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More than milk and cookies: a cultural analysis of the college play day

Sarah Jane Eikleberry
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MORE THAN MILK AND COOKIES: A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE COLLEGE PLAY DAY

by

Sarah Jane Eikleberry

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Health and Sport Studies
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2013

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Catriona Parratt

ABSTRACT

Two thousand and twelve marked the fortieth anniversary of Title IX and the first Summer Olympic Games in which all attending nations sent female competitors. Too often, scholars of sport history conservatively frame the experiences of girls and women within a narrative of progress. College women's sport participation in particular is framed as a linear narrative beginning with the "new woman's" foray in college physical training, the non-competitive interwar coed, and the post Title IX female athlete. It is within this narrative that the college play day, a sport practice emerging in California and Washington in 1926 began to gain momentum as an additional form of extramural competition for college women. In this dissertation I interrogate which historical and societal forces contributed to the invention, diffusion, and evolution of the college play day. Though the play day is briefly included in descriptive narratives about women's physical activity and sport during the interwar era, deeper explorations are absent. This study aims to further elucidate the extent and variety of forms that the play day took. I aim to explore its general value within the college setting and its reception among women physical educators, colleagues, and play day participants. An additional research question I pose is what are the roles and contributions of certain individuals, alliances, and organizations involved in the invention, adoption, and evolutions of the college play day? Last, I question whether or not the play day is a site in which gender relations or other intersecting relations of power were reproduced, constructed, or transformed?

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Date

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Graduate College
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Sarah Jane Eikleberry

has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
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Susan J. Birrell

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Deborah E. Whaley

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Thomas J. Oates

_____
Travis Vogan

To Vicki and Carolan

Sport is a commentary on a woman's life

her movements
communicate a world of feeling
sport enlightens

it reveals all its adventures
all its conflicts
it is experimental
as woman is experimental
it knows nothing of finality
draws no conclusions

sport penetrates

it finds significance
in struggle
it hints of immortal beauty
in mortal form

it accepts contrasts of experiences
resolves their degrees and shades
the small things and the great
the gentleness and the majesty
the agony and the glory

sport can heal and it can hurt
it can praise and condemn
it can exhilarate
exasperate
sport informs
it is alive with the force of empathy
the intensity of sharing
the moment effective
it lives by the urgency of profound rhythms
it is prophetic of unfoldment
its informing spirit
suggests new meanings
and enriched visions
sport is woman's awareness of the universe
that lives within

La Ferne Ellis Price
"Human Condition"

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I am eternally grateful for the guidance and assistance provided by my dissertation committee. Their expertise and insight, generosity and support, and examples have helped me to become a better researcher, instructor, and person. I am particularly indebted to my dissertation chair, Tina Parratt, and academic advisor Susan Birrell for their patience in the initial formations of this project whilst they fought to protect the scholarly tradition and integrity of our former department. In my eight years as a graduate student both of these remarkable women served as a set of "academic moms" to me and a number of other grateful students. Tina, who frequently invited me to her home, freely shared cuttings, seeds, and other natural wonders for me to take into my own home and private gardens. While Tina has always lent her kind ear and green thumb, Susan has provided me with much expertise and support regarding all things canine. Additionally, she has provided the most sensible, sound, yet profound insights about love, family, and relationships. In our one-on-one chats, departmental colloquiums and workshops, and our Friday trips to local pubs both of these women have provided a consummate example of how to conduct oneself as a true colleague.

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Last, special thanks to the lovely, humorous, and multiply intelligent Bill Peterson. His good spirit and contagious energies make my world a far more beautiful one. An effortless feminist and true champion of compassion and patience, each day he makes me better by being himself.

ABSTRACT

Two thousand and twelve marked the fortieth anniversary of Title IX and the first Summer Olympic Games in which all attending nations sent female competitors. Too often, scholars of sport history conservatively frame the experiences of girls and women within a narrative of progress. College women's sport participation in particular is framed as a linear narrative beginning with the "new woman's" foray in college physical training, the non-competitive interwar coed, and the post Title IX female athlete. It is within this narrative that the college play day, a sport practice emerging in California and Washington in 1926 began to gain momentum as an additional form of extramural competition for college women. In this dissertation I interrogate which historical and societal forces contributed to the invention, diffusion, and evolution of the college play day. Though the play day is briefly included in descriptive narratives about women's physical activity and sport during the interwar era, deeper explorations are absent. This study aims to further elucidate the extent and variety of forms that the play day took. I aim to explore its general value within the college setting and its reception among women physical educators, colleagues, and play day participants. An additional research question I pose is what are the roles and contributions of certain organizations, alliances, and individuals involved in the invention, adoption, and evolutions of the college play day? Last, I question whether or not the Play Day is a site in which gender relations or other intersecting relations of power were reproduced, constructed, or transformed?

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

Two thousand and twelve marked the fortieth anniversary of Title IX and the first Summer Olympic Games in which all attending nations sent female competitors. Though women's sporting participation and athletic endeavors have broadened considerably during the past century, too often, historians of sport have conservatively chronicled the experiences of girls and women as a narrative of progress. Women's sport participation in higher education is particularly framed as a linear narrative beginning with the "new woman's" foray in college physical training, the non-competitive interwar coed, and the post Title IX female athlete. It is within this narrative that the college play day, a sport practice emerging in California and Washington in 1926, has too often been interpreted by scholars as a pedagogical misstep or competitive faux pas.[1] Through an archival examination of the college play day, this paper considers how this sport practice was more than a decrepit stepping stone traversed by the American sportswoman. By the late 1920s college play days emerged and served as a mainstay of many women's physical education curriculums, dotting the calendars of Women's Athletic Association and Majors Clubs' schedules until the early 1970s. It was during this time the innovation of the college play day served as a flexible spectacle whose purpose shifted to suit its users for half a century.

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1 Peg Burke, "Confessions of a Former Sexist," *Women Sport,* 1 (1974): 80; Lynn A. Couturier, "'Play With Us, Not Against Us': The Debate About Play Days in the Regulation of Women's Sport," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no.4 (2008): 435; *Dare to Compete: The Struggle of Women in Sports* (HBO Productions, 1999), Documentary; Jan Felshin, "The Social View" in *The American Woman in Sport,* eds., Ellen W. Gerber, Jan Felshin, Pearl Berlin, and Waneen Wyrick (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974): 206; *Fit: Episodes in the History of the Body,* (Conway: Straight Ahead Pictures, 1991), Documentary; Stephen H. Hardy and Jack W. Berryman, "A Historical View of the Governance Issue," in *The Governance of Intercollegiate Athletics,* ed., James Frey, (West Point: Leisure Press, 1982), 23.

The purpose of this study is to explore the college play day, a sport structure used by college women as early as 1926 until the early 1970s. This period has been characterized by the growth in athletic activity, a bulk of which was outside of schools and colleges taking place in industrial leagues and private athletic clubs. No longer "Lydia Languish" or the "soggy matron" of old, women and girls entered the culturally defined male preserve of sport.[2] In the 1999 HBO documentary, *Dare to Compete: The Struggle of Women in Sports*, filmmakers position the youthful and exuberant athletic celebrity of teenage "water baby" Gertrud Ederle and the charismatic elegance of elite international tennis celebrity, Suzanne Lenglen as Renaissance women emerging from the Dark Ages of the women's college gymnasium.[3] In contrast to the industrial league and private club sports, school and college participation often fell under the jurisdiction of physical education and recreation specialists. These overseers generally opposed varsity intercollegiate competition or barnstorming favoring mass play and intramurals. The present study focuses on an alternative sporting structure known as the *play day*, and its prevalence and evolution in American colleges and universities.[4] This research further contributes to the scholarship on women's physical education, and the non-elite sport experiences of American girls and women. It also provides a more complex understanding of various women's sporting pasts by situating the ideological and structural changes in competitive sport for college women within the social and historical forces that influenced them.

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2 Literary Digest 82 (September 13, 1924): 70; and "The Girl and Her Sports," Ladies Home Journal 32 (July 1915): 10 in Susan Cahn, Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 7.

3 *Dare to Compet*e, Videocassette.

4 For the purposes of this document I will use the term play day, unless referencing or noting a source that used a different name or variations. Play day, play-day, and playday are variations that exist within the source material I accessed.

According to sport historians women physical educators shaped many of the ideological sensibilities and consequent sporting structures within the academies and public schools in the 1920s until WWII. In 1923 many of these influential women led by Lou Henry Hoover convened in Washington D.C. to create an arm of the National Amateur Athletic Federation which would function as an advisory entity for groups overseeing women and girls' sports in the US. As with the White House meetings in 1905 that would eventually help produce the National Collegiate Athletic Association, officials from within the US government decided that athletics were a matter of national importance worthy of investing personnel and capital. The primary subjects of this study are the individuals who created, deployed, and reworked the sporting structures and curriculums that allowed for the college play day: leaders, instructors, and students. The play day's inventors and promoters were largely members of a network of Wellesley alumni who shared membership and representation on interlocking professional organizations, and shared similar rank in professional status within large research institutions. I consider the experiences of the students to the extent and in a way that my sources allowed me to.

It has long been assumed that play days occurred when a minimum of three schools convened at a predetermined site where girls and or women from each school were divided and placed on interinstitutional color teams. Participants were thought to temporarily relinquish institutional loyalties by forming mixed-teams for an afternoon of games, stunts, competitions, sports, parades, and other social events like teas, mixers, and dances.[5] This accepted definition underlies the critiques that some sport historians have

5 Vivien Acosta and Linda Carpenter, "Intercollegiate Athletics," in *Women as Leaders in Sport: Impact and Influence,* eds., Mary.A. Hums, Glenna G. Bower, & Heidi Grappendorf (Oxen Hill: AAPHERD Publications, 2007), 46-47; Glenna G. Bower, "Campus Recreation," in *Women as Leaders in Sport: Impact and Influence, eds.,* Mary.A. Hums, Glenna G. Bower, & Heidi Grappendorf, (Oxen Hill: AAPHERD Publications, 2007), 117; Susan Birrell, "The Woman Athlete's College Experience: Knowns and Unknowns," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 11 (1987): 82; Lynn E. Couturier, "'Play With Us Not Against Us,'" 421-442; Jan Felshin, "The Social View," in *The American Woman in Sport,* eds., Ellen W. Gerber, Jan Felshin, Pearl

waged against the female professionals responsible for inventing and adopting the play day. Jack Berryman and Steve Hardy, Jan Felshin, and Lynn E. Couturier maintain that practices like the play day inhibited the serious advancement of women's sport.[6] Felshin argues that the play day was a form of gendered apologetic that served as evidence of women physical educators' acceptance of their own subjugated role in sport. Allen Guttmann interprets the play day as an affront to the desires of undergraduates that further sustained the pedagogical interests of an "entrenched educational bureaucracy."[7] Both of these critiques ignore the cultural and social circumstances that influenced the invention and adoption of the play day, forces which, according to Jennifer Scanlon often required professional women to reproduce and actively perpetuate conservative cultural norms about gender, class, and race in order to maintain their power.[8]

Berlin, and Waneen Wyrick (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974), 206; Ellen W. Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," in *The American Woman in Sport,* eds., Ellen W. Gerber, Jan Felshin, Pearl Berlin, and Waneen Wyrick (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974), 64-66, 74; Ellen W. Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," *Journal of Sport History* 2 (1975): 3-4, 22-25; Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 136-137, 140-142; Betty Spears, *History of Sport and Education in the United States,* 3rd ed. (Dubuque, Wm.C. Brown Publishers, 1988), 243-244; Allen L. Stack & Ellen J. Staurowsky, *College Athletes For Hire: The Evolution and Legacy of the NCAA's Amateur Myth* (Westport: Praeger, 1998), 74, 160; Welch Suggs, *A Place on the Team: The Triumph and Tragedy of Title IX* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 26; Nancy Theberge, "Women's Athletics and the Myth of Female Frailty" in *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, 4th ed. ed., Jo Freeman (Mountain View: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1989), 511; Patricia Vertinsky and Gwendolyn Captain, "More Myth than History: American Culture and Representations of the Black Female's Athletic Ability" *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 540; Paula D. Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport* 2nd ed. (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1996), 250; Ying Wu, *Playing Nice and Losing: The Struggle For Control Over Women's Athletics* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 12-15, 68, 154.

6 Jan Felshin, "The Social View," 206; Stephen H. Hardy and Jack W. Berryman, "A Historical View of the Governance Issue" in *The Governance of Intercollegiate Athletics* James Frey, ed., (West Point: Liesure Press, 1982), 15-28.

7 Felshin, "The Social View," 206.

8 Jennifer Scanlon, "Advertising Women: The J. Walter Thompson Company Women's Editorial Department," in *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* ed., J. Scanlon ed., (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 217.

In this dissertation I interrogate which historical and societal forces contributed to the invention, diffusion, and evolution of the college play day. Though the play day is briefly included in descriptive narratives about women's physical activity and sport during the interwar era, deeper explorations are absent. This study aims to further elucidate the extent and variety of forms that the play day took and to explore its general value within the college setting and its reception among women physical educators, colleagues, and play day participants. An additional research question I pose is what were the roles and contributions of certain organizations, alliances, and individuals involved in the invention, adoption, and evolutions of the college play day? Last, I question whether or not the Play Day was a site in which gender relations or other intersecting relations of power were reproduced, constructed, or transformed.

Scholarly Significance

Since the 1980s, the project of advancing women's history in the United States has been influenced by feminist inquiry. In the last three decades a reevaluation of the masculine historical cannon has prompted new approaches regarding what topics and whose past were worthy to warrant consideration and scholarly dedication.[9] By the late 1990s postmodern and post structural theory spurred epistemological debates about teleology. The claim that historians occupy some sort of epistemological neutral or middle ground existing between history and science became vulnerable to further critique.[10] Making room for the alternative, concealed, or overlooked representations of multiple pasts and a theoretical turn towards gender, language, and conventions of

9 Sara M. Evans, *Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 1; Jane Sherron De Hart and Linda K. Kerber, "Gender and the New Women's History," in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past,* 3rd ed. eds., Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4-5.

10 Synthia Sydnor, "A History of Synchronized Swimming," *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 260; Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 27.

conveyance changed the approach and critiques of the representation and communication of historical events and lived experience. This shift in subject has launched a movement in American history allowing for multiple pasts and narratives to exist within scholarly and public memory.[11]

As have scholars in the larger, androcentric field of American history, scholars of women's experiences underscore the importance of sport and recreation as a legitimate part of culture and generally treat it as a scholarly trivial. According to Nancy Struna and Roberta Park, while women within American history gained traction as viable subjects and agents, women's sport history remained extremely limited and lacked much interpretive sophistication or comprehensiveness and was limited to a select few biographies or unpublished dissertations on physical education and recreation specialists' legacies.[12] Though gender has successfully been employed as a legitimate lens in which to examine war, civil rights struggles, labor, education, consumption, and other political conflict, sport rarely enters the larger historical conversation. Many scholars of women's history in the US have yet to fully embrace sport as a cultural form constitutive of social worlds.[13] In the last two decades there has been a continued shift in sport history that examines sport as a cultural institution: a cultural site in which relationships of power such as gender, class, race, and sexuality complexly interact, a site where meanings are

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11 Alan Munslow, forward to *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), xii-xiii; Beverly Southgate, *History What & Why? Ancient, Modern, and Postmodern Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2001), 123-134; For a review essay of these trends in sport history see Catriona Parratt, "About Turns: Reflecting on Sport History in the 1990s" *Sport History Review* 29 (1995), 4-17.

12 J.A. Mangan and Roberta Parks eds., *From "Fair Sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialiation of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (London: Frank Cass, 1987), 1; Nancy Struna, "Beyond Mapping Experiences: The Need for Understanding the History of American Sporting Women" *Journal of Sport History* 11(1984): 121, 129.

13 Two important exceptions include the following: Susan Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1994); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in the Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple, 1986).

forged, reproduced, and contested, and lastly, a site where social forces sport contribute to the maintenance or upheaval of the status quo in a given context.[14]

The play day was a professional innovation created during a time historians have labeled "The Golden Age of Sport." However, much of the scholarship pertaining to US sport in the 1920s is dedicated to men's professional and collegiate spectator sport and the elite amateur sport of the U.S. Olympics while that on sport for women and girls is limited to chronicling the work of individual women physical educators or physicians.[15] Some scholars have examined the mobilization of women's sport reformers as they exited governing bodies like the Amateur Athletic Union and vied to establish professional power through their own separatist sport organization and by securing voting power in existing professional groups.[16]

Though the play day remains an under-examined phenomenon in sport history, this author is indebted to the contributions of several scholars whose work has paved the

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14 For examples within sport history and cultural studies that utilize this approach I suggest the following: Cahn, *Coming on Strong*; Pamela Grundy, *Learning to Win: Sport Education, and Social Change in Twentieth Century North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Dan A. Nathan, Saying It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal. (Urbana:University of Illinois Press, 2005); Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Exercise, and Doctors in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

15 Couturier, "'Play With Us, Not Against Us,' 421-442; Lynne Duval, "IN CELEBRATION - Underestimated but Estimable: Sheila Fletcher," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 20 (2003): 157-161; Joan Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women," Joan Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women: Leadership by Women Physical Educators, 1899-1949," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* (1985): 64-77CI; Roberta J. Park, "An Affirmation of the Abilities of Woman": Women's Contributions to the American Academy of Kinesiology and Physical Education, *Quest* 58 (2006): 6-19; Betty Spears, *Leading the Way Amy Morris Homans and the Beginnings of Professional Education for Women* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); Susan G. Zieff, "Leading the Way in Science, Medicine and Physical Training: Female Physicians in Academia, 1890–1930," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27 (2010): 1219-1236.

16 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 55-82; Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 1-28., Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 135-153; Spears, *Leading the Way*.

way for a more nuanced analysis of certain physical cultural practices. Gwendolyn Captain and Patricia Vertinsky continue much of Roberta Park's tireless study of the history of the body under the care of physicians and educators while exploring the myriad social and historical forces that influenced ideological assumptions about the normative and productive body.[17] Susan Cahn, Gwendolyn Captain, Pamela Grundy, and Rita Liberti's work vastly enrich the field of sport history by giving credence to subaltern sporting experiences, namely those of the lower and middle class African American communities in the North and Southeast.[18] Similarly, Cahn's research, and the recent work of Martha Verbrugge further advance the work of Helen Lenskyj through their rich archival-based examinations of how dominant notions about gender, sexuality, race, and class intersect to produce different notions of physicality. As such Cahn, in addition to Shelly Lucas, and Vertinsky provide superb examinations of the multiple visions of female athleticism that drove conflicting cultural projects: medical, educational, and entrepreneurial.[19] These philosophical and professional tensions present the backdrop to the birth of sport structures such as the play day, sports day, telegraphic meet, and even inter-class intercollegiate athletics. Sport reformers, male and female, heavily indebted to

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17 Captain and Vertinsky, "More Myth than History," 532-561; Patricia Vertinsky, "Embodying Normalcy: Anthropometry and the Long Arm of William H. Sheldon's Somatotyping Project," *Journal of Sport History* 29 (2002): 95-133; Roberta J. Park, "'Embodied Selves': The Rise and Development of Concern for Physical Education, Active Games and Recreation for American Women, 1776-1865," *Journal of Sport History* 5 (1978): 5-41; Roberta J. Park, "Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!?: Brains, Bodies, and Exercise in Nineteenth Century American Thought" *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1991): 31-63; Roberta J. Park, "'Taking Their Measure' in Play, Games, and Physical Training: The American Scene, 1870s to World War I" *Journal of Sport History* 33 (2006): 193-218.

18 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*; Gwendolyn Captain, "Enter Ladies and Gentlemen of Color: Gender, Sport, and Ideals of African American Man and Womanhood During the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" *Journal of Sport* History 18 (1991): 81-102; Grundy, *Learning to Win;* Rita Liberti, "'We Were Ladies, We Just Played Basketball Like Boys': African American Womanhood and Competitive Basketball at Bennett College, 1928-1942," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (1999): 567-584.

19 Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 1-28.

Progressive ideology were embroiled in a number of turf battles. Women physical educators found themselves particularly vulnerable. Hamstrung by structural inequities in their field and often within their own workplaces, they cried collective foul against male-dominated governing bodies. Gerber's work on the success of the Women's Division of the NAAF creates a departure for a more complex analysis of the different alliances forged as women's physical education concomitantly sought security and professionalization.[20] Through this professionalizing process philosophies of mass play, modesty of dress, practice of middle-class feminine decorum, and adherence to amateurism placed the work of many physical educators in direct opposition to the explosion of community-based PE programs prevalent in places that catered to immigrant, African American, or other working-class populations.[21] Though often discussed in opposition to men's sports, women's recreation specialists often employed mechanisms of professionalization similar to those used by male sports promoters in the nineteenth century to further establish sports such as cricket, horse racing, baseball, and golf. Irrespective of profession, male proponents of athletics and many women physical educators relegated undesireable participants and observers to their own segregated circuits in order to advance or enhance their own versions of legitimate sport.[22]

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20 Spears, *Leading the Way* 7. For additional commentary on professionalization consider the following: Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London: Routledge, 1994), 85; Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women," 64-65.

21 Nancy Bouchier, "Let Us Take Care of Our Field: The National Association for Physical Education of College Women and World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 65-86; Guttmann, *Women's Sports,* 81, 139-141; Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 215; Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 56, 68-71, 81; Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," 6; Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 64; Lynn A. Courturier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*, 1924-1936: A Content Analysis" *Sport History Review* 42 (2010): 121-125.

22 Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004),15-55; Melvin Adelman, "The First Modern Sport in America: Harness Racing in New York City, 1825-1870," *Journal of Sport History* 8 (1981): 6; J. Thomas Jable, "Social Class and the Sport of Cricket in Philadelphia, 1850-1880," *Journal of Sport History* 18 no. 2, 1991, 2, 5-10, 18-19; Michael Lomax, *Black Baseball Entrepreneurs 1860-1901: Operating By Any Means Necessary*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 64;

While most scholars agree that play days served as an alternative that provided professional distance from high-level intercollegiate competition, few have considered why what Courtuier labels a "feminized model of sport," was practiced for half a century, often alongside varsity and intramural competition.[23] Though initially fulfilling the aims of women's sport reformers in advisory entities like the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation or the American Federation of College Women, the play day served other purposes that were deployed to specific ends in specific contexts.

College play days, most likely an appropriation of Midwestern county or township play days, first manifested when three Wellesley alumni working in California colleges, Helen Masters Bunting, Chair of Women's Physical Education at Leland Stanford University, Elizabeth Rheems Stoner, Chair of Physical Education at Mills College, and Ruth Elliot, a faculty member at University of California organized a Triangle Play Day at Mills College.[24] The play day was a new competitive alternative, a moderate substitute for city or international athletic meets that catered to working-class women. Play days were endorsed by Lou Henry Hoover as "relaxation and fun for all, instead of the over-exertion for a few, bleacher seats for the many, and too strained

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Steven Reiss, *City Games The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 91, 200-202.

23 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 56; Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," 6; Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 3-4, 16, 22, 24-25; Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 140.

24 John Arnot, "Play Days," parts 1 and 2, *Journal of Physical Education* 26, no. 6 (Feb. 1932): 110-111; no. 7 (March 1932): 136-140; "Athletes of Five Colleges Will Meet at Play Day Here," *Wellesley College News;* "Wellesley to be Host at 'Play Day,'" *Boston Herald,* 2/24/1929, "Athletic Association: Multiple College Play Days and Sport Days 1919-1960: Extramural Sports 1961-1962, Sports Schedules 1950-1958," Athletic Association File; Wellesley College Archives; Wellesley, MA. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as Athletic Association File, WCA. C.J. Galpin and Eleanore Weisman, "Play Days for Rural Schools," *Circular* 118, (Sept. 1919), "*Circular, University of Wisconsin*," College of Agriculture; Agriculture Extension Service; University of Wisconsin Libraries- University Archives; Madison, WI. Hereafter, archive will be referred to as UA-UW.

intentness for all."[25] Despite the rationalized rhetoric, these events, though perhaps intended for "nice girls" were not standardized and often occurred alongside other sport activities including varsity sport, all-Star teams, interclass extramurals, sport days, telegraphic meets, and intramural programs.[26] The play day also existed alongside a variety of campus traditions including field days, winter carnivals, May fetes, and orchesis productions. This array of activities added to the social calendars of campus coeds, many of whom attended spectator sports in campus arenas and stadiums or participated in summer sport leagues.[27]

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25 Lou Henry Hoover, forward in *Play Day- The Spirit of Sport*, by Ethel Perrin and Grace Turner (New York: American Child Health Association, 1929), 10.

26 Varsity sport typically indicated a group of students that may or may not have endured a tryout for a team. These teams would travel to other schools and compete with other institutions, very similar to men's intercollegiate programs. All-star teams also competed with other institutions, and it is implied that members of the team secured a spot on the traveling squad through a merit-based tryout. Intramural programs consisted of ad-hoc teams that competed against one another on campus, often in dual contests or seasonal tournaments. They may have been organized by class, social organization, housing, or by individual students. Interclass extramurals occurred when one or more representative class traveled to another institution to compete with another class or set of classes. Institution and class remained intact during these contests. Play days and sports days, were often used interchangeably, though sports days more typically focused on a single activity and were less likely to form mixed teams than a play day. The first play days were day-long events with many activities, games, and sports. Mixed team and institutional teams were both utilized by play day organizers. Similar to open gyms, play nights generally refer to mixed-sex recreation nights. Men and women would engage in social dance, and play sports such as badminton and volleyball. Competition and game play were deemphasized in exchange for the social aspects of fraternizing with members of the opposite sex. Telegraphic meets occurred simultaneously at multiple sites. Activities such as swimming, riflery, track and field, or archery were typically well suited for telegraphic meets. Scores and results would be telegraphed to other institutions. The winning institution could be determined after results arrived from each institution. Quoted in Mary Henson Leigh, "The Evolution of Women's Participation in the Summer Olympic Games, 1900-1948," (PhD disseration, Ohio State University, 194), 240-241 in Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 58; Christine White, "Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities for College Women," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 25 (Oct. 1954): 353-363.

27 Janet Owens, *Sports in Women's Colleges* (New York Tribune, Inc., 1932), 8, 12, 43, "Publications," Cornell Athletics Papers; Cornell University; Special Collections; Kroch Library, Cornell University; Ithaca, NY. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as Cornell Athletics Papers, UA-CU.

Play days were accepted by some schools later than others. More often, the director of a college or university program steered the course of athletics at a given institution. Verbrugge notes that the programs at more elite historically black colleges and universities were overseen by white physical educators who had received training at Wellesley or Columbia. As such, the director and the student body contributed to different notions of female competition. Elite institutions like Hampton and Howard adopted more conservative notions of competition while schools that provided education to more working-class students like Bennett College played five-on-five basketball and did not adopt the ideals of the white middle class until World War II.[28] The remaining historical records of individual departments make it difficult to determine when institutions abandoned the play day, though various studies indicate the play days rarely served as the only type of competition at a given school.[29]

The central focus of this dissertation is on the groups of professionals and students who created, adopted, and advanced the play day. Though Gerber and Hult's work on the achievements of various female-governed athletic organizations provide a base-line for understanding the development of their profession, I aim to provide a richer interpretation of the discourses surrounding competitions like the play day.

Though the logistics and utilization of the play day are examined, this project is more concerned with the social and historical factors influencing the adoption, evolution and overlap of such competitive practices. Vertinsky notes that much sport studies scholarship recognizes the longstanding hegemonic control men have exerted over

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28 By the 1940s most HBCUs switched to girls' rules basketball and staged Play Days. Cahn, *Coming on Strong,* 69. 70, 81; Grundy, *Learning to Win*, 234-241*;* Liberti, "'We Were Ladies, We Just Played Basketball Like Boys,'" 567; Martha H.Verbrugge, *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 77-101.

29 Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," 64; Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport,* 250.

women's bodies. Existing within patriarchal social and professional worlds, Park notes this group of women utilized a two-prong strategy since physical education's Victorian-Era inception. They worked within existing male-dominated professional networks in addition to forming separatist committees and domains in which women maintained all the voting power.[30] Interlocking women-dominated professional groups created advice, policy, and curriculum, oversaw training programs for future female professionals, and influenced broad-based programming at the national and local level. Similar to Verbrugge's work on the ideologies advanced by the first generation of women physical educators trained at the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (BNSG), this study examines how sporting practices conceived of and approved by a more established professional body articulated with constraints and opportunities within an inequitable society, profession, and educational structure.[31] Like Verbrugge's initial subjects, many of the women from my study created, publicized, and disseminated preferred meanings and bodies of knowledge that influenced women's sporting practices. This project also examines resistance to play day in addition to the alliances and strategies utilized by women physical educators to maintain professional sovereignty.

Gerber argues in one of the foundational works of women's sports history that sport directly conflicted with Victorian ideals.[32] From the liberal-feminist perspective sport indeed encouraged women to enter a culturally masculine sphere that temporarily discouraged the behaviors and ideals attributed to femininity. Guttmann notes that this

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30 Roberta J. Park, "Searching for a Middle Ground. Women and Professional Physical Education in the United States, 1885-1930" in *International Perspectives on Sporting Women in Past and Present*, eds., Annette R. Hoffmann and Else Trangbæk (Copenhagen: Institute of Exercise and Sport Sciences University of Copenhagen, 2005), 129,131.

31 Martha H. Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

32 Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," 74-75.

liberal-feminist framework has extended throughout the majority of most sport history since Gerber's initial treatise.[33]

The play day was an innovation that could be claimed, executed, and experienced by female college students and faculty. By positioning themselves as heads within the academy these practices allowed for them to gain legitimacy as harbingers of health and high moral codes in a society that was experiencing a revolution in terms of transportation, consumption, racial and ethnic relations, gender relations, and increasing mass physical and sexual culture. The play day is part of a larger set of practices that defined women's physical education, a discipline, according to Verbrugge, that still stands "at the crossroads of science, culture, and daily life" and "offers a unique lens for analyzing debates over difference and equity in twentieth-century American."[34]

Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches advanced by feminist cultural studies, feminist and neo-Marxist thought, and women's social history adds value to any discussion in which a deeper understanding of sport necessitates an analysis of the culture it occupies.[35] Beyond a mere description I intend to examine the importance of the play day in terms of its origin and evolution, meanings, and significance within broader physical cultural practices. Though educated and middle class, women physical educators were often marginalized in the general labor force, their own field, and institutions of higher learning. The ideologies advanced by women physical educators

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33 Allen Guttmann, "Historical Vicissitudes," in *International Perspectives on Sporting Women in Past and Present*, eds., Annette R. Hoffmann and Else Trangbæk (Copenhagen: Institute of Exercise and Sport Sciences University of Copenhagen), 15.

34 Verbrugge. *Active Bodies*, 10.

35 Cheryl L. Cole, "Resisting the Cannon: Feminist Cultural Studies, Sport, and Technologies of the Body." In *Women Sport, and Culture*, eds., Susan Birrell and Cheryl Cole (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1994), 6-7.

provides a critical site to further interrogate and theorize how subjectivities like gender, race, class, and nation interact to construct ideologies that influence meanings assigned to the body.

Feminist cultural studies provides a theoretical framework for understanding sport as a site where asymmetrical power relations are reinforced and resisted by groups and individuals. Feminist scholars and historians maintain that sport is a cultural site that preserves male power and privileges masculine subjectivities.[36] Changing ethnic, racial and international relationships greatly influenced public health and recreation campaigns. Revolutions in gender economies and sexual relations greatly influenced the political and professional lives of women, including the initial creators and users of the play day. The cultural and economic shifts that allowed for and influenced my subjects' work must be considered while examining the new practices that women physical educators used in shaping the "knowledges, practices, and strategies that [manufactured] and [normalized]

36Michael A. Messner, "Sports and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as Contested Ideological Terrain," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5 (1988), 197-211; Michael A. Messner, *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2002), xviii. Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge, "Ideological Control of Women in Sport" in *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds., D.M. Costa and S.R. Guthrie (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1994), 341-59; Lois Bryson "Challenges to Male Hegemony in Sport," in *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives*, eds., Michael A. Messner and Don Sabo eds., (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1990), 173-184; Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport, and Sexuality* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986); Eleanor Metheny, *Connotations of Movement in Sport and Dance* (Dubuque: WM.C. Brown Co. Inc.,1965), 163-173. For works that address the existing structural inequity in sport the United States as it pertains to gender note the following works: Cahn, *Coming on Strong*; Sarah K. Fields, *Female Gladiators: Gender, Law, and Contact Sport in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press); Leslie P. Francis, "Title IX: Equality for Women's Sports?" *Journal of the Philosophy of Sports*, 20 (1994): 32-47; Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick, *The American Woman in Sport;* Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London: Routledge, 1994); Patricia Ann Rosenbach, "Persistence and Accommodation in a Decade of Struggle and Change: The Case of Women Administrators in Division I-A Intercollegiate Athletic Programs." Ph.D. diss. University of Iowa 1987; Allen L. Stack & Ellen J. Staurowsky, *College Athletes For Hire: The Evolution and Legacy of the NCAA's Amateur Myth* (Westport: Praeger, 1998), 11-126; Welch Suggs, *A Place on the Team: The Triumph and Tragedy of Title IX* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Ying Wushanely, *Playing Nice and Losing: The Struggle for Control of Women's Athletics* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).

the feminine body" in their courses and programs.[37] The play day served as a philosophy, practice, and campaign that inverted some of the ideologies and structures that had initially placed men as the arbiters of athletics for women and girls. Play days provided a space for dissent, resistance, and disagreement over best practices, place in the curriculum, and disgruntled participants. Professionally, the play day advanced ideologies of competition, served as a recruiting tool, and provided college-bound women some of their first introductions to college campuses.

Similar to Lucas's examination of the sporting practice of six-on-six basketball in Iowa I take methodological and analytical cues from Susan Cahn and Patricia Vertinsky, in addition to Martha Verbugge. Their attentiveness to the discursive allows for keener insight into the production of meanings and the ways that relations of power are produced, reproduced and resisted.[38] In *The Eternally Wounded Woman,* Patricia Vertinksy's studies of the interplay of ideologies like biological determinism as they interacted with a professionalizing medical field and other arbiters that advised women and girls on matters of daily conduct. Her discursive study greatly contributes to our contemporary understanding of how this group influenced and reproduced gender relations and divisions within sport and society in late nineteenth century North America. While much of Vertinsky's research is based on the professional publications and discourse that shaped popular thought and practice she utilizes biography to examine the internal and professional struggle that feminist writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman expressed in her search for "self-autonomy and creative fulfillment" among "dominant modes of thought" during the Victorian Era.[39] Similar to Vertinsky's mix of institutional and

37 Cole, "Resisting the Cannon," 16.

38 Ibid., 16.

39 Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 26.

biographical analysis, in *Coming on Strong*, Cahn conceptualizes sport history with a particular feminist framework that considers power relationships as they pertain to women's individual agency and the various structural and ideological constraints. Cahn's dedication to the voices of women as well as her care in examining and not conflating distinct groups of underrepresented women is of particular importance in increasing the complexity in which gender relations are continually theorized. Verbrugge's *Active Bodies* is another exemplary work that carefully examines the complexities of the world and women who worked in physical education settings in the US. Her extensive archival examination reveals a remarkable amount of variation among college and university programs in terms of practices, interpretations of professionalism, and position within their own institutions. Similar to the project that this introduction outlines, Verbrugge's critical approach to the archival material and the careful attention paid to the context surrounding her subjects' lives and professional experiences provides a much-needed example for the field of sport history. Rather than placing the creators and proponents of the play day in an easily dismissed category of professionally-doomed dowagers, I hope to follow Verbrugge's lead and provide readers a more nuanced understanding of the forces that shaped the competing practices characterized physical education for women for the better half of the twentieth century.

The Post World War I Period

After the conclusion of World War I, American society's access to rapid technological innovations and improvements in communication and transit begat the dawn of a new national culture. Conceptions of womanhood were again in flux after much political, legal, and cultural change resulting from women's mass entrance into more masculine roles during World War I. A continued entrance into the white-collared work force, the victory of women's suffrage, and new psychological theorizations of

sexuality were among the structural and ideological departures that white middle class people made from previous Victorian ideals.[40]

The need for laborers during WWI also brought many African Americans from the southern United States into the major urban centers. The large industrial gaps created by the deployment of servicemen overseas in tandem with the federal government's restriction on immigrant migration into the states created many opportunities for Southern minorities to economically sustain themselves outside of the Jim Crow South. As white servicemen returned to the few jobs left in the Northeastern cities, the post-war economic depression and the change in demographics sparked much racial tension between African Americans and native-born whites. To add to interracial tension, intolerance, and violence that had occurred in many urban areas, the hyperpatriotism, anti-non-English speaking and anti-Semitic sentiments perpetuated by the US government during the war intensified with the return of the troops. As the first Red Scare swept the nation, resurgence in white supremacy groups like the Ku Klux Klan dramatically regained membership and power in the Midwest. In addition to African Americans the Klan's broad hatred-filled campaigns targeted Catholics, Jews, new immigrants, non-English speakers, and leftist-thinkers with increased hostility, discrimination, and in some cases violence. In the 1920s and 30s, race betterment extended itself beyond the sciences and into other institutions including the educational system. Ethnic and racial minorities were often times the target of media and citizenry campaigns that sought to improve English, hygiene, and morality.[41] Though racial and

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40 Courturier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*," 112; Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 175-196.

41 Linda Gordon, "Putting Children First: Women, Materialism, and Welfare in the Early Twentieth Century" in *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays* eds., Linda K. Kerber and Kathryn K. Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995): 63-87; Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 280; Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of* Cleanliness (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Alexandra M. Lord, "Models of Masculinity: Sex Education, the United States Public Health Service, and the YMCA, 1919-1924," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 58 (2003): 123-152;

ethnic divides were not new to the United States, they influenced women's interactions with one another in various political and economic institutions.

Race and ethnic tensions permeated much of the reform movements preceding the 1920s. Much of the female reform fostered by settlement houses, YMCAs, clubs, the National Workers Trade Union, and National Consumers League, was based on ideologies that supported the white middle class. After the war many settlement homes professionalized and were taken over by male administrators. Racism prohibited many African American women from entering the service sector employment. Minority women such as Chicanas began being recruited by agricultural businesses that paid their husbands cash for their wives' labor. In the 1920s, female laborers entered the cash economy for the first time in Appalachia, urban working-class women moved away from their families earlier than previous generations, and white middle-class women infiltrated the masculine spaces of the public office in separate yet unequal roles. Urban white women also flocked to sales jobs not open to immigrant women as electricity and indoor plumbing changed the nature of hard-domestic work.[42]

Amidst the transforming economic landscape, women's political efforts regarding labor, welfare, and civil liberties remained divided particularly in terms of race and class. Melanie Gustafson argues that both black and white women struggled to gain access to political parties after suffrage.[43] After obtaining suffrage many women turned to

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Laureen Tedesco, "Progressive Era Girl Scouts and the Immigrant: *Scouting for Girls* (1920) as a Handbook for American Girlhood," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 31 (2006): 346-368; Christina A. Zeigler-McPherson, *Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship, & National Identity in the United States, 1908-1929* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 122-143.

42 Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 175-196.

43Melanie Gustafson, "Partisan Women in the Progressive Era: The Struggle for Inclusion in American Political Parties," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History* 3rd ed. eds., Vicki L. Ruiz & Ellen C. DuBois, (New York: Routledge, 2000): 242-256.

separatist organizations since racism and classism persisted within the movements of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Women's National Republican Association, and the National Women's Party even as these groups worked towards the federal establishment of an Equal Rights Amendment.[44] In the 1920s while some white women were able to gain a foothold in government agencies, most women worked for private welfare charities. African American women's social work efforts concentrated on educational efforts for their own race while WASP women approached new immigrant women as a different race and focused on children as subjects who could be Americanized. Linda Gordan notes that education was the prominent focus of black women's activism particularly as it pertained to protecting female purity and mother-education. White welfare activists focused on means-based testing that differentiated between worthy and unworthy poor. Though both groups were ultimately child-centered and discouraged single-parenthood, white women encouraged economic dependence on husbands while black women often lacked access to such an economic luxury. Gordan argues that the child-centered approach to their political and social efforts limited all women's abilities to produce political advocacy after suffrage.[45]

Mass Culture and the New of Performance of Gender and Sexuality

The image of the short-skirted flapper with bobbed hair stood in for the break with traditional Victorian ideals of female chastity and moral superiority. Formerly

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44 Nancy Cott, "Equal Rights and Economic Roles: The Conflict Over the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1920s," in *Women's American: Refocusing the Past*, eds., Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 356-368; Gordon, "Putting Children First," 63-87; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham "In Politics to Stay: Black Women Leaders in Party Politics in the 1920s" in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History* 3rd ed. eds., Vicki L. Ruiz & Ellen C. DuBois (New York: Routledge, 2000): 292-306.

45 Gordon, "Putting Children First," 63-87.

fringe practices now emerged as part of a new urban mass culture that emphasized pleasure, consumption, sexuality, and individualism.[46] Contrary to the liberating image of the flapper, anti-feminist backlash and male chauvinism heightened as women pushed into the physical and symbolic male preserves. New negotiations of gender persisted as more women entered the workforce as laborers and professionals and new patterns of consumption, development of mass culture, and transportation helped to define increasingly gendered practices of consumption and social life. Many of the changes that occurred within this decade were countered by new institutions of social and ideological control. Though women had gained the right to vote and were flooding the workplace, few had access to major political parties, government jobs, or managerial positions. Male identity and economic security was tied to work, whereas women's economic and social status hinged on obtaining a healthy marriage. Personal fulfillment was linked a new emerging marriage in which romance, sexual pleasure, and companionship were central. Though the image of the flapper represented youthful freedom, the icon's inherent contradiction reflected the high stakes for women if they neglected their marital destinies.[47]

As consumption became a central facet of American life, womanhood was subject to avid commercial and entrepreneurial interest while women were the target of much advertising and began marketing themselves as desirable and productive. Cosmetic sales in hair care, luxury and therapeutics products, and temporary beautifiers rose exponentially for white and black women of all classes. Cosmetics, featured on the back pages of the Sears Roebuck catalogue in 1900, sprung to the front pages by the 1920s.

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46 These behaviors were associated with working class women as far back as the 1830s and dabbled in by a select Bohemian and independent "New Women" in the 1890s. Joanne Meyerowitz, "Sexual Geography and Gender Economy: The Furnished Room Districts of Chicago, 1890-1930," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History* 3rd ed., Vicki L. Ruiz & Ellen C. DuBois eds., (New York: Routledge, 2000): 307.

47 Evans, Born for Liberty, 178.

Magazines, ads, movies, and on-campus sororities flourished as sources for future wives that provided advice in fashion, decorum, dating etiquette, personality, appearance, and weight control.[48] Birth control, once touted by feminist health care advocates as a type of working class independence was later framed reified by the male medical establishment as a safe, supervised practice. As Freudian ideals related to the emotional centrality of marriage and romance gained salience, bonds between women were undermined and called into question, homosexual relationships were stigmatized, and lesbians and other women who did not fit into the new norm sought ways to seek and confide in one another. Single and lesbian professional women flooded urban single-room districts, turned to same-sex institutions like athletics, expressed and identified themselves through literature, and maintained relationships with other women in some cases by posing as heterosexual spinster daughters and through the maintenance of extreme discretion.[49]

Women in Higher Education

Though women's colleges in the northeast opened their doors after the Civil War to the daughters of the upper middle class, co-ed academies' efforts to embrace female students were slower. Some schools' attempts at sexual integration during the Victorian

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48 Joan Jacobs Brumburg, "Fasting Girls: The Emerging Ideal of Slenderness in American Culture," in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, eds., Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 368-372; Evans, *Born for Liberty*,179; Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 208; Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books), 197-133.

49 Elizabeth Laporsky Kennedy, "But We Would Never Talk About It: The Structures of Lesbian Discretion in South Dakota, 1928-1933," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History* 3rd ed. eds.,Vicki L. Ruiz & Ellen C. DuBois (New York: Routledge, 2000):409-425; Joanne Meyerowitz, "Sexual Geography and Gender Economy: The Furnished Room Districts of Chicago, 1890-1930" in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History* 3rd ed. eds., Vicki L. Ruiz & Ellen C. DuBois eds., (New York: Routledge, 2000): 307-323; Carol Smith-Rosenburg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 217-244.

Era often resulted in separate and unequal approaches influencing women's curriculum, admissions, housing, and social policies, and faculty appointments until the late 1960s. The separate and unequal results of the sex-segregated approach did not provide an environment conducive to rigorous academic study.[50] One study of Bryn Marr and Wellesley students found that by 1910 women from both institutions were increasingly abandoning careers or pursuit of graduate study in exchange for marriage. Roberta Franklin argues that though the initial missions of women's colleges were realized, it was outside of these educational settings that opposition to women's economic and intellectual advancement was "either articulated or most vehemently acted out."[51]

Despite this, by 1920, 47 percent of all students enrolled in four-year colleges were women.[52] Middle class and upper class families began expecting their daughters as well as their sons to enter college. The influential work of Sigmund Freud and Ellis Havelock proved a concern for parents who began viewing their daughters' sexuality as active versus latent. Advice columns and women' literature warned mothers about the dangers of female-on-female crushes.[53] According to Barbara Solomon, the academy became an increasingly homophobic and xenophobic cultural site as eugenics entered the curriculum and more academic rhetoric tied curriculum to domestic success. She argues

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50 Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, "The Body in the Library" in *The 'Woman Question' and Higher Education,* ed., Anne Mari May (Cheltenham: Eward Elgar, 2008): 11-31.Dorothy Gies McGuigan, *A Dangerous Experiment: 100 Years of Women at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1970); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Havel: Yale University Press, 1985); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: AA Knopf: 1985).

51 Roberta Franklin, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn of the Century America*, (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 110.

52 Scanlon, "Advertising Women," 217.

53 Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 282-283.

that this shift discouraged close female friendships or erotic relationships and placed more of an emphasis on their potential relationships with male classmates as future husbands.[54] The increase in the new immigrant population and a decrease in WASP birthrates led some conservatives to warn about race suicide. This eugenic concern was addressed in some women's colleges, many of whose graduates had significantly lower rates of non-marriage, by incorporating more domestic science into the curriculum. Women's colleges were the targets of a conservative groundswell that encouraged middle class families to send their daughters to coed campuses.[55]

As more female students continued to place marriage over career, Horowitz argues that in the 1920s, female faculty distanced themselves from their former rolls as dormitory matrons and began to function as their institution's political consciousness.[56] Unlike the rise of male professionals of the Victorian Era in medicine or law, Daniel J. Walkowitz argues that professionalism as an ideology somewhat obscured the social working conditions of the times.[57] Historically, female instructors and staff suffered inequities that their male colleagues did not. Women's colleges often assigned women the rank of teacher versus professor, or if they hired a woman as a professor, she was segregated from other colleagues and staff by rank. Male professors never had monitoring duties and were provided campus housing near the edge of the campus and were allowed to live with their families.[58] Between 1900-1920 professors and faculty began leaving campuses dormitories and became some of the first American women to

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54 Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 150.

55 Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 280-282.

56 Ibid., 181, 193-194.

57 Daniel J. Walkowitz, "The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s," *The American Historical Review* 95 (1990): 1053.

58 Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 180.

purchase their own homes. Within the women's colleges, female faculty and staff were pressured by the administration to remain feminine and conventional, though several were involved in Leftist politics.[59] Amy Ann Dzuback argues that outside of women's colleges female faculty utilized different strategies to maintain their place in the academies during the 1920s. They used their status as highly educated professionals, their location in Research I institutions, and the availability of philanthropic funds to create opportunities for research and forge male alliances within the universities.[60]

Sources and Methods

This study utilizes professional materials produced by leaders in physical education as well as their female progenitors: articles in journals, books, and conference proceedings. By 1928 a series of professional publications on the execution and administration of play days became available and were mostly published through A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporated.[61] Other publications that were reflective of the

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59 Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 185.

60 Amy Ann Dzuback, "Gender, Professional Knowledge, and Institutional Power: Women, Social Scientists and the Research University," in *The 'Woman Question' and Higher Education* ed., Ann Mari May, (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008): 69.

61 Vaughan S. Blanchard and Laurentine B. Collins, *A Modern Physical Education Program* (Detroit: Board of Education, 1937); Rosalind Cassidy, *New Directions in Physical Education for the Adolescent Girl in High School and College: A Guide for Teachers in Cooperative Curriculum Revision* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company: 1938); Edgar Marion Draper and George Mimms Smith, *The Extracurricular Library: Intramural Athletics and Play Days* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company: 1930); Margaret M. Duncan, *Play Days For Girls and Women* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1929); Marjorie Hillas and Marian Knighton, *An Athletic Program for High School and College Women* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930); Iowa State Physical Education Association, *Report of Committee on Girls' Athletics* (Lincoln: Woodruff Press, 1927); Mable Lee, *The Conduct of Physical Education*: *Its Organization and Administration for Girls and Women* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1937); Ethel Perrin and Grace Turner, *Play Day-The Spirit of Sport* 2nd ed. (The American Child and Health Association in cooperation with the Women's Division of the NAAF, 1929); Helen N. Smith and Helen L. Coops, *Play Days-Their Organization and Correlation with a Program of Physical Education and Health* (A.S. Barnes & Company, 1928); Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Federation, *Women and Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930); Florence A. Somers, *Principals of Women's Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930).

dominant and sometimes discordant recommendations within the field include the *American Physical Education Review, Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport,* the *Journal of Physical Education*, and the of the organ of the US Field Hockey Association's publication, *The Sportswoman.*[62] This project's preliminary work occurred at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch Iowa and the Iowa Women's Archives. This author benefited greatly from the Lou Henry Hoover papers. Hoover's involvement in the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Association provided ample opportunity to understand how women physical educators created alliances that helped them sustain their philosophical platforms and professional agendas. The collection of The University of Iowa Department of Physical Education for Women housed in the Iowa Women's Archive in Iowa City, Iowa provided an example a prestigious program that was national leader in the field.[63] Iowa's Department of Physical Education for Women also provided a program that created many strong and

62 Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," 64; Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport*, 250. Ellen Gerber and Paula Welch identify *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* as the only periodical with studies that attempt to measure or postulate the limits of various forms of sport including the collegiate Play Day: Norma M. Leavitt and Margaret .M. Duncan, "The Status of Intramural Programs for Women," *Research Quarterly*, 8 (March, 1937): 68-79; Mabel Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Situation Since 1923" *Research Quarterly*, 2, (1931): 93-127; M. Gladys Scott, "Competition for Women in American Colleges and Universities," *Research Quarterly* 16 (1945): 49-71. Christine White, "Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities for College Women," *Research Quarterly*, 25 (October, 1954): 344-363. For some surveys of these periodicals consider the following sources: Susan J. Bandy, "Shared Femininities and Shared Feminisms: Women's Sporting Magazines of the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries" in *International Perspectives on Sporting Women in Past and Present*, Annette R. Hoffmann and Else Trangbæk eds. (Copenhagen: Institute of Exercise and Sport Sciences University of Copenhagen), 83-109; Lynn A. Courtulier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*, 1924-1936: A Content Analysis" *Sport History Review* 42 (2010): 111-131. Roberta J. Park, "'Of the Greatest Possible Worth:' *The Research Quarterly* in Historical Contexts," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 76 (June 2005 Supplement): S5-S26.

63 Hereafter this archive will be reference as IWA.

principled leaders who helped shape the sporting landscape for collegiate sportswomen into the twenty-first century.[64]

The memoirs, reflective essays, and oral histories of retired physical educators were also utilized. This project utilizes archival materials from departments and organizations that were led by women physical educators trained in elite programs. Additional archives visited include Wellesley College Archives, Special Collections at Grinnell College and the University of Iowa, and the university archives of Cornell University, University of Illinois, University of Minnesota, University of Nebraska, and University of Wisconsin. In the footsteps of Gerda Lerner, Struna suggests that scholars of women's sport history must continue to push past the reliance on traditional source material.[65] Student-centered materials such as papers and minutes from conferences and Women's Recreation Association minutes provide insight rarely given weight, even by authors like Cahn or Verbrugge.

Outline and Summary

After the conclusion of World War I sport was adopted into a new mass culture. Culturally it served as a national stage in which values such as competition, hard work, and discipline were paramount, it allowed for escape from the work day, and it helped to elevate the newly developed youth and vitality-centered consumer culture.[66] Each

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64 Graduates of the Ph.D. program that stayed on in capacity as faculty members include Christine H.B. Grant, Peggy Burke, and Bonnie Slatton. These women made substantial contributions to the development of a student-centered model for female student athletes. Each brought a feminist consciousness to their work in the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for College Women, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, and the American Olympic Committee.

65 Gerda Linder, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History* (Oxford University Press,1979), 168-181 in Nancy Struna, "Beyond Mapping Experience: The Need for Understanding in the History of American Sporting Woman" *Journal of Sport History* 11 (1984): 131; Nancy Struna, "Gender and Sporting Practice in Early America, 1750-1810" *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1991): 11-12.

66 Courturier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*," 112.

section of this project will remain sensitive to the process in which the play day was created, adopted, and evolved within the profession. I consider individuals, entities and interstate or professional networks that contribute to the rise of the play day and to the profession more generally. Beyond chronicling the specific dates and descriptions of the play day before the rise of women's varsity intercollegiate sport, I am attempting to provide a discussion of the larger cultural context in which these athletic activities occurred.

Chapter two of this analysis examines the influence the rise of "New PE" and a variety of professional strategies employed by women physical educators to remain relevant within their own field between 1917-1925. Reforms in the American Education Association led to a widespread health-oriented approach to physical education characterized as "New PE," a holistic model that emphasized the development of good citizens and a healthy democracy. Against this backdrop of educational holism, tensions escalated as women physical educators feared that exploitative and uneducated entrepreneurs were encroaching on their professional jurisdiction. This battle came to a head in 1923, when the Amateur Athletic Union joined other international governing bodies in an attempt to assert control over women's track and field. Female physical educators abandoned their committees and positions within the AAU, seeking to create changes within other existing professional structures by forging new separatist professional alliances. This group of professional women used their interlocking professional organizations and societies to create and promote the rhetoric of crisis. In response to this crisis platforms and initiatives aligning with dominant medical and social discourses reinforced the need for their own expertise. These strategies resemble many

of the processes associated with the mechanisms of the suffrage movement and the rise of American professions. These professionalizing strategies will be considered alongside the development of other women's professions in the 1920s.

The third chapter examines how physical education continued positioning itself as a discipline that was naturally allied with health and well-being, citizenship, and sportsmanship, while serving as a broad-based alternative to spectator sport. Women physical educators continued to garner professional sovereignty through the growth of separatist organizations, but also by receiving voting power within the major professional organization, the American Physical Education Association. Within this context women physical educators debuted their alternative competitive structure, the play day. Play days provided an alternative to the commercial, spectacle-oriented intercollegiate system utilized in most men's programs, while embodying the Women's Division platform of 'play for play's sake.' Play days also served to fill the paradoxical gap between being competitive and complying with ideals of white, middle-class femininity. The play day was framed by its supporters as a social experience that would not be overly stressful on women's bodies or psyches and could be administered under women's benevolent, professional surveillance, untainted by unruly spectators or greedy capitalists. It was a new competitive alternative for such forms of competition such as the panic-inducing conclusion of the Women's 800m-dash during the 1928 Summer Olympics or the Carnegie Report's condemnation of intercollegiate varsity sport in 1929. This chapter begins to examine the spread, logistical trends, and larger cultural meanings ascribed to the promotion and execution of various play day events in the late from 1926-1929.

The fourth chapter considers how physical education and other so-called "frills" were put on the curricular chopping block by administrators in all levels of education as state treasuries and appropriations wilted during the Great Depression.[67] Many physical

67 Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers, 1924-1954* (Washington D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1978), 106.

educators mobilized to convince school districts and institutions that physical education and athletics were critical to maintaining a healthy, happy, and moral populace during dark economic times. Many men's intercollegiate athletics departments defended their bloated budgets, financially lean play days, points systems, and other broad-based intramural offerings boomed. Both used many of the same arguments to defend their existence, but women physical educators were much more likely to denounce values associated with unfettered capitalism. Groups like the Women's Division and Committee for Women's Athletics continued to support broad-based and inclusive programming and modifying philosophical platforms. During the Depression women's physical education expanded in the colleges, graduate programs matured, and more women were recruited to join the profession. Evolving into a form of institutional and departmental recruitment, play days shifted in format and increasingly included high school-aged girls. Fending off claims about mannishness and inappropriate relationships between women, recruiting efforts were paired with the maintenance of a heterosexual and feminine image. The revision of platforms and further experiments with competitive events promoted this image in addition to further inculcating white, middle-class values into respectable sporting practices for women and girls.

The fifth chapter considers the state of the field of physical education after World War II and the role of sport structures like the play day. Despite the retention efforts of women physical educators, departments found it increasingly difficult to recruit majors to fill their programs after the conclusion of the war and well into the 1950s.[68] State standards for certification and professional training became more and more prevalent placing a great demand for teachers of all varieties. Physical educators struggled to

68 Ruth Atwell, "Women's Athletic Section News," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 13 (1942): 197-198 in Nancy Bouchier, "Let us Take Care of Our Field: The National Association for Physical Education of College Women and World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 65.

convince students and parents alike that their discipline was worth exploring as a career option. In addition to prevailing gender inequities within the academy that influenced salary, workloads, budgets, and access to facilities, women's physical education faced further stigmatization due to powerful lingering stereotypes about mannishness and lesbianism. The play day's importance as a recruiting tool increased as many universities began rolling back or omitting compulsory physical education for undergraduate women. Despite this battle damage to the field, the play day and sports day presented a new site where tensions began developing between different generations of faculty, administrators, and students who were trying to make sense of their own professional identities and notions of physicality during the dawn of the Women's Liberation Movement.

CHAPTER II

SEPARATISM, SOLIDARITY, AND POST-WAR PROFESSIONALIZATION IN WOMEN'S PHYSICAL EDUCATION, 1917-1925

This chapter reviews two important social forces that influenced American physical culture from 1917-1925. The first was the realignment of physical training programs with the new goals and philosophies set forth by the American Education Association. Since World War I, mandatory physical education within high schools and colleges had become increasingly common. Influenced by pragmatism and progressivism, holistic approaches to physical education characterized by practitioners as "New PE" demanded an emphasis on the development of good citizens and a healthy democracy. Concomitantly, while keeping lock step with new educational theory and pedagogy, many prominent women physical educators and recreation specialists perceived that exploitative and uneducated entrepreneurs were encroaching on their professional jurisdiction in the early 1920s. This professional turf battle was solidified in 1923, when the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) joined other international governing bodies in an attempt to assert control over women's track and field. Women physical educators abandoned their committees and positions within the AAU, to focus their resources on gaining power within the American Physical Education Association and through forging new separatist professional alliances. This group of professional women used their interlocking professional organizations to create and promote the rhetoric of crisis. As such, many leaders agreed that crisis warranted the creation of platforms and initiatives that reinforced dominant medical and social discourse while reinforcing the need for their own expertise. Though their rhetoric reinforced some conservative notions about the physicality of women and girls, many of their strategies match those of first wave of the American Women's Movement.

Progressive Thought and Post War- Educational Holism

Since the early nineteenth century, physical education had served the purported needs of the general populace, rarely escaping the popular ideologies and structural influences of the social moment. The field of physical training and physical education has witnessed a variety of curriculums and pedagogical trends since its introduction into the US. New England educational reformers such as Horace Mann were influenced by German idealism's transcendental goals of attaining a higher consciousness. Many physical culture specialists emphasized self-help, sport, and healthful exercise to support the physical body and mind between 1830-1860.[1] After the American Civil War, poverty, disease, and social injustice challenged Enlightenment ideals of progress. Increases in pseudo-scientific fields of anthropometrics, somatotyping, and physiognomy utilized in physical training programs reinforced white male supremacy amidst a changing and increasingly ethnic post-abolition America. Oftentimes gymnastics were prescribed to young and old as a means to develop bodily symmetry, and bring individuals as close as possible to ideal averages.[2] The "new woman" and her exceedingly public social and political endeavors disrupted the domestic status quo. In the latter half of the 19th century physical culture reinforced traditional views of feminine and masculine roles. Linda Borish argues that Catherine Beecher's "robust woman" and

1 Roberta J. Park, "The Attitudes of Leading New England Transcendentalists Toward Healthful Exercise, Active Recreations and Proper Care of the Body: 1830-1860," *Journal of Sport History* 4 (1975): 34-35, 49; Roberta J. Park, "'Taking Their Measure' in Play, Games, and Physical Training: The American Scene, 1870s to World War I," *Journal of Sport History* 33 (2006): 196.

2 Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, "The Body in the Library," in *The 'Woman Question' and Higher Education*, ed. Ann Mari May (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008), 2; Bruce Kidd, "The Men's Cultural Centre: Sports and the Dynamic of Women's Oppression/ Men's Repression," in *Sport Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives* eds. Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo (Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1992), 33-34; Roberta J. Park, "'Embodied Selves': The Rise and Development of Concern for Physical Education, Active Games and Recreation for American Women, 1776-1865" *Journal of Sport History* 5 (1978): 9; Roberta J. Park, "'Taking Their Measure,'"194-196.

Thomas Higginson's "muscular Christian" perpetuated the status quo for middle class white women further encouraging women to occupy the role of social reproducers and cultural progenitors, leaving cultural participation to their masculine counterparts.[3] By the turn of the twentieth century, sport, exercise, and hygiene practices frequently functioned as an alternative prescription to pharmacological therapy.

Heavy industrialization, urbanization, and influx of new immigrant workers exacerbated existing social problems and contributed to white middle class anxieties about the body. The American Progressive Movement was fueled by interclass conflicts between the middle and working class. By the 1890s Progressive and Populist Era politicians took up social issues like public health, temperance, and child labor as a means by which to elevate society.[4] Social issues functioned as discursive cultural sites where class relations were further dramatized.[5] Linked to enterprises like settlement houses and other agents of assimilation, the Playground Movement aimed to provide supervised activities and playgrounds in American cities.[6] Municipalities constructed playgrounds and advocated team play as a panacea to poverty. Many government

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3 Dorothy S. Ainsworth, *The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women as Illustrated By Banard, Bryn Mawr, Elmira, Goucher, Mills, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Rockford, Smith, Wellesley, and Wells* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, Inc., 1930), 2; Linda J. Borish, "The Robust Woman and the Muscular Christian: Catherine Beecher, Thomas Higginson, and Their Vision of American Society, Health, and Physical Activities," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4 (1987): 139-141; Roberta J. Park, "Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!?': Brains, Bodies, and Exercise in Nineteenth Century American Thought" *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1991): 41; See Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from Revolution Through the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

4 Steve Hardy and Allan G. Ingham, "Games, Structures, and Agency: Historians on the American Play Movement," *Journal of Social History* 17 (1983): 285; Patricia Vertinksy, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 172.

5 Hardy and Ingham, "Games, Structures, and Agency," 293.

6 Ibid., 285. See Dom Cavallo, "Social Reform and the Movement to Organize Children's Play During the Progressive Era," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 3 (Spring 1976): 509-522; Don S. Kirschner, "Commercial Recreation, Social Disorder and Moral Reform in the Progressive Era," *American Studies* 21, no. 2 (1980): 27-42.

officials and progressives believed these strategies would assuage the evils of disease, crime, and pollution in immigrant ghettos and tenements, solve the conundrum of immigrant acculturation, and relieve the economic and social chaos created by unrestrained capitalism and individualism.[7]

Educational psychologists like G. Stanley Hall contributed to American perceptions of play with his work linking child study and movement.[8] Hall's bio-psychic stage model bridged the ideas of his contemporaries who viewed education as an agent of social control and believed the act of play was associated with obtaining muscular development and efficiency with moral judgment.[9] The playground movement, particularly through team play, emphasized peer-group sanctions, democratic values, loyalty and cooperation.[10] According to Richard Gruneau and Bruce Kidd, "rational recreation" and sports were avenues in which middle-class values were mapped onto the sporting experiences of working class participants and spectators.[11]

Contemporary to the playground movement, this Progressive construction of athleticism involved a hostile battle against lower class "amusements" and rejection of

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7John Rickard Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850*-1950 (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1974), 179-187; Cavallo, "Social Reform and the Movement to Organize Children's Play During the Progressive Era," 519; Hardy and Ingham, "Games Structures, and Agency," 287; Steven A. Reiss, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 157-168; Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 47-86.

8 Cavallo, "Social Reform and the Movement to Organize Children's Play During the Progressive Era," 510.

9 Ibid., 516; Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of* Cleanliness (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 87; Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman*, 172.

10 Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage*, 187; Cavallo, "Social Reform and the Movement to Organize Children's Play During the Progressive Era," 519.

11 Richard Gruneau, *Class Sports and Social Development* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983), 134; Kidd, "The Men's Cultural Center," 34-35.

the bourgeois idleness of the "leisure class."[12] Introducing sport to schoolboys, proponents of athleticism worked to counter the feminine influence of school marms who threatened to hinder the male adolescent's onset of enhanced strength and mental vigor.[13] Progressive athleticism embodied a Protestant ethos, ideals of liberal republicanism, and a healthy yet restrained version of individualism. The values implicated in athleticism were embraced by prominent physical educators like Dudley Sargent and athletic supporters like Theodore Roosevelt, Walter Camp, and Pierre de Coubertin. Though their versions differed from one another, each believed athletics were a vehicle aiding in meeting the challenges of modern middle class life.[14]

From1900-1910 physical training programs in secondary schools and colleges introduced sport components, particularly for boys and men.[15] While the government drew ever nearer to entering World War I, physical educators and college administrators

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12 Mark Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture: American Sport in the 1920s" *Journal of Sport History* 16 (1989): 263, 265.

13 David Whitson, "Sport in the Social Construction of Masculinity," in *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives*, eds. Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, (Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1990), 22; Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded* Woman, 49.

14 Todd Crossett, "Masculinty, Sexuality and the Development of Early Modern Sport," in *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives*, eds., Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo (Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1990), 41; Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Team*: *Sport, Culture, and the American Experience* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 9, 22, 28; Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture," 263, 266; Kidd, "The Men's Cultural Centre," 34-35; Park, "Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators," 31. For more on this ideology and the defense of intercollegiate athletics in the US see See Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

15 Wellesley and Bryn Marr were the first colleges to institute sports within their physical training programs. Roberta J. Park, "Sport, Gender, and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective" in *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport, Women, and Socialization in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Era,* eds. J.A. Mangan and Roberta J. Park (London: Routledge, 1987), 32; Park, Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators," 32-38; Park, "Taking their Measure," 211.

issued a call to arms claiming that indeed it was sports and not military drill which would produce fit citizens, foster preparedness, and most importantly, discourage militarism.[16]

After the conclusion of World War I progressive philosophies served as an ideological baseline guiding popular and intellectual conceptions of democracy, education, and the place of communication that coursed "through American public life at this time."[17] John Dewey was both a progressive and pragmatist whose philosophical writings influenced much popular and professional thought into the 1920s and 30s. Though Dewey's ideas were never entirely integrated into the public school structure, his prolific work markedly influenced post-war educational policy.[18] In 1918 the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education produced Bulletin 1918, no. 35 "The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education Report."[19] The commission's work began in 1913 as a response to societal changes, the increase in secondary school enrollment, new educational theory, new pedagogical emphases on applying knowledge, and the reevaluation of the importance of individual

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16 Guy Lewis, "World War I and the Emergence of Sport for the Masses" *The Maryland Historian* 4 (1973): 110, 114; Timothy O'Hanlon, "Schools Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I," *Journal of Sport History* 9 (1982): 3, 14.

17 Most progressives, including the engineers of the playground movement believed that government intervention and intelligent social planning were a means to achieving a democratic society. Oftentimes progressives were also pragmatists, a philosophical school that argued ideas and actions were experimental efforts to understand the world. A more modest teleological project, pragmatism tries to refine the modes in which people adapt to an ever-changing universe. John Durham Peters and Peter Simonson, "From Hope to Disillusionment: Mass Communication Theory Coalesces, 1919-1933" in John Durham Peters and Peter Simonson eds., *Mass Communication and American Social Thought: Key Texts, 1919-1968,* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 13-14.

18 A useful resource on Dewey is the John Dewey Center at Southern Illinois University, which can be viewed at <http://www.siuc.edu/~deweyctr/index.html>.Michael W. Apple and John Teitelbaum, "John Dewey, 1859-1952" in *Fifty Major Thinkers: From Confucius to Dewey*, eds. Joy Palmer, Liora Bresler, and David Edward Cooper (London: Routledge, 2002) 177-178.

19 Elizabeth Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," *American Physical Education Review* 30 (1925): 490; Elizabeth Halsey, *Women in Physical Education: Their Role in Work, Home, and History* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1961), 172.

subjects.[20] Borrowing from progressive principles of democracy, the principles considered students as individuals with different abilities, attitudes, and goals. Ultimately influencing thousands of curriculums, the committee shifted "the purpose of American secondary education from college preparation for the few to life preparation for the many."[21] The government encouraged educational institutions to reconsider ways to accommodate larger and more economically diverse student bodies through vocational and industrial training, and states passed legislation assisting in the establishment of physical education in secondary schools.

Physical Culture and Physical Education After World War I

The American "preparedness controversy" coupled with the global influenza pandemic spurred much state and federal support of physical education and hygiene programs after the conclusion of the war. Though the U.S. did not enter the war until 1917, eight states passed legislation requiring physical education in the public schools from 1914-1918. After the armistice on November 11th, 1918, seventeen more states added physical education from 1919-1921 and seven more states followed suit into the next decade.[22] Though the need for citizen-soldiers was hotly debated by proponents of athletics and gymnastics, there was no room for debate over the devastating effect of the influenza that swept the country from 1918-1919.[23]

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20 Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1918, no. 35 "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education: A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Appointed by the National Education Association," (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928): 1-4.

21 Richard E. Grossman, "Seven New Cardinal Principles," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 60 (1978): 291; O'Hanlon, "School Sports and Social Training," 6.

22 Halsey, *Women in Physical Education*, 170.

23 28% of the population was infected by the disease and an estimated 550,000 people died. These fatalities were ten times the amount of Americans lost through the war in sum and disproportionately caused the deaths of people between ages 20-40. Alexandra Minn Stern, Martin S. Centren, and Howard Markels, "The 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic in the United States: Lessons Learned and Challenges Exposed" *Public Health Reports* 125, S3 (2010): 6-8.

Spectator sport continued providing the public ample distraction from post-war tensions and illnesses: intercollegiate football, amateur and professional contests in golf, tennis, boxing, and baseball, and a recent revival in the Modern Olympic Games swept the nation from 1919-1929. Mark Dyreson argues that the American masses embraced sport during this "Golden Age." He argues that the fascination was prompted by "the rapid emergence of a consumer-driven economy, a fully-developed mass society, the waning of the spirit of reform, and the rejection of physical culture by a self-described intellectual class."[24] In the early 1920s various organizations expressed great dissatisfaction over the Amateur Athletic Union's management of entrants in Olympic Games and other national sporting events.[25] As a suggestion of The Secretary of War, John Weeks, in May of 1922 the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) was conceived with the aim of promoting fitness and mass participation for all versus high-level sport for a few. [26]

> [The new organization aimed to] create and maintain a permanent organization, representative of amateur athletics and of organizations devoted thereto; to establish and maintain the highest of physical education; to encourage the standardization of the rules of all amateur athletic games and competitions, and to encourage participation of this country in the International Olympic Games.[27]

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24 Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Consumer Culture," 261.

25 Ruth C. White to Lou Henry Hoover May 8, 1922, "NAAF: Men's Division Correspondence 1922," Girl Scouts and Other Organization Series; Lou Henry Hoover Papers; Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, IA. Hereafter, this collection will be referred to as GSOOS,HPL.

26 Statement; "NAAF: Men's Division Historical Notes, 1922-1923," GSOOS, HPL.

27 Colonel Breckenridge to Lou Henry Hoover, April 25, 1922; Lou Henry Hoover to Colonel Breckenridge, May 18, 1922; "NAAF, Men's Division, Henry Breckenridge 1917-1922," GSOOS, HPL; Ruth C. White to Lou Henry Hoover; Frank H. Young, "National Amateur Athletic Federation Formed" *Washington Post*; "NAAF: Men's Division Correspondence 1922,"GSOOS, HPL.

The initial meeting of directors included powerful leaders in the fields of recreation, medicine, and government: The American Physical Education Association, the Boy Scouts of America, the Playground and Recreation Association of America, The National Rifle Association of America, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the US Lawn Tennis Association, Jewish Welfare Board, US Navy, and US Army.[28] The NAAF appointed a female vice president, National Executive Board Member of the Girl Scouts, Lou Henry Hoover. Accepted in absentia, Hoover became the only woman at the time who occupied a national office in the US government.[29]

As the federal and state government responded through new requirements and the creation of advisory groups both men's and women's physical education continued adopting many of the precepts proposed by the National Education Association. Leaving old notions of physical training for the new psychosocial goal of education through the physical, anthropometrics were emphasized less as educators began focusing on motor

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28 Statement; "NAAF: Men's Division Historical Notes, 1922-1923," GSOOS, HPL.

29 Lou Henry Hoover to Clelia Duel Mosher, Feb. 29, 1923, "Hoover, Lou Henry, 1913-1940," Clelia Mosher Series; Hoover Institute Collection; Hoover Musuem; Hereafter, this collection will be referred to as Clelia Mosher Series, HPL; Anne Beeser Allen, *An Independent Woman: The Life of Lou Henry Hoover* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 97-102; Jan Beran, "Lou Henry Hoover and Women's Sports, " in *Lou Henry Hoover: Essays in a Busy Life*, Dale C. Mayer (Worland: High Plains Publishing Company, 1994), 51-61; Ellen Gerber,"The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women, 1923-1936" *Journal of Sport History* 2 (1975): 8-9; Allen Guttman, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press), 138; Mabel Lee, *History of Physical Education and Sports in the U.S.A.* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1983),149; Helen B. Pryor, *Lou Henry Hoover: Gallant First Lady* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1969), 128-129; Sack and Staurowsky, *College Athletes for Hire*, 66; Alice Allene Sefton, *The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Foundation: Sixteen Years of Progress in Athletics for Girls and Women 1923-1929* (New York: Stanford University Press, 1941),1,5; Betty Spears and Richard Swanson, History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States, (Dubuque: Wm C. Brown Company Publishers, 1978) 239; Marianna Trekell, "The Effect of Some Cultural Changes Upon the Sport and Physical Education Activities of American Women, 1860-1960," in *A History of Physical Education and Sport in the United States and Canada*, ed. E.F. Zeigler (Champaign: Stripes Publishing Company, 1975,) 162; Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport, Selected Topics*, 241-3; Nancy Beck Young, *Lou Henry Hoover: Activist First Lady* (Lawrence: University Press Kansas, 2004), 39-41.

ability, child study, and motor efficiency.[30] Antimilitaristic sentiments paired with a rise in xenophobia assisted in the replacement of gymnastics systems as many felt that these forms of exercise "smacked of foreign authoritarianism."[31] Sport, particularly in high schools began to supplement gymnastics and military drill for men and boys.[32] In a 1920 APEA a report issued by the Society of Directors of Physical Education in Colleges boasted that social relations could be enhanced through group activities, "particularly games and athletic sports, under favorable conditions."[33] At the same conference, George J. Fisher, head of the physical education department of the international committee of YMCAs, referred to the pedagogical and philosophical turn in the modern era.

> The new physical training must for the man to the new age. What does the new age demand?...Not muscular energy, but nervous energy. Not muscular power but organic vigor […] The old emphasis was upon structure; the new emphasis will be upon function […] The new age demands men of initiative, men who are alert, men of imagination […] These qualities are developed in play […] The old emphasis in physical training was upon materials used […]The new emphasis is upon the individuals served […] The old emphasis in athletics was upon the spectacle. The new emphasis will be upon participation.34

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30 Ainsworth, *The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women*, 193-194; George J. Fisher, "The New Physical Training," *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 218-220; Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers, 1924-1954* (Washington D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1978), 135-136; Halsey, *Women in Physical Education*, 170; Lee, *The Conduct of Physical Education*, 2; Park, "Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!?," 29.

31 Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 128.

32 O'Hanlon, "School Sports as Social Training," 3, 14; Lewis, "World War One and the Emergence of Sport for the Masses," 110, 114; Spears and Swanson, *A History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States*, 184-185.

33 Fred E. Leonard, R. Tait McKenzie, and Joseph E. Raycroft, "The Aims and Scope of Physical Education, a Report from a Committee of the Society of Directors of Physical Education in Colleges," *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 259.

34 Mabel Lee, *Memories of the Bloomer Girl, 1894-1924* (Washington D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1977), 363.

Physical educators used health, vocational training, and citizenship objectives as the lynchpin to afford women physical educators the wherewithal to support the undergraduate population. Elizabeth Halsey of the University of Iowa argued that the access the physical educators were afforded to college undergraduates through coursework, play, and physical examination provided them with the largest opportunity and greatest responsibility to attend to matters of health, vocation, citizenship, ethical training, parenthood, leisure-time, general bodies of skills, and knowledge.[35]

While some educators called for mass play for women, men, and children, some intercollegiate programs were being singled out by reformers for flagrant transgressions regarding athlete eligibility, amateur status, and alumni involvement. Though both men and women physical educators usually expressed a preference for intramurals over extramurals, there was no organized "hue and cry against intercollegiate sports" until 1923.[36] Most of the literature in the *American Physical Education Review* focused on descriptions of operational programs for school-aged girls.[37] The few articles published that addressed women typically focused on suggestions for further discussion and research or provided pedagogical suggestions for individual sport activities.[38] The lack

35 Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," 491.

36 Quoted in Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 5-6; O'Hanlon, "School Sports as Social Training," 23.

37 See Elizabeth Burchenal, "A Constructive Program of Activities for School Girls," *American Physical Education Review* 24 (1919): 138-142; Lydia Clark, "Illinois League of High School Girls Athletic Association," *American Physical Education Review* 26 (1931): 138-142; Anna S. Cressman, "A Plan of Athletics and Honors for High School Girls," *American Physical Education Review* 22 (1918): 420-426; Augusta L. Patrick, "Athletics for Girls and its Problems in High Schools," *American Physical Education Review* 22 (1918): 427-431; Elizabeth Richards, "Everyday Problems in Girl's Basket Ball," *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 407-414; Mary Stansfield, "The Influence of Games on the Sex Health of Girls," *American Physical Education Review* 27 (1922): 240, 242; Jessie I. Whitman, "Physical Efficiency of High School Girls" *American Physical Education Review* 27 (1922): 18-22; Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 6.

38 Mary A. Brownell, "Archery for Women," *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 124-126; Harry Eaton Stewart, "Track Athletics for Women," *American Physical*

of commentary on women's athletic involvement speaks to the concerted mobilization that female professionals would soon instigate

Encouraging and providing mass play was one of the major objectives in the field of physical education at all levels. Though there are some instances of women's varsity competition in colleges and universities, it was more often men's physical educators working alongside staff whose programs ran contrary to their governing philosophies.[39] At the University of Michigan, Intramural Director Elmer Mitchell took a moderate position. Acknowledging the potential and existing abuses, he surmised that varsity sports benefited men's physical education because of the revenue they provided for departments.[40] Mitchell recommended that if the arms races could be reduced and if less energy could be poured into producing wins, varsity athletics would be assisting in the fulfillment of "Athletics for All… Sports for Sports Sake" and "would be a leader in a forward-looking movement [], not just a begrudging accessory to it."[41]

Fervent supporter of athletics, University of Florida President John Tigert commented on the morality of winning at all costs in college sport.

> I think the trouble all comes under one great evil; not money, the love of which we are told in the Bible is the root of all evil, but something which corresponds to money as the root of all evil in American ideals, and that is the idea in order to take part in physical training we must have competition and that the aim is to

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Education Review 27 (1922): 280-288; Agnes Wayman, "Topics of Discussion for Women's Physical Education Association," *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 366-372.

39 For more on women's Varsity or extramural competition prior to 1930 see the following. Robyn Bell Markells, "Bloomer Basketball and its Suspender Supression: Women's Intercollegiate Competition at Ohio State, 1904-1907," *Journal of Sport History* 27 (2000): 27-49; Rita Liberti, "'We Were Ladies, We Just Played Basketball Like Boys,' African American Womanhood and Basketball and Bennett College, 1928-1942," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (1999): 567-584.

40 Elmer Mitchell, "Sideline Opinions on Intercollegiate Athletics" *American Physical Education Review* 30 (1925): 500-502.

41 Ibid.,500-502.

> win. The idea that winning is the principle function in our interscholastic contests is the root of all evil.[42]

Oberlin College President H.L. Hughes argued that an educational model of intercollegiate sport was not only achievable, but led to successful and healthy athletic programs. Hughes used recent achievements in the basketball and football program as proof that the scholar-athlete ideal could be realized without abandoning athletic glory.[43]

Women physical educators benefited from increased enrollments in secondary schools and colleges, in addition to recent legislative action that created a need for the creation of more instructors. Their departments provided mandatory health and exercise courses and they supervised many extracurricular activities for college women. Several students participated in faculty-sanctioned dorm leagues, interclass and club/sorority tournaments, and a variety of non-competitive clubs like hiking, camping, etcetera.[44] At a 1922 Middle West meeting at Iowa State College, Mabel Lee recalls that in a discussion over the pros and cons of extramurals, very few women openly supported varsity models.[45] Allen Guttmann contends that women physical educators "abjured" competition.[46] Lee's account runs counter to this as she explained in her memoirs that ultimately most women in attendance at the meeting renounced extramurals because they

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42 Quoted in Agnes R. Wayman, "Play Problems of Girls," in *Women and Athletics*, ed. Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 42.

43 Hughes claimed that the teams only practiced ninety minutes per day. For more on Oberlin Colleges early athletic and physical education programs for men and women see Marc Horger, "Basketball and Athletic Control at Oberlin College, 1896-1915," *Journal of Sport History* 23 (1996): 256-283; W.L. Hughes, "Observations Concerning Certain Moral and Social Learning in Athletics," *American Physical Education Review* 30 (1925): 502-503.

44 Susan Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 57.

45 Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 363.

46 Guttmann, *Women's* Sports, 363.

felt their professional energies had to be focused on securing their discipline's survival in colleges and universities.[47]

Much of the cultural work that women physical educators supported in their fight to secure space in the profession revolved around combating new versions of commoditized femininity.[48] This soon proved a structural and ideological battleground for many of them. Susan Cahn argues that during the 1920s and 30s educators and popular promoters would come to defend competing versions of athletic womanhood vis-à-vis two different models of sport: the "wholesome, modest, athlete" and the "athlete as beauty queen" were "each designed to dispel persistent concerns about the 'mannish' female athlete."[49] Even teenage media darling and world-record holder Gertrude Ederle faced snide comments from *The Literary Digest* who questioned whether her swimming abilities were detrimental to her ability to "lure a good sailor-man."[50]

Commercial Interest and Professional Action in Women's Physical Education

In the early 1920s the AAU engaged in repeated conflicts over the organizational jurisdiction of amateur sport. In 1920 the Conference of College Directors of Physical Education voiced their disapproval, accusing the AAU of promoting professionalism, training a few to the sacrifice of many, creating the need for professional coaches, incurring unnecessary expenses, and promoting anti-social and physiologically unsound

47 Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 363.

48 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 57; Nancy Theberge, "Women's Athletics and the Myth of Female Frailty" in *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, 4th ed. Jo Freeman (Mountain View: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1989), 508.

49 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 57.

50 Quoted from Cindy L. Himes, "The Female Athlete in American Society, 1860-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1986), 226 in Guttmann, *Women's Sports,* 147.

athletic programs.[51] After the reorganization of the American Olympic Committee (AOC) in 1921, the Amateur Athletic Association maintained a majority of the voting power within it.[52] After several months of bitter conflict between the newly formed National Amateur Athletic Federation and the Amateur Athletic Union, the AOC amended their constitution to provide three votes to each of several organizations: NAAF, Army, Navy, U.S. Lawn Tennis Association, and the NCAA among others. This eliminated the fifteen votes originally allotted to the AAU per their five-sport jurisdiction and provided more equitable voting ratios.[53] Women's place in the Olympic Games had been limited to some golf and tennis in 1900 and swimming, diving, and figure skating in 1912 and 1920.[54] Amateur clubs, YMCAs and YWCAs provided ample opportunities for men and women in rural areas and cities, though not always under the care of trained recreational specialists.[55] Outside the surveillance of trained specialists, sports for women and girls developed in smaller towns and industrial settings. By the mid 1920s these sites became a pronounced battleground for women physical educators attempting to exert their own ideological and structural control.

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51 Spears and Swanson, *The History of Sport and Physical Education in the United* States, 239.

52 Ellen Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," in *The American Woman in Sport*, eds. Ellen W. Gerber, Jan Felshin, Pearl Berlin, and Waneen Wyrick (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974), 78; Information Bulletin Concerning the National Amateur Athletic Federation- American Olympic Association Developments for the Private Information of the Members of the Board of Governors of the Federation, Nov. 1922; Frank H. Young, "National Amateur Athletic Federation Formed," *Washington Post* May 9, 1922;"NAAF: Men's Division Correspondences 1922," GSOOS, HPL.

53 In the case of the original AOC constitution, one member of the AAU could cast all thirty-seven of the allotted votes designated to the AAU. Information Bulletin Concerning the National Amateur Athletic Federation- American Olympic Association Developments for the Private Information of the Members of the Board of Governors of the Federation, Nov. 1922; "NAAF: Men's Division Correspondences 1922," GSOOS, HPL.

54 Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 46.

55 Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 142-146.

Though men's competitions dominated national and metropolitan media coverage, industrial and municipal athletics provided many teenage girls and women with exciting, inexpensive recreation that drew communities together.[56] Cahn argues that the increased presence of women in the Olympics also "helped fashion a new ideal of womanhood by modeling an athletic, energetic femininity with an undertone of an explicit, joyful sexuality."[57] The physicality and implicit sexuality associated with new notions of modern femininity was evident in the press coverage of Olympic swimmers in the 1920s that described the girls and women as "statuesque," "mermaids" and "Junos", but is best exemplified by women's professional tennis stars like Suzanne Lenglen and Helen Wills.[58] Physical educators raised no objections to women who competed at elite levels in sports like tennis, golf, swimming, or archery in the 1900, 1912, or 1920 Olympic Games. Opposition was raised by women physical educators in 1922, when Allice Milliat's new organization, Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSHI) proposed hosting a Women's Olympics. The Women's Olympics promised to feature all-female competitors in less traditionally feminine sports like track and field. Medical doctor and educator, Harry Stewart suggested that the AAU should send American women for the track and field events. Initially rejected by both the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) and the AAU, Stewart's proposal fell on the ears of a new AAU President, William Prout. In April of 1922, Prout announced that in August, American women would be sent to Paris.[59]

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56 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 42-44.

57 "A Seventeen Year-Old-Mermaid Who Holds Ten World Records,"*Literary Digest* 80 (March 8, 1924), 74-76; "'Crawl Stroke' Makes Junos," *Literary Digest* 86 (July 25, 1925),52-53 in Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 47.

58 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 47.

59 Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 137.

The AAU's support for international competition in track and field created much concern for women physical educators. The head of the APEA subcommittee on track and field, Kathryn Sibley voiced concern over the large numbers of working-class women competing in Paris. Blanche Trilling of University of Wisconsin was floored that college women from the United States were even interested in such a spectacle.[60] According to Cahn, sports like track and field, but more saliently, events occurring in spectator-packed arenas, were a threat to the "nice girls" that women physical educators like Sibley and Trilling were trying to protect.[61] The APEA's Committee for Women's Athletics ultimately issued two statements: first, that they were not affiliated with the AAU, and second, that they did not approve of sending representatives to the contest in Paris.[62]

Cahn explains that soon after the conclusion of the 1922 women's Olympics the all-male International Olympic Committee (IOC) and International Amateur Athletic Federation, the governing body for men's track in Europe began to make moves to control women's track and field. The IOC claimed that Milliat's Paris games were too excessive and that more regulations and standards were needed. The organization also announced that they would begin offering five events in track and field for women in the 1928 Olympic Games. The all-male IAAF both discredited Milliat's event and insisted

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60 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 57-60; 59-60, 62; Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 46; Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 167-168; Gerber, *"The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 9;* Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London: Routledge, 1994), 65- 66, 211; Theberge, "Women's Athletics and the Myth of Female Fraility," 510; Welch, *History of Amereican Physical Education and* Sport, 242-244, 291.

61 Quoted in Mary Henson Leigh, "The Evolution of Women's Participation in the Summer Olympic Games, 1900-1948," (PhD disseration, Ohio State University, 194), 240-241 in Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 58.

62 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 59-60; Guttman, *The Olympics*, *46;* Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 137.

she change the name of her contest and adopt their newly formed rules and standards.[63] In 1923, the AAU solidified what Allen Sack and Ellen Staurowsky describe as the domino effect in the takeover of women's track and field by the IOC, AAU, and IAAF.[64] In 1923 the AAU publicized their intensions to sponsor national championships in track in field for women in 1924.[65] According to Cahn, fearing that the AAU would bid for control of all athletics for girls and women, women physical educators launched a campaign to assert their professional expertise and influence.[66] This was sustained through a variety of professional networks and committees internally embedded within existing groups and through separatist organizations.

Since the inception of the first professional group for physical education, the American Alliance for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE), women were present and active.[67] By 1885, one of the three eligible vice presidency positions was occupied by Helen C. Putnam of Vassar College.[68] Though women were involved in the professional organization, their physical or ideological representation in sections,

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63 The IAAF would reverse this vote and support women's participation in the 1928 games. In 1926 they were successful in pressuring Milliat to adopt IAAF rules and relinquish the name "Olympic" in favor of "Women's World Games." Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 59-60.

64 Stack and Staurowsky, *College Athletes For Hire*, 66.

65 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 62; Guttman, *The Olympics*, *46.*

66 Cahn, Coming on Strong, 60.

67 The American Alliance for the Advancement of Physical Education changed its name to the American Physical Education Association (APEA) in 1903. The organization reorganized yet again in 1937 to the American Alliance of Health and Physical Education (AAHPE). In AAHPE changed their name to also include recreation (AAHPER) in 1938. The last change to this entity in terms of name occurred in 1979 with the addition of dance to the organization's title (AAHPERD).

68 Eleanor English and Johanna Davenport, "The AAPEHRD Chronicle, 1885-1985," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 100 (1985) from http://www.aahperd.org/about/upload/AAHPERD_Chronicle_1885-1985.pdf; Paula D. Welch, "The Relationship of the Women's Rights Movement to Women's Sport and Physical Education, 1848-1920." Proteus 3, no. 1 (1986): 37.

committees, etcetera, was not equitable with their male counterparts. In1899 Sendra Berenson of Smith College took the initiative to form a Basketball Rules Committee. She and several other Wellesley alumni reviewed and established alternative rules for girls and women's basketball and provided recommendations for uniforms and other important policies.[69] By 1917, the Committee for Women's Athletics (CWA) was in place and formed several sub-committees dedicated to women's basketball, hockey, swimming, soccer, and track and field.[70] Despite the increased professional presence of women in a variety of educational and recreational settings, the CWA held no voting power within the greater body of the APEA.[71]

A second professional organization in which women physical educators exerted influence was the Middle West Society of Physical Education and Hygiene (MWS). Organized at The University of Chicago in 1912, the MWS functioned separately from the APEA. Initially founded by powerful doctors, educators, and coaches it served the Midwestern states and much of Pennsylvania. Founders of the group included Clark W. Hetherington of the American Playground Association.; E.B. DeGroot, Director of the Playgrounds and Gymnasiums of the South Park System in Chicago, and J.E. Raycroft, W.J. Monilaw, and Amos Alonzo Stagg of The University of Chicago. In 1917, Ethel

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69 Canadian physical educator John Naismith has been credited with the invention of basketball. Berenson adopted the rules to form six-player basketball also known as baskette. After AAAPE reorganized and became the APEA, many more women physical educators adoped Berenson's version of the game. Cahn, Coming on Strong, 85-87; Halsey, Women in Physical Education, 155-161; Joan S. Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women: Leadership By Women's Physical Educators, 1899-1949" *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 100 (1985): 64; Ikard, Just For Fun, 10-11; Trekell, "The Effects of Some Cultural Changes Upon the Sports and Physical Education Activities of American Women, 1860-1960," 158; Swanson and Spears, The History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States, 194.

70 Gerber, The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women, 4-5.

71 Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women," 66; Lee, Beyond Bloomers, 74,80, 198; Theberge, "Woman's Athletics and the Myth of Female Frailty,", 511; Welch, "Governance: The First Half Century," 72; Welch, History of American Sport and Physical Education, 241.

Perrin, became the first female president of MWS. By 1919 Perrin convinced both the MWS and APEA to host a cooperative convention that would assist in further consolidation of the organizations in 1930. Some of the MWS concerns with the proposed merger included who their representative would be in the APEA. In 1930 the MWS became one of four districts in the APEA and former MWS President, Mabel Lee, became the first woman in 1930 to ascend to the association's presidency. [72]

Joan Jacobs Brumburg and Nancy Tomes argue that though there was a revolutionary surge of women in the American professions, particularly in social work and nursing, "the pattern of occupational segregation and distribution that developed reflected and sustained male authority."[73] Usually the highest positions, particularly administrative ones, were occupied by men. Within women's and teaching colleges, and coed institutions, female faculty experienced similar working conditions.[74]

Women's physical education departments continued to function relatively independent from their male counterparts within the academy. Though generally separate in terms of pedagogy, budget, and space, women's programs often occupied the same Divisions as men's physical education, athletics, and groups like student-health services. Female chairs often sought official approval from male division chairs and athletic directors over budgetary and hiring decisions. Mable Lee experienced bitter personal and professional frustration over her relationship with a former department chair after a separation of the men's and women's programs at the University of Nebraska. As

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72 For a more expansive account of the history of the MDAAHPERD see Mable Lee, The History of the Middle West Society of Physical Education, 1912-1933 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963); "A Brief History of the Midwest District" American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance Available at <http://www.aahperd.org/about/districts/midwest/history.cfm>.

73 Joan Jacobs Brumburg and Nancy Tomes, "Women in the Professions: A Research Agenda for American Historians," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 284

74 Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 180.

department chair Lee experienced tension among her peers and staff despite the infrastructural independence her program had recently gained.[75] Similarly, when Elizabeth Halsey was hired at the University of Iowa as the chair of Physical Education for Women, the departments had recently merged into a division. Though it was her understanding that she was the head of the women's department, she reported to the Athletic Director. Sometimes Halsey had to write the Registrar or the President of the University to have her title corrected in various letters, appointments, and publications that omitted or misprinted her rank or status.[76] Professional assertions and pride were a constant negotiation as women tried to further themselves and their departments. Amy Ann Dzuback argues that female faculty utilized different strategies to maintain their place in research institutions during the 1920s. They used their social status as highly educated professionals, their location in Research I institutions and access to philanthropic funds to create opportunities for research and they forged strategic alliances with male colleagues to better secure their professional positions within unsympathetic institutional frameworks.[77]

By 1922 women physical educators began were pushing for more representation through their own professional groups. The National Amateur Athletic Federation may have threatened groups like the AAU, but women physical educators seized early opportunities to align with the new organization. At its first annual meeting in December

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75 Lee, Memories *Beyond Bloomers*, 27-30, 41-43; Mabel Lee to Florence I. McGahey March 24, 1937, "Correspondence" Mabel Lee; Physical Education for Women Faculty; Teacher's College; Archives & Special Collections, University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries, Lincoln, NE. Hereafter collection will be referred to as Mabel Lee Papers, ASC-UNL.

76 Elizabeth Halsey to Walter Jessup Oct. 17, 1924; Marcella Hotz to Elizabeth Halsey Nov. 4, 1924; Elizabeth Halsey to Walter Jessup Nov. 4, 1924, Box 150 "85-87 Women," Walter Jessup Correspondence; University of Iowa Libraries- Special Collections Department; Iowa City, IA. Hereafter, the collection will be referred to Jessup Papers, SC-UI.

77 Amy Ann Dzuback, "Gender, Professional Knowledge, and Institutional Power: Women, Social Scientists and the Research University" in *The 'Woman Question' and Higher Education*, ed. Ann Mari May (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008), 69.

of 1922, APEA representative Blanche M. Trilling of the University of Wisconsin, Board of Education of Detroit member, Ethel Perrin, and Elizabeth Burchenal of New York impressed upon NAAF President Breckenridge that a more conservative and proper direction should be given to girl's and women's athletics. Concerned over the "spectacular and undesirable forms of competitive sport" being thrust upon women, Breckenridge approached Hoover to spearhead a separate conference for girls and women.[78] She accepted the responsibility and coordinated a meeting in Washington, D.C. in April of 1923 that marked the formal establishment of the Women's Division. As at the initial meeting of the NAAF, chairwomen were selected and resolutions were prepared and adopted. Hoover was to be permanent chairwoman and Trilling was elected vice chairwoman. Despite the legislative similarities between the two divisions, the female faction of the NAAF decided that the Women's Division would be governed by a seven-person all-female Executive Committee.[79]

Though women were successful in carving out a sovereign place within the NAAF, the APEA was not so content to allow the CWA the same power as other sections. For instance, each was given a separate time to meet each year at the annual committee. However, CWA members, often separated by large geographic expanses had to coordinate outside of the convention, oftentimes arriving early and incurring additional

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78 Henry Breckenridge to Lou Henry Hoover Jan. 15, 1922; "NAAF: Men's Division, Henry Breckenridge 1922-1927,"GSOOS, HPL.

79 Guttmann argues that the initial meeting of the Women's Division of the NAAF was organized by incensed APER members, though this runs contrary to other scholarship on the motivations and origins of the NAAF. Allen, *An Independent Woman*, 97-102; Beran, "Lou Henry Hoover and Women's Sports," 51-61; Gerber,"The Controlled Developmnet of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 8-10; Guttmann, *Women's* Sports, 138; Lee, *History of Physical Education and Sports in the U.S.*, 149; Pryor, *Lou Henry Hoover*, 128-129; Sack and Staurowsky, *College Athletes for Hire*, 66; Sefton, *The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Foundation: Sixteen Years of Progress in Athletics for Girls and Women*, 1, 5; Spears and Swanson, History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States, 239; Trekell, "The Effect of Some Cultural Changes Upon the Sport and Physical Education Activities of American Women, 1860-1960," 162; Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport*, 241-3; Young, *Lou Henry Hoover*, 39-41.

expenses in order to meet and discuss pressing items. Furthermore, committees were less influential than sections because of their inability to write a constitution, elect officers, and run their own treasury. In 1924 the women of the CWA began an eight-year battle to achieve voting power and section status within the APEA.[80]

Women physical educators' movements within existing and newly forming professional groups were also strengthened through separatist all-female networks. Betty Spears notes that in the early 1910s professionalization was an unknown term among women educators. However, it well describes the activities provided by administrator Amy Morris Homans of Wellesley College's Department of Hygiene: participating in national professional organizations, forming local clubs, staying active in the Mary Hemenway Alumnae Association of Wellesley College, and working towards a national association for women physical educators.[81] In an effort to further professionalize women's physical education, Homans invited various athletic association presidents and directors of physical training to meet at Wellesley College to discuss future directions for East Coast programs. This group set the foundation for the formation of the National Association of Physical Education for College Women (NAPECW). The faculty-centered approach to athletics allowed them to shape and govern their collective directions with ease.[82]

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80 Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women," 66; Lee, *Beyond Bloomers*, 66, 185-187, 198; Theberge, "Woman's Athletics and the Myth of Female Frailty", 511; Paula Welch, "Governance: The First Half Century" in *Women and Sport: Issues and Controversies*, ed. Greta L. Cohen (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1993), 72; Welch, *History of American Sport and Physical* Education, 241.

81 Betty Spears, *Leading the Way: Amy Morris Homans and the Beginnings of Professional Education for Women* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 117.

82 Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 8.

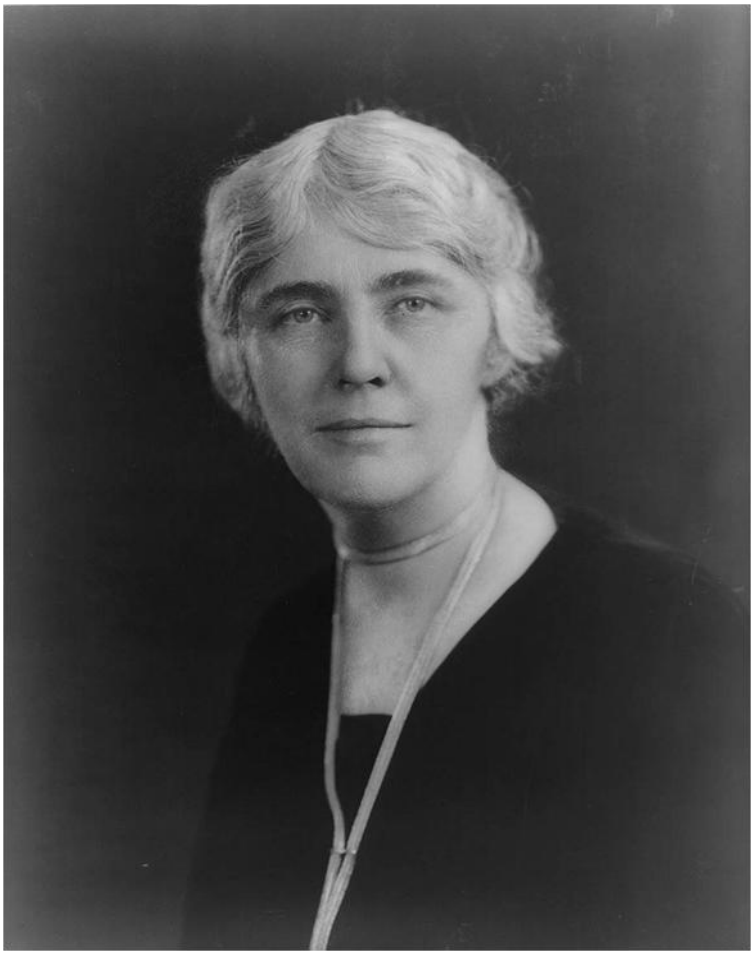

Figure II-1 Lou Henry Hoover. Courtesy Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

In 1917, Blanche Trilling organized the Athletic Conference of American College Women (ACACW).[83] This was the first attempt to establish a governing body dedicated to women's college sport. The ACACW met nationally and regionally through conferences serving to promote the ideals of the CWA and the Women's Division. ACACW drew on Women's Athletic Association presidents and physical education faculty at their semi-annual convocations where student participation was fostered in organization and play. During the 1920s the ACACW was instrumental in helping the

[83] In 1933 the group became the Athletic Federation of College Women (AFCW).

philosophy of Sport for Sport's Sake, in addition to spreading the popularity of point systems that deemphasized winning.[84]

Unlike Homan's NAPECW or Trilling's ACACW, the Women's Division maintained male representations at conferences, on committees, and occasionally as officers. Both the Men's and Women's Division of the NAAF posited themselves as a non-hierarchal umbrella organizations seeking to make sound recommendations to the recreational and educational practitioners who oversaw sport.[85] Lou Henry Hoover's superb financial and professional connections allowed her to function as a dynamic spokesperson. According to Gerber this greatly assisted the ability of the Women's Division to rapidly organize, coordinate the establishment of a philosophical platform, and garner sustainable funding.[86] Always financially separate, the Women's Division generously helped to fund the less successful Men's Division, particularly after the sudden death of the latter's Vice President, Elwood Brown.[87]

Few women involved in the CWA or Women's Division were affiliated with the suffrage campaign, and most women in education were not active in seeking social

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84 Chris Hartman, "'Health and Fun Shall Walk Hand in Hand': The First 100 Years of Women's Athletics at the University of Wisconsin" The University of Wisconsin- Madison Libraries, 2011 Available at <http://archives.library.wisc.edu/uw-archives/exhibits/athletics/athletics.pdf>; Spears, "Chronicle of Participation," 78-79; Blanche Trilling, "Modern Trends in Athletic Associations" *AFACW Newsletter* (May 1933), 4, "ACACW Newsletters 1931-1935," Subject Files, Blanche Trilling; Department of Physical Education (Women); School of Education; University of Wisconsin Libraries- University Archives; Madison, WI. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as Trilling Subject File, UA-UWL.

85 Sefton, The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Federation, 74-76, 79-80, 85-87.

86 Ibid., 2-5.

87 Executive Secretary Report, Jan. 14, 1925; Executive Secretary Report, Jan. 21, 1925; "NAAF: Women's Division, Women's Division Executive Secretary Reports, 1925," GSOOS, HPL; Telegram from Colonel Breckenridge to Lou Henry Hoover, March 18, 1924; "NAAF Men's Division: Henry Breckenridge, 1922-17," GSOOS, HPL.

reform through militant or radical action.[88] However, upwardly mobile physical educators, emerging from the ethos of nineteenth century middle-class women's culture created a separate professional sphere that helped them mobilize and gain political leverage.[89] The interlocking membership of the CWA and Women's Division demonstrates a variation of what Estelle Freedmen identifies as "female institution building." Their initial efforts to infiltrate the AAAPE, APEA, and NAAF positioned them for the later development of separatist political strategies.[90]

Many of the initial organizers to the Women's Division were women whom Hoover knew from her years at Stanford. Most notably, professor of physiology, Dr. Clelia Mosher and personal friend, Susan Bristol, an aspiring writer, provided crucial assistance to Hoover at the Division's inception.[91] Mosher made most of the original recommendations to Hoover as to who to invite to the conference and into the Nominating Committee. Five of the first six women on this committee, Executive Secretary Bristol and Permanent Chairwoman Hoover withstanding, were physical educators trained under the formidable Amy Morris Homans at Boston Normal School of Gymnastiucs (BNGS) or Wellesley College.[92] Hoover, like the women trained by

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88 Welch, "The Relationship of the Women's Rights Movement to Women's Sport and Physical Education," 38-39.

89 Estelle Freedmen, "Separatism As Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (1979)" 513; Guttmann argues that women's physical educators approached their work in the 1920s with a "separate spheres" approach but does go so far as to describe it as a feminist strategy. Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 136; Spears, *Leading the Way*, 130.

90 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 67; Freedmen, "Separatism As Strategy," 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (1979): 513.

91 Lou Henry Hoover to Clelia D. Mosher, February 9, 1923, "Hoover, Lou Henry, 1913-1940 '(on women's health and athletics)' Clelia Mosher File, HPL; Susan Bristol to Lou Henry Hoover, Aug. 7, 1921; Lou Henry Hoover to Susan Bristol, Sept. 9, 1921; Lou Henry Hoover to Susan Bristol, Jan. 26, 1923; "Personal Correspondence, 1921-1928," Lou Henry Hoover Papers, HPL.

92 In 1909 the prominent Boston Normal School for Gymnastics merged with the Wellesley College Department of Hygiene. Remarks on the Program, "Welcome: A Women's

Homans, continued to employ the strategies advocated by middle east-coast women since the middle of the 19th century. Freedmen argues that these cultures of intimate friendships and strong professional connections were most prominent between 1870-1920. Originally the result of public sphere women's club movements on the east coast, they penetrated alumni networks and professional groups like the Women's Division. Close relationships were one of the linchpins of first-wave separatist politics and institution building and would remain such in women's physical education well beyond the 1920s.[93]

After the whole NAAF met for the first time in February of 1923, Hoover called an inaugural Conference on Athletics and Physical Education for Girls and Women that spring. Over two hundred delegates attended the two-day meeting in Washington D.C. With Hoover as permanent chairwoman and Trilling as vice chairwoman the Executive Committee included: Louise French, the Assistant State Supervisor of Physical Education in Massachusetts; Helen Frost of the Teachers College at Columbia University; Helen McKinstry, Director of the Central School of Hygiene and Physical Education of the YWCA of New York City; Dr. J. Anna Norris, Professor of Physical Education at the University of Minnesota; Ethel Perrin, Associate Director of the American Child Health Association; and Agnes R. Wayman, Director of the Physical Education Department at Barnard College. Though there was some advocacy for disaffiliating from the NAAF the group did not splinter. Last, a committee led by J. Anna Norris prepared and adopted sixteen resolutions which were discussed, amended, and adopted. These resolutions served as the foundation of the Women's Division's widely distributed platform.[94]

Division of National Amateur Athletic Federation, Athletic Federation, New York City," Addresses, Articles, and Statements; Subject File, Lou Henry Hoover Papers; HPL. Hereafter collection will be referred to as Lou Henry Hoover Subject File, HPL.

93 Freedmen, "Separatism as Strategy," 513.

94 Guttmann argues that the initial meeting of the Women's Division of the NAAF was organized by incensed APER members, though this runs contrary to other scholarship on the

Within one year of objecting to The Women's Olympics and the AAU's decision to promote and host women's track and field championships, women physical educators had established and begun promoting their principals of women's athletics through the NADPECW, the CWA and the NAAF Women's Division.[95]

The Cultural Work Advanced by the Women's Division

Christopher Lasch argues that in the late nineteenth century, professional "help-providers" gave rise to the therapeutic state by creating a sense of public need, and rushing in to satisfy their creation.[96] As did the medical profession, women physical educators capitalized on the social anxieties of the white middle class that were generated by the expansion in mass consumer culture, the sexual revolution, newly political freedom for women through suffrage, and new immigration patterns.[97] More confident

motivations and origins of the NAAF. Allen, *An Independent Woman*, 97-102; Beran, "Lou Henry Hoover and Women's Sports, " 51-61; Gerber,"The Controlled Developmnet of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 8-9; Guttmann, *Women's* Sports, 138; Lee, *History of Physical Education and Sports in the U.S.A.*, 149; Pryor, *Lou Henry Hoover*, 39-41, 128-129; Sack and Staurowsky, *College Athletes for Hire*, 66; Sefton, *The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Foundation*, 1-6; Spears and Swanson, History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States, 239; Trekell, "The Effect of Some Cultural Changes Upon the Sport and Physical Education Activities of American Women, 1860-1960," 162; Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport*, 241-3.

95 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 59-61, 79; Gerber "The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 8-9, 1975; Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women," 66; Spears and Swanson, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United* States, 242; Sack and Staurowsky, *College Athletes for Hire*, 66-67; Welch Suggs, *A Place on the Team*, 24; Welch, "Governance," 72.

96 Daniel J. Walkowitz, "The Making of A Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s" *The American Historical Review* 95,no. 4 (1990): 1053.

97 Rima D. Apple, *Perfect Motherhood: Science and Childrearing in America* (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2006) 12-17*;* Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (New York: Anchor Books, 1989), 69-99; Horowitz, "The Body in the Library," 12; Ann Mari May, "Gender, Biology, and the Incontrovertible Logic of Choice," in *The 'Woman Question' and Higher Education*, ed. Ann Mari May (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008), 45; Carol Smith-Rosenburg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 178; Mary-Lou Squires, "Sport and the Cult of 'True Womanhood': A Paradox at the Turn of the Century" in *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports,* ed. Reet Howell (West Point: Leisure Press, 1982), 102; Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman*, 47.

of their own position and authority within their field, women physical educators launched their campaign against intercollegiate and international competition for girls and women after the AAU announced its intention to move into governance of women's track and field.[98]

By October of 1922 women physical educators had begun their campaign of solidarity at the Atlantic City Recreation Congress. In a summary of athletics for women's and girls, the committee concluded that the AAU's decision to involve themselves was a cause for concern. The group indicated that girls and women were in real danger of social and physical exploitation. Publicity photos of urban or rural women in revealing, curve-hugging, or overly-masculine uniforms alarmed women's sport reformers.[99] After The Women's Olympics the CWA recommended that girls and women should avoid such ill-planned or organized activities in exchange for "wholesome athletics." CWA chair Blanche Trilling targeted events such as these. Poor sportsmanship and a general lack of the following were among her main concerns: constant female chaperones, efficient and proper medical examinations, safeguards to ensure women would not compete while menstruating, modest and safe uniforms, and restrictions on the number and type of events participants could register for in a single contest.[100]

Gerber argues that the platform produced by the Women's Division in 1923 was designed in accordance with four factors: educational and physical education objectives

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98 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 57.

99 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 65; Helen Hoffman, "Boys Look Out! Women Train in Athletics with Government Aid" *El Paso Times* March 25, 1923; "Mrs. Hoover's Pleas for Better Physiques Wins" *New Haven Connecticut Courier* March 13, 1923; "Running Pants for Girls Shock Some Directors; Other's Approve"; "Which of These Costumes do you Prefer?," *The Evening Bulletin Philadelphia* February 1923, "Clubs and Organizations, National Amateur Athletic Federation: Women's Division, Clippings, 1923," GSOOS, HPL.

100 Blanche M. Trilling, "Women's Athletic Committee Report," *American Physical Education Review* 28 (1923): 68-70.

of the period, beliefs about appropriate social behavior for women, existing beliefs about physical capabilities of women, and reactions to the negative aspects of sports.[101] Women physical educators advocated conservative middle class notions about female propriety, and notions of female inferiority and frailty, to create an exclusionary model of sport that positioned them as qualified, benevolent arbiters of respectable girls' and women's bodies.[102]

Basketball was a central part of their campaigns to maintain control over women's sport. Many educators and physicians argued that women should not participate in strenuous or competitive activities during the first three days of their menstrual periods. Helen Coops of the University of Cincinnati and J. Anna Norris of the University of Minnesota argued that only female coaches could safeguard against these practices. Both maintained that girls and young women would never feel comfortable discussing such matters or consulting with male coaches over their menstrual state.[103] Ignorance of this physiological consideration, win-obsessed coaches with inflated salaries motivated to privilege the prestige of schools and misguided communities were among the factors alleged to have the potential to compromise girls' health.[104] The less strenuous six-player girls' version was also preferred. Some supporters thought that women's organs were "more delicately balanced, and more easily displaced." Girls and women were also

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101 Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 12.

102 Bouchier, "'Let us Take Care of Our Field,'" 66; Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 56, 62; Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 15; Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 85; Theberge, "Woman's Athletics and the Myth of Female Frailty," 511.

103 Helen L. Coops, "Athletic Education" *American Physical Education Review* 32(1927): 608; J. Anna Norris, Basket Ball- Girls' Rules" in *Women and Athletics*, ed. Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 33-34. Originally published in *Child Health Magazine*, Dec. 1924.

104 John M. Cooper, "A Magna Charta for the Girl and Woman in Athletics" *Catholic Charities Review*, 1925 in Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed., *Women and Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 20-23; Coops, "Athletic Education" 610; "Outstanding Problems in Girl's Athletics," 846.

thought to have more "unstable nervous systems, less endurance, and less vitality than boys or men."[105] In the 1920s, multiple generations of women had been exposed to the six player game and were available and interested to serve as referees and coaches. Norris and Coops also argued that coaches must have participated in the game that they are playing in order to understand the mechanics of play and to appreciate their athletes' experiences.[106]

Concerns over potential exploitation and endangerment were disproportionately directed towards rural and industrial girls' sports.[107] Gerber argues that professional sportswriters portrayed women's participation in sport in a variety of ways, though the negative or alarmist coverage was what made the pages of the professional journals.[108] In non-school settings, Coops and others lamented, sports for women and girls were beginning to emulate the sports of their brothers and fathers and were undoubtedly run by coaches and administrators who did not "have as high of ideals," as those of the properly trained, college-educated professionals .[109]

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105 Coops, "Athletic Education," 610.

106 Janice A. Beran, *From Six-on-Six to Full Court Press: A Century of Iowa Girls Basketball* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994); Coops, "Athletic Education," 609; Lee, *The Conduct of Physical Education*, 440-441; Field Secretary Report, Jan. 29, 1924, "NAAF: Women's Division Executive Secretary Reports, 1924," GSOOS, HPL; Matthew Ikard, Just For Fun: The Story of AAU Women's Basketball (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2005), 10-11; Shelley Lucas, "Courting Controversy: Gender and Power in Iowa Girl's Basketball" *Journal of Sport History* 30 (2003): 281-308; Norris, Basket Ball- Girls' Rules," 33-34.

107 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 65; Gerber, "Chronicle of Participation," 87; Lee, *The Conduct of Physical Education*, 108; "Outstanding Problems in Girls' Athletics" American Physical Education Review 31(1926): 846.

108 Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 22.

109 Helen Coops, "Athletic Education," *American Physical Education* Review 27 (1926): 608; Edgar Marian Draper and George Mimms Smith, *Intramural Athletics and Play* Days (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporated, 1930), 109; John R. Tunis, "Women and the Sport Business," in *Women and Athletics*, ed. Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 27. Originally published in *Harpers Magazine* (*July 1929).*

The solutions and recommendations of physical educators associated with the Women's Division espoused a democratic model for the masses. Similar to the "education for all" approach taken by the National Education Association after World War I, recreation specialists proposed "sport for all," arguing that sport was too socially beneficial to be restricted to an elite few.[110] In the opening remarks of the Conference on Athletics for Girls and Women, Lou Henry Hoover remarked,

> If you teach the boy and the girl fair play and honesty and generosity and courage and teamwork and patience and self sacrifice on the playground, that they will carry those same attributes and qualities into the political like of the nation. We believe the boy who will not steal in the game will not steal from the till. We believe the boy who is taught loyalty and fair play will not easily be led into oppression or into injustice in industry. We believe the boy who is taught loyalty and fair play will not easily be led into oppression into injustice in industry, if he be in the employer's class. We believe that the immigrants who came to our shores full of animosity and race hatred and the misunderstandings that exist in Europe, will be influenced by the fact that their boys are with the other children on the playground.[111]

Many women's sport reformers like Hoover grafted post-war peace and Americanization onto principles of play. Some, such as Agnes Wayman of Barnard College, looked to a more wholesome past. Wayman waxed nostalgic for the "traits which the wilderness bred into our pioneer ancestors" and which she lamented were sadly lacking in the nation.[112] In 1925, at the Annual Convention of the Mid-West District, Elizabeth Halsey of the University of Iowa argued that practitioners ought to be able to

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110 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 65-66; Gerber, "The Controlled Development for Women's Collegiate Sport," 12; Sefton, *The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Foundation*, 12

111 Transcript, April 6, 1923, "1923 April 6-7 Conference on Physical Recreation for Females, Washington D.C.," Lou Henry Hoover Subject File,HPL

112 This publication is based on excerpts of a paper given at the 1926 Recreation Congress in Atlantic City. Agnes R. Wayman, "Play Problems of Girls" in *Women and Athletics*, ed. Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 43-44.

contribute to their students' citizenship and sportsmanship by fostering the desire to engage in physical activity, developing aptitudes for multiple sports in multiple environments, and cultivating a sporting attitude in games and life situations.[113]

Cahn, Hargreaves, and Guttmann each argue that the model of sport and physical activity promoted by many women physical educators was influenced by white middle class sensibilities of female capability and physicality. These notions contributed to ethnic, racial, and class divisions within the nation and its sporting institutions. Arguing for the importance of modesty in dress and decorum, the avoidance of mixed-sex audiences, and equitable opportunity for participation, women physical educators largely ignored or dismissed the activities available to working class, immigrant, and non-white women. Cahn maintains that few black elementary schools or high schools had access to resources for physical education programs leaving interscholastic sport as a primary means by which students were provided exercise by their schools. Many black colleges, normal schools, and industrial schools that catered to less elite student bodies continued to enthusiastically support intercollegiate athletics into the 1920s and 1930s.[114] Gwendolyn Captain argues that changes in notions of physicality and black female respectability leading up to World War II left many African American physical educators in colleges and universities aligning with practices of groups like the Women's Division.[115]

As did men in law and medicine in the late nineteenth century, the Women's Division and the CWA enhanced their images as respectable professionals by

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113 Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," 495.

114 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 68-70, 81; Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 81, 139-141; Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 215.

115 Gwendolyn Captain, "Enter Ladies and Gentlemen of Color: Gender, Sport, and Ideals of African American Man and Womanhood During the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Sport* History 18 (1991): 81-102.

standardizing their recommendations for best practices, and adhering to ideologies that excluded women of color and working class women. Women's sport reformers subverted the ideologies that either challenged their versions of sport or their physical replacement by untrained or male coaches and educators. Using the rhetoric of reform ultimately they defended their own middle-class professional interests.[116] Brumburg and Tomes argue that cultural work done by women's professions continued to widen the social gap between and middle and working class women.[117] Valuing process over outcome, inclusivity, moderation, and supervision, groups like the CWA, the Women's Division, and NAPECW's adopted a vision of "appropriate" female sport which emphasized qualities broadly considered feminine during the interwar period.[118] Though not necessarily conscious of the similarities to suffragettes like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, women sport reformers remained committed to maintaining respectable female virtues of the white middle class and many of those educated in the prestigious east-coast women's colleges were subjected to similar expectations by their professors.[119]

Betty Spears' work on Amy Homans' role at Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (BNSG) and Wellesley College illustrates how feminine conduct was paramount to individual success and the legacy of the program after the gymnastics school moved to the prestigious and isolated Wellesley campus in 1908.[120] According to alumna Mable Lee, Homans bent over backwards to have the college accept her BNSG students. This unusual group of students aroused the attentions of journalists and

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116 Walkowitz, "The Making of A Feminine Professional Identity," 1053.

117 Brumburg and Tomes, "Women in the Professions," 287.

118 Bouchier, "Let Us Take Care of Our Field," 66.

119 Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy," 516.

120 Spears, *Leading the Way 72*.

photographers eager to catch glimpses of or gain statements from the new girls on campus. Wellesley students frequently travelled downtown without gloved hands or hats but Homan advised her students to keep hands and heads covered in addition to appearing respectable and prepared. Even a casual transgression such as "drawing on gloves" as they walked out their own doors met with disapproval from Homans.[121]

In the roaring twenties, many of the attributes that Homans cultivated in her own elite student body came under cultural attack. By then, students found themselves faced with the task of providing professional advice to their own physical education majors preparing to enter the job market. In June of 1922 at a Conference for Women Physical Educators at Wellesley Lee recalled:

> We women huddled together and wondered what we should do about the rising fad of bobbed hair which was shocking parents, preachers and school superintendents but which our students seemed determined to follow. Although we teachers had no personal objections to the girls bobbing their hair (with no thought as yet that we ourselves might do such a thing), our concern was with the students preparing to become teachers in this period where school boards across the country were quite unanimously thumbs down on teachers with short hair. It was agreed that 'if you want a job, don't bob,' was to be our advice to the girls in training to go out and teach.[122]

Daniel J. Walkowitz argues that there were tensions for women in the professions as cultural gender relations encouraged the suppression of female ambition.[123] Female social workers negotiated this professional paradox by adopting ideologies of professionalism that emphasized sexual neutrality. Combining their mediating work in the domestic domain of healthy mothers and children, they used concepts of scientific motherhood and professional objectivity to forge their own version of professionalism and adopted many of the long-standing professional markers that women in physical

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121 Lee, *Memories in* Bloomers, 158.

122 Ibid., 363.

123 Walkowitz, "The Making of A Feminine Professional Identity," 1053.

educations had used for half a century: societies, publications, conferences, training workshops on new techniques, standards, etcetera. Both fields struggled to gain or maintain professional recognition and control and women's sport reformers positioned themselves as pragmatic, scientific experts of hygiene, and guardians of chaste womanhood, femininity, and fecundity.[124]

As young girls learned about smoking, drinking, and valuing heterosexual relationships with men over friendships with women, many abandoned separatist political groups in favor of mixed-sex groups who advertised equality and inclusion. Other influences included new Freudian views of women, the growth of a consumer economy that increasingly exploited women's sexuality, and a more general repression of radicalism and reform. Estelle Freedmen argues that in the 1920s the self-consciously female community began to disintegrate as the "new woman" attempted assimilation into more male-dominated institutions.[125] This was not the case for women physical educators located in higher education. Upwardly-mobile, emerging from the ethos of nineteenth century middle-class women's culture, they created a separate associational sphere that helped them mobilize and gain political leverage within their professions.[126] The interlocking memberships in professional organizations were a variation of what Estelle Freedman calls "female institution building," a practice fostered by close relationships across professional and alumni networks.[127] Mabel Lee recalls that in the early1920s, college directors were a small, closely knit group content just to attend

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124 Ibid., 1051-55, 1071-72.

125 Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy," 514.

126 Ibid., 513; Guttmann argues that women's physical educators approached their work in the 1920s with a "separate spheres" approach but does go so far as to describe it as a feminist strategy. Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 136.

127 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 67; Freedmen, "Separatism As Strategy," 513.

women's gatherings and talk only with one another about their teaching problems.[128] Another large factor in keeping many BNSG and Wellesley alumni in contact with one another was their allegiance to Homans. Aware of her students' loyalty, she lent her name to local clubs that would be recognized as the Amy Morris Homans club of ____.[129] Lou Henry Hoover's superb financial and professional connections allowed for similar success in the Women's Division.[130]

The highly networked women's sport reformers who created and promoted the Women's Division's platform endorsed sporting conventions that would neither compromise feminine respectability nor wholly disrupt hierarchal notions about male superiority. In order to control the development of women's sport and not "just swing with the tide," recreation specialists found themselves searching for appropriate alternatives to varsity athletics and other unsavory types of competitions.[131]

The platform reflected notions of moderation in terms of physical activity. A woman, though perhaps physically in good health could not be feminine if she were too absorbed in competition or more commercial or professional athletics. Despite many

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128 Lee, *Beyond Bloomers*, 178.

129 Spears, *Leading the Way*, 118.

130 Guttmann argues that the initial meeting of the Women's Division of the NAAF was organized by incensed APER members, though this runs contrary to other scholarship on the motivations and origins of the NAAF. Allen, *An Independent Woman,* 97-102; Jan Beran, "Lou Henry Hoover and Women's Sports, " in *Lou Henry Hoover: Essays in a Busy* Life Dale C. Mayer ed., (Worland: High Plains Publishing Company, 1994), 51-61; Gerber,"The Controlled Developmnet of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 8-10; Guttmann, *Women's* Sports, 138; Mabel Lee, *History of Physical Education and Sports in the U.S.A.* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1983),149; Pryor, *Lou Henry Hoover*128-129; Sack and Staurowsky, *College Athletes for Hire*, 66; Alice Allene Sefton, *The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Foundation*,1-5; Spears and Swanson, History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States, 239; Trekell, "The Effect of Some Cultural Changes upon the Sports and Physical Education Activities of American Women," 162; Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport,* 241-3; Young, *Lou Henry Hoover,* 39-41.

131 Helen Coops, "Sports for Women" *American Physical Education* Review 31(1926): 1086.

studies concluding that heart rate and blood pressure were not compromised by menstruation, sport reformers often quoted or republished medical findings from the most conservative of medical sources.[132] Medical doctor, A.H. Arnold cautioned against frequent intense activity, particularly for girls approaching the end of puberty arguing that they were vulnerable to developing infantile uteruses and masculinization of the pelvic structure.[133] Even Elizabeth Halsey warned of pelvic disruption and breast injuries from vigorous contact sports.[134] Curriculums and sport structures in many of the nation's colleges attended to the cautions of medical doctors and sport reformers and continued reinforcing dominant images of women as wives and mothers."[135]

Though fifty years had elapsed since Matthew Vassar's initial experiments in women's education, ideologies of female weakness remained a hallmark of the best practices endorsed by women's sport reformers. In a 1924 editorial the APEA noted its support for the principals outlined by the NAAF and argued that in light of contemporary knowledge about women's physiology it was important to learn from the men's mistakes and proceed with caution.[136] Arnold was extremely suspicious of athletics for post-pubertal girls, warning that women's anatomy compromised their ability to run, walk, lift

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132 A.H. Arnold, "Athletics for Women," *American Physical Education Review* 31 (1926):452-457; "Athletic Strenuousity" *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 85 (1925): 270.

133 Arnold, "Athletics for Women," 453-455, 457.

134 Halsey, "The College Curriculum for College Women," 495.

135 William F. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 99-120; Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women," 15.

136 "Intercollegiate Sports for Women" *American Physical Education Review* 29(April 1924): 198; Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," *American Physical Education Review* 30 (1925): 491-495; "Athletic Strenuosity," 270-271.

heavy objects, or jump and also argued that the mental strain and anxiety would not be worth the risk of injuries that postpubertal women would endure though athletics.[137]

Physical education directors consulted with one another on the appropriate ways to deal with menstruating students. University of Wisconsin's Blanche Trilling (1924) of Wisconsin and Margaret Tyler (1927) of Yale University coordinated their recommendations with Wellesley Director of Hygiene and Physical Education Mable Cummings. Cummings wrote to both directors to share that while menstruating, her students engaged in the regular march and warm-ups but then left and went to a special room to perform mostly posture exercises that could be done while seated. These were alternated with lighter standing exercises.[138]

Critics of menstrual disability and female frailty were present within the medical community and within the Women's Division. Harry Stewart's campaign to send women to The Women's Olympics was no doubt influenced by his work on girl's cardiovascular health and vigorous physical activity. His 1914 study concluded that blood pressure and heart rates were evidence not only that prep-school girls could withstand vigorous activity, but also that their health stood to improve from it.[139] By 1925, industries in England distributed publications to school-girls and working girls claiming that the prevalence of dysmenorrhea had been greatly exaggerated. Alice E. Sanderson Clow argued that women ought to engage in daily physical activity of a vigorous nature to prevent additional cramping and menstrual pain. Clow warned that "if you give up all

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137 Arnold, "Athletics for Women," 454-455.

138 Mabel Cummings to Blanche Trilling, December 1924; Mabel Cummings to Margaret Tyler, March 1927 "Menstruation," Department of Hygiene and Physical Education File; Wellesley College Archives; Wellesley, MA. Hereafter, the library will be referred to as WCA.

139 Harry Stewart, "The Effects of the Heart Rate and Blood Pressure of Vigorous Athletics in Girls," *American Physical Education Review* 19 (1914): 13-21.

exercise, especially if you lie down, your aches and pains will be prolonged and increase in severity."[140]

Despite the lack of evidence that competing during menstruation was harmful, women physical educators preferred to err on the conservative side of safety.[141] Women's sport reformers did not regard women as the pallid Victorian invalids that they had once been portrayed as by medical professionals.[142] Clelia Duel Mosher believed that the main task in the "physical training of women [was] to set our girls free from the hampering effects of lingering tradition, to create ideals of health, to form habits of exercise which shall carry over those years beyond the college games, and to develop in all perfection the physical possibilities of women, as workers, wives, and mothers."[143] According to Helen Coops, the young woman of the 1920s did not allow herself to lean on the archaic polemics of "the primitive woman and the labor and task of her period."[144] Though the Executive Committee of the Women's Division supported these sentiments, conflict arose on the Medical Committee between medical doctors Margaret Bell of the University of Michigan and Mosher of Stanford University.[145] Mosher's involvement had been instrumental in the initial establishment of recommendations on

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140 Alice E. Sanderson Clow, "Effect of Physical Exercise on Menstruation," *American Physical Education Review* 30 (1925): 302; "Athletic Strenuosity," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 85, 4 (1925): 270-271.

141 Coops, "Athletic Education," 610; Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," 490-495.

142 Martha H. Verbrugge, *Active Bodies:A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 63-76.

143 Clelia Duel Mosher, "The Means to an End," in *Chronicles of American Physical Education: Selected Readings, 1855-1930*, eds. Aileen S. Lockhart and Betty Spears (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1972), 409.

144 Coops, "Athletic Education," 610.

145 Field Secretary Report, Jan. 29, 1924; "NAAF: Women's Division Executive Secretary Reports, 1924," GSOOS, HPL.

medical examinations, women as coaches, and girls' rules. From the onset of her involvement in 1923, Mosher cautioned Hoover to avoid being overly conservative in terms of limiting girls and women's physical activity recommendations based on the protection of the weakest outliers in an increasingly healthy population.[146] In 1925 Mosher took issue with Bell among others while serving on the Medical Advisory Committee for the Women's Division. She wrote confidentially to Hoover to express her concern over the committee members' research skills, level of rigor, and the appraisal of male gynecologists. Mosher became further incensed when they suggested that pelvic exams become a part of the recommended medical exams.[147] The physician claimed that questionnaires designed for gynecologists or obstetricians and the exams in and of themselves would not produce any data for analysis that did not reproduce her own work and earlier published conclusions. She resigned from the committee in 1925.[148] The Medical Advisory Committee waived their recommendations of performing pelvic exams as part of the medical examination, but still sought the opinions of obstetricians and gynecologists through surveys.[149]

Tension existed for women in the professions as cultural gender relations also discouraged women from focusing too seriously on careers that deterred from their candidacy as future wives and mothers.[150] The development of specialized knowledge

146 Mosher initially recommended that the Women's Division support the use of swimming, baseball, tennis, and volleyball for secondary schools, discouraging the sport of basketball. Lou Henry Hoover to Clelia Duel Mosher, Feb. 9, 1923; Lou Henry Hoover to Clelia Duel Mosher March 5, 1923; Clelia Duel Mosher to Lou Henry Hoover undated; "Hoover, Lou Henry, 1913-1940 '(on women's health and athletics),'" Clelia Mosher Series, HPL.

147 Clelia Duel Mosher to Lou Henry Hoover, Feb. 25, 1925; "'Hoover, Lou Henry, 1913-1940 '(on women's health and athletics)'" Clelia Mosher Series, HPL.

148 Clelia Duel Mosher to Margaret Bell, April 2, 1925; "Hoover, Lou Henry, 1913-1940 (on women's health and athletics)" Clelia Mosher Series, HPL.

149 Report of the Medical Advisory Committee, April 6, 1925; "Hoover, Lou Henry, 1913-1940 (on women's health and athletics)" Clelia Mosher Series; HPL.

150 Walkowitz, "The Making of A Feminine Professional Identity," 1053.

among women workers outside of typing and recording skills was not very respectable in the 1920s. Like social workers, women physical educators combining their mediating work in the domestic domain of healthy mothers and children, with their own pragmatic, objective version of scientific motherhood and objectivity to forge a specific version of professionalism.[151] Elizabeth Halsey and Clelia Mosher believed that each woman in college should be presented individual health recommendations and prescriptions consisting of a work plan, sleep and diet guidelines, etcetera, that would meet her needs and adapt as her conditions changed.[152] Also, standardization through measurement and assessment of fitness and physical efficiency were hallmarks of the quantification of interwar physical education.[153] Women physical educators bridged the gap between lay information and medical information that prepared their students for vocational and family life. As they integrated ideologies of female frailty into their platform, they positioned themselves as pragmatic practitioners capable of safeguarding the health of schoolgirls and college women. In search of appropriate sport alternatives, they advocated point-based varsity systems, intramurals, relays, progressive and differentiated swim meets and water pageants in place of supposedly "injurious athletics"[154] at the University of Cincinnati, the University of Iowa, the University of Minnesota, and Grinnell College.[155]

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151 Ibid., 1051-55, 1071-72.

152 Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," 490; Mosher, "The Means to an End," 407.

153 Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," 490; Park, "'Taking Their Measure,'" 193-218.

154 Coops, "Sports for Women," 1086.

155 Coops, "Athletic Education," 608-611; Coops, "Sports for Women," 1087; Maridel Irene Higelson, "The History of the Seals Club" (master's thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1974), "History of the Seals Club,"; Women's Recreation Association; UI Department of PE for Women; Iowa Women's Archive; Iowa City, IA. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as WRA, IWA; Norris, "Basket Ball- Girls' Rules," 33-34; Professor Bullfrog's School, 1934;

At the turn of the twentieth century, popular magazines like *Ladies Home Journal* and *Literary Digest* celebrated new American figures: bold, energetic sportswomen who proved to be ambiguous, disruptive, and a source of potential profit for gamblers, entrepreneurs, and educators.[156] In an attempt to safeguard their professional turf, women physical educators fashioned a need for their own gendered expertise, and fashioned their positions within new and existing organizations. Though conservative notions of femininity and ideologies of female frailty, informed their professional platform, their promotional strategies modeled many of the mechanisms of the suffrage movement and other emerging professions. They preached "sport for all" but used strategies that perpetuated discounted the types of sports and sport structures available to women of color, the working class, and most immigrants. Women physical educators continued to gain traction within expanding physical education departments and produced new teachers and proponents of this newly articulated platform. The CWA officially gained the support of the Women's Division platform in 1923, the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities in 1924, the ACACW, the American Association of University Women in 1925, and the National Associations of the Deans of Women in 1926.[157] Meanwhile, Women's Athletic Associations and women physical educators began to transform and create sport structures within colleges and universities that further reflected the philosophical values of the platform, and further reified popular notions about female physicality.

"White Caps," Dance and Athletic Coaches; Pamphlet Collection; Special Collections and Archives; Grinnell College Libraries; Grinnell, IA.

156 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 7.

157 Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," 10.

CHAPTER III

PLAY DAYS AS PHILOSOPHICAL PANACEA: INVENTION, TRIAL, AND ERROR, 1926-1929

This chapter examines how physical education continued positioning itself as a discipline committed to advancing health, citizenship, and sportsmanship. This occurred by way of carrying out broad-based alternatives to spectator sport and continuing to press for power and influence within national professional organizations . It is within this context that women physical educators debuted their alternative competitive structure, the play day. This chapter aims to elucidate the initial experimentations, trends, and adoptions of various play days in the late 1920s. Play days provided an alternative to the commercial, spectacle-oriented intercollegiate system utilized in most men's programs, while embodying the Women's Division platform of "play for play's sake."[1] Play days filled a paradoxical gap between being competitive and complying with the evolving ideals of white, middle-class femininity. Their supporters framed them as a social experience that would not be overly stressful to women's minds or bodies and could be administered under the benevolent, professional surveillance of women who would safeguard their participants against unruly spectators or greedy capitalists. Colleges and universities began by experimenting with play days and later adopting them wholeheartedly. The panic-inducing conclusion of the Women's 800m race during the 1928 Summer Olympics and the critical findings of Andrew Carnegie's Report on Intercollegiate Athletics in 1929 provided reformers anecdotal, yet powerful evidence of the dangers of overly competitive sport.

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1 Platform of the 1927 Conference, 24, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling Subject File; Department of Physical Education for Women; School of Education; University Archive, Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin; Madison, WI. Hereafter, this collection will be referred to as Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

Region, Gender, and Growing Pains in Physical Education

Though physical training was provided to women at many colleges well before the turn of the century, degree-granting physical education programs were not established until the 1890s. In 1891, Harvard College opened a Department of Anatomy, Physiology, and Physical Training and private coeducational Leland Stanford University followed suit the next year. In 1889, the University of Nebraska became the first state college or university to establish such a program.[2] With the growth of state-mandated physical education in the public school system and the development of the junior high schools, the demand for physical education teachers increased markedly during the 1920s; some 137 colleges and universities began offering professional education in health and physical education.[3] Many of these programs' inaugural graduating classes graduated twice as many and in some cases three times the number of students as programs established before World War I.[4]

In accommodating this expansion, the parent professional organization, the American Physical Education Association (APEA), began experiencing growing pains across lines of institutional location and gender. With colleges and universities expanding to align with state needs, practitioners flooded the organization. Invariably, the members who chaired the various committees and held voting power within the sections and on the APEA Council were men from east coast institutions.[5] In the Middle

2 Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers, 1924-1954* (Washington D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1978), 22.

3 Earle F. Zeigler, "A Brief Descriptive History of Graduate Study in Physical Education in the United States to 1950," in *History of Physical Education and Sport in the United States in Canada* ed. Earle F. Zeigler (Champaign: Stipes Publishing Company, 1975), 277.

4 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 22; Mabel Lee, "Historical Information on Departments of PE for Women in American Colleges and Universities," Spring 1949, "Articles," Mable Lee; Physical Education for Women Faculty; Teacher's College; University Archives, Special Collections-University of Nebraska Libraries; Lincoln, NE. Hereafter, this collection will be referred to as Mabel Lee Papers, UA-UNL.

5 Lee, *Beyond Bloomers*, 129.

West Society (MWS), many men grew increasingly discontent at the lack of regional representation within the APEA Council. Concomitantly, unrest brewed within the APEA's own Committee for Women's Athletics (CWA) which rallied for section status in order to ensure voting power and meeting time at the national council. Some male physical educators were suspicious of the large treasury that the CWA had amassed from royalties from rule books for girls and women sports. In 1925, CWA chairwoman, Katherine Sibley of Syracuse University was invited to the APEA Council in Las Angeles. As a representative of the only committee dedicated to women, Sibley had a voice at the meeting, but not a vote.[6] Women got a "toe in the door" that year when APEA President C.W. Savage of Oberlin College set up an unofficial Women's Athletics Section so that Sibley could be included on the Council's program. In 1926, in order to quell rumors of favoritism, an unofficial and toothless Men's Athletic Section was created. [7] In 1927, chairwoman Florence Somers began campaigning to establish section status for the CWA. Despite her initial failure, the CWA began operating like a section with the unofficial wink of approval of most in the APEA, publishing syndicated articles through the National Newspaper Service of Chicago. Another stumbling block that created opposition was the CWA's refusal to have open, yearly elections. In her memoirs, Mabel Lee explains that the CWA differed from other sections because it acted as a year-round working group committed to providing rules and regulations for women's and girl's athletics. They were highly opposed to yearly elections and unpredictable changes in leadership that could result from the council's open-member, male electorate. However, some female non-officers claimed that the CWA was run by an insulated group who were represented in all the women's sport reform and physical education groups,

6 Sibley could not attend in 1925, but requested an invitation to the 1926 APEA Council. Ibid., 120, 184.

7 Elmer Mitchel, intramural director of the University of Michigan oversaw the Men's Athletic Section. Ibid., 185.

leaving little room for debate or dissenting opinion. A compromise was reached in 1927 when it was determined that Somers would remain the chairwoman for the next three years and was given permission to appoint her own executive committee. This arrangement would suffice until the reorganization of the APEA in 1930 in which the CWA finally achieved section status.[8]

As the twenties drew to a close and the APEA and MWS approached a merger and restructure, women directing and working within university and college programs positioned themselves as highly-trained health practitioners and toiled to expand their programs. As early as 1925 their calls for standardization, increased measurement, and an emphasis on quantification appeared within professional journals.[9] Though uniformity was not imperative, a series of flexible minimums were encouraged by Mabel Cummings of Wellesley College. Unsurprisingly, many of Cummings' recommendations aligned with the platform established by the Women's Division in 1923, such as entrance and reentrance medical exams, annual health consultations, and corrective and general motor work which would precede specialization in sport participation or coursework. Cummings also argued that the head of a women's physical education department need not be a medical doctor, though medical advisors ought to be female and supportive of individual department objectives.[10] Her call to align with other supportive female faculty was one of the main survival strategies that women used to secure their positions in research universities in the 1920s and 30s.[11] Cummings' recommendations also

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8 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 185.

9 Elizabeth Halsey, "The College Curriculum for Women," *American Physical Education Review* 30 (1925): 490.

10 Mabel Cummings, "Minimum Essentials in the Organization and Administration of Physical Education for College Women," *American Physical Education Review* 32 (1927): 211.

11 Amy Ann Dzuback, "Gender, Professional Knowledge, and Institutional Power: Women, Social Scientists and the Research University," in *The 'Woman Question' and Higher Education,* ed. Ann Mari May (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008), 67.

extended to the increased education of physical education staff. She felt that requiring all staff and instructors to possess a four-year degree plus two years of specialty training was paramount to the professional reputation of college and university departments. In men's physical education, the relationship of athletics and physical education blurred further with the increase of coaches full-time presence within physical education departments. Some, like Amos Alonzo Stagg at the University of Chicago and Bob Zuppke of the University of Illinois, obtained status as faculty members.[12] Outside of hiring rigor, Cummings called for institutions to raise standards that would contribute to academic integrity and stability: by requiring physical education for all undergraduates, offering credit for degree work, providing administrative support for the enforcement of the requirement, basing academic rank and salary on responsibilities, and basing promotion on growth in scholarship, teaching power, or administrative efficiency.[13]

Improving the academic rigor of program coursework and placing more emphasis on measurements persisted well into the 1930s. By 1930, Ruth Glasgow of Oregon Agricultural College dismissed the variety of overly subjective batteries of tests used in the field: general physical ability, attitude toward class work, character traits, personal appearance, health habits, and ability in leadership were taken to task.[14] Both Glasgow and Wellesley College's Ruth Elliot called for an increase in measurements that determined grades and credits in physical education.[15] Elliot, Agnes Wayman of Barnard College, and M. Gladys Scott of the University of Iowa were among several of

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12 John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 144-145.

13 Cummings, "Minimum Essentials in the Organization and Administration of Physical Education for College Women," 211.

14 Ruth Glassow, "Basic Considerations for Planning Programs for College Women," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 1, no. 2 (1930): 112.

15 Ruth Elliott, "Modern Trends in Physical Education," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 1, no. 1 (1930): 80-82.

the women physical educators who incorporated measurement in research and pedagogy during the next decade. Until World War II, much of the focus was on testing and measurement that targeted overly fat or overly thin girls, posture, functional fitness, and motor ability.[16] Wayman argued that the use of data collected through such measurements helped establish correlations between instruction and assessment, and relations of the medical and the anthropometric to motor ability. Others areas of interest included the correlates between physical efficiency between posture and strength, the relation between PQ and IQ, correlations between posture and strength, posture and lung capacity, lung capacity and height, and the carryover from lab results to outside or "real life" performance.[17] The research on sport and physical education for women and girls transitioned from rhetorical polemics to anthropometrics, experimental design, and pedagogical techniques. Though some women physical educators pursued quantitative research, sport reformers had yet to produce a solution separating their philosophical and professional position from that of their male counterparts.

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16 Mary Louise Boillon, "A Study of Anthropometric Measurement of College Women," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 3 (1932): 173-182; Elliott, "Modern Trends in Physical Education," 80-82; Ina E. Gittings, "Mental and Physical Traits of College Women," *American Physical Education Review* 32 (1927): 596-583; N.M. Jorgensen and S. Lucille Hatlestad, "The Determination and Measurement of Body Build in Men and Women College Students," *The Research Quarterly of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 11 (1940): 60-77; Dorothy R. Mohr, The Measurement of Certain Aspects of the Physical Fitness of College Women," *The Research Quarterly of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 15 (1944): 340-349; Edith E. Pasmore and Frank W. Waymouth, "The Relation of the Vital Capacity to Other Measurements in Women," *American Physical Education Review* 29 (1924): 166-175; M. Gladys Scott, "Motor Ability Tests for College Women," *The Research Quarterly of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 14 (1940): 402-405; M. Gladys Scott and Helen Matthews, "A Study of Fatigue Effects Induced by an Efficiency Test for College Women," *The Research Quarterly of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 20 (1949): 134-142; M. Gladys Scott and W.W. Tuttle, "The Periodic Fluctuation in Physical Efficiency During the Menstrual Cycle," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 3 (1932): 137-144; M. Gladys Scott and Marjorie Wilson, "Physical Efficiency Tests for College Women," *The Research Quarterly of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 19 (1948): 62-69.

17 Agnes Wayman, "What to Measure in Physical Education," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 1, no. 1 (1930): 110.

Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed:

The "Invention" of the College Play Day

The first play days associated exclusively with college women and high school girls occurred in California and Washington in 1926. Distinctly different than community festivals and county play days, play days were intended for two or more institutions to congregate with the express purpose of creating mixed teams that then participated in a variety of contests. Scores may or may not have been kept, and if prizes were awarded, they were hand-made and inexpensive.[18] According to University of Washington's Ross Draper and Seattle educator, Fred Mimms Smith, play days occurring in the California cities usually included the following:

> A good posture parade.
> Folk Dancing.
> Relays for all.
> Games of High Organization.
> Individual Games (tennis, etc.).
> Social Hour with songs and cheers.
> Swimming after showing the guests the town, the school, and the campus.[19]

This sort of play day was developed by three Wellesley alumni working in California colleges: Helen Masters Bunting, chair of Women's Physical Education at Stanford, Elizabeth Rheems Stoner, chair of Physical Education at Mills College, and Ruth Elliot of the University of California.[20]

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18 While some sort of convocation occurred for high school girls at the University of Washington each year, it is unclear as to whether the mixed team format was utilized before 1927 when "Let's Play" became the motto of the Women's Athletic Association hosting the event began using mixed-teams. Draper and Smith, *Intramural Athletics and Play Days* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930), 107; Margaret M. Duncan, *Play Days for Girls and Women* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1929), 76-77; Mabel Lee, *A History of Physical Education and Sports in the U.S.A.* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1983), 160.

19 Edgar Marian Draper and George Mimms Smith, *Intramural Athletics and Play* Days (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporated, 1930), 109.

20 "Athletes of Five Colleges Will Meet at Play Day Here," *Wellesley College News;* "Wellesley to be Host at 'Play Day,'" *Boston Herald,* 2/24/1929, "Athletic Association: Multiple College Play Days and Sport Days 1919-1960, Extramural Sports 1961-1962, Sports Schedules 1950-1958," Athletic Association File; Wellesley College Archives; Wellesley, MA. Hereafter, this collection will be referred to as AA, WCA.

Rural or township play days developed around the end of the First World War, and though they were markedly different in execution, principles of mass play still were paramount. In the 1930s John Arnot and Frances Hodgkins wrote more broadly about these structures in the *Journal of Physical Education*, a professional periodical geared towards male practitioners and those serving communities outside of the public school system.[21] Unlike college-supervised play days, township play days were elimination-based tournaments, attracted large groups of spectators, usually rotated a trophy for the school or district awarded the most points, and allowed for written protest systems.[22]

Though there were philosophical differences between the rural play days and the collegiate ones, many of the procedures and organizations were similar, including the organization of committees and procurement of supplies, officials and the like.[23] Both types of play days leaned on notions of the "play spirit" or "spirit of sport," common tropes for recreation specialists after World War I. The "play spirit" involved the idea that there would be "a team for everyone and everyone for a team."[24] As late as 1932 Arnot echoed the women's 1923 battle cry arguing that the township play days permitted "play for all," increased leisure through constructive recreation, developed moral values like fair play, and potentially enhanced public civility. Immediately after World War I, many involved in international YMCAs argued that play and games would bring about peace through teaching lessons of democracy. At a Chinese YMCA, one recreation

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21 C.J. Galpin and Eleanore Weisman, "Play Days for Rural Schools," *Circular* 118, (Sept. 1919), "*Circular, University of Wisconsin*," College of Agriculture; Agriculture Extension Service; UA-UW.

22 Grievances usually cost $1 per complaint. John Arnot, "Play Days" *Journal of Physical Education* 26, no. 6 (Feb. 1932): 110-111.

23 John Arnot "Play Days," *Journal of Physical Education* 26, no. 7 (March 1932): 136-140.

24 Lou Henry Hoover, forward to *Play Days and the Spirit of Sport by* Ethel Perrin and Grace Turner eds., (New York: American Child Health Association, 1929), 10.

specialist wrote about the potential for "emancipation brought by the play spirit."[25] Peace was also referenced in American play literature as recreation specialists mused about its potential for quelling dissent among America's diverse citizenry. Supportive play, according to playground and play proponents would eventually pave "the way to internationalism,"[26] or reshape the fighting spirit so that it functioned not as a weapon, but as an instrument, "the careful and directed use of which [would lead to] a fuller, more harmonious development of body and spirit."[27] Arnot maintained that these events fostered neighborliness, broke down racial and religious prejudice, strengthened familial bonds, and allowed for the discovery and development of new leadership. In a testimony collected by Arnot, farmer Lance Endres said "I am impressed with the way play days discover leaders and promotes a better feeling between neighbors especially where some are of foreign birth."[28] In the Midwest, recreation specialists often found themselves concerned with those of foreign birth including non-English speaking immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, specifically Poles and Ukrainians who were likely to be Orthodox Christian, Catholic, or Jewish.[29]

The first reported play day for college women, the Triangle Sports Day, occurred on November 26, 1926 at Mills College in Oakland, California. In order to arouse enthusiasm for the event on campus a bonfire was held the week before and songs and cheers were shared between the classes. It was reported that to remain in accordance with the ACACW platform, the groups did not meet to participate in intercollegiate

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25 "Chinese Girls at Play," *Playground* 15 (1922): 710.

26 Ethel Perrin, "Comments on Play Days," *Playground* 22 (1929): 634.

27 Mary E. Gross, introduction in *Play Days for Girls and Women*, by Margaret M. Duncan and Veld P. Cundiff (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1929), xiv.

28 Arnot "Play Days," 139-140.

29 "Helping a Community of Foreign Born Organize Its Leisure Time," *Playground* 18 (1924): 414.

competition but merely to enjoy and celebrate a day of play. Mills College, Stanford, and University of California each sent sixty participants who were divided into six color teams. Women created team names and cheers and began the day with relays, netball, and field hockey. Typical of most play days, a luncheon was held and WAA and faculty members addressed the guests. At the Triangle Play Day two presentations about the benefits and philosophy of the play day were given in between songs and piano performances.[30] Though titled a "sports day," this event provided a protocol for future play day events on the west coast.[31] The rotation of the event from a geographic network of colleges or universities seemed to develop in all regions of the country. The Stanford physical educators planned to use basketball, tennis, archery, and swimming rather than the stunts and games at the Mills College gathering. University of California also put on a fencing exhibition, a very popular practice, particularly when high school girls were invited to attend. According to Draper and Smith, the object of these days was to provide a social experience through sports and activities of high and low organization that interested the majority.[32]

Coverage of the Triangle Play Day first appeared in *The Sportswoman*, "a fortnightly magazine dedicated to athletics for women."[33] Founded on September 1, 1924 the Editors made their bow to the public expressing that

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30 Oftentimes songs were composed and taught to guests for specific gatherings. Frequently a parody of more popular ballad matching the theme of the play day was used. These were sometimes sent ahead of time to a school or could be quickly on arrival. Lois Kaminska, Syllabus for PE 173 History & Philosophy; Syllabus for PE 112 Organization & Administration, " Lois Kaminska," Faculty; Physical Education for Women Faculty; Teacher's College, UA-UNL. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as Kaminska File, UA-UNL.

31 Adelaide Hampton, "Triangle Sports Days," *The Sportswoman* 3 (Jan. 1927): 20-21.

32 Draper and Smith, *Intramural Athletics and Play Days*, 106-110.

33 Lynn A. Couturier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*, 1924-1936: A Content Analysis," *Sport History Review* 42 (2010): 111.

> after a long and laborious struggle, mainly on the part of schools and colleges, and recently on the part of the United States Field Hockey Association, women's athletics are at last coming into their own. We feel therefore that it is a propitious moment for the SPORTSWOMAN to enter the arena, confident that a woman's magazine, published by women, devoted to all forms of sports in which women take part, linking together the interests of all players and keeping them in touch with each other's achievements, will supply a real need. We have confidence also in our public. We write only for true lovers of sport. They alone will be our readers. Others will not be interested.[34]

The Sportswoman ran from 1924-1936 and was part of what Stephanie Twin describes as "a first wave of athletic feminism."[35] Similar to the struggles for power occurring within the APEA and the development of other separatist groups, *The Sportswoman* seemed a natural development in a market where women's magazines prospered, and growing numbers of teachers, coaches, and players filled the potential consumer base. Lynn A. Courturier argues that the content of the monthly publication was uneven in terms of coverage and competitive model, reflecting modern tensions of gender, class, and race. Much like the CWA and Women's Division, as *The Sportswoman* promoted the advancement of women athletes, it also accommodated the conventional social order by emphasizing femininity and propriety. The sports discussed or referenced in advertisements reflected the sensibilities of a white, college-educated middle class woman. Sports associated with working-class women like softball or track and field were scarce.[36] Institutions that hosted the events were responsible for submitting coverage to the magazine. Coverage of play days occurring in rural, urban, or industrial settings never appeared in *The Sportswoman*. Play day coverage and announcements for upcoming events can be found in *The Sportswoman* as early as 1927. Though by 1930, both news

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34 Editorials, *The Sportswoman* 1 (Sept. 1924): 1 in Couturier, "Considering the Sportswoman," 111.

35 Couturier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*," 111.

36 Couturier, "Considering *The Sportswoman*," 111-112, 117, 125-126; Lynn Courturier, "Dissenting Voices: The Discourse of Competition in *The Sportswoman," Journal of Sport History* 39 (2012): 265-282.

items had waned. This coverage was relegated to local or school newspapers, ACACW or AFCW newsletters, *Playground*, or in *American Physical Education Review* or *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*.

Soon after the first Triangle Sports Day and other play days in California and Washington, the decade-old Athletic Conference of American College Women incorporated their support of "play for play's sake," encouraging Women's Athletic Associations to give up overly competitive point-based systems that rewarded winning. In December of 1927 one ACACW section recommended that all WAAs revise their constitutions suggesting that The Ohio State University should serve as a prototype.[37] The West-Coast section of the ACACW discussed "the spectre" of awards as relics of the past. Referencing the growth of college women's interest in sport, the report noted that it was agreed that "as the interest of sports [grew], the need for a stimulus [lessened]." At its meeting the section spent a brief amount of time discussing varsity and all-star teams competing against other colleges. The women in attendance agreed that this was a relic of the past similar to hoop skirts and unanimously agreed that play days were much more worthwhile and much more fun.[38] Within a year, the notion of traveling to meet with other schools was accepted by many institutions, though disagreements over best practices persisted.

In April of 1927 at a national meeting at Cornell University, the ACACW codified the principle of "play for play's sake" into their platform.[39] This resulted in the purposeful rejection of varsity competition consisting of all-star teams, the incorporation

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37 At this time, Lydia Clarke, Wellesley class of 1908' served as the chair of the Women's Physical Education program at OSU. *The Sportswoman* 3 (Dec. 1927), 100.

38 Laurine Kuhn "A.A. Discussion Group, University of California," *The Sportswoman* 3 (Dec. 1927): 101.

39 Platform of the 1927 Conference, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling FileUA-UW.

of play days, sport days, and intramural competition into the platform most directly affiliated with the WAAs on college and university campuses. Though the ACACW could not compel adherence to this policy, their recommendations were often supported by the faculty, despite unrest or disapproval among students at schools such as Wellesley and Stanford.[40] The mixed-team play day or sports day was in a emergent stage, sharing the spotlight with other new experiments such as intraclass-extramural athletics, older forms of extramural competition like telegraphic meets, and the increasingly popular intramural and interclass competitions.[41]

After the Cornell meeting, a flurry of mixed-team play days emerged mainly in the mid-western states of Iowa, Ohio, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Helen Coops of the University of Cincinnati published one of the first guides available for purchase on conducting play days.[42] As early as 1926 Coops argued that interscholastic activities ought to be replaced by play days such as the ones held in Washington State township and school festivals.[43] Calling for the substitution of "injurious interscholastic competition with mass athletics" at an education conference in Ohio, she further urged physical educators to shy from strenuous swim meets or championships of days past in

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40 Western Section Conference of the ACACW "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, SA-UW; Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 140; Chris Hartman, "'Health and Fun Shall Walk Hand in Hand': The First 100 Years of Women's Athletics at the University of Wisconsin," The University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, 2011 Available at <http://archives.library.wisc.edu/uw-archives/exhibits/athletics/athletics.pdf>; Spears, "Chronicle of Participation," 78-79.

41 Mabel Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Situation Since 1923" *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 2 (1931): 93-127.

42 Helen N. Smith and Helen L. Coops, *Play Days-Their Organization and Correlation with a Program of Physical Education and Health* (A.S. Barnes & Company, 1928).

43 Helen Coops, "Athletic Education," *American Physical Education* Review 32 (1926): 611; Helen Coops, "Sports for Women," *American Physical Education* Review 31 (1926): 1088; Blanche M. Trilling, "Safeguarding Girls' Athletics," in Women's Division of National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed. *Women and Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 9.

exchange for multiple progressive meets that differentiated ability, or focused on stunts or relays.[44]

The 1927-1928 academic years brought an increase in experiments with the play day.[45] Coops' vocal role in upholding and promoting the new ACACW platform was matched by many women physical educators in the Midwest section. One of the first play days to be held in that region occurred in the fall of 1927 at Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa. An invitation was accepted by Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa who travelled less than twenty miles for hockey, swimming, and tennis. Similarly, Iowa State College of Ames, made preparations to host students from Grinnell College in Grinnell, and Drake University in Des Moines.[46] To the north, Minnesota Women's Day was celebrated by students in Saint Peter who took part in the state's first play day for college women at Gustavus Adolphus College. This inaugural state-wide gathering continued to rotate among different schools that had replaced intercollegiate sport with play days "in order to foster friendship among the athletic associations of the state colleges."[47] Each year women convened, travelling from as far north as Duluth, as far east as Winona, or from the south in Mankato, distance of from 80 to 150 miles to meet at more central schools in cities such as Minneapolis, Saint Paul, Saint Cloud, and Saint Olaf.[48] In November of 1927 Miami University hosted a play day for two other colleges

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44 Coops, "Sports for Women," 1086.

45 Mixed-team Sport Day or early Sport Days were also scheduled, though there seems to be little difference. Sport Days eventually evolved into institutional teams or honor teams in the 1930s and 40s depending on the institution.

46 Drake students travelled a little over forty miles and Grinnell students a little more than thirty miles to attend the Play Day in Ames, IA.

47 "Stories of a Play Day- An Old Institution with Modern Variations," ACACW *Newsletter* 4/1/1928, 10-11 in Aileen S. Lockhart and Betty Spears *eds., Chronicles of American Physical Education: Selected Readings, 1855-1930* (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1972), 437.

48 Ibid., 437.

in the Oxford, Ohio area. Oxford College, and Western College attended the event and according to one report "no idea of competition and rivalry existed between the colleges" whose students participated in hockey, soccer, volleyball, archery, and witnessed a golf-driving exhibition.[49]

Play days at the University of Wisconsin differed from the original ones staged in California and Washington. Led by ACACW founder Blanche Trilling, Wisconsin was often an innovative leader in the field of physical education for women as with its pioneering use of play days as flexible spectacles that served different users in different contexts. The first instance was in the spring of 1928 when the Women's Athletic Association used a play day as an advertising mechanism. The association showcased its various sporting activities while hosting a social to foster congregation and interaction among the different member sports groups. A distinction at Wisconsin's first play day was that only freshman women were invited to attend. The morning program consisted of baseball, hockey relays, basketball relays and games, the afternoon golf, tennis, and riding. A keynote was provided by the president of the WAA and a faculty advisor before a hike to the WAA cabin on Lake Mendota for dinner, songfests, and more games.[50] It is likely that WAA programs were not open to women who had not completed their first year of mandatory medical screenings and re-screenings.

Though most play days occurred in the mid-west, there was a scattering in the Northeastern and Southeastern schools. Similar to the WAA recruitment practices at the University of Wisconsin some play day hosts hoped to offer visitors an enjoyable glimpse into college life. Many participants were sent home with college catalogues in a high

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49 Ibid., 438; "WAA Engages in College Play Day," "Scrapbook 1924-1930" Women's Athletic Association; University Archive, University of Minnesota-Libraries; Minneapolis, MN. Hereafter, this collection will be to as WAA, UA-UMN.

50 "WAA Play-day Honors Freshman," May 1928; Organizational Records for Women's Athletics Association, SA-UW.

school play day hosted by Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York.[51] This trend became more commonplace as more departments, majors clubs, and WAAs expanded their play days to accommodate high school students. Though exposing school-aged girls to campus life was the purpose of play days in a few schools in the late 1920s, most were for college women and they served to promote "'Play for Play's Sake' without rewards or any desire for competition."[52]

South of the Mason-Dixon line play days began to take hold at schools like Brenau College in Gainesville, Georgia. At the 1927 "All Southern Play Day" the Athletic Association Council and the Physical Education Club of Brenau College invited college women within a 300 mile radius to "come play with us."[53] According to an article in *Playground*, no form of competition, no winning teams, and no awards were the hallmarks of the day. Fifty-five women from ten colleges in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina sent girls from over twenty-one states "bound together in the spirit of play."[54] They enjoyed soccer, hockey, basketball, quoits, tennis, games, races, and dancing. After dancing, participants marched in the Play Day parade, and concluded the day by swimming in the pool or riding horses. In her report, Ethel M. Bowers of Breanu offered many logistical suggestions including the types of activities, supplies, invitations and reminders, publicity in the local papers, and administrative meetings for other *Playground* readers interested in conducting such an event.[55]

In May of 1928, George Washington University hosted a college play day attended by University of Maryland and Hood College of Frederick, Maryland. The one

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51 "Play Day for High School Girls," *The Sportswoman* 4 (1928): 255.

52 "Stories of a Play Day," 438.

53 "An All Southern Play Day," *Playground* 21 (1928): 656.

54 Ibid., 656.

55 Ibid., 656.

hundred women in attendance were divided into two teams, irrespective of their schools. Once separated into the groups, Whigs or Tories, they participated in archery, singles and doubles tennis, baseball, various track events like shot, discus, running-broad jump, high jump, dashes, and relays. Though track and field events were less common for play days and also less supported by physical education departments, the emphasis on individual sports is consistent with the curricula advanced by women's physical education departments during this time. Inconsistent with the theme of "play for play's sake" the evening ended with a district fencing meet. After the banquet and dinner many of the guests stayed to watch the event in which three George Washington University women competed.[56] That same month North Carolina College of Raleigh planned to host a college play day featuring swimming and square dancing. Fifteen of the universities invited had outstanding conflicts revolving around Field Day or May Day festivities. North Carolina rescheduled in the fall and continued as a popular site for many future mixed-team competitions.[57]

In April of 1928, the annual meeting of the Women's Division of the NAAF was held in New York City. On the second night of the program the Central School of Hygiene and Physical Education at Columbia University demonstrated a play day.[58] This indicates the first time that the Women's Division acknowledged the appropriateness of the play day to as a means of fulfilling their platform of "Sport for

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56 Julia Denning, "Sports Day, George Washington University," *The Sportswoman* 5 (1928): 27.

57 "Play Day," *The Sportswoman* 4 (1928):231.For an excellent overview of the career and work of Mary Channing Coleman see Pamela Grundy, *Learning to Win: Sports Education and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 41-68; Martha H. Verbrugge, *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012),14-46; 70, 107

58 Announcements of meeting, "NAAF: Women's Division, Annual Meetings, 1928 New York," GSOOS, HPL.

Sports Sake." At the same time of year, women physical educators and WAA presidents affiliated with the ACACW traveled to one of three section meetings to discuss their implementation of the 1927 ACACW platform. Specifically, the meetings were dedicated to the objectives of promoting and providing mass participation through sport days or play days, intramurals, and other mechanisms that did not place an emphasis on individual achievement.

At the time, WAAs had various systems of eligibility, membership, and letter-status. In a paper given at the Central Section, Marie McBride of the Ohio State University argued that play, particularly when separated from economic motivation, was in and of itself a worthwhile process. McBride maintained that when play became "inseparably associated with certain end-elements in competition and rivalry such as material recognition for participation," its benefits were lost [59] She called for an abolition of the points system utilized by many WAAs in favor of a committee that awarded letters in the interim with the ultimate goal of deviating from this practice. She argued that the point system encouraged unnecessary specialization and extreme motivation for activities that participants may not necessarily have enjoyed. McBride told horror stories such as that of a girl trying to hike twenty-five hours in one day in order to secure points for her WAA letter. She suggested replacing points systems with committees that could take account of less quantifiable service deeds and overall character.[60] The Ohio State University was one of many institutions that veered away from competitive models. From 1917-1924 the WAA at the University of Wisconsin awarded points for endeavors ranging from good posture, managing a class team, perfect

59 Marie McBride, "Play for Play's Sake," 78, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

60 Ibid., 78.

attendance, participation on a winning team, hiking, and making a team.[61] Genuinely concerned and professionally invested in increasing women's sport involvement during and after college, Lydia Clarke of The Ohio State University argued that women must increase their athletic repertoire so that after college they would be able to promote sport and recreational spirit throughout their communities in positions that would work under the auspices of various state leagues of high school girls, athletic clubs, Campfire Girls, YMCAs and Girl Scout troops. Both Clarke and Florence Adolph agreed WAAs served as a professional conduit vital to sustaining the educational athletic model and support for mass participation.[62]

Colleges Reflect on Play Days and the "Spirit of Sport"

More "idea" than standardized practice, play days complemented many of the activities and teachings advocated by the ACACW and served as a recruiting potential for WAAs and the colleges and universities that housed them.[63] Helen Coops and Helen Smith's pamphlet, "Play Days: Their Organization and Correlation with a Program of Physical Education and Health," offered suggestions and examples of previously successful play days in rural and urban high schools and at the college level. Coops and Smith aimed to enlarge the health and physical education curriculum through "the interest of advantages of the play day idea."[64] At the 1928 ACACW section meetings in April, many women physical educators were all ears as their peers recalled toils and trials associated with their own play days experiments. At the section meetings, educators and

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61 Blanche Trilling, "Modern Trends in Athletic Associations," *AFCW Newsletter* May 1933, 4, "AFCW," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

62 Florence Adolph, "Organizations Dealing with Sports for Women,"88-92; Lydia Clarke, "A Sports Philosophy for Women," 25-37, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

63 Coops and Smith, *Play Days*, 8.

64 Ibid.,8.

WAA members presented papers on a variety of topics related to competition while candidly speaking about their own programs' concerns and challenges.

Though a greater concentration of schools remained in the eastern section, the play day's popularity there was still embryonic when compared to the boom occurring in the Central or the Western Sections. Temple University, a city college in Philadelphia serving around 11,000 students, discussed two of the play days that they had staged during the past year. Their first, a mixed- team play day with the University of Pennsylvania entertained four hundred women participating in different combinations of soccer, hockey, tennis, and archery. During the winter, Temple abandoned mixed teams play days and decided to let institutions represent themselves in their winter sport day.[65] The winter sport day included a basketball tournament and a swim meet, though novelty races and an open swim provided the more recreational and social aspect associated with the spirit of play. During the winter sport day, the college that accumulated the most points earned a banner. The delegate from Temple indicated that they would more likely stick with the model utilized during the winter that did not mix schools. In the minutes, there was little reaction to the use of awards or veering from mixed-team competitions.[66]

A representative from the University of Pittsburg presented a paper outlining the purpose and philosophy of the play day in which she provided a course for action that called for "all-around girls."[67] The delegate later clarified that such girls needed to have all-around interest and not necessarily ability. The University of New Hampshire's high school play day embodied the slogan "a game for every girl and a girl for every game."[68]

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65 Many schools oscillated between calling these events sports days or play day. The name did not always reflect whether the teams were mixed or institutional.

66 Eastern Section Conference of the ACACW, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

67 Ibid., 13.

68 Ibid., 13.

Participants from the local high schools chose the game in which they wanted to participate, took part in a swim meet, and concluded with a treasure hunt. Agnes Scott College also experimented with high school participants in Atlanta, electing not to mix teams and awarding points to individual schools. Delegates were mostly comfortable with the small and hand-crafted awards issued by the hosting schools. After a representative from University of South Carolina announced a ban on intercollegiate sport among their three state colleges, a delegate from Virginia State Teachers College questioned whether or not play days would only attract athletes. Some delegates found themselves concerned as to what type of student would be attracted to such an event: athletes, or all around girls.[69]

As with the Eastern Sectional Meeting, the Central Sectional Meeting participants illustrated a wide variety of approaches. A bit closer in spirit to the Triangle Play Day, the University of Minnesota reported that they hosted five colleges in a play day that concluded with a banquet and speeches from the president of each WAA. Muncie University in Indiana claimed that the purpose of their play days was to teach high school girls new games, and noted that they had succeeded in dissolving high schools rivalries of yesteryear. Kansas State Normal School did not mix teams but defended their choice by eliminating basketball from their programs because the schools participating had histories of antagonistic rivalries. Schools like University of Cincinnati and Ohio University used a challenge system in some of their activities in which girls could accept or reject the challenge depending on their familiarity with a sport or given activity.[70]

The Western Section spent a lot of time on the details and logistics involved in a well-run play day. University of California, Los Angeles and Pomona College provided

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69 Ibid., 13-14.

70 Central Section Conference of the ACACW, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

suggestions as to how to physically divide and organize the players through the use of ribbons and rotations and UCLA also discussed the difficulties associated with securing and organizing floor space to accommodate unknown numbers.[71] Avoiding space conflicts and recruiting volunteers and college-aged attendants in large cities led some schools to experiment with less proximal high schools. The only resistance encountered was from the Board of Education which initially posed objections claiming that play days seemed more like an inappropriate publicity stunt than an educational athletic event.[72]

A presentation, "Means of Stimulating Interest and Participation in a Sports Program," represented the views of the upperclassmen at Stanford on the recent Triangular Play Day held on their campus in March. According to the Stanford delegate participants reported that the mixed-school and mixed-class teams hampered their enjoyment and she judged the event to be a failure. WAA members mimicked the concerns of UCLA by claiming that securing college women to volunteer for the event was difficult due to the distracting weekend offerings in the surrounding area. The Stanford speaker also suggested that in order to promote mass participation, women must be drawn into athletics as freshman, so as not to be deterred from athletics by the availability of other activities that bustling cities or campuses could offer. Oftentimes women's PE programs did not allow students to join WAA programs during their first year of college coursework. Historically, women's physical training relied on freshmen as a lynchpin in the defense of their departments' existence on campuses. Many held that freshmen needed screening, prescription, and re-evaluation, as well motor-training before

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71 These concerns were of common occurrence with multiple institutions. Joint Board, April 7, 1970; Pamela Milcrest, "A History of the PE Majors Club," 1965, "Majors Club," Louise Free Papers; Physical Education for Women; University of Illinois Libraries; Archives and Special Collections; Urbana, IL. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as Louis Freer Papers, UA-UIUC. Play Day Plan, 1-4, "PE 173 & PE 112 Lois Kaminska History & Philosophy and Organization & Administration of PE," Lois Kaminska File, UA-UNL..

72 Western Section Conference of the ACACW, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

they could be allowed to specialize in a sport. The Stanford delegate argued that competitions provided "a stimulus to proficiency" that would be of strong interest to players and spectators rather than a "sport for all" model.[73]

After the Stanford delegate's presentation, Mills College and State Teacher's College at San Jose representatives stated that they were opposed and unwilling to participate in win-oriented competitions or competitions where institutions did not mix to form teams. The Mills College delegate expressed many concerns about the similarities of this model to intercollegiate athletics. A UCLA representative criticized the competitive model maintaining that the goal of mass participation would be defeated.[74] Despite the criticisms, Stanford's WAA delegate stood her ground claiming "intercollegiate competition makes the games more interesting…You can't get away from the idea of a certain amount of winning."[75] The University of Washington delegate criticized the suggested model of sports days because of the travel requirements that violated the Women's Division platform. A delegate from University of Utah noted that they would only be able to gather in this manner once a year because of great distances between institutions.[76]

The discussions and papers presented at other sections also demonstrated a variety of practices and preferences, all the while keeping step with the provision of mass opportunities and an emphasis on team play. Delegate Betty Smithers maintained that in the hands of the correct leaders, athletics could be overwhelmingly positive. "The girl who will make an effort to engage in wholesome athletic recreation is one who travels the

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73 Ibid., 141-144.

74 Ibid., 144-145.

75 The document was partially damaged. As such, Betty Smithers' school affiliation is unknown. Ibid.,145.

76 Ibid.,144-145.

road towards better health chances and exuberant joyful spirits."[77] Both Smithers and Margaret Myers of the University of Wisconsin emphasized that there were social gains to be made through organized sport activities, be they interaction with others, or as Smithers argued, that healthful recreation which helped college women maintain "that schoolgirl complexion."[78]

The "Right Kind" of Competition for the Wrong Kind of Women[79]

As women physical educators in the colleges planned and discussed future athletics events and structures, women's recreation specialists in many cities promoted "sport for sport's sake" in their own communities. Working out of YMCAs, athletic clubs, and park districts, mass athletics were promoted primarily to white, working-class women. Many reformers concentrated on large dances or dance programs to attract their participants. Detroit Commissioner of Recreation C.E. Brewer believed that while young girls could compete and be trained like boys, it was important that Department of Recreation should take "precaution[s] against encouraging those forms of athletics which may be detrimental against the girl and into young womanhood" during and after adolescence.[80] By the end of the 1920s many sport reformers began turning their attention to providing community recreation for the "business girl." Educators such as

77 Betty Smithers, "The Broadway of College Life," 99, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW

78 Ibid., Margaret Meyer, "Intra-Collegiate Sport Competition, Central Section Conference of the ACACW," 81-80, "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling File, SA-UW;.

79 "The right kind" refers to a part of the theme of the 1929 NAAF Convention which was entitled "More Competition for Girls than Less- But the Right Kind." Helen L. Coops, "Report," January 4, 1929, "NAAF: Women's Division, Annual Meetings, 1929 New York," GSOOS, HPL.

80 C.E. Brewer, "A Meet for Married Women," *Playground* 16 (1922): 162.

Helen Coops urged them to implement standards for these leagues that would prevent them from degenerating "into competition based on athletic exploitation and audience dictatorship."[81] The standards Coops outlined included four principles advocated by the Women's Division and the ACACW.

> 1. Play should be for the sake of recreation and enjoyment, not for the sake of reward in terms of money or of individual team glory.
>
> 2. Play should be so organized that an opportunity for wholesome expression will be given to all. The athletic tournaments that develop representative teams and that cater only to star players and the physically strong, have no place in a democratic, broad, play program.
>
> 3. Play should provide opportunity for friendly social contact. This does not develop out of the bitter fighting spirit, which "team tooters create" and foster.
>
> 4. Play, through athletic activity, has tremendous possibilities in terms of mental, moral, and social as well as physical value. There is too much tendency to think of athletics as an activity for a small group which has already developed some degree of physical skill and proficiency. Rather, athletics should be a related part of a recreation program."[82]

Urban recreation specialists also attempted to experiment with new competitive structures and mass activities. In the summer of 1928, women's sport organizers in Chicago hosted a golf play day in Lincoln Park and Soldier Field and a City-Wide Play Day in five park locations. The first event, part golf demonstration and part golf lesson was advertised to factory women. Notices were sent to the factories, publicized in industrial newsletters, posted at YWCAs, and advertised in *The Daily News*. Though the events were highly publicized at golf courses and clubs throughout the city, it seems likely that industrial women would not have seen them there. The event was purposely organized on a time and date when shops and factories would be closed so that "business

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81 Helen L. Coops, "Play Days for Industrial Girls," *Playground* 22 (1929): 255- 257.

82 Ibid., 255.

girls" might attend yet on the day of the golf play day, none of the preregistered women were present and only twelve women attended. Event coordinators reported that local tournament champions, Mrs. Lee Mida of the Women's Western Golf Association Champion and Mrs. Howard Raymond of the Evanston Country Club were available to provide demonstrations and lessons. Coordinators noted that golf was not embraced by the working girls in the same way that swimming, basketball, and some track and field events had been. Organizers were dismayed to find the young women hesitant to take lessons from the "champions," and even more to learn that such spirited young women were actually quite "anxious about playing in front of groups." [83] Though the intention was good it seems that golf did not entice Chicago's workingwomen and those in attendance were too self conscious to attempt practice puts and drives. Class sensibility, marital status, and perhaps even the inability to sustain the activity after being introduced to it may have factored into the low turnout and the hesitation of the attendees.

Two days after the fairway flop at Soldier Field, another heavily advertised, large scale play event for Chicago's working-class women, the City-Wide Play Day, was staged at five large parks: Lincoln, Washington, Jackson, Garfield, and Columbus. At each, 10-20 girls from Girl Scouts, Girls Reserves, and Camp Fire Girls were present to oversee the activities.[84] Organizers described the event as an opportunity to provide a "natural and cultivated love of play" and to promote the campaign of "play for play's sake" through showcasing facilities and organizations that supported and promoted athletics for women. [85] It was also meant to introduce a new event structure that could

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83 "An Echo of Play Day" July 7, 1928; "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

84 "Final Report of the Play Day," June 18, 1928, "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

85 Bernice Amanda Miller, "Chicago Girls' Athletic City-Wide Play Day," "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

be repeated. A high school band was scheduled to play in each park and "nationality groups" were set to perform folk dances in Garfield Park.[86] Similar to the college play days, no awards were generated for participation other than an honorable mention for the organization that had the most of its representatives present.[87]

While press releases were sent to African American weeklies such as *The Chicago Defender*, on the whole African American women were marginalized from the event. While there were groups in Chicago that provided leisure and recreation opportunities for African Americans, those groups were not involved in the planning or advertising of the multi-park event.[88] From 1916-1930, upwards of 1.5 million southern African Americans migrated to northern urban centers. This first wave of migration resulted in more rigid divisions of neighborhoods and the formation of "black belts" in cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and Detroit. Social workers in the 1920s noted that African Americans suffered a different plight than whites of foreign parentage. Azalda Comstock argued that immigrants and their families resided in the slums only while they remained poor whereas "everyman who is black, whether rich or poor" was "compelled to live in a segregated black district" marked and enforced by a color line drawn by whites.[89] In the northern strip of the black belt that surrounded Washington Park, African Americans neighborhoods had replaced German immigrant enclaves at the turn of the century. By 1930, only 7.8% of the Washington Park neighborhood was

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86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 "Play Day for Women Leadership List," June 9, 1928, "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

89 Quote from Azalda P. Comstock, "Chicago Housing Conditions, VI: The Problems of the Negro," *The American Journal of Sociology* 18 (1912): 241-257 in Thomas Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Immigrants, Blacks, and Reformers in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1991), 113-114.

occupied by white residents.[90] Though the park bordered the northern part of Chicago's "Black Belt," "colored girls [were] not expected to attend."[91] Whites maintained neighborhood lines through force or through covenant by barring blacks from shopping or partaking in certain forms of recreation, particularly in private athletic clubs or public changing facilities in places such as Lake Michigan.[92] Further increasing the inaccessibility to African American, organizers of the City Play Day charged women a fee of one dollar to participate in the event's riding activities.[93]

Similar to the golf play day, notices were placed in the bulletin *Health Trail*, three months in advance and in industrial newsletters up to one month in advance. Radio advertisements were also utilized in order to promote the archery event at Washington Park. Despite the attempts to publicize the City-Wide Play Day in *The Chicago Tribune, Daily News, Chicago Defender, Tribune-Herald Examiner,* and various community papers, the fifty articles produced in a two-month period leading up to the event failed to

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90 James R. Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L Reiff, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1044; Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto, 132-133,184.*

91 In Southern cities such as Orlando, the African American community occasionally received donations of land from private donors in which they could designate for their own recreational purposes like tennis clubs. In segregated public parks, summer baseball leagues existed for junior high school boys and girls but were relegated to the seven fields designated for them. Other popular recreations for the African American adult community in Orlando included horseshoes and checkers, It was also reported that "old and young came by the hundreds to the street showers, which were operated at six widely separated points in the Negro sections." A municipal bathing beach was also set aside for the African American community "on one of the most beautiful of the thirty lakes of the city." "For the Negroes of Orlando," *Playground* 21 (1928): 657. "Instructions for Riding," "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling Files, SA-UW.

92 Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, 197; Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 123.

93 "Instructions for Riding."

ensure impressive attendance or produce a response from the workingwomen that organizers had hoped to target.[94]

Play day director Bernice Miller argued that though the weather was poor and the event was competing with a city-wide track and field meet, the low attendance was due to a lack of exposure and acceptance among the working class women. Though the city offered many activities, Miller's group scheduled the event during a time that would be most convenient for working women, a Saturday afternoon in June rather than July, when the weather would be more pleasant and there would be less shopping to be done.[95] Ultimately, Chairwoman Miller ascertained that there was inadequate leadership among the women who had the most direct access to prospective attendees. Despite support that they gave to the City-Wide Play Day, Miller believed park officials were not yet able to provide appropriate leadership to sustain the "play for play's sake" campaign. In her concluding report she suggested that private organizations ought to take a more active role in providing opportunities for industrial women. While school-aged girls might be enthusiastic about events like the City-Wide Play Day, the workingwomen of the city required alternative models. Miller noted that the city's sport educators would have to choose between the "play for play's sake" or "competitive" model before another event could be staged. The group seemed open to this approach and noted that they must decide who they were targeting and how so that they would be better able to appeal to working girls in industry and elsewhere.[96]

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94 "Final Report of the Play Day,"

95 Ibid.

96 Bernice Miller, "Post Play Day Comments, "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

Miller argued that in order to draw women away from their homes, dance halls, and theaters, schools and places such as Grant Park had to remain open and accessible after the hours when working women were done with their daily labor. She also felt that the city's physical educators had a vested interest in developing the leadership for this, though few had the resources available. In the meantime they had to rely on their own volunteerism by assisting Chicago Officials Bureau for Women's Major Sports, the Chicago Division of the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation, the Chicago Church Federation, and the Chicago YWCA.

In 1929, Edith M. Gates, Director of Health Education for the National Board YWCA, argued that employed girls and women were indeed a difficult group to service for a variety of reasons. Unlike the college girls who had a common curriculum and on-campus living arrangements, urban working women's differences in age, occupation, location of employment, and neighborhood made them a much more variable group. Gates noted that their leisure time was extraordinarily minimal and highly valued. She took the field of physical educators and recreation leaders to task pointing out that no research had been done on this population, and the current leadership was not trained in the various health "problems" or barriers to recreation that they would encounter.[97] Women like Miller and Gates knew community organizers had little access and little means to the resources to promote the standards set by physical educators in settlement houses and YWCAs. It was little surprise to them that group homes and churches often resorted to putting a male sports enthusiast in charge to "help the girls."[98] They suggested that city athletic clubs, semi-professional, and professional events ought to be used to attract the women and girls to central locations where they could then be diverted

97 Edith M. Gates "Trends in Athletics for the Girls and Women in Employed Groups," *American Physical Education Review* 34 (1929): 365.

98 Ibid., 367.

towards leisure and sport activities. Because of the limitations on their time and spending money, Gates discouraged offering riding and golf lessons, as they would have no means to pursue the activities after the events or lessons were over.[99]

Most urban areas relied on activities such as mass drills and dancing. In April of 1929 1,500 married women filled the largest arena in the city in an event staged by the Detroit Recreation Department. Similarly in Peoria, Illinois, the Recreation Department conducted an event where 250 young women and girls and 200 married women gathered. The multiple generations gathered to celebrate the end of their seasonal programming though exercise, dances, stunts, and games. At the New York City May Festival in 1929, 7,000 girls met in the meadow of Central Park in Manhattan while other groups simultaneously gathered in the Bronx, Queens, and Prospect Park, dressed in white frocks with colored arm and head bands to dance around a maypole.[100] Ethel Bowers of the Playground and Recreation Association of New York described the event as "the only time of year when girls of foreign-born parentage have the opportunity to visit Central Park or in fact to leave their own neighborhoods."[101]

Urban recreation specialists like Bowers continued their crusade for play for play's sake through the formation of middle-class working fictional characters, like "Beatrice the Business Girl," and her less chaste and more vice-oriented factory counter, "Ida the Industrial Girl."[102] While Ida's recreational choices included frequenting movies and dance halls, and automobiling with its consequent parking and petting, Beatrice "[enjoyed] gyms classes, games and sports for fun and the physical benefits she

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99 Ibid., 366-367.

100 Ethel Bowers, "Play Days and Festivals," *American Physical Education Review* 34 (1929), 471-473.

101 Ibid., 473.

102 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 75.

[received], and she [took] part in the finer forms of music, dramatics, or handicraft activities because they [appealed] to her love of the beautiful."[103] Though physical educators were not always persuasive in this, they were quick to criticize the activities and motivations of the less sophisticated factory worker. Advancing the platform of the Women's Division, Lou Henry Hoover had been touring the south and mid-west in an effort to discourage men from coaching adolescent girls in preparation for international competition.[104] Even at established schools like the University of Wisconsin, Blanche Trilling admitted that she herself did not have the resources to assist recreation specialists attempting to serve alternate populations.[105] Women physical educators located in colleges would not make moves outside the scholastic or college sphere until called upon in World War II. This ideological and structural distance further perpetuated the class divide advanced by groups like the Women's Division, NAPECW, and the Section for Women's Athletics.

Athletic Blight, the Wellesley Example, and a Publishing Boom

Though women had been present in previous Olympic Games as swimmers, divers, figure skaters, and tennis players, 1928 marked the first year that team gymnastics and track and field events were held for women.[106] Women physical educators remained stridently opposed to women's participation in events like track and field. At a paper presented at the 1928 ACACW Conference, a representative of the University of

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103 Ibid, 75.

104 Ethel Perrin to Lou Henry Hoover, Nov. 5, 1928, "NAAF: Women's Division, Olympic Participation, 1922-1938," GSOOS, HPL.

105 Blanche Trilling to Bernice Miller, Nov. 8, 1928, "Athletics for Women including YWCA," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

106 Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 47.

Missouri's WAA recalled the "corrupted sportsmanship" demonstrated by those who hissed at American victors from the grandstands and who issued stilted applause as the Olympians from the U.S. approached the medals podium in the 1924 games.[107] "The Olympics," according to the student, once "hailed as the token of peace, became little more than a delegate's war fought under rules and regulations which were lightly binding."[108] She further maintained that though the Americans were victorious in many events, their conduct was no better than that of the French. The Missouri delegate called for men and women of physical education to elevate the public mind to accept "play for play's sake" in order that the "token of peace" that the Olympic movement represented could ultimately be realized.[109]

While speaking to a group on behalf of the Girls Scouts of America, Lou Henry Hoover also commented on the eroding moral values the United States. Hoover declared that "there is less appreciation for good play in our country than anything else," maintaining that "Satan finds most for people to do during their leisure time."[110] Hoover believed most crucially that the creation of "wholesome interests for the young people," ought to be a national priority. The *Christian Endeavor World* editorial staff supported Hoover's critique, arguing that licentious reading materials, cinematic voyeurism and debauchery in the movie houses, and hooting as spectatorship ought to be replaced with higher literature and activity for all.[111]

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107 "Are the Olympic Games a Means of Fostering Friendly International Relations?," 95. "ACACW Minutes of the Eastern, Western, and Central Sectional Conferences, 1928," Blanche Trilling Files, UA-UW.

108 Ibid., 95.

109 Ibid., 95.

110 "Good Play," *Christian Endeavor World*, Sept. 2, 1928, 118, "Good Play; Boston, MA," Subject File on Addresses and Speeches; Lou Henry Hoover Papers; HPL.

111 Ibid., 118.

Despite disapproval by American sport reformers, the 1928 Olympics provided an international stage where five world-records were set in each of the five track and field events. Conversely, British women's amateur athletic associations were so outraged by the limited offerings that their organization boycotted the games entirely.[112] Upon the conclusion of the 800-meter race, sportswriters deemed it a disaster after some of the runners collapsed on the side.[113] First place finisher, Lina Radke of Germany completed the race in 2:16.8, though the *New York Times* reported that "eleven wretched women" were "exhausted" upon crossing the finish line.[114] According to Allen Guttmann, "*The New York Times*, painted a macabre verbal picture in which the cinder track was strewn with wretched damsels in agonized distress."[115] Following the 1928 Olympic track and field frenzy, women's sport reformers continued to defend "the right kind" of competition and physical activity for women through a two- pronged strategy.[116] The first was a continuation of the rhetorical campaign linking certain types of sports and competition with the development of character and morality. The second mirrored the hyperbolic coverage of the Women's 800m by framing high-level competition as dangerous and antisocial.

Women's sport reformers continued to support mass play and athletics by wrapping their ideals in the stars and stripes. On the heels of her husband's presidential campaign, Lou Henry Hoover wrote about the democratizing potential that the play day

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112 Spears, "Chronicle of Participation," 141.

113 Ellen Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Intercollegiate Sport for Women, 1923-1936" *Journal of Sport History* 2 (1975): 22; Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 47.

114 Quoted in Louise Zerbe, "The 1930 University of British Columbia Women's Basketball Team," in *Her Story in Sport*, ed. Reet Howell (West Point: Leisure Press, 1976), 548-51 in Guttmann, *Women's Sport*, 169.

115 Guttmann, *The Olympics*, 47.

116 Coops, "Report."

would have on the nation and its diverse communities.[117] She maintained that the generation of girls who grew up in the midst of these play days would have cultivated the "spirit of play" and the "spirit of sport." "When members of a community have learned to play together, they are in a way to better understanding of one another and to cooperation and interest in other and, from some points of view, more serious matters that they must consider together and act upon."[118] Almost a decade after the armistice, Hoover emphasized peace on American soil through rhetoric that mirrored that of the race betterment campaigns prevalent throughout the United States and Europe during the interwar period. Hoover's use of the 'spirit of play' or 'spirit of sport' contributed to a discursive tradition that targeted ethnic and racial minorities who already served as objects of the media and citizenry campaigns that sought to improve English, hygiene, and morality.[119] Like "the necessity of learning to read, to write,[and] to know figures," the play spirit must be nurtured as it was "less inherent in some sections of [the] population than others."[120] Learning to be a happy and productive team player, Hoover

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117 Hoover, forward in *Play Days,* 10-13.

118 Ibid.,13.

119 Linda Gordon, "Putting Children First: Women, Materialism, and Welfare in the Early Twentieth Century" in *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays*, ed.Linda K. Kerber and Kathryn K. Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995): 63-87; Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984),280; Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of* Cleanliness (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Alexandra M. Lord, "Models of Masculinity: Sex Education, the United States Public Health Service, and the YMCA, 1919-1924," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 58 (2003): 123-152; Laureen Tedesco, "Progressive Era Girl Scouts and the Immigrant: *Scouting for Girls* (1920) as a Handbook for American Girlhood," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 31(2006): 346-368; Christina A. Zeigler-McPherson, *Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship, & National Identity in the United States, 1908-1929* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 122-143.

120 Hoover, forward in *Play Days,* 12, 13.

argued would assist in the creation of "happier individuals, happier citizens, [and] happier communities."[121]

Though many colleges publicized successful play days in *Playground*, *The Sportswoman*, or the *American Physical Education Review*, some took special care to contrast these with the supposed excesses of the male model. Wellesley graduate and Director of Physical Education at North Carolina College, Mary Channing Coleman sought out a diverse array of venues and outlets to showcase the ideals promoted by many college programs. After a college play day in October of 1928 at North Carolina College, the report noted that…

> women's athletics have been guided by wise hands into channels that would lead to pure amateurism, perhaps, devoid of mob excitement, but possessing opportunities for mass athletics. Sports are generally arranged so that the girl enjoys playing the game for the fun of competition, and for the exhilaration of healthful exercise. Education, which should be obtained in college, is necessary to make such games better liked by the players than battle fought for the glory of the Alma Mater before a howling or groaning mob of unsportsmanlike spectators… It pointed a way to future satisfactory inter-collegiate sports for women without strife or bitter competition. All lovers of amateur athletics should welcome this new system.[122]

In addition to their speeches at conferences, radio broadcasts, and interactions with Parent Teacher Associations, women like Coleman, Ethel Perrin and Blanche Trilling provided frightening stories of women's sports gone amiss to fuel print-driven panics and cautionary tales.[123]

In a 1929 article for *Harper's Magazine,* sportswriter John Tunis identified four enemies that preyed on the virtue of sporting girls: political organizations, industrial

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121 Ibid., 12.

122 "Play Day at North Carolina College," 29.

123 Trilling, "Safeguarding Girls Athletics,"; Ethel Perrin to Blanche Trilling, Feb. 1, 1929; Blanche Trilling to John Tunis, Feb. 4, 1929, "Athletic Competition Correspondence," Blanche Trilling File. UA-UW.

interests, understaffed and under-funded churches, and different power-hungry governing bodies. He accused entities like the Chamber of Commerce or Boards of Trade of using sports teams as a cheap form of community advertising and of sexualizing adolescent girls through the sponsorship of "Bathing Beauty Contests." Blanche Trilling, one of Tunis's sources for the Harper's expose had previously voiced similar concerns in a 1927 address at the annual meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women in Dallas. She argued that city track and field meets in which girls wore "abbreviated pants and running shirts" were too often sandwiched in between men's events in order to swell gate receipts. She also argued that city athletic clubs often held swim meets and put girls' health on the line in the name of setting a pool or club record.[124] Tunis warned that it was the "thousands of girls in industry – not the comparatively few who attend college – who [were] most likely to be injured if the evils which exist in athletics for men should creep into athletics for women also."[125] Boarded up behind the walls of factories all day, these women, "the very girls who most of all need healthy outdoor exercise [were] being forced into competitive sport, often without medical supervision of any sort, by masculine directors far more interested in the size of their pay check than in the health of the athletics in their charge."[126] Tunis maintained that industrial interests were also served as mercantile teams and sporting goods companies gained recognition and publicity from their team's accomplishments and use of their equipment.

Tunis, with the help of Trilling echoed the concerns of Helen Coop's 1926 article "Athletic Education," in which she questioned,

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124 Blanche M. Trilling, "Safeguarding Girls' Athletics" in Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed. *Women and Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 12.

125 Tunis, "Women and the Sport Business," 27.

126 Tunis, "Women and the Sport Business," 30-31.

> how many individuals who watch a girls' basketball game and think what a wonderful thing it is to see these girls playing an active game, and how much it does for the school, etc., have ever gone behind the scenes at the close of a game and seen that same group in a fit of hysteria, their nervous system completely broken, and all their thoughts of nervousness, sportsmanship, loyalty, and health thrown into the four winds in the winning or losing of that game?[127]

Tunis painted vignettes of industrial contests where over 500 boys and girls crowded into smoke-filled gyms. Contestants' experiences were further intensified by the "leering […] eyes, the incessant cheers and vibes from the spectators, the emotion produced by constantly being tumbled against the front row of onlookers."[128] This "brittle state of taut excitement,"[129] put even the strongest of girls' nerves on edge. Using Trilling's examples he described,

> one of the players, weaker than the rest, [collapsed] completely before the crowd. In the dressing room she [became] racked by hysterics, her body drawn tightly into a knot; for the moment she [was] a nervous invalid. Although she [was] physically sound, so acute [was] her nervous suffering that it will be weeks before her health is restored.[130]

The scare stories Trilling supplied to Tunis painted pictures of championship games occurring in schools and YMCAs, and involved the usual suspects: working class or manufacturing districts, superintendents, principals, overzealous or violent fans, and ineffective or timid officials. Players were exposed to poor ventilation, unsafe facilities, and often a lack of single-sex changing areas or indoor lavatories. Trilling provided accounts of weak-minded players overwrought with grief after losing to bitter rivals. At a game near Syracuse, she retold the drama of a young girl of "foreign parentage," who

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127 Coops, "Athletic Education," 610.

128 Tunis, "Women and the Sport Business," 29.

129 Tunis, "Women and the Sport Business," 29.

130 Blanche Trilling to John Tunis, Feb. 4, 1929; Tunis, "Women and the Sport Business," 29.

rushed to the balcony and tried to throw herself out of a second story window, "to be stopped just in time by the crowd."[131]

Articles and events that endorsed the campaigns of Coops, Hoover, Trilling, Tunis and Wayman, soon found a regular, though short-lived place within the professional literature. Beginning in 1929 the *American Physical Education Review* ran a news section sponsored by the Women's Division of the NAAF and the Women's Athletics Section of the APEA. The "News of Girls and Women's Athletics," consisting of non-research based bulletins dedicated to the right kind of sport, was one of the first to publish the preliminary actions of the Women's Division's campaign to discourage women's participation in the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles.[132] In addition to an article for each bulletin, announcements and summaries of conferences, advertisements for camps and workshops, and pedagogical materials were made available. One of the first prominent, east-coast colleges to publicize their Play Day, Wellesley College, did so in these pages.[133]

Wellesley's long-standing clout and affiliation with the former Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, their administrative matriarch, Amy Morris Homans, and their distinguished graduate program further elevated the significance of their published report. The ten-page report, submitted by Hygiene and Physical Education instructor, Elizabeth Beall, effectively served as a prototype for practitioners in the far-reaching journal. Beall's recommendations for format, planning, committee setup, program, ratio of participants to school liaisons, and a number of other items were frequently taken up by

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131 Blanche Trilling to John Tunis, Feb. 4, 1929.

132 Frederick Rand Rogers, "Competition for Girls," *American Physical Education Review* 34 (1929):168-170

133 Elizabeth Beall, "Play Day, Wellesley College," *American Physical Education Review* 34 (1929): 480-490.

other play day-staging colleges. The document also included suggestions regarding the allocation of volunteers, samples of schedules for hostesses and officials, maps, and rain-day programs. Suggestions for improvement included location of events, restriction of activities like archery to students with previous experience, places to save money and ways to collect money more wisely.[134] Evaluations and improvement forms later became a staple for most physical education programs, clubs, or WAAs staging similar events.

University of California Triangle Play Day pioneer Ruth Elliott is credited by both the school and local newspapers for bringing the play day to the Northeast. By 1928 she had left the west coast in order to chair the department of Hygiene and Physical Education at her alma mater, Wellesley College. The original participants in the inaugural Northeastern Play Day were college women from the Massachusetts Colleges Radcliffe, Simons, Wheaton, and Boston University. A bit of a break from the Women's Division platform occurred when the local press was invited to photograph new games like kick-it cageball. However, in her press statement to the *Boston Herald* Elliott noted that the type of spectator she was really concerned with was the "over-excited audience" overly consumed with an "overestimated team" all too common at most intercollegiate competitions.[135] The event was publicized in the *Boston Herald*, and the school paper, the *Wellesley College News*. Elliott invited former alumnae and local school-aged girls to observe the spectacle. Hoover's support of the play day was highlighted in much of the event's initial publicity, as were the elements common to the Women's Division Platform: the benefit of the many versus the few, avoiding joyless specialization, and the reduction of undue attention and stress on gifted athletes. The event was staged by the

134 Ibid., 480-490.

135 "Wellesley to be a Host at a 'Play Day,'" *Boston Herald,* Feb. 24, 1929, "Athletic Association: Multiple College Play Dates and Sports Days 1919-1960: Extramural Sports 1961-1962: Sports Schedules 1950-1958," AA, WCA.

graduate students, faculty, and Wellesley Athletic Association.[136] Wellesley, like many schools to follow, added their own unique elements to the play day to add charm or diminish logistical complications. One such implementation was the use of a bugle to indicate that a rotation was occurring.[137] While serving as entertainment for many college girls in the area, the event also served as a promotion for Wellesley's fine program as it showcased the grounds and the athletic facilities such as the four-target archery range, twenty-two tennis courts, two volleyball courts, four basketball courts, baseball diamond, nine-hole golf course, two lacrosse fields, two hockey fields, the 100 yard straightaway, jumping pits, and Lake Waban which offered canoeing, swimming, crew, and winter skating.[138]

136 "Athletes of Five Colleges Will Meet at Play Day Here," *Wellesley College News May 11, 1929;* Play Day Invitation, *1929,* "Athletic Association: Multiple College Play Dates and Sports Days 1919-1960: Extramural Sports 1961-1962: Sports Schedules 1950-1958," AA, WCA; "Wellesley's Play Day Held May 11 Was Most Successful," *Wellesley College News* May 16, 1929, 5;"Wellesley Scene of New College Play Day," *Wellesley College News,* May 2, 1929, 1.

137 Play Day Invitation, 1929, "Athletic Association: Multiple College Play Dates and Sports Days 1919-1960: Extramural Sports 1961-1962: Sports Schedules 1950-1958," AA, WCA.

138 "Athletes of Five Colleges Will Meet at Play Day Here."

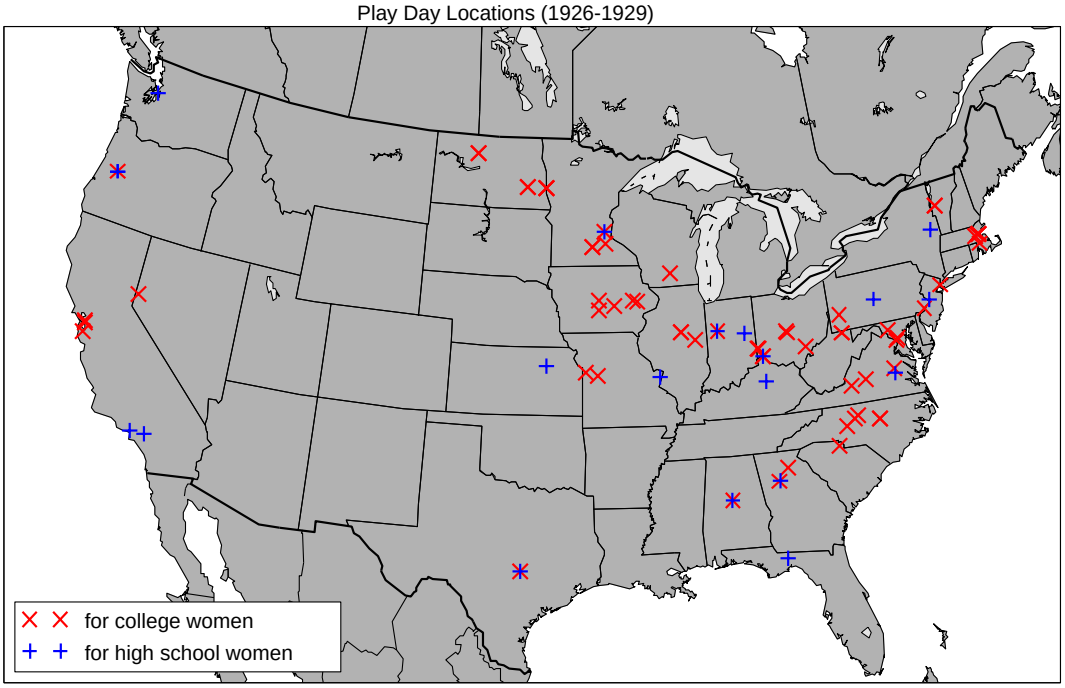

Figure III-1 Play Day Locations (1926-1929)

Events such as the Triangle Sports Day and the Northeastern Play Day were crafted to meet the needs of the women's organizations whose platforms had recently been created or reworked. Beginning on the West coast for college women, they soon swept the Midwest with support from key institutions and organizations. Early play days demonstrated a wide variety of participants and geographical ranges. Whether mixing teams, classes, or sticking with homogenous single-class formats, play days included a broad variety of games, stunts, and sport activities that were in some cases intended to replace less ideal versions of intercollegiate sport, though others were more experimental forays introducing students to WAA and women's physical education departments . Most of the larger colleges and universities that used play days also conducted intramural programming and most schools hosted or attended one or two events in a year, typically as an end of the semester treat.

In non-college environments, the 'play for play's sake' campaign was encouraged among recreation departments, though the white middle-class ideals about sport and competition were not as heartily accepted by working class girls. Formats similar to rural play days adhering to a competitive model or festivals were often more successful. Supported by the platforms of professional organizations, the dissemination of available curricular materials through professional literature and publications assisted in the propagation of the play day. Lou Henry Hoover's continued role as one of the more public faces of the 'play for play's sake' helped to add respectability to the work of recreation specialists and particularly sport reformers. Her endorsement was further compounded by Wellesley College's reception of the Play Day. As one of the premier academic institutions for women and a leading graduate program in Women's Physical Education, Wellesley's prestige added luster to the play day and the 'spirit of sport.' Advertised as significantly more wholesome than its varsity counterpart, the play day would soon increase in popularity, especially after the announcement of the egregious transgressions associated with men's intercollegiate sport detailed in the 350-page Carnegie Report in 1929. Like the discipline of physical education, the play day became synonymous with good will, morale, and investment in the betterment of the nation. As the Great Depression began to take further economic hold over the nation these claims would be amplified in the professional literature and practice during the 1930s.

CHAPTER IV

WARDING OFF "STOOPS AND BUMPS": FASHIONING WOMEN'S PHYSICAL EDUCATION DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1930-1945

Physical education and other so-called "frills" were put on the curricular chopping block by administrators in all levels of education as state treasuries and appropriations wilted during the Great Depression.[1] Many physical educators mobilized to convince school districts and institutions that physical education and athletics were critical to maintaining a healthy, happy, and moral populace during dark economic times. Many men's intercollegiate athletics departments defended their bloated budgets, whilst financially lean play days and other broad-based intramural offerings boomed. Both used many of the same arguments to defend their existence, but women physical educators were much quicker to denounce values associated with unfettered capitalism. Groups like the Women's Division and Committee for Women's Athletics continued to support broad-based and inclusive programming. During the Depression women physical education expanded in the colleges, graduate programs matured, and more women were recruited to join the profession. Play days, shifting in form and increasingly expanding to include high school-aged girls, evolved into a form of institutional and departmental recruitment. Fending off claims about mannishness and inappropriate relationships between women, physical educators worked to maintain a respectable heterosexual and feminine image that privileged white middle-class women.

1 Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers, 1924-1954* (Washington D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1978), 106.

Belt-Tightening and Morale Boosting: Physical Education and Athletics in the Great Depression

The economic stresses brought by the Great Depression forced physical educators and proponents of athletics to defend their place within public schools and higher education. Though men's programs were often aligned administratively with athletics, male physical educators were not as quick to rush to defend the errant capitalism as were coaches, athletic directors, or even some college presidents. Physical educators more often argued that their profession offered an important morale-boosting component to Americans and argued for a sustained appreciation of the values associated with democracy. Women physical educators still found themselves on the losing end of the wage gap in higher education yet continued expanding their programming and toiling furiously to increase their visibility through speaking engagements, research, and publicity.[2]

After the onset of the Depression, physical educators like Jesse F. Williams of Columbia University's Teachers College argued that the "function of physical education and other agencies of social effort" were "to preserve values [], enrich life, [and] to establish morale".[3] He maintained that "the period that gave us jazz has also jazzed our values."[4] Like the Women's Division, Williams advocated that social attitudes ought to be reshaped not just by philosophers and sociologists from ivory towers, but by high-quality trained leadership capable of educating through the physical.[5] He believed, as did

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2 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 106-108; Martha H.Verbrugge, *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1-13.

3 Jesse F. Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 4, no. 2 (1933): 11.

4 Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," 11.

5 John M. Cooper, "A Magna Charta for the Girl and Woman in Athletics" in Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed., *Women and Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 22, originally published in *The Catholic Charities Review*,

many of his peers in both men's and women's departments, that "activities must envisage clean, hard competition – but with a mood that sees friendship, fair play, generous attitudes as worth more than either victory and defeat."[6] Similar defenses of men's athletics were made after the 1929 release of Howard Savage's "Report on College Athletics."[7] In an address before the State Teacher's Association, Big Ten Commissioner John L. Griffith reasserted that "the main value of athletics lies in the fact that they serve to develop certain qualities that cannot be measured by an intelligence or physical efficiency test."[8] He extended his argument past the student athletes claiming that sports even taught spectators the value of rules, a vital component enhancing our democracy. Supporter of intercollegiate football, University of Wisconsin President Glenn Frank, argued that university athletics had the potential to mirror the ancient Greek Olympics as, "a force for democracy, for self-control, for honesty, for patience, and for temperate living."[9]

1925; Howard Savage, '"The Carnegie Foundation's Study on American Intercollegiate Athletics-Three Years Later" *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 4, no. 2 (1933): 24-25; Draper and George Mimms Smith, *Intramural Athletics and Play Days* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporated, 1930), 107-110; Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," 12-13.

6 Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," 12.

7 Many refer to this report as the Carnegie Report.

8 Brad Austin, "Protecting Athletics and the American War Defense of Intercollegiate Athletics at Ohio State and Across the Big Ten During the Great Depression," *Journal of Sport History* 27 (2000): 259

9 Many institutions incurred debt due to large stadium-building projects, particularly in the South and East. Cornell University saw the surplus in their athletic treasury fall from $416,369 in 1929 to $23,237 in 1934. In order to pay mortgages universities and individual programs used different strategies. Many athletic directors protected football at all costs. In the Big Ten, schools like Iowa and Ohio State tightened their belt by cutting men's minor, non-revenue producing sports. Reductions within the football budgets included reducing football schedules, eliminating spring football practices, and abolishing Varsity training tables. Schools such as Southern Methodist University would sweat salaries or garnish faculty wages. At OSU, The Board of Trustees created a three-tier system that allowed athletics personnel to avoid the wage cuts that their academic counterparts faced. Ibid., 264; John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press,

Henry M. Busch of Cleveland College and educational reformer Howard J. Savage argued that only holistically-oriented professionals like physical educators were qualified to prepare the populace to develop the resiliency skills to deal with social and economic changes brought by the modern world. Both argued that the world required new leaders who were emotionally happy and stable, independent, and proactive.[10]

Though professionals such as Williams were critical of the social sciences, they used psychological batteries like personality trait measures to support the argument that physical educators were the best suited and best prepared to serve as moral educators.[11] Women's colleges had already professed themselves to be the standard bearers of respectable womanhood. Constance Applebee, Director of Physical Education at Bryn Mawr, had long preached to the students at her elite women's college about their role in leading the nation as college women and ultimately as mothers. At an AFCW sectional conference at Randolph Macon Women's College, Applebee asserted that,

> Insomuch as a character of a nation is formed by the way it plays and the games it plays, everyone ought to play and everyone ought to be a player, and it is up to college women to set the national standards. She should teach athletics whenever offered her, and teach them rather by joining in herself rather than by giving directions.[12]

1996), 38-67; John Sayles Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 177-200.

10 Henry M. Busch, "A New Hand is Dealt to Physical Education" *The Sportswoman* 10 (June 1934): 20; Savage, '"The Carnegie Foundation's Study on American Intercollegiate Athletics" 24-25.

11 Margaret C. Brown "A Study of Personality of College Students of Physical Education," *Research Quarterly of the American Physical Education Association* 6 no. 4 (1935):69-78; C.E. Ragsdale "Personality Traits of College Majors," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 3 no. 2 (1932): 243-248; Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," 11.

12 Minutes of the Third Eastern Sectional Conference, April 16, 1926, "Outside Orgs: AFCW," New England Section; Blanche Trilling FileUA-UW.

In terms of training the female citizenry, Savage argued that the emotive qualities fostered through sport held a high transference to household management and housewifery. At the Women's Division Annual Conference in Boston, he addressed the delegates and argued

> as the muscles of the body can be developed, so can the ability to control sudden anger. For this reason, it seems to me, sports and games have their place in the development of women's emotional well-being and the preservation of our family life.[13]

The next generation of women physical educators promised to deliver enfranchised citizens, civil workplaces, happy homes, and healthy children. Similar to Savage, Cornell University's Director of Physical Education for Men and Women, C.V.P. Young believed that "the sporting attitude of team play, fair play, group-cooperation, is what the girls today need to learn." Together with Applebee and Savage, Young believed that these skills were vital to their adjustment in professions and business, and equally "vital [] in the upbringing of their children."[14]

According to Mabel Lee many female directors wrote articles for the lay public in defense of their discipline. They also seized every opportunity to speak before school boards, men's service clubs, women's clubs, Parent Teacher Associations, and other educational groups where they could get a "foot in the door."[15] Though women's physical education departments had their "foot in the door" at many colleges and universities, most large programs suffered waning budgets and decreased salaries.[16]

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13 Howard Savage, "Athletics for Women From a National Point of View," April 1, 1930, 7. "NAAF: Women's Division, Athletics for Women from a National Point of View by Howard J. Savage, April 1, 1930," GSOOS, HPM.

14 Janet Owens, *Sports in Women's Colleges* (New York Tribune, Inc., 1932), 11, "Publications," Cornell Athletics Papers; Cornell University; Special Collections; Kroch Library, Cornell University; Ithaca, NY. Hereafter, collection referred to as Cornell Athletics, UA-CU.

15 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 105.

16 Ibid., 106.

Director of Physical Education for Women at the University of California, Berkley, Violet Marshall advised her peers to procure rulings from Attorney Generals in states with laws that prohibited the elimination of physical education. She also advised that programs ought to fight for their classes to be counted as academic credits. Marshall insisted on alliance-building with other strong, well-respected departments, faculty, and administrators, and developing a presence in the academy and in other departments through participation in committees and presentations at colloquiums or guests lectures. There they could present exemplary work from their field that could be used to justify the discipline: educational philosophy, comparison data, economic pragmatism were key strategies to the defense of the discipline and for the maintenance of academic sovereignty.[17] Fortunately, both men's and women's physical education was able to weather much of the Depression. According to a1936 survey of 220 NADPECW member institutions 75 percent of the institutions surveyed reported that they were able to offer credit for coursework in physical education and had made no large changes to their programs.[18]

The Depression helped little in terms of equalizing the gender gap in terms of work load and wages. In an address at the Women's Division Annual Convention in 1929 Mable Lee, though never aligned with any women's suffrage or equality movements, argued that women were economically behind their male counterparts in most professions. She tied these observations to the defense of sport for women arguing that the lessons in "give and take" learned in "the heritage of sports that fell to our brothers' lot" ought to be available to young girls and women as one strategy to remedy

17 Violet B. Marshall "A Discussion of the Requirement in Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities," *Research Quarterly of the American Physical Education Association* 5, no. 4 (1934): 14-15.

18 Ibid., 3-13.

such economic disparities between the sexes.[19] When Lee achieved the rank of full professor at the University of Nebraska and served as the chair of her program, she still received only the minimum pay for that rank despite having served as the president of both the Middle West Society of Physical Educators and the American Physical Education Association.[20] Regardless of the inequity in pay, women like Lee garnered professional support from powerful men on campus. After a run-in with the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Lee's male chancellor defended her programs requirements. The WCTU was in an uproar over female students being required to take anatomy with a male instructor in coed classes and labs. The objections, which included the in-class dissection component, reminded Lee of Emma Willard's battles in New York state one hundred years previously. Much to her dismay, in the 1930s she found herself "waging this war all over again […] against the admirable ladies of the WCTU," rather than against dissenting men.[21]

Though most women physical educators were treated less equitably within their own institutions, public schools with smaller budgets often hired one male instructor to provided instruction for both boys and girls. Many men and women physical educators still felt the need for teaching resources that would address the needs of their school-aged girls. In 1938, Mabel Lee published *The Conduct of Physical Education for Girls and Women*. The text was quickly adopted by both men's and women's programs at the college level. Unsurprisingly, Lee also used this text for her own courses, though she refused to profit from her own students. Rather than ordering the texts to the bookstore, she used her author's discount to purchase them at a wholesale price and sell them to her

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19 Mabel Lee, "Sports and Games- An Educational Dynamic Force," in Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed., *Women and Athletics* (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 15.

20 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 106.

21 Ibid., 109.

students at cost.[22] Reformers like Savage openly admired the balance struck by groups or individuals that stood to profit from the dissemination of professional advice. He commended the Women's Division's work in lessening the gap between men and women while avoiding damaging commercialism, "the Frankenstein's monster of American athletics."[23]

Though women's recreation specialists argued that access to sport and physical activity would contribute to women's economic advancement, these arguments never emphasized that women ought to learn the same lessons as men. Women were encouraged to participate in the sports of the middle and upper class with a particular emphasis in individual sports. Savage argued that, like men, women would profit more "from their mastery of swimming, skating, tennis, hiking, and golf, than from indulgence in team games like soccer and hockey." Of course, field hockey specialists like Hilda Burr, author of *Hockey for Players and Coaches*, ardently defended the place of their own expertise. Burr emphasized the necessity of team games in college curricula as a way of defending against the impending threat of individualism within sport and society. She pointed to the students' preference for singles tennis over the doubles game and argued that these preferences, if left unchecked would reduce participation and extinguish the efforts of women who had fought to obtain democratic access to municipal or recreational court space. Burr fondly hoped "that certain qualities such as unselfishness, pluck and 'esprit de corps' [would be] developed under team participation, so long as the environment [was] favorable."[24] Within men's and women's physical education, the struggle to balance team and individual sports was of utmost importance for those staff members whose positions were not necessarily secure.

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22 Ibid., *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 111-112.

23 Savage, "Athletics for Women From a National Point of View," 7.

24 Hilda Burr, "Why Team Games for College Women?" *The Sportswoman* 10 (Oct. 1933): 11.

When colleges and public schools curbed spending on programs and staff, physical educators continued framing the necessity of their programs and coursework in terms of social good, democracy, and community. Supporters like Williams argued that capitalism and individuality were evil socially destructive forces that had influenced too many athletic administrations to conduct their programming "without regard for significant social education of youth."[25] In her 1930 book, *Principles of Women's Athletics* former Women's Section on Athletics chair Florence Somers summarized her recommendations of the benefits of mass athletics through the use of famed poet Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The Law of the Jungle."

> Now this is the law of the Jungle-
> As old and as true as the sky;
> And the wolf that shall keep it may prosper,
> But the wolf that shall break it must die.
> As the creeper that girdleth the tree trunk,
> The Law runneth forward and back,
> For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf,
> And the strength of the Wolf is the Pack.[26]

Ironically, the prose Somers choose from such an ardent defender of the British Empire mirrors much of the rhetoric of the American labor movement and Communist party.[27] According to Brad Austin, many leaders in men's athletics defended and reaffirmed a positive ideology of competitive sport that tied competitive values to a non-socialist, laissez faire social order.[28] Some viewed competitive sport as an "important bulwark against radicalism and disunity in general, and against socialism and

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25 Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," 12.

26 Florence A. Somers, *Principle of Women's Athletics* (New York City: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930), 117.

27 Austin, Protecting Athletics and the American War Defenses of Intercollegiate Athletics at Ohio State and Across the Big Ten During the Great Depression," 263-264.

28 In the Presidential election of 1932 the Socialist and Communist Party attracted one million votes and by 1938 the CP attracted over 80,000 card carrying members, a newspaper circulating 100,000, and an affiliation with the labor movement. Union membership increased 500 % between 1933 and 1945. Ibid.,263-264.

communism in particular."[29] Already held to the fire in Savage's "Report on College Athletics," many leaders reacted very unfavorably to calls for reform. In 1931 David E. Ross, a member of Purdue University's Board of Regents addressed the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions in Minneapolis. In his speech he proposed the regulation of scheduling as well as conference-wide revenue pooling.[30] In a questionnaire OSU Athletic Director Lynn St. John responded to Ross's idea of revenue sharing as a "really wild idea… utterly foolish" and "border[ing] somewhat on rank communism of a dangerous kind."[31] In the same 1931 questionnaire, Big Ten Commissioner John Griffith dismissed Ross's revenue sharing suggestion as "socialistic theory which our manufacturers and businessmen would not be willing to put into effect within their own businesses."[32] The unabashed support of capitalism and the comparison of athletic programs to manufacturers' production lines were accompanied by the discussion of cutting men's minor sports or so-called unprofitable lines.[33]

Fortunately, physical education fared far better than many other disciplines. The discipline's presence in the public schools provided teacher training programs in colleges and universities with a continual demand for trained professionals. However, as college admissions decreased and concerns over the seemingly endless economic depression, physical educators noted waning undergraduate interest.[34] Nonetheless, women's

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29 Ibid., 247-248.

30 Ibid., 259.

31 Ibid., 260.

32 Ibid., 260.

33 Ibid., 260.

34 "'Athletics for All' Says PE Conference Delegates," *The Daily Cardinal* April 26, 1931, "Scrapbooks 1924-1930," Women's Athletic Association Papers; University Archives, Andersen Library, University of Minnesota; Minneapolis, MN. Hereafter referred to as WAA, UA-UMN.

programs expanded their curricula and created graduate programs including doctorates. Researchers rushed to publish studies examining the likes and dislikes of prospective majors, incoming freshman, and high school students with an assortment of recommendations based on these data.[35] Motivated to recruit and fill the opening ranks, some programs reconsidered the way they advertised or recruited. This expansion of intramural and extramural programming filled a genuine student interest but also served as a mechanism which women physical educators used to comb through the student population in order to identify and recruit the ideal type of candidate.

Advancing "The Right Kind" of Sport for College Women

On shoestring budgets, directors of women's physical education departments continued providing activity for college women, and in many cases adjusting or reducing the types of competition to comport with professional platforms. In order to expand and secure the profession women physical educators sought to maintain and increase their power through structural and ideological means. New non-competitive structures, like mixed-team play days, pageants, and participation-based WAA point systems were modified, exposing more potential majors to offerings related to physical education. The events in and of themselves served to create contact points from which they could begin recruiting new majors while concomitantly promoting women's expertise, and "the right kind" of sport. These ideals were further institutionalized by the expansion of the Women's Division platform and the support issued to women's forms of competition like the play day and sports day.

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35 Mabel Avis Alden, "The Factors in the Required Physical Education Program that are the Least Attractive to the College Girl," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 3, no. 4 (1932): 97-107; Marguerite Bullock, "Some of the Factors Determining the Attitudes of Freshman Women at the University of Oregon Towards Required Physical Education," *Research Quarterly of the American Physical Education Association* 4, no. (1933): 60-70; C.E. Ragsdale "Personality Traits of College Majors in Physical Education" *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 3, no. 2 (1932): 243-248.

Since the separatist movement away from the AAU and the establishment of the Women's Division in the early 1920s, women physical educators successfully established and modified structures of competition to reflect their philosophies of athletics for all. Institutions affiliated with the ACACW were "determined to keep [programming] free of all taint of professionalism and commercialization- to keep them quite informal, entirely sane, and entirely wholesome."[36] In 1931 Lee revisited her 1923 study of normal, agricultural and women's colleges, state and private universities, and coeducational, junior, and denominational colleges affiliated with the AFCW. Lee noted that a marked opposition to intercollegiate sport increased among directors of women's physical education from 25 percent in 1923 to 65 percent in 1931.[37]

The 1929 Women's Division meeting held in New York City focused on "more competition for girls than less-but the right kind."[38] This conference devoted a majority of the Executive Committee's meetings toward developing a response to the increasingly institutionalized presence of women within the Olympic Games. Slated to be held in Los Angeles, many more American girls and women were going to compete. The Women's Division aimed to develop strategies to meet the challenge to their platform. Ethel Perrin of the American Child Health Association proposed three strategies to the Executive Committee in 1929: The Women's Division could request inclusion in the AAU's planning committee, through resolution they could oppose the participation of girls and women in the Olympic Games, or they could encourage an educational campaign to discourage participation in the Olympics.[39] "After mature thought and a majority vote"

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36 Mabel Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Case Since 1923" *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 2, no. 1 (1931): 127.

37 Ibid.,127.

38 Program of the Annual Meeting of the National Amateur Athletic Federation-Women's Division; Report, "NAAF: Women's Division, Annual Meetings, 1929 New York," GSOOS, HPL.

39 Ibid,.

the Women's Division began their preliminary steps to discourage participation by launching an educational campaign discouraging elite competition, championships, or preparation for the Olympic Games.[40] Though many women were already training for the 1932 games, the Women's Division, the APEA, and the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities each passed resolutions opposing this type of competition.[41] The Women's Division passed the following resolution on January 5th, 1929.

> *Whereas*, competition in the Olympic Games would among other things (1) entail the specialized training of the few, (2) offer opportunity for the exploitation of girls and women, (3) offer opportunity for possible overstrain in preparation for and during the games themselves,
>
> *Resolved*, that the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation go on record as disapproving of competition for girls and women in the Olympic Games.[42]

Despite the philosophical opposition to the Olympic Games, Lou Henry Hoover stayed in close contact with Ernest Lee Jahncke of the US Navy and General and Charles H. Sherrill, a member on the IOC.[43] Though Hoover expressed concerns about the presence of track and field at the games, she asked to be kept abreast of changes in this part of the program. Additionally she was able to broker clearance for a few representatives from the National Section for Women's Athletics of APEA to attend the

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40 Frederick Rand Rogers, "Olympics for Girls?" in *Women and Athletics* , ed.Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed., (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 75. First published in *School and Society* 10 (Aug. 1929).

41 Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics,* 61.

42 Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics,* 78.

43General Charles H. Sherill to Lou Henry Hoover; Lou Henry Hoover to General Charles H. Sherrill, May 1928; "NAAF: Women's Division, Olympic Participation, 1922-1938," GSOOS, HPL.

Games. Mable Lee recalled that "the women physicians of the group were warned to make no attempt to give contestants medical advice or inspection of any sort."[44]

Similar to the defense of the Women's Division resolutions and platform created in 1923, opponents of female Olympic participation leaned on physical, psychological, and social arguments. Men and women shared various objections and continued promoting mass participation and practices that encouraged others to seek the services of women physical educators and recreation specialists.[45] Blanche Trilling argued that the existing structural inequities that impeded girls and women from physical activity would be exacerbated in attempts to find the best girls and train them. She maintained that while competing for space with boys and men, it was likely that the rest of the women would be ignored, further increasing the challenge of educating or enticing girls and women with low aptitudes.[46] Florence Somers argued that men's foray in the activities of women and girls was an outlandish trend that would not be tolerated if the tables were to be turned. In her 1930 publication, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, she maintained, though perhaps naively, "if men were to attempt any other social venture for girls and women, they would be ignored."[47]

Concerns regarding the physical capacity of women and girls were raised, albeit more critically than in the previous decade. Blanche Trilling encouraged her colleagues to consider the physical differences between men and women, though not to become overly reliant on unsubstantiated and under-researched claims driven by prejudice rather

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44 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 223.

45 Blanche M. Trilling, "The Playtime of a Million Girls or an Olympic Victory-Which?" (Aug. 1929) in *Women and Athletics*, ed. Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 78. First published in *The Nation's Schools,* (Aug. 1929).

46 Ibid., 80.

47 Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, 61.

than evidence.[48] The notion that women and girls were less physically and emotionally hardy than men and boys continued to persist in physical education literature.[49] In the *New York State Bulletin of Physical Education* Frederick Rand Rogers of the New York State Education Department insisted that on average women only possessed about 50 percent of the physical strength of men. He believed that even if one could control for physiology, women were not apt to deal with the psychic phenomena that characterizes competition. Rogers asserted that "[competition] involves a mental driving force that has its roots in the emotional nature of the performer." Trilling echoed Roger's warning by using the 800m sprint from the Amsterdam Olympics as evidence to support her claim that girls and women were emotionally frail or weak.[50] Though many men and women scoffed at the lack of respectable value in elite competition, women and girls were described by Rogers as being at risk of "losing important personal characteristics-beauty, joy, intellectual innocence, social charm, and even health."[51]

Oftentimes women's virtues and high moral-fiber was used as a reason to keep sport less competitive or even dismiss their very participation. In 1929 *School and Society* ran another of Roger's manifestos where he stated,

> most women who possess enough experience to weigh the consequences of athletic activities, especially in the higher levels of competition, and who give any serious consideration to the effects of athletics on human nature and human conduct will realize that, for girls and women, most activities for other than

48 Trilling, "The Playtime of a Million Girls or an Olympic Victory-Which?" 83.

49 Florence A. Somers questioned whether this emotional difference was possibly a learned reaction somewhat indicative of learned-gender roles. Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, 38-39.

50 Blanche M. Trilling, "The Playtime of a Million Girls or an Olympic Victory-Which? 83.

51 Frederick Rand Rogers, "Girls and Olympics" in *Women and Athletics*, ed. Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed.,(New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 76. First published in *New York State Physical Education Bulletin* 16 (Jan. 1929).

> purely recreative purposes-and especially for the highest Olympic honors-are not worth the candle, even for the victor, while all who strive and fail the cost in terms of impaired health, physical beauty and social attractiveness are absolutely prohibitive[52]

Florence Somers outlined the dismissive attitudes of many administrators, namely Clarence Little of the University of Michigan, whose commentary in a 1929 article in *The Pentathalon* disparaged the competitive efforts and motivations of sporting women. In her polished refute she remarked that "even though some of our most cooperative men educators are adopting the policy of 'hands off' women's athletics, their occasional ridicule and opposition of innovation in the women's field proves an obstacle to a rapid acceptance of newer policies."[53]

Directors of women's programs struggled with varying degrees of support from male colleagues and administrators. Lee's 1931 survey indicated an additional gamut of directors' concerns over completion: exploitative social contact, publicity, time commitments, and the concern for balancing other scholarly or social duties.[54] One respected director in the Middle West Society argued that "in the present unhealthful state of public and alumni opinion, intercollegiate athletics for women would be subjected to the same pressure from the outside as are men's, i.e., to make the game a good spectacle, to have a highly specialized team, so that it would be worth paying to go to see, and very likely, worth betting on."[55] Other doomsday predictions included the development of the department director into a business person rather than an education expert, disproportionate budgeting for sports in a department that can draw gate receipts,

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52 Frederick Rand Rogers, "Olympics for Girls?" in *Women and Athletics*, ed.Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed., (New York: A.S. Barnes Company Incorporated, 1930), 77. First published in *School and Society* (10 Aug. 1929)

53 Somers indicated that the innovation she referenced was the play day for college women. Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, 62-63.

54 Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Case Since 1923," 96, 98-99.

55Ibid., 100.

the loss of the spirit of "play for play's sake," and the decline of intramural programs.[56] Some believed that their students were satisfied with the existing intramural offerings.[57] Many framed their apprehensions through resource management. Small staffs and meager budgets would be overwhelmed for the benefit of an elite few and the girls who really needed physical training would be left "in the dust."[58] After exposure to new competitive structures, pedagogical training, and professional literature, some directors who had formally approved of varsity sport were much more supportive of offerings that promised more democratic options.[59] A director from Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa issued a pragmatic and turf-related concern over extracurricular programs. She felt that "the supplementing of an intramural program with an extracurricular program was an indicator of inadequacies in leadership which would ultimately result in a change in staff."[60]

Despite myriad concerns about competition, many schools, particularly women's colleges on the east coast, engaged in a wide variety of competitive practices. Schools such as Cornell University, Swathmore College, Radcliffe College, and Hunter College scheduled a few matches with other institutions each season in a number of sports, though often it was with one or two neighboring schools. Cornell competed only with neighboring Elmira College. Swathmore teams received no special training and only met with teams that could be reached by auto in twenty minutes. Radcliffe only competed

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56 Ibid., 101-102.

57 Ibid.,99.

58 Ibid., 96-97.

59 Some directors believed that intercollegiate sport could be acceptable if it did not involve contact. Ibid., 95-96, 106-107.

60 Questionnaire on Competition, 1944, "National Association of Directors of Teaching Physical Education for College Women," The University of Iowa Department of Physical Education for Women; Iowa Women's Archives- University of Iowa Libraries; Iowa City, IA. Hereafter, collection referred to as UI Department of Physical Education for Women, IWA.

with neighboring Wheaton College, Jackson College, and Pembroke College. New York University remained the only women's college on the east coast with which carried on a full intercollegiate schedule.[61] Frances V. Froatz, graduate of Teacher's College, Columbia University and Director of Physical Education for Women at New York University argued that "if it were not for college athletics, hanging on the straps would be the only exercise our girls would get."[62] Other directors who favored intercollegiate competition argued that higher levels of competitions provided more visceral lessons in victory and defeat, broadened social values and experiences through interaction with other schools, improved women's decision-making skills, and provided an opportunity for advanced motor development, all of which were framed as contributing to the physical and intellectual health of college women.[63] Some directors discussed more favorable attitude shifts towards varsity sport based on the number of female coaches now available, changes in sport conditions that were less "emotionalized," good experiences with play days, personal experience as a student, and the potential interest that these events generated for their programs.[64]

Though approval of varsity competition waned in some schools, intramural and extramural programming boomed across the nation. Norma M. Leavitt and Margaret M. Duncan of the University of Missouri conducted a survey in 1936 which found a peak in play day participation with 70 percent of schools surveyed reported some form of participation in a play or sports day and 63 percent of schools participated in a mixed-

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61 Owens, *Sports in Women's Colleges*, 3.

62 Ibid., 23.

63 Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Case Since 1923," 95-96.

64 Ibid., 106.

team play day.[65] From 1923 to 1936 involvement in extramurals increased from 22 percent of the reporting institutions to 73 percent. Duncan and Leavitt's study also marks the bifurcation of extramural programs with the mixed-teams play day and the unmixed sport or play day. Though 70 percent of the institutions surveyed were participating in play days, by 1943 this prevalence decreased to 49 percent by 1941 and 36 percent by 1951.[66]

Directors surveyed by Lee expressed a variety of preferences regarding extramural competition. When compared to varsity models the respondents were more supportive of interclass intercollegiate athletics, though many did not seem to feel it was really worth sponsoring. Others felt the same about telegraphic meets, complaining that they were not necessarily undesirable but that they carried no inherent advantages

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65 49% took part in telegraphic archery tournaments, 40% took part in telegraphic swim meets, 31% in telegraphic rifle meets, 3% in telegraphic bowling meets, and 1% participated in a telegraphic track meet. 70% participated in Play Days with mixed teams, and 63% participated in play days were teams represented individual institutions. Norma M. Leavitt & Margaret M. Duncan, "The Status of Intramural Programs for Women" Research Quarterly for the American Alliance of Health and Physical Education 8 (April 1937):74-75; Ibid., 119.

66 Extramural involvement was reported by 82% of the institutions surveyed by Scott in 1943 and 91% by those surveyed by White in 1951. The sport day continued to rise in prominence from 1936 where 41% of the respondents reported participating to 49% in 1943 and 70% in 1951. Though Varsity sport never exceeded the predominance of the sport day, by 1951 28% of the institutions surveyed were offering some form of Varsity sport. The studies provided by Scott and White enhance this historian's understanding of extramural sport practices in collegiate institutions due to their broad-based sampling that accounted for diverse representation in terms of region, enrollment, and organizational affiliation or lack thereof. In 1945 M. Gladys Scott published a study after the call was made in 1942 to assess the present practices in women's athletics, determine the needs of the present and post war woman, and to obtain attitudes about extramural competition. The questionnaire was sent to 217 NAPECW members and 136 non-members. Scott attempted to secure data from each state from members and with a quota set at 50% of the member schools selected from non-member institutions. There is some indication that the mobilization of World War II efforts in the US influenced Scott's data, though it is difficult to prove. In 1950 the Committee on Competition was reconstituted and called for the same study that Scott led in 1943. This study included 500 institutions, 290 NAPECW institutions, 152 AFCW institutions, 26 non-member colleges in the Eastern District, and 32 HBCUs in the Southern District were added. This is the first time that HBCUs are being taken into any kind of consideration in these five studies. M. Gladys Scott, "Competition for Women in American Colleges and Universities" Research Quarterly for the American Alliance of Physical Education, Recreation, and Health 16 (1945):49-71; Christine White, "Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities for College Women," Research Quarterly, 25 (Oct. 1954):344-349.

particularly due to the lack of social carry over. Oftentimes a lack of standardization between facilities made true telegraphic competition impossible. Last, some directors voiced unease about zealous students overstraining their bodies in an attempt to break records in track and field and swimming.[67]

Since the early 1920s women's college sport took no one course.[68] Though leading voices such as Mable Lee, Blanche Trilling, Agnes Wayman, and J. Anna Norris often appeared in unison, their own recommendations were not fully implemented at their own institutions before the onset of the Depression. J. Anna Norris and Director of Physical Education for Women at Purdue University and Helen W. Hazelton suggested replacing intercollegiate athletics with a point-based varsity system including properly led basketball, soccer, kittenball, swimming, hiking, and volleyball as early as 1924, many supporters of these moderate forms of competition were republished in an anthology by the Women's Division in 1930.[69] Martha Verbrugge argues that student resistance to these "Old White Mothers" was more prevalent at the private, non-sectarian women's colleges. Though Agnes Scott College participated in play days, they were known for their intense interclass rivalry, and were participating in intercollegiate golf by the early1940s.[70] Smith College had sport days and participated in telegraphic meets, making it a habit not to leave their home gym. Women of Milwaukee Downer College

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67 Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Case Since 1923," 101-103.

68 Lynn A. Couturier, "Considering the Sportswoman," Sport History Review 41 (2010): 113; Verbrugge, Active Bodies, 103.

69 Helen W. Hazelton, "Advantages of a Points System," in Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed. Women and Athletics (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 60-63; J. Anna Norris, Basket Ball- Girls' Rules," in Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed. Women and Athletics (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 33-34. First published in Child Health Magazine, (Dec. 1924).

70 Verbrugge, Active Bodies, 110.

were willing to incorporate athleticism, competition, rewards, and play into their middle class versions of white femininity.[71]

Verbrugge argues that political and ideological influences greatly impacted the type of competition and activities that women's directors considered for their WAAs. She maintains that if an institution was more actively reworking ideas about feminism or gender difference they were more likely to deviate from conservative platforms supported by the Women's Division. At Bryn Mawr, ardent field hockey enthusiast and Director of Physical Education Constance Applebee did not allow sport to go unchecked. The editor of *The Sportswoman*, known to colleagues as "The Apple," infused her sports with white, Christian, femininity.[72] Student at Leland Stanford University tried to push the boundaries of gender through the context of their coed environment.[73] Public universities were more likely to stick with structures that deemphasized institutional competition and mixed audiences.

Directors and state universities were generally more conservative in their approach to competition. In 1926, The Ohio State University punished college women for participating in extramural activity.[74] In 1930 at the University of Iowa the co-ed Eel-Seal club was fractured into two distinct clubs. No longer would the teams perform theatrical water ballets in the annual Eel-Seal Revue, nor would the men and women compete against one another in relay races to conclude the water ballets.[75]

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71 Ibid,.

72 Ibid., 115.

73 Ibid, 114-115.

74 Ibid,.

75 Maridel Irene Higelson, "The History of the Seals Club," (Masters Thesis: University of Iowa, 1974), 9, 37.

Despite staunch disapproval of extramurals, telegraphic meets occupied ideological middle ground. One of the earliest telegraphic meets was sponsored by the University of Minnesota in 1926. The Ohio State University, the University of Illinois, and the University of Iowa sent scores back and forth on the same weekend. A dual meet between Ohio and Minnesota and a triangular meet between Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois was staged in one fell swoop. Donning modest tweed bloomers, knickers, or jackets and middy blouses in addition to embroidered university sweaters to fight the frigid wind, a few spectators witnessed a woman from Minnesota's national record-setting run. Participants had few chances to rest in between events and were reported to have sustained injuries like facial abrasions from jumping events.[76]

At the University of Iowa WAA Field Day and telegraphic meets also incorporated various track and field events and other games. Iowa competed with schools such as Northwestern University and Ohio State in interclass telegraphic contests. Events for these contests included running, broad jump, high jump, discuss, shot, 50-yard dash, 75-yard dash, 65-yard low hurdles, basketball throw, baseball throw, and 220-yard relay.[77] In most cases it is difficult to determine whether or not people were practicing for the meets, though by1936, there is evidence that indicates that the Seals Club engaged in a fair amount of preparation and practicing for the upcoming telegraphic swim meet scheduled to occur the following March.[78]

WAAs affiliated with the AFCW worked closely with the physical educators. These faculty played a large part in the advancement of "play for play's sake" campaigns

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76 "Girl Athletes of U Beat 3 States in Telegraphic Meet," *Minneapolis Journal*, June 2, 1926, 1, "Clippings 1926-1927," WAA, UA-UMN.

77 "WAA Field Day and Telelgraphic Meet, Thursday," May 29, 1925, "Scrapbook 1920," University of Iowa Department of Physical Education for Women: Women's Recreation Association; IWA. Hereafter, collection will be referred to as WRA, IWA.

78 Higelson, "The History of the Seals Club," 45.

that transformed WAAs point systems from achievement-based to participation-based ones. These changes drew in more students, promoted appropriate feminine behavior, and privileged environments that could be supervised by staff and faculty. In a 1933 AFCW newsletter Blanche Trilling commented that in the early days of many WAAs students in charge of admission treated admissions like a sorority, "black balling candidates."[79] From 1924-1931 the points system waned and was mostly discarded by WAAs affiliated with the AFCW. The University of Minnesota shifted to a participation-based system in 1931. Adopting the slogan "play for play's sake, and not for point's sake," Minnesota, like many others instituted a GPA requirement, a minimum prerequisite of attendance or course completion, and limited participating in one tournament per session. Women could participate in as many sports as they would like, but were limited to one end-of-the session championship or tournament.[80] University of Nebraska WAA delegate Dorothy Charleson explained that her school placed a particular emphasis on group activity. "No girl can win her awards individually but must belong to a group."[81] Historically black Spellman College in Atlanta advocated a type of athleticism that downplayed performance while still providing some sort of recognition to their athletes.[82]

79 Blanche Trilling, "Modern Trends in Athletic Associations," AFCW Newsletter May 4,1933, 4, "ACACW," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW.

80 "The New Basis of Awards for WAA Activities" Women's Athletic Bulletin Sept. 1931; "WAA Reorganizes-Awards Now Based on Participation," "Scrapbooks 1924-1930," WAA, UA-UMN.

81 "'Athletics for All' Says PE Conference Delegates," "Scrapbooks 1924-1930," WAA, UA-UMN.

82 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 148.

More than Milk and Cookies

Intramurals boomed and WAAs split into ever-specializing subgroups during the Depression. At many schools play days became the preferred and most practiced form of extramural.[83] Framed by its creators and championed by proponents as an ideal form of competition, the first college and high school play days of the 1920s varied tremendously in format, yet were somewhat unified by their 'spirit of play.' The play day existed within a panoply of existing traditions including field days, winter carnivals, May fetes, and orchesis productions. Institutionally specific celebrations like Wellesley's Float Day and Tree Day, Barnard's Greek Games, and Cornell University's Dance Drama, provided additional activities after the fall and winter spectacle of men's intercollegiate stadium and arena sport, before women's summer leagues.[84] Some schools aimed to make their play days as different from men's spectator sport as possible, though others incorporated admission, allowed for spectators, used all-star teams, or included participants from the graduate student body, faculty, and the surrounding community.[85] Women's programs forged fluid conferences based by region, philosophy, and populations served. For example, prestigious women's colleges in New England whose students had much experience with boarding school sports forged unofficial conferences linked by social class and geography. Schools that served racial minorities such as Hampton Institute,

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83 "National Conference," *The Sportswoman* 6 (Feb. 1930): 27; "Questionnaire on Competition," UI Department of Physical Education for Women, IWA.

84 Tree Day includes the planting of a class tree at Wellesley College during the end of sophomore year. Float Night was a part of a large, open, outdoor festival that conclude with a moonlit pageant and concert on Lake Waban. Barnard participated in Greek Games, part pageant and part athletic competition. Cornell's Dance Drama is similar to many other schools orchesis productions. Owens, Sports in Women's Colleges, 8,12,43.

85 Blanche M. Trilling, "History of Physical Education for Women at the University of Wisconsin 1898-1946," 103, 107, "History of Physical Education for Women at UW," Organizational Records for the Women's Athletic Association Papers UA-UW. Henceforth, collection will be referred to as Organizational Records of WAA, UA-UW; "Hockey Games to Be Played During the Week," Nov. 3, 1942, "Clippings from 1940s," Cornell Athletics, UA-CU; Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 106-109.

Howard University, Bennett College, and Virginia State College forged their own athletic conferences and staged events such as the annual Carolina Sport Days.[86]

College play days served as a device that promoted dominant conceptions of college life, created another stage where leaders could disseminate their own beliefs about appropriate physical activity, and provided numerous opportunities to recruit new students to campus and into their programs. Play days held on college campuses allowed for contact with high school students and their faculty liaisons. For many women, this was their first time on a college campus. Sometimes the swimming pools that many larger colleges boasted would be a school-aged girl's first exposure to an indoor natatorium. Students from high schools were also introduced to sports and activities that were rare or new. The WAA at the University of Iowa debuted the trendy roller skate at a high school play day in 1941. Similarly, beginning in 1939 the Seals club conducted demonstrations of synchronized swimming, water polo, and stroke forms to high school students from Iowa City, Cedar Rapids, Marion, Muscatine, and Waterloo, Iowa.[87] When women from other college campuses attended play days, they were often given a tour of the prestigious grounds, unique architectural elements of a campus, or new facilities.[88] Similar to the function of the Amy Morris Homan's alumni networks, play days were advertised as "a splendid way to imbue coeds from various colleges with a feeling of comradeship and college union."[89] At one of the only college play days at the University of Wisconsin in 1930, sixty women delegates representing Marquette, Beloit

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86 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 99.

87 Higelson, "History of the Seals Club," 46; "Women from Seven Schools Participate in Play Day Today,"March 19, 1941, "Clippings from 1941,"WRA, IWA.

88 Gertrud M. Goodwin, "Cornell's Play Day Proves Beneficial," *ACACW Newsletter* Dec. 9, 1931, 9; "High School Play Day" *ACACW Newsletter* May 5, 1931, "ACACW," Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW; "WAA Play-Day Honors Freshman," May 1928; Organizational Records of WAA, UA-UW; Mina Tower, "Report on Play Day" *The Sportswoman* 6 (April 1930): 24-5

89 Goodwin, "Cornell's Play Day Proves Beneficial," 9.

College, Milwaukee-Downer, Carroll, Lawrence, and Rockford joined an additional sixty Badger women to engage in recreational activities in addition to being treated to the play "Tommy," presented by the University Players.[90] In a similar spirit, girls from rival high schools may be brought together with the intention of breaking down old rivalries in exchange for the celebration of sisterhood, statehood, and camaraderie. In 1932, the University of Minnesota invited 200 girls from fourteen high schools to a campus play day. During the afternoon mixer girls reunited for tea, cookies, and a few skits. Amplifiers were used to broadcast the football game as the Gophers faced off against bitter rivals, the Iowa Hawkeyes.[91] Though women physical educators could be critical of the men's models, they keenly selected activities that would attract younger, potentially college-bound girls.

The play day increasingly served as a pedagogical platform where WAA members, faculty, and guests from other colleges and high schools were able to convene for physical activity, stage noncompetitive events, and discuss philosophies and trends within physical culture. Play days, particularly in the 1930s and 40s, became a stage for athletic platforms to be reinforced through practice and discussion. At some institutions, staging and promoting play days became the duty of WAA officers, majors clubs, and/ or students in physical education administration courses. At the University of Illinois the WAA staged play days for local high school girls in order to introduce students to the ideals of sport for sport's sake. From 1932-1956, Illinois play days were designed to mirror the ideals of the WAA and AFCW platforms.[92] During the banquets, speeches

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90 "WAA Plans Fete for 60," "Spring 1930," Organizational Records for WAA, UA-UW.

91 "300 Girls Expected to Attend Play Day," ca.1934, "High School Coeds Frolic at WAA Play Day Tomorrow," ca. 1932 "Scrapbooks 1932-1941," WAA, UA-UMN; "High School Girls Frolic at U. in Play Day," ca. 1929, "Scrapbooks 1924-1930," WAA, UA-UMN.

92 According to a 1929 handbook the WAA at University of Illinois staged annual high school play days. Other works indicate that the first college Play Day did not occur until 1932. "WAA Handbook," 1929-1930, " WAA Handbooks, and Banquet Programs," Laura J. Huelster,

from faculty, WAA presidents and college administrators became a staple of the Depression-Era play day.[93] In large and small group students discussed "various problems of mutual concern for women's athletic associations."[94] As the nation drew closer to war Elizabeth Halsey of the Univerisity of Iowa used activity breaks to promote Iowa's national defense plans focusing on fitness. Halsey addressed women from Simpson College, Grinnell College, Drake University, William Penn College, Cornell College, Augustana College, and Central College highlighting their strong graduate program as well as their contribution to the war effort.[95]

Though they varied widely in implementation, the institutionalization of the play day into the physical education program was marked by its incorporation into college coursework, widespread use in colleges, and the incorporation of school-aged girls. By 1938 the University of Nebraska incorporated lessons and assignments about play days in History and Philosophy of Physical Education and Organization and Management of Physical Education, both courses that majors were required to enroll in. While the earliest play days at Nebraska were staged for college women in 1932, the class materials addressed the use of this structure in various settings or through the focus of a specific sport.[96] Some schools experimented with statewide play days like those held in

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1914-1986; Physical Education for Women, University Archives, University of Illinois Libraries; Champaign, IL. Hereafter, this collection will be referred to as Laura J. Huelster Papers, UA-UIUC.

93 Goodwin, "Cornell's Play Day Proves Beneficial," 9; "High School Play Day," *ACACW Newsletter* (May 1931), 12; Wilmith Satterlee, "Third Annual Women's College Sports Day Sponsored by WAA of ISNU," *AFCW Newsletter* (Nov. 1935) 1, 7. "AFCW" Blanche Trilling File, SA-UW; Tower, "Report on Play Day," 24-5.

94 "Coeds of 8 Schools Will Attend Annual Play Day," ca. 1934, "Clippings 1931-1941," WAA, UA-UNM.

95 "Women from Seven Schools Participate in Play Day Today," March 19, 1941, "Clippings from 1941," WRA, IWA.

96 "PE 173 History and Philosophy of Physical Education;" "PE 112 Organization and Administration of Physical Education," "Lois Kaminska," Physical Education for Women Faculty; Teachers College, University Archives; University of Nebraska Libraries; Lincoln, NE.

Minnesota, the University of Iowa, and at Agnes Scott College in Atlanta. These schools extended invitations to all of the colleges in a state or in some cases, tri-state areas.[97] Midwestern and Southern schools were very successful in drawing large numbers of students to their play days. Play day events at the University of Cincinnati, the University of Minnesota, and Illinois State Normal University drew upwards of 200 women together whereas Alabama College drew 400 delegates from local junior and senior high schools for the Alabama Play Day.[98]

Most of the respondents to Mabel Lee's 1931 survey believed the college play day was one structure that would aid in the maintenance of wholesome, satisfying, and interesting competition. One director who supported the use of color teams wrote that school teams "would rob play days of their most valuable asset-the good training for girls that comes through being put on their mettle by being forced to play against their own college chums and to give allegiance to strangers, instead."[99] While a few directors felt that play days or sport days that did not allow for mixed teams were more appealing, one chair suggested that the "play spirit" would not be lost if schools did not advertise or rotated the events at each program. Most chairs believed that these practices would still damage the "play spirit" particularly if teams were ill-matched in ability or if students had been coached. Some felt that they could be persuaded away from the use of color

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Hereafter, this archive will be referred to as UA-UNL. "Play Day Closing Year of Activity for Three Girl's Gym Classes Ends in Success Despite the Rain," *Daily Nebraskan*, May 13, 1934, 1; "Senior Phys Ed Women Conduct Girls' Play Day" *Daily Nebraskan*, May 13, 1934, 1; "Spring Tennis Play Day Held," *Daily Nebraskan*, May 22, 1932, 4; "Teacher's College Gives Play Day Demonstration," *Daily Nebraskan*, May 13, 1934, 1. Courtesy of UA-UNL.

97 "Co-Ed Sports," March 19, 1937 "Newspaper Clippings 1937," WRA, IWA.

98 Wilma Edith Satterlee, "Third Annual Women's College Sports Day Sponsored by WAA of ISNU" *AFCW Newsletter* 15 (Nov. 1935) 1,7. Blanche Trilling File, UA-UW; Edyth Saylor, "A Three-Day Play Day," *The Sportswoman* 6 (June 1930): 21, 28-29.

99 Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Case Since 1923," 105.

teams if mass participation were still an option, no scores were kept, and most of the sports were individual.[100]

The use of the play day increased during the 1930s, though the frequency and format varied greatly. Though some play days mixed teams, other schools transitioned their mixed-team play day to institutional ones, also referred to as a sport day. Many of these competitions focused on one activity or sport. However, this transition was not pronounced and often the practices overlapped. In May 1931the physical education department at the University of Michigan held an interclass play day. The department, rather than the WAA sponsored this activity because of the conflict these activities presented to the platform of the ACACW. Thirty women from four collegiate institutions visited Ann Arbor for the day joining sixty Michigan women for hockey, archery, and tennis. According to Helen Domine, three hockey games occurred at a time and the play was fast and hard. In the spirit of "play for play's sake," no score was kept or announced, no records were tallied, and no reports were made to the press. The post-play lunch included the screening of a hockey film featuring strategy and stick work. According to the author the girls enjoyed an atmosphere of pleasant friendliness without "the strain of unpleasant rivalry, the type of intercollegiate competition we are all trying to avoid."[101] Wellesley College utilized the college play day intermittently until World War II. For many other institutions, the Second World War marked a brief and in some cases permanent cessation of play days.[102]

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100 Many directors still felt uneasy about track and field, basketball, collecting gate receipts, or publicizing the events as entertainment. Ibid.,104-106.

101 Helen Domine, "Interclass Play Day," *ACACW Newsletter* (May 1931), 10. "AFCW," Blanche Trilling, UA-UW.

102 "Questionnaire on Competition," UI Physical Education for Women, IWA.

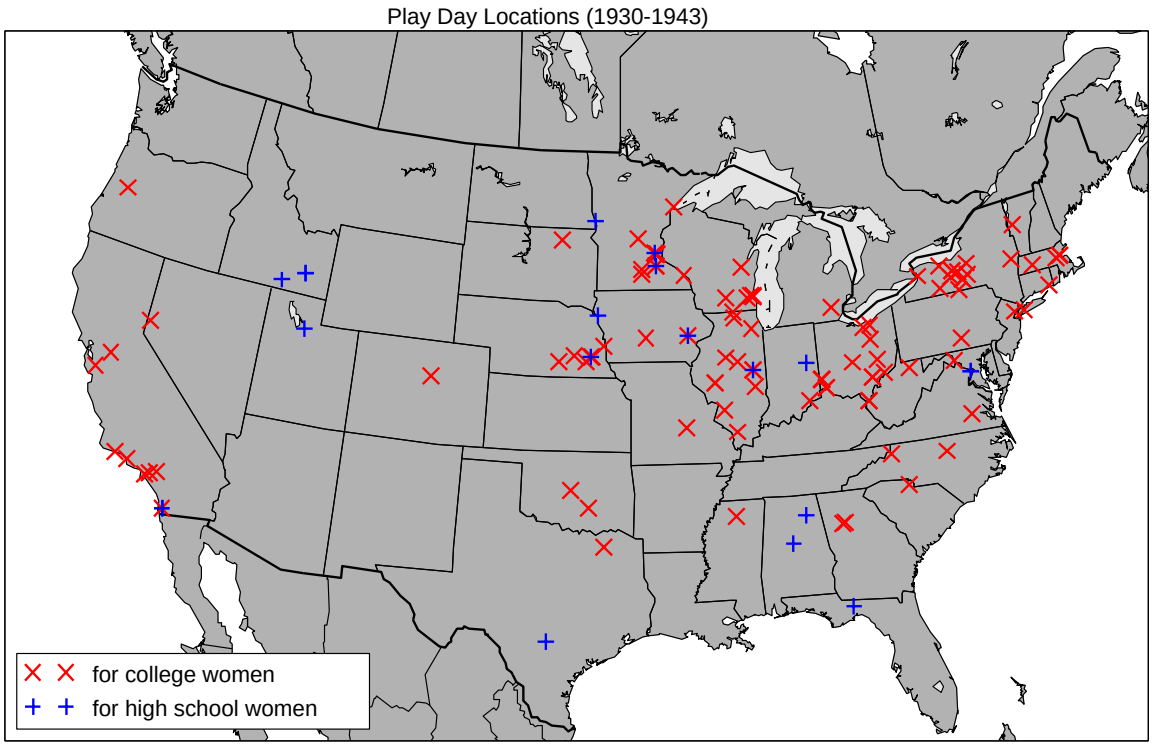

Figure IV-1 Play Day Locations (1930-1943)

By 1943 institutional sports days or play day eclipsed mixed-team competitions. At the University of Iowa, the WAA basketball club hosted basketball competitions with Central College in Pella, Iowa, and the University of Chicago. Though mixed team competition was being abandoned at Iowa's basketball play days, the more respectable six-player or girls' rules were implemented.[103] Iowa hosted a basketball play day in 1940 where they were declared the victors of the games between four schools. [104] Officials from the competition noted that "the basketball defense used by Iowa's teams

103 Oftentimes the six player rules were used in tandem with the center toss versus center jump. Letter March 2, 1939; Letter March 15, 1940, "Basketball Play Days 1939-1941," WRA, IWA.

104 "Ball Club has Play Day," Feb. 28, 1940; "Iowa Women Win Honors in Basketball," March 6, 1940; "Four Colleges to Compete," March 1, 1940 "Clippings 1940," WRA, IWA.

and by Grinnell is similar to the sliding man to man defense used in men's basketball."[105] These comments trouble the notion that women were using the six player game, though they also indicate the practiced preparation of plays.

Another contemporaneous play day practice occurring during the Depression included exhibitions games, demonstrations, and single-sport competitions. In 1941the University of Iowa conducted an archery play day that was open to the public and made use of a public speaker.[106] Similar to archery, hockey's popularity at Iowa could be demonstrated by the popularity of hockey play days, which began in 1938. At hockey play days, college students and community members played an exhibition team from the Chicago Field Hockey Association. One team was composed of Iowa students, faculty, graduate students and hockey players from the surrounding area. Other games would be composed of an association team that included men from town. After a day of play the men, women, and students sat together for a tea.[107]

Hockey remained a site throughout the interwar era where the competitive practices often demonized by sport reformers in the 1920s were temporarily suspended or were wholly ignored. According to Mabel Lee, there were "a few over-zealous leaders in the Women's Division" who were critical of field hockey matches put on by hockey clubs in larger cities, though most saw no harm in these matches. Lee claims that she

> rejoiced that there were women in America beyond college years who loved to play the game enough to support several clubs around the country. As they were all promoted and managed by the women players them-selves and, as far as I could see, absolutely free of all taint of commercialization- matches were surrounded by social amenities and devoid of intense desire to win at any cost. I could see no cause for criticizing these efforts. To me they

105" Iowa Women Win Honors in Basketball."

106 "Archery Play Day," May 2, 1941 "Clippings from 1941," WRA, IWA..

107 Registration materials. "Field Hockey: Hockey Play Day;" "Hockey Club to Participate in Play Day," Nov. 2, 1939 "1938-1939 Clippings," WRA,IWA.

> represented sports in an ideal situation, the sort of thing we all claimed we would not be against if it existed any-where.

The class and social privilege associated with hockey made it much more acceptable for Cornell University players to "[crash] through for another goal," and "clash" with women from neighboring Ithaca College.[108]

More popular than exhibitions were the intramurals organized through various social clubs and residences. Women in sororities easily accessed intramural offerings at a variety of colleges. Booming intramural programs could even be found at colleges with no formal physical education requirements such as Sarah Lawrence College. Not required by any departmental entity, one New Jersey College interclass play day drew up to 600 women.[109] Initially, all campus women were welcome to participate at the Minnesota Play Day. However, before the end of World War II, up to twenty-spaces were reserved for non-sorority women.[110]

The non-exclusive platforms espoused by various groups of women physical educators promoted sustaining access to growing populations of various ages and sexes that may seek their expertise. Martha H. Verbrugge argues that women physical educators viewed themselves as the guardians of a new womanhood, "white and bourgeois, [they] stood above America's degraded black and ethnic underclass."[111] Exuding feminine health and confidence, without the rough edges of masculine egotism or athleticism, they focused their hearts on the past times of men, careful to avoid "the flapper's sexual excesses and the lesbian's perverted tendencies."[112] During the 1930s,

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108 "Hockey Team Triumphs in Conflict with Ithaca," "Clippings from the 1940s," Cornell Athletics, UA-CU.

109 Owens, Sports in Women's Colleges, 21, 33.

110 8 Colleges Invited for WAA Play Day," ca. 1944, "Clippings 1943-1944," WAA, UA-UMN; "Coeds of 8 Schools Will Attend Annual Play Day," ca. 1934, "Clippings 1931-1941," WAA, UA-UMN.

111 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 105.

112 Ibid., 105.

women physical educators further promoted ideals of chaste, refined, though vibrant womanhood. Grooming professionals for the working world and preparing college women for their roles as household managers, wives, and mothers, women's physical education continued to secure its place in the American educational system by upholding conservative conceptions about women's place in a post-suffrage society.

Shoring up the banks: Stockpiling Femininity in Women's Physical Education

Verbrugge argues that anxieties surrounding lesbianism shaped much of the profession early on, be it through aims of the curriculum or established conduct associated with professionalism.[113] Girls' rules creator, Director of the Gymnasium and Instructor of Physical Culture at Smith College Sendra Berenson addressed women physical educators' roles in steering college girls' "misdirected feelings into a natural channel."[114] In the 1920s and 1930s women physical educators worked tirelessly to recruit new majors and bolstering the levels of respectable femininity associated with their students and themselves.

In the 1920s, the number of women attending college steadily increased. Though neither male nor female students typically attended college after marriage, it was somewhat more likely for men. During the Depression many men and women chose to postpone marriage. Sometimes a married man or woman would not be considered for college admission. Much of college life was portrayed by the media as a social experience for young men and a matrimonial hunting blind for coeds.[115] In men's athletics, departments avoided broadcasting the marital status of football players. During

113 Cahn makes a similar argument, pertaining to the 1930s and 1940s. *Verbrugge, Active Bodies*, 292.

114 Ibid., 292, n 21.

115 Ibid., 106.

Married men or worse yet, married men's teams, were associated with men were working for wages and violated the amateur image that college and universities either worked to feign or maintain. In the wake of the 1929 Carnegie Report, large programs felt more pressure to effectively cover the tracks of their financial transgressions and scrambled to avoid their squads being labeled as a "married men's team."[116]

Much more social peril existed for feminine men and masculine women as prejudice and homophobia seamlessly converged in America by the early 1930s. Stigma associated with marriage for male students paled in comparison to the stigma battled by women physical educators or their students. Freud's theories of latent sexuality, and the notion of the female gender invert as a lustful lesbian specter, gained increased traction, women physical educators reacted accordingly. As gender binaries and dominant understandings about expressions of sexuality converged during the early 1930s the decade that had "jazzed our values" was being remedied through physical culture that for women enhanced and emphasized bodies which were healthy, moral, and feminine; in other words, ideal candidates for marriage and motherhood who were both charming and upright.[117]

Women's physical education departments worked to diffuse or avoid the image of the lesbian boogie woman or the alluring vamp. University of Wisconsin staff was encouraged to avoid fraternizing with married men. Faculty also discouraged students from fraternizing or spending long periods of time together in pairs. Verbrugge argues that this was part of "an oblique code" that all physical educators understood as a code for homosexuality.[118] Other restrictions that women staff and faculty were strongly encouraged to adhere to included the request of Nebraska's glove-handed and hat-

116 Watterson, *College Football*, 181.

117 Williams, "Physical Education and the Depression," 11.

118 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 25; Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 164-184.

donning director Mabel Lee. Lee demanded all her staff refrain from smoking and drinking and discouraged students who engaged in such behaviors from applying to her program.[119] Similar to Lee, Mary Channing Coleman reminded her staff at North Carolina College in 1930 that they ought to dress in a way that emphasized "neatness and inconspicuousness."[120] In the 1940s, Wisconsin's director Blanche Trilling told her staff that they ought not wear plaid shirts, pointy brassieres, skimpy shorts, boyish haircuts, costume jewelry, or vivid makeup.[121] Many of the directives given by directors like Trilling, Lee, and Coleman were similar to the church-inspired advice manuals for women in France and Western Europe. Similar to the "great white mothers" of the American college gymnasium and the "Church Fathers" of Western Europe, both ardently disapproved of cosmetics while tying beauty and moderation to morality.[122]

Women's physical education majors were thoroughly inculcated in the ways of middle class femininity or "Phys-Ed-iquette."[123] Amy Morris Homan's tradition were carried on by various Wellesley alumni. However, BNSG and Wellesley-educated instructors like Mary Chapman Coleman instituted senior etiquette classes for her students at University of North Carolina Greensboro as early as 1923. By the beginning of the Second World War, majors at the University of Wisconsin prepared their own handbook entitled "Phys-Ed-iquette," a text rife with innuendos and anxieties about femininity and dangerous sexuality near the start of the Second World War.[124]

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119 Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 118-121; Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 24.

120 Ibid., 24.

121 Ibid., 23.

122 The marriage of morality and beauty relating to femininity are present in Medieval writings of the Catholic Church. Mary Lynn Stewart, *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for French Women, 1880s-1930s* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 10.

123Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 23.

124 Ibid., 23.

Recruiting and continuing to develop women who would "teach like a lady," occurred for many decades as evidenced by Peggy Burke at the University of Iowa.[125] Burke, an assistant professor, chair of Physical Education and Dance at Iowa (1978-1987), and former president of the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (1976-1977), recalled that as an undergraduate physical education major at Ball State Teacher's College she was carefully brainwashed by her supervising faculty.

> During those four years, a word called "femininity" became magnified all out of proportion. What femininity was, we women could only guess at, but there were plenty of experts to define it and measure it for us. They even developed questions to detect it through psychological testing. One study showed masculinity rather than femininity by a preference over showers over baths. There was even a study that included that women physical educators were more masculine than educators in general. A close look at the study showed that only one item was significantly different: Women physical educators were *less religious*. If we say a prayer while taking a shower, do the two balance each other out?[126]

Burke's flippant prose speaks to the ever-present surveillance experienced by women involved with college sport and physical education in the 1930s and 1940s. Schools still used figures such as the "mythical freshman," an anthropometric composite of all freshman averages, to show how women's health improved upon entering higher education. Wellesley College purported that "from the time a girl becomes an applicant for admission to Wellesley, until the day of her graduation, the department of hygiene and physical education [watched] over her as an individual, offering her guidance toward mental health."[127] Depression-Era physical education reinforced an increasingly strict white-middle class version of hetero-femininity through their admittance procedures, curriculum, coed nights, and various sport programs.[128]

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125 Ibid., 23.

126 Peggy Burke, "Confessions of a Former Sexist," *Women Sport* (1974), 80.

127 Owens, Sports in *Women's Colleges*, 42.

128 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 175-177.

In the late 1930s and 40s there were regular evaluations of majors looks, abilities, mannerisms, as well as personality tests at the University of Michigan, Stanford University, and the University of Wisconsin. Similarly, these schools also created reports about their students and alumnae being "normal" vis-à-vis compilations of marriage rates, and details about graduates work and family life.[129] The anxieties that produced such reports were alive and well after the war. In Burke's experiences as a young faculty member she recalls encouraging attractive girls to become physical education majors regardless of skill-level. Conversely, Burke regrets that she actively discouraged "or forbade highly skilled, highly motivated girls from being majors, because they did not meet [her] standards for appearance or behavior."[130]

When college women entered the women's gymnasium they were under the microscope of instructors, peers and in some cases, members of the opposite sex. At schools like the University of Minnesota, freshman endured a string of measurements and medical assessments. In the 1930s, Minnesota faculty Marvel Mee conducted a posture clinic that did not involve a mass examination. To entice students to attend they were assured that exams were "done with mirrors," photographs, and foot impressions. After completing Mee's assessment they were given prescriptive exercises, later taking their "after" photos as evidence of their improvement.[131] Mee's course emphasized that posture and physical stature were associated with personality. For instance, "Slumping Sarahs" were associated with a lack of personality, intelligence, and sociability.[132] The

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129 News and research articles focusing on anthropometrics and femininity of college women were particularly prevalent during the 1930s and early 1940s. Owens, "Sports in Women's Colleges," 31; Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 25-27.

130 Burke, "Confessions of a Former Sexist," 80.

131 Margaret Fornell, "It's Done With Mirrors," Jan. 17,1939; "Clippings 1938-1939" WAA, UA-UM

132 Ibid.; Margaret Fornell,"Down WAA Way," Jan. 13, 1939, "Clippings 1938-1939," WAA, UA-UM.

women's physical education at the University of Minnesota equated standing posture, carrying techniques, sitting techniques, and desired body shape with respectable, young, campus coeds. According to an article in the campus newspaper, *The Minnesota Daily*, "the position of the legs and feet…" while in a seated position "indicate the attractiveness of their owner."[133] One could not be glamorous with "legs like a puppet--loose jointed and sprawling all over."[134] References to Depression-Era motion pictures spoofing the antics of working class women with names like Maizi and Ella were referenced in discussions of undisciplined legs, gum chewing, or blank disinterested stares coming from "Pale eyes" or girls with faces "like Zazu Pitts."[135] Last, the prescriptive exercises recommended by the women's physical education department at the University of Minnesota would not only improve the carriage, but also help women "say goodbye to stoops and bumps" and "reduce bulges" on the side of hips.[136] Similar to Mee, physical educators like Mary Channing Coleman believed their prescriptive exercises would make the girls think faster as well as run faster, think more accurately as well as throw more accurately, and think straighter as well as "stand straighter."[137]

Departments and WAAs also preyed on anxieties about marriage and meeting Mr. Right in order to attract more students. In addition to departmental claims promising to

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133 "Pretty Legs Make Science a Pleasure," Jan. 19, 1939, "Clippings 1938-1939," WAA, UA-UMN.

134 Ibid.

135 Thelma and ZaSu films in which the latter plays a fretfully shy spinster in films such as Catch as Catch Can (1931), The Bargain of the Century (1933), and Asleep at the Feet (1933). "Pretty Legs Make Science a Pleasure," Brett Wood, "Introduction to Thelma Todd- Zasu Pitts Shorts" Turner Classic Movie Film Article. Viewed on 9/5/2011 at <http://www.tcm.com/this-month/article/354583|354594/Thelma-Todd-Zasu-Pitts-Shorts.html;jsessionid=AA2175AD6D48390B0D46046B1490BFF5>.

136 "Say Goodbye to Stoops and Bumps," *Minneapolis Star Journal*, "Clippings 1940-42," WAA, UA-UMN.

137 Owens, "Sports in Women's Colleges,"26.

"improve your glamour," WAAs tapped into the feelings of loneliness or Depression-Era dating on shoestring budgets.[138] Minnesota's WAA tried to woo potential participants by bringing up the "boyfriend problem." Surely not exceptional to Minnesota, these "half-pence" campus men were barely able to afford more than a burger for themselves and their dates unless a "check from pa" came in the mail.[139] In a speech from Mary Channing Coleman, she argued that learning sport was a way to impress potential suitors.[140] In 1932 Coleman told a *New York Herald Tribune* reporter,

> An anxious mother, some years ago, wrote and asked that her daughter Mary be not required to wear gymnasium shoes since it might 'make her feet big' and interfere with her matrimonial prospects. Today the 'Marys' and their mothers know very well that while the clinging vine is fairly successful in acquiring a husband, the girl who keeps him is the one who can swing a wicked tennis racket and lead the stunts at a swimming party.[141]

Co-recreation in sports like archery, badminton doubles, volley ball, and tennis were occasionally sponsored in events like Play Night at the University of Iowa and Open Gym at University of Nebraska. At the University of Minnesota a Coed Recreation Hour was offered and supervised by women's physical education staff. College men and women could convene for one hour a week to play badminton, volleyball, darts, and table tennis beginning during the winter term of 1939. Three separate male reporters investigated this weekly offering and reported their findings in the school paper, *The Daily*. The editors at *The Daily* noted since "girl reporters have been writing about the feminine angle of male athletics" it was time for a reverse treatment.[142] All three of the

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138 "Pretty Legs Make Science a Pleasure."

139 Fornell, "Down WAA Way."

140 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 106.

141 Owens, "Sports in Women's Colleges," 26.

142 Otto Quayle, "Male Scribe Crashes No Man's Land; Finds Coeds are Masculine" *The Daily* Jan. 17, 1939, "Clippings 1938-1940," WAA, UA-UMN.

reporters who visited initially expressed hostility towards women who frequented the gymnasium and the types of activities that were occurring inside but also confessed to feeling quite out of place.[143] The first reporter to venture into "No Man's Land" was Otto Quale. Quale reinforced stereotypes of the mannish lesbian in several of his observations. First, Quayle wrote that he observed very few mirrors in the part of the facility that he visited and mused that most women frequenting the women's gym likely did not busy themselves or, like male students, have much need for mirrors. Gus Cooper noted months later after his visit and tour of the women's facility that there were plenty of mirrors in the changing area and that Quayle's initial observations were incomplete."[144] Quayle admitted that he was dazzled by the colorful caps and suits that churned the women's pool, the roughness of the basketball game, and the sheer skill that so many women displayed at a variety of sports like badminton and archery. He was somewhat surprised to see that women were being taught how to paddle their own canoes in the swimming pool and commented that "men's supremacy was at stake."[145] The second reporter to visit "No Man's Land" was chagrinned to find how little attention he was paid by the sporty coeds. The third man to "take his life into his hands and penetrate the walls of the women's gymnasium" went in search of so-called "Amazons." Cooper noted that none were to be found and that he successfully filled his "little black book with names and addresses."[146] Cooper assured readers that the women in the pool were slim and shapely, that the women were eager for more coed classes besides social dance, and he was happy to report that "it [was] a man's world after all."[147]

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143 "No 'No Man's Land,'" *The Daily* Feb., 24, 1939; Ibid., Gus Cooper, "Who Said Muscle Women?" *The Daily*, Sept. 9, 1939, "Clippings 1938-1940," WAA; UA-UMN.

144 Cooper, "Who Said Muscle Women?"

145 Quale, "Male Scribe Crashes No Man's Land."

146 Cooper, "Who Said Muscle Women?"

147 Ibid.,

Though Cooper admitted that he was chided by the women for not taking their activity seriously and for the *The Daily's* use of words like "Amazons" and "mannish," his redemption of the women's gymnasium serves as a useful example of the anxieties and conversations occurring through campus-sponsored media. Iowa's Peggy Burke, educated over a decade after the remarks of Quayle and Cooper were published, recalled that as an undergraduate "I began to have a hang-up about femininity. I never stopped to question who in this society defined my femininity, I just set out to defend it."[148]

No part of the curriculum or sport program was immune from concerns about modern femininity or modesty, including gym suits and costumes. In many physical education texts and professional literature it was the consensus that,

> costumes should conform to the fashions of the day, they should be feminine in style, and should be becoming to the wearer. It is equally important that they fit the wearer, that they be comfortable, hygienic, and adapted to the purposes that they must serve. The question of durability, ease of laundering, and adaptability to the price range of the group must also be given due consideration when planning the costumes for physical education classes.[149]

Claire Small of the University of Colorado noted that the prominence of women's sport clothes in many stores and catalogues was an example of fashion being more reflective of how women's clothes "are adapted to the exigencies of modern life" in contrast to the blinding, uncomfortable, and unhygienic styles of the "gay nineties."[150] Though each school varied in length of bloomers, suits, and blouse type, 93% of the 650 institutions surveyed by the APEA's Women's Section on Athletics fell into compliance with the committee's subjective standards of modesty.[151]

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148 Burke, "Confessions of a Former Sexist," 80.

149 Clare Small, "Standards in Physical Education Costumes for Girls and Women," *Research Quarterly of the American Physical Education Association* 5, no. 3 (1934): 84.

150 71.

151 Small, "Standards in Physical Education Costumes for Girls and Women," 74.

Though bloomers began to give way to shorts in the 1940s, Mabel Lee recalls that the 1930s ushered in the use of leotards in every color of the rainbow. Some had short sleeves while others were short legged. According to Lee "the soft flowing draperies and ballet slippers of the World War I era, and the 1920s, were now replaced by a garment which to the amusement of us middle-aged men and older teachers, resembled the old-fashioned union suit of the winters of a bygone day."[152] Another trend that became more prevalent during the Second World War involved the incorporation of twirlers and majorettes at men's football games. When the Deans at Nebraska approached Lee about her opinion on the matter, she encouraged the men to refuse it, explaining that she

> never objected to such performances on the vaudeville stage or in circus parades, but how could an institution of higher learning present its comely girls prancing about almost naked in the name of education?[153]

While very few historically black colleges and universities employed African American physical educators, by the late 1930s, elite schools began hiring black women who had been educated at premier institutions. After the success experienced by Jesse Owens of Ohio State University in track and field during the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, white physical educators revisited the African American body through anthropometric and health trend studies.[154] Many physical educators, white and black alike believed that physical education could provide a site for both "women's work" and "race

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152 Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 235.

153 Ibid., 258.

154 Paul B. Cornerly, "The Status of Student Negro Health Problems, 1938-1939," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 12, no. 1 (1941):12-22; Oren Lloyd Jones, "Race and Stature: A Study of Los Angeles School Children," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 12, no. 1 (1941):83-97; Eleanor Metheny, "Some Differences in the American Negro and the White American College Student as it Pertains to Athletic Performance," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 10, no. 4 (1939): 41-53; Morris Stergada and Christine Evans Petty, "An Anthropometric Study of Negro and White College Women," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 11, no. 3 (1940): 110-118.

work."[155] African American women physical educators at more elite HBCUs such as Maryrose Reeves Allen of Howard University looked to sport and physical activity to achieve both. Allen believed that sport and competition was an important part in the development of black womanhood. She viewed the play day convocation of many HBCUs known as the Women's Sport Day as a chance to "develop in women the qualities of poise, beauty, and femininity by affording each individual who participates an opportunity to play in an atmosphere of dignity, courtesy, and refinement."[156]

Physical education and women's athletics were fashioned by professionals to be sites where feminine decorum, health, and multisport-proficiency were honed by college women in preparation for their roles as workers, wives, and mothers in the modern world. *New York Herald Tribune* reporter Janet Owens explained that since the aims of the young woman of these days was directed towards an "active middle age instead of dowering dowagerhood, women's college physical education departments have set up for themselves an objective not only of providing for the recreation and health of students during college, but also of providing each girl with some sport interest which she may carry over after graduation."[157]

Coursework, intramurals, and extramurals, typically selected or recommended by faculty frequently reflected white middle or upper class sensibilities. Though competing discourses of competition existed, respectable sporting womanhood did not include sports

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155 Quoted by Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 102-152; William M. Bell, "The Sociological Contributions of Physical Education to the Needs of the New Negro," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 10, no. 2 (1939): 137-142; A.W. Ellis, "The Status of Health and Physical Education for Negro Women in Colleges and Universities," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 10, no. 1 (1939):135-141;

156 Pamela Grundy, *Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001, 230-231.

157 Janet Owens, "Sports in Women's Colleges," 38.

such as track and field, professional softball, roller derby, etc.[158] Just as there was a "right type" of major, there was a range of physical activities that were deemed appropriate.

In *The Conduct of Physical Education*, Mabel Lee condoned a plethora of activities that reinforced white, respectable girlhood and womanhood. Her recommendations reflected the various anxieties about win-oriented competition, record setting, overstraining, and activities that required forceful contact or impact with another person, object, or surface. The following activities were deemed unsafe for college women: boys' rules or five-player basketball, jumping without a soft pit, high diving, underwater plunging for distance beyond 30 seconds, running long distances for speed, boys' rules soccer, swimming long distances for record, underwater swimming for record, and men's rules water polo. High or broad jumping in intense competition, running or swimming long distances, and underwater swimming were considered poor choices of activity for this population.[159]

Even the less conservative recommendations regarding physical activity still placed a degree of taboo on vigorous exercise during the first three days of menstruation. In *Women in Athletics*, Florence Somers summarized several American and British medical opinions, as well as research conducted by women physical educators, and physiologists about exercise. Somers concluded that while findings were varied moderate exercise might be beneficial during menses, although exercises with activities like jumping or tumbling were a hazard because of the heavy uterus and the weakness or deformities of the supporting structures. Similar to Stanford physician Clelia Duel Mosher, Somers argued that women could be trained to make decisions regarding her

158 Courturier, *Considering the Sportswoman*, 122.

159 For a class-based analysis of physical activity for women, see Eleanor Metheny, *Connotations of Movement in Sport and Dance* (Dubuque: WM.C. Brown Co. Inc.,1965); Mabel Lee, *The Conduct of Physical Education* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1937), 122.

own choices and decisions while menstruating.[160] Pennsylvania boarding school instructor Grace Thwing detailed a school policy shift that indicated cracks in the façade that constituted past menstrual taboos. With permission from parents, students were now able to swim while menstruating with the use of a tampon. Thwing claimed that since the enactment of their policy, none the girls reported any changes in time between menstrual periods, length, flow, or feelings of fatigue or discomfort.[161] Though girls and women may have been encouraged to exercise some agency in this matter, their bodies were still heavily surveyed by women physical educators and healthcare staff.

Most competitions avoided these risky or controversial elements as the centerpiece of a given play day or sport day, though sometimes to the chagrin of the participants. In March of 1933, Santa Barbara State College hosted a basketball play day. Ventura College joined the women for three types of basketball: a two-court center throw, a two-court center jump, and a three-court center jump. Beginning a game with a center jump had been prohibited at many Midwestern schools after recommendations were issued by the Women's Section of the APEA and is evidence of broad-based participation initiatives being codified through modified rules. Goucher College faculty member Sieben-Morgan explained that center pass basketball eliminated the center jump from the middle effectively leveling the initial playing field on the basis of build or height and rather, "pass-work systems."[162] The staff member submitting this play day

160Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, 28.

161 Women's physical educators' research and recommendations rarely reinforced physicians' theories of menstrual disability. Often they were the providers of corrective exercises that would strengthen the women and help to prevent or correct discomfort or irregularity. The mass production of tampons began in the late 1940s. Grace Thwing, "Swimming During Menstruation" *Journal of Health and Physical Education* (March 1943): 154; Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 64.

162 Owens, Sports in Women's Colleges, 14.

report noted that the faculty preferred the center throw as it more effectively leveled the playing field whereas students enjoyed the "keener" competition of the center jump.[163]

During the 1930s the University of Illinois physical education majors club adjusted their focus to meet the needs of the platforms of mass play and comply with standards recommended by leaders such as Mabel Lee. Initially, in the spirit of the professional organizations, the club fostered sorority among students by "bringing the members together periodically for both educational and social gatherings." The majors club at Illinois acquiesced to meet the recommendations from groups like the AFCW and general physical education. Though gymnastics was emphasized to a degree, various types of dance led women's physical education "out of its wand and dumbbell infancy" in the 1930s until the end of World War II.[164]

At the University of Iowa, the decade-old Seals club, an outlet for female aquatics underwent great changes during the Depression. The Seals club was established in 1920 after a coed swimming exhibition with the men's swimming club known as The Eels. In front of four-hundred spectators the main feature proved to be "the men's and women's handicap relay," an event that always proved to be exceptionally close.[165] Belonging to the Seals Club was a prestigious aquatic achievement. After a decade of Eel-Seal Revues, the tradition was broken in exchange for activities emphasizing recreation over competition, and beauty over skill and strength. The Dolphin show replaced the Revue, though the Seals still kept a comparatively difficult practical test. Their competition was relegated to telegraphic meets in the 1930s and 40s.[166] Maridel Irene Higelson argues

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163 Gwen Torrence, "Basketball Play Day held and Santa Barbara State College," *ACACW Newsletter* March 1933, 6, "ACACW," Blanche Trilling Files, UA-UW.

164 Pamela Milcrest, "A History of the Majors' Club," (Master's thesis, University of Illinois, 1965); Owens, "Trends in Eastern Colleges," 3.

165 This is a relay in which the male Eels swam against the female Seals.

166 Higelson, "The History of the Seals Club," 4-100.

that from 1930-1950 the Seals were demoted in terms of their visibility as sportswomen. As sections such as "Campus Beauties" began gracing the pages of school annuals, the Seals began being featured as a club and association rather than as a part of athletics in *The Hawkeye*. Similarly, the school paper, the *Daily Iowan* no longer featured the Seals Club on the front page or in the sports section, but rather as an item to be featured in the Society section from 1930-1939.[167] The Seals Club, like many clubs at Iowa entertained high school girls beginning with 65 girls within a 60 mile radius in December of 1932.[168]

M. Gladys Scott's 1943 survey determined that the play day was the most prevalent in the coeducational colleges. Fifty-four percent of the coeducational colleges surveyed indicated that they participated in play days compared to 34 percent of northeastern women's colleges. Lee notes in 1937 that women from rural areas who enter college lacked even the most elementary backgrounds in motor and sport activities, particularly when compared with students on the east coast that had been trained in high-quality preparatory institutes. [169] All of the districts surveyed by Scott participated in competition with non-college groups including field hockey association teams, industrial bowling teams, alumnae teams, city tournaments, service teams, and city physical education teachers' club teams. This pattern was most prominent in summer tennis, swimming, and golf. At the University of Iowa the 1940s badminton play days were held on campus and at the Cedar Rapids YMCA and included participants from the YMCA, YWCA, and the UI Badminton Club who met for open play.[170] Out east, the annual

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167 Ibid., 37-38.

168 Ibid., 42-49.

169 Lee, The Conduct of Physical Education, 116; Scott, "Competition for Women in American Colleges and Universities," 58.

170 "To Hold Play Day, Tea Here This Afternoon," Feb. 17, 1940, "Clippings 1940," WRA, IWA; "Play Day Planned By Badminton Club" Jan. 22, 1943, "Clippings 1943-1944," WRA, IWA.

horse show hosted by Vassar College involved competition with horsewomen from the surrounding countryside.[171]

During the 1930s extramural sport experiences provided by or supported by women's physical education programs increasingly emphasized activities associated with housewifery and parenting. Looking good and sending the right messages about one's body were reinforced through posture parades at many play days. Though most play days had a parade element, the posture parade usually included women walking around or performing tasks with books on their heads or eggs on the ends of spoons to improve or enhance the grace of one's gait.[172] At the Clark and Skamania County Play day in Washington, "Miss Health" received her coronation based on the following criteria.

1. No absences from school because of illness
2. Posture
3. Correct weight for height and age
4. Appearance of cleanliness, wholesomeness, and vitality[173]

The rules for posture parades were determined by committees and sometimes sent to participants before a play day occurred. Common body carriage elements subject to judging included mobility and appearance of comfort, an upright body that gives the suggestion of "upward lift," a smooth coordinated gait that gives the "impression of lightness" and exudes vitality, parallel, well-balanced feet, and a general alertness of body movement.[174]

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171 Owens, Sports in Women's Colleges, 47.

172 Draper and Mimms, *Intramural Athletics and Play Days*, 109; Margaret M. Duncan, *Play Days for Girls and Women* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1929), 28, 43-28; Ethel Perrin and Grace Turner, *Play Day-The Spirit of Sport 2nd ed*. (The American Child and Health Association in cooperation with the Women's Division of the NAAF, 1929), 22, 28, 42.

173 Duncan, *Play Days for Girls and Women*, 47.

174 Ibid., 48.

At the Alabama College Jr. & Sr. High School Play Day held in April of 1930, 416 students from 37 junior and senior high schools convened in Montavallo. This three-day play day included an array of activities: mass games such as progressive dodgeball, endball, club snatch, individual, non-competitive activities like hiking, informal dancing, recreational swimming; an Easter egg hunt; sports competitions like a basketball, batball, volleyball, and baseball tournaments, a stunt track meet that included cartwheels, headstands, pyramid building; racing, tennis, and tests of strength. One of the concluding events was a consumer economics-related event, the Home Economics Style Show and the Clothing Contest.[175] While consumer and home economics were likely available at many scholastic settings, its inclusion at the Alabama Play Day reveals some likely processes occurring in higher education. Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz notes that the domesticization of academic departments in college and university curriculums had already began to occur at some of the more prestigious women's colleges in the mid 1920s.[176] I interpret this as a broad pattern that further neutralized any stigma of a three-day competition. Furthermore, though evidence is scant, large events like this likely necessitated the help of many faculty across campus and perhaps served as a type of "female institution building" within Alabama College among women's departments.

While Alabama College's Edyth Saylor chose to emphasize domestic tasks and pageantry as a part of their play day, physical educators, like many other women with careers continued to negotiate how their students could participate in sport, partake in their own careers, and fulfill their duties as female citizens vis-à-vis motherhood. Most women physical educators at the college level never married. Marriage rates among female nurses and social workers doubled from 1900-1950, but rates of marriage for

175 Saylor, "A Three-Day Play Day," 21, 28-29.

176 Helen Leftkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 280-282.

women with PhDs, law degrees, physicians, and women in the sciences irrespective of education were much lower than the general population. Male faculty at colleges and universities were much more likely to be married.[177] Though women's role in the workforce continued to expand, female health was still axiomatically aligned with fertility.[178] In *The Art of Being a Woman,* feminist writer Olga Knopf wrote of the modern woman's social position and worth.

> There is no need to draw up separate rules for a woman's actions and behavior… Women can trust themselves and believe in their own value; and the way to do it is by contribution, the one evidence that they are worthwhile. Women can esteem their own sex, for women can also fulfill the responsibilities of a fellow man. And, if they are assured of this value, men will agree with them; for men are brought up by women and they form their opinion of women's value from the guidance they receive from women in their childhood.[179]

Knopf, though progressive in many of her views regarding women's place in the workforce and social world still affirmed that "the real function of every woman is to be a wife and mother."[180]

Similar to Knopf, University of Michigan Director of Women's Physical Education Margaret Bell argued that sexual reproduction should enhance the pleasures of the lives of women and men. Furthermore, the physician believed that

> young women should look forward to being a companionable wife and a worthy mother, as a man looks forward to being a good husband and a good father. Understanding and respect for one's sex have a great deal to contribute to the stability and progress of civilization.[181]

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177 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 44.

178 Ibid., 63-76.

179 Olga Knopf, *The Art of Being a Woman* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1932), 295.

180 Ibid.,111.

181 Margaret Bell, "Practical Questions to Answers on Menstruation," *Hygeia* 5, no. 3 (1942): 209.

Women physical educators continued to safeguard the female reproductive body with exercises that regulated or tempered the negative symptoms of monthly menstruation. Adhering to platforms that sustained their own interests, physical educators provided guidelines from data collected not only from research, but also from the experiences of women in gymnasiums and homes. Overall, their emphasis was on providing students with the necessary skills and tools to carry on their daily lives.[182] Many directors ardently believed that intense competition would lead to girls and women receiving more "physical straining than training" and would undoubtedly lead to injurious nerve and mental fatigue or reproductive repercussions.[183] Though physical educators and physicians like Bell were less likely to pathologize menstruation than Victorian Era physicians, menstrual irregularities and complications were stigmatized and ascribed to women who were not taking adequate care of themselves.[184] Cycles could be disrupted, according to Bell, through emotional strain associated with competition. Overly straining the "small, pear-shaped, freely moveable" engorged uterus through jumping, acrobatics, tumbling, or rough sports were to be avoided as not to disturb the cycle. She also argued that the emotional strain from competition could disrupt the cycle. Similar inferences regarding the increase of cesarean sections in urban areas were made by physicians the previous decade. In 1925 Dr. A. Arnold charged working class women with partaking in too much running, walking, jumping, or heavy lifting.[185] According to

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182 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 63-76.

183 Similar remarks were made by Trilling in her 1929 address at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women. Blanche M. Trilling, "Safeguarding Girls' Athletics" in *Women and Athletics,* ed.Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Foundation ed. (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company Incorporation, 1930), 10-11; Lee, "The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Case Since 1923," 96.

184 Bell, "Practical Questions to Answers on Menstruation," 184; Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, 57.

185 A.H. Arnold, "Athletics for Women" *American Physical Education Review* 32 (1926): 454;Ibid.," 208.

Florence Somers, less than respectable forms of entertainment that were available to and popular with working class women included frequenting nightclubs, riding in automobiles, or enjoying a vicarious movie.[186] Bell attributed leisure choice such as these to vague menstrual irregularities. Women who were weak, non-athletic, did not take part in enough games, slept too little, experimented with fad diets, and spent too much time soaking in hot tubs were likely to experience mysterious discharge, abnormal mid-month cramping, difficulty in conception, painful intercourse, and a range of other symptoms associated with the reproductive cycles and sexual activity .[187] Bell defended athletics and claimed that participation in sport did not lead to complications in child delivery. She wrote that "every girl should have the potentialities of delivering a robust, vigorous baby without too much discomfort."[188] According to Bell, difficulties in labor came as a result of the hereditary type of build rather than from athletic experience."[189]

As physical education departments braced for the economic and personnel demands of a Second World War, institutions reacted in a variety of ways. In 1943, 23 percent of 227 institutions surveyed reported their intramural or extramural programs were influenced by budgetary, staff, student, and facility restrictions. 44 percent of directors reported that they had not changed their intramural programs at all during the war and 12 percent reported that their participation in intramurals had increased.[190] Wartime served as a boon in terms of increasing the required physical education many schools' students would receive. Trends at coeducational and women's colleges were similar. By 1943 50 percent of the institutions surveyed indicated that two years of

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186 Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, 57.

187 Bell, "Practical Questions to Answers on Menstruation," 208.

188 Ibid., 209.

189 Ibid., 209.

190 Scott, "Competition for Women in American Colleges and Universities," 56-57.

physical education was required while an additional 25 percent required four years.[191] On the men's side, 47 percent of the 101 large land-grand institutions surveyed had changed their content and were offering less sport options, more fitness activities, aquatics, and combat classes while reducing the varsity program to an intramural one. Thirty-five percent of the institutions increased the time allotment of required physical education either through increasing period length or periods required.[192] M. Gladys Scott's war-time survey indicated that the most frequently occurring sports included basketball, tennis, badminton, archery, and volleyball. Softball showed up frequently in almost all the districts and was about three times more frequent than baseball. In the Southern schools, baseball was almost universal. Crew and fencing waned in schools outside the east while track and field waned at most schools with the exception of Midwestern coeducation schools. Riflery boomed in the Western District and swimming was enjoyed in most schools outside of the south.[193]

Women's physical education's contributions to the war effort extended their reach into much of the civilian population through assisting in John B. Kelly's "Hale America" Fitness Campaign and their involvement with Women's Army Auxillary Corps (WAAC) civilian committees, and further emphasized the healthful, feminine, citizen at the college level through programs like WAVES at the University of Iowa.[194] Nancy Bouchier

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191 Ibid., 53.

192 Lawrence Rarick, "College and University Programs After One Year of War," *Research Quarterly of the American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 14, no. 2 (1943): 167-168.

193 Scott, "Competition for Women in American Colleges and Universities," 56.

194 Nancy Bouchier, "Let us Take Care of Our Field: The National Association for Physical Education of College Women and World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 65-86. Amanda Curtis, "Beyond Workers and Warriors: The Contributions of Collegiate Women to the World War II War Effort" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the North American Society for Sport History, Orlando, FL, May 2010); "Women from Seven Schools Participate in Play Day Today," March 19, 1941, "Clippings from 1941," WRA, IWA.

notes that after World War II, groups like the National Association of Physical Education of College Women organized a largely successful campaign to reintegrate and continue to recruit and repopulate the vacancies created by the mobilization of the war effort. Bouchier argues that as women physical educators exposed their philosophies of play to new groups of women, they were at times met with tension; working class women, professional athletes, women of color, women outside of higher education, and "a younger generation-both challenging and resisting the women's alternate model," caused the profession to recalibrate and readjust their tactics to remain in control of women's athletics.[195]

By 1951 28 percent of the 500 institutions surveyed by Christine White engaged in some sort of varsity sport and 25 percent reported engaging in informal competition with men. Most directors felt that suitable activities for this included mixed teams in individual sports, volleyball, and softball. Eight years after Scott's survey, seven colleges reported rosters of mixed-sex varsity teams in tennis, golf, sailing, archery, and badminton. The eighteen directors who approved of this competition, agreed that badminton, tennis, archery, and golf were also suitable sports. Coeducational or even women's teams playing men's teams became somewhat more of an occurrence in sports like volleyball, softball, hockey, basketball, and tail or touch football. [196] In 1941, Gladys Palmer of Ohio State University staged the first intercollegiate championship in golf in Columbus, OH.[197]

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195 Bouchier, "Let us Take Care of Our Field," 79.

196 White, "Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities for College Women," 362,

197 Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 80.

Notions of appropriate physicality, gender performance, and sexuality were further reified through the recruitment and grooming of new, hand-picked majors.[198] These sought-after majors represent yet another shift in women's physical education that paralleled what Pamela Grundy calls a social reconfiguration and constriction of what constituted femininity, beauty, and popularity.[199] After World War II, the utilization of the mixed-team play day was less widely practiced. While the sport day further increased in use and frequency, the play day still served as a recruiting mechanism and also a site where new generations of physical educators struggled over new notions of female physicality. The impending Cold War threatened the stability of physical education as Military Science gained greater traction. Women physical educators developed new strategies, courses, and contingencies to evolve with the increased competition for physical space on college campuses.[200] Still, operating on fiscally lean budgets, the training and hiring capable female physical educators and coaches, broad-based participation, and an emphasis on fair play remained paramount to the field and continued to set the course for the continuation of separatist organizations that would allow women to continue to run sports and recreation programs for women and girls.

198 Program of the Annual Meeting of the National Amateur Athletic Federation-Women's Division; Report.

199 Grundy, Learning to Win, 230.

200 Bouchier, "Let us Take Care of Our Field," 77.

CHAPTER V

UNRAVELING AT THE SEAMS: CHALLENGES AND EVOLUTION OF THE PLAY DAY, 1944-1971

During World War II women physical educators were called upon by the American government to create and monitor fitness program for servicewoman. Similar to their positions within higher education, these professionals navigated the male-controlled military structure in order to institutionalize their own preferences for women's physical activity "and further their profession on their own terms."[1] Internal efforts were made by the National Association of Physical Education for College Women to prevent attrition in the field by curbing women's impulses to "roll bandages," for the war effort. Despite these efforts, departments found it increasingly difficult to recruit majors to fill their programs after the conclusion of the war and well into the 1950s.[2] State standards for certification and professional training became more and more prevalent placing a great demand for teachers of all varieties. Physical educators struggled to convince students and parents alike that their discipline was worth exploring as a career option. In addition to prevailing gender inequities within the academy that influenced salaries, workloads, budgets, and access to facilities, women's physical education faced further stigmatization due to powerful lingering stereotypes about mannishness and lesbianism. The play day's importance as a recruiting tool increased as many universities began rolling back or omitting compulsory physical education for undergraduate women. Despite the battle damage to the field, the play day and sports day presented a new site where tensions began developing between different generations

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1 Nancy Bouchier, "Let us Take Care of Our Field: The National Association for the Physical Education of College Women," *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 66.

2 Ruth Atwell, *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 13 (1942): 197-198 in Nancy Bouchier, "Let us Take Care of Our Field: The National Association for Physical Education of College Women and World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 25 (1998): 65.

of faculty, administrators, and students making sense of their own professional identities and notions of physicality.

Cracks in the Foundation

Despite Ruth Abott's call to arms and the preservation of the field in 1942, many women left the profession or abandoned their physical education major in pursuit of other careers associated with the war effort. Mable Lee attempted to survey the nation's physical educators who had left the field to assist in the physical fitness movement. In 1943 Lee was called to "Washington by the US Office of Education to work on a committee to study how to manage in the face of the terrific shortage of teachers confronting all schools," with a specific focus on physical education.[3] The coming and going of another war left some programs a bit hollow in terms of staff and rigor and in terms of coursework. After the Second World War Lee felt,

> class work had come to such a pass that I felt many times, even in my own department, that the girls had a real complaint about the demand to change costumes or the suggestion for a shower following class when they hadn't exercised enough to require either. As I had looked about me at my own departmental program as well as many other across the country, I became somewhat cynical about our current physical education professional training courses.[4]

The cynicism that Lee recalled in her memoirs was most certainly exacerbated by her inability to retain well-qualified staff, garner facilities and practices space, and continue to recruit high-quality majors.[5]

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3 Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers, 1924-1954* (Washington D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1978), 365.

4 Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 373.

5 After the Second World War many physical education departments realigned with colleges of education. Lee lamented that some majors had difficulty meeting the requisite standards set by the College of Liberal Arts. Lee believed that some of the leadership in the College of Education at Nebraska lacked the vision or desire to uphold rigorous requirements for their students. Ibid., 123, 384, 387-388.

Women's programs continued to operate in sub-standard buildings, biding their time for promises of new space or new facilities to manifest. During a departmental restructuring at Nebraska the chancellor gave Lee every assurance that she would still be the absolute head of all PE for women, but it "soon became apparent that the women's budget was to be cut to cover raises in salaries, equipment, and additions in staff for the men."[6] The women's outing cabin which had been financed, and built, and maintained for exclusive use of the women was now to become the property of both departments.[7] In 1978 Lee wrote,

> "When I reflect that in the 1940s women students at the University of Nebraska had no athletic field (previous fields having been taken over for building sites and not replaced), so that we had to use borrowed space wherever we could get a toehold and without rights for permanent markings, and that indoor sports were limited to no more space than we had at our disposal over a quarter century earlier, I marvel that we interested more than a mere handful of the women students."[8]

At Nebraska, the use of off-campus facilities for sports like bowling left Lee's department embroiled in a political battle over racial segregation with the governing body the American Bowling Congress (ABC). Bowling was an extraordinarily popular class at Nebraska as well as a highly attended WAA activity. In 1940s, the first African American woman enrolled in a bowling class, but she was refused admittance to the segregated lanes by the management. The manager claimed that they would lose their charter from the ABC, who had a ruling against black players. Lee noted that the school already had declined to join the American Bowling Congress because of its discriminatory statutes. The Detroit office of The Recreation Department of the United Auto Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations forged a battle against the ABC

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6 Ibid., 388.

7 Ibid., *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 388.

8 Ibid., *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 384.

from. Lee urged other WAAs to stand in solidarity with the unions. She felt that women physical educators had a responsibility to prevent unfair discrimination and proudly asserted that efforts like hers resulted in the capitulation of the ABC and the opening of bowling lanes to African Americans.[9]

Limited class and extracurricular spaces were not the only inequities suffered by women physical educators. The pay gap at Nebraska remained abysmal. After holding the rank of full professor for 28 years department head, Lee only made 5% over the minimum salary for her position. Most of her staff were still short of the minimum salary for their rank. Lee notes that the larger battle of inequity at Nebraska and countless other colleges was the battle to keep a large enough staff to have appropriate student-teacher ratios. Men's athletic coaches and physical educators had much lighter schedules than did the women. Lee recalled that many had time for chess and checkers during the school hours and many even had time to moonlight "selling insurance or managing service stations, while my staff of women carried average schedules of 25-30 hours of classes a week." Lee also noted that the women physical education instructors at Nebraska carried much heavier schedules than did similar instructors at other colleges.[10] At the University of Iowa, M. Gladys Scott worked with the Dean for years in an attempt to establish an equitable pay scale with the men's department in terms of qualifications, preparation, and instruction time, but "when the budget came out, nothing was satisfied as to the promises."[11]

Despite a lack of facilities, large universities housing teacher preparation in physical education diversified course offerings in addition to expanding their intramural

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9 Ibid., 386.

10 Ibid., *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 387.

11 M. Gladys Scott, Oral History of Retired American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance Leaders: Presidents and/or National Award Recipients, March 12, 1988, 12, "Departmental History,"UI Department of Physical Education for Women; IWA.

and extramural programs. Though compulsory physical education courses did not remain popular with many undergraduates, extracurricular sport played a vibrant part in the lives of many undergraduate women. Several schools, including Elmira College, State Teacher's College of Buffalo, Connecticut College, Russell Page College, Temple College, University of Mississippi, Appalachian State Teacher's College, University of Nebraska, Cornell College, and Grinnell College, College of Wooster, Baldwin College, Bradley Polytechnic College, Northern State Teacher's College, University of Denver, Compton Junior College, and San Jose State College suspended their participation in college play days during the war.[12] Though college play days began falling out of vogue, Mabel Lee reported that over half of the women enrolled at Nebraska turned out for some sort of intramural competition. In 1954, 91 percent of Nebraska's undergraduate women were involved in the intramural program with 23 percent of the female student body were participating in the volleyball program alone.[13]

In 1951 Christine White issued a survey as a follow-up to Gladys Scott's 1945 report of competition in colleges for women.[14] By 1951, 28 percent of the directors surveyed reported that their institutions had conducted some form of varsity competition. Almost half of the schools with varsity programs were located in the eastern United States.[15] Male coachers were employed at 17 percent of the institutions surveyed,

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12 Questionnaire on Competition, 1944, "National Association of Directors of Teaching Physical Education for College Women," UI Iowa Department of Physical Education for Women; IWA.

13 Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 384.

14 White notes that 19 of the institutions surveyed in Scott's study were eliminated since the study. White also attempts to further operationalize various types of competition, but namely Varsity Competition. Christine White, "Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities for College Women," *Research Quarterly*, 25 (Oct. 1954):353-355.

15 Scott's survey indicated that 16% of the schools surveyed conducted some sort of Varsity sport. Ibid., 353-355.

usually for sports like riflery, fencing, skiing, golf, and basketball.[16] Most schools, whether they offered a varsity program, non-competitive extramurals, or intramurals, were similar in the following respects: they generally required a physical exam, utilized rated officials for competitions, seldom charged admission, travelled an average of 136 miles for a given competition, and took most trips with a chaperoning faculty member.[17] Major differences between the extramurals and the varsity programs were that varsity athletes' academics standings were checked more frequently than extramural participants', varsity athletes were more often permitted to miss class, and non-varsity extramural participants frequently paid for their own lodging and meals.[18]

In 1953 the editors of the *Journal of the American Association of Health, Physical Activity, and Recreation* addressed waning recruitment and a lack of general interest towards physical education amongst college freshman.[19] At Cornell University, the loss of the armory relegated women to even lesser facilities and substantially weakened the WAA.[20] The condemnation and immediate razing of Grant Memorial Hall at Nebraska left Lee's successor to conduct courses "here and there all over the campus."[21] By 1960, the two-year women's physical education requirement was eliminated through a faculty

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16 Ibid., "Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities for College Women," 356.

17 Ibid., 360.

18 Ibid., 362.

19 The editors also suggested that need-based scholarships or loans be considered by departments as a means of recruitment. "Physical Education," *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Activity, and Recreation* (Nov. 1953), "Survey of University-High School Contacts" General Correspondence; Department of Physical Education for Women; School of Education; UA-UW.

20 Annual Report 1958; Annual Report 1959; Annual Report 1960, Annual Report 1961; Annual Report 1962; "Annual Reports- Physical Education for Women," Cornell AthleticsUA-CU.

21 The new building was built in 1968, 44 years after the first new gymnasium had been promised to Lee. Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers*, 436.

vote at the University of Nebraska despite the existence of the two-year ROTC requirement for men.[22] According to Peg Burke at the University of Iowa, the unfair treatment waged against women's programs left many feeling that they had to accept "inferior facilities for girls and women and [] [act] grateful to the administrators because they didn't discriminate even more than they did."[23]

Amidst many of these setbacks standards for certified teachers specializing in physical education increased nationally. Martha Verbrugge notes that standards in teacher preparation that had been in motion for over twenty years came to fruition in 1948 at a National Conference on Undergraduate Professional Preparation in Health Education, Physical Education, and Recreation. The conference consolidated many changes that had been underway. Despite institutional assaults to physical education, many programs were able to increase their standards for admission and expand their offerings.[24]

Though undergraduate women further embraced extracurricular sports, physical educators still struggled to attract majors and fill teaching vacancies in elementary and secondary schools where compulsory physical education was mandated by the state. Some states were also beginning to require not only certification as teachers, but also specialized training in physical education. June Hackett of Ohio State University noted that many empty positions existed in secondary education. According to Hackett, matriculating physical education students at OSU "had a choice of at least eight different

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22 "Few U.S. Women Athletes- Now Physical Education May Go," Oct. 4, 1960 "Newspaper Clippings," Mabel Lee File, UA-UNL.

23 Peg Burke, "Confessions of a Former Sexist," *Women Sport,* 1974, 80.

24 The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Training Education assumed responsibility over physical education training programs in 1954. Martha H. Verbrugge, *Active Bodies: A History of Women's Physical Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 177.

teaching positions."[25] Many physical educators were also aware of a post-war "bulge" in the student population that would soon tax high schools.[26] Remaining true to the normalizing discourses used by women physical educators, Hackett insisted that attrition could be further attributed to the fact that "professionally qualified women leave the field to assume marriage and home responsibilities. This, of course, we condone and most of us would encourage."[27] Mabel Lee affirmed this trend was widespread across higher education too. In an interview in 1977 Lee recalled that "when a woman decided to get married she resigned her position […] it was unthinkable of her to marry and keep her position."[28]

Play Days as (Professional) Self Defense

Though attrition and the baby boom may have been partly responsible for physical education's teacher shortage in the 1950s, Hackett spoke to a more pressing concern, "that of 'stigma.'" [29] She maintained that "although many of our programs of physical education now encompass golf, tennis, archery, swimming, and other similar activities, the stigma of 'muscle-builders' and 'masculine appearances' has remained with us." Hackett claimed that only 25 percent of parents in large universities approved of their daughters' choices in physical education as a vocational concentration.[30]

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25 June Hackett, "It's Time to Solve Our Teacher Shortage," *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Activity, and Recreation* (Nov. 1953), 23, "Survey of University-High School Contacts" General Correspondence, UA-UW.

26 Hackett is referring to the baby boom. Ibid., 24; "Physical Education."

27 Ibid., 23.

28 E.K. Cassacio, "The Incredible 'Miss Lee' In a Continuing Story," Nov. 11,1977, 6."Newspaper Clippings," Mabel Lee file, UA-UNL.

29 Hackett, "It's Time to Solve Our Teacher Shortage," 23.

30 This study or survey regarding parental approval was not cited by the author. Ibid., 23.

Peggy Burke's experiences demonstrate the surveillance that women physical educators experienced as apprentices and professionals, internally and externally. Burke maintained that "we physical educators endured innuendos about our intelligence, our attractiveness and our sexual orientation."[31] Burke wrote about her days as an undergraduate where she endured the misery of avoiding such 'stigma'.

> Never mind that skirts limited my movement, stockings were too hot, heels wrecked my feet and threw my posture out of whack, and long hair was a bother in my sports classes. Never mind any of that. My charge was to go forth, Don Quixote-like and battle the windmill called "masculinity."[32]

Physical education majors and women already in the field continued to attempt to ward off stigma and heterosexist or homophobic labels. According to Lee, "homosexuality" was "a word which no respectable woman at that time would utter in the presence of either man or woman."[33] Verbrugge notes that the decade's worth of minutes and correspondences from prominent physical education programs never contained words such as "homosexual" or "lesbian" directly, but were merely hinted at through other innuendos.[34]

Though Hackett sheepishly addressed the "stigma" haunting women's physical education, her myriad solutions leaned heavily on the play day as a bolster. She encouraged college teachers to help high school teachers discuss opportunities for work

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31 Burke, "Confessions of a Former Sexist," 80.

32 Ibid., 80.

33 In Lee's memoirs she recalls the last five years of her career as extremely tenuous and sour. Her department was moved into the college of education where she worked under an autocratic dean whom she rarely agreed with. During this period a series of forgeries were made in her name on university letterhead. One of them was a letter to a former student where the forger, posing as Lee addressed a former student asking them to assist her in a project. The letter requested that the alum spy on a person and make observations about their homosexual tendencies. Lee found out about this letter many years later, though the student that received the letter never would speak to Lee again. Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl*, 424.

34 Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*, 107.

in physical education with college-bound high school students. The play day provided the platform for students, high school instructors, and parents, to learn more about the discipline. Hackett emphasized personality as an important element in wooing potential majors in small group "buzz sessions," or through demonstrations of activities they were not privy to in high school, like fencing and dance.[35] At the University of Wisconsin, play days provided each high school girl with a college mentor. Mentees could ask questions of their college mentor and remain in correspondence, particularly if a mentee's questions required research.[36]

Though Skidmore College and the University of Minnesota already used play days to provide a sliver of college life, high school play days became much more explicitly oriented towards recruitment and exposure of high school students.[37] The University of Illinois, the University of Nebraska, and the University of Wisconsin explicitly stated in play day materials that recruitment efforts were among their top priorities when conducting high school play days.[38] The University of Iowa created a scholarship for prospective majors and advertised it through a brochure that high school

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35 Hackett, "It's Time to Solve Our Teacher Shortage," 24.

36 High School Day Souvenir, "Play Hour Also Play Day 1947-1959," General Correspondence;UA-UW.

37 "Play Day for High School Girls," *The Sportswoman* 4 (1928): 255; "300 Girls Expected to Attend Play Day," ca. 1934, "High School Coeds Frolic at WAA Play Day Tomorrow," ca. 1932 "Scrapbooks 1932-1941," WAA, UA-UMN; "High School Girls Frolic at U. in Play Day," ca. 1929 "Scrapbooks 1924-1930," Women's Athletic Association Papers, UA-UMN.

38 Pamela A. Milcrest, "A History of the Physical Education Major's Club," 1965. "Majors Club," Laura J. Huelster, 1914-1986, Physical Education for Women; University Archive; University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Hereafter, collection referred to as Laura J. Huelster File, UA-UIUC; "NU Expects 83 High School Girls for PE Play Day;" "NU Play Day Mean s Workout for Girls," Play Day 1960-1961," Department of Physical Education for Women Subject File N-Play Day 61'UA-UNL; "Play day "Play day Report," ca. 1958 "1951-1959," Department of Physical education for Women Subject File N-Play Day 61', UA-UNL; "Badger Girls Who are Interested In Physical Education," "Play Hour Also Play Day," General Correspondence; UA-UW; Madison, WI.

students received at a basketball sports day in 1953.[39] At Wisconsin, pedagogical and philosophical lectures that had characterized the college play day were eliminated and replaced by campus tours.[40] The work done with the high school students was occasionally published in local papers. The "Sports Roundup" was one of many themed high school play days sponsored by both the Department of Women's Physical Education, the Majors Club and the sports management class that afforded students a chance to become acquainted with the university's physical education program.[41] Light-hearted themes were a mainstay of the high school play day at Nebraska: 'Meet Your Neighbor', 'Muscle and Bones', 'Zodiac', 'Up, Up, and Away,' and 'Under the Big Top.'[42] As late 1965, the University of Illinois Physical Education Major's Club reported that their play day's primary purpose was "to act as a form of recruitment, to provide new and different learning experiences for the high school students, to provide a day of fun and enjoyment, and to provide many learning experiences for all major students." [43]

Often setting the curve, Lee's staff incorporated the invitation of not only high school students and liaisons, but also opened a 1951 play day to curious parents.[44] Hackett's call to educate high school girls about the rigors associated with majors like

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39 Report of the Recruitment Committee, 1952-1953; Brochure "Looking Ahead at the Future," "Departmental History, High School Recruitment, 1950-1952, undated," UI Department of Physical Education for Women, IWA.

40 Letter, Lolas Halverson to PE Club President, ca. 1952; "Survey of University-High School Contacts," "Play Hour Also Play Day 1947-1959," General Correspondence, UA-UW.

41 "NU Expects 83 High School Girls for PE Play Day;" "NU Play Day Mean s Workout for Girls," "Publicity," Department of Physical Education for Women Subject File N-Play Day 61',UA-UNL

42 Various programs, "Play day 1951-1959," Department of Physical Education for Women Subject File N-Play Day 61', UA-UNL.

43 Milcrest, "A History of the Physical Education Major's Club," 1965, "Majors Club," Laura J. Huelster File, UA-UIUC.

44 "Invitation," ca.1951, "Play day 1951-1959," Department of Physical Education for Women Subject File N-Play Day 61', UA-UNL.

women's physical education were addressed at the 1958 'Muscle and Bones' play day at University of Nebraska. After being divided into teams, groups of Capering Clavicles, Rollicking Ribs, Scrapping Scapulas, Flipping Phalanges, Stomping Sternums, Radiant Radii, Hopping Humerus, Jazzy Jaws, Vivacious Vertebrate, and Frolicking Femurs took part in deck tennis, badminton, duck pins, volleyball, and golf putting. After activities, mixers, and lunch were over, the girls went to the gymnasium for a program entitled "Boning Up for College." At the program, guests were treated to helpful hints for necessary "boning," and "a brief skit showing one aspect of university night life." Finally after a tennis demo and open swim the girls "reconvened at Grant Memorial for final social coke hour, during which time they had the opportunity to ask questions regarding University life."[45]

The University of Wisconsin closely tracked the high school students that attended their play days. High school girls' interests in physical education were polled before they attended play days. Girls who indicated a special interest in physical education were earmarked to receive individual invitations to the high school play day independent of the invitations sent to the high schools in the region. Blanche Trilling's staff followed up with students once they enrolled at Wisconsin and surveyed majors about various motivations for choosing women's physical education. Badger women's involvement in high school play days of years past was one way the staff attempted to gauge the effectiveness of play days' recruiting ability. [46] Wisconsin's inaugural high school play day in 1950 sent over 162 invitations to various high schools and drew in over 350 participants. The following year, student representatives from twenty-six high

45 "Playday Report," "Play day 1951-1959," Subject File N-Play Day 61', UA-UNL.

46 "Badger Girls Who are Interested in Physical Education," "Play Hour Also Play Day 1947-1959," General Correspondence,UA-UW; Marie L. Carns, MD to Marian Fernbach, Oct. 29, 1952, "Survey of University-High School Contacts" General Correspondence, UA-UW.

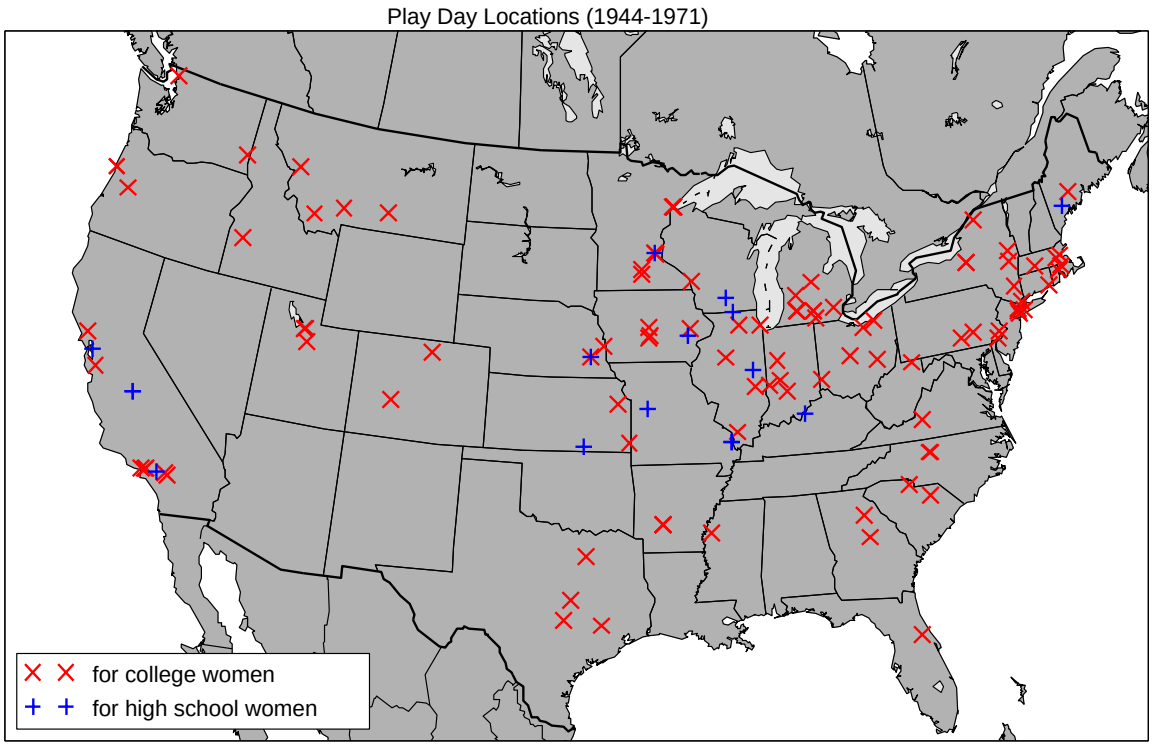

Figure V-1 Play Day Locations (1944-1971)

schools attended the high school play day in Madison.[47] Though the Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954 proscribed the racial segregation of American schools, predominantly African American high schools were often excluded by colleges and universities from invitation lists.[48]

Though eclipsed by sport days and other forms of extramurals, play days still provided an ideological site for resistance between and among new generations of administrators, instructors and students. Under the supervision of instructors and students, play days were also subject to surveillance of senior faculty and governing

47 Clippings from Wisconsin News service- 1951, "Play Hour Also Play Day 1947-1959" General Correspondence UA-UW.

48 "Play Day Participants* Year By Year Report," "Play Day 1951-1959," Subject Files N-Play Day 61'; UA-UNL.

bodies. Though advertised as controlled competition, one basketball sports day at Mount Holyoke in1959 left several Wellesley students feeling overly tired. After the students returned to their own campus they lodged a complaint with Wellesley faculty.[49] In reference to the staff member supervising the sports day, one Holyoke colleague apologized to Wellesley's chair of Health and Hygiene Elizabeth Beall, specifying "Beverly, I am afraid, is actually more interested in the technical side of her profession than in the human side."[50] Though the faculty and participants each supported competition for college students, their interpretations of the standards and experiences demonstrate tensions that could present themselves while implementing best practices.

High school play days presented a site where governing bodies outside of NAPECW and the Division of Girls and Women's Sports (DGWS) began exercising concerns over sport for women and girls.[51] In Illinois, the meager interscholastic sports offerings for girls were governed by the Illinois High School Association (IHSA). After the IHSA completely absorbed the Illinois League of High School Girls Athletic Associations after the Second World War they constitutionally prohibited sanctioning athletic competition for high school girls with the exceptions of non-contact sports like archery, golf, and tennis.[52] After the majors club the University of Illinois planned to include lacrosse and synchronized swimming on their 1969 play day program, the IHSA

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49 Elizabeth Beal to Mildred, March 29,1959; Beverly June Becker to Elizabeth Beal, March 23, 1959, "Multiple College Play and Sports Days, 1951-1967" Athletic Association file, WCA.

50 Mildred to Elizabeth Beal, March 23, 1959, "Multiple College Play and Sports Days, 1951-1967" Athletic Association file, WCA.

51 Dennis Mahoney, "Girls Swimming," IHSA.org Viewed on 12/21/12 at <http://www.ihsa.org/NewsMedia/IllinoisHStoric/IllinoisHStoricArticle.aspx?url=/archive/historic/swimming_girls.htm>.

52 Scott Johnson, "Not Altogether Ladylike: The Premature Demise of Girls' Interscholastic Basketball in Illinois," IHSA.org Viewed on 12/21/12 at <http://www.ihsa.org/NewsMedia/IllinoisHStoric/IllinoisHStoricArticle.aspx?url=/archive/historic/basketball_girls_early.htm>.

attempted, albeit half-heartedly, to intervene. Though very few girls had access to interscholastic sport at this time, Ola Brundy of the IHSA wrote to Illinois' Caroline Gibfried to express her concern and request these activities be reduced to exhibitions.[53] Though the play day seems an unlikely site to incur scrutiny from male professional groups, the next decade proved to be a battle ground as women's administrators and leaders of physical education and athletics worked to maintain their sovereignty over athletics for girls and women.

During the 1960s and 70s careful and strategic administrative measures were taken by female department heads and administrators in higher education to provide quality experiences for female student athletes that were governed by qualified women. As such, the DGWS formed the Conference of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. At the University of Illinois, play days again posed a site for potential conflict between experimental students and faculty serving as officers of DGWS. After learning that the Majors Club planned on including powder-puff football on the 1968 high school play day program, department chair and DGWS Vice President Alyce Cheska expressed great concern and asked that the group consider eliminating the event.[54] After the Majors Club suggested using men's equipment as an additional precaution, Cheska argued it would likely be ill-fitting and an ineffective means of injury prevention.[55] After much

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53 Letter, March 5, 1969 Ola Bundy of IHSA to Carolyn Gibfried, "Majors Club," Laura J. Huelster File, UA-UIUC.

54 Powder-puff football was a tradition that was established on the campus of University of Illinois. Generally associated with Homecoming week, powder-puff football entails women playing full-contact football without pads or equipment. Oftentimes the activity is supervised by campus men or campus groups for men.

55 Joint Board, Oct. 24, 1968; Letter from DEO Alyce Cheska to PE Majors' Club President Sue Burroughs, Oct. 4, 1968; Powder-Puff Committee, Oct. 4, 1968; Play Day Program 1970, "Majors Club," Laura J. Huelster File, UA-UIUC; Cheska referenced the work of her colleague, university faculty member Laura Huelster. "Laura J. Huelster, 'The Role of Sports in the Culture of Girls' Proceedings, Second National Institute On Girls Sports, 1965," Louise Freer Papers UA-UIUC.

deliberation and serious discussion between Cheska and the majors club, powder puff football was removed from the 1968 program. However, the popular campus activity made the cut for the 1971 "Spring is..." high school play day.[56] Ultimately, the activities and sports selected for play days and sports days reflected notions of appropriate and respectable female physicality with the occasional space for new trends. Whereas six-player basketball with a center-toss and posture parades dominated the play day programs of the1920s and 30s, programs in the late 1960s and 70s began entertaining new forms of popular dance, self defense, and powder-puff football. Rather than perform skits and listen to radio broadcasts, these play days concluded with social events like screening motion pictures.[57]

Since the inception of the play day in California in 1926, play days and sports days have existed and occurred alongside various other sports practices, though their popularity and approval have ebbed and flowed. As one of several strategies women physical educators used to defend against various assaults and inequities their profession endured, the play day allowed for the continued fashioning of a feminine image so many guardians of the profession believed paramount. The play day became a site where up-and-coming generations of physical educators and recreation enthusiasts expressed, not without internal resistance, new versions of acceptable physicality for adolescent girls and women. This strategy allowed for the further dissemination of professional ideals, and recruitment of new majors and graduate students, while providing a space where the activities for girls and young women remained in the hands of female professionals and their apprentices.

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56 Program, 1971, "Majors Club," Laura J. Huelster file, UA-UIUC.

57 1971 Play Day Program, "Majors Club," Laura J. Huelster File, UA-UIUC

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

When the creaking pipes, tight quarters, and stale air in our cramped E121 Field House office became too much to bear, my two officemates, Vicki and Carolan (the two women to whom this project is dedicated), would regularly join me in a retreat to the Health and Sport Studies library. In a room lined with ineffective casement windows and a light switch whose location was a mystery to most, we splayed ourselves over the rich-brown leather club chairs, or paced up and down the shelves of bound theses, journals, and scores of books in an attempt to stretch our legs. Many of the books were remnants of the physical education teacher-training program that had been eliminated in the 1980s. Some of the items on the shelves were almost as old as our dear department. Many afternoons I would press apart the items of the shelves in order to carefully extract a book without further contributing to its decrepitude. Their yellowing pages, dry-rotted bindings, and forgotten book marks smelled musty and were mealy to the touch. After making my selection I would perch on the table and begin to recite the best practices of yesteryear to my health-savvy comrades. The work-study student clacked away on an ancient keyboard as we participated in our library ritual but would regularly take a break from her keyboard to converse, often stunning us with her markedly more conservative views about religion, health, sexuality, and a number of other topics related to living in such a college town. Though we never said it aloud, I'm sure we all felt there was a smidgen of irony that such a woman worked inside this tomb of texts.

As a woman born a decade after the implementation of Title IX, much of my understanding of women's sporting pasts was initially shaped by my assessment of the experiences of my mother and grandmothers. My maternal grandmother shared memories of Depression-Era day trips to Naperville's Centennial Beach that provided a brief respite from the Czech nuns who managed the Benedictine orphanage in Lisle,

Illinois. After breaking her hip, my grandmother continued her rehabilitation at the pool at the Irving Park YMCA in Chicago, where she eventually took the reins as the class instructor. My father's mother, the lone daughter of two farmers in Farina, Illinois, never learned to swim. Her absolute terror and regret inspired me to volunteer to teach adult lessons at the Kroehler Family YMCA in Naperville when I turned sixteen. Perhaps this is a part of why I chose to major in Health and Physical Education. As a girl I yearned to hear stories of my mother's swimming escapades in Chicago's Portage Park. One of her more triumphant stories involved swimming for the boy's team at Carl Schurz High School and frequently placing first in interscholastic competitions. As a tribute to her athletic prowess, coaches from other high schools voted to bar all girls from competing during the 1975-1976 season. Though her competitive career was cut short she continued to serve as an open-water lifeguard for the Chicago Park District at both Independence Park and Oak Street Beach.

It is easy to identify the barriers and opportunities that the women in my family experienced from the 1930s on. After the recent forty-year anniversary of Title IX it is even easier to narrate these events as part of a conservative narrative of progress, a modernist historiography characterized by increases in programming, participation, and a marked enhancement in physical performance. As a trained physical educator, I frequently laugh, joke, and wax nostalgic about the ideals that my profession has promoted over the last two centuries. Writing this dissertation I drank from the "100 Years on the Move" coffee mug created to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the various iterations of Women's Physical Training, the original names of the department I will soon leave. I have treasured that artifact since discovering it in a dusty corner of our former library. I type on my clunky Panasonic Toughbook with a hot brew from the aforementioned cup in hand. While I examine the conveniently reformatted PDFs of years past, I am also surrounded by teaching certificates, notes from advisors and department chairs, pictures of treasured colleagues, and a few of those old books I

pilfered from our library before it was disassembled. I am here because of the work of Amy Morris Homans, Blanche Trilling, Elizabeth Halsey, Mabel Lee, Peg Burke, and countless other women physical educators and allies who toiled to provide professional and structural spaces for women and girls in sport and physical activity. The professional visions and legacies of these women created the very spaces in higher learning that I benefit from as a graduate student. Their legacy spans my vitae, my transcripts, and many of the materials that followed me to a new office in the Jefferson Building, and soon to a new position as a professor who will surely develop my own innovations to groom the next generation of thinkers and leaders.

Though there is a building at the University of Iowa named after Elizabeth Halsey, the work of the women physical educators that inhabited colleges and universities are more generally marked by decrepit gymnasiums and swimming pools that become more obsolete with each passing year of contemporary campus life. At Iowa the legacy of James Van Allen, Meredith Wilson, or Hayden Fry overshadows that of the Department of Physical Education for Women and sadly, the legacy of most women physical educators is not given its historical due by scholars of women's sport. Play days, posture photos, menstrual advice, principles of athletic training, and a number of other practices are too often treated and discussed by scholars and other curators of knowledge as relics of a bygone era. In the examination of women's sporting lives, historians too often reproduce narratives of progress by anachronistically introducing ideologies of the present. Their insensitive application of contemporary thought is paired with presupposition and selective bias. This trifecta has resulted in the production of overly generalized chronicles obscuring or altogether ignoring the social and historical forces that influenced physical culture.[1]

[1] In particular, Lynn Courturier's work on the play day applies fixed notions of competition and ignores the professional circumstances that play day users worked within and makes sweeping temporal and geographic claims about the play day. The author visited one college's archival collection that spans a decade.

After performing archive-driven research on structures of competition for college women I have elucidated the ways in which structures like the play day spread and were conducted in the U.S. and have to conclude that the play day's place in the conservative narrative that constitutes our women's sporting imaginary is nothing more than an impoverished ideological fact. The play day, neither sleepy, backwards, nor arcane, did not serve as a mere placeholder for the 'real' sporting experiences of late-twentieth century women and girls, nor did it hamper those experiences, or prevent other sport forms from developing. Play days were flexible spectacles that served specific means in specific contexts. Sports days, carnivals, play days, and play nights are merely the labels for a broader set of strategies used by faculty and students to define and redefine physicality and athleticism for women and girls.

The play day existed alongside other forms of competitions in curricula created by a set of privileged yet professionally liminal group of women. Women physical educators historically fought for power and respect within male-dominated professions and educational institutions. As career-scholars and practitioners, they adopted philosophies and strategies that allowed them to serve college students from a position that reinforced their own expertise and relevance. Today, scholars of sport studies and historians of sport are forced to evolve in order to preserve their place in higher education. The play day, like the elimination of teacher training programs, or the creation of new sports-related disciplines, can be considered in terms of an evolution or innovation. Rather than labeling such events, decisions, or actions as "successes" or "failures," these reinventions ought to be considered a part of a nexus of professional mechanisms aiming to preserve or elevate a version of knowledge-power. Grappling with conservative narratives of progress or allowing presentism to influence the historical analysis is part of a paradox in studying the past. Critical scholars must take care not to ignore the power of these narratives, but also not to recapitulate them. Without questioning what counts as sport, progress, or what constitutes a win, scholars of physical

culture and sport scrap alternative historical “plays” before they ever have a chance to be practiced.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAU	Amateur Athletic Union
AIAW	Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women
APEA	American Physical Education Association
AAPE	Association for the Advancement of Physical Education
AFCW	Athletic Federation of College Women
ACACW	Athletic Conference of American College Women
APER	*American Physical Education Review*
BNSG	Boston Normal School of Gymnastics
FSHI	Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale
IAAF	International Amateur Athletic Federation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IWA	Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa
DGWS	Division of Girls and Women's Sport
HHPL	Herbert Hoover Presidential Library
MWSPE	Middle West Society of Physical Education
NAPECW	National Association of Physical Education for College Women
NCAA	National College Athletics Association
NEA	National Education Association
NSGWS	National Section for Girls and Women's Sports
NSWS	National Section on Women's Athletics
SA-UW	Steenbock Archive, Steenbock Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin and Madison
SC-GC	Special Collections, Grinnell College
UA-CU	University Archives, Kroch Library, Cornell University
UA-UIUC	University Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
UA-UMN	University Archives, Elmer Andersen Library, University of Minnesota at Minneapolis
UA-UNL	University Archives, University of Nebraska at Lincoln
WAS	Women's Athletic Section (of the American Physical Education Association)
WCA	Wellesley College Archives, Wellesley College
WD-NAAF	Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation

APPENDIX B

PLATFORM OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL AMATEUR ATHLETIC FEDERATION, APRIL 1923

I. *Resolved*, That it be noted the term "athletics" as used in this Conference has often included the problems connected with all types of noncompetitive as well as competitive activities for girls and women.

II. *Whereas*, The period of childhood and youth is the period of growth in all bodily structures, And *Whereas*, The strength, endurance, efficiency, and vitality of maturity will depend in very large degree upon the amount of vigorous physical exercise in childhood and youth, and *Whereas*, Normal, wholesome, happy, mental, and emotional maturity in large part upon joyous, natural, safeguarded, big-muscle activity in childhood and in youth.

Be it Therefore Resolved. (*a*) That vigorous, active, happy, big-muscle activity be liberally provided and maintained and carefully guided for every girl and boy; and *b*) That all governments-village, county, state, and national- establish and support adequate opportunities for a universal physical education that will assist in the preparation of our boys and girls for the duties, opportunities, and joys of citizenship and of life as a whole.

III. *Resolved*, That there be greater concentration and study on the problems and program of physical activities for the pre-pubescent, as well as adolescent girl.

IV. *Resolved*, In order to develop these qualities which shall fit girls and women to perform their functions as citizens:

a) That their athletics be conducted with that end definitely in view and be protected from exploitation for the enjoyment of the spectator, the athletic reputation, or the commercial advantage of any school or organization.

b) That schools and other organizations shall stress enjoyment of the sport and development of sportsmanship and minimize the emphasis which is at present laid on upon individual accomplishment and the winning of championships.

V. *Resolved*, That for any given group we approve and recommend such selection and administration of athletic activities as makes participation possible for all, and strongly condemn the sacrifice of the object for intensive (even though physiologically sound) training of the few.

VI. *Resolved*,

a) That competent women be put in immediate charge of women and girls in their athletic activities even where the administrative supervision may be under the direction of men.

b) That we look toward the establishment of a future policy that shall place the administration as well as teaching and coaching of girls and women in the hands of carefully trained and properly qualified women.

VII. *Whereas*, A rugged national vitality and a high level of public health are the most important resources of a people,

Be It Therefore Resolved, That the teacher-training schools, the colleges, the professional schools, and the universities of the United States make curricular and administrative provision that will emphasize

1.) Knowledge of the basic facts of cause and effect in hygiene that will lead to the formation of discriminating judgments in matters of health.

2.) Habits of periodical examination and a demand for scientific health service.

3.) Habits of vigorous developmental recreation.

To this end we recommend:

a) That adequate instruction in physical and health education be included in the professional preparation of all elementary and secondary school teachers.

b) That suitable instruction in physical and health education be included in the training of voluntary leaders in organized recreational programs.

c) That definite formation be made of the highest modern standards of professional education be included for teachers and supervisors of physical education and recreation, and the provision of adequate opportunity for securing such education.

VIII. *Resolved*, That in order to maintain and build strong, healthy, thorough, and repeated medical examinations are necessary.

IX. *Resolved*, That since we recognize that certain anatomical and physiological conditions may occasion temporary unfitness for vigorous athletics, therefore effective safeguards should be maintained.

X. *Whereas*, We believe that the motivation of competitors in athletic activities should be that of play for play's sake, and*Whereas*, We believe that the awarding of valuable prizes is detrimental to this objective,

Be It Resolved, That all awards granted for athletic achievement be restricted to those things which are symbolical and which have the least possible intrinsic value.

XI. *Resolved*, That suitable costumes for universal use be adopted for various athletic activities.

XII. *Whereas*, we believe that the type of publicity which may be given to athletics for women and girls may have a vital influence both upon the individual competitors and upon the future development of the activity.

Be It Resolved, That all publicity be of such a character as to stress the sport and not the individual or group competitors.

XIII. *Whereas*, Certain international competitions for women and girls have already been held, and

Whereas, we believe that the participation of American women and girls in these competitions was inopportune,

Be It Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that in the future such competitions, if any, be organized and controlled by the national organization set up as a result of this Conference.

XIV. *Resolved*, That committees for appointed for study and report on the following problems:

a) Tests for motor and organic efficiency

b) The formulation of a program of physical activities adapted to various groups of the population.

c) The relation of athletics to the health of pre-pubescent and post-pubescent girls

d) Scientific investigation as to anatomical, physiological, and emotional limitations and possibilities of girls and women in athletics, and a careful keeping of records in order that results may be determined.

XV. *Resolved*, That the sincere and hearty thanks of the members of this Conference on Athletics and Physical Recreation be extended:

a) To the National Amateur Athletic Federation for its suggestion that this Conference be called; and

b) To Mrs. Herbert Hoover for her vision and devotion in organizing this Conference and in making possible the vitally significant achievement of co-ordination of the various agencies for women's athletics.

XVI. *Resolved*, That the National Amateur Athletic Federation be requested to publish these Resolutions and distribute them:

a) To all members of this Conference

b) To all present members of the National Amateur Athletic Federation

c) To the Associated Press and the United Press

d) To the American Physical Education Association, with the request that they be copied and distributed to all members and the Springfield Convention.

APPENDIX C

1927 ACACW RESOLUTIONS

I. Emphasize mass participation-
   A. Through intramural programs.
   B. Through Sports Days, a form of intramural relationship which places the emphasis on sports for all.
   C. By elimination of competition which places an emphasis on individual achievement rather than large group participation.

II. To promote the adoption of a health concept by all college women with the hope of actual improvement in habits of living.

III. To simplify the system of awards in our respective colleges.

IV. To Accept only well-trained and properly trained women as coaches and advisors of W.A.A. sports.

V. To require standards of eligibility.
   A. Medical and physical exams without exception.
   B. Scholastical standings.

VI. To offer assistance in and the promotion of a sane program of athletics among high school girls.

VII. To cooperate with our respective Physical Education Departments in the realization of their ideals and standards.

VIII. To cooperate with the N.A.A.F. in the furtherance of our mutual interests

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