay \$15.00 per quarter. Lady members had to pay \$6.25 per quarter. For associate members, men had to pay \$7.50 per quarter, while women had to pay \$3.75 per quarter. For non-resident members, men paid \$6.25 per quarter and women paid \$3.75 per quarter. Absentee members paid \$5.00 per half-year they were away from Victoria. For privileged members, they were required to pay \$15.00 per quarter. Lastly, as previously stated, honorary members were not required to pay yearly dues. These different yearly due divisions for the membership categories, along with their privileges, limitations, and entrance fees, show a clear hierarchy of memberships within the Colwood Golf and Country Club.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid. Junior members only had to pay \$5.00 a year to play golf on the course.

These types of memberships remained mostly the same throughout the 1910s and 1920s, and were only modified slightly through votes taken at general meetings. An example of this was in 1924, when at a general meeting the Club decided that anyone within an expanded 20 mile radius of Victoria would not be able to apply for non-residency memberships. Not only did this force more people to apply for one of the other (more expensive) memberships, but the Club also voted to raise the annual dues for all members at the same meeting.¹¹³ These types of votes occurred annually at the Club's general meetings and, by 1930, the types of memberships available had not changed in titles and privileges, but had slightly increased in yearly dues and entrance fees. By 1930, the Club's membership types included the familiar "ordinary members, lady members, associate members, honorary members, non-resident members, privileged members, and absentee members."¹¹⁴ In the seventeen years since the Club opened, little had changed in the types of members and their privileges.

To obtain one of these memberships, all applicants interested in joining the Club had to complete the Proposal for Membership form. Applicants were required to provide their full name, address, date, signature, and the type of entrance fee they would pay. This had class implications, as the candidate had to have the ability to read and write, hold a permanent address, and pay a substantial entrance fee. The one-time entrance fee depended on the type of membership the candidate was applying for. For male 'ordinary members' the entrance fee was either \$125.00 or an investment of \$500.00 into the Colwood Land Company for one share in the

¹¹³ "Colwood Golf Club Members Decide on Important Changes: Resolutions Adopted With Idea of Increasing Membership and Developing Country Club Features at Famous Links – Former Privileges of Non-Members Will Be Curtailed," *Daily Colonist*, April 20, 1923, 12. The club also decided that those who played as a guest through the payment of green fees would have even less "privileges" available to them, as a way to get more people interested in acquiring a full membership.

¹¹⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 12, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1931.

company, which was a significant sum of money in this period.¹¹⁵ These conditions, as defined in the Proposal for Membership form, were an obvious way in which those in charge of the Colwood Club could make sure that only people of similar stature and wealth could become members. These features also helped legitimize the public standing of the members already within the Club by having a social space in which they could exhibit their wealth as well as their place within the community, which was the case throughout many parts of Canada concerning sporting clubs, not just golf clubs.¹¹⁶

The final section of the Proposal for Membership required that applicants be proposed and seconded by current members of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. As such, the applicant had to know at least two current members of the Club well enough that the members could vouch for the candidate, as they had to be “personally acquainted with him or her.”¹¹⁷ A current member’s status at the Club could be compromised if the applicant was accepted and did not behave in acceptable ways. All membership proposals were put forth before the directors of the Club and the ordinary members at the general meetings, and the two current members had to voice their support publically for the applicant before it was put to the vote. Their names, both in print and in speech, would be forever linked to the new member. This requirement was yet another tool to make sure that those who wanted to become members were of acceptable social standing and were part of the same networks of friends and associates as those already at the Club. All potential members of the Colwood golf club had to go through this process if they

¹¹⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922. Using the Bank of Canada’s inflation calculator, the \$500.00 entrance fee with the purchase of a stock for ordinary members would cost \$6,931.58 in 2018. The yearly dues for ordinary members, paid once a quarter, would be \$207.95 in 2018. To get another idea of how much money this was at the time, the average worker at Colwood, such as the waitresses at the clubhouse, earned between ten to sixteen dollars per week in 1919, not nearly enough to become a member. <https://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/>

¹¹⁶ Don Morrow and Kevin Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*.

¹¹⁷ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 12, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1931.

wanted to join. There were rare exceptions to this process, however, such as the case of Robert Bone, who was originally a member of the Waverly Country Club in Portland, Oregon, before applying to become a member of the Colwood Golf and Country Club.¹¹⁸ Despite not being from Victoria, he was proposed and seconded by two members of Colwood. That Robert Bone was proposed and seconded would have been due to the fact that he was a respected golfer from an established golf club (the Waverly Club was established in 1896), and would have received references from that club. It is also probable that he would have played a round of golf at some point with members of the Colwood Club before moving to Victoria, as many golfers along the Pacific Northwest coast played in tournaments throughout the region. Despite not being a resident of Victoria before 1917, the year he applied, Bone would have been seen as an acceptable candidate for Colwood due to his membership at an established club elsewhere in the region. Furthermore, he would have been known to the general network of golfers, which would have revealed his standing within society in the eyes of the leadership at Colwood.

The section on the Proposal for Membership form involving a proposer and seconder shows that it was not just wealth that was needed to become a member (and was a barrier for many potential applicants), but that the character of the candidate was an important criterion. The Colwood members, through their procedures, wanted to make sure that they were accepting members that they found suitable for the reputation they desired to create. An exchange between a long time member of Colwood, C. P. Schwengers, and the secretary, R. Genn, reveals the attitude of the Colwood membership. In 1921, C. P. Schwengers wrote a letter to R. Genn about a conversation they had a few days prior, as he was worried about the character of a potential

¹¹⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Proposal For Membership by Robert Bone, 1917. See also BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 12, Letter from the Secretary to Robert Bone, 26 June 1917. In this letter, the Secretary of Colwood asked Mr. Bone to hang up some photos of the 13th, 16th, and 17th holes of the Colwood course at the clubhouse of the Waverly club during their tournament in 1917. This document shows that Bone was living in Portland, and was a member of the Waverly Country Club.

member. He did not think this particular applicant for membership, Mrs. Pocock, should be allowed to join the Colwood Club. Schwengers trusted his own “judgment” in this matter, but said he would be willing to defer to the judgment of the directors if they did allow her to join Colwood; he just wanted to make sure they heard his voice on the matter.¹¹⁹ He concluded his letter by stating “It is pleasing to reflect that there has always been an exceptional degree of harmony amongst the members. I cannot recall an untoward incident of the smallest nature and my object has been to prevent any possibility of this arising.”¹²⁰ Schwengers believed that due to concerns of character he thought were present with Mrs. Pocock, there would be issues with her at Colwood should she be accepted. In his reply letter, R. Genn said that he appreciated “the very kind attitude you have taken in the matter of Mrs. Pocock.”¹²¹ He continues by stating that he was “convinced the lady in question has had a lesson which it is trusted she will profit by and better regulate her actions for the future. As you are aware yours is not the only complaint.”¹²² He concludes his letter by agreeing with Mr. Schwengers, maintaining that, “Harmony amongst the members is a very important asset of the Club which we must guard and do our utmost to retain.”¹²³ As demonstrated in this example, the membership process was also a way of safeguarding the Club from those who were deemed unfit.

Those who made it through this entry process were then required to pay yearly dues to maintain their membership. The amount owed varied depending on the membership type and, as

¹¹⁹BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 9, Letter from C. P. Schwengers to Reginald Genn, 7 January 1921. C. P. Schwengers was a well-respected member of the Colwood Club, who owned many businesses and was also the president of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce for a few years. Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 83.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 9, Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Schwengers, 8 January 1921.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid. Mrs. Pocock became a member of the Colwood Club the same year as the concerns were raised by C. P. Schwengers.

previously mentioned, the most common member type at Colwood was ‘ordinary’ members, which consisted of men who were required to pay \$60.00 per year (paid quarterly). These dues supported the general Club expenses such as fairway and green management, the purchasing of equipment, general upkeep, and the salary of the workers at the golf course. There were also other reasons, not related to the Club’s budget, for which members were required to pay each year, which had to do with the same class ideals that were related to the entrance fees and membership process. The Colwood Club’s by-laws were there to ensure that those accepted were able to maintain a certain social and wealth standard. To accomplish this, the Club had by-laws and forms of public shaming to get people to pay their fees in cases in which they were late in their payments. They even expelled them from the Club and revoked their membership if the fees went unpaid for too long. The by-laws stated that after a month of not paying dues, depending on how much was owed, a member might “not be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of membership until such sums have been paid.”¹²⁴ This section of the by-laws further explains that after three months of failure to pay dues the member may be erased from the club records, at the Secretary’s discretion, which meant that they were effectively removed from the Club and were no longer considered members. Golfers removed in this way would only be considered for membership reinstatement if they paid their dues in full, after which their case would be put before the Club’s directors, who would have the final say whether the individual was allowed to return to the Club. There were various ways in which the Colwood Club reminded its members to pay their dues. The first was through letters sent to all members in advance of the period in which they had to pay, reminding them of how much they owed. This simple letter (which remained the same from 1913 to 1934) read as follows: “Dear Sir or Madam: Your subscription

¹²⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922.

for the ___ ending ___ is now due and payable at the above address.”¹²⁵ Members that were a month late with their dues received a second letter, this time directly from the Secretary, stating they were behind on their dues to the Club. On May 4, 1918, for example, a letter was sent to N. F. Mackay from the secretary of Colwood reminding him that his dues as a member were “considerably in arrear” and that he had to send a cheque for \$75.00 immediately or face the consequences.¹²⁶ Most of the time this was as far as these matters went, as most members paid their dues by this second letter. However, there were other measures the Club often took if it did not receive payment from members.

The next step for the Club’s leadership was referred to as ‘posting,’ which was a form of public shaming. Members who were over a month late on their dues had their names, along with all the others who had not paid, posted on a list in the club house for all to see. The names of the offenders were shown along with how much they owed to the Colwood organization. In a society like Victoria, and specifically a place like a golf club in which status mattered, this would have been embarrassing and represented a loss of social standing among peers. For example, on May 19, 1934, there were nine members who were behind in their payments, and consequently, their names were posted in the clubhouse. Dues owed to Colwood varied, as the lowest amount was from Mrs. Carey Martin who owed \$15.00, and the highest was \$40.00, which E.C. McQuade owed.¹²⁷ Friends and colleagues of these members would have seen these postings, and these types of public shaming would have led to embarrassment and the loss of social status among

¹²⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Subscription Notice, 31 December 1917.

¹²⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from the Secretary to N. F. Mackay, 4 April 1918.

¹²⁷ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Clubhouse Posting for Non-Payment of Dues, 19 May 1934. See also BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 5, Clubhouse Posting for Non-Payment of Dues, 28 May 1935. In this notice, six people were posted for non-payments, and the amounts owed varied from \$25.00 to \$42.50. A possible reason that so many members were behind in their payments in the middle of the 1930s might have to do with the Great Depression, which by this point would have affected much of Vancouver Island.

upper-class individuals, along with the questioning of their character.¹²⁸ The postings at Colwood concluded with a reminder that “Any member in default of one month shall not be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of membership until such sums have been paid.”¹²⁹ Letters were occasionally sent to all members reminding them that those behind on their dues “shall be posted in the Club, and as from that date they shall not be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of membership until such sums have been paid.”¹³⁰ This letter was not only a reminder of the public postings and, thus, shaming, but also of the power that the directors had in maintaining membership exclusivity at the Colwood Club.

The final step of the Colwood Golf and Country Club to discipline members who had not paid their dues was expulsion from the Club. After the public shaming, the Club wrote a letter to the member in question, letting them know that they had a certain amount of time left to pay their dues, or else face harsher penalties. Each case was different in how long it took to reach this point, but most often it was between three to six months of non-payment that members received this letter. One such example was in April 1919, in which the Secretary of the Colwood Club wrote to Ernest Miller about the \$62.50 he owed, saying that he “would like to hear from you by Monday otherwise I am afraid expulsion will follow as a matter of course.”¹³¹ After receiving a letter like this, if a member still did not pay their dues, then they were removed from the Club’s registry and were no longer considered a member. For example, in June 1916, G. H. Allen was told that he was “hereby debarred from exercising any of the privileges of membership until such

¹²⁸ Wray Vamplew, “Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914,” 436.

¹²⁹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Clubhouse Posting for non-Payment of Dues, 19 May 1934. Those who were on the verge of being late also received a letter letting them know they were about to be posted unless they paid their dues. See for example BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 6, Letter from the Secretary to H. P. Heming, 21 July 1920.

¹³⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 7, Letter from the Secretary to All Colwood Members, 3 June 1920.

¹³¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 3, Letter from the Secretary to Ernest Miller, 10 April 1919.

arrears are paid in full,” as he was six months behind on paying his dues.¹³² The wording of these letters was certainly strong, as was the case for Dr. Nelson in March 1921, when told by the Secretary that he had “been instructed by the Committee to notify you that in accordance with the Rules of the Club you are suspended on account of non-payment of dues.”¹³³ The directors of the Club made these decisions, and they were considered to be final. These members were expelled until they paid their dues, and then their case was put before the directors. The directors would then consider if they allowed these members back into the Club. This happened to the aforementioned Dr. Nelson, for which the secretary told him that he was certain that if “you forward me a cheque by return for the enclosed bill that the Committee will reconsider the matter.”¹³⁴ Until Dr. Nelson paid, he was no longer a member at Colwood. This final step, and the overall process of dealing with members who owed money, shows how the club maintained an upper-class and upper middle class membership through its dues and standardized processes for dealing with those who broke the rules.

It is interesting to note that many members of the Colwood Club wanted to remain members despite various difficulties they experienced, such as financial struggle, and most only left the Club if they had to, or as has been shown, were forced to by the organization. Upper-class individuals often joined sporting clubs to fulfill their desire to show their separation from those deemed to be lower on the social ladder and were, therefore, reluctant to leave what they saw as prestigious spaces.¹³⁵ There were, however, a variety of reasons Colwood members left

¹³² BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from the Secretary to G. H. Allen, 30 June 1916. There were even cases of members owing money over a longer period of time. One such example was Dr. J. D. Hunter, a local Victorian, who was two years behind on his yearly dues, and still owed \$20.00 in 1919. BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from the Secretary to Dr. J. D. Hunter, 14 March 1919.

¹³³ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 7, Secretary to Dr. Nelson, 31 March 1921. Suspension was another term they used for the expulsion of members.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ James M. Mayo, “The American Country Club,” 25.

the Club, such as issues with finances. Although many were barred from the membership list through the previously mentioned measures, there were some who chose to leave before it became apparent that they were in financial trouble and before the humiliation of being posted or removed from the Club. These members often wrote short letters stating that they could no longer afford the yearly costs. Any member who wanted to leave the Club had to write to the secretary three months before they wanted to leave, as stated in the by-laws. One such example of financial trouble leading to an exit from the Club was Mr. Hinks in 1916. In a letter to Colwood, Hinks stated that due to his “present state of finances” he and his wife could not remain members of the Club.¹³⁶ Hinks was “extremely sorry to have to take this step as we thoroughly enjoy our games when we are able to get away, but at the present I have no opinion in the matter.”¹³⁷ Mr. Hinks’ regret at leaving was a common feeling amongst those who had to terminate their membership, no matter their reasons. Health concerns were also common reasons for leaving. W. C. Muir in December 1934 told the secretary that “Owing to illness” he would like the secretary to “accept the resignation of myself and Mrs. Muir” from the Club.¹³⁸ He went on to say that “I need hardly state that this action on my part is very much regretted.”¹³⁹ Again, due to the prestige and status a membership offered its members, leaving was often a shameful experience in the minds of those departing.

Nevertheless, some members left the Colwood Club because, despite being a member of a golf club, they never had the chance to play golf. Many of these members stayed for the social status that being a part of the Club afforded, but eventually left. In October 1931, A. Berdick

¹³⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from Mr. Hinks to Mr. Sayward, 8 July 1916.

¹³⁷ Ibid. There were also some who gave no reason for leaving, and simply asked to be removed from the club’s registry. See for example BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from A. Price to the Secretary, 26 March 1918.

¹³⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 2, Letter from W. C. Muir to the Secretary, 18 December 1934.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

wrote to Colwood, indicating that because “I never play golf” the Club was becoming less of a “benefit to me.”¹⁴⁰ He had been a member for many years, yet he had never played golf. A similar sentiment was shared by R. Jenn in 1919, when he wrote “Please take notice that I desire to resign from The Colwood Golf Club as unfortunately I never have the time or opportunity to avail myself of the privileges of the club.”¹⁴¹ Many of these members who did not play golf but wanted to remain a member of the Club chose instead to change their membership type to non-active, to keep the social aspects of the Club available to them at a less expensive yearly cost. One example of this was G. C. Fink, who wrote to the Secretary in 1918 explaining that he wanted to be placed on the non-active list because “I have not played any golf for a very long time and do not expect to in the near future but I do not want to sever my connection with the club.”¹⁴² J. D. Hunter experienced a similar issue in 1917, and wanted to be put on the non-active list because he found “it very difficult to make but very infrequent visits.”¹⁴³ For these members, it seemed a better idea for them to stay at the Club and enjoy the ‘privileges’ of the Club despite not golfing than it did to break their ties with such an influential group of people.

It was the leadership of the Colwood Golf and Country Club that dictated and enforced these previously mentioned rules, by-laws, privileges, and membership types, which leads one to consider who were the people in charge and how did they obtain these positions of powers? For an unchanging and mostly conformist golf club in this period, such as Colwood, it was a

¹⁴⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder, 12, Letter from A. Berdick to the Colwood Golf & Country Club, 5 October 1931. It is stated by the Royal Colwood Golf Club’s official website that James Dunsmuir, despite being a founding member of the club and part of it till his death, never once played a round of golf. My own research into the archives seems to support this statement, as he is never once mentioned in any of the club’s tournament proceedings. Other founding members, such as J. A. Sayward, often took part in the tournaments at Colwood.

¹⁴¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 1, Letter from R. Jenn to the Secretary, 7 December 1919.

¹⁴² BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from G. C. Fink to R. Genn, 30 March 1918.

¹⁴³ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from J. D. Hunter to Colwood Golf and Country Club, 15 March 1917.

continuous and influential group of men that remained in charge of the Club and acted as directors of the Club. These men were elected each year at the Club's Annual General Meetings, for a term of one year for each position. There were no limits on how many terms one could serve in these positions, except for Club Captain, which did not allow individuals to run for consecutive terms, though they could apply every second year. The positions voted upon included the President, Captain, Secretary, and the ten Directors (also known collectively as the Committee). Each position had to be proposed and seconded by a current ordinary member of the Club. The President was in charge of the Club and the daily running of the organization, although he also performed much of the ceremonial acts of the Club, such as handing out medals in competitions and representing the Club at other golf tournaments and gatherings. The Captain was in charge of representing the Club at inter-club matches and tournaments, while also being in charge of the Club's roster of players at these types of events. The Secretary was responsible for much of the bureaucratic work (as can be seen through much of this section) and the daily running of the Club. He had to keep "full and correct minutes of all proceedings of the Society" while he also made the annual balance sheets.¹⁴⁴ Lastly, there were the Directors, who were part of the upper echelon and acted as a board of directors for the Club. They held higher voting powers, and were a part of the group that made changes to the Club's by-laws and voted on the acceptance of new members. They could also borrow and spend funds for the Club's benefit. All these positions held quite a lot of power at the Club, and they could only be filled by men who held ordinary membership, per the Club's by-laws, and at least seven of the Directors had to

¹⁴⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922. It is interesting to note that the secretary was the only position that was not allowed to play at the links of Colwood. This was to keep an outside influence within the role of Secretary and allow them to perform their duties.

have at least two shares in the Colwood Land Company. These men also had the power to expel any member from the Club, for which no appeal was allowed.¹⁴⁵

Similar to the process of applying for membership, those who were interested in applying for one of these positions required a proposer and seconder. Also comparable to the membership process, this required the applicant to not only know other members well, but to have them support their bid for one of these positions and have their names attached to the applicant in a public forum (the Annual General Meetings). What is important to note here is that not only were these positions often filled by mostly the same men in the period of study, but that they almost exclusively proposed and seconded each other every time. In each ‘Nomination for Directors’ form I examined, the men who were applying for these positions proposed and seconded each other. Take the nomination form for the term of 1934 to 1935 as an example.¹⁴⁶ There was only one applicant for each position, and each candidate was proposed and seconded by the same two members. J. H. Richardson, who was nominated for Captain, and T. S. McPherson who was nominated for one of the Director positions, proposed and seconded every applicant for each of the other positions. These two individuals even proposed each other, and got another member named L. S. Rines to second their nominations (since they could not second themselves), revealing that there was an established group of men who customarily filled the positions of importance at the Club.

¹⁴⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 12, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1930. The exact wording was: “The Directors at a meeting at which not less than six are present, have absolute power to expel any member by a vote of the majority, without assigning any reason for their so doing, and no appeal whatever shall lie from their determination, nor shall any such member have any claim or remedy whatever against the Society or Directors. The Directors may nevertheless reconsider their determination upon being desired so to do by requisition signed by not less than twenty members.”

¹⁴⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Nomination for Directors Form, 1934.

The election process for these positions took place at the Annual General Meetings, which is also where much of the leadership's business took place. Every year, members with voting privileges were reminded of these yearly meetings through notices sent to their home addresses. These meetings took place at the professional offices of J. A. Sayward throughout his lifetime, and at these meetings they voted and elected men for all of these positions. At these meetings, they also conducted the general business of the Club. Any changes to the by-laws that the directors made were put into writing. Ordinary members also had the privilege of putting forth their own motions for rule changes, given they provided thirty days' notice to the Directors. The membership then voted on these motions, requiring three quarters in favour of the motion to repeal, replace, or modify a rule. At these meetings they also voted on allowing new members into the Club, evaluated and analysed the Club's balances, finances, and the annual report, set the dates for important events such as tournaments, and gave thanks to individuals for their efforts throughout the year.

Further analysis of the roles certain individuals played and how long they held positions at Colwood underscores the point that it was a continuous group of men in charge throughout the years. A news article published in the *Victorian Daily Colonist* in 1930 reports the anticipated re-election of J. A. Sayward as President of Colwood, who was one of the Club's founders. "J. A. Sayward was elected for the eighteenth successive term as president of Colwood Golf and Country Club" at the Club's annual election.¹⁴⁷ The newspaper then stated that "Mr. Sayward's nomination was unopposed and his return to the office was greeted with hearty applause by those present."¹⁴⁸ As highlighted in the previous chapter, Sayward was President of the Club from its

¹⁴⁷ "J. A. SAYWARD AGAIN HEADS COLWOOD CLUB: Elected President for Eighteenth Consecutive Term at Annual Meeting – Directors Chosen," *Daily Colonist*, May 22, 1930, 16.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

founding in 1913 until his death in 1934. As we also saw with his background and wealth, he was very much part of Victoria's upper class. He was the type of individual the Club wanted within its membership, not just because of his place in society but also because of his perceived character values. Another article in *The Daily Colonist* went to great lengths to let the readers know the impact Sayward had on the Club: "The institution of the Colwood Golf and Country Club owes a great deal to him personally, and its character – it is one of the best among golf courses of the country – is largely due to his painstaking efforts" and his "strength of character."¹⁴⁹ Sayward was seen as a pillar of the community and one of the people who had improved the image and quality of Victoria, and was the type of influential male that Colwood wanted within its distinguished community. Other positions at the Club were also often filled by the same individuals for large periods of time. For example, the position Secretary of the Colwood Club was filled by Reginald Genn, an accountant and auditor, every year between 1913 and 1934. The directors and committee members rarely changed significantly year to year, and were often filled by many of the first shareholders and members of the Club. An example of this was when between the years of 1920 to 1924, only three of the directors changed, while the remaining directors were all re-elected each year. Percy Criddle, who was elected the Club's Captain in 1920, was also elected to other positions, such as a director, in the years after 1921.¹⁵⁰ It was generally the same group of men who were in charge of the Colwood Club, even as they shuffled which positions they occupied.

By examining these different aspects of the institutional side of the Colwood Golf Club, we can see how the Club not only wanted to control its membership and who played the course,

¹⁴⁹ "THE LATE MR. J.A. SAYWARD," *Daily Colonist*, January 31, 1934, 4.

¹⁵⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 10, Colwood Golf and Country Club Annual Report 1920-1921, 1921.

but the physical space of the Club. To produce the social and cultural landscape they wished to create, the Club not only excluded people through the previously shown methods but also limited the general public's access to the golf course and clubhouse. Unlike many golf clubs in this period, which commonly leased land from local landowners (usually farmers), the Colwood Golf Club bought the land they built their course on, through the Colwood Land Company.¹⁵¹ As shown in Chapter II, the Company was mostly owned by J. A. Sayward and James Dunsmuir, which they established to not only buy the land needed to build the course, but also to manage the Club itself, including all payments needed to recoup the money they spent on the land transaction. By owning the land that the course and clubhouse was built on, the Club was able to fully dictate who could access their spaces.

Access to the golf course itself was essentially limited to members of the course. Even those who were members did not always have full access to the eighteen holes, as previously mentioned, with respect to the different membership privileges. The Club often held golf tournaments for its members, in which only current members who paid an entry fee for the tournament (often one to two dollars) were allowed to play. These members' only tournaments were often held near certain holidays or times of celebration, such as Christmas or Easter.¹⁵² These exclusive tournaments often ended with prizes awarded for various categories of winners and a dinner held for all members at the clubhouse. Colwood also hosted inter-club tournaments, ranging in scale from small group games versus local British Columbia clubs, such as the Victoria Golf Club, or larger multi-club tournaments, such as when Colwood hosted the Pacific Northwest Associations' tournament multiple times. These larger tournaments consisted of

¹⁵¹ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 22.

¹⁵² One example of this was in 1921, when Colwood held a weekend long tournament for its members over the Easter holidays, for which it cost its members one dollar to join. The article that describes this event stated that the links "will be in excellent shape to stage the event," which was to be expected for any important tournament at Colwood. "COLWOOD GOLF NOTES," *Daily Colonist*, March 12, 1921, 10.

dozens of clubs and hundreds of their members along with the members of Colwood, which meant that only those who were a part of the golfing networks of British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest had access to Colwood during these tournaments. They would have been members of other private clubs in these regions, and many would have been known to the Colwood Club.

One of the only other ways a non-member of Colwood could play the course was during the infrequent guest-days that the Club hosted. These guest days, which seemed to happen no more than once every few months, allowed members to invite their friends to play the course. One example of this was on Thursday, August 3rd 1933, when the Club hosted a guest day in which “members may bring a guest” to play a round, which would be followed by “supper, dancing, and bridge.”¹⁵³ These guests were required to pay a small fee to play and to enjoy the ensuing festivities. These guest days may have seemed open to the general public, but to play the course during one of these days required a non-member to know a current member well enough to have them invite them to the Club. Therefore, the non-members who played on these guest days would have been a part of the social network of the upper class members of Colwood. This meant that even on the few days of the year in which the Club opened its course to non-members, not everyone in Victoria was welcome to enjoy a round of golf.

Because Colwood was a private course, the leadership of the Club tried to control access to the grounds. They only allowed certain people other than members access to the course, as demonstrated in this chapter. The Club also dealt swiftly with any trespassers on the course. Whenever they believed people had trespassed on their course, they immediately wrote to either the local police or the local government. For example, on May 17, 1934, it was found out that

¹⁵³ “Colwood Golf Club To Hold Guest Day,” *Daily Colonist*, July 23, 1933, 15.

young boys had been sneaking onto the course. The secretary of the Club wrote to the superintendent of the provincial police to ask the police deal with the issue. He started his letter by stating, “We are under considerable annoyance from small boys trespassing on the Course, bathing in the water at the 4th tee and stealing the towels from the tee boxes, particularly at the 4th, 5th and 13th greens.”¹⁵⁴ The secretary went on to say that “It is not our desire to prosecute these youngsters on the first offence as we are of the opinion that a reprimand and a few well-chosen words from a member of the force as to their future behaviour would result in the desired effect.”¹⁵⁵ For the secretary, it was more important that the boys stop trespassing on the course and that they stop stealing their property, than it was to prosecute the boys.

The clubhouse itself was also firmly controlled by the Club. The general public was not allowed into the clubhouse, nor were the majority of the events that it hosted open to non-members. On June 18, 1934, Rhoda Clark learnt about the exclusive nature of the clubhouse when she wrote to the Secretary of Colwood asking if she and her organization, The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and Children of the Empire (Junior Branch), could use the clubhouse for their annual dance.¹⁵⁶ The Secretary’s response was short and to the point, saying Clark could not host her annual dance at Colwood. “Replying to yours of the 12th instant, the Club House is not for rent to the Public for dances or other social events. Members have the privilege of entertaining either dance or dinner for which we make a flat charge for the use of the Club House, in addition to which the member pays all other expenses.”¹⁵⁷ These rules of

¹⁵⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Letter from the Secretary to the Superintendent of Provincial Police, 17 May 1934.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. In their response, the police superintendent said that his police force would keep an eye out for the boys on future patrols, and that in any future trespassing incidents the police would respond immediately.

¹⁵⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Letter from the Secretary to F. Richardson, 12 June 1934. Clark also wanted to know if the club catered, which they did not.

¹⁵⁷ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Letter from the Secretary to Miss Rhoda Clark, 18 June 1934.

clubhouse usage were within the Club's by-laws, and were always adhered to, which meant that the clubhouse was only used by Club members for social reasons, before and after rounds of golf, and for their own events. Colwood hosted many events for its membership, including dances, tea hours, dinners, game nights (especially mah-jong), and to host dignitaries. Most of these events were only open to members, and often required the purchase of a ticket to partake in the event, which were regularly limited in the number of tickets sold to keep the events restricted.¹⁵⁸

As this chapter demonstrates, the Colwood Golf and Country Club established and maintained itself as an exclusive club and space through its institutional practices and rules. The Club did this through its by-laws, rules for entry, membership types, dues, leadership, and through the control of the physical spaces at Colwood. The Club maintained itself as an exclusive social space in both formal and informal ways, similar to many golf clubs in this period.¹⁵⁹ My main argument has been that this was, at its core, a private golf club established to serve the needs of the upper classes of Victoria in relation to their desires for social status and leisure through the exclusion of others. The Club did this through its organization and institutional practices. The next chapter will explore how this restricted group of influential people understood some of their own values, through the exploration of class and gender, along with a brief examination of race and religion.

¹⁵⁸ See for example "FLANNEL DANCE AT COLWOOD GOLF CLUB TAKES PLACE TONIGHT," *Daily Colonist*, August 24, 1923, 8. The Club hosted a flannel dance for its members and only sold a certain amount of tickets to keep demand high. The Club's Committee even decided to prolong the hours of the dance, allowing it to take place till 2:00 in the morning. It is also interesting to note that the Club rarely made a profit from these events, as they seemed to have been held for social reasons, rather than for economic reasons.

¹⁵⁹ Wray Vamplew, "Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914" 438.

Chapter IV: Creating a Restricted and Ordered Landscape: Class and Gender at the Colwood Club

British Columbia in the twentieth century had persistent and fundamental inequities based on class, gender, and race.¹⁶⁰ The Colwood Club, as an elite social institution in Victoria, had many of these inequities. The Club had inequalities and cultural views based on class, gender, religion, and race. As shown in Chapter III, Colwood was a purposely limited community of upper class men and women who excluded others based on wealth and character, among other reasons. However, these were not the only ways in which Club members differentiated themselves from people they saw as holding lower positions on the social ladder and within the cultural sphere. Nor was this the only prism through which members understood their surroundings and interacted with other members of the Club. This chapter will explore a few select ways in which those at Colwood understood class and gender. The following analyses are by no means the only ways in which Colwood members understood their surroundings and their membership within the Club. The analyses I have chosen, however, are some of the most significant ways of understanding the exclusive space that Colwood members envisioned and ultimately enforced. The majority of the years covered in this chapter are from the Colwood Golf and Country Club's founding in 1913 till the mid-1930s.

This chapter is divided into two sections, which delve into analyses of class and gender at Colwood. These are the two predominant lenses of analyses that I have chosen due to the research I conducted and the archival sources that were consulted. Before examining these themes, however, I will briefly discuss the racial and religious makeup of the Colwood Golf and Country Club and the ways the Club omitted people based on these two categories, as these

¹⁶⁰ Veronica Strong-Boag, "Chapter 9: Society in the Twentieth Century," in Hugh Johnston, ed. *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993): 273. Veronica Strong-Boag points out that these inequalities and structural inequities remain present in British Columbia.

categories were relevant to how the Colwood Club built an exclusive sporting domain. One of the main reasons this is not a larger section of my study is because the rules and by-laws at Colwood never outright excluded people based on race or religion, nor were these topics directly broached in the primary sources I examined, such as in the daily correspondence between the Club and its members. Race and religion did not appear to be of primary concern to club leaders and members, which is likely due to the fact that they almost never had to deal with individuals who differed from them in these two categories in an elite settler space such as Colwood. Nevertheless, it is important to discuss why the Colwood Club was a space in which its members were entirely white, and often of Protestant background, as was the case at the majority of sporting clubs in British Columbia.¹⁶¹

When using race as a historical concept, one useful way of understanding race is as a social and cultural construction in which individuals attempt to rationalize distinct, separate, and exclusive divisions within an inegalitarian society.¹⁶² This is a useful definition for understanding how race operated within an inegalitarian sporting culture, and thus sporting clubs in the early 1900s, as race was used as a rationalization for the exclusion of many individuals who fell outside the category of White. Colwood, like the majority of sporting clubs in British Columbia at this time, was an institution which excluded people based on racial categories. Many sporting clubs in the eastern part of North America banned individuals through rules and by-laws based on racial categories, keeping their memberships White and upper-class. The Colwood Golf and Country Club did not outright exclude racial minorities through their rules and by-laws; however, Colwood was still a sporting club whose membership and leadership were

¹⁶¹ Pearlann Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise: Making Canada's Mountain Parks, 1906-1974* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2014): 34.

¹⁶² S. W. Pope, "Chapter 7: Decentering "Race" and (Re)presenting "Black"" in Murray G. Phillips, ed., *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006): 151.

predominantly White and of British origins.¹⁶³ Similar to many other forms of upper-class leisure and entertainment in British Columbia in the early 1900s, such as cricket, rowing, and the theatre, marginalized peoples, including Indigenous, Asian, and Black peoples, were excluded from participating not just based on their class background but on their race as well.¹⁶⁴

Through informal measures, such as having a high entrance fee and the need to know two current members at the Club when applying for a membership (as analysed in Chapter III), Colwood was able to keep its membership predominantly White and upper-class, and exclude those that fell outside these categories. Racial minorities were not amongst the membership or leadership at Colwood, but this does not mean they were fully excluded from the Club's space, as they still filled certain roles. During the construction of the course itself in 1913, Chinese labourers were used to clear certain stretches of land and to build many parts of the course.¹⁶⁵ They were used for their labour because James Dunsmuir had employed them many times before in his coal mining business, and they provided him a cheap workforce. There was also a Chinese gardener at the Colwood in the first years of the Club, whose job would have included landscaping work at both the clubhouse and on the course. Certain racial minorities would have been used as caddies by Colwood members at certain American events, which was a common trend at the majority of upper class golf clubs throughout the early to mid-20th century in North

¹⁶³ By analysing the Club's membership lists, the families involved with Colwood, the correspondence between the Club and its members, and by looking at photographs of Club events and members, I argue that the Club was a fully white space. This is backed by secondary literature, which has shown that upper-class sporting clubs' memberships in British Columbia were almost always exclusively white in the early 1900s. For further readings on the racist views and exclusivity present within British Columbia's leisure clubs, see Pearlann Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise*; Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West*; and Peter Baskerville, *Beyond the Island*.

¹⁶⁴ Peter Baskerville, *Beyond the Island*, 37. If these racial minorities were present within these upper-class spaces, it was usually because they were used for their labour. Certain lower-class venues in Victoria, such as smaller theaters with very inexpensive seats, allowed some minorities to attend.

¹⁶⁵ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 13. Those who worked for the Colwood Club were told not to fraternize with members, while members were instructed in the by-laws not to "give any money fee or gratuity to any servants of the Society." BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922.

America.¹⁶⁶ This would have been extremely likely at any of the larger tournaments that Colwood members attended in the United States or for any of the Pacific Northwest Golf Association tournaments that Colwood hosted. As seen from these examples of racial minorities' involvement with the Club, their access to the Club was limited, as they were used almost exclusively for their labour, and were not considered to be full members of Colwood. By excluding racial minorities from the membership and leadership of the Club as well, Colwood reflected the racist attitudes and power structures present within Victoria's settler society.¹⁶⁷

Religion is another category through which the exclusive nature of the Colwood Golf and Country Club can be understood, as the majority of members at Colwood were Protestant. But Victoria, much like the rest of British Columbia, was a less religious place than the rest of Canada. The upper-class population of Victoria would have been less likely to describe themselves as overtly religious (or Christian), or to attend church regularly.¹⁶⁸ The upper-class membership at Colwood followed this trend, and should, therefore, be understood as mostly irreligious, a term historian Lynne Marks has used to describe the type of beliefs and activities that showed indifference towards religion. According to Marks, irreligious individuals had religious upbringings and backgrounds; however, they rarely attended organized religious

¹⁶⁶ Marvin P. Dawkins, "Race Relations and the Sport of Golf: The African American Golf Legacy," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 28 (2004): 328. African Americans' primary involvement in upper-class golfing domains in America between 1920 and 1950 was through caddying for white members at private clubs and at tournaments.

¹⁶⁷ It is important to note how infrequently racial minorities were mentioned in the archival sources, which were predominantly produced by white male members who were in leadership positions at Colwood. There were extremely infrequent mentions of certain minorities, such as Chinese peoples, despite the fact that they worked for the course. Other minorities, such as Indigenous peoples, were never mentioned or discussed by the Club's leadership and membership. This reflects the type of space that the Club wished to create, in which its membership shared similar backgrounds, ideologies, and social statuses. For further reading on the class and race based structures that existed on Vancouver Island, see Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West*. For further ideas about how racism can become part of the common discourse and status domination, see Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).

¹⁶⁸ Lynne Marks, *Infidels and the Damn Churches: Irreligion and Religion in Settler British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017): 4.

events.¹⁶⁹ Many upper-class members of Colwood would still have had cultural links to their Protestant churches, due to their desire to be seen as respectable individuals and to be well-regarded within upper-class society.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, despite being of Protestant background, members at Colwood were not particularly religious or likely to participate in religious events, yet retained cultural links to organized religions.

Many of the actions of Colwood members can be seen as irreligious in nature, as the Club itself was an irreligious sporting space. Sporting clubs in the early 1900s became spaces in which individuals could socialize outside of churches and their homes, even during periods in which religious events took place.¹⁷¹ Colwood members played rounds of golf every Sunday of the golfing season, on a day that was still seen by many in the early 1900s as a day for church service.¹⁷² The Colwood Club even hosted golf tournaments and events during Easter holidays each year. In Victoria, playing sports on Sundays and during religious holidays was culturally and legally acceptable. However, in Eastern Canada, it was still seen as a cultural and legal issue, where the state and church expected those of Protestant faith to observe religious services and

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 7. It is important to note that established religion, such as Protestantism, held considerable social and cultural power in British Columbia, and still influenced upper-class individuals. Marks also uses the term “fuzzy fidelity” to describe the type of attitudes many individuals had towards religion in British Columbia, which meant that individuals were often a member of an established religion but rarely attended church or believed in all religious practices and customs, such as Sunday service.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 150. By looking through the Colwood Club’s membership lists, researching which churches members were linked to, and substantiating my primary source research with secondary sources about the role of religion within upper-class sports in Canada, I argue that the majority of the Club’s membership belonged to Protestant churches. For example, J. A. Sayward was a member of the Christ Church Cathedral, where his funeral service was held in 1934, and was involved with various religious charities, such as the Protestant Orphanage. Other Colwood members belonged to local Victoria Protestant churches, such as the Oak Bay United Church, the Victoria West United Church, and the Metropolitan United Church.

¹⁷¹ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 15. Sporting clubs became new spaces in the late 1800s for upper-class individuals to demonstrate their relative prosperity, as they had done in church in earlier decades.

¹⁷² Lynne Marks, *Infidels and the Damn Churches*, 140. Clergymen in British Columbia struggled to have any types of laws or by-laws passed to restrict Sunday work and recreation. A significant number of those who did attend Sunday church services were working class. An example of the attempts to get individuals to attend church happened in 1915, when one priest begged the citizens of Victoria to attend a church service to support those who were serving in World War One through prayer. He appealed to his “golfing friends” and those who were “in the habit, commonly, of spending the day in exercise of sport” to attend. “INTERCESSION SERVICE,” *Daily Colonist*, January 3, 1915, 4.

rituals on these days. Certain activities were prohibited by the threat of fines, such as sports, games, hunting, fishing, and drinking on the Sabbath.¹⁷³ Even into the late 1800s and early 1900s, it was a finable offence to participate in sports on Sunday in Ontario. In 1895, for example, four male golfers at the Toronto Golf Club were fined \$5.00 each for playing on the Sabbath.¹⁷⁴ As far as I can ascertain, no such laws or fines were present within Victoria during the early years of the Colwood Club, and was one reason for which Sundays were a popular day to play golf at the Club, thus reflecting the irreligious nature of those at Colwood.

Despite the irreligious nature of the Colwood Golf and Country Club and its members, individuals from other religious backgrounds were not necessarily welcome at the Colwood Golf and Country Club. Although other Christians, such as Catholics, were welcome and present at the Club, Jews were not present at the Colwood Club. Jews throughout North America and in Britain faced significant levels of discrimination within the sport of golf and at golf clubs. Many golf clubs formally banned Jews from joining their clubs in their rules, while other clubs excluded them informally.¹⁷⁵ Colwood was a Club that omitted Jews, and those of other non-Christian religions, through informal measures, much as it did with racial exclusion. As analyzed in Chapter III, the vetting process for memberships, the need to know two current members when applying, and the voting process for allowing proposed members into the Club, would have safeguarded Colwood from those of not only differing class structures but also of differing religious backgrounds. Even when the Club actively sought new members in the middle of the

¹⁷³ Don Morrow and Kevin B. Wamsley, *Sport in Canada*, 30. It was, however, difficult to enforce these fines on individuals that did not observe the Sabbath as state officials intended, especially in Quebec, where it was common to drink or go hunting after Sunday services for French-Canadians. In England, by 1913 only 40% of golf clubs allowed Sunday play, thus making Victoria a unique case in both Canada and in England. For more on Sunday recreation in Britain, see John Lowerson, "Chapter 6 'Golf,'" in Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain*, 190.

¹⁷⁴ "TORONTO TOPICS: Money By-Laws Voted Down – The "Mall and Empire" on Budget Debate – Greenway to Make a Statement." *Daily Colonist*, June 4, 1895, 1.

¹⁷⁵ David Dee, "'There is no discrimination here, but the Committee never elects Jews': Antisemitism in British Golf, 1894-1970." *Patterns of Prejudice* 47 (2013): 119.

1930s due to financial issues and invited ministers and religious leaders from the various local Protestant churches, the leaders of other religious communities in Victoria, such as Jews, were not invited.¹⁷⁶ Jews were not invited, despite the fact that they had a long history in Victoria and had been a part of the middle-class culture of Victoria since the 1860s.¹⁷⁷ As will be analyzed throughout the rest of this chapter, religious and racial marginalization were but two forms of exclusion that took place at the Colwood Golf and Country Club, and were one aspect of the cultural norms that were observed and enforced at the Club.

“He is courteous, obliging, sober, industrious and a good exponent of Golf”: Class Ideals at Colwood

As discussed in Chapter III, the class dynamics at the Colwood Golf and Country Club were an aspect of the analysis of the institutional and exclusionary aspects of the Club, demonstrating how wealth, character, and knowing the right people were key to the process of joining the Club and remaining within its membership. This section further considers other aspects of class at the Club, as the notions of free time, respectability, character, and social differentiation that were prevalent at Colwood will be explored. I analyze these qualities to demonstrate how class can be seen as a set of created ideals, values, and exclusionary practices rather than as a fixed group of

¹⁷⁶ Due to the death of the Club’s leading figure, J. A. Sayward, in 1934, and the economic downturn due to the Great Depression, the Colwood Club began to struggle financially and began to lose members. One way the Club’s leadership attempted to combat their economic issues was to invite ministers from various Protestant churches to become members of the Club, waiving their entrance fee and having them only pay yearly dues. This occurred from 1934 to 1935. No Jewish or Catholic ministers were invited to join the Club, nor were any other religious or spiritual groups.

¹⁷⁷ Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992): 86. The first synagogue in Victoria was built in 1863, within five years of the city’s first Jews arriving, and many more came in the following years due to the gold rush. The majority of Jews in Victoria were middle class citizens by the early 1900s, and most likely would not have been able to afford the costs of being a member at Colwood, another informal factor which would have excluded them.

people whose only links to each other were through wealth.¹⁷⁸ By analysing these aspects of class, I aim to show how these aspects were as much about promoting certain ideals as they were about excluding individuals who did not conform, or could not afford to conform to them.

I start this section by discussing the availability of free time and the ability to access leisure sites, because these concepts are important to understanding the creation of leisure spaces in which exclusionary practices took place. To be able to play golf and enjoy the various privileges of membership, a Colwood member would have had some amount of disposable time. At the time of the Club's founding, the middle and upper-classes in not only Victoria but much of North America had more time available to them in which they could choose which activities they wished to partake in than in previous decades. These free-time choices were made outside of individuals' occupations and economic demands. A high income or a certain amount of wealth was necessary to have greater amounts of free time to spend as one wished. Different ways of filling this new spare time became abundant, and starting around the 1870s physical activity, recreation, and sports grew exponentially as a form of activity to fill spare time.¹⁷⁹ Sporting clubs, and specifically golf clubs, were one such place that many upper-class individuals decided to spend their money and, as importantly, their free time. Members of these clubs not only spent weekends playing golf and socializing, but could increasingly play during weekdays. Members of these golf clubs, such as at Colwood, could even devote multiple days in a row to various tournaments. Members of various clubs played not only in tournaments at their home clubs, but

¹⁷⁸ The idea of understanding class as a process over time within middle and upper class sports in Canada comes from Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Duty*.

¹⁷⁹ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 1. Lowerson states that many of the new attempts at filling spare time became unrelated not only to work, but also religion, education, and domestic life. Alan Metcalfe argues that because individuals choose to pursue certain leisure activities in their free time, these activities reflect the norms and views that they want to pursue, rather than the views they are expected to hold. Individuals that pursue free time activities are therefore acting out their own cultural realities, and showing their basic cultural values. For more on this, see Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*.

they also traveled to other regions and other clubs. In British Columbia, members of sporting clubs could be characterized as mostly educated, urban, and leisured individuals of British ancestry who came largely from the middle and upper middle classes.¹⁸⁰ One of the reasons these various club members were able to spend their leisure time enjoying the privileges of their clubs was due to their professions. Many were bankers, civil servants, doctors, professionals, politicians, and businessmen, which was the case at Colwood. Therefore, it was necessary to be at least of the middle-class to not only get a membership at the Colwood Club (as seen in Chapter III), but it was also necessary to have the time and ability to play golf and enjoy the various events that the Club hosted. As sport historian John Lowerson notes, it took time to complete one round of golf over eighteen holes, which was the standard number of holes on golf courses by the early 20th century. One round of golf over eighteen holes took anywhere from three to four and a half hours in this period, as was the case at Colwood.¹⁸¹ This estimated timeframe did not include the time it took to travel to and from the course, or the time to socialize at the clubhouse before and after a round. The opportunity to play a round of golf was therefore closely related to the class aspects of individuals, for it required not just money but free time to be a member of a club. Holding a membership to a golf club was a way for many members to flaunt their affluence, allowing them to spend their free time in particular ways, display their wealth and status in society, remove themselves from the stresses of work and home, and to differentiate themselves from the lower classes.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Pearlann Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise*, 34.

¹⁸¹ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 129. The beginning of the 20th century is also the period in which the trend of having business negotiations take place over a long round of golf started happening among businessmen who had a club membership. Businessmen often brought their clientele out for a round of golf to impress them or to form stronger bonds with them.

¹⁸² John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 130.

Members at Colwood followed these trends, as they regularly played on weekdays and weekends, and socialized at the clubhouse after rounds and for social events. Many of Colwood's members even traveled regularly throughout the Pacific Northwest and Canada to play at other courses and in other tournaments. It was not uncommon for members to travel to various destinations throughout British Columbia, and even take trips to the Eastern parts of Canada to play at golf courses in cities such as Winnipeg and Toronto. However, the most common places that members visited for golf trips were Vancouver, Seattle, and Portland, which was due to these cities' proximity and that many golf clubs in these cities were also member clubs of the Pacific Northwest Golf Association (PNGA). Colwood members would have been familiar with PNGA clubs and their members. Many clubs along the Pacific Northwest had reciprocal agreements in place that allowed other clubs' members who were visiting to play their course at a significantly reduced rate. Colwood had such arrangements in place with clubs in Victoria, Vancouver, Seattle, and Portland.¹⁸³ Colwood members were also often featured on the rosters for various tournaments in the Pacific Northwest, especially for tournaments held by the PNGA. These tournaments often took place over a weekend or even over the duration of a full week. This participation in tournaments shows that Colwood members were not only active in the golf scene in the Pacific Northwest, but that they had both the time and money to travel to these locations for the sole purpose of leisure, pleasure, competition, and of course, golf.

¹⁸³ This included arrangements with the Victoria Golf Club, Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, Seattle Golf Club, Portland Golf Club, and Waverly Golf Club. For the most part, the agreements that were put in place allowed visiting members to play at the other course for one dollar. All of these clubs were members of the PNGA. These agreements were often made through correspondence. See for example the letter sent to the Seattle Golf Club thanking them for the "concessions" made for Colwood's visiting members. BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 7, Letter from the Secretary to the Secretary of the Seattle Golf Club, 30 March 1918.

The location of the Colwood Golf and Country Club was equally important in the class dynamics of the Club.¹⁸⁴ The course was situated outside the city of Victoria, about fifteen miles from the city center. At the time of its formation, the founders purposely chose a place outside the city limits of Victoria.¹⁸⁵ The founders, especially J. A. Sayward and James Dunsmuir, felt that the Victoria Golf Club was getting too crowded and was too close to the growing city center of Victoria. These were some of the reasons they decided to establish their new club away from the city of Victoria.¹⁸⁶ Once established, the only readily accessible ways to reach the Colwood Club from Victoria was by automobile or train. Therefore, to reach the Club, it required a certain amount of wealth, as members were required to own a car or pay for the train service. I found no complaints about this amongst Colwood members in the record; however, certain visiting golfers remarked on what they saw as a lack of infrastructure to reach the Colwood course. One example of this was a letter written in 1917 by J. Wall, a golfer who visited from Montreal. He wrote to Colwood to thank the Club for the “many courtesies” extended to him during his visit and to say that they had “one of the finest Golf properties on the American Continent.”¹⁸⁷ He stated, however, that “the only handicap” (pun hopefully intended) he saw about the Club was that the “transportation is not as good for the man who does not own a car as it might be.”¹⁸⁸ Wall

¹⁸⁴ Spatial accessibility mattered when it came to the exclusion of individuals that golf clubs did not want. By placing golf courses in certain regions and near centers of power, golf clubs could make their courses inaccessible to certain minorities. Spatial accessibility is still an issue in the present in relation to golf courses. For more on this, see Ronald L. Mitchelson and Michael T. Lazaro, “The Face of the Game: African Americans’ Accessibility to Golf,” *Southeastern Geographer* 44 (May 2004): 48-73. See also John Bale, *Sports Geography* (London: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁸⁵ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 7. Another reason the founders wanted to create a new club was that the municipality of Oak Bay, which was where the Victoria Golf Club was situated and to which many of the founders were members of, was threatening to tax the course at the same property rate as residential property.

¹⁸⁶ It is interesting to note that many golf courses in this period, both in England and North America, were trying to promote their ease of access using the nearness of railway stations and the developed infrastructure nearby as positives of their courses. This was very much contrary to the Colwood Club. For further details on the centrality of many golf courses, see Wray Vamplew, “Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914,” 435.

¹⁸⁷ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from J. Wall to Mr. Sayward, 22 November 1917. Wall was a worker at A. G. Spalding and Bros, a company that the Colwood Club regularly dealt with when they needed certain golf and course materials, such as golf balls or fertilizer.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

believed that a transportation service should be set up to allow members and visitors to reach the course from the city in a more accessible manner. No such service was created, nor debated by the Club, in this period. Wall, a visiting golfer, did not realize that those in charge of the Colwood Club had no interest in enlarging the membership, and that the course had purposely been established away from city limits.¹⁸⁹

Free time and accessibility were only one part of the class organization at the Colwood Golf and Country Club. How people acted and were expected to act were also aspects of the Colwood Club. These class expectations can be traced to ideas revolving around character and respectability. Sport within Canada, even well after Confederation, had a strong and lasting British ethos in relation to the ideals of character and respectability. This British ethos was especially strong in Victoria. To be a part of the upper classes in Victoria, and to be a part of Victoria's sporting clubs, an individual had to have the appropriate cultural education linked to respectability. Respectability in sports meant following the upper-class trends of rationality, honesty, morality, order, and control. It also meant not being rowdy, drunk, or disorderly, which were seen to be emblematic of the working classes.¹⁹⁰ Sports served as one place in which these upper classes norms and ideals could be both developed and disseminated.¹⁹¹ Golf was one such place where class norms were further organized, as it had a set of upper-class values imbued within the code of conduct expected of golfers on the course, at the clubhouse, and even within

¹⁸⁹ Despite Victoria's population growth, which swelled to over 39,000 people by 1931, the Colwood Club never grew much beyond 400 members (in 1931) in the years of this study. Throughout most of the 1920s the membership hovered in the 300s.

¹⁹⁰ Nancy Bouchier, "Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns," 89.

¹⁹¹ Jean Barman, "Sports and the Development of Character," in Morris Mott, ed., *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989): 235. Barman states that sports, especially among youth in Canada, were essentially seen as a space for the cultural transfer of norms through physical activities. This was due to the belief that there was a link between the physical and mental aspects of individuals, especially young men, which could be moulded.

the rules and practices of the sport itself.¹⁹² These values allowed golfers to believe that the sport was a ‘respectable’ pastime in which fair play, character building, self-policing, and good behaviour were necessary and expected.

The Colwood Golf and Country Club expected its members to be respectable and well-mannered while playing golf and during their time at the clubhouse. However, members were not the only individuals whose character traits were seen as important to the harmony of the Colwood Club. Whenever there was an opening for the role of the Club’s professional golfer, the character of potential applicants was always questioned, more so than their expertise in golf.¹⁹³ In 1918 the Club’s professional golfer position became available, and at least a dozen people from various parts of Canada and the United States applied for the job. Willie Black, a professional golfer who became the head professional at the Colwood Club from 1918 till 1923, applied because his older brother, also a professional golfer, encouraged him to do so. Black wrote a letter expressing his interest, and the Colwood Club responded by asking his qualifications and perhaps, more importantly, the type of “character” he had.¹⁹⁴ W. Black responded that he was of good character, and had the references to prove it.¹⁹⁵ J.S. Hamon, who served as one of his references, explained that Black’s work at his golf course over the past two years was “very satisfactory.”¹⁹⁶ Hamon went on to say that Black was “courteous, obliging,

¹⁹² Wray Vamplew, “Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914,” 436.

¹⁹³ Professional golfers, also referred to as head professionals, worked directly for golf clubs and had various roles. They gave lessons to members, sold them golf equipment, fixed their equipment, and generally served the interests of the club’s governing body. Geoffrey Cousins, *Golf in Britain*, 62. This was the role that the Colwood Club’s head professional filed, along with other duties, such as ascertaining whether youth players had the requisite skills to play the course.

¹⁹⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from the Secretary to W. Black, 26 August 1918.

¹⁹⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from W. Black to the Secretary, 19 August 1918.

¹⁹⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter of Reference by J.S. Hamon, 10 September 1918.

sober, industrious and a good exponent of Golf.”¹⁹⁷ Black’s other reference letters were of similar high praise of his character, more so than any other applicants’ references, which may have been a significant factor in Black getting the job at Colwood. As seen in this example, character was an influential factor in the class dynamics at Colwood and for allowing individuals within the ranks of the Club. W. Black was seen as having the proper respectable characteristics, by being sober, respectful, diligent, and a hard worker. His ability to play golf, and his knowledge of the business aspects of being the Club’s professional, were of secondary consideration by the Colwood Golf and Country Club.

As seen in Chapter III, the expectations of having the proper character were built into the formalized nature of becoming a member. Colwood members were expected to not only have the appropriate background and wealth, but also to have proper upper-class cultural values. Honesty, morality, and a good character were qualities a potential applicant was expected to have. When C.P. Schwengers wrote to the secretary of Colwood in 1921 about his concerns of a potential applicant to the Club, Mrs. Pocock, as he believed she had serious character flaws.¹⁹⁸ Schwengers was most likely attacking Mrs. Pocock’s respectability and morality, and he believed she could not coexist with the other members of the Club due to her previous actions. He was not the only member to have complained against her, either. However, in his reply to C. P. Schwengers, the secretary noted that while regrettable, Mrs. Pocock’s actions and demeanour could be changed. The secretary formally stated, “I am convinced the lady in question has had a

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. The wording used in this letter about the applicant’s character was used throughout the period of study when the job of professional became available. In 1934, Don MacInnis applied to be the Club’s professional. He stated he was “steady and temperate” and that he could “furnish excellent references as to character, honesty, and integrity.” BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 7, Letter from Don MacInnis to the Secretary, 25 October 1934.

¹⁹⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 9, Letter from C.P. Schwengers to Reginald Genn, 7 January 1921.

lesson which it is trusted she will profit by and better regulate her actions in the future.”¹⁹⁹ By stating she could change, it can be understood that upper-class norms were individualistic, could be taught and learned, and were not intrinsic to all individuals. This idea of becoming a more complete individual, both physically and mentally through self-improvement, was common in sports throughout the early 1900s, as it was understood that through socialization within the proper environments, an individual’s character could be formed or reformed.²⁰⁰ Sport was one such environment in which upper-class individuals believed that this socialization and learning of cultural norms could happen.²⁰¹

Etiquette, in both actions and language, was therefore important at the Colwood Golf and Country Club, and it was believed it could be further learned.²⁰² The expectations and socialization of upper-class values at Colwood happened not only for members and staff, but for the youth that participated at the Club. The junior members, who were the children of members of the Club, were expected to follow the lead of their parents in their conduct at the course. It was expected that they would behave themselves “with good conduct” while they played the course.²⁰³ Any breaches of protocol, damages to the property, or lack of proper conduct would not only reflect poorly on the children, but also on the parents who would be “held

¹⁹⁹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 9, Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Schwengers, 8 January 1921. There were more constraining cultural norms expected of women at golf courses and in society in general, hence why women, and not men, were exposed to such attitudes and treatment.

²⁰⁰ Nancy Bouchier, “Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns,” 92.

²⁰¹ In British Columbia, sports were seen as legitimate spaces for the socialization of individuals, especially with youth in their formative years at school. Boy only schools often used sports as a way to improve young men both physically and morally, and prepare them for leadership and military roles. Jean Barman, “Sport and the Development of Character,” 236.

²⁰² June Senyard states that etiquette, in both language and manners, was seen as a way to maintain the long traditions of the game of golf, and was a way to separate those who understood and appreciated the traditions and customs from those who did not. This was another way of creating an artificial and cultural superiority over the lower classes. For more on this, see June Senyard, “The Imagined Golf Course.”

²⁰³ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922.

responsible.”²⁰⁴ They were expected to learn from their parents how to properly behave at the Club, and were not allowed in the clubhouse until they were eighteen years of age. If these kids, or other youth, caddied for members, there were even higher expectations placed on them. Those who caddied were expected to be extremely regulated in their actions and to serve the needs of the players. The Colwood Club even purchased a manual in its early years to help develop its caddies, simply titled “Better Caddies,” written by a golfer from Chicago. The goals, as outlined in the manual, were to help golf clubs develop a service of caddies that would train excellent workers while also helping to mentor principled adult men, as many of the caddies were young boys in the formative years of their development. Caddying was seen as a way to mould future adults and future golf club members within the sport itself. One of the prominent statements in the manual was that the handbook helped inject “dignity into caddying, it creates a spirit of competition for good service, it develops good caddies from poor material and makes good caddies better.”²⁰⁵ As can be seen from this statement, and the general aim of this manual, the idea of developing the individual through sport and upper-class values was important to those at the Colwood Club, even if the individual came from ‘poor material.’

The Colwood Golf and Country Club was not the only place where the idea of socializing youth through sports was seen as worthwhile. In September of 1918, the officers of the Royal Navy College on Vancouver Island thought it would be a good idea “to send four Cadets at a time to the Links of Colwood Golf and Country Club” to spend some time amongst its members while playing golf, and asked the leadership at the Club if this would be permissible.²⁰⁶ The

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Better Caddies Handbook, 1917. I was not able to track down the manual itself that the Colwood Club had. However, I was able to find the promotional material that the Club kept about this book, as well as the receipt that showed the Club indeed purchased this manual.

²⁰⁶ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 4, Letter from H.M.C. Dockyard to Mr. Reginald Genn, 25 September 1918.

Navy College believed it would help future navy men develop while they became “devotees of the Royal and Ancient Game.”²⁰⁷ J.A. Sayward permitted four cadets to play weekly, and the navy paid for these cadets’ rounds each week at a reduced rate. However, this arrangement did not always proceed smoothly. In 1921, the secretary of Colwood wrote to the Royal Navy College to point out that there were complaints against some of the cadets. The secretary started his letter by saying, “I am very sorry to report that some of our members are complaining about the Cadet’s play and the Committee have instructed me to write you on the matter.”²⁰⁸ The secretary continued by explaining it was mostly due to the cadets’ lack of skill in golf, but also because they did not always act properly when on the course. The secretary concluded the letter by stating that each cadet could only play once they had proved to the Club’s head professional that they were good enough to play the sport itself and that they could follow the “Etiquette of the Game.”²⁰⁹ Because these cadets were seen as lacking the proper standards and breaking social norms at the Colwood Club, changes were made to ensure it did not happen again. Cadets were required to prove their ability to play golf to the Club’s head professional thereafter. As demonstrated in this example, when issues concerning perceived character flaws arose, it was always dealt with quickly at the Colwood Club.

Breaches of behavioural norms, as sport historian Wray Vamplew argues, could often be seen as serious offences in upper-class golf clubs. Social offences could also lead to various repercussions for offenders, such as embarrassment, loss of social status, or even expulsion from sporting clubs.²¹⁰ Because of the extreme vetting process of the Colwood Club for potential

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 7, Letter from the Secretary to Commander Nixon, 2 March 1921.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Wray Vamplew, “Development of the British Golf Club Before 1914,” 436. At Colwood, embarrassment and the loss of social status occasionally happened, such as through the postings of members who were late with their dues,

members, explored in Chapter III, I argue that these instances of social offences were infrequent at the Club. The Colwood Golf and Country Club was, after all, an extremely exclusive space that served to accommodate members of similar social statuses and cultural mindsets. Therefore, it would have been rare to have incidents in which a member would have had concerns over the conduct of another member. Within the primary sources I analyzed, there were almost no instances of anger or conflict amongst members. Some of the few disputes at the Club have already been explored in this study, including the questions with Mrs. Pocock and the previously discussed concerns with the navy cadets' conduct. One of the few other incidents, as revealed through archival research, describes the actions of a group of four golfers who were playing behind another foursome on the Colwood course.

In February 1921, P. Abell wrote to the secretary of Colwood to lodge a formal complaint against a group of four golfers who were playing the course behind them on the same day. The incident had occurred on July 13, 1920, months before the writing of this letter, but Abell felt that the committee should know of the incident since he felt not enough had been done at the time to remedy the situation. Abell started his letter by saying, "I regret to have to report to your Committee what I consider were flagrant discourtesies, not to mention obvious transgressions of the rules of golf on the Colwood course, Sunday July 13th."²¹¹ As explained, he had been playing that day with his wife, Mrs. Abell, along with their friends Dr. and Mrs. B.C. Richards, when the

as seen in the last chapter. However, expulsion seemed extremely rare as an occurrence at Colwood. Members were occasionally suspended, mostly when they owed money the Club over an extended period of time. The only incident in the period of study that I am aware of when a member was asked to leave the Club had to do with one of the original shareholders, Biggerstaff Wilson. A dispute between Wilson and the leadership of the Club, J.A. Sayward and Dunsmuir, erupted in 1919 and led to a lawsuit. The judgment from the lawsuit led to Biggerstaff Wilson giving up all his shares in the Colwood Land Company, and leaving the Colwood Club. For more on this, see Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 11.

²¹¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 10, Letter from P. Abell to Mr. Genn, 18 February 1921. Both P. Abell and B. Richards signed their names at the end of the letter.

incident happened on the fifteenth hole of the course.²¹² The group playing behind them “drove before any of us had putted at all, and to aggravate matters, one of the party took his second shot, landing on the green and barely escaping hitting Mrs. Abell – all this before we had completed holing out.”²¹³ The offending individual “absolutely hadn’t the courtesy to call ‘fore’.”²¹⁴ The group behind them did not apologize when questioned, and then wanted to play ahead of Abell’s group so they could finish quicker. Abell saw no reason to allow the other party past their group, since they had kept pace with the group ahead of them, and so did not allow the offending party to pass. It was in the rules of most golf courses, and part of the etiquette, that those golfing should not shoot onto the green until the group ahead of them had finished putting and had cleared off. Those who did shoot risked breaking the concentration of those ahead of them, or worse, hitting a member of the group ahead of them. The breaking of this basic golfing etiquette was one of the main reasons Abell was so mad at the group behind him, and was frustrated by their lack of self-control.

On the eighteenth hole, another incident occurred between the two groups. When Abell started to putt, he saw the offender (from the fifteenth) begin to wind up to drive onto the green. Abell said that “under provocation of what had occurred on the fifteenth green, and even apart from that incident, believing myself thoroughly justified, I said to Mrs. Abell ‘If that party’s ball lands on this green while I am putting – kick it right off.’”²¹⁵ The offending party did hit their ball on the green while they were still putting and so Mrs. Abell threw it off the green, “after which some words were passed between Dr. Richards and one of their party, which concluded

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

the only unpleasant experience I have ever had on the Colwood links.”²¹⁶ Abell stated that immediately after that round of golf he had reported the incident in person to one of the members of the Colwood committee, but that he felt that a formal complaint was now needed. He concluded his letter by forcefully (he underlined a couple of words in pencil) stating that “In closing, only wish to say that I always endeavour to give even more than is required on a golf course, rather than be guilty of not doing all that I should.”²¹⁷ By ending with that statement, Abell was arguing that he had acted not only within the rules of the Club, but that he had behaved with a level of decorum which the offending party lacked. Abell felt the actions of the offending party were not appropriate for a place such as Colwood, in which he believed no incidents like this had happened before, and that this showed a lack of certain qualities in the character of the other group. He saw the offending party’s actions as a breach of the behavioural norms of the Club, which was, therefore, a serious offence in his estimation. The offending members of the accused party felt the need to defend themselves, and the way they conducted themselves on the course that day, and so they spoke to the committee in person after Abell’s letter was received by the committee. Mr. Vanderbyl, of the offending party, stated that he felt this was an attack on the status of those in his party, and that he had counter complaints against Mr. Abell’s party. The secretary asked that Mr. Vanderbyl also write an official letter so “that the Committee may take both sides under consideration.”²¹⁸ No penalty was given to either party involved in the incident, in what was a rare occurrence of disharmony amongst the members of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. As demonstrated throughout this section, the character and

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid. It is important to note that I found no other official correspondences in which similar incidents like this happened on the Colwood course. This does not mean they did not occur, it most likely means that very few incidents were considered to be serious social offences, or in which the Colwood committee felt the need to get involved. Nonetheless these types of incidents would have been rare due to the exclusive nature of the Colwood Club.

²¹⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 10, Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Vanderbyl, 21 February 1921.

makeup of an individual indeed mattered to the members of the Club. Nonetheless, character makeup was not the only way in which members of the Colwood Club established a hierarchy and ultimately excluded others, as will be examined in the following section.

“Women as women is delicious, but women as men is ridiculous”: Gender Ideals and Inequality at Colwood

As historian Varda Burstyn argues, masculinity and gender norms have heavily permeated popular culture, and specifically sport, throughout the early 20th century. The gender norms present within Western societies in the early 20th century have encouraged men, women, and children to be individualistic, elitist, and competitive.²¹⁹ These gender norms were overtly present in sporting clubs, which were controlled and dominated by men for the enjoyment and competition of primarily men. Most sports in the early 20th century were seen as too masculine for the enjoyment of women, who were seen as the weaker of the two separate sexes in popular culture.²²⁰ Certain sports were seen as tame enough for the inclusion of women, which included tennis, cycling, lawn bowling, and golf. Women were slowly “allowed” to participate in these male controlled sports, with onerous restrictions placed on the type of participation they were permitted to have within orderly spaces, such as sport and country clubs.²²¹ This limitation of women’s participation in sport included golf, in which women were slowly allowed access to clubs without full integration into what was a male dominated activity and domain.²²² Golf clubs were not the only spaces in society that placed restrictions on women’s participation. Rather, golf clubs reinforced ideas present in popular culture about women’s place within society. This

²¹⁹ Varda Burtsyn, *Rites of Men*, 4.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 55. Certain sports in Canada were seen as too rough for women well into the 20th century, including lacrosse, football, and hockey. For more on this, see Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*.

²²² Richard Holt, “Golf and the English Suburbs,” 83.

section analyses the gender restrictions and ideals that were present at the Colwood Golf and Country Club. My analysis considers the restrictions placed on lady associate members at the Club, power imbalances in the leadership of the Club, and cultural attitudes placed on women within golf. By analyzing these aspects of gender, it is recognized that during the period of study, female members at Colwood were never fully integrated nor given the same standing as men at the Club. This section is not meant to argue that women had no voice or agency to the issues of gender present at the Colwood Club. Instead, the object of this section is to show the cultural, structural, and day-to-day limitations placed on women within a highly exclusive and male dominated sporting domain.

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, men formed numerous golf clubs throughout North America, which served as spaces where male interaction, bonding, and athletics could take place.²²³ Women were slowly permitted to participate alongside men at these clubs, and by the time the Colwood Golf and Country Club was established in 1913, the trend at private golf clubs was to allow a smaller number of women than men to be a part of the membership.²²⁴ Most of these clubs placed onerous restrictions on what female members were allowed to do, through the rules and regulations in their by-laws. As such, female members often paid lower subscriptions, but had fewer privileges.²²⁵ The women who joined golf clubs before World War Two in this context were almost entirely the wives and daughters of men who were already club members.²²⁶ Colwood followed all of these trends, as their female members paid

²²³ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 96.

²²⁴ The number of female members never came close to equalling or surpassing the male members at Colwood between 1913 and 1934. For example, in 1923 there were 218 male ordinary members compared to 91 lady associates. By 1927, despite a small growth in female members and a slight decline in male members, there were 206 male ordinary members, compared to 118 lady associates.

²²⁵ Jane George, "Women Golfers in British Golf Clubs," 294.

²²⁶ M. Ann Hall, "Cultural Struggle and Resistance: Gender, History, and Canadian Sport," in Kevin Young and Philip White, *Sport and Gender in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 62. It was not until well into

lower subscriptions, had fewer rights, and were mostly the wives and daughters of male members. Throughout the early years at Colwood lady associates paid an entrance fee of \$35.00, compared to the \$125.00 or \$500.00 options male ordinary members paid as an entrance fee.²²⁷ With this lower cost for female members came fewer rights. Restrictions were placed on when women could play golf, as they could not play on weekend mornings and occasionally on weekdays due to events. It was common practice in the early 1900s to place temporal and spatial limits on women's participation in golf, leaving the popular times, notably weekend mornings, available for the male membership.²²⁸ Colwood did this to ensure that its ordinary members could play on weekend mornings, which was the time of the week the men enjoyed the most, and in which they would have had the best chance not to have work obligations interfere with their enjoyment. The practice of reserving weekend mornings for men continued at Colwood till 1996 when this stipulation was, at long last, removed after an exploratory committee ultimately questioned the discriminatory restriction.²²⁹

Restrictions were also placed on women when it came to voting rights and the ability to hold office at the Colwood Golf and Country Club. The leadership at golf clubs throughout North America in the early 20th century was entirely dominated by men, who dictated the terms

the 1940s, when sport of golf grew exponentially in popularity and the rise of public courses happened, that the gender imbalance within golf started to change and more women started to take up golf as a pastime. For more on this, see June Senyard "The Imagined Golf Course," 170. It is important to note though, that there is still a heavy gender imbalance within the sport of golf, and within the leadership of golf courses, in the present. Golf is still a sport that is framed and understood as a male activity. For more on this, see Lee McGinnis et al., "I Just Want to Play: Women, Sexism, and Persistence in Golf," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 29 (August 2005): 313.

²²⁷ Lady associates also paid lower yearly dues than ordinary members, as seen in Chapter III.

²²⁸M. Ann Hall, "Cultural Struggle and Resistance," 63. Limiting when women could play on the course was a common practice in Eastern Canadian golf courses as well, such as at the Toronto Golf Club. The Toronto Golf Club, founded in 1876, did not allow women to become members till 1894. The first members were the wives and daughters of male members, and were only allowed to play weekday mornings and two specific afternoons per week. For more on this, see Mary Byers, *The Toronto Golf Club*.

²²⁹ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 36.

that allowed women to participate, which was the case at the Colwood Club.²³⁰ Through its by-laws and organizational structures, Colwood was able to remain a male dominated and controlled space. Written into the Club's by-laws was the clause that lady associates could not hold office, nor could they vote or bring forth motions at general meetings.²³¹ The inability to run for office meant that women could not be President, Secretary, Captain, or one of the ten Directors. Further, women could not vote for those running for these positions. The restriction of being unable to vote or put forth motions at general meetings meant that women had no say in any aspect of the administration of the Club. Daily and logistical decisions were made at general meetings, which meant that female members had no say on financial matters, new rules and regulations put forth and voted upon, tournaments the Club hosted, or the acceptance or denial of applicants for membership. Not being able to vote on potential applicants meant that female members had no input into the exclusionary practices of the Club, either, or on which women were accepted as lady associates. As previously stated, the majority of women that were accepted as members at this time were the wives and daughters of male members at Colwood, and very few, if any, were without a familial connection to a male member at the Club.²³² Many of the longstanding male members of the Club had their wives become members. If these men had any daughters, they often applied and were accepted as members, along with the spouses of daughters. For example, longstanding President J.A. Sayward's wife and daughter were both members of the Club, along with his daughter's husband. Therefore, if a woman wanted to

²³⁰ James M. Mayo, "The American Country Club," 35.

²³¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922.

²³² By looking at the membership lists, I was able to see that the majority of the lady associate members were the wives and daughters of male members, due to sharing last names. This was further substantiated by the daily correspondence I analysed, in which many male members wrote on behalf of themselves and their wives, or even paid for their wives/daughters' yearly subscriptions. There were a few last names that did not match, but this was often due to a daughter of a male member getting married and taking their husband's last name. There were a few cases where I could not find out if a lady associate was the wife or daughter of a male member, hence why I am disinclined to fully state that every single female member had a family connection to the Club.

become a member of Colwood, it would have been difficult without a family connection to the Club. Because of all of these restrictions, including the need for family connections and the very structure of Colwood Club, lady associates had little to no voice in the views, practices, and daily operations of the Club.

The space of the Colwood Club and the events it hosted were also structured and separated in very specific ways based on gender. As discussed earlier, certain mornings and days were set aside for the use of men only. Sometimes these exclusive days included certain social gatherings at the clubhouse, in which only men participated. Tournaments that were held at Colwood, as was common throughout the golfing community worldwide, were separated based not only on skill but by gender as well. There were usually multiple tiers at tournaments based on the skill of golfers, but they were separated by male and female categories (as is the present case in golf, and sports in general). During the tournaments that Colwood hosted, the male amateur competitions received greater attention from the media and received more lucrative prizes. The sport itself was even separated in certain ways based on gender. The tee boxes at Colwood (where golfers hit their first shot from on each hole), were separated into a front and back tee. The front tee box, closer to the hole, was usually used by women and youth, while the back tee was used by men. In addition to the tee boxes, other spaces at the Colwood Club were also segregated based on gender, including the locker rooms, changing rooms, washrooms, accommodation rooms, and some lounges. Golf reflected and reproduced gender divisions and contributed to upper-class understandings of masculinity and femininity.²³³ Men in the early 1900s were seen as naturally equipped to play sports due to cultural beliefs on biology and gender, as represented in popular media, compared to women who were seen as inferior and

²³³ Jane George, "Women Golfers in British Golf Clubs," 288.

more delicate.²³⁴ The dichotomy of male and female participation and abilities in sport was prevalent in the coverage and discussions of golf in Victoria. When golf first began to gain popularity in Victoria in the 1890s, before the founding of the Colwood Club, many writers noted how it was becoming popular among both sexes. One writer in 1894, for example, noted how the men playing at the Victoria Golf Club seemed to be naturally enjoying themselves, while “Judging from the number of ladies present, the game appears to be as popular with them as with the male sex.”²³⁵ For this writer, it seemed surprising that female golfers enjoyed themselves in, what was understood to be, a predominantly male sporting sphere.

By the 1890s golf was seen by most as an acceptable sport and pastime for women in Victoria. One female writer in 1895, Frances Arrowsmith, noted how certain sports were not the place for women, including football, fishing, hunting and possibly bicycling. Accordingly, Arrowsmith wrote women should not hunt because “A woman and a gun do not harmonize.”²³⁶ Concerning bicycling, the writer was undecided if this was permissible for women to enjoy, due to the amount of the effort required to cycle. When it came to golf, however, the writer stated, “If we made a list of games according to the favor they were held in here, we should find golf very near the top, and it has gone up there very quickly.”²³⁷ As with many journalists at the time in Victoria, golf was seen as tame enough for women to enjoy. However, this does not necessarily mean that women were considered equally capable as men of playing the sport. As the writer further asserted, “We [women] cannot play on any sort of equality with men, so let us play among ourselves.”²³⁸ In Arrowsmith’s estimation, the biological differences between the two sexes were too vast to make cross-gender competitions viable. She concluded her article by

²³⁴ June Senyard, “The Imagined Golf Course,” 165.

²³⁵ “GOLF. THE ANNUAL TOURNAMENT,” *Daily Colonist*, October 14, 1894, 8.

²³⁶ Frances Arrowsmith, “SPORT,” *Daily Colonist*, May 28, 1895, 5.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

saying that women should not attempt to play like men, because “Women as women is delicious, but women as men is ridiculous.”²³⁹ For this writer, and for many others in Victoria’s society, the gender divisions within sport were seen as natural, and not to be tampered with. Men were seen as naturally equipped to play all sports, and while women were allowed within certain sporting domains, restrictions were placed on their participation. As Richard Duffy in the *Daily Colonist* suggested, women should not “overwork” or “overdo” while participating in physical activities such as golf.²⁴⁰ He continued by arguing that “Standards must be different for women, even when the sports are the same.”²⁴¹ For Duffy, the role of golf for women was to keep them physically healthy, and not to compete or gain achievements comparable to men. If women played sports in the “proper” way, it would “not coarsen her fibre, but strengthen it. Nor does it blow away the charm from her womanhood.”²⁴² The final quote about ‘proper’ sports not affecting females’ womanhood was related to the fear that many individuals held in this period, concerned that women who played sports might become too masculine, and thus disrupt the culturally understood gender dichotomy.²⁴³ Men, on the other hand, were seen as beneficiaries of tougher and higher standards, which was because men were seen as being more physically and mentally capable of participating in golf, and thus superior to women in this sporting sphere. The author of a 1921 *Daily Colonist* article, titled “Men Are Still Masters at Golf,” argues (and assumes) that since golf came to Canada, men remained well ahead of women in skill.²⁴⁴ The

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Richard Duffy, “What Out-Door Sports Have Done For Women,” *Daily Colonist*, June 26, 1910, 12.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ There was also the fear of the opposite of this issue, in that men who did not play manly sports or participate in masculine events would become too effeminate. In a continually industrialized and urbanized Canadian society, the fear that men were becoming too feminine and weak was continuously discussed, as were solutions. Sports were seen as one remedy to this social issue, and a place where men could become tougher and stronger. For more on this, see Varda Burtsyn, *The Rites of Men*.

²⁴⁴ “MEN ARE STILL MASTERS AT GOLF: Disparity Between Achievements of Opposite Sexes on the Links Is Said to Be Widening,” *Daily Colonist*, December 7, 1921, 10.

writer stated that in the few matches that men played against women, the men easily won. The author concludes that because of the recent accomplishments of men in golf throughout the world, the disparity between men and women was most likely growing. By stating this, the author was reflecting commonly held assumptions about the two sexes' abilities and skill levels within sports, which were, in turn, cultural reproductions concerning women's role in society and public life.

Gender was an important consideration when it came to the views and practices of the leadership and membership at the Colwood Golf and Country Club. As has been demonstrated in this section, women were seen and positioned as inferior members of the Club with fewer rights, based on culturally held assumptions about gender that were present in sport and society. It is important to note, as I conclude this section, that gender was one aspect of the exclusionary aspects of the Colwood Club. As discussed earlier, the majority of, if not all, female members were the family members of the male membership at Colwood. Therefore, there was no space provided for women without family ties to Colwood. The lack of other female members was because of more rigid gender standards that women had to adhere to, class aspects of the Club, and because the power structures of Colwood were controlled by men who were influenced by gender ideology and norms, and desired a predominantly male space. Golf clubs were not seen as proper spaces for single women without any family ties, and definitely not places for women of lower social standing. As one author wrote in 1894, "Like all good things in life, a membership" to a golf club "is difficult to attain."²⁴⁵ For women to attain membership to a golf club, "The greatest precautions are taken to prevent any objectionable element creeping into the

²⁴⁵ "THE WOMAN ATHLETE: SHE IS UP TO DATE AND QUITE THE FASHION," *Daily Colonist*, November 10, 1894, 7.

organization.”²⁴⁶ For women applicants to golf clubs, the author argues that even more precautions are necessary to ensure they are of the proper character. After all, as the author concludes, “women with a past do not, as a rule, seek membership, knowing full well that a vigorous scrutiny of their history will be made.”²⁴⁷ This concluding sentence sums up many views on gender held by the predominantly male upper-class membership at Colwood, and held by many of the Club’s female membership as well.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. The comment about vigorous scrutiny for female members by the writer, and the cultural ideas behind it, is likely a partial reason why the previously discussed Mrs. Pocock was questioned about her character so vigorously by various male members.

**Chapter V: “The lover of Nature as well as the golfer cannot but appreciate Colwood”:
Nature and Leisure at the Club**

This chapter examines the ideas of nature present in golf in this period and its relation to exclusivity at the Colwood Golf and Country Club. Those at Colwood, and others, such as visitors, understood the golf course as a part of nature, and promoted it as such. I will discuss the cultural beliefs that upper-class citizens in Victoria had towards nature, the reaction members and visitors had of the course and its beauty, the amount of work that went into building and maintaining the fabricated natural environment of this specific golf course, and the relation between this artificial nature and exclusivity at Colwood. Before diving into these subjects, a simple definition of how I understand and analyze the historical concept of nature is needed. For a base understanding of nature, I turn to historian William Cronon, who describes nature as a heavily loaded historical and cultural term which is often complicated and ambiguous. At its core, however, the term nature has been used to describe the non-human systems that humans act and do not act upon; it is used to understand the relationship between humans and the non-human world they inhabit.²⁴⁸ As historian Tina Loo argues, the idea of nature is primarily a way to classify, order, and simplify a dichotomy between humans and the non-human world, in which nature and human civilization are two distinct realms.²⁴⁹ The term has been used historically to help create a divide between humans and their cultures from the wild landscapes that they interact, in various contexts.²⁵⁰ This concept of nature has helped reinforce the idea that humans have built a world for themselves that is separate from the natural realm. However, there is no

²⁴⁸ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, xix. As Cronon states, there is no better word to use to describe the relationship between human and non-human entities than nature. Therefore despite the word 'nature' being much more complex and problematic than even I demonstrate in this section, it is also the most comprehensive word in the English language to use in throughout this section, as I have done, much like Cronon does throughout his book.

²⁴⁹ Tina Loo, *States of Nature*, xiii.

²⁵⁰ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 14. Cronon argues that the ideological underpinnings within the dichotomy of nature and civilization portray humans as masculine, singular, active, and all-controlling, while nature was feminine, passive, and ever more controlled.

real dichotomy between these two realms, as humans and their cultural and social landscapes are not as separate from nature as they have been imagined. The two culturally created realms of nature and human civilization are very much a part of one another and have influenced one another throughout human history.²⁵¹ The Colwood course should be viewed as a mixture of a natural landscape and human culture and modification, and not as a completely natural space; however, it was often portrayed as a natural space in my period of study.

One aspect of this historical definition of nature which influenced the distinction between the human and natural realms was the idea that natural landscapes were untouched by human modification or improvement, which therefore made them distinct from complex human cultures. This understanding of nature was especially relevant for European explorers and settlers in North America, who saw the continent as a large, beautiful, and untouched wilderness.²⁵² Settlers also saw these natural landscapes as having charm and being sublime, as places to be visited and enjoyed. The idea of untouched land was explored in Chapter II, in which I argue colonists on Vancouver Island imagined the land as natural, unscathed by human labour, and ready for colonial expansion, which was far from accurate, as Europeans ignored the fact that the island had been occupied and cared for by Indigenous peoples since time immemorial.²⁵³ This vision of untouched nature was a partial justification for the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands, moving them onto reserves throughout Vancouver Island, and was an ideological

²⁵¹ Ibid., 17.

²⁵² Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 4. See also William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 12.

²⁵³ Indigenous peoples had various cultural and social sites throughout Vancouver Island, such as villages, hunting sites, burial sites, and spiritual spaces, among many other forms of human activity and production. Indigenous peoples in North America had also shaped and reshaped their natural landscapes for centuries. This reshaping of the natural landscape could take many forms, such as the deliberate fires that many Indigenous peoples started in forests and in fields to help regenerate the various tree and plant species and to make hunting easier. Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 4. European settlers brought with them new ways of reshaping the land in North America, and these changes often made Indigenous survival and cultural practices tougher, or even impossible, in many regions. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003): 15.

underpinning for settler society and its understandings of their natural surroundings. The removal of Indigenous peoples from the land coupled with European understandings of nature and its beauty allowed the natural landscapes to become part of the living and travel experiences for both locals and tourists on Vancouver Island.²⁵⁴ Among its many uses for settlers, such as for resource extraction and land development, nature became a place in which forms of leisure and amusement took place. Settlers in Victoria saw nature as a place that encouraged fun and relaxation, was good for their health, and helped maintain an orderly and productive society.²⁵⁵ Golf courses were a part of this European view of nature, as many regarded golf courses as leisure spaces within nature which were aesthetically pleasing.²⁵⁶

The Colwood Golf and Country Club was beheld and promoted as a beautiful natural landscape in which outdoor leisure took place. Members of the Club, citizens of Victoria, and visitors all felt that Colwood was one of the most beautiful natural landscapes in North America. The Club promoted itself throughout its early existence as both an excellent course to play as well as a beautiful natural space. In one of its promotional flyers from 1919, the Colwood Club boasted that “In addition to its excellent standing as a links, the course is exceptionally beautiful, possessing many fine oak trees as well as a number of groves of fir.”²⁵⁷ The Club was especially proud of the many Garry oak trees on the course, which were seen as a lovely and unique tree to southern Vancouver Island. The promotional notice concluded that the “lover of Nature as well

²⁵⁴ Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 14.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁵⁶ The charm of golf courses was linked to 18th century ideals about romantic landscapes which were classically ordered while also representing nature. Golf courses, and being outdoors while partaking in a physical activity like golf, were also seen as beneficial to individual health and wellness. For more on this, see John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 135.

²⁵⁷ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Promotional Flyer by the Colwood Club, 15 February 1919.

as the golfer cannot but appreciate Colwood.”²⁵⁸ The Club often sent promotional photos of their picturesque course to various other sporting clubs to have hung in their clubhouses, and to individuals who had visited the course.²⁵⁹ Photos of the course itself were also featured in various nature and outdoor leisure magazines, such as the publication *Out of Doors*, which was a periodical released by Canada National Railways.²⁶⁰ This publication often involved praise for the beauty of the Colwood course’s natural environment, while including photos of its fairways, greens, and natural surroundings, such as the well-regarded Garry oak trees.

Many who visited Colwood agreed with the Club, often writing letters to the Colwood to express their delight at the beauty of the course after their visit. For example, G.W. Allen, who was visiting from his golf club in Winnipeg, wrote his approval of the Colwood course by stating that he was “a tremendous admirer of the Colwood Course, and consider it one of the most beautiful spots in the whole of Canada.”²⁶¹ Other individuals wrote about the Club’s natural beauty in local newspapers, such as the *Daily Colonist*. In 1914, just as the Colwood Club had completed construction of the course and was hosting one of its first tournaments, one writer boasted, “There will not be a better golf course on the Pacific Coast after it has been played on

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ For example, the Waverly Country Club, located in Portland, Oregon, sent their appreciation and admiration for the photos the Colwood Club had sent in 1917. The board of directors at the Waverly Club voted to send thanks to the Colwood Club, and said the photos had been framed and “were given a very prominent place in the clubhouse.” They concluded their letter by declaring that “they are beautiful photographs and are just the type of pictures a club should possess.” BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 3, Letter from C.H. Davis Jr. to Mr. J. A. Sayward, 3 July 1917.

²⁶⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 5, Letter from R. Greelman to the Secretary, 27 January 1921. In this letter R. Greelman, the editor of the publication “Out of Doors,” discussed with the Club the various photos and descriptions that were used in the previous year’s release. Greelman was also writing to ask for new photos for the publication’s release for the following year, for which the Club sent three new photos.

²⁶¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from the St. Charles Country Club to the Secretary, 14 August 1917. Another example of the many individuals who wrote about the beauty of the course was the previously mentioned J. Wall, who wrote to the Club in 1917 to not only ask about a potential transportation system for members and visitors, but also to state that he thought the course was a natural marvel. He went so far as to say that “I think you have in Colwood, one of the finest Golf properties on the American Continent.” BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from J. Wall to Mr. Sayward, 22 November 1917.

for a time.”²⁶² Around one hundred golfers, mostly members or invited guests (many of whom were from Seattle), attended the tournament, and the writer explained that all in attendance agreed it was a gorgeous setting. The writer concluded that the course added “very substantially to the attractions of Vancouver Island,” and that it was a great way to spend one’s time outdoors.²⁶³ One writer in 1919 wrote that the “Colwood golf links make a pretty scene... the clumps of trees, standing on lawnlike stretches of rolling fairway, are all in leaf,” before concluding that “there is the temptation to stay a while and watch.”²⁶⁴ As such, the author was perhaps reflecting how nature was often viewed as something that was separate from human society, and could be visited, enjoyed, and experienced.²⁶⁵ Another writer, R.D.B., indicated in 1927 that ‘Colwood possesses charms that are all its own... there are no fairways like its fairways anywhere in the world.’²⁶⁶ The article continued by describing how “Nature had adorned the plains of Langford with noble oak trees and trees of many varieties centuries before man looked upon them with admiration and engaged landscape creative artists to improve upon the works of Nature (if such a thing is possible) and construct golf links.”²⁶⁷ This statement reflected the idea that before European discovery, the land was seen as untouched wilderness, and that the golf course was merely a human improvement upon the natural landscape which was already stunning. The article also demonstrated how the appeal of nature was as important as the appeal

²⁶² “COLWOOD GOLF COURSE UNEXCELLED ON COAST: Victoria and Seattle Players Speak in Terms of Warmest Approbation of New Links – Sunday Visit,” *Daily Colonist*, November 10, 1914, 9.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ “SOOKE ROAD CALLS TO SUNDAY DRIVERS: Attractive Scenes Are Aplenty and Conditions Are Right to Show Car’s Ability Without Gear Changes,” *Daily Colonist*, May 4 1919, 17. The writer of this article was describing the attractions of Vancouver Island for certain locations that were reachable by car. Therefore class and wealth were aspects of the various beautiful scenes they were describing, for individuals would have had to been able to afford a car and have the ability to travel throughout the island to visit these locations.

²⁶⁵ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 21.

²⁶⁶ R. D. B., “Notes and Comment,” *Daily Colonist*, March 6, 1927, 4. The writer also argued that on “a bright, sunny day, the view from the club house is beautiful beyond our limited description.” This observation reflected the idea that nature could have an awe-inspiring effect on individuals, hence why visiting nature could be described as a sublime experience.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

of leisure when it came to the prestige of the Colwood Golf and Country Club and when it came to the enjoyment of those golfing on the course.²⁶⁸

One reason the Colwood golf course was praised in such glowing terms by locals and visitors alike was related to the extent to which British Columbia's natural environment was upheld, and promoted, as a part of the positive living experience of those in the province. Both local British Columbians and foreigners traveled throughout Vancouver Island between the 1900s and 1930s, often to experience the outdoor leisure and natural scenery that the island had to offer.²⁶⁹ Vancouver Island was promoted throughout this period as an evergreen landscape in which individuals, especially those with wealth, could enjoy both nature and leisure within the same location. In 1934, as a part of its yearly promotional material, the Victoria and Island Publicity Bureau released a flyer detailing why the island was a great place for vacations and leisure year round. The flyer termed Vancouver Island "Canada's Evergreen Playground" before asserting that it was "A blue and green land alive with interest, where bright sunshine, green lawns and an invigorating healthy atmosphere awaits you."²⁷⁰ Among the dozens of activities available for visitors there was "golf on evergreen courses" of which there were many

²⁶⁸ Another reason the Colwood Golf and Country Club was perceived as such a beautiful outdoor space was because it was viewed as an imitation of Britain and its idealized countryside. Golf courses and clubhouses throughout North America were often built to resemble aristocratic gardens, the English countryside, and romanticized manor houses. Hugo Ceron-Anaya, "An Approach to the History of Golf: Business, Symbolic Capital, and Technologies of the Self," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34 (2010): 349. For example, a writer for the *Daily Colonist* marvelled at how it is easy "to imagine the most exquisitely beautiful part of England magically transported to Vancouver Island to realize the charm of Colwood." "A Fine Advertisement," *Daily Colonist*, November 25, 1921, 6.

²⁶⁹ Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 15.

²⁷⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Flyer Titled "Come to the Coast for Winter Vacations Victoria," 1934. Despite being promotional advertisements in which an idealized society was depicted, the flyers are representations of certain aspects of upper-class society, as strived for by many. Often, as historian Virginia Scott Jenkins argues, advertisements are reflections of a high standard of living that only those at the top of the social ladder enjoyed. It is for these reasons that I am comfortable using these advertisements as cultural artifacts for the type of nature that was idealized in Victoria. Virginia Scott Jenkins, *The Lawn*, 64.

“beautifully-kept courses to choose from.”²⁷¹ A flyer from 1936, also from the Victoria and Island Publicity Bureau, indicated that the city and its inhabitants were happy and healthy because of “our beautiful scenery and equable climate” along with the outdoor sports that took place year round.²⁷² This statement reflected the commonly held idea in this period that beautiful natural surroundings were an important aspect of civilized and organized society.²⁷³

The Colwood course, due to being perceived as both a natural location and a space in which civilized leisure took place, was celebrated as one of the main attractions on the island. The main event the Victoria and Island Publicity Bureau flyer promoted each year was the Annual Empress Mid-Winter Golf Tournament, usually hosted in late February, and first held in 1929. The Bureau maintained that the tournament was “one of the premier sporting events of the Dominion,” which was usually held “over the picturesque Royal Colwood Club Course.”²⁷⁴ The tournament usually took place over six days, and included dinners and dances at the Empress Hotel for registered participants. To join the tournament, individuals needed to pay an entry fee and sign not only an entry form but also have the secretary of the individual’s golf club sign the

²⁷¹ Ibid. The promotional material also stated that “Every known recreation is enjoyed by the young people of the city,” furthering the cultural link between leisure, health, and nature.

²⁷² BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 3, Promotional Flyer for Victoria, 1936. As early as the 1910s many were declaring that Victoria was a landscape in which sports could be played outdoors year-round. As one writer argued in 1914, it was “the wealth and beauty, the natural advantages of her numerous playgrounds that enables Victoria to occupy her position as a center of sport per excellence.” Within this quote we can also see how nature, and Victoria, were seen as feminine with the use of the female pronoun “her,” just as William Cronon argues was an aspect of the nature and human dichotomy. “SPORTS OF ALL CLIMES FOUND IN VICTORIA: Great Variety of Games Carried On – National Recreations of All Countries Found Here – Ideal Facilities,” *Daily Colonist*, November 20, 1914, 14.

²⁷³ Virginia Scott Jenkins, *The Lawn*, 19.

²⁷⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Flyer Titled “Come to the Coast for Winter Vacations Victoria,” 1934. The tournament was also hosted by the Victoria Golf Club in certain years. One of the main reasons this tournament was promoted so heavily was to demonstrate how outdoor sports could indeed be played throughout the year in Victoria, unlike the majority of Canadian cities whose winters were too harsh to play sports like golf. Even though the tournament does not appear to have continued into the present, it seems it was hosted by Colwood well into the 1950s.

form.²⁷⁵ By having these barriers to enter the tournament, organizers from Victoria golf clubs and the Empress Hotel had, in effect, limited the event to the members of golf clubs in both Victoria and from abroad, hence excluding individuals based on the same criteria based on class, gender, race, and religion, which have been explored throughout my study. Therefore, the type of leisure promoted in Victoria remained exclusive in many of the same ways that the Colwood Golf and Country Club was throughout this period. These measures, which were carefully planned and organized, ultimately closed off the overall natural landscape, of which the Colwood Club was a part of, to various segments of society.

Despite the golf course at Colwood being promoted and perceived as a natural landscape with links to Britain, it was a non-natural space. The Colwood golf course, just like every golf course, was artificially created.²⁷⁶ It was also artificially maintained through the extensive use of various resources and products. The Colwood Golf and Country Club went to great lengths to build its course and maintain its picturesque landscape, through the use of labour, tools, and the substantial modification of the landscape. The Club built fairways, greens, bunkers, and structures, while also removing certain trees, bushes, and wildlife while allowing others to remain. Supplies had to be bought annually in order to maintain and manage the reconfigured landscape, such as grass seed, water, manure, worm killer, lawn mowers, various tools, and even sheep. By exploring the ways the course was built and maintained, we can see how the idea in this period that the course was a natural landscape was greatly idealized and far from accurate.

²⁷⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Promotional Material for the Sixth Annual Winter Golf Tournament, 1934.

²⁷⁶ The way golf courses are built and maintained also reflect local values, and demonstrate how the various clubs wish to be perceived. For more on the ways golf courses are artificial creations which try to emulate nature, see Chris Perkins, "The Performance of Golf."

The land that the Colwood Club originally purchased for the course was former settler farmland, and before that had been cared for and maintained by Indigenous peoples for decades, as seen in Chapter II. When the Club first bought the land and began building its course, the landscape was profoundly altered. Human labour and horses were used to carve out the land and build long and winding fairways and the greens.²⁷⁷ Entire groups of trees, tree trunks, and bushes were completely removed, as was any type of rock or gravel to allow an even and uniform grass turf to be planted. Certain trees, such as firs and the beloved Garry oaks, were kept on the sides of the fairways for aesthetic reasons as well as to make the course challenging. In some spots, more oaks and firs were planted, to make these spots look like dense forest and to shape the direction and difficulty of the fairways.²⁷⁸ Entire sections of the land were also raised or flattened for the fairways, greens, and clubhouse.²⁷⁹ Certain small birds were allowed to live on the course in the trees, while other groups of animals and insects, such as geese and worms, were removed from the Club's premises or killed.²⁸⁰ Further, grass was planted to form the playing surface for the fairways and greens, and an irrigation system was installed to keep the course watered constantly and bright green. The land that became the course at the Colwood Golf and Country Club was severely altered to create a challenging golf experience and to create an artificially attractive landscape.

²⁷⁷ Royal Colwood Golf Club, *100 Years*, 15.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁷⁹ BCA, P.L. James Architectural Records, MS-0502, Box 8, Folder 3, Certification of Labour & Material, 28 March 1922. In 1922, more trees, tree trunks, and bushes were removed in a large area for not only the building of the clubhouse but to create a large and clear surrounding around the building, so that members could enjoy a wider view of the course. A septic tank was installed 120 feet away from the clubhouse, a hot water system was installed, and plumbing and electrical wiring were also built.

²⁸⁰ Even once certain animals, such as geese, were removed from the Colwood Club's course, some returned. In 1919, the Club wrote an angry letter to a local farmer to say that his geese had wandered a few times onto certain parts of the course to eat and defecate. The secretary sternly said to the farmer that "Your geese are causing considerable damage to the Colwood Course and we must request that you take immediate steps to take them off the course and keep them under control." This letter seemed to remedy the situation, as no other letters were sent to the farmer. BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 3, Letter from the Secretary to Mr. A. T. Peatt, 6 September 1919.



Figure 3. *Golfers on the Colwood Course with Forest Behind Them*. 1921. BCA, J. Howard Chapman fonds, Box 2560, I-84474.

With the course built, Colwood leaders needed to seriously consider the installation of grass for the playing surface of the fairways and greens. By analyzing the types of grass used, and the efforts to maintain it, we can see how the course was an artificial creation. Golf courses, much like lawns in front of houses in the early 1900s, were culturally desirable settings. Part of the desire for these sceneries came from the visually attractive grasses, which were organized in certain ways to be aesthetically pleasing. Due to protracted trends in grass and lawn management dating back to the 19th century in North America and Europe, grass on lawns and golf courses was expected to be a smooth, elastic, and even surface with uniform colour, which was far from natural.²⁸¹ For golf courses, the grass also needed to withstand the constant traffic and abuse of

²⁸¹ Virginia Scott Jenkins, *The Lawn*, 52. The growth of knowledge of grasses and spread of technologies to maintain grass at the turn of the 20th century allowed more individuals and groups to create and maintain aesthetically pleasing grass surfaces. The creation of visually pleasing spaces was part of the idea in the 19th and 20th centuries that creating beautiful surroundings were important to civilized societies.

golfers and the swing of their clubs. To achieve this type of beautiful and durable surface, certain strains of grass seed were often imported and used at golf courses.²⁸² Many of the strains of grass seed that golf clubs in North America bought were from Europe and Africa, and had been modified for specific purposes. Many types of grass seeds that were sold and used by Canadian golf courses were also modified to deal with colder and harsher environments. Modified grasses sold to the Colwood Club were purported to be “Pure seed of high germination” which was “of great importance in securing a good strand of grass” and led to “a clean fair way.”²⁸³ The Colwood Club bought hundreds of pounds of grass seed mixtures every year for their fairways and greens, often through multiple transactions each year when their stock grew low. For example, in 1919 the Club ordered 700 lbs. of Fairway Mixture D in August to replenish their stock after they had already gone through all their grass seed that summer.²⁸⁴ In 1921, the Club spent a total of \$477.81 on grass seeds and fertilizer, and by 1926 the amount spent on grass seeds, fertilizer, and manure had grown (pun intended) to \$1,852.51.²⁸⁵ The club also spent money on manure and fertilizer each year to help keep the grass pristine. The club also bought new mowers every few years, which they used to cut the grass daily to a precise short length. The short length of grass allowed golfers to hit the ball better and was also cut for aesthetic

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 11. Many of the local and indigenous grasses in North America disappeared or were reduced with the arrival and spread of Europeans (and their livestock and technology). Many new and foreign kinds of grasses spread as well, showing again that many outdoor spaces in North America were far from natural.

²⁸³ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 1, Arthur T. Boddington Company Grass Seeds Pamphlet, March 1919. The front page of the advertisement pamphlet showed white men enjoying a round of golf on a wide open course on a sunny day, showing the idealized golf course and experience. The company sold over twenty-five types of grass seed, which cost anywhere from \$18.00 to \$125.00 per 100 lbs. They also sold mowers, fertilizers, manures, worm eradicators, and sprinklers. The idea of “pure seeds of high germination” was used in many advertisements for grass seeds by various companies, to demonstrate to potential buyers that the seed was of the highest quality.

²⁸⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 10, Letter from the President to J. A. Veale, 19 August 1919. The Club had ordered the same amount from J. A. Veale the year before.

²⁸⁵ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 11, Colwood Golf and Country Club Annual Report 1920-1921, 192. See also BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 11, Colwood Golf and Country Club Annual Report 1925-26, 1926. In 1921, the Club also spent \$140.81 on repairs and renewals. In 1926, the Club spent \$628.00 on machinery and tools. These expenses show how much money and effort was put into maintaining the course each year.

purposes. In its early existence, the Club even kept a flock of approximately sixty sheep to help keep the grass short and to remove certain types of undesirable vegetation.²⁸⁶ Not only did buying and managing all of these products and animal species cost a substantial amount, it also demonstrated how much the course was altered by human labour and invention.

The grass on the Colwood course also had to be watered daily to preserve it as a proper playing surface as well as keep it lush and green. An irrigation system was installed at the same time the course was built to water the fairways and greens.²⁸⁷ A considerable amount of water was used yearly to water the course at Colwood and keep the grass and trees unnaturally green and vibrant. For example, in 1928 the Club used 21, 438, 000 gallons of water for the course.²⁸⁸ Luckily for the Colwood Club, it had a cap on how much they had to spend each year on their hydro needs. J. A. Sayward owned the water company in Esquimalt, titled The Esquimalt Water Works Company, until he sold it in 1916.²⁸⁹ However, he did not sell the company until an agreement was made in which the Club could use as much water as it needed while having a maximum charge of \$500.00 per year. The agreement was set for twenty years. The Club agreed that the water would only be used in the clubhouse and “for the sprinkling of greens and upkeep of the course.”²⁹⁰ When it came to renew their contract in 1936, the Club claimed that it was “unnecessary to point out the benefits the City of Victoria derives from Colwood, it being one of

²⁸⁶ The Colwood Club regularly sold the wool from the sheep to help cover expenses. Many other golf courses in the early 1900s also kept livestock near their course to help cut the fairways and greens. BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 1, Letter from the Secretary to The Flockmasters Association, 17 July 1919.

²⁸⁷ Some historians, such as Jason Patrick Bennett, argue that irrigation was one of the most important tools for the spread of settler societies and the expansion of empires, as it helped to remake and reorganize entire landscapes. Jason Patrick Bennett, “Apple of the Empire,” 68. For an example of settler attempts to remake the natural landscape in relation to leisure in British Columbia, see Michael J. Thoms, “A Place called Pennask.”

²⁸⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 5, Water Usage at Colwood, 1935.

²⁸⁹ Arv Olson, *Backspin*, 39.

²⁹⁰ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 3, Letter from the Esquimalt Water Works Company to Colwood Land Company Ltd, 8 July 1916. The deal was that the Club would be charged thirty cents per one thousand gallons, at a maximum of \$500.00 per year. The Club’s general assembly voted to agree to this deal, and in return they sent a letter of gratitude for the arrangement.

the chief attractions for visitors and I venture to say that most of the golfers on the American Continent have heard of and look forward to visiting Colwood.”²⁹¹ Therefore, the Club argued, it should continue to have the same deal in place for how much it paid yearly for water. After all, by being able to use as much water as it wanted (without being fully charged) throughout its early existence, the Club found another way to maintain its image as a pristine natural location.

Certain non-human aspects to the course that would normally have been a part of the natural landscape, such as worms and moss, were seen as pests and nuisances to the grass that the Club wanted to maintain, and were therefore removed.²⁹² The Club purchased worm remover and pesticide yearly to deal with the worms and other insects that were present on their course. One such product that they bought was from United Liquid Sulphur, whose product “eradicates the worms from the greens by one application” and led to the “making of a perfect green.”²⁹³ Along with a host of other products the Club bought each year, the United Liquid Sulphur was continuously applied on the course to make sure the insects they deemed to be pests were killed and did not return. Moss was also removed from the fairways, as it was seen as a sign of unhealthy grass and soil, and was therefore not visually pleasing. An example of this dislike of moss on the course can be seen in 1919 when J. A. Sayward asked J. A. Veale, who he regularly bought many of his grass seeds and products from, how to remove moss from the course. J. A. Veale responded that moss “is a sure sign that the soil is out of condition, and is generally caused

²⁹¹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 5, Letter from the Secretary to Alderman A. McGavin, 15 February 1935.

²⁹² As Sean Kheraj argues, there have been many human efforts at controlling non-human forces in natural locations, such as insects, pests, plants, and fires. In British Columbia, this even happened in outdoor parks, such as in Stanley Park in Vancouver. Stanley Park, which in the early 1900s was promoted as a beautiful and natural park, was heavily changed and managed by human modifications and interventions. For more on this, see Sean Kheraj, “Improving Nature.”

²⁹³ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 8, Letter from United Liquid Sulphur Co. to the Chairman of Greens Committee, 27 February 1918.

by poverty, damp, sour soil” and may require better drainage on the course to remove.²⁹⁴ Veale also recommended a specific type of manure he sold, which would remove the moss and would lead to a “healthy and vigorous grass.”²⁹⁵ As part of the landscape, the moss was regarded as unappealing and was seen as a sign of sickness. Therefore, it needed to be removed by human intervention and products, showing another way in which the Colwood course was a profoundly artificial space.

The type of nature that was present on the Colwood course was not only idealized, shaped, maintained, and expensive; it was also exclusive. Very few individuals were able to enjoy the outdoor space of the Club, as playing on the course was restricted to members, approved visitors, and individuals the Club invited. As shown in my previous sections and chapters, the Club was an extremely segregated space, which excluded individuals based on various criteria; few individuals were able to enjoy the artificial space that the Club created. Members were given priority access to the course to play golf, and rarely did other individuals who were not members get access to the course. When visitors did play the course, they were almost always white, upper-class men and women who were members of other golf clubs, usually clubs situated in the Pacific Northwest or Canada. Visitors to the Club resembled the type of visitor that was sought by upper-class establishments and tourist locations in British Columbia in the early 1900s. When it came to enjoying nature and leisure, those in charge of leisure sites British Columbia wanted a specific type of visitor: high-class, white, of British origin, and culturally capable of enjoying nature and civilized leisure.²⁹⁶ This type of individual was desired because they were seen to share the same class and social backgrounds as those at

²⁹⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 2, Letter from J. A. Veale to J. A. Sayward, 22 February 1919.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia*, 35.

private outdoor leisure spaces. Another noteworthy aspect of this preferred visitor was that those of the proper background were seen as culturally qualified to enjoy nature in similar upper-class ways, by being able to appreciate the beauty of nature, while understanding how being outdoors improved one's health and encouraged orderliness and productivity in society.²⁹⁷ Victoria's outdoor sports were promoted with this upper-class understanding of nature and a specific type of visitor in mind. The previously discussed promotional material by the Victoria and Island Publicity Bureau upheld this vision of the outdoors. When discussing the importance of playing sports outdoors, the natural setting of Victoria was "acknowledged by the medical profession to be one of the best for the white race."²⁹⁸ Added to this racial understanding of the outdoors and the effects it had on white individuals' health, the flyer argued that the ability to spend money and a car were needed to enjoy all that Victoria had to offer, thus showing the class aspects to traveling and leisure in Victoria as well.

It was this understanding of tourism and the outdoors that influenced the Colwood Club when it came to its visitors. For the majority of people who lived on Vancouver Island, one of the few days they could enjoy the Colwood course was on the infrequent guest days. To be able to play on these days, an individual would have had to know a member well enough to receive an invitation. For visitors from areas outside Victoria, they would have also had to know a current member at Colwood, or else they had to write to the secretary of the Club to ask for permission to play the course. A visitor to Colwood, as stated in the bylaws of the Club, was only "a person who is a member of a recognized Golf Club whose ordinary place of business is outside the

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 18.

²⁹⁸ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 1, Flyer Titled "Come to the Coast for Winter Vacations Victoria," 1934.

County of Victoria.”²⁹⁹ This section of the by-laws reinforced the point that only certain types of individuals, those that were of the desired upper-class sector of society and were part of a recognized golf establishment, could visit the Club. The Colwood Club would occasionally go out of its way to invite certain individuals and groups visiting Victoria to enjoy a round of golf on their course, but again these were always upper-class individuals they invited. The types of individuals the Club invited were usually reputed golfers, politicians, heads of states, and navy officers stationed in Victoria.³⁰⁰ They often invited these types of people because they were seen as important and prestigious individuals who would reflect well on the Club if visited. For example, whenever a new ship, whether Canadian or American, was stationed in Victoria, the Club usually sent a letter to the ship’s commanding officer to offer the privileges of the course to him and his senior officers.³⁰¹ Invitations to navy officers, and other prominent individuals, were similar to the letter sent to the Admiral Rodman, in 1919, in which J. A. Sayward stated that “On behalf of the Colwood Golf and Country Club I have great pleasure in extending to you and the officers of the U. S. S. New Mexico and Arkansas and the accompanying destroyers an invitation to visit and play over our links during your stay in Victoria.”³⁰² Although Admiral Rodman and his officer could not attend because of their short stay in Victoria, he replied through a letter,

²⁹⁹ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 13, Folder 1, By-Laws for the Colwood Golf and Country Club, 1922. As seen earlier in this chapter, certain clubs along the Pacific Northwest had agreements in place to allow their members to visit other courses more easily and for a cheaper playing fee. Visitors also had to sign the visitor’s book at the clubhouse.

³⁰⁰ The Prince of Wales was invited to play the course each time he visited Victoria, and this was one of the main reasons he became a patron of the Club. Heads of states were also invited to play the course, although they rarely attended. The lieutenant-governors of British Columbia were always invited to play the course when they were in Victoria. In 1931, the Club invited the King of Siam to play the course during his visit to Canada and North America. The King sent his thanks, and stated that if they visited Victoria that he and members of his suite would play the course. As far as I can tell, the King never visited Victoria that year during his visit to North America, nor did he play a round at Colwood. BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 15, W. M. Armstrong to the Secretary, 8 September 1931.

³⁰¹ Those who were not high-ranking officers were not invited to the Club, showing that only those the Club thought were prestigious were invited to play golf.

³⁰² BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 3, Letter from the President to Admiral Rodman, 10 September 1919.

expressing his appreciation for the privileges offered to him.³⁰³ Many other visitors indeed accepted invitations to the course to play a round of golf. In 1934, the officers of the H. M. S. Danae wrote back to Colwood to “thank the President and Members of the Royal Colwood Golf Club for their kindness in extending the privileges of the Club” before affirming they “have very great pleasure in accepting.”³⁰⁴ Letters of acceptance to play at the Colwood course were often written in glowing terms, and those who accepted were always thankful for the privileges offered to them and expressed excitement to play golf at Colwood. Those who accepted most likely knew how rarely these invitations were sent out, and would have known the exclusive status of the Colwood Golf and Country Club.

This chapter has looked at upper-class Victorians’ notions of nature as well as the ways in which the particular natural landscape of Colwood, which was idealized and fabricated, became an extremely exclusive space for both locals and visitors. The creation and maintenance of the Colwood Golf and Country Club’s course was, in various ways, a colonial project. One of the chief aims of colonial projects is to take over lands by whatever means necessary. Once taken, colonial authorities and settlers radically reorganize local landscapes, which help legitimize their control over the land.³⁰⁵ The establishment of the Colwood course over a large land mass not only allowed those in charge of the Club to take the land, it allowed them to appropriate and change the land to their desired effects. This in itself was an exclusionary practice, as Indigenous peoples were removed from the land to accomplish these goals, thus putting the history of the Colwood Club in the larger histories of colonialism, exclusivity and

³⁰³ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 14, Folder 3, Letter from J. L. McCrea to Mr. J. A. Sayward, 12 September 1919. J. L. McCrea, who was writing on behalf of the admiral, stated that Rodman sent “his appreciation for the privileges offered and regrets that both he and the officers were unable to avail themselves of your hospitality.”

³⁰⁴ BCA, Kenneth R. Genn fonds, MS-1950, Box 15, Folder 3, Letter from H.M.S. Danae to Colwood, 9 July 1934.

³⁰⁵ Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 23. Through legitimizing their control over the land, Europeans have also attempted to extinguish Indigenous land title and concepts about land usage.

discrimination. Once the land was controlled by settlers and transformed into a golf course, further exclusionary practices were implemented to transform the natural location of Colwood into a uniquely upper-class leisure site. Central to the ideological underpinnings that fueled the changes to the landscape of the Colwood course were ideas surrounding nature, which, as historian Tracey Banivanna-Mar has explained, were “ideologically, physically and socially produced” by settlers.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ Tracey Banivanna-Mar, “Carving Wilderness: Queensland’s National Parks and the Unsettling of Emptied Lands, 1890-1910,” in Tracey Banivanna-Mar and Penelope Edmonds eds., *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 76.

Chapter VI: A Long Walk Back to the Clubhouse: Final Thoughts and Conclusions

Throughout my thesis, I have argued that the Colwood Golf and Country Club was an elite, exclusive, and idealized institution in Victoria during its early existence from 1913 to 1934. The narrative I produced has scrutinised one aspect of Victoria's upper-class society and the ways in which it created a restricted and purposefully limited space, by tracing the Club's links to Vancouver Island's colonial past and elite sporting culture as well as examining the Club's rules and by-laws. Chapter II examined certain aspects of the colonial history of Vancouver Island and discussed ideas and events that led to the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands and the establishment of settler spaces, including sites of leisure. This colonial history was then linked to the upper-class sporting culture in Victoria. The chapter concluded by exploring the land that the Colwood Club purchased and built its course upon, as well as the early chronological history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. I covered this history to help contextualize the land that the Colwood Club was built upon and to situate the Club in an extended history of colonialism and exclusion.

Chapter III scrutinized the various organizational rules and regulations present at Colwood which were implemented to maintain the Club as an exclusive space. Particular attention was given to the by-laws and membership process that was present at the Club, to show the exclusive nature of the Club's members. Chapter IV continued analyzing the exclusive nature of the Colwood Club by discussing the cultural norms related to class and gender that were present at the Club and on the golf course. The analyses I chose were some of the most significant ways of understanding the exclusive space that Colwood members envisioned and ultimately enforced.

In Chapter V, I examined the relationship between the Colwood Club and nature, and discussed how those who played the Colwood course understood the space as a beautiful and natural setting. Those at Colwood, and others, such as visitors, understood the golf course as a part of untouched nature, and promoted it as such. I argued that there was an idealized image of the course, and that this image of a natural space was profoundly shaped and maintained by the Club and settler society. I concluded this chapter, which is heavily linked to Chapter II, by arguing that the creation and maintenance of the Colwood Golf and Country Club's course was, in various ways, a colonial project, based on land ownership and reorganization.

During the period of study, and to a major extent because of the various reasons I have examined, the Colwood Club became a significant upper-class institution in Victoria, and a well-respected golf course throughout North American upper-class golfing and social circles. However, the precise nature of exclusivity, as practiced at the Colwood Club, did not last forever. The year 1934 was chosen as an endpoint for my study because of various changes that happened at the Club. J. A. Sayward, principal founder and the only president of the Club in its early existence, passed away in 1934. His death, the loss of his leadership, guidance, and financial aid, and the impact of the Great Depression led to the deterioration of the Club, particularly concerning its finances and membership numbers.³⁰⁷ Various changes and new rules were implemented to try and keep the Club operational, along with new membership policies, entrance fees, and dues. The membership numbers of the Club plunged as low as fifty members throughout many of the years between 1939 and 1945, which was also due to the start of World

³⁰⁷ It is interesting to note that J. A. Sayward's only daughter, Margaret Sayward-Wilson, who had long been a member of the Colwood Club before moving to England after the death of her father, was the beneficiary of her father's large estate. She kept her father's shares as well as her shares in the Colwood Land Company, and often sent what financial aid she could to the Club. Many at the time believed this was one of the few reasons the Club was able to remain operational through the Great Depression and World War Two. *Royal Colwood Golf Club, 100 Years*, 26.

War Two.³⁰⁸ It was not until many years after World War Two that the Colwood Club regained membership numbers, solidified its finances, and was able to continue to grow as a well-renowned and respected club in North America.

The year 1934 is the end of my study; however, it is far from the end of the narrative of the Colwood Golf and Country Club. Golf still is, just as it has historically been, a sport with various barriers to access. Despite the rise of public and municipal courses since the 1950s and the growth of golf among middle-class individuals in North America, golf at its elite levels is still an exclusive sport. The Colwood Golf and Country Club, now titled the Royal Colwood Golf Club, is still around. The Club has remained a private and exclusive golf course, with high entry fees and various new or altered rules for becoming a member. For example, a waiting list was established for prospective members in the 1970s, with new members having to wait as long as seven years before being admitted to the Club.³⁰⁹ Entry and yearly fees have also risen throughout the Club's history. In 2018, a full member is required to pay an initiation fee of \$8,000.00, along with monthly charges of \$309.16, and must also spend a minimum of \$45.00 per month at the Club's grill and lounge.³¹⁰ It remains difficult to play the course as a non-member, too. A non-member who does not know a current member has to write a letter to the Club's Director of Golf to be allowed to play, and has to pay a visitor's fee of \$165.00 for one round of golf. If a visitor knows a current member, then they pay a reduced fee of \$80.00. Visitors can only play the course a maximum of six times per year at these fees, after which the fees are increased. As much as the Club has changed since 1934, its exclusive nature has remained similar in many ways. The past has not only influenced the present when it comes to

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 24.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 32.

³¹⁰ All figures were taken from the Royal Colwood Golf Club's website, which discusses the various membership types and dues. "Membership," Royal Colwood Golf Club, last accessed 16 April 2018, <https://www.royalcolwood.org/Membership.aspx>.

exclusion in golf, it has remained similar in many ways to the present. Large tracts of land in Victoria, and throughout North America, have remained in the control of a minimal number of upper-class individuals who have used these spaces solely for their own leisure and pleasure. Presently, there are still many issues involving class, gender, and race in golf, and many changes still need to be made before golf can become a more inclusive and accessible sport.³¹¹ Hopefully, this study has helped illuminate and explain part of the historical process that has led to this form of exclusive leisure in Victoria, while linking sport to the larger trends of colonialism and Indigenous land dispossession on Vancouver Island that are still extremely significant in the present. By examining golf in Victoria through these lenses, I aimed to show how sport can also be understood as a colonial tool for changing entire natural and cultural landscapes for the expansion of settler society.

There are still various other areas of importance and interest that require further study in relation to golf, exclusivity, and Victoria's upper-class leisure. Delving into the full history of the Colwood Golf and Country Club throughout the entire 20th century might prove valuable, as it would track the various trends I have analysed in my thesis over a longer period of study. Such an approach might reveal broader changes that have occurred in golf and exclusive sports in the 20th century. There were also other private golf clubs that were established in Victoria and along the Pacific Northwest at the turn of the twentieth century. A study of these clubs would allow for an examination of the wider trends in the sport of golf in this region. Many of these golf clubs joined the Pacific Northwest Golf Association, an organization that hosted many tournaments and events at golf courses throughout the region in the 20th century. A study of this organization

³¹¹ For further analysis on the ways in which various communities and minorities are underserved due to the placement of golf clubs, the existing power structures, and racial tensions, see Ronald L. Mitchelson and Michael T. Lazaro, "The Face of the Game."

would provide a rich and relevant contribution to the literature and would allow for further examination on the exclusive nature of golf clubs along with the social networks golfers created amongst themselves. Also, a wider study of sport throughout British Columbia might further shed light on the various links between sport, colonialism, and landscape. Unfortunately, these broader analyses were beyond the scope of my study, and therefore I was not able to cover all of these topics for inquiry in my study. But, as historian William Cronon has eloquently indicated, it is important to remember that the stories which we write define what is “included and excluded, relevant and irrelevant, empowered and disempowered.”³¹² Our narratives reveal the experiences and histories we value, along with the discontinuities and differing knowledges that have no room in our stories. Scholars, such as myself, have control over the narratives they create, but we can also only cover so much. My thesis is, after all, not the hole story.

³¹² William Cronon, “A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative,” *The Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1349.

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