Physical education was formally established in the school curriculum in Ontario at a time when educators, social reformers and medical professionals were growing increasingly concerned at the effects of rapid social change upon the next generation. Many women, they believed, had abandoned their "proper sphere", thus abdicating the responsibility to teach their daughters appropriate "feminine" behaviour. The formalization of physical education instruction, and the parallel developments in domestic science instruction at the turn of the century, were two official responses to the perceived problem, signifying the public takeover of aspects of gender-role socialization formerly entrusted to the private family, and the entrenchment of a sex-differentiated curriculum.

Developments in physical education for girls in the period 1890-1930 need to be examined in the context of prevailing attitudes towards women's health, and societal forces which restricted women's participation in sporting and recreational activities. The tendency to define physical activity in exclusively male terms was widespread at the turn of the century. Inspectors' reports in the 1890's, for example, consistently cited "manliness" as an important outcome of physical education, but corresponding references to its value for girls' character training were conspicuously absent. The definition of a "feminine woman" did not encompass competence in sports and physical activities beyond a level necessary for health, or more specifically, for reproductive health. Medical and pseudomedical opinion provided fuel for the debate over girls' sport, as medical "experts" assumed the role of "moral physiologists". By the turn of the century, doctors were warning against excessive inactivity on the part of females, since a moderate amount of exercise was believed to be conducive to health and fertility. Changing views of human sexuality were partly responsible for the new position, as Vertinsky has pointed out in her study of parallel trends in the U.S.A. behind the drive to promote organized sport, physical education and guided recreation for children and youth was "masturbation phobia": educators and social workers, campaigning to produce strong and healthy (hence, "pure") mothers of the next generation, realized that the methods which served "as a means of refrigerating the passions and creating spartan habits" among boys must surely be of value to girls, too. This view of the value of sport and recreation was emerging in Canadian educational circles by the turn of the century.
With this basis in medical opinion shaped by social convention, it is not surprising that contemporary researchers find it difficult to identify all the criteria on which authorities of this period based their judgements. Gerber identified certain common features of "acceptable" sports and activities: they could be performed gracefully, without sweating, and were primarily the domain of upper-class women with leisure time and access to private facilities. A more sophisticated schema was developed by Metheny, who identified principles which determined the acceptability of certain activities for women. Those considered inappropriate included activities requiring women to overcome the resistance of the opponent by bodily contact, or the resistance of a heavy object by direct application of bodily force. Activities requiring movement over a long distance or for a long period of time were also viewed as undesirable. Modified versions were sometimes acceptable: for example, the use of objects of light or moderate weight, races of moderate length or duration, activities producing aesthetically pleasing movement, those using a manufactured device to increase speed (such as in skating), and games where a spatial barrier, such as a net, prevents bodily contact. It will be seen that developments in physical education for girls in Ontario generally conformed to these standards.

The school experiences of girls in Ontario prior to 1900 did little to promote physical fitness or athletic competence. Despite various department of education regulations alloting class time for drill, gymnastics and calisthenics, only 57% of all students engaged in these activities in 1894. An instructional manual written in 1866 was used in normal schools until 1893, but, like other publications of this time, it appears to have concentrated on the instruction of boys. An 1893 textbook, Public School Physiology and Temperance, included a twenty-page chapter on exercise. It stated that beneficial exercise depended upon the age, health, sex and occupation of the individual, and proceeded to warn against an excess of competitiveness: "the satisfaction of defeating an opponent at lawn tennis...may goad a young girl or an ambitious youth to physical harm." Thirty-two exercises in a program of light gymnastics, based on the German and Swedish systems, were included in the chapter, these were obviously intended for girls, since all the illustrations depicted a female figure, wearing a dress reaching her ankles and a tight-fitting jacket and belt. This kind of attire perhaps necessitated the direction to stop exercising if dizziness or discomfort resulted. Using bending, stepping, and arm-swinging motions, these exercises involved the use of dumb-bells (which, the reader was advised, should be "too light" rather than "too heavy"), wands and small rings. Other manuals added bean bags and Indian clubs to this list of light objects which were to be held, or waved, but never thrown. The development of "grace and freedom of movement", and the correction of "false positions and habits of sitting, standing and walking" were the stated aims of this "physical culture" program. There was, perhaps advisedly, no suggestion in the text that girls would find this program enjoyable, or that competence in such activities would bring any extrinsic rewards. It did point out, however, that physical culture constituted mental as well as physical exercise, by requiring quick
responses to commands or signals.

Organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) viewed physical culture as a way of promoting the spiritual and social welfare of "working girls". The London Y.W.C.A., for example, organized two clubs in factories in 1902, holding lunch-hour meetings with singing and physical culture. An article in the 1900 Y.W.C.A. Gazette, despite its tone of amazement that young women were capable of performing "very difficult" exercises, stressed the fact that the participants were capable of both serious effort and actual enjoyment during physical training.10 Two prominent American educators, Gertrude Dudley and Frances Kellor, made more sweeping claims for the value of athletic training in a 1909 publication:

...aside from this health value...(athletics) develop on the mental side keen perceptions and complex thought processes; on the esthetic side, good personal habits and improved appearance; and on the social side, group consciousness, with its many varying expressions of graciousness and power.11

Prescriptive literature of the "health and beauty" variety was beginning to stress the association between mental health, physical well-being, and the maintenance of a harmonious marital relationship. A 1904 publication, My Lady Beautiful, presenting exercises for developing "a beautiful, wellrounded bust", reminded the reader. "It is essential to refrain from indulgence in anger, grief, worry, jealousy, etc. if you desire the best results from this or any other exercise."12 A comparison of these exercises with those in the physiology textbook suggests that "bust development" was one of the goals of the physical culture program, too.

Warnings against tight clothing and uncomfortable shoes were given in several health manuals of this period, including the textbook, Public School Hygiene, first published in 1910. Loose and light clothing was recommended, especially in the area of the chest and abdomen, and the "narrowed waist" was cited as "the forerunner of indigestion, weakness, nervous debility and consumption."13 It is not coincidental that medical authorities predicted these same consequences, and others more dire, for those who engaged in "the secret indulgence". A chapter on masturbation in The Science of a New Life, a book aimed at adult, married readers, carried this warning:

The wearing of corsets--whether worn tight or not--or constrictions of any kind around the body, prevent a free circulation of the blood, and also operate against its purification, confining it in abnormal quantities in the pelvic portion of the body, and so
irritating and creating a desire in the sexual
department of the woman. ... 14

So pervasive was the "masturbation phobia" of this author, John Cowan, M.D., that even hairstyles "covering that part of the brain in which amativeness is located" were condemned for their part in promoting "sexual excess" in women.15

It is clear that a warning against masturbation was implicit in the Ontario hygiene textbook, but, like the earlier physiology text, it avoided explicit treatment of topics related to human sexuality. In view of the delicate manner in which books for adult readers addressed these topics, this tendency is hardly surprising. In contrast, a topic which had little immediate relevance for public school age children--temperance--was treated in considerable detail: five chapters on alcohol in the hygiene text, and a section on the effects of alcohol and tobacco in each of eleven chapters of the physiology text.16

Physical culture clearly met the requirements of graceful movement involving light objects and requiring little exertion. Decorum was ensured by the conduct of such classes out of public view. In 1895, however, there was a report of a performance of "calisthenic entertainment" by female students from the department of physical education at McGill University. Praising the student's marching, the reporter, using the usual methods of comparison with male performance, claimed that their precision "would have done credit to a veteran infantry corps". Predictably, too, the performers were commended for their gracefulness:

the grace with which the gayly beribboned hoops were manipulated, now making a frame for the face, now slowly circling around...as they body swayed to one side or the other, was simply charming.17

Opportunities for university women, and for the more privileged sector of society, were expanding by the turn of the century. Tennis, basketball, croquet, golf, fencing, field and ice hockey, and the ubiquitous physical culture, were among the activities for female students at the University of Toronto and at McGill, both of which had diploma courses in physical education for women by 1908. Private clubs, some of which were established by and for women, facilitated the participation of middle class women in activities such as bicycling, tennis and swimming. More often, women had to share the facilities with men, using them on designated "Ladies' days". Although the Y.W.C.A. was offering swimming as an important part of its physical culture program by about 1914, the women's facilities at this time rarely included pools, and some even lacked gymnasiums. Women, consequently, used the facilities of the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.).18
Women's participation in sports like basketball and ice hockey appears incompatible with prevailing notions of a "feminine woman". An examination of the "feminine version" of these sports, however, reveals that, in most cases, the usual criteria were met. A very effective method of keeping the nature and pace of women's sport "ladylike" was to require participants to wear voluminous and constrictive clothing; corsets, stockings, long skirts, tight bodices and belts, and, for outdoor activities like bicycling, hat and gloves. Despite Amelia Bloomer's innovation of the 1850's--"bifurcated" skirts which permitted greater freedom of movement -- it was not until the introduction of the bicycle to Canada in 1885 that women adopted this "unconventional" mode of dress in large numbers. A more common solution to the problem of restrictive female clothing, and the one usually advocated by men, was the introduction of a "foreshortened version" of the sport for women. Examples of this trend are numerous: the 1899 Spalding official basketball rules for girls and women, lighter stones in curling, shorter courses for golf. Even when no formal modifications were made, women's dress often compelled a minimum of movement: tennis, for example, was played "standing still", according to Gerber's account, and a male swimming instructor in 1899 claimed that "a swim of one hundred yards (in a woman's bathing suit) proved as difficult as a mile in my own suit." Early events in women's ice hockey illustrate how standards of "feminine" behaviour were incorporated into activities generally viewed as "masculine". Ice hockey was well established at the University of Toronto by 1902, and intercollege (later, inter-faculty) competition was common; as well, Jarvis and Harbord Collegiate teams played Victoria College. The university teams initially adopted the men's inter-college rules, but this soon developed into a major issue. At a 1910 meeting, a motion was passed "to eliminate bodychecking, which means that no shoving of a person into the boards by using bodily strength would be permitted." A 1961 publication of the women's athletic association of the university observed that "a similar meeting has been called almost every year, and fifty years later this problem is still with us." The element of body contact in hockey had to be controlled, if it were to remain an "approved" activity for high school and university women. Predictably, it did not achieve the popularity of basketball, which, when played under the rules for women, was a relatively slow-paced, "non-interference game."

The introduction of lines, and the rules against snatching the ball and close guarding ensured a minimum of body contact or rough play. Women's attire for these and most other physical activities remained bulky, but "ladylike": skirts or bloomers were worn, and the legs were concealed by black stockings. Dudley and Kellor Drew attention to players' clothing in their discussion of teaching methods for basketball: "It is difficult to avoid holding and catching clothing because of the loose, baggy suits, and special training is needed to avoid such plays." (my emphasis) It is significant that they did not recommend more practical attire for players, but instead required that
Improvements in facilities came about gradually. A department of education regulation in 1909 required a gymnasium to be built in all colleges within two years, or collegiate status would be forfeited. By 1929, all colleges and half the high schools had gymnasiums. Segregation of boys' and girls' facilities was common. For example, there was often a large "boys' gym" and a small "girls' gym", a schoolyard divided by a line to separate the sexes, even a "boys' entrance" and a "girls' entrance". At Jarvis college, one tennis court was provided for girls, three for boys.

In 1911, physical education programs across Canada received impetus through the Strathcona Trust Fund. The relatively small amounts of financial support were used to purchase equipment and texts, but, more importantly, in order to qualify, schools were required to conform to a system of physical education set forth by the fund's administrators. Since 50% of the amount had to be used for military drill and rifle shooting, the benefits to girls' physical education were halved at the outset. Patriotic fervour during the war years contributed to the tendency to equate physical education to military drill, and the resulting approach to teaching was of limited value to either girls or boys. Another stipulation of the fund was that the British system (which in turn was based on the Swedish, Swiss and other European methods) be adopted. Commonly referred to as Swedish exercises or Swedish gymnastics, this system stressed precision and uniformity of movement, in response to commands. Thus, for girls' physical education, the Strathcona System served merely to entrench sex-differentiated programs and a militaristic approach to physical training. It is doubtful that the component which has been shown to have an impact on adult involvement in sport--enjoyment of school physical education--was ever present while this system held sway. Some educators, however, were opposed to the militarism of this approach, and their numbers grew as attitudes changed in the post-war period, with the result that the physical education curriculum was extended in 1921 to include games. By the end of the 1920's, the "Swedish system" had been replaced by the "Danish system". The speed with which this new system was adopted, following North American tours by Danish gymnasts demonstrating these exercises in the 1920's, suggests that girls' physical education curriculum was subject to ad hoc changes rather than rational planning to meet educational priorities and goals. There was, however, one aspect of female involvement in sport about which teachers, doctors, philosophers, and even the pope felt compelled to voice their concern--competition.

By the 1920's, women were participating in increasing numbers in competitive sports, despite the conservative approach of many physical educators at the public and high school levels. Most Ontario high schools, by this time, had girls' athletic associations which played a key role in the organization of intramural competition; in addition, interschool competition in basketball, track and field, and softball, which began in 1918, continued to expand until 1931. Competition was
well established at universities: McGill, for example, had intramural and/or intercollegiate tournaments in archery, badminton, basketball, ice hockey, swimming and tennis by the early 1930's. Although university education was only accessible to a limited number of middle class women, the proportion of female students was increasing significantly at this time, from 13.9%, in 1919-20, to 23.9% in 1929-30; over 25% of graduate students were female. Several, but not all, of the successful athletes in the twenties and thirties benefitted from the opportunities which university offered. There were, however, other avenues for female athletes to train competitively, as the number of sports clubs and organizations for women increased, especially in the Toronto area. Corporate and individual sponsors contributed to the development of women's athletic clubs at this time, removing some of the financial constraints which, until this time, had restricted working class women's participation. A prominent example was Bobbie Rosenfeld, 1928 Olympic silver medallist in the 100 m sprint and member of the women's relay team which won a gold medal. Rosenfeld worked at a chocolate factory in Toronto, and competed for a club funded by the company, the Patterson Athletic Club. Another gold medallist, in the high jump, Ethel Catherwood, was sponsored by the mining millionaire, Teddy Oke, who was also responsible for founding the Parkdale Ladies' Athletic Club.

Women's participation in track and field events in the 1928 Olympics was an issue which mobilized the opposition in the continuing debate over women's "proper place" in sport. It was this kind of competition, particularly the proposed 800 metre run, that prompted Pope Pius XI to condemn women's participation in track events. (The 800 m run was dropped until 1960, leaving the longest race for women the 200 m, an "appropriate" distance for females.)

In the U.S.A., the argument over competition had been partly resolved six years earlier, when the national athletic union, a male organization, took control over women's athletics and virtually abolished competitive sport for young women. In Canada, a similar fate seemed imminent in 1924, when the amateur athletic union of Canada (A.A.U.) formed a standing "women's committee", with a male chair and female secretary. By 1926, however, this had become the women's amateur athletic federation, with a female executive, affiliated with the A.A.U. but virtually autonomous. Unfortunately, physical educators in Ontario tended to follow the American example, discontinuing almost all interschool competition by the mid-1930's, but, outside of the school system, opportunities for participation through clubs, leagues, Y.W.C.A.'s, etc. continued to grow at this time, and Canadian women's remarkable progress in sport was reflected in their numerous successes in international competition, a high level of spectator interest, and extensive newspaper reporting of women's sport.

The authorities, however, continued to agonize over the dangers of physical activity for women's health; specifically, their participation. In competitive sporting events during menstruation was considered to be a serious threat to their physical and mental well-being. Although earlier attitudes towards menstruation had been somewhat modified by the 1920's, with
compulsory rest no longer viewed as either necessary or beneficial, doctors continued to warn against "excessive exercise" and activities requiring jumping or tumbling. Physical education textbooks (for teacher-training) at this time dealt with this issue in remarkable detail, some giving arguments pro and con, and other selectively citing the research which supported the restrictive position. Agnes Wayman's book, Education through Physical Education, is typical of the latter kind. The conclusions of a Dr. E. Arnold, following "experiments" at his normal school, cited by Wayman, deserve to be reproduced here to do justice to the "logic" of the argument:

Whenever economic efficiency is the deciding factor, restriction of menstruation is profitable; whenever fertility is of importance, it is undesirable. This would seem to interdict a regimen of exercise which will diminish the menstrual function for that period in a woman's life when she should be fertile...What is needed is a restriction in quantity of competition in any form. What is further needed is to diminish the quality of competition by taking the intensiveness of competition out of women's athletic efforts. The exploitation of oncoming womanhood by national or international competition is a menace to womanhood, the magnitude of which one can only contemplate with a shudder.34

This type of argument was used as a rationale for the elimination of interschool competition for adolescent girls. It is significant that a physical education professor of Wayman's stature, and many of her female colleagues throughout the U.S.A., accepted this kind of alarmist pseudo-medical pronouncement so uncritically. Wayman even added her own unsupported generalizations to the debate: "Physicians state that the hospitals and sanitariums are increasingly full of girls and women who will never be able to become mothers -- girls with misplaced organs, "nervous diseases and other ailments" caused by participation in "the wrong kind of sports".35 Clearly, interschool competition fell in this category, but intramural was permissible, when conducted "under the leadership of properly trained women instructors, who have the educational value of the game in mind rather than winning." Among the alleged dangers of interschool competition were the out-of-town travel and cheering audiences which threatened the already "unstable" emotional makeup of the adolescent girl.36 The notion of the "dictatorship of the ovaries" which had dominated medical thinking before the turn of century continued to colour the thinking of doctors and educators.37

The comments of a Dr. Lindsley, cited by another prominent figure in women's athletics, Florence Somers in Principles of Women's Athletics, typify the view that the various systems in the adolescent girl's body are competing for a finite supply of available resources, with the developing reproductive system obviously first in its demands:
The endocrine balance is being established and the adolescent girl who is subjected to highly emotional situations is but sowing the seed for a nervous breakdown later on by putting undue stress on these glands of internal secretion, which are trying to adjust themselves to the physiological changes taking place at that time, and are really having all they can do.38

The pre-occupation with the reproductive health of adolescent girls is evident in Somer's bibliography, where she listed 60 references to journal articles related to the topic of menstruation and physical activity. At a time when the predominantly male medical profession had assumed responsibility for the "normal" functioning of women's reproductive cycles, it is perhaps not surprising that they viewed any variation as an abnormality which they must correct. Canadian doctors were strongly influenced by the views of their American colleagues: medical textbooks and journals originated, for the most part, in the U.S.A., and American "experts" were invited to Canadian athletic and medical conferences and cited at length in Canadian literature.39 Dr. A. S. Lamb, head of McGill's Physical education department, led the attack on women's competitive athletics during the Olympic debate, employing the arguments by which his American counterparts had successfully swayed public opinion several years earlier. The debate over female sport activity continued into the thirties. Even then, the questions remained unchanged: did sport jeopardize women's reproductive health? Did Physical activity enhance women's health and, therefore, make them better wives and mothers? Did female athletes experience less difficulty in child-bearing? No one asked: Did sport promote confidence and self-esteem in women? Did women enjoy the challenge of competition, the joy of movement and the satisfaction of personal progress in athletic activities? These questions were not asked because the answers were not considered important; the "wife and mother" issue was paramount. Not all of the official pronouncements, however, stemmed from concern for the next generation of mothers. The actions of the medical profession, in particular, were motivated by self-interest: the goal was to maintain the predominantly male monopoly over women's reproductive health which had been achieved through the promotion of hospital births and the outlawing of midwifery.40 In addition to the financial benefits of maintaining the status quo, the male-dominated medical profession enjoyed its role as an authority on moral issues, especially those related to female morality. Like other conservative sectors of the male business community, it had a vested interest in maintaining a social system in which women's position remained subordinate. Thus, it was undesirable, purely in economic terms, to promote a spirit of competition in women, in the field of sport, which might have implications for their participation in fields like education and business — and threaten the comfortable status quo. A physical education instructor cited by Dudley and Kellor expressed this fear regarding interschool competition: "There is a great danger of sacrificing some of the finer traits (of girls) for the
peculiar boldness which outside contests bring out. Similarly, Wayman claimed:

There is...no real reason why girls should participate in the same games and sports as boys. The girl does not need to have her combative instincts developed. She is not or should not be interested primarily in making or breaking records. She should be interested in events and types of activities which make for grace, poise, suppleness, quickness, agility, dexterity, beauty, general strength and endurance...events where form and skill is emphasized, rather than in events requiring great strength and speed.

In other words, sport for girls should enhance what were viewed as their "natural" physical traits -- grace and beauty, girls do not need to compete, to fight, to achieve, to excel because such behaviour lies in the male domain.

It must be recognized, at this point, that the rationale for these restrictive attitudes did not stem solely from the prevailing ideology of woman's frailty and her subordinate position in society. From the medical perspective, contemporary sportsmedicine research has substantiated some of the claims related to menstrual variations. A recent study found delayed menarche among female athletes of up to two years. Menstrual irregularity and amenorrhea (cessation of menstrual periods) has been found to occur among athletes more than in the general population, but the primary cause is loss of weight or body fat, not exercise per se. Similarly, in the case of delayed menarche, there is no clear causal relationship: body fat, again, is an important factor, and it has been suggested that the thin, late-maturing athletes are the ones who continue to train strenuously, thus maintaining the conditions which delay menarche. The "myth of the misplaced uterus" has been debunked, although it is acknowledged that women who already have prolapse of the uterus may experience more symptoms during vigorous exercise. The role of exercise in either reducing or increasing menstrual cramps remains undetermined, but it is encouraging to note that contemporary medical attitudes towards this and other issues in sports gynecology appear to be more positive towards female athletes than in the past. Popular literature on this topic frequently makes the observation that fear for the safety of the female's reproductive organs, and not the male's, is somewhat curious, in the light of their respective locations in the human body.

From the ideological perspective, the "separate but equal" philosophy of some of the pioneers in women's sports would find support among some contemporary feminists, but it is generally agreed that boys and girls should play and compete together until puberty, when the
different growth spurts give an unfair advantage, first to girls and ultimately to boys, in terms of weight and height. Pedagogically, the claim that competition serves only the talented, and deprives less competent students of the opportunity to improve, was valid, but the fact that its early proponents viewed the inter intramural debate as an either or situation resulted in talented girls being deprived of the opportunity to excel, merely because excellence in sport was not considered necessary or desirable for a girl -- "she is not, or should not be interested in making or breaking records". Significantly, there seems to have been little agonizing over the plight of boys who lacked the talent for interschool competition, perhaps because the budget for boys' sport was sufficient to provide facilities and instruction for both levels.

The historical materials presented here illustrate the significance of socialization determinants for women's involvement in physical activity at the beginning of the century. There was clearly a conflict between the notion of "feminine woman" and "athletic woman", particularly after the reproductive health of active girls came under scrutiny; the pseudo-medical claims that sport jeopardized girls' child-bearing capability were virtual proof of the ancient fear that sport masculinizes females. Traditionalists were alarmed to observe, too, that situations such as sporting contests brought out "masculine" traits in girls, hence, those who preferred to deny that girls enjoyed physical challenge, excitement, the struggle to win and to achieve excellence took the necessary steps to repress such traits, by abolishing competition.

Sport was viewed as a means of developing feminine beauty and grace, only for boys was the goal to build physical and mental endurance, and control over one's body. For boys, this kind of learning was functional in the "world of men", as was illustrated by the old saying that wars were fought on the playing fields of Eton. The so-called male bonding which took place on the field could be observed by women, as spectators, but never emulated by them.
See, for example, Ontario Department of Education Report, 1895 (Toronto, Warwick, 1896). As part of their 1895 reports, inspectors were required to respond to questions about the physical health of staff and pupils, and sanitary conditions in the schools under their jurisdiction.

The definition, of course, was class-bound. There was little concern that working class women would lose their "femininity" by engaging in the kind of strenuous physical activity -- labour, not leisure -- which was necessary for their survival.


Ibid.


Eleanor Metheny, Connotations of Movement in Sport and Dance (Dubuque, Iowa: Brown, 1965), pp. 48-52.


Ibid., pp. 100-101.


A. P. Knight, The Ontario Public School Hygiene (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1919), p. 106.


Ibid.
16 Public School Hygiene


19 The view that women are "truncated males" who can only engage in "foreshortened versions" of men's sports, was presented as recently as 1969, by Paul Weiss in Sport, A Philosophic Inquiry (Urbana, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press). His "philosophy" was popular with some physical educators, but has been attacked by feminist scholars, including Thomas Boslooper and Marcia Hayes in The Femininity Game (New York: Stein & Day, 1973), and Jan Felshin in The American Woman in Sport, Ellen Gerber et al., eds. (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1974).


21 A. E. Parkes, The Development of Women's Athletics at the University of Toronto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 5-6.


25 Ibid., p. 44.

26 Girls' Sport, p. 10.


29 Donald McDonald, "Twenties and Thirties were the Golden Age," Champion (March, 1981), pp. 4-6.

30 Frank Cosentino and Glenn Leyshon, Olympic Gold (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975), pp. 81-82; McDonald, p. 5.

31 Boslooper and Hayes, p. 98.


33 Cochrane, pp. 37-43.


37 Barbara Ehrenreich and Diedre English used the term "Dictatorship of the Ovaries" in their discussion of medical attitudes of female health, in For Her Own Good (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor), 1979.

38 Dr. Lindsley, cited by Somers, p. 44.

39 See Wendy Mitchinson, "Historical Attitudes Towards Women and Childbirth," Atlantis 4:2, Part II (Spring, 1979).


41 Cited by Dudley and Kellor, p. 151.

42 Wayman, pp. 128-9.
