

The Pennsylvania State University
The Graduate School
College of Health and Human Development

**COLLEGIATE WOMEN'S SPORTS AND A
GUIDE TO COLLECTING AND IDENTIFYING
ARCHIVAL MATERIALS**

A Thesis in

Kinesiology

by

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2002 Mila Chin Ying Su

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Science

May 2002

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ABSTRACT

The methods used to conduct sport research take on different challenges when it comes to researching the history of women's intercollegiate athletics. It is to the benefit of the researcher and archivists to understand the basic history of women's college athletic development and what types of materials might be found in an archive.

The format of this thesis is to introduce researchers and archivists to basic research issues in this subject area. The information in the thesis will provide an overview of the history and development of women's intercollegiate activities and sport from the turn of the 19th century through the end of the 20th century. It will also offer an outline of archival structure and organization and how archives can provide clues and even disprove myths and misconceptions that have been held in the past. Lastly, a discussion regarding some of the issues in the research methodologies used in history, sport history, and women's studies will be included.

This thesis serves both as a literature review of the subject of the history of women's intercollegiate athletics and an inquiry into further research that could be conducted in the area.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	1
Literature Review	3
Methods	4
Questions	5
Outline	6
Chapter One: Women’s Collegiate Sport History: Modest Beginnings.....	8
Embarking on the Road to Higher Education 1820-1890	9
The Glimmer of Interest Towards Competition:1891-1922.....	14
The Birth of Basketball	17
The Beginning of Track and Field	19
Introduction of Field Hockey.....	21
A New Century.....	23
Organizations for Women’s Sports Are Formalized.....	32
Chapter Two: Separatists Control of Women’s Sports, 1923-1949: The Philosophic Split and Control of Competition	37
The Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation	38
The Committee for Women’s Athletics Joins the Fight.....	41
The Role of the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities	44
The Unified Front.....	45
The Women’s Athletic Association Conforms to the Philosophy of No High-Level Competition.....	47

Track and Field: Growth and Development	53
Basketball: Continuing Issues	55
Field Hockey: A Great Beginning.....	59
The 1940s: New Trials and Tribulations.....	62
Chapter Three: The Awakening of Women’s Competition: 1950-1970.....	70
Rumblings of Discontent: 1956-1970	74
Basketball: Frustration and Control	78
Track and Field: Clearing the Hurdles	80
Field Hockey: Still Growing	81
The 1960s: The Upsurge	82
The Sports Institutes: 1962-1969	85
Competition and National Championships.....	88
Changes in Three Sports.....	94
Field Hockey: Faster and Stronger.....	95
Chapter Four: THE AIAW, NCAA, AND TITLE IX: The Formalization of Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics.....	97
The Impact of Title IX.....	101
The Kellmeyer Lawsuit.....	104
The NCAA’s Involvement	108
A Critical Year for Intercollegiate Sports, 1979.....	114
Collegiate Competition: Issues and Changes: 1981-1990.....	116
Backlash, Gender Equity, and Reform: The 1990s.....	121
How Far Has Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics Grown?.....	128

Chapter Five: The Nature and Structure of Archives in the United States	129
History of Archives and the Archival Profession.....	130
Basic Philosophy of Archives	135
Organization and Roles of Archives	136
The Archival Process: Acquisition, Appraisal, Arrangement, and Description.....	137
Reference Services in Archives.....	142
The Researcher, Archivist, and Archives	146
Locating Sports in Archives	151
Chapter Six: The Relationships Among History, Sport History, Women’s Studies, and Archives	155
Introduction	155
Historiography in the United States	156
The Historical Research Process and Archives	159
Sport History in America	164
Sport History, Sport Historians, and Archives	169
Women’s Studies and Feminist Theory on History	178
Women’s History and Archives	183
Relationship Among History, Sport, and Women.....	185
Relationship Among Collegiate Women, Sport, and Archives.....	191
Integrated Research	195
Conclusion.....	197
Bibliography.....	205

Acknowledgements

As most graduate students learn, a network of support is most useful when undertaking major writing projects. I would like to thank the Inter Library Loan departments at Penn State Altoona and University Park for their wonderful service. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the archivists at the University of Maryland, Cornell University, University of Washington, and The Pennsylvania State University for their patience and assistance in exploring information in their archives. I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to my colleagues in sport and librarianship for their encouragement in pursuit of this project. To my friends, especially Cindy Ingold and Paula Ford, my thanks for your feedback, support, and editorial comments. The members of my committee were superb in their guidance and questions to provide me with directions and to focus on issues that needed to be addressed in this endeavor. Thank you Jackie and Jerry. Amidst our countless discussions along the way, I cannot express the deep appreciation for my advisor, Ron Smith who kept me from falling too far off track. This was a project that was daunting and more time consuming than either one of us expected, I hope he can now truly enjoy his 'retirement.' Lastly, to my mother for her never ending faith in me and what I can accomplish.

INTRODUCTION

The history of women's intercollegiate athletics has been written from a variety of perspectives since the 1920s. Researchers have traced institutional histories, growth in sporting activities, and administration and organizations to show the development and incorporation of sport into society. As sport research and women's studies have evolved, the treatment, interpretations, and perspectives towards women's intercollegiate athletics history have changed. Research on women's extra curricular activities had been conducted primarily through physical education and health departments, but since the 1970s has become more interdisciplinary through departments of history, education, economics, political science, and women's studies.

Many people are surprised to learn that women have competed in sports for over a century. Many are also amazed to learn that women have competed at the college level for close to that many years. There are several reasons that could contribute to this revelation. One, competition was limited in definition and opportunities. Two, it differed from the men's history. The historical reliance on the male model continues to overshadow the experience of the separate spheres and the women's model. Three, attitudes of women physical educators and the *raison d'être* of 'anticompetition' forced any serious competition underground or out of the aegis of education. Fourth, there is a general lack of distinction/perception regarding the level of competition (professional, Olympic, intercollegiate, or intramural), and many times the histories are melded together

as one existence and experience. Fifth, it has been almost two decades since the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) control of women's athletics lost to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and many look only at the existence of sport since the NCAA ignoring the previous history. These are all possible rationales for those unaware of women's intercollegiate history.

Another omission in sports research is the lack of discussion about locating materials on the topic of women's intercollegiate experience. What types of materials have been collected and saved that are relevant to women's collegiate sporting experience? How have materials on students' sporting experiences been collected or given a sense of value to documenting these activities? Some research has been conducted on the history of women's intercollegiate athletics, but much of it has lacked intensive archival research. Not only do many academic archives house materials on women's experiences in sport and recreation, but there are other archives that have organizational, club, and sport histories that should not be overlooked.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. 1) To provide an overview of the history and development of women intercollegiate activities and sport from the turn of the 19th century through the end of the 20th century, 2) To provide insight into archival structure and organization and how archives can provide clues and even disprove myths and misconceptions that have been held in the past, and 3) To introduce some of the issues in the research methodologies used in history, sport history, and women's studies.

The Literature Review

The areas of research that has been conducted fall into several categories:

- 1) Overview of American women's experience in sport,
- 2) Specific graduate research on the institutional history of physical education and sport,
- 3) Historical methodologies: history, sport history, feminist, and women's studies,
- 4) Students in departments of physical education, women's studies, history, education, sociology, and cultural studies have focused on a range of topics such as departmental histories, institutional histories, attitudes of women administrations, and history of various organizations, and
- 5) Students in library and information schools have written on conducting research on archives, starting archives on specific areas, and organizational issues in archives.

Buried within some of these articles and theses are indications of level of use of archives, research methods, and various perspectives used in conducting the research.

Because the logic in researching the earlier history of women's collegiate experience is not to be taken for granted, this thesis will introduce basic research techniques of archives in order to provide a more complete picture of the collegiate sport experiences of women from earlier timeframes. A brief outline of the evolution of research methods in history, sport history, and feminist and women's studies is provided to show different approaches to better understanding women's sport.

Methods

This investigation included partial analysis of published and unpublished archival materials from several archives, primarily the Pennsylvania State University Archives. The primary collections and materials that were used included physical education, intercollegiate athletics, minutes of the senate, memoranda and communications, both internal and external, including national and regional organizations. Other resources used included student course bulletins, student organizational files, yearbooks, government documents, newspapers, and published annual reports.

As women's intercollegiate athletics is presently conducted similar to that of men's, many people assume that the history of women's athletics parallels the development of men's. To bridge the gap in information and perception of the previous structure of women collegiate sport experience to its present existence, this thesis endeavors to provide overviews and links between the researcher, archivist, and in relationship to women's intercollegiate athletics.

Because of the interdisciplinary perspective that was taken for this project, the following subjects were researched: women's collegiate history; women's physical education (culture, activities); history of women's collegiate sport activities; organization and administration of women's sports; organization and administration of archives; research and archives; archival responsibility; historiography; history and archival research; sport research; archives; and women's and feminist studies.

Questions

Some of the questions that were explored include:

- What does “competitive” mean and what did it represent?
- What role did the separate sphere play in the "competitive experience"?
- How much competitive activity occurred at the collegiate level?
- What records of women’s sport have been retained in the institutional archives?"

1. What is the role of the University Archives?
 - What is the mission?
 - How are they managed?
 - Are the records centralized?
 - What types of materials does the University Archives collect?
 - How are records organized?
 - Is there a program for collecting sports materials?
 - What type of information is retained?
 - How is the information arranged?

2. What is the history of physical education and sporting activities at the institution?
 - What was the relationship between physical education and extra curricular sports?
 - What types of options were provided for women to participate in physical activities?
 - Which sports were women allowed to participate in?
 - Who retained control over the development of women’s physical activities and sports?
 - How has intercollegiate athletics been variously defined?
 - When did women gain varsity status? In what sports?

3. What is the relationship between University Archives and women’s intercollegiate athletics?
 - What kinds of materials exist on the history of activities of women participation?
 - What kinds of institutional changes affected information on women’s athletics?
 - What types of information exists for women’s intercollegiate athletics?
 - What type of information is collected on women’s sports?
 - What is the impact of institutional decisions on university archives and women’s intercollegiate athletics?

4. What conclusions can be reached, and what suggestions can be offered for the better use of archives for studying women's intercollegiate athletics?"
 - What has this study accomplished?
 - What are the differences and similarities between institution's archives?
 - How is access to this archival material provided?
 - What kinds of materials are lacking in archives?

Outline

This study begins by examining the historical evolution from physical activity to intercollegiate competition for women and factors that contributed to this very different history. Women in higher education, at the turn of the 19th century, had very limited opportunities to participate in sport, and for a very brief moment they might have “followed” the path the men took, but that was quickly and firmly eliminated. One of the strategies that women physical educators used to “control” sport was to appeal to morality and the superiority of women in the separate sphere. This technique proved effective in validating “good” sport practices and “bad” sport practices.

There are three major sections to this thesis. The first and largest part, chapters one through four, is an overview of the history of women's higher education and the role of physical activity and eventually intercollegiate competition. This section also serves as a comprehensive literature review. The second part, chapter five, begins with an overview of archival management and structure. This chapter serves to prepare the researcher to link research strategies that can assist researchers to more effectively use archival materials and to provide information to help researchers look for “hidden” information. The final section, chapter six, reviews the relationship of historical research,

archives, and interdisciplinary aspects of historical researcher including feminist and women's studies.

Chapter 1

WOMEN'S COLLEGIATE SPORTS HISTORY: THE MODEST BEGINNINGS

In order to find information in archives relevant to women's intercollegiate athletics experience, an understanding of the basic history of women's intercollegiate athletics is useful. Understanding the history provides a means to identifying and locating relevant information in archives.

Chapters I-IV will highlight the evolution of women's intercollegiate athletics, from their humble beginnings through the physical culture movement in institutions of higher learning to their current competitive varsity intercollegiate status. In attaining access to education, women faced challenges that would carry over into the arena of collegiate sports. Historically, little distinction has been made between men's and women's sports which contributes to the misunderstandings and easy dismissal of women's athletic achievements. In addition, little distinction has been made for the level at which sport has been played, whether elite, professional, varsity, or intramural. By better understanding the relationship of women's college athletics with their development in higher education through activities monitored by faculty in physical education departments, researchers and archivists can gain insights when conducting research in this area.

Embarking on the Road to Higher Education 1820-1890

Women's history has always taken a different path from that of the dominate male model, and this holds true in the field of education and sport. According to Ellen Gerber, "Collegiate sport for women in the United States was and is an entity separate from sport in the larger social milieu."⁷⁵ Educating women outside the private realm was a rarity until the early 1800s, when female seminaries began to offer postsecondary opportunities. Oberlin, the first college to admit coeds in 1833, began the rough journey of accepting women into higher education. Four years later, Mount Holyoke Seminary was established, and walking became an early mandatory physical activity incorporated into the curriculum.⁷⁶ Mary Lyon, the president of Mount Holyoke, was one of the early reformers in women's health.⁷⁷ During the middle and latter years of the nineteenth century, various health reformers and physicians began to advocate exercise to increase women's strength and vigor. The amount and type of activities offered and recommended would range from light to strenuous. The introduction of physical culture

⁷⁵ Ellen W. Gerber, *The American Woman in Sport* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1974): 48.

⁷⁶ In 1888, college status was approved for "Mount Holyoke Seminary and College." In 1893, the word seminary was dropped and the institution became "Mount Holyoke College." Mount Holyoke College, *About the College: College History* [online] www.mtholyoke.edu/cic/about/history.shtml This page created by the OIS Operations Group and maintained by Dan Wilga. Last modified on October 30, 1998. [6/6/1999].

⁷⁷ Mary Lyon was an avid follower of Catherine Beecher and incorporated much of her philosophy of exercise in her program at Mount Holyoke.

was part of the social reformist movement of that day, which included the better known work of the suffragists.⁷⁸

In addition to the change in attitudes towards their health, fashions of the time needed to change to accommodate increased physical movement, as corsets and stays restrained activity. Women began to enter the workforce, moving outside the realms of domestic work and working in jobs that previously were held by men. The entire social structure was threatened by these changes, which went beyond the expressed health concerns. The men and women who wanted to encourage women to be successful installed college directives to train women both physically and mentally to survive the ‘rigors of academe.’ Surprisingly to many, women not only survived but even began to get stronger and more vigorous, rather than wasting away as had been predicted. Exercise and good health habits were continuously stressed in college life, becoming part

⁷⁸ The suffragists of the time were mostly concerned with gaining the vote, a voice, independence, and an education. Many of these women supported the concept of good health as part of this achievement to succeed in society. For additional discussion on the issue of women’s health at the turn of the century, see for instance, Roberta J. Park, “Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!?: Brains, Bodies and Exercise in Nineteenth Century American Thought.” *Journal of Sport History* 18, no. 1 (1991): 31-63. Park, “Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Education.” *Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 1 (1987): 28-60. 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, no. 1 (1977): 34-50. 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, no. 2 (1978): 5-41. Patricia Vertinsky, “Sexual Equality and the Legacy of Catherine Beecher.” *Journal of Sport History* 6, no. 1 (1979): 38-49. Vertinsky, “Feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s Pursuit of Health and Physical Fitness as a Strategy for Emancipation.” *Journal of Sport History* 16, no. 1 (1989): 5-26. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century North America* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1990).

of the developing physical culture or physical training movement, and would eventually emerge in the field of physical education.⁷⁹

As women entered this new territory, those from the educational, medical, and scientific communities often mounted various attacks against them. These men, for the most part, tried in every way to restrain women from entering their domain. They insisted that education would tax the physical and mental capacities of the “lesser sex.” They expounded over and over again that reproductive failure, brain seizures, fatigue, and even total collapse were the fate of these women pioneers. Dr. Edward H. Clarke of Harvard was so perturbed by this challenge to the social norms that he wrote *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls*, to convince women not to pursue goals in the male domain. Many women and some male physicians refuted these ideals.⁸⁰ To combat these popular opinions, additional programs in calisthenics and gymnastics were

⁷⁹ Patrick B. Miller, “Athletes in Academe: College Sports and American Culture, 1850-1920” (Ph.D. diss. University of California at Berkeley, 1987) discussed how the educational and religious reformers contributed to the concept of physical culture and the dedication to “Muscular Christianity.” For God and country it was necessary for young men (and women) in college to dedicate a balanced life and stronger body. Miller does an admirable job tracing and linking various social issues, responses, and reactions and how these reactions were quickly integrated and adapted to support and validate higher education. See also, Jan Todd, *Physical Culture and the Body Beautiful: Purposive Exercise in the Lives of American Women, 1800-1870* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), and Dio Lewis, *Our Girls* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871).

⁸⁰ Female physicians contributed to this discussion through written materials. See, for instance, Clelia Mosher, *Health and the Woman’s Movement* (New York: National Board Young Women’s Christian Associations, 1918) and Elizabeth Blackwell, *The Laws of Life With Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852). Dr. Clark’s treatise was refuted in Julia Howe, *Sex and Education, a Reply to Dr. E. H. Clarke’s “Sex in Education.”* reprint ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

incorporated in college curriculums to provide women with basic movements.⁸¹ For the next forty years, various women's and four-year colleges were formed,⁸² thereby providing women an increasing number of opportunities to attend institutions of higher education.⁸³ Concurrently, physical training and culture programs also expanded. The growth of physical culture through various exercises, physical training, gymnastics, and calisthenics was quickly embraced and incorporated by those involved with women's educational experience. Although women's colleges and coeducational programs spread from coast to coast, it is generally accepted that physical education programs and the introduction of women into physical education and sports activities began in the New England and New York area. Vassar was the first college to have a required physical

⁸¹ Himes comments that the Association of Collegiate Alumnae surveyed 1290 members with a 705 positive return on the superior health of college women due to participation in sport. Cindy L. Himes, "The Female Athlete in American Society, 1860-1940." (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986): 67.

⁸² There were four types of institutions women could attend, women's colleges, four-year state college/universities, normal schools, and private four-year colleges. Their experiences would differ at these various types of institutions in how they were treated by faculty and peers, what type of opportunities that were available in terms of the curriculum and activities as well as their integration into college life. Irene Harwarth, et al., *Women's Colleges in the United States: History, Issues, and Challenges* (Washington, DC: National Institute on Postsecondary Education, Libraries, and Lifelong Learning, U.S. Dept. of Education, U.S. G.P.O., Supt. of Docs., 1997).

⁸³ Age ranges in college for both men and women could be from fourteen years old to thirty or so. At that time secondary education was generally not required but was beginning to grow in status, See also Elaine Kendall, "*Peculiar Institution*": *An Informal History of the Seven Sister Colleges* (New York: Putnam, 1976). Kendall also mentions that Vassar's college archives contains an extensive collection of early correspondence.

education component for women⁸⁴ and hired a full-time female physical educator.

Many colleges would soon follow this format.

Vassar was also in the forefront of offering other ‘athletic’ and physical activities. A baseball team was formed in 1866, along with other activities such as horseback riding, track and field, and archery. The opportunity to be introduced to and participate in these activities must have been exhilarating. Other colleges began to add women physical educators, physicians, and more activities in and out of the classroom.⁸⁵ Curricular offerings increased in all subject areas as women and their leaders became more comfortable in the academic environment.

As the curriculum expanded, courses in physical training and education were added to balance the college experience. Physical educators and undergraduates often worked together to develop physical programs, often in inadequate facilities.⁸⁶ With the

⁸⁴ Vassar’s prospectus stated in the section entitled “General Scheme of Education,” that physical education receives top billing and emphasizes of good health as a focal point in every college girl’s experience. “Prospectus of the Vassar Female College,” in *The Dangers of Education: Sexism and the Origins of Women’s Colleges*, ed. by David J. Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman. (New York: Garland, 1987): 4-5.

⁸⁵ Ainsworth stated that students were the ones who initiated the activities offered. Dorothy Ainsworth, *The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women: As Illustrated by Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Elimra, Goucher, Mills, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Rockford, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley and Wells* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1930): 23.

⁸⁶ With more students entering college, space became a problem and it became apparent that new buildings needed to be added. Facilities in coeducational institution were shared with few expectations of separate facilities. Spears notes that there were cases where the students contributed physically and financially to the construction of facilities. Betty Spears, “Emergence of Women in Sport” in *Women’s Athletics: Coping with Controversy* ed. by Barbara J. Hoepner (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Health, Physical

incorporation of physical education and training courses and a growing number of activities to participate in, the first stage of women's sports development was set.

A Glimmer of Interest in Competition: 1891-1922

Beginning in the 1890s and extending through the 1920s, sport development for women became critical. The move away from Victorian values contributed to increased enrollment and educational opportunities and presented new venues for women to stretch their boundaries. Informal competition gained popularity. Yet, it would be the evolution of three sports--track and field, basketball, and field hockey--that would serve as the catalyst for change that affected the formation of associations, formalization of rules, and eventually the philosophy of competition for women.

Athletic contests up to this point were, for the most part, between classes. Interclass days often pitted freshmen against sophomores and juniors against seniors. Occasionally, subordinate classes challenged the upper classes. These games were often combined with festivals and other "artistic" activities such as dance. It was generally agreed that, "contests of some kind are necessary to stimulate a group spirit and to

Education, and Recreation, 1974): 31-32. To gain an understanding of the historical trends in the type of facilities that were built for women during the next ten years, see, Ruth E. Houston, *Modern Trends in Physical Education Facilities for College Women* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1939).

increase social activities among classes and institutions.”⁸⁷ These activities also served as a means to assess how well the students had learned their skills.⁸⁸ Gertrude Dudley and Francis Kellor pointed out that having the instructor control and assess the progress as well as the form and skills of the students was the best arrangement. It also was a way to encourage and control sportsmanship and ensure ladylike behavior.

Questions were raised about who was allowed to watch these activities. In the early days, modesty prevailed and only the physical educators and students were in attendance. There was a certain amount of anxiety in exposing women in action to the general public. Some of the concerns were that the women might be jeered or harassed, since most people, especially men, were not familiar with women’s rules. Eventually, many institutions allowed family members and male faculty to attend these events. The misunderstanding or lack of understanding by men and the uncouth public was considered a detriment to the progression of women’s sporting activities.

In 1891, the first Women’s Athletic Association (WAA) was established at Bryn Mawr. The WAA was a student organization, usually supported by the physical education department, typically with a faculty advisor to observe proper behavior and development. WAAs were managed in a variety of ways. Some were run entirely by the students, some independent of the physical education department, while most were under

⁸⁷ Gertrude Dudley and Francis A. Kellor, *Athletic Games in the Education of Women* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1909): 149-150.

⁸⁸ Dudley and Kellor made the following observations “While the greatest value lies in the daily training, match games played under the intense desire to win are necessary to test this daily training in order to see how fundamental it is.” *Ibid.*, 153.

the control of a woman physical educator and worked with the department.⁸⁹

Generally, the organization consulted with and was guided by the physical education department. The implied control lay with the student officers who handled all aspects of the organization, the sponsored activities, and sometimes even the budget. The structure was to provide leadership opportunities for the students with minimal interference by the faculty. This included the organization of all events, whether social events, intramural activities, or extramural activities.⁹⁰ Awards were given based on points earned according to guidelines that were set by the WAA to recognize the successful completion of a certain level of activity, not in recognition of athletic superiority. Trophies, varsity letters,⁹¹ pins, and other paraphernalia were items given in recognition of the students' participation and skill achievement. The concept of the WAA gained popularity and by

⁸⁹ This is why in some university archives one may find the WAA information in the physical education department or in student life. Dorothy S. Ainsworth, *History of Physical Education*, 79-84. See also, Dudley & Kellor, *Athletic Games*, 103-109.

⁹⁰ Intramurals at this time were programs that were usually contests between classes that allowed all students to participate and experience the benefits of the sport under 'friendly conditions.'

⁹¹ "Varsity" is a very vague term that has rarely been defined in the area of early women's intercollegiate competition. For few, it was equivalent to an all-star team of one class, for some, it was the members who had earned a certain number of points for participation, and for others, it was the seniors or seniors and juniors on the team. It was a rare case indeed that varsity could be interpreted as it is today when it infers intercollegiate competition.

the early twentieth century would exist in most colleges in the United States and would continue for the next fifty years.⁹²

The Birth of Basketball

In 1892, Senda Berenson adapted the newly-invented game of basketball for women at Smith College. A year later, the first interclass game was played. The game was swiftly accepted and adopted from coast to coast. In the South, Clara Gregory Baer developed a unique form of basketball. By 1893, Baer ball or basquette was an altered form that was more restricted than regular women's basketball. By dividing the court into many (7+) sections, she reduced any type of overtaxation a player could experience. She had also developed a warm-up game called Newcomb ball that was even more popular.⁹³ On April 4, 1896, the first women's intercollegiate basketball game was played, before an audience, on the West Coast-- Stanford vs. University of California at Berkeley. A few weeks later, the University of Washington played Ellensburg Normal School.⁹⁴ Some of the noteworthy elements of the Stanford--California game included an

⁹² WAAs would exist in many institutions for the next six or seven decades in various forms.

⁹³ Joan Paul, "Clara Gregory Baer: Catalyst for Women's Basketball," in *A Century of Women's Basketball: From Frailty to Final Four* ed. by Joan S. Hult and Marianna Trezell (Reston, Va., National Association for Girls and Women in Sport, 1991): 37-52.

⁹⁴ "The women of Berkeley traveled by rail to San Francisco. The game was played in an Armory, the admission prices was 50 cents and ladies only were admitted." Paula Welch,

admission fee, playing in a public arena, and Stanford's holding a pre-game practice.

During the game, two men had to come in to fix the baskets, with mixed reactions from the teams, and a passing male who looked into one of the windows and quickly left as the audience roundly hissed him away.⁹⁵ Aside from these two incidents, only women were in attendance at this historic game.

When the players from the University of Washington met the Ellensburg players, the basketball game was the highlight of several athletic events. The audience numbered 600 and included men "for the first and last time."⁹⁶ The school newspaper *The Pacific Wave* mentioned that a 30-yard dash and 120-yard hurdle race would also be part of the festivities. An entrance fee of five cents was collected with an added incentive: "This will be the first opportunity offered for witnessing these sports as played by these young ladies in the New Woman attire."⁹⁷

Basketball's popularity was not lost on the students or their teachers. To control for possible over-exhaustion and injuries, physical educators made up local rules and guidelines. This inconsistency in rules would contribute a great deal of confusion and

History of American Physical Education and Sport 2nd (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1996): 235.

⁹⁵ Lynne Emery, "The First Intercollegiate Contest for Women: Basketball, April 4, 1896," in *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports*. ed. by Reet Howell, (West Point, N.Y.: Leisure Press, 1982): 417-423.

⁹⁶ The score was 6-3 in favor of the University of Washington. University of Washington, "Women's Basketball" *Tyee Year Book*, Class of 1900. Pages not numbered.

⁹⁷ "Athletics." *Pacific Wave* [student newspaper] University of Washington (March 1896): 14-15.

several problems when teams played each other. The variety and range of rules, combined with the over enthusiasm of the players, verging on the realm of rough play, raised concern among physical educators, who then sought to install some type of control on this bedlam. In June 1899, a basketball committee was established to formulate rules and structure. The committee was formed at a Conference of Physical Training in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁹⁸ It would take the committee two years to review and discuss the rules and the direction of basketball before the first rule book was published in 1901. This group would control the development and changes in basketball rules for women for the next several decades.

The Beginning of Track and Field

Vassar held the first field day in 1895 and continued to sponsor this event every May for the next forty-two years.⁹⁹ The events sponsored included running, hurdles, and field events such as throwing. This bold move to provide competitive activities, amidst the concerns about basketball competition, would present another option for competing among collegiate women. The women took pride in their success, and the quest to break

⁹⁸ “The work of this committee has been an earnest attempt to combine and unify the varying products of experience.” Senda Berenson, ed. *Line Basket Ball or Basket Ball for Women* (New York: American Sports Pub., 1901): 9.

⁹⁹ Tricard compared the Vassar Field Day in 1891 with an AAU Program showing that Vassar had a deeper and more challenging set of events. This event garnered lots of attention from the local press. Louise M. Tricard. *American Women Track and Field: a History, 1895 through 1980* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996): 20.

records and achieve new distances was accepted. In 1906, the first class day competitions were organized, which allowed a greater number of women to participate.¹⁰⁰ There was interest in what students were doing at other schools. While Vassar risked some scrutiny for this new type of “competition,” other colleges adapted portions of the field day to present an alternative form of participation.

Field days for many other colleges were structured differently. Track and field events were not always included; rather, a variety of events were presented to showcase the activities available at that institution and, in essence, to operate as the precursor of the play day that became popular in the 1920s. A variety of field events such as hurdles, running, and throwing, and games such as basketball and tennis, were among the activities in which women demonstrated their physical capabilities. Many of these events were sponsored by WAAs. The field day served as an arena for the physical education department to demonstrate its work. By showcasing these various activities, students were able to enjoy the excitement and fun in this informal competition and took pride in their participation and successes.

¹⁰⁰ Tricard noted that in the 1920's Vassar compared its records with those of Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, and Wellesley through the use of questionnaires that were sent to those institutions. Tricard, *American Women*, 37.

Introduction of Field Hockey

Field hockey¹⁰¹ made its grand debut in 1901 by Constance Applebee, who had been attending Dudley Sargeants' school that summer. In a story that borders on myth, Harriet Ballentine, director of Vassar's Physical Education Department, asked Miss Applebee to give a demonstration of the game during this summer session. Miss Ballentine was so impressed with this impromptu lesson, that she made arrangements for "the Apple" to teach this exciting game to Vassar students. Ballentine went on to write letters to her colleagues at Bryn Mawr, Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke, and Radcliffe, recommending that Miss Applebee teach the game to their students.¹⁰² Using the

¹⁰¹ Field hockey had been firmly established in the United Kingdom by the early 1900s. Among the number of physical educators from the UK who came to attend school or to teach in the United States included Hanna Flyborg. She was a faculty member from 1897-1898 and taught hockey at Goucher College in Maryland. The 1899 *Donnybrook Fair* (yearbook) includes a picture of Flyborg and an entry for the Hockey team. Sydney Roby, email correspondence with writer, 3 June, 1999.

¹⁰² Ballentine's endorsement of Miss Applebee opened the doors for a positive reception of her introduction to the sport. It is a good example of the type of networking these women had in controlling their physical education programs. Cynthia Wesson, "Miss C.M.K. Applebee: A Sketch of Forty Years of Service" *Supplement to Research Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1941): 696-699. Constance Applebee is one of the women in the pantheon of early female educators. This group would include College Deans like Mary Lyon, Emma Williard, and Catherine Beecher, see, *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States* ed. by Willystine Goodsell (New York: McGraw Hill, 1931). Catrona Parratt notes, "in casting women as agents, in acknowledging their role in shaping themselves and their world, the construct of women culture allows us to see female physical educators'" insistence on controlled and circumscribed competition not simply as capitulation to the dominant culture's view of women's but also as an effort to assert "some degree of psychic autonomy." Catriona Parratt, "From the History of Women in Sport to Women's Sports History: A Research Agenda," in *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Issues*, ed. by D. Margaret Costa and Sharon Guthrie (Human Kinetics,

network of the seven sister colleges, the students were provided with equal skills and opportunities to practice them. In 1904, Constance Applebee was hired to teach field hockey at Bryn Mawr and would become its director of women's athletics.¹⁰³ The benefit of having one person teach field hockey at several institutions was an established consistency in field hockey's development that basketball lacked.

In 1918, the American Philadelphia Hockey Association (APHA) formed an alliance with field hockey by establishing a section to oversee rules and standards. Applebee further ensured consistency in the sport by encouraging her students to teach the game in the way they learned it. Within a few years, outside of academia, field hockey clubs were quickly formed and expanded to the association level. The United States Field Hockey Association (USFHA) was formed from the Philadelphia and Boston associations in 1922.¹⁰⁴ The associations were structured for fair play and a chance for everyone to participate. Miss Applebee made sure that every evolution of the sport was

1994): 10. Physical educators like Ethel Perrin, Harriett Ballentine, Daphine Hanna, and Senda Bernson also have profiles in the special supplement mentioned above. I would also include Dorothy Ainsworth, Blanche Trilling, and Mabel Lee in this group of elite women.

¹⁰³ Constance Applebee started her Mt. Pocono Hockey camp in 1922 for training players of all ages and hired students and physical educators to help run the camp. This was the same year that the United States Field Hockey Association was formed with the cooperation of the Boston and Philadelphia Hockey Association. Additionally in 1920, Miss Applebee started the newsletter the *Sportswoman* to share news of women involved with all kinds of sporting and play activities.

¹⁰⁴ Constance Applebee, "Early Landmarks of American Hockey," in *Selected Field Hockey and Lacrosse Articles* ed. by Betty Richey (Washington, DC: AAHPER, 1963): 9.

controlled because of possible scrutiny from outside sources. In rationalizing the need for camps, workshops, and organizations to contain competition and retain consistency and standards, field hockey earned a wide berth to expand. The aura around field hockey in America as a women-only sport included the British concept of amateurism and a certain social prestige. These women relished their role in this sport in their sphere, and used the sport to promote the sport in an educational-social context, thus de-emphasizing the competitive aspects.

A New Century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, women's sporting activities had increased greatly in choices and participation. Competitive configuration within the colleges and universities had at some places become fairly complex. Reminders concerning how sport was to help improve the health and bodies of young women were constantly restated. Lucille Hill advised: "The only possible way in which we can change our strenuous opponents to ardent advocates is to conduct our athletics, both social and organized, on such a high plane of intelligence and control that there can be no ground for this disfavor. We hear constantly of the "*abuse* of men's athletics; we should hear nothing but the "*use* of women's athletics."¹⁰⁵ This philosophy was on its way to ensure a move towards total separation of the sphere of physical activities for each

¹⁰⁵ Lucille E. Hill, *Athletics and Out-Door Sports for Women: Each Subject Being Separately Treated by a Special Writer* (New York: MacMillan, 1903): 5.

gender. The women had a sport program in an educational setting, while the men had a highly competitive model with a commercial base.

Women physical educators were becoming very concerned about the explosion of physical activity. For the previous two decades, issues of ethical behavior in men's intercollegiate athletics had been under much debate and scrutiny. In 1906, through pressures from President Theodore Roosevelt and college administrators, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was formally established to discuss these problems.¹⁰⁶ The interest that women students were displaying towards participating in basketball, track and field, and field hockey at an increasingly competitive level began to be observed outside the academy. The women directors and teachers of physical education did not want their students to follow the male model and taint the positive values that they struggled so hard to achieve.¹⁰⁷ Warnings about publicity and sponsorship were presented as “evils” and detriments to programs and the development of sport in a healthy context.¹⁰⁸ By 1906, the development of a woman's sports model

¹⁰⁶ See Ronald A. Smith, *Sport and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988): 192-194, 202-208.

¹⁰⁷ At this time, the best example of the ‘old girls network’ went into high gear as the women physical educators united to bring higher forms of competition to a halt. Judy Jensen mentioned several other examples of the old girls network through situations mentioned in Mabel Lee's two volume autobiography. Judy Jensen, “Women's Collegiate Athletics: Incidents in the Struggle for Influence and Control.” *Arena Review* 3, no. 2 (1979): 14.

¹⁰⁸ Hill, *Athletics*, 15.

began to evolve out of the membership of the American Physical Education Association (APEA) which emphasized the following points.

1. Women's sports should be conducted for large numbers of participants rather than training a few athletes for championship teams.
2. The joy of playing rather than determination to win at any cost should be the most important aspect of women's sports programs.
3. Women's contests should be conducted for the benefit of the players, not the spectators who pay admission fees.¹⁰⁹

These guidelines established and conveyed the tone of control and development of women's sport. Women physical educators wanted their programs to be "blemish free," show that their activities were nothing like the "evil" men's programs, and uphold the "feminine characteristics" so valued by society. The idea that serious competition would exclude the many others who might benefit was not going to be accepted or tolerated. Amy Morris Homans¹¹⁰ of Boston Normal School of Gymnastics established a regional alliance of the directors of New England women's physical educators in 1910.

¹⁰⁹ Frances A. Kellor, "Ethical Value of Sports for Women." *American Physical Education Review* 11, no. 3 (1906): 161-162.

¹¹⁰ The Boston Normal School of Gymnastics became affiliated with Wellesley College. Amy Homans is an important figure not only for her contributions at Wellesley, but also in establishing and pushing physical education into a professional level. The contribution of the professional organizations and her commitment to their growth are noted in Phyllis J. Hill, *The Way We Were, A History of The Purposes of NAPECW, 1924-1974* (National Association for Physical Education of College Women, 1975) and Betty M. Spears, *Leading the Way: Amy Morris Homans and the Beginnings of Professional Education for Women* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

The new Society of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges was developed to enable the directors to work together and address issues at hand.¹¹¹ By 1917, the Mid-West Society of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges (MWSDPEW) (later, the Society was upgraded to Association) was established. In 1919, it approached the (now) Association of Directors of Physical Education (ADPE) to consider affiliation status. In 1922, a western society was formed, thereby firmly establishing regional representation of women physical directors throughout much of the United States.

The number of women participating in activities continued to increase. Various forms of competition intensified within and outside academia. Organizations such as the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), formed in 1888, were interested in expanding their control of sport sponsorship.¹¹² The potential offered by women's sports was on the brink of exploration--according to many women physical educators, it was also close to

¹¹¹ Dorothy Ainsworth, "The History of the Eastern Association of Directors of Physical Education for College Women." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 3, no. 5 (1932): 3.

¹¹² "The AAU originally was conceived to be an association of individual clubs of recognized amateur status. . . .The AAU by the twentieth century had grown to become the world's largest governing body for non-professional athletics, conducting national championships in a number of sports." Ronald A. Smith, "Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)," in *Encyclopedia USA: the Encyclopedia of the United States of America Past and Present* ed. by R. Alton Lee v.2 (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1983): 157-158.

exploitation.¹¹³ When the AAU sponsored the first American woman's swim meet in 1914, some alarm bells sounded for women physical educators, but they waited to see if the interest would dissipate.

Others were also interested and curious about women's sports participation. An individual who stood out and impacted track and field was Dr. Harry E. Stewart, who studied women's participation in sport and supported it as a method to improve their health. He stressed and supported the importance of proper teaching of exercise and sport activities in order to control over-exertion and other detrimental results. His research on women's track and field (also referred to as "athletics") began in 1916, when he surveyed records of track and field events at the school and collegiate levels. His interest had been sparked by "the widely circulated press notices of a supposed breaking of some women's athletic record led the writer to believe that a compilation of correct records would be of great interest."¹¹⁴ Not being able to find any type of complete

¹¹³ Exploitation was more than a symbolic concept of the potential harm of competitive athletics for women. However, the conundrum of exploitation had several meanings attached to it in various contexts of the early literature on women's competition. Most of the concern revolved around male control over women. As Ronald Smith pointed out, "Much has been written about exploitation of athletes, mostly males—little has been written, however, about the exploitation by inattention, mostly females." Ronald A. Smith, "Women's Control of American College Sport: the Good of Those Who Played or an Exploitation by Those Who Controlled?" *Sport History Review* 29, no. 1 (1998): 104. The writer believes this is an area that deserves further exploration.

¹¹⁴ Harry E. Stewart, "Survey of Track Athletics for Women." *American Physical Education Review* 21, no. 1 (1916): 13.

records, he surveyed schools and colleges where he thought track and field was offered. The results astounded him. There was a range of discrepancies within each event and little consistency in the number of events offered by institutions. This variety disturbed him greatly. The successful track programs, for example, had trained coaches who were able to teach correct form, provide necessary equipment and facilities, and, most importantly, oversee the progress of the athletes. He also appealed for standards for track and field events, as this obvious lack of structure and guidance did not provide for consistency of comparison. He also suggested specialized coaches for specific events and continued with specific discussion and analysis of each event. He believed that with proper control, prejudice and misperceptions of the sport could be corrected. His recommendation, based on his observation of the numbers of women participating in track and field, advocated competition for them: "Let us urge then, under careful supervision, a vigorous training for women--not wholly for sport, not wholly for reasons of physical development, but for the acquirement of those sterling elements of challenge which always marks the true sportswoman."¹¹⁵ This statement certainly must have concerned women physical educators greatly.

Men were beginning to encroach on this territory, which may have been yet another reason for women physical educators' opposition to men's involvement. Judy

¹¹⁵ Harry E. Stewart, "Survey of Track Athletics for Women." *American Physical Education Review* 21, no. 2 (1916): 108.

Jensen commented, “Of course, it was no accident that the Women’s Division [of the National Association of Amateur Athletics] was organized within a year after the AAU had made its commitment to the fostering of women’s athletics.”¹¹⁶ And Ronald Smith noted, “Women physical educators (under the educational model) were emphatic in their desire to keep girls’ and women’s sport under their control, and not under men’s control or using the commercial model.”¹¹⁷ The increased interest in competitive venues for track and field events for women perturbed some of the leaders of the field. Perhaps Florence Summers expressed the general feelings that prevailed when she mused: “Would it be wise to have a national body or committee for the purpose of standardizing and controlling athletics for girls and women?”¹¹⁸ She pointed out that the AAU had controlled men’s athletics and questioned whether they should also control women’s athletics. Furthermore she observed, “They are even to be allowed to compete with men in events such as swimming where the sexes can get on practically even terms.”¹¹⁹ She concluded by advocating that athletics and other sports be kept separate and controlled by women who were experienced in working within this sphere.

¹¹⁶ Jensen, *Women’s Collegiate Athletics*, 15.

¹¹⁷ Smith, *Women’s Control*, 106-107.

¹¹⁸ Florence Summers, “Right Kind of Athletics for Girls.” *American Physical Education Review* 21, no. 6 (1916): 375.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*,

It was becoming apparent that several playing fields were beginning to develop where various forms of serious competition appeared. Women were slowly being permitted to participate in certain events in the Olympics. Activities continued to evolve within institutions of higher learning and many more were developing outside institution control. Some physical educators even acknowledged there were different needs of athletes from novice to skilled performers. Florence Burrell explained the arrangement of what would become known as the sport day, as the best format to use to appeal to all groups, beginners to highly skilled, and satisfy those who had competitive needs. She pointed out: “Outside competition affords the most wholesome natural way of meeting other women in matches courteously conducted though sharply contested. It also gives an opportunity of adaptation to entirely new methods of play.”¹²⁰ It would be several decades before this arrangement became accepted.

There had been some tremendous changes and opportunities for women to participate in a variety of sporting experiences. Since 1900, women were officially

¹²⁰ Florence B. Burrell, “Intercollegiate Athletics for Women in Coeducational Institutions.” *American Physical Education Review* 22, no. 1 (1917): 18. From the field days in the late 1800s to the development of play days which evolved from 1917 through the 1920s. Play days mixed players from at least three different schools in various sports and activities to “compete” against one another. The Tri College Play Day in 1919 (also called Triangle Conference) between three California colleges (Mills, Stanford, and Berkeley) was one of the earliest documented activity in this format. Hult, “Story of Women’s Athletics: Manipulating a Dream 1890-1985,” in Costa, *Women and Sport*, 89-90.

allowed to compete in very limited events in the Olympics.¹²¹ Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), was very restrictive of what women could do, so feminine activities such as archery, tennis, and golf were gradually added. Growth in women's participation continued in specific sports clubs and associations, sports such as golf, tennis, field hockey, and swimming. Highly competitive company and industrial sports gained support and interest flourished. All of these areas were out of the control of physical educators and would grow and develop at different times and rates throughout the United States. College women were active in these sports, but college women physical educators did not consider their participation acceptable.

¹²¹ Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the Modern Olympics and first president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) saw the Olympics as a forum for the noble and athletic elite, and women served as a "hinderance to his Olympic ideal of 'citius, altius, fortius,' ever faster, higher, and stronger for women could never reach the physical achievement of men." Ronald A. Smith and John A. Lucas, *Saga of American Sport*. (Philadelphia, Lea & Febiger, 1978): 349. Coubertin had chosen to exclude women from the Games, but slowly they infiltrated starting in the 1900's with golf and tennis. Generally, the leading women physical educators agreed with Coubertin that women should not participate in the Olympics or other competitive venues because of attention of being in the public eye. However, the women resented and resisted a growing number of men and male run organizations that in their opinion were exploiting women athletes, extolling the male competitive model, and promoting specialization. This was clearly seen in the venue of track and field.

Organizations for Women's Sports Are Formalized

Authority over women's college and school sports was established through physical education associations already in existence. A major organization was officially created in 1917, with the formation of the Committee on Women's Athletics (formerly the National Women's Basketball Committee) of the American Physical Education Association (APEA). William Burdick, president of the APEA, appointed Elizabeth Burchenal as the first chair of the rules and editorial committee on women's athletics. The rules and editorial committee studied problems in women's athletics and made, approved, and edited rules in response to addressing these issues in swimming, hockey, and basketball. It did not serve as a legislative body¹²² but rather functioned as a governing body that established but did not enforce standards.

The Athletic Conference of American College Women (ACACW) was established by Blanche Trilling during the Conference of Women's Athletic Associations of the Middle West on March 9-11, 1917.¹²³ Trilling used the formation of the ACACW

¹²² Welch stated, "Originally the Rules and Editorial Committee was established to study problems in women's athletics. The Committee on Women's Athletics formulated programs but did not serve as a legislative body nor did it have clout to direct women's sports programs on a national basis. A basketball subcommittee was established in 1917 and additional sports committees were added. When the Women's Athletic Section reorganized in 1932, the Rules and Editorial Committee became a standing committee of the Section." Paula D. Welch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport*, 240.

¹²³ "Conference of the WAA of the Middle West." *American Physical Education Review* 22, no. 6 (1917): 386-387. Gerber, *American Woman*, 77-79.

to influence changes in the WAAs in contradiction of the philosophy of student control, to formalize the relationship of students and their clubs to the women physical educators and their departments. The organization of the ACACW provided cohesive strategies in how WAAs could be organized to support and benefit students and their educational and sport experiences. Both the WAAs and the ACACW functioned as student organizations that also happened to voice many of the beliefs endorsed by physical educators. This endorsement was clearly seen in the second resolution at the conference, which stated an opposition to intercollegiate competition. Instead of students traveling to each others' schools, it was suggested that the secretary of the conference (most likely referring to the Mid-West division of ACACW) collect all records and serve as a centralized location for all schools. Within a year, the group had voted on a national conference meeting every three years with regional meetings two years in between. A mission statement was also agreed upon: "The purpose of this conference is to promote and better women's athletics through the country and foster the upbringing of good strong women's athletic associations in all universities and colleges."¹²⁴ The ACACW kept the women and students busy administering the blossoming organization and kept them focused on goals.

However, when the AAU began to sponsor events such as championships and later Olympic competition for women, the women physical educators began to resist and resent this (from their perspective) intrusion. Their opposition was the start of another

¹²⁴ Margaret Swift, "Report of the National Athletic Conference of American College Women." *American Physical Education Review* 26, no. 6 (1921): 305.

round of forming of organizations and governing bodies for women's participation in sports on a national level.

By the 1920s, serious challenges to women and competition were on the horizon. Competition had gained interest and support in various sports within and outside of academic boundaries. Women had competed in swimming championships as well as participated in the Olympics. Track and field leapt to the forefront. The sport quickly became popular in the public eye, and interest was reflected in the numbers of women who participated in the events. Dr. Stewart, who had researched and studied women and events in track, continued to demonstrate the success women earned. His studies also showed that women improved their stamina with proper guidance. Dissatisfied with the seeming lack of progress in improving consistency in track and field, he formed a committee of physical educators to look into competition and rule formation in track athletics.¹²⁵ The AAU had been very vocal in its interest in sponsoring women's track and field events, as they anticipated a potential growth in this sport.¹²⁶ During this time, some women were also trying to get track and field events added to the Olympic Games, and faced a great deal of resistance. France's Alice Milliat's establishment of the Fédération Sportif Féminine Internationalé in 1922 stirred up interest from the public and

¹²⁵ Harry E. Stewart, "Track Athletics for Women." *American Physical Education Review* 27, no. 5 (1922): 208.

¹²⁶ The potential of making money through memberships and sponsorship of meets most likely motivated the interest from the AAU. Gerber quotes the AAU "intention" to work with women's athletic organization and its intention to control athletics. Ellen Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women 1923-1936," in *Her Story*, 437.

women. In response to this interest, what was referred to as the “Women’s Olympic Games,” (or, because the IOC protested the use of “Olympics,” the “women’s games”) were held in Paris.¹²⁷ American women who participated did not do well, partially because of the lack of experience, training, and exposure to competition. Participation in this event met with a great deal of criticism and disapproval by several organizations, which believed this was not a venue with proper female administration. The CWA of the APEA quickly added a track committee that included only one member from Dr. Stewart’s group.¹²⁸ Letters were written to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the president of the IOC, in support of his ban on women’s track and field in the Olympics. Resolutions rejecting international play or any unauthorized national body were quickly drawn up and agreed upon.¹²⁹ Any type of organization that had an affiliation with sport or track and field was inundated with letters of protest and warnings from these women and various groups. But the presence of so many women entering competition on an international

¹²⁷ Fédération Sportif Féminine Internationalé was established in 1921 to provide a forum for women to participate in sports, primarily track and field events that the IOC had banned women from entering. This group held four games from 1922-1934 having successfully convinced the IOC that women could compete in these events without serious health repercussions. Mary H. Leigh and Therese M. Bonin, “The Pioneering Role of Madame Alice Milliat and the FSFI in Establishing International Track and Field Competition for Women.” *Journal of Sport History* 4, no. 1 (1977): 72-83. Also see, Janet Woolum, *Outstanding Women Athletes: Who They Are and How They Influenced Sport in America* 2nd ed. (Phoenix: Oryx, 1998): 40, and Paula Welch and D. Margaret Costa, “A Century of Olympic Competition,” in Costa and Guthrie, eds., *Women and Sport*, 123-141.

¹²⁸ “Committee on Women’s Athletics.” *American Physical Education Review* 27, no. 6 (1922): 298-299.

¹²⁹ “Resolutions.” *American Physical Education Review* 28, no. 1 (1923): 68-69.

level influenced the international track governing body to endorse women's competition and force the IOC to include women's track and field in the Olympics.¹³⁰ Opposition to exploitation and disagreement about women's competition resounded in many criticisms by women leaders of physical education. The growing angst towards competition, interference from men, and a mounting sense of loss of control contributed to the tensions women physical educators were feeling. They would attempt to resolve this situation by formalizing expectations at the national level that would be controlled at the grassroots. The battle lines for separate control had been officially drawn.

¹³⁰ Tricard, *American Women*, 175.

Chapter 2

SEPARATISTS CONTROL OF WOMEN'S SPORTS, 1923-1949: THE PHILOSOPHIC SPLIT AND CONTROL OF COMPETITION

Women's physical activities had rapidly gained interest from co-eds at the turn of the century. By the 1920s, men were expressing interest in getting involved in the development of various women's sports at the collegiate and international level. These interests combined with the concern of the women physical educators that women's sports were moving to an elite competitive level forced these women leaders to make decisions that would change the evolution of women's intercollegiate athletics. This chapter will focus on the philosophies, actions, and policies that were developed to ward off excessive competition and to keep sports under women's control.

Controversy about competition and women athletes had reached a crossroads in 1923, as more opportunities for participation and support were offered through events in the Olympics and AAU. In reaction to these increases in competitive sports, women physical educators and others created a variety of organizations and policies to provide formal checks and balances for girls and women and their physical activities. These

guidelines developed by the women physical educators reflected the different middle class social norms and behavioral expectations for men and women.¹³¹

The AAU had been expanding the number of women's sports it sponsored by the time it decided to include track and field championships in 1923. Since there were few female instructors in track and field, male coaches and male-dominated groups controlled the competitive development of the sport. This action concerned women physical educators and others, who believed that women in this male structure should succumb to the temptations and evils that permeated men's sports. The women's groups took several steps to prevent what they considered was a dangerous trend.

The Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation

The primary agents of control for women's intercollegiate and interscholastic sport came through organizations such as the Women's Division (WD) of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF), the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities (ADPEWC), and the Athletic Conference of American College Women (ACAWC), as well as the reconfigured Committee for Women's Athletics (of the APEA). These organizations established the standards and platform chosen to represent women's athletics and provided solid alliances in support of

¹³¹ Himes commented that this split was also related to class distinctions. Himes, *Female*, 211. Class distinction has been researched in the history of the United Kingdom, but has only been made in passing references for the United States.

major issues. Discussion led to plans to change the direction that women were taking and establish very formal rules. Through the intervention of the newly formed Women's Division (WD) of the NAAF and the endorsement of Mrs. Lou Henry Hoover,¹³² the president of the Girl Scouts, the direction of women's intercollegiate athletics was sufficiently altered and controlled for the next four decades. The Women's Division advocated the promotion of "sport for all," keeping sporting activities and opportunities open and available for all females. Three major principles were highlighted: first and foremost was 'sport for all'; second, the protection of athletes from exploitation; and third, "the enjoyment of the activity itself and feeling of well-being that comes with successful physical activity."¹³³ Other issues were included in the platform. These were to increase the number of well-trained women physical educators and their students; to get physical education activities under the control of qualified women; and to eliminate most types and systems of competition, awards, gate receipts, and travel.

¹³² The impact of Lou Henry Hoover's commitment to the support of women's sport has been greatly under researched. She was a student member of the basketball committee at Stanford when they faced off against Berkeley in 1896 and was the WAA president during her senior year at Stanford. She was involved with the development of the NAAF as well as the women's division and supported the commitment to women participation in sport. Jan Beran, "Lou Henry Hoover and Women's Sports," in *Lou Henry Hoover: Essays on a Busy Life* ed. by Dale C. Mayer, (Worland, WY: High Plains Pub., 1994): 50. See also, Alice A. Sefton, *The Women's Division, National Amateur Athletic Federation, Sixteen Years of Progress in Athletics for Girls and Women, 1923-1939* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1941): 2-3.

¹³³ Committee on Standards, National Section of Women's Athletics of American Physical Education Association, *Standards in Athletics for Girls and Women: Guiding Principles in the Organization and Administration of Athletic Programs* (New York: National Section of Women's Athletics of American Physical Education Association, 1936): 44.

The Women's Division commitment to its strongly worded platform became a public relations tool through which to spread the word, indoctrinate, and educate all physical educators. The resolutions were published through various avenues such as professional journals and government documents. The majority of women in leadership positions quickly accepted and assimilated the basic principles enthusiastically. "The women's philosophy, emphasizing a broad program of sport, medical examinations, women leaders, and protection from exploitation, was promoted through national programs."¹³⁴ The Women's Division Platform was the first, but not the last, publication that would be produced by those governing women's sports. Their beliefs extended beyond the field of education to include a broader audience. Organizations such as the YWCA, Girl Scouts, and religious groups accepted the message and incorporated the basic principles into their policies and guidelines on physical activities. With legislation passed that supported the development of playgrounds and recreational facilities, the Women's Division platform was incorporated and included throughout educational and non-educational institutions and organizations. By 1926 some of the top educational organizations officially supported the position and resolutions proposed by the Women's Division. Besides the CWA, the ADPEWC and other predominantly educational associations¹³⁵ joined the movement for controlled women's sports. With these

¹³⁴ Betty Spears and Richard A. Swanson, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States* 3rd ed. (Dubuque, IA: Championship Books, 1988): 242.

¹³⁵ Gerber cites that the American Associations of University Women in 1925 and the National Association of Deans of Women, in 1926, sponsored the platform. Ellen Gerber, *American* 71. See also, Spears and Swanson, *History of Sport*, 246-247.

commitments established, the physical educators had positioned themselves and physical education to make an important contribution to the collegiate and scholastic experience.

The Committee for Women's Athletics Joins the Fight

The CWA of the APEA had attempted to set standards and rules for several sports during the previous decade and quickly endorsed the standards and principles presented by the Women's Division. Using the platform to strengthen its position, additional principles were developed to emphasize and support this specific direction for women's physical activities. In 1923, the APEA requested that Mabel Lee conduct an assessment of the status of "competition" in women's sport.¹³⁶ In her first survey on the status of competition of collegiate women, Lee revealed that women physical educators had

¹³⁶ Mabel Lee was considered by many of her generation one of the outstanding physical educators and leaders in the profession. She published many articles and books, including her memoirs. Lee was very vocal against competition, and her high visibility and prominence earned her recognition as a leader in physical education. This recognition was reflected in her becoming the first female president of APEA in 1931. Betty Spears, "A Tribute to Mable Lee." *American Academy of Physical Education Papers #19* Effects of Physical Activity on Children: A Special Tribute to Mabel Lee. 57th meeting Atlanta, GA April 15-16, 1985 (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1986). See also, Steveda F. Chepko, "The Impact of Mable Lee, Ethel Perrin, and Agnes Wayman on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics Between 1920 and 1935" (Ed.D. diss., Temple University, 1987); Madge M. Phillips, "Biographies of Selected Women Leaders in Physical Education in the United States" (Ph.D., diss., State University of Iowa, 1960); and Kristi Lowenthal, "Mabel Lee and Louise Pound: The University of Nebraska's Battle Over Women's Intercollegiate Athletics" (M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska, 1999).

gained control over college and school sports programs. Published a year later, this article was clearly arranged to support the philosophical aims of the profession. Fifty colleges responded that inter-class activity, closely followed by telegraphic competition, was very popular with the students of the schools. For all the indications of support for non-competition, Lee did include some voices of resistance. Six responses indicated support of the belief that “varsity competition” was good for women. Lee pointed out, “only three are directors in colleges having such activities” and thus minimized any pro-competition sentiments.¹³⁷ She did document a case where the director of athletics was against inter-collegiate athletics but, shockingly to Lee, the WAA and the students supported competition. She briefly mentioned other indications that varsity competitions still existed. There was no mention of the number of surveys sent out, only that fifty were received.

In a 1920s investigation¹³⁸ of how physical education programs for women were organized in state universities, Georgia Johnson included information on intercollegiate athletics. Types of competition were identified and principles that regulated women’s

¹³⁷ This condescending attitude reflected the general feelings of the profession. Mabel Lee, “The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Situation as it Stands To-day.” *American Physical Education Review* 29, no. 1 (1924): 17. Joan Hult pointed out, “the most universally accepted evidence that varsity and high level competition had been discontinued . . . two surveys by Mable Lee The questionnaires upon which these surveys were based were sent to women physical educators who were members of the NSWA or the Women’s Division-NAAF.” Joan Hult, “The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women: Leadership by Women Physical Educators, 1899-1949,” in *Century*, 70.

¹³⁸ Georgia B. Johnson, *Organization of the Required Physical Education for Women in State Universities* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927): 50-53.

activities were discussed. She mentioned colleges that did not participate in athletics, a few that participated in telegraphic meets, and some of the varsity type. The only comment made regarding “varsity” related to specific sports (basketball, swimming, hockey, and fencing). Another revelation was a comment that if intramural athletics were emphasized in the right proportion, there would be no need for telegraphic or any other type of competition.

By 1927, the Committee for Women’s Athletics of the APEA was elevated to section level and its name changed to the Section on Women’s Athletics (SWA) of the APEA.¹³⁹ Section status strengthened its voice and authority. Further legitimacy was established through the formation of the rules and editorial committee in 1931. A year later, the Section on Women’s Athletics became the National Section on Women’s Athletics (NSWA). The members of the committees continued to be very concerned with the increasingly intense competition and the number of girls participating in sports using boys’ rules. They were in complete agreement with the numerous physiological concerns that reappeared and stressed the necessity of physical exams and the hiring of trained women physical educators who could evaluate and assess each female student’s capacity and talent in respective activities. The Committee on Standards in the NSWA published *Standards in Athletics for Girls and Women* in 1937. The document was arranged in two sections: The first covered the information about standards, and the second focused on the structure of the program. The standards were practical and allowed for flexibility in

¹³⁹ In the literature, this organization is more commonly referred to as the Women’s Athletic Section.

addressing individual and institutional differences. The use of this document served as a contract and commitment to following the guidelines.¹⁴⁰ Among the standards listed were the use of knowledge, careful observation, and awareness of activities that contributed to successful and balanced programs. Comments about competition included using it as a constructive factor in organized group play. Two additional, important aspects of the program were the use of rules provided by the NSWA, and weaning the students away from awards and other “incentives.”¹⁴¹ The document continued by addressing the relationship of the standards to the program, leaders, and players or participants. By outlining the basic expectations for various age levels, locations of activities, and types of groups, the NSWA provided an official statement of what was accepted and encouraged in the educational setting in what the NSWA said was in the best interest of the students. This document concurrently supported and expanded the issues cited in the established platform of the Women’s Division.

The Role of the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities

The Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities (ADPEWC) united the three regional groups (which continued to meet independently) in 1924 under the name National Association of Directors of Physical

¹⁴⁰ *Standards in Athletics*, 6.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 8.

Education for College Women (NADPECW). Highlights of principles that were identified by this group as important included the following four: 1) to survey and study problems and issues unique to women's departments; 2) to function as a national clearinghouse for the member societies; 3) to establish and supervise the standards and conduct of women's physical education and sports; and most importantly, 4) to operate and serve as the "official voice" of the entire profession.¹⁴² By functioning as an official body, the organization served to act as a unified front and hoped to enhance its status. At each subsequent meeting additional issues were discussed and explored. During the 1932-1934 biennium, a report was drawn up that included an evaluation of physical education programs, a decision was made to support the Women's Division in condemning the participation of women in the Olympic Games, and a call was made for more research about women sports experience to be conducted by women. In 1929, to make the organization more inclusive, the word "Directors" was dropped, opening up the membership to any woman involved with teaching or managing physical education. The organization was now called the National Association of Physical Education for College Women (NAPECW).

The Unified Front

¹⁴² Hill, *The Way We Were*, 9-10.

By sharing and supporting the standards set in the platform and the basic values and expectations for controlling women's sport these three administrative organizations (Women's Division, NSWA, and NAPECW) were able to provide cohesive barriers to competitive intercollegiate sport for women. Further justifications were used: It was in the best interest of the female athlete's health, and it established a well-voiced position against any type of elite competition. By reasoning that women physical educators were the people who were educated and trained in this type of analysis and were knowledgeable about the dangers of over-exhaustion to females, the women asserted their role in the control of sport in education. Similar assertions were used to gain control and power over athletics.

During this time, there was also an impetus by female educators for separation and control of physical education in the education setting. Separate departments and divisions existed in many institutions, but there was now an even greater push for separation. A call to action was published by Agnes Wayman of Barnard College, in which she extolled the need to claim physical education for women and eliminate the problems that were imposed through the male model that was the dominate format.¹⁴³ She reprimanded the entire profession and called for new leadership that would address health needs, incorporate health examinations, and take control of the decline of women's sport. The right sport at the right level under the proper leadership would be the only way to ensure the correct use of sport. It was clear that new relationships were evolving

¹⁴³ Agnes R. Wayman, "Women's Athletics—All Uses—No Abuses." *American Physical Education Review* 29, no. 9 (1924): 517-519.

in academia. Recommendations about the need to cooperate and work with the university administration would only emphasize the professional status of women physical educators and directors of women's programs. There were different relationships at each institution. Budgets, course and physical requirements, hours, grades, credit, and "classes of excuses" were all part of the department activities. Issues regarding space, buildings, facilities (swimming pools), equipment, and lockers were much more likely to be addressed by trained physical educators as appropriate to the activities and programs offered. The four most important groups that the department of physical education had to work with, according to Ainsworth were "the department members, the students, the department of the College Physician, and the college administration."¹⁴⁴ The department or the registrar was responsible for the physical education requirements and the scheduling of classes. Outside of class, the WAA managed the sports and games. The college physician cooperated with the department and provided physical exams, anthropometric tests and measurements, as well as additional types of physical exams if necessary. As more control was gained with the maneuvering and realignments within the departments, the students and their organization, the WAA, also underwent some far-reaching shifts and changes.

**The Women's Athletic Association Conforms to the Philosophy of
No High-Level Competition**

¹⁴⁴ Ainsworth, *History of Physical*, 57.

Founded in 1917, the Athletic Conference of American College Women (ACACW) made a conscious decision to rename itself in 1933 to the Athletic Federation of American College Women (AFACW). As the name changed, so did its philosophies. The commitment to the standards and platforms of 1923 reinforced the need for the WAAs to conform more uniformly.¹⁴⁵ The changes that marked the end of the ‘autonomy’ of the WAAs would be the merging of physical education departments, changes in the institutional structure of student organizations, development of extracurricular sport, and the emphatic reinforcement of “play for play’s sake.” Posture contests and interest in life-long and socializing activities with men also debuted at this time. For the students in the 1920s, the play day had become the accepted form for women’s participation in physical activities.¹⁴⁶ The play day had evolved to function primarily as a social activity with students from different schools assigned to different teams to mix them up in sports and gymnastic activities held both indoors and outdoors.

The WAAs were critical in pushing the guidelines to provide for consistency and

¹⁴⁵ “The first type of organization was in some instances very similar to the present arrangement of a board composed of students and a faculty advisor.” But in several colleges the associations were organized quite independent of the department of physical education. Budgets and membership monies were also handled in different ways. Ainsworth, *History of Physical*, 79-81.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 1, f. 46. Also, Helen Schelman, “Experimental Intercollegiate Competition for Women.” *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 1, no. 2 (1930): 8-10. This structure was endorsed by the Woman’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation and other women’s physical education associations. Ethel Perrin and Grace Turner, *Play Day-The Spirit of Sport* (New York: American Child Health Association, 1929).

control over these activities.¹⁴⁷ In 1932, the ACAWC pledged that the WAA would cooperate with its respective physical education department, support the philosophy of sport for all, and eliminate the point system. Another measure of the adjustment in attitude was reflected in the name changes of the WAAs to Women's Recreation Associations (WRAs), thereby de-emphasizing the importance of "Athletics" and reinforcing the participative aspect of the sporting experience.¹⁴⁸ They also recognized and supported the role of CWA, and used the Spalding Rule Books to keep sport rules consistent among colleges. More importantly, they did not use men's rules.¹⁴⁹ The vigilant effort to thwart elite competition often overlooked the small pockets of resistance as several programs continued previous customs and used club teams to maintain

¹⁴⁷Marguerite Schwarz, "Athletic Conference of American College Women." *The Sportswoman* 8, no. 6 (1932): 22-25.

¹⁴⁸ There were many that would retain the title WAA, while others would switch to WRA in the height of the control of competition. Still others switched to sport councils or other "less threatening" names. For some institutions, WAAs remained affiliated with the physical education department for their duration, while for others, the organization was moved into the student organization structure. Ainsworth, *History of Physical*, 76.

¹⁴⁹ For example, in the basketball guides, there are chapters that explicitly discuss the rules that are experimented with and why the rules are set for women and girls. These chapters were not in the same place in subsequent editions. In the *Journal of Health, Physical Education* information on rules and surveys were included in the news about the activities within the women's section.

informal varsity programs.¹⁵⁰ Sport days were distinct from play days in that players from the same school played against other school teams, but still allowed the students to enjoy playing and learning with one another.

Within the next decade, two additional formats appeared on various campuses-- the sport day and telegraphic meets. Sport days were similar to play days in that many teams (composed of women from the same school) participated in a variety of activities to meet other students and try other activities in a controlled environment. The popularity of sport days would peak by the 1950s with official approval from the leaders in physical education as the structure of preference. Telegraphic meets were a unique method of "competition." In particular events such as riflery, bowling, and swimming, selected schools would agree upon events and set up the times. As each woman completed her event, the score/result was telegraphed to the other institutions participating in the "meet." Once the scores were received, the results were tallied and a winner was announced. The use of telegraphic meets eliminated travel costs, continued

¹⁵⁰ Norma M. Leavitt and Margaret Duncan, "Status of Intramural Programs for Women." *Research Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (1937): 68-79. W. W. Mustaine, "Tabulation of Replies to Questionnaires on Girls Basketball." *American Physical Education Review* 32, no. 1 (1927): 41-45. Pauline Hodgson, "Development of Intramural Athletics for College Women." *American Physical Education Review* 32, no. 7 (1927): 491-496. Lillian Schoedler, "Report of Progress, Women's Division, National Association Athletic Federation." *American Physical Education Review* 29, no. 6 (1924): 305-310. In discussing the results, it becomes evident that a number of surveys were not returned. Discussion rarely focused on the lack of responses, except occasional comments from members of basketball rules committee who wanted the feedback. One could speculate that within the group of non-responses, there may have been included those who condoned competitive programs and may not have responded to the various surveys.

the illusion of non-competition, and upheld fairness and honesty.¹⁵¹ Telegraphic meets became passé by the mid-1940s although various schools did continue the practice, and many rule books continued to include instruction on these events into the 1960s.

Compliance with the non-competitive philosophy was not universal, and those few women who voiced their dissatisfaction were reprimanded. In an editorial in the *American Physical Education Review*, Wellesley students were severely castigated for their 237 to 33 vote in support of competitive sport.¹⁵² Other schools stating their interest in competing against Wellesley in specific sports indicated a hint of rebellion. Warnings were issued about the responsibilities of the physical educators to provide the students with a better understanding of why competition was not useful to women. Control over these acts of rebellion seemed to be limited to warnings about women's physical limitations and repetition the rationale for the non-competitive guidelines. The literature mentions nothing more about this incident. The perception that women were biologically and physiologically inferior to men could jeopardize their position and was always in the back of physical educators' minds.

Mabel Lee was asked by the Women's Division to do a follow up of her 1924 survey in 1930 to ascertain the status of competition among collegiate women by

¹⁵¹ Gerber, *American*, 65.

¹⁵² Editorial, "Intercollegiate Sports for Women." *American Physical Education Review* 29, no. 4 (1924): 198.

evaluating the status of intercollegiate athletics.¹⁵³ This time, 98 of the 154 institutions responded. The number of states represented almost doubled. In the majority of responses received, it is evident that of the physical educators believed that the disadvantages of competition outweighed any positive aspect. In the categories listed in types of competition, there is a category--varsity type--that reveals that some institutions did participate in these types of activities. But little attention was paid to any activity that did not include activities in which all students could participate. The difference now was there were a few more voices that expressed interest in the competitive venues.

For all the voices that condemned the negatives of competition, there were others who made their support known. In her controversial “Why Cramp Competition?”¹⁵⁴ Ina Gittings warned, “to re-establish intercollegiate athletics would in no way violate a single resolution of this federation except the travel clause Abuses there are, and giving up intercollegiate athletics does not guarantee that a perfect program will be conducted.” Gittings believed, “constant *learning by doing* is the game. Such training cannot fail to mold the competition (varsity games) the keener lessons learned At any rate, competitive games for girls *are* conducted within Physical Education departments of

¹⁵³ Many of the terms used in this study are defined in a broad manner. The term “intermural” is used, but it is indicated in the article to refer to interclass competition. Mabel Lee, “The Case for and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Situation Since 1923.” *Research Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1931): 93.

¹⁵⁴ Ina E. Gittings, “Why Cramp Competition?” *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 2, no. 1 (1931): 10.

almost every University and college in the United States, and with desirable results.”¹⁵⁵ She addressed other issues that had been under discussion, such as the benefit of travel, loyalty, and the natural instinct to compete. She also believed that women physical educators were capable of handling the responsibilities and controlling all situations of a negative sort; otherwise, they were not doing their job. Her viewpoint was not well received by the other women leaders in the profession.¹⁵⁶

In 1937, Norma Leavitt and Margaret Duncan, surveyed 94 colleges, of which 77 responded with information on the types of extramural competition sponsored. Types included 13 varsity, 57 telegraphic meets, 54 play days, and 32 sports days.¹⁵⁷ It is apparent that some students actively pursued the more competitive ventures. Pockets of resistance, by individuals as well as within certain sports, would continue to challenge the goals set by the guiding organizations.

Track and Field: Growth and Development

Participation in track and field events continued to increase, notwithstanding the condemnation of women physical educators, their organizations, and others who resented

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 11.

¹⁵⁶ Gittings’ arguments were refuted in two articles in the March issue. Grace B. Davies and Anne F. Hodgkins, “In Answer to ‘Why Cramp Competition?’” *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 2, no. 3 (1931): 29-30.

¹⁵⁷ Norma Leavitt and Margaret Duncan, “The Status of Intramural Programs for Women.” *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 8, no. 1 (1937): 68.

women's participation in this venue. Track meets were arranged, but most were in the form of play and sport days. However, many athletic clubs and the AAU held plenty of "competitive" meets that were offered under various guises. These meets would include industrial teams, interscholastic teams, clubs, and the occasional college team.

In the South, a track dynasty was under development. Two years after the Tuskegee relays were first organized in 1927, two women's events were included in 1929.¹⁵⁸ This signified the beginning of Tuskegee Institute's commitment to sponsor and support the development of Black women's track and field. The Institute would continue to add more events for women, and provide proper coaching; by 1937, Tuskegee would become a powerhouse in the sport, dominating all events at AAU National Track Meets until Tennessee State gained supremacy in the 1950s. Black women were able to establish their prowess in this venue with little interference from the predominantly white women physical educators and their organizations because of the separation of the races.

Official Olympic competition for track and field started in 1928 amidst much opposition at all levels. Many in the IOC (including Coubertin) did not believe that women were capable of competing at the elite level and were concerned about health repercussions. This would lead to the elimination of any race over 400 meters, as it was not ladylike to collapse of exhaustion. The reluctance to include women was more a political decision--the international track and field association demanded that the

¹⁵⁸ Cindy H. Gissendanner, "African American Women Olympians: the Impact of Race, Gender, and Class Ideologies, 1932-1968." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 67, no. 2 (1996): 174.

Women's Games cease and brought the women under control of the men.¹⁵⁹ There were also plenty of physicians, physical educators, and concerned citizens who were opposed to women competing at any level. The members of the Women's Division and their associates feverishly campaigned against these Olympic events. They sent letters to directors of state associations, school principals, and others who had any control of girls' or women's sport. But it did not stop women from competing at the Los Angeles Olympics in 1932. Although it is seldom stated, some of the women were in college, and because of the "ban" were associated with clubs--their academic institutions are not mentioned. The successes of these women were examples of how training and coaching could contribute to individual and national success. The situation in track and field would evolve in a very perplexing manner. Because most interscholastic and collegiate programs did not offer many track and field activities, the AAU had to rely on the athletic clubs and the traditional Black colleges for its pool of talent.

Basketball: Continuing Issues

Basketball competition continued to present many problems for women physical educators. The positive aspects of the sport were overshadowed by what were considered negatives that surrounded its success. Women were playing basketball everywhere. Proliferation of the sport had extended to church groups, as well as those playing at the

¹⁵⁹ Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong, Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York: Free Press, 1994): 59-61.

semiprofessional, industrial, and scholastic levels. It had gained popularity with the press, the general population, and men. Men were coaching and managing women's teams, and there were women who continued to use men's rules to play the game. Horror stories were used by women physical educators to emphasize the problems with basketball, including too much traveling, overstrain, little guidance regarding health issues, too many games (including tournaments), and winning at any cost.¹⁶⁰

In opposition to the direction of the Section on Women's Athletics Rules Committee on Basketball, the AAU decided to sponsor a national championship in women's basketball in 1926 in which the women played under men's rules. This decision was not well received by the members of the women's basketball rules committee as well as other women leaders. Resentment was very strong against the AAU and the women who chose to play in this arena. A conciliatory gesture was made in 1932, when the AAU established a 16-member women's advisory committee and appointed a female chair of its women's basketball committee. Four years later, the AAU bypassed any further discussion and created its own rules for women. Meanwhile, the NSWA negotiated with the basketball rules committee to change the rules from six players on three-court division to six players on two-court division to open the floor but not reduce to the five players mandated in the "boy's rules". It seemed scandalous to the women leaders that basketball enjoyed competitive successes and a following. Through

¹⁶⁰ Blanche M. Trilling, "Safeguarding Girl's Athletics," in *Women and Athletics*, compiled by the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1930): 11.

the combined strength of the Women's Division and the NSWA, the women provided educational and training opportunities to those unfamiliar with the proper policies needed for girls and women. Because of the concern at the interscholastic level, Girls Athletic Associations (GAA) were formed to help combat and control championship play.¹⁶¹ There was a decrease at the state level, but local and regional competition seemed to continue. Some WAAs worked with the GAAs to provide good leadership and examples through the sponsorship of play days for the girls, as well as assisting in controlling competitive urges. Since the physical educators could not infiltrate the coaching or officiating areas because of their standards, they would have to try to get the girls out of competition.

Basketball and track and field represented, for women physical educators and their allies, the worst aspects of competition. The increases in the industrial and commercial leagues meant, in their opinion, the complete manipulation of women. But there were some who wondered why these women were so vehemently against competition. Carson Ryan questioned what was really known about women's athletics. He cited the lack of coverage of women in previous studies on athletics, the inconsistencies in the definition and coverage of intercollegiate competition, the indecisive conclusions and arguments on women's health, and lastly, the negative

¹⁶¹ Marie Snavely, "Projects of Our Girls Athletic Associations." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 3, no. 2 (1932): 39. Also, Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 87.

emphasis placed on athletics.¹⁶² Historian Susan Cahn commented that these women physical educators “neglected to examine the economic exploitation of working women or their own class and racial biases. Women sport reformers acted, rather, to defend their interest as professional, middle class women.”¹⁶³ There were those who did not understand the women’s level of passion about their participation in sport. However, the controls remained staunchly committed to ensuring that sport would continue to be democratized and available to all.

In spite of this firm control, it seems that even with updated versions of policies and rules in spite of all of the cries for uniform rules, schools continued to have variations in sport rules and covert competitive activities.¹⁶⁴ Even with broad support throughout many institutions and continual emphases and reinforcement through the four organizations, it was clear to some that competition would never be totally subdued. The principles and standards were constantly revisited and revised with much discussion, and all those committed to the philosophy continued to be opposed to those who favored competition. Nevertheless, women continued to compete, improve, and gain more successes in Olympic events under the sponsorship of the AAU. Rather than continue to

¹⁶² W. Carson Ryan, “What Do We Know About Women’s College Athletics?” *Journal of the American Association of University Women* 23, no. 4 (1930): 179-182.

¹⁶³ Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 77.

¹⁶⁴ June F. Kearney, "History of Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics in Ohio 1945-1972." Howell, ed. *Her Story*, 462.

confront and condemn competition, each group generally ignored others and continued with its own agendas.

During this time, women in colleges were participating in play day, sports day, and interclass competition. Opportunities for these types of activities varied throughout the country depending on the students' enthusiasm and the physical educators' efforts. The teachers kept control, never losing sight of the importance of education in the lives of their students as well as maintaining their students' health and safety. There seemed to be a small resurgence of concern about too much activity and negative repercussions regarding the physical capacity of women and how sport would affect childbirth. Physicians in the 1920s and 1930s cautioned women about the dangers of physical activity.

Field Hockey: A Great Beginning

Field hockey continued to escape condemnation, although it ventured into all of the areas that were otherwise frowned upon.¹⁶⁵ It was very clear that the format of this sport represented no threat because women controlled it exclusively. Furthermore, field hockey served American women's sport as an ambassador of cultural exchange and talent sharing. In 1920, a group of U.S. players toured England and reciprocated the hospitality

¹⁶⁵ Joan S. Hult, "Have the Reports of the Death of Competitive Women's Athletics—1920-1936—Been Greatly Exaggerated?" (Paper presented at the National Mid-West Convention, American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance. Detroit, MI, April 10-15, 1980): 7-9.

offered to them a year later when English players visited the U. S. This first international exchange of English and American field hockey teams happened with very little fanfare. The rave reviews from the students and players focused on the educational and social aspects of the experience, with the results of the matches severely underplayed. International exchanges would become very popular, with players from England and the United States eventually traveling all over the world, but very mindful of copying and emphasizing the mission of education and sharing the beauty the sport offered. The sport was sanctioned for several reasons.¹⁶⁶ It was the ultimate team sport, and cooperation was a necessity for success; it was a life-time sport, extending from youth to old age; and probably most importantly it was the women leaders themselves who controlled all of the important competitions.¹⁶⁷ Lastly, it was an accepted tradition from England. The moral tone implied through history and class affiliation also contributed to its wide acceptance. Field hockey continued to have international exposure, with an international federation formed in 1927.¹⁶⁸ At the second international conference, held in 1933 in Denmark, was the first time an American team participated. Ironically this representation occurred a year after the women leaders opposed women's

¹⁶⁶ Hazel J. Cubberley, "Field Hockey Values." *American Physical Education Review* 29, no. 8 (1924): 458. One additional factor may also have contributed to the high approval of field hockey. There were no men were playing field hockey in the United States, little interest on their part, and very little threat of men moving into the organization or sport. Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 97.

¹⁶⁷ Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 97.

¹⁶⁸ Helen Mackey, *Field Hockey and International Sport* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1963): 2.

participation in the international Olympics in Los Angeles. It was called a conference because a good part of the time was spent in presentations and workshops with a “tournament” of teams playing against one another. Many other social activities were included such as meals, shopping, and dances. However, the experiences did not always match the philosophy behind the arrangements, and many times the young women did not get to meet and talk with one another until the final banquet.

Field hockey was considered appropriate for both large and small groups involved with sport days. Those who offered field hockey were firm about the rules. One that had not been changed until the end of the twentieth century, was not allowing substitution-- the players who started the game finished the game. The philosophy was that substitution added to the accelerated pace of a game, and a player was not properly trained for endurance if she was substituted. This was in complete opposition to the rules in basketball that separated the basketball court into two or three sections to reduce fatigue. Yet players seemed able to compete over a set amount of time or the entire field of play. This contradiction or hypocrisy did not appear to bother many.

The quandary about competition was articulated in Gladys Palmer’s discussion on policies.¹⁶⁹ Palmer, head of the women’s physical education program at Ohio State University, overtly suggested that competition had a place for college women, but organizations were not doing an effective job establishing the proper opportunities. Palmer’s advocacy of competition was a precursor of events to come.

¹⁶⁹ Gladys Palmer, “Policies in Women’s Athletics.” *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 9, no. 9 (1938): 38.

The 1940s: New Trials and Tribulations

In June 1940, the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation merged with the National Section of Women's Athletics.¹⁷⁰ Discussions between the two groups had been ongoing the previous three years, since duties and work for each organization overlapped in committees, membership and personnel, and issues and objectives. The Women's Division had been in dire financial straits, and the merger was a way to eliminate duplication of effort. Some used it as a rationale for contributing to the war effort for WWII. Judy Jensen hints that under the surface there was tension in the relationship, with the Women's Division taking a much more conservative stance, and there was more behind the merger than was ever presented.¹⁷¹ Along with this merger was another set of revisions of the standards, with the primary focus on the "practical applications for the administration and welfare of girls and women involved in sports."¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Emma F. Waterman and Ruth H. Atwell, "A Merger: The Women's Division, NAAF, Becomes an Integral Part of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 12, no. 1 (1941): 565-567.

¹⁷¹ Judith L. Jensen, "The Development of Standards for Women's Athletics and Their Influence on Basketball Competition in the State of New York" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1972): 128-134.

¹⁷² National Section On Women's Athletics of American Association for the Physical Education and Recreation, "Desirable Practices in Athletics for Girls and Women." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 12, no. 7 (1941): 422, 424.

Some of the changes included emphasis on winning fairly rather than winning by any method; girls should not play games as openers to boys' games; practice periods should be no longer than one hour; and there should be only one highly competitive game a week. Jensen mentioned that at a meeting of the Northeast section of the Athletic Federation of College Women (AFCW), Patty Berg, a professional golfer, had "expressed the hope that the United States Golf Association would someday create a tournament for college women."¹⁷³ To have allowed a professional sportswoman to speak at a section conference symbolized some of the changes that were beginning to occur.

This modification of competition was more subtly included in the publication *Sports for Women*.¹⁷⁴ Not only was a chapter devoted to intercollegiate competition, but there was also an extensive chapter on publicity. Throughout the book, sports for women were extensively explored for the benefits of play and sport days as a legitimate form of competition. As a precursor of events to come, Dorothy Sumption, a physical educator at Ohio State University, discussed the evolving sport of golf at Ohio State, which included two invitational tournaments; a visit from Patty Berg, a professional golfer; and tryouts for membership. Soon after this publication appeared, Gladys Palmer, the head of the women's physical education department at Ohio State, challenged those who opposed competition for women when she sent a petition to women physical educators and administrators for the establishment of a Women's National Collegiate Athletic

¹⁷³ Jensen, *The Development of Standards*, 152.

¹⁷⁴ Dorothy Sumption, *Sports for Women* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940).

Association.¹⁷⁵ In addition to this proposed new association, Palmer chose to invite each women's athletic director to the first collegiate national golf tournament for college women and encouraged the directors to send representation to participate in this historical event. As part of the campaign, Palmer and some of her staff attended the National Association of Directors of Physical Education for College Women annual meeting in April 1941.¹⁷⁶ Her proposals were soundly defeated, and the Ohio State representatives were either reprimanded or shunned by the other members of the National Association of Directors of Physical Education for College Women. The directors also sent an open letter to all of the college deans and physical educators, urging them not to participate in the tournament and reaffirming the organization's stance on what they considered a travesty. In spite of this warning and although the numbers of participants were low, 23 schools, including Ohio State, participated in this inaugural event.¹⁷⁷ Due to WWII, the tournament would be discontinued until 1946. In 1943, the Ohio Women's Intercollegiate Tennis Tournament, which was sanctioned by the USLTA, was held at Ohio State with 25 participants from eight colleges. It was held simultaneously with a women's Intercollegiate Bowling Tournament. It was becoming evident that competitive

¹⁷⁵ Daniels includes the cover letter that Palmer mailed to all athletic directors. Daniels includes other important documents such as the proposal and structure of intercollegiate athletics at Ohio State University. Mary A. Daniels, "The Historical Transition of Women's Sports at the Ohio State University, 1885-1975 and its Impact on the National Women's Intercollegiate Setting During that Period" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1977): 142.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

play was of greater interest than any survey reported, and the sport day was not providing a satisfactory experience for all of the collegiate women.

At the 1941 Conference of the NAPECW, the organization adopted a resolution to support, cooperate, and integrate activities that contributed to national defense issues.

During the same conference, the NAPECW adopted a set of resolutions about sport days and intramural competition that had been developed by the Midwest Association.¹⁷⁸

National tournaments were rejected, as was the formation of organizations that would contribute to increasing the number of varsity competitions. By making pronouncements in this tone, the NAPECW perceived its role as a policy-making organization, which was endorsed when NSWA incorporated the resolutions. The NSWA legislative board suggested several methods about how to handle competitive activities for women.¹⁷⁹

While the points of emphasis expounded twenty years earlier were included, new options were outlined along with definitions and dimensions of intramural and extramural activities.

¹⁷⁸ Hill, *The Way*, 21. The complete resolutions of the Midwest conference were published a year later. Midwest Association of College Teachers of Physical Education for Women. "Policies for Sports Days and Intramural Athletics for College Women." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 13, no. 5 (1942): 295, 316-317.

¹⁷⁹ Margaret Duncan, "Desirable Practices in Athletics for Girls and Women" *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 12, no. 7 (1941): 422, 424.

Soon after, Gladys Scott, a leader in physical education, reported on the status and practice of competition in higher education.¹⁰⁶ She surveyed NAPECW members as well as non-member institutions to gain a better understanding of what was going on. Unlike other surveys, this one contained definitions of both intramural and extramural competition. In the extramural portion, varsity competition was defined as “a selected, highly trained team, participating in a series of matches with similar teams from other schools, each representing their respective institutions.”¹⁰⁷ Varsity competition was participated in by 16 percent of the institutions surveyed, many being institutions in the Eastern section. The telegraphic meets held a much higher percentage of involvement. Not surprisingly, the Western district had a 70 percent participation rate. Included in this survey was the “demonstration game,” defined as one that had outstanding national or local players display their skills and the beauty of the game.¹⁰⁸ An important finding that would be raised over several decades was the tying of intramurals to extramurals by numbers of participation and interest. This correlation would continue to be used through the 1960s. A question was posed about district, state, and national tournaments, and the result was approximately two to one against this type of event. This ratio held true in all districts, which indicated a serious increase in interest. It was a hint of change. With

¹⁰⁶ M. Gladys Scott, “Competition for Women in American Colleges and Universities.” *Research Quarterly of the American Association Of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 16, no. 1 (1945): 49.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

regard to extramural activities, Scott cited time factors for both students and staff being of highest concern, followed by concerns of imitating patterns in the men's programs. There were also those who believed that this type of program was not necessary.¹⁰⁹ With the conclusion of the WWII, programs continued to evolve under guided control.

In 1947, the NAPECW took a bold step by proclaiming a three-part resolution against discriminatory practices. It opened its membership to include all races and religious beliefs. It expected the members to evaluate their institutions to make sure everyone was allowed to be included. Most surprisingly, the NAPECW wrote to various organizations that restricted "Negroes and other minority groups from participation."¹¹⁰ Among the organizations that sent formal protests for not including all races and religions were the Women's International Bowling Congress and the Women's Professional Golfers Association. Continuing the philosophy in 1947, four additional concerns were expressed. These concerns were oriented towards interscholastic athletics but also applied to the college level: uses of male officials, abbreviated uniforms, commercialization of the sport, and double headers in which girls' games were played before boys'.

A year, later the *Standards in Athletics for Girls and Women: Guiding Principles in the Organization and Administration of Athletic Programs* was revised to accommodate some of the changes taking place. The emphasis continued to be on play

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 69.

¹¹⁰ Hill, *The Way*, 25.

for all and for health, but the widespread acceptance of the competitive structure of the sport day was revived. At the 1947 AAPHER national convention it was decided that when national, regional, or state associations offered open or invitational competitions, conversations about the education aims would be part of the planning discussion.¹¹¹

Another indication of change occurred when the NSWA backed off from its anti-Olympic stance and recommended standards, such as having a doctor's approval for participation, hiring trained women physical educators as coaches, and consulting with leaders in physical education on issues related to women's participation in the Olympics.¹¹² A year later, an article appeared in the *Journal of Health and Physical Education* that addressed training issues in competitive swimming "to bring a woman's team some degrees of success."¹¹³ In spite of all the tactics and strategies that were used by physical educators and their organizations to control competition, the playing field had continued to expand in new directions.

¹¹¹ "Recommendations From the Seattle Convention Workshops." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 18, no. 7 (1947): 432. The list of sponsored tournaments had increased as the National Archery Association, USLTA, U.S. Golf Association, American Basketball Association, National Softball Association, and AAU were mentioned. See also Claire M. Johnston, "NSWA." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 18, no. 1 (1947): 20-22, and, Alice Schriver, "Competition: NSWA Faces the Issue." *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 20, no. 7 (1949): 451, 472.

¹¹² "Women and the Olympic Games." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 15, no. 7 (1947): 552.

¹¹³ Prudence Flemming, "Training Women for Competitive Swimming." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 19, no. 10 (1948): 644.

For almost 40 years, women physical educators, academic leaders, and their respective organizations maintained firm control over the direction of “competitive” athletics in higher education. Their belief in “a girl for every game and a game for every girl” was their ultimate goal in making exercise and play fun and good for all. The repercussion for maintaining this philosophy was alienation from the various competitive venues that evolved anyway, coeds who had to compete secretly, and further separation from the power that men continued to wield. As much as many resisted, the societal changes and other pressures began to force adaptations of this philosophy and a gradual move to providing options for competitive expression.

Chapter 3

THE AWAKENING OF WOMEN'S COMPETITION: 1950-1970

Athletic competition for women in college by mid-century had been under tight control for over thirty years by women physical educators. During this time, many changes had occurred in America and in the world. These changes evolved through two World Wars, the threat of the Cold War, as well as economic and social changes. Women, although still expected to marry and raise a family, began to work in greater numbers and test other societal boundaries. The post World War II Women's Movement would also contribute to changes to women's role in society and sport.

The 1950s heralded change and organizational reconsideration's in women's athletic opportunities. It was apparent that different competitions and tournaments existed in a growing number of sports and had become successful at an increasing number of institutions. Many women physical educators and leaders began to realize that competition for the elite athlete was of interest to more students and their teachers, and would not be repressed. A number of surveys that were conducted would support this trend. The NSGWS representative from Maine surveyed the sports instructors, principals, and physical educators from 194 high schools and colleges with the following

results.¹⁸⁰ The majority of the leaders of these institutions were unaware of all of the guidelines and helpful documentation published by the Section on Women's Sports. To correct this situation, it was resolved by the NSGWS that more women needed to get involved at all levels to spread the news, and to educate and help others learn more about rules for girls and women. A report was then issued on the role of organizations like the NSGWS in rating performance in sports in which the recommendation was—do not rate them.¹⁸¹ The University of Minnesota did a survey on the types of awards given by the WAAs and the activities that received recognition.¹⁸² The NAPECW conducted a follow-up survey in 1951, which showed that extramural competition had increased almost 100 percent.¹⁸³ The positive responses—28 percent—indicated growth in “varsity-type” competition and included the fact the teams were traveling to other institutions. Additional opinions were offered: for example, varsity competition did not

¹⁸⁰ Rachel Blackburn, ed. “Sports Survey.” *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 24, no. 9 (1953): 50.

¹⁸¹ Rachael Blackburn, ed. “Rating of Performance Report.” *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 24, no. 10 (1953): 50.

¹⁸² Doris Hutchinson, ed. “College Awards.” *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 25, no. 9 (1954): 50.

¹⁸³ Christine White, “Extramural Competition and Physical Education Activities.” *Research Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1954): 348. White defined intramurals as “participation includes participation in sports, club, and dance and games within an institution.” She continued with a description of extramurals, “participation in playdays . . . (in which school teams participate as a unit), demonstration games, (including between college teams and teams of national or local players), telegraph meets, . . . or any other events in which student compete or participate with groups other than those from their own institution,” 346.

negatively affect intramurals, varsity programs encouraged interest in the intramural program, and lastly, both types of programs were necessary to provide options for the “highly skilled player” as well as others.¹⁸⁴

Natalie Wells revealed that for 1950s, the Northwest District of the AAHPER had an expanded system of competition. The range in structure and organization of practices went from zero to five times a week. Competition in tournament or demonstration games was based on individual rather than institutional representation. Most instructors did not receive any type of compensation for their involvement with these sports. Most funding came from the WAA or the department. But amidst all this increased competition, many of the past practices restraining competitive activities continued to be stressed.¹⁸⁵

By the 1951-1953 biennial meeting, an analysis of committee work showed duplication of work between the NAPECW and groups in AAHPER.¹⁸⁶ Special committees were established that expanded the organizational structure to include competition, editorial policy, and finance. Resolutions from the Committee on Competition included authorization for all physical education activities, endorsement of varsity-type sports under the standards of the NSGWS, and sport days as the venue of preference. New restrictions included forbidding women to participate on men’s teams,

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 352.

¹⁸⁵ Natalie Wells, “Current Practices in Women’s Intercollegiate Athletic Competition in the Northwest District of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation” (M.S. thesis, Pennsylvania State College, 1950): 10-12.

¹⁸⁶ Hill, *The Way*, 26-28.

or “either with or against men in basketball, touch football, speedball, soccer, hockey, and lacrosse.”¹⁸⁷ College sponsorship of any type of event related to championships continued to be forbidden. Three presidential committees--Professional Leadership, Instructional Program in Physical Education for College Women, and Intramural and Extramural Sports and Dance--liaised with other organizations and co-sponsored activities.¹⁸⁸ At the culmination of a joint conference on physical education for men and women, the group established a joint committee to investigate the founding of a national conference on intramural sports that would include both men and women, and subsequently produced a publication on how to handle coeducational activities.¹⁸⁹ In 1955, joint conferences between the NSWA and NAPECW were held in Estes Park, Colorado, to further discussions between the organizations on these various issues of concern.¹⁹⁰ These joint conferences would continue for several years.

Another step that reflected increased interest by females in sport was the promotion of the National Section on Women’s Athletics in 1952 to the National Section for Girls’ and Women’s Sports (NSGWS), to reflect a broader constituency and

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 27.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 28-29.

¹⁸⁹ Doris Hutchinson, ed. “Coeducational Sports.” *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 56, no. 7 (1955): 62.

¹⁹⁰ American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. Division for Girl’s and Women’s Sports, *The Story of the National Leadership Conference on Girls’ and Women’s Sports*, Estes Park, Colorado, June 26-30- July 1-2, 1955. (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1956.)

philosophy. The profession, as the official rules-making body for women's sports, accepted this 'new' section. With its new status, the NSGWS began to establish regional and national associations for specific sports. Dorothy Perry mentioned a survey of how sport was controlled in the Midwest. Results revealed that eight institutions had established and adapted written policies for their own needs.¹⁹¹ It was becoming apparent that the status quo of irregular compliance continued.

Rumblings of Discontent: 1956-1970

Competition continued to be the primary focus of women physical educators. By the mid-1950s, changes were underway. To many, it was clear that the issue of competition was not going to go away or be controlled through established standards and rules. Contributing to the change were an increased number of women in college and universities after World War II as well as increased numbers of females who were "highly skilled players." In formal and informal surveys, it was apparent that many more students found ways to compete, and a greater number wanted a more competitive venue. This change in perspective was clearly reflected in actions taken in regard to the golf tournament sponsored by Ohio State. The tournament had been revived after World War II in 1946, but ten years later the administration decided it could no longer sponsor the

¹⁹¹ Dorothy Perry, "The Issues of Interscholastic and Intercollegiate Athletics for Girls" (M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1951): 42.

golf event. The tournament's existence was in jeopardy unless other institutions decided to sponsor it. The profession stepped in to deal with the situation, as those involved with physical education and athletics had by this time recognized the contributions made by this event. A Tripartite Committee, with representatives from DGWS, NAPECW, and the Athletic Federation of College Women (AFCW), was established in 1956 to review how to maintain the event.

As sport began to evolve at the national level, opportunities began to appear at the international level including the restoration of the Pan American games after the war ended. The AAHPER continued to support competitive sport for men and women at the international level of competition. This influenced women to expand their consideration of other competitive avenues of competition. The NAPECW had participated in the International Congress on Physical Education for Women since 1948, and one of the key figures in this movement, Dorothy Ainsworth, was voted President, after the second congress in 1953.¹⁹²

In 1957, the Tripartite Committee, which had previously recommended an assessment of intercollegiate competition, formed the National Joint Committee on Extramural Sports for College Women (NJCESCW) and released a report on sports programs stating the needs of the "highly skilled sports woman"¹⁹³ were not being met.

¹⁹² Earle F. Zeigler, "International Congress, 1957." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 27, no. 3 (1956): 77. Ainsworth had previously been president of major organizations such as the APEA, CWA, and NACPE.

¹⁹³ Maura Conlisk, ed. "Sports Competition for College Women." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 28, no. 8 (1957): 64.

In response to these findings, plans were undertaken to develop standards for the conduct of extramural events for college women and to sanction tournaments. Again, the extramural program was arranged as a supplemental program to what was already offered and kept in a limited area, as lengthy travel, schedules, and championships were still negatively perceived.

The NGWS continued to support joint surveys and conferences with NAPECW and investigated all aspects of competition in relation to college women. The surveys consistently revealed a marked rise in participation and interest. Shortly after the men's section¹⁹⁴ received division status, the NGWS also gained division status in AAHPER to become the Division of Girl's and Women's Sports.¹⁹⁵ With the rise in status, the organization became a policy-making body. The DGWS also proposed the establishment of five sections: individual and dual status, officiating, philosophy and standards, sports leadership, and team sports. A few months earlier, the DGWS published a new and revised statement on competition.¹⁹⁶ Among the concessions made were higher

¹⁹⁴ For additional information on the history of the Division of Men's Athletics read, Spurgeon Cherry and John D. Lawther, "Division of Men's Athletics—Purposes and Projects." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 34, no. 1 (1963): 12. Also, "Division of Men's Athletics of the AAHPER." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 34, no. 1 (1963): 39.

¹⁹⁵ Jane A. Mott, "Status of New DGWS Sections and Convention Forecast." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 28, no. 9 (1957): 50-51.

¹⁹⁶ Maura Conlisk, ed., "Statement of Policies and Procedures for Competition in Girls' and Women's Sports." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 28, no. 5 (1957): 57-58.

competencies and advanced skills for all participants; departments could decide to offer competitions for the highly skilled; and sponsorship of these types of programs was done according to guidelines.¹⁹⁷

The Athletic Federation of College Women (AFCW) was also undergoing transformations. In 1959, the word 'Recreation' was added to the AFCW to reflect expanded interest. Now the students could evaluate intramurals and extramurals and continue the traditions of sport and play days. With so many changes transpiring among these three organizations (ARFCW, DGWS, and NAPECW), many women were both overwhelmed and excited by the prospect of women's collegiate participation. Observations were made externally to place these changes in perspective.¹⁹⁸ Among the comments made were those by Margaret Clark and Margaret Lantis, who referred to 'new' values that needed to be assigned to physical activities, so that women physical educators and their organizations accepted competition more positively. Outside of the educational sphere, the notion of women working outside the home had gained greater acceptance. In general, physical educators needed to support the changes in society as a way to improve women's status.

For basketball and track and field, several events contributed to positive changes toward status and acceptance. Not only had concessions been made by the AAU to

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Margaret Clark and Margaret Lantis, "Sports in a Changing Culture." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 29, no. 5 (1958): 37-39.

include women in the rules and decision-making process, but these sports were given a new identity by the government and other national governing bodies.

Basketball: Frustration and Control

Those involved with basketball experimented continuously with the rules. Basketball guides from the 1940s include sections that reviewed and discussed the rules that were being tested and the schools that were designated test sites. Informal and formal surveys were conducted on how these experiments were received. The returns were very low, and the Basketball Committee members were apparently frustrated, by the variety of rules that continued to be followed in an indiscriminant fashion. The popularity of the sport was very visible outside of the college environment, as reflected in the numbers who participated in the AAU's Basketball Tournament. In addition, international women's basketball was sanctioned in 1953, and the first women's basketball team participated in the Pan American Games. The NWSA also realized the potential for international interest when the rules books were translated into other languages, starting with Spanish. Most of the women on the team were from industrial teams, with the exception of two women from the Hutcherson Flying Queens of Wayland College.

Wayland College was an exception in women collegiate sports. It had a basketball team that had started on the competitive road, guided by men in the late

1930s.¹⁹⁹ In many ways it was a unique experience. In the 1940s, the college allowed the team sponsor, Claude Hutcherson, to fly the team in his Piper planes to play various games. By the 1950s, Hutcherson fully sponsored the team, which enabled it to experience its first international competition in Mexico in 1950. The persistent problems in women's college basketball took on a new twist in the 1950s when Wayland College, now Wayland Baptist College, offered full basketball scholarships to women. The team played and competed in AAU tournaments and dominated the competition until the Nashville Business College ended its winning streak in 1958.²⁰⁰ Wayland's players were well represented in the early Pan American games as well as in various promotional games against foreign countries like the Soviet Union during the early stages of the Cold War. Basketball as the all-American sport took on new political overtones during this time. Wayland's basketball team was recognized three times by the Texas House of Representatives, in acknowledgment of their remarkable achievements.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Sylvia F. Nadler, "A Developmental History of the Wayland Hutcherson Flying Queens from 1910 to 1979" (Ph.D. diss., East Texas State University, 1980).

²⁰⁰ "Long Live the Queens." Overview on Women's Basketball [online] Wayland Baptist University, Athletics, [4/10/1999]. Available: www.wbu.edu/athletic/queens/overview.htm. Also, Pasty Neal, "Introduction," in *At the Rim: A Celebration of Women's Collegiate Basketball*. (Charlottesville, VA: Thomasson-Grant, 1991): 22.

²⁰¹ Nadler, *A Developmental History*, 396-398.

Track and Field: Clearing the Hurdles

College track and field also became more competitive in the 1950s. There was enough participation and interest for indoor, outdoor, junior, Olympic, and other world competitions to exist. In 1951, women's track and field made its debut in the Pan American Games. Tuskegee and Tennessee State continued their dominance in many events. In 1954, the women's committee of the AAU began considering for reestablishing positive communication with the NGWS. Two years later, the AAU proposed greater cooperation with the NGWS and invited it to communicate with the AAU in an affiliate status. A year later, the relationship was formalized. In 1958, the first USSR/USA dual meet was held. The team traveled to train for this event at Montclair State College. From there, en route to the Soviet Union, the team stopped in other countries to compete.²⁰² The first World University Games (in track and field) were also held that year. Before the end of the decade, the 800- and 400-meter races were added to the outdoor events, and the 880- and 440-yard were added to the indoor events.

²⁰² Tricard, *American Women*, 380.

Field Hockey: Still Growing

Field hockey continued to grow and expand internationally under the rubric of goodwill and understanding. Although questions were raised about the special status attributed to field hockey's competitive opportunities, the sport continued to be rationalized as an ideal educational activity and rarely experienced negative repercussions.²⁰³ The USFHA was able to sponsor touring teams to spread the word throughout America in 1926 (Ohio and Indiana), in 1930 (California, Oregon, and Washington), in 1936 (the South), and in 1940 (the South and West).²⁰⁴ In 1947, the USFHA celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary with much fanfare with another international match against an all-England team.²⁰⁵ Beginning in the 1950s, the organization arranged for a group to tour the states in order to maintain high standards and establish the game in new areas.

²⁰³ Perry discussed the dichotomy of field hockey and mentioned that when evaluating these programs they had all-star teams, traveled very far distances, and allowed weekend play. None of these actions were tolerated for other sports, and this inconsistency was not a good reflection for women's organizations. Perry, *Issues*, 96-98. See also, Elizabeth Burger, "Women's Hockey at Home and Abroad." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 22, no. 7 (1951): 22-23.

²⁰⁴ Josephine T. Lees and Betty Shellenberger, *Field Hockey for Players, Coaches, and Umpires*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ronald Press, 1969): 7.

²⁰⁵ Gable's article, although mentioning the competition, focused on the teachings, history, social, and educational aspects of field hockey. With yet another positive field hockey article published in the *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*, the status of the sport continued to be one of acceptance. Martha A. Gable, "The 25th Anniversary of the United State Field Hockey Association." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 18, no. 9 (1947): 657, 688.

The 1960s: The Upsurge

The 1960s were a turbulent time in society. So it was for women's athletics in colleges. Furthermore, this decade brought in the second 20th century advent of the women's movement, and the new generation and lifestyle began to permeate society and education. Challenges to society were found at every level and in many directions, taking women's sport on the road to "revolution." Institutions of higher learning would become the forum for many of the protests and the site of changes for this generation. The key contributions to these changes included pressure from outside organizations, collaboration among various critical organizations, and the need to increase competitive opportunities, which was validated by studies and surveys.

A combination of these events propelled the commitment to support activities for the "highly skilled athlete" in competition sports. Women physical educators' conformity and tradition were challenged by a dissatisfied 'new generation,' and it echoed in the halls of physical education. The members of women-run organizations, such as DGWS, found ways to cooperate and collaborate with members of other national organizations like the AAU through participation on joint committees or by functioning as representatives on committees.²⁰⁶ This type of involvement provided ways to solve issues and resolve organizational differences. In addition, organizations undertook joint studies on the advantages of and success of competition and related issues. Outside

²⁰⁶ Elinor Crawford, "DGWS Cooperates with National Sports Organizations." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 36, no. 1 (1965): 25, 86.

pressures were being placed on institutions by the USOC and the government, to try to have America better represented at international sporting events. Such actions directly challenged previous intolerance for competitive athletics and affected the transition to extramural competition. They also forced acceptance of the competitive model.²⁰⁷

At this time some physical education departments began to restructure throughout the United States. In some cases, the athletic department merged with physical education; in others, they split. Some separate women's physical education departments and facilities merged with men's. This merger reduced the number of women in power positions and decreased the focus on women's programs. Other issues faced by physical educators included outdated facilities and equipment, teaching overloads, and inadequate staffing.

Concurrently, collegiate women began to voice their discontent with the emphasis on "fun, skill, and the social aspects of sport," and pressed for competitive opportunities. In addition, a new generation of physical educators was entering the field, reflecting a change in attitude toward real competition. As these attitudes began to change, many who supported these changes became involved with providing solutions to greater competitive opportunities. It was quite clear that the desire for competition was not going to dissipate. With more undergraduates expressing their dissatisfaction with the lack of extramural opportunities or similar type of activities, it was evident something

²⁰⁷ The growth and appeal of health and fitness as a patriotic cause were contributing factors to this lifestyle.

needed to be done. Outside events would help bring this debate to resolution.

The AAHPER held membership in the USOC for several decades, but due to the Cold War and continued disappointment with the lack of success by women competitors in the Olympics, the board of directors of the U.S. Olympic Development Committee created a Women's Advisory Board in 1961.²⁰⁸ The Development Committee's purpose was to "expand, improve and coordinate programs involving Olympic activities in order to further our nation's athletic potential."²⁰⁹ The Women's Board, as it was called two years later, assisted in these goals by increasing opportunities for girls and women to participate in sports and provided for skilled females to reach their potential. Sara Staff Jernigan,²¹⁰ vice president of AAHPER and chair of the DGWS, was appointed chair of the board and would become a critical force in coming changes. The two major directives of the women's board were to: 1) provide opportunities for women to become

²⁰⁸ According to Jernigan, the discussion on women in the Olympics started in the 1950s. Sara Staff Jernigan, "Women and the Olympics." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 33, no. 4 (1962): 25-26.

²⁰⁹ "The Women's Board of the United States Olympic Development Committee Purpose-History-Accomplishments-Needs." Avery Brundage Papers. Box 235, Folder USOC General 1946-1954-1956-1969. Wu comments that the NCAA had also invested in supporting this move as a method of weakening the AAU stronghold on Olympic competition. Ying Wu, "The Demise of the AIAW and Women's Control of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women The Sex-Separate Policy in the Reality of the NCAA, Cold War, and Title IX" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1997): 4-5.

²¹⁰ Sara Jernigan was the chair of the Department of Physical Education for Women at Stetson University in Florida.

more competent in officiating and judging Olympic sports, and 2) allow women physical educators and leaders to clarify and lead toward properly organized and administered sports experiences for girls and women. The board also assumed responsibility for interpreting the role of competition in culture and society, both nationally and internationally. It also encouraged research on women and sport. Many of the issues cited as potential problems in surveys from the 1950s still existed well into the 1960s. Spears noted many physical educators were “philosophically committed to promoting a sport for every girl rather than high level sport for a few.” At the same time, “many women were not prepared to coach students or teams at expert levels.”²¹¹

The Sports Institutes: 1962-1969

The Women’s Board attempted to address the lack of commitment to women’s competition through co-sponsorship with the DGWS of five sports institutes. Beginning in 1963, the sports institutes provided a forum through which such issues as competition and training for coaches and officials were presented and discussed. The institutes were a place where physical educators interacted with one another to improve the competitive situation. The institutes also served as a transitional juncture for adjustments to the new philosophy.

²¹¹ Spears and Swanson, *History of Sports*, 313.

Each institute,²¹² held at five different universities, had a specific focus and included discussion on various aspects of selected sports and philosophical issues. The first institute had many presentations on assorted aspects of competition and the role of the DGWS and the Women's Board planned to play in the transition to vigorous competition. Two sports were emphasized, gymnastics and track and field. Jernigan reported that 234 workshops were offered after the first institute. The second national institute, in 1965, discussed such sports as canoeing and kayaking, diving, fencing, gymnastics, and track and field. In addition, there were sessions on philosophy and research. At this institute, Phoebe Scott cautioned participants about a backlash and the success or failure of highly competitive sport. Envisioning high-profile athletic and international events, she warned: "We must not allow the true meaning of sport to become prostituted for political gain."²¹³ She reminded the audience to maintain a balance between winning and participation. The third national institute on girls' sports was the only one to include winter sports—specifically ice skating and skiing. In the philosophy portion, Phoebe Scott continued to stress that sport for women was equal in value to that of men's sports. She believed that those involved with sport needed to be

²¹² The first national institute was held from November 4-9, 1963, at the University of Oklahoma. The second institute was from September 26-October 1, 1965, at Michigan State University. The third institute ran from January 22-27, 1966, at Salt Lake City, Utah. The fourth institute was held at Indiana University at Bloomington from December 3-10, 1966. The fifth and final institute was held January 21-25, 1969, at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

²¹³ Phoebe Scott, "Women's Sports in 1980," in *National Institute on Girls Sports Proceedings*, 2nd. (Washington, D. C.: American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1966): 146.

educated to maintain control and not be contaminated with the evils of men's sports.²¹⁴

The fourth institute topics were presented on philosophy/science, basketball, and volleyball. Here, Phoebe Scott recommended that a pattern of sports competition be designed specially. The structure should, she believed:

- 1) permit the development of stated values including the physical, social, emotional, and health outcomes, 2) allow the game to be played and directed by the players, not the coach, 3) avoid the frills and fringes that surround the men's games, and, 4) avoid the adulation and special privileges commonly afforded the athletes. There is a need to develop an attitude about sports for women and women in sports on the part of us all—the players, the teacher/coaches, and the public.²¹⁵

The last institute was held in 1969 at the University of Illinois; men were for the first time allowed to present and participate. The focus was on basketball, basketball officiating, gymnastics officiating, and track and field. By the conclusion of these institutions, the world of intercollegiate competition had changed radically. This would be the first year for official intercollegiate championships.

²¹⁴ Phoebe M. Scott, "Reflections on Women in Sports," in *National Institute on Girls Sports Proceedings*, 3rd. (Washington, DC: American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1966): 10-13.

²¹⁵ Phoebe M. Scott, "Food for Thought," in *National Institute on Girls Sports Proceedings*, 4th. (Washington, DC: American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1968): 19.

Competition and National Championships

Changes in competitive structure and opportunities at the collegiate level accelerated greatly in the 1960s. By 1962, the National Joint Committee on Extramural Sports for College Women developed standards for the conduct of state and national events while maintaining standards of conduct for intercollegiate events.²¹⁶ In the early 1960s, women's competitive athletics began to evolve from extramural to a formalized varsity status. This change did not occur at a consistent rate as some institutions supported several varsity teams while others continued to maintain extramural teams within the physical education department. This inconsistency would lead to an imbalance of the competitive situation.²¹⁷ Opportunities to compete equitably were not possible with random levels of play occurring.

A study by Betty McCue²¹⁸ on the status of athletic scholarships revealed that in the 191 institutions surveyed, 33 institutions provided some form of athletic scholarships

²¹⁶ Spears and Swanson, *History of Sport*, 282.

²¹⁷ But many of the instructors also taught in and outside of the department. Spears comments that by the mid-1960's, there were women who participated in collegiate competition offered by individual associations. Spears states that women skiers in New England competed in the Intercollegiate Skiing Conference, women sailors in New England Intercollegiate Sailing Association, and women fencers in the Intercollegiate Women Fencing Association. Spears and Swanson, *History of Sport*, 312.

²¹⁸ Betty F. McCue, "Athletic Scholarships for Women?" *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 33, no. 4 (1962): 18.

for women. Physical educators like Katherine Ley, Phoebe Scott, and Sara Staff Jernigan took strong leadership stances and pushed the boundaries of restrained women's sport. Combined with other upcoming changes, intercollegiate athletics for women was moving toward more highly visible competition.²¹⁹

Several events occurred in 1964 that would contribute to the future course of women's intercollegiate athletics. The first was the American Medical Association's report of American physical fitness, in which women were encouraged to become more active at the elite level. The belief was that high level of competition should be permitted with the proper training. The medical recommendations were an early effort to expose the biological myths that previously had been supported.²²⁰ It would be another decade before the myths were scientifically disproved.

Affecting the course of female competition was the attempted cooperation between the NCAA and the DGWS. The first of several inquiries and discussions about women's intercollegiate competition began between the two organizations when Sara Staff Jernigan and Marguerite Clifton were invited to the 1964 National Collegiate Athletic Association's Annual Convention. The women, because of their great concern

²¹⁹ Katherine Ley and Sara S. Jernigan, "The Roots and the Tree." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 33, no. 6 (1962): 34-36, 57.

²²⁰ "Exercise and Fitness." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 188, no. 5 (1964): 436.

with co-ed competition, had instigated a dialog between the two leading organizations.²²¹ According to an interview with Clifton, the organization was both sympathetic and supportive.²²² The following year, the NCAA formalized eligibility for competing on men's team to men only.²²³ After the issues were addressed, dialog would continue on a sporadic basis and in an outwardly cordial manner for close to a decade.

A third important event was legislation for racial and gender rights (e.g., Civil Rights Act of 1964). Two critical organizations that would lobby for women's rights were the National Organization for Women (NOW) and Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). According to Hult, "NOW and WEAL were the two most important organizations in redressing gender inequities through legal channels."²²⁴ Not since the abolitionist and suffragist movements of the 1800s would American society be so strongly affected by its own population.

²²¹ "Marguerite Clifton (DGWS) and Sara Staff Jernigan (DGWS) attend NCAA convention to discuss the development in women's competition, concern about women's participation on men's teams, and the NCAA's role." CIAW-AIAW-NCAA Organizational Relationship Chronology 1959-1980. Entry marked Jan 6-8 1964, Women's Intercollegiate Athletics (WIA) Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Chronology, 1980. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

²²² Paula D. Hodgdon, "An Investigation of the Development of Interscholastic and Intercollegiate Athletics for Girls and Women from 1917-1970" (D.P.E., diss., Springfield College, 1973): 119.

²²³ "January 1965, CIAW-AIAW-NCAA Organizational Relationship Chronology 1959-1980." [no author, no date] WIA papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Chronology, 1980. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

²²⁴ Joan S. Hult, "Introduction to Part II." *Century*, 213.

The groundwork for intercollegiate competition had been slowly introduced through various types of events over the course of the 1960s.²²⁵ The conversion of women physical educators from condemnation to high-level sponsorship of national championships, support for Olympic games, and collaborating with national men and women's organizations in coordinating other activities, was noticeable.

As administrators, leaders, and teachers struggled through these changes, the WRAs and WAAs were restructured to accommodate the transition to competition. Many of these organizations continued to work and cooperate with physical education departments to ensure proper conduct. At this time, information on the budget, eligibility, medical and academic issues, excuses from class, conduct for home and away contests, and other policies were written for students to follow.

A conference to study issues in intercollegiate competition brought men and women together to talk about guidelines and structure for intercollegiate as well as

²²⁵ In 1964, Ellwood surveyed a range of colleges from the Big 10, MAC, Ohio Conference, and Independents to assess the status of how women's intercollegiate athletics were administered. He found there were a high number of women who coached, they were given release time, and the physical education department was responsible for administering the program. Some additional results that were presented included the facts that basketball and tennis were the two most popular/common sports and that there were institutions that allowed participation in women's national championships and overnight trips. Ellwood counted the sports and play days and also discovered that in spite of restrictions there were institutions that allowed "mixed" teams. Franklin D. R. Ellwood, "Status of Administrative Policy Pertaining to Intercollegiate Athletics for Women" (M.A. thesis, Ohio State University, 1969): 53-54. Most institutions required a medical exam, financed competitive events through their physical education budget, and required an established length of practice time. Ellwood, 61-78.

scholastic competition.²²⁶ Out of these discussions came new guidelines which were published by the DGWS in 1965. The three issues of greatest concern that were identified had to do with differences of opinion and philosophy about what was appropriate for girls, the necessity of adequate facilities, and the predicament of needing sufficient women leaders, competent coaches, and officials.²²⁷ The conference was the first study to identify issues that would need to be addressed to ensure successful competition. The women leaders in physical education organizations shared the underlying concern about men's involvement and influence in women's athletics. In 1965, the NJCESCW disbanded and agreed to let the DGWS assume control over competition and extramural events. The first action the DGWS took was to establish the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW)²²⁸ to assume responsibility for designing, sponsoring, and sanctioning women's intercollegiate sports and championships. The influence and contributions made by the increasing interests and activities that evolved out of the sports institutes were quickly used for the next step toward elite competition. One of the early decisions made by Katherine Ley, CIAW

²²⁶ "DGWS Statement on Competition for Girls and Women." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 36, no. 7 (1965): 34.

²²⁷ "Guidelines for College and University Programs." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 36, no. 7 (1965): 36-37.

²²⁸ First developed the Commission for Intercollegiate Sports for Women (CISW) whose purpose was to promote such sports on the basis of DGWS standards. A year later the CISW became the CIAW substituting athletics for sports. Phoebe Scott and Celeste Ulrich, "Commission on Intercollegiate Sports for Women." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 37, no. 8 (1966): 10, 76.

Chair, was to announce new intercollegiate championships.²²⁹ These championships were in well-established tournaments for golf and tennis, but now the events were fully sanctioned by the CIAW.

Many women physical educators were reluctant to accept this move to higher-level competition. There were those who continued to oppose highly competitive sport or to get involved. Others, who had made the decision and commitment to enhance and strengthen competitive sport, took on the task of convincing both men and women who had previously condemned sport that competitions were now quite acceptable. It certainly reflected the change in attitude towards elite competition. It would take three more years to propose and organize the next two sport championships offered in 1969--gymnastics and track and field. The AMA had released information supporting high school athletics.²³⁰ That year, a physician, Dr. Hanley, stated that not only were athletics well suited for the female physique, but "girls appear to thrive on participation."²³¹ With yet another blessing from the medical community, women were ready to move onto the competitive stage.

²²⁹ "DGWS National Intercollegiate Athletic Championships for Women." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 39, no. 2 (1968): 24-27.

²³⁰ "AMAGrams." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 199, no. 3 (1967): 9.

²³¹ "Chromosomes Do Not An Athlete Make." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 202, no. 11 (1967): 55.

Changes in Three Sports

Track and field was reintroduced as a sport that was beneficial for girls and women at every level, including the competitive level. The AAU and the Women's Track and Field Rules Committee had worked to improve rules and ensure consistency in events. Former track and field athletes, such as Nell Jackson, who competed in the AAU and Olympics, were now teaching or working in educational institutions. This particular former star and medal winner was an athletic administrator and member of the DGWS. Dr. Jackson spoke at all of the sport institutes on the positive aspects of sport and contributed to participation in track and field events. This sentiment was echoed in the article, "Let Them Participate," published in the *1964-1966 Track and Field Guide* written by a former Olympic athlete, Olga Connelly. Connelly noted the femininity of European women competitors in track and field as well as her belief that in America, women would be successful in international competition once they committed to the sport.²³² Her endorsement likely helped to reduce some of the concerns regarding track and field and the female body. Participation in international track had been rapidly growing in many countries where government provided support. Additional international

²³² Olga Connelly, "Let Them Participate." in *Track and Field Guide January 1964-January 1966*. ed. by Eileen J. Goodnight, (Reston, VA: AAPHERD, 1964): 53-56.

opportunities,²³³ such as the World University Games, secured a place in women's competitive athletics. Further recognition and acknowledgment came in 1969, when track and field became one of the first national championships sponsored by the DGWS/CIAW. Track and field was well on its way to being a widely accepted competitive collegiate sport after many years of rejection.

Changes in basketball also occurred. Among the numerous changes in the rules, most radical was allowing women to move more freely around the court. This meant the elimination of the divided court. By 1964, the AAU and the DGWS used the same rules; for the first time ever, basketball officials from the DGWS officiated at the AAU tournament. Players could now steal the ball, and at least two players were allowed to dribble the ball up and down the entire court. In 1967, the United States sponsored a team to play in the World University Games. Two years later, the DGWS sponsored the first invitational tournament at the national level. Basketball was well on its way to establishing its popularity in the college ranks with the CIAW in 1971 sponsoring the first national championship.

Field Hockey: Faster and Stronger

Field hockey, like basketball, continued to expand internationally and across North America. The level of competition had been elevated during the late 1960s and

²³³ In 1967, the United States Sports Council was formed with the primary purpose for promoting competitive college sport on an international level.

continued to accelerate. As the game became more complex with the addition of new rules to address the continuously increasing skills of the players, the speed of the game continued to improve. Yet many of the officials and coaches expressed concern about the lack of sportsmanship exhibited by the players. Nevertheless, the philosophy of friendship and world understanding continued to be emphasized. The United States hosted a conference in 1963. However, a growing number of women commented on the negative aspects of elite competition, as exhibited in play and behavior exhibited on and off the field. It seems ironic that the well-established sport of college field hockey was not one of the first sports to be recognized by having an AIAW/CIAW national championship. It did not occur until 1971, and the first I.F.W.H.A. World Championship took place in 1975. Women's field hockey was introduced in the Olympics in 1980.

The struggles in the 1960s would barely prepare women for what they would have to contend with in the next decade.

Chapter 4

THE AIAW, NCAA, AND TITLE IX:

The Formalization of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics¹⁶⁸

The 1970s were a tumultuous time in which a series of changes and challenges would occur that had an impact on the structure and development of women's intercollegiate athletics. These changes were implemented through federal legislation, court action, and governing athletic associations. The Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) had been evolving at a very rapid pace, and opinions on competition were split into three groups: those who fully supported, those who continued to oppose, and those who proceeded cautiously.

¹⁶⁸ From the 1970s on highlights of some of the more critical issues that affected and involved women's intercollegiate athletics will be discussed. There has been a good deal of material published about this timeframe. For theses and dissertations see for instance: Virginia Hunt, "Governance of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics: An Historical Perspective" (Ed.D., diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1976), Suzanne C. Willey, "The Governance of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics: Association for Women (AIAW) 1971-1982" (P.E.D., diss., Indiana University, 1996), Joanne K. Rutherford, "Women's Intercollegiate Athletics in the United States: A Geographical Examination, 1971-1977" (Ed.D., diss., Oklahoma State University, 1977), and Ying Wu, "The Demise of the AIAW and Woman's Control of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women: The Sex-Separate Policy in the Reality of the NCAA, Cold War, and Title IX" 2v, (Ph.D., diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1997). For monographs see, *Women and Sport, Interdisciplinary Perspectives* ed. by D. Margaret Costa and Sharon R. Guthrie, (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York: Free Press, 1994), and Mary

Students and many coaches quickly embraced competition at the intercollegiate level and proceeded forward. The Athletic Recreation Federation of College Women (ARFCW) had yet again changed its name to the College Women in Sport (CWS) in March 1971,¹⁶⁹ reflecting another change in its relationship to the governing organization. Caution was strongly voiced by Marguerite Clifton, who observed that there were many who continued to be reluctant to formalize a structured program. She then warned about the other extreme, which would exclude other groups, like student organizations, which might have an investment in the development of these new sport programs.¹⁷⁰ The CIAW adjusted its mission to include sports programs for all college students and further national interest in sport for women. The acceleration happened so quickly that women in the DGWS and CIAW realized that if they wanted to continue to control women's intercollegiate sport, they would need to restructure the CIAW. In anticipation of addressing issues of finance and operation, a study committee was formed, and men from the NCAA and the Men's Division of AAPHERD were invited to join.¹⁷¹ After this meeting another position was created in the DGWS which responsibilities

Jo Festle, *Playing Nice: Politics and Apologies in Women's Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

¹⁶⁹ Betty Finchum, "DGWS Involvement in Student Organizations." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 42, no. 7 (1971): 79-80. The organization would soon fade into obscurity as women's intercollegiate athletics were firmly organized.

¹⁷⁰ Marguerite Clifton, "Future of Intercollegiate Sports." *Sportlight* (Fall 1967): 4-8.

¹⁷¹ Hunt, *Governance*, 66.

included issues related to membership fees, budgets, and championship costs.¹⁷²

Many women leaders recognized the need to form an organization emphasizing women's intercollegiate sports that retained the unique women's philosophy, while incorporating a similar structure to the other established athletic organizations under their control.¹⁷³ Concern with interference from men's organizations in the control of women's athletics was directed at the NCAA, the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA), and the National Junior College Athletic Association (NJCAA). Discussion of the formation of a women's association started among women physical educators and others in the late 1960s, and a proposal was forwarded to the executive committee of the DGWS in April 1971. The next ten months served as a transition year from the CIAW to the new Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW).¹⁷⁴

The AIAW structure was not as complex or as hierarchical as the NCAA and included more focus on the students having responsibilities and incorporating educational aspects in the sport programs. The AIAW represented three types of institutions--large, small, and junior and community colleges—and divided these institutions into three

¹⁷² The structure that was being developed would use a total of four commissioners who would be responsible for different areas of responsibility. Commissioner of Sanctioning, National Championships, Regional Development, Membership, and the Chair. This is in the organizational chart. Hunt, *Governance*, 68.

¹⁷³ Joan S. Hult, "Saga of Competition," in *Century*, 231, 237. Also, Hult, "NAGWS and AIAW the Strange and Wondrous Journey to the Athletic Summit, 1950-1990." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 70, no. 4 (1999): 27-28.

¹⁷⁴ Joan S. Hult, "Legacy of AIAW" in *Century*, 282-285.

divisions and nine regions. The mission statement included commitments to continue the educational framework, establish highly competitive and visible athletic programs, and increase public understanding and appreciation of sports for women.¹⁷⁵ As the transformation from CIAW to AIAW unfolded, the concern that some had about men's involvement was rightly justified when Walter Byers, Executive Director of the NCAA, sent a memo expressing his concern about legal issues that might arise because of the Fourteenth Amendment and its due process and equal protection clauses.¹⁷⁶ Among the list of options presented by legal council to the NCAA were wait and see, create a division within the NCAA for females, or allow women to compete in existing NCAA events if they qualify under the rules provided.¹⁷⁷ The NCAA had earlier cooperated with the CIAW's request not to allow females to compete with men, but further cooperation became increasingly difficult. Byers emphasized the concern of the potential legal repercussions of how discrimination might affect the NCAA: "Because there are opportunities . . . for females to participate . . . they would have justification to complain that the NCAA does discriminate by preventing females from competing in events

¹⁷⁵ "AIAW Constitution and Bylaws (May 1973)" WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Constitution and Bylaws. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

¹⁷⁶ There have been two clauses within the fourteenth Amendment in favor of women's sports. The clauses, related to public funding, are due process and equal protection clauses. *West's Encyclopedia of American Law*, 1998 ed., s.v. "sports law" (Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN : West Pub. Co., 1998).

¹⁷⁷ Memo from Walter Byers to the members of the Executive Committee and Council regarding the NCAA's position relative to female competition. February 6, 1971. WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW/NCAA Relations 1971-1975. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

against other females . . . For the present, action, if any, will more than likely come on the grounds of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.”¹⁷⁸ He also hinted about the right of the NCAA to administer and sponsor championships, although it was acknowledged that the women were working on forming their own structure. Lucille Magnusson, the chair of the CIAW, refuted Byers’ assertions in a document entitled, *Women’s Intercollegiates*,¹⁷⁹ in which she stated that the mission of the AIAW was to serve as the official organization for intercollegiate competition for women.¹⁸⁰ The document responded forcefully to the options presented by the NCAA and rejected all options. The CIAW/AIAW nevertheless indicated that they were interested in continuing communication and interaction with the NCAA during this time of growth.

The Impact of Title IX

During the 1970s, the struggle to correct inequities between men’s and women’s athletics continued with the introduction of a new piece of legislation that would forever

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Lu Maganusson, “Women’s Intercollegiates” 7/2/1971. WIA papers, Box 3, Folder: Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

change the history of sports. Title IX, of the Educational Amendments of 1972,¹⁸¹ addressed the disparities in education between males and females and strove to provide equal opportunities for females. In essence, Title IX was a simple statement that empowered women or girls to be entitled to receive equitable opportunities, facilities, and funding in order to participate in all activities, including sport. An institution that did not provide these opportunities would risk losing governmental funding. The proviso allowed a three-year transition for institutions to make adjustments and concessions. Many women jumped at the opportunity to start addressing the inequities in sport. Because the focus had always been on men's sports, women's needs were often ignored or overlooked. This legislation provided a mechanism to raise issues such as unsafe facilities, lack of equipment, and inadequate financial support.

The men running athletics, however, were not receptive to this legislation. They realized that their control of athletic budgets was no longer legally to be spent administratively on men's sports only, and they saw the potential for changes in the power structure. The old boys' network, headed by the NCAA, tried to change, alter, or stop this legislation, which would impact a way of life that had existed since the beginning of formalized intercollegiate athletics for men. The NCAA would strongly resist the implementation of Title IX.

¹⁸¹ Title IX states, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation, be denied the benefit of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal assistance." U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972. Section 86.41.

Title IX met with very mixed reactions from both men and women in education. Many women and some men administrators welcomed the opportunity to address the inequalities that existed in and out of the classroom. There also were those who stalled or moved very slowly to address these issues. To compound the situation, little guidance was provided by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) or the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) on how to assess, address, and resolve the situation. It would take HEW until 1975 to publish its guidelines. The guidelines were then challenged, and the next resolution would not come until 1978. Hult commented that:

sport for women benefited significantly from legal action and social change strategies . . . Of greatest consequences in legislation and litigation were the Fourteenth Amendment, Title IX, and state ERAs . . . Using the male norm as the gauge for equality made Title IX a double-edge sword for women. Title IX made it difficult for women to preserve their alternative model of athletics. The struggle for women's rightful place in society and equalization of power relations was intensified in women's athletics because women had invaded the sacrosanct male domain. The more subtle power relations in sport could not be litigated.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Joan S. Hult, "Introduction to Part II," in *Century*, 215.

With Title IX, the AIAW had a tool to help it acquire the different types of support needed to make competition more successful for college women. Events continued to accelerate as Title IX was a major catalyst of change.

The Kellmeyer Lawsuit¹⁸³

When the AIAW was formed, some of the earlier philosophies were incorporated into the association's governance policy. One specific element, athletic scholarships, was still forbidden as many perceived them to be a major culprit in many of the violations committed by men. There was also the sentiment that allowing non-scholarship students to compete against those who had scholarships would be inequitable. Therefore, the policy for participation in championships forbade students who received athletic scholarships from competition, and several institutions were not allowed to compete in AIAW- sponsored events. A small but growing number of colleges offered scholarships to women in a few sports. This restrictive policy hindered growth.

At the 1972 AIAW tennis championship in Florida, Kathy Kemper, from Marymount College, was eliminated from competition because she was receiving an athletic scholarship. Her lawyer, Theodore Hainline, sent a letter of inquiry in July 1972: "It is the purpose of this letter to request this ruling to be changed so as to authorize scholarship and participation in intercollegiate competition an other championships

¹⁸³ See also, Hunt, *Governance*, 122-148, and Wu, *Demise*, 184-196.

which are sanctioned by the USTLA and DGWS.”¹⁸⁴ A response came from AAPHER in October, stating that legal counsel saw nothing wrong with the decision made by the Association and it was within their rights to make such a decision. They advised Hainline to contact legal counsel of the AAHPER if he had further questions.¹⁸⁵ Instead, Hainline and his now expanded clientele took the case to state court and sued the NEA and its affiliate organizations, including AAPHER, DGWS, and the AIAW. The challenge posed by the lawsuit was to redress the scholarship issue. Scholarships, it was argued, would serve as a mark of equity with men in the collegiate setting. By denying women the opportunity to obtain scholarships and compete, these educational organizations were supporting inequity. In one move, Fern Kellmeyer, the director of physical education, the Marymount tennis coach, and five Marymount students, including Kemper, as well as the tennis coach and six players from Broward Community College protested this discriminatory practice. Kellmeyer did not feel it was right to deny her

¹⁸⁴ “Letter to Mr. Robert Colwell, July 25, 1972, from Theodore R. Hainline,” WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Financial Aid 1970-1973. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

¹⁸⁵ “Letter to Theodore R. Hainline, October 16, 1972 from Carl Troester, Executive Secretary.” Ibid.

students the right to receive scholarships that the school was willing to provide.¹⁸⁶

The reasons presented by the plaintiffs made a very strong case regarding the denial of equal protection, equal rights, and privileges, as well as discrimination.¹⁸⁷ They asked for an injunction that granted the right to participate and a ruling that would change the current policies that denied women the right to compete.

The lawsuit caused many emergency meetings and discussions with participation and input from national leaders, lawyers, educational administrators, physical educators, and coaches at all levels of the AIAW. A special committee was established by the AIAW and AAPHER to focus on this issue. Within three months, the women leaders came to the conclusion that they had no choice but to accept scholarships as part of the women's structure. Administrators and lawyers of the NEA, AAPHER, and DGWS did not want to spend any more time or money on a potentially negative campaign that would

¹⁸⁶ "A Study Conference on Competition was held in 1965, and it was at this time that the DGWS's philosophy towards recruitment and scholarships was established. Athletic scholarships were considered undesirable largely because of the recruitment problems which could ensue. Colleges and universities were required to abide by DGWS policies in order to join the AIAW, and these member institutions were bound to AIAW regulations on scholarships and recruitment. Kellmeyer . . . challenged the AIAW scholarship policy which denied women athletic scholarship holders the right to play in AIAW sponsored competition. Margaret E. Seibert, "Attitudes of Members of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women Toward Critical Issues in Athletics" (Ed.D. diss., Indiana University, 1978): 30-31.

¹⁸⁷ "Fern Kellmeyer v. NEA et al. US District Court for the Southern District of Florida. January 4, 1973." WIA Papers, Box 3. Folder: AIAW Financial Aid 1970-1973. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

not be successful.¹⁸⁸ The membership was surveyed with responses favoring scholarships. Thus, the case never made it out of state court because the situation was settled out of court, and women were now allowed to compete with scholarships. With the issue of scholarship resolved, the AIAW was able to focus on other policy issues.

The first delegate assembly of AIAW was held later that year. These assemblies included administrators, physical educators, and students. A motion was made to the Executive Board to develop a viable structure that would address policies for the governance of athletic competition and the implementation of Title IX.¹⁸⁹ The opportunity to enhance the position of women's sports was not to be missed. Therefore, the fact that discussion and collaboration between the AIAW and several of the men's organizations increased significantly the following year was not surprising.

There were some important events that started in 1974, both within and outside of educational institutions. The DGWS became the National Association of Girls and Women's Sports (NAGWS) within AAHPER. The AIAW and the NCAA submitted documents of responses, questions, and suggestions about Title IX to the HEW.¹⁹⁰ The

¹⁸⁸ Worried about the potential of loss of membership in AIAW, the financial aid clause was revised April 1973. Hunt, *Governance*, 139.

¹⁸⁹ "CIAW-AIAW-NCAA Organizational Relationship Chronology 1959-1980." WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder AIAW Chronology, 1980. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

¹⁹⁰ Hunt, *Governance*, 78-79; and Festle, *Playing*, 168.

Big 10 Conference agreed to “accommodate women’s intercollegiate athletics.”¹⁹¹

This was also the year that the women’s educational equity act was passed and the Women’s Sports Foundation was founded.¹⁹² The potential for growth in women’s sports was moving forward. These events reflected the growing interest in women’s sports and the potential of Title IX.

The NCAA’s Involvement

There had been some low rumblings by men about women’s intercollegiate athletics in the mid-1960s, but it was not until after Title IX that men and their organizations began to scramble for control of women’s competition. In 1974, a joint committee of the AIAW and NCAA was formed. Shortly afterwards, the HEW published its first set of regulations for Title IX. On July 25, the NCAA terminated its affiliation with the AAHPER. By August, Walter Byers reported to the NCAA Council that “the NCAA eventually will be involved in women’s athletics since it seems

¹⁹¹ “Memo to Commissioner Duke, December 6, 1974.” WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW/NCAA Relations 1971-1973. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

¹⁹² WSF was established by Billie Jean King and other elite athletes to serve and ensure opportunities for girls and women in sports and fitness through education, advocacy, recognition and grants. “About the Foundation.” [online] Women’s Sports Foundation, [11/25/1999] Available: <http://www.lifetimetv.com/WoSport/stage/INTERACT/html/about.html>

inevitable that eligibility rules for example, must be the same for both sexes.”¹⁹³ A few months later, the NCAA proposed the first of many plans for offering championships for women. The women and the NCAA membership rejected the proposal.¹⁹⁴

By the middle of the 1970s several advances and setbacks occurred affecting the growth of women’s intercollegiate athletics. The AIAW’s membership continued to grow very quickly and adjustments were made to incorporate new opportunities. The first AIAW women’s championship basketball game was televised in 1975. The AIAW quickly created policies regarding revenue generated by television rights and receipts.¹⁹⁵ The Association also revised its recruiting and scholarship policies.¹⁹⁶ Discussion continued between the NCAA and the AIAW with no progress being made on common policies. The pattern of the NCAA proposing plans that were rejected by the women of the AIAW and the NCAA membership continued. Any proposal put forward by the well-established and dominant NCAA placed the AIAW at a less than equal position in vote

¹⁹³ Walter Byers, “Executive Committee Meeting, no. 4 Women Athletics and Title IX Regulations,” in *1973-1974 Annual Reports of the National Collegiate Athletic Association* (Shawnee Mission, KS: 1975): 114. Also “Chronology dated Aug 19-20, 1974.” WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Chronology, 1980. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

¹⁹⁴ “Resolution Adopted by the Board of Directors of the National Association for Physical Education of College Women. May 31, 1975.” WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: NCAA/AIAW 1975-1979. Pennsylvania State University Archives. Also reported in *1974-1975 Annual Reports of the National Collegiate Athletic Association*. (Shawnee Mission, KS: 1975): 161.

¹⁹⁵ *AIAW Handbook 1976-1977* (Washington, DC: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, 1977): 84-85.

¹⁹⁶ Seibert, *Attitudes*, 32, 33, and 39. Also, Hunt, *Governance*, 208.

and representation.¹⁹⁷ This frustrating dialog between the two groups continued until the final regulations for Title IX were issued in June 1975. In February 1976, the NCAA sued the HEW to obtain valid rulings; it questioned the validity of the law, and sought clarification of the implementation guidelines.¹⁹⁸ Three months later, the NCAA dissolved its joint committee with the AIAW and formed a new NCAA committee on women's intercollegiate athletics.¹⁹⁹ The NCAA took a very strong stance on trying to eliminate or at least change Title IX to a less threatening piece of legislation. Lobbying efforts were strong. When the Tower Amendment was proposed in 1975, which in essence would have exempted any revenue-producing sport from contingencies of Title IX, a hue and cry went up and members of the AIAW as it and other allies testified against this amendment. The Tower amendment was then defeated with the adoption of the Javits Amendment.²⁰⁰ There was a note of dismay from the NCAA, compounded by its lawsuit requesting that the HEW guidelines be thrown out of court. Problems continued to plague Title IX implementation. Basic issues such as how it should be interpreted, who was responsible for the administration, and what were reasonable

¹⁹⁷ Hunt, *Governance*, 218.

¹⁹⁸ *1975-1976 Annual Reports of the National Collegiate Athletic Association*. (Shawnee Mission, KS: 1976): 92-93.

¹⁹⁹ "CIAW-AIAW-NCAA Organizational Relationship Chronology 1959-1980." [no author, no date] WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Chronology, 1980. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

²⁰⁰ It included the statement: "Which shall include with respect to intercollegiate athletic activities reasonable provisions considering the nature of particular sports." Section 844 of the Education Amendments of 1974, Pub.L., 93-380. 88 Stat. 612 (1974).

expectations required answers. The HEW had the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) draw up another set of guidelines to address these issues.²⁰¹ The OCR formalized the interpretations of the policies in 1978, and the fight for control of women's intercollegiate athletics began in earnest.

The AIAW continued to increase its membership but also continued to experience financial problems. The AAPHER and NAGWS covered the AIAW's over-expenditures. The women looked to other areas to solidify growth. Far from the sport institutes of the 1960s, the commitment to competition involved a huge investment in time, money, and energy by the NAGWS/AIAW. Prior to passage of the Amateur Sports Act of 1978, the President's Commission on Olympic Sports, formed under president Gerald Ford, conducted a preliminary report analyzing amateur sports in America.²⁰² Testimony was solicited by various sports groups such as the NCAA and AAU who agreed to "a restructured/ reconstituted United States Olympic Committee (USOC)."²⁰³ In the fifth set of hearings, the women pleaded their case for greater women's involvement. "As a result of the AIAW and NAGWS objections, the Act passed by Congress contained important concession for women in the Olympic movement."²⁰⁴ The legislation mandated

²⁰¹ Festle, *Playing*, 172-173.

²⁰² First Report to the President, Executive Summary. February 9, 1976. *Commission News*. President's Commission on Olympic Sports Washington, DC.

²⁰³ Fifth PCOS Hearing Held in Washington D.C. August 24, 1976. *Commission News*. President's Commission on Olympic Sport.

²⁰⁴ Festle, *Playing*, 238-239.

grassroots developmental funds for all women's Olympic sports and more funding for research on women athletes. Betty Spears commented, "I believe that this law gives the USOC and therefore the IOC more influence on higher education than we have felt in the past . . . I believe this law will have a great impact on our program."²⁰⁵ It would take some time for any type of investment of this 'commitment' to come to fruition. For the men, however, the Amateur Sports Act stripped the AAU of power, taking control of the National Governing Bodies (NGBs) of various Olympic sports and provided the NCAA with voting power in various NGBs. Ying Wu points out, that with the AAU's loss of power and the women gaining voting privileges and some power at the national level, both results contributed to the NCAA's interest in controlling women's sport.²⁰⁶ The division between men's and women's competitive athletics was diminishing as the separate sphere had moved between physical education and athletics.

By the end of the 1970s, most athletic departments had separated from physical education departments. Most of the women's physical education and athletic departments had been folded into men's departments as a simple way of addressing compliance with Title IX. One of the serious situations that had to be addressed according to female administrators was to reestablish women in power positions from the physical education level to the athletic administration level. Encouraging athletes and

²⁰⁵ Betty Spears, "Sport in Higher Education." (unpublished paper, draft 12/79) WIA Papers, Box 5, Folder: Title IX Sport in Higher Education by Betty Spears. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

²⁰⁶ Wu, *Demise*, 96.

students to consider coaching and officiating positions as professional careers and promoting other women through the ranks accomplished some of this positioning. Furthermore, athletic and institutional leaders began to express deep concern about maintaining dual memberships in both the NCAA and AIAW. The AIAW would soon be involved in the toughest challenges in its short existence, the control of women's sport.

As late as 1977, the NCAA membership was again surveyed about women's sport. Results revealed that members still were not convinced that the NCAA should establish women's championships. The primary concerns, expressed by both men and women, were the differences between each organization's rules and regulations.²⁰⁷ Within a year, a proposal for Division II schools to offer three championships went forward.²⁰⁸ When the call for vote went out, the membership approved championships for Division II only. The committees from the AIAW and NCAA met to discuss the issues and discovered that only eligibility was similar, whereas the structures for recruiting and transferring athletes were radically different. Financial aid and post-season issues had some similarities. A five-year moratorium was requested by the AIAW to work on establishing an equitable scenario for a smooth transition to a structure all could agree upon.

²⁰⁷ *1977-1978 Annual Reports of the National Collegiate Athletic Association*. (Shawnee Mission, KS: 1978): 58, 72.

²⁰⁸ "Motion 151 of the NCAA," CIAW . . . Chronology. "CIAW-AIAW-NCAA Organizational Relationship Chronology 1959-1980." WIA Papers, Box 3, Folder: AIAW Chronology. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

A Critical Year for Intercollegiate Sports, 1979

The AIAW became an autonomous body in July 1, 1979, when it separated from the NAGWS and AAHPERD.²³⁴ The reason for this decision was to become a legal and independent entity resulting in an organization that would have better representation in the athletic world. The negative side would be the loss of support, both financial and organizational, from AAHPERD. When the AIAW established a television contract with NBC, the general feeling was they had reached the big-time in college sports. Many women were excited by the future possibilities and also considered this to be an indication of acceptance. The anticipated revenues and public exposure for women's sports presented what they believed was a rosy future.

In 1979, it became apparent that there was internal discontent within the AIAW and women's sports. There were two philosophical camps that had evolved: women who were separatists and those who were interested in equal opportunity. The latter did not have the same concerns about keeping organizations gender separate, but rather sought to ensure that equitable opportunities were available for students. This group ended up

²⁰⁹ At the 1979 Annual Meeting in New Orleans, Dance was added to make it acronym to AAHPERD.

forming the Council of Collegiate Women's Athletic Administrators (CCWAA).²¹⁰

These internal disputes, combined with incessant external pressures, made it difficult for energies to be used effectively to maintain stability within the AIAW.

The NAIA surprised the AIAW in 1979 with an announcement that it would establish its own women's championships. This announcement, combined with the latest NCAA "governance plan," took time, money, and energy from the Association to try to block and resolve these actions. The tactic's used by the NCAA to conduct its own championship for women contributed to the eroding state of affairs. On top of these power plays by men's sport organizations, a growing number of institutional administrators expressed frustration in maintaining two sets of rules and regulations to satisfy both organizations. The time to resolve the separate spheres issues was almost at hand.

The NCAA and the AIAW lobbied and competed for control (via membership). The AIWA began to lose membership especially at the Division I level, as commitments were made to the NCAA. This disintegration and the various external and internal attacks began to wear everyone down. The NCAA had positioned itself well during this time and used the merger argument to persuade college administrators to place both

²¹⁰ The CCWAA wanted to pattern itself on the NCAA's structure. In a memo dated June 25, 1980, it is clear that the CCWAA was working with the NCAA in reviewing its amended constitution and bylaws. "Memo to the Members of the Council of Collegiate Women's Athletic Administrators, regarding the revision of the report of the Special Committee on NCAA Governance." WIA Papers, Box 5, Folder: Council of Collegiate Women's Athletic Administrators 1980. Pennsylvania State University Archives. According to Wu, some members even testified for the NCAA during the AIAW's lawsuit against the NCAA. Wu, *Demise*, 390-393.

men's and women's programs under the NCAA.²¹¹ They also used monetary incentives to entice commitment to the NCAA. History, finances, and power were on the side of the NCAA.

Collegiate Competition: Issues and Changes: 1981-1990

It had taken seventeen years of struggle before the NCAA was awarded custody of women's intercollegiate athletics. According to Wu, much of the internal struggles and infighting in the AIAW contributed to the loss of control to the NCAA.²¹² Thus, collegiate women began a new passage from a separate female-controlled organization to a male-dominated one. For many women, the bitter disappointment of the loss of the control and failure of the organization was disheartening. A last-ditch antitrust lawsuit was filed by the AIAW against the NCAA. The suit was lost in 1984, after the AIAW disintegrated, thus ending the last attempt by the AIAW to recoup some of its losses.

The women were at a disadvantage within the organizational structure of the NCAA. The NCAA never considered the AIAW, much less the women coaches and administrators, to be equal players. Instead, they were not given an equal voice, what Festle called being devalued, and in many cases marginalized.²¹³ Hegemony was ensured

²¹¹ Festle, *Playing Nice*, 200, 210.

²¹² Wu, *Demise*, 393-398.

²¹³ Festle, *Playing Nice*, 201.

when the NCAA “integrated” women’s athletics and championships within its revised structure. Inequity and subordinate position were clearly reflected in the number of women allowed to participate on committees. Representation of women on the important committees would be less than 25 percent. On the lesser committees, it would be no more than 30 percent. It was a huge step backwards in terms of previous AIAW separatist power and control.

A decade after Title IXs was passed, it was severely challenged, when Grove City College sued Terrel H. Bell, the U.S. Secretary of Education. This landmark case, which reached the Supreme Court, questioned the appropriate application of Title IX in the circumstances under which direct or indirect funding was provided in relation to the area receiving the support. That is, Grove City College argued that if the student had financial aid and the athletic department did not provide it, the condition would not fall under the jurisdiction of Title IX. The court ruled in favor of Grove City.²¹⁴ This decision quickly threatened all protections of women’s sport under Title IX.²¹⁵ Rendered powerless, the amendment was torn apart and reduced to a weakened state for four years. Susan Cahn stated: “In the aftermath of the Grove City ruling women’s sports advocates faced the possibility that more than a decade of anticipated and actual gains might be eradicated.”²¹⁶ However, Title IX was resurrected to its original status through the Civil

²¹⁴ Grove City College et al. V. Bell, Secretary of Education, et al. 1984, 1. Microfiche. (Washington, D.C., 1984) ERIC Document, ED240958.

²¹⁵ Festle, *Playing Nice*, 220-221.

²¹⁶ Cahn, *Coming on Strong*, 34.

Rights Act of 1988. This time the OCR made sure that the revisions were clarified with the publication of the *Investigators' Manual for Title IX* in 1990.

By this time, the post-AIAW and Title IX generation of women and girls had entered the world of sport. There were more opportunities to participate and compete in various sports than had been available for their mothers and grandmothers. The continual increase of female participation in sport had, for the most part, been viewed as a positive result of Title IX. In contrast to this increase in participation, the decline in the percentage of women who were coaches, administrators, and officials concerned many.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Statistics provided by R. Vivian Acosta and Linda Carpenter in 1996 reflected this trend. "47.7% of the coaches of women's teams are females, down from 49.4% in 1994 and 48.3% in 1992. Twenty-two years ago in 1972, when Title IX was enacted, more than 90% of women's teams were coached by females . . . Today, there are 1003 more head coaching jobs for women's teams than a decade ago in 1986. Women hold only 333 [more] jobs than they held 10 years ago while men held 670 more." *Status of Women as Coaches*, "18.5% of all women's programs are headed by a female administrator: this is a decrease from 21% in 1994. The decline in this overall percentage is mostly the product of a decline in the representations of females as directors of women's programs in Division I. It is almost twice as likely that a female will be in charge of the women's program in Division II than in Division I and more than three times as likely in Division III than I . . . Today there are fewer programs totally lacking women than in any of the last 10 years. No females at all are involved in the administration of 23.8% of women's programs." *Status of Women as Administrators*. Additional information and statistics are further detailed in the latter half of the document. R. Vivian Acosta and Linda J. Carpenter, "Women in Intercollegiate Sport: a Longitudinal Study-Nineteen years. Updated 1977-1996." This unpublished document can be found at the Gender Equity site at the University of Iowa under "Title IX Resources--Pertinent Reports" [online] Available: <http://bailiwick.lib.uiowa.edu/ge/Acosta/womensp.html> [12/09/1999].

Women were losing leadership and power positions for a variety of reasons.²¹⁸ Some of the losses related to the automatic tendency to hire men. In addition, the previous practice of training women within the education system and bringing them up through the ranks to fill teaching, coaching, officiating, and administrative positions was reduced. Less interest in these types of positions played a factor as well. This led to a decreased pool of trained and qualified candidates in the minds of many athletic directors.

Other prevailing attitudes and issues contributed to inequities. Devaluation of women and non-revenue sports continued to occur among athletic administrators. Issues regarding salaries of coaches and assistant coaches for men's and women's teams as well as the gender of the coach became a voiced concern. Finding an equitable balance in staffing for teams was also of concern. Elevating women to the same level that men had maintained for so many decades would continue to be a struggle. Budget issues were another factor that affected decision-making usually with a negative impact on women's sports. Equity issues were being raised by various conferences as well as by certain institutions. As time passed, expectations and acceptance of female athletes began to rise. Those who had questioned women's participation began to see that intercollegiate athletics did serve a purpose for women in higher education. In some sports, especially

²¹⁸ R. Vivian Acosta and Linda J. Carpenter, "Status of Women in Athletics—Changes and Causes." *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 56, no. 6 (1985): 35-37. Knoppers comments that, "Women have fewer opportunities and encounter more obstacles in coaching than do men." The issue of power access to resources also compounds the situation. Competition for positions, sex role segregation, and homophobia also contribute to the general attitudes towards women coaches. Anneleis Knoppers, "Coaching: an Equal Opportunity Occupation?" *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 60, no. 3 (1989): 41-43.

basketball, there was a perception that money could be made. New trends appeared as new sports were added at the varsity and club levels because of increased numbers of participants. The number of scholarships offered per sport, per year, for women also increased slightly. It was inevitable, but with continuous emphasis on winning and success, as the competition for successful women's programs intensified, violations in women's sports grew.

As women's intercollegiate athletics developed and grew, so did the various women's organizations that supported their interests.²¹⁹ The National Organization of Women (NOW), the Women's Sports Foundation (WSF), and other organizations not only kept an eye on what was happening in intercollegiate athletics, but they also lobbied and campaigned in support of addressing inequities for women. NOW had sued Little League Baseball over the exclusion of girls from baseball (1974). As these organizations' funding increased, they were able to provide financial and legal support for lawsuits. Several of these organizations such as the American Association of University Women (AAUW) would include sport issues in surveys. The WSF sponsored several surveys that assessed the attitudes, participation rates, and status of women's sports. The results reflected the increases in interest, support, and appreciation of girls' and women's experience and participation in sport.

²¹⁹ These organizations also supported interscholastic issues.

Backlash, Gender Equity, and Reform: The 1990s

Three major issues impacted women, men, and their intercollegiate sports and institutions in the 1990s: lawsuits, gender equity, and continued reform.

It had been a struggle for women to gain a foothold in the traditional male-dominated arena. Some athletes tired of waiting for their institutions to provide them with equitable resources, and they sued using Title IX.²²⁰ Understanding that institutions had used different interpretations of gender equity and issues related to the availability of sport, each suit addressed a specific issue or set of issues of concern. Three well-known suits of this nature were against Temple, Colgate, and Brown Universities.

Rollin Haffer and other students sued Temple University in 1980, claiming that fewer opportunities were available for women; there was disparity in the resources allocated between men's and women's programs; and there was disparity in the allocation of financial aid between male and female students. This suit was considered important as it was one of the first suits to use the federal equal protection clause and Pennsylvania's

²²⁰ There were three general categories under Title IX: Effective accommodation of student interests and abilities, equivalence in other athletic benefits and opportunities, and athletic financial assistance or scholarship. Other factors that were specifically listed included equipment and supplies, scheduling of games and practices, travel and per diem allowances, opportunity to receive coaching and academic tutoring, assignment and compensation of coaches and tutors, provision of locker rooms, practice and competitive facilities, provision of medical and training facilities and services, provision of housing and dining facilities and services, publicity, recruitment, and support services.

Equal Rights Act; Temple lost the case and the women were provided appropriate funding and services by the end of the 1980s.²²¹

The Cook et al. v. Colgate case started in 1990. The students on the Colgate women's ice hockey club questioned the continual denial of raising club status to the varsity level. They compared the disparity in treatment and support between their team and the men's varsity team. They believed that the lack of support for women's sporting opportunities was reflected in the refusal to grant varsity status to the women's teams. The Court threw out all of the arguments Colgate submitted and forced it to approve varsity status and provide appropriate funding for women's varsity ice hockey.²²² It would take seven years for the entire process to work out.

Brown University was a different story. As an institution that had supported and provided for women's sports in the 1960s and 1970s, the administrators decided to cut two men's and two women's sports for financial reasons. The women were upset because their programs had been very successful. By being reduced to club status, they

²²¹ Christina A. Longo and Elizabeth F. Thuman, "Haffer v. Temple University (678 F. Supp. 517): A Reawakening of Gender Discrimination in Intercollegiate Athletics." *Journal of College and University Law* 16, (Summer 1989): 137 and Anne Bloom, "Financial Disparity as Evidence of Discrimination Under Title IX." *Villanova Sports and Entertainment Law Forum* 2, no. 1 (1995): 7.

²²² Jennifer B. Cook et al., Plaintiffs, vs Colgate University, Defendant. 90.CV.411 United States District Court for the Northern District of New York 802 F. Suppl.737; 1992. Lexis 14951. Also, Catherine E. Bryant, et al Plaintiffs vs. Colgate University, et al, Defendants, No. 930-cv-1029 (FJS) United States District Court for the Northern District of New York. 1997 US District Court. Lexis 21518.

would lose all the momentum needed to sustain their elite program.²²³ It was to be a long and tiring court battle between the university and this group of women who were determined to regain varsity status in their sport. After Brown lost the first decision, it appealed, lost the appeal, and then appealed again only to hear the original decision verified. By this time other institutions joined in support of Brown, because of the concern that entire athletic programs were endangered.²²⁴ However, when Brown appealed to the Supreme Court, the appeal was denied, thus the long saga for gender equity was won at Brown.

Students were not the only ones fighting discriminatory practices. A number of coaches and administrators also took up the fight and sued their institutions for equal pay

²²³ For discussions on *Cohen v. Brown* see, for instance; Ted R. Cheesbrough, "Cohen v. Brown, I am Woman, Hear Me Score." *Villanova Sports and Entertainment Law Forum* 5, no. 2 (1998): 295-326; Sue Ann Mota, "Title IX and Intercollegiate Athletics—The First Circuit Holds Brown University Not in Compliance." *University of Miami Entertainment & Sports Law Review* 14, no. 2 (1997): 152-186. Jill Mulderink, "Par for the Female Course: *Cohen v. Brown University* (879 F. Supp. 185 (D.R.I. 1995)); "Mandates an Equal Playing Field in Intercollegiate Athletics." *Journal of College and University Law* 22 (Summer 1995): 111-132; and, Andrew Richardson, "Sports Law: *Cohen v. Brown* (991 f.2d 888(1993)): A Title IX Lesson for College and Universities on Gender Equity." *Oklahoma Law Review* 47, (Spring 1994): 161-182.

²²⁴ Jim Naughton, "Advocates on All Sides of the Title IX Debate Look to the Supreme Court." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 43, no. 33 (April 25, 1997): A41-A42; and Naughton, "Settlement Approved in *Brown Title IX Case*." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 44, no. 43 (July 3, 1998): A31.

or discrimination.²²⁵ Additionally, OCR had developed and refined a tool named the Three-Part Test for Accommodation of Interests and Abilities. This three-part (also called three-prong) test was created to assist in decision on Title IX compliance. The Three-Part Test for Accommodation of Interests and Abilities assesses compliance through these measures:

1. Intercollegiate level competition must be provided to both sexes in a manner that is substantially proportionate to their enrollments, or
2. In the case of one sex having been under-represented among the athletes, the institution must show a history of continuing practice of program expansion and development. These expansions and developments must be responsive to the interests and abilities of the under-represented sex, or
3. In the case that the members of one sex are under-represented among the athletes and the institution cannot demonstrate a history of program expansion and development, the institution must show that the interests and abilities of the under-represented sex have been fully and effectively accommodated by the present programs.²²⁶

Compliance is further assessed through the following questions:

1. Are the policies of an institution discriminatory in language or effect?

²²⁵ Thomas S. Evans, "Title IX and Intercollegiate Athletics: a Primer." *Kansas Journal of Law and Public Policy* 5 (Spring 1996): 55-64. Also, Diane Heckman, "The Explosion of Title IX: Legal Activity in Intercollegiate Athletics During 1992-93: Defining the 'Equal Opportunity,' Standard." *Detroit College of Law Review* 3 (Fall 1994): 53-1023; and Heckman, "Scoreboard: A Concise Chronological Twenty-Five Year History of Title IX Involving Interscholastic and Intercollegiate Athletics." *Seton Hall Journal of Sport Law* 7, no. 2 (1997): 391-422.

²²⁶ Policy interpretation, 1979 as cited by Colleen M. Colles, "Office for Civil Right's Investigation and Interpretation of Title IX's Three-Part Test: A Question of Consistency" (D. Ed. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1997): 5.

2. In the institution's program as a whole, are there disparities of a substantial and unjustified nature in the benefits, treatment, services or opportunities afforded the male and female athletes?
3. In an individual segment of a program, are there disparities in and of themselves substantial enough to deny equality of athletic opportunity.²²⁷

The provisos of legal recourse have helped solidify the presence of women's intercollegiate sports. However, OCR continues to have problems with the perceptions that result in inconsistent assessment and recourse. Although lawsuits, Title IX, and other mechanisms have helped women gain parity in sport, the backlash has not painted a pretty picture. Both women and Title IX have been faulted for the demise and removal of men's sports, mostly the non-revenue ones.²²⁸ However, many do recognize that in many cases it is hasty management decisions that look for a quick fix, not fair distribution. So even with the occasional finger pointer, it is a reality that intercollegiate athletic opportunities need to be provided for men and women using the OCR three-prong method.

With the many changes in the 1990s, there was a movement that rephrased the issues to gender equity. Gender equity evolved out of Title IX in an attempt to redress the issues that continued to be ignored. Gender equity also became part of the reform

²²⁷ Ibid, 6.

²²⁸ For additional information on this topic, see for instance; Gai I. Berlage, "Woman Intercollegiate Athletics Use of the Apologetic." *Arena Review* 11, no. 2 (1987): 47-65, Elaine M. Blinde, "Participation in a Male Sport Model and the Value Alienation of Female Intercollegiate Athletes." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 6, no. 1 (1989): 36-49, Ellen J. Stourowsky, "Blaming the Victim: Resistance in the Battle Over Gender Equity in Intercollegiate Athletics." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 20, no. 2 (1996): 194-219.

movement.²²⁹ Inconsistent development in women's programs and concern about unequal expenditures between men's and women's programs led the National Association of Collegiate Women Athletic Administrators (NACWAA) to take action in January 1991. The NACWAA passed a resolution to request the NCAA Council to "undertake a study to analyze expenditure for women's and men's programs."²³⁰ A survey was drafted and reviewed by an ad-hoc committee of several NCAA Council members and the Committee on Women's Athletics. They created three separate questionnaires specifically designed for each of the three NCAA divisions. With a very high return rate, the results clearly pointed out many discrepancies that needed to be addressed. Not all institutions and conferences were cooperative in addressing the inequities, but there were also a number of conferences that took the initiative and established their own criteria, expectations, and standards for gender equity. Many

²²⁹ Discussion on gender equity continues to this day. See, for example, Renee Forseth, et al., "Progress in Gender Equity?: An Overview of the History and Future of Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972." *Villanova Sports and Entertainment Law Forum* 2, no. 1 (1995): 51-98.; Brian L. Porto, "Completing the Revolution: Title IX as Catalyst for an Alternative Model of College Sports." *Seton Hall Journal of Sport Law* 8, (1998): 351-418. ; George A. Davidson and Carla A. Kerr, "Title IX: What is Gender Equity?" *Villanova Sports and Entertainment Law Forum* 2, no. 1 (1995): 25-50. T. Jesse Wilde, "Gender Equity in Athletics: Coming of Age." *Marquette Sports Law Journal* 4, no. 2 (1994): 217-258.

²³⁰ "NCAA Gender Equity Study: Summary of Results" March 1992. Overland Park, KS: Eric Document, ED345593: 1.

conferences had addressed the issues, while the NCAA continued to resist changes.²³¹

Around the same time that gender equity was being investigated, the Knight Foundation went into action. Disturbed by the enormous number of violations and infractions that were occurring in intercollegiate athletics, the Foundation created a Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics in 1989 to propose methods of reform and address the “highly visible scandals in college sports.”²³² After several years of study, the Commission produced three reports: *Keeping Faith with the Student Athlete: A New Model for Intercollegiate Athletics* in 1991, *A Solid Start: A Report on Reform of Intercollegiate Athletics* in 1992, and *A New Beginning for a New Century: Intercollegiate Athletics in the United States* in 1993. These documents outlined the critical concerns and issues that the Knight Commission believed needed to be addressed for any reform to occur. The three critical recommendations that were made to ensure reform were (1) presidential control, (2) academic integrity, and (3) financial integrity. In this model, the member institutions of the NCAA were required to undergo an independent audit of all academic and financial matters related to athletics as part of the certification process. Peer review would include verification of all aspects of the University and the athletic department. The evaluation would include reviewing the mission statements and institutional goals, and verifying that all athletes were treated

²³¹ Ellen J. Staurowsky, “Examining the Roots of a Gendered Division of Labor in Intercollegiate Athletics: Insights into the Gender Equity Debate.” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 19, no. 1 (1995): 28-44.

²³² Creed C. Black, “Introduction,” [online] Knight Foundation [12/19/1999] Available: www.knightfdn.org/news_at_knight/kf_athletics/reports/reports.html.

equitably.²³³ Critics of the Knight Commission were very skeptical of the presidential component, as some of them contributed to the corruption.²³⁴ Again, it would take several years of discussion before some of the proposals were adopted and integrated into the restructured NCAA.

How Far Has Women's Intercollegiate Athletics Grown?

Intercollegiate sports have undergone many revisions and evolutions for both men and women. Development of women's sports at the collegiate level has made accelerated progress after decades of covert competition for a few, and abbreviated competition for others. Now, women's sports has greater acceptance, support (financially and socially), and, for certain sports more visibility. These developments have led to an increased interest in the history of women's intercollegiate athletics and women's participation in sports. Unlocking these buried histories has become the work of researchers and archivists.

²³³ "Certification" in *Keeping Faith*. Commission of Intercollegiate Athletics. [online] Knight Foundation [12/19/1999] Available: www.knightfdn.org/news_at_knight/...hletics/keeping_faith/certification.html

²³⁴ Tom McMillen with Paul Coggin, *Out of Bounds: How the American Sports Establishment is Being Driven by Greed and Hypocrisy—and What Needs to be Done About It* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992): 217, 226-228.

Chapter 5

THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF ARCHIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

In this chapter a review of the evolution and an outline of the structure of archives is provided. The definition of archives includes the physical location where materials such as institutional records and personal papers are kept, as well as the actual materials. This dual definition can contribute to the confusion by researchers between mission and collection's scopes. The "mystery" around archives, as much as the reputation involved with libraries, has stereotypes of musty boxes of stuff in attics and basements. Furnishing information serves to clarify the purpose of archivists and archives in collecting, identifying, and organizing materials. Successfully conducting research in an archive requires a basic understanding of how archives are organized. In order to navigate through different types of archives, the researcher formulates appropriate questions to ask the archivist, and, in this case, access sports-related information.

History of Archives and the Archival Profession

The development of archives in the United States may still be considered to be in its early stages, although the existence of state historical societies dates back to the late eighteenth century.²³⁵ It was through the American Historical Association (AHA) that archival issues were first considered and discussed.²³⁶ Interest in the establishment of a National Archives dates back to 1878, but action was not taken until the mid-1930s.²³⁷ In 1936, the Society of American Archivists (SAA) was founded. This professional society evolved directly from the AHA's Conference of Archives. SAA's basic mission is "to promote sound principles of archival economy and facilitate cooperation among archivists and archival agencies."²³⁸ As the number and type of archives evolved, new committees were formed. Although university archives had been in existence at various

²³⁵ The Massachusetts Historical Society was founded in 1791. By the early 1900s practically every state had established a historical society. Ernst Posner, *American State Archives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

²³⁶ The American Historical Society established two committees: in 1899, the Public Archives Committee and 1909, the Conference of Archives.

²³⁷ Hunter notes that President Rutherford B. Hayes recommended the establishment of a national archive as early as 1878, but no action was taken. Then Congress authorized the building of a national archive in 1913. Gregory S. Hunter, *Developing and Maintaining Practical Archives* (New York: Neal Schuman, 1997): 72. O'Toole remarks that Congress appropriated funds in 1926 to acquire a site to house federal records, a cornerstone was laid in 1933, and the following year, Congress passed a bill establishing the national archives as an independent agency. James M. O'Toole, *Understanding Archives and Manuscripts* (Chicago: SAA, 1990): 35.

²³⁸ Society of American Archivists, [online] "Description and Brief History" [2/25/2000] Available: www.archivist.org.

stages, it was not until 1949 that the Committee on College and University Archives (CCUA) was established. Almost twenty years later, Maynard Brichford noted: “University archives are a recent development . . . Most college or university archives were small collections, housed in libraries and receiving the infrequent attention of a member of the library staff.”²³⁹ By the 1950s, SAA concentrated on formulating and establishing common techniques and methods as archival policy in a standardized fashion.

Guides to collections and repositories were created in paper format and distributed to other repositories and large research libraries. Some of these guides were about specific repositories and their collections that were subject-oriented. A centralized catalog of guides was not established until 1959, when the Library of Congress published the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC). NUCMC contains copies of catalog cards and descriptions of collections in various repositories, and it uses the Library of Congress subject headings. It is useful but often unwieldy, as each volume has an index that needs to be consulted before using the full volume. It is now available

²³⁹ For further information on the development of archives in academia see: Annabel Straus, “College and University Archives: Three Decades of Development.” *College Research Libraries* 40, no. 5 (1979): 432-439 and Ernest Posner, “College and University Archives in the United States,” in *College and University Archives: Selected Readings*, (Chicago: SAA, 1979): 80-96. Also, Maynard Brichford, “Illiarch,” in *Ibid*: 19.

in an online version known as Archives USA²⁴⁰ that provides access to repositories and many of their collections. The collections can be searched using subject headings assigned through NUCMUC as well as the National Inventory Description Service (NIDS).²⁴¹

Two other paper resources are (1) the *Directory of Archives and Manuscripts*, published by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission in 1978 and 1988, and containing repository information (name, address, policies and procedures, and a summary of the collections), and (2) *Ash's Subject Collections*, in which information is arranged by subjects both broad and specific and includes collection information for both libraries and archival repositories. Paper resources have their limits, and interest in providing other means of access has increased. Technological developments, such as Archival and Manuscript Control (AMC) in Machine Readable Cataloging (MARC) records, contributed to the move towards standardization, thereby providing a solution to problems found in the paper format.

²⁴⁰ Archives USA is not as comprehensive for smaller institutions as the paper version. Archives USA uses two different groups of subject headings, NUCMUC and NIDS to assign terms to any given collection. NUCMUC uses subject heading from the Library of Congress, while NIDS (National Inventory of Documentary Sources in the United States) are subject headings produced and assigned by a private company. Both broad and specific subject headings may be assigned to any given collection.

²⁴¹ The National Inventory Description Service is a private for-profit service that uses different subject headings, many being more specific than the broader terms used by the Library of Congress.

Additionally, various research institutions' and organizations' (like the Research Libraries Group, RLG) commitment to using AMC solidified its status. Thomas Weir commented, "Major changes supported modern archival collective description of bodies of material rather than the earlier emphasis on item description."²⁴² Bruce Dearstyne²⁴³ further remarked that participating in MARC/AMC provided a central location for researchers' and archivists' access to collections. The acceptance of MARC/AMC forced archivists to establish standards and consistency when adding records and information to the database Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN). The other shared catalog that has archival information is Online Computer Library Center (OCLC). Issues that continued to arise from the use of new technology and the changing archival environment were discussed at the national, regional, and state levels.

The increase in types of archives and philosophical differences contributed to the development of regional and state conferences and organizations, which, to some, better served the needs and interests of the archivist. In the mid-1970s, discussion had turned to the need to establish cataloging standards in order to provide constant and improved access to archival materials. By 1990s, SAA revised its mission statement to the following: "Serve the educational and informational needs of its members and provides leadership to help ensure the identification, preservation, and the use of the nation's

²⁴² Thomas E. Weir Jr., "New Automation Techniques for Archivists," in *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions* ed. by James G. Bradsher, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 137.

²⁴³ Bruce W. Dearstyne, *The Archival Enterprise: Modern Archival Principles, Practices, and Management Techniques* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1993): 148-149.

historical record.”²⁴⁴ The late 1990s also witnessed the growth and development of standards for electronic access to collections via the World Wide Web. Encoded Archival Description (EAD), if widely accepted, should create a similar standardization process that occurred during the earlier implementation of MARC/AMC.

The archival profession has also invested in exploring options of access in the electronic arena. Projects using EAD, Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML), and Extensible Markup Language (XML) test alternative methods of providing access to archival collections.²⁴⁵ These options have continued to provide choices to collection access and reemphasized consistency in identifying materials. Although there are many differences among archives, there are a number of commonalities. With wider opportunities to access collection information in the electronic environment, archivists will have to stay abreast of the issues involving use, users, and access, and how these issues interact with one another.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Additional information on EAD can be located [online] at lcweb.loc.gov/ead (see also lcweb.loc.gov/ead/eadsites.html) [07/20/1999]

²⁴⁶ There are a growing number of archival search engines on the Internet.

Basic Philosophy of Archives

Many types of archives exist.²⁴⁷ There are organizational (business, historical society), government (federal, state, regional, local), religious, museum, and institutional (academic, medical) archives. Some are private, some are public, and some function independently, while others are a central component of an institution. The goals, priorities, and missions of archives can also vary with the types of materials collected and retained. For the most part, users and researchers of archives don't know or care to know the individual institutional mission; the major concern is if materials related to their research are in the archives.

Archival collections can be centralized or decentralized. Centralized refers to the records being processed, maintained, and controlled by the archives. Decentralized means different units have control over their records; there is no centralized means of access or consistency in the way records are treated. Understanding this distinction is helpful in reducing confusion and frustration for the researcher. As different as archives can be, there are components within archives that are fairly consistent and established.

²⁴⁷ Additional information on evolution and differences in archives can be found in resources such as Margaret Norton's collection of essays, *Norton on Archives: The Writing of Margaret Cross Norton on Archives and Archival Management* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1975).

Organization and Roles of Archives

Archives provide two essential functions. They retain the organizational and administrative records of their respective institutions and contain resources that represent the cultural aspects and institutional memory of the same institutions. Annabel Straus pointed out: “In some institutions, space and staffing problems prevent the two parts from being housed together. In others, the archives also contain regional history collections or special collections, which tend to obscure the direct relationship that the institution should have with its archive.”²⁴⁸ Combined, these resources provide information that is used for administrative and research purposes. The archival literature is full of discussions on the scope of archives.²⁴⁹ Organization and structure correspond directly to the mission statement. The statement outlines and describes the intent, management, and role of the archives along with the goals, objectives, and activities or services. The steps that follow explain the process of acquiring and providing access to the collections.

²⁴⁸ Annabel Strauss, “College and University Archives: Three Decades of Development.” *College and Research Libraries* 40, no. 5 (1979): 432.

²⁴⁹ Other titles of interest on archives and archival management include, James Gregory Bradsher, *Managing Archives and Archival Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); William J. Maher, *The Management of College and University Archives* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Society of American Archivists and Scarecrow Press, 1992); and Tom Nesmith ed., *Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance* (Metuchun, NJ: Scarecrow, 1993).

The Archival Process: Acquisition, Appraisal, Arrangement, and Description

The archival process involves from start to finish, the intellectual and physical preparation and assessment of records prior to their availability for use. The steps include acquisition, appraisal, arrangement, and description.

Acquisition. Three basic types of acquisitions occur in archives. These are the transfer of records within the institution, the purchase of collections, and the receipt of gifts. Records transfer within an institution may be associated with a records management program in which departments and other office units are scheduled to clear their older files and send them to the archives for processing. The archivist/records manager utilizes well-developed procedures in contacting and working with the appropriate unit. An acquisitions policy may specify and even rank administrative units, like Office of the President, Budget, and Physical Plant, in organizing the collection.

If an archive/repository has specific subject areas that are its highlights or strengths, a statement on purchases to enhance a collection should be in place as part of the acquisitions. This serves two purposes: it enables a documented recognition of a collection within a repository, and it focuses development of the specific subject areas. Guidelines are also necessary for collection development including an acquisition policy.

Gifts or donations must also have guidelines. They allow an archivist to assess the appropriateness of a possible addition to the collection through appraisal. At times the scenario is uncomplicated, allowing for an easy decision. At other times, it is more

complex: other conditions, restrictions, or stipulations are attached to collection(s). A well-developed acquisitions policy should describe actions the archivist would take in any of the above-mentioned scenarios because it would define the types of records that can be added, identify specific subjects, determine the cost factors,²⁵⁰ and aid in resolving other procedural topics. The policy would also allow more detailed description of the objectives of collection building and development.

Appraisal. Appraisal is the first critical step taken by an archivist. It involves reviewing materials and assessing their values.²⁵¹ Appraisal should occur prior to ownership of the collection to determine if it should be accepted, rejected, or partially rejected. An archivist will often visit the donor and review the materials to ascertain that they fit the collection policy. Appraisal can also occur upon receipt of the collection. The condition of the physical format is accessed, the value of materials is determined, and an appropriate record group/record series is assigned.

As the first step in preservation, the collection is evaluated on whether or not additional steps or methods of conservation will need to be applied to any of the

²⁵⁰ Cost factors include estimating the volume, time to process, physical condition, and form. See Maygene Daniels, "Records Appraisal and Deposition." in *Managing*, 57.

²⁵¹ There is a difference with the professional appraisers, usually recommended by archivists, who assess the actual monetary values of the collection for tax and legal purposes. This is a separate from the institutional process of assessment. Accessioning is the identification place on a record series or group noting when items were received, ownership, etc. vs. cataloging in libraries. Maygene Daniels, "Accessing is the Process of Transferring Records to the Physical Custody and the Legal Control of Materials" in *Managing*, 64.

materials. Records are placed in an acid-free environment and other steps such as removing paper clips, rubber bands, and tape are taken at this time. Weeding out extraneous or duplicate materials may occur at this stage. The value of a collection is not necessarily related to a monetary assessment and may be viewed in different ways. For example, Maygene Daniels categorizes value: primary values (reason the record was created); secondary (how else the record can be used, its research value), evidential values (other ways the record can be connected to other aspects); and informational values (background or general information about an event or person).²⁵² Daniels reminds us that, “records are created to communicate, facilitate transactions, or document events, activities, or situations.”²⁵³ After the records are received in the archives, the staff needs to determine the ways to use them and their value. The decision about each object is then applied to the life cycle of the record from its use to its disposition. Once all of these criteria are determined, assessment of how the materials will be arranged, filed, and described takes place.

Arrangement of the Records. Arrangement is the process by which records are filed, whether artifact or record. Other criteria can be used, such as chronological order, hierarchical order, or arrangement by levels of governance. It is important for arrangement to be respectful of provenance and original order. Provenance, the oldest archival concept of arrangement, is the principle by which records created by different

²⁵² Daniels, *Records Appraisal*, 60.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 54.

units are not mixed together because doing so would make it impossible to learn the owner of the record. Original order, introduced in the late 1800s, is the method by which records are kept in the order in which they were originally created. One other type of arrangement is function,²⁵⁴ which allows arrangement by institutional context. This better reflects the relationship of the records to the institutional structure and its relationships. It is also a little more flexible and allows for some of the current informational shifts.

This evaluation determines the series and/or record group.²⁵⁵ At the series level, there needs to be some type of unifying criteria to keep the series together. After the series level, there are additional stages of arrangement. The goal of arrangement is to make available as much information about the collection contents as possible. It is helpful to keep the hierarchy of arrangement level in mind: repository, record group, series, file unit, and item. Arrangement works on the principle of an inverted hierarchy-- i.e., college, department, unit, type of record. While collections will not be arranged to the item level, they will be arranged to the folder level. Doing so provides maximum

²⁵⁴ Helen Samuels has been a strong advocate in expanding and developing the use of functional analysis as a complementary means of providing better access to collections. "A functional approach provides the means to achieve a comprehensive understanding of an institution and its documentation: acknowledging of what is to be documented and the problems of gathering the desired documentation." Helen Samuels, *Varsity Letters: Documenting Modern Colleges and Universities* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992): 1.

²⁵⁵ "The record group/manuscript collection may or may not be the basis of arrangement. The record group is the heart of the matter: then file, then item." Richard J. Cox, *American Archival Analysis the Recent Development of the Archival Profession in the United States* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1990): 119.

researcher access. “As a collection is accessioned, a main entry including title, date span, and quality is established and a preliminary scope/contents list is described, summary list, description of box content is prepared.”²⁵⁶

Description. Description is a critical part of preparing the collection. In the literature, it is generally agreed that a minimum of five critical pieces of information are assigned during this process. At the least, a title phrase must be given, along with the dates associated with the series, and some reference to the number of records in the series. Then a description of the physical arrangement of these records in their series must be included as well as a synopsis of the information contained therein. The problem, Mary Jo Pugh observed, is “archival methods of group description . . . analyze the function and structure of the records rather than providing item descriptions and multiple access points. Each record group tends to be described as an isolated entity and there is little standardization among institutions.”²⁵⁷ It also is much faster to process collections at the group level because there are fewer unique groups than there are series.

A great deal of information can be gained from a description. Often this information is used to create the finding aid, which is a resource used by both archivists and researchers “that briefly describes and identifies the relationships between holdings

²⁵⁶ Lydia Lucas, “Efficient Finding Aids: Developing a System for Control of Archives and Manuscripts,” in *A Modern Archives Reader: Basic Readings on Archival Theory and Practice*, ed. by Maygene Daniels and Timothy Welch, (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1984): 207.

²⁵⁷ Mary Jo Pugh, “Illusion of Omniscience in Subject Access and the Reference Archivists,” in *Modern*, 266.

with record groups, papers, collections, or comparable bodies of materials at the units of entry.”²⁵⁸ There are several types of finding aids: published guides and directories, summary guides, inventories, and even card-files that either contain, or serve as a cumulative index to, subjects and biographical information.

All of these steps are the behind-the-scenes tasks that contribute to the collection and record information organized within an archive. Using these tools, archival staff and researchers can access the appropriate collections and record groups. However, the nature of archives and of sports information in particular is such that human contact and discussion are necessary to ensure all relevant collections are considered.

Reference Services in Archives

Analysis and discussion of the scope of reference services are fairly recent activities for archivists. Because the times that archives are open vary, as do their policies of use, it is very beneficial to have this information available in directories and on web sites. It is also vital for the researcher to contact the archivist prior to arrival in case extra time or additional assistance is needed. Usually the first point of contact is a letter of inquiry. These requests come in the form of written letters, email messages, phone calls, and in-person visits. The level of staffing can affect the level of detail in the response. The archivist should also include basic information about the archives, such as

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

hours and policies in regard to collection access, reading room policies,²⁵⁹ and other expectations and useful information for the users to be aware of prior to their arrival. Many archival security policies request users to store their coats and other personal belongings prior to entering the main reading room. There may be restrictions regarding the types of instruments that can be brought in, such as laptops, pencils, and notebook paper. Upon entering the reading/reference room, the researcher should expect an interview regarding his/her research interests/needs. This allows the researcher to expand on the original inquiry and the archivist to further explore the relevance of using related areas of the collection.

Assumptions that researchers and archivists might have are best addressed during the reference interview. During this interaction, the archivist can assess the researcher's level of understanding regarding the structure and use of the archives and can introduce and explain relevant information to the researcher. The archivist not only provides information about the collections but should be able to assist the researcher in considering other areas, including suggesting other collections in other repositories that might be of interest. Kepley cites this as the most critical component of reference services. "The heart of the reference process lies in understanding the researchers' questions and suggesting the kinds of records that the institution and other related repositories have that may be of use."²⁶⁰ This type of interaction provides opportunities

²⁵⁹ Reading room policies will vary. Some archives may restrict the number of records one can look at one time and who can photocopy and the materials.

²⁶⁰ David Kepley, "Reference Services and Access." *Managing*, 162.

for the researcher and the archivist to share their information and knowledge about the inquiry.

The other components of reference services also need to be addressed such as the types of document services provided. Document services include information on copyright and use fees. Is there a photocopying service or is it self-service? What are the photographic and audio-visual reproduction policies, costs, and time frames? Can a laptop be used or materials scanned to disk? Reference is also the point at which access policies and legal and privacy issues must be considered and discussed with the researcher. Several legislative policies restrain access to some materials.²⁶¹ In 1974, the Family Education Right and Policy Act (FERPA), also known as the Buckley Amendment, was established to protect student records and to control “right of access.” This legislation restricts access to student records by requiring written requests for them and establishing a time during which the information is open. Aside from student records, other records such as certain types of financial information and personal papers may also have restrictions. There are three varieties of restrictions: completely closed (sealed [i.e., no access]), partially restricted (some materials may not be available), and restricted for preservation or security reasons (may need clearance or protective equipment to use). The archivist should explain restrictions, when applicable, so that the researcher understands the situation.

²⁶¹ Charles B. Elston, “University Student Records: Research Use, Privacy Rights, and the Buckley Law.” *College and University Archives* (Chicago: SAA, 1979): 68-79.

If the researcher is involved in extensive use of materials, the archivist should inquire from time to time how the research progress is going. This exchange of information may lead the archivist to learn about unique materials in the collection and may also lead to serendipitous new discoveries, thereby extending the search to the use of other record groups. At the conclusion of the visit, an archivist usually conducts an exit interview with the researcher that may be formal or informal.

Information about the usage of the archives should be collected via different informational contact points. Most archivists use queries as their main information sources. Use of these provides background for all types of statistical query, as well as information on types of materials used, what can be duplicated, and so forth. This information can be used in creating reports, to assess other aspects of the archives, and to identify priorities or problems with the repository.

In addition to educating and working with users of the collections, many archivists have additional responsibilities. Some collect and conduct oral histories. Others may develop different types of grants to enhance the collection, develop publications, or conduct use studies. Many also have record management responsibilities that take up much of their time. Continuing education should be an integrated component. Archivists should remain current and aware of what is going on in the profession and at other institutions and repositories.

A growing area of effort and attention is the role played by outreach in the archives. Outreach involves promotional activities used to highlight collections and services. Examples of outreach include producing brochures and newsletters, teaching

classes, offering workshops, creating exhibits, and giving tours. These types of activities are effective methods of bringing archival collections to public attention. They also are additional opportunities to interact with the public, obtain feedback, and highlight collections. Archivists also reach out to donors, other users, educators and their students, and, for some, sponsors.

Reference services that are available in any given archive may vary. For many institutions, time and staff constraints can contribute to underutilization of collections and lessen opportunities to expand user services.

The Researcher, Archivist, and Archives

Today's archives are undergoing various transformations. The direction taken will depend on the management of programs, the development of cooperative and consortia projects, and the development and integration of technology. Hunter comments that user surveys reveal archival programs' tendency to focus more on materials, while often failing to be aware of the types of users of materials.²⁶² Information about how the holdings came to their present home, as well as about the holdings themselves, needs to be better communicated. Consideration of different methods to improve communications and assistance within reference services could be one approach. Bruce Dearstyne suggests expanding the essay in the finding aid by including useful characteristics of the

²⁶² Hunter, *Developing*, 188.

collection, such as the limitations, potential, and possibilities of the records.²⁶³ If subject and index terms were also included in finding aids, the potential for access would be improved.

Researchers need to be aware of archival organizational structure and prepare in advance. The more detailed information utilized by the researcher before the visit, the more successful the visit. The importance of communication and access to information are the two most critical components for the researcher who uses archives. This must be a two-way street. Archivists need to be able to comprehend the researcher's requests and how to obtain materials. Researchers have to learn that looking for information in an archive is different from looking in libraries.²⁶⁴ With revitalization in the archival profession, many changes should affect some of the access issues faced by both archivists and researchers in their interaction with one another.²⁶⁵ Nancy McCall and Lisa Mix note, "What emerges in the archival field is a need for both inter-institutional and intra-institutional collaboration in selecting and preservation of critical contemporary documentation . . . Archivists must make adjustments in both theory and practice if they

²⁶³ Dearstyne, *Archival Enterprise*, 232.

²⁶⁴ Some of these issues are addressed in Frank G. Burke, *Research and the Manuscript Tradition* (Metchun, NJ: Scarecrow, 1997).

²⁶⁵ William E. Brown and Elizabeth Yakel, "Redefining the Role of College and University Archives in the Information Age." *American Archivist* 59, no. 3 (1996): 272-287 and Richard J. Cox, "Charting the Unknown: The Continuing Need for Research About Archival Work, Institutions, and the Profession." *American Archivist* 55, no. 3 (1992): 410-413.

are to manage the documentation.”²⁶⁶ Use of new and different approaches would change archival practice and improve relationships with users and colleagues.²⁶⁷ A potential change would be for the archivist to work directly with the creators and users of the collections in advance. Assessment could be conducted on archives use. The information collected at the reference desk could be analyzed in conjunction with other use studies to gain insight into collection use. Once the information is compiled, strategies to improve or expand collection access could be decided upon. Citation studies would provide another means of assessment. Others could do this internally, to the specific repository, or externally, outside of the repository.²⁶⁸ Knowledge of other collections and even other projects being conducted could highlight collaboration opportunities.

²⁶⁶ Nancy McCall and Lisa Mix, *Designing Archival Programs to Advance Knowledge in the Health Fields*, Nancy McCall and Lisa A. Mix, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995): xx.

²⁶⁷ Nancy McCall, “Reconceptualizing the Design of Archival Programs.” *Designing*, 95-110. See also, Michael Cook, “The International Standard for the Description of Archives: A Progress Report.” *Information Development* 8, (1992): 237-238.

²⁶⁸ Karen Collins, “Providing Subject Access to Images: A Study of User Queries.” *American Archivist* 61, no. 1 (1998): 36-55. William Jackson, “The 80/20 Archives: a Study of Use and its Implications at the University of Wisconsin Archives; revised version of paper presented at the 1996 SAA Conference.” *Archival Issues* 22, no. 2 (1997): 133-145. Maria Nyéki, “Collaboration and Exchange Possibilities Among Music Libraries in Western and Eastern Europe: a Proposal Presented at the 1991 IAML Conference.” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 39, (1992): 4. Jane Gottlieb, “Sharing Information on Archival Collections: MARC AMC and Beyond in the U.S. Experience of the Juilliard School and 12 Other Institutions.” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 40, (1993): 228-238.

Various archival collaborative and cooperative projects have been in existence for a little over two decades and continue to increase steadily.²⁶⁹ Some of these projects explore ways to share materials.²⁷⁰ Others explore and study electronic venues such as EAD²⁷¹ and information access on the World Wide Web.²⁷² The current structure and status of archives will continue to evolve through these and new projects. The growth and development of the Internet and the role of technology are still emerging. Nancy McCall suggested that many aspects of archival management could be enhanced by using electronic tools to assist the process of, “selection, prevention, [and] management of institutional documentation in computerized formats. In so doing they will have to develop effective strategies for dealing with the physical and technical strategies of electronically stored data and information.”²⁷³ There is another side of electronic materials that remains a challenge for archivists: their storage and preservation. Storing

²⁶⁹ This information was gathered through a review of the archival literature.

²⁷⁰ Jan Blodgett, “Developing Cooperative Archives to Meet the Needs of Small Institutions. St Mary’s College Archives Housed at County Records Center.” *Resource Sharing and Information Networks* 11, no. 1-2 (1996): 59-69.

²⁷¹ Leslie Morris, “Developing a Cooperative Intra-institutional Approach to EAD Implementation: The Harvard/Radcliffe Digital Finding Aids Project. Encoded Archival Description; Revision of a Paper Presented at the 1997 SAA Conference.” *American Archivist* 60, no. 4 (1997): 388-407.

²⁷² Jane H. Ibl, “World Wide Web Pages and Academic Archives and Manuscript Repositories in North Carolina: A Survey and Recommendation for Standards” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996).

²⁷³ McCall, “Reconceptualizing” in *Designing*, 71.

and preserving electronic resources correlates directly to changing technological issues: reliability, usability, and software and hardware dependency. These issues have plagued archivists for years. In addition, what do you do when the machine breaks and the parts are no longer available?

Some of the obstacles that remain for researchers and archivists are the lack of consistency, developed finding aids, and the physical arrangement of materials. The challenges of access to records in collections at specific sites include consideration if archival materials are centralized, decentralized, or some combination. When researchers are familiar with archival organization, they increase their success in navigating materials and discussion with archivists. Philip Brooks commented: "The riches that lie in countless repositories can be mined productively only if the seeker knows what he is looking for, where he may expect to find it, and how to recognize it . . . To use unpublished sources fruitfully, the investigator . . . should know their nature and background, . . . and the problems that they present."²⁷⁴ Programs or classes on archival principles that offer a review or introduction to archival principles and how to conduct research in archives benefit everyone. Understanding how archives work contributes to productive searchers in all subjects, especially sports.

²⁷⁴ Philip C. Brooks, *Research in Archives: the Use of Unpublished Primary Sources*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.)

Locating Sports in Archives

The way sport information is organized and located in archives is related to the organizational structure of the archives. The types of archives that usually maintain sport information include university libraries, public libraries, private collections, specialized sport organizations or clubs, independent sport institutes, and sport publications. Sport information can be found in a variety of areas not readily noticeable to the researcher. For example, in an academic archive, one might find sport information in president papers, budget and financial information, board of trustees records, and papers of intercollegiate athletics, student activities, advising, police services, alumni, yearbooks, the student newspaper, media/videos, physical plant, physical education, senate, student government associations, and personal papers. Resources within the archives like finding aids, inventories, files, other tools provide a variety of access to the collections in various areas. Documentation available on the history of teams/sports will vary depending on level of documentation and the records and information on the development, and schedule/record over the seasons, which has been retained. According to Rex Crawford: “The other possibility is that of viewing . . . archives as a social institution. In examining the process, one is studying how a society uses its own past records, with what respect or indifference it treats them, and how instrumental it succeeds in making them in the determination of present policy.”²⁷⁵ Consideration of the relationship of archives and the

²⁷⁵ W. Rex Crawford, “Sociological Research in the National Archives.” *American Sociological Review* 6, no. 2 (1941): 207.

sports information department is another component. What type of arrangement exists between the units? Which department has control of what materials? Does Sport Information archive its collection or is the information housed directly in the archives? Is it retained in Sport Information for a certain time before being sent out? Douglas Noverr categorizes users of sport archives into three groups; the media and press, sport trivia buffs and hobbyists, and researchers and students.²⁷⁶ In these situations, the role of the archivist as communicator to the users and the appropriate collection becomes critical. “Informing potential users of exactly what holdings are or are not in their archives is another concern as such information would prevent needless and time consuming responses as well as direct individuals to collections and holdings that are unique and possibly unexamined.”²⁷⁷ When an archivist is able to ascertain through the reference interview and knowledge of the collection what areas would be of interest and relevance to the researcher, both parties are satisfied. But the collection of sport information is quirky.

Amy Doherty commented: “It could be argued that collecting the personal papers of prominent sports figures who had attended or graduated from the institution could be considered an acceptable activity for college and university archives Conversely, it could be argued College and University archives for the most part do not try to document

²⁷⁶ Douglass Noverr, “Sports Archives: A Preliminary and Selective Survey of Patterns of Use, Needs and Resources.” Paper presented at the North American Sport Library Network, Overland Park, KS, (3 November 1991): 2.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

the careers of its graduates.”²⁷⁸ The critical point she makes is that archivists, for the most part, do a good job collecting information about the varsity and other “major sports activities, and rather poorly concerning club sports . . . and health and fitness activities. It is not so much that we discard valuable materials, but that we don’t gather the documentation in the first place, in any systematic way.”²⁷⁹ Of course, this inconsistency will vary. Many academic repositories were inclusive in following their mission statement to collect all aspects of college life, but may not have devoted as much time to other activities in comparison to varsity athletics. The finding aids created by the archival staff are often the access points of the activities of groups and organizations. The challenge of identifying materials on the earlier history of women’s sports consists of perception, assumption, and arrangement. The perceptions and assumptions that women’s sports followed the same pattern of development as the men is erroneous, and finding aids can provide information specific to that institution about where information on women’s sports can be found. The minimal discussion in history, women’s studies, and even sport history classes, also contributes to the lack of understanding and awareness of women’s sport history. Because of a comparatively smaller number of written resources for women as compared to men, archival finding aids become even more important in serving as access points.

²⁷⁸ Amy Doherty, “College and University Sports Collections: Their Unique Collections and Nature.” Paper presented at the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference (MARAC) Long Branch, New Jersey, (May 1992): 4.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

Archives serve to collect and maintain the “institutional memory,” and their particular mission will reflect their differences in purpose and the types of materials they collect. There are a variety of sources, commercial and private, that identify many repositories and their collections. The role of the archivist is important in connecting the researcher to the appropriate collections. The challenge increases when conducting research in sport information, especially on the early history of women’s collegiate sport. The relationship of research conducted by the researchers in history, sport history, and women’s studies to archival collection will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG HISTORY, SPORT HISTORY, WOMEN'S STUDIES, AND ARCHIVES

Introduction

The previous chapter presented an overview of the manner in which archival materials are organized within the structure of an archive. Researchers of history, sport history, and women studies have found materials in archives to be extremely important in documenting past experiences, providing differing interpretations of events, or shedding light on underrepresented topics. The study of history has evolved from its classical reliance on scientific inquiry to a range of methods of analysis that include an interdisciplinary perspective. This chapter will explore the evolution of the field of sport study and methods used in historical research, the relationship between the processes, use of archives, and the place of women's studies. The intention here is to provide highlights of historical methods, their adaptation in sport history, and the influence of women's studies upon the research that has been conducted and considerations for future research endeavors.

Historiography in the United States

History is both a field of study and profession. David Fischer considered history a “problem solving discipline.”²⁸⁰ The questions of who, what, why, when, how, and their relation to the past and present events provide the basic structure of historical inquiry. Gerda Lerner stated that “history functions to satisfy a variety of human needs Insofar as the historian chooses, evaluates, analyzes evidence, and creates models in the mind that enable us to step out of our own time, place, and culture.”²⁸¹ She used four categories to group historical research: history as memory and as a source of personal identity, history as collective immortality, history as cultural tradition, and history as explanation. Donald Case observed that, “historians, then, are people who read, condense, collect, assimilate, transform, and synthesize written records of past times.”²⁸² History, therefore, serves a variety of purposes both for historians and those who read their works. The beginnings of historical interpretation may be found in classical methodologies as well as in the use of qualitative and quantitative measures as the

²⁸⁰ David H. Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970): xv.

²⁸¹ Gerda Lerner, “The Necessity of History and the Professional Historian.” *Journal of American History* 69, no. 1 (1982): 10.

²⁸² Donald O. Case, “Collection and Use of Information by Some Historians: A Study of Motives and Methods.” *Library Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (1990): 63.

common interpretation of historical events.²⁸³ At the turn of the nineteenth century, new approaches were introduced and incorporated from other countries and other fields, expanding the body of knowledge.

In the United States, historians looked to Europe for guidance and acceptance of appropriate methodologies. They also adapted and created their own interpretations of historical analysis.²⁸⁴ Gerda Lerner observed, “For American history, manifest destiny and mission long provided an ordering framework, as did confidence in laissez faire economic and liberal policies.”²⁸⁵ Interpretation of place and geography also differed as the time frame between Europe and America was not comparable.²⁸⁶ By the early 1900s, some historians had adapted modernism, causation, and biography as common methods of analysis. Other historians used and incorporated techniques of other disciplines such

²⁸³ Norman J. Wilson, *History in Crisis? Recent Directions in Historiography* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999): 62-87.

²⁸⁴ Mathew A. Fitzsimons, Alfred G. Pundt, and Charles E. Newell, *Development of Historiography* (Port Washington, NY: Kenniket Press, 1967): 415-425; George Glaggers, *History in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objective to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1997); John Tosh, *Pursuit of History: Aims Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 2000). For discussion of the German influence, see Lloyd R. Sornson, “Historical Currents in America.” *American Quarterly* 73, (1955): 234-246.

²⁸⁵ Lerner, *Necessity of History*, 15.

²⁸⁶ “With us the meaning of ‘national’ is primarily geographic, is contrasted with ‘local,’ ‘state,’ or ‘regional.’” Jacques Barzun and Henry E. Graft, *Modern Researcher* 4th ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanavich, 1985): 218.

as anthropology, philosophy, and economics.²⁸⁷ Additional techniques evolved and contributed to the growing literature over the next several decades.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, many of the ‘new’ directions in history evolved from other academic influences. Current historiography includes such areas as feminist theory and sociology and help to give history a different interpretation.²⁸⁸ These academic exercises can lead to new discussions and understandings of past and current events. In the 1960s and the beginning of postmodern inquiry, academia faced new challenges that would change many disciplines and firmly introduce the importance of an interdisciplinary method. Carl Degler noted that the profession of history began to focus on the diversity of American history, that is to incorporate the ethnic, social, and demographic diversity of those who had immigrated over the last several decades. Additionally, with the civil rights and women’s movements gaining momentum, underrepresented groups were considered to be of greater interest in historical research.²⁸⁹ Incorporating the experiences and history of these groups would

²⁸⁷ Carl Degler, “Modern American Historiography.” in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley (New York: Routledge, 1999): 709-727.

²⁸⁸ Benjamin includes psychodynamics, science and technology, demography, ethnohistory, and environment as part of the “new directions” in that are being taken in historical research. He also notes there are differing philosophies that have developed. Jules R. Benjamin, *Student’s Guide to History* 6th ed. (New York: St Martins, 1994). Additional readings on twentieth century historiography; Anna Gruen and Kathleen Troup, *Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth Century History and Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). See also *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley, (New York: Routledge, 1997).

²⁸⁹ Bentley, *Companion*, 711-719.

provide a broader historical understanding of other influences in the events and times. Methods such as conducting oral interviews and film/video history became critical tools to capture and present histories of groups that had not previously been heavily documented. Other fields such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology continued to expand to accommodate new interpretations of history and reinforce the usefulness of interdisciplinary research providing insight and reinterpretations of events. Now historical study incorporates concepts such as postmodernism, epistemology, and cultural studies.²⁹⁰ These various methods help expand the parameters of historical interpretation and offer opportunities to explore the range and depth of the human experience.

As history and new methodologies continue to evolve, it is clear that each brings a different perspective and thus makes a contribution to understanding and interpreting people and the events. The incorporation and use of primary resources contributes evidence that supports the researchers' quest to prove, challenge, or explore interpretations of events and people within their life stage contexts.

The Historical Research Process and Archives

The basic structure of the research process is to use a variety of resources such as online catalogs, electronic databases, paper indexes, and, in some instances, theses and dissertations, to evaluate the scope of existing discourse and examine how the research

²⁹⁰ Wilson, *History in Crisis*, 138-139.

was conducted.²⁹¹ Theses and dissertations are expected to incorporate a mix of primary and secondary sources to support the research reported. Much of the primary sources and original documentation used to create graduate research can be found in archives or repositories. Primary sources are first-hand accounts and include government documents, transcripts, oral histories, and personal papers. Secondary sources include published accounts written about the event or individual. The use and balance of these types of sources is critical for verifying the experience in opposition to the myths that might be associated with any given event.

The formal relationship of archives to the historical profession dates back to the 1890s, when the American Historical Association established committees on archival resources. History's emphasis on the use of primary and secondary resources acknowledges a dependence on archival resources. Primary materials can be used to inform, verify, and authenticate facts and past events.²⁹² The use of archives in historical documentation provides access to a framework of resources that could be shared. The basic structure of the research process is to use a variety of resources such as online catalogs, electronic databases, paper indexes, and, in some instances, theses, to see what

²⁹¹ William K. Storey, *Writing History: A Guide for Students* (New York: Oxford, 1999) and Barzun and Graff, *The Modern Researcher*.

²⁹² Ronald C. McConnell, "Importance of Records in the National Archives on the History of the Negro." *Journal of Negro History* 34, no. 2 (1949): 135-152.

has been written and how the research was conducted.²⁹³ There are still expectations for new research and continual stress on the importance of interpretation of primary resources.

History is the one of the fields in which archival usage is highly emphasized. If archival classes are offered, they are primarily cross-listed with history classes, continuing the connection between historical research and the use of archives. The introduction of archival usage in the educational setting is important since it reinforces that archival usage of physical materials will still prevail. Contrary to accepted belief, the advent of the World Wide Web, Internet, EAD projects, and other electronic formats has not diminished the need for primary source research.²⁹⁴ However, Michael Moss noted that “today, as all archivists will testify, students and even established scholars approach sources without the necessary methodological skills.”²⁹⁵ His interpretation of the reasons

²⁹³ See, Storey, *Writing History: A Guide for Students* and Barzun and Graff, *Modern Researcher*. See also, John C. Larsen, ed. *Researchers Guide to Archives and Regional History Sources* (Hamden, CT: Library Professional Publications, 1988) and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. University Archives and Records Service. *A Guide to the Archives of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill, NC: 1995).

²⁹⁴ Jeffrey Barlow, “Historical Research and Electronic Evidence: Problems and Promises,” in *Writing, Teaching and Researching History in the Electronic Age: Historians and Computers*, ed. by Dennis A. Trinkle, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998): 194-224; and Ryan Johnson, “Historical Research On-Line: A New Ball Game.” in *Writing, Teaching*, 183-193.

²⁹⁵ Michael Moss, “Archives, the Historian and the Future” in *Companion to Historiography*, 971. For an excellent discussion on research and archives, Frank G. Burke, *Research and the Manuscript Tradition* (Metchun, NJ: Scarecrow, 1997) is a must. Burke explains the relationship of research methodology and the organization of archives.

for this lack of preparedness includes the increasing varieties of resources needed by both archivists and historians beyond their area of concentration.²⁹⁶ Other reasons that might contribute to this neglect could be the lack of time that is given to a project, perhaps not working through the process needed for conducting the research.

Assumptions might be made that it will be easy to locate and identify information and that there are no challenges or problems with the research including the belief that everything is on the Web, suggesting that if the information is not there, it doesn't exist. Researchers might be apprehensive to use other resources including archives. On the other hand, researchers might be unaware of resources available to help or where to start and how to retrieve and identify information and how to evaluate information received. The mix of generalists and specialists in both the historical and archival professions can lead to systematic overlooking relevant collections.

Sources and materials that are used by researchers to locate and identify collections and repositories of interest include guides, directories, and indexes. Guides list collections and materials within each repository, such as the *Guide to Manuscripts in Presidential Libraries*. There are guides for general collections such as Andrea Hinding's *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States*. Some repositories publish their holdings information (e.g., the *Catalog*

²⁹⁶ Additional discussion on this topic can be found in Edwin Bridges, et al., "Historians and Archivists: A Rationale for Cooperation." *Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993): 179-186, and W. Kaye Lamb, "Archivist and the Historian." *American Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (1963): 385-391.

of the Sophia Smith Collection). Within any of the above-mentioned resources, various topics will be included in the index, and these may vary depending on the compiler.

Collection information can be found in directories and indexes. For example, in the *Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the United States* and Lee Ash's *Subject Collections, a Guide to Special Book Collections and Subject Emphases as Reported by University, College, Public, and Special Libraries and Museums in the United States and Canada*, there are lists of the many subject areas collected by a repository. The electronic database *Archives USA*, which many libraries and archives subscribe to, also provides access to various collections and repositories. These types of tools are useful as a preliminary overview of the repository and as a way of initiating contact for further information about the coverage of the collection.

Many repositories include a mission statement or a collection statement of purpose. Sometime this information can be found in *Archives USA*. These statements can help to determine the importance of considering or contacting the staff of the repository to see if the collections would be useful. In addition to published guides, some finding aids are published and sold by the repository. Several finding aids are available on archival web sites, but the many remain in print, for in-house access only. These different resources make various levels of collection access possible. One of the challenges faced by those who research sport is that sport materials are not always included in published archival resources. Little information on women's sport experience is included in the collections that focus specifically on women.

Sport History in America

Sport has been a subject of written discourse for centuries.²⁹⁷ When it comes to sport as an academic study, there are several disciplines that overlap and support the study of sport. Disciplines expanded over time to include American Studies, History, Physical Education, Women's Studies, Sociology, Business, Law, Biomechanics, Political Science, Economics, Physiology, and Medicine. There seem to be several genres, such as sport as entertainment, sport as a personal experience, and the physical, social, educational, and ethical aspects of sport. Three groups conducted early sport research in the nineteenth century. First, the academics, primarily physical educators,²⁹⁸ used the scientific methods of the day to study and research their subjects, most of whom were college students. The second group included medical personnel who wrote and contributed to various studies in sport, exercise, and physicality.²⁹⁹ Lastly, there were the sport journalists and others in the popular press who gained popularity writing about amateur and professional sports.

²⁹⁷ There is a range of definitions and interpretations of sport. See Eleanor Metheny, "This Thing Called Sport." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 40, no. 3 (1969): 59-60.

²⁹⁸ Seward C. Staley, "The History of Sport: New Course in the Professional Training Curriculum." *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 8, no. 9 (1937): 522-525, 570-572. Also Gerald Redmond, "Sport History in Academe: Reflections on a Half-Century of Peculiar Progress." *British Journal of Sports History* 1, no. 1 (1984): 29.

²⁹⁹ See Roberta J. Park, "Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative." *Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 1 (1987): 28-60.

For the next sixty years, most writings on sport history and sport biographies were published for the popular audience, and were not scholarly in nature.³⁰⁰ As society and conditions changed, sport for the masses and entertainment began to gain more interest with the American public. By the 1960s, academics in physical education departments and a few history departments began to study sport from a more scholarly and critical point of view.

During the 1960s many changes and challenges occurred within society. It was a time when the exploration of new areas of study in academia created new disciplines or sub-disciplines. Growing awareness of the expanding role of sport in society and interest in this topic as an area of study were contributing factors to the development of academic study of sport. According to Steven Riess, “an upsurge in interest began in the late 1960s as a result of the democratization of the historical profession, the rise of the New Social History, interdisciplinary influences . . . and the organization of the North American Society for Sport History (1972).”³⁰¹ The distinction made between sport history and history of sport was made by Maxwell Howell, that the history of sport, is the over all “body of knowledge”³⁰² while sport history has a specific focus on a sport or person.

³⁰⁰ “Either embarrassingly hagiographic or tediously statistical, such sport books generally celebrate, even create heroes and dutifully quantify their achievements.” Paul J. Zingg, “Sport and American Society: An Assessment of Sources and Prospects.” *Journal of American Culture* 9, no. 2 (1986): 17.

³⁰¹ Steven A. Riess, “The New Sport History.” *Reviews in American History* 18, no. 3 (1990): 311.

³⁰² Maxwell Howell, “Toward a History of Sport.” *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 40, no. 3 (1969): 77.

Howell also commented that the study of sport had been overlooked by those in the areas of history, sociology, and literature, and provided a list of six foci within the history of sport: chronological, geographical, political, cultural, institutional, and biographical.³⁰³ These foci are all components of historiography and, in Howell's interpretation, showed a relationship with history. Douglass Noverr stated that, "sport has clearly become another window through which we can view American culture and society."³⁰⁴ Over the next fifteen to twenty years, academics struggled to gain acceptance of and recognition for their research and programs. They were finally able to achieve their goal as many universities and colleges accepted sport research as a worthwhile curricular endeavor.

American sport historians use a variety of methods in their analysis and investigations of the development of sport. Robert Lewis pointed out that "During the 1970s, social history became the most vital field of research and writing in the United States. It was a very eclectic mix, inspired in part by European historians...and in part by the vogue for social science theoretical rigor."³⁰⁵ He further observed that this trend seemed to have little impact in sport writings, as more interest was generated through anthropology and sociology. Roberta Park placed historical writings into two categories,

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Douglass A. Noverr and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, eds., *Sport History Series: Selected Reading Lists and Course Outlines from American Colleges and Universities* no. 15 (New York: Markus Wiener, 1987), x.

³⁰⁵ Robert M. Lewis, "American Sport History: A Bibliographic Guide." *American Studies International* 29, no. 1 (1991): 37.

as narrative and analytical.³⁰⁶ The authors in these two categories explored the construct of social and cultural history as additional perspectives contributing to the study of sport.³⁰⁷ As the body of literature grew and improved, methodologies and approaches contributed to the expansion of the field and research.³⁰⁸ Over time, the profession gained a grudging acceptance of its role in and contributions to academia. Evidence of legitimacy is reflected in course offerings and degree programs at the undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate levels. Sport history had found its niche in academia; its home would vary by institution.³⁰⁹ Melvin Adelman, identified ten categories of research: 1) administration of intercollegiate athletics, 2) studies related to various athletic associations, organizations, and leagues, 3) biographies, 4) international, 5) games and contests, 6) intercollegiate athletics 7) interscholastic sports, 8) origins of sport and games, 9) studies on sports and athletics, and 10) women and sports.³¹⁰ Further

³⁰⁶ Roberta Park, "Research and Scholarship in History of Physical Education and Sport." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 54, no. 2 (1983): 97-98.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 98-100.

³⁰⁸ See Paul J. Zingg, "Sport and American Society: an Assessment of Sources and Prospects." *Journal of American Culture* 9, no. 2 (1986): 17-25.

³⁰⁹ Sport history courses can be found in a variety of disciplines as well. Classes can be found in departments of physical education, exercise science, kinesiology, history, and even American studies.

³¹⁰ Melvin Adelman, "An Analysis of Masters and Doctoral Studies Related to the History of Sport and Athletics Completed in the United States, 1931-1967," in *A History of Physical Education & Sport in the United States and Canada: Selected Topics*, ed. by Earle F. Zeigler (Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1975): 389-390.

exploration of topics within the next decades included class, race, gender, religion, ethnicity, geography, and nationalism.³¹¹ These related issues expanded the field of study, and researchers from other areas began to contribute publications and studies relevant to sport, to the consternation of some physical educators. Roberta Park expressed her discomfort with the decrease in contributions from the physical educator: “Now that historians have discovered that history of sport can be a legitimate field of study, it is they not the physical educators who are taking over the lead.”³¹² Park’s concern with the loss of contributions from those with a physical education background can be understood as the approaches taken by academics, writers, and sport journalists on sport topics can differ drastically. But, physical educators in academia face challenges in their teaching schedules, academic status, professional expectations, and other obligations that may not lead toward scholarly publishing.³¹³ This leaves sport history open for others to explore. Nevertheless, physical educators, historians, and others continue

³¹¹ Further discussion of methodologies and topics can be found in the introduction of Steven Pope, *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Chicago, 1997): 1-30.

³¹² Roberta J. Park, “Sport History in the 1990s: Prospects and Problems,” in *Sport and Exercise Science*, ed. by Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1992): 99.

³¹³ See Doune Macdonald, “The ‘Professional.’ Work of Experienced Physical Education Teachers.” *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 70, no. 1 (1999): 41-54. Neil F. Williams, “Physical Education: An International Crisis?” *International Journal of Physical Education* 34, no. 2 (1997): 69-72. John M. Charles, “Scholarship Reconceptualized: The Connectedness of Kinesiology.” *Quest* 48, no. 2 (1996): 152-164; Jeffrey O. Seagrave, “Scholarship in Physical Education in the Liberal Arts College.” *Quest* 48, no. 2 (1996): 190-199.

producing scholarly sport history. Their publications are distinguished by the use of primary sources often found in archives and include citations to those archival sources.³¹⁴

Sport History, Sport Historians, and Archives

Both historians and sport historians have found archives to be useful to their research. To locate original documents that lead to new interpretation of the sport can be an exhilarating experience. Archival resources can provide new insights, debunk myths and misunderstandings, and uncover information previously overlooked. However, gaining an understanding of the variety of archives that potentially might have relevant materials can be a daunting task. University archives will have information on teams, student activities, faculty and administrative decisions, testimonies, speeches, and budget information. Information may have been retained on coaches and players through media guides and other types of material. Sometimes there is information about other institutions and sport development. For example, several faculty and administrators at the Pennsylvania State University were active in committees within organizations such as

³¹⁴ For examples of this practice see, Ronald A. Smith, *Big-Time Football at Harvard, 1905: The Diary of Coach Bill Reid*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Beth J. Shapiro, "John Hannah and the Growth of Big-Time Athletics at Michigan State University." *Journal of Sport History* 10, no. 3 (1983): 26-40. Also Susan K. Cahn, "Sports Talk: Oral History and Its Uses, Problems, and Possibilities for Sport History." *Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (1994): 594-609; Jacqueline I. Bryant, "Basketball Coach John B. McLendon, the Noble Revolutionary of U. S. Sport: April 5, 1915-October 8, 1999." *Journal of Black Studies* 30, no. 5 (2000): 720-734.

the National Collegiate Athletic Association, Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, and Eastern Women's Physical Educators Association. Their involvement as representatives of the University was retained in the records of the University Archives either in the personal papers or administrative office files. In these records, information of some of the behind-the-scenes work of various committees and their contribution at the regional and national levels are revealed. Roberta Park's article on Anne Espenschade draws heavily on the collections at the University of California at Berkeley to show a more complete picture of accomplishments and contributions of this eminent woman in her field and sport.³¹⁵

In local, regional, and state archives, particular accomplishments of individuals, teams, and organizations might be found. Connecting professional memberships of faculty in various associations and organizations to critical events in the profession and determining if their materials are in archives is critical to successful research. Looking beyond the obvious to other collections that contain related information extends the link with many units. Realizing that records of women's competitive experiences might be in the archives of a local athletic club although they were in college at the time is as important a link in providing balanced research. Many of the strategies used to uncover information in archives are often taught to historians and many in women's studies but rarely to sport researchers. There may be materials such as membership records, ledgers,

³¹⁵ Roberta J. Park, "Time Given Freely to Worthwhile Causes: Anna S. Espenschade's Contributions to Physical Education." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 71, no. 2 (2000): 99-115.

meeting minutes, and diaries. Archives for specific sports³¹⁶ and Halls of Fame may have information on coaches, players, officials, managers, owners, and other administrators. Information on the early stages of sport and contributions from the “builders” of the organization or sport might be available. Association archives may contain the history, correspondence, and related information concerning the organization including its members and topics of annual meetings.

The gradual acceptance of sport as a worthwhile academic endeavor is reflected in publications by faculty and research conducted by graduate students in a variety of disciplines.³¹⁷ Concern about quality of research in sport history has been expressed over the years. Melvin Adelman, in conducting his analysis on theses in sport history, noted that many students seemed unaware of the literature and primary sources that would have assisted in their research. He also noted that some of the studies and related materials “may not have been reported to indexes, guides, or bibliographies of theses.”³¹⁸ These observations are salient points in academic research. Students need to understand why primary sources are important in conducting research, especially in projects like a thesis

³¹⁶ A descriptive guide on organizing archives might be available. For example, Leslie H. Kopp, *Dance Archives: A Practical Manual for Documenting and Preserving the Ephemeral Art* (Lee, MA: Preserve Inc., 1995). An archival guide such as Eric J. Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann, compl. *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States* (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996) helps the researcher identify various collections across the United States.

³¹⁷ Danny Rosenberg, “Ethics and Sport History Research Cutting to the Chase.” in *Method and Methodology in Sport and Cultural History* ed. by K. B. Wamsley, (Dubuque, IA: Brown & Benchmark, 1995): 172-185.

or dissertation. They should also understand that sometimes materials are not indexed, cited correctly, or available.

Introduction to basic research methods should be an integral and required part of preparing students for conducting quality research. In today's world of continually improving information technology, students need to be introduced to traditional research methods in conjunction with discussions about the possibilities of technological contributions. Many sport history classes, especially at the upper levels, incorporate archival assignments as part of the class requirements.³¹⁹ Traditional research methodologies include conducting library and archival research. It also means that the use of technology like the Internet, databases, and other electronic resources that can be used in these areas need to be included in the considerations of research activities for expanded access to resources.

Richard Cox has been a tireless advocate in encouraging a systematic use of research tools.³²⁰ He stated, "Today, historians can search remote archives and library collections, access digitized versions of items to examine in detail and manipulate data extracted from remote sources using statistical packages."³²¹ The ever-changing

³¹⁸ Adelman, *An Analysis*, 397.

³¹⁹ For further information on this subject, see Stephen R. Wrenn, "Archival Wanderings: Rubbing Shoulders with History," in *Method and Methodology*: 121-122.

³²⁰ Richard W. Cox, "A Model for Sports History Documentation: The Origins, Objectives, Methods, Findings and Recommendations of the British Sports History Bibliography Project." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 9, no. 2 (1992): 253-279.

³²¹ *Ibid*, 283.

environment for researchers is both exciting and challenging. Cox further commented, “Sport historians need to more actively engage new generations of students if they are to prosper and not lose ground to disciplines that have traditionally been at the cutting edge of technology.”³²² In order to become information literate in conducting sport research, students and researchers need practice in using resources like microforms, archives, and databases relevant to sport, using the Web properly, as well as learning what tools are best to use in a specific circumstance. Technology has both helped and hindered researchers, librarians, and archivists as expectations of everything moving to electronic format has become a common assumption. Cox warned, “The new technology is not a simple panacea that will magically solve all the problems that beset institutions of higher learning in the twenty-first century.”³²³ With the growing improvements and enhancements, research continues to be challenging and exciting. Exposure to conducting research becomes an even more important part of one’s education.

In many history and sport history classes, faculty use archival assignments as a

³²² Richard W. Cox and Michael A. Salter, “The IT Revolution and the Practice of Sport History: An Overview and Reflection on Internet Research and Teaching Resources.” *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 2 (1998): 292.

³²³ *Ibid*, 291.

pedagogical tool.³²⁴ These assignments provide a practical opportunity to offer a context and support for students as they become aware of archival materials, work with archivists, and improve the research process. For most students, this is an eye opening and occasionally life changing experience as a whole new world of information and inquiry opens up to them. Some may find it an intimidating exercise, while others find aspects of archival research a means to their future research endeavors. The experience is enhanced when faculty involve themselves, archivists, and even other researchers in the process. If the faculty members are not involved with this type of research, it does not inspire students to make an effort. Practice helps refine skills, but it's good to have a strategy before setting off to use any archive.

Robert Barney, sport historian at the University of Western Ontario, suggested four steps sport historians need to take in preparing for archival use: 1) focus on identifying appropriate archives; 2) preplan the visit by contacting the archives, 3) what

³²⁴ Mark A. Greene, "Using College and University Archives as Instructional Materials: A Case Study and an Exhortion." *Midwestern Archivist* 14, no. 1 (1989): 31-38; Stephen R. Wenn, "Archival Wanderings: Rubbing Shoulders with History" in *Method and Methodology*, 121-126; Laurie L. McFadden, "Make History Live: How to Get Students Interested in University Archives." *College and Research Libraries News* 59, no. 6 (1998): 423-425; John Straw, "From the Class to Commons: Documenting the Total Student Experience in Higher Education." *Archival Issues* 19, no. 1 (1994): 19-29; and Christina Bianchi, "Sports History? Sports Archives!" *Journal of Olympic History* 1, (1999): 28-29.

happens when you get there; and 4) what should follow the visit.³²⁵ These steps provide a useful set of strategies that support the research process.

Identifying relevant archival collections has a correlation with the researcher informational needs. Research articles, theses, and books may include information on archival collections.³²⁶ Talking with other researchers, librarians, and archivists familiar with the subject area can bring additional repositories of interest to light. Using other tools, especially the archival resources, can contribute to the list of archives that might have information of interest. Keep in mind the time, location, and related subject areas that are all components of the project. There will be a relationship of the topic to the number of archives that will have relevant information. Ronald Smith suggested an additional strategy, “You should have a clear concept of the historical questions you would like to attempt to answer.”³²⁷ These questions can be used as an outline to identify your topic and the secondary resources to obtain background information, and lead you to archives that may have relevant collections.

Once archives have been identified it is highly recommended to contact the archives prior to the visit. Email, mail, or a phone call can provide information such as

³²⁵ Robert K. Barney, “Studying Stuff: Research in Archives,” in *Method and Methodology in Sport*, 105-106.

³²⁶ See Michele Shoebridge “General Overview of Sources,” in *Information Sources in Sport and Leisure* ed. by Michele Shoebridge, (London: Bowker Saur, 1991): 1-30 and Richard W. Cox, “History of Sport,” in *Ibid*, 123-145.

³²⁷ Ronald A. Smith, “Researching Archives and College Football History.” *Journal of Sport History* 17, no. 1 (1990): 127.

hours, if an archivist will be available, policies, services, and equipment available, user responsibilities (note cards, computers), as well as what information the user is interested in.³²⁸ At times it can be difficult to discern the amount of information the archive may have on any given topic. If they have resources available, the staff can quickly confirm what types of materials are in the collection. Alerting staff of your research needs prior to your arrival is helpful in learning if there are restrictions on any of the records, or if they are stored in another location. Ask about reproduction of materials such as photocopying, photographing, or other formats. Some archives allow users to photocopy materials while some have a duplication service for a fee. Depending on the amount of materials and the reproduction policy, your copies may not be available within a twenty-four hour turn around time, and you will pay for postage as well. Ask about payment options, so you are prepared.

The usual procedure upon arrival at an archive is an introduction of rules and policies including storing your personal belongings in a locker and being appraised of the types of supplies you can use. After that, if not already preset, a meeting with a member of the archival staff takes place. During this time inventories, guides, and other resources will be pointed out and reviewed. It is possible the archives may have some in-house automated system that can be used. This is a prime opportunity to explore with the staff

³²⁸ As with any person or profession, there are times when incorrect information is given. Le Roy Barnett writes about some of his experiences as a researcher in “Standing on the Other Side of the Reference Desk.” *Archival Issues* 19, no. 2 (1994): 119-129. This article is not meant to discourage researchers, but rather point out to archivists and archival staff how their interactions affect the researcher’s quest for information.

member what files might be of interest. Follow up your visit with a thank you note as a professional courtesy.

Observations and experiences enable sport historians to use various strategies and techniques to identify collections and related information in many types of archives. The stress on the use and incorporation of primary archival sources applies to a level of academic credibility as well as going beyond the surface level through which sport research is accepted. Archival discoveries can contribute to changes in assumptions and prior historical interpretations. Many involved with intercollegiate athletics often discount the importance of personal papers and archival collections. Examples abound of coaches, administrators, and others who almost discarded their records but at the last minute saved them.³²⁹ Collections can be scattered through various archives. As a small step to highlight various archives and collection, the *Journal of Sport History*, began ten years ago to periodically include short reviews and descriptions of various sport

³²⁹ Former Iowa wrestling coach Dr. Harold J. Nichols stated, “This book came about when I was ready to start throwing away folders of information and scorebooks accumulated over the 32 years I enjoyed as a coach of Iowa State wrestling teams.” Lynn Marr-Huginin comp., *A History of Wrestling at Iowa State University, 1912-1985*. (Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Pub. Co., 1986). Ronald Smith assisted the NCAA in saving many of the papers of former director Walter Byers when he noticed that file boxes had been discarded by a custodian and asked that they be recovered from a dumpster. Conversation with the author 4/20/1996.

collections and repositories.³³⁰ These articles serve to share the researchers experience, highlight strengths and weaknesses of collections, share tips and discoveries as well as successes, challenges, and serendipitous moments. If the researchers pay attention and make an effort according to these many suggestions, they may find their journey more rewarding.

History and archives are intertwined. Archives preserve the records that give “voice” to our history. Without archival sources, sport history becomes devalued as a discipline and research paradigm. Working within an archive to scour pertinent collections provides a virtually endless stream of research possibilities for all categories of users.

Women’s Studies and Feminist Theory on History

In this section a brief and selected discussion of the relationship of women’s history, women/feminist studies, and sport history will be reviewed. Women historians have been part of the profession since the early inception of the American Historical

³³⁰ For examples of these types of articles see, Joan S. Hult, “The Archives and Special Collections of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance.” *Journal of Sport History* 18, no. 2 (1991): 304-306; Larry Gerlach, “The Sporting News Archives.” *Journal of Sport History* 17, no. 1 (1990): 130-132; John E. Findling, “Avery Brundage Collection.” *Journal of Sport History* 17, no. 1 (1990): 132-133; Gerald R. Gems, “Beyond the Box Score: New Resources for Sport History. Chicago Historical Society.” *Journal of Sport History* 18, no. 2 (1991): 310-311.

Association.³³¹ Yet, the study of the contribution of women in history did not receive serious attention for over half a century. About the same time sport history began to define itself as an academic discipline, so did women's studies. During the second women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s,³³² women claimed their voices and cited contributions that should be recognized. cursory reference had been made to women's experience before this time, but this came from the dominant male historical perspective, using male-constructed methods. The struggle for recognition led to the development of women's studies.³³³ Michelle Perrot commented that "the possibility of a history of women resides in first and foremost women's awareness of themselves. It depends on feminism in the widest sense of the term."³³⁴

With a field of study now open to them, it took ten years for changes in professional associations to include and acknowledge women historians and the under-

³³¹ Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* rev. ed. (New York: Columbia, 1999): 178-198. (This chapter is entitled, American Women Historians, 1884-1984)

³³² See M. Ann Hall, *Feminist and Sporting Bodies* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1996): 37-44.

³³³ "In the process, feminism assumed and created a collective identity of women, female subjects with a shared interest in ending subordination, invisibility, and powerlessness, by creating equality and winning control over their bodies and their lives." Joan Scott, "Women's History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992): 44-45.

³³⁴ Michelle Perrot, "Twenty Years of Women's History in France," in Preface to the English Edition. Michell Perrot ed., *Writing Women's History*, trans. Feliciea Pheasant, (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1984): xi.

representation of women in the professional hierarchy.³³⁵ Historian Joan Scott noted, “Feminist scholars pointed out early on that the study of women would not only add new subject matter, but would also force a critical re-examination of the premises and standards of existing scholarly work.”³³⁶ The evaluation of these events and other developments in women’s history caused Scott (and many others) to directly tie women’s history to its political evolution. According to Scott, “Many of those writing women’s history consider themselves involved in a highly political effort to challenge prevailing authority in the profession and the university and to change the way history is written.”³³⁷ Perhaps some of this attitude evolved in reaction to the sentiment of Michelle Perrot who observed that “Women’s history is treated as marginal: an extra chapter to be added without changing the whole.”³³⁸ Researchers in these subject areas had to ensure that their research measured up to the standards used in their respective professions.

Women’s historical research, according to Arlette Fusage, fell into two time frames--before and after the 1980s.³³⁹ Prior to the 1980s, the framework of the discipline

³³⁵ See, Judith P. Zinsser, *History and Feminism: A Glass Half Full* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993). This book provides a useful overview of the study of men’s and women’s history and how feminism has affected areas in academia.

³³⁶ Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999): 29.

³³⁷ Joan Scott, “Women’s History,” in *New Perspectives*, 43.

³³⁸ “Introduction.” *New Perspectives*, 1-9 and Perrot, *Writing Women’s*, 3.

³³⁹ Arlette Fusage, “Methods and Effects of Women’s History,” in *Writing Women’s History*, 2.

was established, and a research explosion followed. Joan Scott notes, approaches are either descriptive, “it refers to the existence of phenomena or realities without interpreting, explaining, or attributing causality. The second usage is causal; it theorizes about the nature of phenomena or realities, seeking an understanding of how and why these take the form they do.”³⁴⁰ Other characteristics of the structure of the feminist paradigm included its being value-free and positive; that it expressed women’s experience; and that it challenged previously held assumptions and biases.³⁴¹

New interpretations of women’s experience resulted in the use of such models as epistemology, Marxism, and social feminism and were effective in presenting women’s history from a different viewpoint.³⁴² Sherry Gorelick observed, “Feminist methodological critiques have been made on several interrelated levels: philosophical,

³⁴⁰ Scott, *Gender*, 31.

³⁴¹ Alun Muslow, “Women’s History,” in *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (London: Routledge, 2000): 227-234. Joan Scott remarks that the development of women’s story in history complemented the methods used by social historians. “First it provided methodologies in quantification, in the use of details from everyday life, and in interdisciplinary borrowings from sociology, demography, and ethnography Third, social history challenged the narrative line of political history This led to the fourth influence, the legitimation of a focus on groups customarily excluded from political history.” Scott, *Gender*, 21. See also Gisela Bock “Women’s History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate.” *Gender & History* 1, no. 1 (1989): 7-30 and Claire C. Irwin, *Research Methodologies Used in Women’s Gender-Equity Studies* 1992, (Office of Education, Silver Spring: MD) ERIC Document, ED343957.

³⁴² Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, “Social Feminist American Women’s History.” *Journal of Women’s History* 1, no. 3 (1990): 181-210. Women’s history does not have to be from a feminist stance, while feminist history incorporates feminist theories. Gerry Holloway, “Writing Women In: The Development of Feminist Approaches to Women’s History,” in *Historical Controversies and Historians* ed. by William Lamont (London: UCL Press, 1998): 179.

moral, and practical.”³⁴³ For example, many women emphasized other methods that were useful for women’s history such as oral history, biography, and chronology.³⁴⁴

Using these various methods helped present the contributions of women’s experience to historical events. As women’s studies gained further ground and expanded in other areas of academia, concern was expressed about the voice, experience, and representation of minorities and lesbians.³⁴⁵ Historical research has increased over the years in some of these areas, but a great many stories remain to be researched and written.

³⁴³ Sherry Gorelick, “Contradictions of Feminist Methodology,” in *Feminism and Social Change: Bridging Theory and Practice* ed. by Heidi Gottfried (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996): 23. In this chapter Gorelick reviews the evolution of various feminist methodologies, the challenges and inconsistencies that can occur with application. Ibid, 23-45.

³⁴⁴ Joan Scott, “Women’s History,” in *New Perspectives*, 42-66. See also, Kathleen Canning, “Feminist History After the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience,” in *Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. by Sharlene Hesse-Biber, Christina Glimartin, and Robin Lydenberg. (New York: Oxford, 1999): 45-75. See also, Doris Friedensohn and Barbara Rubin, “Count These Women In: Immigration History Through Photographs and Interviews.” *Social Studies* 78, no. 5 (1987): 217-220; *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women*. ed. by Sara Alpern, (University of Illinois Press, 1992); Pamela M. Henson and Terri A. Schorzman, “Videohistory: Focusing on the American Past.” *Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (1991): 618-627; and Ellen S. Wasserman, *Oral History Index: An International Directory of Oral History Interviews* (Westport CT: Mecker, 1990)

³⁴⁵ For example, Evelyn B. Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 17, no. 2 (1992): 251-274.

Women's History and Archives

Archival collections are important resources for women's history to gain insight of events and raise the voice of experience. There are challenges to their use in this area. The most critical one being access to the sources. Some of the challenge is partially reliant on the experience of the researcher, and part of it is due to the organization of archives. A question consistently poised in women's history, women's studies, and women's sport history has to do with finding or providing access to "hidden" groups. Sheila Rowbotham observed, "Formal organizations leave records. This kind of source produces a particular kind of history, which excludes people who have not been prominent in formal labor organization. From this point of view, women's role has invariably been supportive and secondary."³⁴⁶ Even within formal organizations, women's participation and contributions are continually overlooked.³⁴⁷ Responses to this concern have included creating specific archives dedicated to women or specific topics related to women as noted by the Women's Research Group of the Greater New York Metropolitan Area.³⁴⁸ "Recent years have witnessed an extraordinary increase in the

³⁴⁶ Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden From History: Rediscovering Women in History From the 17th Century to the Present* (New York: Pantheon, 1974): xiv.

³⁴⁷ Anne F. Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations." *Journal of Southern History* 56, no. 1 (1990): 3-22, and "On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility." *Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 7-21.

³⁴⁸ Elaine Ezell, "Women's Studies Archives in Northwest Ohio: Part 1 Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University." *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (1984): 105-110.

scholarship addressing the history, status, concerns, and roles of women. The need for a comprehensive directory of information sources on women has been evident for some time to scholars, researchers, reference librarians, and many others seeking this information.”³⁴⁹ Documents on strategies to locate and identify structures or groupings that contribute to the construction of women’s history include guides and internal documents that provide access to these “hidden” groups.³⁵⁰ The important component in researching women is to think of the way their sphere was constructed relative to the time/era and the context of the event within that sphere. For example, women’s activities

³⁴⁹ *Library and Information Sources on Women: A Guide to Collections in the Greater New York Area*, compiled and edited by the Women’s Resources Group of the Greater New York Metropolitan Area Chapter of the Association of College and Research Libraries and the Center for the Study of Women and Society of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1988): vii. See also, Mary Firoenza and Michael Edmonds, *Women’s History Resources at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1997) and Darlene R. Roth, “Growing like Topsy Research Guides to Women’s History.” *Journal of American History* 70, no. 1 (1983): 95-100.

³⁵⁰ Here are some examples of some of the resources available: *The Canadian Women’s Movement, 1960-1990: A Guide to Archival Resources*, ed. by Margaret Fulford (Toronto: ECW Press, 1992), Mary Ellen Huls, *United States Government Documents on Women, 1800-1990: A Comprehensive Bibliography*. 2v. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), and, *The Black Women in the Middle West Project: A Comprehensive Resource Guide, Illinois and Indiana: Historical Essays, Oral Histories, Biographical Profiles, and Document Collections*, ed. by Darlene Clark Hine et al. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1986). Brenda L. Burk, “New Avenues in Women’s Studies Researcher: Using Public Records.” *Feminist Collections* 18, no. 1 (1996) 15-16. And Deborah G. White, “Mining the Forgotten: Manuscript Sources for Black Women’s History.” *Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (1987): 237-242. To read about a women’s studies class on archival usage, see Lynne H. Kleinman, “Writing our own History: A Class in Archival Sources.” *Feminist Collections* 16, no. 3 (1995): 16-18 and Margaret Strobel, “On Teaching and Learning: The Don’t Throw It Away! Project at the University of Illinois in Chicago.” *NWSA Journal* 12, no. 2 (2000): 163-169.

are often found in personal papers of husbands, parents, or colleagues. Many organizations try to fill gaps with various oral history projects and other “voice” projects to help document different women’s experiences. In addition, technology had also made its contribution, not only in providing access to information in archives, but the amount of information that can be found on the Internet. Librarians and researchers will assist users in evaluating this type of information and provide suggestions and analysis on the topic.³⁵¹ In the spirit of women’s history and the history of sport, the study of women’s sports history has evolved in a similar pattern of suppression, analysis, and evolution.

Relationship Among History, Sport, and Women

Men, women, feminists, and non-feminists have conducted research in women’s sport history. In reviewing the research that has been conducted on women and sport, several issues become evident. To bridge the gap between men’s and women’s experience in sport, many researchers incorporated feminist methodologies and

³⁵¹ Phyllis H. Weisbard, “The World Wide Web: A Primary Resource for Women’s History.” *Feminist Collections* 21, no. 4 (2000): 19-25 and Heather L. Miller, “Getting to the Source: The World Wide Web for Resources for Women’s History.” *Journal of Women’s History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 176-187.

analysis.³⁵² As feminist approaches influenced and infiltrated history, so too were they used and applied in women's sport history to give voice and validation to women's experience in sport that was previously dismissed or devalued.³⁵³ Feminist sport historians such as Catriona Parratt observed, "feminist history provides a powerful model for reshaping women's sport history."³⁵⁴

If sport history and women's history are faced with various obstacles, what are the challenges experienced in the study of women and sport? The early days of women's sporting experience were quite different from those of men. Therefore, the approach and issues are not going to be the same; in fact, the focus in women's intercollegiate research will be primarily in the education arena, not in the commercial area often found in men's sport. Nancy Struna commented that "The historian of women's sport needs to be cognizant of what questions other historians are asking and whether, and if so in what ways, they may be uncovering aspects of the historical experiences which may relate to

³⁵² Cheryl L. Cole, "Resisting the Cannon: Feminist Cultural Studies, Sport, and Technologies of the Body," in *Women, Sport, and Culture* ed. by Susan Birrell and Cheryl Cole, (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994): 5-29; Nancy L. Struna, "Beyond Mapping Experience: The Need for Understanding in the History of American Sporting Women." *Journal of Sport History* 11, no. 1 (1984): 120-133; Patricia A. Vertinsky, "Gender Relations, Women's History and Sport History: A Decade of Changing Enquiry, 1983-1993." *Journal of Sport History* 21, no. 1 (1994): 1-24.

³⁵³ Brenda Grace presents an overview of some of the feminist methodologies used in approaching and presenting women's experience and her use in conducting research on a women's sport organization. Brenda Grace, "Researching a Women's Sport Organization," in *Researching Women and Sport* ed. by Gill Clarke and Barbara Humberstone (London: Macmillan Press, 1997): 17-35. Hargraves, *Sporting Females*, 6-37.

³⁵⁴ Parratt, "From the History." in Costa, *Women and Sport*, 6.

the sporting experience.”³⁵⁵ Her belief is that theory and methodology are interdependent, and research needs to cross multiple disciplines. As Struna further noted, “Historians of women sport should, . . . consult other historian’s literature about women specifically and the human experience generally Scholarship on women and politics is but one of many areas which may help the study of sport among women in the past.”³⁵⁶ This philosophy is consistent with the interdisciplinary nature of women’s studies. Providing a context can validate and construct the experience according to a broader perspective.

The feminist framework can range from the liberal to the radical in sports-related discussions.³⁵⁷ Liberal feminism focuses on unequal opportunities and discrimination as critical issues while radical feminism considers the entire structure as the problem as it

³⁵⁵ Nancy L. Struna, “Beyond Mapping Experience: The Need for Understanding in the History of the American Sporting Women.” *Journal of Sport History* 11, no. 1 (1984): 133. See also, Linda J. Borish, “Women at the Modern Olympic Games: An Interdisciplinary Look at American Culture.” *Quest* 48, no. 1 (1996): 43-56.

³⁵⁶ Struna, *Mapping Experience*, 132.

³⁵⁷ The following list of articles addresses different aspects of research, feminism, and physical education. Shelia Scraton and Anne Flintoff, “Feminist Research and Physical Education,” in *Research in Physical Education and Sport: Exploring Alternative Visions*, ed. by Andrew C. Sparks, (Washington, D.C.: Falmer Press, 1992): 167-187. Ellen O’Reilly, “Some Aspects of a Feminist Approach to Teaching and Research in Physical Education in Methods and Methodology in Sport and Cultural History,” in *Ibid.*, 77-87. Richard Cashman, “Defining ‘Real Sport’ the Question of Modified Games for Women,” in *Ibid.*, 88-101. Karla A. Henderson, “A Feminist Analysis of Selected Professional Recreation Literature about Girls/Women from 1907-1990.” *Journal of Leisure Research*. 25, no. 2 (1993): 165-181.

was created by and for men.³⁵⁸ The separatist stance is also an element to be considered as a radical approach, in examining women's experience in sport.³⁵⁹ The interpretation of the construction of women's sporting history and experience from a feminist viewpoint continues to expand the variety of methods that can be used to construct the experience.³⁶⁰ It also provides means to address other issues of research importance, such as race and class.³⁶¹ Each foray undertaken by a researcher will hopefully assist others in their quest to further explore issues. It is in the research process that the challenges of assuming similarities in development of programs, participation, and experiences can contribute to the current body of research. The stories, issues and

³⁵⁸ Jay Coakley, "Feminist Theory a Critical Look at Gender and Sports." *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*. 5th ed. (St. Louis: Mosby, 1994): 17. Parratt succinctly states, "The most significant division is between radical theories, such as Marxist feminism, which call for a fundamental restructuring of the social system, and liberal feminism, which focuses on reform. With its emphasis on simply finding a place for women in the existing social order, liberal feminism shares many of the underlying assumptions of compensatory and contribution history. It is not surprising, then, that most of the historical research on women's sport has been set in a liberal feminist framework." Parratt, "From the History," in *Women and Sport*, 10-11.

³⁵⁹ Susan Birrell, "Separatism as an Issue in Women's Sport." *Arena Review* 8, no. 2 (1984): 21-27.

³⁶⁰ Roberta Bennett, et al., "Changing the Rules of the Game: Reflections Toward a Feminist Analysis of Sport." *Women's Studies International Forum* 10, no. 4 (1987): 369-379. Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge, "Feminist Resistance and Transformation in Sport," in *Women and Sport*, 361-376. Cheryl L. Cole, "Resisting the Cannon," in *Women, Sport, and Culture* ed. by Susan Birrell and Cheryl L. Cole, (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994): 5-29. M. Ann Hall, "The Discourse of Gender and Sport: From Femininity to Feminism." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5, no. 4 (1988): 330-340.

³⁶¹ Patricia Vertinsky, "Body History for Sport Historians: The Case of Gender and Race," in *Method and Methodology in Sport*, 50-61.

challenges of the individual involved at different points of time present a broader picture and highlight potential areas of research discussion. Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge noted that “We cannot understand the meaning of women’s presence in and absence from sport without clear reference to the context of relations of dominance and subordination, which in our culture are structured along the lines of gender, race, class, sexual preference, and age.”³⁶²

The missing stories of the minorities in the colleges and in the professional physical education associations are critical. Minorities were there, but what were their experiences? What were the competitive college experiences of African Americans,³⁶³ Hispanics, Latinas, and Asians who attended college? They too have a history, which has yet to be unveiled at a research level. Were the athletic experiences of women at institutions like Tuskegee and Tennessee State anomalies, or were they typical experiences? What were the differences in the structure of physical education and athletic participation for these women in their separate sphere?

Another area of resistance, not often discussed, is between women’s studies and feminist studies and sport. A somewhat dichotomous relationship, there are women’s studies faculty who do include sport discussion in their coursework while others act as if

³⁶² Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge, *Feminist Resistance*, 362.

³⁶³ Rita M. Liberti, “We Were Ladies, We Just Played Basketball Like Boys: A Study of Women’s Basketball at Historically Black Colleges and Universities in North Carolina” (Ph.D. diss, University of Iowa, 1998).

there is no connection to women's experience in sport related to feminist issues.³⁶⁴

Considered by some to be separate spheres, there is a reluctance by many in women's studies to include sport as a worthy topic. Could it be that in essence, that the qualities of value of women (moral, peaceful, cooperative) would not sustain that image³⁶⁵ with competition, violence, and other perceived negatives of sport participation? Stated Ann Hall, "My experience is that women's studies programs in general have not embraced sport and leisure, nor have they been perceived as particularly inviting to physical education and sport studies student."³⁶⁶ Similar to women who proclaim they are not feminists yet hold many of the principles, the point made here is that it is not safe to assume that all feminist scholars include sport issues, nor that women physical educators or historians are feminists.

³⁶⁴ This topic has been addressed in M. Ann Hall, *Feminist and Sporting Bodies* (in which she reviewed her experiences both as a physical educator and as a feminist scholar). Many important issues are also raised in Roberta S. Bennett et al., "Changing the Rules of the Game: Reflections Toward a Feminist Analysis of Sport." *Women's Studies International Forum* 10, no. 4 (1987): 369-379.

³⁶⁵ Degler commented, "The key to understanding which activities appealed to middle-class married women in the 19th century is the relation between the activity and the separate sphere of women. The closer a female activity was associated with the moral and domestic responsibilities of women as prescribed by the separate spheres, the more likely that activity was to be condoned." Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America From the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford, 1980): 306. He also commented about the "moral superiority" given to women. *Ibid.*, 26-31.

³⁶⁶ Hall, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies*, 36.

Relationship Among Collegiate Women, Sport, and Archives

Research conducted in archives has two important challenges, one related to sources that are available as well as accessing materials in archives. Parratt noted, "One task confronting historians is to uncover sources which will enable them to move beyond the prescriptive literature and begin to establish a better understanding of what women's sport actually encompassed."³⁶⁷ She commented on the number of women-oriented periodicals at the turn of the century that covered many aspects of women's lives and the potential that these materials might be able to provide. She warned, "It should be emphasized that general guides to periodical literature usually do not document whether a magazine or newspaper contains information on women's sport."³⁶⁸ Periodicals do cover women's sports, but articles might be 'disguised' as articles on health, fitness, physical education, activities, and even games. On occasion, in indexes, look under the heading women, and scan the list. Surprisingly, even specific sports are listed. This is also applicable in using newspapers and newspaper indexes. Be cognizant of a concern highlighted by Barbara Gregorich who mentions problems with periodicals (and newspapers) that publish different regional editions.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Catriona M. Parratt, "Athletic "Womanhood": Exploring Sources for Female Sport in Victorian and Edwardian England." *Journal of Sport History* 16, no. 2 (1989): 141.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 144, fn.8.

³⁶⁹ Barbara Gregorich, "Not Every Issue Holds the Feature: Baseball, Women, and Research, Regional Editions of Magazines Create Research Problems." *Wilson Library Bulletin* 67, (1993); 41-43.

Women's historical manuscript sources occasionally include physical education, athletics/athletes, and occasional sports/specific sport collections. A few guides include women's sports within women's history. Hopefully, a conscientious effort will be made to include more information on women's sport within the context of the repository or the subject matter. Efforts must be made by archivists, librarians, and researchers to produce histories and guides that can be used to identify resources for specific repositories as well as for specific sports. Louise Tricard's *American Women's Track And Field: A History 1895 Through 1980*³⁷⁰ presents the history of track and field through the use of effective archival documentation. In combining archival material to support the evolution of women's track and field this book highlights important events and women in the sport and provide valuable information on many archives and their materials. Only through the cooperation of researchers and archivists can some of these issues be addressed.

Other types of guides would include archival finding aids and other resources that provide access to information on women and sport. Using records from physical education, student associations, and many other related groups, the development of physical activities and varsity sports may shed light on the history of the women's collegiate sport experience. Other types of archives, associations, and athletic clubs at the state and local levels are potential resources for expanding the picture and providing a broader view of the athletic experience of women.

³⁷⁰ Louise M. Tricard, *American Women's Track and Field: A History, 1895 through 1980* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996).

Because sports and college women fall into the “hidden group” category, it is important to expand the logical categories to find materials. Consideration of the events that contributed to the development of intercollegiate competition for women in relationship to archival structure was introduced in the fifth chapter. If the researchers do not ask the right questions and the archivists are not familiar with the information that is in the collection, the history remains buried. It is important to realize that pre-Title IX archival materials on women’s experience might be located in record groups such as the Dean of women, student organizations, and physical education. For example, within a university archives, sports information records might be found within the materials created by the chief financial officer. Likewise, the development of varsity sport for women might be discovered in the presidential papers, for becoming varsity is a major university policy change.

To expand the histories of experience of the individual athletes involved in sport presents a broader picture. The potential of other areas of study would include resistance to undergraduate competition that has been commented upon but rarely explored. Included in this discussion would be the role of the Women’s Recreation Association and Women’s Athletic Association. As noted in chapter 2, comments made by various physical educators including Mabel Lee, indicate a type of underground movement of competition, which has yet to be explored on a large scale. Assumptions had been that WAAs were firmly controlled by women physical educators. Yet many did not change the name WAA to WRA. Why, and why not? Someone has yet to verify that all WAAs were controlled by women physical educators. How much of a voice did students have,

and how did they get their voice heard? What about the pockets of resistance that were overlooked? Who were the non-conformists, how were they treated? What sports did they compete in, and who was their competition? What is the story for those institutions, and who were the women involved? It would be in university archives where one might find information on the advent and struggle of college students with coed competition, club/recreational activities, Olympics, and eventual participation in national organizations. If researchers want to check out a female Olympian who attended college before the 1960s, their efforts would be better spent using the club archives (if there are any) that the individual was associated with or perhaps AAU records. One might try the university archives in case there was a file or other types of information on the individual.

How well these activities were documented (student paper, yearbook) play an important role in archival research. What materials did the donor and the archivist include? While conducting research for this thesis, not only did I find a copy of the Kellmeyer lawsuit because one of the faculty at Penn State happened to be chair of the CIAW,³⁷¹ but I found a folder that indicated there were several articles on collegiate women's sport that were published in the *New York Tribune* in the 1930s. This led me to several articles published by Janet Owens, who was a women's sport reporter for the *New*

³⁷¹ Note that the information is under the record group WIA (Women in Athletics) papers as Lu Magnusson did not have personal papers, rather all the information was compiled together. *Fern Kellmeyer v. NEA et al.* US District Court for the Southern District of Florida. January 4, 1973. WIA papers. Box 3. Folder: AIAW Financial Aid 1970-1973. Pennsylvania State University Archives.

York Tribune. Her articles were rich with information about women's sport activities of various colleges. Serendipitous moments like these made the research even more fascinating.

Another issue is learning who retains the information. Are the materials centralized, decentralized, or some combination, and where is the information held? Is it the archives, department (physical education, exercise science, health, kinesiology), sports information, athletics? This information is very important if you want access to the data to support your study. If physical education information is kept in a different department, you will need to contact those in charge to look at the records. Awareness of the year that athletics separated from the physical education department is also important information, as multiple locations may extend the time you need to conduct research.

Integrated Research

This chapter has provided an overview of some of the issues and concerns experienced by historians, sport historians, women and feminist historians, and women's sport historians. A discussion of some of the basic methodologies has been done to show how historians, sport historians, and feminists use these methods to conduct their research and support their point. Some of the overlapping issues that face sport historians and women's sports researchers have also been discussed. Providing this overview in

conjunction with the discussion of archives reveals interdependence that is more intricate than one might think at first glance. Cooperation and collaboration between researchers and archivists should produce more resources that will help meet some of the challenges faced by sport researchers.

CONCLUSION

Acknowledgment of the difference in the athletic development and experience of women in higher education relative to men's athletic development prior to the 1970s and 1980s is a critical component in conducting research on the topic. Eleanor Metheny used a vivid analogy that illustrates the history and challenges in women's competitive sport:

They are tangled and twisted roots that have many kinks in them—kinks that were developed as the game of social change have moved forward and backward and sometimes even sideways across the field...These tangled and twisted roots are so much a part of your own thinking that you scarcely know they are there. But nonetheless they will influence every debate....³⁷²

The truth in these words is immeasurable. There are layers and various connections that are all components of the construction of what would become women's intercollegiate athletics and are also tied to the societal mores of the day and the sphere for women. To understand these differences is to have the key to finding information about women's experience through physical education and sport and will help in identifying and accessing relevant information. Because archives have no established

³⁷² Eleanor Metheny, "Where Will You Go from Here? Speech at the North Central Regional Conference of Athletic and Recreation Federation of College Women, Des Moines, March 1964," in *Connotations of Movement in Sport and Dance a Collection of Speeches about Sport and Dance in Significant Forms*. ed. by Eleanor Metheny, (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1965): 151.

procedures or patterns for storage of materials, an understanding of the institution's history combined with a general knowledge of the structure of archives could be helpful in determining when and where materials were retained as well as who retains them.

Knowing who retains the information is important to ascertain. Are the materials centralized, decentralized, or is it a mixture of both arrangements? Where is the information held? Is it the archives, department (physical education, exercise science, health, kinesiology), college or university sports information or athletics department? Awareness of what year that athletics separated from the physical education department is also important information. When a researcher is able to connect the professional memberships of faculty in various associations and organizations to critical events in the profession and then identify that their materials are in archives, an additional point of access to the information become available. This was validated with the materials in the Pennsylvania State University Archives. For instance, Lou Magnusson was chair of the CIAW the year of the scholarship lawsuit and John Lawther was a member of the NCAA, and information from their files have been incorporated into the women's intercollegiate athletic collection. Some of the information provides a glimpse behind the scenes at the national and local level. Although there is no real guarantee what materials will be in an archive, due to various factors, it is reasonable to anticipate materials will be there.

Part of this thesis included an overview of the history and development of three team sports that were treated very differently by women physical educators in regards to competition. Basketball represented the trials of women's sport experience. It started in the academic setting and was quickly put under control of a rules committee. Controlling

or attempting to control the sport for close to 60 years was the bane of the basketball rules committee. No matter how hard they tried, the game continued to be played under a variety of rules. Rules were continually experimented with. The game evolved swiftly on the industrial scene as well as internationally. Only one university, Wayland Baptist, entered into this scene in the 1950s. The problem with the rules would continue until the CIAW and DGWS offered the first basketball national championship in the late 1960s. Basketball rules also reflected the restrictions and the expectations of women who participated in physical activity and how they changed over time.

The events in the early history of track and field, to many, was the catalyst that pushed competition out of higher education into industrial, professional, and amateur sport opportunities. According to Monys Hagen, “Track and field was the battleground where the NAAF chose to make its stand. It was the area where the Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation saw the greatest potential for abuse to the competitive element and where their control over women’s athletics was most threatened.”³⁷³ The events in athletics were very popular not only on college campuses, but also internationally. The AAU took control over the sport, providing rules and organizing championships. It would not be until the appearance of traditional black institution Tuskegee in 1929 that collegiate women would compete. Even if there were those who did not agree with women competing, the black women who competed were most likely ignored because they were minorities and not considered a challenge to the

³⁷³ Monys A. Hagen, “Industrial Harmony Through Sports: The Industrial Recreation Movement and Women’s Sports” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990): 220.

white middle class values that were being upheld by the women physical educators of the Women's Division.

As much as the two previous sports were decried, field hockey was an exception and anomaly. The darling sport for women, not only offered thinly veiled competitions, but also allowed for international travel and promotion of the sport. Although there seemed to be a fine line in straddling both the world of club and college sport, their boundaries were rarely challenged. One could speculate that because field hockey in the United States was played almost entirely by women, and there was no fear of men's control, college women allowed field hockey to be competitive at the international level. But because it was female dominated, there did not seem to be as much negative attention associated with its growth as developed in basketball and track and field.

Through these three sports and discussion of the various activities and reports conducted on college women's participation in sporting activities, the general acceptance that competition did not exist has been challenged. True, it did not exist at a national level, but it seems there is the potential for revealing more examples of those who chose to ignore the edicts of non-elite competition. The continuing expansion of women joining industrial leagues, private clubs, the Amateur Athletic Union, and other organizations indicate that there were collegiate women who participated even though many were not allowed to mention their collegiate affiliation. Thus, one should look beyond collections at colleges to other collections that might give a picture of the college woman's experience in sport. To explore this perspective and the unspoken issues related to this relationship has yet to be adequately addressed.

The primary intent of this thesis was to explain the connection between women's intercollegiate athletics and archives. This was accomplished through the use of various approaches reflected in each chapter in which highlights, selected events, and issues were discussed.

The structure of this study pieced together the historical perspective of higher education interwoven with archival and historical methodologies. It provided an extensive record of publications on the historical development of women's intercollegiate sport. The basic functions of archival structure and organization were introduced. The use of archival material is quite critical in conducting research in writing women's intercollegiate athletic history. Lastly, information on some of the research methodologies that have been used also was included to show the connection between historical, sport history, feminist, and women's studies research and sport.

Consideration of the events that contributed to the development of intercollegiate competition for women in relationship to archival structure was introduced in the fifth chapter. If the researchers do not ask the right questions and the archivists are not familiar with the material that is in the collection, the history remains buried. It is important to realize that pre-Title IX materials on women's experience might be located in student organizations and physical education in a university archive. Issues concerning retention of materials and where it is accessed (in student records and the physical education records), and how well these activities were documented (student newspapers and yearbooks) play an important role in archival research. Many of the strategies used to uncover information in archives are taught to historians and many in

women's studies. The gradual acceptance of sport as a cultural phenomena in various areas of academia is reflected in publications by faculty and research conducted by graduate students in a variety of disciplines. A brief discussion focused on some of the research methods that have been used by different disciplines and groups in the study of sport history.

The six chapters are intended to help researchers and archivists who are interested in furthering the study of women's intercollegiate athletics. There are many unanswered questions that might be clarified by researchers being effectual guides in college archives. For instance, it has generally been assumed that various women's athletic associations were firmly controlled by women physical educators. If so, why was the term "athletics" not changed to "recreation" in all of these associations at the time athletics were condemned by the leading women physical educators? What about the pockets of resistance to the dominant anti-competitive philosophy of the women physical educators? Who were the non-conformists, and how were they treated by the dominant group? What competitive sports did college women participate in, and in what venues did they participate? What about the experiences of Native American, African American, Hispanic, Latina, and Asian women? What is the story of lesbians and lesbianism in college physical education and sport? How did the social class status of the dominant groups of women physical educators affect sports for minorities? How did interscholastic level influence women's intercollegiate athletics? How did the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s affect the development of college women's athletics? How were the old guard, anti-competitive women's physical educators in individual institutions

replaced by the new-guard, more competitive group of physical educators and coaches? How were women who competed in college received when they entered the profession to work with those who disapproved of competition?

Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge have noted that “We cannot understand the meaning of women’s present in and absence from sport without clear reference to the context of relations of dominance and subordination, which in our culture are structured along the lines of gender, race, class, sexual preference, and age.”³⁷⁴ In addition to providing the overview to understand women’s intercollegiate sports history, the information in this thesis can also be used as a blueprint to access pertinent information in archives and its association with different types of archives and the variety of historical research.

Finally, as a result of the research and writing of this thesis, the following recommendations are made for the improvement of the workings of archives and the writing of women’s collegiate sport history:

1. Develop an institutional culture so that important records are saved for the future.
2. Recognize the value of saving athletic materials as part of the institutional memory.
3. Provide for adequate institutional archival space.
4. Ensure that the archives are appropriately financed and staffed.
5. Encourage departments of history, kinesiology, and women’s studies, among others, incorporate archival research in their programs.

³⁷⁴ Birrell and Theberge, *Feminist Resistance*, 362.

6. Pursue the documentation of the athletic experience of individual athletes through such means as oral histories and diaries.
7. Work with outreach groups, such as alumni organizations to gather institutional memory of student activities including athletics.
8. Encourage researchers to deeply explore the many aspects of women's sports such as how much competitive sport was participated in during the non-competitive period of women's athletics.

The structure has provided an analysis of women's intercollegiate sport from field day to organized, formalized competition. Hopefully the information provided in this thesis has provided a road map and strategies to delve further into the history of women's intercollegiate athletics.

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Legal Cases

Catherine E. Bryant, Lorna Gordon, Lori Krim, Christina Chen, Hannah Newhall, Jessika Erickson, Erin M. Shoudt, Rebecca Newhall, and Allison Ridder, individually and on behalf of all others similarly situated, Plaintiffs, v. Colgate University, Neil Grabois, President of Colgate University, and Mark Murphy, Athletic Director of Colgate University, Defendants. 93-CV-1029 United States District Court for the Northern District of New York. 1996 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 8393

Catherine E. Bryant, Lorna Gordon, Lori Krim, Christina Chen, Hannah Newhall, Jessika Erickson, Erin M. Shoudt, Rebecca Newhall, and Allison Ridder, individually and on behalf of all others similarly situated, Plaintiffs, v. Colgate University; Neil Grabois, President of Colgate University; and Mark Murphy, Athletic Director of Colgate University, Defendants. 93-CV-1029 (FJS) United States District Court for the Northern District of New York. 996 F. Supp. 170, 1998 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 2774.

Amy Cohen, Eileen Rocchio, Nicole A. Turgeon, Karen A. McDonald, Melissa Kuroda, Lisa C. Stern, Jennifer Hsu, Jennifer E. Cloud, Darcy Shearer, Jody Budge, Megan Hill, Kyle Hackett, Each Individually and on behalf of all other similarly situated, Plaintiffs, v. Brown University, Bartan Gregorian, in his official Capacity as President of Brown University, and David Roach, in his official capacity as athletic director of Brown University, Defendants. C.A. No.92-197-P United States District Court for the District of Rhode Island 809 F. Supp. 978; 1992 U.S. Dist. Lexis 20278.

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