April 19, 2021

Dear Commission of Inquiry:

My name is Jeffrey T. Sammons, a professor of history at New York University. I received an undergraduate degree in history from Rutgers College in 1971, a masters in same from Tufts University in 1974, and a doctorate in history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1982. I was on the faculty at the University of Houston from 1982-1987 before becoming a Henry Rutgers Research Fellow and Director of African American Studies at Rutgers University Camden from 1987 to 1989 when I became a tenured associate professor of history at New York University. I am the author of *Beyond the* *Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society* and lead coauthor of *Harlem’s Rattlers and the Great War: The Undaunted 369th Regiment and the African American Quest for Equality*. Interestingly, I learned after publication there were at least three Bermudian members of the unit—two Joelle brothers and Reginald Alvin Bean. Mr. Bean received the Croix de Guerre for heroism.

As some of you know, my current interest in Bermuda was piqued by the life and career(s) of Louis Collingwood Canterbury Corbin better known by his professional name Louis Rafael Corbin and in Bermuda as Kid Corbin. I took part in a recent documentary of his life produced under the auspices of the Department of Community and Cultural Affairs in 2019. Corbin was a fearless fighter against injustice and a shameless self-promoter, whose short but full life (1907-1951) tracks the rise of golf as sport, economic institution, and change agent in Bermuda. His story is the subject of my next book project and not this presentation.

I am before you today to share my research into the central role of golf in Bermuda’s tourist industry, modernization process, and the compulsory acquisition program. Unfortunately, I have virtually no access to deeds and title information given my remove from Bermuda but also because registered land transactions and deeds were not recorded centrally until 2018. Land transfer notices or records are listed in assessment books of each parish, but the research process is rather complicated and expensive and without guarantee of success. Until such time as I obtain research assistance from those in Bermuda or travel is possible for such a purpose, I must rely on other kinds of evidence including government acts, newspaper articles, *Bushell’s Business Directory and Handbook* (and its subsequent titles), and fragmented official records. Rather than a detailed and specific account of land acquired, people displaced, compensation offered and received for a specific golf course or related development, this presentation will demonstrate that golf was a driving force, if not **the** driving force, in this transformative and disruptive process, full of hardships and with long-lasting consequences that your body is investigating and addressing to this very day.

Let me get straight to the point. In or around 1900, Bermuda was home to four golf courses, none longer than 9 holes. They were the Bermuda Golf Club at Spanish Point, the Naval Golf Links on Ireland Island, the Prospect Garrison Course in Devonshire, and the St. George’s Garrison Course. Between that time and 1920, I believe there were no new golf courses built on the islands. By 1930, there were three 18-hole courses and five 9-hole courses with an additional course under construction in the Castle Harbour region of Tucker’s Town. To put these numbers in perspective, Bermuda is 26 square miles and at the time had a population of 30,000. The average 18-hole course requires 150 to 200 acres of land. A conservative estimate of acreage occupied by the 18-hole courses is 450 acres. Using the same ratio, the five 9-hole course acreage total is, at the low end, 375. There are 640 acres in a square mile. Hence more than a square mile of land of the total 26 square miles was for golf courses. Yet, the project led by Charles Blair Macdonald and Furness Withy was for 500 acres alone. Given that these estimates do not factor in living accommodations on and adjacent to the courses, one can reasonably assume that the acreage total above is far lower than the actual figure. Even more important is whose land was acquired for construction, how was it gotten, for whom, and at what cost monetary and otherwise.[[1]](#endnote-1)

Although 1919-1920 marks the beginning of the period of great change, the process of transformation was long in the making. The following is a history of the rise of golf tourism in Bermuda.

When golf came of age in the very late 19th C and spread throughout the Western world, Bermuda, because of its colonial status in the British Empire and the constant presence of the military, was a beneficiary/recipient. The first mention of golf in the *Royal Gazette* was in 1845 and reveals how little the game meant to the collective consciousness of Bermudians. The game was something to be commented on and reflected upon from a far. It was in the context of health and amusements that the first mention of the ancient sport appeared. Citing a Dr. Bethune, who promoted physical exercise as an instrument of health, the article seems to agree that sport and physical exercise were keys to good health a notion that was formalized in the Muscular Christianity movement, which maintained the body was the temple of the soul. According to the author, the prime example were the Scots, who “even when gray with age lays his volume or pen aside to join in his ancestral game of golf…and returns to his books, sturdy in body and happy in spirit.”[[2]](#endnote-2)

Some 46 years later in 1891, the next significant reference to the sport appears in the *Royal Gazette* but had nothing to do with the sport at home, instead it was a reprint of an article by the great cricket aficionado W. G. Grace who opined on the spread of golf from Scotland to England and even though some expert cricketers had taken up the sport he dismissed it as a significant threat to the primacy of cricket as the national sport of England—a status more likely claimed by football today. Ironically, cricket instead became the national sport of its colonies of color. What Mr. Grace failed to recognize was the game’s appeal to all who could afford it regardless of sex. Moreover it offered excellent opportunities for respectable socialization between the sexes. The same applied to tennis, which he also disparaged, but Bermudians embraced the racquet sport before golf caught their fancy. The former’s popularity was demonstrated in the advertising of equipment when golf was mentioned only in an ad for a new table game of the same name.[[3]](#endnote-3)

From all available sources, it was the military that introduced the game to the islands. In fact, the earliest sites for playing of the game in Bermuda were associated with naval and army officers from one end of the archipelago to the other. The first reference to the playing of the actual sport appears in 1892 the when the officers of the St. George’s Garrison “made arrangements for five days’ entertainment on the cricket grounds,” including a golf tournament. By 1897 that site had been named the Garrison Golf Ground, and in 1900 the Garrison Golf Club and later the Garrison Golf Links.[[4]](#endnote-4) It was also referred to as the St. George’s Course or the Fort St. George Course and primarily for army officers and their privileged guests. On the far western end of the islands near the current dockyards was a course for the Royal Navy on Ireland Island. There was even a short course on the grounds of the Governor’s estate in Pembroke although the Governor reportedly enjoyed the Bermuda Golf Club course almost every afternoon. Established around 1895, it was the Islands’ only golf club and the primary course for civilians, including women, and was considered the most picturesque. Located at Spanish Point, it was short and quirky with stone walls, quarries, onion and potato patches, fields of lilies, and abutting houses coming into play. As one can imagine, these conditions probably were not common or particularly appealing to most visitors of the time. The caddies described as intelligent and predominantly “colored boys” earned three pence per round. More important was the fact that the secretary-treasurer and president were Americans--a foreshadowing of things to come.[[5]](#endnote-5)

Despite press reports that golfers thronged the course for a multi-day tournament, the game was not a major attraction for tourists. The mild climate, natural beauty, and tranquil atmosphere attracted visitors, many of whom made stops at Bermuda on the way to the Caribbean. For most travelers, golf was a bonus feature even though often a vexing one. One of Bermuda’s most famous guests was Mark Twain who is mistakenly credited with characterizing golf as a good walk spoiled. A few lines from the anonymous poem “Golf and Its Victims” reinforce that characterization no matters its source: “Have you heard them curse the sparrow/Fit to freeze your inmost marrow/When the ball, that should be flitting/On the grass remaineth sitting?”[[6]](#endnote-6) *Bushell’s Directory* first published in 1895 a year later changed its title to include tourism yet golf as a recreational attraction does not appear until 1911. For all of its flaws as a shameless boosterism, the publication is an indispensable factual guide to Bermuda and a barometer of its development.

At the turn of the century, according to a report in the *Boston Globe*, golfers from the Northeast were more likely to visit Florida in the winter than Bermuda, but noted that a few “ventured across the gulf stream to indulge in their favorite sport.” The largest number of golfers at one time in Bermuda was estimated to be 50 where there were three courses in 1901.[[7]](#endnote-7) Despite their short length and rather untraditional layout the courses of Bermuda were garnering attention in the U.S. press as also evidenced by the mention of golf professional William J. McDonald who had been associated with the Bermuda Golf Club as well as the Royal Golf Club of Liverpool often referred to by its location in Hoylake. In that same year The Tower department store advertised golf clubs from St. Andrews and all manner of balls and related products the proprietor claims to “have been selling for years.”[[8]](#endnote-8)

Although unlikely, to have been imagined at the time, a series of matches in 1905 featuring three American players with great influence in the game internationally might have marked the sowing of seeds for Bermuda’s transformation into a tourist destination and the end of its agrarian way of life. Walter Travis a recent British Amateur champion, Horace Rawlins a former U.S. Open champion, and Charles Blair Macdonald played numerous rounds at the Bermuda Golf Club and the Prospect Garrison Course in Devonshire roughly the current site of Ocean View Golf Club. Macdonald, the name to remember, and Travis were members of the Garden City Golf Club in Garden City, Long Island. Macdonald also belonged to Shinnecock Hills which started as a 12-hole course in 1891 and was expanded to 18 holes in 1895 and destined to become one of the world’s greatest golf courses. In 1908, Macdonald, after a dispute with Shinnecock, founded and helped design his own course The National Links of America directly next door with spectacular views of the Peconic Bay not afforded at his former course. He understood as well as anyone what was required to create a great golf course and what it meant to its members and to the community around it. Macdonald, born in Canada, was also a major Wall Street financier described as a person one either loved or despised as there was no middle ground. Yet the trip in 1905 was described by the press as a vacation with Mrs. Macdonald, and golf was a diversion but not the main purpose for visiting. They were also accompanied by a few other well-known American guests including the wealthy and powerful Harrimans. Among the Bermudians were Miss Ingraham [Ingham], the Governor General’s daughter-in-law, and his private secretary Major Bigge known as “the resident scratch (zero handicap) amateur golfer” of the islands.[[9]](#endnote-9) The connections facilitated through golf between the powerful and influential on both sides--U.S. and Bermuda--cannot be overlooked as these types of relationships could and, often, did lead to business and political alliances.

By this time, Bermuda had numerous hotels but very few if any advertised golf. The first such instance appears in a *Royal Gazette* article on the not yet completed St. George’s Hotel in 1906. It was under His Excellency Governor Stewart that the King approved the St. George’s Hotel project scheduled for opening in January 1907. The Garrison Links, where Lady Stewart hosted a golf tournament in May 1906, was an easy stroll from the hotel site which occupied 15 acres of prime St. Georges real estate on Rose Hill with a spectacular view of St. George’s harbor and itself visible to every approaching vessel—a white Bermuda limestone self-advertisement. The interior was to contain fifty-eight bedrooms and accommodate 200 guests in a bright and comfortable but not a conspicuously ornamental environment.[[10]](#endnote-10) Given that the property adjoined an existing golf club it married tourism and the sport in a fashion that presaged the rise of the game as recreation and business for locals and an integral element in the rise of the tourist industry. It was also the course and property upon which black Bermudian icon Louis Collingwood Canterbury Corbin later known as Louis Rafael Corbin would set his sights and ply his trade.[[11]](#endnote-11)

At the time, Bermuda’s political, commercial, and media influencers were cautiously approaching a turn toward mass tourism. The most audacious plan involved the consolidation of existing hotels to achieve economies of scale supported by guarantees from the government. The Bermuda Hotel Company, Ltd was to lead this project, which would include golf links, polo field, and a race track for another £50,000 in addition to water supply, increased electric capacity, and a system of transit through cedar land on the hill sides. The anonymous proponent signed as “Interested.” There is one major clue that suggests the writer is not Bermudian as he dismisses the possibility that an epidemic would destroy the tourist economy because of “your health regulations.” He certainly could not have anticipated today’s pandemic, but he clearly knew Bermuda well even parts off the beaten track.[[12]](#endnote-12) No one should be surprised if “Interested” were none other than Charles Blair Macdonald. Although “Interested’s” particular plan was not realized at the time it served as a blueprint, even in its name, for the future and a sign of an inexorable movement in that direction as business and golf and tourism were inextricably linked. It is, perhaps, no coincidence when the Bermuda Golf Club announced a general meeting in 1909, the location was the Chamber of Commerce in the Colonist Building.[[13]](#endnote-13)

A year and a few months later, an ad appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* placed by The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Of course, large and profitable tourism was not possible without regular, reliable, safe, comfortable, and speedy transportation. The above company’s *Trent*, sailing every ten days was not satisfactory. Such service and a world war would open the door to many suitors keen on solving Bermuda’s transport and development issues while making a handsome profit. Eventually, Furness Withy, based in London, would become the central player not only in the provision of transportation but also in commercial, residential, and recreational projects in Bermuda. No shipping company believed that a significant investment in the necessary ships would yield dividends without massive changes to infrastructure, recreational facilities, and accommodations. In the meantime, *The Trent*, at a cost of $20.00 round trip and up with packages at higher rates, would have to suffice. Its Bermuda ad highlighted the relatively short distance from New York to “the land of perpetual spring” with its mild temperatures, “fine sea breezes” and “lilies and oleanders” in full bloom. Perhaps for the first time in any Bermuda tourism advertisement, golf headed the list of attractions, including tennis, boating, bathing, fishing, and cycling.[[14]](#endnote-14)

In September 1911, the *Royal Gazette* informed readers that a movement was afoot to build a hotel in Somerset on the Burrows’ property not far from Somerset Bridge and near Ely’s Harbor with Daniel Flat and West Flat on one side and Cow Ground, and Lobster, Money, Price, and Craddock Bar on the other. As will become part of a pattern, the interested parties claimed that there were “no buildings of any consequence on the site.” With such ample “underutilized” land available, a golf course and tennis courts could be easily accommodated. Reportedly there was American interest in the project, which the article claimed made the £25,000 pound capitalization cost very doable. The big question was whether the Burrows would sell. Interestingly, the article mentions a links course already there. It was, perhaps, a reference to the Navy course on Ireland Island. To determine the outcome, further investigation is necessary.[[15]](#endnote-15)

A series of exchanges between Phillip Manson head of the New York based Bermuda-Atlantic Steam Ship Company and an unidentified “Observer” exposed tensions over numerous problems related to subsidies, debentures, long-term land leases, routes and hubs, and catering to Canadians. Manson pulled no punches in calling Bermudians “unpractical.” Neither the Royal Mail Service nor the Quebec Steam Ship Company nor that of Mr. Manson was the perfect partner. The main consideration of Bermudians was always how much they could afford to give up in order to gain more.[[16]](#endnote-16)

Despite not finding a suitable transportation partner for its development aspirations, Bermuda officials, the press, and business leaders pushed the mass tourism scheme as never before. In January 1914, the *Royal Gazette* in cooperation with the Trade Development Board and Government Agent, Mr. E. F. Darrell informed the public of a national tourism campaign touting the virtues of Bermuda and distinguishing its promotional literature from that of the steamship lines. These ads featured beautiful scenes of Bermuda and listed its outstanding attractions with golf at the forefront. Coincidentally, a spate of ads featuring the *Bermudian* appeared in every imaginable U.S. newspaper with golf once again leading the list of attractions.[[17]](#endnote-17)

The flurry of advertising was accompanied by serious negotiations with the London-based Canadian Steamship Company which agreed to support hotel and golf course development if necessary. The members of the Trade Development Board backed the arrangement and prepared to defend their decision before the House of Assembly. It is instructive to name the members as many if not all would continue to play a major role in the transformation of Bermuda’s economy if not its culture and appearance. They were: F. Goodwin Gosling, E.C. Wilkinson, C.V. Ingham. A.W. Bluck, S.S. Spurling, Jas. L. Smith, H.A. Peniston, H.D. Butterfield, J.D.C. Darrell, E.C. Pearman, and D.C. Trott. This group probably comprised the core of Bermuda’s oligarchy. Of these names, the one to consider most closely is Stanley Salisbury Spurling of St. George’s, who would be knighted in 1935 and become known as the “Prime Minister of Bermuda” because of his internal and external influence in politics but also in business. He lived a long and active life from 1879 to 1961, a period of immense change in Bermuda and for much of which he played a primary and decisive role. Forty-two of those years were spent in the Assembly (1899-1941) as the youngest person ever elected to that office. His obituary led with “Bermuda’s Grand Old Man is Dead.”[[18]](#endnote-18)

Indeed, it was Spurling who countered the opposition in the House of Assembly to the rebate system in the proposal. He pointed to the decline in tourism over the last two years which was in large part related to the lack of regular, frequent, dedicated, and affordable steamship service. He argued that the proposed arrangement would benefit farmers, hoteliers, and other commercial interests. Interestingly, he marked the boom in tourism with the subsidizing of the *Bermudian* and the *Prince George* to provide regular and more frequent service in 1904. His argument won the day as the House agreed to the subsidy. The word spread to U.S., and the *Royal Gazette* proudly reprinted an article from the *New York World* that seemed to come directly from the Trade Development Board. It deserves full citation:

 The plans for development of Bermuda’s resort possibilities include the building of a

 new theatre, together with a full season’s engagement of companies to cater for the

 public. For this purpose, the site has already been secured in a very central position.

 For daylight hours new golf links are being planned on a full scale on a very convenient

 and accessible site, so that golfers should in the future be able to enjoy their favourite

sport to the full. The erection of a first class country clubhouse forms an essential part

of the scheme.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Interest in golf as a money-making business extended to numerous individuals and business enterprises. One ready to take advantage of the potential surge in golf, was J.M. Bennett, who was or had been in the poultry business. In March 1914 he ran a series of ads, claiming twenty years of playing experience, offering a free introductory lesson, and promising to remove the kinks from a pupil’s swing through “the modern Scotch style.” In 1916, he ran another series of ads pledging to reduce scores and to prevent his pupils from being “a source of amusement to other players and caddies.” He also stocked equipment made in Bermuda. No further association between golf and him can be found after that. Perhaps his services were not as advertised for the game went on even during war as the St. George’s Hotel announced that it would remain open for the summer and invited guests from abroad to enjoy fine dining, spectacular views, moderate rates, and numerous amenities, including golf.[[20]](#endnote-20)

There is no doubt that the British Declaration of War on Germany and the Central Powers August 4, 1914, nearly stopped Bermuda’s tourist development plans in their tracks, although steamship negotiations continued as did legislative debates on trade. Mr. Spurling began to side with Furness Withy ostensibly because of a lower commission. In late December 1918, a little more than a month after the Armistice, the Bermuda Trade Development Board ended negotiations with the Canadian company which many feared would lead to excessive profits for it and too much control over Bermuda. One thing remained constant, support for golf course and related development was considered the cornerstone for success.[[21]](#endnote-21)

One critical decision remained—the site of development. There were proposals for Spanish Point, Bellevue, and Garrison Golf Links (Devonshire?). Stanley Spurling preferred Tucker’s Town for its scenic beauty but understood the difficulties with transportation. The Trade Board suggested that the selection of sites should be by a committee made up of an equal number of representatives of the Company and the Colony so as to prevent exorbitant prices for the purchase of land.[[22]](#endnote-22)

Although I have not found direct evidence of communications or a relationship, Stanley Spurling seemed to be on same page as Charles Blair Macdonald. When the golf course architect and friend of Macdonald, Seth Raynor was to arrive in Bermuda to assess properties, his greeting party included Spurling, J.P. Hand, and E.C. Gosling. Future developments would suggest that Macdonald had only one property in mind—the one in Tucker’s Town overlooking the South Shore, Harrington Sound, and Castle Harbour.[[23]](#endnote-23) Soon a supposedly independently arrived at interest in Bermuda’s development led to an alliance between Macdonald and Furness Withy. The partnership would be formalized in the Bermuda Development Company supported by at least three major acts of the Bermuda legislature and almost unfettered access to land owned and/or occupied by individuals and institutions. It would set into motion a series of private and government partnerships, including Riddell’s Bay Golf and Country Club and Shore Hills Golf Club among others. Furness Withy even petitioned the House for limited powers of compulsory acquisition.[[24]](#endnote-24) What it did get was “oversight” by a legislature appointed commission that would review transactions, set “fair” prices, hear disputes, and appoint arbitrators. The courts would have final jurisdiction in unresolved matters.[[25]](#endnote-25) It was clearly a process that favored those with resources and, undoubtedly, powerful connections. In all of the press coverage, there appears virtually no sympathy for the displaced who were necessary sacrifices for the common good. A common attitude and practice in white minority settler environments is that only they know how to make best use of resources, including land. In fact, that area in question was referred to as “a veritable wilderness” and even the “Jungle” *Bushell’s Handbook*.[[26]](#endnote-26)

I conclude with evidence that the some land in question was occupied and in thriving communities. Some of it had to have been under cultivation. The second Bermuda Development Company Act describes the land and buildings wanted for acquisition. They were: A.M.E Chapel, School House, Methodist Chapel, Methodist Cemetery, and Cable House as well as three lots of the War Department. According to a report in the 2014 AME Conference Program the trustees of the property received £1,500 or $6,000.00.[[27]](#endnote-27) One can imagine the emotional hardship of seeing a place of worship and important community institution forced to relocate and build anew. That is to say nothing of the relationship between the fair market value of the property and that received. The justification for acquisition of the school house was that there were no longer enough students to justify its preservation and operation. That is a classic Catch-22 of taking property and institutions and expecting people to stay in a community without the amenities that are customary and necessary.

I have included, among others, two documents that speak to the privilege that some had that others could only dream of. The first is a partial version of the Spurling Brothers Act of 1921 and the Charles Blair Macdonald Act of 1940. The latter permitted the ownership of Macdonald’s Bermuda property by Macdonald’s American grandchildren.[[28]](#endnote-28)

1. Matt Crownover, “How Many Acres Are Needed for an 18-Hole Golf Course?’, Golfweek golftips.golfweek.usatoday.com/average-cost-round-golf 20670.html downloaded 04/18/2021 [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. *Royal Gazette*, Nov 18, 1845 p 4. Downloaded 4/16/2021, BNL [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. *Royal Gazette*, Aug 18, 1891, p 4. Downloaded 4/16/2021, BNL [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. *Royal Gazette*, Jan 5, 1892, p 5; Dec 29, 1896, p 3; Jan 5, 1897, p 5 [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. *Royal Gazette*, Mar 1, 1898, p 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Mar 28, 1897, p 16, Newspapers.com, downloaded Apr 11, 2021. W.D. Dixon of Philadelphia was president and Walter H. Coles was the secretary-treasurer in 1897. The author is not sure of the reference to the course of the Governor’s grounds and the omission of the Prospect Garrison Course in Devonshire. I will have to investigate more thoroughly. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. *Royal Gazette*, Aug 7, 1984, p 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. *Boston Globe*, Apr 8, 1901, p 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. *Baltimore Sun*, June 28, 1902, p 6; Royal Gazette, Mar 3, 1901, p 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. *Boston Globe*, Mar 4, 1905, p 3; *New York Tribune*, Mar 14, 1905, p 9. Alfred L. Norris of Garden City Golf Club and Dyker Meadow Golf Club and a prominent broker was also in the party. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. *Royal Gazette*, Jun 26, 1906, p 2; May 5, 1906, p 5; June 26, 1906, p 2; Feb 23, 1907, p 2. In 1907, the hotel produced a tourist guide *Bermuda or Somers Islands*, which sketched the history of the islands and listed and described many points of interest especially in St. George’s. I have not seen the publication to know if the nearby Garrison golf course is mentioned. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Citations for Corbin info [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Royal Gazette, Dec 19, 1908, p 6 and Dec 15, 1908, p 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. *Royal Gazette*, Feb 16, 1909, p 3 downloaded Mar 20, 2021, BNL [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. ; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Jul 31, 1910, Newspapers.com, downloaded Jan 25, 2021. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. *Royal Gazette*, Sept 30. 1911, p 3. Downloaded 4/17/2021. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. *Royal Gazette*, Sep 11, 1913, p 1; Sep 13, 1913, p 1; Oct 2, 1913, p 1. Downloaded 4/16/2021 [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. *Royal Gazette*, Jan 15, 1914, p 2, downloaded 4/17/2021; *Evening Journal* (Wilmington, DE), Nov 20, 1915, p 22. Downloaded Newspapers.com 4/17/2021; and [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. *Royal Gazette*, Jan 20, 1914, pp 1 & 7-8, downloaded 4/17/2021; Royal Gazette, Jan 11, 1961, pp 1 & 3, downloaded BNL 02/14/2021. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. *Royal Gazette*, Jan 22, 1914, p 2; Jan 24, 1914, p 2, Jan 24, 1914, p 2; and Feb 28, 1914, p 2. Downloaded 4/17/2021. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. *Royal Gazette*, Mar 10, 1914, p 2; Mar 12, !914, p 2; Mar 14, 1914, p 5; Feb 22, 1916, p 3; Feb 24, 1916, p 3; and Feb 26, 1916, p 3. His service was based at the Garrison Club, which one is not clear. Perhaps the phone number 22-2-16.1247 provides a clue. *Royal Gazette*, June 1, 1916, p 5, Downloaded 4/15/2021. The exception to the promotion of golf was an ad placed by the Quebec S.S. Co. and The Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. that emphasized Bermuda’s moderate to sub-tropical climate as “48 hours from frost to flowers” and as a place of unsurpassable beauty per square foot as claimed by William Dean Howells, a towering American literary figure nicknamed the dean of American letters. See New York Times, Jan 5, 1914, p 15, Proquest Historical Newspapers downloaded 4/17/2021. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. *Royal Gazette*, Nov 12, 1918, p1; Nov 14, 1918, p 1; Nov 16, 1918, p 1; Dec 5, 1918, p 1. (Must develop the narrative) In March 1916 Spurling and a group from the Chamber of Commerce formed the Six Hundred Committee or Club with the express purpose of promoting and supporting a golf course and country club as the only way to develop tourism see *Royal Gazette*, Mar 2, 1916, p 3. J.P. Hand, A.B. Smith, W.J.H. Trott, and E. C. Pearman were among the officers and members. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. *Royal Gazette*, Dec 21, 1918, p ? [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. *Royal Gazette*, Oct 4, 1919, p 1 and Jan 31, 1920, p 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. *Royal Gazette*, Feb 24, 1920, p 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. The Bermuda Development Co, Act, 1920 (Jul 5, 1920) No 19, pp 54-72 and Bermuda Development Co Act, 1920, No 25, pp 78-99 in Bermuda Acts and Resolves 1920, Hathi Trust downloaded 3/30/2021 [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. *Royal Gazette*, Jan 14, 1928, p 12

Don’t forget Adele Tucker and her lamenting of the agrarian past and associated work ethic and pure morals. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. AME Annual Conference Program 2014 provided by Deputy Speaker Derrick Burgess and MP Kim Swan. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Spurling Brothers Act 1921; Charles Blair Macdonald Act, 1940 [↑](#endnote-ref-28)